Rulership in 1st to 14th century Scandinavia

Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde

Herausgegeben von
Sebastian Brather, Wilhelm Heizmann
und Steffen Patzold

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Preface

This second volume from the Avaldsnes Royal Manor (ARM) project concludes the publication plan that was developed during the 2007–9 pilot project phase. Based on the excavation results and research published in the first volume (Skre 2018a), this second volume was originally intended to reconsider "the history of political institutions and processes in the first-millennium south-western coast of the Scandinavian Peninsula" (Skre 2018b:53).

Two developments have inspired an extension of this ambition. Firstly, Karmøy Municipality's successful efforts to provide funding for excavating the remains of a royal masonry complex from c. AD 1300, discovered in 2012 (Bauer 2018), allowed the 2017 excavations of this hitherto completely unknown royal residence.

Secondly, in May 2017, the Norwegian government proposed a grant of 10 million Norwegian kroner for research within the ARM project. The bill was passed by parliament in June, allowing the project to extend its scope and timeframe. Currently, the project is planned to continue through 2026.

In the first ARM volume, the results from the 2011–12 excavations at Avaldsnes and additional archaeological evidence from Karmøy, the island where Avaldsnes is situated, allowed development of a new story about the emergence of kingship in western Scandinavia: in the 3rd–10th century, Avaldsnes was a residence and supply base for sea kings who secured safe transport along the sheltered sailing route along the west-Scandinavian coast. Alliances between sea kings, notably Haraldr hárfagri in the late 9th century, extended their dominion to much of the 1,500-kilometre sea route, and eventually to the land, thus forming the kingdom of *Noregr* (Old Norse 'Norway').

Like all wide-ranging interpretations, this story needs to be challenged, revised, and refined. One step in that direction was taken in a paper arguing that the beginning around AD 800 of Viking raiding across the North Sea was a consequence of an alliance between traders and sea kings along the coast, driving Vikings to seek new raiding grounds overseas (Baug et al. 2019). In the present volume, we continue to challenge the 2018 interpretation by extending the geographical scope of the project and by introducing additional themes to those that were prevalent there: economy, communication, and integration of polities along the sailing route.

The two chapters in Section A maintain the original geographic scope of the project: Einar Østmo (Ch. 1) explores the long history of the sailing route along the west-Scandinavian coast, the *Norvegr*, and Mari Arentz Østmo (Ch. 2) conducts a regional study of socio-political structure and change in Rogaland and southern Hordaland, where Avaldsnes is situated. All three chapters in Section B, however, take a Scandinavian perspective on, respectively, rulership and ruler's sites (Dagfinn Skre, Ch. 3), the role of law regions in the transformation from tribe to kingdoms (Frode Iversen, Ch. 4), and the role of ship graves and ship settings in reproducing the divine origin myth of deceased kings (Jan Bill, Ch. 5). Finally, in

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Section C, the 2017 excavation of the high medieval complex provided the opportunity to include certain aspects of the late 13th–14th-century Norwegian kingdom in this volume. Anette Sand-Eriksen and Erlend Nordlie (Ch. 6) present the results from the excavation of the masonry royal manor complex, Alf Tore Hommedal (Ch. 7) sets the complex into the context of the period's royal masonry architecture, and Erik Opsahl (Ch. 8) discusses the complex in the context of the period's royal ambitions and politics.

Thus, in this volume, the reader will find discussions of conditions and developments that led to the formation of the Scandinavian kingdoms as well as the pinnacle of the medieval Norwegian kingdom in the mid–late 13th century and the start of the 434-year union of Denmark-Norway in 1380.

The ambition for the coming years is, while honing in on the first millennium AD, to continue the thematic extension of the project. The geographic horizon will continue to be Scandinavia; however, many trajectories lead from Avaldsnes to insular and continental Europe, and these connections, evident in several chapters in this volume, will be explored further in the future. There is a great potential in writing the history of the Avaldsnes sea kings and Scandinavian rulership into that of the interaction with the Roman Empire and the emergence of Germanic successor kingdoms on the continent and in England. An essential task for me as a project director will be to select from among the many relevant themes a coherent and complementary set of research endeavours that will contribute to illuminating the long history of Scandinavian rulership. This will remain a challenge, and a joy, in the years to come.

Cross-references within this volume appear in the following formats: (E. Østmo this vol. Ch. 1:23), indicating author, chapter number, and page; and (E. Østmo this vol. Fig. 1.4), indicating a specific figure occurring within a given chapter. Initial capitals (Ch., Fig., Tab.) indicate references within the volume; references to chapters, figures, and tables in other publications are not capitalised.

Acknowledgements

A number of referees have contributed significantly to improving the quality of this book. Although their identities remain known only to me, each and every one of them hereby receives my warmest thanks for their effort and support. Two employees have been pivotal in producing this book: Ingvild Tinglum Bøckman, who has managed all illustrations and produced most of them (see captions), and Anthony Zannino, who has undertaken copyediting and language revision of the text. Maps of Norway are used under licence from the Norwegian Mapping Authority (Kartverket). Unless otherwise stated in the caption, topographical maps for Europe are obtained from Natural Earth Data.

I am deeply grateful and ultimately indebted to Karmøy Municipality who in 2006 invited me to develop the project plan, and who up to the present have provided and generated the funding for the project. Three persons merit special mention: the director of the municipality's Avaldsnes Project Marit Synnøve Vea, the benefactor Sigurd Steen Aase, and the mayor of Karmøy 1996–2011 Kjell Arvid Svendsen.

The local representatives for the Church of Norway have generously allowed and assisted excavations within the St Óláfr churchyard. Cooperation with cultural management authorities – Rogaland County Council, Archaeological Museum, University of Stavanger, and the Directorate for Cultural Heritage – has been entirely positive and productive.

My thanks also extends to the two main initiators behind the funding of the 2017 excavation of the medieval royal manor, the then-member of parliament Geir Sigbjørn Toskedal and the mayor of Karmøy since 2015 Jarle Nilsen. The initiators behind the project's funding for the years to come, the 2017 grant from the Norwegian Parliament, are unknown to me. Thus, I direct my thanks to the then-Minister for Education and Research Torbjørn Røe Isaksen, who set forth the proposition. Finally, the Museum of Cultural History (MCH) at the University of Oslo has hosted the project since 2010 and contributed support and guidance in every possible way. I hope that the results we will continue to produce will live up to the trust that these individuals and institutions have bestowed upon this research project.

Dagfinn Skre
Oslo, April 2019

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Section C: **The High-Medieval Royal Manor**

Abbreviations

AM, AmS	Museum of Archaeology, University of Stavanger
ARM Project	Avaldsnes Royal Manor project, Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo
B[number]	Inventory number, University Museum of Bergen
Beta-[number]	AMS radiocarbon dating, Beta Analytic, Florida, USA
C[number]	Inventory number, Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo
DI	*Diplomatarium Islandicum*, 1–16. 1857–1976. Bókmentafèlag. Kaupmannahöfn. [Number (e.g. DI 2:543) indicates the document number, not page, unless otherwise is stated.]
DN	*Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, 1–22. 1847–1995. Kristiania [Oslo]. [Number (e.g. DN I:543) indicates the document number, not page, unless otherwise is stated.]
DS	*Diplomatarium Suecanum*, I–XI, 1829–2017. Stockholm. [Number (e.g. DN I:543) indicates the document number, not page, unless otherwise is stated.]
KHM	Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.
MCH	KHM
NgL	*Norges gamle Love indtil 1387*, 1–5. 1846–95. Christiania [Oslo].
NgL IIr	Norges gamle Love. Anden Række, 1904–91. Grøndahl, Christiania.
NTNU	Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim.
ON	Old Norse
OPIA	*Occasional Papers in Archaeology*, 1989– . Societas Archaeologica Upsaliensis, Uppsala.
R[number]	Illustration in Oluf Rygh 1885: *Norske Oldsager*. Cammermeyer. Christiania.
RN	*Regesta Norvegica.* 1–10, 1989–2015. Riksarkivet, Kjeldeskriftavdelingen. Oslo. [Number (e.g. RN 2:543) indicates the document number, not page, unless otherwise is stated.]
S[number]	Inventory number, Museum of Archaeology, University of Stavanger
T[number]	Inventory number, NTNU, Museum of Natural History and Archaeology, Trondheim
Ua-[number]	AMS radiocarbon datings, Uppsala University
UMB	University Museum, University of Bergen

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Section A: **The West-Scandinavian Coast**

Einar Østmo

1 The History of the *Norvegr* 2000 BC–1000 AD

When written in Chinese the word crisis is composed of two characters.
One represents danger, and the other represents opportunity.

John F. Kennedy, Indianapolis, April 12, 1959

Stretching for more than 2000 kilometres, Norway's rugged coast has always posed a challenge to seafarers. Distribution of Late Neolithic artefacts imported from South Scandinavia indicates that coastal navigation became commonplace from approximately 2400 BC. Certain place-names of islands and promontories can probably be dated to the Bronze Age, indicating that the western sea-route must have been established during this period, when vessels were still propelled by paddling and aristocratic societies flourished. By the early Iron Age, rowing had taken over from paddling, allowing for bigger and faster ships. Nor(ð)vegr *may have been established as the name of the sea-route at this time, when again aristocratic societies existed in the region. In the Viking Age, northern ships were equipped with sails, permitting voyages across the Atlantic. By then, Norway had become the name of the country, which eventually was united as one kingdom. Thus, the development of the name can be seen as running parallel to three main stages of shipbuilding and to three stages of aristocratic splendour in Scandinavia: the Bronze Age, the early Iron Age, and the Viking Age.*

Norway, encompassing the western part of the Scandinavian Peninsula, is a land of extremes and natural dynamism hardly equalled anywhere in Europe. Above all, the coast can be singled out as the country's most striking feature. In geographical terms, Norway's coast is made up of a diverse range of terrain types (Klemsdal 1982:151; see also Skre 2018b:782–4):

> strandflat coast, fjord coast, fjärd coast, cliff abrasion coast, flat abrasion coast and moraine topography coast, all primary coasts, and moraine cliff coast and sandy beach coast, both secondary coasts.

This chapter takes as its theme the history of the concept of Norðvegr or 'Norway' – how it first arose as a metaphor for the importance of the sea-route, and how it then came to prevail as a name for the country itself, in parallel with the development of sea traffic along the coast, with shipbuilding, and eventually with the rise (and fall) of powerful and even aristocratic communities in this part of Scandinavia.

Historians' attention to the conceptual significance of the coast of Norway of course is not new, if perhaps the long-range perspective hopefully represents a new view. Among the many works to deal with this topic, the present work is indebted particularly to Bøe (1942) and the commentary Hagen (1973). Among more recent

Einar Østmo, Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo

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efforts, Kvalø (2007) and Engedal (2010) deal with many of the questions discussed in this article. The present author wishes to apologise for the oversight if any other relevant works have been omitted from the references below.

1.1 Geography, technology, power, and time

This study will consider the emergence of the idea of 'Norway' through four areas of inquiry: geography, language (including toponomy), technology, and archæology. Cutting across these four categories is the field of logistics – a key historical factor in establishing and sustaining power. In the period under discussion, logistics was concerned with coastal and overland travel in its practical aspects, in how it could be controlled, and in how it could be used in the struggle for power.

At the most basic level, the geographical features of the Norwegian landscape would have been decisive in either facilitating or impeding logistics. The availability of basic supplies will have been essential to any political power, which will have been seated at particular geographic locations, whether permanent or transitory, which would have required local economic resources and productional capacity to uphold and exercise it.

In Norway, this will have meant agricultural resources and livestock, possibly supplemented by trapping of game such as elk, red deer, and reindeer. Fishing grounds are available almost everywhere along the Norwegian coast; the most abundant fishing resources range from notoriously unstable such as herring (Lea 1949) to more stable and dependable such as cod and salmon. Large-scale trade in fish seems to have occurred only in the Middle Ages, certainly not before the 10th century (Storli 2007).

Trapping of cervids was practiced on a relatively large scale in certain periods as early as the Mesolithic (e.g. Lødøen and Mandt 2012), but most intensively only after the period of concern here, in the Middle Ages, particularly the 11th–13th centuries in connection with an emerging market economy (Mikkelsen 1994).

Compared to Continental Europe, agricultural resources in Norway are limited, not least concerning their distribution. While cereal growing in the Iron Age could be practiced as far north as Malangen in Troms, approximately 70° N. Lat. (Sjøvold 1974:295ff and 346ff), much of the country including the western coast consists of barren mountains. Outside of southeastern Norway, the main regions suitable for agriculture along the Norwegian coast comprise Lista, Jæren, the interior of the western fjord country, and the Trøndelag region on both sides of the Trondheim fjord. Smaller favourable locations can be found scattered throughout the extremely varied landscape, for example in Sunnmøre on the islands west of Ålesund.

Manifestations of power structures in the landscape may take several forms, for example the shape of residential areas or centres surrounded by resources to be exploited, perhaps as catchment areas as suggested by Higgs and Vita-Finzi (1972). In

the present case, the availability of seafaring vessels entails a considerably wider geographical range.

The coastal route by nature of its two-directional travel lends a linear character to the coastal landscape otherwise shaped by the shorelines of the waterways, by islands and promontories, by barren coasts, by protecting islands and skerries, by straits and broad or narrow passages, and by currents and prevailing winds. Against this vast backdrop, this study concerns itself with the establishment in prehistoric times of the West-Norwegian coast as a reliable sea-route and an arena for economic and political ambitions beyond serving local needs, a development linked to advancements in maritime technology affecting the construction of boats and the manner in which they could be sailed or propelled.

History, of course, is rarely predictable; the deeper one digs, the harder it can become to identify recognisable patterns, let alone laws or regularities. In the present study, we can point to one such general feature at play: repeated cycles of stability and change. History abounds with cases of successful, established order experiencing a crisis and demise. The particulars will vary by situation, but the broader question may serve as a productive starting point.

For a later example from the same geographic area, consider the virtually complete collapse of the Kingdom of Norway after the Black Death in 1349. As the country recovered from the late 16th century onwards, culture, language, economy, and political institutions were reinvented on two bases: indigenous popular culture and new impulses from abroad. Many social and cultural aspects, even when not obviously interrelated, experienced changes more or less simultaneously.

While the Black Death was not the sole factor, this central part of Norwegian history provides a model example of the crisis-induced demise of an established culture resulting first in misery but later followed by fresh creativity and initiative, and subsequently the establishment of a new orthodoxy. Exactly *why* the aftermath unfolded as it did remains to be explored, and the variables may differ in similar situations and other times, but the historical phenomenon itself is not in doubt.

Keeping in mind the limitations as well as the strengths of this model, the present study will take the sequence of an established culture experiencing crisis followed by creative instability and then by new orthodoxy as a framework for investigating the rôle of a developing shipbuilding technology in the changing fortunes of prehistoric powers along the coast of Norway.

1.2 Norway – northern or narrow?

To start with, let us revisit the name of the country. In modern Norwegian it appears as either *Norge* or *Noreg*. The earliest written records of the name are from foreign sources: in the Durham *Liber Vitae* from c. AD 840 it is *Nortuagia* (Fig. 1.1; *Liber*

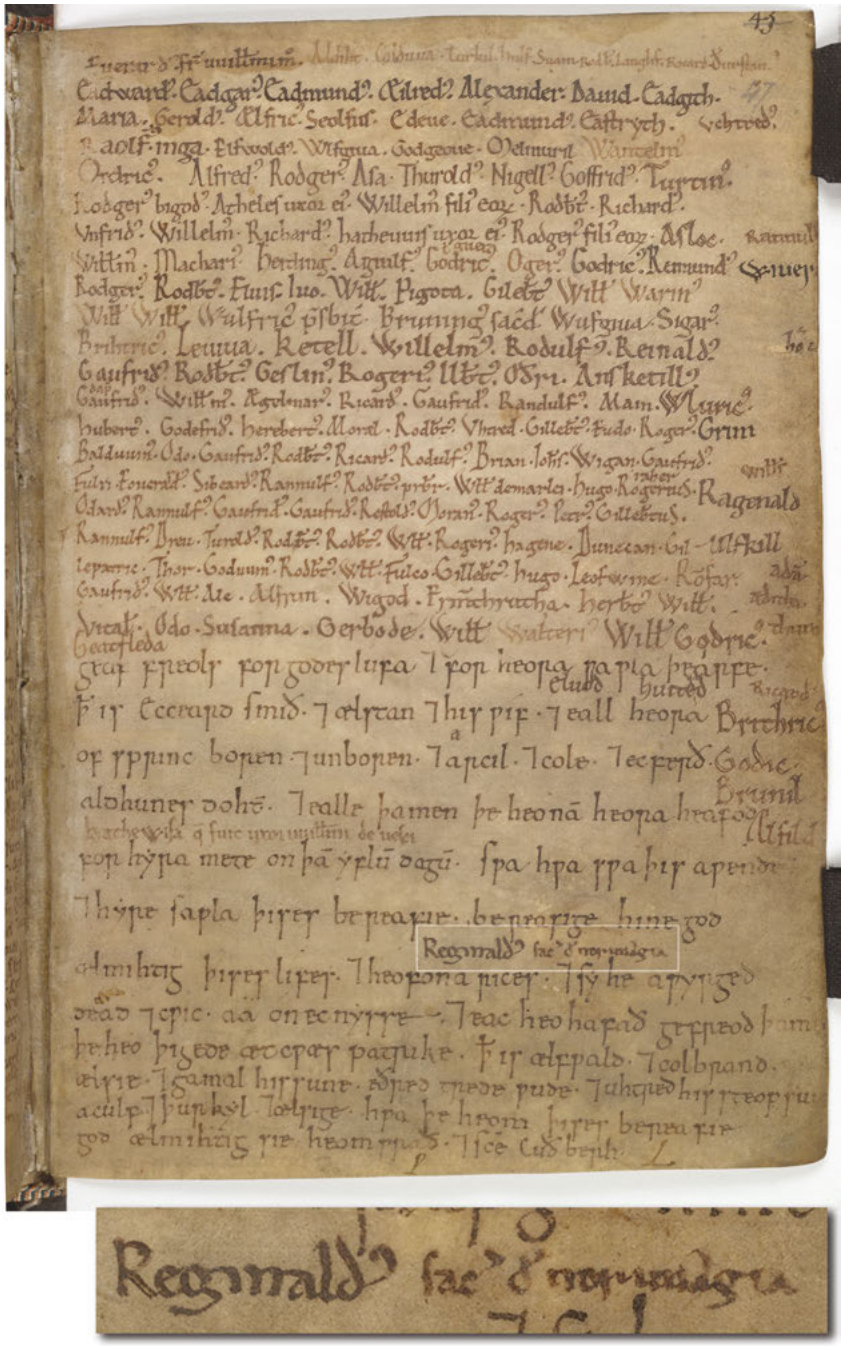

Fig. 1.1: The earliest known mentioning of the name Norway *(nortuagia)* (Durham *Liber Vitae*, c. AD 840). © British Library Board Cotton Domitian A VII f47r.

Vitae, 56; Brink 2018:666; Rollason et al. 2004), and in King Alfred's edition of the Orosius World History, dated c. 880, it appears as *Norðweg*; other forms cited from Frankish chronicles are *Nort(h)wegia* and *Norwegia* (Jakobsen 1981; Myrvoll 2011:114; Brink 2018:666–7). Most of these exonyms include a dental, whether /t/, /ð/ or /th/. By contrast, in Scandinavia, the first written appearance of the name is on the large runic stone at Jelling, erected by King Haraldr Gormsson, called Bluetooth, c. 965 or possibly a little later; transcribed as *Nuruiak*, it reads *Norvegh,* with no dental (Moltke 1976:166ff; Düwel 2008:105ff; Myrvoll 2011). Similarly, the name appears as *Nuriki* on the c. 1034 Kuli runic stone from Smøla, Møre og Romsdal *fylke*,[1] the oldest known mention of the name within present-day Norway, again with no dental (Knirk 2001).[2]

The etymology may appear to be straightforward: 'the way to the North', corresponding to the commonly attested *austrvegr*, *vestrvegr*, and *suðrvegr*. Nearly all modern scholars share this conclusion (Nordland 1950; Stemshaug 1973; Jakobsen 1981; Andersson 2001; Brink 2007; this interpretation is implicit in Engedal 2010 and apparently Ystgaard 2014:33; see also Heide 2016). However, another theory has also been suggested, in which the first element of the name is derived from the noun *nor*, meaning 'narrow inlet or bay' ('narrow passage in a river, strait, fjord or lake' according to Rygh 1898:69). This theory was advanced as early as 1847 by Nils H. Trønnes (1847:71; cf. also Seip 1923:11). The idea appears in an 1874 Icelandic dictionary under the entry *Noregr*:

> the former part *nór* is prob. from norðr, qs. *the north way;* yet another derivation, from *nór = a sea-loch,* is possible, and is supported by the pronunciation and by the shape of the country, a strip of land between sea and mountains, with many winding fjords. (Cleasby et al. 1874:457)

This notion was revived by the Swedish scholar Adolf Noreen (1897:21–9), pointing to the circumstance that *Nórvegr* with a long vowel *ó* by far is the most common form in the early sources, particularly in the skaldic poems where the vowel must be long in order to fit the meter; several examples are mentioned by Myrvoll (2011:114). This form would seem to be incompatible with the short vowel and dental of *Norð-*; Noreen suggested 'regio a[n]gusta' as a folk etymology. Marius Hægstad discussed the question at some length, conceding that the metrical point was not easily overcome, but ultimately dismissing Noreen's suggestion for semantical reasons, finding it hard to reconcile with 'Norway' as the name of the country

1 The Norw. *fylke* is usually translated as 'county'.

2 Pliny (Naturalis Historiae IV:104) mentions a *Nerigon* (in some manuscripts *Berricen*). Most scholars have taken this to denote Mainland on Shetland, but some have argued that this represents the first mention of Norway (see Keyser 1868[1839]:92, ref. by Nansen 1911:44). According to Fridtjof Nansen, this theory was with some reservations accepted as possible by Alf Torp, who proposed a hypothetical **Norþravega*R in Proto-Nordic, which would have been used by southerners such as the Danes (Nansen 1911:82). This remains speculation, especially in the absence of source material.

and preferring the 'North Way' interpretation analogous to *austrvegr*, *vestrvegr*, and *suðrvegr* (Hægstad 1908:2). Most subsequent commentators by and large have been content with Hægstad's conclusion (e.g. Seip 1923; Jakobsen 1981; Stemshaug 1973; Andersson 2001; Brink 2007). Recently, Klaus Johan Myrvoll has reopened the question, arguing that Noreen's points about meter must be taken seriously and providing several examples[3] (Myrvoll 2011:114, 116). The philological debate most likely will continue for as long as anybody is interested in this question (cf. Heide 2016, who sticks to Hægstad's conclusion; but also Brink 2018, who now seems open to Trønnes's [and Myrvoll's] interpretation).

How might these etymologies compare with the geography of the country? The sea-route along the Norwegian coast, consisting as it does of a long succession of straits, fjords, and sounds, is not far off from the narrow inlet or straits noted by Cleasby (et al. 1874). Taken in its entirety, the coast might be thought of as a single, extended *'nor'*, although there are few examples of the use of the term for geography on so large a scale (a possible example is *'Nǫrvasund'*, the Norse name of the Straits of Gibraltar). Of greatest relevance to the present discussion is Norheim, an ancient farm site about a mile north of Avaldsnes, on the eastern shore of Salhusstraumen, at the narrowest part of Karmsundet (Fig. 1.2). Oluf Rygh derived its name from the Norse *nór* in part on the basis of the topography (Rygh 1915:410, cf. 143). Norheim is the site of some of the earliest of the many prestigious Iron Age graves along the Karmsundet (excepting the Flaghaugen grave), the standing stones known as the five 'Foolish Virgins' (Skre 2018a). Both *nor* and *Nǫrva-* are derived from the Germanic **narwa-* meaning 'narrow' (Falk and Torp 1906:542–3); the modern English word ultimately hails from the same source. Thus, a case can be made for an interpretation of 'Norway' as the *nór-vegr*, the way along the sounds and straits.[4] Further, it could be speculated that the name at first referred only to the Karmsundet, a trace of which survives contained in the name Norheim.

This origin theory does not preclude an apocryphal reinterpretation as the 'North Way', as Noreen and Myrvoll have supposed. The latter form of the name is the one encountered in the first foreign sources; whereas *nór-vegr* would be informed by local perspective and familiarity with the topography, the 'North Way' reflects an external, southern perspective on Norwegian geography relative to continental Europe, as suggested by Torp (see above). When the coast of Norway enters the historical record in the Late Iron Age, as in the 9th century AD account of the

3 'Frå eit ljodhistorisk synspunkt er dette ei rekkja produktive hypotesar, som dessutan hev parallellar, i motsetnad til dei mange ad hoc-hypotesane som sermerkjer den eldre uttydingi' ['From the point of view of phonological history this is a series of productive hypotheses, which moreover have parallels, contrary to the many *ad hoc* hypotheses that characterise the older interpretation' (present author's translation)].

4 *'Nordomani'* denoting the northerners apparently is mentioned first by the anonymous 'Ravenna Geographer' as living in 'Dania' in the late 7th century (Nansen 1911:118).

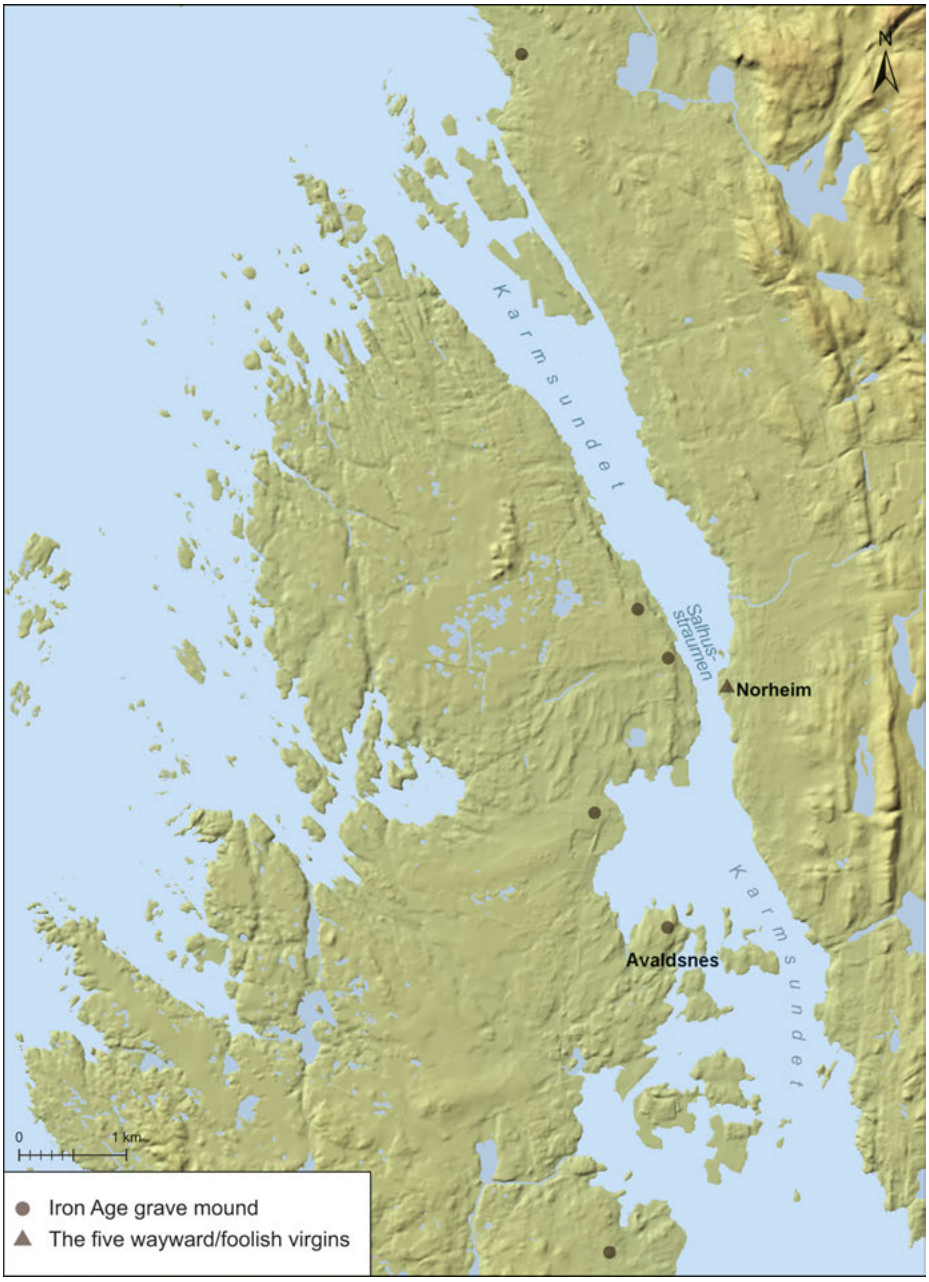

Fig. 1.2: Map of Karmsundet, with Salhusstraumen and Iron Age monuments. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

Norwegian seafarer and occasional merchant Othere's journey from North Norway to *Sciringes Heale* and *Haithabu* and from there to Alfred's England (Bately and Englert 2007), the country has acquired a significance beyond mere geography, as an established sea-route and an arena for realisation of manifold ambitions and adventures, and by the 11th century the name had risen to sufficient prominence to denote the whole of the country.

It is clear that the term soon after its inception came to denote the whole of the sea-route, and is likely as old as old as the sea-route itself. Geographical names in Antiquity, in Northern Europe and elsewhere, were often bestowed upon the discovery of the land in question, as was the case with Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland. By contrast, it appears that there were three stages in the historical development of the name Norway. First, it was merely an appelative describing the sea-route as a geographical or nautical entity, perhaps initially only the Karmsundet. Second, only sometime later did it acquire the status of an actual name, a proprium, of the whole sea-route. This development from an appellative to a proprium possibly occurred only when the circle of users of the place in question, *in casu* the Norwegian sea-route, was extended to include outsiders (a notion developed by Knudsen 1939:118f). Third, the name finally was extended from the sea-route to the fjords and littoral, eventually encompassing the hinterland, the mountains, and the valleys in the interior.

By that time, Norway had become the name of an object over which one could hold power and a thing one could fight for. Long before a single ruler, by tradition Haraldr hárfagri (c. 850–c. 931/2), managed to gain control over the whole of this country, the sea-route and its various parts would have been an arena with space for several competing powers along its long stretch.[5]

5 There might be other proper geographical names derived from formerly 'simple' designations referring to the very aspects of political, economic, religious, or social power used to hold power over the named region in question. According to Grønvik (2006), *'Thule'* (Θούλη) may have had a similar function as the name of at least part of the country at the time of the Massilian explorer Pytheas (Πυθέας), approximately 4th century BC (Roseman 1994). This interpretation to some extent rests on the identification of who the *þulr* might have been: possibly a religious leader (Grønvik 1999:36, 2006), or perhaps rather an 'official orator' responsible for memorizing and reciting accounts of 'kings, dwarfs, giants, titles of Odin and other gods, terms for battle and weapons, the sea, rivers, fishes and whales, ships and parts of ships, earth, trees, plants, animals, birds, islands and so on' (West 2007:70; we might add 'sailing routes' to this list). While such an office would have been crucial in a non-literate aristocratic society, it seems an unlikely source from which the name for the entire country would have been derived. The precise location of Pytheas's Thule remains in question: possibly it refers to a section of the Norwegian coast, if it is included in Pytheas's concept of the extreme north, although this remains far from certain (see Roseman 1994:148ff); Cunliffe (2001) favours Iceland, but the sources are too few, too scattered, and too ambiguous for any definitive conclusions (Krag 2012). Several alternative but ulitmately unlikely suggestions for the etymology of *Thule* are mentioned by Nansen (1911:45p, note 1).

1.3 The sea-route along the western coast of Norway

The physical geography of the western Norwegian sea-route is also a defining factor. Taking the southernmost tip of present-day Norway, Lindesnes (57°58′56″ N. Lat.) in Agder, as a convenient starting point, the coast northward to North Cape (71°9′56″ N. Lat.) is about 2,000 kilometres or 1,080 nautical miles long, excluding bays and inlets. The conditions for navigation are described in detail in *Den Norske Los*[6] (abbr. DNL), issued by the Norwegian Mapping Authority in eight hefty volumes and renewed every six years. This monumental work includes not only references to modern navigation aids, but also traditional sea-marks and conditions of currents, winds, local topography, and other points of interest to captains with varying levels of experience. This information has been surveyed in recent scholarship on prehistoric voyages along the coast – by Frode Kvalø concerning the southwestern part of Norway as far north as Kormt (Kvalø 2007:62ff), and by Ørjan Engedal concerning the entire stretch from Lista to Tjeldsundet in Lofoten and onwards from there to Pasvik (Engedal 2010:207ff). Both authors concentrate hazards and the means of dealing with them, in particular isthmuses or portages.

Both authors refer to the DNL's identification of 24 particularly hazardous stretches along the coast (see map in Fig. 1.3), due to waves caused by any combination of wind, currents, or the shape of the coast or seafloor (see also Kvalø 2007:64, fig. 4; Engedal 2010:map 19).[7]

The sea-route along the western coast of Norway is of course determined by several critical points in the shape and topography of the coastline. While the route keeps to the outer part of the coastal area, close to the open sea, along most of its

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Another early name of possible relevance is *Rusbeas*, mentioned by Pliny (Nat. Hist. IV:13: 94–5), which Nansen suggests to have denoted Lindesnes (Nansen 1911:76 with references to older literature and several uncertain interpretations).

Mediaeval Irish sources mention a kingdom called *Laithlinn (Lothlend, Lochlainn),* sometimes thought to refer to Norway (MacKillop 2004), athough its precise location has been under debate since the mid-19th century. Recent attempts to locate it in Viking Scotland or thereabouts (Ó Corráin 1998) have been thoroughly refuted by Colmán Etchingham (2007) in favour of a Norwegian location, although his attempt to derive the Irish term from a name for the Trondheimsfjord in Trøndelag, Middle Norway, surely should be considered in the same lighthearted manner in which it clearly was offered. Arne Kruse (2015), with some reservations, proposes an etymology deriving the name from a Norse **Leiðland* and places it in Southwest Norway, with Avaldsnes as its centre. Based on the available sources, however, a reliable etymology for Laithlinn/Lochlainn remains quite nebulous (Ó Corráin 1998).

6 Engl.: 'The Norwegian Pilot'.

7 Some experiences from paddling along the coast of Nordland in a kayak are offered by Nydal (1988), highlighting both the value of natural sea-marks such as Landegode and Bolga and Tomma (see below), but also the certainly obvious need to take heed of weather conditions.

Fig. 1.3: The Inside Passage (*Leden*) along the coast of Southern Norway, with names of islands and mountains that may have been seamarks. (After Engedal 2009:map 19 and Kvalø 2007:62ff) Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

long stretch it nevertheless serves as an inside passage (the *nór* of the hypothetical *Nór-vegr*) protected from the North Atlantic by a long succession of large and small coastal islands, known as the *skjærgård* or 'fence of skerries'. Such stretches include the *Karmsundet* between Kormt and the mainland, and the *Sunnmørsleia* passage inside the Sunnmøre islands. Still, there are dangerous stretches of open sea without such protection. Five or six of these in particular present hazards to navigation along the coast. Starting in the southwest, a ship is exposed to the Skagerrak and North Sea coast, approximately from Mandal to Lista, where the route northwards from Jylland to south-western Norway reaches land. Next, there is the unprotected Jæren coast all the way from Åna-Sira to Tananger, although the situation may have been somewhat more favourable during the Bronze Age, when the sea level was approximately 4 m higher; harbours which have since disappeared would have provided shelter for shallow-draught craft, such as in Orrevatnet in Klepp (Solberg 1993). *Sletta* north of Kormt is another challenging stretch, followed by *Ryggsteinhavet* in Askvoll about 65 nautical miles north of Bergen. The treacherous sea outside of the *Stad* promontory where the coast turns in a general northeasterly direction has been notorious among captains in all periods. Further north there is the *Hustadvika* off Bulandet. And finally there is the *Folla* west of Fosen in Trøndelag, which Engedal singles out as perhaps the most significant obstacle to voyages between southern and northern Norway in ancient times (Engedal 2010:210f).[8] The sea-route ends at Lofoten, beyond which the infamous Maelstrom lies in wait. Most of these unprotected stretches are still indicated as dangerous in the DNL as well as by the above-mentioned authors.

Some of the dangerous stretches may be avoided by continuing the journey overland, crossing isthmuses or portages (Norw.: *eid*). At Lista in the south, *Briseid* and in particular *Listeidet* have been and indeed still are important crossings. There is no overland option for the part of the route along Jæren. At Sletta, there are crossings at the 6 km long and at the most 40 m high *Haraldseidet* isthmus at Skjold from Skjoldafjorden to Ålfjorden, or farther east at *Sandeid* across the 7 km to Ølen. To avoid the Ryggsteinhavet there is the *Stubseid* between Stongfjorden and Stavfjorden (2 km), but its close proximity to the open sea limits the degree of protection it offers; in bad conditions here travellers would have to resort to the 5 km long haul from Stongfjorden to Vågane. The dangerous sea around Stad may be avoided by crossing from Moldefjorden to Vanylvsfjorden at *Eide* at the root of the Stad peninsula (2 km). A welcome alternative to crossing the nefarious Hustadvika is provided either by the 14 km long, but low-lying *Fræneidet,* or the 6 km from Eidsvåg in Langfjorden to Eidsøra in Sunndalsfjorden farther east. To avoid the hazardous Folla stretch, there is little choice but to resort to the 23 km long *Namdalseidet* from Beitstadfjorden to Løgnin (cf. Steen

8 The Maelstrom is first mentioned in passing by Paulus Diaconus c. 720–90 (Nansen 1911:122).

1942:296). These and similar portages may be thought of as complementary, or supplementary, to the sea-route proper.

The coast has not remained unchanged throughout history. The post-glacial land upheaval has brought particularly drastic effectcs. What was once a strait in the Early Iron Age may have been bridged by an isthmus in more recent times; former islands may now be peninsulas or otherwise parts of the mainland. These changes have not affected uniformly the entire stretch of the coast; the greatest land upheaval has occurred in the interior of some of the long fjords, such as Sognefjorden and Trondheimsfjorden. An interesting case which lies somewhat outside the main area covered here concerns the Drammensfjorden arm of the Oslo fjord. As Aslak Liestøl has shown, a number of place-names along the valley through which the Drammen River now flows slowly toward the sea can only be explained if one supposes a fjord stretching all the way up to Vestfossen, 22 km northwest of the present river mouth. Such would have been the case with a sea level 10 m above the present, as it may well have been in the latter part of the Early Iron Age (Liestøl 1959; cf. Hafsten 1956 concerning the post-glacial land upheaval).

Similar conditions may have obtained in many places along the coast of Norway. As mentioned above, the coast of Jæren may have featured several inlets which will have formed sheltered harbours in the Bronze and early Iron ages, as Bergljot Solberg (1993) mentions. Namdalen in Trøndelag may present another such instance (Farbregd 1986). Nevertheless, the extent of land upheaval has been more restricted in the outer regions of the coastal districts, and with the quite steep relief of much of the terrain, conditions will not have been very different from today. At the same time, even shallow inlets would have been accessible to prehistoric craft, which in general were relatively shallow-draught.

Norw. *eid* ('isthmus', 'portage', or 'neck of land') is a reflex of Germ. **aida*- which in turn is derived from an ancient Proto-Indo-European verbal root reconstructed as **H*$_1$*ey*-('to walk').[9] An *eid* consequently is as part of the landscape or of the road where one walks (Bjorvand and Lindeman 2007:215; de Caprona 2013:209; cf. Elmevik 1978). Another well-known reflex of this root is Lat. *idere*, 'to walk'. The semantic and formal connection between modern Norwegian *eid* and the concept of walking has been lost, and the word is now identified with a preferably low-lying and usually narrow strip of land surrounded by waters on two sides and connecting two larger landmasses. In place-names it can also indicate a land route past a waterfall or rapids in a watercourse, or in the mountains a (narrow) route leading from one region to another (Rygh 1898:48) or even apparently any route intended to be

9 The *H$_1$ denotes one of three hypothetical so-called 'laryngeals' in Proto-Indo-European which have disappeared from most later languages. This particular 'laryngeal' has not left traces in the form of colouring of surrounding vowels. The other two are a-colouring and o-colouring, respectively. For more detailed discussion, consult the specialist literature such as Bjorvand & Lindeman 2007 or Lindeman 1987.

walked, literally 'a walkway'; Swedish scholars even report that it has been used as a designation for fords (Wahlberg 2003:63; cf. Skre 2007:432ff). From the point of view of topography these are all quite different features; it is precisely the functional aspect of the need to walk that is their only commonality. Consequently, the word *eid* would have retained its meaning as 'a route for walking' when it was introduced in Scandinavia and applied in geographical names up until the development of classic Norse; the present restriction of its use to one particular topographical feature would appear to be a relatively recent development. It occurs all over Norway and Sweden, and also as an ancient loanword in Finnish, but seems to be rare in Denmark (Modéer 1936:96). It was clearly still in use as an active element in the formation of place-names at the time of the Norse settlement of the North Atlantic islands of Iceland, the Faeroes, Shetland, Orkney, and the Hebrides (Waugh 2010), but perhaps already then restricted to denoting isthmuses.

The option of crossing isthmuses to avoid hazardous sections of the sea route certainly has always been important, and the practice has endured into quite recent times (Nordland 1950:43; Nymoen 1995; Stylegar and Grimm 2003:109). Indeed, at Listeidet in Agder *fylke* an overland transporting service for boats is still available according to DNL, vol. 2b:210. Before the modern technology of motorised tractors, such crossings would have been an arduous and time-consuming process, especially for large ships and entire fleets. Most modern commentators consider that the practice of transporting boats across *eid* in ancient times would have concerned primarily small craft (Steen 1942:294ff; Nymoen 1995; Smedstad 2001). Kvalø and Engedal identify several *eid* of special importance in ancient times, in part owing to a higher sea level than at present (Kvalø 2007:65ff; Engedal 2010:208ff). The sagas of King Sverre Sigurdsson (1153(?)–1202) and King Håkon Håkonsson (1204–63) recount ambitious transports of ships from the coast inland up rivers, across hills, and down into the lakes of South-Eastern Norway, where regular naval battles were fought during the strife of the 12th–13th centuries. As the mediaeval texts note, these were exceptional occurrences – ships were brought to where none had ever been (for a summary of these events, see Brøgger and Shetelig 1950:242ff; Steen 1942:272ff).[10] Otherwise, the ancient saga or legal texts hardly make mention of hauling ships across portages. Such land-crossings might involve hazards of their own, away from the comparatively safe environment of the ship and the sea. At many of these *eid*, the significance of the place is demonstrated by the placement there of barrows and other ancient monuments, which were intended to be seen and to inspire awe and perhaps fear in those passing by, in any case serving as markers of local powers through whose land they passed.

10 Even so, on some of these lakes ships or boats probably were in regular use already in the Bronze Age, to judge from the presence of rock carving pictures of boats (Østmo 1991, concerning Tyrifjorden) or numerous barrows or cairns along their shores (Skjelsvik & Pettersen 1974 concerning Aspern and Aremarksjøen; many others certainly exist).

Such sites have been interpreted as possible centres during the early Iron Age, places where ship traffic could be easily controlled, thanks to navigators preferring the safer inside passage for their rowed and paddled craft. One case of an ancient settlement centre situated by a portage is Spangereid in Lindesnes, Agder, where a number of place names and rich archæological finds of graves as well as indications of a farm with a hall structure and large boathouses all testify to a busy hub during the late Iron Age, and probably earlier (Stylegar and Grimm 2003:89–90). The settlement pattern of the time was oriented towards the sea, with as many as twelve different cemeteries for each farm, while settlement in the late Iron Age was more concerned with agricultural resources exploited from farms that were largely identical with those known in later, historical times (Herje 1986 with references; Sognnes 2000:34). Against this backdrop, Kalle Sognnes highlights the apparent contrast between the mundane, noisy business taking place at a portage and its status as a place of holy, possibly esoteric anceestor-worship, as evidenced by the many grave structures to be found at sites such as at Valseidet, Bjugn, Trøndelag (Fig. 1.4). Equally, Sognnes points to signs that early Iron Age captains did not always follow the safest course along the coast, but just as often preferred the straight, if more risky route outside of the sheltered inside passage (Sognnes 2000).

Fig. 1.4: Valseidet, Bjugn, Trøndelag, with several grave mounds. From Norge i bilder (Frøya-Vikna 2013).

In any case, it seems that many of the *eid* mentioned above were named, and therefore presumable used, in the Early Iron Age at the latest, thereby contributing to the impression of a great age of the sea-route along the coast and of coastal traffic in general.

The narrow passages along the sea-route may have provided welcome protection from the open sea, but will at the same time have provided opportunities for others, whether pirates or royal authorities, to control the traffic. But what did 'control' of traffic at Karmsundet, Avaldsnes, and similar places actually entail? The Sound Dues at the Sound between Zealand and Scania were only introduced by the

Danish King Eric of Pomerania in 1429 (remaining in effect until 1857) (cf. Lauring 1952). In the Iron Age, the collection of dues at sea would have been hindered not least by the absence of firearms. Alternatively, a tax may have been levied on goods arriving at Avaldsnes, traded under supervision of the local authorities, rather than collected at sea.

Where traffic could be spread out over a larger area, or there were several choices of which route to take, 'control' would have been more difficult. But where there was little or no choice, such as at Karmsundet, the establishment of a seat of power would have allowed for more effective control. Even if there was no set tax or tribute required for passage, a show of respect would be expected, lest there be unwanted consequences (cf. Nordland 1950).

Along the Norwegian coast, Karmsundet stands out as the prime case of such a concentration of possibly conflicting interests. Similar conditions appear to have obtained at the Sunnmørsleia, as well as at several other places of more local significance.

The risks along the Norwegian coast naturally will have preoccupied all who sailed such waters; when voyagers met they exchanged experiences (Fig. 1.5). The tales told on such occasions may have been tall, and sometimes maybe rather more so than even the harsh reality of the coast itself. A fear of legendary monsters, especially in the north, emerges from an account in the 12th century *Historia Norwegie*:

Fig. 1.5: Olaus Magnus: Carta Marina (detail). Printed in Venice 1539. The sea-monsters apparently were considered a real threat.

> For here live huge sea-beasts of various species, that will smash the stoutest vessels to smithereens and gulp down the crews; some of these they will drown. One-eyed, very ferocious walruses are to be found here, cutting furrows through the ocean depths, with manes fanning out. There also, are the whale and the hafstramb, a gigantic creature but without tail or head, which merely springs upwards and downwards like a tree-trunk, and only appears to predict perils for sailors. There, too, one may discover the hafguva and the hafkitta, the very largest of maritime monsters, and all the countless others of their kind.[11]
>
> (Ekrem and Mortensen 2003:56f.)

1.4 Navigation aids

Navigation along the Norwegian coast requires skill and knowledge about dangers to be avoided, but also about the sea-marks that may provide guidance past such hazards. Beacons and lighthouses are fairly modern inventions to this end, but many natural features of the coast itself will have been of crucial importance to sailors at all times.[12] The great age of some of the natural sea-marks mentioned in the current issue of DNL is indicated by their linguistically ancient place-names. Many of these have been commented upon by Oddvar Nes (1987). Beginning in the south, we find *Agder*, reflecting the plural of the ancient **ǫgd* (promontory, point). The name of the southern peninsula *Lindesnes* is a reflex of *liðandi*, interpreted as the 'place where the land comes to an end'. *Lista* and *Jæren* both reflect the meaning 'edge' or 'brim' as quite apt characterisations of both of these landscapes. Further north there is *Møre*, from **Mærr*, the 'land by the sea or ocean'. Nes also mentions *Folda* further north in Namdalen as denoting a broad, open stretch of sea, a name which also was used by the ancients for the Oslo fjord (Nes 1987:21). All of these names arguably have forms as well as contents indicating their origin as names given by navigators negotiating the coast.

Of particular interest, however, are names of prominent islands along the coast. Nes lists a total of forty names of coastal islands, from *Bokn* in Ryfylke in the south to *Kunna* in Helgeland in the north (Nes 1987:21ff),[13] but even this is far from

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11 'Ibi etiam cete grandia diuersi generis fortissimas naues confringentia, nautas diglutiunt, quosdam submergunt. Ibi equini ceti monoculi iubis diffusis profunda pelagi sulcantes ferocissimi reperiuntur. Illic pistrix, illic hafstrambus, maxima bellua, sed sine cauda et capite solum susum et iusum dissiliendo ueluti truncus, non nisi nautarum pericula prefiguret, apparet. Illic hafguua et haffkitta, pre cunctis marinis monstris maxima, et cetera huiuscemodi infinita reperiuntur.'

12 Several such features along the Jæren coast are mentioned in a local perspective and particularly concerning their names in Særheim (2015:48–56 and passim).

13 Beginning in the south, those that are mentioned include *Bokn*, *Karmøy*, *Bømlo (Siggjo)*, *Stord*, *Borgundøya*, *Huglo*, *Stolmen*, *Hufto*, *Reksteren*, *Sotra*, *Strøno*, *Herdla*, *Radøy*, *Solund*, *Alden*, *Stauren*, *Aralden*, *Flora*, *Kinn*, *Reksta*, *Batalden*, *Hovden*, *Stad*, *Frøya*, *Runde*, *Lepsøya*, *Valderøya*, *Smøla*, *Storfosna*, *Tarva*, *Hardeidlandet*, *Froan*, *Torget*, *Dønna*, *Hugla*, *Tomma*, *Aldra*, *Hestmona*, *Træna* and *Kunna*. Fourteen of these, those underlined, are still mentioned as prominent natural sea-marks in

the latest edition of *DNL*. Etymologies mostly according *to Norsk stadnamnleksikon, 4. Utgåva*, Oslo 1997 (ed. Jørn Sandnes and Ola Stemshaug) (NS):

- *Bokn*. Germ. 'sign', 'beacon', Bugge 1904:342–5. Other, less likely possibilities are discussed by Særheim 1996.
- *Karmøy*. Norse *Kǫrmt*, 'shelter from the sea', Hovda 1961:296–7.
- *Bømlo*. A mountain, from 'thick, swollen' NS:114.
- *Siggjo* (Fig. 1.6). Related to Got. *saihwan*, 'to see'. 'The visible'. NS:391; Grönvik & Hovda 1960: 160–3; Hovda 1961:291–2. *Cf*. Olsen 1910:125.
- *Stord*. Uncertain. Perhaps related to **ster-*, 'rise, stand out, tower, dominate' NS:428 with references to other, less likely interpretations.
- *Borgund(øya)*. Probably from *borg* in the original sense of 'mountain' reinforced with *–und*. NS:100–1, *cf*. Nes 1985:9.
- *Huglo*. Rel. to Germ *Hügel*, 'hill'. NS:226–7.
- *Stolmen*. From **stel-*, 'to stand' or 'stiffen'. NS:428; Frøysadal 1968:70.
- *Hufto*. Compared to Norse *huft*, 'hip'. NS:226.
- *Reksteren*. Rel. to Norw. *rekkja*, 'reach' or 'stretch out'. NS:360.
- *Sotra*. Uncertain. Perhaps rel. to Norw. *sjode* 'to boil, seethe' or *suge*, 'to suck', of sea currents. NS:418; Brevner 1942:197–211.
- *Strøno*. 'Surrounded by currents'. NS:432; Frøysadal 1968:118; Nes 1970:6–7.
- *Herdla*. Uncertain. Possibly 'the separated' (from Askøy by a narrow strait). NS:210 with references to other, less likely possibilities.
- *Radøy*. Norse *Roð*, 'moraine, row'. NS:334.
- *Solund*. From **sól*, 'furrow, cut, notch', reinforced by *–und*. NS:416–17; Kjær 1919:215–16, also references to other, less likely interpretations.
- *Alden* (Fig. 1.6). Rel. to Lat. *altus*, 'high', in Germ. preferably with the meaning 'large, thick', Frøysadal 1968:70ff. NS:68.
- *Stauren*. Not in NS. Norw. *staur* generally translates 'pole, stake'.
- *Aralden*. Norse *ari* 'eagle' + *alden* as above. NS:74.
- *Flora*. Norse **flóðr* 'current'. NS:151.
- *– Kinn*. Norse *kinn*, 'cheek, steep mountainside'. NS:254.
- Reksta. As Reksteren above.
- *Batalden*. From Norse *bati* 'advantage, benefit, good' + *alden* as above. NS:85. Frøysadal 1968:72.
- *Hovden*. Norw. *hovde* 'rounded peak', related to *hovud*, 'head'. NS:226.
- *Stad*. 'Standing up', NS:422 with reference to Hovda 1961:164, 1982:col. 574.
- *Frøya*. Probably from Proto-Germ. **Fraujō* 'foremost, most forward'. NS:160 with reference to Kjær 1919:376. Another possibility is **fraaujō*, 'the large island', C. Marstrander 1929:123–4.
- *Runde*. Probably from Norse *(H)rund*, 'the most forward (island)', or possibly from a meaning of 'steep cliff, precipice'. NS:371–2; *cf*. Kopperstad 1918:35–40; Olsen 1918:41, alternatively S. Strandberg 1983:136–8.
- *Lepsøya*. Compared to Norw. *lepe* 'lip'. NS, 288 with references to other, less likely interpretations.
- *Valderøya*. Uncertain. Perhaps from Norse *Vǫrl* compared to *vǫr(r)* 'lip'. NS:476–7 with references and discussion.
- *Smøla*. Norse *Smyl*, perhaps related to Norw. *smol* 'splinter, dust' referring to the archipelago of small islets and skerries. NS:412, *cf*. Olsen 1924:63–4 and Hallan 1965:49–51.
- *Storfosna*. *Fosen* from Norse *Fólgsn*, 'hiding place', referring to the harbour. NS:156.

exhaustive (cf. Nes 1997). A commonality to these names is that they describe conspicuous features of the islands, as seen from a distance from the sea; all are natural sea-marks or otherwise represent features of the coast of interest to navigators. Nes argues that all these names for linguistic reasons must be very old, in several cases pre-dating Old Norse, often probably considerably older. Magnus Olsen offers the cautious suggestion: 'early in the early Iron Age' (Olsen 1939:37). Another point of interest is that the names are individual as opposed to generic; true propria, not generalised appellatives. Nes forwards the idea that their very individuality as identifiers of prominent features of the coastal route may reflect a kind of 'convention' to aid in keeping record of a long and dangerous sea-route (Nes 1987:26).[14]

Such a convention perhaps might take several forms, but it would have to preserve the names in the correct sequence along the coast. Literate societies achieved this with a written text such as an ancient periplus (Gr.: περιπλους). In an illiterate society such as prehistoric Scandinavia such descriptions would however have to be kept in memory. The preservation of the sequence might be preserved by the metric form of poems, or the narrative structure of tales. In later, historically attested times, these and similar names for conspicuous features along the coast were in some cases committed to memory by tales about love and hate among the fairies and giants who were believed to be represented in the names. The best known of these is the tale involving various islands, mountains, and other features of the Nordland coast, about the desire felt by *Hestmona* (Fig. 1.6; originally meaning the

- *Tarva*. Uncertain. Perhaps related to Proto-Germ. **ter-* 'to tear', referring to the archipelago. NS:447 with references and discussion.
- *Hardeidlandet*. Perhaps related to Norse *Hǫð*, the name of an ancient people, or from a meaning 'foam'. NS:196–7.
- *Froan*. Related to Norse *froða*, 'foam'. NS:158.
- *Torget* (Fig. 1.6). Probably from Norse **torg* 'with a crack or hole', perhaps related to Proto-Germ. **derk-* 'to see', 'eyed'. NS:456–7; Hesselman 1929; *cf.* also A. B. Johansen 2008.
- *Dønna*. Related to Norw. *dynja,* 'boom, rumble'. NS:128.
- *Hugla*. Same as *Huglo* above.
- *Tomma*. Probably Norse *þǫmb*, 'belly, tummy'. NS:456.
- *Aldra*. As *Alden* above.
- *Hestmona* (Fig. 1.6). See text.
- *Træna*. Probably from **þrið*, referring to three mountain peaks on the largest of the islands. NS:464.
- *Kunna*. 'Easy to know', related to Norse *kunnr*. NS:269.

14 The creation of such names involved many factors, not all of them connected with the coastal sailing route or the memorisation of sea-marks, hazards, or characteristics. Many places were renamed in later times, with the older or original names sometimes preserved in secondary or derivative names or in texts. Nonetheless, a great number of these names appear to have had a meaning most readily explained as derived purely from references to conspicuous features that will have been suitable as sea-marks.

Fig. 1.6: Some of the mountains which served as seamarks in both ancient and modern times. Clockwise from the upper left: Bømlo (Siggjo), Torghatten, Alden, Hestmannen. By J. Åndanes, W. Höltz, H. Maltesen and Rart (via Wikimedia). The images have been cropped.

'horse mane', by latter-day fishermen reinterpreted as *Hestmannen*, the 'horse man', actually an island with a characteristic profile when seen from the southeast) for the beautiful *Leka* maiden (Leka is another of those islands). The tale has been told many times, an early version was published by Andreas Faye in 1833 with references to even earlier renditions (republished as Faye 1948); a detailed version may also be found in Ytteren (1944).

The age of the sea-route itself is certainly indicated by the obviously great age of many of the names. In some cases, we apparently must go back to Norse or Proto-Norse to find the origin of a name.[15] Concerning even earlier linguistic stages, Ottar Grønvik suggests that his partly hypothetical 'North-West Germanic' may be dated to approximately 500–200 BC (Grønvik 1998:145ff; cf. Anthony 2008:4–5), and by retrospective extension the typologically earlier Proto-Germanic (Norw. *urgermansk*) should be dated to the Late Bronze Age (approximately 1000–500 BC), at the latest. Even so, a precise positioning of the origin of a received place-name

15 Norse (Norw. *norrønt*) is the language that was spoken in Scandinavia in the Viking Age or Late Iron Age, after the 6th century, while Proto-Nordic (Norw. *urnordisk*) generally is considered to have been spoken in the Migration Period and probably also in the Roman Period.

within the sequence Proto-Germanic – North-West Germanic – North Germanic – Nordic I–III (cf. Grønvik 1998:135) may be difficult. It is noteworthy that the beginning of Germanic may be pushed back (at least) into the Bronze Age (cf. Kristiansen 2009:115ff). Furthermore, the existence of a Pre-Germanic stage has been hypothesised as preceding Proto-Germanic and comprising 'an undocumented period of linguistic change that must have occurred between [Proto-Germanic] and Proto-Indo-European' (Anthony 2008:4).

In consequence, many of the ancient names of islands, promontories, and similar conspicuous features of the Norwegian coast may have been established by the Bronze Age. The etymologies cited above in many cases refer to Proto-Germanic origins, with a cumulative impression of an early date of the group of place-names as such within the historical sequence of the languages. This would lend support to a hypothesis that the names, and therefore the sea-route itself, existed in the Bronze Age or even earlier. Given that the entire body of sea-mark names likely belonged to one collective entity, the sailing route along the Norwegian coast therefore likely was established as a passage at that time, its various properties and hazards having been experienced and described and made known by their different, yet characteristic names among captains and sailors, corresponding to the hypothetical first stage of the history of 'Norway the sailing route' indicated earlier. It is clear that the third stage, when 'Norway' became established as the name of the country, had been reached by the Late Viking Age. By implication, the hypothetical intermediary second stage, when some equivalent of 'Norway' was established as a true proprium or name of the coastal route and indeed the coast itself, may correspond to the Early Iron age – at least the latter part of it, perhaps the Migration Period.

1.5 Sea-route archæology

The great age of the sea-route is also evident in the archæological record (cf. Westerdahl 1995a). Along with the category of finds concerned directly with coastal traffic – boats and remains of boats and boat gear including pictures on rock carvings and elsewhere, and boathouses – there are also finds indicating prosperity and power, and finds pointing to connections along the coast and beyond with more distant places. Also of importance are the existence and not least the position of prominent ancient monuments, many of which clearly connected with the importance of the sailing route.

1.5.1 Stone Age craft

Today, the Norwegian coastal sea-route remains vital to regional transportation, navigated by passenger and cargo ships alike, to ports large and small.[16] The current coastal traffic, though governed by modern commercial markets quite different from the forces that drove prehistoric travel (cf. Storli 2007), still bears some relevance from the point of view of North European and maritime history.Voyages along the western coast of Norway doubtless have taken place since the earliest human habitation; most archæological traces of human activity here are a testament to a lifestyle that exploited the bountiful coastal resources and used the fjords, sounds, straits, and dangerous stretches of open sea to maintain connections both with close neighbours and with more distant places.

The rapid spread of Mesolithic settlement all along this coast from the Oslo fjord and Rogaland in the south to Finnmark in the north around 10,000 calBC can only have taken place by boat (Bjerck 2008; Glørstad 2013); coastal resources such as fish and game would have been instrumental in inducing people to set out, albeit probably incrementally, on the long and hazardous voyage to the north. In this important sense, the Norwegian coast and its varied resources have been of basic significance to life in these parts for as long as people have lived here, since the end of the last Ice Age.

It has been suggested that the history of Scandinavian boatbuilding can be followed without breaks, if not without profound changes, from the Stone Age to the Viking Age and onward (Christensen 1966, 1988; Crumlin-Pedersen 1970; Rieck and Crumlin-Pedersen 1988; Østmo 2003, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2011a). Recent studies converge on the idea that boats along the Norwegian coast most probably were dugouts already from the earliest times, at first prepared from pine trunks and only later from lime, at least in the south (Glørstad 2013). Mesolithic dugouts are indeed known from South Scandinavian archæological sites such as Tybrind Vig off Funen (Andersen 2013), but not from Norway or Northern Scandinavia. The oldest evidence for boats in Norway, although perhaps of a different construction (Fig. 1.7) occurs in the indirect form of the rock carvings of the Northern Scandinavia tradition, such as the 2017 discovery of a ground image, certainly of Pre-Boreal date at Valle in Efjorden, Nordland, as well as those at Melkøya in Hammerfest (Hesjedal et al. 1996:75ff; cf. Hesjedal 1993) and Evenhus in Frosta (Gjessing 1936:82f. and pl. LXXVII).

16 In relatively recent history, at least two forms of sea traffic along the West Norwegian coast stand out in particular and could even be said to have achieved almost iconic status. The oldest of these is the trade between North Norway and the Hanseatic merchants in Bergen in dried cod which was carried on traditional vessels from the 13th century until more modern means of transportation took over at the turn of the 20th century. The other, more recent concerns the Coastal Express packet boat service from Bergen to Kirkenes and back since 1893, for the last sixty years with daily sailings all year round (Norw. *Hurtigruten*).

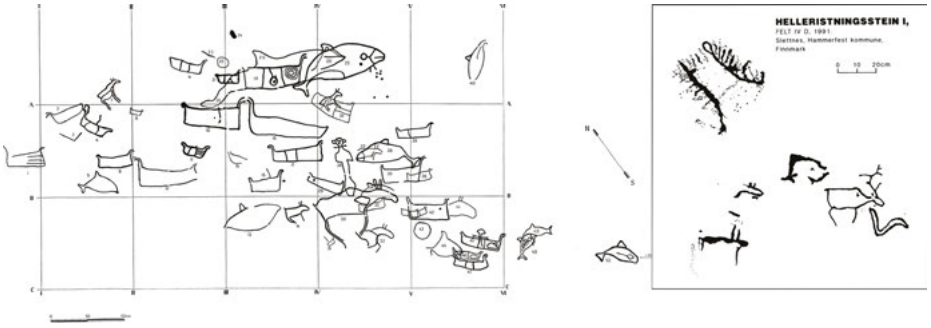

Fig. 1.7: Rock carvings from Evenhus, Frosta, Trøndelag (left) and Melkøya, Hammerfest, Finnmark (right) with representations of Stone Age boats. (Gjessing 1936:pl. LXXVII and Hesjedal 1996:fig 69).

It is difficult to determine the type of vessel the crudely drawn pictures represent, possibly a hide boat.

Not all scholars share the view that the northern boat-building tradition, which still is alive today, began with dugouts, (e.g. Brøgger and Shetelig 1950; S. Marstrander 1963, who favoured the view that construction of the plank boats of the Iron Age was developed from earlier hide boats). This view would seem to have been laid to rest effectively by Crumlin-Pedersen (1970; cf. Humbla 1937), who pointed at the very different, indeed mutually exclusive construction principles of hide boats and traditional Scandinavian clinker-built plank boats. Even so, the idea that a northern hide boat tradition lay behind the establishing of contact between Western Norway and Jylland in the Late Neolithic is met with again in a recent study (Engedal 2006). Ørjan Engedal invokes several pieces of circumstantial evidence for support, including North Scandinavian rock carving pictures of boats with details similar to those found on South Scandinavian Bronze Age ship pictures while apparently pre-dating the latter, the spread of northern asbestos-tempered pottery as far south as the Lista peninsula in southernmost Norway, and even the Western Norwegian custom of sacrificing Late Neolithic flint scrapers intended for preparing hides for boats by women who wore spade-shaped pendants possibly representing hafted scrapers as a sign of their identity (cf. Engedal 2010). All of which is plausible, except that the spoon-shaped Late Neolithic scrapers certainly are a South Scandinavian type, maybe even produced there (the type DO 537–8, Glob 1952; P. V. Petersen 1999:68, no. 49), and not least the widely divergent constructional properties of hide boats and plank boats; Engedal does not consider these differences at all except for a general reference to the need for 're-negotiation'.

What remains certain is that dugouts did exist already in the Mesolithic. For that matter, they continued to be used into the modern age (Arisholm and Nymoen 2005), regardless of other developments of shipbuilding and navigation.

1.5.2 The Late Neolithic and the Bronze Age

While smaller craft, dugouts or otherwise, presumably were in use along the Norwegian coast since the beginning of history, a change seems to have occurred at the transition to the Late Neolithic, when sailing beyond sight of the coasts first became regular. Evidence of this change remains circumstantial and subject to interpretation. The distribution of items imported into South Norway from South Scandinavia is at the centre of this line of reasoning (Østmo 2003, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2011a, 2012, 2014).

Archæological finds attributable to virtually all of the traditional Neolithic cultures identified in South Scandinavia are present in Norway also, from the Funnel Beaker Culture via the Pitted Ware and Battle Axe (or Corded Ware) cultures to the Bell Beaker and Late Neolithic cultures (Hinsch 1955, 1956; Malmer 1962; Prescott and Walderhaug 1995; Apel 2001; Prescott 2012). But it is striking that in Norway the earlier among these mainly are represented in the southeast, in particular in the Oslo fjord region. This concerns the 3800–2800 calBC Funnel Beaker Culture (Østmo 2007), but to a large degree also the 2800–2350 calBC Corded Ware Culture, and certainly the Jutish Single Grave Culture aspect of it (Hinsch 1956). The diffusion of the various expressions of these cultures to Norway therefore probably took place overland or along the coasts, literally within sight of land. Thus it is striking that the particular North Jutland aspect of the Funnel Beaker Culture (Ebbesen 1978) has left no trace north of the Skagerrak. A few items (mostly stone axes) of Funnel Beaker Culture types have been found in Western Norway. Such finds are most numerous in the south, i.e. in the *fylke* of Rogaland, with numbers rapidly decreasing as one moves north to Hordaland and beyond. The pieces also often are re-shaped or otherwise bear signs of quite complicated and presumably long histories (or 'biographies'), and more often than not have been found in places indicative of their integration in the local hunter-fisher-gatherer culture. All of this can be taken to indicate that these items arrived in Western Norway along the coast from south-east (Bergsvik and Østmo 2011). The most difficult and challenging obstacles along the coast such as the Stad promontory probably had not yet been tackled, at least not regularly. The few Funnel Beaker Culture items which have been found north of Stad more likely arrived via Trøndelag, Middle Norway (cf. Østmo 1999, 2000; Valen 2012), having been carried across the mountains either from Southeast Norway or across the Scandinavian peninsula from Sweden. Similarly, items attributable to the MN B Corded Ware or Battle Axe culture seem to have reached Western Norway partly from the south, whether along the coasts or across the sea from Denmark, and partly from north-east via Trøndelag, to judge from the distribution in Western Norway of such finds as battle axes and thick-butted flint axes. The border between the two zones of influence reasonably enough seems to have been just at Stad, down to Sogn, as only a few of these items have been found in that region (Hinsch 1956 e.g. fig.85 p. 156 and fig. 86 p. 161; Berg 1988:258ff).

A change to this pattern occurs only at the beginning of the Late Neolithic c. -2350 BC, when the change in distribution of relevant archæological finds is all but dramatic. It concerns especially finds which may be attributed to influences from the South Scandinavian Late Neolithic Culture, which, as has been increasingly clear in recent years, appears to have been profoundly influenced by the Bell-Beaker and Beaker cultures of Western Europe (Kaelas 1952; J. A. Jensen 1973; Lomborg 1973, 1977; Skjølsvold 1977; Kühn 1979; Ebbesen 1980; Vandkilde 1990, 1996; Prescott and Walderhaug 1995; Østmo 2005, 2008, 2009, 2011a, 2011b; Prieto-Martinez 2008; Prescott 2012). A map of Norwegian finds of the characteristic early pressure-flaked, bifacial points with barb and tang corresponding to Kühn's type 5 (Kühn 1979:69; Mjærum's Type A, Mjærum 2012), shows this quite clearly. Indeed, the distribution pattern is sufficiently clear to represent an historical event of considerable singularity. The impression is enhanced by mapping finds of the earliest (type I) Nordic Late Neolithic flint daggers (Fig. 1.8; Apel 2001; Østmo 2005:61ff).

As suggested already by J.J.A. Worsaae (1869:7), such items must have come to Southwestern Norway directly from Jutland at the transition to the early Late Neolithic. The inevitable conclusion is that they must have arrived by sea. This applies also to the Bell Beaker pottery from the late middle Neolithic Slettabø settlement site in Rogaland, which according to the technical investigation of the ceramic matter by Rosenqvist and Rosenqvist (1977) may have been produced in Northern Germany. Moreover, this connection across the Skagerrak certainly was a novelty at the time, c. 2350 BC, because otherwise finds from the earlier Neolithic cultures, among which the Jutish Single Grave culture is only the latest, also surely would have been present in this region; as mentioned, they are absent but for a few items.

There can be no question that this movement originated south of the Skagerrak. What is particularly conspicuous here is the sudden appearance of Late Neolithic, South Scandinavian artefact types in Southwestern Norway. There is no comparable rise in the number of northern items such as West Norwegian types of axe, or slate knives, spearheads, and points in Jutland or elsewhere in Southern Scandinavia (cf. Sørensen 2014:29). On the basis of a very few finds of arguably northern origin in Southwestern Norway, Ørjan Engedal has argued that the driving force in this movement was the northern hunters and trappers, bringing attractive pelts and furs to southern customers (Engedal 2010), but the paucity of evidence for this calls for caution.

Presumably social and political forces lay behind this expansive thrust of South Scandinavian Late Neolithic culture. Technological matters, too, may have presented new possibilities to the shipwrights of the time. Breakthroughs of the Late Neolithic included not only the pressure-flake technique and the many types of precisely shaped flint implements which were made with it, but also the art of casting metal. Axes and ornaments of copper had been known in Scandinavia at the time of

Fig. 1.8: Finds of flint daggers of type I in Norway. After Apel 2001:fig 9:2 and Østmo 2005:fig 4. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

the Funnel Beaker culture in the late 4th millennium BC (Klassen s.a.), but this knowledge seems to have disappeared along with the Funnel Beaker culture itself, to be followed by a period of almost one thousand years when little or no metal was in use. A reintroduction of metal appears to have occurred only with the Late Neolithic, possibly preceded by small amounts of copper used mostly for ornaments during Middle Neolithic B (Malmer 1962:281ff). Helle Vandkilde lists a total of 32 copper axes from Denmark with a likely dating to Late Neolithic I, in addition to a couple which may be from Middle Neolithic B. Judging from the maps published by Vandkilde, it is striking that the early Danish flat and low-flanged copper axes predominantly have been found in the landscapes surrounding the Belts and the Limfjorden, precisely where the need for seaworthy vessels would have been most pressing (Vandkilde 1996:178ff). Similar axes are quite rare in Norway, although not so rare as has previously been thought. S. 7825 from beneath a cairn at Bersagel at Høle in Sandnes (Fig. 1.9) has been identified as an A -axe by Jan Aakvik (Aakvik 2000:19, 91; cf. Vandkilde 1996:66–7). Another nine axes have been considered to belong to the type B 4, which may date back to LN II. Metal tools, in particular axes, may have led to significant improvements in the conditions for building larger vessels, for instance by facilitating preparation of planks.[17] The composite plank boat may have been developed on the basis of a dugout tradition, perhaps only when metal tools came into use. Seán McGrail has suggested that conjoined boats in general came into use only when metal tools became available (McGrail 2001).

Fig. 1.9: Copper axe (Inventory no. S. 7825) from Bersagel at Høle in Sandnes, Rogaland. Photo: unknown, AM.

17 Other scholars have differed in their consideration. A. W. Brøgger assumed that stone axes could have been used for cleaving planks regardless of how cumbersome it may seem to us, and that bronze axes probably did not represent any significant advance (Brøgger & Shetelig 1950:49). S. Marstrander agreed with this view, to which he remarked that what matters is 'whether available tools and technical knowledge allowed this kind of work to be performed on the scale needed to make the plank-built boats common to all so that they could form the basis for travel by sea' (S. Marstrander 1963:151, present author's translation). It is precisely at this point I think that the introduction of metal tools should be considered differently from Brøgger and Marstrander, especially when the archaeological record strongly indicates that flint axes quite rapidly went out of use (cf. Bakka 1976).

Andrew Sherratt suggests that advanced carpentry was established only in 1000 BC (Sherratt 1997:95), but this date is perhaps somewhat late.[18]

These boats were paddled, as they would continue to be throughout the Bronze Age, as clearly depicted on the rock carvings of that age that contain sufficient detail, such as on a picture at Kalnes, Sarpsborg, Østfold (Fig. 1.10). With bigger and better boats the risk involved in negotiating the open sea may have been reduced to an acceptable level for courageous mariners, who would be able to cross the Skagerrak in c. 12–15 hours with a speed equal to that which could be achieved by the still paddled 4th century BC Hjortspring boat – at least according to the modern reconstruction *Tilia Alsie* (Vinner 2003:117; Østmo 2005:72).

Fig. 1.10: Bronze Age rock carving with mariners holding paddle oars at Kalnes, Sarpsborg, Østfold. Photo: J. Kile-Vesik, Østfold fylkeskommune.

The South Scandinavian Late Neolithic initiated the Scandinavian Bronze Age, remarkable above all for being based wholly on imported metal (*pace* Melheim 2012). In general terms, the South Scandinavian Bronze Age, which encompassed Western

18 The great variety of meticulously prepared flint and stone axes, adzes, and chisels, of both thick-bladed and thin-bladed varieties, surely testifies to quite advanced carpentry in both the Early and Middle Neolithic of Southern Scandinavia, possibly indicating sophisticated methods for building dugout vessels as well.

Norway, is in turn a part of Indo-European Bronze Age culture (S. Marstrander 1957; Håland and Håland 1982; Kristiansen 1989, 2011; Prescott and Walderhaug 1995; Østmo 1996). In the main, this must have been a local, northern adaptation of impulses from abroad, in particular from the south and southeast. For the present purpose we will accept this premise, which is not to discount the possible role played by indigenous cultures if only as substrates – concerning all parts of culture, but not least rock art, and the development of shipbuilding (cf. Engedal 2010, which takes this as its main theme).

Some of the strongest evidence occurs in the form of thousands of rock carving pictures that bear witness to the significance of seafaring at the time. The dominance of ships in rock art emerges clearly from the numbers reported by Mats P. Malmer for all Scandinavian Bronze Age rock art sites, on which he found 3,877 ship pictures, 61 cart designs, 457 weapon designs, 10 clothing designs, 33 hand designs, 1,016 foot designs, 648 circle designs, 1,034 human designs, and 2,379 animal designs including those in the north probably belonging to the hunter-gatherer tradition (Malmer 1981:tables 1–25). While not all such images have been accounted for, and Malmer's numbers remain the minimum tally, John Coles estimates the total number of images of all sorts in Bohuslän and Østfold alone at 'something like 75,000' (Coles 2005:17), the relative frequencies are unlikely to have changed significantly as a result of new finds or re-interpretation of old ones during the years that have passed since Malmer published his counts. But ship images also occur on bronze artefacts such as weapons, razors, and neck-rings. The ship as a means of transportation, as an instrument for adventure and war, and as a powerful image for artists and poets must have been right at the centre of life and dreams of Bronze Age people in Scandinavia (cf. for instance Almgren 1927, 1934; Brøgger 1937; S. Marstrander 1963; Østmo 1997; Kaul 1998). The basic technological characteristics of Bronze Age vessels appear to have been established quite early, although the varied pictures may reflect variation in the way real boats were constructed, too. One may for example wonder whether there really existed boats corresponding to the size of the biggest known on rock carvings, with more than 120 crew lines (Torsbo in the Bohuslän parish of Kville, Sweden, Coles 2005:191), or whether such ships were purely mythical. Furthermore, it is questionable whether Bronze Age ships could have had a carrying capacity sufficient for settlement expeditions, with people, livestock, and equipment of all kinds. One reason for this doubt is the circumstance that the paddled Bronze Age vessels in Scandinavia must have had a uniformly low freeboard. However, the Hjortspring replica *Tilia Alsie* needed 600 kg of ballast in order to be properly trimmed in addition to twenty oarsmen (Fig. 1.11; Vinner 2003:103ff), so such concern might not be warranted. The need to keep animals calm during a Skagerrak crossing would have been another matter.

In any case, it is certain that paddled, canoe-like larger and smaller vessels were in use throughout the Bronze Age, both for crossing the Skagerrak and elsewhere in

Fig. 1.11: Reconstruction model of the Hjortspring boat. Photo: L. Larsen, owner: National Museum of Denmark.

the north, regardless of the fact that both rowing and sailing long had been established elsewhere, for instance the Mediterranean. As early as in the Bronze Age there appears to have been little or no contact between shipwrights in Southern and Northern Europe (cf. Crumlin-Pedersen 2003). As mentioned above, the long-standing debate between the adherents of the theory that Bronze Age boats in Scandinavia were built of hides and those favouring the view that vessels in those times were built of planks as precursors of the clinker-built vessels of the Iron Age appears to have been settled in recent years in favour of the latter view. Consideration of the basic technical characteristics of the northern boatbuilding tradition (Crumlin-Pedersen 1970), as well as archæological finds (Sylvester 2006a, 2006b), are consistent with Scandinavian Late Neolithic and Bronze Age boats having been built of planks. Another circumstance pointing in the same direction is the continuity of ship representations in rock art, spanning at least from the early Bronze Age or even the Late Neolithic to the Pre-Roman Iron Age, when it overlaps with the preserved Hjortspring boat, built of planks while clearly belonging to precisely the type of ship pictured on the rocks. It seems likely that this artistic continuity reflects a technical continuity of the shipwright's craft, concerning the way actual vessels were built during the time covered by the Bronze Age rock art tradition.

A reflex of this technological innovation has been preserved in modern English, Norwegian, and other Germanic languages. Among the many traces of old terms for vessels and seafaring found in modern language, let us consider the word Engl. 'ship' (Norw. *skip*). According to recent etymological studies, this word is ultimately

derived from an Indo-European verbal root reconstructed as *sḱey – denoting 'to cut, split, cleave' – possibly a reference to the process of preparing planks in the prehistoric manner, by cleaving or splitting the logs (Østmo 2005:72; cf. Bjorvand and Lindeman 2007:973). The derivation must be very old and certainly not later than Proto-Germanic, as the verb itself does not seem to have been a part of North Germanic (Bjorvand and Lindeman 2007:970). For that matter, it might be as old as the very invention of plank-built boats.[19]

The distribution of finds of Late Neolithic imports from Southern Scandinavia provides a general idea about where this nascent southern interest in the North was focused (Fig. 1.8). The sea-route, starting from North Jutland, appears initially to have taken land east of Lista, whence it proceeded north-westward along the coast to Jæren (cf. S. Marstrander 1950; Ø.K. Johansen 1986:151ff; Kvalø 2007:30ff; Engedal 2010). Both of these regions have produced numerous finds of flint daggers and other contemporary items such as pressure-flaked points, especially those with barbs and tang particular to the Bell Beaker Culture and datable to the initial phase of this whole movement (cf. Lemercier 2012; Mjærum 2012), as well as spoon-shaped scrapers and uniform, large, un-retouched flint flakes (Ebbesen 1980). Beyond the typological connection offered by such items, a group of hoard finds merits special attention, as examples of ritual practices of a kind well known from Late Neolithic finds in Southern Scandinavia. There is no space here for a complete survey of all such finds, but some striking examples serve to demonstrate the significance of this point. In an early work, H. Gjessing listed 17 such hoards from Rogaland (H. Gjessing 1916). Rolf Scheen in an unpublished work has added another fourteen, notwithstanding his preoccupation with finds that include flint daggers (Scheen 1979). Among the more noteworthy, a find from Brattebø, Høyland, Rogaland (Inventory no. S4071),[20] consists of four daggers of early types, one thick-butted flint axe, one scraper, and a total of 120 large flint flakes. It was found 10 inches underneath a big stone (de Lange 1922:91–2; Scheen 1979:19). The most remarkable of all such hoards in Norway has come to light at Hauske on the north-western side of Kormt, about three km northwest of Avaldsnes (Fig. 1.12). It consists of no less than 26 flint daggers of early types (Brøgger 1913:figs. 8 and 9), one 'table knife' (Brøgger 1913:fig.10) (Norw.: *matkniv*, the type Danske Oldsager ('Danish Antiquities') 528–9, Glob 1952; cf. Nielsen 1976, probably actually a particular form of dagger), three scrapers, a Late Neolithic flint axe, and more than 200 quite uniform, large flint flakes (Inventory no. S3513, Brøgger 1913:31–6; Scheen 1979:81; Ebbesen 1980). Interpretation of hoards is however no easy matter, and a subject much too large to be treated in full on the present occasion. In general, hoards are thought of as either profane – connected with trade, metal production, or war – or as

19 Another etymology is offered by Kroonen (2013:446), who suggests that the Germanic word is an early loan from Latin *scyphus* m. 'drinking cup' and Greek σκύφος m. 'cup, can'. To my mind this seems semantically awkward and historically unlikely, even if it may be formally possible.

20 Cf. Østmo 1998 for overview of the inventory numbers of Norwegian archaeological museums.

Fig. 1.12: The Hauske flint hoard (Inventory no. S. 3513). Photo: T. Tveit, AM.

sacred – as sacrifices or as equipment for the next world (Karsten 1994; Ø. K. Johansen 1993:92). Nevertheless, hoards represent material values, and implicitly a surplus; therefore the act of depositing such riches can be taken as an indication of a certain level of wealth, and interpreted as signs of wealth, power, and prestige, regardless of the spiritual or social context of the moment.

The archæological record thus suggests that Kormt, Avaldsnes, and in particular the Karmsundet strait were important already at this early date for manifestations of wealth and power.

In the *fylker* to the north of Rogaland, Hordaland and Sogn og Fjordane, similar finds are nowhere as common as in Rogaland. But a few Late Neolithic hoards have been found even in the landscapes far into the long fjords such as Sognefjorden and Nordfjord (Mandt 1991:432). Otherwise, it is only north of Stad, in the *fylke* of Møre og Romsdal, that a noticeable group of hoard finds is known. Scheen lists six hoards, the largest of which are one from Blindheim on Vigra island consisting of five early flint daggers (Inventory no. B5111, Gustafson 1896:18), and another, later one from Sandbakken in Sande, with four late flint daggers, two spoon-shaped scrapers, another scraper as well as one flake (Inventory no. B7177 a–i, Shetelig 1932:31–2; Scheen 1979:61). Gro Mandt includes many more finds, based on a somewhat broader definition of hoards, showing a remarkable concentration of Late Neolithic hoards along the Sunnmørsleia, especially in the islands (Mandt 1991:430ff).

Farther north, at Eikrem in Aukra, a deposit of 12 spoon-shaped scrapers in addition to several flint blades and flakes was found in a bog in 1933 standing on end in a decayed birch-bark container (Inventory no. T14772, Th. Petersen 1934:38–9; Henriksen and Myrvang 2003:21). More recently, a flint hoard including fourteen spoon-shaped scrapers came to light during an archæological excavation at Ytterland in Giske in 2015 (Rantala 2016).

From Trøndelag, Sverre Marstrander mentions 20 Late Neolithic sacrificial deposits (S. Marstrander 1956:24f), one noteworthy case concerning five spoon-shaped flint scrapers that were found standing on end in a bog at Grønning, Stadsbygd, Trøndelag (Inventory no. T13003, S. Marstrander 1954:66, fig. 37 on p. 67).

In Northern Nortway, scattered finds of Late Neolithic flint daggers, sickles, strike-a-lights, and stone axes occur as far north as the Alta fjord in Finnmark *fylke*, but nowhere in hoards like those from Southern Norway. The finds may nevertheless have been connected with emerging agriculture (Valen 2012).

The hoards appear to suggest that this practice, originatingin Southern Scandinavia, was transferred to the north and adaptedto suit northern circumstances concerning the habit of sacrificing large numbers of unretouched flint flakes – a practice not unknown in Denmark, but less frequently occuringthere (Ebbesen 1980).

The larger picture offered by the map of all Late Neolithic flint dagger finds supports and confirms the impression left by the hoards, of a rapid spread along the west Norwegian sea-route along from the beginning of the Late Neolithic. Not coincidentally, the finds are most numerous in the main farming districts of Lista and Jæren, where topographical and other natural conditions resemble those in Jylland more closely than anywhere else in Western Norway. Those farms that may have been cleared during the Late Stone Age appear to have been in use one way or another almost continually since, for example at Kvåle, Norheim, Time, Rogaland, beginning with one of the biggest (23 m long) two-aisled Late Neolithic houses yet discovered in Norway (Børsheim et al. 2001). Several additional sites have been discovered and excavated in recent years both in Rogaland and farther north, including in Trøndelag (e.g. at Tiller in Trondheim, Haug 2000).

Settlement here despite the navigational risks would imply that the main obstacles along the coast, including the Stad promontory and the Folla (or Folda) had been mastered by this time.

North of Jæren, the natural potential for farming was important in Kormt as well as in Sunnmøre and Trøndelag, and even in places in Northern Norway. Of significance is also another landscape feature. Both Kormt and Sunnmøre are among the places where sea traffic along the western coast most easily could be surveyed and even controlled, as ships had to sail through narrow straits or risk the unprotected, open sea outside of the sheltering islands.

The decisive factor for creating places of power (which in all cases appear as simply big, or extended farms) would seem to have been a combination of two particular conditions. First, farming resources at the level to feed the household of the local potentate and the military strength needed to exercise that power. Proximity to bountiful fishing grounds may have played a supplemental part. But the needs of a Bronze or Iron Age chieftain or court extended beyond the basic feeding of the chieftain's retinue; the latter, as would any prominent guests, would also expect to be entertained by feasts offering food and beer or mead in ample quantities (cf.

Rødsrud 2010 with references). As late as the Viking Age, kings were compelled to divide their time among different seats, as no single location had the resources to entertain the royal household continuously (Steen 1942:65ff, 386ff).

The second decisive factor would have been control of traffic along the coast. As at the Strait of Gibraltar and the sound separating Sjælland and Skåne, control is established and maintained most easily in places where a sea route is forced through a narrow passage: Karmsundet, in particular its narrowest part Salhusstraumen, and Sunnmørsleia, the inside passage along the Sunnmøre coast. In short, agricultural and communication needs were essential to settlement.[21]

In the Late Neolithic and the early Bronze Age, grave chambers built of stone slabs first appeared along the western Norwegian coast. The few graves datable to the Late Neolithic, commonly overlooked due to poor preservation and a lack of scholarship, can be regarded as expressions or aspirations of monumentality, a testament to an emerging aristocracy. Beginning in Lista, there isa grave at Brastad and another at Lunde, both Farsund. In Jæren, graves are known at Austrått, Sandnes. A survey of these and several other, less certain examples is given in Østmo (2011b; cf. Solberg 2006). Similar structures from the earliest Bronze Age are known farther north, such as at Yndestad in Askvoll and Røe in Halsa (Østmo 2011b). A few graves built of decorated slabs are known from Jæren to Trøndelag, most notably Mjeltehaugen at Giske, but most of them have long been destroyed land are not well known (Linge 2007; Sand-Eriksen 2015).

Dated to the pronounced Early Bronze Age in southwestern Norway are several quite substantial barrows situated in prominent places along the coast, foremost in Lista and Jæren and adjoining districts immediately to the north. The most conspicuous of these certainly must be the barrows at Blodheia in Kormt, close to Avaldsnes. Some of these barrows contained richly equipped burials comparable with those in Jylland south of the Skagerrak. This group of burials are the strongest evidence that a class of aristocratic aspirations and achievments had risen to power in this region (cf. Myhre 2004; Skre 2018a).

Centres in the Bronze Age may be easier to identify on a regional level than on a strictly local one. The Bronze Age cultural landscape characteristically was conceived on a large scale, with grave monuments occupying hilltops and promontories, rock carvings keeping close to the outfields, confined as they were by the availability of suitable rock faces, while actual dwellings were located elsewhere, dependent on suitable ground for houses and various logistical considerations. In

21 For Kormt in particular, it may be noted that the presence of copper ores, mined in recent times, has been invoked to support a theory of copper mining in the Bronze Age (Melheim 2012). However, no definite trace of such mining has been found, and Melheim's theory still requiresfurther elaboration and empirical evidence before it can be considered sustainable. The remarkable and monumental Bronze Age at Kormt should be explained with reference to other factors; the Karmsundet itself represents an obvious point of reference.

Jæren, the actual settlements have been thought to have been placed on low hills in the low-relief landscape (B. Myhre 1981; L. N. Myhre 2004), actually not too far removed from the 'primeval farm' (Norw. *'urgård'*) theory advocated in the 19th century by Rudolf Keyser and P. A. Munch, and revived in the late 20th by Trygve Vik (1978).

Some of the oldest place names preserved in Norway may date back as far as the Late Neolithic. This concerns especially Lista and Jæren; in the latter landscape a group of names with uncertain etymologies, originally referring to centrally placed and notable farms that often have been promoted to parish names, have long attracted scholarly attention. Many of these places have indeed been distinguished by notable Late Neolithic and Bronze Age hoard and grave finds (Bakka and Møllerop 1963; B. Myhre 1981). The possibility that some of the names may even have pre-Indo-European roots has been discussed, but recent studies tend to favour origins within Germanic and Proto-Indo-European. *Sola* probably is the most well-known of these names (Bjorvand 2005; Særheim 2007, 2015:203; Brink 2018).

The northern limit of Scandinavian Bronze Age culture appears to have lain just south of the Arctic Circle in Helgeland. Even in this northern region the whole gamut of Bronze Age finds is represented, including rock carvings, settlements with houses, graves in stone cists in cairns, sacrificial deposits, and not least the bronzes themselves. In some places, coastal, hill-top cairns so characteristic of the Bronze Age in Southern Norway and Sweden are a feature of the cultural landscape, such as at Skjeggesnes in Alstahaug. Together with the fine Bronze Age rock carvings at Tro and Flatøy in Alstahaug (Sognnes 1985:142–3), this suite of archæological items begins with Late Neolithic finds such as a grave containing a flint dagger of an early type at Viksdalen in Vefsn (Inventory no. T14913, Binns 1985:151; Kaul and Rønne 2008). Farther north still there are also scattered, similar finds, but not the totality found at Helgeland and in the south.

All of this shows quite clearly that Bronze Age culture spread rapidly along the coast of Norway, beginning in the Late Neolithic. The sea-route therefore was an established fact at this time, certainly corresponding to the first phase and possibly even to the second mentioned above. Some strong or central places or regions along the route also had been established, including Lista, Jæren, and Kormt. One condition for this was the development of shipbuilding to allow construction of vessels capable of at least reasonably safe long- or medium-distance voyages away from the relative safety of the coasts.

1.5.3 Early Iron Age

The transition from the Bronze Age to the early Iron Age and the Pre-Roman Iron Age has long been an enigmatic part of Northern prehistory. In comparison with the glorious Bronze Age (considerably more glorious in Southern Scandinavia than

in most of Norway) and with the remarkable early Roman Period, the transition period is marked by a perceived paucity of grave finds and their minimal content of valuables, as well as a real or imagined lack of other archæological indicators. In Norwegian archæology, this idea has dominated the writings of almost all scholars with an interest in the period, from Ingvald Undset (1881), via A. W. Brøgger (1940), Haakon Shetelig (Schetelig (*sic*) 1912, 1914), and Anathon Bjørn (1927), to Bjørn Hougen (1947), Erik Hinsch (1953) and Anders Hagen (1951). Only during the last 20 years or so have scholars begun to question this axiom in earnest, among them Lars Pilø (1989) and Vivian Wangen (2009). Wangen in particular presents a detailed and instructive overview of Norwegian research about the Pre-Roman Iron Age. Early ideas about the 'Celtic Hansa' impeding connections between northern and Southern Europe (Lindqvist 1920), or climate-induced disaster (Sernander 1910; Hasund 1926) should be treated with caution or abandoned altogether; rather, the apparent meagreness of the grave finds is increasingly considered ot have more to do with religious ideas and the burial customs of the age, whereas more and more finds of Pre-Roman Iron Age farm sites, especially from the coastal regions all the way north to Trøndelag, testify to the existence of seemingly thriving communities.

And yet, the Pre-Roman Iron Age must have been a time of profound changes. The importance of the beginning of local iron production cannot be overstated, especially as the old international networks through which copper and tin had been distributed across Europe declined and possibly broke down altogether (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005). That a considerable change to a colder and wetter climate occurred is indisputable, although not quite as severe as was once thought. A reduction in population in certain areas likewise cannot be ignored – if people were living in great numbers in the interior of Southern Norway at the time, how is it that they could have left virtually no trace? If there were powerful and wealthy chieftains or kings, where are the signs of their power, and what happened to the wealth?

Indeed, attempts at applying C. J. Becker's tripartite South Scandinavian PRIA chronology (Becker 1961) to Norway will result in the second period passing all but unrepresented (Pilø 1989; Nybruget and Martens 1997). This may have to do with regional differences between Jylland and southern Norway concerning the archæological material, but the quetsion remains relevant as to whether this may actually reflect a demographic crisis.

Adding to the possible effects of a change of climate, disasters such as violent volcanic eruptions and plagues certainly struck during the Pre-Roman Iron Age as they have done at so many other times. During the Peloponnesian War in Greece, plague struck repeatedly during the years 430–427 BC to mention just one example, vividly described by Thucydides who was actually afflicted by it himself.[22] As is

22 Thucydides: *The Peloponnesian War*, book II:47–54.

well known, such disasters may strike widely (thus also Olsen 1939:42). They may have affected Scandinavia, including Norway, as well.

From the last years of the Pre-Roman Iron Age, several grave finds with a more varied and precious content indicate the rise of an elite, including in Western Norway (Solberg 2000:41–2; Martens 2002:257, 2008; Skre 2018a:753).

Precisely during this period of change and possible hardship, shipbuilding underwent a crucial development. The Hjortspring boat from c. 350 BC still was a large, paddled canoe (Crumlin-Pedersen and Trakadas 2003); a late expression of the Bronze Age boatbuilding tradition, the outline of the hull corresponding quite closely with rock carving boat pictures of a type usually dated to the Pre-Roman Iron Age (S. Marstrander 1963:154ff; Rieck and Crumlin-Pedersen 1988:55ff; Kaul 2003:192ff; Sognnes 2006; Christensen 1966). Paddling was apparently still practised by Germanic tribes at the time of Tacitus, who describes the ships of the Suiones in his ethnographical work *Germania* (AD 98):

> The form of their vessels is peculiar in this respect, that a prow at either extremity acts as a forepart, always ready for running into shore. They are not worked by sails, nor have they a row of oars attached to their sides; but, as on some rivers, the apparatus of rowing is unfixed, and shifted from side to side as circumstances require. (Hadas 2003)[23]

The Suiones are said to dwell on an island in the ocean itself, and are usually identified with the 'Swedes'. This may be an apt description of a paddled vessel of Scandinavian type: With a 'prow' at both ends, no sail, and loose oars (S. Marstrander 1963:92; Bruun and Lund 1974, 59; Rieck and Crumlin-Pedersen 1988:78; Jensen 2003:585). But on a rock carving at Dalbo in Bærum, Akershus, immediately west of Oslo, we find what may be the earliest Scandinavian depiction of a ship that is not paddled, but clearly rowed with long oars (Fig. 1.13, cf. Østmo 1992, 2003, 2008, 2014). The image (Dalbo II/8) seems to be the only known Scandinavian rock carving picture of a rowing vessel, other than a few instances described from Western Sweden in early sources at Valla, Tossene parish, Bohuslän (Tham 1794:tab. XIV no. 1), and at Vese in Bro parish, Bohuslän (Holmberg 1848:124). None of these has been confirmed by more recent studies. More importantly, to judge from the details such as they are, the ship pictured at Dalbo II/8 still had a hull of the type of the Hjortspring boat. An assessment of the various chronological implications of this picture supports a likely Pre-Roman Iron Age date, or around the 1st century BC (Østmo 1992).

The advent of rowing in Northern Europe may have been a local invention, or it may have been introduced through the (re-)emerging contacts between Southern and

23 'forma navium eo differt quod utrimque prora paratam semper adpulsui frontem agit. nec velis ministrantur nec remos in ordinem lateribus adiungunt: soluntum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, et res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium' (Tacitus Germania Book 1:44, from Bruun & Lund 1974:74).

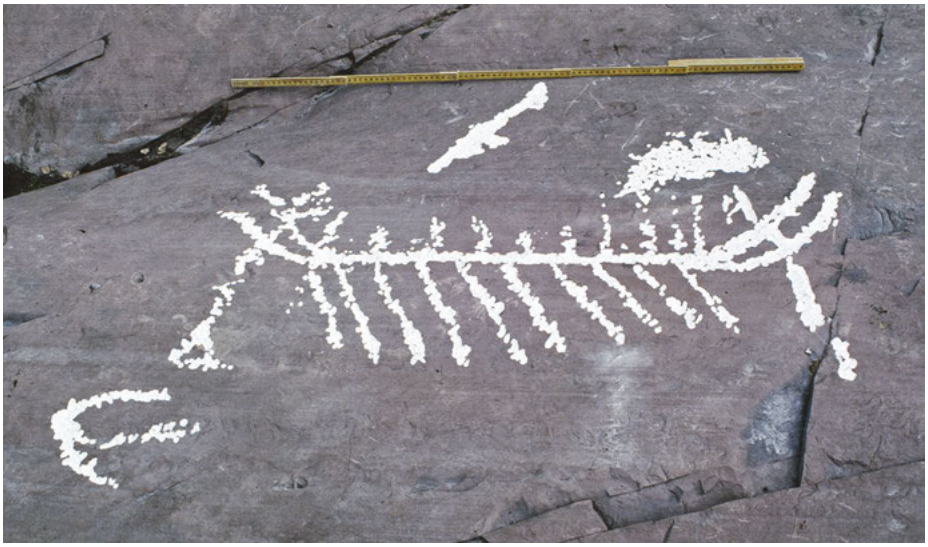

Fig. 1.13: Early Iron Age rock carving of boat with rowing oars at Dalbo, Bærum. Akershus. Photo by the author.

Northern Europe concerning i.a. maritime matters. The earliest historically attested information about such contacts dates to the early Pre-Roman Iron Age; this includes the fragmentary account of Pytheas's journey from Massilia (present-day Marseilles) to 'Thule' in Northern Europe, arguably the coast of Norway (Grane 2003:129; Roseman 1994). However, rowing must have been a real novelty in Scandinavia, regardless of whether it was a true invention or adapted from southern practice.

It is difficult to imagine the challenge of directing the crew for the very first time to take their positions in the boat with their backs forward for the very first time, let alone the spectacle of the first attempts at actually rowing. With practice came progress and eventually success. Several developments followed in the wake of this revolution: with the long rowing oars[24] the freeboard could be raised, in turn paving the way for building bigger vessels, eventually at least of the size of the 23 m long Nydam ship with a crew of 45 men including 36 rowers, ships that could negotiate not only the Skagerrak between Jylland and Southwestern Norway, but potentially even the North Sea between Scandinavia and Britain. The Nydam ship (Nydam B) is dated by dendrochronology to c. AD 320 (Bonde 1999:31). Several authors have noted that archæological finds, in particular jewellery and other costume accessories, indicate fairly regular contacts between

24 The oars found with the Nydam ship are from 2.2 to 3.4 m long (Gebühr 2001:35).

Britain and Scandinavia, including Norway, from the 5th century onwards (for instance Slomann 1956; Bakka 1959, 1971; Hines 1993). It was then that Britain experienced the invasion of Germanic tribes from the Continent, when Angles, Saxons, and Jutes crossed the English Channel and the North Sea, presumably in vessles similar to the Nydam ships. This type of rowed ship must have served as a model for the 'Bro type' among the ship images on the earliest of the Iron Age pictorial stones known in considerable numbers from Gotland and in smaller numbers also from elsewhere in Sweden (Lindqvist 1941, 1942) as well as a recently discovered rock picture east of Steinsfjorden in Hole, southeastern Norway (personal communication from Magnus R. Tangen).

At the same time the helmsman must have assumed a more significant *rôle* since the crew now faced astern had to rely on him for navigation, although throughout most of the early Iron Age the helmsman appears to have shared these responsibilities with another crew member with a steering oar at the bow of the ship, as depicted on the Dalbo II/8 rock carving and on the Gotland pictorial stones (Østmo 1992, 2003). In the mediæval sagas, two classes of officer are in fact mentioned, namely the *stýrimaðr* or *stýrir* (the helmsman) and the *leiðsǫgumaðr*, whose task it was to plot the course (cf. Ingstad 1985:31).

Several inherited language terms are related to the development of larger ships. Although there is no trace in language of a distinction between paddling and rowing – the term 'to paddle' is of uncertain origin (de Caprona 2013:769) – the received word for rowing has ancient roots, ultimately reconstructible as Proto-Indo-European $*H_1roH_1$ (Bjorvand and Lindeman 2007:889). This root is widely represented in several Indo-European languages with the same or a closely related meaning as in modern English – from Sanskrit to Greek, Latin, Irish, Lithuanian, and others, which strongly suggests that it must be of an ancient, common origin at least regarding non-Anatolian Indo-European languages (Bjorvand and Lindeman 2000:730ff) – certainly pre-dating the change from paddling to rowing in Scandinavia. It has not been possible to discern any particular, older meanings of the word, which has apparently always denoted propelling a boat with oars. Several scholars have shown that the cultural process behind the spread of Neolithic (or rather Eneolithic) cultures in Norway in the Middle and Late Neolithic, and particularly in Western Norway, has been connected precisely to the dissemination of Indo-European language and culture (so Håland and Håland 1982; Prescott and Walderhaug 1995; Østmo 1996; Kristiansen 2011).

Interesting too is the word for 'keel', derived from the Germanic u-stem **kelu-* originally meaning 'gorge', 'throat' (Bjorvand and Lindeman 2007:573–4; de Caprona 2013:763; cf. Lindberg 1941). This connexion becomes clear in the context of the vessel itself, from which perspective the keel in early, clinker-built boats resembles the 'throat' of the boat. The old name of the foremost steering oar probably was a cognate of Middle English *lōf* 'large oar' (Bjorvand and Lindeman 2007:681),

derived from its perceived similarity with a hand (Norw. *love*; cf. de Caprona 2013:766).[25]

While the development of the bigger, rowed ships of the Early Iron Age required technological preconditions – the dissemination of iron production and its use for tools as well as rivets – the entire process was also integral to social and economic developments: the concentration of power in the hands of chieftains astrade, war, and piracy facilitated the distribution of luxury goods. Rowed ships were not merely a passive reflection of technological change, but rather an innovative solution to achieve specific goals.

Iron production and shipbuilding contributed broadly to innovation in other spheres as the Pre-Roman Iron Age gave way to the Roman Age AD 1–400 and then to the Migration period 400–550/600 AD. In the latter part of this period (c. AD 300–600), many different categories of finds and archæological remains reflect various aspects of the culture (cf. Skre 2018a, 2018b). Farm sites in Lista and Jæren as well as in Trøndelag and Northern Norway include farm houses of considerable size; large houses with a length of more than 30 m proliferate toward the final years of the Pre-Roman Iron Age. The so-called courtyard sites have been argued by some to have had religious functions (Grimm and Pesch 2010). Grimm 2006b envisages a broader combination of central functions – cultic, but also military and legislative assemblies. More specifically, the sites may have served as barracks or rallying points for armies of the kind suggested by the Illerup sacrificial deposit as well as descriptions by classical authors of the war bands of the Germanic Allmennii (Ammianus Marcellinus, 4th century AD) (Grimm 2006b; Grimm and Stylegar 2004). The courtyard sites are best known from Jæren, but also from Northern Norway, and several more discoveries have

25 For dugouts in particular there is another ancient word, preserved in Latin *navis* and in modern Norwegian as *nu* (meaning 'trough'), and in *naust*, 'boathouse', literally 'boat-stand' (Bjorvand & Lindeman 2000:644–5; de Caprona 2013:768). In Norse times the word as a designation for a ship existed only in rare, poetic use. A rare preserved example is found in stanza 24 in Thjodolf of Hvini's poem *Ynglingatal*:

Ok bitsótt
í brandnói
hliðar þangs
á hilmi rann,
þás timbrfastr
toptar nokkvi
flotna fullr,
of fylki brann.

This roughly translates as 'And the biting disease of the grass (i.e. the fire) overcame the King in the hearth's ship (i.e. the house), when the timber-strong boat (i.e. the house) burnt, filled with men, about the King'. '*brandnór*' m, is here used as a *kenning* or metaphor for the house (Jónsson 1966:59). The word *nór* is also listed as a possible designation for a ship in Early Mediaeval Icelandic *þulur* or lists of poetic words (Jónsson 1973:668).

been made in recent years, some of them in the intermediary districts of Western Norway and Trøndelag (Wik 1983, 1985; Farbregd 1986; Binns 1988; Stenvik 1988; Berglund 1994). Boathouses large enough to have held ships of the size of those from Nydam (B. Myhre 1985, 1987a, 1997; Grimm 2001) have been dated to the Roman and Migration periods (Hansen 2006:24, who focuses on Hafrsfjord in particular with several boathouses perhaps connected with the ancient central farm Sola nearby; see also Grimm 2006a). Hill forts belong to this picture as well, although they may have possessed less strategic value than has sometimes been supposed (such as by Munch 1965; B. Myhre 1987b; Ystgaard 2014; cf. Skaar 1952; Østmo 1978; Skre 1998). Rich archæological data has come from graves – whether solitary or in cemeteries – as well as hoards, especially the gold-rich ones from the 6th century; the latter are mostly, although not exclusively, from Southwestern Norway and Rogaland in particular (Bøe 1926; Axboe 1999).

A comprehensive survey of Iron Age settlements along the Norwegian coast certainly is beyond the scope of this article. Nonetheless, the presence of particularly large farms that may have been the seats of prominent leaders certainly is of interest. For such seats of more or less durable power, logistics would have been paramount (Iversen 2007; Ringstad 1986; B. Myhre 1997; Reiersen 2017). Bjørn Ringstad on the basis of the presence of large barrows (>400 m^3), imported goods, and precious metals has identified 26 economic and political centres of power in Vestlandet (the *fylker* Hordaland, Sogn og Fjordane and Møre og Romsdal) in the Late Roman and Migration periods, from Avaldsnes in the south to Bremsnes in the north (Ringstad 1992:118–27). The majority are situated along the coast, most prominently at Avaldsnes and in the neighbouring Sunnhordland and along the Møre coast north of Stad. Another group consists of centres deep in the Western Norwegian fjord country, particularly in Sogn and Nordfjord. In general, it seems that the availability of sufficient agricultural resources was a decisive factor for where such centres became established, in addition to logistical considerations – contact with the sea and above all with the main sea-routes (cf. Reiersen 2017).

For Southwestern Norway in particular, an even more comprehensive effort along similar lines has been made by Bjørn Myhre (1987b). By mapping finds of imported bronze vessels, glass, and gold against hill forts and present *fylke* borders, Myhre identified nine likely chiefdoms and centres of power along the Norwegian coast from Grenland in Telemark to Nordfjord (B. Myhre 1987b:esp. p. 181; cf. also B. Myhre 2000). Myhre based his identification on the presence in grave finds of bronze vessels, glassware, or gold items, on the quantity of gold found in general, on the presence and distribution of hill forts and on natural features such as the coast, rivers, mountain areas, and natural borders. The results then were compared with historical records of the names of tribes to produce a compelling theory about political conditions in this region in the early Iron Age.

Torunn Herje makes the case that the settlements of the early Iron Age were oriented more towards the sea than those of the late Iron Age (Herje 1986). In this view,

power over the sea and the sailing routes was of greater importance early on, whereas control of territory gained importance only in the late Iron Age. Avaldsnes is the prime example of this, with its location just by the narrow strait of Karmsundet, taken together with the spectacular Flaghaugen grave (Grave 2) as well as the Late Iron Age graves, the historical legacy of Avaldsnes as told in the sagas (Schetelig 1912; Opedal 1998, 2010).

Trond Løken (2001), however, has argued against Avaldsnes as a centre of power in the Migration period, at least relative to the comparatively resource-rich Jæren area. Of the two sites, only Jæren could possibly have equipped and manned the army that was defeated at Illerup in Jylland (Løken and Myhre 2008), which has been assumed to have come from the Scandinavian Peninsula, quite possibly Western Norway (Ilkjær 1993:374ff, 2000:142ff; summarised by Grimm 2008 who mentions other interpretations also). Nevertheless, the finds from Flaghaugen, and the whole situation at Avaldsnes demonstrate the prominence it was afforded; if anything, this serves to underline the importance of control of the sea-route and the Karmsundet passage in particular, clearly the foremost asset of Avaldsnes.

Another important place along the coast is the *Sunnmørsleia*, the inside passage past Ålesund (Fig. 1.14). The route is protected from the Norwegian Sea by the islands of Hareidlandet, Godøy, Giske, Valderøy, Vigra, Lepsøya, Haramsøy, and Fjørtoft. On most or all of these comparatively prominent and old farms are

Fig. 1.14: The Sunnmøre inside passage (Sunnmørsleia) from Ålesund. The island to the left is Godøya. Photo by the author.

found to this day. Hundreds of ancient grave monuments testify to the prehistoric importance of these islands; most islands feature one large grave monument standing out from the rest: Oshaugen on Hareidlandet, Ellefsrøysa on Godøy, Mjeltehaugen on Giske, Valderhaugen on Valderøy, Stølshaugen and Blimshaugen on Vigra, and Haramshaugen on Haram. Most of these exist still (Mjeltehaugen (Linge 2007; Sand-Eriksen 2015), Blimshaugen, Valderhaugen, Haramshaugen), while several have been removed. Rich archæological finds have come to light from several of these large monuments (Solberg 1984). Even so, their date has been a matter of some controversy. Johs. Bøe published an influential paper arguing that most of these monuments should be dated to the Bronze Age (Bøe 1942). Mjeltehaugen in particular has even been considered as possibly Late Neolithic (de Lange 1912:28; S. Marstrander 1963:325; Mandt 1983; Sand-Eriksen 2015; cf. Østmo 2005:69–70). Bøe's dates have been questioned by Anders Hagen (1973), from the vantage point of several more and quite spectacular finds having come to light in the meantime. During late Roman Age and the Migration Period, an aristocratic culture flourished, to judge from the grave finds containing imported weapons, cauldrons, glass, and not least gold ornaments. The region continued to be a centre of power during the Late Iron Age, fostering the Møre Earls who became a political power of significance during the Viking Age and later.[26]

Building on earlier works by Haakon Shetelig (e.g. Shetelig 1920), the historian Sverre Steen summarised the evidence for an Early Iron Age realm in Western Norway, mentioning the supposed immigrations of *horder* and *ryger* (to *Hordaland* and *Ryfylke*, respectively), certain place-names carrying traces of ancient cultic procedures (*Herøy, Nærøy*), the Migration Period connections between this region and Western Europe so evident in archæology, and the reference in ancient sources to peoples settled in this region, but not elsewhere in Norway. The 6th century Roman historian Jordanes mentions several peoples in 'Scandza' (presumably Scandinavia), including *Grannii, Augandzi, Taetel, Rugi, Arochi,* and *Ranii*. Several of these have been identified with Grens, Håløygs(?), Teles(?), Ryges, Hordes (Harudes), and Ranes, most of which correspond to Southern Norwegian locales (Grenland, Hålogaland, Telemark, Ryfylke, Hordaland, and Ranrike or Romsdal) (cf. Lund 1993:285). 'This coast is it that is called Norðrvegr; this coast is it that the archæologists claim was a coastal realm with good connections with Europe' (Steen 1942:43–3, present author's translation). A map of the 112 so-called *vestlandskjeler* or 'Vestland cauldrons' found in Norway may give some indication of which regions maintained southern connections during the late Roman and Migration periods (Hauken 1998:12). Beginning in the south, the regions are Lista and the valleys immediately north, Jæren, the south-western, outer part of

26 It is worth mentioning, perhaps, that Queen Elizabeth II on her first visit to Norway in 1955 made a point of including Sunnmøre in her itinerary, to see the home of one of the earliest known ancestors of the British Royal lineage, the Viking Rollo (Norwegian: *Gange-Rolv*), who (probably) became the first Duke of Normandy.

Hardanger, Nordhordland, the inner parts of Sogn and Nordfjord, Sunnmøre and Romsdal, and Inntrøndelag extending into Northern Sweden, by and large the districts with the most favourable conditions for agriculture and with settlement centres as outlined above.

It seems certain that there were well-developed aristocratic and warlike societies on the western coast of Norway in the first half of the first millennium AD. In the Migration Period, they must have been well established along the Norwegian coast as elsewhere in Southern and Middle Scandinavia, and even far north of the Arctic Circle. It seems equally certain that the logistical possibilities and challenges of the coastal sea-route were crucial to this historical situation. The Norwegian coastal sea-route had long been renowned by this point and most likely would have received a name corresponding to the second of the three phases outlined above. The sources available do not, however, allow a certain conclusion that the name had yet been transferred to the country.

1.5.4 Late Iron Age

The end of the Migration Period saw another crisis, which recent scholarship has connected with a natural disaster in or shortly before AD 536 (Axboe 1999; Gunn 2000; Larsen et al. 2008; Gräslund 2008, 2009; Løwenborg 2012; Arrhenius 2013). According to Larsen (et al. 2008):

> New and well-dated evidence of sulphate deposits in Greenland and Antarctic ice cores indicate a substantial and extensive atmospheric acidic dust veil at AD 533–534 ± 2 years. This was likely produced by a large explosive, near equatorial volcanic eruption, possibly of the Ilopango volcano in El Salvador (Pratt 2012), causing widespread dimming and contributing to the abrupt cooling across much of the Northern Hemisphere known from historical records and tree-ring data to have occurred in AD 536. Tree-ring data suggest that this was the most severe and protracted short-term cold episode across the Northern Hemisphere in the last two millennia, even surpassing the severity of the cold period following the Tambora eruption in 1815.

Possible historical consequences in Scandinavia of this event have been considered by Bo Gräslund, who plausibly suggests that it was the historical background to the Norse tale of the *Fimbulvinter* known primarily from the *Vafþrúðnismál* poem (Gräslund 2008, 2009). Morten Axboe suggests that the numerous hoards of gold datable to the mid 6th century in Scandinavia may be attributed to the fear induced by the 536 event and its consequences for climate and harvest (Axboe 1999). Large tracts of Norway were all but abandoned, as still attested by scores of deserted farms above all in Southwestern Norway (J. Petersen 1933–6; B. Myhre 1972).

The remainder of the 6th and the 7th centuries involved a virtual reinvention of culture. Space had been created for renewal in settlement, weaponry, visual art with Salin Style II replacing Style I, language with Old Norse (Norw. *norrønt*)

replacing Proto-Nordic (Norw. *urnordisk*), and with the younger runes replacing the older (see Solberg 2000 for overview). For a while, the scene was open to powerful entrepreneurs who eventually were buried in some of the biggest and most magnificent grave mounds known in Northern Europe, for instance the *Uppsala högar* in Sweden (the Uppsala barrows, Lindqvist 1936; for more recent views on their dates, see Ljungkvist 2005), *Raknehaugen* in Romerike in Southeastern Norway (Skre 1997), or several places in Western Norway; the large barrow *Storhaug* at Avaldsnes should be numbered among these, if the timeline is extended to the early eigth century (Opedal 1998:64–5, 2010). Eventually, many of the places that had been prominent in the Early Iron Age rose to renewed significance, according to Ringstad (1987, 1992). Avaldsnes and Sunnhordland are still on the map, as are Sogn and Nordfjord and also Sunnmøre, the latter however perhaps slightly less so (Fig. 1.15; Ringstad 1992:125).

Throughout the Merovingian Age and most of the Viking Age, the rowing ship remained a key instrument for the exercise of power in Scandinavia (B. Myhre 1994). One prominent example is the ship remains found in *Storhaug* (Christensen 1998). But in the late Iron Age the sail finally appeared on Scandinavian ships. In a sense, this development arrived astonishingly late, as sailing ships of southern origin certainly had been known to Scandinavians as early as the 4th century BC, through visits by Mediterranean voyagers such as Pytheas. The oldest preserved sailing vessel in Scandinavia is the early 9th century AD Oseberg ship (Brøgger et al. 1917–2006), but it is reasonable to assume that sailing ships were in use somewhat earlier. A passage in the runic inscription about a shipwreck on the late 7th century Eggja runic stone from Sogn, Western Norway, in some interpretations would imply that the wrecked ship had a mast and a sail (Grønvik's transcription reads: *māðe þaim kaipa ī bormōþa hūni, i. e.* modern Norw.: 'Keipene måddes (ble avslitt) for dem i den svært trøtte mastetoppen',[27] (Grønvik 1985:162–3; cf. Grønvik 2000:8–9), which seems to presuppose technical arrangements for hoisting the sail (see detailed discussion in Grønvik 1985: 50–1)). Some of the Iron Age pictorial stones preserved in Gotland bear pictures of ships with what looks like small sails, different from and perhaps earlier than the more elaborate pictures present on the Viking Age stones on the same Baltic island. These include the stones from Larsarve I in Eskelhem, Fole Church, Stenstu in Hablingbo, Petsarve II in Ardre, Broa I and X in Halla, Rikvide in När, and Källstäde in Lärbro, which mostly belong to Sune Lindqvist's *'Zwergsteine'* (Lindqvist 1941:35ff; cf. also Nylén and Lamm 1978:42 and 168ff). Lindqvist dates the stones with typological arguments concerning both the shape of the stones and in particular the animal ornaments in Salin Style II and interlaced patterns which can be found on some of these stones, with a resultant date to the Merovingian Age, the 6th and 7th centuries (Lindqvist 1941:115ff). The ship (and in particular sail) images in question are those of

27 A rough translation to English might be 'the forked branches became worn for them in the very tired mast-top'.

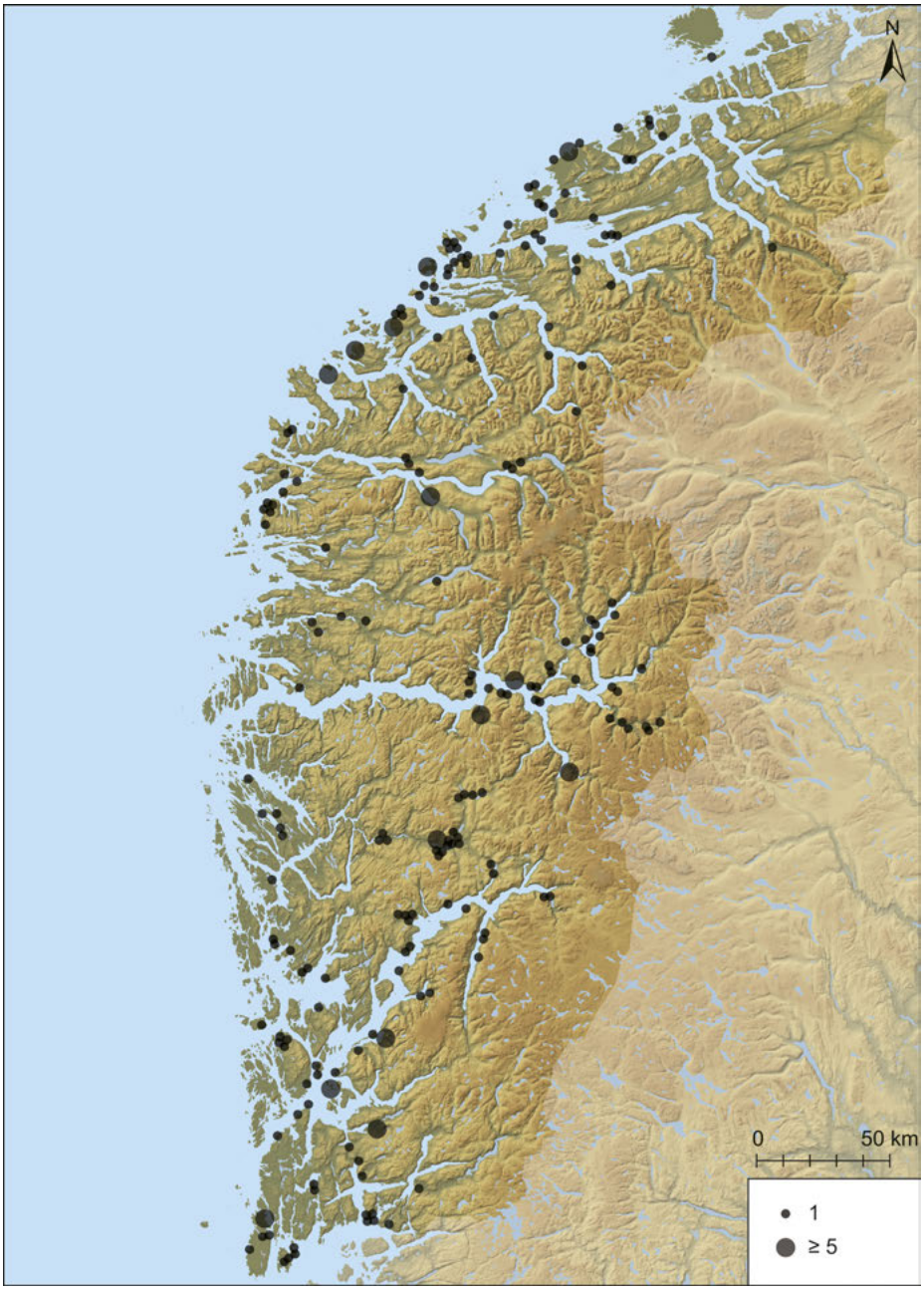

Fig. 1.15: Large grave mounds in Western Norway. After Ringstad 1992:fig 1. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

Björn Varenius's Group II which he dates to the 7th to 9th centuries (Varenius 1992). Nevertheless, it should be noted that recent critical assessment of the evidence has found no archæological proof of sails on Scandinavian ships before the 8th century (Fig. 1.16; Westerdahl 1995b; Imer 2004; Kastholm 2009).

Fig. 1.16: The Gokstad Viking Age ship. Photo: unknown, MCH.

There is on the whole little doubt that the introduction of the sail in Scandinavia occurred in the late Iron Age. Linguistic evidence suggests that it could not have occurred at the very end of that period: the etymology of the word Eng. 'sail' (verb and noun), Norw. *seil/segl* (noun, n.), particularly the derivates Norse *sigla* 'to sail' and *sigla* f. 'mast', both show the early Germanic i-umlaut (Bjorvand and Lindeman 2007:933) and therefore cannot be later than the second half of the 6th century (Grønvik 1998:54ff). Kroonen (2013:430–431) mentions additional possibilities, preferring a connection with Latin *sagum* n. 'coarse woollen cloak', 'may be a Gaulish loanword', although this does not necessarily contradict the dating based on the derivatives mentioned above. In any case, the Northerners certainly knew of sails, masts, and sailing and so may well have had words for it long before they began to practice it themselves. In any case, adaption of sails eventually resulted in the fully developed Viking Age ship known from Oseberg, Tune, Gokstad, Skuldelev, and elsewhere. From this point, the ships could be built bigger, and constructed to

strengthen the hull and the keel in order to accommodate the mast and sail and generally made worthy of sailing on the high seas.

Thus, with a sail and a sturdy keel the Viking Age ship was a true ocean-going vessel, which during the 9th and 10th centuries would take Norse settlers to Orkney, Shetland, and the Faeroes, as well as to Iceland, Greenland, and America, and provide an important condition for the establishment of the Scandinavian kingdoms during the late Viking Age. This concerned Norway perhaps even more than Denmark and Sweden, and the western coast continued to be an important battleground for the Norwegian Crown throughout the Viking age, but the sights were now set much wider and included most of the North Atlantic as well as the Baltic, Kattegat, the Skagerrak, the North Sea, and the English Channel and beyond.

The early development of Northern craft took place in the coastal environment of Scandinavia, and both the vessels and the method of sailing them would henceforth retain their original, basically coastal character. This includes the approach to navigation, even when extending across the Atlantic to Greenland and America, as evident in a well-known passage in the *Hauksbók* manuscript of the Icelandic *Landnámabók* regarding the Viking Age sailing route from Norway to Greenland:

> From Hernar [modern Hennøy, 160 km or 86 nautical miles north of Bergen] in Norway one must sail a direct course west to Hvarf [modern Cape Farewell, Greenlandic: Uummannarsuaq] in Greenland, in which case one sails north of Shetland so that one sights land in clear weather only, then south of the Faroes so that the sea looks half-way up the mountainsides, then south of Iceland so that one gets sight of birds and whales from there.[28]

(Jones 1968:162; another, very similar translation may be found in Ingstad 1985:34). This is succinctly summed up by Uwe Schnall: 'Die Hochseeschiffahrt der Wikinger ist eine Weiterentwicklung ihrer Küstenschiffahrt und nicht grundsätzlich von dieser unterschieden' (Schnall 1975:181; see also Steen 1942:191–2; Christensen 1993).

The history of Avaldsnes, Utstein, and other centres of power at this time is told elsewhere in this and the previous volumes (cf. Skre 2012). But as the sources – written as well as archæological – begin to flow somewhat more abundantly, it becomes clear that the historical conditions behind the establishment of economical and political centres were quite complex. Frode Iversen discusses the evidence for royal seats in Western Norway, and concludes that for the 11th century, five certain and ten possible or likely such places existed, based on credible historical evidence (Iversen 2008:20ff and table 1 p. 24). The certain ones are, from south to north, Utstein and Avaldsnes in Rogaland, and Fitjar, Alrekstad (Årstad), and Seim in Hordaland. Iversen connects all of these and several others

28 'Af Hernum af Noregi skal sigla jafnan í vestur til Hvarfs á Grœnlandi, og er þá siglt fyrir norðan Hjaltland, svo að því að eins sjái það, að allgóð sé sjávar sýn, en fyrir sunnan Færeyjar, svo að sjór er í miðjum hlíðum en svo fyrir sunnan Ísland, að þeir hafi af fugl ok hval.' (Benediktsson 1968:33).

of secondary importance to considerations of military strategy and control of traffic along the coast (Iversen 2008:30 and the map fig. 4 on p. 28). Similar centres existed farther north, in Trøndelag and Northern Norway (Wik 1985).

1.6 Conclusion

In Western Norway as elsewhere in most of Scandinavia, three major prehistoric periods of sea-borne economical, social, and political power, including expressions of aristocratic splendour, can be identified: the Bronze Age, beginning in the Late Neolithic, followed by the Early Iron Age, in particular the Roman and Migration periods, and finally the Viking Age, beginning in the late Merovingian period. These periods are separated by others with a much more restricted archæological material and several signs of recession, which concerns the Pre-Roman Iron Age as well as the Merovingian Age. Each of the three prosperous periods may be linked to distinct stages in the development of boatbuilding and seafaring. The Bronze Age was the era of the paddled boat, culminating in the 4th century BC Hjortspring type. The Early Iron Age was the era of the rowed warships of the early 4th century AD Nydam type. The Viking Age saw the development of ocean-going sailing ships, e.g. the early 10th century AD Gokstad ship. These stages in shipbuilding are linked by many particular technical properties that demonstrate that they are all parts of one and the same tradition, most conspicuously the tradition of the construction of the hull as a self-contained shell structure, in later times known as clinker-building. It is noteworthy that the innovations themselves appear to have taken place during the leaner periods separating the more prosperous ones, so that the improved ships may rather be counted among the preconditions for the ensuing prosperous developments.

It is possible that the three stages of shipbuilding developments correspond to those concerning the concept of the sea-route along the Norwegian coast and the establishment of 'Norway' as an onomastic entity. At first, the sea-route was spoken about simply as the route along the narrow inside passage northwards, perhaps already in the Late Neolithic at the time of the paddled vessels depicted on thousands of Bronze Age rock carvings, as well as the preserved vessel from Hjortspring. Subsequently this designation became fixed as a proper name of that sea-route, possibly in the Early Iron Age, when ships such as those from Nydam were rowed with long oars. Lastly, when Scandinavian ships were equipped with sails, this name was extended to the country as a whole, and the name was reinterpreted as the route leading north. This reinterpretation may have taken place somewhere south of Norway, perhaps among mariners in the Baltic and the North Sea. This of course remains a hypothesis, but at least the first and last stages are virtually self-evident, and the semantics vouch for the second as well. More to the point, the

three stages have been linked with specific historic periods of shipbuilding as well as more general history with a view to the emergence, decline, and re-emergence of aristocratic societies on the western coast of Norway.

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Mari Arentz Østmo

2 Intraregional Diversity. Approaching Changes in Political Topographies in South-western Norway through Burials with Brooches, AD 200–1000

This chapter addresses socio-political structure and change through the examination of spatial and temporal differences in the deposition of brooches in burial contexts and aspects of burial practices. Diachronic sub-regions within Rogaland and parts of southern Hordaland are inferred, enabling a further address of the trajectories within sub-regions and how they interrelate in ongoing socio-political processes. The paradox of observed concurrent processes of homogenisation and upsurges of local or regional particularities is addressed through the theoretical framework of globalisation. Within the study area, the sub-regions of Jæren and the Outer coast/Karmsund appear most defined throughout the period AD 200–1000. Here, quite different trajectories are observed, indicating a parallel development of different practices and sub-regional identities.

2.1 Introduction

Throughout the Iron Age, dress accessories included brooches, clasps, and pins that held garments together while simultaneously adding decorative and communicative elements to the dress. While the functional aspects of brooches are persistent, their form and ornamentation vary greatly within the first millennium AD; the typologies of brooches thus constitute a major contribution to the development of Iron Age chronology (Klæsøe 1999:89; Kristoffersen 2000:67; Lillehammer 1996; Røstad 2016a). As such, the brooches deposited in burials provide an exceptional opportunity to address both spatial and temporal variations in burial practices, and furthermore in the social groups that performed those rituals.

Regionality, defined as the spatial dimension of cultural differences (Gammeltoft and Sindbæk 2008:7), is here approached on a microscale, focusing on intra-regional diversity in the selective and context-specific use of a particular part of material culture, namely the brooches. This article draws on basic notions within 'materiality-oriented' theory, particularly the co-constitution of people and things where the objects both embody intentionality and mediate social agency, and thereby may both become a material citation of an owner or giver and serve to make claims of certain identity aspects (Back Danielsson 2016; Boivin 2008:26–7; Gosden and Marshall 1999; Hoskins 2006:76–8 with refs.; Jones 2004:330; Klevnäs 2016:467–9). Meaning is accumulated in objects over time and materialised through practice and their societal

Mari Arentz Østmo, Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo

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and depositional context (Back Danielsson 2016:520; Gosden and Marshall 1999:172; Joy 2009:544). Common practices or material similarities can thus be understood as important mechanisms of group formation and indicative of shared dispositions and ideals. Funerary rituals in the Iron Age display great diversity, not only in the selection of objects to accompany the deceased, but also in the treatment of bodies and the construction of monuments. The ritual context of funerals provides an arena for negotiation and manipulation of identities, as well as social, cosmological, and political order (Kristoffersen and Østigård 2008; Østigård 2015; Østigård and Goldhahn 2006). Artefact selection and other funerary practices are here understood as part of a symbolic, material, and ritual vocabulary applied by the living relatives (Carver 2011:936). Funerals thus create arenas suited for securing the afterlife of the deceased through a proper ritual, as well as for negotiation and manipulation of social and political positions and relations for the living. The brooch types selected for burials form the primary object of investigation. Burial practice in terms of treatment of the deceased or the construction of monuments serves to complement or contrast the sub-regions suggested through variation in brooch selection.

Beyond identifying such sub-regions, this article seeks to examine how and in what manner the sub-regions relate to socio-political structure and change. Previous works on socio-political elites in western Norway (e.g. Myhre 1987, 1991) have argued for processes of centralisation and fragmentation in the late Roman and Migration periods. Other studies on the formation of political alliances (Glørstad 2012) or communal institutions (Iversen 2018; Storli 2010) have argued for centralisation and emerging kingship in the late Iron Age. With such processes in mind, chronological shifts in inferred sub-regions, particularly those that indicate changes in their extent and increased or decreased similarities between sub-regions, will be compared and contrasted with the chronological changes within elite structures in the 3rd–10th centuries AD.

The analysis is structured both temporally and spatially. First, diachronic sub-regions are inferred from the study of burial practices and brooch variation. Then, the trajectories of the individual sub-regions are addressed, producing a complex deep-time regional micro-pattern that contributes to the discussion of how sub-regions are defined and contrasted vis-à-vis each other throughout the 3rd–10th centuries AD. Furthermore, this paper seeks to investigate how the sub-regions interrelate over time and to what degree they relate to ongoing processes of centralisation or local distinction/fragmentation. A detailed chronology of Avaldsnes permits a correlation with the chronological shifts of a socio-political centre within the study area. The most profound contrasts may be observed between Karmsund on the outer coast and Jæren. These landscapes are also marked by other differences, such as the single elite centre of Avaldsnes by the Karmsund strait, versus the numerous and proximate elite centres at Jæren.

The maintained practice of depositing brooches in burials demonstrate that these objects were intensively circulated in this period, and also that they were

deemed particularly suited for deposition in burial contexts in parts of the study area. The analyses comprise 613 brooches from 541 burials dating to the period AD 200–1000 and located in Rogaland and parts of Sunnhordland; see Fig. 2.1 for a general overview of the distribution and the study area.

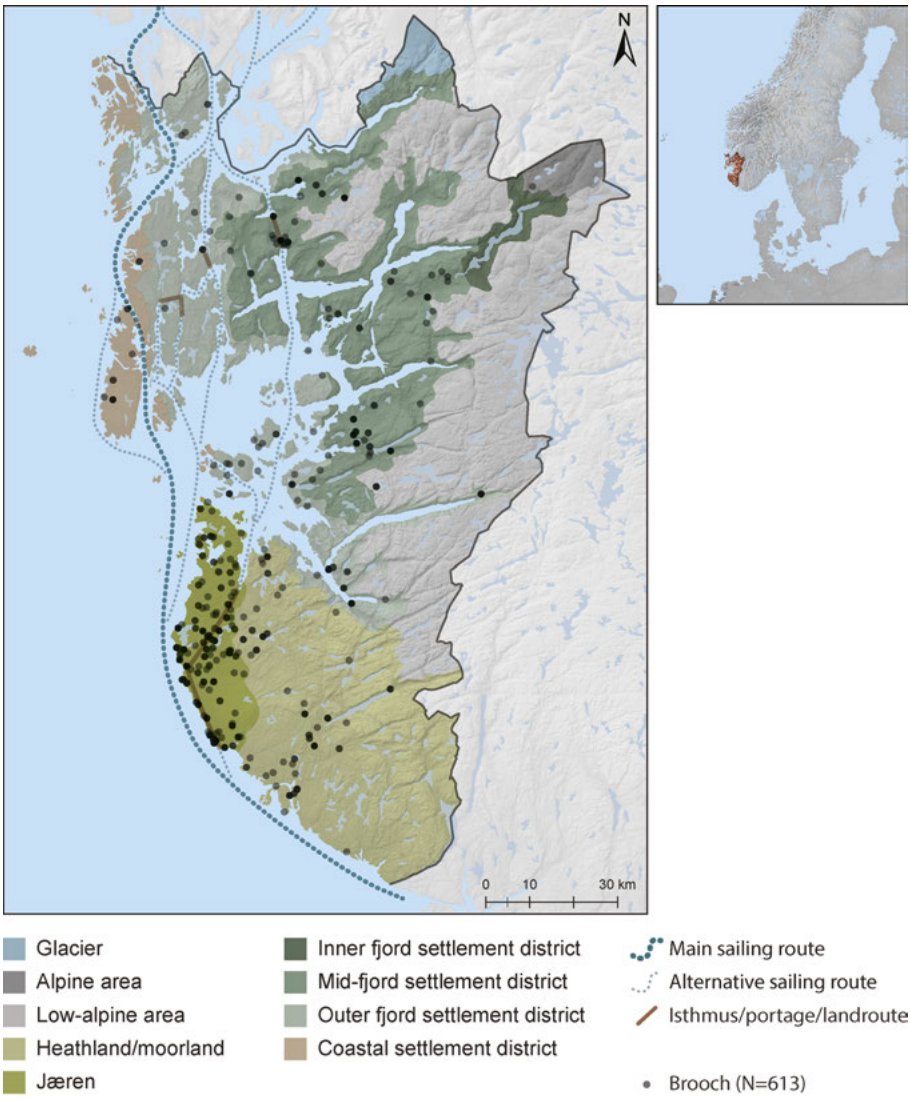


Fig. 2.1: Study area and distribution of 613 brooches dated AD 200–1000 discussed in this article. Due to scale and level of geographical precision, brooches within the same burial overlap; some neighbouring burials may even conceal each other. As the symbols for individual brooches are transparent, such overlaps are identifiable by darker shades. Illustration: M. Østmo, I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

2.1.1 Landscape and communication

While the brooches display temporal and spatial change, the analysis relates to two main spatial constants; namely the main sailing route along the western Norwegian coast, and a defined set of landscape districts within the study area. The sailing route runs through sounds and straits and provides a line of communication sheltered from the rough seas. The sailing route was crucial not only for mobility, but for control over people and trade, made possible by control of strategic places along the route (Skre 2018). Avaldsnes, located where the narrow Karmsund creates a bottleneck on the sailing route, is one such strategic site, and forms a third constant in this analysis. As one of several socio-political centres defined by the presence of imported glass vessels or bronzes, artefacts of gold, or other recognised elite insignia (particularly Kristoffersen et al. 2014; Myhre 1987, 2007; Reiersen 2010, 2017; Ringstad 1992), Avaldsnes is especially suited for a long-term analysis. Here a range of activities and short-term events recorded in archaeological features or written sources display continued socio-political centrality from the 3rd century AD up to the late 14th century. While the site undergoes chronological changes within the study period, the recent excavations have provided a detailed chronology that overlaps with the period in which brooches occur frequently in burials in south-western Norway. An overview of the temporal correlation between the burials with brooches and the contemporary characteristics of Avaldsnes is presented in Tab. 2.1. The oldest burials with brooches included in this study are contemporary with the establishment of Avaldsnes as an elite centre through the princely burial in Flaghaug, Grave 2, the construction of a hall building and boathouse for a ship, and the development of a structured spatial organisation of the farm.

The landscape districts used in the analyses are defined in a report from the Institute for Norwegian Land and Forest Mapping, now the Norwegian Institute of Bio-economy Research (NIBIO) (Puschmann 2005). Vectorised GIS files of hierarchically levelled landscape districts have been made publicly accessible by NIBIO. In a hierarchical system for landscape classification, definitions of landscape districts and corresponding sub-districts are based on six components: major terrain forms, minor terrain forms, water and watercourses, vegetation, agricultural land, and technical installations. Particularly the first two components are considered in distinguishing landscape regions; borders drawn where characteristic terrain changes form (Puschmann 2005:2–3). A rough estimate from Avaldsnes on the outer coast indicates that the sea level at AD 200 and 800 would be 2.4 and 1.6 meters above present sea level respectively (Bauer 2018:185–96 with further references). With regard to vegetation, the transformation of the coastal landscape in terms of deforestation and the development of coastal heaths was completed within the study area by 200 BC (Prøsch-Danielsen and Simonsen 2000:41). While there are differences in shorelines and vegetation due to land rise and the effect of historic agriculture, these differences are not considered fundamental in terms of conditions for connectivity or human interrelations.

Tab. 2.1: Chronological phases and their respective characteristic traits in the analysed burials with brooches and at Avaldsnes. Avaldnes phases follow Østmo and Bauer (2018b).

Chronology	Characterstic brooches in analysed burials	Main trends in burials	Avaldsnes phases	Characteristic aspects of the Avaldsnes settlement
C1b-C2 AD 210/220–310/320	R230–9, Almgren VII ser. 2 and 3 (bronze or silver), rosett fibula	Burials w/broches are found in several landscape regions, in central areas or strategic areas along routes of communication. The earliest inhumation burial with brooches in an oblong cairn foreshadows the large beach cemeteries of the following periods. Remaining monuments are mainly round mounds.	AD 200–600	Spatially structured settlement with various functional zones that is upheld from AD c. 200–c. 600. Monuments and buildings were oriented towards the strait.
C3 AD 310/320–400	Nydam fibula, bugelknopf fibula, equal-armed brooches w/triangular ends, early R243 and related 'simple bow-fibulas'	Clear cluster of burials with brooches, particularly on the beaches and central Jæren. A few in the fjord districts Sub-region Jæren characterised by inhumation, oblong/oval monuments and diversity of brooch corpus. Sub-region Heathland/Highland distinguished by practicing cremation Burials with brooches near absent on the Outer coast		Princely burials and mortuary monuments predominantly dating to the 3rd Century are constructed, reuseed and manipulated centrally at Avaldsnes and adjacent farms. Significant burials: The Flaghaug grave 2 (C1b-C2) with roman vessels and weaponry, gold neck ring, gold finger rings etc, Flaghaug grave 4 (C1b-C2) with Hemmooor bucket and gold rings, raised stones monument (likely 3rd century), Flaghaug grave 3 (C3) westland kettle, stray finds from disturbed graves: a gold serpent head ring and pendant (C1b-C2) and set of spear and lance (Migration period)
D1 AD 400–475	Cruciform brooches, spiral clasps, relief brooches (Nissen Meyer stadium 2)	Cruciform brooches in all landscapes exept the Outer coast. Similar tendencies for relief brooches. Both widespread and local distributions particular to some sub-regions.		

Tab. 2.1 (continued)

Chronology	Characterstic brooches in analysed burials	Main trends in burials	Avaldsnes phases	Characteristic aspects of the Avaldsnes settlement
D1 AD 400–475		Jæren distinguished by high number, wide diversity, several identical brooches in the same burial and high frequency of inhumation and oblong/oval monuments		A hall building (AD 236–381) facing the strait, longhouse (AD 349–600) with several phases of reparations and reconstructions
D2a AD 475–525	Cruciform brooches, button clasps, relief brooches (Nissen Meyer stadium 3–4)	Smaller subregions in the mid and inner fjord districts		Boathouse for a ship, initial construction dated AD 258–381 and a secondary phase approximately AD 426–552
D2b AD 525–550/560	Relief brooches (Nissen Meyer stadium 5–6), relief brooches (Sjøvold B-1), equal-armed brooches without endplates	Spiral clasps (D1) oriented to inner districts, button clasps (D2) oriented towards the outer sailing routes		Large continuous fields for cultivation, truncated by cooking pits west of the dwellings and farmyard through the whole period.
Merovingian AD 550/560–775/800	equalarmed brooches, disc-on-bow-brooches, bird-fibulas, thin-shelled oval brooches	Few burials forming a break with the previous centuries Disc-on-bow brooches at Jæren New: burials with brooches at Ferkingstad, Karmøy Conical brooches at Jæren and the Outer fjord districts	AD 600–900	No known dwellings Palisade constructed in the 7th century, delimiting and protecting a food-storage area. Implies continued settlement
Viking Age AD 775–800/1000	Oval brooches, penannular brooches, equal armed brooches, trefoil brooches, brooches of transformed imported fittings – mainly insular	Inhumation dominant in all areas, except heathland region, also marked by slightly later brooches	AD 900–1250	Fragmented remains of a building of unknown size and function, with prominent location between monuments, oriented towards the strait, dated AD 901–1023

Tab. 2.1 (continued)

Chronology	Characterstic brooches in analysed burials	Main trends in burials	Avaldsnes phases	Characteristic aspects of the Avaldsnes settlement
Viking Age AD 775/800–1000		South Boknafjord basin integrated with Jæren in a new sub-region defined by similar oval brooches, insular brooches, equal armed brooches and burial practices The penannular brooches indicate political alliance centered around Avaldsnes, placed at strategic places along the routes of communication at Karmøy, the fjorddistricts and Jæren (Glørstad 2010, 2012)		Stable cultivation activity. Continued use of food storage, with a slight intensification around the transition from the 9th to 10th century, six features with cerals are dated AD 872–986. One corndrying kiln dated AD 1033–1152 Unknow when the palisade was demolished, possibly in relation to building activities post AD 1250

The landscape districts are not assumed to correspond to the spatial dimensions of social aggregates in the Iron Age, as the districts are defined and static, while the social sub-regions are expected to vary and change depending on their particular historical and socio-political contexts. Rather, the landscape districts are used both as a means of visualising landscape conditions in map illustrations, and as a way of approaching similarities or variations of practice particular to different parts of the study area. The definitions based on terrain, variations in sediments and watercourses which condition settlement, agriculture, and communication with communities near or far, is what makes them relevant also for an Iron Age context, despite changes in sea level or vegetation. The recurrent spatial overlap between burials with brooches and some of these landscape districts is the strongest indication for their relevance. Likely these alignments relate to the preconditions the landscapes provide in terms of connectivity and social interaction, and thus for the circulation of material culture. A detailed overview of the landscape districts and their characteristics may be found in Tab. 2.2, while the spatial dimension of these districts may be found in Fig. 2.2.

2.1.2 A conceptual framework

From the perspective of the formation of early medieval kingdoms in England, Christopher Scull (2001:122) has stated that models for these centralisation processes

Tab. 2.2: Overview of the landscape districts and their characteristics, after Puschmann (2005)/ NIBIO.

Landscape district	Characteristics	Landscape sub-districts
Low Alpine	High, barren landscapes. Wide, open moores, heaths or low alpine valleys	Dyraheio, Saudafjella
High Alpine	High, barren landscapes. Peaks, wide vistas over peaks, heaths and valleys, glaciers	glaciers: Folgefonni, Nupsfonn
Heathland/ Moorland	Least fertile lowland. Many valleys of which some are green and lush, pasture, heather, rocky hillocks, steep exposed coastline	Dalane, Bjerkreim/Sirdalsvatnet, Jæren fjellbygd
Jæren	Coast with sand/pebble beaches, flat cultivated, very fertile lowland. Wide vistas, exposed coastline, no archipelago	Låg Jæren, Høg Jæren
Outer coast	Strandflat. Sea surfaces broken by islands, skerries, bare rock, straits and small fjords-creating landscape rooms of various forms/ sizes. Sea varies between still/frothing/big waves, coastal heathland/pasture, thin sediments, limited cultivation, peat bogs	Øygarden/Karmøy
Outer fjords	Elevated part of the strandflat: fjords and hillsides, lusher/greener compared to Outer coast	Lysefjorden, Jøsenfjorden, Etnefjorden, Etnefjorden/ Vindafjorden, Åkrafjorden
Mid fjords	Narrow fjords and valleys, moraines, short/ steep waterways, waterfalls	Ryfylke islands, Sveio/Haugalandet, Halsnøy, Bjørnafjorden
Inner fjords	Grand fjordlandscape, high contrasts mountains-fjords, narrow lakes, valleys	Røldals/Suldalsvatnet

remain general as there is no archaeological evidence that permits identification of such socio-political units, despite numerous documentary sources. Traditionally, archaeological regions have been identified either retrogressively from younger historical regions, or by analysing material culture in terms of similarities and differences (Helgesson 2008:50). In addition, the structuring capacity of the natural borders for the location and character of settlements, as well lines of communication, have been taken into account in several works, while a wider spectrum of cultural expressions have been studied within a given landscape implicitly understood as a region (Callmer 1991:262; Hyenstrand 1974:13; Tesch 1992).

In Scandinavian research, several authors have addressed a wide range of regionalities. Chronologically, these articulations span from the Roman Period to the Viking Age, and are manifested within ritual systems, burial practices, architecture

Fig. 2.2: The delimitation of landscape districts as defined by Puschmann (2005)/NIBIO. Overview of place names mentioned in the text. Illustration: M. Østmo, I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

and settlement organisation, technology, and the use and distribution of material culture (Callmer 1991; Engevik 2010; Fabech and Ringtved 1991; Gammeltoft et al. 2008; Gjerpe 2016; Holst 2014; Petersson et al. 2008; Røstad 2015; Sindbæk 2008b; Svanberg 2003). Helgesson (2008:49) encourages consideration of both *if* and *how* prehistoric regions may be identified, and what they contribute to our understanding of human networks and strategies. According to Callmer (et al. 2017:3), material similarities presuppose intense communication within groups of people and contribute to the formation of cultural identities. Perceiving identity as something unfixed and constantly becoming, the circulation and use of material culture should be understood as recurring moments in ongoing processes of group formations, as argued by Gammeltoft and Sindbæk (2008:9). Scull's concern regarding the lack of archaeological support for regional identities reflecting kingdoms evidenced in documentary sources could imply that the networks and arenas of communication through which material culture was circulated were played out on a different social or geographical scale than that of a kingdom. Such differences in network scales have been argued for Viking Age Denmark (Sindbæk 2008b). Through formal network analyses of settlement sites with a selection of non-luxury artefacts Sindbæk (2010:268, 84) finds that the contact between regions took place through a small selection of sites, that wide distributions likely involve arenas for communication simultaneously involving larger fractions of the population. Herein lies also a response to Helgesson's considerations. Material similarity entails intense communication within a group, in itself indicative of networks. Examination of likely arenas for communication and distribution offers one approach to the underlying human strategies, as well as the mechanism that held groups together or set them apart from others, and the interrelation between social interaction and political structures.

According to Knappett (2017:35), it is when networks shift from networks of exchange to networks of affiliation that the circulation of materials may create social effects. Such mechanisms may be observed in Scandinavia in the late Roman and Migration periods. At that time, the initial circulation of imported artefacts such as bronze or glass vessels and Roman weapons was the prelude to an import of military techniques and hierarchical structure, affecting the local power structures (Sindbæk 2017:554–5). Chiefly or princely paraphernalia in burials such as the Flaghaug burial at Avaldsnes, constitute a superregional elite ideology involving artefacts of distant origins. The far-reaching connections implied by such objects may have contributed as much to the value of an object as its material components (Fontijn and Vaart-Verschaaf 2017:525). Such artefacts reference a super-regional imagery in contrast to local practice – what Fontijn and Vaart-Verschaaf (2017:527) term as *elitist mortuary identities,* which make up cornerstones in models of sociopolitical centres (Myhre 1987, 1991; Reiersen 2017:148–9).

Connectivity is central within the conceptual framework of *globalisation*. According to Hodos, globalisation is characterised by "processes of increasing connectivities that unfold and manifest as social awareness of those connectivities"

(Hodos 2017:4). Globalisation thus not only leads to shared practices, but also increases awareness and distinction of (cultural) difference, manifesting in local identities. Identities and practices are both similar and different, or a particularisation of the 'universal' (Witcher 2017:645). Such concepts should not be understood to stand in opposition to other models for socio-political change, such as peer-polity competition or centre–periphery dynamics. In fact, structured competition amongst local elites contributed to the spreading of Roman goods and ideology into Germanic areas, where they were combined with locally produced elite insignia, such as rosette fibulas or serpent head rings of gold, and used in the construction of political hierarchies (Hedeager 1992a:92; Witcher 2017:647–8). Some of the differences between these approaches lie in their different implicit presumptions, where centre-periphery implies a directionality from (active) centres to (passive) peripheries. In addition, the definition of what is central and what is peripheral depends on point of view – whether seen from Rome, or from Jutland or Jæren. Globalisation as a framework offers an alternative to top-down, centre-out approaches, instead enabling analyses that simultaneously combine the local and the global. Amongst other benefits is the implication of a process that unfolds over time, allowing a deep-time perspective on human connections and their synergies on different social or spatial scales (Feinman 2017:48–9). This article will draw on other sources to connectivity, such as non-local imports or the presence of boathouses, assuming their relevance for mobility by sea in order to interpret the patterns of spatial similarity or diversity.

As background to the review of research history of socio-political structure, centres, and groups, a few remarks are called for with regard to the selection of brooches as the crux of this analysis. Brooches and other jewellery are amongst the artefacts that traditionally have been associated with women and seen as indicative of female burials (Shetelig 1912:110). The inferring of social gender roles from artefacts is in itself a voluminous and complex discourse that lies beyond the scope of this article. Here, it is not gender per se that is the object of examination, but rather the structured use of brooches in processes of group formation. Objects with an established association with female gender have been imbued with other symbolic meanings or references as well. The gender role of 'lady of the house' has become a firmly established reference for burials containing pairs of brooches combined with keys and textile related tools (Kristoffersen 2000, 2004a, 2004b; Sundqvist 2014). The recurrent use of such stereotyped gender roles has been criticised, amongst other by Berg (2015:137) who argues that keys, rather than referencing an image of the 'housewife' symbolises ownership and access regardless of gender. Similarly, the household equipment and commodities in the Oseberg ship burial may have contributed to downplaying the interred woman's/women's political position in favour of a social position connected to the household sphere, whereby a woman's rank was determined by the rank of her male relatives. Alternatively, these objects may, according to Pedersen (2017:119–20), be interpreted as a representation of the court of a political

ruler and as a demonstration of wealth and power. Burials traditionally gendered as female are no less likely than male burials to be politically significant. Certain gendered roles or ideals may become politicised in specific historical contexts. Along these lines, Glørstad (2010:206) has argued that high-quality cloaks and penannular brooches circulated among sections of the political elite in the Viking Age, thus becoming an expression of an aristocratic masculine ideal *and* a political statement. Repeated and structured use of dress accessories, particularly in ritualised contexts, contributes to objects becoming politicised and underlines the social roles or networks they symbolise (Glørstad 2010:170–1). Following Sindbæk (2010:284), such practices become more integrated and widespread within a network after reaching a threshold of use by sufficiently influential and numerous persons. The *effect* of such objects in burial contexts is their contribution to staging public personas and identities and signalling group membership (Gosden 2005). Other identity aspects, such as gender, may be intertwined with group identities, and are here addressed only in their politicised form.

Fredrik Barth's (1969) seminal work on ethnic groups and boundaries brought focus to the active production and transformation of ethnic identity through interaction. His approach underlines that any particular practices or aspects of material culture may become ethnic markers depending on their historical and cultural context. In this manner, ethnicity – or identity for that matter – becomes instrumental. Curta (2007:167) suggests an understanding of ethnicity as both instrumental and primordial. His understanding draws on the practice-theoretical approach of Bourdieu (1977), in which the embodied social structures and disposition of the *habitus* socialise people into a cultural understanding of their ethnicity from birth, making it close to innate (Curta 2007:166–7). Material culture does not simply reflect ethnicity, but is both the cause and effect of this social process of identity negotiation (Curta 2007: 169–70). Repeated ritual practice, as seen in burial contexts, becomes both a medium for and result of aspects of identity.

2.1.3 Material and methods

The 613 brooches from 541 burials included in this study have been collected based on the inventory databases of the regional museums at the universities of Oslo, Bergen, and Stavanger.[1] They have been classified based on type descriptions in the inventories and overviews in published works (in particular Kristoffersen 2000; Lillehammer 1996; Meyer 1934; Petersen 1928; Reichstein 1975; Shetelig 1910) and

1 A visual examination of all brooches would be far more time consuming and might have called for alternative parameters to delimit the study, as it was conducted within the framework of a three-year PhD project. A deep-time study was permitted by relying on published secondary sources, inventory descriptions, and photos.

unpublished works (Glørstad 2012; Jensen 1998; Røstad 2016a). The type descriptions have been synchronised, as it varies whether museum inventories refer to published overviews such as Shetelig (1906, 1910, 1912), Rygh (1885), Petersen (1928), or others. The brooches are classified in terms of type or subtype, in some cases groups of brooches, such as the 'simple bow brooches' signifying brooches of type R243 or closely related forms, in reference to Rygh (1885). Aspects of mortuary practices were recorded whenever possible, depending on the quality of the accompanying documentation when they were registered in the museums' collections, supplied by descriptions of monuments and finds in records such as Helliesen (1901) and Shetelig (1912). The aspects treated here include treatment of the corpse, monument form, and reuse of monuments. In all following statistical and spatial analyses, identical brooches present within the same burial are recorded as a single instance of a type. Frequencies were calculated in IBM SPSS and grouped in accordance with landscape regions as defined by Puschmann (2005).

The analyses in this article target spatial and temporal variations and consider the nature of their distribution. When inferring societal structures from spatial distribution of material culture, the combination of several sources is preferable (Helgesson 2008:53, with refs). This analysis is based on the correlation of different brooch types and selected aspects of mortuary practices. A full understanding of these practices and the significance of their internal variation deserves a fuller contextual analysis. In this article it must suffice to highlight the covariation of several practices and suggest tentative conclusions regarding their spatial variation. The spatial distribution of other material remains, such as burials with prestigious objects, courtyard sites, or boat houses are included to contrast or support the regional patterns in burials as relevant. A correlation with the chronological phases of Avaldsnes is presented in Tab. 2.1 and addressed in the diachronic presentation and following discussions. Helgesson (2008:55–6) lists several methodological considerations for inferring societal structures from spatial distributions of relevance for the following account and discussion:

1. Consideration of alternative societal models.
2. Attentiveness to lacunae or anomalies in the distribution, and their potential significance.
3. Consideration of the nature of underlying structures or networks: hierarchical, regional, or communal?
4. Considerations of predispositions for connectivity provided by the natural terrain.
5. The nature of peripheries: do they correspond with natural barriers?
6. Attentiveness to the time-depth of the spatial structures, in order to consider their relationship to long-term social structures or short-term events.

The discussion draws on several models presented in previous research on regionality and socio-political structure (in particular Hedeager 1992b; Helgesson 2003,

2008; Holst 2014; Ringtved 1988; Sindbæk 2008a, 2008b). It should be noted that regional differences observed in previous studies are not clear-cut; there are also interregional similarities. This reality limits the utility of approaches that focus on borders. Scull (2001:123–4), for example, is pessimistic and argues that while political affiliation is likely to have affected burial practices, it is hard to grasp which identities or networks cause regional variations. Before moving on to the presentation of the analyses, it is important to revisit relevant research on socio-political structures in Germanic societies in general and in southwest Norway in particular, as well as research on brooches and ornamentation as a means of creating group or network identities. This will serve to situate the present study in terms of how it correlates with existing knowledge and how it strives to contribute with new understanding.

2.1.4 Centres and socio-political structure as point of departure

Early research on the socio-political structure of Germanic societies in Scandinavia and in continental Europe relied heavily on written sources on Germanic tribes, such as the works of Caesar, Tacitus, or Procopius (Kristoffersen 2000; Näsman 1991:322–3). From the 1980s–90s onwards, documentary sources have been paired with anthropological models or post-processual theories, bringing to bear new themes of research, such as symbolic and ideological aspects of burials, ritualization, and the transformation of tribal communities (Hedeager 1992b; Myhre 1987, 1991; Opedal 1998). A prime example of this is Hedeager's research (1992a, 1992b) on the transition from tribal society to early state formation in Denmark, formulating a model in which elites are established and consolidated through ritualised use of prestigious objects in lavish burials. Once the elites are well established, these burial practices are discontinued in the centres while persisting in the peripheries where power is still unstable (Hedeager 1992b:142–5). The spatially structured distribution of prestigious objects with peripheral clusters and 'empty' centres known from documentary sources has been interpreted as the result of similar mechanisms in processes of power formation in northern Gaul in the late Roman Period (Nicolay 2014:330–2).

Variety of forms notwithstanding, relations between lord and retinue are argued to be the common underlying structure of Germanic societies (Nicolay 2014: 3–4). In his seminal work on gift exchange, Mauss (2002 [1924]) argues that a gift is not mere representation, but a personification or extension of the giver; thus, gift exchange forges deeply personal bonds and creates demands of reciprocity. In Graeber's view (2010:11–12),hierarchical transactions are the opposite of reciprocity, albeit camouflaged as such by the suggestion of an equal exchange; peasants providing production surplus in exchange for the lord's protection. A king's power depends on his ability to secure his retinue and alliances via the giving of

gifts. Steuer's (1989) model of *Personenverbandstaat* has the same underlying principle: the king's power is not territorial, but built on political alliances and manifested through the giving of exclusive gifts. This model has greatly influenced research on Scandinavian Iron Age elites, centres, and socio-political structures, whether pertaining to weapon distribution, princely burials, or distribution of elite insignia (Jørgensen 1991; Lund-Hansen 2001; Magnus 2002; Myhre 1991; Opedal 2010; Stylegar 2008). Of particular relevance are works that identify political centres within the present area of study, such as Myhre (1985, 1987) and Ringstad (1992); their methods and conclusions recently have been reviewed and expanded by Reiersen (2017). Anglo-Saxon kingdoms have also provided a relevant historical model for socio-political structures and change in Scandinavia; for example, Callmer's study (1991:272) arguing that social aggregates in Scandinavia were slightly more territorial than those of Frankish society, while also displaying a variation in size, socio-political levels, and forms of overlordship. For the Viking Age, saga literature and medieval historical sources on ownership and taxation have also been used to identify centres (Bjørkvik 1999; Iversen 2008). These studies have increasingly focused on polycentric models for early estates and their dependant farms (Reiersen 2009, 2017:81–2 with refs; Skre 1998; Stylegar 2001:60–4). Such estates have been argued to form the core in the processes of state formation (Iversen 2008). Skre's (2018) interpretation of Avaldsnes as a manor for sea kings runs along similar lines, bringing historical and linguistic sources into the discussion.

An alternative approach to socio-political structures has been provided by research on material culture's role in negotiating identities. Kristoffersen's (2000) analyses of the use of ornamentation of high-quality dress accessories as a means of creating an 'elite identity' is a major contribution to this field of research. The Tinghaug complex with Krosshaug and other elite burials is suggested as a centre of major importance, associated with the development of particular sub-types of relief brooches (Kristoffersen 2000:145–7, 205–7). The distribution of such brooches outside Jæren, or even Rogaland, is taken as an indication of the extent of Tinghaug's political connections. It should be noted that with a reference to the medieval administrative border created by the Boknafjord, Kristoffersen (2000:179) raises the possibility that this division may have roots in Iron Age realities, but does not investigate this further. With the exception of the votive deposit of a relief brooch on Karmøy, such objects are absent on the outer coast in general and around Karmsund in particular. Thus, this area does not receive attention in Kristoffersen's political interpretation.

The use of brooches in the negotiation of identities constitutes the main focus in Røstad's (2016a) analysis of jewellery in Scandinavia in the 5th–7th centuries AD. Applying a correlated chronology for cruciform brooches, clasps, relief brooches, and conical brooches, she maps their distribution and demonstrates superregional and regional patterns. Some brooch sub-types were common for all of Scandinavia, such as the cruciform brooches type *Mundheim*, while others were regional types specific to a smaller area, such as the relief brooches of type *Rogalandsgruppen*

(Røstad 2016a:120–1, 210–15). Furthermore, she argues that brooches were involved in identity negotiations on different scales and levels, addressing ethnic and other identities. By comparison with Migration Period political units, she concludes that there are some correlations between assumed political structures and the regional identities indicated by brooches – at least in the late 5th and early 6th centuries (Røstad 2015, 2016a:372–6).

By situating the present study among these works, the following analysis strives to provide nuance to the aims accounted for in the introduction. Recent decades have seen an increased focus on ritual or cultural regionality and diversity (Callmer et al. 2017; Svanberg 2003). The concurrent contrast of regional particularities and the many similarities in practices, material culture, and language across regions and vast distances may be ascribed to mechanisms of high and increased connectivity leading to 'similarly different' practices, materialities, or identities (Witcher 2017).

Previous research on socio-political centres or distribution of material culture have resulted in the delineation of several distinct regions along the western coast of Norway. In this article the focus shifts to a smaller scale, addressing intra-regional diversity within the regions suggested by previous research. Scale and scope are of course interrelated; distribution maps that serve to display the relative density of any given material object within Scandinavia or Norway inadvertently may contribute to camouflaging regional or sub-regional landscapes. On the contrary, research on elite networks and socio-political centres has shown a great variety of centres across the study area. The choice of scale is essential, not only because it shifts from an inter-regional to intra-regional approach, but also because it allows a novel perspective on the dynamics between socio-political centres and the surrounding landscapes.

2.2 Sub-regionality – a diachronic perspective

This section provides a diachronic presentation of the burials with brooches and accounts for the distribution of brooch types in the landscapes as well as mortuary monument form, treatment of the deceased body, and aspects of reuse of mortuary monuments. An overall interpretation of each chronological phase follows the descriptive account, outlining the sub-regions of that period.

2.2.1 Roman Iron Age, phase C1b–C2 c. 210/220–310/320

At the very beginning of this period, in the 3rd century, there are only a few brooches within the study area (Fig. 2.3). Following Kristoffersen and Magnus (2010:64), *Roman period brooches* include R230–239 (type specimen depicted in Rygh 1885), but

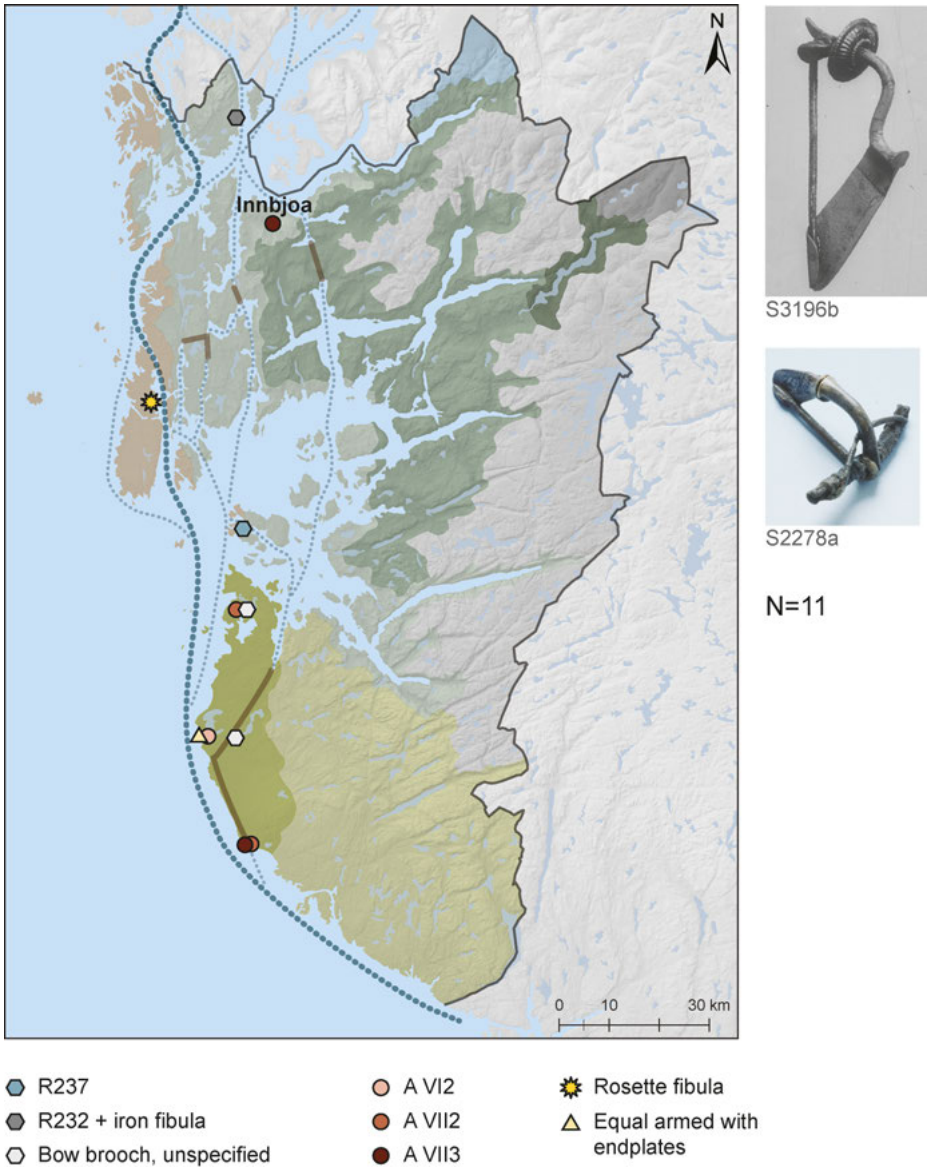


Fig. 2.3: Distribution of C1b–C2 brooches sorted by type. Illustrative examples: rosette fibula S3196, AVII.2 S2278. Landscape districts after Puschmann (2005)/NIBIO. Illustration: M. Østmo, I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

as some of these also date to C3, the Roman period brooches in this distribution map are mainly Almgren Group VII series 2 and 3 (Almgren 1897). The distribution follows the sailing route along coastal Jæren, the Ryfylke islands, and the Karmsund strait

and around the alternative sailing routes through portages in the inner fjords, in addition to the rich agricultural areas near Tinghaug at central Jæren. The rosette fibula found at Våråå, where the Karmsund strait narrows just south of Avaldsnes, is generally acknowledged as an insignia of south-Scandinavian elites. This specimen is a Zealand type with links to the Himlingøje/Stevns area (Hansen 1995:261; Hansen and Przybyla 2010; Reiersen 2017:123). A silver brooch type Almgren VII, ser. 3, was found at Innbjoa in Bjoafjord, in a burial containing other elite insignia: a serpent head arm- and finger-ring in gold along with spinning whorls in bronze and silver, contemporary with the princely Flaghaug, grave 2, from the 3rd century (Reiersen 2011, 2017: 256–8). It should be noted that though few in numbers, these early brooches are distributed rather evenly from north to south, but not far into the hinterland or inner fjords. The distribution pattern may relate to routes of communication by sea and to central areas. The distribution of types includes typical late Roman period brooches and other brooches that stand out as indicators of elite networks and high status, such as the rosette fibula by Karmsund, while the silver Innbjoa brooch provides the same references particularly for its combination with other elite insignia. Both these burials with brooches relate to recognised coastal centres by the main sailing route, or where the main sailing route connects with inner fjord-routes (Reiersen 2011:164).
In conclusion, the distribution of brooches within the different landscapes displays the earliest tendency toward a relatively higher frequency of brooches at Jæren, a tendency that will be addressed in following periods below. The defining characteristic for this period is the apparent lack of sub-regions, which does not mean they were not there, but rather that brooches were not used to articulate such affiliation or negotiate such identities.

2.2.2 Roman Iron Age, phase C3 c. 310/320–400

In the 4th century, there is a general increase in burials with brooches (Fig. 2.4a). New brooch types are introduced, contributing to the definition of C3 as a chronological phase. Amongst these defining brooches are the Nydam fibulas, equal-armed brooches with triangular endplates, animal-shaped brooches, and silver-plated fibulas (Slomann 1977). The Nydam brooch is characterised by its crossbow construction and a knob attached to the top end of the bow, a visible coil often adorned with knobs at each end (Hansen 1970, n. 173). Herein lies the distinction from cruciform brooches that also have three knobs, two at each end of the coil and on at the top of the bow, but positioned along the sides of a rectangular headplate wider than the bow and covering the coil (Hansen 1970; Slomann 1977). Some of the brooches categorised as cruciform by Reichstein (1975) do not follow this distinction, but should rather be seen as C3-protoforms for the cruciform brooches that are developed in the following century (Kristoffersen 2000:62). Simple bow

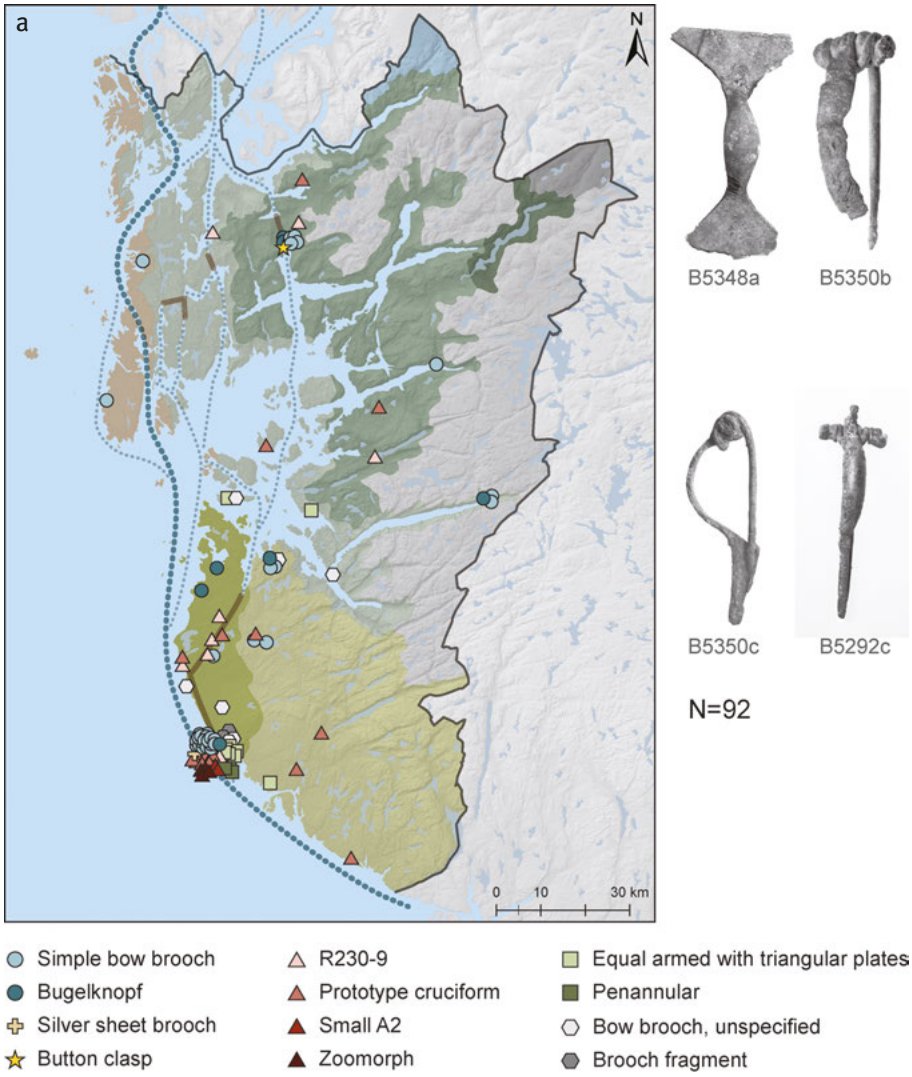


Fig. 2.4a: (a) Distribution of brooches dating to the Roman Period, Illustrative examples: B5348a Equal-armed brooch with triangular ends, B5350b Nydam fibula, B5350c R243/simple bow brooch, B5292c Åk/prototype cruciform; (b) Distribution of burials containing prestigious objects, namely Roman imports, gold, and weapons. The distribution of prestigious objects covers a larger area than the present study area, which is marked by the grey line and the delimitation of landscape districts (after Andersson 1993; Hauken 2005; Myhre 1987). Illustration: M. Østmo, I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

brooches, a common term for brooches of type R243 and related forms, appear in larger numbers from C3 and continue to be in use towards the late 5th century (Kristoffersen 2006:50; Røstad 2016b:96).

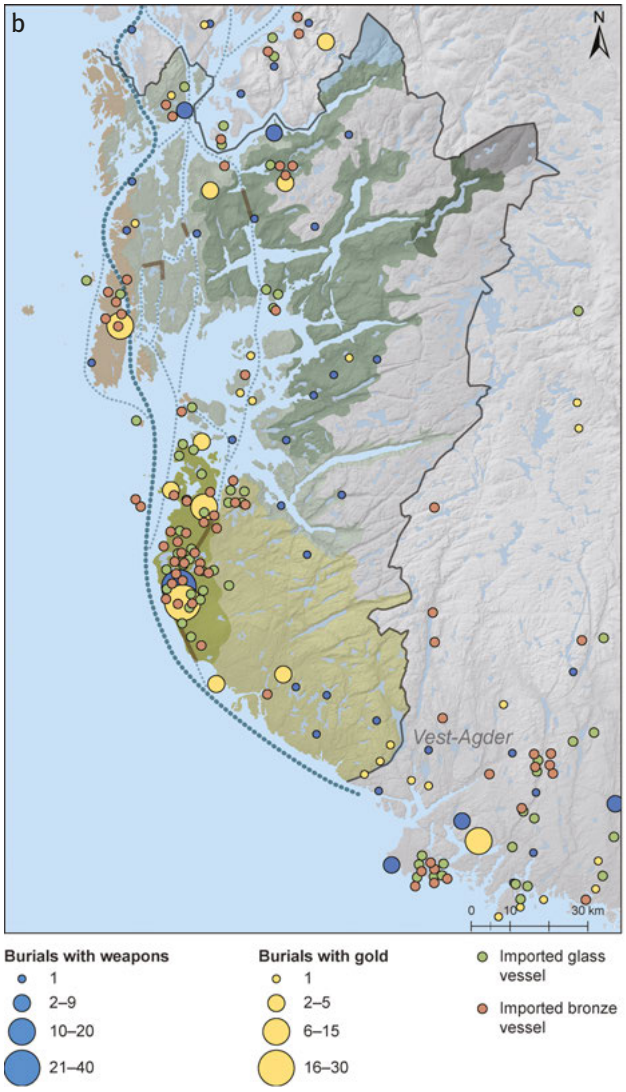


Fig. 2.4b

A large portion of the C3 brooches are found in burials at Jæren, both along the coast and in the hinterland; a few are also located further in the fjords (Fig. 2.4a). One burial with a pair of iron Niemberger or Haraldsted fibulas was located at Longåker on the western coast of Karmøy (Kristoffersen 2006:table 4). In addition to this burial, only one burial containing a simple bow brooch was located along the outer coast North of the Boknafjord. In comparison, the beaches of Jæren are scattered with burials. More than 600 burial cairns of various shapes have been found to

form large, continuous cemeteries, termed *beach cemeteries,* in use from the late Roman Iron Age to the Viking Age, though used most intensively in C3–D2b (Bergstøl 1996; Lillehammer 1996). Disregarding the Longåker burial, the outer coast appears to present a lacuna, leading to questions about the representativity of this distribution. In that respect, it should be emphasized that the distribution of brooches represents only one aspect of society and should not be taken as directly representative for the society or population as a whole (e.g. Näsman 1991:326–7 for a critical approach). Compared to distributions of burials with prestigious objects such as imported vessels of glass or bronze, weapons, and gold, these elite burials display a different pattern. A clustering of Roman period prestigious objects around Avaldsnes underlines the significance of this area, and demonstrates that there are burials there, but they do not contain brooches. Avaldsnes seems to have been well established by this time, with a hall, boathouse, and mortuary monuments (Tab. 2.1). The lacuna of burials with brooches may then be understood not as an indication of the area's low significance with few burials, but rather as a *structured difference of practice*.

Other mortuary practices also come across as spatially structured; for example, oblong or oval outer monuments are clearly bound to Jæren, while round mounds or cairns are the dominant form in the remaining areas (Fig. 2.5b). Similarly, the body of the deceased is treated differently across the study area (Fig. 2.5c). At Jæren inhumation is prevalent, and the same tendency may be observed in the very few burials found on the outer coast or outer fjord districts. In the heathland/moorlands and middle fjord districts, however, cremation is practiced at much higher frequencies. The treatment of the dead is presumably linked to cultural understandings and dispositions regarding what constitutes a proper burial and the transformation from the sphere of the living to the sphere of the dead. Another aspect of mortuary practices is the reuse of burial monuments. In C3, reuse of monuments is present in all landscape regions (Tab. 2.3). Jæren stands out in that as many as 22% of the burials with brooches are primary burials in monuments that were subsequently reused in the same or in following periods.

In conclusion, the sub-regions inferred in this period are Jæren, Karmsund/outer coast, the Ryfylke islands in the outer fjord district, Bjoafjord and Jøsenfjord in the middle fjord districts, and a few very local distributions in the heathland/moorland. The articulation of difference with respect to neighbouring areas comes across most clearly at Jæren, characterised by the most complex variations in brooch types, though clearly dominated by simple bow brooches, in addition to construction of oblong or oval cairns/mounds and the practice of inhumation. Reuse of burial monuments is seen in all landscapes, but the frequency with which burial monuments would be reused in following periods is generally high at Jæren, indicating the continued significance of the burials with brooches for the people living there. Karmsund on the outer coast, including the socio-political centre located at Avaldsnes, is characterised by its lack of depositing brooches in burials. The three remaining landscape regions are defined by nuances. They are not substantially divergent from their

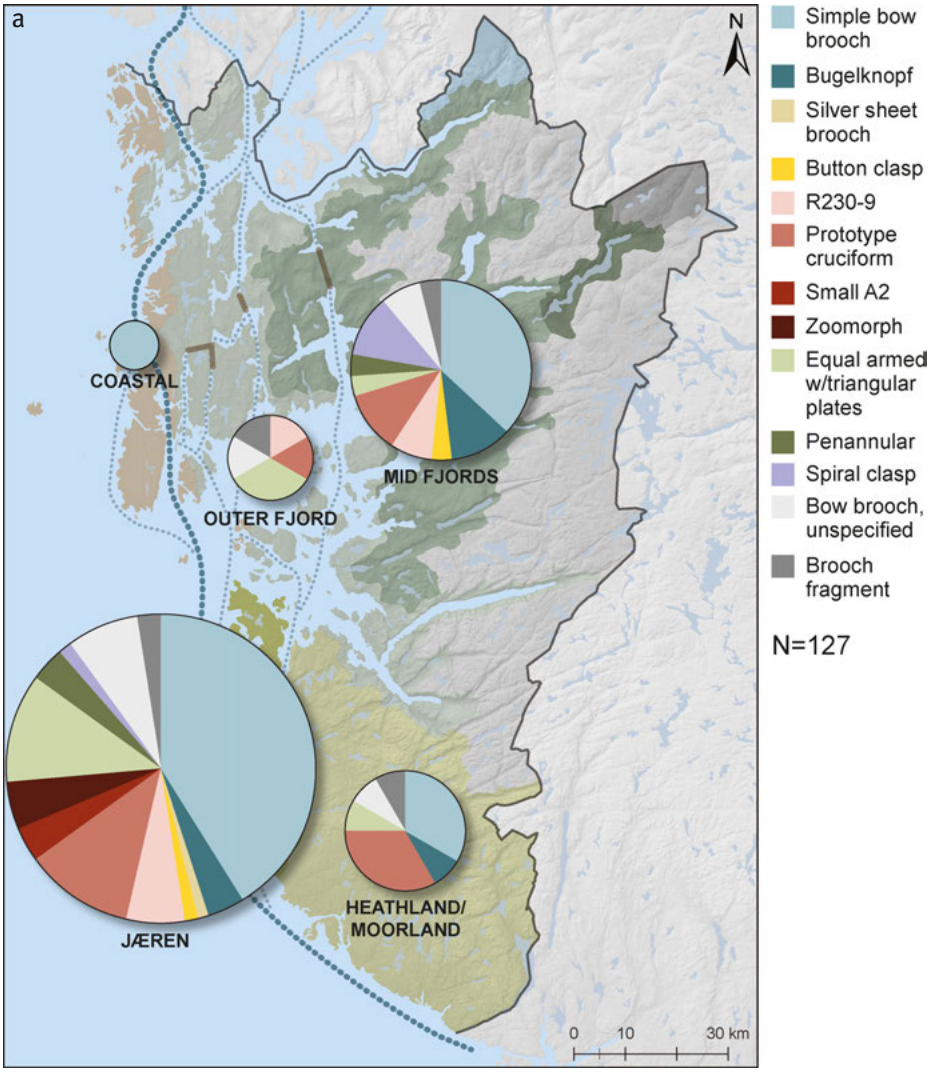


Fig. 2.5a: Frequencies of (a) brooch types, (b) outer monument form, and (c) the treatment of the deceased in the period C3. Landscape districts after Puschmann (2005)/NIBIO. Illustration: M. Østmo, I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

neighbouring landscapes; rather, they are similar in some aspects, different in others. For example, the outer fjord burials, in this period located mainly on the Ryfylke islands, feature predominantly round monuments similar to the heathland/moorland, but inhumation is prevalent as at Jæren. The heathland/moorland has brooches similar to Jæren but cremation is prevalent. The distribution of burials with brooches displays the most evident contrast between Jæren and Karmsund.

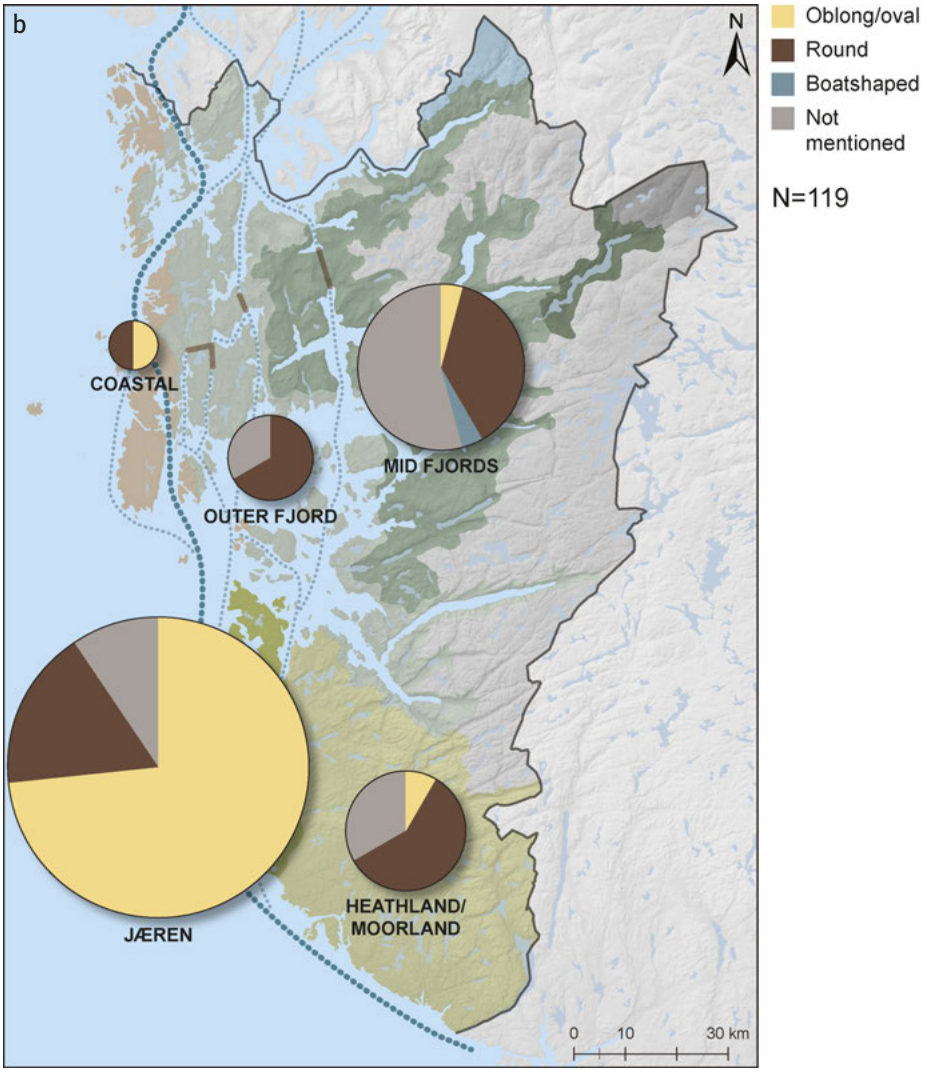


Fig. 2.5b

2.2.3 Migration Period c. 400–550

The fully developed cruciform brooch marks the beginning of the Migration Period. Cruciform brooches belong to sub-phases D1 and D2a, 400–75 and 475–525 respectively (Kristoffersen 1999; Kristoffersen and Magnus 2010). The production of cruciform brooches is assumed to have ceased towards the late Migration Period, as they are not found together with the late relief brooches, nor with the equal-armed

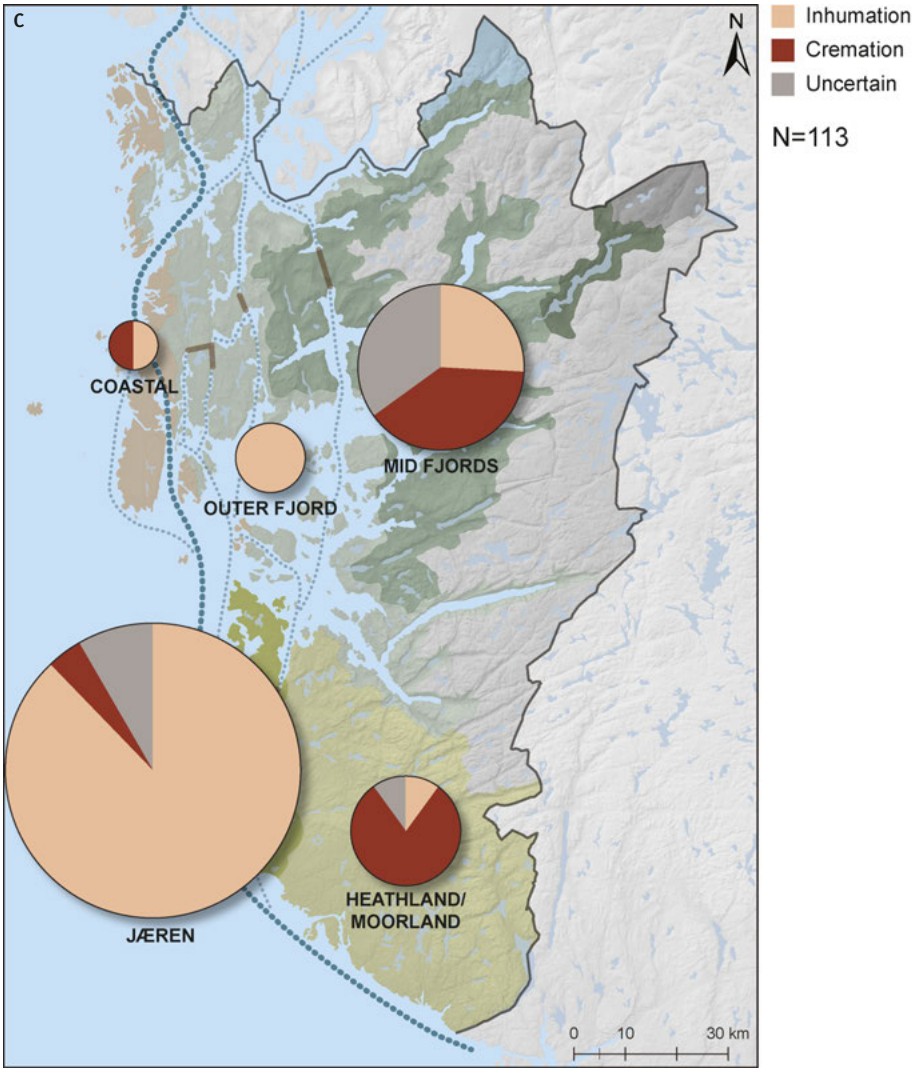


Fig. 2.5c

brooches without endplates, both dated to D2b, 525–50 (Kristoffersen 2000:70, 82–3). The distribution of cruciform brooches consolidates the spatial patterns established in C3: large clusters at Jæren, both in the hinterland and along the beaches. The contrast to the outer coast and Karmsund is clear, as no cruciform brooches are found here (Fig. 2.6a, b). Amongst the brooches, there are subgroups such as the cruciform type Mundheim, which is found in all landscape regions where cruciform brooches are in use. This subtype is termed *southwest Norwegian* by Reichstein, but appears in fact all along the western coast, parts of the northern

Tab. 2.3: Overview of singular use versus reuse of monuments in the late Roman Period. Note that reuse may be under-represented due to poor documentation in several burials. All burials where the artefacts do not indicate several individuals or documented secondary phases are listed as singular use.

landscape district		Only known grave in monument	Primary grave in later reused monument	Secondary burial in reused monument
Heathlands/ Moorlands	N=11	8		3
Jæren	N=59	41	13	5
Outer coast	N=1	1		
Outer fjords	N=5	3	1	1
Mid fjords	N=16	11	2	3

coast and eastern Sweden (Røstad 2016a:120–1). Thus, it bears witness to the interconnectedness of Scandinavia at this time. At the same time, there are local distributions of other sub-types, such as Byrkje.

The spatial pattern formed by the relief brooches comprises fewer specimens than the cruciform brooches (Fig. 2.6a, b). While they repeat the general distribution pattern, they cluster and display more diversity and higher quality at southern and central Jæren, particularly in connection with the Tinghaug complex. It should be mentioned that a relief brooch (S9269), interpreted as part of a goldsmith hoard in combination with clasps and a gold ingot, was uncovered at Syre, on southern Karmøy (Kristoffersen 2012:172; Zachrisson 2018:706). This indicates that such brooches were in fact available, though still not selected for deposition in burials in this sub-region.

All clasp types (Fig. 2.6c) are found at Jæren, while two parallel tendencies apply for the remaining landscapes: spiral clasps, dating mainly to D1, are distributed along the middle fjords, where local and regional communication routes should be expected; and slightly younger button clasps follow sailing routes along the outer coast and outer fjords, where they are located at strategic spots, such as the burial at Storasund, Karmøy, which also contained a single simple bow brooch.

Jæren is characterised by a high diversity of sub-types, several located solely at Jæren: Ådland, Fristad, Shetelig small brooches of types A4 and B6, a shield-shaped brooch from Krosshaug, S-shaped brooches from Kvassheim, and a few unique or rare clasps. A single rare clasp is also found in the southernmost part of the outer fjord area (Figs. 2.6c, 2.7b). Another aspect of mortuary practices appears to be closely bound to Jæren: burials furnished with three or more identical brooches. This practice is not widely spread; the brooches used in such large sets are simple bow fibulas or cruciform brooches. They are located mainly at the beach

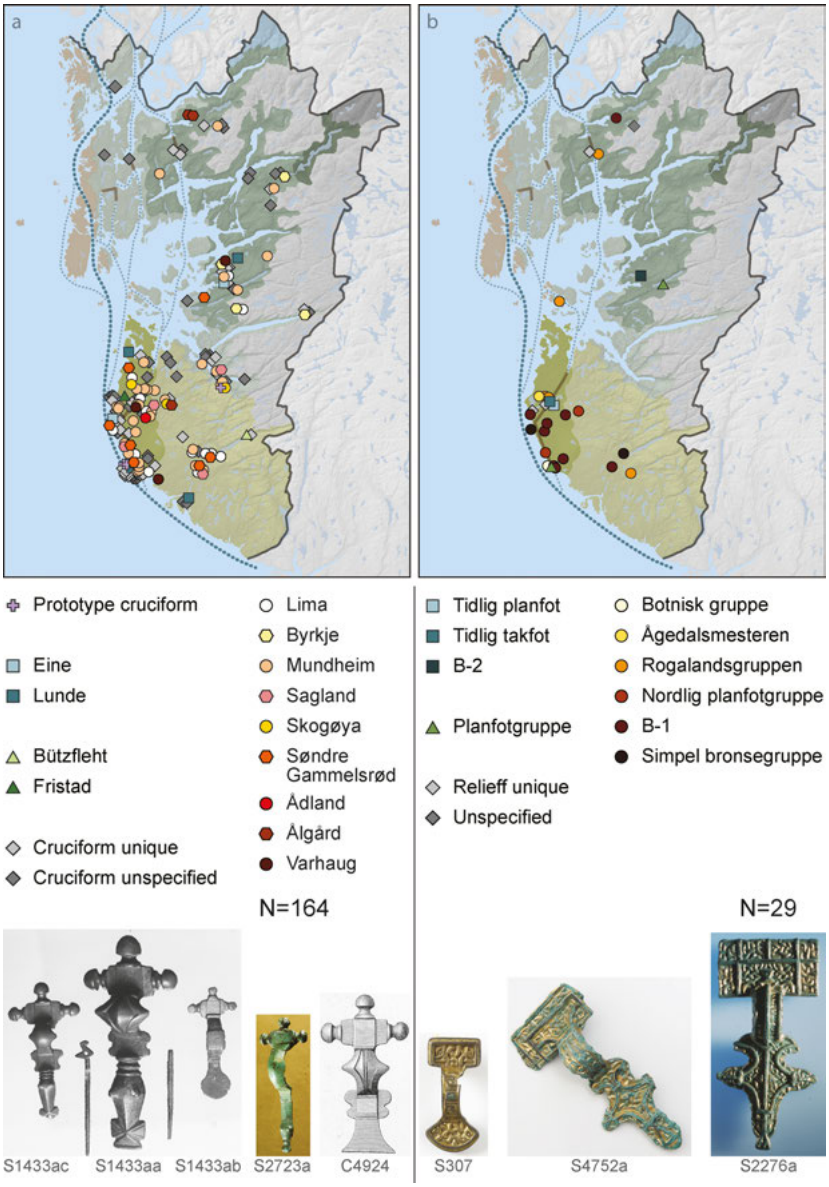


Fig. 2.6a–b: Distribution of (a) cruciform brooches, (b) relief brooches and (c) clasps, and (d) a distribution of burials with 3–5 identical brooches. While several of the brooch types overlap, the cruciform brooches are not found with the latest relief brooches of Style 1 ornamentation, the latter belonging to sub-phase D2b. Illustrative examples: Cruciform: S1433ac+aa Mundheim, S1433ab Søndre Gammelsrød, S2723a cruciform unique, C4924 Lima; Relief brooches: S307 B-1 (spatulate foot), S4752 Nordlig Planfotgruppe, S2276a Rogalandsgruppe; Clasps: S2718c Spiral clasps, S7577a Rare/Unique, S9181a Button clasps. Landscape districts after Puschmann (2005)/NIBIO. Illustration: M. Østmo, I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

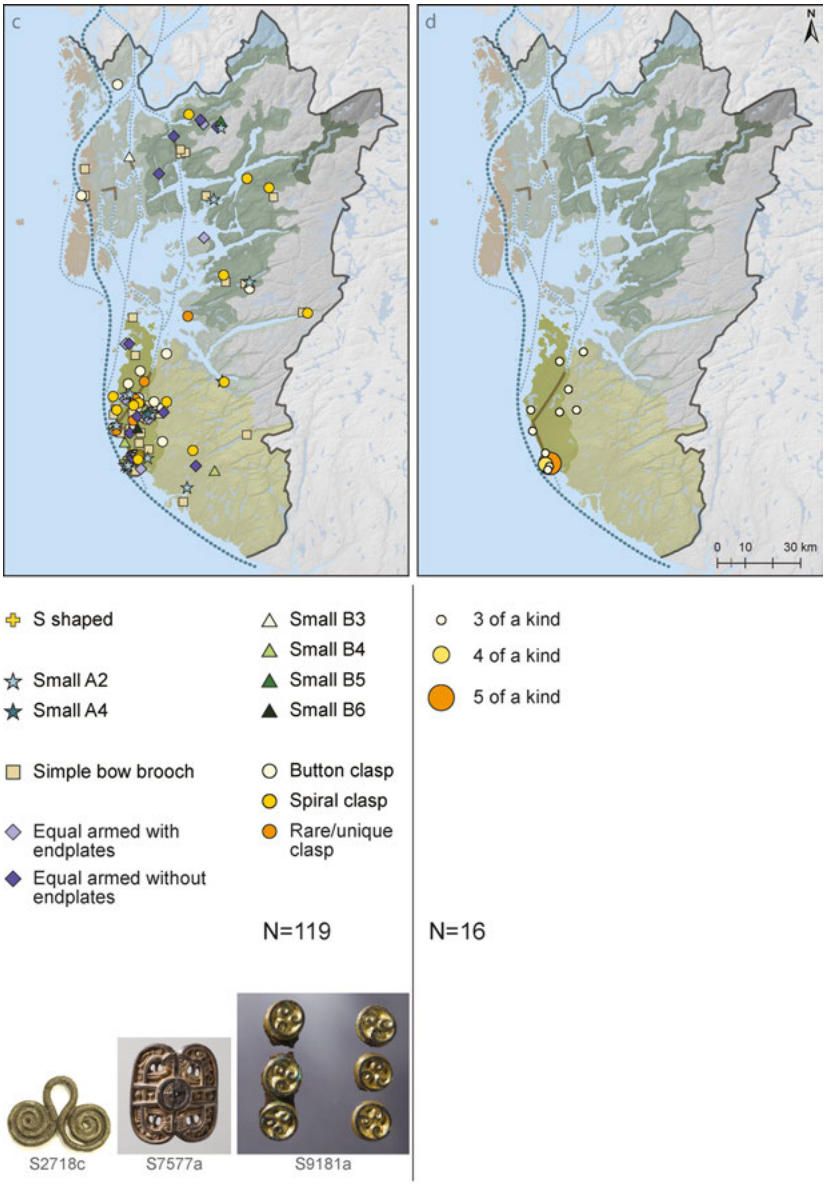

c
d
N
0 10 30 km
S shaped
Small A2
Small A4
Simple bow brooch
Equal armed with endplates
Equal armed without endplates
Small B3
Small B4
Small B5
Small B6
Button clasp
Spiral clasp
Rare/unique clasp
N=119
3 of a kind
4 of a kind
5 of a kind
N=16
S2718c
S7577a
S9181a

Fig. 2.6c–d

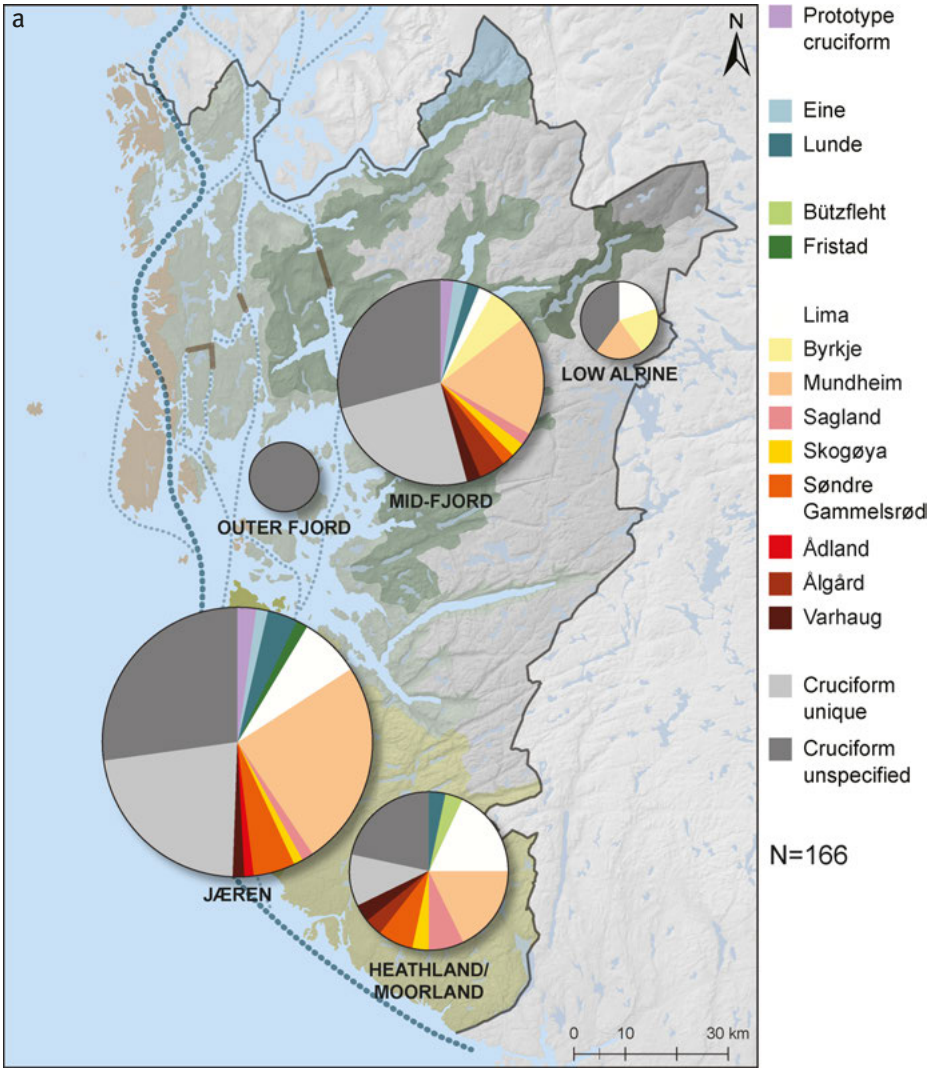


Fig. 2.7a: Statistical illustration of the spatial structuring of (a) cruciform brooches, (b) clasps and relief brooches, and of aspects of burial practices as (c) monument form and (d) body treatment. Landscape districts after Puschmann (2005)/NIBIO. Illustration: M. Østmo, I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

cemeteries, but a few examples are found further inland along the transition between Jæren and the heathland/moorland towards the northeast (Fig. 2.6d).

As in period C3, inhumation and monuments of oblong/oval form are prevalent at Jæren (Fig. 2.7c, d). The contrast to the heathland/moorlands observed in C3 is not upheld in the Migration Period. The heathland/moorlands have fewer burials and accordingly fewer sub-types. Two of these display local distribution, where Shetelig's

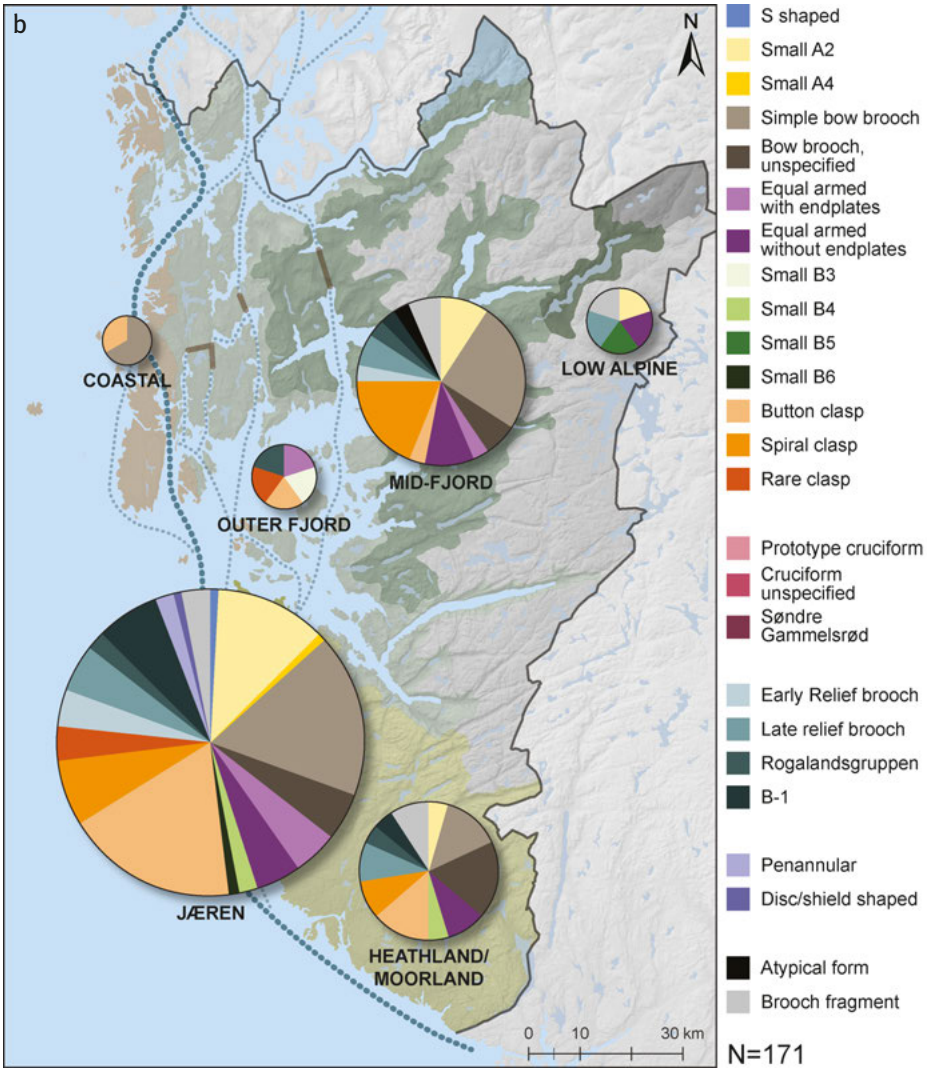


Fig. 2.7b

small brooches of type B4 and cruciform Ålgård are common with Jæren and the middle fjord districts respectively. The marked difference compared to Jæren in C3 – the practices of cremation and round monuments – is relatively muted. Increased similarity with Jæren could imply that these sub-regions were more integrated with each other in the Migration Period. The opposition toward the outer coast and Karmsund, however, is even more pronounced than in C3. The burial with a button clasp combined with a simple bow-brooch at Storasund and recent metal-detector finds not

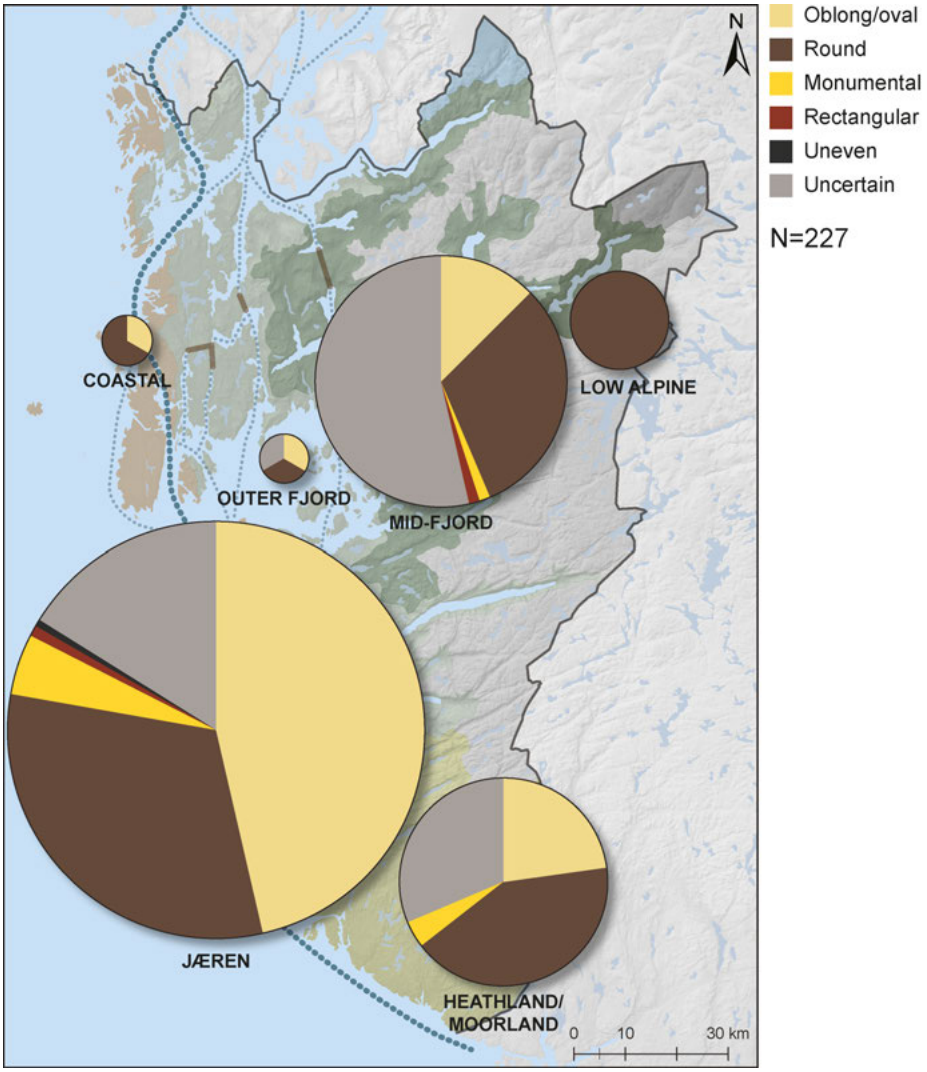


Fig. 2.7c

included in the present analysis could imply the use of small brooches in this sub-region (Skre pers. comm., and S13812).

As seen in Tab. 2.4, 27.5% of the burials at Jæren are interred as secondary burials, a relatively high proportion compared to the other sub-regions. The frequency with which the monuments of burials with brooches are subject to later reuse at Jæren is approximately 10%. In comparison, both the middle fjords and the heathland/moorland districts show slightly lower frequencies for secondary burials, both approximately 10%. There is a slight increase in the frequency of burials with brooches in the

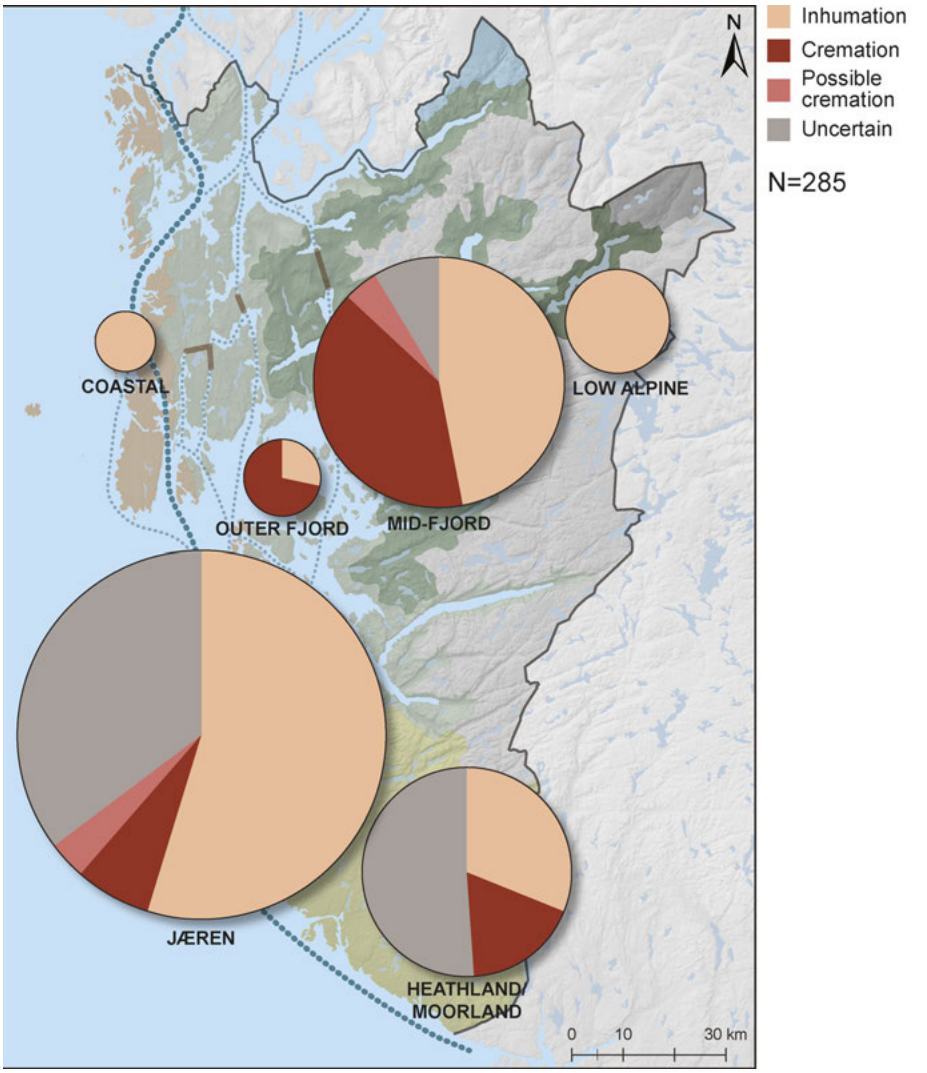


Fig. 2.7d

middle fjords and heathland/moorland that were later subjected to secondary use, displaying a slightly delayed tendency compared to the trajectory at Jæren.

In conclusion, the most clearly defined sub-regions are Jæren, the combined middle fjord and low alpine region, and the Karmsund on the outer coast. The latter is characterised first and foremost by its lack of cruciform and relief brooches. The outer fjord districts have undergone changes from the previous period, as burials with brooches with two exceptions now appear on the mainland north or south of the Boknafjord, rather than on the islands. The compilation of brooch types is not

Tab. 2.4: Overview of singular use versus reuse of monuments in the Migration Period. See Tab. 2.3 for general comments.

landscape district		Only known grave in monument	Primary grave in later reused monument	Secondary burial in reused monument
Low alpine	N=10	4	4	2
Heathlands/ Moorlands	N=47	39	3	5
Jæren	N=182	115	17	50
Outer coast	N=3		2	1
Outer fjords	N=8	7	1	
Mid fjords	N=75	55	12	8

very informative – the northern area mainly comprising unspecified cruciform brooches. Thus, the outer fjord region north of the Boknafjord is still set apart from Karmsund on the outer coast, but is also slightly different from the middle fjord region where a more diverse use of brooches may be seen.

The middle fjord area, together with the bordering low alpine areas, seems to form an integrated sub-region, set apart mostly by not sharing the same local brooch types as found at Jæren, a mixed practice with both cremation and inhumation, and prevalent round monuments. The burials with brooches in the low alpine landscape in Etne and in Dyraheio are located close to the borders with the middle fjord landscapes. The cruciform type Byrkje is only found in these two landscape regions. The practice of reusing burial monuments is seen in these landscapes as well, but not as frequently as at Jæren. The frequency in which burials with brooches from this period will be subject to later reuse approaches that of Jæren.

Jæren is distinguished by a complex brooch corpus, several types of which are found only here. Large brooch sets with more than two identical brooches as a practice is also bound to Jæren. As in the previous period, the oblong/oval monuments and inhumation are prevalent, forming a contrast to the middle fjord region. The Heathland/Moorland seems more assimilated with Jæren in terms of both brooch selection and burial practices.

2.2.4 Merovingian Period c. 550–775/800

A slight quantitative decline in the number of burials with brooches is observable already in D2b, as the cruciform brooches go out of circulation (Røstad 2016a:307). Entering the Merovingian Period, this tendency becomes blatantly clear (Fig. 2.8 for details), and is perhaps particularly visible in contrast to the many burials in south-

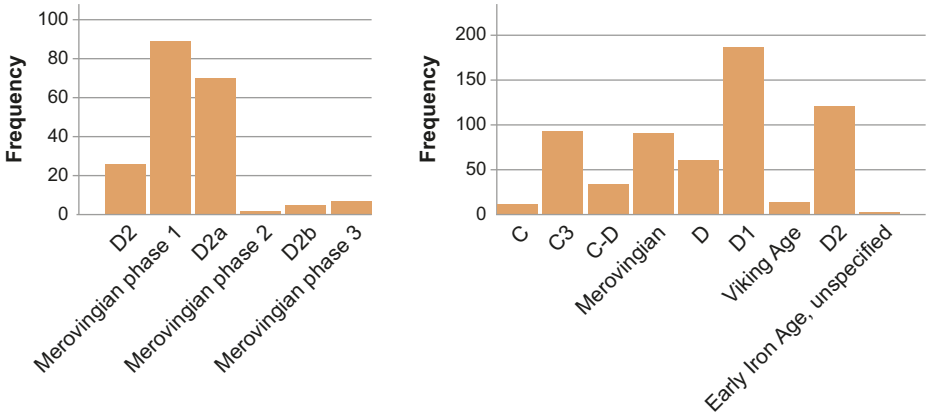


Fig. 2.8: Chronological distribution of brooches within the study area; see the general overview (top) and more detailed presentation of the dramatic decline in burials in the transition to the Merovingian Period (bottom). Illustration: M. Østmo, I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

western Norway in the previous period (Solberg 2000:176–87). This decline in burials relates to a vast corpus of research on abandoned farms and changes in settlement patterns, and increasingly accounting for the AD 536 dust veil's effect on demography, but also on mythology (e.g. Gjerpe 2017:194–7; Gräslund and Price 2012; Iversen 2013:181–91; Myhre 2002). The decline in burials may also have been enhanced by generally less visible or unmarked graves. In addition, less conspicuous artefacts such as conical brooches may have been overlooked and consequently do not appear in the museum inventories. The increase in metal-detector activity in recent years has produced several new Merovingian brooches, providing new insights into practices and networks of the period. The unfortunate lack of documented contexts means that much information is forever lost.

The conical brooches and equal-armed brooches date to Merovingian Phase 1, AD 550–650 (periodisation in accordance with Røstad 2016a). In the present study area, only one conical brooch has been found in a burial context, but eight conical brooches of either geometric or animal art/style II decoration have been located by recent metal-detecting. Due to their significance for the overall distribution, they are included in the map, but lack context information for further analysis (included in Figs. 2.9a, but not 2.10). In the early Merovingian Period, burials seem to have a coastal focus, as they are located at Jæren, the outer fjords and at the transition to the middle fjords. The middle fjord area is otherwise devoid of brooches; none are found at the Ryfylke islands or the inner fjord area. This pattern is repeated in Merovingian phases 2 and 3, AD 650–725 and 725–800 respectively, now including more types, with Jæren marked by the highest diversity. The four disc-on-bow brooches found at Jæren and one specimen in the heathlands/moorlands constitute a significant fraction of the 53 such brooches found in Norway (Røstad and Glørstad

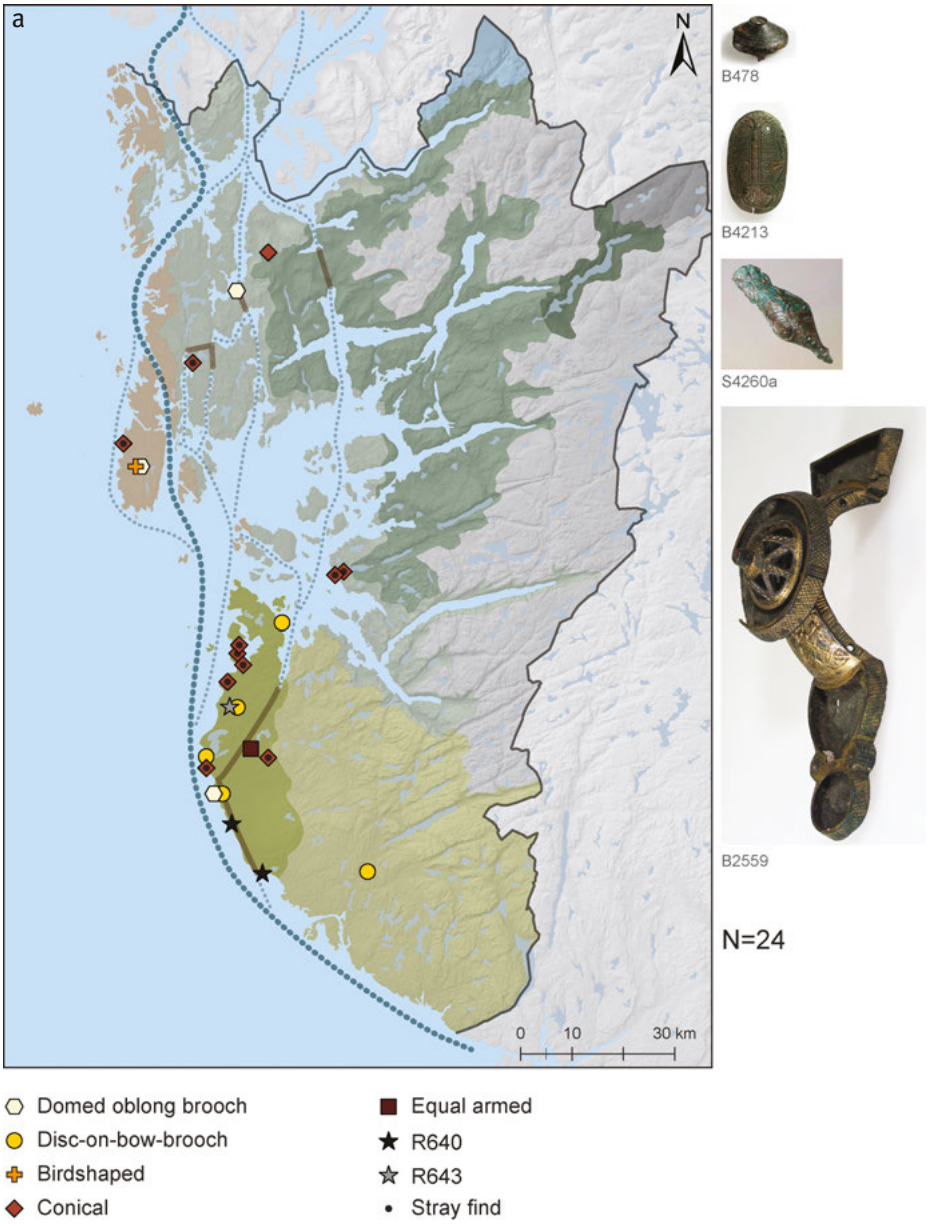


Fig. 2.9a: Distribution of (a) brooches from the Merovingian Period, (b) the Storhaug ship burial by Karmsund containing a horse (marked by star) and other burials with horses/equestrian equipment from the 8th century (marked by dots) (after Meling 2014: fig. 4). Illustrative examples: B478 conical brooch, B4213 domed oblong brooch, S4260a Bird shaped fibula, B2559 disc-on-bow brooch. Landscape districts after Puschmann (2005)/NIBIO. Illustration: M. Østmo, I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

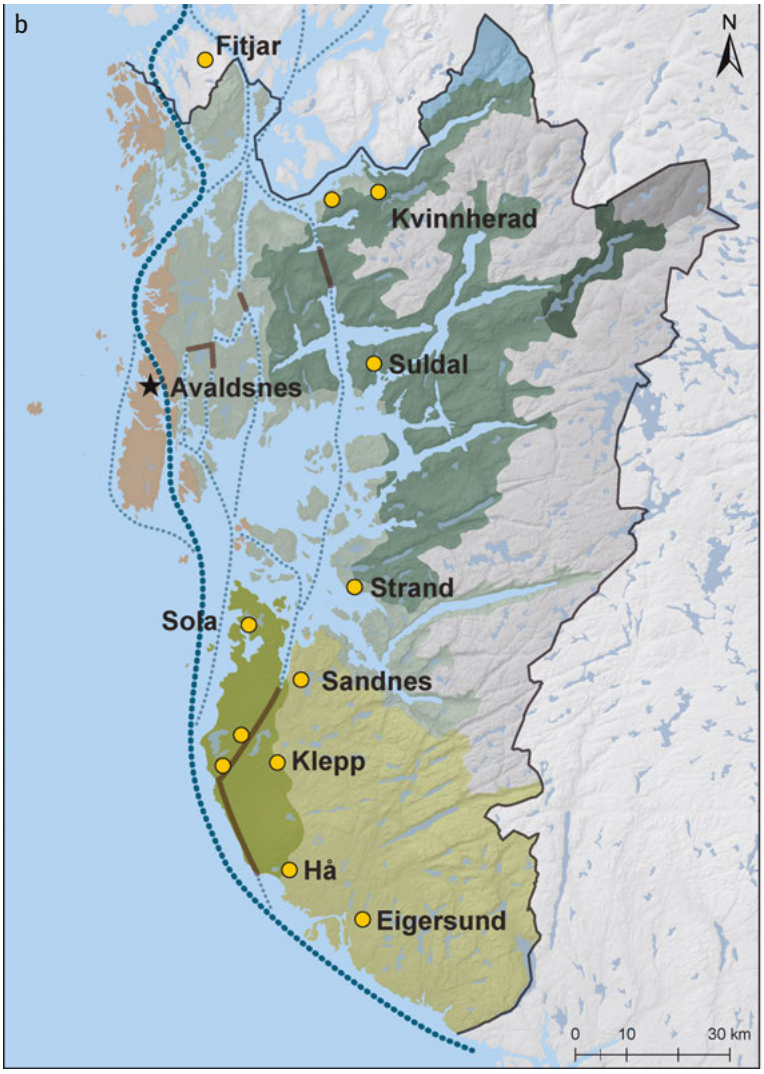


Fig. 2.9b

2015:186–7). It should be noted that the brooches from Orre and Sagland, both on Jæren, might have been interred significantly later than their time of production. Both were found together with oval brooches of type JP 33/37 dating to the Viking Period 1/2a, AD 750/775–860 (periodisation in accordance with Klæsøe 1999). It is not unusual for disc-on-bow brooches to have been handed down between generations before they are interred, and their status as heirlooms and representations of family genealogy has been argued (Røstad and Glørstad 2015). Contrary to previous periods,

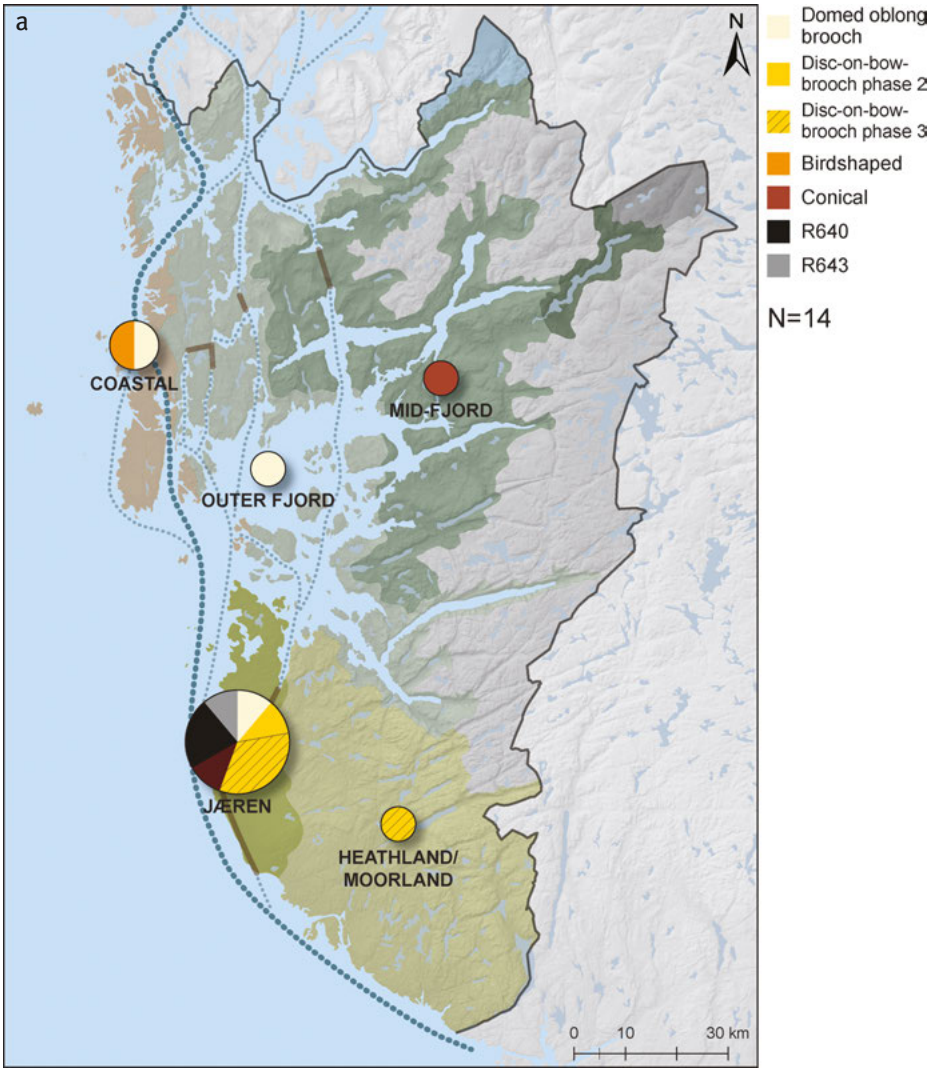


Fig. 2.10a: Statistical frequency of (a) brooch types in the Merovingian Period, (b) monument form, and (c) treatment of deceased body. Landscapes districts after Puschmann (2005)/NIBIO. Illustration: M. Østmo, I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

Karmøy no longer stands out as a lacuna amongst landscapes scattered with brooches. The brooches at Ferkingstad were located in a small Merovingian period cemetery with unmarked graves (Figs. 2.9a, 2.10c). Amongst the objects from these graves is a rare bird-shaped brooch; only nine of this kind have been uncovered in Norway. As the bird brooch is not of local production, it indicates connections to

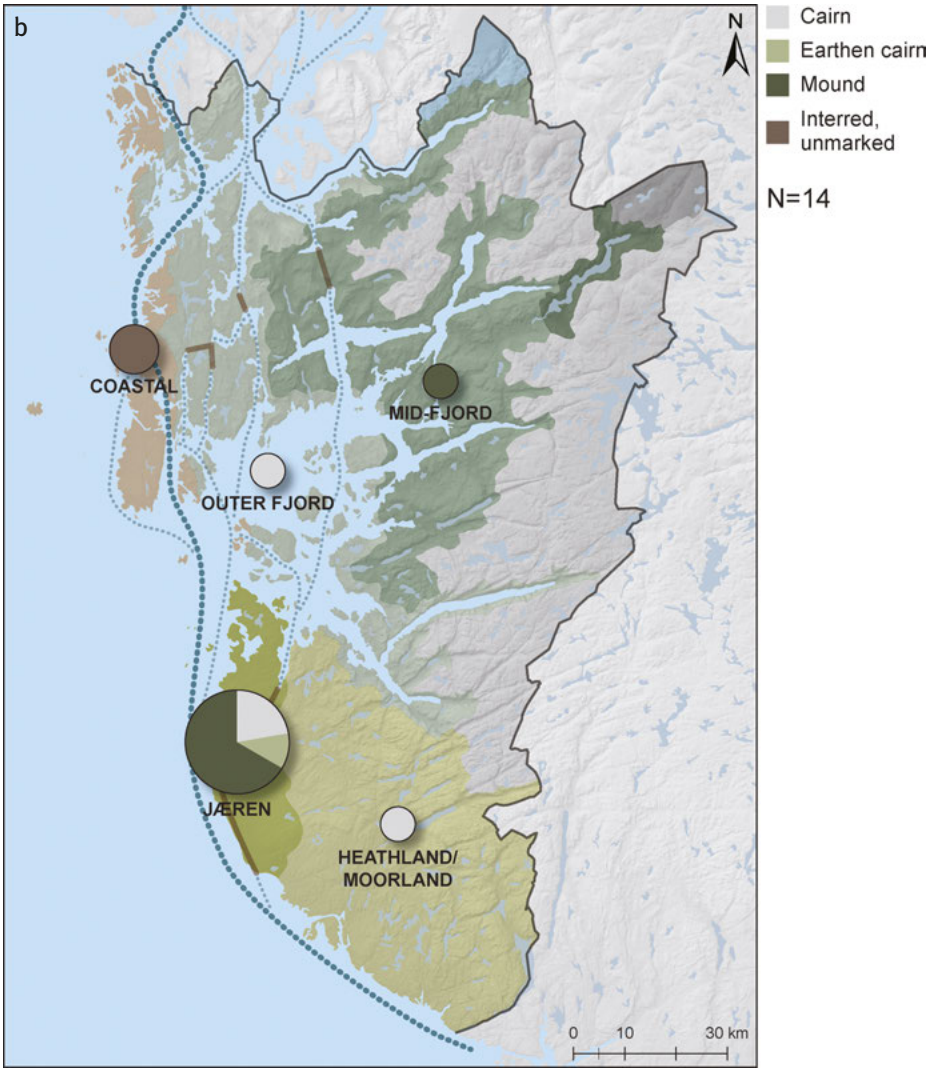


Fig. 2.10b

other places of production in southern Scandinavia, possibly Bornholm (Opedal 2010:57; Røstad 2008).

The locations for the burials with brooches are strategic with respect to routes of communication and resemble that of late Roman Period C1b-C2. The burials with brooches correlate quite well with the distribution of burials with horses or equestrian equipment (Fig. 2.9b). The latter have been interpreted as elite burials due to

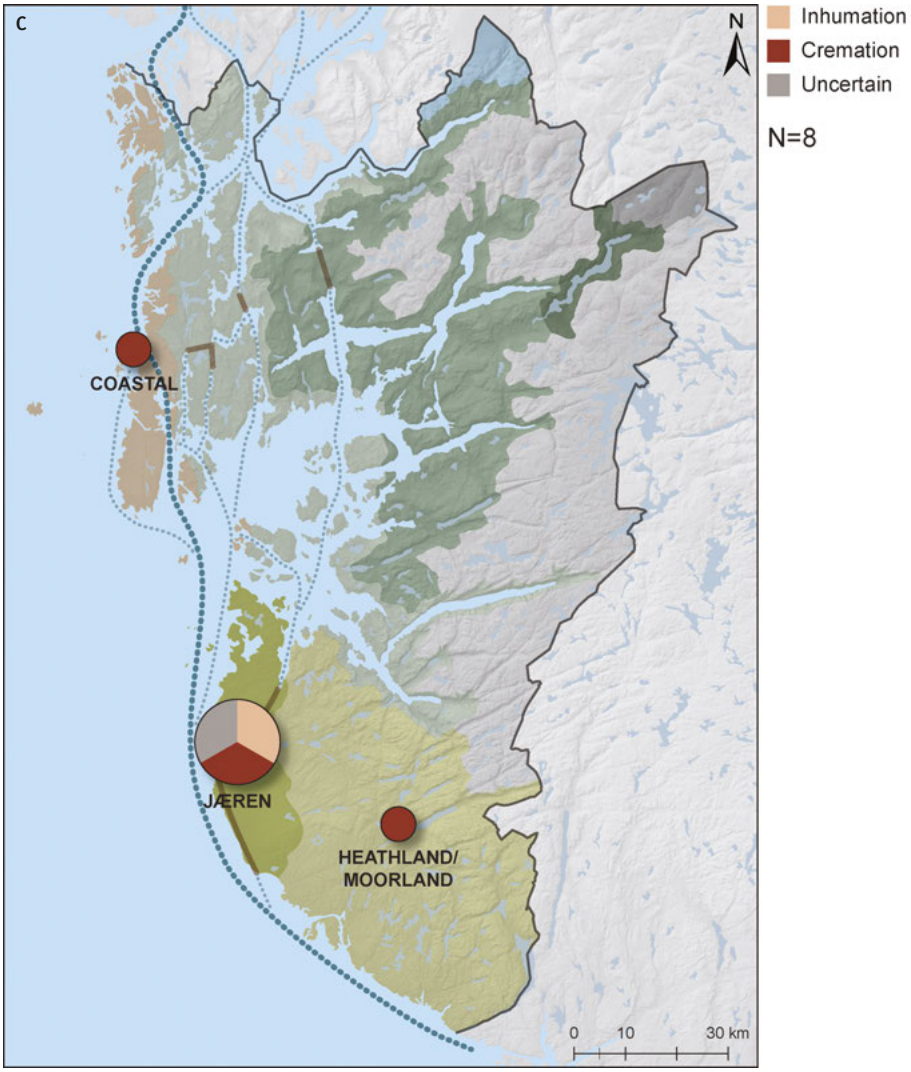


Fig. 2.10c

mythological references, Frankish military ideals, and the novelty of the custom (Braathen 1989; Jørgensen 1991; Meling 2014). The distribution of brooches thus follows elite structures rather than broader social groups with the participation of a larger fraction of the population. On a Scandinavian scale, Røstad (2016a:308–10) argues that the early Merovingian period brooches demonstrate a shift from negotiation of multiple levels of identity to the articulation of superregional affiliation. Though conical brooches have a general distribution overlapping roughly with the territory of modern Norway, there are still spatially structured differences when

the brooches of Merovingian phases 2 and 3 are brought into consideration and the scale reduced. This is evident in the variety of brooches and particularly the cluster of disc-on-bow brooches at Jæren. The cemetery at Ferkingstad is also notable for its bird fibula and other brooches.

The last decades of the 8th century form a transition between the final Merovingian phase and the initial period of the Viking Age. In this period, on the threshold of the Viking expansion, two ship burials add to the characteristics of Karmsund. The eldest, the Storhaug burial, is located approximately 3 km north of Avaldsnes and contained a large rowing ship, a horse, gaming pieces, and a gold arm-ring in addition to other objects. The burial is dated to AD 779 (Bonde and Stylegar 2009:159) and has been argued to constitute evidence of kingship in the Avaldsnes area. Another ship, 10–15 years younger and slightly smaller, was buried in Grønhaug, located between the Storhaug burial and the Avaldsnes settlement (Opedal 2010:112–13). Meling (2014) suggests that burials with horses and equestrian equipment are evidence for an alliance with the ruler buried in similar fashion in Storhaug, thus connecting the Karmsund to the mainland. Brooches are not found in these ship burials or burials in their proximity, although other non-monumental graves or stray finds from obliterated graves dating to the Merovingian or Viking periods have been documented at Avaldsnes (Østmo and Bauer 2018a).

In conclusion, burials with brooches seem to represent a smaller segment of the population. Jæren and Karmsund are the only sub-regions that may be delineated from the burials with brooches, here supported by stray finds and elite burials with horses or equestrian equipment. Jæren in this period is also distinguished by more types and exclusive types of brooches; the two conical brooches at Tau may form an outer perimeter of this sub-region, in which the burials with brooches roughly correlate with the elite burials. The burials with brooches at Karmøy and the northern part of the outer fjords are located at strategic positions along the sailing route. Apart from the horse included in the richly furnished ship burial at Storhaug by the Karmsund strait, the burials with brooches do not overlap with the burials with horses in this region.

2.2.5 Viking Age c. 750/775–1000

After the scarce distribution of burials and brooches in the Merovingian Period, there are marked shifts in the distribution of Viking Age brooches. Firstly, the distribution is more widespread and numerous compared to the previous period, signifying that the practice of depositing brooches in burials had become accessible and desirable for a larger fraction of the population. Secondly, the brooch corpus consists of several types and subtypes providing possibilities for articulating differences or similarities between sub-regions; they also illustrate chronological changes within different landscapes (Figs. 2.11, 2.12, particularly 2.12e). Insular imports,

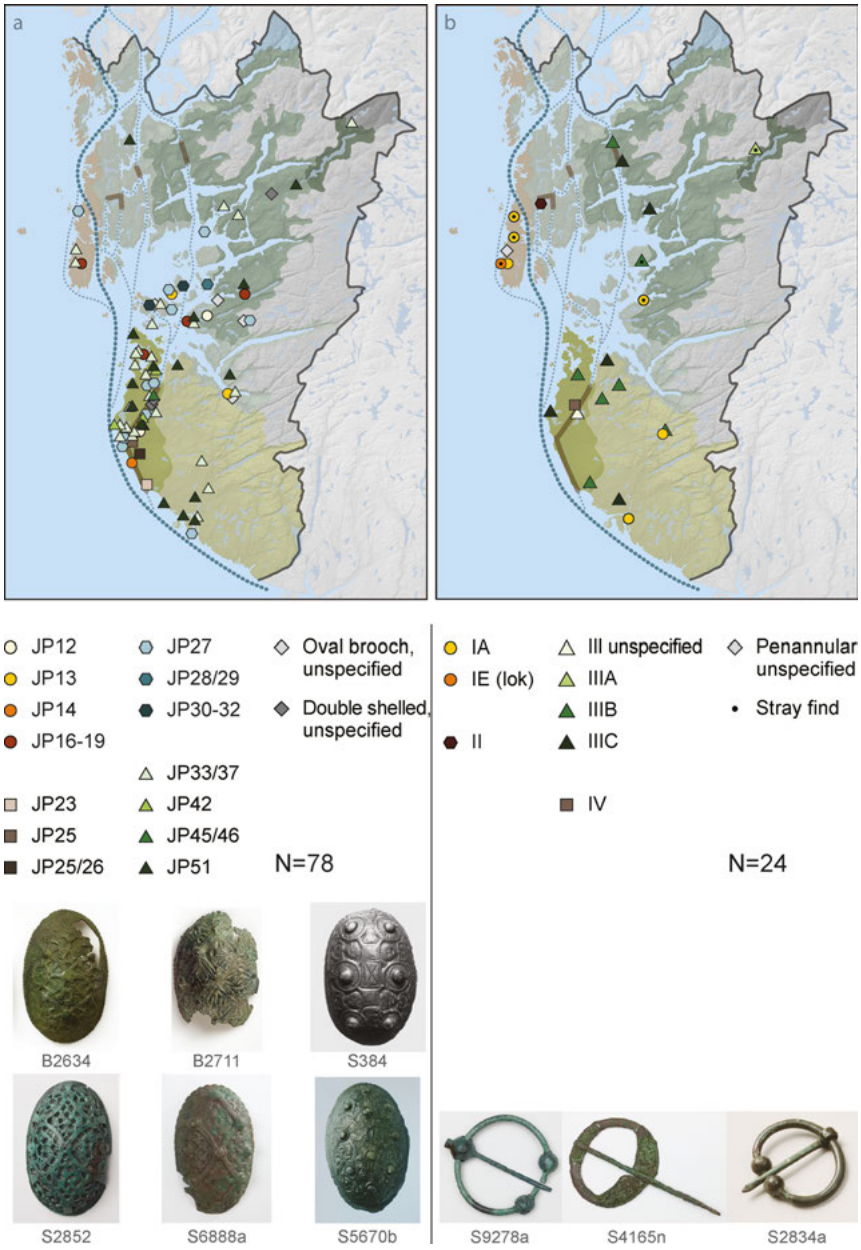
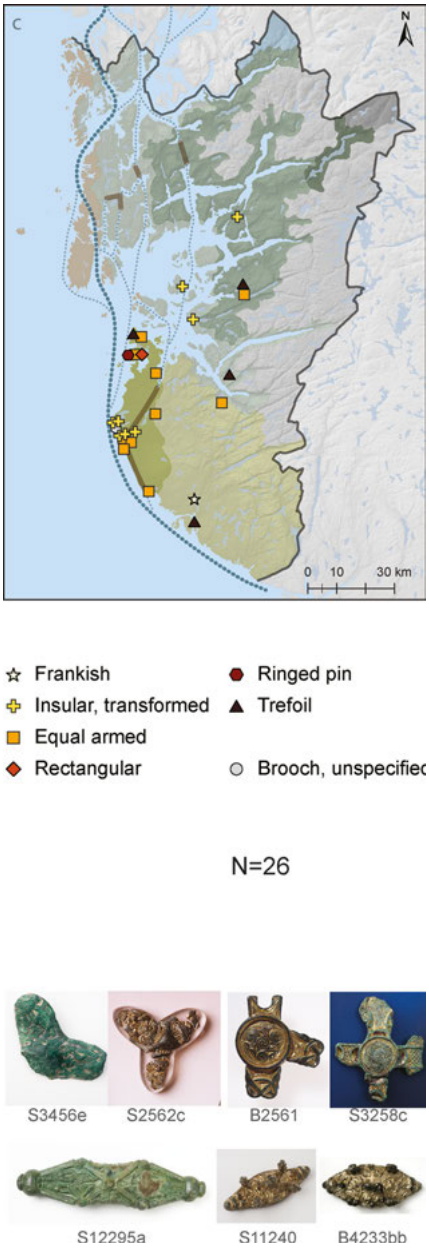


Fig. 2.11a–b: Distribution of Viking Age brooches: (a) oval brooches, (b) penannular brooches, (c) imported/transformed brooches, equal-armed brooches etc. Illustrative examples: Oval brooches: B2634 JP46, B2711 JP25, S384 JP16–19, S2852 JP42, S6888a JP33/37, S5670b JP27. Penannular brooches: S9278a IIIB, S4165n IA (lok), S2834a IIIC. Other types: S3456/S2562c Trefoil Rogalandstype, B2561/S3258c Insular import, B4233bb/S11240/S12295 Equal-armed Rogalandstype. Landscape districts after Puschmann (2005)/NIBIO. Illustration: M. Østmo, I. T. Bøckman, MCH.


C
N
0 10 30 km
Frankish
Insular, transformed
Equal armed
Rectangular
Ringed pin
Trefoil
Brooch, unspecifiec
N=26
S3456e
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B2561
S3258c
S12295a
S11240
B4233bb

Fig. 2.11c

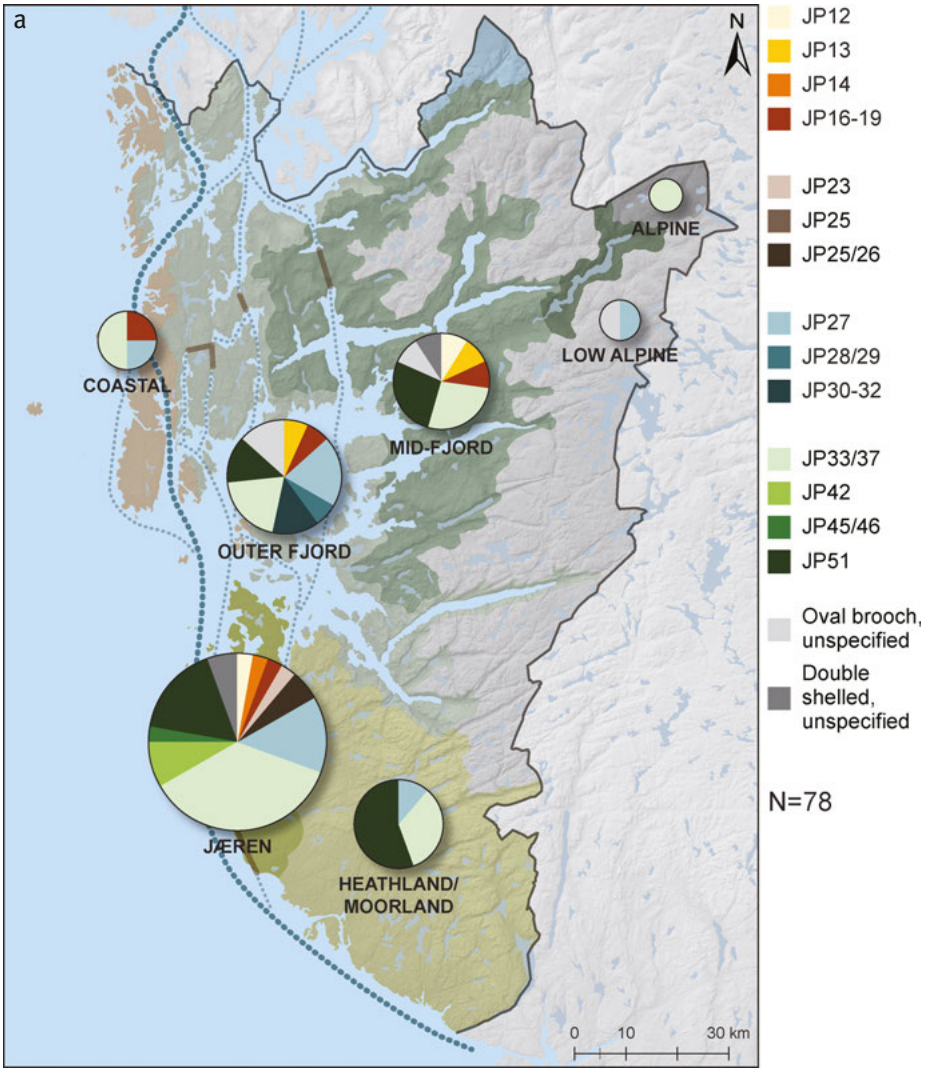

Fig. 2.12a: Statistical illustration of the spatial distribution of (a) oval brooches, (b) penannular brooches, (c) equal-armed brooches, transformed imports, and other brooch forms, (d) treatment of the body, and (e) timeframe within the Viking Age. Landscape districts after Puschmann (2005)/ NIBIO. Illustration: M. Østmo, I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

mainly various copper alloy/gilded fittings remade into brooches or pendants, underline the impact of connections with the British Isles (Fig. 2.11b). Finally, while some areas remain 'central' through all the chronological phases of this study, a shift in gravity for the dispersal of brooches may signify some form of change in the spatial dimension of sub-regions, or the formation of new sub-regions.

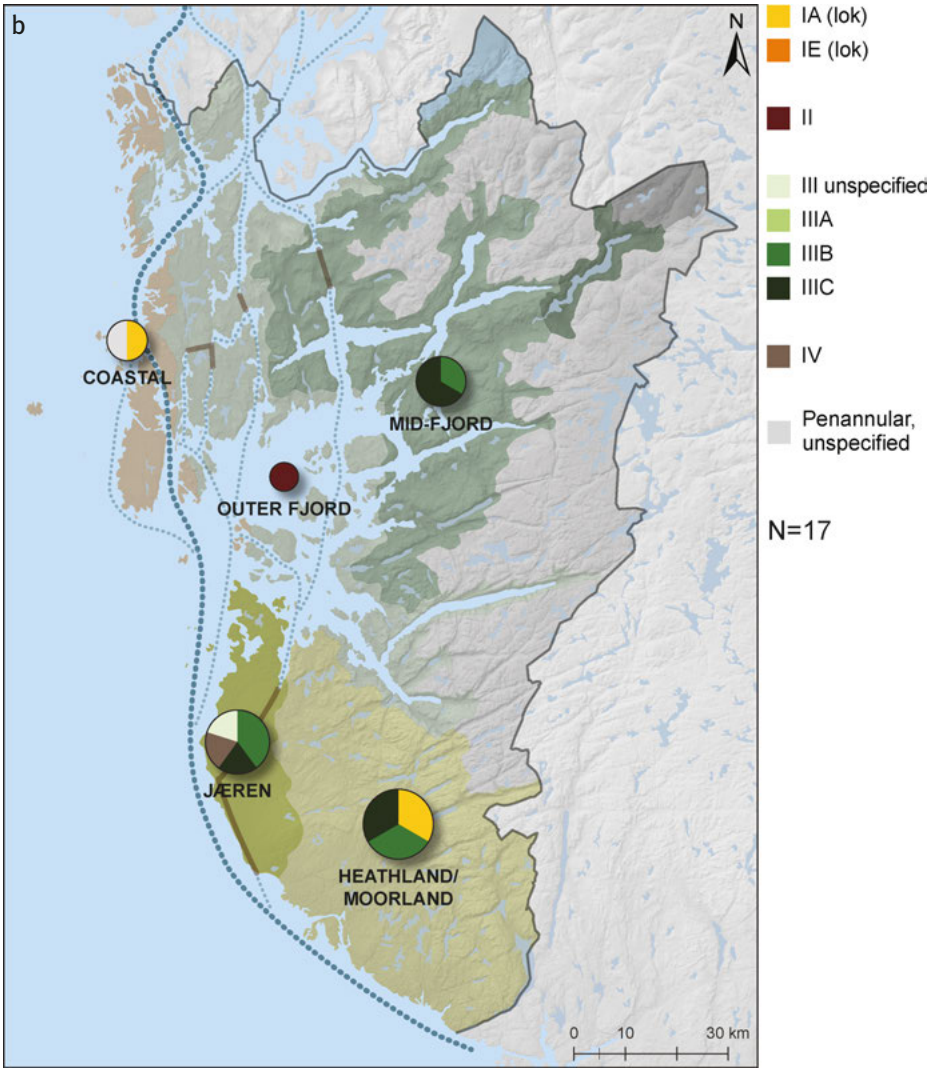

Fig. 2.12b

The distribution of brooches demonstrates that Jæren is characterised by a higher concentration of brooches and higher diversity of brooch types than the neighbouring areas. The following are particular to Jæren: oval brooches of type JP14, JP 42 and 45/46, penannular brooches of type IV, equal-armed brooches of type JP60, JP63, and equal-armed type Rogalandsgruppen. Not included in this distribution or analysis is another specimen of the Rogalandsgruppe (S12589), recently uncovered at Karmøy through metal-detecting. While not exclusive to Jæren, their tendency to cluster at Jæren is not diminished. These equal-armed brooches are generally of high artistic

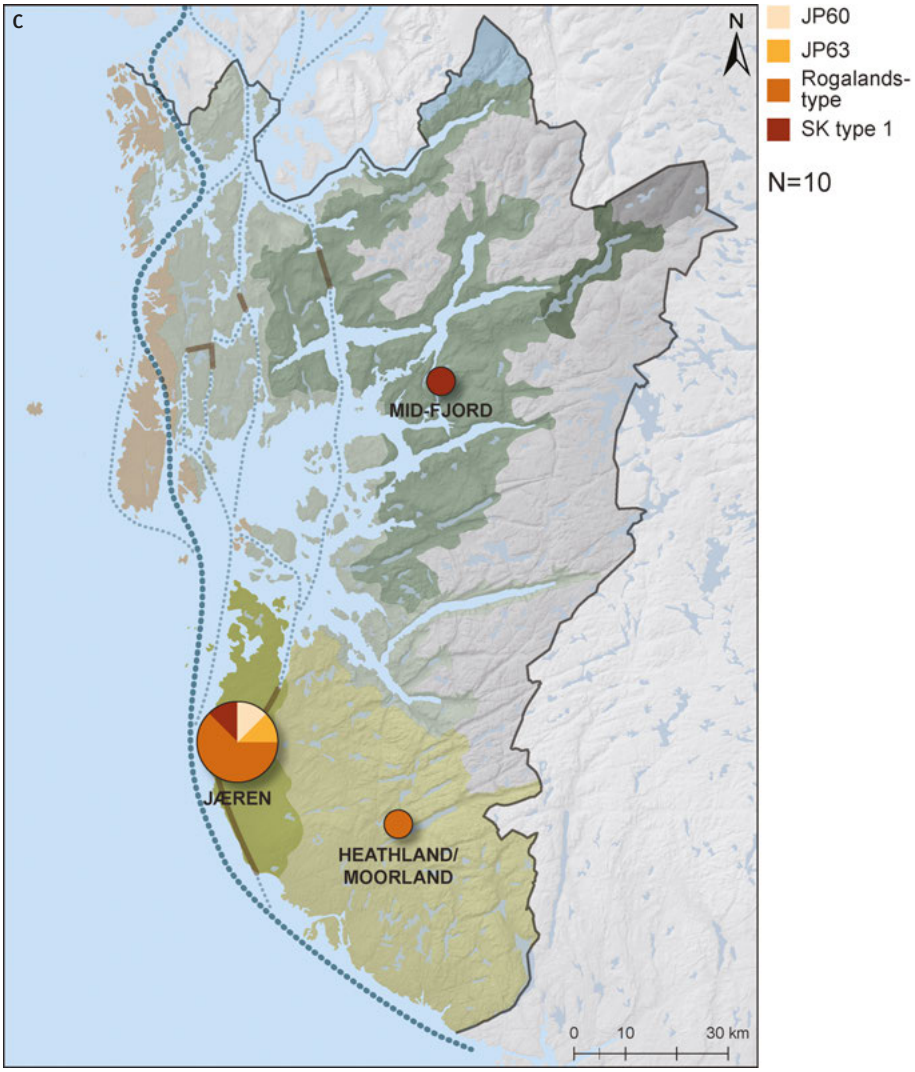

Fig. 2.12c

quality. Similarly, the JP 42 oval brooches display artistic and technical supremacy compared to many other mass-produced sub-types (Petersen 1928:44–6). High-quality goldsmith work seems to be in circulation particularly at Jæren; a pair of JP42 oval brooches are found by Tinghaug and in the burial of the *Gausel Queen,* which also comprised several insular finds (Bakka 1993; Børsheim, et al. 2002:166–7; Hauken 2014:150). Insular references are also seen in the many imported fittings transformed into brooches, mainly located in the sub-region of northern Jæren and the Ryfylke islands, or generally south of the Boknafjord.

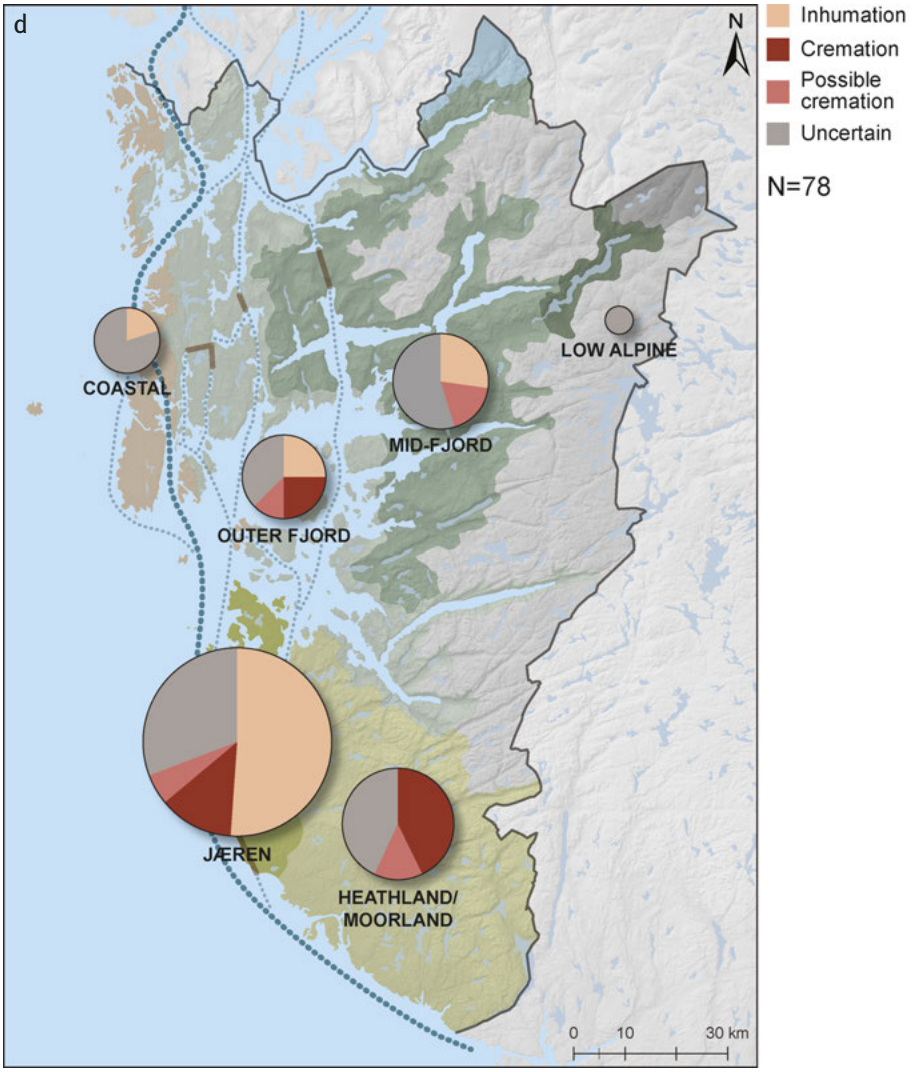

Fig. 2.12d

There is a change in Jæren's characteristics in the Viking Age. The high frequency of burials with brooches at the beach cemeteries at Jæren, characteristic of the late Roman and Migration periods, seem to decline in the Viking Age. The prime example is the vast cemetery at Kvassheim where 126 out of 255 burials have been excavated, of which only one with certainty dates to the Viking Age, and one likely to the late Iron Age (Lillehammer 1996:25, 182, 187).

The Ryfylke islands in the outer fjord landscape were void of brooches in the Merovingian period, but now see a marked increase. In fact, the brooches found

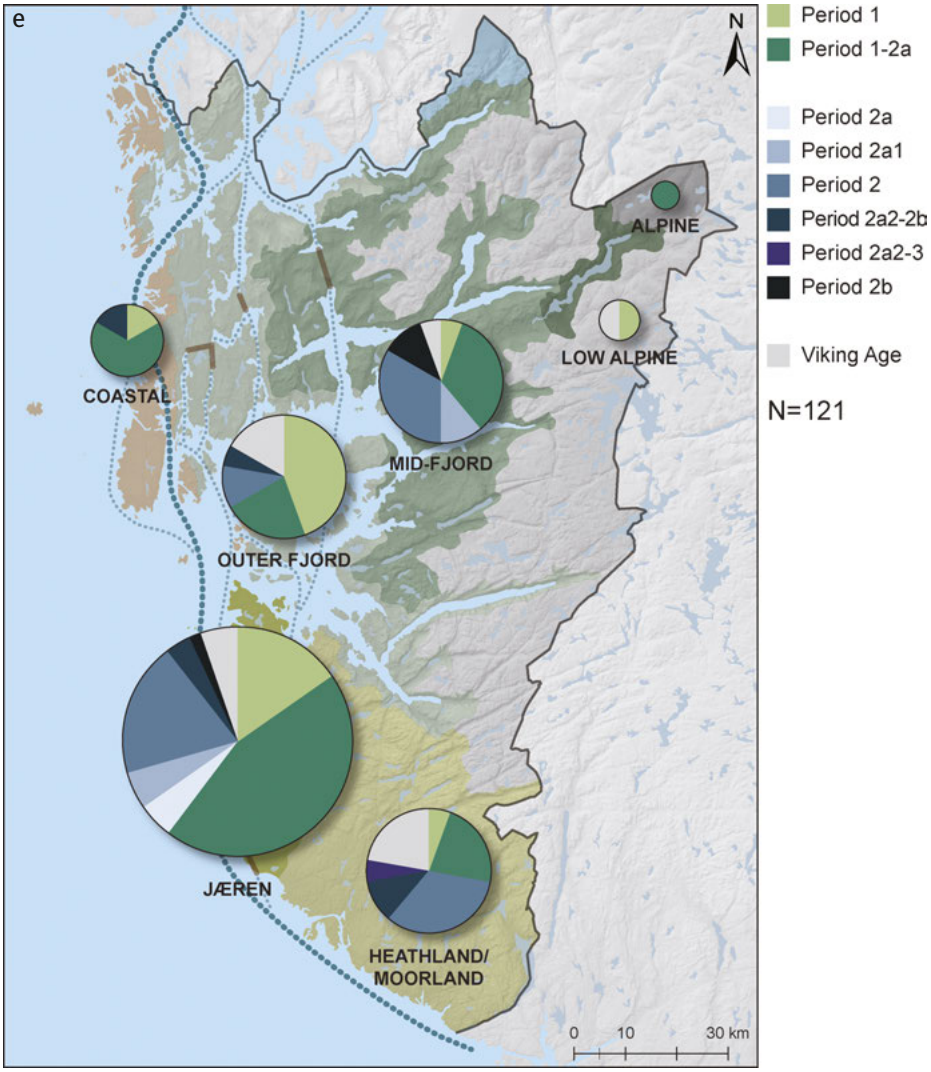

Fig. 2.12e

there and in the southern part of the outer fjord district resemble the ones at Jæren. The burials with brooches at Jæren are mostly dated pre-10th century, though a few have wide date frames reaching into the 10th century (Fig. 2.12e). This prevalence of early burials is observed also around the Ryfylke islands, though the challenge of wide dating frames is more overt here. Both areas also have some cremation burials, though inhumation is prevalent. Penannular brooches are also found at Jæren, indicating participation in elite networks, as will be addressed in greater detail below (Glørstad 2010; Glørstad 2012:255–9; Hauken 2014).

The outer coast and the outer fjord districts north of the Boknafjord are not clearly distinguished from each other. Here, there are burials with oval brooches, but they are not as frequent or as varied in subtypes as south of the Boknafjord (Figs. 2.11, 2.12). The oval brooches all date to the early Viking Age, except one JP51 brooch with a wide timeframe reaching into 10th century. The outer coast and fjords north of Boknafjord are otherwise characterised most by the use of penannular brooches. Because the omission of stray finds has strongly affected the distribution, these are included in the map, but not in other analyses (Fig. 2.11). Several locally produced brooches of insular types are located in the south-western part of Karmøy. A rare brooch of type IIIA of high quality and with a visual likeness to Irish silver brooches was uncovered at Uvik near Avaldsnes. Its quality and location have been suggested to reflect a high-ranking political position within the royal network of Harald Fairhair and his descendants (Glørstad 2010:255). Other penannular brooches are found on strategic farms where the routes of communication could be controlled.

Contrary to the other sub-regions, the burials in the heathland/moorlands have a larger number of late brooches than early ones, and none of the high-quality pieces or the insular transformed brooches that are found at Jæren. Penannular brooches are indicative of the sub-region's connection to the elite networks, while the other burials with brooches contribute to setting the sub-region apart from the others. Practices such as cremation also contribute to this differentiation.

In several sub-regions, the practice of reusing older monuments is present, at a frequency remaining at about 10% at Jæren and the middle fjords, 15% in the heathland/moorland. Otherwise, the tendency is declining (Tab. 2.5).

Tab. 2.5: Overview of the frequency of singular use versus reuse of monuments in the Viking Age. See Tab. 2.3 for general comments.

landscape district		Only known grave in monument	Primary grave in later reused monument	Secondary burial in reused monument
Low alpine	N=2	2		
High alpine	N=1	1		
Heathlands/ Moorlands	N=18	15		3
Jæren	N=58	52	1	5
Outer coast	N=6	6		
Outer fjords	N=18	16	1	1
Mid fjords	N=18	16		2

In conclusion, with a shift of gravity and extent in the distribution of brooches, the sub-region of Jæren has departed from the trends seen in previous periods. It is still marked by numerous brooches, of which several are of high quality and some are found only at Jæren. Increased similarities with neighbouring landscapes and a concurrent spatial shift of gravity towards northern Jæren could signify a closer integration of Jæren with the Boknafjord basin. A new sub-region could comprise northern Jæren and the Ryfylke islands and the southern part of the middle and outer fjord districts. Insular imports transformed into brooches are also found within this expanded Jæren sub-region.

The heathland/moorland has some of the same brooches as at Jæren, but generally not those of the highest quality. A tendency toward brooches of a slightly later timeframe is observed. The heathland/moorland areas display a much simpler combination of types of brooches, and cremation is more prevalent here compared to other regions, thus forming a distinct sub-region in the Viking Age. A few burials with oval brooches are found by Karmsund along the outer coast, some of which are relatively early. One of these contained a boat, a horse, a dog, and gaming pieces, all indicative of the elite strata (Opedal 2010:286–7). Most of all, this sub-region is distinguished by the highly political symbols of the penannular brooches. Generally, the northern part of the outer fjord districts has very few finds other than a few penannular brooches and oval brooches, and seems to constitute more of a periphery to the Karmsund/outer coast region.

2.3 Sub-regional trajectories

In the analyses of intra-regional diversity, distribution maps displaying the location of brooch types as well as the statistical frequencies of brooches and practices bound to different landscapes have served to identify sub-regions. The boundaries and differences between the sub-regions are not clearly delimited or absolute; rather, the analyses serve to identify core-areas defined by similarities. This section provides a rough sketch of their general development, and addresses how they relate to each other and whether changes in these relations may reflect different socio-political processes of integration or distinction. The sub-regions of Jæren and the outer coast/Karmsund remain defined throughout the period of study, though they change in extent. Other sub-regions within the fjord settlements and the heathland/moorland are less constant, forming defined sub-regions in some periods, becoming more integrated with neighbouring sub-regions in other periods. The brief account of the different trajectories follows a spatial structure: (1) the outer coast/Karmsund, (2) Jæren, (3) the fjord settlement districts, and (4) the heathland/moorland district.

2.3.1 Karmsund on the outer coast

The outer coastal landscape is characterised by a near absence of burials with brooches following the establishment and consolidation of a central seat of power at Avaldsnes in the 3rd century. This trait becomes most apparent with the absolute absence of cruciform brooches in the Migration Period. The majority of the burials containing gold and imported vessels date to the late Roman Period, in the initial phase of Avaldsnes as a place of power. Such investments seem not to have been needed in the following centuries, when the monumental architecture of Avaldsnes demonstrates the site's importance. With the exception of the hall building that cannot be traced beyond the early 5th century, the architecture of the settlement remains stable until the end of the 6th century when the boathouses and longhouse fall into disuse (Østmo and Bauer 2018b). The northern part of the outer fjord district demonstrates the same low frequency of burials with brooches. The centre at Bjoafjord has been argued to be closely interconnected with Avaldsnes, and Reiersen argues that they both lose their significance at about the same time (Reiersen 2017:261). It should be noted that Reiersen (2017:252–5) argues for a decline at Avaldsnes occurring in the 5th century based mainly on the disuse of the hall, the less visible location of the later longhouse, a decline in wealthy burials, and the downscaling of the boathouses. However, his arguments depend on the preliminary interpretations presented in the field report (Bauer and Østmo 2013). Adjustments in the interpretation of the boathouse construction have since led Bauer (2018:188) to moderate this preliminary downscaling. Combined with the continuous agricultural activities (Bauer and Østmo 2018; Østmo 2018), the present author has argued for continuation up to AD 600 (Østmo and Bauer 2018b).

In the early 7th century, a palisade was constructed towards the strait. It delimited an area designated for treatment and storage of food, particularly cereal. This storage/processing area was in use throughout the Merovingian and Viking periods, demonstrating continuity at the settlement despite the lack of known dwellings dating to the Merovingian period. A monumental mound with no recognised burial, Salhushaugen, was built immediately north of Avaldsnes in the late 6th or early 7th century, demonstrating power at a time when monumental burial mounds were particularly rare (Opedal 2010:51). In the 8th century, a group of burials with brooches is located at Ferkingstad, south-west at Karmøy. In near proximity at Nes, a large boathouse for a ship dated AD 640–800 indicates an investment in control of the seas west of Karmøy (Bauer 2018; Opedal 2010). The palisade at Avaldsnes and the ship burials north of Avaldsnes underline an uppermost elite in the 7th century and an orientation towards the sea by the northern Karmsund in the 8th century. The brooches in the northern outer fjords and the outer coast are quite similar, with the exception of the rare bird-shaped brooch. A political alliance connected to the ruler buried in Storhaug is suggested based on burials with brooches as well as

horses and equestrian equipment, forming a semi-circle around Karmøy and parts of the northern outer coast (Meling 2014; see Fig. 2.9b). This could also lend support to the increased integration of these landscapes in this period.

In the Viking period, there are a few burials with oval brooches, but only of the most generic types at the outer coast and the outer fjord areas, north of Boknafjorden. The distribution of penannular brooches seems to be linked to an elite network involving Avaldsnes and the political alliances connected to Harald Fairhair. Based on similarities in the selection of brooches and practices, the outer coast and the outer fjord district north of the Boknafjord seem integrated in this period. The political alliance demonstrated by Glørstad (2012) on the basis of the distribution of penannular brooches shows connections not only within the northern part of the study area, but also at Jæren, as in the previous period. The political structure, by this point, is seemingly not rooted in the landscapes and local practices.

2.3.2 Jæren

Jæren displays quite different characteristics compared to Karmøy and the outer coast in the late Roman and Migration periods. At this time, Jæren is characterised by a preponderance of elite centres or milieus located within short distances from each other and by copious burials with brooches at the beach cemeteries and further inland on arable land. The elite milieu referred to as the Tinghaug complex, situated on the central farms Anda, Tu, and Hauge, serves to exemplify the plurality of socio-political centres implied by the existence of elite milieus. Particularly from the Migration Period onwards these elites seem to be closely associated with the production of high-quality goldsmith craft, resulting in several unique pieces and local brooch types. In fact, the production and circulation of these high-quality relief brooches have been taken as signifying an elite alliance, with Tinghaug as its centre (Reiersen 2017:323). Richly furnished burials such as Krosshaug with its high-quality brooches and dress accessories have been interpreted as a local/regional chieftain (Magnus 1975) or a cultic leader (Sundqvist 2014). The plurality of elite milieus and centres (Reiersen 2017) fits well with the model describe above, in which wealthy burials indicate that the elites are still using burials to legitimate their power. The politicised use of brooches contributes to the formation of a sub-regional ideal, and their extensive use becomes a local particularisation (Gosden 2005; Witcher 2017).

Another trait that characterises Jæren is the presence of several courtyard sites, which are assumed to relate to a juridical structure of local or regional assemblies (Brink et al. 2011; Storli 2010). Iversen (2018:729) interprets the courtyard sites predominantly as *thing*-assembly places at different levels, but also multifunctional in that they also performed cultic and military functions. In addition, Sindbæk (2008b) argues that local or regional markets at the *thing*-assemblies created a

social arena through which material culture was circulated and traded, contributing to the development of the regionality observed in various forms of material culture. In a recent study, Iversen (2018:745) has published additional radiocarbon dates for courtyard sites in Rogaland, demonstrating their continued use up to the 8th century, thus indicating a relatively long duration for the juridical networks these sites represent. Their proximity to each other may mean that the different courtyards were associated with different administrative levels; alternatively, it could mean that each courtyard served only a small territorial jurisdiction. Although courtyard sites and thing assemblies reflect communal institutions and principles, society nevertheless was stratified, as may be seen in both quantitative and qualitative differences within the cemeteries and burials. The wide range of elite milieus also implies a stratified society in which local elites were still competing for control and power.

In the late Roman period, Jæren is distinguished as a sub-region on its own. In the Migration Period, it is possible that the heathland/moorland areas are assimilated with the practices at Jæren, possibly becoming more closely integrated, though still with fewer burials and fewer brooch types.

The general decline in burials in the 6th century appears most dramatically at Jæren as compared to the previous period, when burials were abundant (compare Figs. 2.6a–c and 2.9a). Still, the practice is upheld, with higher concentrations of brooches at the beaches and centrally at Jæren. The visually distinctive disc-on-bow brooches that have been related to female genealogy (Røstad and Glørstad 2015) form one significant cluster at Jæren. Three of the brooches were combined with large collections of beads, several imported from the eastern Mediterranean or the Black Sea area and seemingly express a female ideal of the upper echelon of society; one of these was buried in a pre-existing cairn at the beach cemetery at Hå (Myhre 2013:292). The lacuna between the youngest Migration Period burials in c. AD 550 and the 8th-century disc-on-bow burials have been related to a general decline following climatic events or plague in the late 6th century. However, as at Avaldsnes where no buildings or burials date to the 7th century, excavation of agricultural remains indicates continuity at Avaldsnes and at various places in Jæren, which Myhre (2013:295–7) characterises as a restructuring of the landscape rather than a total collapse. The increasing number of conical brooches from the initial phase of the Merovingian Period may bring more nuances to this discussion of decline or restructuring of landscapes and practices. The burials with horses and equestrian equipment also indicate a political network connecting Jæren to Avaldsnes/Karmsund from the 8th century, oriented around the ruler interred in the Storhaug ship burial (Fig. 2.9b). This political network seems to cut across sub-regions, not affecting the sub-regional social networks. In the Merovingian Period, Jæren seems to be defined as its own sub-region, the heathland/moorland no longer closely integrated.

In the Viking Age, there is a shift of gravity towards northern Jæren, possibly related to a maritime focus on harbour areas on the eastern and western side of the

Stavanger Peninsula, where many boathouses have been registered (Fig. 2.13). Related to this shift, burials with brooches very similar to those on Jæren are at this time found on the Ryfylke islands and the fjord settlements south of the Boknafjord. This signifies a decreasing focus on local differences and a closer integration of the

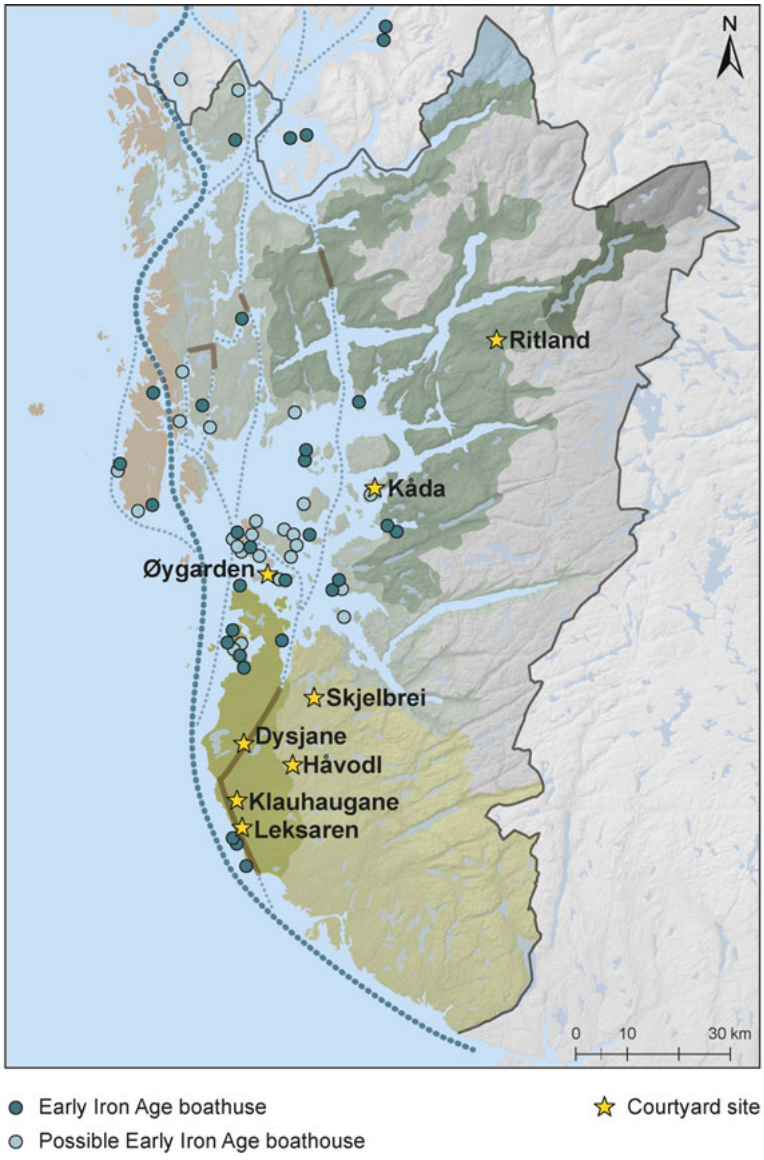

Fig. 2.13: Distribution maps of courtyard sites in Rogaland (after Iversen 2018:fig. 26.2) and known boathouses from Rogaland (after Bauer 2018:fig. 10.7). Illustration: M. Østmo, I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

landscapes south of the Boknafjord. The distribution of brooches of insular origin, mostly transformed fittings of various forms, follow roughly the same patterns of distribution. The presence of courtyard sites within the same landscapes should be noted. While the courtyard sites have not been dated later than the 8th century (Iversen 2018), they may reflect social and communal networks that were still upheld, despite a change in the location for thing assemblies. Alternatively, centralisation processes within the juridical organisation could have led to new arenas for the circulation of ideas and materialities, lessening the articulation of local particularities.

2.3.3 The Fjord districts

The fjord settlements display a non-consistent distribution of burials with brooches. Such burials are found in these landscapes throughout the period of study, but they do not form clusters as stable as those seen at Jæren, displaying instead greater tendencies for short-lived distribution patterns. Within the same landscapes, elite milieus have been identified, but are generally concentrated in fewer burials and oriented towards strategic locations in relation to the sailing routes, for example at Innbjoa or Etne (Reiersen 2017:256–8). In Etne there are also large cemeteries, but quite differently structured compared to the beach cemeteries, with more focus on for instance weapon burials, making this centre less pertinent to the present study. In some periods, burials in the fjord districts, such as those containing horses/equestrian equipment or penannular brooches indicate participation in networks with centres outside the fjord districts (e.g. Meling 2014).

In the late Roman Period, the middle fjord area is distinguished from both Jæren and the outer fjord based on brooch composition and more frequent use of cremation. In the Migration Period, the middle fjords appear to be integrated with the low alpine areas, as they share the distribution of Byrkje cruciform brooches. In the Merovingian Period, except for two conical brooches, these areas are empty. In the Viking Age, the inner, middle, and outer fjords south of the Boknafjord all appear to be integrated with each other, focusing on the Boknafjord basin and northern Jæren.

2.3.4 The heathland/moorland

In C3, the heathland/moorland is quite distinct from Jæren, practicing cremation instead of inhumation and constructing round monuments instead of oval, though sharing several brooch types. In the Migration Period, this opposition is decreased; the heathland/moorland assimilated towards the practices of Jæren. In the Merovingian Period, only one brooch exists in this landscape, but also points towards Jæren, whereas in the Viking Period, new clusters of brooches appear north of Eigersund. The oval brooch types have a tendency to be slightly younger here

than in other landscapes, and the practice of cremation is prevalent at a time when all the rest of the study area practiced mainly inhumation. From C3, a small lacuna may be observed at the transition to the neighbouring county, Vest-Agder, likely due to the location falling between centres.

2.4 Changing sub-regions, changing political landscapes?

The diversity of mortuary practices and selective use of brooches accounted for in the previous section demonstrates the contrasting tendencies of shared traits across landscapes combined with local particularities. These local particularities serve to identify sub-regions through a preference for brooches other than those common to their neighbouring areas, or through different ways of treating the bodies of the dead or constructing monuments. They do not appear as closed regions with clear borders, but rather in combination, along several axes of similarity and difference. In these combinations, it is still possible to identify core areas characterised by internal similarities and outward contrasts. Such core areas or sub-regions may reflect different ways of participating in communication networks, and may relate to shared ways of life or to strategic and politicised practices or materialities.

The following section will explore how these sub-regions relate to socio-political structures and change by addressing different explanatory models for interpreting key characteristics of the sub-regions identified in the previous sections.

2.4.1 Explaining lacunae

When looking at the distribution map of brooches in periods C3–D2 and particularly the distribution of cruciform brooches, there are areas that appear empty (Figs. 2.4a, 2.6a–c). Some of these vacant areas may be explained by natural predispositions in the terrain, which create peripheries where the living conditions and access to resources change decidedly (Helgesson 2008). Such explanations are particularly relevant for the alpine areas along the south-eastern, eastern, and north-eastern borders of the study area. Similar explanations also apply to some parts of the heathland/moorlands landscape region. As demonstrated in Fig. 2.4b, the absence of brooches in Dalane and the outer coast cannot be explained by a general absence of people, graves, and settlements; therefore, explanations must be sought elsewhere (Andersen 1968). The two lacunae may appear similar at first glance, but the distribution of Roman and Migration period elite indicators such as gold, weapons, imported vessels of bronze or glass, underlines the difference between the outer coast and the Dalane lacunae. Apart from a few burials with weapons, Dalane

lacks burials that would indicate particularly high status. Rather, the distribution of elite indicators is reflective of Dalane's location *between* centres in Rogaland and the neighbouring Vest-Agder county in the late Roman and Migration periods. The lacuna may therefore represent a transitional zone between these centres.

Such is not the case at Avaldsnes, where massive investments in burials and monuments, the construction of a separate hall building and a boathouse for a large ship all demonstrate power and control over the Karmsund strait from the 3rd century onwards (Tab. 2.1 for more detailed dates). The settlement takes on a structured spatial architecture with zones for dwelling, large infields, a harbour area, and mortuary monuments, as well as a 4th-century longhouse remaining in use until the late 6th century. Several of the burial monuments in the immediate landscape included high status objects such as imported bronzes or objects of gold, clearly contributing to the establishment of an elite. From this initial establishment in the 3rd century to the end of the 6th century, Avaldsnes appears structured and stable, leaving no doubt to its continued centrality throughout these centuries – all of which underscores the apparently mysterious absence of brooches in its surroundings. Two not mutually exclusive explanations may be offered regarding the absence of brooches on the outer coast. First, the burial practices in the area demonstrate a different selection of objects, several of these interred in Bronze Age monuments. Eschewing the use of brooches may be a conscious strategy to emphasise a cultural identity, to signal discernment from surrounding sub-regions wherein this practice is becoming characteristic during C3. Similar mechanisms – what Hedeager terms cultural barriers or resistance – could explain the absence of Roman imports in burials on Jutland in the late Roman and Migration periods as a marker of distinction from neighbouring regions (Hedeager 1992b:192–3; Ringtved 1988).

The second explanation relates to the consolidation of elites and the onset of peer competition. While the settlement of Avaldsnes seems stable from the 3rd to the late 6th century, the high-status burials in the area are, with a few exceptions, predominantly from the late Roman Period. The massive investments of the 3rd century – in the settlement structures, and in burials and monuments at Avaldsnes and in the immediate surroundings – serve the establishment of an elite. As the position of the ruler at Avaldsnes was established and control of the strait secured, the need for ritual activities changed and the number of high-status burials declined. The 4th-century Flaghaug grave 3 with a Westland cauldron and a 5th–6th century weapon burial from an unidentified monument seem to confirm an established position. Other less conspicuous burials have also been uncovered at Avaldsnes; several unexcavated monuments are not particularly monumental. By contrast, the elite burials at Jæren, many with high-quality brooches, were interred throughout the Migration Period. Although the Tinghaug complex may have held a superior position, the simultaneous existence of numerous elite milieus and centres likely created a need for continued manifestations of power and affiliations in their burials, as previously mention with regard to the networks observed in the distribution of

particular relief brooches (Kristoffersen 2000:190–1). Such explanatory models have previously been argued in contemporary Denmark (Hedeager 1992a, 1992b). In Hedeager's interpretative model, the shift from depositing wealth in burials to ritual depositions was characteristic of the consolidated elite and was interpreted as a centre. By contrast, the regions where power was unstable and demonstration of wealth in burials continued were interpreted as the periphery. In the present study, rather than imposing the roles of centre and periphery, these differences are interpreted as sub-regions that are structured by different principles and follow their own trajectories (see a similar line of argument in Holst 2014), despite their geographical, social, and cultural proximity. This point will be expanded upon below.

2.4.2 Intra-regional diversity and parallel societal development

As I have argued and demonstrated in the presentation of the diachronic analyses, the recurring deposition of brooches in burials is a practice most visible in the Jæren sub-region. Already in C3, this tendency was gradually manifesting, especially along the beaches where these brooch-burials are quite characteristic. The burials with brooches seem to have been given special significance within the society that constructed them, as is inferred from the deep-rooted and persisting practice of interring the dead with pairs or sets of brooches. The tendency here is to concentrate these burials in large cemeteries along the beaches with few typically 'male' weapon burials and the recurring uses of oblong/oval monument forms. Moreover, the burials with brooches more often were selected for secondary burials at Jæren compared to other sub-regions; several of the brooches from these are relief brooches of particularly high quality. Through this repeated practice and specific selection of artefacts for the burial contexts, the burials with brooches have served to distinguish Jæren from its adjacent landscapes, and particularly from Avaldsnes and the outer coast. Thus, it seems that the burials with brooches had become a politicised ideal at Jæren already in C3 and persisted throughout the Migration Period. Even the few burials with disc-on-bow brooches may be referencing this same ideal in the Merovingian Period.

Such differences between neighbouring regions have been demonstrated in Roman Period Denmark as well. Here, rich warrior burials are found in Jutland and rich female burials in Zealand. Assuming that only those bequeathing an inheritance would receive richly furnished burials, these regional differences have been interpreted as reflections of different systems of inheritance (Hedeager 1992b). By this logic, men in Zealand would not leave an inheritance (Hedeager 1992b:133). The many oblong/ovals monuments, both at the beaches and further inland at Jæren, are also relevant with regard to inheritance (see also Gjerpe 2017 for a diversified view on inheritance). Several scholars have addressed the point that oval or oblong mounds (in Norwegian, *langhauger*) predominantly have been raised over female burials; one suggestion holds that they relate to the passing of land properties

through women (Lillehammer 1996:23, 2014:24, with further references). Research on the Tinghaug complex convincingly demonstrates that property, inheritance, and power are expressed and legitimised through a group of wealthy female burials with high-quality brooches (Kristoffersen et al. 2014; Magnus 1975, 2014; Sundqvist 2014). It thus seems reasonable that underlying principles such as inheritance structures may have contributed to this difference between Jæren and Karmøy with the outer coast. A relevant parallel may be found in southern Scandinavia, where Holst (2014:180–1) argues that regional variation relates to landscapes being structured predominantly by the principles of either *village community* or *warrior aristocracy*. Furthermore, these underlying principles allowed quite divergent socio-political structures to develop within neighbouring regions. The outer coast with the centre at Avaldsnes without burials with brooches, and Jæren with its numerous burials with brooches and elite centres located quite close to each other, could imply parallel socio-political structures developing within different landscapes, as is particularly evident in the 4th–6th centuries.

It should be noted that gendered differences between Jæren and Karmsund are not a novelty of the 4th–6th centuries. As early as Bronze Age period II, monumental mounds containing burials with jewellery were dominant at Jæren, located on moraines and in cultivated landscapes. A new and partly parallel trend of monumental mounds oriented towards the sea and containing weapons developed early in period III at coastal Jæren and along the Karmsund strait (Myhre 1998:196–7). It seems that a male warrior ethos focused on marine activities was developed on the coast as early as the Bronze Age and again in the late Roman and Migration periods, though the centuries in between are unclear due to few burials. The warrior/maritime focus appears in periods characterised by far-reaching networks and communication by sea.

The contrasting jewellery burials at Jæren and the agricultural orientation may be seen as a long-lasting trend, or *longue durée*. The spatial pattern is not static, as the Jæren beach cemeteries clearly constitute burials with brooches and other jewellery, and not weapons, in the Roman period onwards. The divisions are not absolute in the Roman period, either – one burial with a pair of Niemburger brooches was found on the western coast of Karmøy, whereas the other brooches of this period found along the outer coast do not make up traditional sets of jewellery. Røstad (2016a:359–63) has addressed the presence of brooches in weapon burials and argues that certain clasps or brooches also appear in burials with weapons, but these are generally not of regional character. The very few brooches on the outer coast from the late Roman period onwards are not all weapon burials, but they do not comprise pairs of brooches combined with beads/textile tools as seen in the repeated patterns at Jæren at cemeteries such as Kvassheim (Lillehammer 1996). While non-regional brooches may appear in weapon burials, as argued by Røstad, the occurrence of this combination in larger sets is a particularity of Jæren (Fig. 2.6d). The sub-regional particularities thus may pertain either to the use of certain brooches or to the manner of use or display of the brooches.

Sindbæk's (2010) theory of thresholds in the dissemination of practices and technologies is relevant for explaining how the use of brooches could become so widespread at Jæren: the dissemination is increased when already practiced by the elite as seen in the Krosshaug burial, as well as by larger communities at the beach cemeteries. Thus ideals and practices are established by attending the same burials and rituals, and then possibly increased and enhanced as those occasions and burials become collective memories. These burials and the people buried there have had a lasting significance for the remaining communities as their mounds or cairns often are chosen for later and repeated use. In contrast, such practices and ideals may not have caught on at Karmøy, where the Longåker burial is the only Roman Period burial with a pair of brooches, and none are known from the Migration Period.

2.4.3 'Similar difference' and connectivity

The end of Migration Period and the beginning of the Merovingian Period coincides with the AD 536 climatic event, the aftereffects of the decline of the Western Roman Empire, and the Plague of Justinian (Skre this vol. Ch. 3.5.1). In the burials with brooches, a marked decline may be observed. Though there is a constant flow of foreign objects reaching Scandinavian territories, the scale is quite different from that of the preceding late Roman and Migration period and the following Viking Period (Fig. 2.8; Sindbæk 2017:555–6). A renewed upsurge of connectivity relates to the development of the emporia networks, which through maritime trade and mobility created new forms of economic integration across regions (Sindbæk 2017: 556–7). Within the study area, the significance of the sailing route as a medium for the circulation of artefacts and communication is not new. The orientation towards the sea is particularly clear in the beach cemeteries and in the layout of Avaldsnes and the monuments along the Karmsund Strait. The two ship-burials by the Karmsund Strait in the late 8th century are in themselves a return to an established symbolism and connected to a new elite ideology, observed amongst other places in the ship burial of Sutton Hoo as well as in literary sources (Opedal 2010:69–89).

Following the re-establishment and consolidation of the seat of power at Avaldsnes by help of the ship burials, the transition to the Viking Age displays a reappearance of clusters of burials with brooches, now in all landscape regions. Still, Jæren stands out with the most variation and highest quantity of brooches. There is, however, a geographical change: the centre of gravity is now moved further north, and the Ryfylke islands and the fjord settlements south of the Boknafjord seem to form a more integrated whole. The distribution of late Iron Age boathouses support this spatial focus (Fig. 2.14). The written sources speak of the royal presence at Avaldsnes, but the archaeological evidence for the royal manor at Avaldsnes is limited. The fortified food storage area initiated in the 7th century

displays intense use up to the early 11th century, but it is uncertain how long the 7th century palisade remained in function. A 10th-century building of unknown size was raised on a particularly visible location on the central plateau where the late Roman Period hall had lain earlier.

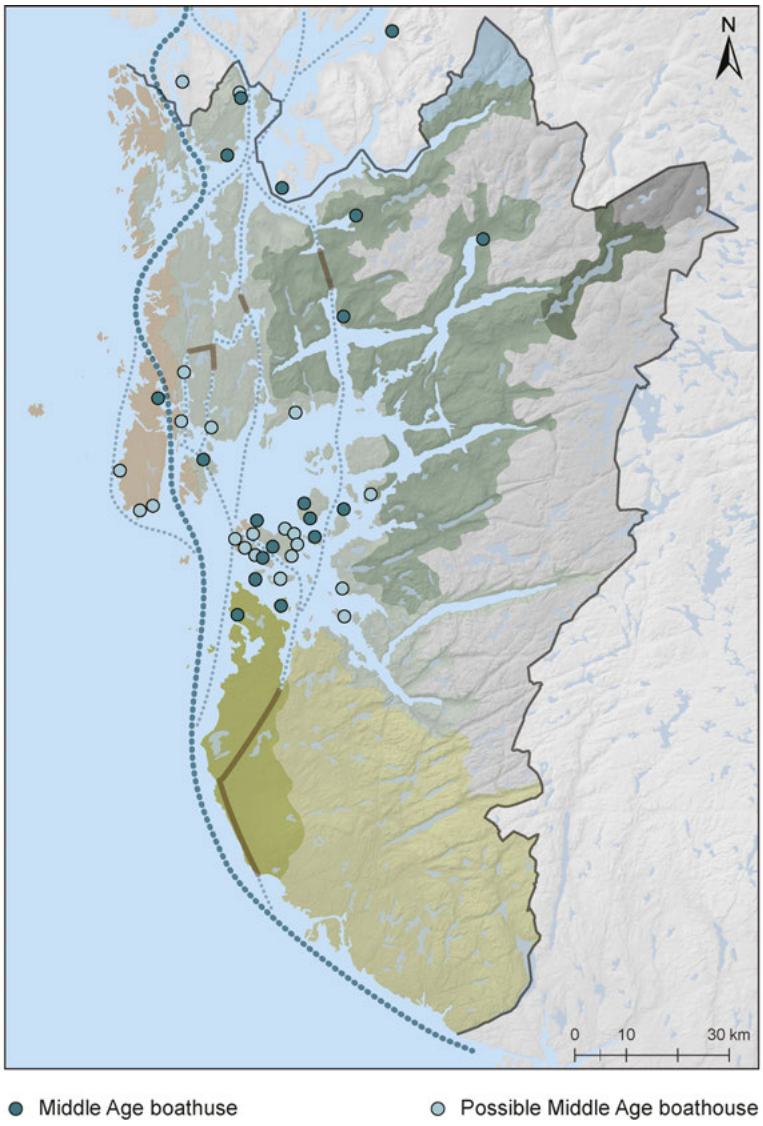

Fig. 2.14: Distribution of known late Iron Age/medieval boathouses in Rogaland (after Bauer 2018: fig. 10.7). Landscape districts after Puschmann (2005). Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

As pointed out by Sindbæk (2017:558–9), the use of sails and navigation techniques increased global interaction within the Viking world, resulting in close transregional contact and establishment of a Scandinavian diaspora maintaining cultural identity and practices, while also assimilating with local culture and participating in political or military campaigns. The large quantities of Viking Age insular import found in south-western Norway indicate the significance of the participation in these networks. The insular finds do however seem to affect two different sociopolitical networks. The first is oriented around penannular brooches the other various forms of copper alloy or gilded fittings transformed into brooches or pendants, becoming part of the dress accessories. The initial use of insular penannular brooches was also as accessories to female dress, constituting material references to the Irish Sea. From AD 850, the penannular brooches are physically and socially transformed, as locally produced penannular brooches now appear in male burials of a certain status. This, argues Glørstad (2012), demonstrates a transformation into a politicised symbol that bore with it the reference to the political alliance around Harald Fairhair and his close connections and political support based in the area of the Irish Sea (Glørstad 2010, 2012:248–9). The distribution of these penannular brooches displays concentrations around Avaldsnes, at Jæren, and along some of the inner fjords. These brooches thus represent an elite network in the form of a political alliance, likely centred on Avaldsnes.

The remaining insular brooches, mostly in the form of transformed fittings, are found mainly in burials south of the Boknafjord, traditionally interpreted as trophies or gifts brought back from Viking Raids (Lillehammer 2014:34). By contrast to the penannular brooches that likely were distributed through the networks connected to Harald Fairhair and his political campaign for kingship (Glørstad 2010:249), the other insular brooches may represent those who were directly involved with the campaigns on the British Isles. A relevant parallel is found in Scania in the late Viking Age, where the distribution of English coins and runestones referring to the campaigns in England indicate different forms of circulation of materialities. In one area, objects are interpreted to have been distributed through the central ruler at Uppåkra; in another area, English coins were located more directly at farms that had no prior magnate status or networks, likely representing those involved in the campaigns (Helgesson 2008). It is possible that the recruitment to ships bound for the British Isles was targeting other existing social networks and that similar processes took place in south-western Norway. The increasing similarities in brooch distribution and mortuary practices on the northern part of Jæren, the Ryfylke islands, and the fjord districts south of the Boknafjord, in correlation with the spatial distribution of the transformed insular fittings, could indicate that these landscapes were becoming increasingly integrated with each other. The mode of circulation of material culture contributes to a common practice, and possibly to a notion of affiliation, both to the insular world

and to the people in the sub-region using the same type of artefacts. The networks towards the insular world had become a network of affiliation, to use Knappett's (2017) term.

Also recorded in these landscapes are several boathouses (Figs. 2.13 and 2.14), indicating an orientation toward maritime activity and possibly a more organised maritime military structure. Such a connection finds support in the work of Opedal (2016), who argues that the Hafrsfjord area functioned as a maritime base in the Viking Age. The boat-burials at Gausel, alongside the chamber burial of the *Gausel Queen*, which contained high-quality local jewellery as well as equestrian equipment decorated with insular fittings, are all oriented towards the fjord basin on the eastern side of the Stavanger Peninsula (Bakka 1993; Børsheim et al. 2002). The objects in the burials, their location, and the boats all underline a maritime focus and networks between the insular world and northern Jæren, the Ryfylke Islands, and the fjord districts south of the Boknafjord. The insular connections thus affected networks on different social and spatial scales; the controlled distribution forged political alliances, binding together the social aggregates in the landscapes south of the Boknafjord (Feinman 2017).

2.5 Concluding remarks

One issue raised by Hedeager (1992b:208) is that increased diversity in the material culture likely reflects both regional and intra-regional divergences or oppositions. In the analysed material of brooches in burial contexts, two phases are characterised by a brooch material that is complex and numerous, namely the late Roman and Migration periods, and the Viking Age. Theoretical perspectives on past globalisation contribute to explaining why local or regional differences emerge as a response to a contemporary historical context characterised by high interconnectivity. These same two periods, in which the regional variations and geopolitical landscapes are most articulated, namely the Late Roman/Migration period and the Viking age, are characterised by wide-ranging superregional networks through which artefacts and ideas were disseminated. In the discussion of the formation of regions within the study area, elements have been applied of other models targeting the formation of regionalities by the consolidation of elites or the parallel development of principally different socio-political structures in neighbouring landscapes or regions. An eclectic use and combination of these models would seem to lead to a better understanding of the various social mechanisms involved in formation of (sub-)regional differences.

An analysis of spatial and temporal differences in burial practices and use of brooches, in light of the contemporary elite settlement at Avaldsnes, has provided an opportunity to compare the chronological developments within sub-regions with

the changes in the uppermost elite in order to address a correlation of sub-regional trajectories with ongoing socio-political processes of centralisation or distinction. This approach has also brought the outer coast into the discussion of sub-regions; a singular focus on brooches would have excluded that landscape. Instead, the analyses resulted in the recognition of the outer coast with Karmsund and Jæren as the most clearly defined sub-regions, the former due to its refraining from the use of brooches in the late Roman and Migration periods, the latter for its extensive use of brooches in the same period.

Other sub-regions were identified based on similarities or differences in brooch corpus and in practices. While the outer coast/Karmsund and Jæren remain highly defined throughout the period of study, the degree to which they are integrated with neighbouring regions varies for different times. The outer fjord areas north of the Boknafjord become increasingly integrated with the outer coast/Karmsund through the Migration and Merovingian periods. While the heathland/moorland is clearly distinguished from Jæren in the late Roman Period, this area is assimilated with Jæren during the Migration Period, but appears separated from Jæren in the Viking Age, demonstrating both processes of integration and fragmentation over time. While the middle and inner fjord areas appear somewhat defined as sub-regions in the late Roman and Migration periods, the fjord districts south of the Boknafjord appear more integrated with Jæren in the Viking Age, focused towards the Boknafjord basin.

These changing sub-regions and particularly the increased integration of the landscapes south of the Boknafjord in the Viking Age may reflect processes of centralisation. A correlation with clusters of boathouses in this area, and with the distribution of the slightly older courtyard sites, could relate to changes in juridical and maritime military structures. While there is no 'regional identity' or a regional distribution that reflects the population within a late Viking Age kingdom, as pointed out by Scull (2001) it is possible to approach formation processes by looking at spatial aspects of sub-regions with elite networks in combination with other 'infrastructures' such as courtyard sites or boathouses. Callmer (1991) argues that Scandinavia consisted of several social aggregates of varying form, extent, and character, and that some were smaller settlement districts, partly delimited by natural barriers, while others formed confederations and subsequently kingdoms with varying extents of overlordship. Within these larger constellations, the integration of the various settlements or landscapes may have varied, similarly as did the tendencies observed in this study. The trajectories of the subregions provide examples of both increasingly centralized landscapes as seen in the Viking Age south of Boknafjorden, characterised by shared practices and shared material culture, and the less integrated sub-regions characterised by a shifting degree of similarities/differences, such as between Jæren and the heathlands.

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Appendix: Overview of brooches found in burial context

The selection criteria for the brooches included in this study is that the brooch is from a burial context and that some information of the monument or burial practices is available. The nature of this information ranges from brief mentions of an origin in a mound or cairn to detailed descriptions of inner constructions and secondary phases. In cases where information is not recorded/mentioned, they are left as blank and count as 'missing' in statistical distributions.

museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
S3229	A VI	Helgaland	C3	Vindafjord	Mound	Round		X			Mid fjords
B2601	A VI2	Orre	C1	Klepp	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5376	A VII2	Kvassheim	C1b-C2	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S2278	A VII2	Søre Sunde	C1b-C2	Stavanger	soilmixed cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5376	A VII3	Kvassheim	C1b-C2	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B4208	A VII3	Innbjoa	C1b-C2	Vindafjord	Mound	uncertain	uncertain		X		outer fjords
S2436	atypical form	Dirdal	D1-D2	Gjesdal	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	Inhumation		X		Mid fjords
S307	B-1, relief brooch	Abeland	D2b	Bjerkreim	Mound	Large/ monumental	Inhumation	X			heathland/ moorland
B5994	B-1, relief brooch	Kvassheim	D2b	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5999	B-1, relief brooch	Kvassheim	D2b	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B1784	B-1, relief brooch	Garpestad	D2b	Time	Mound	uncertain	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S8615	B-1, relief brooch	Vik	D2b	Klepp	Mound	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			Jæren
S2062	B-1, relief brooch	Anisdal	D2b	Hå	soilmixed cairn	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren

S440	B-1, relief brooch	Torland	D2b	Hå	soilmixed cairn	uncertain		X			Jæren
S3741	B-1, relief brooch	Skjærpe	D2b	Hå	Cairn	uncertain	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B10205	B-1, relief brooch	Sørheim	D2b	Etne	Mound	uncertain	Inhumation		X		Mid fjords
S2587	B-2, early relief brooch	Riskadal	D1	Hjelmeland	Mound	uncertain	Inhumation	X			Mid fjords
S4260	birdshaped fibula	Ferkingstad	fase2	Karmøy	interred, no marking			X			Outer coast
B5353	botnisk gruppe, late relief brooch	Kvassheim	D2b	Hå	Cairn	Round	Inhumation			X	Jæren
S3856	bow brooch, unspecified	Tegle	D2a	Time	Mound	Round	uncertain	X			heathland/ moorland
S2542	bow brooch, unspecified	Hedland	D1-D2	Eigersund	soilmixed cairn	Round	Inhumation	X			heathland/ moorland
S2219	bow brooch, unspecified	Frøyland	C3	Sandnes	soilmixed cairn	Round	cremation	X			heathland/ moorland
S1525	bow brooch, unspecified	Hogstad	D2a	Sandnes	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	uncertain	X			heathland/ moorland
C12323	bow brooch, unspecified	Hafsøy	D1	Eigersund	Cairn	Round	cremation	X			heathland/ moorland
B2541	bow brooch, unspecified	Vestly	D2	Time	Mound		uncertain			X	Jæren

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
S8510	bow brooch, unspecified	Skeie	D1-D2	Klepp	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	Jæren
B5341	bow brooch, unspecified	Kvassheim	C3-D1	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X		Jæren
S9948	bow brooch, unspecified	Undheim	B1-C3	Time	soilmixed cairn	Round	cremation		X		Jæren
S8508	bow brooch, unspecified	Ånestad	C3	Hå	Cairn	Round	Inhumation		X		Jæren
S8164	bow brooch, unspecified	Hå	C3	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain		X		Jæren
B5297	bow brooch, unspecified	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5299	bow brooch, unspecified	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B3466	bow brooch, unspecified	Rosseland	C2-D2	Klepp	Mound	uncertain	uncertain	X			Jæren
S9630	bow brooch, unspecified	Re	C1-C3	Time	Mound	Round		X			Jæren
B4398	bow brooch, unspecified	Hå	D2b	Hå	Mound	uncertain		X			Jæren

S2278	bow brooch, unspecified	Søre Sunde	C1b-C2	Stavanger	soilmixed cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S1229	bow brooch, unspecified	Bø	D1-D2	Hå	soilmixed cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			Jæren
S1875	bow brooch, unspecified	Reve	D1-D2	Klepp	soilmixed cairn			X			Jæren
S2695	bow brooch, unspecified	Østbø	D2b	Vindafjord	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	Mid fjords
S2757	bow brooch, unspecified	Forsand	C3	Forsand	Mound	Round	cremation			X	Mid fjords
S12691	bow brooch, unspecified	Østerhus	B1-D2	Hjelmeland	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	possibly cremation			X	Mid fjords
S2948	bow brooch, unspecified	Forsand	D1	Forsand	Mound	Round	cremation	X			Mid fjords
S2369	bow brooch, unspecified	Øvre Mæle	C2-D2	Hjelmeland	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	cremation	X			Mid fjords
S2951	bow brooch, unspecified	Hegreberg	C3	Rennesøy	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X			outer fjords
S9608	brooch fragment, unspecified	Hovland	D1-D2	Eigersund	soilmixed cairn	Round	uncertain	X			heathland/ moorland
S9612	brooch fragment, unspecified	Hovland	D1-D2a	Eigersund	Cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			heathland/ moorland
B4889	brooch fragment, unspecified	Ukjent gard	C2-D2	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	cremation				heathland/ moorland

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
B5275	brooch fragment, unspecified	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5352	brooch fragment, unspecified	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S1228	brooch fragment, unspecified	Bø	D1-D2	Hå	soilmixed cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			Jæren
S8618	brooch fragment, unspecified	Hå	D1-D2	Hå	Cairn	Round	uncertain	X			Jæren
S8695	brooch fragment, unspecified	Skeie	D1-D2	Klepp	Cairn	Oval/oblong		X			Jæren
B9971	brooch fragment, unspecified	Grindheim	D2b	Etne	Cairn	Round	Inhumation	X			low alpine
S7117	brooch fragment, unspecified	Berge	D1	Forsand	Mound	uncertain	cremation	X			Mid fjords
S2670	brooch fragment, unspecified	Skeie	C2-D2	Vindafjord	Mound	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			Mid fjords
S2925	brooch fragment, unspecified	Eide Vestre/ Eide Austre	D1-D2	Vindafjord	Mound	Round	uncertain	X			Mid fjords
B443	brooch fragment, unspecified	Nedre Austreim	C2-D2	Vindafjord	Mound	uncertain		X			outer fjords

S2218	Bugelknopf	Frøyland	C3	Sandnes	soilmixed cairn	Round	cremation	X				heathland/ moorland
S4115	Bugelknopf	Joa	C3	Sola	soilmixed cairn	Round	Inhumation		X			Jæren
S2348	Bugelknopf	Kvalbein	C3	Hå	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	cremation	X				Jæren
S2595	Bugelknopf	Litlaland	C3	Sola	Cairn	uncertain	Inhumation	X				Jæren
S2719	Bugelknopf	Lyse	C3	Forsand	Mound	Round	cremation	X				Mid fjords
S2261	Bugelknopf	Østabø	C3	Vindafjord	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	Inhumation	X				Mid fjords
S2259	Bugelknopf	Østabø	C3	Vindafjord	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	uncertain	X				Mid fjords
S2547	Button claps B1v	Rivjaland	D2b	Hjelmeland	soilmixed cairn	Round	Inhumation					Mid fjords
S8095	Button clasps	Hå	D1-D2	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain		X			Jæren
S2234	Button clasps B1i	Jødestad	D2	Sandnes	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	Inhumation	X				heathland/ moorland
S1028	Button clasps B1i	Laland	D2	Klepp	soilmixed cairn	Round	uncertain			X		Jæren
B5999	Button clasps B1i	Kvassheim	D2b	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X				Jæren
B5368	Button clasps B1i	Kvassheim	D2	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X				Jæren
B5994	Button clasps B1i	Kvassheim	D2b	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X				Jæren

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
S2451	Button clasps B1i	Nord-Braut	D2b	Klepp	soilmixed cairn	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5985	Button clasps B1i	Kvassheim	D2	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong		X			Jæren
S9181	Button clasps B1ii	Eikeland	D2b	Time	soilmixed cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			heathland/ moorland
B1782	Button clasps B1ii	Garpestad	D2b	Time	Mound	uncertain	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5362	Button clasps B1ii/ B1iv	Kvassheim	D2b	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	Jæren
B4254	Button clasps B1ii/ B1iv	Obrestad	D2a	Hå			uncertain	X			Jæren
B14297	Button clasps B1ii/ B1iv	Hornaland	D2	Stord			Inhumation	X			outer fjords
S4311	Button clasps B1iv	Tegle	D2	Time	Cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			heathland/ moorland
B2546	Button clasps B1iv	Vestly	D2	Time	Mound		uncertain			X	Jæren
S2451	Button clasps B1iv	Nord-Braut	D2b	Klepp	soilmixed cairn	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5908	Button clasps B1iv	Storasund	D2	Karmøy	Mound	Round	Inhumation		X		Outer coast

S8635	Button clasps B1v	Vestly	D2b	Time	Mound	Large/ monumental	Inhumation		X	Jæren
S936	Button clasps B1v	Voll	D2a	Hå			uncertain	X		Jæren
C3312	Button clasps B1v	Vasshus	D2	Klepp	Mound	Round	Inhumation			Jæren
S9510	Button clasps B6	Lye	D2	Time	soilmixed cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X		Jæren
B5343	Button clasps BI unclassified	Kvassheim	D2a	Hå	Mound	Round	Inhumation		X	Jæren
B5364	Button clasps BI unclassified	Kvassheim	C3-D1	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X	Jæren
B4879	Button clasps BI unclassified	Bø	D2a	Hå	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X		Jæren
S2258	Button clasps BI unclassified	Østabø	C3	Vindafjord	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	uncertain		X	Mid fjords
S4476	Byrkje, Cruciform brooch	Soppaland	D2a	Hjelmeland	interred, no marking		Inhumation	X		low alpine
S5068	Byrkje, Cruciform brooch	Byrkja	D2a	Hjelmeland	Mound		Inhumation	X		Mid fjords
C18874	Byrkje, Cruciform brooch	Fisketjørn	D1	Suldal	Mound	uncertain		X		Mid fjords
S2718	Byrkje, Cruciform brooch	Lyse	D2a	Forsand	Cairn	Round	cremation	X		Mid fjords

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
S5105	Bützfleht, cruciform brooch	Vassbø	D1	Bjerkreim	Cairn	uncertain	uncertain		X		heathland/ moorland
S4023	circular disc, JP124	Tau	Per2a2-2b	Strand	interred, no marking		uncertain	X			outer fjords
B478	Conical, geometric	Vik Nedre	fase1	Vindafjord	Mound	uncertain		X			Mid fjords
S5105	Cruciform, singular type	Vassbø	D1	Bjerkreim	Cairn	uncertain	uncertain		X		heathland/ moorland
S2036	Cruciform, singular type	Ålgård	D1-D2a	Gjesdal	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X			heathland/ moorland
S324	Cruciform, singular type	Røysland	D1	Bjerkreim	soilmixed cairn	Round		X			heathland/ moorland
B2516	Cruciform, singular type	Tu	D2a	Klepp	Mound		Inhumation	X		X	Jæren
S2497	Cruciform, singular type	Røyneberg	D1-D2	Sola	soilmixed cairn	Round	cremation			X	Jæren
S8510	Cruciform, singular type	Skeie	D1-D2	Klepp	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	Jæren
S8510	Cruciform, singular type	Skeie	D1-D2	Klepp	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	Jæren

C17479	Cruciform, singular type	Hårr	D1-D2	Hå	Cairn					X	Jæren
B5306	Cruciform, singular type	Kvassheim	D1	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X	X		Jæren
B5550	Cruciform, singular type	Kvalbein	D1-D2	Hå	Mound	uncertain			X		Jæren
S9515	Cruciform, singular type	Hå	D1-D2	Hå	soilmixed cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain		X		Jæren
S7399	Cruciform, singular type	Skeie	D1-D2	Klepp	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S948	Cruciform, singular type	Kvassheim	D1	Hå	soilmixed cairn	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S949	Cruciform, singular type	Kvassheim	D2a	Hå	soilmixed cairn	Round		X			Jæren
B5984	Cruciform, singular type	Kvassheim	D2	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S4059	Cruciform, singular type	Fuglestad	D1-D2	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	cremation	X			Jæren
S10129	Cruciform, singular type	Hårr	D1-D2	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			Jæren
S2830	Cruciform, singular type	Reve	D1-D2	Klepp	Cairn	Round		X			Jæren
S1460	Cruciform, singular type	Madland	D2b	Hå	Cairn	uncertain		X			Jæren

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
S8613	Cruciform, singular type	Auda- Motland	D1-D2	Hå	Mound	Round	uncertain				Jæren
S7300	Cruciform, singular type	Geisfjell	C3-D2	Hjelmeland	Mound	Round	uncertain		X		Mid fjords
S7300	Cruciform, singular type	Geisfjell	C3-D2	Hjelmeland	Mound	Round	uncertain		X		Mid fjords
S2723	Cruciform, singular type	Lyse	D1	Forsand	Mound	uncertain	Inhumation	X			Mid fjords
S5068	Cruciform, singular type	Byrkja	D1-D2	Hjelmeland	Mound		Inhumation	X			Mid fjords
S2848	Cruciform, singular type	Nærheim	D1	Suldal	Mound	Oval/oblong	cremation	X			Mid fjords
S2948	Cruciform, singular type	Forsand	D1	Forsand	Mound	Round	cremation	X			Mid fjords
S3564	Cruciform, singular type	Helle	D1-D2	Forsand	Mound	uncertain	cremation	X			Mid fjords
S5491	Cruciform, singular type	Nedre Helgavoll	D1-D2	Vindafjord	Mound	uncertain	uncertain	X			Mid fjords
S7117	Cruciform, singular type	Berge	D1	Forsand	Mound	uncertain	possibly cremation	X			Mid fjords

S3683	Cruciform, singular type	Stople	D1-D2	Vindafjord	Mound		possiblycremation	X			Mid fjords
S2550	Cruciform, singular type	Byrkja	D1-D2	Hjelmeland	Stone slab			X			Mid fjords
S2371	Cruciform, singular type	Øvre Mæle	D1	Hjelmeland	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	Inhumation	X			Mid fjords
B5889	Cruciform, singular type	Rygg	C3-D1	Etne	Cairn	Round	Inhumation	X			Mid fjords
B4254	cruciform, unique	Obrestad	D2a	Hå			uncertain	X			Jæren
S5045	cruciform, unspecified type	Slettabø	D1	Bjerkreim	Mound	Round	cremation			X	heathland/ moorland
S4590	cruciform, unspecified type	Skjørestad	D1-D2a	Sandnes	Mound	Round	cremation	X			heathland/ moorland
S1520	cruciform, unspecified type	Hogstad	D2a	Sandnes	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	uncertain	X			heathland/ moorland
S9612	cruciform, unspecified type	Hovland	D1-D2a	Eigersund	Cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			heathland/ moorland
S9615	cruciform, unspecified type	Hovland	D1-D2a	Eigersund	Cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			heathland/ moorland
S5544	cruciform, unspecified type	Sporaland	D1-D2a	Sandnes			uncertain	X			heathland/ moorland
B2973	cruciform, unspecified type	Anda	D1	Klepp	Mound	Large/ monumental	possibly cremation			X	Jæren

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
S10765	cruciform, unspecified type	Austre Løge	D1-D2a	Time	Cairn	uncertain	cremation			X	Jæren
C17478	cruciform, unspecified type	Hårr	D1-D2	Hå	Cairn					X	Jæren
S2817	cruciform, unspecified type	Hodne	D1-D2a	Klepp	Mound	Round			X		Jæren
B5363	cruciform, unspecified type	Kvassheim	D1	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X		Jæren
S8166	cruciform, unspecified type	Hå	D1-D2	Hå	Cairn	Round	uncertain		X		Jæren
S6286	cruciform, unspecified type	Tjøtta	D1-D2a	Klepp	Cairn	Oval/oblong			X		Jæren
B5368	cruciform, unspecified type	Kvassheim	D2	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5351	cruciform, unspecified type	Kvassheim	D1	Hå	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S6392	cruciform, unspecified type	Stokka	D1	Sandnes	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren

B4176	cruciform, unspecified type	Ukjent gard	D1-D2a	Klepp	Mound	uncertain	cremation	X	Jæren
S3498	cruciform, unspecified type	Sandve	D1-D2a	Sandnes	Mound		cremation	X	Jæren
S4680	cruciform, unspecified type	Erga	D1-D2a	Klepp	Mound	uncertain	uncertain	X	Jæren
S9931	cruciform, unspecified type	Anisdal	D1-D2a	Hå	Mound	Round		X	Jæren
S1575	cruciform, unspecified type	Herikstad	D2a	Hå	Mound	uncertain		X	Jæren
B5296	cruciform, unspecified type	Kvassheim	D2a	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X	Jæren
B5387	cruciform, unspecified type	Kvassheim	D2	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X	Jæren
S8618	cruciform, unspecified type	Hå	D1-D2a	Hå	Cairn	Round	uncertain	X	Jæren
S2251	cruciform, unspecified type	Reve	D1-D2a	Klepp	Cairn	uncertain	uncertain	X	Jæren
S2830	cruciform, unspecified type	Reve	D1-D2a	Klepp	Cairn	Round		X	Jæren
S13747	cruciform, unspecified type	Hårr	D2a	Hå	Cairn			X	Jæren
B6004	cruciform, unspecified type	Kvassheim	D2	Hå					Jæren

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
B10202	cruciform, unspecified type	Grindheim	D2a	Etne	Mound	Round	Inhumation			X	low alpine
B5888	cruciform, unspecified type	Grindheim	D1-D2a	Etne	Cairn	Round			X		low alpine
B7767	cruciform, unspecified type	Øvstebø	D1	Etne	Mound	uncertain				X	Mid fjords
S2046	cruciform, unspecified type	Steine	D2a	Suldal	Mound	uncertain			X		Mid fjords
S5722	cruciform, unspecified type	Dirdal	D1-D2a	Gjesdal	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	cremation		X		Mid fjords
S3225	cruciform, unspecified type	Hedland	D1-D2a	Suldal	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X			Mid fjords
S6951	cruciform, unspecified type	Frafjord	D1-D2a	Gjesdal	Mound	Oval/oblong	cremation	X			Mid fjords
S2756	cruciform, unspecified type	Kvestad	D1-D2a	Suldal	Mound	Round	cremation	X			Mid fjords
S2924	cruciform, unspecified type	Hoftun	D1-D2a	Suldal	Mound	Round	cremation	X			Mid fjords

S2725	cruciform, unspecified type	Lyse	D1-D2a	Forsand	Mound	uncertain	cremation	X	Mid fjords
S10910	cruciform, unspecified type	Hedland	D1-D2a	Suldal	Mound	uncertain	cremation	X	Mid fjords
S2769	cruciform, unspecified type	Tjentland	D1-D2a	Hjelmeland	Mound	Round	uncertain	X	Mid fjords
S2381	cruciform, unspecified type	Østabø	D1-D2a	Vindafjord	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	cremation	X	Mid fjords
S3887	cruciform, unspecified type	Forsand	D1	Forsand	Cairn	uncertain	cremation	X	Mid fjords
S4162	cruciform, unspecified type	Forsand	D1-D2a	Forsand	Cairn	Round	uncertain	X	Mid fjords
S4082	cruciform, unspecified type	Forsand	D1-D2a	Forsand			cremation	X	Mid fjords
S8006	cruciform, unspecified type	Amdal	D1-D2a	Strand	interred, no marking		cremation	X	outer fjords
B5981	cruciform, unspecified type	Ukjent gard	D1-D2	Vindafjord	Mound		cremation	X	outer fjords
B7429	cruciform, unspecified type	Byrkjeland	D1-D2a		Cairn	uncertain	cremation	X	outer fjords
B17788	cruciform, unspecified type	Apeland Søre	D1-D2	Sveio	Cairn			X	outer fjords
S4924	Disc-on-bow phase 2	Byberg	fase2	Sola	Mound	uncertain	uncertain	X	Jæren

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
S4843	Disc-on-bow phase 3	Sagland	fase3	Bjerkreim	Cairn		cremation	X			heathland/ moorland
S8172	Disc-on-bow phase 3	Hå	fase3	Hå	Cairn	triangular	cremation			X	Jæren
B2559	Disc-on-bow phase 3	Orre	fase3	Klepp	Mound	Oval/oblong		X			Jæren
B488	Disc-on-bow phase 3	Nylund	fase3	Stavanger	Mound	uncertain		X			Jæren
B2292	early relief brooch, unclassified	Hauge	D1	Klepp	Mound	Large/ monumental	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S7131	early relief brooch, unclassified	Erga	D1-D2a	Klepp	Mound	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			Jæren
S8510	Eine, cruciform	Skeie	D1	Klepp	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	Jæren
S2371	Eine, cruciform	Øvre Mæle	D1	Hjelmeland	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	Inhumation	X			Mid fjords
C3616	equal arm, merovingian	Tu	fase1	Klepp	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S308	equal arm, no plates	Abeland	D2b	Bjerkreim	Mound	Large/ monumental	Inhumation	X			heathland/ moorland
S9181	equal arm, no plates	Eikeland	D2b	Time	soilmixed cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			heathland/ moorland

C17481	equal arm, no plates	Hårr	D2b	Hå	Cairn					X	Jæren
B5996	equal arm, no plates	Kvassheim	D2b	Hå	Mound		Inhumation	X			Jæren
S2417	equal arm, no plates	Meling	D2b	Sola	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S3741	equal arm, no plates	Skjærpe	D2b	Hå	Cairn	uncertain	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S10263	equal arm, no plates	Hognestad	D2b	Time	Cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			Jæren
B10202	equal arm, no plates	Grindheim	D2b	Etne	Mound	Round	Inhumation		X		low alpine
B10205	equal arm, no plates	Sørheim	D2b	Etne	Mound	uncertain	Inhumation		X		Mid fjords
S2748	equal arm, no plates	Eide Vestre	D2b	Vindafjord	Mound	uncertain	Inhumation	X			Mid fjords
S4116	equal arm, no plates	Åm	D2b	Vindafjord	Cairn	uncertain	cremation	X			Mid fjords
S11240	equal arm, Rogalandstype	Ragje	Per2?	Gjesdal	Mound	Large/ monumental		X			heathland/ moorland
S2346	equal arm, Rogalandstype	Jåsund	Per1-2a1	Sola	Mound		Inhumation			X	Jæren
S12295	equal arm, Rogalandstype	Frøyland	Per1-2a1	Time	interred, no marking		Inhumation	X			Jæren
S4786	equal arm, Rogalandstype	Obrestad	Per1-2a1	Hå	Mound	uncertain	uncertain	X			Jæren
S2351	equal arm, Rogalandstype	Kvalbein	Per1	Hå	soilmixed cairn	Round	cremation	X			Jæren
S2192	equal arm, Rogalandstype	Harastad	Per1-2a1	Randaberg	soilmixed cairn		possibly cremation				Jæren

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
S3426	equal arm, SKtype1	Refsnes	Per1-2a1	Hå	interred, no marking		uncertain	X			Jæren
S4154	equal arm, SKtype1	Øvre Valheim/ Nedre Valheim	Per1-2a1	Hjelmeland	Mound	uncertain	uncertain	X			Mid fjords
B2539	equal arm, with plates	Vestly	D2	Time	Mound		uncertain			X	Jæren
B2535	equal arm, with plates	Vestly	D2b	Time	Mound		uncertain			X	Jæren
B5362	equal arm, with plates	Kvassheim	D2b	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	Jæren
B2590	equal arm, with plates	Orre	C1	Klepp	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S2451	equal arm, with plates	Nord-Braut	D2b	Klepp	soilmixed cairn	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S2417	equal arm, with plates	Meling	D2b	Sola	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5839	equal arm, with plates	Rygg	D2b	Etne	Cairn	Round			X		Mid fjords
S2372	equal arm, with plates	Bandaberg	D2b	Finnøy	soilmixed cairn						outer fjords
S6746	equal armed, JP60	Søyland	Per1-2a1	Hå	Cairn		cremation	X			Jæren
B4233	equal armed, Roglandstypen	Gausel	Per2a1	Stavanger	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren

S7930	Frankish import	Eige Litle	Per2b	Eigersund	Cairn	uncertain	possibly cremation	X		heathland/ moorland
S3548	Fristad, cruciform	Friestad	D2a	Klepp	Mound	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X		Jæren
S3426	Insular import, transformed	Refsnes	Per1-2a1	Hå	interred, no marking		uncertain	X		Jæren
S5073	Insular import, transformed	Refsnes	Per2a	Hå	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X		Jæren
S3549	Insular import, transformed	Orre	vikingtid	Klepp	Mound	boat-shaped		X		Jæren
B2561	Insular import, transformed	Orre	Per1-2a1	Klepp	Mound	Oval/oblong		X		Jæren
S4259	Insular import, transformed	Line	Per1-2a1	Time	Cairn	Squared	uncertain	X		Jæren
S11313	Insular import, transformed	Lovra	Per2a1	Suldal	interred, no marking		possibly cremation	X		Mid fjords
S3258	Insular import, transformed	Vika	Per1-2A1	Finnøy	interred, no marking		Inhumation	X		outer fjords
B2674	iron brooch, simple	Rommetveit Øvre	C2-C3	Stord	Mound	Round	cremation		X	outer fjords
S5046	Lima, cruciform	Slettabø	D2a	Bjerkreim	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X	heathland/ moorland
S3445	Lima, cruciform	Kjørren	D2a	Bjerkreim	Mound	Round		X		heathland/ moorland

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
S8607	Lima, cruciform	Holmen	D2a	Bjerkreim	Cairn	Round	uncertain	X			heathland/ moorland
S8607	Lima, cruciform	Holmen	D2a	Bjerkreim	Cairn	Round	uncertain	X			heathland/ moorland
S6385	Lima, cruciform	Sagland	D2a	Bjerkreim	Cairn	uncertain	cremation				heathland/ moorland
B2530	Lima, cruciform	Vestly	D2a	Time	Mound		uncertain			X	Jæren
S1029	Lima, cruciform	Laland	D2a	Klepp	soilmixed cairn	Round	uncertain			X	Jæren
S8095	Lima, cruciform	Hå	D2a	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X		Jæren
S4890	Lima, cruciform	Bru	D2a	Hå	interred, no marking		possibly cremation	X			Jæren
S5337	Lima, cruciform	Heigre	D2a	Sandnes	Mound	uncertain	uncertain	X			Jæren
S6296	Lima, cruciform	Madland	D2a	Hå	Cairn	Round	cremation	X			Jæren
S4476	Lima, cruciform	Soppaland	D2a	Hjelmeland	interred, no marking		Inhumation	X			low alpine
S2587	Lima, cruciform	Riskadal	D2a	Hjelmeland	Mound	uncertain	Inhumation	X			Mid fjords

C12322	Lunde, cruciform	Hafsøy	D1	Eigersund	Cairn	Round	cremation	X		heathland/ moorland
B5302	Lunde, cruciform	Kvassheim	D1	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X	Jæren
C17473	Lunde, cruciform	Hårr	D1	Hå	Cairn				X	Jæren
S12424	Lunde, cruciform	Tjora	D1	Sola	Cairn	Squared	possibly cremation	X		Jæren
S6896	Lunde, cruciform	Fevoll Øvre	D1	Hjelmeland	Mound	Round	cremation	X		Mid fjords
S5046	Mundheim, cruciform	Slettabø	D2a	Bjerkreim	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X	heathland/ moorland
S5853	Mundheim, cruciform	Edland	D2a	Gjesdal	Mound	Round	uncertain	X		heathland/ moorland
C1286	Mundheim, cruciform	Bråstein	D2a	Sandnes	Mound			X		heathland/ moorland
S1433	Mundheim, cruciform	Værsland	D2a	Bjerkreim	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	uncertain	X		heathland/ moorland
S6385	Mundheim, cruciform	Sagland	D2a	Bjerkreim	Cairn	uncertain	cremation			heathland/ moorland
B2514	Mundheim, cruciform	Tu	D2a	Klepp	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X	X	Jæren
S7703	Mundheim, cruciform	Erga	D2a	Klepp	Mound	uncertain	Inhumation		X	Jæren
S5791	Mundheim, cruciform	Orstad	D2a	Klepp	Mound	Round	cremation		X	Jæren
B2529	Mundheim, cruciform	Vestly	D2a	Time	Mound		uncertain		X	Jæren
C17475	Mundheim, cruciform	Hårr	D2a	Hå	Cairn				X	Jæren

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
B5359	Mundheim, cruciform	Kvassheim	D2a	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X		Jæren
C21407	Mundheim, cruciform	Tu	D2a	Klepp	Cairn	Round	Inhumation		X		Jæren
S6392	Mundheim, cruciform	Stokka	D2a	Sandnes	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B4879	Mundheim, cruciform	Bø	D2a	Hå	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S7131	Mundheim, cruciform	Erga	D1	Klepp	Mound	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			Jæren
S4342	Mundheim, cruciform	Høyland	D2a	Time	Mound	Round	uncertain	X			Jæren
B542	Mundheim, cruciform	Ukjent gard	D2a	Klepp	Mound	Round	uncertain	X			Jæren
B6771	Mundheim, cruciform	Haugland Øvre	D2a	Time	Mound			X			Jæren
S2311	Mundheim, cruciform	Erga	D2a	Klepp	soilmixed cairn	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S10180	Mundheim, cruciform	Nedre Øksnavad	D2a	Klepp	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	uncertain	X			Jæren
B5296	Mundheim, cruciform	Kvassheim	D2a	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5984	Mundheim, cruciform	Kvassheim	D2a	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S6296	Mundheim, cruciform	Madland	D2a	Hå	Cairn	Round	cremation	X			Jæren
S8521	Mundheim, cruciform	Nord- Varhaug	D2a	Hå	Cairn			X			Jæren

S4890	Mundheim, cruciform	Bru	D2a	Hå	interred, no marking		possibly cremation			Jæren
B10202	Mundheim, cruciform	Grindheim	D2a	Etne	Mound	Round	Inhumation		X	low alpine
S2435	Mundheim, cruciform	Dirdal	D2a	Gjesdal	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	Inhumation		X	Mid fjords
S5021	Mundheim, cruciform	Dirdal	D2a	Gjesdal	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X		Mid fjords
S4687	Mundheim, cruciform	Åm	D2a	Vindafjord	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X		Mid fjords
S2587	Mundheim, cruciform	Riskadal	D2a	Hjelmeland	Mound	uncertain	Inhumation	X		Mid fjords
S2848	Mundheim, cruciform	Nærheim	D1	Suldal	Mound	Oval/oblong	cremation	X		Mid fjords
S1927	Mundheim, cruciform	Selvik	D2	Sandnes	Mound	Large/ monumental	cremation	X		Mid fjords
S3564	Mundheim, cruciform	Helle	D2a	Forsand	Mound	uncertain	cremation	X		Mid fjords
S4082	Mundheim, cruciform	Forsand	D2a	Forsand			cremation	X		Mid fjords
S2376	Mundheim, cruciform	Kleivaland	D2a	Hjelmeland	soilmixed cairn					Mid fjords
S9181	Nordlig planfotgruppe, late relief brooch	Eikeland	D2b	Time	soilmixed cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X		heathland/ moorland
S4752	Nordlig planfotgruppe, relief brooch	Husvegg	D2b	Hå	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X		Jæren

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
S1619	Nydamfibula, prototype cruciform	Eige Store	C3	Eigersund	Mound	uncertain		X			heathland/ moorland
B5366	Nydamfibula, prototype cruciform	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X		Jæren
B5282	Nydamfibula, prototype cruciform	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5350	Nydamfibula, prototype cruciform	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B7767	Nydamfibula, prototype cruciform	Øvstebø	C3	Etne	Mound	uncertain			X		Mid fjords
S8099	Oblong domed, cast	Hå	fase3	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S3852	Oblong domed, style C	Ferkingstad	fase2	Karmøy	interred, no marking		cremation				Outer coast
B4213	Oblong domed, style C	Ukjent gard	fase2	Vindafjord	Cairn			X			outer fjords
B1806	Oval brooch, double shelled,unspecified	Austre Bore	Per2	Klepp	Mound	uncertain	Inhumation			X	Jæren
S2599	Oval brooch, double shelled,unspecified	Vagle	Per2a	Sandnes	Mound	Rectangular	cremation	X			Jæren

B2620	Oval brooch, double shelled,unspecified	Foss	Per2	Suldal	Mound			X	Mid fjords
S4259	oval brooch, JP12	Line	Per1-2a1	Time	Cairn	Squared	uncertain	X	Jæren
S6326	oval brooch, JP12	Nedre Bjørheim	Per1-2a1	Strand	interred, no marking			X	Mid fjords
C1354	oval brooch, JP13	Dirdal	Per1	Gjesdal	Cairn			X	Mid fjords
S7800	oval brooch, JP13	Ytre Ladstein	Per1	Finnøy	interred, no marking			X	outer fjords
S6480	oval brooch, JP14	Varhaug	Per1	Hå	Mound	uncertain		X	Jæren
S12188	oval brooch, JP16-19	Revheim	Per1-2a1	Stavanger	interred, no marking		Inhumation	X	Jæren
S384	oval brooch, JP16-19	Ferkingstad	Per1-2a1	Karmøy	Mound	uncertain	uncertain	X	Outer coast
S4154	oval brooch, JP16-19	Øvre Valheim/ Nedre Valheim	Per1-2a1	Hjelmeland	Mound	uncertain	uncertain	X	Mid fjords
S4604	oval brooch, JP16-19	Tau	Per1	Strand	Cairn			X	outer fjords
S2095	oval brooch, JP23	Friestad	Per1-2a1	Hå	Mound		uncertain	X	Jæren
S6746	oval brooch, JP25	Søyland	Per1	Hå	Cairn		cremation	X	Jæren
B2711	oval brooch, JP25/26	Kvia	Per1	Hå	Mound			X	Jæren
S411	oval brooch, JP27	Auglend	Per1	Eigersund	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	uncertain	X	heathland/ moorland

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
S8352	oval brooch, JP27	Hå	Per1	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	Jæren
S3426	oval brooch, JP27	Refsnes	Per1-2a1	Hå	interred, no marking		uncertain	X			Jæren
S5670	oval brooch, JP27	Laland	Per1	Klepp	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S9266	oval brooch, JP27	Lura	Per1	Sandnes	House remains			X			Jæren
S4238	oval brooch, JP27	Austvoll	Per1	Sandnes	Cairn			X			Jæren
B4415	oval brooch, JP27	Torvastad	Per1	Karmøy	Mound	Round	uncertain	X			Outer coast
S2552	oval brooch, JP27	Soppaland	Per1	Hjelmeland	Mound	uncertain	uncertain	X			low alpine
S7018	oval brooch, JP27	Brimse	Per1	Rennesøy	Mound	uncertain		X			outer fjords
S333	oval brooch, JP27	Søre Vignes/ Nordre Vignes	Per1	Finnøy	Mound	uncertain		X			outer fjords
S6352	oval brooch, JP27	Foldøy	Per1	Suldal	soilmixed cairn	triangular	possibly cremation	X			outer fjords
S5660	oval brooch, JP28/29	Børøyna	Per1	Hjelmeland	interred, no marking		uncertain	X			outer fjords

S3258	oval brooch, JP30-32	Vika	Per1	Finnøy	interred, no marking		Inhumation	X		outer fjords
S1557	oval brooch, JP30-32	Helland	Per1	Rennesøy	Mound			X		outer fjords
B4490	oval brooch, JP33/37	Hafsøya	Per1-2a1	Egersund	Mound			X		heathland/ moorland
S5182	oval brooch, JP33/37	Vigeså/ Stora Svela	Per1-2a1	Bjerkreim	House remains		cremation	X		heathland/ moorland
S4843	oval brooch, JP33/37	Sagland	Per1-2a1	Bjerkreim	Cairn		cremation	X		heathland/ moorland
S4918	oval brooch, JP33/37	Gauttun	Per1-2a1	Suldal						high alpine
S2346	oval brooch, JP33/37	Jåsund	Per1-2a1	Sola	Mound		Inhumation		X	Jæren
S3168	oval brooch, JP33/37	Pollestad	Per1-2a1	Klepp	Mound	Round			X	Jæren
S9643	oval brooch, JP33/37	Ullandhaug	Per1-2a1	Stavanger	interred, no marking		Inhumation	X		Jæren
S12295	oval brooch, JP33/37	Frøyland	Per1-2a1	Time	interred, no marking		Inhumation	X		Jæren
S12720	oval brooch, JP33/37	Skadberg	Per1-2a1	Sola	interred, no marking		Inhumation	X		Jæren
S5073	oval brooch, JP33/37	Refsnes	Per1-2a1	Hå	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X		Jæren
B2562	oval brooch, JP33/37	Orre	Per1-2a1	Klepp	Mound	Oval/oblong		X		Jæren
B1867	oval brooch, JP33/37	Søre Sunde	Per1-2a1	Stavanger	Mound			X		Jæren

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
S7129	oval brooch, JP33/37	Vestre Bore	Per1-2a1	Klepp	Mound			X			Jæren
S12421	oval brooch, JP33/37	Tjora	Per1-2a1	Sola	Cairn	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S4257	oval brooch, JP33/37	Line	Per1-2a1	Time	Cairn	uncertain	uncertain	X			Jæren
C1638	oval brooch, JP33/37	Lunde	Per1-2a1	Sandnes	Cairn	uncertain		X			Jæren
B2871	oval brooch, JP33/37	Rimestad	Per1-2a1	Hå				X			Jæren
S6888	oval brooch, JP33/37	Åkra	Per1-2a1	Karmøy	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Outer coast
S1009	oval brooch, JP33/37	Ferkingstad	Per1-2a1	Karmøy	Cairn			X			Outer coast
S2272	oval brooch, JP33/37	Marvik	Per1-2a1	Suldal	soilmixed cairn	uncertain				X	Mid fjords
S11314	oval brooch, JP33/37	Lovra	Per2a1	Suldal	interred, no marking		possibly cremation	X			Mid fjords
C1352	oval brooch, JP33/37	Dirdal	Per1-2a1	Gjesdal	Cairn			X			Mid fjords
S6782	oval brooch, JP33/37	Hegreberg	Per1-2a1	Rennesøy	soilmixed cairn	Round	cremation		X		outer fjords
S4241	oval brooch, JP33/37	Tau	Per1-2a1	Strand	interred, no marking		uncertain	X			outer fjords

S838	oval brooch, JP33/37	Førsvoll	Per1-2a1	Rennesøy	interred, no marking			X			outer fjords
B4233	oval brooch, JP42	Gausel	Per2a1	Stavanger	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S2852	oval brooch, JP42	Tu	Per2a	Klepp	Mound	uncertain	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B1147	oval brooch, JP42	Orre	Per2a1	Klepp	Mound	uncertain		X			Jæren
B2634	oval brooch, JP45/46	Lunde	Per2	Sandnes	Cairn			X			Jæren
S4022	oval brooch, JP51	Årstad	Per2	Eigersund	interred, no marking		uncertain		X		heathland/ moorland
B421	oval brooch, JP51	Varhaug	Per2	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	cremation	X			heathland/ moorland
B5391	oval brooch, JP51	Myklebust	Per2	Eigersund	Mound	uncertain	cremation	X			heathland/ moorland
S2221	oval brooch, JP51	Frøyland	Per2	Sandnes	soilmixed cairn	Oval/oblong	cremation	X			heathland/ moorland
S7930	oval brooch, JP51	Eige Litle	Per2b	Eigersund	Cairn	uncertain	possibly cremation	X			heathland/ moorland
S3429	oval brooch, JP51	Rossaland	Per2	Time	interred, no marking		uncertain	X			Jæren
S3429	oval brooch, JP51	Rossaland	Per2	Time	interred, no marking		uncertain	X			Jæren
S3456	oval brooch, JP51	Indre Bø	Per2	Randaberg	interred, no marking			X			Jæren

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
S2326	oval brooch, JP51	Litlaland	Per2	Sola	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S2820	oval brooch, JP51	Vestre Bore	Per2	Klepp	Mound	Oval/oblong		X			Jæren
S1748	oval brooch, JP51	Jåttå	Per2	Stavanger	Cairn	Round	uncertain	X			Jæren
S3026	oval brooch, JP51	Stråpa	Per2	Suldal	Mound			X			Mid fjords
S2562	oval brooch, JP51	Kyrkhus	Per2	Hjelmeland	soilmixed cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Mid fjords
S4083	oval brooch, JP51	Rettedal	Per2	Forsand	Mound	Round	uncertain				Mid fjords
S8005	oval brooch, JP51	Tau	Per2	Strand	interred, no marking			X			outer fjords
B4051	oval brooch, JP51	Førde	Per2	Sveio	Mound			X			outer fjords
S5464	Ovalbrooch, unspecified	Soppaland	vikingtid	Hjelmeland	Mound	Oval/oblong		X			low alpine
C1353	Ovalbrooch, unspecified	Dirdal	Per1-2a1	Gjesdal	Cairn			X			Mid fjords
C2152	Ovalbrooch, unspecified	Hauskje	vikingtid	Rennesøy	Mound	uncertain				X	outer fjords

B2617	Ovalbrooch, unspecified	Ukjent gård	vikingtid	UKJENT	Mound	uncertain	cremation	X			outer fjords
S8710	penannular II	Skeiseid	vikingtid	Tysvær	Mound			X			outer fjords
B2542	penannular, early Iron Age	Vestly	D1-D2	Time	Mound		uncertain			X	Jæren
B5292	penannular, early Iron Age	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X		Jæren
B5299	penannular, early Iron Age	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S1227	penannular, early Iron Age	Bø	D1-D2	Hå	soilmixed cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			Jæren
B5383	penannular, early Iron Age	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Cairn	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S7300	penannular, early Iron Age	Geisfjell	C3-D2	Hjelmeland	Mound	Round	uncertain		X		Mid fjords
B466	penannular, early Iron Age		B1-D2	Etne	Mound	uncertain		X			Mid fjords
S4165	penannular, IA	Sundvor	Per2a2-2b	Bjerkreim	Mound	Round	uncertain	X			heathland/ moorland
B4490	penannular, IA	Hafsøya	Per1-2a1	Egersund	Mound			X			heathland/ moorland
S385	penannular, IA	Ferkingstad	Per1-2a1	Karmøy	Mound	uncertain	uncertain	X			Outer coast

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
S382	penannular, III uspecified	Laland	Per2	Klepp	Mound	uncertain		X			Jæren
S2313	penannular, IIIB	Kjosavik	Per2a2-2b	Sandnes	Mound	uncertain	cremation	X			heathland/ moorland
S9278	penannular, IIIB	Espeland	Per2a2-Per3	Sandnes	House remains			X			heathland/ moorland
S2345	penannular, IIIB	Skadberg	Per2b	Sola	soilmixed cairn	Round	cremation	X			Jæren
S1187	penannular, IIIB	Bø	Per2a2-2b	Hå	soilmixed cairn	Round	possibly cremation	X			Jæren
S4113	penannular, IIIB	Eide Vestre/ Eide Austre	vikingtid	Vindafjord			Inhumation	X			Mid fjords
S4647	penannular, IIIC	Øksnabø	Per2b	Eigersund	Cairn	Round	uncertain			X	heathland/ moorland
S4228	penannular, IIIC	Hommersåk	Per2b	Sandnes	Cairn	Round	uncertain	X			heathland/ moorland
S2834	penannular, IIIC	Reve	Per2	Klepp	Mound	Oval/oblong		X			Jæren
S4194	penannular, IIIC	Kallvik	Per2b	Suldal	interred, no marking		uncertain			X	Mid fjords

S1980	penannular, IIIC	Søre Håland	Per2b	Vindafjord	soilmixed cairn	Round	uncertain	X			Mid fjords
S12274	penannular, IV	Nedre Øksnavad	Per2a2-2b	Klepp	interred, no marking		Inhumation		X		Jæren
B2572	penannular, unspecified	Orre	vikingtid	Klepp	Mound	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			Jæren
S5371	penannular, unspecified	Åkra	Per2a2-2b	Karmøy	Mound	Round	uncertain	X			Outer coast
B5362	planfotgruppe, late relief brooch	Kvassheim	D2b	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	Jæren
S2547	planfotgruppe, late relief brooch	Rivjaland	D2b	Hjelmeland	soilmixed cairn	Round	Inhumation				Mid fjords
S9061	Prototype cruciform, Kvassheim	Fjermestad	C3	Time	Cairn	Round	cremation			X	heathland/ moorland
S1424	Prototype cruciform, Kvassheim	Bjerkreim	C3	Bjerkreim	Cairn	uncertain	Inhumation	X			heathland/ moorland
S4372	Prototype cruciform, Kvassheim	Vik	C3	Klepp	Cairn	Oval/oblong	cremation			X	Jæren
B5280	Prototype cruciform, Kvassheim	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5286	Prototype cruciform, Kvassheim	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S6895	Prototype cruciform, Kvassheim	Fevoll Øvre	C3	Hjelmeland	Mound	Round	cremation	X			Mid fjords

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
S11268	Prototype cruciform, Kvassheim	Indre Ladstein	C3	Finnøy	Cairn	Round	Inhumation		X		outer fjords
S7189	Prototype cruciform, Tveitane-Hunn	Nesvåg	C3	Sokndal	Cairn	uncertain		X			heathland/ moorland
B5302	Prototype cruciform, Tveitane-Hunn	Kvassheim	D1	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	Jæren
B5304	Prototype cruciform, Tveitane-Hunn	Kvassheim	D1	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S1025	Prototype cruciform, Tveitane-Hunn	Laland	C3	Klepp	soilmixed cairn	Round	uncertain	X			Jæren
S5491	Prototype cruciform, Tveitane-Hunn	Nedre Helgavoll	C3-D1	Vindafjord	Mound		uncertain	X			Mid fjords
S3518	Prototype cruciform, Tveitane-Hunn	Dirdal	D1	Gjesdal	Cairn	uncertain	possibly cremation	X			Mid fjords
B5292	Prototype cruciform, Åk	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X		Jæren
B5280	Prototype cruciform, Åk	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren

S3820	R237	Haugvallstad	C2-C3	Rennesøy	interred, no marking		Inhumation	X			outer fjords
S9069	R640	Varhaug	fase3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong				X	Jæren
S2351	R640	Kvalbein	fase3	Hå	soilmixed cairn	Round	cremation	X			Jæren
S4924	R643	Byberg	fase2	Sola	Mound	uncertain	uncertain	X			Jæren
B2278	rare clasps, A2	Hauge	D1	Klepp	Mound	Large/ monumental	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B3160	rare clasps, B4		D2	Sandnes	Stone packing	Uneven	cremation	X			Jæren
S9341	rare clasps, B7	Haugland Nedre	D1-D2	Time	soilmixed cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			Jæren
S8444	rare clasps, B8	Hå	D2	Hå	Cairn	Round	Inhumation			X	Jæren
S7577	rare clasps, C1i	Melberg	D2b	Strand	Mound	Round	cremation		X		outer fjords
S12188	rectangular, asymmetrical animal ar	Revheim	Per1	Stavanger	interred, no marking		Inhumation	X			Jæren
S12600	Ringed pin, JP238	Myklebust	vikingtid	Sola	interred, no marking		Inhumation	X			Jæren
S2276	Rogalandsgruppe, relief brooch	Hovland	D2b	Eigersund	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	Inhumation	X			heathland/ moorland

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
B4000	Rogalandsgruppe, relief brooch	Hauge	D2b	Klepp	Mound	Large/ monumental	Inhumation			X	Jæren
S2451	Rogalandsgruppe, relief brooch	Nord-Braut	D2b	Klepp	soilmixed cairn	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S2695	Rogalandsgruppe, relief brooch	Østbø	D2b	Vindafjord	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	Mid fjords
S8080	Rogalandsgruppe, relief brooch	Vaula	D2b	Rennesøy	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			outer fjords
B5001	Roman period brooch	Re	C3	Time	Mound	Round	Inhumation		X		Jæren
B5287	Roman period brooch	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
C9259	Roman period brooch	Brualand	B2	Sandnes	Mound	Round	cremation	X			Jæren
B4420	Roman period brooch	Hauge	C3	Klepp	Mound	uncertain		X			Jæren
B429	Roman period brooch	Stangaland	C3	Klepp	Mound	uncertain		X			Jæren
S8694	Roman period brooch	Skeie	C3	Klepp	Cairn	Oval/oblong		X			Jæren
B4280	Roman period brooch	Ulvebne	C3	Vindafjord	Mound	Round				X	outer fjords
B2624	Roman period brooch	Rommetveit Øvre	B2	Stord	Mound	Round	cremation		X		outer fjords

S12787	Roman period brooch, Silverplated	Tjentland	C3	Hjelmeland			Inhumation	X			Mid fjords
S3196	rosettfibula	Vårå	C1b-C2	Karmøy	Mound	Round	cremation	X			Outer coast
S3856	Sagland, cruciform	Tegle	D2a	Time	Mound	Round	uncertain	X			heathland/ moorland
S6385	Sagland, cruciform	Sagland	D2a	Bjerkreim	Cairn	uncertain	cremation				heathland/ moorland
S6450	Sagland, cruciform	Varhaug	D2a	Hå	interred, no marking		Inhumation	X			Jæren
S3564	Sagland, cruciform	Helle	D2a	Forsand	Mound	uncertain	cremation	X			Mid fjords
S3666	Shetelig small A2	Fotland	D2b	Eigersund	soilmixed cairn	Round	cremation			X	heathland/ moorland
B5294	Shetelig small A2	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	Jæren
B5300	Shetelig small A2	Kvassheim	D2a	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	Jæren
B2534	Shetelig small A2	Vestly	D2b	Time	Mound		uncertain			X	Jæren
B2540	Shetelig small A2	Vestly	D2	Time	Mound		uncertain			X	Jæren
B5355	Shetelig small A2	Kvassheim	C3-D2a	Hå	Cairn	Round	Inhumation			X	Jæren
C17480	Shetelig small A2	Hårr	D2b	Hå	Cairn					X	Jæren
S8095	Shetelig small A2	Hå	D1-D2	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain		X		Jæren
B5368	Shetelig small A2	Kvassheim	D2	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
B5297	Shetelig small A2	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5994	Shetelig small A2	Kvassheim	D2b	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S2911	Shetelig small A2	Nord-Braut	D1-D2	Klepp	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S2451	Shetelig small A2	Nord-Braut	D2b	Klepp	soilmixed cairn	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S2063	Shetelig small A2	Anisdal	D2b	Hå	soilmixed cairn	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S9510	Shetelig small A2	Lye	D1-D2	Time	soilmixed cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			Jæren
S9510	Shetelig small A2	Lye	D2b	Time	soilmixed cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			Jæren
B10202	Shetelig small A2	Grindheim	D2a	Etne	Mound	Round	Inhumation		X		low alpine
S2436	Shetelig small A2	Dirdal	D1-D2	Gjesdal	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	Inhumation		X		Mid fjords
S2272	Shetelig small A2	Marvik	D2b	Suldal	soilmixed cairn	uncertain			X		Mid fjords
S2547	Shetelig small A2	Rivjaland	D2b	Hjelmeland	soilmixed cairn	Round	Inhumation				Mid fjords

B5981	Shetelig small B3	Ukjent gard	D1-D2	Vindafjord	Mound		cremation	X			outer fjords
S2276	Shetelig small B4	Hovland	D2	Eigersund	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	Inhumation	X			heathland/ moorland
B2532	Shetelig small B4	Vestly	D1-D2	Time	Mound		uncertain			X	Jæren
B2531	Shetelig small B4	Vestly	D2	Time	Mound		uncertain			X	Jæren
S8521	Shetelig small B4	Nord- Varhaug	D2b	Hå	Cairn			X			Jæren
B9971	Shetelig small B5	Grindheim	D2b	Etne	Cairn	Round	Inhumation	X			low alpine
S1626	Shetelig small B6	Bø	D2b	Hå	soilmixed cairn	uncertain		X			Jæren
S13259	Shetelig small B7	Hellvik	C3	Eigersund	Cairn	Round	uncertain	X			heathland/ moorland
B5293	Shetelig small B7	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	Jæren
S8165	Shetelig small B7	Hå	C3-D1	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain			X	Jæren
B5290	Shetelig small B7	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X		Jæren
B5299	Shetelig small B7	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5303	Shetelig small B7	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5345	Shetelig small B7	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5348	Shetelig small B7	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S837	Shetelig small B7	Tjøtta	C3-D1	Klepp	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
S2951	Shetelig small B7	Hegreberg	C3	Rennesøy	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X			outer fjords
S6580	Shetelig small B7	Barka	C3	Strand	Cairn	uncertain	Inhumation	X			outer fjords
B5274	Shetelig small C10	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5301	Shetelig small C9	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X		Jæren
B5274	Shetelig small C9	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5377	Shetelig small C9	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S8510	shield sahped	Skeie	D1-D2	Klepp	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	Jæren
B5340	Silverplated, Mackesprang IX	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S2219	Simpel bow brooch, Shetelig small B	Frøyland	C3	Sandnes	soilmixed cairn	Round	cremation	X			heathland/ moorland
S6064	Simpel bow brooch, Shetelig small B	Sæland	D1	Time	Cairn	uncertain		X			heathland/ moorland
S12449	simpel bow brooch, Shetelig small B	Håland	D1	Time	Mound	Round				X	Jæren

S9706	simpel bow brooch, Shetelig small B	Erga	D1	Klepp	soilmixed cairn	Round	Inhumation			X	Jæren
S9515	simpel bow brooch, Shetelig small B	Hå	D1	Hå	soilmixed cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain		X		Jæren
S9510	simpel bow brooch, Shetelig small B	Lye	D1-D2	Time	soilmixed cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			Jæren
S9510	simpel bow brooch, Shetelig small B	Lye	D1-D2	Time	soilmixed cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			Jæren
B10890	simpel bow brooch, Shetelig small B	Vikse Austre	C3-D1	Sveio	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X		Outer coast
S2728	simpel bow brooch, Shetelig small B	Lyse	C3-D1	Forsand	Mound	Round	cremation	X			Mid fjords
S8681	simpel bow brooch, Shetelig small B	Nedre Hauga/ Øvre Hauga	C3	Hjelmeland	Cairn	boat-shaped	cremation	X			Mid fjords
S8607	Simpel bronsegruppe, late relief br	Holmen	D2b	Bjerkreim	Cairn	Round	uncertain	X			heathland/ moorland
B4398	Simpel bronsegruppe, late relief br	Hå	D2b	Hå	Mound	uncertain		X			Jæren
S9612	simple bow brooch	Hovland	D1-D2	Eigersund	Cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			heathland/ moorland
B5275	simple bow brooch	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S10132	simple bow brooch	Randaberg	D1-D2	Randaberg	Cairn	uncertain	uncertain	X			Jæren
S2722	simple bow brooch	Lyse	C3	Forsand	Mound	uncertain	Inhumation	X			Mid fjords

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
S2719	simple bow brooch	Lyse	C3	Forsand	Mound	Round	cremation	X			Mid fjords
S3741	simple bow brooch, Haraldstedfibul	Skjærpe	D2	Hå	Cairn	uncertain	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S2695	simple bow brooch, Haraldstedfibul	Østbø	D2b	Vindafjord	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	Mid fjords
S2696	simple bow brooch, Haraldstedfibul	Østbø	D1-D2	Vindafjord	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X		Mid fjords
S2723	simple bow brooch, Haraldstedfibul	Lyse	D1-D2	Forsand	Mound	uncertain	Inhumation	X			Mid fjords
S2728	simple bow brooch, Haraldstedfibul	Lyse	C3-D2	Forsand	Mound	Round	cremation	X			Mid fjords
S2547	simple bow brooch, Haraldstedfibul	Rivjaland	D2b	Hjelmeland	soilmixed cairn	Round	Inhumation				Mid fjords
S3208	simple bow brooch, Niemberger fib	Longåker	C3	Karmøy	Cairn	Round	cremation	X			Outer coast
S2013	simple bow brooch, R243	Edland	C3	Gjesdal	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	cremation			X	heathland/ moorland
S9061	simple bow brooch, R243	Fjermestad	C3	Time	Cairn	Round	cremation			X	heathland/ moorland

S5105	simple bow brooch, R243	Vassbø	D1	Bjerkreim	Cairn	uncertain	uncertain		X		heathland/ moorland
S2219	simple bow brooch, R243	Frøyland	C3	Sandnes	soilmixed cairn	Round	cremation	X			heathland/ moorland
B5294	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	Jæren
B5300	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	D2a	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	Jæren
B5302	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	D1	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	Jæren
B5293	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	Jæren
S4068	simple bow brooch, R243	Håland	D1	Hå	Mound	Round	Inhumation			X	Jæren
B5355	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3-D2a	Hå	Cairn	Round	Inhumation			X	Jæren
B5301	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X		Jæren
B5341	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3-D1	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X		Jæren
B5290	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X		Jæren
B5292	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X		Jæren

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
S4115	simple bow brooch, R243	Joa	D1	Sola	soilmixed cairn	Round	Inhumation		X		Jæren
B5365	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X		Jæren
B6003	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	D2b	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X		Jæren
B5286	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5287	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5297	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5299	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5347	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	D1-D2a	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5275	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren

B5279	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3-D1	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X	Jæren
B5281	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3-D1	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X	Jæren
B5288	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3-D1	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X	Jæren
B5352	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X	Jæren
B5340	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X	Jæren
B5285	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3-D1	Hå	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X	Jæren
B4807	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3-D1	Hå	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X	Jæren
B5284	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3-D1	Hå	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X	Jæren
S4100	simple bow brooch, R243	Ånestad	D1	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	cremation	X	Jæren
S4355	simple bow brooch, R243	Bø	D1	Hå	Mound	Round	possibly cremation	X	Jæren
S2010	simple bow brooch, R243	Re	C3	Time	Mound	uncertain		X	Jæren
B5298	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3-D1	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X	Jæren

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
B5345	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5350	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5382	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3-D2a	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5381	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3-D2a	Hå	Cairn	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5383	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Cairn	Round	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B5988	simple bow brooch, R243	Kvassheim	C3	Hå	Cairn		Inhumation	X			Jæren
S8094	simple bow brooch, R243	Hå	D1	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			Jæren
S8694	simple bow brooch, R243	Skeie	D1	Klepp	Cairn	Oval/oblong		X			Jæren
B5148	simple bow brooch, R243		C3-D1				cremation	X			Jæren

B4254	simple bow brooch, R243	Obrestad	D2a	Hå			uncertain	X			Jæren
B10893	simple bow brooch, R243	Rommetveit Øvre	D1	Sveio	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	Outer coast
B5908	simple bow brooch, R243	Storasund	C3-D1	Karmøy	Mound	Round	Inhumation		X		Outer coast
S2258	simple bow brooch, R243	Østabø	C3	Vindafjord	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	uncertain			X	Mid fjords
S2257	simple bow brooch, R243	Østabø	C3	Vindafjord	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	uncertain		X		Mid fjords
S2686	simple bow brooch, R243	Skimleim	D1	Suldal	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X			Mid fjords
S2979	simple bow brooch, R243	Herabakka	D1	Suldal	Mound	Round	cremation	X			Mid fjords
S2370	simple bow brooch, R243	Øvre Mæle	D1	Hjelmeland	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	Inhumation	X			Mid fjords
S2263	simple bow brooch, R243	Østabø	C3	Vindafjord	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	Inhumation	X			Mid fjords
S2260	simple bow brooch, R243	Østabø	C3	Vindafjord	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	uncertain	X			Mid fjords
S1112	simple bow brooch, R244	Tunheim	C3-D2	Time	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	uncertain				Jæren
S2628	simple bow brooch, R244	Nedre Helgavoll	D1-D2	Vindafjord	Mound	uncertain	Inhumation			X	Mid fjords

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
B7767	simple bow brooch, R244	Øvstebø	C3-D1	Etne	Mound	uncertain			X		Mid fjords
B10202	singular form, late relief brooch	Grindheim	D2b	Etne	Mound	Round	Inhumation		X		low alpine
S5853	Skogøya, cruciform	Edland	D2a	Gjesdal	Mound	Round	uncertain	X			heathland/ moorland
S5678	Skogøya, cruciform	Sveinsvoll	D2a	Klepp	Mound	Large/ monumental	uncertain	X			Jæren
C3457	Skogøya, cruciform	Dirdal	D2a	Gjesdal	Mound		uncertain	X			Mid fjords
S5046	Spiral clasps A1	Slettabø	D1-D2	Bjerkreim	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation			X	heathland/ moorland
S5853	Spiral clasps A1	Edland	D1-D2	Gjesdal	Mound	Round	uncertain	X			heathland/ moorland
B2513	Spiral clasps A1	Tu	D1	Klepp	Mound		Inhumation	X		X	Jæren
B5363	Spiral clasps A1	Kvassheim	D1	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation		X		Jæren
C21407	Spiral clasps A1	Tu	D1	Klepp	Cairn	Round	Inhumation		X		Jæren
S7131	Spiral clasps A1	Erga	D1-D2	Klepp	Mound	Oval/oblong	uncertain	X			Jæren
C3294	Spiral clasps A1	Vigrestad	D1	Hå	Mound			X			Jæren

S1869	Spiral clasps A1	Reve	D1-D2	Klepp	soilmixed cairn			X				Jæren
B5387	Spiral clasps A1	Kvassheim	D2	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X				Jæren
S5469	Spiral clasps A1	Høyland	C3-D1	Hå			uncertain	X				Jæren
B7767	Spiral clasps A1	Øvstebø	D1	Etne	Mound	uncertain					X	Mid fjords
S5722	Spiral clasps A1	Dirdal	D1-D2	Gjesdal	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	cremation		X			Mid fjords
S2722	Spiral clasps A1	Lyse	C3-D1	Forsand	Mound	uncertain	Inhumation	X				Mid fjords
S2587	Spiral clasps A1	Riskadal	D1-D2	Hjelmeland	Mound	uncertain	Inhumation	X				Mid fjords
S2848	Spiral clasps A1	Nærheim	D1-D2	Suldal	Mound	Oval/oblong	cremation	X				Mid fjords
S2532	Spiral clasps A1	Øvre Haugaland	C3-D1	Vindafjord	Mound	Round	cremation	X				Mid fjords
S10910	Spiral clasps A1	Hedland	D1-D2	Suldal	Mound	uncertain	cremation	X				Mid fjords
S2371	Spiral clasps A1	Øvre Mæle	C3-D1	Hjelmeland	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	Inhumation	X				Mid fjords
S2718	Spiral clasps A1	Lyse	D1-D2	Forsand	Cairn	Round	cremation	X				Mid fjords
B5306	S-shaped	Kvassheim	D1	Hå	Mound	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X	X			Jæren
S1433	Søndre Gammelsrød, cruciform	Værsland	D2a	Bjerkreim	soilmixed cairn	uncertain	uncertain	X				heathland/ moorland
S8607	Søndre Gammelsrød, cruciform	Holmen	D2a	Bjerkreim	Cairn	Round	uncertain	X				heathland/ moorland

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museum inventory ref	type	Farm	Chronology	Municipality	monument	monu. Form	body treatment	singular	primary	secondary	landscape
S6450	Søndre Gammelsrød, cruciform	Varhaug	D2a	Hå	interred, no marking		Inhumation	X			Jæren
S1301	Søndre Gammelsrød, cruciform	Rægje	D2a	Sola	soilmixed cairn	Round	uncertain	X			Jæren
B5984	Søndre Gammelsrød, cruciform	Kvassheim	D2a	Hå	Cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Jæren
B4254	Søndre Gammelsrød, cruciform	Obrestad	D2a	Hå			uncertain	X			Jæren
S4561	Søndre Gammelsrød, cruciform	Holta	D2a	Strand	interred, no marking	Rectangular	Inhumation	X			Mid fjords
C21407	tidlig planfot, early relief brooch	Tu	D1	Klepp	Cairn	Round	Inhumation		X		Jæren
B2271	tidlig planfot, early relief brooch	Hauge	D1	Klepp	Mound	Large/ monumental	Inhumation	X			Jæren
S4022	trefoil, JP97	Årstad	Per2	Eigersund	interred, no marking		uncertain			X	heathland/ moorland
S4083	trefoil, JP97	Rettedal	Per2	Forsand	Mound	Round	uncertain				Mid fjords
S3456	trefoil_rogalandstype	Indre Bø	Per2	Randaberg	interred, no marking			X			Jæren

S2562	trefoil_rogalandstype	Kyrkhus	Per2	Hjelmeland	soilmixed cairn	Oval/oblong	Inhumation	X			Mid fjords
S4521	unclassified, late relief brooch	Lærdal	D2b	Vindafjord	Mound	Oval/oblong	cremation	X			Mid fjords
B1507	Varhaug, cruciform	Hylland	D2a	Hå	Mound	uncertain		X			heathland/ moorland
S6273	Varhaug, cruciform	Tu	D2a	Klepp	Cairn			X			Jæren
S5068	Varhaug, cruciform	Byrkja	D2a	Hjelmeland	Mound		Inhumation	X			Mid fjords
B2537	Ådland, cruciform	Vestly	D2a	Time	Mound		uncertain			X	Jæren
S1969	Ågedalsmester, late relief brooch	Friestad	D2b	Klepp	soilmixed cairn	uncertain				X	Jæren
S2035	Ålgård, cruciform	Ålgård	D2a	Gjesdal	Mound	Round	Inhumation	X			heathland/ moorland
B7767	Ålgård, cruciform	Øvstebø	D2a	Etne	Mound	uncertain				X	Mid fjords
B7767	Ålgård, cruciform	Øvstebø	D2a	Etne	Mound	uncertain				X	Mid fjords

Section B: **Rulership in First-Millennium Scandinavia**

Dagfinn Skre

3 Rulership and Ruler's Sites in 1st–10th-century Scandinavia

This chapter's discussion of rulers and polities in 1st-millennium Scandinavia is based on evidence on the upper echelon of 'central places', those that may arguably be regarded as ruler's sites, as well as on written evidence, primarily the Old English poem Beowulf *and the Old Norse skaldic poem* Ynglingatal.

The Roman expansion into continental Europe amplified interaction between Germanic peoples as well as with the Roman Empire, mainly through military campaigns and trade. The intensified mobility triggered deep cultural and societal integration processes within 2nd to mid-6th-century Germanic Europe. This interaction and integration is evident in martial proficiency and in the rise of a new type of leaders, the dróttinn *(army commanders), among many Germanic peoples. Challenging the authority of tribal rulers, the* kindins *and* þiudans, *some of the* dróttinn *became de facto rulers.*

In southern and middle Scandinavia, where a southern and a northern economic zone overlap, some dróttinn *of the 3rd century established economic and political centres that also served as ritual and communal assembly sites. Sites such as Uppåkra, Gudme, Helgö, Åker, and Avaldsnes appear to have constituted the nodes where the* dróttinn's *networks into the two economic zones intersected. Commodities obtained through one network were conveyed into the other, and at the sites, raw materials were worked into commodities. At the core of each site was the residence and hall of the* dróttinn; *they were ruler's sites.*

In the decades around AD 500, royal lineages were initiated in several Germanic polities, the Merovingians the most prominent among them. In contemporary Scandinavia, the Skjǫldungar, the Skilfingar, and other royal lineages were initiated. In the same period, the number of tribes was reduced from the plethora of the 1st–6th centuries to predominantly three: the Danir, the Svíar, and the Norðmenn. The 6th century also saw the downfall of several ruler's sites and the emergence of new such sites. It is suggested that these three parallel developments were related to the introduction of kingship and the establishment of kingdoms.

Following the downfall of southern long-distance networks and societal and climatic upheaval in late 6th to early 7th centuries, Scandinavia became less economically and culturally connected to the west and south. In the same period, most continental and British kingdoms were Christianised. No longer deeply integrated with the latter, Scandinavian kingship came to follow its own trajectory. Within the pagan universe, the heroic warrior ethos of the past was developed and refined, only to recur overseas in the 9th–10th centuries, embodied in sea-borne warrior bands. After a turbulent two centuries, Scandinavia was reintegrated among what was now the west-European normality: the Christian kingdoms.

In the first volume from the Avaldsnes Royal Manor project (Skre 2018d), Avaldsnes was discussed in the context of the sailing route along the western coast of the Scandinavian Peninsula – the manor lies at a bottleneck at the route's southern end. Drawing on the wide array of evidence published in the 2018 volume it was suggested that Avaldsnes in the 3rd–10th centuries AD was one of several residences and supply-bases for sea kings who had taken on the task of securing safe transport

Dagfinn Skre, Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo

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along the route, in particular the shipping of commodities. It was also suggested that the first king of Norway (Old Norse *Noregr*), Haraldr hárfagri[1] (reign c. 872–932), emerged as paramount from this sea-king milieu, and that he extended his authority from the sea route to the land and thus created the kingdom (Skre 2018b).

The suggested connections between polities, rulers, commodity production, and trade embedded in these conclusions need to be substantiated and discussed within a wider context, and revised as appropriate. In a recent paper (Baug et al. 2019) they have been set in the context of the 7th–9th century surge in production and trade around the southern North Sea and English Channel, the early urbanisation in southern Scandinavia and the Baltic, and trade in Arctic products transported along the west-Scandinavian coast. In the present chapter, the 2018 conclusions are set in the context of the development of rulership and polities in first-millennium Scandinavia and, to some extent, western Europe.

The scholarly debate on early medieval rulership and polities in Scandinavia has primarily focused on the emergence in the 9th–12th centuries of the three relatively stable and institutionalised kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. In addition to their respective principal sites – Jelling, Avaldsnes, and Old Uppsala (Fig. 3.1) – identifications of kings' manors from this period have mainly been based on information on royal landholding recorded in the 12th–17th-century literary and documentary evidence (e.g. Andrén 1983; Lindkvist 2003b; Iversen 2008, this vol. Ch. 4).

The debate on the nature of rulership and ruler's sites prior to the 9th century has been less intense than in continental and insular north-western Europe, clearly a result of the paucity of written evidence that might clarify which rulers and polities existed where and when. While high-status settlements and graves are abundant in the Scandinavian archaeological record throughout the first millennium AD, identifying manors that were inhabited by rulers and graves that entombed them has – since the antiquarian tradition faded in the early 20th century (e.g. Brøgger 1916; Nerman 1942) – been carried out only with hesitation.

Since then, combined studies of written evidence, settlement patterns, and artefact distribution have produced commendable results regarding how the three kingdoms emerged from the *gens* ('peoples', 'tribes') mentioned by 1st–6th-century classical authors such as Tacitus and Jordanes (Myhre 1987, 2003; Callmer 1991; Hedeager 1992; Näsman 1998, 1999, 2006; Brink 2008; Sindbæk 2009; Iversen this vol. Ch. 4). During the same period, research on settlements has revealed numerous so-called 'central places', some of them in existence through most of the first millennium, others more short-lived (Adamsen et al. 2009; Jørgensen 2010b; Skre 2010, 2018b; Ljungkvist et al. 2011; Christensen 2015a; Clarke and Lamm 2017; Jörpeland et al. 2018).

1 In the following, ancient Nordic words and names of individuals are written in their Old Norse spelling, except when referring to specific sources. For instance, Bēowulf, the name of the protagonist in the Old English poem *Beowulf*, is written in the Old English spelling. Names of sites, islands, and regions are written in their current native spelling.

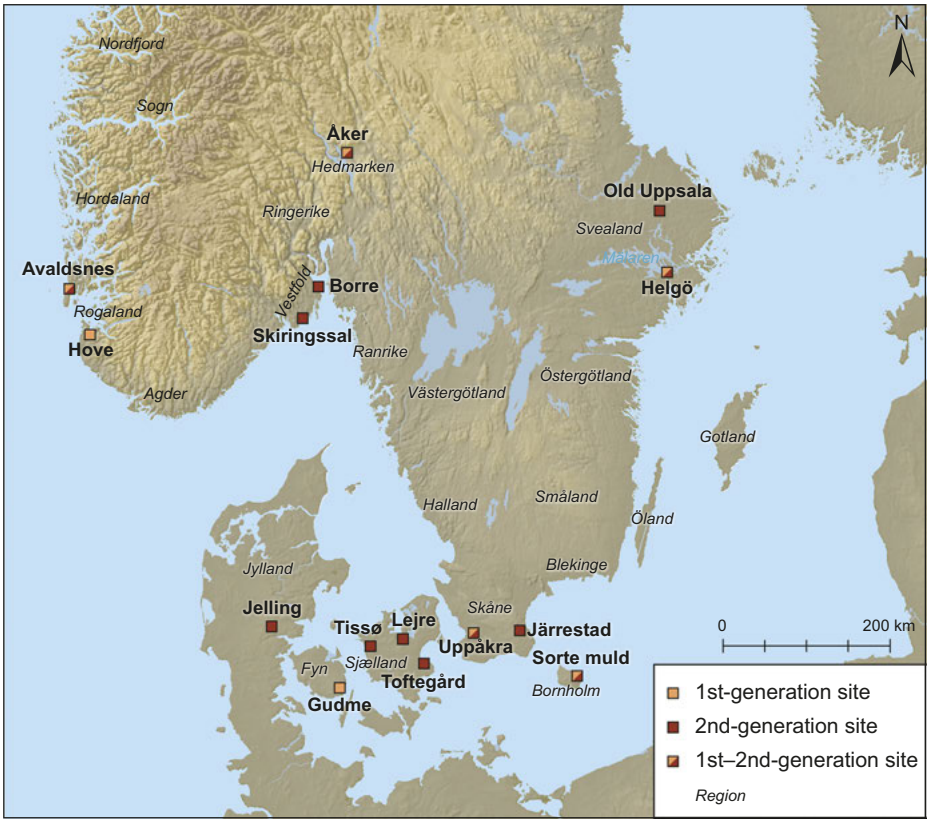

Fig. 3.1: Probable ruler's sites in 1st–10th-century Scandinavia. Those of the first generation date from the 1st–6th centuries and those of the second generation the 6th–10th (section 3.4.1). Several other sites could have been included in the second generation, but the aforementioned appear to be the most prominent. Although many sites surely remain undiscovered, the map suggests the parts of Scandinavia for which they are likely to be most numerous. Regions and islands mentioned in the text are indicated. Illustration by I. T. Bøckman.

Somewhat surprisingly, though, these two areas of research, rulership and central places, have only been loosely connected in the scholarly debate. Aiming to suggest more explicit connections, this chapter will first discuss which terms for rulers were in use through the first millennium AD in Germanic-speaking polities, and indeed in Scandinavia (3.1). Thereafter, the main evidence and recent contributions on Scandinavian rulership and polities in the first millennium AD are discussed (3.2). The tentative conclusions from these considerations will be brought into a discussion of which types of polities and rulers may have existed, which types of 3rd–10th-century sites may arguably have been rulers' sites, and which changes have occurred in types of polities, rulers, and sites (3.3 and 3.4). Finally, a synthesis is proposed (3.5). Writing this chapter has led the author rather far from

his earlier position on the history of rulership in the 1st millennium AD, and some afterthoughts are offered (3.6).

First, however, a note on terminology. In the following, 'rulership' is preferred instead of the commonly used 'kingship' as a general term for political leadership of this period. The term 'king', Old Norse *konungr*, appears to have been introduced in the late 5th–6th centuries as the term for the leader of a polity (3.1). In the following, 'king' and *konungr* are used in this narrow sense. Secondly, since it was introduced in archaeology (Hodder and Orton 1976; Grant 1986), the term 'central place' has been applied to a wide variety of Scandinavian sites that display some feature not found in most farms or villages. In the present context, the term is too imprecise, and I suggest the terms 'ruler's site' and 'ruler's residence' for the types of locations and hall complexes discussed here (Fig. 3.1).

3.1 Germanic ruler terminology in the first millennium AD: *þiudans*, *dróttinn*, *konungr*, and monarch

Germanic rulership terms underwent certain changes through the first millennium, and interaction with the Roman Empire played a role in this development (Wallace-Hadrill 1964; Wolfram 2009). Some 150 years after Caesar's campaign in the 50s BC, Tacitus wrote in a much-debated phrase (ch. 7) that Germanic peoples had two types of leaders: kings by birth, generals by merit (*reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt*). The Germanic term in Tacitus' time was probably not *konungr* ('king', the equivalent of rex), but rather *kindins* or *þiudans*, both meaning ruler of a people or tribe (de Vries 1956; Wolfram 2009); the latter term is derived from *þiuda*, 'people' or 'tribe'. The Germanic equivalent to Tacitus' *dux* would probably be *dróttinn*, meaning 'leader of a military unit' (Heinertz 1925; Green 1998:121–40). The word is derived from the Germanic *druhti- meaning 'troop' or 'army' (Bjorvand and Lindeman 2007:187).

While all three terms appear to have existed in parallel within their respective domains from Tacitus' time until Bēowulf's lifetime (early 6th century, below 3.1.1), several scholars hold that they came to replace each other as terms for rulers. First, *dróttinn* replaced *kindins*/*þiudans* as the term for ruler, suggesting a shift from rulership based on the tribe's consent to rulership emanating from military command (Schlesinger 1965; Green 1998:124–30; Wolfram 2009). This apparent shift was probably associated with the extensive reshaping of migrating Germanic groups that occurred in the 1st–5th centuries. While moving and settling, the army that made up the core of a group recruited warriors and included other groups. Thus, it was ones inclusion in the army, not the tribe in which one was born and raised,

that determined one's belonging among the army-commander's subjects. The contemporary occasional forming of confederations between neighbouring tribes, often with the intention of joining military forces, will have had the same effect: the army rather than the tribe was at the core of the polity, and military leaders came to be rulers (Wenskus 1961; Schlesinger 1965; Wolfram 1971, 2008; Steuer 2006).

The ostensible subsequent shift from *dróttinn* to *konungr* as the term for a ruler may signify a movement from political leadership based in individual accomplishments and military rank to one based in belonging to certain lineages (Green 1998:134–9; Wolfram 2009). Originally, the term *konungr* signified 'man of the royal kindred', suggesting that several contemporary men of the same kin may have been called kings although they were not rulers (Green 1998:130–4; Bjorvand and Lindeman 2007:592–4). Classical authors recount that some Germanic peoples had multiple kings, others selected their king among candidates from the royal lineage, while some had no kings at all (Green 1998:121–2). Evidence from continental and insular successor kingdoms from the 5th century onwards shows the same variation. In some instances, two contemporary kings appear to have ruled separate regions within a realm, in others, they seem to have exercised joint rulership, and finally there are instances of one over-king and several sub-kings (Wood 1977:17–23; Wolfram 2009).

Thus, a monarchy on the high medieval model with a single sovereign is not necessarily implied by the use of the term *konungr*. Kings were members of royal lineages that were associated with lands and peoples, but their authority and polity type varied. The diverse meanings of the term *konungr* suggests that no uniform idea of kingship existed among Germanic peoples at the time, and that the emergence through late 5th–9th-century Europe of widespread monarchy was not a linear and uniform development. Under shifting conditions, kings as other types of rulers before them, will have navigated between personal ambitions, acute constraints and opportunities, their polity's legal tradition, interests among the aristocracy, popular consensus expressed at assemblies, possible rivals within royal lineages, and the like; thus constantly modelling and remodelling the institution of kingship.

The evidence for shifts in terms for rulers from *kindins*/*þiudans* to *dróttinn* and on to *konungr* does not appear to be altogether conclusive. The three former terms seem to have been used in parallel within the same polity, sometimes as mere hailing epithets, elsewhere with distinct meanings to dissimilar social roles, such as 'ruler' and 'warlord' (below 3.1.1). Conceivably, depending on the migrations and ethnogenesis of the group, military leaders may have ascended to rulership in some polities while ancient rulers' lineages may have maintained their position in others. Whether such shifts at all occurred and, if so, which, where, and when, needs to be discussed empirically in each case, as will be a theme in the following discussion of the Scandinavian evidence. Before entering into that discussion (below, 3.1.2), however, a certain category of evidence needs to be discussed.

3.1.1 The poetic evidence on Scandinavian rulership

While the use made in the following of other types of written evidence should be rather uncontentious, the uses to which the poetic evidence is put deserves consideration. Employing the two Old English poems *Beowulf* and *Widsith* and the Old Norse poem *Ynglingatal* as historic evidence regarding the periods they claim to deal with – the late 5th–6th centuries and the 3rd–9th respectively – cannot be done without detailing the types of information extracted from them and some criteria for its use. This evidence is also used in additional sections of this chapter (3.2–3.5), and the basis for that use is discussed here.

Whereas some information on 5th–10th-century Scandinavian peoples, rulers, and lineages was committed to parchment in Britain and the continent (below, 3.2.1–3.2.3), the only contemporary Scandinavian evidence is a handful of relevant runic inscriptions (2nd–11th centuries) and skaldic verse (9th–11th centuries). The kings' sagas deal with the same period as the skaldic verse, but neither genre was committed to writing until the 12th–14th centuries. However, while the metrical foot of the skaldic verse guarded against alterations (Jesch 2001:18), the oral traditions upon which the sagas were based were more malleable. The sagas are therefore less reliable as evidence of the past with which they deal. Thus, one may assume that the skaldic poem *Ynglingatal* as written down in the 1220s was rather close to the composer's original version c. 900.[2]

Whereas the composition of *Beowulf* and *Widsith* was until the 1980s conventionally set to the 6th–early-8th centuries, thought to reflect oral traditions from the 5th–6th centuries (e.g. Klaeber 1950:cii–cxxiv; Malone 1962:116; Klaeber et al. 2014: clxii–clxxxviii), the early date has since been heavily contested. Recently, however, the early dating has attained renewed support. Regarding *Widsith*, the philologist Leonard Neidorf contends that although the early dating "has become unfashionable, nothing has rendered it improbable" (Neidorf 2013:179–180). He concludes that the "weight of probability [. . .] is firmly on the side of an early date of composition" (Neidorf 2013:180), in his opinion, the 7th century; he sets *Beowulf* to c. 700 (Neidorf 2014c, 2014b:56, 2017).

The main basis for these early datings of *Beowulf* and *Widsith* is that certain features of the Anglo-Saxon language and spelling that occurred in the 8th–10th centuries are not represented in the text, whereas more ancient features are present (Neidorf 2013:167–71, 2014a; Fulk 2014:24–32). While these arguments seem convincing, two aspects are of particular interest in the present context. Firstly, they are *ante quem* arguments, and thus do not provide an earliest possible date of

2 Claus Krag's (1991) claim that *Ynglingatal* was composed in the late 12th century has been rebutted by Bjarne Fidjestøl (1994), Bergsveinn Birgisson (2007), Klaus Johan Myrvoll (2014), and the present author (Skre 2007a).

composition. Secondly, they aim at identifying the time when the poems were first written down. The evident time gap between the persons and events mentioned in the poems – they are of the early-6th century (below) – is explained (e.g. by Biggs 2014) by suggesting that oral traditions regarding the persons and events were conveyed through the century and a half that separated them from the scribes that composed the poems and wrote them down.

Bo Gräslund (2018) addresses these two aspects in a recent book; he explores the hypothesis that *Beowulf* was composed in a pagan environment and adapted c. 700 to a Christian Anglo-Saxon environment. He argues that many of the objects mentioned in the poem, in particular gold collars and bangles, were abundant in early 6th-centry south-eastern Scandinavia, but did not occur at all in 6th–7th-century England. The entire material setting in the poem is unmistakably Scandinavian. While an Anglo-Saxon poet c. 700 could not possibly have knowledge of such issues, a Scandinavian early 6th-century poet would, and that is when and where he dates the poem. Gräslund analyses the changes that will have followed from its adaption in a Christian Anglo-Saxon environment c. 700 and finds that they have not affected the substance of its historic content.[3]

There is no doubt that both poems refer to persons and events in the late 5th–6th centuries. *Widsith* lists several peoples, rulers, and heroes, some of them in Scandinavia; the latest identifiable is Elfwine, King of the Langobards, who died in 572 or 573. As pointed out by Malone (1962:108–10, 126–216), several of the persons and lineages that occur in *Widsith* also appear in *Beowulf* and other writings that deal with the 5th–6th centuries. The death c. 520–30 of Hygelāc, one of the central culprits in *Beowulf*, is well testified in continental evidence (below, 3.2.2) (Biggs 2014). The poem mentions individual kings of Svíar, Gautar, and Danir as well as members of their lineages and retinues. A link between all three poems may be found in *Ynglingatal* stanzas 14–16, which mention the two subsequent rulers Óttarr and Aðils; they are likely *Beowulf*'s Ōhthere and his son Ēadgils, subsequent kings of the Svíar in Beowulf's time (Marold 2012). In *Ynglingatal* stanza 16 Aðils is called Ála dolgr, 'Áli's enemy', a reference to the conflict between Ēadgils (Aðils) and his paternal uncle Onela (Áli) outlined in *Beowulf* (Gräslund 2018:150–8). *Widsith* (31) also mentions Ongenþēow, King of the Svíar (Malone 1962:188), in *Beowulf* named as Ōhthere's father and predecessor as king.

Thus, clearly, certain stanzas and episodes in these three poems are based on the same pieces of tradition. Over time, oral tradition is altered; its credibility depends on how long it remained in transmission before being included in a poem.

3 Gräslund's hypothesis was discussed in early scholarship, but rejected by Frederic Klaeber (1950: xlviii–li). The editors of the revised edition of his monumental work take more recent scholarship into consideration and, although maintaining his conclusion, emphasise the difficulties of precisely distinguishing between pagan and Christian values, a distinction that was essential in Klaeber's rejection (Klaeber et al. 2014:lxvii–lxxv).

The skald could not present his audience with information they knew to be false; that would bring shame rather than the intended honour to the heroes of the poem and to their descendants who were probably part of his audience. Details of ruler's genealogies were, writes David Dumville (1977:87), normally remembered for 4–5 generations in non-literate societies; that is, some 100–150 years.[4]

Ynglingatal was composed by the skald Þjóðolfr ór Hvíni in or near Vestfold c. 900 in praise of Rǫgnvaldr, the last of the 27 consecutive rulers of the Ynglingar lineage listed in the poem; the latter six in and near Vestfold (Fig. 3.1), the former 21 among the Svíar. The link between the Svíar and the Vestfold Ynglingar is probably constructed by the skald by including information from an existing poem that listed the Ynglingar rulers among the Svíar (Sundqvist 2002:47) – in *Beowulf* this lineage is called Skilfingar. The date and content of this supposed poem remains conjectural, Þjóðolfr's selection and adaption of the poem's information is unknown, and the timespan between its composition and the persons mentioned cannot be assessed. In any case, the distance in time and space from Vestfold c. 900 makes the information on the Ynglingar among the Svíar less credible than that that on the six Vestfold Ynglingar. The time that elapsed between Aðils of the 6th century and Rǫgnvaldr who lived c. 900 is far too long to take as reliable evidence, for example, *Ynglingatal*'s listing of Óttarr and Aðils' predecessors and successors. Still, as will be discussed below (3.3), some pieces of the information regarding the Vestfold Ynglingar's alleged predecessors among the Svíar is supported by other evidence and thus more reliable. For instance, the sequence of these two rulers, testified in two poems, and in *Beowulf* said to be contemporaries of Hygelāc, makes it likely that Ōhthere and his son Ēadgils are historical persons of the Skilfingar lineage and rulers of the Svíar some time in the early 6th century.

The composition of *Widsith* and *Beowulf* may have happened within living memory of the events and persons mentioned (Klaeber 1950:xxix-xxx; Klaeber et al. 2014:clxii-clxxxvi). If Gräslund is right that *Beowulf* was composed in the first half of the 6th century, that definitely strengthens the poem's credibility regarding the types of information that will be discussed here. A 7th-century date of *Widsith* and *Beowulf* would set their composition towards the end of, or possibly slightly beyond Dumville's 4–5-generation period. Based on the recent revival of the poems' traditional early date, the following section will make use of certain types of information from the three poems: genealogy and succession of rulers as well as their titles and

4 This accords well with the listing of seven subsequent fathers and sons named on the early 11th-century Malsta stone in Hälsingland (Hs14) and the six named on the contemporary N. Sandsjö stone in Småland (Sm71). It also resounds with the *oðal* regulations in the two west-Scandinavian *Gulaþing* (ch. 266) and *Frostaþing* (XII 4) law codes written down in the late 12th century but containing more ancient legal traditions. They stipulate that land became *oðal* once it has been inherited from father to son in six and four generations respectively; thus implying that ancestors normally could be traced that far back (Zachrisson 1994, 2017a).

epithets. Regarding the latter, heed must be taken of the words' contexts. The quite rigid metric of the poems will have incited poets to choose titles and epithets that provided alliteration. Thus, it is necessary to assess whether any occurrences of the words in question produce alliteration, in which case their value as evidence of actual titles in use at the time is weakened.

3.1.2 Scandinavian rulers' terminology in the first millennium AD

In *Beowulf* there is no indication of a shift from *dróttinn* to *konungr* as the term for the ruler; the two terms are used with distinct meanings. For instance, Hygelāc, Bēowulf's warlord and maternal uncle, was the son of Hrēðel, *konungr* (*cyning* in *Beowulf*) of the Gautar, and ascended to *konungr* following the death of his two elder brothers, both of whom were *konungr*, one after the other (Hall 2006). From early on in the poem Hygelāc is called *dróttinn* (*dryhten* in *Beowulf*) multiple times (lines 436, 1484, 1824, and 1831); he was indeed the leader of a retinue. The two instances where he is titled *konungr* (lines 1925, 2148) occur late and seem to refer to the time after he became *konungr* of the Gautar. In none of these occurrences do the terms in question produce alliteration, and the poet's choice to use them thus seems to be grounded solely in their meaning.

A *konungr* was also a *dróttinn*, though; still, the two terms occur in contexts alone and in compounds which suggest that they had distinctly different meanings. The first elements in compounds where *-konungr* constitutes the second suggest that such rulers had a wider basis than the retinue; e.g. *þeodcyning*, *lēodcyning* (both meaning 'people's king', lines 2 and 54), and *eorðcyning* ('king of the land', line 1155) (Klaeber et al. 2014:362). The first elements in compounds with *-dróttinn* include the first elements *frēa-* ('lord'), *gum-* and *mon-* (lord of 'men'), *sige-* ('victorious'), and *wine-* ('friendly'); they are either laudatory epithets or they expand on the role as retinue leader (Klaeber et al. 2014:365–457).

Thus, both in connection to Hygelāc and generally in the poem it seems that *dróttinn* was a military term and *konungr* was the title of the ruler of the people, seemingly also of the land. There is nothing in *Beowulf* to indicate that a *dróttinn* became a ruler solely because of his military competence. Evidently, in the *Beowulf* universe, the ruler, the *konungr*, needed to be of a royal lineage.

In *Beowulf*, the term *þiudans* (*þēoden* in *Beowulf*) occurs numerous times to characterise kings and members of royal lineages. The term does not seem to signify a distinct type of ruler, though, but occurs as one of numerous laudatory epithets for prominent men, some of which are kings. Klaeber (et al. 2014:316) lists 25 epithets applied to kings in *Beowulf*, and he groups them under five headings, namely the king as, respectively, lord and leader, protector, guardian or keeper, army-leader, and giver of rings; *þiudans* belongs to the first (Feldman 1975:101–3).

Indirectly, *Beowulf*'s listing of the current kings' ancestors seems to suggest that a shift to *konungr* happened among the Gautar, Skilfingar, and Skjǫldungar no more than two, one, and three generations before Bēowulf's lifetime respectively. The first Skjǫldung king, Skjǫld, is explicitly said to be the lineage's ancestral father (lines 4–52). Based on Hygelāc's death c. 520–30, this would set Skjǫld in the mid- to late 5th century.

This dating of the shift to *konungr* may correspond well with the time of the same shift among some continental Germanic tribes, for instance the Franks. Tellingly, neither *konungr* nor *dróttinn* are used in the 4th-century Wulfila's Bible, although there was ample occasion to use it to characterise God, Christ, or worldly kings. Instead, Wulfila used the term *þiudans* for these purposes (Green 1998:124–8). The two terminological shifts resulting in *konungr* becoming the dominant term for a ruler may have happened in the 3rd–6th centuries, probably at different times in the various Germanic polities where they occurred. In the time of *konugr* rulers, the terms *þiudans* and *dróttinn* appear to have been in continued use as, respectively, a hailing epithet and the term for a retinue leader.

Beowulf contains no genealogy for the Skilfingar lineage prior to the three *konungr* that ruled in Bēowulf's lifetime: Ongenþēow, his son Ōhthere, and his grandson Ēadgils. Although *Ynglingatal* and other more recent literary accounts refer to named rulers of the Skilfingar before and after these three, their historicity is dubious. Still, a possible distant echo of a shift from *dróttinn* to *konungr* among the Skilfingar and the Skjǫldungar may be found in Snorri's Ynglingar saga (ch. 17). Snorri writes that Dyggvi, the ninth of the Ynglingar rulers, was the first of them to be called *konungr*; those before him were called *dróttinn*. Dyggvi's wife was the granddaughter of Rígr, *konungr* of the Danir, who was the first among Scandinavians to be called *konungr*, Snorri writes. These individuals, and Rígr's shift to being called *konungr*, are also mentioned in the Eddic poem *Rígsþula* and in Arngrímur Jónsson's 17th-century summary of the since lost late 12th-century Skjǫldungar saga. All three texts were written several centuries after the events and persons – if at all historical – they mention. In the present context, they serve only to suggest that a shift from *dróttinn* to *konungr* as the term for ruler may have taken place among the Danir and the Svíar sometime prior to the time of Ongenþēow, in what was for the Icelandic saga authors the very distant past.

These tentative conclusions suggest that a shift in terms for rulers from *dróttinn* to *konungr* occurred in the south in the mid- to late 5th century. The few generations between Bēowulf's lifetime and the ancestor of the Skjǫldungar lineage, Skjǫld, lends some credibility to considering him a historical person of the mid- to late 5th century, although already in Bēowulf's lifetime clearly heavily shrouded in legend. In addition, from *Beowulf*, it seems that kings needed to come from a certain lineage and that the older brother was the stronger candidate. Still, personal prowess might strengthen the candidature of a member of the lineage. Evidently, this was the case when, following the Skjǫldungar King Heorogār's death, he was not succeeded by

his son Heoroweard, but rather by the deceased king's younger brother Hrōðgar. Succession did not always happen in an orderly and peaceful manner, as when the Skilfingar King Ōhthere died and his brother Onela seized the throne and drove Ōhthere's two sons, Ēanmund and Ēadgils, into exile among the Gautar. Soon after, Onela attacked the land of the Gautar, killed his nephew Ēanmund and the Gautar King Heardrēd. Subsequently, Ēadgils successfully attacked and killed Onela, thus becoming King of the Svíar (Hollis 1983; Canitz 1986:117; Klaeber et al. 2014:li-lxiv). These events resonate with the continental evidence on similar types of dynastic conflicts in the mid- to late first millennium AD.

While the position as *dróttinn* most likely was based on competence and virtue rather than belonging to a specific lineage, the etymology of the word *konungr* ('man of the royal kindred') implies that belonging to a certain kin was a condition for becoming king. This was hardly a new component of rulership; more likely, it was based on traditions from the time when rulers were titled *kindins*/*þiudans*, the meaning of which suggest that the polity they ruled consisted of a tribe.

In 10th–12th-century Scandinavia, when the details of royal succession are more firmly evidenced, it is clear that all sons of the deceased king, born within or outside of wedlock, as well as sons of the former king, were candidates for becoming the new king. The new king was chosen from among them in a process that culminated in a series of regional *thing* meetings where the choice of king was confirmed. This procedure, which prevailed until the late Middle Ages (Taranger 1934; Jørgensen 1965:262–4; Sawyer 1991:47), probably reflects earlier practices.

More light may be shed on these hypothetical shifts between types of rulers by involving additional evidence. Firstly, the evidence regarding the three ethnonyms that in the 9th–12th centuries came to be included in the names of the three Scandinavian monarchies is outlined (3.2). From the discussion of that evidence emerge some tentative conclusions regarding a shift in types of rulers and polities around AD 500. Thereafter it is discussed whether the suggested shifts in types of rulers and polities may resonate with contemporary changes within the highest echelon of aristocratic sites, those that may arguably be connected to rulers (3.3).

3.2 Peoples, lands, and rulers

In addition to *Beowulf*, *Widsith*, and *Ynglingatal*, scattered mentions of Scandinavian peoples and rulers in continental and insular sources constitute the only written evidence composed or written down within a limited timespan after the recounted events. Although scarce, they suggest a profound late 5th- to 6th-century shift in the nature of rulership and polities.

3.2.1 Svíar and Svíþjóð

Since the first mentions by Plinius (ch. IV:96) c. AD 79, by Tacitus (chs. 44:2, 45:1, 45:6) c. AD 98 (Reichert 1987:646, 1990:620), and Claudius Ptolemy (ch. II:11, 16) c. AD 150, the ethnonym Svíar is quite consistently used for denoting the people of present-day central-eastern Sweden. The ethnonym is probably derived from 'self' or 'own' to mean something like 'we ourselves' or 'one's own people' (Brink 2008:102; Sitzmann and Grünzweig 2008:261–4). The extension of the Svíar's authority over Gotland, Öland, Småland, and Blekinge is first attested in Wulfstān's account c. 890 (Bately 2009) but may well have happened earlier.

Rulers of the Svíar are mentioned in *Ynglingatal*, *Beowulf*, *Widsith*, and *Vita Anskari*; the latter is written c. 875 and recounting events c. 829–865. In *Beowulf* their realm is called Swēorice; in more recent sources, Svíþjóð (literally 'Svíar people') is prevalent. Prior to the 9th century, both terms probably designate what was later to be called Svealand, the land around Lake Mälaren, the modern provinces of Uppland, Södermanland, Västmanland, and parts of Närke in central-eastern Sweden (Sundqvist 2016:35–6).

3.2.2 Danir and Danmǫrk

Based on the manuscript *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*, written c. 700 by an unnamed author (Schnetz 1990), Kasper Andersen (2017:187–91) argues that the Danir were mentioned by several authors working in Ravenna around 500 and in the early 6th century. He holds that their manuscripts were available to the anonymous author two centuries later, but have since been lost. The earliest preserved mentions of the Danir are found in Procopius' *History of the Wars* (6:15:3) written AD 545–551, in Jordanes' *Getica* (ch. 2:23) written AD 551, and in the late 6th-century *Historia Francorum* by Gregory of Tours (Reichert 1987:236, 1990:24, 495). Procopius (ch. 6:15) refers to them in connection with two events that from the chronology of his history may be dated to c. 495 and c. 520–30 respectively (Andersen 2017:181, 227–30). Gregory recounts that Chlochilaicus, the King of the Danir (*rege Dani*), was killed while leading an ambush on lands along the lower Rhine. The leader of the victorious force was Theodebertus, the son of the Frankish King Theodocius. The battle happened during the latter's reign (511–533/34); the current near-consensus is c. 520–30 (Biggs 2014; Gräslund 2018:35–9).

Danir and their kings are mentioned both in *Beowulf* and in *Widsith*. In the former, Chlochilaicus is called Hygelāc; there, he is called the King of the Gautar, the Gotlanders (Gräslund 2018:55–77). Gregory's mistake in calling him King of the Danir is amended into *rege Gotorum* in the slightly younger *Liber Historia Francorum* (c. 725) which is based on information from Gregory's *Historia* and from Frisian oral tradition (Biggs 2014:140–2). In *Beowulf*, kings of the Danir – they are of the Skjǫldungar lineage

– are named in three generations before Bēowulf's lifetime. *Widsith* names Alewih as ruler of the Denum (35) and Sigehere as ruler of the Sædenum ('Sea-Danes', 28); the poem also mentions the Suþdenum ('South-Danes', 58; Malone 1962:136–7). Sigehere appears from more recent evidence to be of a different royal lineage among the Danir, the Siklingar, probably residing in Sjælland (Malone 1962:200). Danir probably means 'people of the low-lying land' (Bugge 1889; Svennung 1974:217; Sitzmann and Grünzweig 2008:108).

The missionary Willibrord's visit to Angantyr (Ongendus), King of the Danir, c. 710 is testified in his *Vita* (Talbot 1954:9). In the late 8th century, the Royal Frankish Annals mention Sigfred and, after the turn of the century, Gotfred and several subsequent kings of the Danir. Precisely which territories these late 8th- to 9th-century kings ruled remains uncertain; however, southern Jutland seems to have been the centre of Gotfred's and his sons' realm, which also appears to have included Vestfold (Lindkvist 2003a; Sawyer 2007). Not until the end of the 9th century, in the accounts of Ōhthere and Wulfstān, is the realm more clearly defined. Ōhthere said that Denamearc was on his port side when sailing from Vestfold towards Hedeby, which would imply that Ranrike and Halland were parts of the realm (Fig. 3.1). Also, the two travellers indicate that it included parts of Jylland, Skåne, and the islands between. The realm's name is first attested in these two accounts, as well as in the *Annals* of Regino of Prüm from 884 (Bately 2007:47, 52, 2009:15; Sindbæk 2009).

3.2.3 Norðmenn and Noregr

In Ōhthere's account c. 890, *Norðmenn* designates those who lived in the land on his port side when sailing from his home in Hålogaland to Vestfold (Bately 2007:46); that is, inhabitants of what was then the nascent kingdom of Noregr. From the same decades is the skaldic poem *Haraldskvæði* that calls Haraldr hárfagri *dróttinn Norðmanna* ('lord of Northmen', stanza 5).

In other writings, however, *Norðmenn* has a more general meaning; it first occurs in the Royal Frankish Annals for 777 (*Nordmanniae*, Rau 1955:36), thereafter in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles for 789 (MS B–F, Whitelock and Douglas 1979:180). In *Vita Caroli* from c. 830 Einhard writes about Charlemagne's war against 'those Northmen who are called Danes' (*Nortmannos, qui Dani vocantur*, Einhard 1845:14). In Anglo-Saxon sources *Danir* and *Norðmenn* are used synonymously (Swanton 1996:54 note 4). The unspecific meaning of the word *Norðmenn*, 'men from the north', and the limited need for continental and insular chroniclers to indicate the specific origin of Scandinavians, are probably the main reason for the two ethnonyms' use outside Scandinavia as general terms for 'Scandinavians'. Among Scandinavians, though, they appear to have signified specific peoples.

Jordanes is the earliest to mention a ruler that may have come from the western Scandinavian Peninsula. Immediately after the listing of peoples on the western coast, Jordanes (*Getica* 4:24) mentions Roduulf (*rex*) who rejected his realm there and was received by Theodoric (reign 475–526). The last six rulers of the Ynglingar lineage lived in or near Vestfold (Fig. 3.1), probably in the 8th–9th centuries (Skre 2007a); three of them are called *konungr* in the poem. Snorri portrays them as the ancestors of Haraldr hárfagri, who created the kingdom of Noregr in the late 9th century. However, his heartland was clearly not Vestfold, but rather Rogaland and Hordaland on the western coast (Fig. 3.1). Although interregional dynastic connections cannot be ruled out, his connection to the Ynglingar lineage is probably the invention of 12th–13th-century Icelandic saga authors.

Colmán Etchingham (2014) and Arne Kruse (2015) have argued that the mid- to late 9th-century kings of Laithlinn, who arrived in Ireland from overseas, came from the west-Scandinavian coast, while Donnchadh Ó Corráin (1998) has argued that Laithlinn was in Scotland. What was to become the name of the realm is first attested c. 840 in the Durham *Liber Vitae* (*Nortuagia*) and in Ōhthere's account (*Norðweg*, *Norðmanna land*). Notably, the land-name's occurrence c. 840 predates Haraldr hárfagri's reign by more than three decades. Evidently, the name of the realm is derived from the sheltered sailing route along the western coast of the Scandinavian Peninsula, the -weg ('way') in *Norðweg*. Except for a few short stretches, the sailing route from Rogaland in the south to Hålogaland in the north is sheltered from the brutal winds and waves of the Atlantic Ocean in the west by innumerable islands, islets, and skerries. Einar Østmo (this vol. Ch. 1) discusses in detail the two possible interpretations of the name, 'the way to the north' and 'the narrow way' as well as the significance of the route.

3.2.4 Tribes, amalgamation, and monarchies, the 1st–10th centuries

In the present context, three observations regarding the chronology, types, and number of ethnonyms are relevant. Firstly, among the three ethnonyms that came to be included in the names of the three kingdoms, Svíar is first mentioned much earlier than the remaining two, Danir and Norðmen; in the 1st, early 6th, and late 8th centuries respectively.

Secondly, it seems that the name Svíar is of a different type than the other two. The former probably means 'one's own people', while the latter seem to be named after topographical characteristics of their territories: respectively, 'the low-lying land', and 'those living in the north' or 'along the northern route'.

Thirdly, in post-6th-century writings, the many tribal names previously recorded by Plinius, Tacitus, Jordanes, and others predominantly gave way to three – Svíar, Danir, and Norðmen. Up to the 6th century, the realm of the Norðmenn was

the likely location of Augandzi, Rugi, Ulmerugorum, Arochi, Þrōwendum, Adogit, and others (Iversen this vol. Ch.4.2.1 and Tab. 4.2). The same is the case in southern Scandinavia, where tribal areas may be identified in the settlement pattern from around 300 BC (Rindel 1998:46). There, by AD 600, the plethora of tribes mentioned in pre-600 writings – for example, Cimbri, Hermiones, Teutones, Charudes, Ambrones, Angles, Heruli, Jutes, and others (Lund 1993; Sitzmann and Grünzweig 2008) can more or less securely be sited there – predominantly give way to one: the Danir. In post-6th-century evidence, these early names more or less cease to be used as names of collectives and are mostly found in names of regions (below, 3.2.5) used, for instance, when stating the geographic origin of individuals (Malmros 1999:345–6; Jesch 2001:107–18).

These three observations support the assumption that some time before the earliest recording of the Danir, probably in the mid- to late 5th century, two larger polities were formed from the numerous ancient tribes, one of the Norðmenn on the western coast of the Scandinavian Peninsula and one of the Danir in southern Scandinavia.

The process of formation of the latter polity has been proposed by Ulf Näsman (2006) based on other types of evidence. He calls it a tribal confederation ('stammeforbund') and identifies the military threats encountered in the extensive 3rd–5th-century warfare, witnessed in the period's numerous war-booty sacrifices, ship blockages, and fortifications, as the reason why the many tribes of that period chose to merge into a larger polity. In the 6th century, the archaeological indications on warfare drop dramatically, and in the 7th century they are not found at all – the forming of the Danir confederation resulted in a *pax Danorum*, he suggests. Näsman's suggestion that the process of forming the larger polity was a merging of tribes into the confederation, which through the 7th century was transformed to a kingdom, will be addressed towards the end of this chapter (3.5.1).

No contemporary names of the two larger polities of the Norðmenn and the Danir are known. Norðmenn is not recorded until the late 8th century, and not until the late 9th does it specifically refer to people living along the sailing route to the north. However, supported by new evidence of long-distance trade in Arctic commodities, Irene Baug and co-authors (2019) have argued that political integration of the many regions along the coastal sailing route that connected them was well underway in the 7th century, possibly even earlier.

The topographical features that the two ethnonyms are based on would have been common across in the tribal areas within each larger polity, while also distinguishing them from the rest of Scandinavia. The Norðmenn lived along numerous fjords, on island, and in valleys connected only by the sailing route, whereas the Danir lived on islands and districts separated by fjords and marshes in the low-lying land. Indeed, when describing Willibrord's AD 710 voyage to the Danir, Alcuin states that they were composed of several peoples, (Talbot 1954:9; Malone 1962:136, 172–3; Näsman 2006:223; Sindbæk 2009:171). *Beowulf* mentions East-,

West-, North-, and South-Danes, and *Widsith* South-Danes and Sea-Danes (Malone 1962:136; Klaeber et al. 2014:465–6), indicating that although distinct regions existed, the old tribal names were indeed considered obsolete. However, the Jutes in Jylland are a possible exception. The earliest occurrence of their ethnonym is contested; they may be the Eudoses in Tacitus (ch. 40:2), and the Euthio mentioned c. 580 as a tribe in the north by the Merovingian court poet Venantius Fortunatus (*Carmina* 7:7:50), but both are contested (Sitzmann and Grünzweig 2008:118–9; Andersen 2017:204). However, Bede's reference to the Iutae as one of the tribes that settled Britain must refer to the Juts (Rix 2015:93; Andersen 2017:210–12). They may have been included into the polity of the Danir somewhat later than other tribes.

Svíar is the only of the three ethnonyms that is repeatedly attested well before the 6th century. The ethnonym's type is different from the other two; it is an autonym, that is, it is coined by the people themselves (Brink 2008:102). The extension of the Svíar's realm beyond the Mälaren landscapes appears to have resulted from the expansion of their territory, probably through conquest and subduing neighbouring peoples. That expansion is not recorded until the late 9th century, but may have begun earlier. The Svíar's expansion appears to have stretched into the 1100s when the Götar of Östergötland and Västergötland were included (Lindkvist 2003b).

It seems, therefore, that the mid- to late 5th century saw the beginning of a process by which at least two of the three main Scandinavian polities were initiated. However, there is no direct line from these to the three monarchies of the 10th–12th centuries. For example, the 9th–10th-century kingdoms of the Danir and the Norðmenn were more or less dissolved for periods of several decades, and the latter realm was periodically subject to the king of the Danir.

While the Svíar expansion probably involved conquest, the trajectories towards the 10th–12th-century monarchies among, respectively, the Danir in the south and the Norðmenn in the west may have included different processes of polity formation and expansion; the forming of tribal confederations or otherwise. The nature of these processes and polities will be discussed towards the end of this chapter (3.5.1), following surveys of rulers' residences (3.3) and of the profound societal upheaval c. 536–650 (3.4). For now, 'tribal amalgamations' will be provisionally applied as the term for the larger polities that were formed in the mid- to late 5th century from the many tribes of earlier times.

3.2.5 Polities and territories, 1st–10th centuries

The paucity of written evidence from the 7th–8th centuries provides few or no indication as to the chronology of the territorial aspect of the process from tribal areas to the three kingdoms, and opinions have indeed differed. While Ulf Näsman (1998, 1999, 2006) and Lotte Hedeager (1992) contend that a kingdom of the Danir was

formed in the 6th–7th centuries – Näsman suggests a contemporary kingdom of the Svíar – Johan Callmer (1991:269) is reluctant to date it earlier than the 8th. In addition, in contrast to Näsman and Hedeager, Callmer emphasises the political weakness of the central power and, correspondingly, the strength of local and regional polities within the kingdom. Resonating with the latter view are results from Fredrik Svanberg (2003a, 2003b), Bengt Söderberg (2005), Peter Sawyer (2007), and Anna Lihammer (2007) who have emphasised that regional polities were maintained into the 9th–11th centuries; some 20 years ago, the present author concluded in the same vein (Skre 1998).

While Sawyer predominantly based his conclusions on written evidence, the remainder of these latter studies rely heavily on settlement patterns and toponymical evidence. Näsman speaks of cultural territories ('kulturområder', Näsman 1998:4–7) and defines them in terms of shared material culture; each territory comprises several tribal areas ('stamvälden'). He holds that from c. 500 to 700, three south- and east-Scandinavian cultural territories were transformed into kingdoms – he calls them Danish, Svea, and Götic, while west-Scandinavian tribal areas were joined to form a number of 'Norwegian kingdoms' (Näsman 1998:figs. 5–6).

However, as argued by Svanberg and Lihammer, Näsman's assumption that homogeneous material culture corresponds with polities is hardly viable. Analysing chronological and spatial distribution patterns of 3rd–10th-century brooch types in Rogaland and southern Hordaland, south-western Norway (Fig. 3.1), Mari A. Østmo (this vol. Ch. 2) finds that they were created by diverse processes, communication prominent among them. Søren Sindbæk (2009) has demonstrated that distinct differences in the distribution of material culture – some regional, other spanning several regions – existed within Viking Age Denmark; some were maintained throughout the Middle Ages. Interestingly, some of the distribution areas correspond to the three *land* of the high medieval period Jylland (including Fyn), Sjælland, and Skåne, others to the contemporary subdivision in *sysler* in Jylland and *herader* in Skåne, both of which appear to correspond to tribal areas from the time before 600. Indeed, each of the three *land* in high medieval Denmark had their own law that was upheld in 13 legal assemblies; such assemblies were held in *sysler* and *herader* too (Jørgensen 1965:232–51). Sindbæk points to *thing* assemblies as the context where material culture within each of these units was homogenised. He contends that from the sharing of legal tradition and the frequent face-to-face meetings in the assembly sprang a shared identity that found expression in various aspects of material culture.

Thus, rather than theorising the increased size of polities as accompanied by a homogenisation of material culture, it appears that ancient polities, each with their own law and assemblies, were fossilised in territorial units maintained within the Danish kingdom of the 11th–16th centuries. Some of these units kept their assemblies as lower-level courts, and in some cases, the shared aspects of material culture that correspond with each unit and level appear to have been fossilised along with

the unit. The two levels of units, *sysler*/*herader* and *land*, may reflect two stages in development of polities and rulership, the *sysler*/*herader* in pre-6th-century tribes, the lands in subsequent tribal amalgamations.

Such processes of homogenisation of material culture and fossilising of ancient territorial units may also be traced in Sweden (Brink 2008:111–12; Sundqvist 2016:37–40 with refs.) and Norway (Indrebø 1932; Iversen this vol. Ch. 4). The names of unit types vary across Scandinavia, though, and the chronology of the formation and fossilisation of the various types of units is difficult to assess. Telling is the fact that several regional names are compounds where the first elements are ethnonyms, some of them mentioned in Jordanes' *Getica* or in *Widsith*, while the second element signifies 'territory' or 'realm'. Examples of such names are Södermanland, Hälsingland, and Ångermanland in the east, Jylland and Halland in the south, and Hedmark, Ranrike, Ringerike, Rogaland, and Hordaland in the west (Svennung 1964; Callmer 1991; Brink 2008).

Summing up, two phases of polity development may be identified prior to the institutionalised kingdoms of the 10th–12th centuries onwards: a 'tribal' phase and an 'amalgamational' phase, the shift starting in the mid- to late 5th century. Surely, some tribes joined forces prior to the 5th century to overcome threats or accomplish ambitions, only to be dissolved when the acute situation passed. Moreover, some amalgamations probably continued to expand in the second phase. Still, since the names of two amalgamations, Danir and Norðmen, were perpetuated into the names of the 9th–10th-century monarchies, a marked shift appears to have taken place through the 6th century. Territorial aspects of these processes may be glimpsed by combining territorial names on various levels with other types of evidence, a research avenue that is explored by Frode Iversen (this vol. Ch. 4). In the following, the territorial aspect will mostly be left aside; instead, discussion will focus on the sites that appear to have been inhabited by rulers (3.3–3.4).

3.3 Residences of the Skilfingar, Skjǫldungar, and the Vestfold Ynglingar

According to the 12th–13th-century Icelandic saga tradition, the two 5th–10th-century royal lineages, the Skjǫldungar of the Danir and the Skilfingar of the Svíar, gave rise to all three dynasties that ruled the Scandinavian monarchies that were formed in the 9th–11th centuries. By creatively linking lineages, the saga writers connected Haraldr hárfagri, the first King of the Norðmen, to the Vestfold Ynglingar, whom Þjóðolfr ór Hvíni when composing *Ynglingatal* already had connected to the Skilfingar.

Members of the Skilfingar and the Skjǫldungar play central roles in *Beowulf*, where the hall Heorot in Sjælland is identified as the latter's residence. This is

where the hero Bēowulf relieved the Skjǫldungar King Hrōðgār of the monster Grendel and his terrifying mother. Heorot is also mentioned in *Widsith* (45–9) in connection with King Hroðgar. More recent scholarship names Lejre in Sjælland as the Skjǫldungar residence (Niles 2007; Osborn 2007; Christensen 2015a:15–29), and the poem's description of Bēowulf's journey there matches that identification quite well.[5]

Ynglingatal points to Old Uppsala in Svealand as the Skilfingar residence; three of the rulers (stanzas 13, 16, and 21) are mentioned in connection with the site (Fig. 3.1). Several place names in the vicinity are also mentioned, such as the River Fyris (Fig. 3.2; stanza 6), which passes through the manor (Sundqvist 2002:48). *Ynglingatal* also mentions several burial sites for the six Vestfold Ynglingar; among them, only Borre and Skiringssal can be securely identified (Fig. 3.1; Skre 2007a, 2007f:463–6).

In the following will be presented the main evidence on hall complexes and prominent burial monuments from excavations and surveys in Lejre, Old Uppsala, Borre, and Skiringssal (Fig. 3.1).

3.3.1 The Skilfingar in Old Uppsala

The five huge grave mounds in Old Uppsala (Fig. 3.2), built in the late 6th–7th centuries, have diameters of 35–75 meters and heights of 4–11 meters (Ljungkvist and Frölund 2015:fig. 6; Seiler 2018:291). The building-up of at least three artificial house terraces also took place in the late 6th century. On the southern and highest of them, a hall building was erected around AD 600; c. AD 800 it was intentionally cleared and burnt down. This hall was c. 50 meters long and 12 m wide at the centre with a 26 m long central hall room. The terrace was built up several times, and two earlier phases appear to have had a building on them, likely extending the sequence of halls back into the 6th century, possibly the 5th (pers. comm. John Ljungkvist, March 2019). Just south of the southern terrace, postholes and a possible terrace within the post-11th-century Christian cemetery suggest that a hall may have been standing there, possibly in the Viking Period (Andrén 2002; Ljungkvist et al. 2011).

The northern terrace, lower and smaller than the southern, has been less extensively excavated, but appears to have been the site of at least four successive building phases, the two latest in the 14th and 9th centuries respectively. Preceding those were two c. 40 m long 6th-7th-century buildings where craft activities took place; in

5 Gräslund's (2018:134–41) argument that Heorot was to be found in eastern Sjælland instead of near the southern end of Roskilde Fjord does not seem altogether convincing.

Fig. 3.2: Old Uppsala displays extraordinary monuments: five huge late 6th–7th-century mounds, three house terraces built in the 6th century, the largest of them with the 7th–8th-century hall, and two linear post rows built in the late 6th century. Illustration by I.T. Bøckman based on Jörpeland et al. 2018, fig. 174 and Ljungkvist and Frölund 2015, fig. 6.

addition to slags, worked antler and remains from bead production, some 600 production-waste garnets were found, suggesting high-status jewellery production.

On the third terrace, just west of the southern, have been found remains of a variety of late 6th- to 7th-century craft activities, among them high-quality metalcraft in silver and gold as well as cloisonné cell work (Ljungkvist and Frölund 2015; Ljungkvist et al. 2017). Preceding this there was a pre-6th-century building of unknown function and date (pers. comm. John Ljungkvist, March 2019).

Recent excavations in the Uppsala village, which may be traced back to c. 200 BC, revealed a substantial increase in the number of farms and sizes of buildings around 600 (Göthberg and Sundkvist 2018). It appears to have been a royal demesne through the following period; in the 12th century it was one of the largest villages in Sweden and gave its name to the crown's land *Uppsala auðr* ('the wealth of Uppsala'; Rahmqvist 1986). North and south of the village, these excavations have uncovered two monumental linear rows of posts erected during the last two decades of the 6th century (Wikborg 2018:272). The distance between the posts was c. 6 meters; the northern row of c. 862 meters consisted of 144 posts and the southern of c. 725 meters had 126 posts; the eastern end of the latter has not been found. Posts are assumed to have projected some six meters above ground. The northern row appears to have adjoined the main road from the north while the southern row probably marked the southern edge of the assembly site, with the row of monumental mounds and the village forming the two remaining boundary edges. After approximately half a century, both post rows were destroyed. They may have been erected for a special event, possibly the funeral that included the building of one of the mounds (Sundqvist 2018; Wikborg and Göthberg 2018).

Evidently, the late 6th to 7th centuries saw the establishment of extensive monumentality in Old Uppsala: a prominent hall building on an elevated built-up terrace, five huge mounds, and two rows of posts. Scattered evidence suggests that halls existed both before and after the well-documented hall; thus, the full chronological range of the manor complex remains uncertain, but it appears to go back to the early 6th, possibly the 5th, and up to the 11th. North of the village and the terraces have been found extensive remains from craft production; probably a seasonal marketplace was situated there (Ljungkvist et al. 2011).

3.3.2 The Skjǫldungar in Lejre

In two sites some 500 meters apart in Lejre (Figs. 3.3 and 3.4) have been excavated seven, possibly eight, successive halls spanning the early 6th to early 11th centuries. The earliest hall, built on the northern site, was 45 meters long and 7 meters wide. Possibly, this hall was replaced by a similar hall that was demolished in the early 7th century. At that time, a strikingly similar hall was built on the southern site. Here, six successive halls were built, three on each of two neighbouring ridges. They were 45–48 meters long and 10–12 meters wide. The last hall was demolished shortly after the turn of the millennium. In

Fig. 3.3: Lejre seen towards the north-east. The reconstructed outlines of some of the seven or eight 6th–11th-century halls are seen in the lower left of the photo. East of the halls and the present village, across the brook, can be seen the remains of the ship settings and mounds by the road. In the far background, some 3–4 kilometres as the crow flies, is seen the town Roskilde and Roskilde Fjord. Photo: Malling Fotografi & Film.

addition to each of the halls there were up to six buildings close by; in the later phases the complex was surrounded by a fence (Fig. 3.4; Christensen 2015a, 2015b).

Three monumental mounds and four ship settings of raised stones lay on an elevated ridge some 300 meters to the east of the halls (Fig. 3.3). Only one of the mounds has been excavated – the 6th–7th century Grydehøj, which measured 40 meters across and 5 meters in height. The ship settings appear to date from the 9th–10th centuries (Andersen 1995:103–16; Lund 2009:235–6), but they may be of an earlier date. Between the halls and the cemeteries lies the current village where finds have been made of late 10th-century pithouses and remains from craft production. The extent of the excavation was too limited to assess whether the production exceeded the manor's needs (Sørensen 1982; Christensen 1991:53–4).

3.3.3 The Vestfold Ynglingar in Borre and Skiringssal

The 12 monumental mounds at Borre (Fig. 3.5) measure 32–45 meters across and 5–7 meters above ground. The first probably dates from c. 600 while the last was built in

Fig. 3.4: The second to last of the 7–8 Lejre halls was surrounded by four buildings enclosed by a fence. This hall (phase 5) was probably built in the late 9th century and stood into the 10th (Christensen 2015b:245–6). Illustration by I. T. Bøckman based on Christensen 2015a, fig. 5.12, by Lars F. Thomsen, Roskilde Museum.

the early 900s. While the latter date is quite firm, a late 6th-century date cannot be ruled out for the two early mounds (Myhre 2015:87–93).

Recent geophysical prospecting has revealed the remains of four buildings just west of the cemetery, at least three of which appear to be hall buildings or long-houses with a hall section. The two northern buildings measure 33 by 11 meters and 40 by 12 meters. The remains of the southern appears to stem from several building that are hard to disentangle from the geophysical data. They appear to be at maximum 63 meters long, but their number and widths remain uncertain. Based on house typology and radiocarbon dates from limited excavations, the Borre halls appear to have been in use at different times in the 7th–10th centuries, but a 6th-century date cannot be ruled out (Gansum et al. 2018).

The mound cemetery borders on the beach from where two boulder ridges, 170 and 180 meters long and 220 meters apart, extend into the sea. While the coast here is littered with boulders, the area between the ridges is almost free of them; it appears to have been dredged. The boulders may have been used to produce the two ridges, which are assumed to be jetties made to protect a harbour on the otherwise unprotected coastline at Borre. The date of the harbour is hard to determine, but the top level of the jetties corresponds to sea level c. AD 600 (Draganits et al. 2015).

Fig. 3.5: Monuments in Borre in Vestfold: 12 huge mounds built c. 600 to mid-10th century, three hall buildings of a probable 7th–10th-century date, and an extensively constructed harbour built around 600. The site of the southern hall may in fact consist of the remains from several consecutive hall buildings. Illustration by I. T. Bøckman based on Draganits et al. 2015, fig. 10, Gansum et al. 2018, fig. 1.

Some 45 kilometres as the crow flies south of Borre lies the 9th- to mid-10th-century town Kaupang in Skiringssal (Fig. 3.6). Just north of the town has been excavated on an built-up terrace the remains of a mid-8th- to early 10th-century hall building, 35 m long and 11.7 m wide (Skre 2007c, 2008). Surface surveys in the ploughed field surrounding the rock on which the terrace was built suggest that it was part of a manor; no firm evidence of buildings have been found. Along the ancient road between the town and the hall lies an extensive cemetery of c. 150 mounds, originally probably c. 250, for the most part excavated in 1867. Dated graves span the 9th to mid-10th centuries; however, an 8th-century date is likely for the four monumental mounds, 22.6–25.1 m in diameter and 2.2–2.7 high (Skre 2007e; Stylegar 2007).

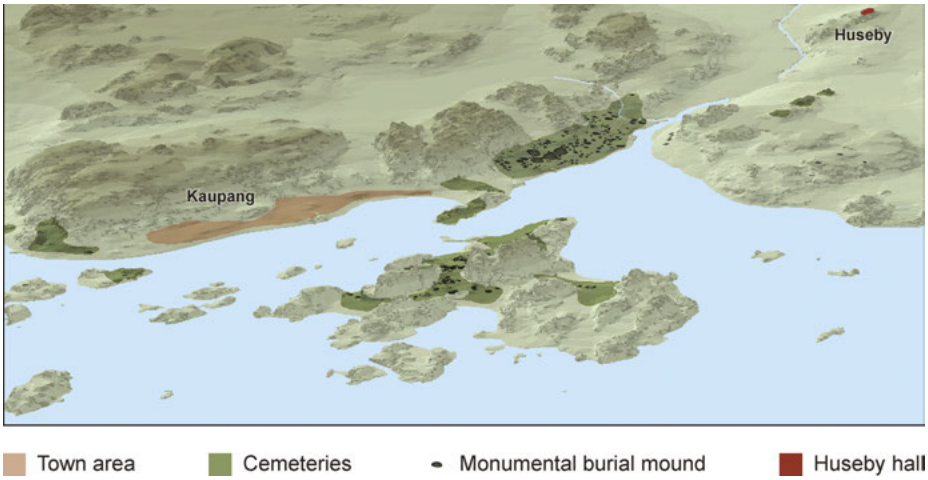

Fig. 3.6: Monuments and sites in the Skiringssal complex include the mid-8th–9th-century hall at Huseby, the 9th–mid-10th-century town Kaupang, and cemeteries surrounding the town. The four monumental mounds, probably of the mid–late-8th century, are seen in the cemetery between Kaupang and Huseby. Illustration by I. T. Bøckman based on Skre 2007d, fig. 1.3.

3.3.4 Three royal lineages, four royal sites

Summing up the evidence from the four sites, the date of the first of the Lejre halls corresponds well with the date of the events in the hall of the Skjǫldungar described in *Beowulf*. According to the poem's chronology, Bēowulf's fight in Heorot occurred prior to Hygelāc's death c. 520–30 (above, 3.2.2), and the earliest hall in Lejre dates to the early 6th century (above, 3.2.2).

The date range of the Old Uppsala halls is not as clear cut. Indications of possible predecessors and successors of the 7th–8th-century hall have been found, but are not sufficiently well dated. Thus, it cannot be decided whether there was a hall in Old Uppsala during the lifetime of Ongenþēow, Ōhthere, and Ēadgils, the kings of the Skilfingar lineage mentioned in *Beowulf*.

The earliest Borre hall clearly predates the Vestfold Ynglingar; the first of them, Halfdan hvítbeinn appears to have lived in the first half of the 8th century (Skre 2007b:435). Both Halfdan's burial site and the dating of the Skiringssal hall corresponds well with what may be derived from *Ynglingatal* concerning the date of his arrival in Vestfold. Bjørn Myhre (2015:124) has suggested that the pre-8th-century hall and mounds at Borre were built by kings of a lineage other than the Ynglingar. However, since the connection between the Vestfold Ynglingar and Old Uppsala probably was a construction by Þjóðolfr ór Hvíni, Halfdan, or possibly his somewhat obscure father Óláfr trételgja, may be the ancestral father of the Vestfold Ynglingar lineage. Indeed, Snorri writes in Ynglingasaga (chs. 44–6) that the first

two Vestfold Ynglingar married into existing royal lineages: Halfdan to the daughter of a king in the inland to the north, their son Eysteinn to the daughter of the Vestfold King Eiríkr Agnarsson; Eysteinn became king there after him. As noted above, the historicity of Snorri's account of events that had taken place five centuries previously is doubtful; however, such an alliance would explain why, according to *Ynglingatal*, Halfdan was buried in Skiringssal while Eysteinn and his son were buried at Borre.

Since the sequences of Lejre halls is better known and more firmly dated than those at Old Uppsala and Borre, it is difficult to assess whether or not hall-building at the three sites began around the same time. More easily identified and dated are the monumental barrows at these sites. Both at Uppsala and Borre their construction was begun in the late 6th century or around 600, while Grydehøj at Lejre is less firmly dated to the same period. This is also the time when the monumental rows of posts at Old Uppsala were built and, apparently, when the harbour at Borre was constructed. At Old Uppsala, the level of the largest platform was raised and the large hall was built. At Lejre the first hall was built on a site some 500 meters further south, and the earliest known hall at Borre appears to have been erected at this time.

Consequently, at Lejre, the only site with a well-dated beginning for the hall sequence, the first hall was built as the Skjǫldungar, after 2–3 generations, may be said to have formed a royal lineage. As suggested (above, 3.2.5), this period also saw the forming of the tribal amalgamation of the Danir. Resonating with the contemporary creation of Germanic kingdoms on the continent and in North Africa (Wood 2013), all three south–Scandinavian developments may be aspects of one and the same transformation: the creation of a new type of polity – the kingdom – led by a new type of ruler – the *konungr*. Following a widening of the perspective to incorporate profound transitions c. 536–650, the emergence and development of Scandinavian kingship will be discussed in greater detail and scope (3.5).

3.4 The societal transition c. 536–650

The decades around 600 saw the building of monumental mounds of hitherto unseen sizes as well as other ambitious construction projects in Old Uppsala (elevated hall plateau, rows of posts) and Borre (harbour). At least one monumental mound was built in Lejre around the same time, and four appear to have been built in Skiringssal following the erection of the hall there. These developments occurred in a period of profound societal changes, and thus cannot be explained within the parameters of the above discussions. Therefore, in the following, the perspective is extended to include contemporaneous developments in other Scandinavian ruler's

sites (3.4.1) as well as an extensive economic and climatic upheaval from the mid-6th century onwards (3.4.2).

3.4.1 Two generations of ruler's sites

The highest echelon of sites with a hall at their core includes a far greater number of sites than the four discussed above. The sites display a distinct chronological phasing with a shift from the early to the late in the late 6th to early 7th century – Lars Jørgensen (2009) has called them 1st- and 2nd-generation sites, respectively. The 1st-generation sites commence in the 2nd–3rd centuries and the 2nd-generation sites end around the turn of the millennium. Some sites span both generations (Fig. 3.1).

Most 1st-generation sites have a much richer archaeological record than those in the second; for example, Gudme in Fyn, the largest of all 1st-generation sites, has a wealth of buildings with the huge hall at its centre and a high number of high-quality finds in precious metals (Jørgensen 2010a). While Uppåkra in Skåne spans both generations, the 1st-generation finds are undoubtedly the richest. The site has the deepest deposits of all ruler's sites, in some areas exceeding 1 metre, and extends over some 40 hectares (Callmer 2001). The vast quantities of artefactual finds from metal-detection campaigns and excavations include several unique objects of exquisite quality. Most extraordinary are the remains of a cultic building rebuilt seven times on the same spot from the 3rd to the 8th century. Finds in the building include 115 gold-foil figures, several other gold items, and shards from 10 glass vessels. In the final phase, a unique glass bowl and a metal beaker with embossed foil bands from c. 500 were deposited in a pit dug into the clay floor; these likely ritual vessels were some 400 years old at the time of burial. A large number of weapons had been deposited around the house (Larsson and Lenntorp 2004).

Exceptionally rich finds have also been made in Helgö in Mälaren (Arrhenius and O'Meadhra 2011; Clarke and Lamm 2017), Sorte Muld in Bornholm (Adamsen et al. 2009; Jørgensen 2009:336–7), Åker in Hedmarken (Pilø 1993; Teigen 2007), and Hove (Myhre 1997; Bjørdal 2017) and Avaldsnes in Rogaland (Skre 2018a; Stylegar and Reiersen 2018).

3.4.2 Economic and climatic upheaval

Sites of the two generations differ in one aspect that is of relevance for the following discussion, namely the way in which production and trade were organised at the sites. The assessment of this feature is not altogether straightforward, since the sites within each generation do not form distinct categories. Furthermore, the extent of excavations varies considerably, and therefore the presence or absence of features cannot be assessed at every site.

Still, some near-general similarities and differences can be identified within and between the two generations. The 1st-generation sites Gudme, Helgö, and Sorte Muld, possibly also Åker and Hove, have a number of surrounding farms with extensive traces of artisanal production far beyond household needs (Jørgensen 2009). The only 1st-generation site that clearly differs in this respect is Avaldsnes, for reasons discussed below (3.5.1). Conversely, some of the new 2nd-generation sites (Figs. 3.2–3.5), notably Tissø in Sjælland (Jørgensen 2003, 2010b) and Old Uppsala (Ljungkvist et al. 2011), had seasonal markets where visiting craftsmen and artisans produced commodities to be sold to people who assembled there, most likely for *thing* meetings. Production and trade were organised somewhat differently in Skiringssal: the town Kaupang, not a seasonal market, was established there (Skre 2007f). The remaining new 2nd-generation sites in Figure 3.1, Borre, Lejre, Toftegård in Sjælland (Tornbjerg 1998), Järrestad in Skåne (Söderberg 2005), and Jelling in Jylland, do not seem to have housed production beyond the manor's needs. None of them appears to have had resident craftsmen and artisans who would have produced beyond household needs; rather, they seem to be primarily aristocratic residences with a relatively small number of additional specialised buildings. These sites commenced in the decades around 600; Jelling not until the early 10th century.

The reasons for why production and trade were organised differently in the two generations of sites may be revealed by analysing the changes that occurred around 600 at the sites that span both generations: Uppåkra, Sorte Muld, Helgö, and Avaldsnes. Evidently, some changes occurred at these sites in that period, but they are poorly understood due to limited excavations (Uppåkra, Sorte Muld) or poor preservation (Avaldsnes). Among the 1st–2nd-generation sites, only Helgö has been extensively excavated. In the post-600 phase, buildings there became fewer, goldsmithing and copper-alloy casting ceased, while ironsmithing and glass-bead production continued into the later phase (Clarke and Lamm 2017:14, 72).

Helen Clarke and Kristina Lamm (2017:72) are probably correct in suggesting that prosperity in Helgö was on the wane in the 7th century. However, this was not a local phenomenon, but rather a pan-Scandinavian development. For instance, while 4th–6th-century metal finds in Uppåkra include a range of exotic objects and precious metals from eastern and western continental Europe, 7th–8th-century finds are primarily copper-alloy objects of south-Scandinavian types (Hårdh 2002). This shift to reduced import and less costly raw materials, observable all over Scandinavia, was probably caused by the cutting off of communication from the north along the Danube, Vistula, and Oder to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. This rather abrupt change around 550 was probably due to the westward movement of the Avars and the pressure on the Byzantine Empire under Justinian (Ellmers 1985:7–8; Ljungkvist 2009:45).

Access to long-distance networks where precious metals and sought-after commodities could be obtained were pivotal for rulers, and their break-off in the mid-6th

century stands out as a prominent reason for the downfall of some 1st-generation sites. The giving of costly gifts to retainers and peers was essential for rulers to maintain their continued support. In *Beowulf*, precious rings are mentioned no less than 44 times (Gräslund 2018), mostly as gifts; indeed, the term *bēag-gyfa* ('ring-giver', line 1102) signifies 'king'. In *Widsith* (lines 73–4) it is said that Elfwine, King of the Langobardi c. 560–572/3, was 'quite unniggardly in giving out rings and gleaming collars' (Bradley 1991:339). Among other things (below), resident artisans at 1st-generation sites were probably producing rings from imported precious metals.

Not only long-distance networks but also local and regional subsistence suffered severe blows in the mid- to late 6th century. In the comparatively marginal agricultural economy of Scandinavia, the so-called Late Antique Little Ice Age c. 536–660, instigated by three major volcanic eruptions in 536, 540, and 547 that injected huge amounts of aerosol into the stratosphere leading to reduced temperatures globally, will have had detrimental effects on food production (Büntgen et al. 2016; Toohey et al. 2016). Furthermore, since the first outbreak in 541, the Plague of Justinian ravaged southern Europe in 18 waves until 750. Doris Gutsmiedl-Schümann and co-authors (2018) list 11 mid- to late 6th-century graves from sites north of the Alps where this plague has been documented, rendering a spread of the plague to Scandinavia quite likely. Further evidence of the plague is sure to come following the increased application of targeted aDNA analyses to identify plague victims.

Probably adding to the strains on rulers from the loss of long-distance networks with the continent, harsher climate and recurring plagues will have had devastating demographic consequences. Thus, popular confidence in rulers may have fallen sharply. Indeed, the initial climatic disaster of 536–7 seems to have given birth to the Old Norse tradition of the Fimbulvetr, the three winters with no intervening summers, which signalled the start of Ragnarǫk, the final battle at the end of the world (Gräslund and Price 2012). While all this may have led to the downfall of some rulers and lineages, the social upheaval also provided opportunities, some of which are explored below (3.5.2).

3.5 A tentative synthesis

The following attempt to formulate a synthesis regarding rulers and ruler's sites in 3rd–10th-century Scandinavia is based primarily on the various aspects that have been explored above. However, because a synthesis inevitably touches on multiple facets of society, research on some additional themes in 1st-millennium Scandinavian societies will be introduced and some continental and British evidence will be involved. A synthesis represents a more general take on the matter, and is therefore more tentative compared to the above discussions.

3.5.1 From *þiudans* to *dróttinn* and *konungr*, 1st–6th centuries

The territorial expansion of the Roman Republic in the 3rd–2nd century BC escalated the martial proficiency and level of armament among neighbouring peoples. In southern Scandinavia, this is evident in grave furnishings from the 2nd century BC, becoming more widespread from the mid-1st century BC, probably in connection with Roman expansion into Gallic and Germanic Europe in the mid-1st century BC. In parallel, the first signs of a more stratified society emerged in southern Scandinavia. Roman imports began arriving in increasing numbers from the 1st century AD, and intimate contact with the Empire is evident in, for instance, weaponry and military organisation, as well as in the creation of runic script in the late 2nd century. Of the c. 400 weapon sets retrieved from Illerup Ådal A, among the earliest of the many south-Scandinavian war-booty sacrifices of the 3rd–5th centuries, 116 sets contained a Roman sword (Ilkjær 2001). Clearly, from the 2nd century onwards, possibly the 1st, Scandinavians had served in the Roman army and had become familiar with the Roman military and state (Jørgensen et al. 2003).

The war-booty sacrifices resulted from conflicts between Scandinavian military units, some small, others of 1,000 men and more. When settling, commanders of such units will have presented a challenge to existing rulers in Scandinavian tribes, who were possibly titled *þiudans* at the time. In some tribes, an army commander, a *dróttinn*, appears to have ascended to become ruler.

The 1st-generation sites of the *dróttinn*

Some features of the 1st-generation Scandinavian ruler's sites suggest that military commanders with contacts to the Empire and intimate knowledge of Roman customs and institutions initiated them. The central hall surrounded by secondary farms – in Gudme and in Uppåkra there may have been up to 50 farms (Callmer 2001:113; Jørgensen 2010b:273) – could reflect the military hierarchy; officers, perhaps soldiers as well, may have resided there. Martial training and military campaigns will have been their main business; overseeing the extensive artisanal and craft production on their respective farms would be another.

Such production was probably partly directed towards manufacturing items for two different networks; the ruler's sites were the nodes that connected the two. Firstly, based on metals such as copper-alloy, gold, and silver obtained in long-distance networks, ornaments and other sought-after items would be produced to serve as gifts and commodities in regional and intraregional networks. Secondly, based on raw material obtained through the latter networks, such as iron, wool, antler, fur, and hides, items were produced to be traded over long distances to the south in exchange for Roman and continental raw materials and products. Military officers trained in organising supplies for their troops, upholding the standard of

their equipment, and enforcing the security of supply lines will have had the competence needed for setting up and maintaining such production sites and networks.

These sites were established in the 2nd–3rd centuries. The widespread military conflicts of the 3rd–5th centuries, testified in the south-Scandinavian war-booty sacrifices, may have been related to conflicts between the *dróttinn* and with their allies in northern networks from where they obtained commodities and raw materials. The period saw an extensive building of hillforts on the Scandinavian Peninsula, c. 1,500 in total. The vast majority them is found some distance from settlements and only suited as easily defended short-term refuges where the local population could flee for their lives while abandoning buildings and most possessions to the ravages of the aggressor. This suggests that the attackers were aiming at taking prisoners, and possibly that slave-taking was a primary objective in such attacks. Thus, slaves may have been a significant commodity exchanged in southern networks.

In time, the four-level hierarchy from army commander to soldier (Ilkjær 2001) will have been transformed to a *dróttinn* and his retinue of fewer and more heavily armed retainers. This change may have taken place before Bēowulf's lifetime. A possible component of this transformation of the military hierarchy into one better adapted to rulership may be the changes observed in the term *irilaʀ*/*erilaʀ*, possibly a title or the name of a particular social role, which occurs in eleven 2nd–6th-century runic inscriptions on stones (5) and objects (6). In five of these inscriptions, he is referred to as the carver or producer of the inscription, and several include laudatory epithets, such as 'swift', 'cunning', and 'skilful'. This resonates well with the term's etymology: *irilaʀ*/*erilaʀ* appears to be associated with connotations relevant for a military officer, such as bravery and valour. The runic script's evident origin in the Latin alphabet suggests that the former was conceived within the primary sphere of Germanic–Roman contact: the military. That is probably also the sphere where an *irilaʀ*/*erilaʀ* belonged. The term does not occur in post-600 inscriptions, but appears to have been transformed into Old Norse *jarl* ('earl'), meaning a ruler subordinate to a king (Iversen et al. in press).

The 1st-generation sites Gudme, Uppåkra, Sorte Muld, Helgö, Åker, and Hove may have been organised in this way; however, Avaldsnes is clearly different. While Roman contacts are evident in the site's 1st-generation phase, the 3rd–6th centuries (Skre 2018c; Stylegar and Reiersen 2018), there are only moderate remains from craft and artisanal production (Østmo 2018), and no such evidence from surrounding farms. Probably, the *dróttinn* at Avaldsnes took a different position in the exchange networks; apparently, he engaged solely in long-distance exchange. His main currency in that exchange was not something he produced from raw materials obtained in regional networks; it consisted of a non-material service: military protection of long-distance transport of commodities from the Arctic. From Hålogaland, the northernmost regions settled by Germanic-speaking people, valuable commodities were shipped along the protected sailing route. Avaldsnes is

situated by a bottleneck at the southern end of the route; there, the early 3rd-century *dróttin* and his descendants seem to have taken on the task of securing the safe transport of commodities originating further north. From these northern regions come exquisite furs enjoyed by the Romans, Jordanes reports (ch. 21). From the perspective of Germanic peers on the continent and his contacts in the Empire, securing the transport of these commodities by suppressing piracy and taking control of the sailing route would have been equally as useful as if the *dróttinn* at Avaldsnes had produced the goods locally (Skre 2018b). The prominent grave monuments at Avaldsnes, including numerous monumental mounds, the two tallest triangular raised-stone monuments in Scandinavia (3rd–6th centuries), and the two earliest Scandinavian ship graves (late-8th century, Bill this vol. Ch. 5), are all exposed towards the Karmsundet Sound (Fig. 3.7), an indication of the site's orientation towards the passing sailing route (E. Østmo this vol. Ch. 1; Skre 2018a).

The 2nd-generation sites of the *konungr*

The time of the *dróttinn* rulers of southern and south-eastern Scandinavia, and possibly in the west and north as well, appears to have ended during the period when tribes were merged into larger polities, the mid- to late 5th–early 6th centuries. While Näsman (1999, 2006; above, 3.2.5) regards the merging of tribes in the south as the forming of a tribal confederation among the Danir, developing over the course of the following two centuries into a kingdom, it should rather be understood as the introduction of kingship and the formation of kingdoms. Apparently, in the early 6th century when the events in *Beowulf* played out, kingship had been established among the Gautar, Svíar, and Danir.

The most detailed information on the shift to *konungr* rulers concerns the Danir. The near-simultaneous occurrence of the ethnonym, the royal lineage, and the ruler's site in Lejre suggests that these phenomena were intimately connected. Also, the royal lineage was bolstered by its own origin myth as recounted in *Beowulf*. The gist of the myth is that as a small child, the Skjǫldungar's ancestral father Skjǫld, was found destitute in a drifting boat (lines 7 and 44–6). After having lived a heroic life and become a ruler, he was buried in a ship set adrift – the poem's description of his burial rite explicitly mirrors the circumstances of his arrival as an infant (Bill this vol. Ch. 5).

Clearly, in the origin myth, Skjǫld's descent is not why he became a ruler; on the contrary, he is portrayed as not having ancestors, implying that he was of supernatural origin. The poem says that he was the "scourge of many tribes, a wrecker of mead-benches, rampaging among foes", and thus, "his worth was proved" (Heaney 2001:3, lines 4–8). Thus, the poem describes his claim to rulership as based in his personal prowess and charisma. Probably, the shaping of the origin myth happened at least one generation later; not until then was the number of

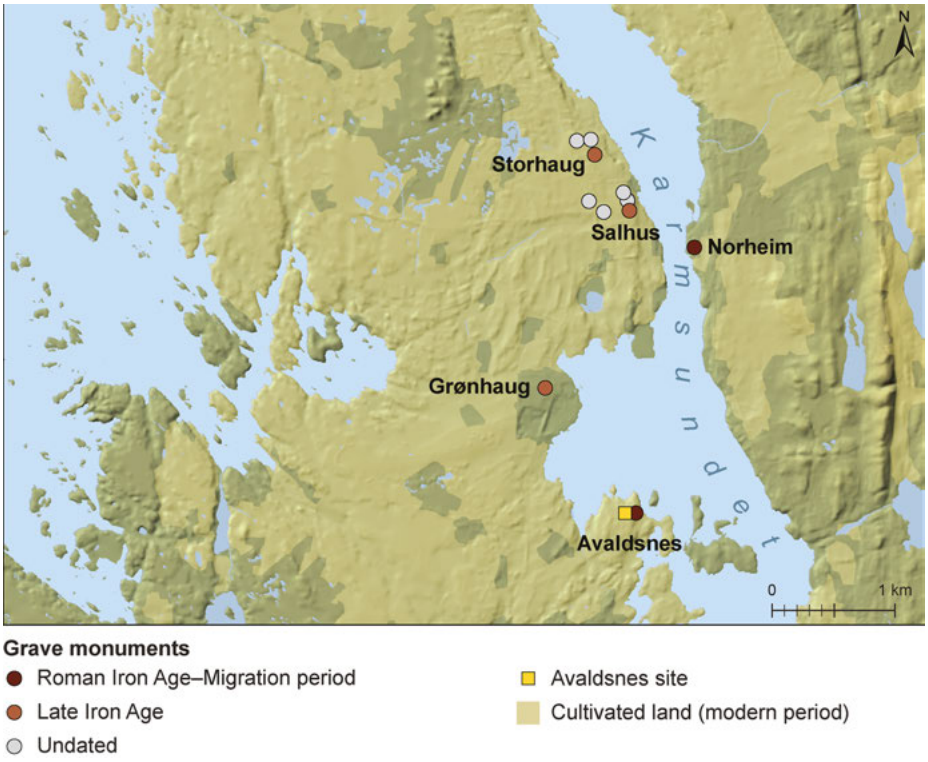

Fig. 3.7: The prominent grave monuments at Avaldsnes span the 3rd–8th centuries AD. The two 3rd–6th-century triangular raised-stone monuments at Norheim and Avaldsnes are the two tallest among the numerous such in Scandinavia. The two late 8th-century ship graves in Grønhaug and Storhaug are the two earliest such in Scandinavia. Apart from the Salhus mound, measuring 43 meters across and built in the decades around 600, the remaining mounds are undated; several may date from the Bronze Age. Illustration by I. T. Bøckman.

royal pretenders narrowed by claiming a certain descent as a prerequisite for rulership. In that sense, kingship was not introduced until somewhat after Skjǫld's lifetime, possibly when Hrōðgār ascended to kingship, around the time when the first hall in Lejre was erected, the early 6th century.

Interestingly, none of the 1st-generation sites that continued into the 2nd was the primary residence of any of the three lineages known from *Ynglingatal*, *Beowulf*, and *Widsith*; all three lineages established new sites only a few generations after the lifetime of their ancestral father. The forming of royal lineages in the early 6th century seems to be connected to the establishment of 2nd-generation ruler's sites. While that time can be narrowly dated in Lejre, Old Uppsala and Borre appear to originate some time in the 6th century. Apparently, this was a period of social mobility when men with proficiency, purpose, ambition, and luck could ascend to

being *konungr*, claim descent from a renowned ancestor, and establish prominent sites. The expressions of royal authority appear to escalate in Lejre, Old Uppsala, and Borre until a climax in the decades around 600. As was the case when the Christian monarchy was introduced around the turn of the millennium (below, 3.5.2), the establishment of new ruler's sites may have been a conscious act to distance themselves from the earlier type of rulers.

Probably the most profound difference between *dróttinn* and *konungr* rulership was that while the former became rulers from personal prowess and charisma, the latter were selected among a small number of candidates; normally, one was the obvious choice (above, 3.1.1). Such exclusivity had certain societal benefits. Firstly, it would prevent a situation in which numerous ambitious candidates in the aristocracy constantly jockeyed for position, thus diverting energy and focus from contributing to shared objectives. Secondly, following a ruler's death, the chance of destructive conflicts would be reduced since the number of pretenders was limited. Thirdly, because ancestry identified every potential *konungr* from birth, they could be groomed for the task from early age. Possibly, a period of *dróttinn* rulers had inspired the wisdom that being a good ruler was not only a matter of personal prowess and charisma, but of being imbued with the appropriate values and understanding of the complexity and finesse of the task – evidently matters of lifelong learning. In *Beowulf* (lines 18–25), Skjǫld's upbringing of his son Bēow is described to have achieved precisely that: "Behaviour that's admired as the path to power among people everywhere" (Heaney 2001:3, lines 24–5).

There may also have been differences in the types and scope of authority between *dróttinn* and *konungr* rulership. Such differences will not be discussed further here beyond pointing to the likeliness of *dróttinn* being more preoccupied with ruler's sites and long-distance transport routes while *konungr*, predominant in a time when long-distance networks towards the south were more or less cut off (above, 3.4.2), were more directed at controlling and defending territories from where surplus could be extracted. To that point, the earliest phase in the Danevirke rampart across the southernmost neck of Jylland is dated to the late-5th century (Tummuscheit and Witte 2018:70), the time of nascent kingship among the Danir.

Germanic Europe: Scandinavia, Britain, and the Continent

The details of the introduction of kingship can only be guessed at, but as pointed out by Näsman (2006; above, 3.2.4), the overlordship over the numerous tribes of earlier times was probably a result of the extensive warfare of the 3rd–5th centuries. The set of near-contemporary novelties – the forming of a new type of polity under a new name, with a new type of rulership, bolstered with a new type of ruler's myth, and residing in a newly established ruler's site – suggest that they were components in a concerted effort which probably also included considerable military

force. However, military means alone will have been insufficient. As pointed out by Walter Pohl (2009:438–9) regarding Germanic armies in continental Europe, their moderate size and the instability of tribal confederations limited the durability and size of the polities they formed; thus, political manoeuvring will have been necessary to establish more stable polities.

The early history of the Franks is an illustrative example of political means and manoeuvres needed when introducing kingship. Franks were mentioned for the first time in the 3rd-century *Panegyrici Latini*; in the 5th, a polity of the Franks appears to have merged numerous tribes on the middle and lower Rhine, including the Amisvani, Chattuarii, and Chatti (Wood 1994:35). Only by extending his authority far beyond his army, violating traditions, and overruling the aristocracy could their first king, Clovis I (reign c. 481–511), unite the Frankish tribes under one ruler, expand his realm to encompass much of present-day France, and establish a kingdom that soon became the most powerful in Europe and lasted for centuries.

Clovis traced his ancestry to Childeric I (reign c. 458–481) and before him to Merovech, the ancestral father of the Merovingian kings. According to Fredegar's mid-7th-century Frankish chronicle, Merovech was conceived when his mother, while swimming, met a sea monster, a Quinotaur. Ian Wood sets the start of Merovech's rule shortly after 450, and concludes that the Merovingian dynasty emerged then and was not rooted in earlier rulers' lineages, therefore hinting at a different type of prestigious ancestry: a supernatural origin (Wood 1994:36–8).

This period also saw the rise of other Germanic successor kings and kingdoms, such as Theodoric the Great among the Ostrogoths, and the kingdoms of the Suebi, Burgundians, and Thuringi on the continent, as well as the kingdoms of Mercia, East Anglia, Kent, and others in Britain – some more long-lived than others. The close contemporaneity with these developments among other Germanic-speaking peoples and the evident parallels between the emergences of the two royal lineages of the Franks and the Danir – for example in their origin myths and the merging of numerous ancient tribes – suggest that the introduction of kingship in southern Scandinavia was an integral part of corresponding developments among several Germanic-speaking peoples.

This perspective has a somewhat different take on the matter than Näsman's (2006). He holds that the gradual expansion of the Franks in the late 5th to 8th century is a better analogy for the development of the kingdom of the Danir than the swift unification of England under Alfred and Æthelstan. What is suggested here is a historical relation rather than one of analogy, namely that the wave of new Germanic kingdoms being established in the aftermath of waning Roman rule through the 5th century was not limited to territories inside the Limes and Hadrian's Wall, but included Scandinavia, at least its southern and south-eastern lands. The polity development of 5th–6th-century southern and south-eastern Scandinavia are probably best conceptualised not as outliers on the fringe of Germanic Europe, but as situated roughly within the scope of variation found

elsewhere in Germanic continental Europe and the British Isles. Apparently, at the time, Scandinavia was more closely integrated in Germanic Europe than was the case in the 7th–8th centuries (above 3.4.2, and below 3.5.2).

However, some aspects of being situated rather far from the Limes would supply Scandinavian ruler's sites with their particular flavour. The territories had not been ruled by the Roman state and military, and Roman buildings, roads, and harbours were not present. This contrast will have been counterbalanced, but far from outweighed, by the consequences of many Scandinavians participating in the Empire's army and bringing their knowledge and experience back to the homelands. Furthermore, contrasts between Scandinavia and the territories of the former Empire will have been more significant on the latter's continental territories than on its British ones, since the latter from the mid-5th century onwards was increasingly dominated by Germanic peoples who originated from lands outside the Limes.

A more significant difference between Scandinavia and the former lands of the Empire was the fortunate position of southern Scandinavia, lying in the intersection between a northern and a southern economic zone. The former would include Scandinavia and parts of the Baltic, while the southern stretched down into Germanic areas and, in Roman times, into the Empire. Both zones supplied raw materials and commodities that were in demand in the other zone. Taking advantage of this difference, some *dróttinn* established the 1st-generation ruler's sites and organised the production and trade. In an economic sense, perhaps the closest parallel in time and space to these sites were the Celtic oppida of the 2nd–1st centuries BC (Collis 1995; Andrén in press); they appear to have been ruler's sites, they connected central-European and Mediterranean networks, and met their end when the Romans expanded into Celtic territories.

The activities in the south-Scandinavian 1st-generation ruler's sites will have shaped some of the 2nd-generation sites in ways that gave them a particular character compared to other north-European ruler's sites. In many of the former, the connection to assemblies, crafts, and markets were upheld. Perhaps the Rendlesham site in East Anglia only 6 kilometres from Sutton Hoo, which started in the 5th century and thrived in the mid-6th–mid-8th centuries (Scull et al. 2016), was modelled on the Scandinavian ruler's sites, with which the Scandinavian immigrants who settled there were surely familiar. The remaining known British great-hall complexes of that period do not appear to have accommodated the same wide spectrum of activities, having rather more in common with 2nd-generation sites such as Lejre and Borre. However, the British were much more short-lived, possibly a consequence of the Christianisation, which seems to have contributed to the downfall of the Scandinavian sites some 3–4 centuries later (below, 3.5.2).

3.5.2 From *konungr* to monarch, 6th–10th centuries

The societal upheaval in the century around 600 appears to have hit Scandinavian societies harder than those further south and west, probably a consequence of the former's more marginal climatic conditions. However, such possible causes for the seemingly separate route that Scandinavian societies took in the 7th–9th centuries as compared with continental and British societies are difficult to disentangle from such that followed from the general conversion to Christianity in the south and west. Both will have contributed to Scandinavian kingship taking a different path than further south and west.

The instability of kings and royal lineages

The evident stepping-up of monumentality in Old Uppsala, Borre, and Lejre in the century around 600 suggests that rulers intensified their display of supremacy – possibly even divinity (Sundqvist 2016) – with the aim of mending the loss of confidence in rulers that may have followed the climatic disaster and the plagues of the mid–late 6th century. Perhaps they portrayed themselves as rulers of a new sort, fit to lead society out of the misery caused by the failure of earlier rulers. The building of exceedingly huge mounds, making ancestors acutely and prodigiously present, suggests that the royal lineages reinforced their position and claim to rulership.

However, some of the 1st-generation sites continued to be rulers' sites. For instance, the cultic building in Uppåkra, probably connected to an adjacent hall (Jørgensen 2009:336), continued to be rebuilt on the same spot from the 3rd until well into the 9th century. This is indicative of an obvious fact: there were more than three royal lineages in 6th–10th-century Scandinavia. Indeed, the main protagonists in *Beowulf* are of a fourth, namely the unnamed royal lineage of the Gautar – probably the Gotlanders (Gräslund 2018). Some of the many unnamed royal lineages may have installed themselves in 1st-generation sites established by the *dróttinn* of the past; others may have established 2nd-generation sites.

It is probably impossible to determine which of the numerous hall sites of the 6th–10th centuries were royal sites and which belonged to lower aristocratic ranks. Surely, both levels are represented in Figure 3.1, and in some of the numerous hall sites that are not included in the map. Only occasionally must resort be made to educated guesses as to the status of a site's lord. Lars Jørgensen (2003:204–7) has suggested that Tissø was a royal site, but, partly due to the lack of graves, the *konungr* probably visited at certain times only, coinciding with the seasonal market there. Potentially, Lejre was this *konungr*'s main residence. The formation of a kingdom, possibly that of the Danir, may have led a *dróttinn* in Uppåkra into a position subordinate to a *konungr*, likely the one residing in Lejre. Finally, some lords of

2nd-generation sites may have been subordinate to a *konungr*. Indeed, Järrestad (Fig. 3.1) means 'the earl's place' (Söderberg 2005:95–7).

Turning to the nascent monarchies of the 9th–11th centuries, the consistent series of six or seven successive halls in Lejre up to the early 11th century are not matched by an equally well-testified succession of *konungr*. The disappearance of the Skjǫldunga saga written c. 1180–1200 and the late date of writings based on that saga, leave an utterly fragmentary picture (Friis-Jensen and Lund 1984). For instance, the series of kings of the Danir between Horik of the mid-9th century and Gormr of the mid-10th is obscure, and the descent of Gormr and his successor Haraldr Gormsson, called Bluetooth, remains in the dark, as does their relation to Lejre (Sawyer 2002:45–8). Still, c. 1016, the German bishop and historian Thietmar of Merseburg, recounting events in the 930s, tells of human sacrifices in Lejre, the country's *caput regni* ('capital' or 'kingdom's main site', Christensen 2015b:239). The proximity to Lejre may have been the main reason why Haraldr's son Sveinn tjúguskegg chose Roskilde as his main seat (Fig. 3.3), but his dynastic connection to Lejre remains dubious. Jelling (Fig. 3.1), which through much of the 9th century was the main site for Gormr and Haraldr, was thus a ruler's site of the two first known *konungr* in the lineage that came to rule the monarchy of Denmark (Jessen et al. 2014).

As among the Danir, the connection between the Skilfingar kings and the 9th–11th-century kings among the Svíar remains uncertain (Lindkvist 2003b). As noted previously, the Icelandic saga authors' claim that Haraldr hárfagri descended from the Yngliga is equally questionable.

Thus, it seems that the purported links between the three 11th–12th-century royal lineages of the Scandinavian monarchies and the three ancient lineages are quite questionable. The richer Scandinavian evidence of royal succession in the 11th–12th centuries suggests a number of pretenders to the crown, for instance the would-be Norwegian King Sverrir Sigurðarson (reign 1184–1202). Although born the son of a comb-maker in Bergen, he claimed that his mother had revealed to him that his true father was King Sigurðr Haraldsson (reign 1136–55). While questionable, his claim to be of Haraldr hárfagri's lineage was the key to gaining support as a pretender to the crown. In all likelihood, such questionable claims were common before the formation of the three monarchies as well.

The well-evidenced 11th–12-century Scandinavian cases of instability in royal succession, malleability of descent, and armed conflicts between and within polies and royal lineages resonate with the contemporary and earlier continental and insular evidence. There is little reason to doubt that such calamities were equally common during the period discussed here. Rulers in first-millennium Scandinavia will have been challenged by opponents within their own polity as well as from without; in some periods more frequently and heavily than in others. That would lead to unstable strength and varying extent of polities, as well as to discontinuity in reign. This apparent instability of rulership and polities stands in stark contrast to the astounding stability of ruler's sites, a paradox reflected upon below (3.6).

Kingship and heroic warrior ideals of the north: the Scandinavian trajectory

The cutting-off of southern trade networks in the mid–late 6th century reduced communication between Scandinavia and the continental and British kingdoms, decreasing the level of social and cultural integration across the divide (M. Østmo this vol. Ch. 2.5). Over time, the Christianisation of the latter kingdoms will have contributed to deepening the divide by limiting communication in arenas other than trade. While the heroic warrior ethos lived on in one form or another within all Germanic aristocracies (Klaeber et al. 2014:lxviii-lxx), in Scandinavia it will have continued to be developed and refined within a pagan as opposed to a Christian universe. Thus, through the 7th–10th centuries, the heroic ethos will have developed along diverging trajectories within and outside Scandinavia. While heroism was much the same in Germanic societies of the 6th century, the heroic ethos at the core of 9th–10th century Scandinavian kingship would be rather different from that of contemporary continental and British kingdoms.

The pagan hero Bēowulf is described in the poem as a man of courage, action, and determined will who defies the mortal danger of combat in order to protect his people and defend others in need of help – while also displaying human weaknesses such as ignorance and stubbornness (Klaeber et al. 2014:lxxviii-lxxix). That very defiance in pursuit of the virtuous, while being subject to one's own weaknesses and the unpredictability and contingency of existence, appears to be the essence of the 6th-century heroic ethos.

Possibly, we may catch some glimpses of how this ethos continued to be refined within the pagan 7th–10th-century Scandinavian universe. Exploring archaeological evidence of that period in light of 12th–13th-century literary evidence on Old Norse beliefs and practices, Neil Price (2002:329–96) finds that certain practices of *seiðr* ('sorcery') were directed at empowering warriors. Thus, it did not primarily protect against a fatal outcome of battle, but served to encourage warriors' voluntarily acceptance of mortal danger. Within this cosmology, although the outcome of battle was uncertain, both death and victory were potentially favourable, given that the warrior fought bravely and fearlessly. Not only would that increase the chances of victory; if he were killed, it would secure him lasting renown in poems and tales of the battle as well as a place among Óðinn's warriors in Valhǫll.

The evident success enjoyed by 9th–10th-century Scandinavian raiders overseas suggest that the hint of fatalism in their heroic warrior ethos and the continued cultivation through the 7th–10th centuries of martial skills gave them an edge over their Christian adversaries. A century or two later, however, their homeland kingdoms were Christianised, and thus, after an interlude of 4–5 centuries, they were re-included in the normality of Germanic western Europe. However, the norm had changed profoundly since the 6th century; now it consisted of the Christian kingdom with its king as God's anointed and the Church as God's intermediary.

3.6 Epilogue: The stability of the rulership institution

In the present author's earlier contributions on rulership and polities (Skre 1998, 2001, 2007f), the instability of the two was taken as an indication that the institution of rulership itself was unstable and only manifested sporadically – leading to the suggestion that it was more of an ad hoc occurrence than an institution. However, the deep continuity at Avaldsnes through most of the first millennium, explored in the 2018 volume, has provided grounds to reconsider that assessment. There, as explored by Einar Østmo in this volume (Ch. 1), that continuity extended some two millennia prior to the period discussed here, and stretched up to the 14th century as explored by Anette Sand-Eriksen and Erlend Nordlie (this vol. Ch. 6), Alf Tore Hommedal (this vol. Ch. 7), and Erik Opsahl (this vol. Ch. 8).

Defying the author's earlier position on the instability of rulership, this chapter's discussions have lifted to the fore the deep continuity of 1st-millennium ruler's sites – several of which endured over nearly the entire millennium, while the remaining were in use for some 400 years. Such site stability is uncommon among Scandinavian settlement sites; they rarely remain fixed on the same spot for more than three centuries. Moreover, while numerous sites may display prominent graves, buildings, and activities for a generation or two, the ruler's sites maintained such features for centuries. How can it be that ruler's sites upheld their position while conflicts between pretenders played out, dynasties came and went, and polities were conquered, split, and united?

Firstly, the stability of the ruler's sites suggests that the site made the ruler, not vice versa. It may seem that obtaining control of the ruler's site was the key to becoming a ruler. If a rival within the ruler's own lineage or a member of a different lineage established himself as ruler, he did not stay in his domicile, but took up residence in the ruler-site's hall, or possibly built a new hall there. The high turnaround of hall buildings at some sites – in Lejre there were 7–8 over c. 500 years – may point to the latter being a common practice.

Secondly, most ruler's sites were interfaces between the ruler and his subjects – not only his retinue, but all free men (Zachrisson 2017b). In the 1st-generation sites, the ruler's armed men probably resided on the farms that surrounded his residence, and they will have joined him in martial practice, feasting, and rituals. Apparently, some 1st-generation sites were assembly sites, probably frequented by all free men in the surroundings. There may also have been market sites, likely in Gudme (Lundeborg) and Uppåkra, but the evidence for such is clearer in some 2nd-generation sites, especially Old Uppsala, Tissø, and Skiringssal, as well as in 2nd-generation Uppåkra. As suggested by Søren Sindbæk (2009) and Frode Iversen (this vol. Ch. 4), such assemblies will have been the essential arenas for agreeing on marriage, reinforcing kinship ties, resolving disputes, maintaining friendships, and the

like. Assemblies thus built and maintained shared institutions, identities, and culture, all of which contributed to social coherence. These features will have given some of the ruler's sites a profound societal and cultural role, which will have contributed to their deep continuity. Not only were they essential for rulers; all free men depended on them. The entire societal and cosmological order was nested within these sites; hence their permanence.

That is not the case at Avaldsnes, which, possibly as at Lejre, Borre, Toftegård, and Järrestad, was essentially a ruler's residence with monumental graves and few or no communal activities. At Avaldsnes, the fortunate position by a bottleneck on the transport route along the west-Scandinavian coast appears to be the main reason for the continuity. Such logistic reasons may have contributed to the permanence of other sites as well; however, the aura imbued in the site by rulers having lived there over generations, as manifested in the monumental graves and in shining halls, was probably even more significant.

A different approach to the longevity of ruler's sites would be to study the reasons for their final downfall. With a few exceptions, those that existed in the 2nd generation ceased to be used as ruler's sites within only a few decades on either side of AD 1000. During the same few decades, towns were established near several sites; many of these towns were ecclesiastical strongholds. This is the case with Uppåkra (Lund), Old Uppsala (Sigtuna), Lejre (Roskilde), Åker (Hamar), and Borre and Skiringssal (Tønsberg).

The apparent reason for kings abandoning ruler's sites is the breakthrough of the Christian monarchy in these years (Berend 2007; Hybel 2018). The idea of the king being God's anointed, conveyed by the clergy, could hardly be reconciled with the rulership ideology that was embedded in the ancient sites. The Old Norse term for the conversion, *siðaskipti*, 'the change of customs', makes it clear that it was not perceived as merely a religious and ideological transition, but one of norms and practices.

The few exceptions to the ruler-site downfall c. AD 1000, notably Avaldsnes and Old Uppsala, support the suggested connection between these sites and rulers being intertwined in the cosmological order that the sites materialised. Avaldsnes, which continued to be a royal manor until c. 1400 (Opsahl this vol. Ch. 8), was never an assembly site with collective rituals (Skre 2018c). Therefore, the site was not reminiscent of such practices, and Christian kings could continue to use the site – as they frequently did up to the kingdom's downfall in the late 14th century (Mundal 2018). Old Uppsala is a quite different story. There, pagan rituals appear to have been practiced until the late-11th century; that is, a century after the town Sigtuna, soon to have multiple churches and Christian grave monuments, was established only 20 kilometres to the south. The pagan rituals ended around the turn of the century, and in 1130 the king granted the Old Uppsala manor as a see for the newly established bishopric of Uppsala.

The profound cosmological and societal transitions that caused the downfall of ruler's sites c. AD 1000 stirs curiosity regarding the c. AD 600 shift between the 1st

and the 2nd generation of ruler's sites. Above (3.5.2), it has been suggested that the downfall of some sites and the rise of others, and indeed the monumentality beginning c. 600, was a royal response to the demographic and economic turmoil beginning with the dust veil in AD 536 and continuing into the early 7th century. However, this suggestion hardly does justice to the societal and cosmological profoundness of the shift. The contemporary alterations in language, runic script, material culture, house construction, settlement patterns, and the like add complexity and scope to this transformational phase, which, evidently, is poorly understood.

In spite of the transition c. 600, many ruler's sites maintained exceptional stability through the first millennium, a testament to the institutional stability of rulership. Although the institution clearly changed through the centuries, possibly most profoundly in the 3rd and 6th–7th centuries, the repeated rebuilding of the hall at the centre of these sites suggests that there was always a ruler. While this institutional stability has been a prevalent theme among scholars studying the history of religion (e.g. Steinsland 1991; Sundqvist 2002) and place-name studies (e.g. Brink 1997; Vikstrand 2001), it seems that the scholarly debates on issues related to ethnicities, polities, and economies, including the present author's own contributions, have yet to take sufficient account of this ever-present aspect of Scandinavian societies of the Roman and early medieval periods.

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Frode Iversen

4 Between Tribe and Kingdom – People, Land, and Law in *Scandza* AD 500–1350

The political structure of Scandinavian society underwent radical change between AD 500 and 1350. Through analyses of c. 170,000 sites of single graves and cemeteries, 1,700 hillforts, and 130 royal sites and manors, this article investigates the emergence of larger law areas and their relation to the peoples and kingdoms in Scandza (i.e. Norway and Sweden). In this period the number of kingdoms was reduced from around thirteen to two. We find 29 peoples in the 6th century mentioned in contemporary written sources (Getica and Widtsith), and these are geographically identified through a big data analysis of prehistoric graves and cemeteries (Kernel Density Estimation). In addition, we have identified thirteen clusters of graves representing other unmentioned groups. The emergence of larger legal entities was a prerequisite for the emergence of the Scandinavian kingdoms. In eastern Scandinavia kingship emerged through the control of major lakes connecting various folklands, while in the west control of trade and transport along the major sailing route (leden) was a driving facor for trans-regional kingship.

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will suggest that Scandinavian law areas can be understood as an intermediate stage between what often has been labelled a tribal organisation in Jordanes' time (mid-6th century) and the subsequent creation of supra-regional kingdoms in the late Viking Age (800–1050). A law area is a specific geographical unit with a shared customary law. Although significant results concerning identification of pre-Christian regions and social groups in Scandinavia have been obtained on the basis of place names (Malone 1962; Svennung 1967; Brink 2008), archaeological evidence (great mounds and rich finds) (Ringstad 1986, 1991; Myhre 1987; Rahmqvist 1987; Callmer 1991), sagas, and law codices (Brink 2002; Iversen 2015), many questions remain unanswered. Most important among them is this: What was the role of geographically law areas in the development of Scandinavian peoples'' ethnogenesis – the process by which a group of people becomes ethnically distinct?

The transition from tribal organisation to kingdoms is a classic research theme, not only in Scandinavian archaeology (Hedeager 1992) but also in European and global history. As pointed out by Walter Pohl (1991), "early medieval peoples were far less homogeneous than often thought" (Pohl 1991:40). Since the 1990s the

Frode Iversen, Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo

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debate has moved away from reductionist concepts of ethnicity and biology when discussing a people's characteristics. Nevertheless, there is ongoing debate around the *propria collectio* of a *gens* – a phrase coined by Isodore of Seville in the 7th century, denoting the common features of a people that separate them from other people. What precisely can be identified as collecting and holding together a *gens*? Recent scholarship on the Scandinavian peoples' ethnogenesis has focused on its social construction (Geary 1983, 1988, 2003; Hedeager 2000; Hedeager and Tvarnø 2001; Pohl 1991, 1993, 1997, 1998; Røstad 2016). Little attention, however, has been devoted to the role layed by legal space in defining groups.

We will investigate the area named by Jordanes (AD 551) and Claudius Ptolemy (c. AD 100–170) respectively as *Scandza* and *Scandia*, corresponding to present day Sweden and Norway (Fig. 4.1). The issues under investigation include the identification of tribes, their size, societal organisation, and role in the development of law regions. Previous archaeological research on polities has focused on selected find groups such as rich finds and great mounds, hence focusing on the elite strata of society. By contrast, the archaeological dataset in this study can be characterized as 'big data'. For the first time, all 139,300 single graves and c. 29,600 known cemeteries in Scandinavia are included in one study, as a proxy for population density and settled areas. Furthermore, the chapter will analyse all c. 1,700 known hillforts as a proxy for military organisation. Finally, the study includes 128 royal manors recorded in written sources prior to 1350. Our aim is to understand the long-term growth of polities and identity regions in Scandinavia. We believe this will contribute to contextualisation and understanding of the Avaldsnes site – one the most important for the making of a kingdom.

4.1.1 Research questions and outline

What was the connection between early kingship and the development of the larger law areas? Were royal manors established in central populated areas or in peripheral borderlands between tribal territories, or both? Did new law areas contribute to more peaceful and stable regions where formerly unstable borderlands could flourish and be developed as part of the royal economy?

This chapter will investigate the long-term development of geography-bound identities among the peoples living in Scandinavia AD 500–1350, following a threefold approach:

1. Identify and estimate the population size of the various peoples of Scandinavia around AD 500–700, based on groups mentioned in written sources – so called *ethnika* – the name of peoples – combined with a quantitative analysis of the distribution of pre-Christian graves, both single graves and cemeteries.
2. Investigate whether systems of mutual defence developed between different groups, and whether this was a driving force in the development of the

Fig. 4.1: The investigation area. The medieval law-areas in Scandinavia c. 1200. A law-area is a specific geographical unit sharing customary law. The law-areas may also represent an intermediate stage between the tribal organisation in the mid-6th century and the subsequent creation of supra-regional kingdoms in the late Viking Age (800–1050). The *lögþing* (Norway)/ *landzþing* (Sweden) was the highest ranked legal assembly within the law-area. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman and F. Iversen, MCH.

Scandinavian law areas. This will be carried out by analysing the distribution of hillforts in Scandinavia.

3. Finally, we will investigate the role of the king in the maintenance of the new larger law areas by analysing the distribution and geostrategic location of the early royal manors in Scandinavia.

4.1.2 Background

The new contribution presented in this article does not concern either the onomastic identification of Jordanes' groups, or the historically known lawprovinces, both of which have already been comprehensively studied (Svennung 1967; Sitzmann and Grünzweig 2008; Andersson 2009; Taranger 1898; Iversen 2015a, 2015b). The Scandinavian *ethnika* has not, however, been evaluated in light of the population density and military organisation seen in relation to the formation process of the law areas and kingdoms; it is this gap that this article will address.

In onomastic research, the term *ethnika* refers to the name of a people (Andersson 2009). Some scholars use the term *gentes*, while Jordanes named the groups *nationes*. Rather than considering these as static ethnic groups, this chapter treats the terms *gentes*, *ethnika,* and *nationes* as synonyms for societies with a certain level of governance, rule, and law. A *community* by contrast is subordinated and part of a *society* (Iversen 2015). For lack of a better term, the following will use the term *tribe* for the groups mentioned by Jordanes and in *Widsith* and *tribal confederation* when multiple autonomous tribes forming a mutual military defence – that is, as a response to external threats.

Our point of departure is the *nationes* mentioned by Jordanes and others, and the question is how the lands merged into larger law areas during the Merovingian Period (550–800), Viking Age (800–1050), and early and High Middle Ages (1050–1350). The hypothesis investigated is that the formation of the law areas was a prerequisite for the creation of the emerging Scandinavian kingdoms. This was a complex process in which common defence systems and population size were key factors. Mutual defence alliances between the lands may have been an important catalyst for the emergence of larger political entities; most likely, the emergence of supra-regional kingdoms was closely related to older military confederations between tribes.

The existence of larger war-bands in the early Germanic world is indicated by Tacitus in Germania (ch. 2) around AD 98. He claims there were three main larger Germanic *gentes,* namely, the *Ingaevones,* living nearest the sea; the *Herminones* in the middle; and the *Istaevones* beyond them. Apparently, these *gentes* were named after the sons of Mannus (the son of the earth-born god Tuisco), from whom the *gentes* descended. At the time, there was a discussion whether the tribes *Marsos*, *Gembrivios*, *Suebos,* and *Vandilios* also qualified as ancient groups originating from the god Mannus. Within these areas Tacitus mentions numerous

tribes. These origin myths of the three major *gentes* may therefore be interpreted as early examples of some sort of tribal confederation or cultic league (Anderson 1999:26).

A much later Scandinavian example of a 'tribal confederation' is found in the early 11th-century skaldic poem *Hǫfuðlausn* (stanzas 17–19) (Townend 2012:762–3). It was composed by Óttarr svarti, one of King Óláfr Haraldsson's (1015–30) hird skalds. From this poem we learn that there were five kings (*bragningar*) in the *Upplǫnd* area of Norway (=Eidsivatinglag and Valdres-Hallingdal). These inland kings formed a defensive alliance against Óláfr, who aimed at expanding his 'coastal' kingdom towards the inland. Especially strong opposition came from the kings of Hedmark (*heiðska jǫfra*) whom Óláfr punished severely for their resistance. In the end, all the kings of *Upplǫnd* (*hverr konungr*) fled from Óláfr, the confederation was defeated, and the inlands became part of Óláfr's Norwegian Kingdom. A century later, around 1150, *Upplǫnd* formed one law area of four lands (*patriae*) (= Eidsivathinglag). Most likely, these four lands (plus Valdres-Hallingdal) mirrored the areas of the earlier petty kingdoms that fought against Óláfr (Iversen 2017).

Tribes

In *De origine actibusque Getarum*, the so-called *Getica* (AD 551) Jordanes lists about 25 tribes living in Scandinavia (excluding Denmark). Some of the groups can be identified: *Screrefennae* (*Skridfinner*, Sámi people), *Suehans* (Svear, Swedes), *Grannii*, (Grener, Norway), and the *Rugi (*Ryger, Norway), while the memory of others is lost. The Byzantine author Prokopios (c. 500–554) states in *De Bellis* (c. 545) that there were "thirteen very numerous nations' (*nationes*) in the settled areas of the island of *Thoulē* – an island ten times the size of Britain, and that there were kings over each of these nations (De Bello Gothico VI:14–15:3). Prokopios' *Thoulē* equals to our *Scandza* (Nansen 1911; Ellegård 1987:9). Prokopios is also one of the most detailed sources with regard to the much-debated *Eruli* group who dwelt among the Romans. With reference to the historian P. A. Munch (1852:53), the Norwegian zoologist and explorer Fridtjof Nansen regarded the *Eruli* name purely as a generic appellative in use in southern Europe for bands of northern warriors (Nansen 1911:146). After a thorough review of the full corpus of *Eruli* sources, the Swedish linguist Alvar Ellegård (1987) likewise concludes that the *Eruli* were "a Germanic warrior band that organized itself in the third century, probably in the region north of the Roman limes between Passau (Castra Batava) and Vienna (Vindobona)" (Ellegård 1987:6–7).

Around AD 545 a delegation of *Eruli* notables travelled to *Thoulē* to find a new king for their group. The candidate had to be of "the royal blood". Prokopios states: "And when these men reached the island, they found many there of the royal blood, but they selected the one man who pleased them most and set out with him

on the return journey" (Prokopios, ch 15). This man fell sick and died near the land of the *Dani*. On their second trip to *Thoulē* they found *Datios*. He returned with them and eventually became their king. He was followed by his brother *Aordos* and 200 youth of the *Eruli* in *Thoulē*. In this context Prokopios names two other group as settling in *Thoulē* at the time: the *Gautoi* (the Geats) described as one of the most numerous (*polucanthrōpon*) *nations*, whom the "incoming *Eruli*" settled alongside, and the *Scrithiphini* (Sámi) who differed from all the other inhabitants of *Thoulē* (Prokopios, ch. 15). Ellegård suggests that the "incoming *Eruli*" in this context refers to a minor part of the *Eruli* war band – a royal clan and its followers – leaving the main group and migrating to Scandinavia around 512. This hypothetical splinter of the *Eruli* group can be considered as a plausible alternative to the traditional view placing their original home (*Stammsitz*) in Scandinavia.

In the words of Nansen, the description by Prokopios "bears the stamp of certain trustworthiness" (Nansen 1911:141). As Jordanes enumerates twice as many tribal names in *Scandza*, Nansen suggested that several of the tribes "may have belonged to the same kingdom" (Nansen 1911:143). Prokopios' claim of thirteen 6th-century kingdoms in present-day Norway and Sweden plus several in Denmark has gained support in more recent archaeological research. The Swedish archaeologist Per H. Rahmqvist (1991) considers this number of kingdoms reasonable in the context of the main settled areas in Scandinavia in this period. However, the identification of the settled areas is based on a low-resolution model of the distribution of prehistoric graves, and Rahmqvist in particular considers the results for western Scandinavia as uncertain. The present chapter adheres to the idea of larger kingdoms (Prokopios) comprising several tribes (Jordanes) as initially suggested by Nansen (1911) and later supported by Rahmqvist (1991:27).

Law provinces

By the turn of the first millennium, there were at least 18 law provinces in Scandinavia, most of which have surviving legal codes from the 12th–14th centuries. What was the relation between the tribes documented in the 6th century and the later law regions and kingdoms to come? Much is unclear regarding the processes by which Scandinavian law provinces formed. They appear in written records from the 10th century. In the *Book of Icelanders* (Íslendingabók) c. 1122, the Icelandic historian Are Frode (1067–1148) writes that Ulfljot, the first law speaker of the *Althing*, around 930 brought the Gulathing code from western Norway to Iceland (Holtsmark 1951:17, ch 2). After oversea studies for three years, Ulfljot adapted the code to Icelandic conditions ('Ulfljot's code'). If these narrative sources are to be believed, orally transmitted law existed then, and most likely had for a long time (Brink 1996:46).

Stefan Brink has pointed out that "written contemporary evidence states that people in a *land* around the year 800, had their *liuþrettr*, probably to be understood

as 'a legal custom in force in that land' (Brink 2008:106–7). Examples of such lands are for instance found in landscape names such as Rogaland and Hordaland (Norway), and Västmanland, Västergötland, and Östergötland (Sweden). Most likely, each land had its own customary law. Originally, the law-code was transmitted orally by a law-speaker, subsequently committed to writing in the 11–13th centuries (Iceland 1177, Norway 12th century, Denmark and Sweden 13th centuries).

The Finnish cultural geographer Anssi Paasi (1986, 2012) discusses so-called *spatial socialisation*, the processes whereby the people in a given area through unconscious behaviour reproduces a common identity and culture (Paasi 2012:23). Distinct cultural regions are created through social and historical processes and require social institutions (Paasi 1986). An important role in the processes Paasi outlines must have been played by the *thing*, the secular institution for justice in Scandinavia: a 'multi-functional venue for discussion and determination of any matter of communal concern' (Vogt and Esmark 2013:152). The *thing* was instrumental to the acceptance of new kings and the regulation of political and economic relations between the king and the people. The *thing* meetings were cyclical and contributed to shaping and maintaining identities on various geographical levels. The meeting was held at given times and places and created social bonds beyond its formal legal role. One imperative of the ethnogenesis theory, as both Reinhard Wenskus (1961) and Herwig Wolfram (1970, 1990) argue is that tribal identity is formed by origin myths told among the tribe's leading strata (for further discussions, see also Pohl 1994; Goffart 2006; Heather 2009). This chapter holds that geobound identity is also formed through human meetings at the *thing*, in particular among an upper and a mid-stratum of landowners meeting regulary, while upper elite identity also was rooted in supra-regional mobility and a wider economic and political network.

The highest-ranked legal assembly within Scandinavian societies was termed ON *lögþing* (*lawthing*) (Norway)/OSw *landzþing* (*landthing*) (Sweden and Denmark) (Sanmark 2018). This was the assembly at the top of hierarchy in each land, and there could be several *law-*/*landthings* within a law province over which one assembly site held the highest authority (Semple et al. 2019). Through regular assemblies social networks were maintained and information exchanged. These top-ranking legal assemblies were representational, drawing on a fairly large population in vast areas. The Gulathing in western Norway, the best recorded case in Scandinavia, can serve as an example. The earliest record (the so-called *Óláfr* text, 11th century) states that 375 representatives met at the annual lawthing at Gulathing (Helle 2001:65; Iversen 2015a). They came from the areas of Agder (27), Rogaland (102), Hordaland (102), Sogn (64), and Firda (80), in addition to an undetermined number from Sunnmøre. In sharp contrast, local meetings, called *allthings*, were not representational; all householders within the district gathered. According to the Gulathing code, all householders (*bøndr aller*), both landowners and tenants, were obliged to attend local things and would receive penalties for disregarding it. Attendance was voluntary for disabled farmers

and widows with landed property (G 131). This most likely reflects that originally the local things were closely connected to a stratum of landowners (Iversen 2007:172).

Kingdoms

Rural, decentralized governance characterized most European kingdoms prior to and during the early Middle Ages (Bernhardt 1993; Iversen 2008, 2009; Ehlers 2015). 'Ambulating kingdoms' were almost a global norm for organizing early kingship in agricultural societies (Skre 1998). Similar systems were in place in Java, Hawaii, Tahiti, and Indonesia during the 14th century, as well as in Morocco and Ethiopia from the 16th to 20th centuries (Bernhardt 2009:45–6). Some of the surplus and resources from these agricultural societies were consumed by the travelling king's warriors and the elite. The rural royal manors served as residences for ambulating kings and were administered by officials known as *ármaðr* (Krag 1982). The actual presence of the king at certain times of the year helped sustain and sanction both royal power and the law.

None of the Viking Age Scandinavian kingdoms had a single law for the whole kingdom. Such laws appear in 1274 in Norway and 1350 in Sweden. In terms of laws and justice, these kingdoms were heterogeneous, consisting of regions with various level of self-government. Latin sources from the 11th and 12th centuries refer to the Scandinavian laws as *mos provinciae* (provincial usage), *ius terrae* (the law of the province/land), and *regionis consuetudo* (regional customs) (Fenger 2001:68; Vogt 2009:67–71), suggesting that the origin of the laws in pre-existing local customs and regulations.

In Scandinavia, only scant information exists about defensive confederations *across* the known provincial law territories (Tab. 4.1). However, the commitment made by the various peoples of the Norwegian Kingdom was recorded in the Gulathing code in the mid-12th century. The law states the number and size of the ships that each different region was required to contribute. The law distinguishes among 'people from' Viken (*Vikverir*), Grenland (*græna*), Agder (*Egðir*), Rogaland (*Rygir*), Hordaland (*Horðar*), Sogn (*Sygnir*), Firda (*Firðir*), Møre (*Mærer*), Romsdal (*Raumdæler*), Nordmøre (*Norðmærer*), Trøndelag (*Þrænder*), Namdal (*Naumdæler*), and Hålogaland (*Haleygir*) (G 315).

Although it remains unknown as to precisely when these military unions arose, it is likely that they built upon older schemes, scaling up incrementally to cover larger areas and were only made uniform at a national level in the 10th century when the naval defence system known as the *leiðangr* seems to have been introduced in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. These entities and their smaller predecessors were ruled by 'ambulating' kings traveling among various royal manors. These different estates together constituted the most important part of the rural and decentralised state apparatus of Viking Age Scandinavia.

Tab. 4.1: Medieval rural laws from Scandza (data modified from from Bo Ruthström 2002:8–15; Sanmark 2018; Semple et al. 2019).

	Name of Law	The area it applied for	Preserved or based on manuscript from:	Edition from:
1	Gulathinglaw (G)	Western Norway	C. 1250	King Olaf (1015–1030) and King Magnus (1163–1183)
2	Frostathinglaw (F)	Mid-and North Norway	1260–69	Archbishop Øystein (1161–1188)
3	(A) Borgarthinglaw (B) (Chr.) (B) Fragment (Secular)	Eastern Norway, coast	C. 1230	C. 1150
4	Eidsivathinglaw (E) (Chr.)	Eastern Norway, mountains	1300–1350	1067–1111
5	(A) (The Vi-law, the Forsaring) (B) Hälsingelaw (HL)	Hälsingland, Medelpad and Ångermanland	900s (the Forsaring)	900s
6	(A) Early Västgötalaw (ÄVgL) (B) Later Västgötalaw (YVgL)	Västergötland	1250–1280 C. 1350	C. 1220 1290s (1181–1300)
7	Östgötalaw (ÖgL)	Östergötland and parts of Småland	C. 1350	C. 1290
8	Smålandslagens (SmLKr) (Chr)	Värend, Njudung and Finnveden	C. 1350	C. 1300
9	Gutalaw (GL)	Gotland	C. 1350	C. 1300
10	Södermannalaw (SdL)	Södermansland	C. 1350	C. 1300 (confirmed 1327)
11	Upplandslaw (UL) (replacing earlier laws of the individual lands)	Tiundaland (including Gästrikland), Attundaland, Fjärdrundaland, Norra Roden	C. 1350	1296
12	Västmannalaw (VmL) (heavily dependent on UL)	Västmannalagen	1300s	1296–1347

(continued)

Tab. 4.1 (continued)

	Name of Law	The area it applied for	Preserved or based on manuscript from:	Edition from:
13	Dalalagen (DL)	Dalarna (without Bergslagen?) and/ or Västmanland	C. 1350	Before 1347
14	(A) Skånelaw (SkL) (B) Andreas Suneson law	Skåne, Halland, Blekinge and Bornholm	C. 1300 C. 1300	End of 1100s 1206–1215
	Laws of the realm			
15	Magnus Erikssons law (MELL)	Sweden	1300s	1347
16	Kristoffers law (KrLL) (revision of MELL)	Sweden	C. 1450	1442
17	Magnus the lawmenders law	Norway, Faroes, Shetland	End of 1200s	1274

4.2 Material and methods

This study combines three main elements: (1) e*thnika* recorded in *Getica* and *Widsith*, the main sources for ethnonyms in Scandinavia AD 500–700; (2) the archaeological records, focusing on the distribution of cemeteries, graves, and hillforts indicating major trends in population, habitation areas, and societal organisation (Figs. 4.2 and 4.3); and (3) the distribution of known rural royal manors recorded c. 900–1350 (Fig. 4.4). These three elements will be analysed in context of the laws areas in Scandinavia.

Fig. 4.2: Example of a cemetery: Hedrum in Larvik, Norway. A typical cemetery contains five to ten graves. This study comprises 29.608 grave cemeteries. Photo: T. A. Brun, Vestfold fylkeskommune.

To estimate population size in the first millennium by graves is a challenging task. After all, what was a population in this period? Clearly there was a huge difference between a free person who in legal terms was regarded as part of the tribe and a slave who was not. The latter was not a legal subject in judicial terms, but rather regarded as an object belonging to a master. Overall, an imperative of this study is that the grave materials' potential first and foremost lies in their ability to differentiate a stratum of landowners and free people, which in principle must have been the defining stratum of the tribe. This is substantiated by various Scandinavian studies focusing on landownership, estates, and the distribution of prehistoric graves (Zachrisson 1994; Skre 1998; Iversen 2008).

The law regions presented in this study have been reconstructed on the basis of various data analysed by *The Assembly Project* 2010–3 (for further reading, see Semple, Sanmark, Iversen, and Mehler 2019). In general, the Scandinavian administrative organisation is evident in a surviving group of documents termed the provincial

Fig. 4.3: Example of a hillfort: Broborg in Husby-Långhundra, Sweden. Hillforts served as safe-places for the population in the Roman- and Migration periods. We find 1301 hillforts in Sweden ('Fornborg') and 408 in Norway ('Bygdeborg'). Photo: Avena, 1989. Owner: Upplandsmuseet.

laws and several associated written sources. Around 30 such laws are preserved from Scandinavia and Iceland from 900–1500. The earliest of these manuscripts date to the late 12th and above all the 13th century. In the research area, there are preserved laws (in part or in full) for 14 of the 18 law areas. Some laws applied in several law regions. This is the case for the Frostathing law (c. 1260) that applied for Trøndelag, Hålogaland, and Jämtland, and the Uppland law (c. 1350) that applied for Tiundaland (including Gästrikland), Attundaland, Fjärdrundaland, and Norra Roden. Further, the Eidsivathing law applied for four *patriae* in the mountainous region of Norway, mentioned in 1150–75 in *Historia Norwegie*, here counted as one law area. The development of the Eidsivathinglag is rather complex. Sometime between 1223

Fig. 4.4: Example of a royal manor: Utstein kloster in Rennesøy, Norway. Utstein is the first named royal manors in Scandinavia appearing in skaldic poem Haraldskvæði, c. 900. Photo: Elisabeth Tønnessen/MUST.

and 1274 the south-western part (Upper Telemark, Numedal, Tverrdalene, and possibly also Ringerike) was reorganised and merged with parts of the Borgartinglag. This resulted in new law areas and lawthings established in the towns of Skien, Tønsberg, and Oslo (Iversen 2017). The borders of Eidsivathing and Borgarthing law areas prior to c. 1250–1300 have only recently been established (Ødegaard 2015; Iversen 2015, 2017). Most likely, Härjedalen was part of the Frostathinglag prior to c. 1150. After Jämtland's integration into the Norwegian realm in 1177, Jämtland and Härjedalen were assigned a joint lawman (recorded in the 15th century).

The size of the law areas presented in this study varies from slightly below 2,000 square kilometres (Fjärdrundaland) to more than 75,000 square kilometres (Gulathingslag) (Tab. 4.2). Most likely, many of the law areas known from medieval written sources were products of earlier merging processes; however, this can be stated with certainty only for the Gulathing law area, where sequential steps of expansion are indirectly recorded in the period 1000–1274 (Iversen 2015a). Furthermore, the Uppland area consisted of various folklands that merged into one law area in 1296. According to Snorri, many of the folklands in Uppland had previously had their own laws (below).

Tab. 4.2: Tribes name in Scandza 6th century. Data from Getica and Widsith. Modified after Svennung (1967) and Malone (1962).

Name, normalised (plural)	No. Getica	Line, Widsith (p. Malone)	Name Mommsen 1882	Name Malone 1962	Identification Svennung / Malone /Brink 2008 People of:
Håløyger	1	85 (128)	Adogit	Amothingum	*(h)alogii (Hålogaland) (S), Omd (M)
Skridfinner	2	79 (194)	Screrefennae	Scridefinnum	Skridfinnarna, the skiing finns (SMB)
Svear	3.19	31, 58 (202)	Suehans, suetidi	Swēom	Svearna (SMB)
Tjuster	4		Theutes		Tjuteå (by Skålderviken((S), Tjust, Småland (B)
Goter	5		Uagoth		Våggoterna (by Skålderviken) (S), Gotland (B)
Berger	6		Bergio		Bjäre (SB)
Haller	7		Hallin		Halland (SB)
Luguder	8	22 (158)	Liothida	Hælsingum	Lugude (SB). Dwellers of Øresund (innsnevring, hals) (see RGA 13:280) (M)
Himler	9		Athelmil		(at = autem) *heinii, Berg (Himle) (S)
Finnveder	10		Finnaithae		Finnveden (SB)
Fjärer	11		Feruir		Fjäre (SB)
Västgötar	12	58 (152)	Gauthigoth	Gēatum	Göt-goth(æ) (Västergötland)(SB)
Hisinger	13		Mixi		*hixi=fn *hiskiR ‘Hising’ (S)
Ö-gröter	14		Euagre Otingis		Eua-greotingi (s) ‘klippbebyggana på öarna’, “ögrytingarna” = Ö Grötsbacka (S)
Östgötar	15	58 (152)	Ostrogothae	Gēatum	Öst-goterna (SB)
Raumer	16		Raumarici		Romerike (SB)

Raner	17	63 (175)	Ragnaricii	Hronum	Ranrike (SMB)
Finner	18	76 (150)	Finni	Finnum	Sami (S), Finland (M)
Vino-finner (Kvener?)	19		Uinouilot		Kvän people (S)
Grener	20		Granni		Grener (Grenland) (SB)
Egder	21		Augandzi		a[u]gandzi, Agder (S)
Øyboere (“islanders”)	22		Eunixit		Holm-rygir (Ryfylke) (S)
Ryger	23	69 (192)	Aetel Rugi	Rugum	The main rugir (Jæren) (SB)
Horder	24		Arochi		Horder (Hordaland) (S)
Raumer	25		Ranii		Rannii, Raumii, Romsdal (S)
Hader		63 (165)		Heaþoréamum	Haðar, Hadeland (M)
Trøndere		64 (205)		Þrōwendum	Þrøndr, Trøndelag (M)
Lidvikinger		80 (180)		Lidingum (Lidwicingum)	Viken (M)
Heidner		81 8159)		Hæðnum	Hedmark (M)

4.2.1 The onomastic evidence – ethnika of *Getica* and *Widsith*

There is a long scholarly research tradition on *ethnika* (Andersson 2009 for refrences). Two books published a half-century ago by the American philologist Kemp Malone (1962) and the Swedish classical philologist Josef Svennung (1967) have been particularly influential within this strand of research, taken here as points of departure. Svennung discussed and identified Scandinavian groups listed in various classical texts, in particular those in *Getica*, while Malone worked on North-European groups and leaders listed in *Widsith*. In 2008 much of the work on *ethnika* was summarized in the handbook for *Die altgermanischen Ethnonyme* by Alexander Sitzmann and Friedrich E. Grünzweig (Andersson 2009), focusing primarily on etymology while unfortunately ignoring geography.

Despite all efforts over two centuries of research, the Swedish linguist Stefan Brink (2008:92) asseses that only half of the groups – the *gentes* mentioned in classical texts such as Pliny's *Natural History* (AD 79), Tacitus' *Germania* (AD 98), Ptolemy's *Geographia* (AD 125–50), and Jordanes' *Getica* (AD 551) so far have been correctly identified. According to Brink (2008), the tribes in Scandinavia identifiable by onomastics are *Screrefennae* (the Finns/Sámi), *Suehans* (the Swedes), *Theutes* (the people of Tjust in Småland), *Bergio* (the people living on the hilly Bjärehalvön in Skåne), *Hallin* (the people living in Halland, originally the southern part of the later province of Halland), *Fervir* (the people living in Fjäre, later a hundred, in the northern part of the later province of Halland), *Finnaithae* (the people living in Finnveden in Småland), *Gautigoth (*evidently 'the västgötar'), *Ostrogotha*e (the östgötar), *Raumariciae* (the people living in Romerike), and *Grannii* (the people living in Grenland). Brink provides a tentative identification of *Vagoth* a 'the gutar on Gotland', *Lothida* as 'the people living in Luggude in Skåne', *Rugi* as 'the people living in Rogaland', and *Ranii* as 'the people living in Ranríki' (today's Bohuslän). Brinks' placement of the *Vagoth* in Gotland derives from the suggestion put forward by Thorsten Andersson (Valdemarksvik).

Getica

According to Jordanes, *Getica* was written over the course of only three days; a remarkable feat, given that the work contains the first recorded instances of the names of many Scandinavian tribes. *Getica* was an excerpt of a comprehensive work, now lost, on the history of the Goths by Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator (c. 485 – c. 585) (Skard 1932). In it, *Scandza* is described as an island shaped like a lemon-tree leaf. It was located towards the river Vistula (Weichsel) which emptied thrice-folded into the North Ocean (= the Baltic Sea) in front of her. To the east there was a great sea (= Ladoga) from whence the Vagus floods (= Neva). In the west *Scandza* was surrounded by the ocean and in the north by impassable and

endless ocean. In accordance with this idea, the peoples living on 'the leaf' were listed in a somewhat reconcilable topographical order, from the *Adogit* in the north, the *Suehans* in the east, to other groups in the south and west.

The natural point of departure for dealing with the groups named in *Getica* (ch. 3) is the work of Josef Svennung (1967). His identifications are still of great value. However, some of them have been questioned as too speculative. Regarding the *Mixi*, the Swedish onomastician Thorsten Andersson (2009:24) states that we simply must accept that some of Jordanes' *ethnika* cannot be identified or explained. Furthermore, Andersson (2009:27–9) is critical to Svennung's identification of the *Theutes* with *Tjuteå*, a small bank of the Råån river in Skålderviken, and argues in favour of keeping the traditional interpretation of the *Theutes* being the people of Tjust (a landscape in eastern Småland), in part because they are listed in sequence after the *Suehans*. Andersson (2009:29) suggests identifying the *Uagoth* with OSv *vagher* (*Wagmare* 1383), the present-day Valdemarvik – a fjord/bay named after a village, *Vammar*, and the north-eastern border of Tjust; this interpretation is less certain. Conversely, Brink argues for a tentative identification of the *Uagoth* with Gotland, which seems reasonable as evaluated by archaeology (below). The remaining identifications of Svennung are mostly accepted in modern scholarship, sometime if only due to the lack of more convincing alternatives.

Jordanes was not very impressed by Ptolemy, who he claimed only knew seven groups in *Scandia* – the largest of Ptolemy's four *Scandiae Insulae* (*Σκανδίαι νῆσοι*). By comparison, Jordanes lists 20 groups. The transmission of Ptolemy's lost manuscripts and his view of the north are so distorted that most of his *Scandia*-groups cannot be identified with certainty. According to Thorsten Andersson (2009:24), only the *Chaideinoi* (*Χαιδεινοί*) west in *Scandia* and the *Gutae* (*Γοῦται*) in the south are likely to be identified respectively with the *Heinir* (Hedmark, Norway) and the *Geats* (Götaland, Sweden =Västergötland and Östergötland). The other four *Scandia*-groups of Ptolemy, the *Phauonai* (*Φαυόναι*) and *Phiraisoi* (*Φιραῖσοι*) (east on *Scandia*), the *Daukiones* (*Δαυκίωνες*) (south) and the *Levoni* (*λευῶνοι*) (in the centre) remain in the dark.

Widsith

The unknown composer(s) of *Widsith* had great knowledge of north European tribes and leaders. The poem consists of three *þulur* (i.e. enumerations of people and persons) recorded in the Exeter book (from shortly after 950). According to Kemp Malone the three *þulur* were all composed (independently) before AD 570 and orally transmitted until they were committed to writing in the latter part of the 7th century, in "the time of Bede" (673–735) (Malone 1962:115–16). Overall Ælfvwne (d. AD 573) is the latest in dates of the heroes celebrated in the poem (Malone 1962:102, 112). Regarding the dating, caution should be taken, as no manuscripts exist from

before the mid-10th century. Recent work on language style, however, supports Malone's traditional 7th-century dating (Neidorf 2013:179).

The first *þula* (ending on line 33) lists 32 rulers and 31 tribes, of which four potentially are from Scandinavia. The composer's level of knowledge was that of a seafarer; according to Malone, he might have come from *Wrysn* (Vræsen, Denmark) (Malone 1962:86–7, 200). The second *þula* lists 54 tribal names of which twelve potentially are from Scandinavia. The second *þula* was probably brought to England by "Migrants from Sleswick" (Malone 1962:93). The 19 lines of the third *þula* mention no tribes, only 28 or 29 rulers.

In Tab 4.2, I have listed the groups who according to Malone's (1962) "Glossary of proper names" (second edition of *Widsith*) lived in *Scancza* (= Norway and Sweden). Some of Malone's identifications are indeed questionable. In particular, I find the identification of the *Wōingas* with Veierland, a tiny island in Vestfold, Norway, too farfetched to be included here (Malone 1962:211). No traditions of such a group exist, and the identification based on the name of a minor farm seems unreasonable. In addition, the identification of the *Rondingas* with the men of Telemark is doubtful (Malone 1962:191). It is based on two assumptions: that the name of the ruler, Þilir of the Rondingas, is an eponym for Telemark and that *Rond*, ONo Rand (edge, border) in *Rondingas* alludes to *mark* (borderland) in Telemark.

Furthermore, Malone (1962:150) connects the *Finnas*, mentioned twice, to Finland. I have, however, listed the *Finnas* (line 76) as a possible Sámi group together with the *Scridefinnas*. Jordanes draws a distinction between "skiing Sámi" and other Sámi. Malone suggests that the *Lidingas* was a tribe settled in the neighbourhood of present-day Oslo. The MS text has *Lidwicingum* which may refer to the Viken area. Hypothetically, the prefix could refer to a 'lid-system' in this area (*lið*=armed retainers). Of course, the word *lið* for armed retainers was not exclusive to the Viken area; it appears in eastern Scandinavia as well (e.g. the 10th-century Karlevi runestone, Öland). However, as an administrative unit the *liði* is recorded only in the eastern part of the Borgarthinglag (c. 1200, Sverres saga, ch. 162). Here a *liði* (vn) refers to a unit of farms responsible for providing and equipping a man to the *leiðangr* (KLNM 10:534–6). It seems likely that the principle of small groups of farms sharing collective responsibility can be traced far back in time, and could potentially also predate the *leiðangr*. For lack of better alternatives, *Lidwicingum* in *Widsith* can be read as the people from Viken with a *liði*-organisation. Apparently the *Wicingas* (*Wicinga cynn*, *Wikingum*) in *Widstih* (line 47, 59), are not related to the Vikings, according to Malone who associates them with the Langobards (Malone 1962:162, 209). Alternatively, they identify with the *Vikverir* the inhabitants of the landscape Viken.

Malone identifies the *Rugum* (line 69) and the *Holmrycum* (in the east) (line 21) as one group. In the poem the *Holmrycum* (line 21) is located "to the east" and have therefore been identified with the *(H)ulmrugi* (Rügen, Germany) and not the *Holmryger* (Ryfylke, Norway) (Malone 1962:173). I accept this identification (*Holmrycum* = Ulmerugi), which also is preferred by Andersson (RGA 25:454, *Rugier*). However,

since there are two mentions, *Rugum* and *Holmrycum* they may refer to different groups (in Rogaland and Rügen). I identify the *Rugum* with Ryger, Rogaland (also preferred in RGA). Furthermore, I find Malone's identification of the *Lēonas*, *Lēonum* with Ptolemy's *Leuoni* and *Ljónar* (in Ynglingatal) (= Liunar in Östergötland) (Malone 1962:180) too speculative to be included here.

4.2.2 The archaeological evidence – cemeteries, graves, and hillforts

The data for the hillforts, graves, and cemeteries have been collected from the *Fornsøk* database maintained by the Swedish National Heritage Board (Riksantikvarieämbetet) and from the *Askeladden* database operated by the Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage (Riksantikvaren). These databases are based on large-scale national surveys 1965–91, and are continuous updated. The Swedish database contains information on more than 1.7 million remains at nearly 600,000 sites, while the Norwegian database contains around 170,000 sites. These include removed, damaged, and preserved archaeological sites. As of 2017 there are entries of c. 1,700 hillforts, 29,000 gravefields, and 139,000 single graves (in addition to those in gravefields) in the area equivalent to Jordanes' *Scandza* (= present-day Norway and Sweden) (Tab. 4.2).

The representativeness of the archaeological record used in this study is difficult to assess. The inclusion of most the material into the record has occurred at random, which may indicate a reasonable degree of representativeness. The most pressing question is, however, whether there has been a systematic over- or under-reporting in particular areas. Obviously, factors such as land clearance and the time of archaeological surveys are important.

During the 16th and 17th centuries, small networks of humanists and antiquarians emerged in various cities in Norway and Sweden. These early antiquarians and clerics in the 17th and 18th centuries would pick up some information about archaeological sites, but not in a systematic way. In Norway, the first systematic attempt to register archaeological sites occurred in 1743, when the Danish Chancery initiated an extensive survey in Denmark-Norway, the Faroe Islands, and Iceland. The government wanted to obtain a better record of sites and monuments, but the feedback on the questionnaire that was sent out to clerics and officals varied and was partly inadequate (Røgeberg et al. 2003–8). The idea of a systematic record of ancient monuments in Norway encompassing 'farm after farm, parish after parish' was initially promoted by the archaeologist Gabriel Gustafson in 1901 (Fasteland 2000:14). In 1964, it was decided that all visible ancient monuments were to be included in the national land registry maps (Økonomisk Kartverk). This triggered extensive archaeological surveys in Norway until 1991 (Holme 2001:58).

In Sweden, the National Heritage Board was founded in 1630, and the runologist Johannes Bureus was appointed the first National Antiquarian (*Riksantikvar*)

(Lingdén 2019). From the 1720s, there was less public and governmental interest in ancient monuments and their protection, and the funding of the Antiquarian office was reduced. Around 1826 the office was revitalized, and in 1867 new legislation gave protection to ancient monuments in Sweden. Dan Carlsson and Bengt Windelhed (1973) have analysed the removal of archaeological sites in Skaraborgs län in relation to the pace of land-clearance over the centuries. In particular, the transition from medieval grazing land to ploughland in the 18th and early 19th centuries resulted in the eradication of archaeological sites without documentation. The transition to ploughland in Sweden was more intensive in central argicultal areas compared with outskirts and marginal land. This bias in the Swedish record is particularly germaine to some of the larger cultivation areas, such as the Skåne and parts of Västergötland where significant land clearance took place in this period.

The legislation protecting ancient monuments, the *Protection and Preservation of Antiquities Act,* was passed by the Norwegian Parliament 13 July 1905 and came into effect 30 June 1906. Monuments older than the Reformation (1536/37) obtained automatic legal protection. It has been demonstrated that this legislation had an unintended negative effect on people's willingness to report new archaeological finds (Iversen 2005). Until 1905, farmers could sell their finds on a 'free' antique market, with museums as buyers. Between 1860 and 1950, reorganisation and major changes took place in the Norwegian countryside, in terms of enclosure, new cultivation techniques, and extensive clearance of new land. In the period 1865–1949 Norwegian ploughland (*fulldyrka mark*) increased by 55.1% from 5,410,274 to 8,393,337 decares (Låg 1973:12). Around 40% of the infields in western Norway were enclosed after 1905. This development, in combination with the new law, engendered a practice whereby monuments were removed secretly. Such newly cleared and enclosed areas might therefore be underrepresented in the archaeological record, since systematic recording began at a later stage (Iversen 2005).

Arguably, the law of large numbers implies that in sufficiently large quantities, archaeological data can be used as a proxy for major historical trends (Edinborough 2015:196). Clearly, the correlation between the size of the free population increases with the number of *representative* sites. However, as land clearance in Scandinavia took place at different paces in different regions, it seems quite evident that this could lead to a systematic bias in the record. At the same time, it is hard to estimate the level of this bias. In Sweden this applies to areas with substansial land clearance during 1720–1830 when the antiquarian office was weak, and in Norway land was reorganised during 1905–1950 before systematic surveys. To visualize the areas potentially underrepresented/overrepresented in the archaeological record, see Fig. 4.5 for a map of modern cultivated land in Norway and Sweden without recorded graves within a range of 1.5 km. This will be taken into account in the discussion of the results in greater depth towards the end of the chapter.

All sites registered as polygons or polylines in the databases have been converted to points. Furthermore, I have performed kernel density Estimations (KDE) in

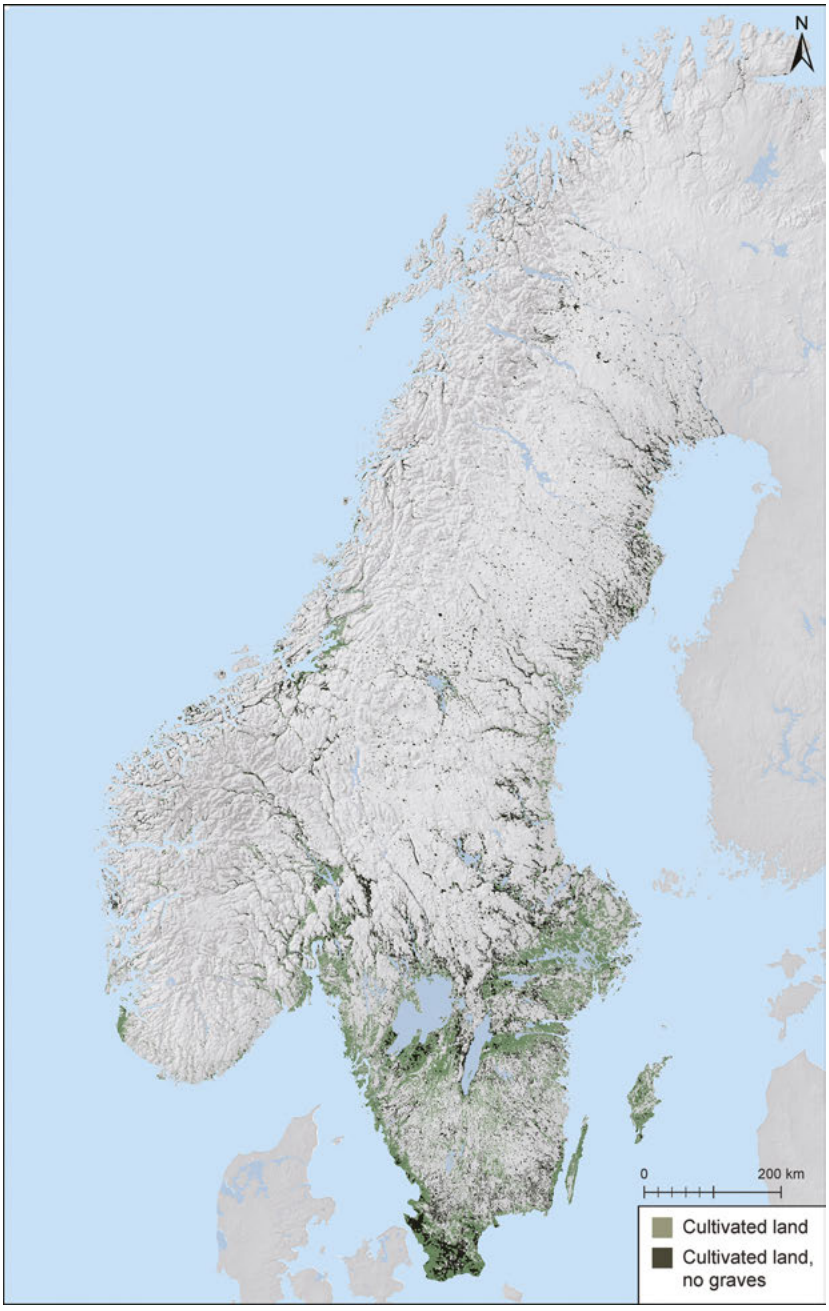

Fig. 4.5: Modern cultivated land in Norway and Sweden and areas without recorded graves witin a range of 1.5 km. The darker areas in more populated areas (such as in Skåne) may indicate areas were the archaeological material is underrepresented and removed without documentation due to land clearance in the 18–19th centuries. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman and F. Iversen, MCH.

the GiS application ArcMap 10.1. The kernel density tool calculates the density of features. KDE has two known weaknesses: the results depend on the scale of the map, and the visualisation technique in fringe areas can be problematic (*border bias*) (Charpentier and Gallic 2013).

On the maps, kernel density is presented in a scale of 0–30. This serves as a proxy for the size of the free population. Tribe names have been placed at the highest density of graves and cemeteries and it is given a KDE value of 0–30. For example: the *Adogit* – the Håløyger (*Háleygir*) – are placed at the highest density of graves in the relevant area discussed in onomastic research and given a KDE value (= 2). This value is used as a proxy for the density and size of the free population. The KDE value is based on natural breaks (Jenks) and divided into 30 classes. There are of course some difficulties with this method, in particular concerning the Sámi and *Kvenir* groups. The *Finni* and *Uinouilot* (Kvener, *Kvenir*?) of Jordanes are placed in the wooded land north of *Ragnaricii* and south of the *Screrefennae* further north. These three supposed early Sámi and *Kvenir* groups were hunters and gatherers. The material culture associated with them differs from that of the farming communities traceable in this study.

Cemeteries and single graves: The total number of sites included in this study encompasses 29,608 grave fields, 18,485 in Sweden (*gravfält*) and 11,123 in Norway (*gravfelt*), and 139,319 single graves (Fig. 4.6). The category 'single graves' includes the following entries in the Swedish database: *Flatmarksgrav* (794), *Grav* (undefined and other) (953 + 93), *Grav markerad av sten/block* (5,160), *Hög* (15,337), *Röse* (16,633), and *Stensättning* (73,151). The Norwegian entries for single graves are *Grav*, *Gravhaug*, *Gravrøys*, *Flatmarksgrav*, *Hellekiste*, *Gravkammer-gravkiste*, *Fotgrøft til gravhaug*, and *Branngrav*.

It is not an easy task to date graves by morphological features alone, for neither the Norwegian nor the Swedish grave-material. In Scandinavian archaeology, there have been many attempts to date certain morphological features to certain periods, with varying degrees of success. However, no grave form seems to be exclusive to a certain period. All categories of single graves included in this study occur in the late Bronze Age and the pre-Roman Iron Age and in later periods (Röst 2016).

In her work on the Mälaren region, Agneta Bennett (1987) has shown how grave forms changed during the Iron Age. The grave customs show great variation before AD 500–600. For Södermanland, Susanne Thedéen (2004) has shown that cairns (*röse*) often were built in the period 1300–700 BC. However, when investigated more closely, many such monuments also contain (secondary) graves and show traces of reuse in the late Iron Age. In the pre-Roman period (500–1 BC) new stone monuments with geometrical forms and the so-called heterogeneous gravefields ("*varierade gravfälten*") were introduced (Wangen 2009; Feldt 2005). From this period, gravefields became common.

During the late Iron Age (AD 600–1000) a more homogeneous grave tradition with mounds gradually replaced an older heterogeneous tradition, according to

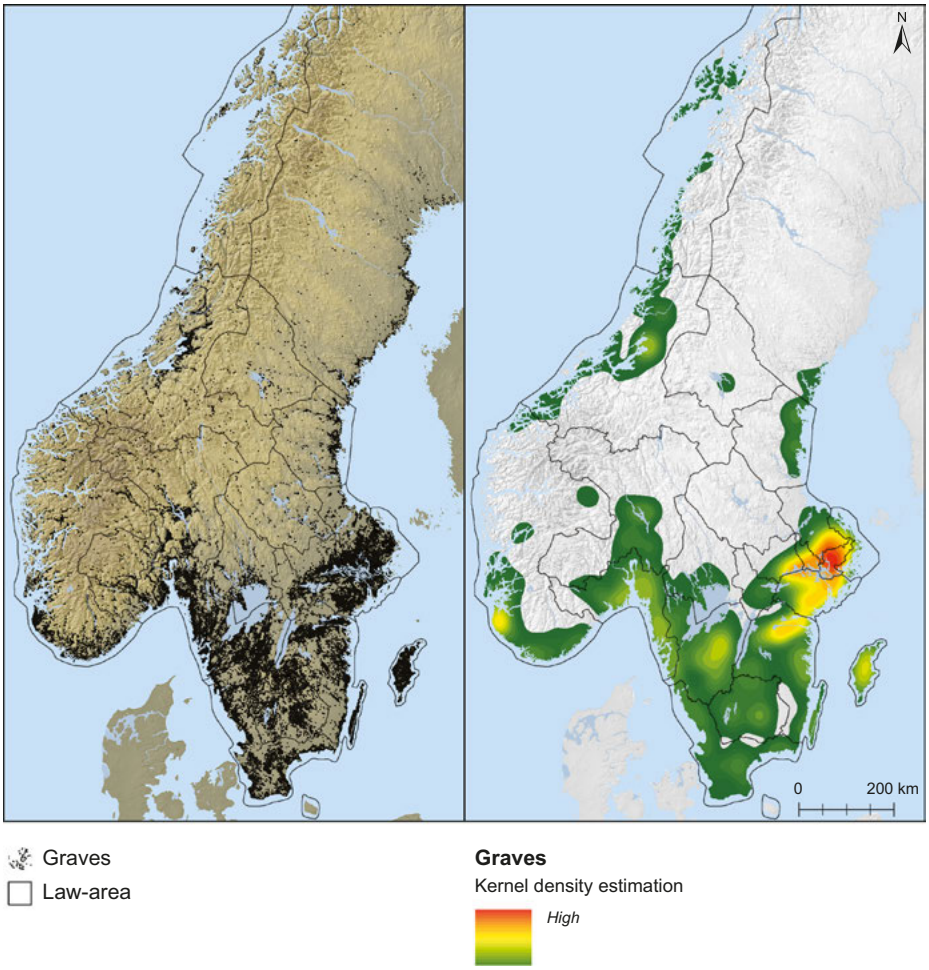

Fig. 4.6: The distribution of cemeteries (N = 29.608) and single graves (N = 139.319) in Scandinavia. Kernel Density Estimation (KDE) in 30 groups. Each individual gravefield is weighted equal to 5 graves. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman and F. Iversen, MCH.

Bennett (1987). The late Iron Age cemeteries are often linked to villages that are traceable to the Middle Ages. There are, however, regional variations in the picture emerging from central Sweden and Norway. In particular, the grave customs in Skåne seem to follow traditions more widespread in Denmark, and many of the mounds here are traditionally set to the Bronze Age (Hyenstrand 1984).

In a big data analysis of this kind, it feels wrong to exclude – purely on morphological grounds – undated graves that potentially contain graves from the late Iron Age (reused cairns and mounds) even if the majority were built in the Bronze and pre-Roman Iron Age. This applies in particular to the categories "*Grav markerad av sten/block*" and single "*rös*", "*hög*" and "*stensättning*" often associated with the late Bronze Age and pre-Roman

period in central and southern Sweden. These graves existed throughout the researched period and were potentially reused by later generations as both graves and symbols, and are therefore included in this study as a proxy for habitation areas and free population.

A 'standard gravefield' (3–15 graves) would normally connect to a rural settlement (Solberg 2000:145). The gravefields in this study vary in size. The number of graves per gravefield is difficult to extract from the available digital data. In Norway (as of 2019) around 34,000 reported graves at gravefields lack individual geometry in the database. Assessed by the 40,455 graves at gravefields with individual geometry (in Askeladden), an average cemetery in Norway contains five graves. However, it might be suspected that many *large* gravefields lack individual geometry, so that the average size is somewhat higher. Concerning Sweden, it is not possible to extract the numbers of graves per gravefield from the digital data without performing a manual registration far too big for the present work. The figures given in Åke Hyenstrand's classic work *Fasta fornlämningar och arkeologiska regioner* (1984) illustrate some of the challenges with using gravefields as a proxy for the free population. Clearly many gravefields contain more than 5 graves, and even more than 50 graves. This can be illustrated by Hyenstrand's figures for Småland. There are 852 cemeteries in the historical area of Småland (= Värend, Finnveden, and Njudung, where the law of 'ten hundreds' [*Tiohäradslagen*] applied). According to Hyenstrand 95 cemeteries here contain more than 50 graves (Värend: 23, Finnveden: 43, Njudung: 29) which equals 11% of the total number of cemeteries. Hyenstrand does not provide the numbers of graves per gravefield for Västergötland and Östergötland, but clearly many cemeteries here also contain more than 50 graves, for instance Dimbo: 295, Nycklabacken: 200, and Hol: 140 in Västergötland and Tift: 300, Lunds backe: 200, Jussberg: 125, and Kungshögen: 125 in Östergötland, to mention a few. The question is whether the choice of methods produces systematic bias between the landscapes or whether the internal variations in gravefield size are negated when comparing all landscapes with the same estimated number of graves per gravefield.

Traditionally, settlements and villages in southern Sweden contain more households than the settlements in the Mälaren region with a higher proportion of single farms and smaller farmsteads. It might be suspected that the nearly 30,000 households (29,609 in AD 1540) in southern Sweden (= Småland, Västergötland, and Östergötland) produced fewer but larger gravefields, in total 5,126, compared to the c. 9,344 households in Svealand's core area (Tiundaland, Attundaland, Fjärdrundaland, and Roden) producing 5,420 cemeteries. It might also be expected that regional variation would be found in the regional average size of gravefields in Norway. For instance, the gravefields in the Viken area in eastern Norway in the general trend are larger than in western Norway and Trøndelag. As no precise data for this so far exist, these concerns must be left to future research and suffice it to say here that different average sizes of gravefields in different landscapes may produce some bias in the calculations.

Some of the largest cemeteries in Scandinavia are located by marked places/proto towns (for instance Birka, Kaupang, and potentially Vang in Oppdal), others by

assembly sites (for instance Skei in Trøndelag, Anundshögen in Västmanland). Examples of such gravfields are the Birka gravefield (at least 2300 graves), the Vang-gravefield (c. 1,000 graves), and the large cemeteries (with more than 200 graves) in the inner fjord districts in Norway (Sognnes 1973, 1979). To avoid giving too much weight to Viking Age trading sites and specialised assembly sites in KDE analysis, this study weighs each individual gravefield to five graves; having tested various weightings (3–10 graves per gravefield), the results of the KDE analysis do not differ greatly.

A study from western Norway suggests that c. 70% of the recorded prehistoric graves cannot be dated more precisely to specific chronological sub-periods (Iversen 1997:17). Comparing the chronological distribution of the dated graves, there are approximately twice the numbers dating to AD 600–1000 compared to AD 200–600. Only a few graves date to AD 600–800, while numbers peak in the Viking Age (AD 800–1050) (Stylegar 2010). Many cemeteries show continuous use throughout the first millennium, while others fell out of use around AD 550 (Löwenborg 2012). We also see establishment of new cemeteries in the 9th century connected to division of land and population increase.

The large-scale change in the archaeological record around AD 540–50 may relate to recurring plague outbreaks (AD 541–750) and climate change (the LALIA) caused by volcanic eruptions (AD 536/40) (Gräslund 2007; Gräslund and Price 2012; Harbeck et al. 2013; Tvauri 2014; Büntgen et al. 2016; Iversen 2016a). A recent study indicates a 70–90% decrease of graves from c. AD 400–600 to 600–800 in Rogaland (Vetrhus 2017). This probably reflects a dramatic decrease in population comparable to the levels seen during the late medieval plagues. It has been suggested that the crises had great impacts on the social structure of Scandinavia and that both the higher and lower strata in society were reduced in number. Parts of the elite were unable to sustain their estates and lost social status, while others abandoned marginal farms in favour of better land available elsewhere, and thus gained status (Iversen 2016a). However, it is not easy to assess whether the mid-6th-century crises caused changes in the relative proportion of the free population by hitting some tribes stronger than others.

Hillforts served as safe places for the population in the Roman and Migration periods. There are 1,301 hillforts known in Sweden ('Fornborg') and 408 in Norway ('Bygdeborg') (Tab. 4.3, Fig. 4.7). The term *hillforts* is equivalent to German *Höhensiedlungen*. However, compared to Scandinavia many German and English hillforts had the character of large fortified settlements. In Sweden only 40–50 hillforts shows sign of longer occupation phases and in Norway only one or two. In general their distribution reflects areas experiencing societal and political turmoil, for instance areas exposed to frequent raiding for slaves and cattle. For the vast majority of these sites, the defensive function is the common denominator (Ystgaard 2014:30). Hillforts have been interpreted as defensive systems for larger territories and chiefdoms, or for protection of power centres by warlords (Myhre 1987; Steuer 1989; Skre 1998:285–6; Mitlid 2004; Finmark 2009; Olausson 2008, 2009; Steuer

Tab. 4.3: Number of cemeteries, single graves and hillforts, and size of law-areas in square kilometres (landmass includes waters). Numbers of household after Larsson (1985). * In total, there were 9,344 households in the Uppland area in 1540.

Law-area	Size Sq. km	No. of households (gårder) 1540	No. cemeteries (sites)	No. Single graves (sites)	No. Hillforts
Fjärdrundaland	1.992	*	665	2,920	24
Attundaland	2.896	*	2,094	5,864	89
Roden	3.014	*	771	1,571	10
Gotland	3.158		1,053	5,716	83
Närke	7.077	2,501	235	1,061	22
Västmanland	7.261	2,369	875	3,645	51
Södermanland	9.584	4,762	3,435	12,449	388
Tiundaland	10.485	*	1,890	5,761	61
Småland	17.141	11,618	852	6,020	2
Skåne	19.957		577	12,832	41
Borgartingslag	21.826		3,085	11,361	321
Värmland	22.709	1,157	213	3,282	38
Hälsingland	23.177	2,704 (HL)+ 710 (MP) + 1,994 (ÅNG)	298	3,713	16
Västergötland	26.034	11,285	1,318	16,179	71
Dalarna	26.701	3,226	52	456	0
Östergötland	26.975	6,706	2,959	19,572	238
Jämtland	37,690		30	794	1
Hålogaland	45,800		965	2,355	6
Eidsivatingslag	64,489		1,199	2,473	55
Frostatingslag	71,552		1,758	4,957	27
Gulatingslag	76,693		2,492	12,159	150

and Hoeper 2008:249ff.; Ystgaard 2014:30). They indicate a certain level of societal and military organisation. The dated sites, both in Norway and Sweden, indicate use from the late Bronze Age to the early Middle Ages, with a significant peak in the late Roman Period (200–400) and the Migration Period (400–550). It appears that

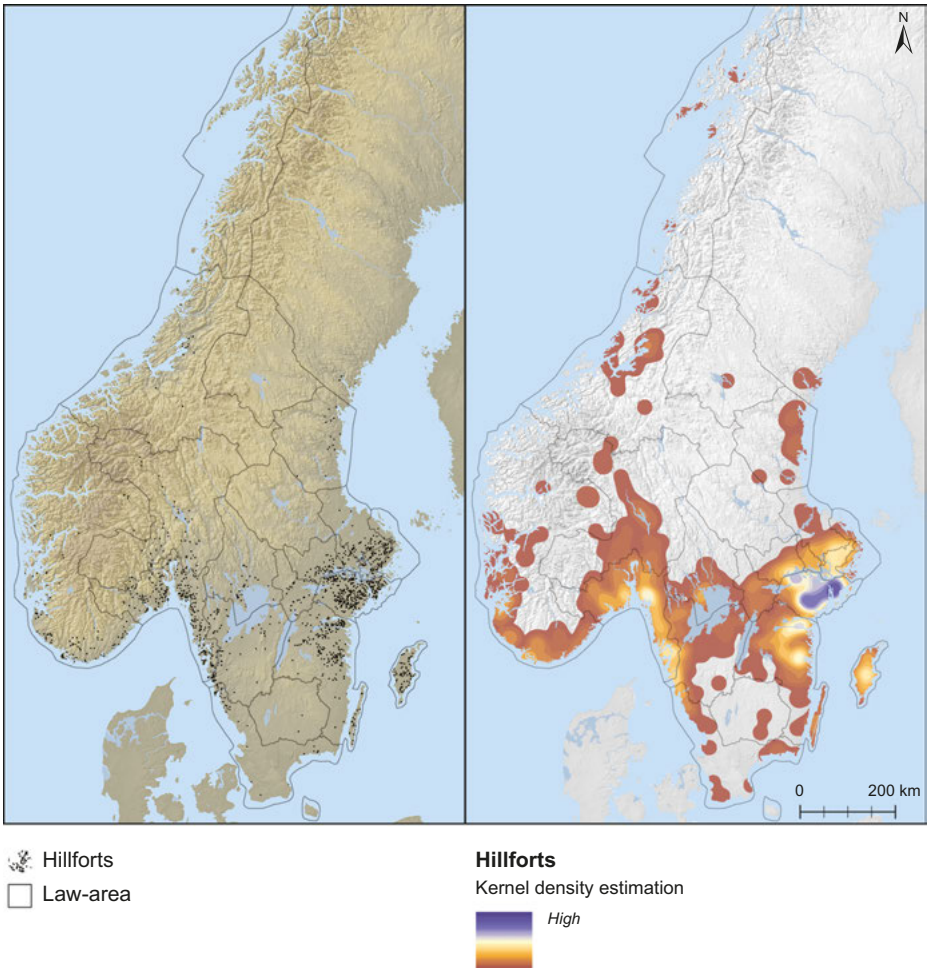

Fig. 4.7: The distribution of Hillforts in Scandinavia. N = c 1,700. Kernel Density Estimation (KDE) in 30 groups. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman and F. Iversen, MCH.

most sites fell out of use around 550, and only sporadic use is recorded in the Viking and Middle Ages (Olausson 2008, 2009; Ystgaard 2014:29–30).

4.2.3 The royal manors and sites

Systematic cadastres over medieval royal property in Norway and Sweden do not exist anymore. According to the *Hirdskrå*, c. 1270, the King's chancellor was responsible for keeping records of the royal land in a cadastre named *jarðarskrá*, now lost (KLNM, 7:647). In Scandinavia, royal manors are first mentioned in skaldic poetry around AD

900. In *Ynglingatal* the skald Tjodolf from Kvine (9–10th centuries) mentions well-known places such as *Fýri* (6:12), *Uppsalir* (15.2, 22:8, 29:10), and *Ræningr* (27:4), and more uncertainly identified places such as *Skúta* (3:10), *Lófund*, and *Himinfjǫll* (26:4) (Zilmer 2005:247). However, their status as royal manors is highly uncertain. In Norway, *Utstein* is the first mention of a royal manor (*Haraldskvæði*, c. 900) (Fig. 4.4).

The Icelandic sagas are important sources to Norwegian history, and many royal manors are named there. My identification of royal manors is based on a review of Morkinnskinna, Fagerskinna, Ágrip, Egilssaga, and Heimskringla. There are 5,207 diplomas registered in *Regesta Norwegica* prior to 1350. Among these are found c. 30–40 royal charters issued at farms such as Avaldsnes, Buskär (Båhuslen), Berg and Bräcke (both Jämtland), Fåberg, Fana, Fitjar, Gryting, Holøs, and Lo, and at other places such as Agder, Kvitsøy, Karmsund, and Jersøy. Some of the places where the kings issued charters were royal manors, while others belonged to magnates, monasteries, or churches. The present author has previously identified 32 royal manors, 50 baronial estates, and 52 huseby farms in Norway dating to before the mid-14th century (Iversen 2008, 2009) (Fig. 4.8).

The record of Swedish royal manors is poor. The earliest existing systematic inventory of Swedish royal land is from the late Middle Ages, and it is not possible identify the early medieval royal manors from this source (Larsson 1985). In 1684, the antiquarian Johan Hadorph made the first attempt to identify medieval royal manors in Sweden (Starbäck and Bäckström 1886:752), undertaken on behalf of the Swedish Reduktionskommissionen, whose mission was to restore lost medieval royal land to the Swedish crown. It soon became clear that the task was difficult and that Hadorph's 20-page list had many shortcomings. Still, the list is of some value to contemporary research as it contains a copy of the list of royal manors from the now lost Skatteboken from 1413, in addition to a review of medieval charters and the Erikskrönikan published by Hadorph himself in 1674.

For lack of better alternatives, this study has registerd sites where the Swedish kings issued charters prior to 1350 (Fig. 4.9). The data is compiled from *Diplomatarium Suecanum* and checked against J. B. L. D Strömberg's (2013:107–14) thorough work on medieval Swedish royal itineraries. This has enabled identification of 61 rural sites in Sweden where royal charters were issued prior to 1350. Some 30–40 of these represent royal rural manors; the remainder represent *thing* sites, monasteries, and churches. However, this material only reflects where the kings travelled and issued charters, and the data is not directly comparable to how royal manors are registered in Norway. Another challenge is the alieniation of royal lands during the 13th–14th centuries as discussed by Jerker Rosén (1949).

The surviving Swedish royal charters prior to AD 1350 were issued by the kings Johan Sverkersson (1216–22), Eiríkr XI Eríksson (1222–29), Birger Jarl (of Bjälbo) (1248–66),Valdemar Birgersson and Magnús Ladulås (1250–90), Birger Magnússon (1290–1318), Magnús Eiríksson (1319–63), and Eiríkr Magnússon (1339–59). Regarding Swedish royal land a distinction is drawn between *bona corona* and *bona regalia*

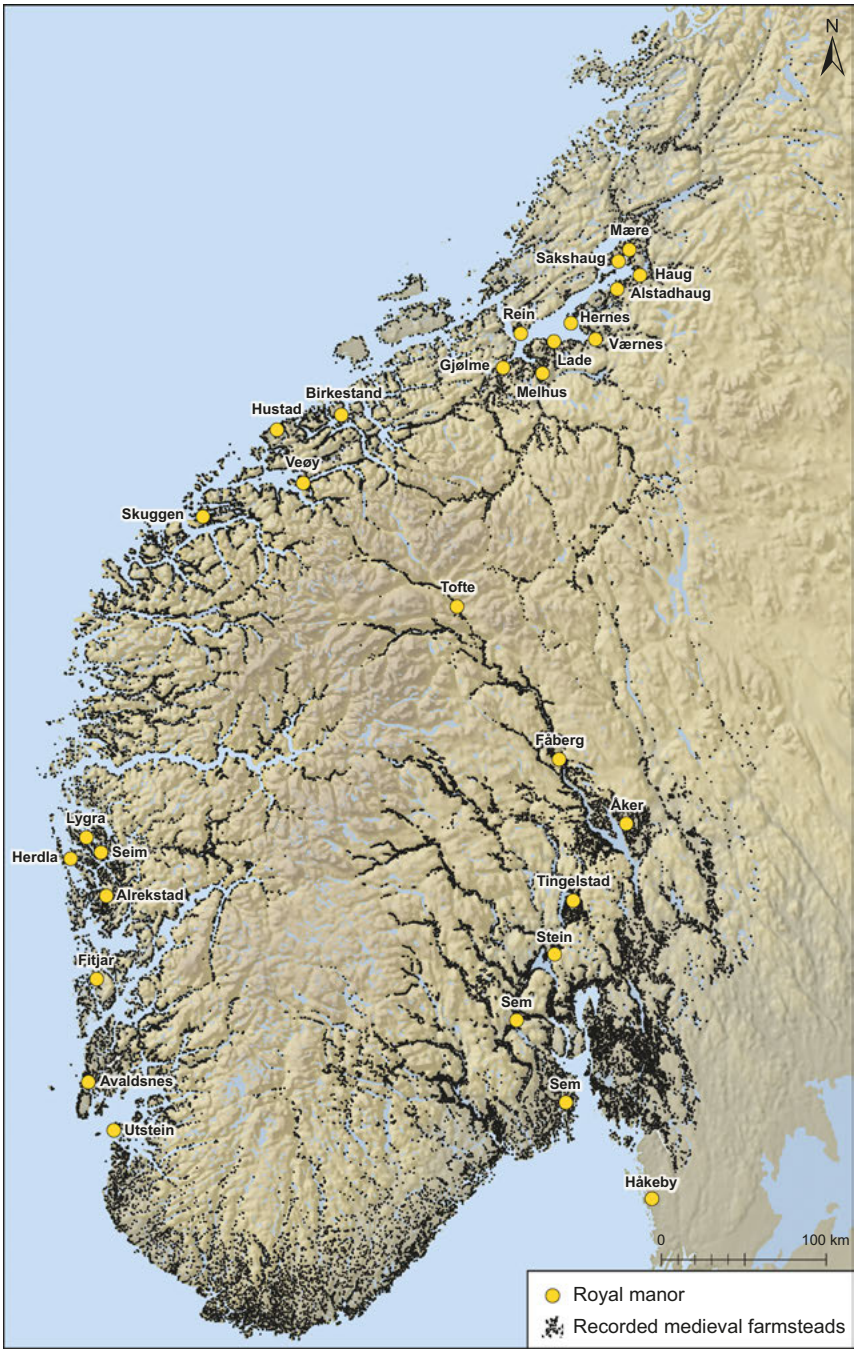

Fig. 4.8: Royal manors in Norway mentioned in Sagas and Diplomas prior to 1350 (N = 32). Black dots are medieval farmsteads recorded from historical maps (N = 49,974). Illustration: I. T. Bøckman and F. Iversen, MCH.

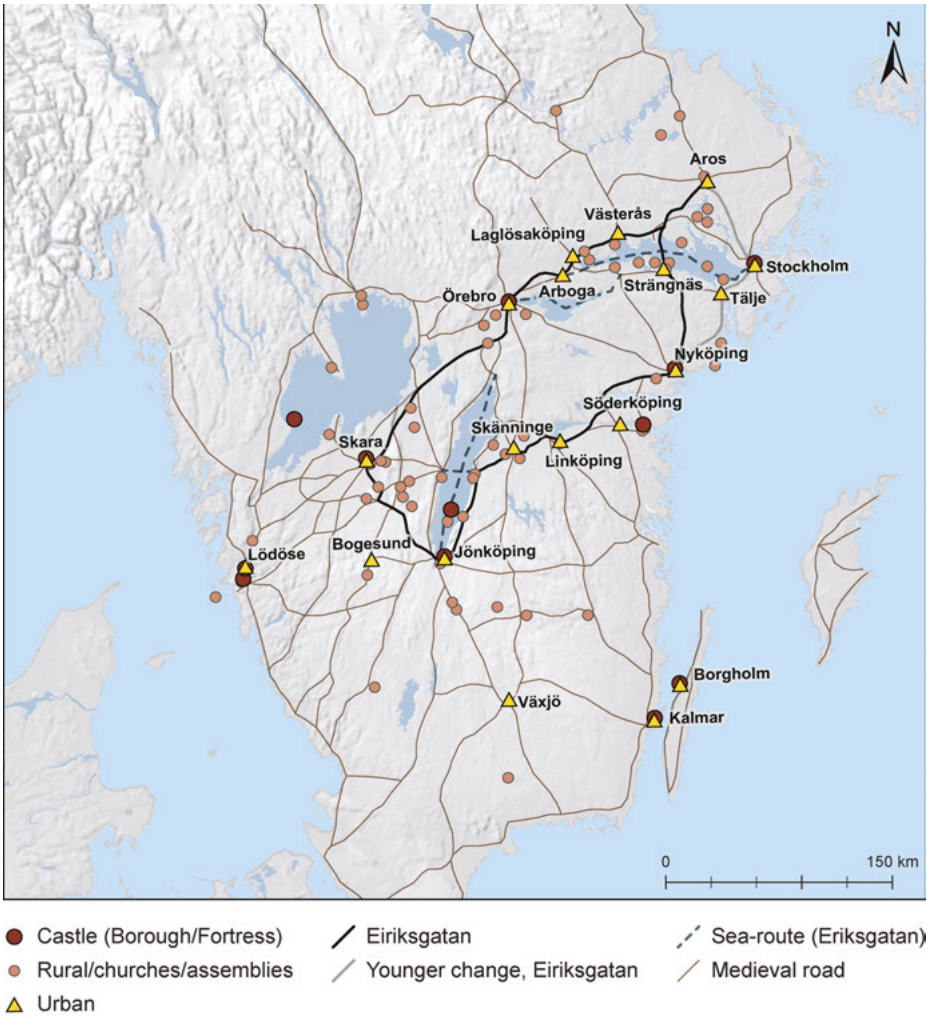

Fig. 4.9: Sweden. Royal sites were Swedish kings issued charters prior to 1350 and medieval roads (data roads: from Schück 1934 and Brink 2000a). Illustration: I. T. Bøckman and F. Iversen, MCH.

denoting crown lands on the one hand, and *bona acquisita* – the king's family property – on the other (Rosén 1949:22; Line 2007:284; Iversen 2011). In practice, it is difficult to determine whether a royal site was a king's private land (*patrimonalia*) or crown land (*regalia*), with the exception of the c. 30 *bona regalia* manors (*Kungalev*) in Skåne recorded in the cadastre of King Valdemar (c. 1231) (Aakjær 1926–42; Andrén 1983; Iversen 2011), which is included in this study. In a few cases, different kings have issued charters at the same farm, indicating some sort of *bona regalia* (i.e. at Dåvö, Alsnö, Kungs-Husby, and Tynnelsö).

Since Henrik Schück's (1914) classic work on *Uppsala öd huseby* farms, the latter have been central to the academic discussion on early royal power, particularly in Sweden and Norway (Olaussen 2000; Iversen 2011, 2016; Pedersen et al. 2016). Nearly 140 *huseby* farms are known from the Nordic countries, Schleswig, and the Orkney Islands (Steinnes 1955, 1959; Brink 2000a, 2000b; Crawford 2006; Westerdahl and Stylegar 2004). These can be regarded as part of a royal system for the storage of tax paid in kind (Iversen 2016c; see also Brink 2000). This seems to apply not only for the *huseby* farms in Norway and Sweden but also the *bo* farms in Västergötland, the *Uppsala öd* in Norrland, sometimes called Huseby and sometimes *Hög* (Grundberg 2000), and the 'Sveabod' in Öland (Brink 2000b). The case of Västergötland supports an interpretation of the *bo* farms as royal storage places for payment in kind. According to the early Vestgötalagen (c. 1220), Västergötland was divided into eight *thing* districts. The law stipulates that (collective) fines (or taxes?) (*bo*) paid to the king by the people of Västergötland was to be collected among the eight *thing* districts (*a aldræmannæ þingi*) in proportion to their size. Both the *herreds* constituting the eight larger districts and the centres are specified: *Vað*, *Kynda*,[1] *Guðem*, *Lung*, *As*, *Holæsio*, *Skalandæ,* and *Vartoptæ* (Collin and Schlyter 1827:69). The later Vestgötalagen (c. 1330) states that all these centres were part of the *Uppsala öd* and forbidden to alienate (*sköta*) (read: to sell) or grant as *veitsle*-land (*veta*) (read: to rent out or give for royal service). "They were all *Uppsala öd*" (*Þer æru allir upsala öþer)* and owned (*Þem atti*) by the reigning king (YVG II XLVI § 8, Collin and Schlyter 1827:194).

Traditionally *Uppsala öd* – meaning 'the wealth of Uppsala' – has been treated as royal manors (Rosén 1949:70; Bjørkvik 1968:44; Grundberg 2000:77). However, only a handful of royal charters were issued at the *huseby* and *bo* farms (only at Kungs-Husby (Trøgd) and Husby (Dalarna), and the *bo* farms Vad and Gudhem). Most likely, the *Uppsala öd* was of greater importance to the royal economy than to the royal itinerary. With a few exeptions, there is nothing to indicate that the *Uppsala öd* farms were the preferred places in royal itineraries. The following analysis therefore focuses primarily on royal sites appearing in the context of royal itineraries, and not the *Uppsala öd* farms.

Turning to the question of urban and rural itinerary places: as most towns were established in the 11th–14th centuries, only the rural sites where the king issued charters should be regarded as potentially old places in the royal itinerary. In total, c. 450 of 872 royal charters registered in the *Diplomatarium Suecanum* have a known provenance to a rural or urban site. Of these, 296 charters were issued at 19 urban sites, and 157 charters at 61 rural sites. The sites issuing the most charters were Alsnö in Uppland (15 charters), Dåvö in Västmanland (8 charters), and Kungs-Husby in Uppland (6 charters). During the period 1200–1350, the rural sites gradually lost significance as administrative royal centres (Rosén 1949). In the period

1 In 1330 Kynda is replaced with Ökull (see Rosén 1949: 70).

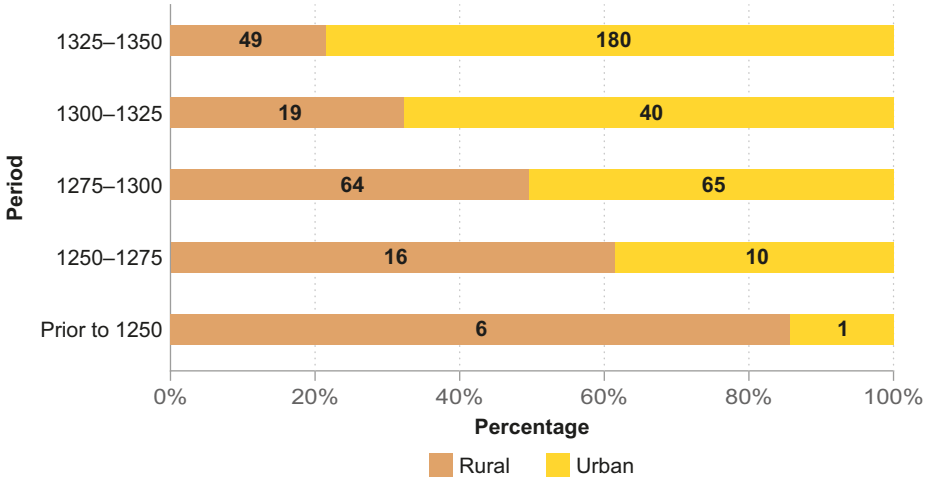

Fig. 4.10: Swedish royal charters with provenience issued prior to 1350. Distribution per 25 years/urban and rural sites, N = 450. Data from Diplomatarium Suecanum. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman and F. Iversen, MCH.

1325–1350 c. 80% of royal charters were issued at urban sites, a reversal from the previous century when charters mainly were issued at rural sites (Fig. 4.10).

Additionally, this survey has included one royal manor mentioned in *Erikskrönikan:* Håtuna in Uppland (granted Uppsala cathedral in 1311). The others royal manors of *Erikskrönikan* (Lena, Ettak, and Sanda) are counted among the sites where royal charters had been issued. Furthermore, a few farms have been included that are explicitly mentioned as 'kungsgård' in the abstracts of *Diplomatarium Suecanum*: Stång (DS 2681), Husby (Tierp) (DS 3803 and 3568), Barkarö (DS 4194), and Vadstena gård (DS 4794).

To summarize: the study includes 32 royal manors in medieval Norway (including Jämtland and Bohuslän), 61 rural sites where royal charters were issued in medieval Sweden, plus 5 other manors – in total 66 royal sites – in addition to 30 *bona regalia* farms registered in AD 1231 in Skåne, which was part of medieval Denmark.

4.3 Results

The results of the survey will be presented below in three cumulative steps. First, the major free population in Scandinavia based on a kernel density estimation of graves and cemeteries will be identified and compared with the onomastic identification of the tribe names in *Getica* and *Widsith*. Second, the distribution of hillforts will be analysed in relation to the areas identified in step 1. Third, in order to clarify

how larger territories grew together, the spatial pattern of the royal manors known from later periods will be investigated in relation to steps 1 and 2.

4.3.1 Location and size of the early tribes in *Scandza*

Getica lists 25 tribes (Denmark excluded), and *Widsith* 13 tribes, four of which are not found in *Getica,* making a total of 29 distinct tribe names. In addition, 13 areas have been identified as containing concentrations of graves representing groups unmentioned in the early classical accounts.

In **Hålogaland** the *Adogit* (G-1)/*Amoþinum* (W-3) have been associated with the *Háleygir* of northern Norway. The distribution of graves indicates two core areas in Hålogaland: (1) Lofoten, Vesterålen, and Senja, and (2) Helgeland. It has been argued that the law province Hålogaland encompassed three *fylkir* (shires) in the Viking Age (Iversen 2015). The *Qmð*-district has been considered as the northern shire, equivalent to northern Nordland (including Vesterålen) and southern Troms including the island Andøya where the prefix *And-* linguistically relates to *Qmð* (Guttormsen 1994:84; Bertelsen 2014; Iversen 2015). The central shire consisted of Salten and Lofoten, while the third was Helgeland (Iversen 2015). In both Helgeland and Omd KDE values of 2 appear, indicating a relatively small population of free people.

The Hälsingland consisted of three lands (Hälsingland, Medelpad, and Ängermanland). There are no tribes mentioned here, but archaeology shows two kernels of graves at a KDE value of 4 (Hälsingland and Medelpad).

The Uppland area spanned several law areas (Tiundaland including Gästrikland, Attundaland, Fjärdrundaland, and Norra Roden). The main tribe living here, the Svear, was among the larger groups in *Scandza* estimating by its KDE value of 29. The kernel was in Attundaland and Tiundaland. High KDE values are also found in Fjärdrundaland (23) and Södermanland (19). According to these values, the Svear area seems to have had one of the largest free populations in *Scandza*. The Svear (*Suiones*) are together with the Finnas the only Scandinavian groups mentioned by Tacitus in AD 98 (ch. 44) (the Finnas in ch 46).

In **Östergötland** the names of at least two tribes appear in the classical texts, the Tjust (KDE 8) and the East-Geats (KDE 19). Both can be identified by the distribution of graves and relatively high KDE values. In addition an unnamed group appears in the south-western borderland of the Östergötland law province, in the Tveta district (KDE 5). In the south-eastern part of the historically known law province, the *Eowum* of the *Widtsith* may be identified with the people of Öland appearing in the archaeological record with a KDE value of 6. The East-Geats were the major group in the area appearing with a KDE value of 19.

This study places the *Vagoth* in **Gotland**, with a KDE value of 12, indicating a fairly large free population. Moving on to **Skåne,** there are surprisingly few finds of graves and hillforts. The law area consisted of three major lands: Halland, Skåne,

and Blekinge, in addition to Bornholm. As discussed above, the large 'empty areas' without graves in the Skåne law province may indicate a bias in the archaeological record caused by early intensive land clearance. The area was described by Jordanes as flat and fertile and often disturbed by enemy tribes. It seems he included the Tjust and Gotland (Vagoth) areas in his general description, which fits rather well with the topography of the coastal lands and islands of southern Sweden (apart from Tjust, which is a somewhat more hilly landscape). At least five tribal names appear in the Skåne law area: the Berger (KDE 4), Hallin (KDE 5), Luguder (KDE 2), Himler (uncertain), and Fjärer (KDE 5), most of them with low KDE value, certainly lower than expected in such a heavily populated area. Only the Hallin group (in southern Hallland) and the Fjärer reach a KDE value of 5. In addition, two areas stand out for their concentrations of graves, Blekinge (KDE 4) and Göninge (KDE 4), but cannot be identified with any tribal names. According to Wulfstan's report (c. 890), Skåne belonged to the Danes, Bornholm was an independent kingdom, while Blekinge, Möre, Öland, and Gotland were politically subordinated to the Swedes. This may indicate that Blekinge and Bornholm were subsequently incorporated into the Skåne law province at a later stage. If so, the law province may have expanded towards the east and possibly the north from a core in Skåne.

In **Småland,** the named tribe Finnveder appears with a KDE value of 4. The law province consisted of three small lands: Värend, Njudung, and Finnveden. In terms of graves, Värend shows a higher KDE value (6) compared with Finnveden, but no tribe is mentioned here in the classical texts. It is safe to disregard the speculative theory of Otto von Friesen (1918) placing the Eruli in Värend on the basis of their matrilineal inheritance rules, which stand in contrast to those in other regions of Sweden (Ellegård 1987:6).

The West-Geats in **Västergötland** have a somewhat lower KDE value (12) compared with the East-Geats (19). Svennung's identification of the *Mixi* with Hising, located in western Västergötland, is uncertain and excluded from analysis here. Compared with Östergötland, Västergötland has less than half the number of cemeteries (1,318 versus 2,959) and only a third of the hillforts (71 versus 238), while their respective numbers of single graves do not differ so widely: 16,179 (west) versus 19,572 (east). There were c. 515 medieval parishes in Västergötland alone, and 150 in Östergötland. The number of households in 1540 was 11,285 (west) versus 6,706 (east). This may indicate that one of the largest prehistoric populations in *Scandza* should be expected in Västergötland. By comparision, the entire Svear area had in total 355 medieval parishes – Uppland (170), Västmanland (60), Södermanland (85), and Närke (40) – far below the numbers in Västergötland alone. In total there are registered 33,271 single graves and 9,965 cemeteries in the Svea-area and c. 35,750/4,277 in the Göta area. Hence, the above figures could indicate that graves are underrepresented in Västergötland. This is also partially suggested by the map showing cultivation areas without graves.

It should however be noted that in the late Middle Ages the Göta areas had low levels of freeholders (*Skattebønder),* which may reflect major trends in earlier

landownership. Only 3,243 households (28.7%) were held by freeholders in Västergötland and 1,026 (15.3%) in Östergötland, compared with 4,193 in Uppland (44.9%), 1,275 (51%) in Närke, 931 (19.6%) in Södermanland, and 1,165 (50.2%) in Västmanland (Larsson 1985). The ratio of freeholders to non-freeholders in the entire Svear area in 1540 (7,564 out of 18,976 = 39.9%) and the Göta area (4,269 out of 17,991 = 23.7%) show clear diffrences in landownership which could be of significance for earlier periods as well. In the KDE analysis, each gravefield was weighted as equal to 5 graves; graves are taken as a proxy for free population, as earlier discussed. It is therefore interesting to compare the proportion of freeholders with the proportion of graves in these two larger landscapes.

- Number of freeholder households AD 1540: **7,563** (Svear)/**4,269** (Götar). This gives a distribution for the total number of freeholder in these to major landscapes as 63.9% (Svear) versus 36.1% (Götar)
- 33,271 single graves and 9,965 (x 5) cemeteries = **83,096** graves (Svear)/35,750 single graves and 4,277 (x 5) cemeteries = **55,135** graves (Götar). This gives a distribution for the total number of graves in the two landscapes as 60.1% (Svear) versus 39.9% (Götar).

To summarize: comparing the two main Swedish landscapes, the distribution of households held by freeholders (63.9/36.1%) in the late Middle Ages is about the same as the distribution of prehistoric graves (60.1%/39.9%). The significance of this will be treated in greater detail below. Clearly, landownership and levels of unfree/free people are important factors in the distribution of graves and the social stratum that defined the tribe.

In **Värmland** only one unmentioned group can be identified (KDE 3). Within the later **Borgarthing area** at least four groups are reported: the Ö-gröter (KDE 7) and Raner (KDE 9) in Ranrike and the Lidvikinger (KDE 9) and Grener (KDE 6) further west. The Lidvikinger in present-day Østfold and Vestfold were the larger group here. In the **Eidsivathing-area** three groups are recorded, the Raumer (KDE 3), Hader (KDE 4), and Heider (KDE 6), the latter with a higher KDE value than the others.

Concerning the **Gulathing area** four groups have been identified: the Egder (KDE 4), *Eunixit* (KDE 5), Ryger (KDE 15), and Horder (KDE 2). The survey has included Hardanger (KDE 1), which is not mentioned as a tribe in the classical texts, and also Valdres (KDE 1) in the mountainous area. Concerning the *Augandzi*, *Eunixit*, and *Aetel Rugi* the identification indicated by archaeology is somewhat different from the traditional identification of *Eunixit* with the Ryfylke, northern Rogaland. However, both the sequence of the groups in *Getica* and the KDE values indicate a likely identification of *Augandzi* with East Agder, the *Eunixit* ('Øyboere', islanders) with the Lista-Spangereid area and *Aetel Rugi* with southern Rogaland. Regardless of this, the Ryger were the dominant group with a KDE value of 15.

Finally, in the **Frostathing area,** the Trønder group shows a KDEvalue of 10, with a kernel in Inn-Trøndelag. The *Ranii* in Romsdal can be identified by archaeology (KDE 2). In addition, Jämtland (KDE 1) and Namdalen (KDE 3) appear in the grave material as small tribes though passing unmentioned in *Getica* and *Widsith*.

To summarize: the material suggests that the tribes with the largest *free* population in *Scandza* were the Svears (29), the Geats (East-Geats 19/West-Geats 12), and the Ryger (15), followed by Gotere (Gotland) (12), Trøndere (10), the people of Viken (9), Raner (9), and the people of Tjust (8) (Fig. 4.11). These areas have the highest density of graves and cemeteries. The area of Skåne is underrepresented in the grave material, and the tribes there were probably larger than this study can demonstrate.

4.3.2 Hillforts and tribes

The following section will focus on the defence systems of the larger tribes identified above. Hillforts were organised in the landscape in three major ways: (1) central to the populated areas, (2) in the border areas between main populated areas, and (3) defending 'weak' points in the landscapes vulnerable to attack, for instance by the sea, fjord mouths, or valleys (Fig. 4.12).

The Svear area. The highest density of hillforts in the Svear landscape is found in the surroundings of the Himmerfjord, the main entrance to Lake Mälaren through Södermanland. In Södermanland three clusters of hillforts stand out with KDE values of 29, 25, and 20, the latter in the western part of Lake Mälaren bordering Västmanland. By comparision, KDE 13 is the highest value in the Uppland area. The distribution of graves and hillforts in the Svear area is somewhat reversed. Södermanland, the southern landscape bordering the East-Geats and the Baltic Sea, has the highest density of hillforts, while the area north-east of Lake Mälaren has the highest density of graves. This indicates the strategic importance of the waterways leading to Lake Mälaren, and the need for defence against the East-Geats. There seems to have been a larger military comitment on the part of the people of Södermanland than on the folklands in Uppland, assessing by the density of hillforts. It is difficult to asess whether the Svear groups (the folklands) collaborated across the folklands in operating these defence systems. **Gotland** has a kernel with a KDE value of 13 indicating a well-fortified island.

There are two main kernels of hillforts in the law province of **Östergötland.** The classical texts mention three tribes settling in the area of the later law province, namly the *Ostrogothae*, the *Theutes,* and more uncertainly the *Eowum* (Øland), in addition to an unnamed group in Tveta identified by archaeology. The highest density of hillforts (KDE 19) is found at the Vikbolandet, a peninsula between the fjords Bråviken and Släbaken. Obviously this area was of great strategic importance for defending the main habitation areas of the East-Geats against attacks from the sea and the Svears. The other kernel locates to the Tjust area (KDE 15), which was

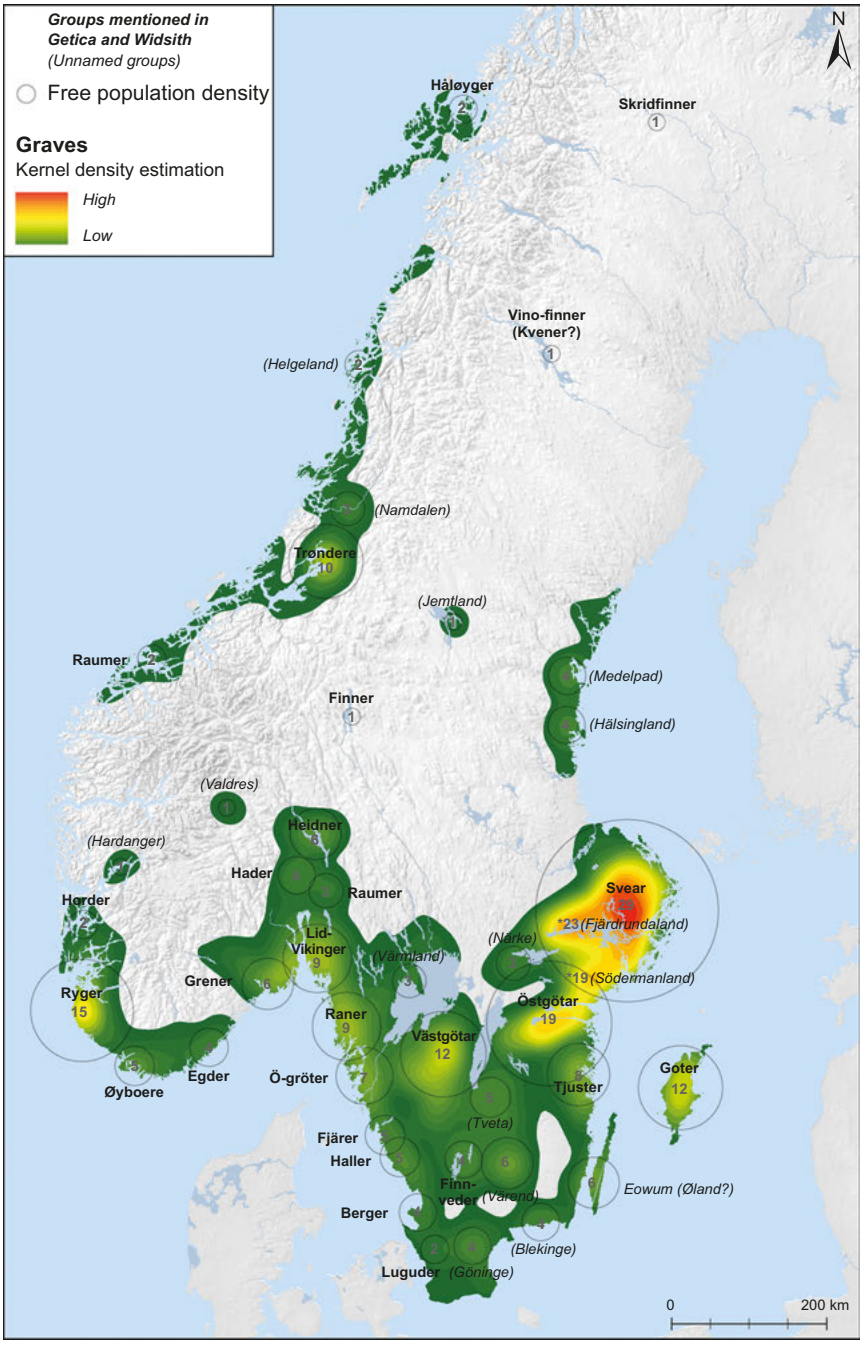

Fig. 4.11: The tribes of Scandinavia placed at the highest density of single graves and cemeteries. Each cementery equals five graves. The size of the ring indicates group size (free population). Only KDE values from 2–30 (and single kernels of KDE value 1) are displayed on the map. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman and F. Iversen, MCH.

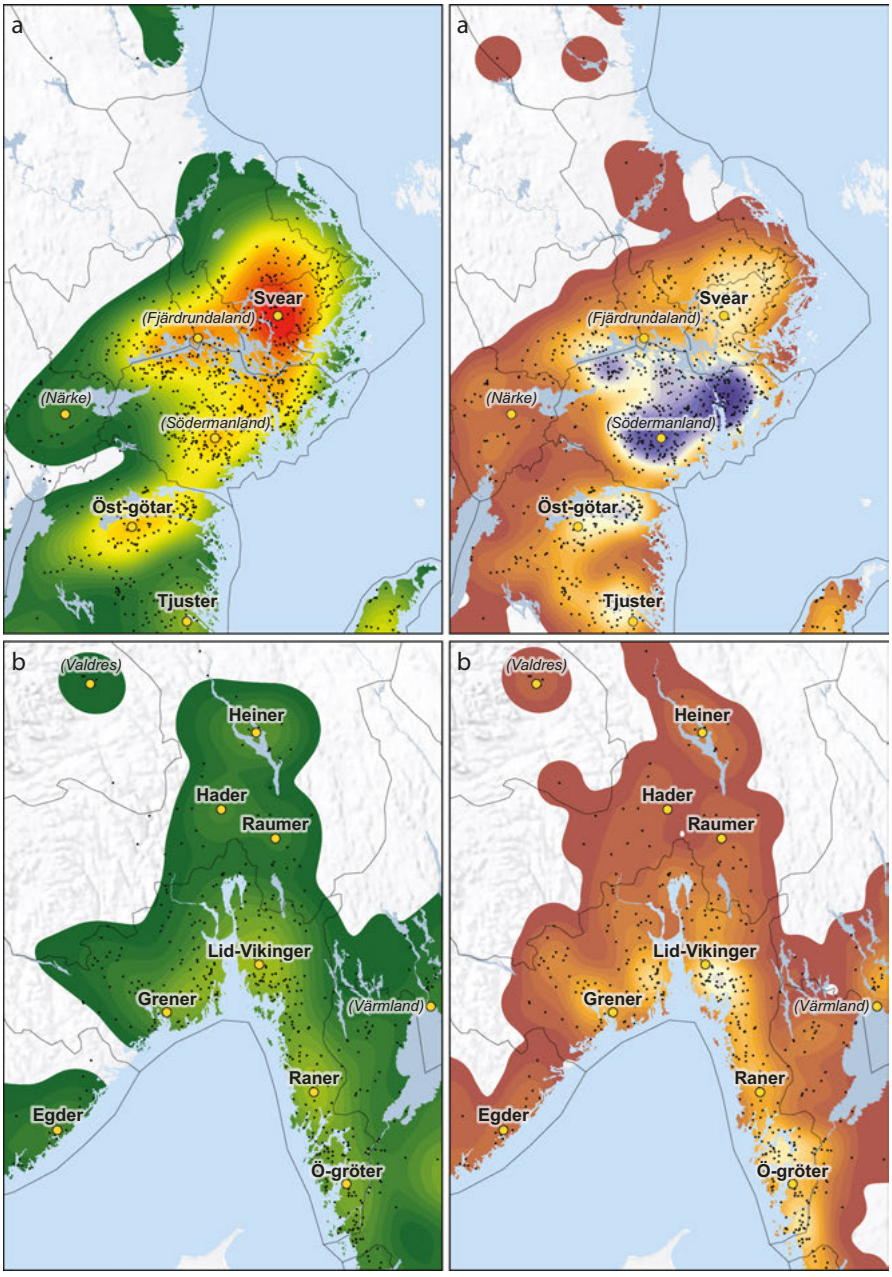

Fig. 4.12: Hillforts and KDE values. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman and F. Iversen, MCH.

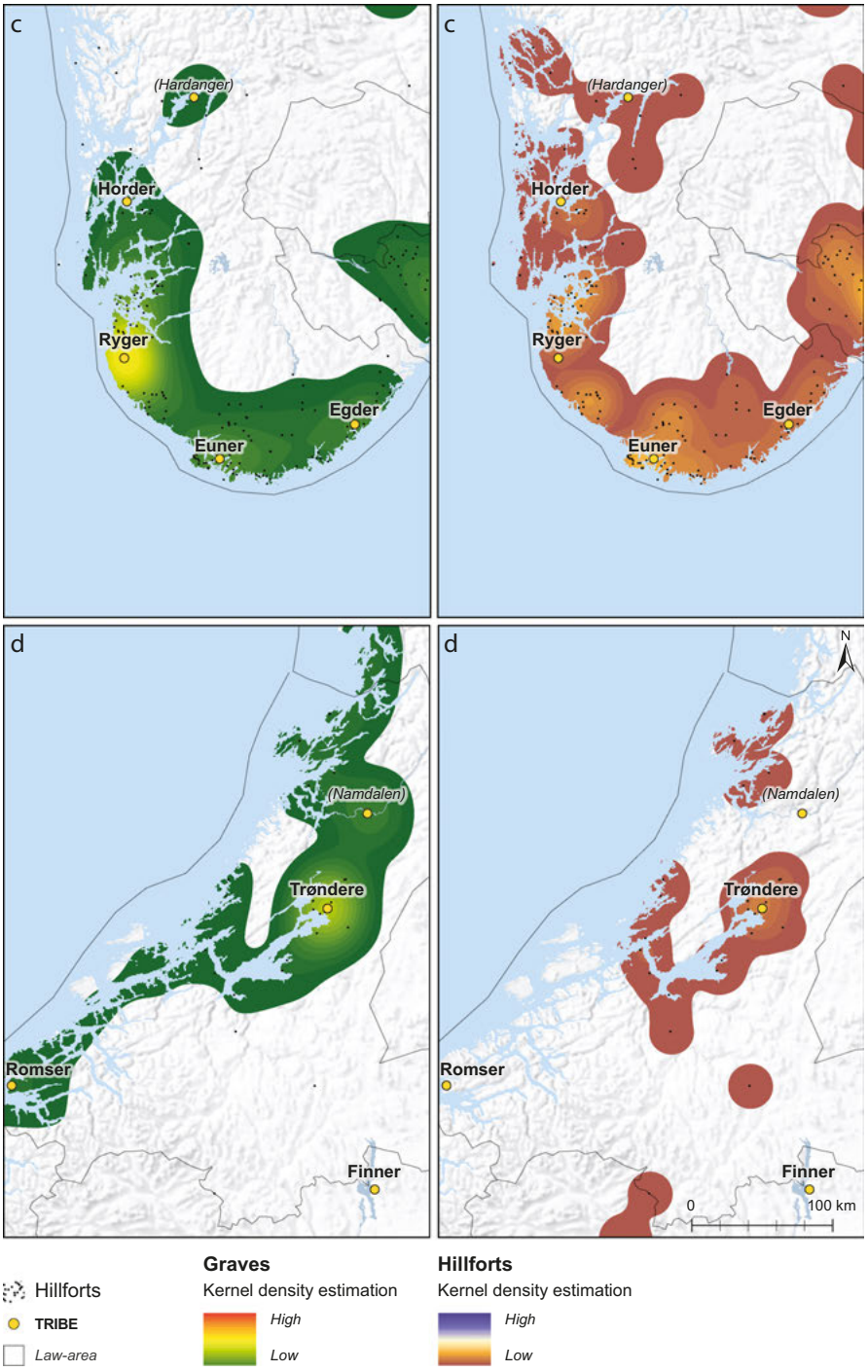

Fig. 4.12 (continued)

vulnerable from the sea and the East-Geats. At Öland there is a KDE value of 5, but only low values in the Tveta area. The recent excavation of the Sandby borg at Öland demonstrates the level of aggression that could take place at hillforts. The Sandby borg is a hillfort of the ringfort type, typical for Öland, and the only one of the 15–7 hillforts at Öland located by the sea on the eastern side of the island. The Sandby borg was attacked sometime in the late 5th century and thereafter sealed off for a long period. The people killed (the defenders) and animals starved to death were left to rot, and the site was undisturbed until the archaeological excavations began in 2011 covering 300 m^2 (6% of the total area) (Alfsdotter et al. 2018). As of 2018, remains of minimum 26 individuals, including three children (2–5 years) and an infant (1.5–3 months) have been identified as part of what is believed to be a massacre of several hundred people. So far no women have been identified among the deceased. The attack happened during summer (between late spring and early autumn). The identity of the attackers remains a matter of speculation. The site was abandoned and the deceased remained unburied by their community or by survivors of the battle, suggesting that the attackers besieged the Borgby area for a long period, and even perhaps the whole island of Öland. Öland was later subordinated the Östergötland law province.

There are six kernels of hillforts in the **Borgarthing area** reaching KDE values from 9 to 16. The highest density is found on the eastern side of the Oslofjord (Østfold) (KDE 16) and in southern part of Ränrike (KDE 14 and KDE 12), while there is KDE 11 in Vestfold and KDE 9 in Grenland. Within the Borgarthing area Jordanes mentions the *Granni*-people (Grener), the *Ragnarricci* (Ranrike), and the *Euagre Otingisis* (Ö-gröter) and *Widsith* adds the larger group *Lidwicingum*. In general, the density of hillforts is highest on both sides of the entrance of the fjord (the Viken area) and along important waterways to the south in Ranrike. The major kernels are found central to the medieval counties of Grenland, Vestfold, Vingulmark, and the southern half of Ranrike.

Within the later **Gulathing area** three kernels with KDE values of 6, 7, and 8 have been identified. The classical texts name four groups here: the *Augandzi*, the *Eunixit,* the *Aetel Rugi*, and the *Arochi*. There are two kernels respectively to the north and south of the main area of the *Rugi* (KDE 6 and 9). This may indicate a need for defence against the neighbouring tribes. In the area identified with the *Eunixit* (the Lista area) the hillforts are co-located with the kernels of graves, by the fjords and waterways. However, some hillforts in the inland valleys and waterways indicate a need for defence in the north. Apart from a handful of hillforts in Etne (Sunnhordland) there are no larger kernels among the *Arochi* (Hordaland).

Within the **Frostathing area** there is only one kernel of hillforts with a KDE value of 4. Within the law area two tribes are mentioned here: the *Þrōwendas* and the *Ranii* (Romsdal). The hillforts are located in the Inn-Trøndelag close to the kernel of graves. The few hillforts (KDE 2) in Namdalen are located centrally to sailing routes and the fjordmouth. In Jämtland, only one hillfort is known.

4.3.3 Royal sites and manors

This section will examine the distribution of royal manors in the medieval Norwegian and Swedish kingdoms (plus Skåne, which became part the Danish kingdom) in tandem with the results concerning population and military organisation.

In medieval Norway, four major clusters of royal manors have been identified (Fig. 4.13):

(1) **Eastern Norway:** the Royal manors, Håkeby, Sem (Tønsberg), Sem (Eiker), Stein, Tingelstad, Åker, and Fåberg are located within a day's journey from each other. The four latter are located by the mouth of important valleys, Sem (Eiker) by Numedal and Sigdal, Stein by Hallingdal, Tingelstad by Dokka, and Valdres and Åker by Gudbrandsdalen and Østerdalen. They were located centrally to the routes in and out of the valleys, controlling the bottlenecks of these landscapes and were well suited for royal visits to the Inland. Håkeby (Bohuslän) and Sem (Tønsberg) are located on either side of the Viken Bay. In general, the royal manors in eastern Norway are situated centrally to important travel routes at some distance from the most populated areas of Vingulmark and Ranrike.

(2) **Western Norway**: The information about *Haraldr hárfagri's* five farms in Hordaland and Rogaland is considered among the most credible in the uncertain tradition of *Haraldr* (Helle 1993:149f). The manors mentioned are Seim, Alrekstad, and Fitjar in Hordaland and Utstein and Avaldsnes in Rogaland (Egs 36; Hkr, *Haralds saga ins hárfagra*, Ch. 38, bd. 1:74). In *Haraldskvæði* (c. 900) the Utstein manor is mentioned as a royal residence (verse 9). In addition, others sources mention two royal manors in Nordhordland (Lygra, Herdla). A cluster of four royal manors is found in Nord-Hordaland, which was an important gateway for overseas travel to Hjaltland (Shetland), the Orkneys, the Faroes, Iceland, and Greenland. In general, royal manors appear more frequently in areas north of the large populated area Jæren. The seven manors – Utstein, Avaldsnes, Fitjar, Alrekstad, Seim, Herdla, and Lygra – are clearly associated with the main sailing route along the coast ('leden') controlling both the fjord mouth and overseas travels (Iversen 2008; Mundal 2018; Skre 2018).

(3) The **Sunnmøre and Romsdalen region:** A cluster of four royal manors is found in the borderland of the Gulathingslag and Frostathingslag areas. These were Skuggen, Veøy, Hustad, and Bjerkestrand, all central to fjords and sailing-routes. Prominent grave monuments (cairns) are found at farms close to Hustad (Sunde, Male, Malefeten, Nerland, Storholmen, and Breivik); however, their relevance for this study is limited, as all are dated to the early Iron Age. Nearby Bjerkestrand, at the farm Frei, 'Egil Ullserk's' grave (22 diameters x 1.5 meter high, cairn) has been found and dated to AD 700–850, the only great grave-monument dating to this chapter's investigation period that is located close to a royal manor in this cluster. The royal manors are located to an area with graves with a KDE value of 2 representing the small *Getica* group named *Ranii* (Raumser).

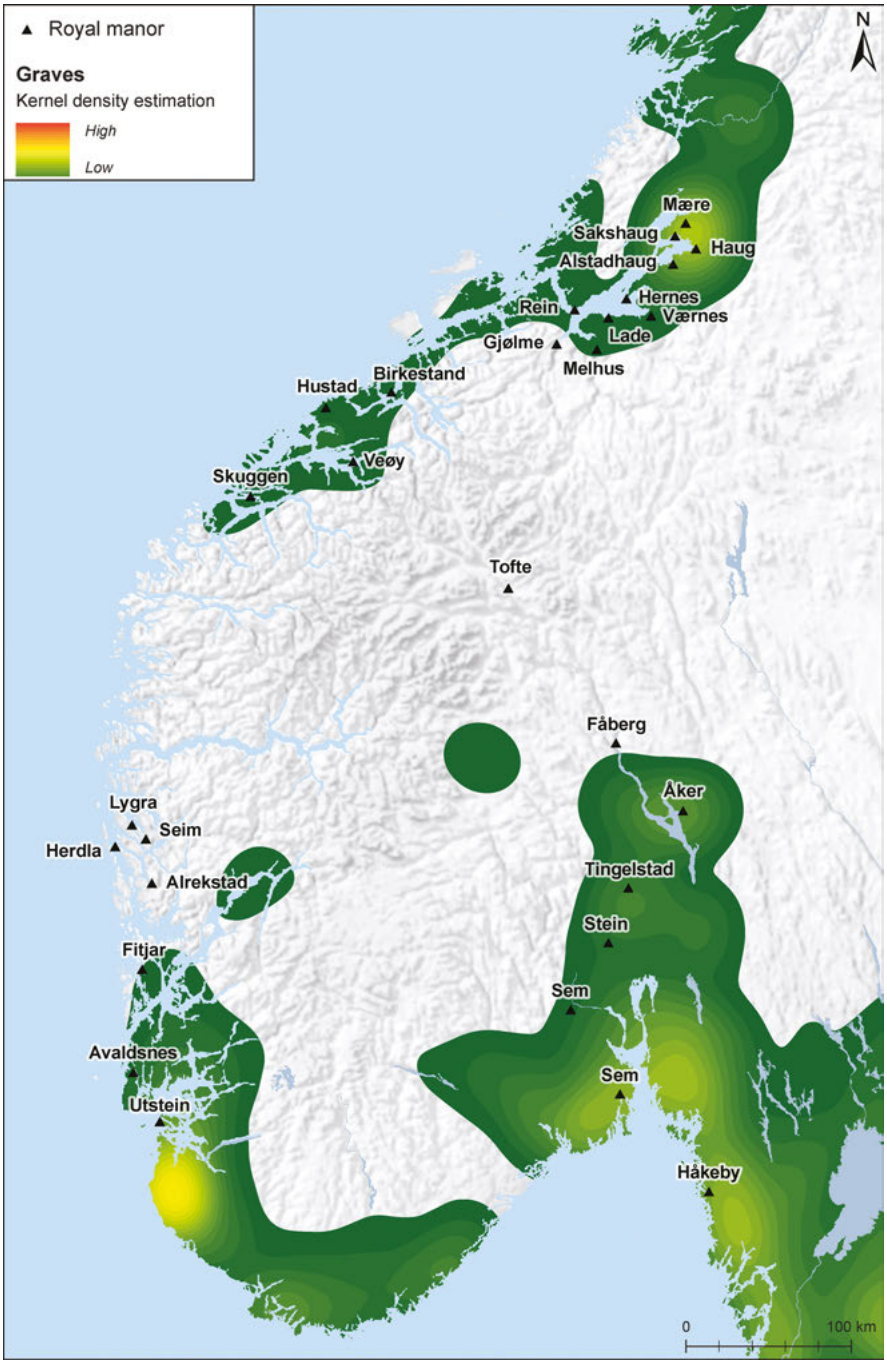

Fig. 4.13: Norway. Royal manors and graves (KDE values). Illustration: I. T. Bøckman and F. Iversen, MCH.

(4) **Trøndelag:** The Norwegian king and his followers travelled among a limited number of royal manors, located in the coastal areas or by central rivers and important routes. This was also the case in Trøndelag. However, it was not until the early 11th cenutry that royal power asserted itself in the Trøndelag region; previously the identified royal manors may have been controlled by the Lade jarls.

In central Trøndelag 10 royal manors are known. There was at least one manor in each of the eight shires in Trøndelag (Iversen 2016b). There were two manors in the Strinda shire: Lade – the most prominent royal manor – in addition to Hernes located close to the important Frostathing site. At a short distance from the Trøndelag core area is situated the manor Rein, Stadsbygd (Rissa)(Nordmøre shire). In 1354 King Magnús Eiríksson (1319–55) tried to exchange (*makeskifte*) six royal manors in Trøndelag for the estate held by Archbishop Óláfr in southern Norway. The Pope failed to give his approval, and the exchange was not completed (DN II, 326).

The jarls' main seat at Lade and five other royal manors are located in areas around the central Trondheimsfjord, south-west of the most populated area in Trøndelag. Four royal manors are located in the densely populated areas of inner Trøndelag, including the site Mære, which according to the sagas was an important pre-Christian cult site, in addition to Sakshaug, Haug, and Alstadhaug.

In medieval Sweden, two major and two minor clusters of royal manors have been identified by focusing on sites central to royal itineraries and royal manors closer than 30 km (Figs. 4.14 and 4.15, upper).

(5) **Svealand:** The royal sites cluster around Lake Mälaren and connected waterways. In total a string of 16 sites are located within less than 30 km from the next manor, among them prominent manors such as Dåvö, Kungs-Huseby, Alsnö, and Uppsala. The cluster is located slightly to the west of the area with the highest density of graves. Lake Mälaren was the key to controlling these landscapes; the many royal sites here should be understood in this light.

(6) **Geats**: In the area east of Gökhem and Götala (the main *thing* site for Vest-Geats) to Boberg in Östergötland, there is a cluster of 18 royal sites set less than 30 km fromeach other. These manors are located on each side of Lake Vättern, among them prominent places such as Gudhem, Dimbo, Ettak, Fågelås, Visingsö, Vadstena, and Bjälbo. The latter was a royal *patromonalia*, while the others were probably *regalia* manors. The western sites are located in the central areas of the Västergötland while the eastern sites are located to the west of the area in which the main bulk of the free people in Östergötland have been identified to have been located.

(7) **Småland:** In Njudung, to the north there is a cluster of four royal manors – Hok, Svenarum, Sandsjö, and Vetlanda – all located close to the northern border of Småland and major medieval roads crossing through these landscapes both north–south and east–west.

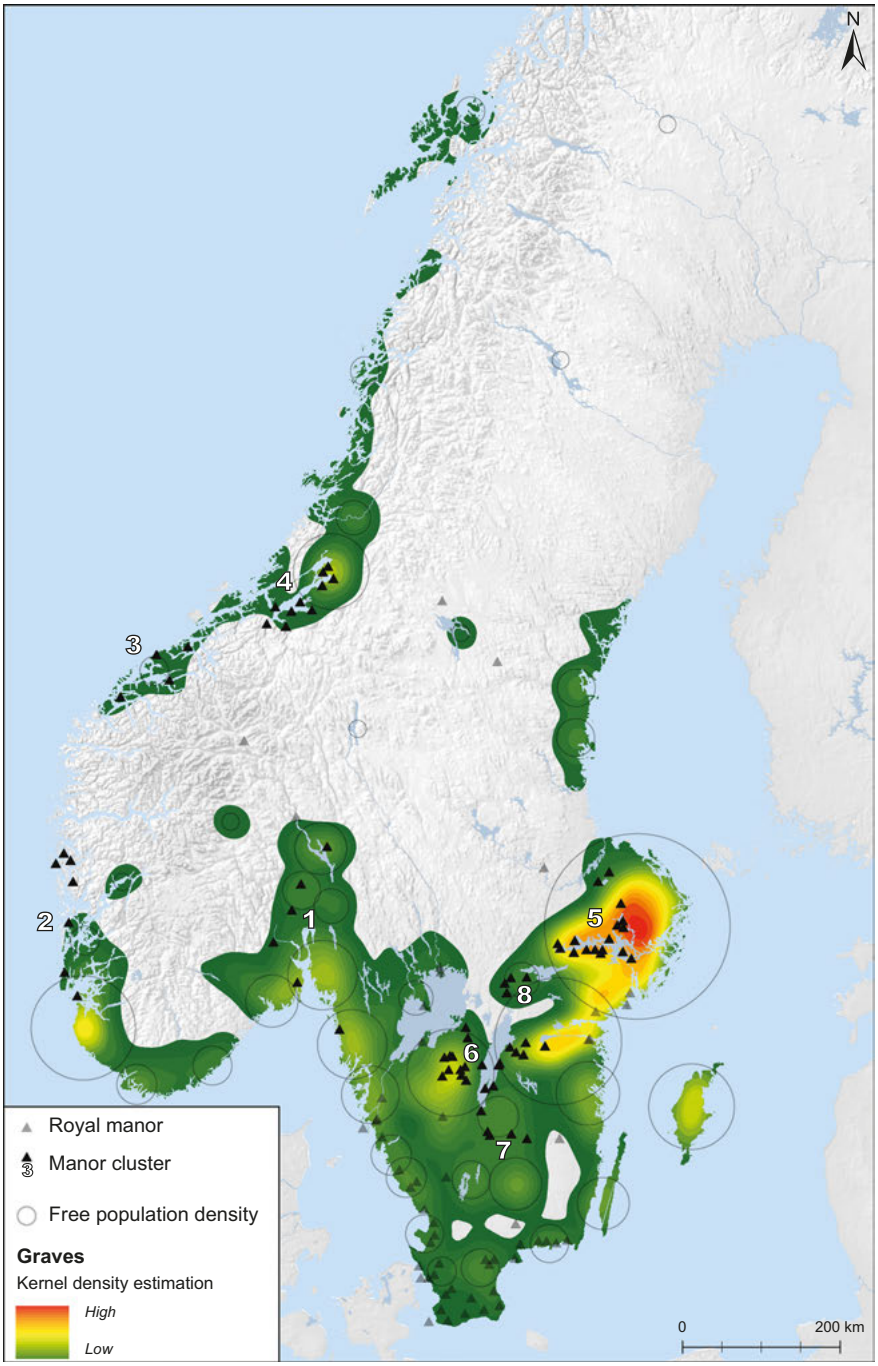

Fig. 4.14: Royal manors and sites in Scandinavia and graves (KDE). Illustration: I. T. Bøckman and F. Iversen, MCH.

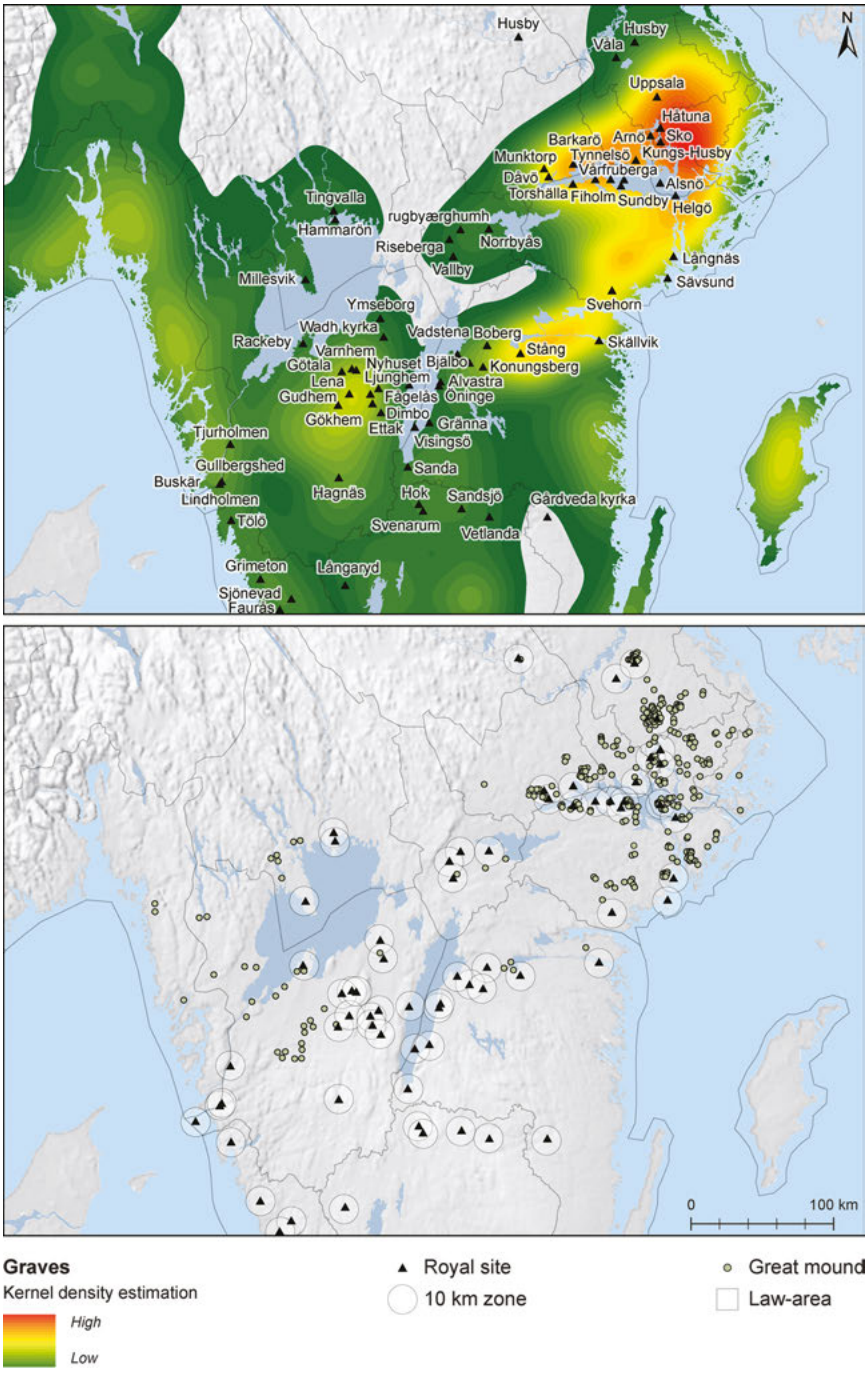

Fig. 4.15: Royal sites in Sweden recorded 1200–1350. Upper: Royal sites and populated areas (free population) (= KDE of graves. Lower: Royal sites and great mounds over 25 diameters (data mounds: from Müller-Wille 1992, Bratt 2008). Illustration: I. T. Bøckman and F. Iversen, MCH.

(8) **Närke: In the centre of this region** there is a cluster of four royal sites – Valby, Riseberga, *Rugbyærghumg**, and Nordbyås.

Müller-Wille (1992) has identified 44 great mounds of over 25 diameters in the areas of Närke, Värmland, Bohuslän, Västergötland, Östgötland, and Småland (Fig. 4.15, lower). The great mounds of the Geats appear in areas other than the royal sites. Only four of 44 great mounds lie within 10 km proximity from a royal manor, of which there are 40 in the above-mentioned region. Great mounds are found in the vicinity of Valby in Närke and Rackeby, Gökhem, and Ymseborg in Västergötland. Notably,Rackeby was *bona patrimonium* and hence not part of the *regalia* manors (Rosèn 1949:166).

Concerning great mounds and royal sites, the situation in the Svear area is quite different from that of the Göta landscape. In Uppland, Västermanland, and Södermanland, Peter Bratt (2008:128–34) identifies 268 great mounds of over 20 diameters, of which 122 are over 25 diameters and hence comparable to Müller-Willes data. 15 of 18 royal manors in this landscape (all except Svehorn, Sävsund, and Våla) have great mounds in the vicinity, closer than 10 km.

To summarize: compared with Norway, Sweden had few royal sites by the coast; in fact, only two of 58 royal sites are in such locations (Långnäs and Sävsund). Royal sites in the Svear landscape were tightly connected to Lake Mälaren, the key to controlling this area. In the landscapes of the Geats the royal sites are located at important population centres. This may indicate that direct control over land was important to the rulers here (Fig. 4.14). In western Norway the royal sites are located at the coast and must have played an important role in securing the western trade routes (Baug et al. 2019). In eastern Norway the royal manors are located in topographic 'bottlenecks' important to controlling the inland valleys. Put simply, the keys for royal power in *Scandza* varied: in the Svear districts it was based on control of the *major lakes*, in the Götar area it was *landed estates*, in western Norway it was controlling and securing trade and transport along the *major sailing route* (*leden*), and in eastern Norway it was controlling the resources from *the valleys*.

4.4 Discussion – between tribe and kingdom

Returning to the question set out above: what was the role of geographically bound law areas in the development of Scandinavian peoples's *ethnogenesis*? And what was the connection between early kingship and the development of the larger law areas?

By combining different trajectories of onomastic, historical, and archaeological data, 25 groups have been identfied in *Getica* and *Widsith*, in addition to 13 unmentioned groups identified by archaeological data. Analysis of the role and position of these groups within the emerging Viking kingdoms, based on an integraded triangulated approach utilizing written, archaeological, and onomastic sources, shows a different picture from earlier archaeological identification of political units, chiefdoms, and

power centres. For the first time, an attempt has been made to the estimate the size of the tribes (the free population) of *Scandza* and to trace their relation to the later law regions (Tab. 4.4, Fig. 4.16).

Tab. 4.4: Scandinavia: tribes, law areas and kingdoms AD 500–1350.

Kingdoms c. 1100–1350	**Law-area c. 800–1100**	**Tribes c 500–800**	**Relative size. Kernel Density Estimation (KDE)**
Norway	Borgartingslag (extended with Ranrike c. 1016)	Lidvikinger	9
		Raner	9
		Grener	6
		Ö-gröter	7
	Gulatingslag	Ryger	15
		Egder	4
		Øyboere	5
		Horder	2
	Frostatingslag	Trøndere	10
		Raumer	2
		Namdalen	3
	Hålogaland	Håløyger	2
	Eidsivatingslag	Heidner	6
		Raumer	3
		Hader	4
Sweden	Hälsingland	Medelpad	4
		Hälsingland	4
	Uppland (Tiundal., Attundal., Fjärdrundal.)	Svear	29
	(Merged in 1296)		
	Södermanland		
	Västmanland		
	Roden (Sjåland)		
	Närke		

Tab. 4.4 (continued)

Kingdoms c. 1100–1350	Law-area c. 800–1100	Tribes c 500–800	Relative size. Kernel Density Estimation (KDE)
	Östergötland	Östgötar	19
		Tjuster	8
		Øland	6
		Tveta	5
	Gotland	Goter	12
	Småland	Finnveder	4
	Västergötland	Västgötar	12
		Hisinger	
	Värmland	Värmland	3
Denmark	Skåne	Haller	5
		Berger	4
		Fjärer	5
		Luguder	2
		Göninge	4
		Blekinge	4
Areas of Tribute	Sámi and Kvener	Skridfinner	1
		Finner	1
		Vino-finner (Kvener?)	1

The distribution of prehistoric graves presumably indicates the free population and landowners; however, caution should be taken concerning the representativeness of the data used in this analysis, given its limitations and bias due to land clearance in periods when there was little systematic recording of archaeological findspots and sites. This applies in particular to Skåne and parts of Västergötland. On the other hand, landownership is an important factor to consider when

Fig. 4.16: Map Scandinavia. Tribes, Law Areas and Kingdoms AD 500–1350. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman and F. Iversen, MCH.

discussing the distribution of graves. In fact, the larger picture indicates that the relative quantity of graves in Svealand and Götaland is representative of the relative size of the free populations in those two regions. We found that the distribution of households held by freeholders in these two landscapes in 1540 (63.9% in Svealand and 36.1% in Götaland) resembles the distribution of prehistoric graves rather well (60.1%/39.9%). Despite both groups evidently experiencing contractions in population over the course of history, the ratios strongly indicate that the level of freeholders in the Middle Ages is predictive and crucial to the level of prehistoric graves. The larger share of the graves analysed here were visible in the landscape and may secondarily have served as symbols of landownership.

Archaeological methodologies have identified 38 groups of a certain size in the area discussed; each of Prokopios' 13 kingdoms around 545 therefore likely consisted of several tribes. This 'king of multiple tribes' model was initially suggested by Fridtjof Nansen in 1911, and the results of this study support this idea. In the investigation area there are preserved fourteen provincial laws (partially or fully). Is there is a connection between the early kingdoms and the law regions identified in the 11–14th centuries?

The Svear area held one of the largest *free* populations in *Scandza*, judging by the high numbers of prehistoric graves found here. The highest levels are found in Attundaland and Tiundaland. The distribution of hillforts shows both the strategic importance of the waterways to Lake Mälaren and the need of defence against the East-Geats.

According to Snorri Sturluson (1178–1241), the 'Law of Uppsala' in the 11th century had the highest authority in the kingdom of *Sviþjóð* (ON), where many law provinces had their own laws and their own assembly (*Óláfs saga helga*, ch. 77). Snorri's description is of great importance, not least for the fact that he was himself the main law-speaker in Iceland for 12 years (1215–18 and 1222–31) and highly skilled in law and legal procedures. He states that the Uppsala law was what would be called today *Lex Superior* (a supreme law) within the kingdom of the Svears. Even in Snorri's time, where local laws were contradictory, the Uppsala law and the decision of the Uppsala law man took precedence.Only later in 1296 were the individual laws of the lands of Uppland ("vigaers flokkum oc laghum opplenskum") merged and superseded by the Uppland law, a process described in the prologue of the Uppland law. To compile the new law, the law man of Tiundaland appointed a royal commission of 12 skilled men from the three main lands, plus three royal knights (the 15 men listed by name in the prologue). This echoes processes described in the prologue of *Lex Salica* 700 year earlier, where commissions of skilled men revised and transformed customary law to meet the requirements, standards, and even kingdoms of their time (Iversen 2013).

The example above shows the complexity of the kingdom-formation process. Several folklands had their own laws and law-speakers representing the interest of the people when negotiating with the king. However, one law within a kingdom

took precedence when law stood against law. Almost all the folklands bordered Lake Mälaren. Controlling this lake was the key to power within the Svear lands. The royal sites and manors included in this study were all located in the surroundings of Lake Mälaren. Narrative sources and skaldic poetry such as the *Ynglingatal* place the origin of the dynastic house of the *Ynglingar* in the Svear landscape. *Ongendþeow* – a late 6th-century king is the first named ruler of the tribe (*Widsith* line 31). By the time of Wulfstan (late 9th century) the realm of this kingdom encompassed most of eastern Sweden and Gotland. The *Uppsala öd* represents the tribute and tax collected from the Svear folklands, the bordering lands of the Götar, and other folklands. From this a Swedish kingdom emerged. The origin of the power of the Svear kings is thus closely related to the control of Lake Mälaren.

The Geats were one of the largest tribes of *Scandza*. Thomas Lindkvist (1989) has convincingly argued that Sweden in the early Middle Ages was divided into various 'fiscal regions' defined by types of taxes: collective taxes assessed per area (e.g. hundred) and individual taxes assessed per household and/or register (mantall) (Lindkvist 1989:173). Individual taxes are found in the west (Västergötland, parts of Närke, northern Småland), collective taxes in the east (Uppland, eastern Västmanland, and Södermanland); a middle zone features both types of taxes (Östergötland). In Västergötland individual taxes dominated completely. They had their origin in the *servitium regis*, the king's right to provision (*gjesting)* (*gengärden*) and the 'all men' tax (*allmänningsöret*). In Östergötland there were additional taxes based on the king's right to commons, and collective taxes were also known in coastal areas in the east (*leidangsskatt*). In the areas around Mälaren collective taxes dominated completely in the 13th and 14th century (*leidangsskatt*). According to Lindkvist, individual taxes require a high degree of direct control over the producers. He also argues that collective taxes are more 'primitive' because the individual's contribution was beyond the king's direct control. The implication is that direct royal presence to a large degree triggered individual taxes, while more indirect royal presence triggered collective taxes.

The distribution of the royal sites and manors in Sweden supports Lindkvist's view. The sites in Västergötland are located centrally to the main 'tribe area' indicating direct control of land, people, and estates. This is contradicted by the 'Svear pattern' where the royal sites were scattered around Lake Mälaren and not located centrally to the main habitation areas north-east of Mälaren.

Compared with previous research, we have identified the tribes of *Scandza* with higher precision and have been able to evaluate the size of the defining stratum of the tribe (indicated on a scale from 1 to 30). The other 'numerous tribes' in Sweden, apart from the Svear (29), were the East-Geats (19), the West-Geats (12), and the Gotland people (12). The Tjust people were also a substantial tribe (8). Furthermore, some large tribes should be expected in the Skåne area, but the archaeology here is not representative. As discussed, clearance of new land and the transformation of grazing land into ploughland in the 18th century led to the removal of archaeological

sites and monuments across vast areas. The largest tribes in Norway were the Ryger (15), Trøndere (10), the people of Ranrike (9), and the people of Viken (9). The Horder appear surprisingly modest in the archaeological material, possibly a reflection of problems with the representativeness of the archaeological material, in particular in the areas close to Bergen. On the other hand, in-depth study of this area's distribution of graves and landownership (Iversen 2008) reveals a clear lack of both freeholders and marked graves in the vicinity of the royal manors found here, such as Alrekstad, Seim, and Herdla, where large estates of 50–70 subordinated minor farms are indicated in younger land registers and cadastres.

In the Viking Age, Viken was a cultural and political melting pot that switched sides between the emerging kingdoms of Norway and Denmark, and possibly Sweden. According to the historian Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, Norwegian royal power began asserting itself in Viken during the reigns of King Óláfr Tryggvason (AD 995–1000) and King Óláfr Haraldsson (AD 1015–1030). It was not until the kings of western Norway had managed to defeat the jarls of Lade and incorporated Trøndelag and northern Norway into their kingdom that they turned their attention to eastern Norway (Sigurðsson 2008:13). Even in the 12th century, Viken was a disputed area due to claims of supremacy by Danish kings.

Within the later Borgarthing law area, the *Vikverir* of Vingulmark and Vestfold and the Grener may have cooperated from an early time in terms of law and *thing*. After negotiations between King Óláfr Haraldsson and the *thing* in Ranrike, the people of *Ragnaricii* (Ranrike) and the *Euagre Otingis* (Ö-gröter south in Ranrike) were merged into what became the new Borgarthing law province around AD 1016. According to skaldic poetry, there were four or five petty kingdoms in *Upplǫnd* in the early 11th century, in the later Eidsivathing law area. Judging by the distribution of graves, the *Hæðnum* (the *Heinir* of Hedmark) were the largest inland tribe of southern Norway. The location of the royal manors in the inland of eastern Norway indicates a location central to the routes in and out of the valleys, the bottlenecks of these landscapes, while in the Borgarthing area the manors are located by the sea.

The distribution of graves indicates that the Ryger were the dominant group within the Gulathing law area. From Jordanes we learn about *Roduulf rex* who allegedly escaped his south-western Norwegian kingdom and went into the service of the Ostrogoth King Theodoric the Great (454–526) (*Getica* 22). It is not clear whether Roduulf's kingdom included all the tribes from the *Ranii* (Romsdalen) in north to the *Granni* in south-east, or only the northern tribe (Hedeager and Tvarnø 2001:267, 271–3; Krag 2003:58). It has been suggested that Roduulf was exiled from his kingdom by the Danes, whom Gregor of Tours describes as powerful enough to attack the Franks between 511 and 533, under the leadership of *Ch(l)ochilaicus rex* (Gregory 1951:34). The historian Carl Edlund Anderson suggests that the political situation in Scandinavia in the 6th century did not differ much from the situation in the Viking Period when various rival 'Danish' and 'Norwegian' kings competed for the overlordship of western Scandinavia (Anderson 1999:54–5).

Recently it has been suggested that securing the transport of goods for trade along the sailing route of western Scandinavia was a priority of the elite and the kings already in the early 8th century. This theory is supported by recent geological analyses of whetstones found in cultural deposists in Ribe, Denmark, dated to 8th and early 9th century. The analysis demonstrates that the majority of the whetstones were quarried at Mostadmarka near the aristocratic/royal manor Lade ('loading/storing place') in Trøndelag (Baug et al. 2019). This clearly demonstrates the existence of an important trade route between Trøndelag and Ribe in south-western Jylland in the early 8th century. The earliest whetstone from Mostadmarka found in Ribe is from 710 to 725. The trade increased during the 8th century. In this period major changes in the judicial system also seem to have taken place in Rogaland, when the so-called courtyard sites (major elite-controlled *thing* sites) fell out of use, and military command may have come under royal jurisdiction (Iversen 2017).

According to written sources, Norwegian kings had manors in western Norway in the 10th century, which provided important strongholds for kings such as Haraldr hárfagri (8c. 85/900–928) and Hákon inn góði (933–61), as well as Eiríkr blóðǫx (928–33) and his sons (961–70). The dates provided here follow the chronology suggested by Ólafia Einarsdóttir (1964). Also, for King Haraldr gráfeldr (961–70), often referred to as 'the king of Hordaland' (Koht 1931:454), and other kings based in western Norway in the 10th century, the royal estates may have been important for securing territorial control and sustenance for the hird. Claus Krag has argued that the names of places and regions in skaldic poetry referring to Óláfr Tryggvason (995–1000) indicate that his short rule at the end of the 10th century was confined to western Norway and Trøndelag (Krag 1995:102), and that all of these kings probably used the same manors as centres for their rule and control of trade. The identified royal manors are located between the *Aetel Rugi* (Rogaland) and the *Þrōwendas* (Trøndelag). The distribution indicates the importance of control of shipping and trade. The recent analyses of whetstones and courtyard sites suggest that the rise of kingship by the southern end of the *Norðvegr* should be sought in the early 8th century (Iversen 2017; Baug et al. 2019). Presumably, this entity was strong enough to guarantee safe sailing through these waters.

Some of the Scandinavian law areas may reflect the geographical extent of the tribal confederations at the time they were formed. However, tribal confederations were flexible, as were political alliances. The role of the king in the initial phase may have been limited and connected to the tribe area. In general, it is hard to believe that early kings with access to a limited military force would be able to usurp power in a given area and establish enduring power structures. The *thing* must have played an important role in these processes from an early phase. Long-term supra-regional kings depended on the establishment of physical systems and institutions to consolidate their domination, in particular the command of military defence systems. The classic view of governmental structures during the Middle Ages holds that the king arrives, make laws, and takes control. Nonetheless, real supra-regional royal power only comes later. From this study it

is evident that Scandinavian kings strengthened their position on the basis of different resources connected to tribute, tax, and trade. The number of kingdoms was reduced from thirteen in the mid-6th century to two in the 12th century. The provincial law areas may reflect the geographical extent of some of the early kingdoms, but clearly the law areas were expanded and changed follwing the establiment of new polities. During the Viking Period two 'maritime-based' kingdoms in the west and east through a long-lasting back-and-forth processs expanded their realms into the 'land-based' kingdoms in central parts of *Scandza*.

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Jan Bill

5 The Ship Graves on Kormt – and Beyond

Two of the most significant archaeological monuments on Karmøy are the burials from Storhaug and Grønhaug. Consisting of impressive mounds containing large chamber graves in ships, they belong to the most exclusive and costly group of ritual expressions known from the Viking Age. The two ship graves on Karmøy thus represent persons and politics at the very heart of what made this island an important place in early medieval Scandinavia. This chapter suggests that the majority of monumental burials using the ship allegory were manifestations of a certain origin myth, of which the Danish Skjǫldungar *legend is an example, erected as part of the power struggle between ascendant royal families.*

Archaeological material and written sources are analysed to illuminate the use of ship symbolism in monumental burials in and around Scandinavia: large mounds with inhumations or cremations in ships; large ship-shaped stone settings; and written sources from the 10th to the 14th century mentioning ship burials. The archaeological study shows that two different traditions were in use from the late 6th to the late 10th century. One was utilising stone ship settings, at least sometimes in combination with cremations, and was used in southern and eastern Sweden as well as in Denmark. The other, employing inhumation burials in ships, derived from a Scandinavian tradition of placing the deceased in boats for the funerals, but was only developed into a monumental format in East Anglia around 600. From there, it spread to Norway and, to a lesser extent, Denmark in the late 8th–10th centuries.

This resonates with the written sources, which reveal the existence of two traditions. The ship burials in Norway, Iceland, and Greenland are described as inhumation burials, while narratives playing out in southern Scandinavia – often regarding royal persons – present cremation burials in ships.

This chapter thus suggests that the Karmøy ship graves and many other of the largest monumental ship burials and ship settings were created to establish the godly origin of a deceased dynastic head in collective memory, thereby ensuring the transfer of this exclusive status to his or her heirs. The origin myths used would be following the pattern of the Skjǫldungar *myth, in which the originator of the clan magically arrives as a small child alone in a drifting boat, and who was returned by the clan to the gods by means of a ship funeral. This ideology, it is argued, first emerged in southern Scandinavia in the Migration Period, where its most vivid expression was that of monumental ship settings; subsequently it transformed to ship inhumation burials below mounds as it was briefly adopted by an East Anglian royal family. Later it was adopted again, in its morphed Anglo-Saxon form, by sea-kings ruling from Karmøy in the late 8th century. Close connections between the east- and the west-Norwegian ship graves suggest that their dynasty brought the ideology and ritual to eastern Norway in the 9th century, where it flourished for a century before its disappearance in Norway and possible monopolisation by Danish kings in the late 10th century.*

In a recent essay, the Danish historian of religion Morten Warmind (2015) argued that archaeology is an indispensable and more representative source to religions in the past than any surviving religious texts. His argument was that archaeology reflects a community's actual religious practices, and not what a devout elite propagated as religion in written texts. The premise is that the presence of such practices

Jan Bill, Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo

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can be convincingly demonstrated in the archaeological record. The present study will apply much of this approach to archaeological and written sources that illuminate the use of monumental ship symbolism in burials – including those on Karmøy – among Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons in the early medieval period. In this view, this was certainly not an entirely religious practice, but neither was it devoid of religious signification. Of greater relevance in light of Warmind's argument is that the main non-religious topic of these burials, the transfer of legitimacy from one generation to the next, is one that is treated with no less bias in written sources than that of religion. Taking for granted that the monumental ship graves belonged to the uppermost echelon of society, these constitute physical evidence for tangible actions, carried out by men and women acting in the pursuit of agendas crucial to their position. There are certainly elements of custom in the burials, but it is precisely because they are so extraordinary that they have the potential of expressing more than tradition. This 'more' likely represents the specific meaning of the burials to those who carried them out.

Warmind's argumentation highlights the bias underlying the written sources; the same must be said for the archaeological sources as well, but crucially, archaeology has the potential to illuminate practices that the elite-produced texts ignored. Nor was this normative attitude a strictly vertical phenomenon, between elite and commoners. The majority of the texts that provide information on the burial rituals among early medieval rulers in pre-Christian northern Europe were written with a bias for the purpose of producing historical pasts for competing, contemporary elites. Oblivion was as important a strategy as memory in the construction of such pasts (e.g. Goeres 2015:47, 139), and bears a definite influence on the surviving written sources; likewise, the plundering of the ship graves from Oseberg and Gokstad can be seen as an attempt to erase the collective memories attached to them (Bill and Daly 2012). It is thus important to recognize the incompleteness of both the historical and the archaeological record, and to understand that the monumental ship burials and the written sources represent two fragmentary images of the past that do not necessarily converge.

Many researchers, most recently Arnfrid Opedal, who have intensively engaged with the ship graves on Kormt, have stressed the importance for early medieval rulers of demonstrating their godly origins (Sundqvist 2000; Steinsland 1991; Hedeager 1996; Opedal 2010). This chapter will take this concept as the point of departure for the interpretation of the ship graves as monuments created within a cosmology where the ruler's authority ideally was anchored in their status as descendants of a god or god-like figure. Following Warmind's approach, the study analyses the archaeological material – the ship graves – as the actual expressions of ideological belief by the communities and their leaders, while considering the written sources referring to the same phenomenon to be selective renderings. Both will be interpreted as formed by their respective political and ideological contexts, but with one critical distinction: whereas the archaeological examples *are* the phenomenon itself, the written sources will, with the exception of a few runic inscriptions, always remain at some remove – in social,

geographical, and chronological terms – from the actual construction of the ship burials. The goal here is not to find archaeological clues that confirm interpretations of the written sources; rather, this chapter will extract patterns of practice from the ship graves as the basis for investigating whether the evidence of the ship burial practice in the written sources can further understanding of the ideological content of these practices. With these observations in mind, the chapter can turn towards the evaluation of the archaeological material.

Both the Storhaug and the Grønhaug ship burials (Fig. 5.1) have recently been published in several works; the present text need not repeat their detailed descriptions and discussions (Opedal 1997, 1998, 2005, 2010; Christensen 1998; Bonde and Stylegar 2009, 2016). Instead, focus will be on deliberating the two finds in the wider context of ship graves known from early medieval Scandinavian and peri-Scandinavian contexts. This will be the content of the first part of the chapter. Because the study transgresses borders between different research traditions and disciplines, it is useful to clarify a few chronological and geographical terms. Reference is made to the following overlapping periods: Migration Period (300–700), early Middle Ages (476–1066), Viking Age (793–1066) and High Middle Ages (1066–1350). Unless stated otherwise, all dates given in the text are CE (Common Era). A number of terms are used to define geographical areas, without implying that these were polities. By 'Scandinavia' is understood present-day Norway, Sweden, and Denmark plus northern Germany down to Danevirke and Hedeby. 'Denmark' is understood as modern day Denmark down to Hedeby/Danevirke plus the Swedish provinces Scania, Halland, and Blekinge. By 'southern Scandinavia' is understood Denmark as described above, plus Sweden south of the provinces Värmland, Dalarna, and Gästrikland. 'Viken' is the region around the Oslo Fjord.

5.1 Ship burials – the archaeological dimension

5.1.1 Monumental ship burials – an *ad hoc* definition

This chapter has used the phrase monumental ship burial' a number of times already, but it should be defined if it is to make a useful tool for the discussion of the Karmøy ship graves – not universally, but as a rational delimitation of the comparative material of other burials from the time and region against which to study the Karmøy ship graves. Monumental ship burials such as Grønhaug and Storhaug are not members of a solitary class of graves, dramatically different from all others; they form a segment of a much larger population of graves, signified solely by the symbolic use of a boat or ship during the burial ritual. Such graves are found in many different variants – big, small, inhumed, cremated, marked with a mound or apparently unmarked – but which of all these graves share the most meaning with

Fig. 5.1: The two ship graves Storhaug and Grønhaug by the Karmsundet. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

the two from Karmøy? The definition should cover those, but hopefully not too many others. To achieve this, four criteria have been defined.

The first criterion: of interest are only burials that use the ship motif in the funeral rite – a dominant feature in the Storhaug and Grønhaug burials.

The second criterion: the graves potentially could share rituals. Boat graves occur intermittently from the Mesolithic onwards in Scandinavia, and the Bronze Age is rich in ship symbolism, also in connection with burials, but evidence is lacking for boat burials in the last half-millennium BCE. The focus will therefore be on graves from the first millennium CE, especially the early Medieval Period, and in terms of geography on the region from Brittany in the west to the Volga in the east, as this seems to be the area where Scandinavians or people with some degree of Scandinavian identity used boats in burials.

The third criterion: outstanding size. This is a useful gauge because of the exponential proportionality between size and investment. A vessel twice as long as another requires more than double the resources for its construction, as it is not only bigger in length, but also breadth and height, and requires stronger materials and better carpentry for its construction. A mound twice as wide as another requires not only double, but eight times or more the materials and transport labour. Even for ship settings, a more than linear growth of investment with growing size can be argued, given that the stones used for a larger ship setting are also mostly in themselves larger and heavier, and thus require more labour and skill to transport over longer distances and to erect. Monument size is thus an excellent way to communicate power and importance because it reflects the social and economic power of the clan performing the burial. From an archaeological point of view it also has a large advantage towards the other prime measure of power – wealth –as a plundered or cremated burial may have preserved little of its original wealth, but its size will often remain visible.

The fourth and final criterion: monument type. As mentioned above, two different categories of monuments demonstrate ship symbolism in connection with funerals: those including remains of real ships, and those using ship-shaped constructions or ship settings. Due to the thousands of characteristic iron-clench nails used to put the hull together in early medieval Scandinavian ship building, even cremated ships in mound burials may be identified; many boat cremation burials have been detected. Ship settings are more difficult to categorize as graves because they usually do not include a contemporary mound and thus what protection they offer to the burial remains is limited. Further, it has recently been demonstrated that early medieval cremation sites are more elusive than previously thought, and may not have left any archaeological traces at all (Henriksen 2016). Most of the large ship settings have not been documented to contain any primary burials – either because none were found during excavation (Capelle 1986:34), or because excavation never took place, or was only partial. Some ship settings evidently were used as *thing* sites in later times, and it has been suggested that such

monuments were not graves but had other functions, for example as cult places (cf. Vestergaard 2007). The archaeological support for this is slim, and consists of phenomena that we also associate with burials, for example fireplaces, charcoal pits and cremated animal bones (Vestergaard 2007:156–9). By contrast, there are several examples of strong evidence for large stone ships used as funeral sites or memorials. The 90 m long ship setting from Vejerslev in Jutland, which has recently been rediscovered and investigated, surrounded the remains of a cremation from around 600 (Holst 2017). The find owes a great deal to the use of metal detectors, a fairly new technology in the research of ship settings. At the other end of the early Middle Ages sits the monumental ship setting at Jelling, which frames the North Mound with its burial chamber from 957–9 (Holst et al. 2013a, 2013b). In between these two, there are examples of less manifest evidence. Located near the centre of the large Kåseberga stone ship, also known as 'Ale's Stones' and dated to 600–1000, a charcoal pit may or may not stem from a cremation. An inhumation burial was found in a similar position in one of the Lejre ship settings (Vestergaard 2007:163). It is unclear whether these findings represent primary funerals. The rune stones of the Bække, Glavendrup, and Tryggevælde ship settings state their purpose clearly: all are memorials, sometimes including mounds, raised over deceased individuals; still, it is not entirely certain that burials also took place there.

Given this state of the evidence, and for the purpose of the study, all large ship settings will be considered as potential burials or memorials. The meaning of burial', in this light, will be taken to mean 'the location at which a deceased person was, symbolically or factually, put to rest'.

Sizes of ships in graves

Armed with this definition of the term 'monumental ship burial' and having established its chronological and geographical limits, the next step is to quantify the 'monumental' aspect of ships in graves, of mounds, and of ship settings. Size is relative (Wijkander 1983); a mound or ship that was considered a monumental element in a burial in East Anglia in the 6th century may not have appeared monumental in Norway in the 9th; the 90 m long Vejerslev ship setting was certainly dwarfed by the one at Jelling, erected three and a half centuries later. Regional and chronological context must be taken into account when measuring monumentality. This section will first look to burial ships, next to mounds, and finally to ship settings in order to determine which of them can be deemed to have extraordinary proportions.

What kind of ships would have been in use in early medieval burials around the Baltic and the North Sea? Both logboats and plank-built vessels could be built to a large size, but it seems that big, expanded logboats were not used in graves.

Lapstrake vessels – that is, the type of plank-built rowing and sailing ships that the Vikings, but also Slavs, Anglo-Saxons, and others in Northern Europe used – first occur in the 3rd century, as demonstrated by the boats from the war sacrifices in the Nydam bog in the south-westernmost reaches of the Baltic (Rieck et al. 2013). The Nydam B boat, dated to c. 320, shows the length of one of these: 23 m, with 30 oars. Finds of individual ship timbers indicate that vessels of this size or larger continued to be in use in the following centuries (Rieck and Crumlin-Pedersen 1988:133–8). From the other side of the Baltic, on the Estonian island of Saaremaa, a burial from around 750 has revealed a 16–17 m long vessel, probably originating from Uppland (Peets et al. 2012; Price et al. 2016). Apart from this, there is little evidence from which to estimate pre-Viking age ship sizes in the eastern Baltic. The numerous vessels from the boat graves in the Mälaren Valley are all much shorter than the one at Salme II, the longest being Valsgärde 14, which has been reconstructed to a length of barely 12 m and a maximum of 12 oars (Bill 2018). This grave, however, is relatively late, and among the boat graves from before 750, the largest once measures only 9–10 m (Müller-Wille 1970:Catalogue I, nos. 52, 59, 76, 78 and 159; Gräslund and Ljungkvist 2011). Since the east-Swedish boat graves are found along rather small inland waterways and their boat sizes seem to reflect river size, they are probably not representative of the vessels used on open sea (Bill 1991).

Turning to the North Sea, the East Anglian Sutton Hoo 1 ship, buried c. 625, measured 27 m and would probably have featured 40 oars. A few ship fragments from about the same date have been found north of Ribe on the southwestern coast of Jutland, and demonstrate the presence of ships similar in size to that from Nydam (Crumlin-Pedersen 1968). Going further north, to Kvalsund in western Norway, the largest of two vessels sacrificed in a bog at some point in the 7th or 8th century has been reconstructed to a length of 18 m, with ten pairs of oars (Shetelig and Johannessen 1929; Myhre 1970).

These few measurements provide evidence for substantial ships frequenting the coasts of the Baltic and the North Sea throughout the early Middle Ages; the sizes of vessels found in graves should be viewed against this background. A quite extensive sample of vessel sizes can be found in Müller-Wille's 1970 catalogue (150–82), which summaries all the then-known north-European boat graves. Among the 422 catalogue entries, 81 provide information about the lengths of the grave vessels (shown, together with Müller-Wille's dates of the burials, in Fig. 5.2). There seems to be no relation between date and length – early and late finds are randomly mixed. The numbers of vessels of different lengths clearly show that the shorter of the vessels – all those up to c. 12 m – form a group that exhibits something close to a normal distribution around a mean length of c. 6 m. The diagram further shows a very long tail to the left consisting of extraordinarily large vessels, creating a clear divide between 'normal' grave vessels, measuring 12 m or less, and the graves with larger vessels.

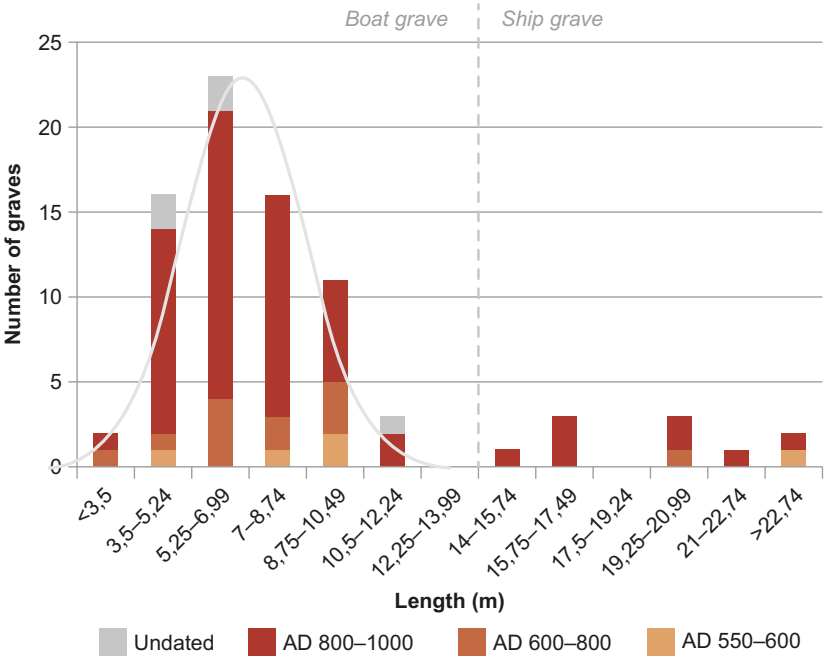

Fig. 5.2: Recorded lengths and dates of burial vessels (boats and ships) in Müller-Wille 1970. The curved line is illustrative of a bell curve, not calculated. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman and Jan Bill, MCH.

Since 1970 a few additional graves with large vessels have been excavated: a 13–15 m long boat from a 10th-century grave at Lø, Steinkjer, in northern Trøndelag (Farbregd 1974:10–11); a 12–14 m long vessel from a very poorly preserved Viking Age grave in Tønsberg, Vestfold (Nordman 1989); and the 16–17 m long Salme II ship mentioned above. These finds are in the lower end of the large vessel group, blurring the differentiation between the two groups without removing it. On this background this study distinguishes between graves with watercraft less than 14 m long – called 'boat graves' – and graves with craft 14 m or more long – 'ship graves'. The former group will not be included in comparisons, but will form a backdrop against which the ship graves are seen.

Sizes of mounds

If a watercraft in a burial is defined as being of monumental proportions when it is at least 14 m in length, how is the monumental mound to be defined? A commonly suggested criteria is that mounds of 20 m or more in diameter are counted as 'royal' or 'elite' or simply as extraordinarily big (Hyenstrand 1974:103; Gansum 1996a:10;

Bratt 2008:43–5; Opedal 2010:293). However, there are clear regional differences in the use of mounds. In the Mälar Valley, 17 well-documented parishes with 1028 mounds of known diameter showed a normal size of 4–13 m in diameter, while only two percent would be 15 m or larger (Bratt 2008:44–5, tab. 3, fig. 13). This region also shows some of the largest known Scandinavian mounds, those at Gamla Uppsala. Ljungkvist has shown that the east-Swedish mounds of 15 m or greater generally contain elite grave furniture, which could be found even in mounds as small as 10 m (Ljungkvist 2006:39–40, 159–62).

Turning to Norway, Ringstad (2004) has investigated the occurrence of large mounds in the western part of the country. Mounds counted as 'large' are those with a volume of 400 m3 or greater, corresponding to a diameter of 20 m and a height of 2.5 m. He finds that in two municipalities with uncommonly large numbers of preserved mounds, large mounds make up only 1.5–2.1% of the total. In a region starting with Karmøy in the south and ending at the border with Trøndelag, he finds c. 300 large mounds, 86 of which are more precisely datable; 33 of these date to 300–550, only five to the late 6th and 7th centuries, and 24 to the 9th and 10th centuries. A total of 58 mounds have a volume of 1000 m3 or greater, meaning that they measure at least 30 m in diameter and 3 m in height. Among these, the Iron Age mounds predating 550 make up 60% of the dated mounds, and those ante-dating 550 only 14%. This landscape is thus much more monumentalised than the Mälar region.

For eastern Norway, Terje Gansum's work on Vestfold offers a different picture (Ringstad 2004:250). Gansum identifies 23 dated mounds of more than 20 m diameter. The 14 mounds he dates to the period 300–550 only in one case exceed 26 m in diameter – reaching 32 m – while nine mounds dated after 550 are in the range of 34–46 m. Seven of these are from the 9th and early 10th centuries. In Vestfold the Viking Age boom in the construction of monumental mounds is thus even stronger than in the west, especially when seen in contrast to the more modest sizes of the early Migration Period mounds. Vestfold is, however, atypical for eastern Norway in its high number of large early medieval mounds.

The inner reaches around the Trondheim fjord in central Norway constitute another area relatively rich in mounds in large mounds. Stenvik (1996) has shown that mounds measuring more than 20 m in diameter make up between 2% and 10% of the preserved mounds in a region with in total c. 2000 mounds. Datings are few, however, and thus the extent to which large mounds were a Viking Age phenomenon here remains unclear.

Turning to Denmark, older mounds were frequently used as focal points for cemeteries (Ulriksen 2011), but most new mounds are very modest constructions. South on Jutland two preserved Viking Age mound cemeteries at Træhede at Haderslev and Thumby-Bienebek near Schleswig show that small mounds may have been more common (Jensen 2004:341–2). Monumental mounds are only known from very few sites, notably Jelling and the ship graves, and are not known at all from the Migration Period.

Mounds also seem to be used sparingly across the North Sea in East Anglia. An exhaustive survey shows that mounds constructed in the early Anglo-Saxon period were generally few, and small compared to their Roman predecessors; they rarely exceeded 30 m in diameter (Lawson et al. 1981; Pollington 2008:19).

The use and size of mounds thus vary markedly across the area where ship graves are found. In some areas, for example Denmark, nearly any sizeable mound – one large enough to cover an entire vessel – would be impressive, while in Rogaland or Vestfold the competition on marking the landscape with monuments would be much sharper. This does not preclude the possibility of using mounds to identify which burials with watercraft that are most likely to represent the highest social strata. But it does make it necessary to measure the mounds against their regional context, and not arbitrarily in relation to a set value. Nevertheless, it appears that beyond the Mälar region 20 m is useful as a minimum value to identify the monumental mounds.

Sizes of ship settings

Many of the questions concerning the evaluation of boat and mound sizes are also relevant in discussing ship settings. They were constructed at different times and in different sizes, and they are unequally distributed across the area where ship and boat burials appear. Chronologically they seem to appear mainly in the Bronze Age and in the early Middle Ages (Capelle 2004), although many are undated. Spatially they are not found outside Scandinavia and the Baltic region, with the exception of a 30 m long example and some smaller ones at Mosfell on Iceland (Byock and Zori 2013:129–31). In the early Middle Ages they are produced in highly varying sizes, from only a few metres in length, for instance at Lindholm Høje in Jutland (Ramskou 1976) to 356 m at Jelling (Jessen et al. 2014:51). The Bronze Age settings all belong in the lower end of this scale. Capelle (2004:80; see also Vestergaard 2007) has defined ship settings above 40 m as monumental, a definition that excludes all ship settings with Bronze Age dates. The early 10th-century, 52 m long Glavendrup stone ship with its runic stone stating that it was raised for a *þegn* makes it evident that ship settings more than 40 m long did not necessarily reflect burials of the highest-ranking people in society. However, ship settings of 60 m or more are exclusively known from Scania and Denmark, while settings of 40–60 m are also found in the remaining parts of Sweden south of a line from Bohüslän to Uppland. As with ships and mounds, the discussion will include the medium size ship settings.

The following criteria will thus be applied to identify a monumental ship burial:

a) It must include ship symbolism (ship in mound or ship setting)
b) It must date from the first millennium CE (or later) and be from the wider north European area (from Bretagne to Volga)
c) If a ship is used, this has to be outstandingly large (min. 14 m, dependent on context)

d) If a mound is used, this has to be outstandingly large (min. 15 m, dependent on context)
e) If a ship setting is used, this has to be outstandingly large (min. 40 m, dependent on context)

Since the monumental ship burials with ships and with ship settings will be analysed separately at first, this section will use the terms 'monumental ship grave' and 'monumental ship setting' for each of them, respectively.

5.1.2 The Storhaug and Grønhaug ship graves

Unfortunately the Storhaug and Grønhaug graves were unearthed before the Oseberg excavation in 1904 set new standards for burial archaeology in Norway, and the documentation from both is tentative. Nevertheless, a wealth of information is available, and the presentation below will focus primarily on such aspects necessary for a comparison with other monumental ship graves. Detailed descriptions of the burial inventory are referred to above.

Storhaug

Storhaug was situated prominently in the landscape, on a small terrace over a slope falling off towards Karmsundet. It was excavated during two campaigns, first by a local teacher, J. A. Døsseland in 1886, and in the following year by the antiquarian A. Lorange. Before excavation the mound had already been extensively quarried for soil by locals who had dug in from its northern side and destroyed part of its contents. Lorange estimated its original diameter to c. 40 m (Opedal 1998:15).

The mound was built directly on an earlier surface, starting with a layer of heather turf with the topside down. Over it was found horizontal layers of clayey soil and sometimes bog turf, with irregular, but towards the centre of the mound occasionally massive, layers of charcoal. The surface of the mound had apparently been covered with a layer of grass turf (Opedal 2010:261–2).

The burial ship was only fragmentarily preserved. It had been placed in a north–south-oriented depression in the terrain and supported with six stone slabs. The ship had been covered with moss at the time of the burial. Lorange states that the ship's stem was pointing to the south, which is confirmed by a larger fragment of the ship's side, found at a few metres from the southern stem of the ship. It shows a plank joint that indicates the fragment to be from the port side of the ship. Curiously, Lorange repeatedly states in his excavation diary that the fragment was from the starboard side (Christensen 1998:207–8).

Three dry-stone walls were preserved inside the burial mound at the time of excavation (Fig. 5.3). It is unknown if a fourth had been removed during the quarrying of the mound before excavation, or if it never existed. Two of the walls were placed outside the central part of the ship, on either side of it and six metres apart. They were about one metre high and equally wide. A third wall connected their southern end, going across the ship. Large quantities of birch bark probably originate from a roof construction, and a coloured drawing of a section through the mound, made by the

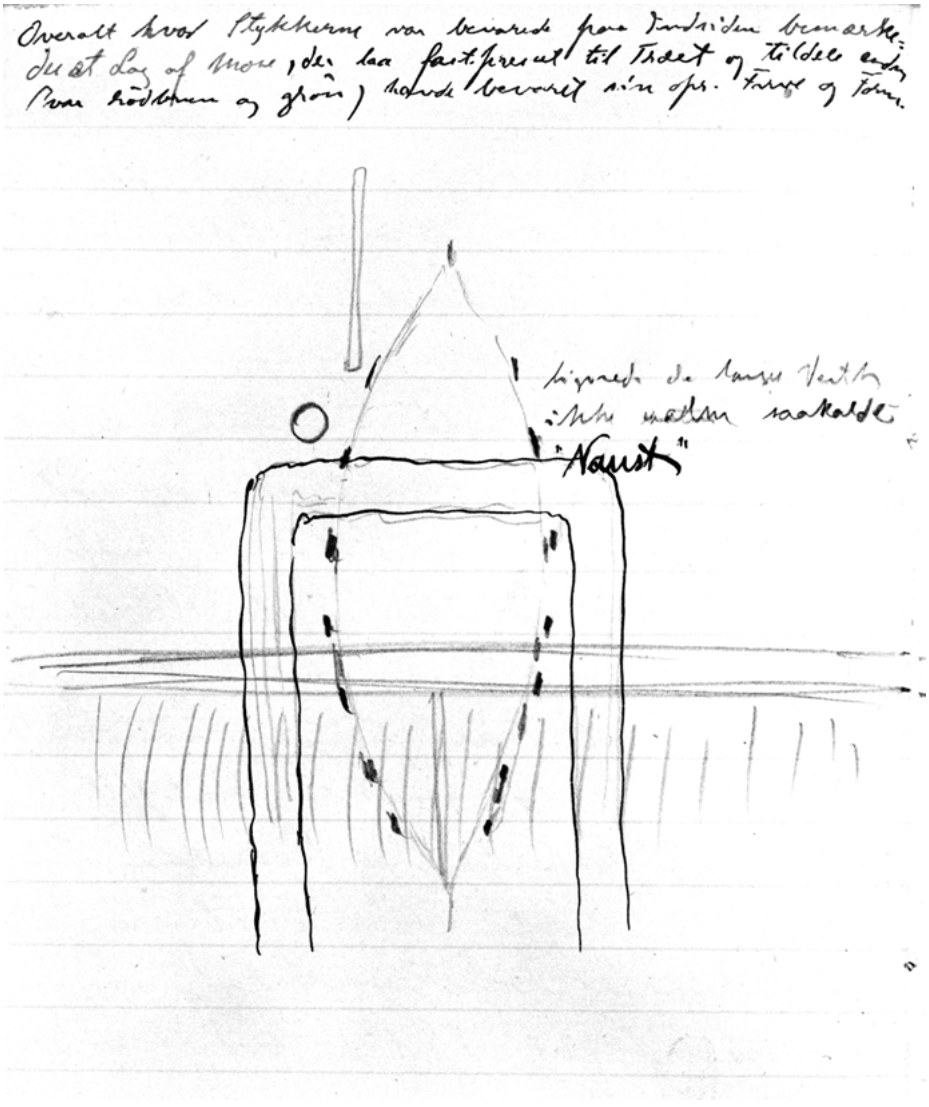

Fig. 5.3: Plan of the stone walls in Storhaug, drawn by A. Lorange in his excavation diary. North is downwards in the drawing. Photo: S. Skare, UMB.

excavator, indicates that the burial chamber was a tent-shaped construction inside the stone walls, rather than a roof resting on the walls (Fig. 5.4). If the stone walls were not part of the chamber, they may have been constructed as a protective measure around it. The soil layers covering the burial chamber were undisturbed and showed that the roof had collapsed, creating a trench-like depression in the surface of the mound. The function of two trenches running alongside the ship and covered with birch bark is unknown, but they may have been intended to drain the area.

Fig. 5.4: Section through Storhaug, seen from the north. From A. Lorange's excavation diary (undated). Owner: private/family. Scan: UMB.

The collection of grave goods was quite extensive, although many objects may have decomposed before excavation, or been lost to the quarrying. At the southern end of the ship, remains of a boat were found together with a massive gangway and parts of two oars – one driven down vertically at the side of the ship, the other laying nearby on the original surface. Remains of a horse were found beneath the above-mentioned larger ship fragment, and must have been placed outside the ship. A large, round stone plate of schist was found placed on smaller stones outside the foreship on the port side. The function is unknown and the find was not brought in to the museum; a similar schist plate, 2–2.18 m in diameter, was found in another mound on the same farm in 1906 (Museum no. B6263). From inside the burial chamber, on a recess in the southern wall, were found two swords, a spear or lance, a quiver with 24 arrows, and a knife. According to Opedal, the weaponry shows clear connections with 8th-century Frankish military traditions (Opedal 1998:44–51). From further north in the burial originates a massive gold arm-ring (Fig. 5.5), a set of 20 amber gaming pieces, and another set made of glass, consisting of 17 pieces, possibly of Frankish origin (Opedal 1998:53–5) (Fig. 5.6). A piece of wax, marked with a possible cross, was found together with the gaming pieces and a soapstone fishing weight. Further, the burial yielded four large glass beads and some blacksmith's tools, including two pairs of tongs, two files, and a tool for the production of nails. Six whetstones and a set of quern stones were found together with an iron cauldron, and finally a small wooden box with a feather, a piece of flint, and a now-lost bronze

Fig. 5.5: Massive arm-ring of gold from the Storhaug grave measuring 8 x 5 cm and weighing 435 g. Photo: unknown, UMB.

ring. Shetelig (1928:75)[1] claimed that a sledge was included in the burial, but there is nothing in the find today to substantiate this assertion.

Whereas this was earlier considered to be a Viking Age grave, Bjørn Myhre was the first to point to a Merovingian date for Storhaug, both based on the artefact assembly and on radiocarbon dates of a ship timber and of birch bark found in the burial (Myhre 1966:255; Opedal 1998:64–5). Dendrochronological analyses of nine timbers from the ship, six timbers from the boat, and three other timbers from the construction of the burial revealed that it had been constructed in 779 or very shortly after that, and that the ship most likely had been about ten years old at the time of the burial. Also, a local provenance was suggested for the vessels, due to the similarity of the growth-pattern in all the analysed timbers (Bonde and Stylegar 2009:159–61, 2016:24).

Grønhaug

Grønhaug was likewise built on a prominent location in the landscape (Fig. 5.7). It formed the eastern end point of a row of monumental Bronze Age mounds on Reheia,

1 Haakon Shetelig used the family name Schetelig before 1919; hence the latter name is used in the bibliography for publications before 1919, but not in the main text.

Fig. 5.6: The two sets of gaming pieces from Storhaug. Photo: Timboe, AM.

a natural ridge running across Karmøy. During the excavation, which was only partial (Fig. 5.8), it was established that the core of the c. 30 m wide mound consisted of an approximately 2 m high cairn, constructed with two layers of stone with a grey sand layer in between (Shetelig 1902). A depression reaching down to about one metre above the base of the mound was cutting through the upper part of the cairn in a north-northeast–south-southwest direction. It had been clad with the same grey sand, with thin lines of charcoal, and contained the remains of a c. 15 m long vessel with its

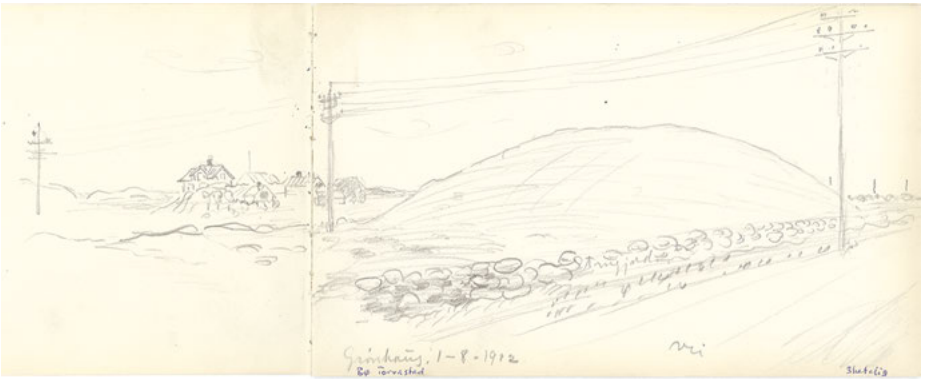

Fig. 5.7: Sketch of Grønhaug, drawn by Shetelig in 1902, prior to the excavation. Photo: UMB.

bow pointing to the south-southwest. The mound covering the cairn was constructed of layers of peat and turf, with occassional inclusions of sand and pebble, and the same filling was found inside the ship. The vessel itself was poorly preserved, and its upper parts had almost completely disintegrated. Preserved fragments showed, however, that the uppermost strake had been decorated on the outside with a pattern of triangles painted with black colour, and that oar holes had been cut in it.

There was clear evidence of an extensive disturbance of the central burial area, making it difficult to reconstruct its original configuration. A dent in the mound's top and down its north-western side visible before excavation proved to be signs of a wide trench that had been dug into the mound from this direction. A plundering layer, formed during the break-in, could be observed over an approximately 5 x 6 m area, encompassing the entire burial area in the central part of the ship and the adjacent cairn surface west of the ship. It consisted of soil mixed with pieces of birch bark, wooden chips, cloth fragments, feathers and down, and various fragments of grave goods (Shetelig 1902:5–7). This mixed find situation may represent remains of a solid roof that had collapsed and partly deteriorated prior to the break-in. Approaching from the west, the intruders would have dug their way through the collapsed chamber roof, mixing in organic remains of the chamber's contents. Shetelig describes a few preserved timbers – a large, facetted pine timber lying on the cairn alongside the western gunwale of the ship at the grave chamber, and a few smaller timbers extending orthogonally from its ends over the ship – which could represent a foundation for the roof construction. A horizontal layer shown in the profile drawing extending to the west from the top of the cairn east of the ship could be traces of such a roof construction, or part of the plundering layer.

Very little was found of the original contents of the burial. Inside the ship a few disarticulated human bones were discovered, originating from an adult, strongly built male (Sellevold 1998). The down material found in the plundering layer was from *anatidae* and may represent goose or eider. It demonstrates the presence of

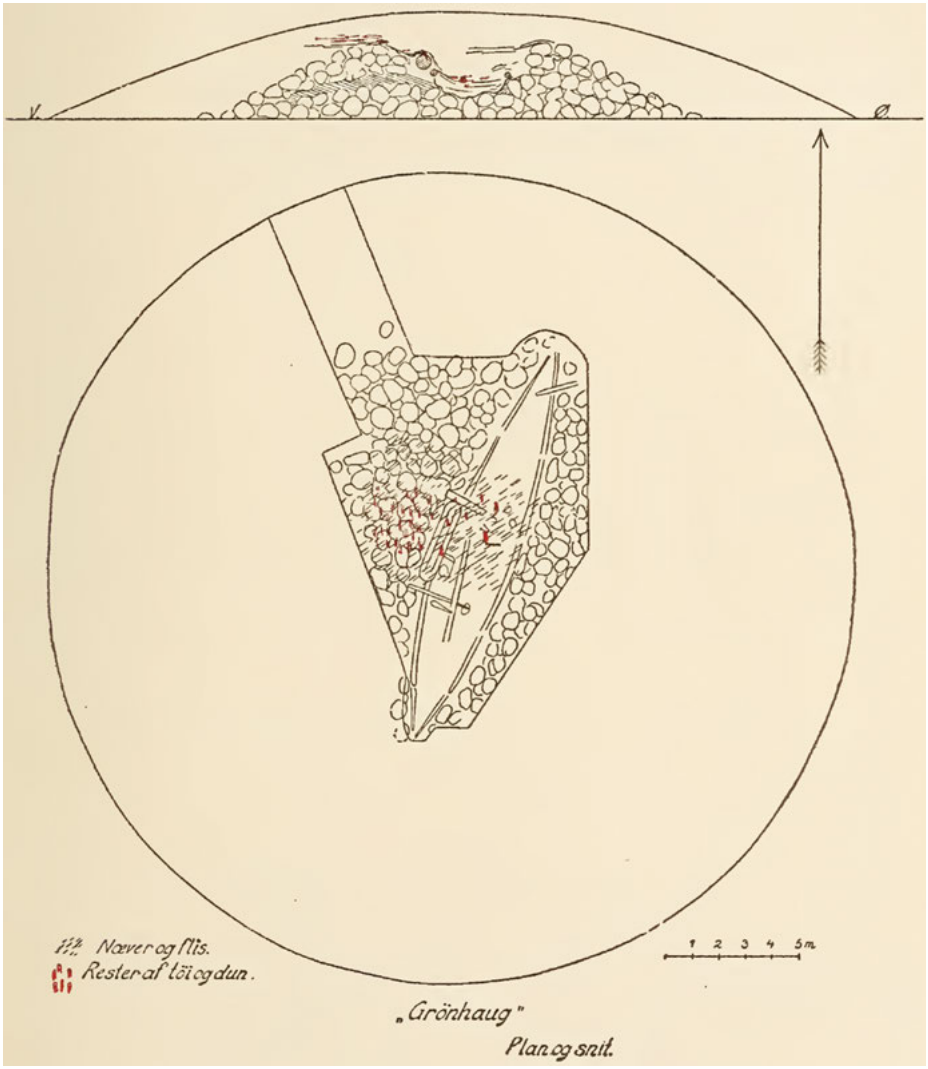

Fig. 5.8: Shetelig's plan and section of the Grønhaug burial. From Schetelig (1902, fig. 1).

cushions or down coverlets on which the deceased was probably placed. The textiles were of three different woollen qualities ranging from very fine to coarse. Further one textile was identified as hemp with a cord attached to it, and one as a picture tapestry. Finally, a sixth textile quality had been used for the cushions or downers. Also found in the plundering layer were several fragments of a wax candle, a sherd of a green glass vessel decorated with a glass thread in the same colour, and two adjoining bronze rings of which one was elongated, 6.5 cm long, and the other round, 2.9 cm in diameter. Further, wood fragments of a 40–50 cm wide and

15 cm high tub, and of another around 20 cm high, were found, as well as pieces of a turned wooden bowl.

The few artefacts in the burial provide no clear indications of its age. The major dating evidence for Grønhaug is therefore the ship and in particular the dendrochronological analyses of five samples from it, one of them with 11 preserved sapwood rings. These produce a felling date within the interval 775–801, most likely around 780; with an estimated lifetime of the vessel prior to interment of ten years, the time of the burial can be set to around 790 (Bonde and Stylegar 2009:161–2; 2016:24–5). This dating, however, is strongly in contrast to a typological dating of the ship remains in the burial, suggested by Christensen in 1998 and in 2017 (Christensen 1998:220, 2017), who argues that constructional features indicate a mid-10th century date. It is necessary briefly to discuss this disagreement.

The constructional features pointed out by Christensen are primarily the design of the decorative mouldings along the plank edges and the use of treenails to fasten floor timbers. The dendrochronological dating is statistically strong, as can be seen from the *t*-values obtained when comparing the growth-ring curve for the Grønhaug ship with the Oseberg ship (4.16), the Storhaug ship (5.19), and the Storhaug boat (4.98) (Bonde and Stylegar 2016:tabs. 1 and 2). The typological argument made by Christensen is based on a rather small number of finds and is not convincing. Precise typological dating of ships is notoriously difficult since different building traits tend to overlap in time and space (Bill 2009). It may also be pointed out that although other early ship finds show more simple profiles than the Grønhaug ship, the Gokstad find is not the first outside Grønhaug to contain complex ones. The Oseberg find has different, but at least as complicated profiles drawn on its oars and rudder, and these date at the latest to 834 (Shetelig 1917b; Christensen 2017:fig. 1). Thus complicated profiles occur significantly earlier than Christensen claim, and the leap back to the proposed 780 date for the Grønhaug ship is not great. Christensen's argument that the use of treenails in floor timbers cannot be found as early as 780 is contradicted by their presence in the mid-7th to mid-9th century Kvalsund 1 and 2 vessels (Shetelig and Johannessen 1929:Plates III, IV).

Two radiocarbon dates, T-3750 and Beta-107574, have been made on birch bark from the burial, but even when combined, they do not favour one of the two dates over the other; with 95.4% probability they date the growth of the bark to between 773 and 984. Given the balance of the evidence, there seems to be no reason to doubt the dendrochronological date of the Grønhaug ship to around 780, and thus the date of the burial to within a short span of years after that.

Dendrochronological connections to other ship graves

The dendrochonological analyses of the Grønhaug and Storhaug vessels in 2009 revealed a strong link between the oak timbers found in these graves and the Oseberg

ship (Bonde and Stylegar 2009:162). The high correlation values (up to 9.40) demonstrate beyond any doubt that the Oseberg ship had been constructed near or within the area that had provided wood for the construction of the Storhaug ship, the Grønhaug ship, the Storhaug boat, and the other dendrochronologically analysed objects from Storhaug. Since some of the Storhaug objects were of a character unlikely for long-distance travel – for example, a stretcher on which to carry soil for the construction of the mound – the source of the oak most likely cannot have been far from Karmøy.

Further, there is a dendrochronological connection between the Karmøy ship graves and Gokstad. Non-destructive dendrochronological measurements of 12 original timbers from 'G3', one of three small boats found in the Gokstad ship, have provided a building date between 887–96 and a strong similarity with measurements of original timbers in the Oseberg ship. The *t*-test value for the synchronisation between curves from the two vessels was 12.55, which is a reliable indication of a common origin, within a 50 km radius, of the timbers used in the two constructions (Daly 2007:66–7; see also Bonde and Stylegar 2011:259, 2011:8–10; Daly in prep.).

The dendrochronology thus demonstrates that boats and ships were transferred from one to the other of two regions both yielding monumental ship burials. This relation becomes visible between 820 when the Oseberg is being built and 834 when it is being buried, and again at some point between 887, the earliest possible construction date for the Gokstad G3 boat, and c. 900, when it is buried in the Gokstad grave. What dendrochronology cannot describe is the character of this relation. It is commonplace for ships to turn up – as wrecks or in sea-route blockages – far from their place of construction. The two Norwegian and the Irish vessel found together with two local ships in the 11th-century Skuldelev sea route blockage is the prime Viking Age example (Crumlin-Pedersen et al. 2002). Of course, 9th-century vessels also could end up in ship graves far from their place of construction. That is true even though the dendrochronological investigations of both the Gokstad and the Tune ship, as well as the two other small boats from Gokstad, demonstrate east-Norwegian provenances and thus the existence of a local shipbuilding industry in the Oslo Fjord region.

5.1.3 Known monumental ship graves in northern Europe

After these brief accounts of the two monumental ship graves on *Kormt*, we shall compare them to other known examples of such burials (Tab. 5.1, Fig. 5.9). Applying strictly the criteria defined above, we can only count 12 certain monumental burials: three in East Anglia, one in northern Germany, one in Denmark, and the rest in Norway. A few additional graves, namely the famous cremation graves from Myklebust in western Norway and Isle de Groix in Brittany together with the relatively small Fosnes burial are plausible candidates and will be included in the study. The recently discovered

Tab. 5.1: Known possible and certain monumental ship burials per August 2018, with details on selected features.

Monumental ship graves	Mound diameter (m)	Ship length(m)	Dating	Selected features
Snape, SE England	22 (large)	14+	550–600	Inhumation. Ship placed in trench and oriented E–W, parallel to riverbank and orthogonal to the distant coast. No organic remains, but nails were well preserved and formed a clear pattern; no indications of further boats, or of numerous shields along the gunwales. The preserved grave furniture in the plundered grave was found inside the boat and included two spearheads, a glass beaker and a golden fingering with an engraved onyx, providing a terminus post quem date of AD 550 (Bruce-Mitford 1952; Filmer-Sankey 1992).
Sutton Hoo 1, SE England	30–35 (large)	27	600–625	Inhumation. Ship placed in trench and oriented E–W with the stem to the E, oblique to the riverbank but pointing towards the more remote sea. Organic materials were only preserved as stains. The deceased had been placed with his head in the W end of central chamber in ship. Attempts to rob the burial had missed the burial chamber, which was undisturbed at the time of the first excavation in 1939. No traces of horses or further boats inside or outside the ship and absence of any horse equipment. The otherwise very richly equipped burial chamber contained a single shield (Carver 1992, 2005).
Sutton Hoo 2, SE England	22.3 (large)	20–24	600–625	Inhumation. Ship placed on surface after turf had been stripped off. Oriented E–W, oblique to river bank and to the distant coast. The burial severely disturbed in the sixteenth century and again in 1860. First excavation in 1938; complete excavation carried out 1984–88. By then no parts of the ship were found in situ, and organic remains were not preserved. The plundered burial chamber was located underneath the centre of the ship; remaining grave furniture included objects of silver and gilded bronze, as well as glass and the tip of a sword. The deceased had been placed with the head towards W, indicating the stem to point E. The ship length proposed by Carver, 24 m, may be too large, considering the size of the mound and the many nails from stem and stern that he supposes to have survived. Possible evidence of one shield in the burial chamber, but no riding gear or indication of horses (Carver 1992a:355–7, 2005:153–77).

Grønhaug, W Norway	*c* 30 (large)	15	*c* 790	Inhumation. Ship placed in trench in stone cairn, above the ground surface. Oriented parallel to shore with the stem towards SSW. Only the ship area and part of the mound excavated. Male skeleton found in chamber in the centre of the ship. The burial was plundered, and only a few artefacts, including a glass fragment from a beaker, were found. The burial included no horses or horse equipment, or remains of shields or extra boats. See main text for references.
Storhaug, W Norway	40 (large)	>19	779	Inhumation. Part of mound and ship removed before excavation. Ship oriented S–N (stem S), parallel to shore; placed in a natural trench. The ship was covered with moss; a chamber found centrally, with drystone walls outside and across ship and interior wooden construction. Horse, gangway and remains of a boat placed outside the ship. No indications of shields along gunwale, although part of it preserved. See main text for references.
Hedeby, N Germany	Min. 27x13 (large) Up to 35–40	17–20	800–850	Inhumation. Ship was oriented E–W, orthogonal to the shore of the nearby Haddebyer Nor. Placed on the surface, either with or without the turf being removed first. Burial chamber found below the ship, holding swords and shields for three persons, orientated with their heads to the N. The grave inventory included riding gear, and three horses were found in a separate pit below the E end of the vessel Müller-Wille 1976. This indicates that the fore were towards the E.
Oseberg, E Norway	40,5 (large)	21.5	834	Inhumation with two females. Ship placed in trench, stem pointing S, towards the fjord; tent-shaped chamber behind the mast; horses and cattle inside and outside the ship. Ship had all equipment for sailing, and some oars placed in rowing positions. Gangway placed in fore, on top of other grave goods. Two female individuals (Shetelig 2017a, 2017b).

(continued)

Tab. 5.1 (continued)

Monumental ship graves	Mound diameter (m)	Ship length(m)	Dating	Selected features
Gokstad, E Norway	50x43 (large)	23.5	896–907	Inhumation. Ship placed in wide trench, with stem S, towards shore; ship covered with moss, clay and hazel branches; a tent–shaped chamber of wood behind the mast and remains of three broken boats in the fore. Closely placed shields along gunwale, two per oar hole (would be 64 in total). A gangway found on the outside, alongside the ship and well below the gunwale; horses and dogs were found outside the ship on both sides, one dog was below the gangway (Nicolaysen 1882; Schetelig 1917a:15.5–20,–222).
Tune, E Norway	50–75 (large)	19	910–920	Inhumation. Stem SSE, parallel to shore; the ship was placed in trench and covered in moss, juniper and clay; chamber built wider than ship, with plank walls and probably flat roof; horse in the burial chamber, two or more outside the ship (Schetelig 1917a: 219; Schetelig 1917c; Bill 2017).
Borre, E Norway	38–40 (large)	15.5–20	900–925	Inhumation, probably male and female. Ship placed on the surface, with the stem towards WSW, oblique/parallel to shore; one horse outside the ship, two inside; possibly mixed in remains of a cremation burial. Only the stem portion and most of the starboard side was professionally excavated. Different suggestions exist concerning the length of the vessel and the diameter of the mound (Nicolaysen 1854; Myhre 2015)
Vinnan, N Norway	20 (small)	17	870–970	Inhumation. Stem S, parallel to shore, burial in cairn inside ship (N-end). Excavator describes it as being “sat down”, thus it was probably in a trench. Upper parts ploughed away, poor preservation conditions and no organic material preserved (Petersen 1928; Müller-Wille 1970:176; dating of H-type sword after Androshchuk 2014:170)

Ladby, Denmark	29–30 (large)	43606	c 925	Inhumation, male equipment. Placed in a trench with the stem towards S, pointing away from the shore; mound delimited by a palisade and built from turf, with some stone heaps on the original surface. The entire ship had been covered with a flat wooden roof. Horses and dogs inside the foreship, the grave with most burial gifts behind the mast, plundered. No indications of further boats or shields along the gunwale (Sørensen 2001).
Fosnes, Jøa, N Norway	12x18 m, eroded (small)	13–14	900–950	Inhumation. Orientated with stem to WSW, the ship being parallel to the shore, placed in a ditch; plundered from N. The fairly well preserved distribution of c. 1000 nails indicates the length of the vessel to be slightly less than the 14 m. Apart from the aft, the vessel was found to be filled with stones; no structural traces of a burial chamber in the only 1.86 m high mound were recorded. 11 shield buckles were found, 10 of them along the gunwales in the better preserved aft, 50 cm apart. Organic remains in the WSW end, together with numerous horse harness fittings, indicate the presence of a horse inside the vessel (Fett 1036).
Myklebustad, W Norway	31 (large)	>15.4?	875–950	Cremation burial, with horse. Nails were found within a 8.4 x 4.2 m area. 44 shield bosses (57 seem unsubstantiated) and remains of one to three horses (Lorange 1875: 153–61; Schetelig 1905; Østigård 2015; Engevik 2011). The number of shield bosses indicate at least 11 pairs of oars, if there were two shields per oar, as in Gokstad and Fosnes. The number of shields thus indicates a minimum length of the Myklebustad ship of 15 m (one metre between oars, plus stem and stern).
Ile de Groix, W France	17–20 (large ?)	?	c 950	Richly equipped cremation burial with remains of two individuals under cairn/mound. Grave furniture includes riding gear, 14–20 shields and a supposed stem/stern decoration of iron (Du Chatellier and Le Pontois 1908; Müller-Wille 1970:94, 1978)

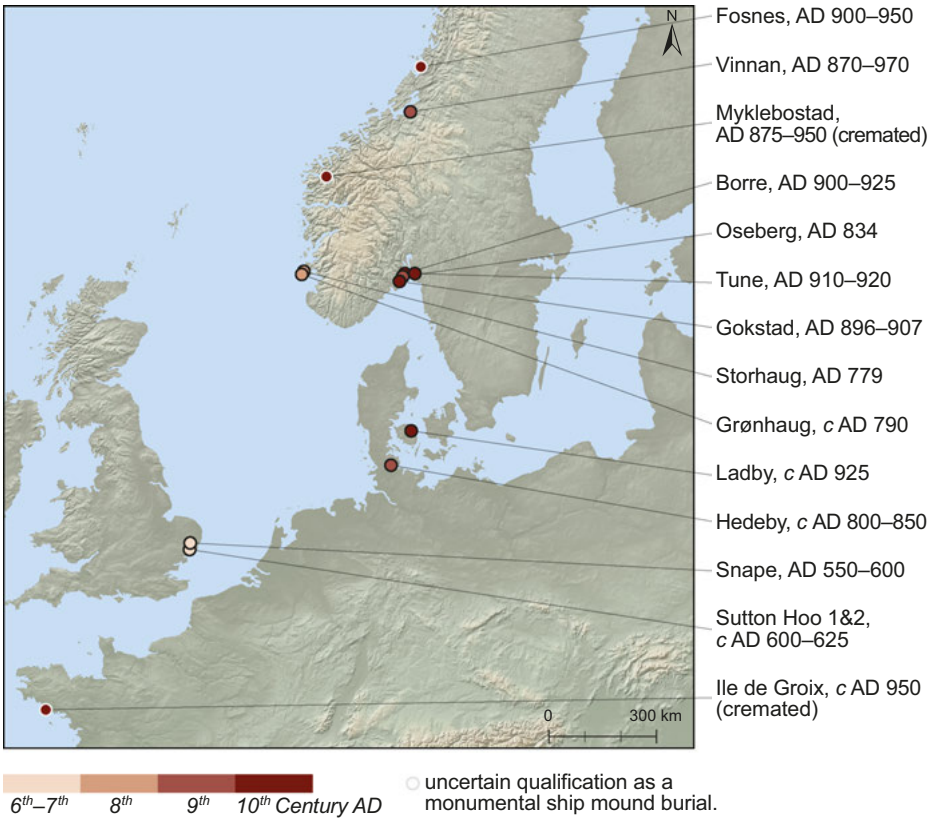

Fig. 5.9: Map of monumental ship mounds discussed in the text. A light-grey stroke indicates that it is uncertain whether the grave in question qualifies as a monumental ship mound. Illustration: J. Bill, I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

ship grave at Gjellestad in eastern Norway[2] almost certainly meets these criteria, but since it has not yet been dated, it cannot be included. Several other finds, for instance the very monumental, but only superficially investigated Herlaugshaug in central Norway (Müller-Wille 1970:90; Stamnes 2015), or the proposed ship graves at Tregde and Grønhaug in southern Norway (Stylegar 2004) lack sufficient evidence to be identified with certainty as ship graves, and are excluded. Three examples of burials with ships but without monumental mounds can also be excluded: the illustrious Salme II burial from Estonia; the unspectacular ship or boat burial K73, apparently without mound, from Tønsberg, eastern Norway; and the small monument with a shortened vessel from Lø in Steinkjer, central Norway. All of these are clearly not constructed to

2 https://niku.no/en/2018/10/georadar-detects-a-viking-ship-in-norway/ (accessed 08.01.2019).

establish an enduring, monumental presence in the landscape and fall outside the scope of this work.

The record of monumental ship burials is small, and its representativeness may be questioned. Were these graves always few? How many have been lost to agriculture or erosion over the centuries, or have simply not been discovered? Excavations in search of ship graves in preserved mounds have been carried out several times in eastern Norway, for example in Jellhaug in 1968–9 (Pedersen et al. 2003:310), in Halvdanshaugen on Stein in 1997 (Larsen and Rolfsen 2004:110), and in a mound on the farm Rom close to Oseberg in 2013 (Schneidhofer et al. 2017); none of these attempts have turned up any ship graves. A recent examination of the find history of the Tune ship burial has demonstrated that the first, private excavation of the Tune ship in c. 1752 remained in public memory long enough to be reported in the first archaeological survey of the area in 1828. It was also conveyed by the farmer of the land to the excavator of the Tune ship, Oluf Rygh, when he excavated there in 1867 (Bill 2017). Although Herlaugshaugen on Leka was never identified as a ship grave, excavations into the mound from around 1750 on did also remain in public memory, and reports made their way into archives, even if the attention never led to a full excavation of the mound. The two examples show that these type of social memories have some resilience, permitting hope that the losses through early excavation within the last few centuries may not have been extensive. By contrast, the find of the Gellestad ship shows that indeed monumental mounds with ships have disappeared, but also that sub-surface parts of them may still be possible to identify and investigate. The 12–15 monumental ship graves are thus with certainty only a sample of what was once there, although perhaps a relatively large one. Denmark, Scania, northern Germany, England, and southern Sweden are all areas where agriculture was earlier and more thoroughly mechanized than in Norway. That may imply that ship graves could be underrepresented in the archaeological record of those regions, compared to Norway.

Distribution patterns in time and space

In spite of the question of representativity, the spatial and chronological pattern formed by the monumental ship burials is interesting. Most of the confirmed examples originate from one of three relatively small regions. The Snape monumental ship burial is situated only 15 km from the two at Sutton Hoo and those three thus form a close-knit East Anglian region. It is also here that we find the few other examples of pre-Viking Age graves with complete boats in Britain (Filmer-Sankey 1990). The two Karmøy burials lies as mentioned only two kilometres apart and far from any other ship burials; Karmøy thus forms a small region on its own. In eastern Norway, Gokstad, Oseberg, Borre, and Tune are all found within a radius of c. 20 km from the entrance of the Oslo Fjord, the mouth of which thereby forms the

third region. Including Gellestad in this group would increase the said radius to 30 km. The Myklebust 1 cremation burial might have been part of a very local cluster too, as there are more monumental mounds on the site, with one showing evidence of a vessel of unknown size (Lorange 1875:153–61). The other ship graves seem all to be solitary. The Ladby and the Hedeby ship graves are positioned 125 km apart, and a similar distance can be found between the small Vinnan ship grave and the possible Fosnes one; Île de Groix is spatially the most isolated, more than a thousand kilometres from its nearest contemporary known ship grave.

The dates of the ship burials confirm the significance of the spatial pattern. The three East Anglian graves can all be dated within, at maximum, a 75-year period from 550 to 625; this interval may span as little as 25 years. The two Karmøy graves both date within 775–801, and most likely they were both constructed close to 780. The dendrochronological date of the Oseberg burial to 834 is the earliest in the east-Norwegian group, probably followed by the Gokstad burial. The dendrochronological date of the Gokstad burial was originally given as 900–905 (Bonde and Christensen 1993), later revised to 893–907 (Bonde 1994, 2010b). A recent, extensive dendrochronological examination of the find strongly indicates that the burial took place shortly after 896 (Daly in prep). A suggestion by Myhre that the Gokstad burial may be as late as 915 is thus highly unlikely (Myhre 2015:55–6). A revision of the dating of the Tune burial, including additional material, now provides a dating of 909–17 for the ship; none of further 10 dated samples, originating from the chamber or being of unknown function, need to be younger than this (Bonde 2010a). The homogeneity of their *TPQ* dates, with eight of them providing felling dates after 889 and two after 864 and 872 respectively, indicates that the burial took place not long after the construction of the ship. Two spades from the Tune mound, used for the construction of the mound, were made from trees felled in 895–909 and 903–17 respectively (Bill and Daly 2012:812) and may further indicate that the burial took place shortly after the construction of the ship. The Borre monument from the east-Norwegian group lacks a dendrochronological date, but Myhre suggests a dating to around 925 on the basis of coin-dated parallels to its Borre-style decorated artwork (Myhre 2015:56–9). The east-Norwegian group of monumental ship graves thus dates to 834–c. 925, but with three of the graves being erected in the last 30 years of this period. The majority of the monumental ship graves are thus characterized by not being solitary, but arranged in close geographical and chronological clusters. Turning to the remaining confirmed and possible examples of monumental ship graves, it is interesting to note that, with the exception of the Hedeby ship grave, these could all be later than any of the grouped ones. However, the quite wide dating ranges for some of them, and for the youngest of the East Norwegian ones, the Borre grave, does allow for chronological overlaps. But the overall spatio-temporal pattern of the ship graves may indicate otherwise.

The pattern of occurrence of monumental ship graves in time and space is noteworthy. Of the three clusters, the oldest one is found in East Anglia, the middle one on Karmøy across the North Sea, and the youngest one further east, in the Oslo

Fjord area. This suggests a dissemination process, as has been advocated previously (Bill 2015; Bonde and Stylegar 2016), and which is not contradicted by the solitary finds, all later than the Karmøy ones. What this dissemination mechanism may have been like will be the topic of the following part of the study.

Ritualization and ritual patterns in the monumental ship mound graves

The study of burial ritual is perhaps the most accessible road to studying the pre-Christian early medieval mind, since a burial is almost entirely a manifestation of ideas, in theory limited only by practicalities such as resources and decay processes. In the cosmology of these societies, death is a liminal phase and funerary rituals are passage rites (Steinsland 2005:337–8). But there are other issues at stake besides the safe exclusion of the deceased from the world of the living – death produces social vacuums that need to be filled, of roles and responsibilities, and of power. Østigård and Goldhahn (2006) have discussed funerals as occasions of renegotiations of power, stressing the utter importance for the early medieval society of recreating the alliances that are broken when a person dies. In a recent work, Østigård (2015) has further discussed the Myklebust ship funeral as such a renegotiation of power through the evocation or invention of tradition. He suggests that much of the burial ritual at Myklebust was negotiable, apart from a core 'death myth' (see also Kristoffersen and Østigård 2006), and that the ship burial was designed as a reaction to unification of Norway under Haraldr inn hárfagri and his sons and the growing influence of Christianity.

Martin Carver (1992b:180–1) investigates similar ideas in his deliberations about another ship grave, Sutton Hoo 1, suggesting that the burial is best understood as an emulation of, rather than an example of, Scandinavian burial ritual. For a new clan of rulers, the purpose behind this emulation was to make a political statement against the expanding Christian Franks through adopting a deeply heathen burial rite. Given the immigration history of the Anglo-Saxons, this link would probably not only orient the clan towards contemporary Scandinavia, but also incorporate an air of tradition by harkening back to the old homelands.

It is, however, another aspect of Carver's understanding of the ship burial that has attracted the most attention: his thesis that the burial should be understood as a heroic text or poem (Carver 1992b:180–1, 2000:37–8). Neil Price has analysed burials through the lens of dramaturgy (Price 2010; 2014 with references), presenting the burial site as encountered by archaeologists as analogous with the final scene of *Hamlet* as the curtain goes down: the action is over, the hero is dead, everything on the stage has played out its role – but attempts can be made to reconstruct the play from what trace have been left behind (Price 2010:137–8). Price suggests that this can be done by focusing on process and sequence – archaeologists should aim to reconstruct the various actions that led to the formation of the grave; Price predicts that

should his approach be adopted, over time it will lead to a shift in interpretations of Viking Age funerals (Price 2014:186–8). This is not an entirely new approach – already in the publications of the Gokstad and Oseberg ship burials, the authors sought to establish the sequence of action and describe the funeral drama (Nicolaysen 1882:68–9; Brøgger 1917:143–6). Understanding the 'how' of a burial undoubtedly helps with understanding the 'why' – but only partway. At some point, meaning will be ascribed to the observed actions, most frequently by ascribing meaning to objects or structures.

Analysing ritual in terms of dramaturgy is not a privilege of archaeologists – it has a long history in social sciences (Bell 2009:137–46). However, the performance approach has been criticised for obscuring more than it clarifies by studying the actions rather than the meaning behind them, and for its imagery of a "sensitive and appreciative participant interpreter, not a coldly detached, analytic scientist" (Bell 2009:45–6). The prospect of acting as a "sensitive and appreciative" interpreter may seem attractive to archaeologists in their role as communicators between the past and the present, but theories developed on the basis of reconstructions of rituals still ultimately require an empirical basis if they are to become more than mere conjecture. In archaeology, the implication is that a theory that can explain similar or connected series of actions – rituals – in different graves is more robust than a theory based on a unique example. The freedom to invent ritual suggested by Østigård (above) may be real, but in and of itself certainly does not make the establishment of broader understanding any easier.

Another challenge for extracting meaning from burial rituals is presented by the bewildering number of actions involved, for example as illustrated by Price (2010). The differentiation by Østigård of ritual actions selected to conform to the core 'death myth' and other narratives that can be invented or chosen with relative freedom works best as a strategy to separate the general and the individual. Grimes (2013:295) emphasizes that rituals are dynamic and consist of a multitude of different types of actions, some of which are supportive ('secondary ritual acts') rather than crucial to the conduct of the ritual ('primary ritual acts'). An even more differentiated approach is suggested by Sørensen (2006:171–6), who seeks to establish a model for the cognitive analysis of magical rituals (Fig. 5.10). His approach focuses on how participants and spectators form their understandings of the ritual – 'the representations of purpose and meaning of ritual action' – and suggests a three-level process. The first level is the 'ritual action/ritualization' akin to Østigård's 'death myths' – the core tradition, without which the ritual would not be regarded as valid. The second level, again in parallel with Østigård, consists of the negotiable or inventible elements – but in contrast to Østigård, Sørensen differentiates types of 'event-frames' or sets of action carried out in prepared settings to convey certain messages: those expressing the core ritual – corresponding to Grimes' primary ritual acts; those explanatory of the ritual – Grimes' secondary acts; and those taking place for non-ritual reasons. The third level in Sørensen's model are the cognitive processes occuring within participants and observers, which incorporate the input from the totality of the ritual into an experience of the ritual and a belief in its effects.

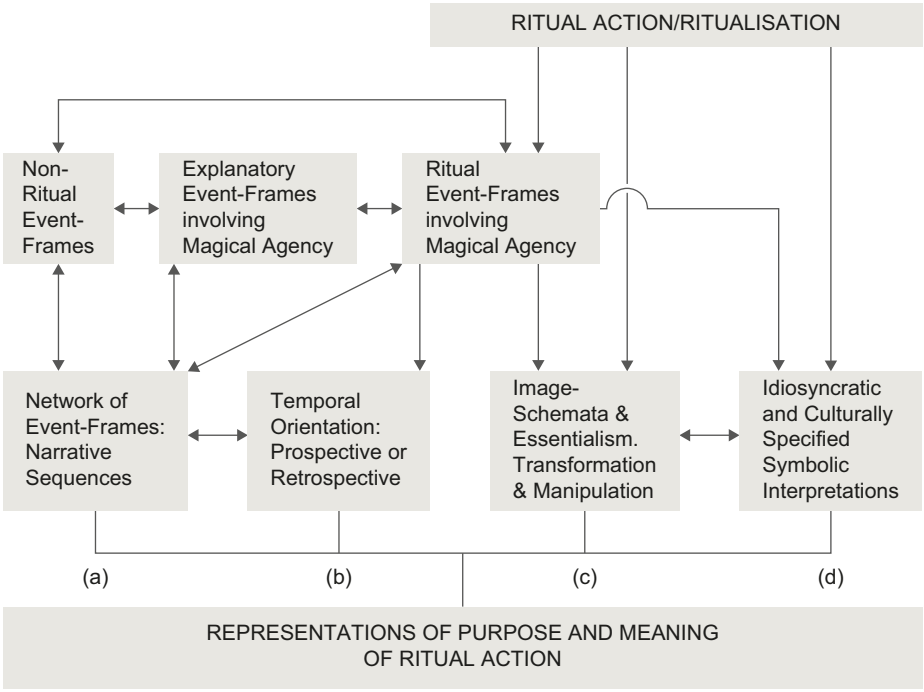

Fig. 5.10: A model for the analysis of ritual action. After Sørensen 2006. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

Sørensen's model of the inner workings of magical rituals is applicable for the study of burial ritual. If burial rituals were more than mere storytelling, they must have been believed to have exercised some kind of effect. The participants and spectators must have expected a change to have taken place after the completion of the ritual. The real effect of a burial ritual is thus a cognitive shift, a changed perception of the situation. According to Sørensen, the ritual accomplishes this through performance – that is, the event-frames. Studying the latter reveals not only the hows – the nuts and bolts of the ritual – but turns them into indicators for the whys.

Returning to the remarks above about funerals as both passage rites and renegotiations of social balance, burial rites can thus be probed in terms of at least two whys. In an earlier work, the present author has discussed rituals that make use of protective magic in two ship burials – the Oseberg burial and the Rus' ship cremation as witnessed by Ibn Fadlan among the Volga Bulgars in 921 (Bill 2016a). Both may serve here as illustrative examples. The actions carried out with objects used for protection against evil spirits during the culmination of the funeral may be seen as rituals alongside those meant to secure the passage out of the world of the living. One event-frame presenting protective magic at the Rus' cremation burial is the undressing of the dead chieftain's heir, and his walk, backwards and naked, with his hand covering

his anus, towards the pyre with a torch to light it (Warmind 1995:137, §91). While no written report of the Oseberg funeral exists, its good preservation condition shows a comparable phenomenon in different media. The distribution in the grave of five animal-head figures together with the same number of rattles and wagons/sledges indicates that these objects were used in combination during the burial procession. In the final phase, as the deceased woman and her companion were brought into the burial chamber, only four of the animal-head figures, with their rattles, were also brought in and placed at the head and foot of a bed for the deceased. The event-frame here thus comprises the use of the animal heads and rattles throughout the funeral. The interpretation of the event-frame as representing an apotropaic ritual requires acceptance of the notion of protective magic as valid in a 9th-century Scandinavian context – the first level in Sørensen's model – and that the use of the items as reconstructed in the analysis of the find situation would have been an appropriate way to communicate to the contemporary audience that this ritual was effectively dispensing protection.

As the example shows, applying event-frames as an analytical tool in the archaeological study of a burial site involves the construction of entities that are interpreted conjointly, and separately from other entities. For the purposes of this chapter and its interest in the use of ship symbolism, it is necessary to look only at event-frames related to the ship in the burial, reducing the risk that irrelevant aspects of the burial ritual might influence the result. Thus, the discussion will look for similarities in the way that the ship has been placed, or how elements have been placed in relation to the ship, with a view to identifying patterns of similarity or differentiation in the use of ship symbolism among the ship graves. The discussion will consider ten variables for possible association with the use of the ship in the burial ritual. Only a few of these, however, can be illuminated for the cremation burials:

1) Is it an inhumation or cremation?
2) How is the grave ship orientated – south–north or east–west?
3) How is the grave ship related to the natural surface: is it placed on it, or in a trench?
4) Where is the dead body placed: inside the ship or in a chamber below it?
5) If there are horses, where are they placed in relation to the ship: inside, outside, both – or are there none at all?
6) Is the ship made ready for departure– that is, does it have oars, mast, sail, etc.?
7) Is there a gangway present?
8) Are other boats present, apart from the grave ship?
9) Are there numerous shields hung on the ship?
10) Has the ship been covered with any material during the ritual, apart from the mound?

The answers to these questions, a subset of the information in Tab. 5.1, are shown in Tab. 5.2. It is arranged intuitively after the graves' similarity to the Storhaug grave. A number of multiple-component analyses (MCA) have been carried out to

provide a statistical input to a discussion of the differences and similarities across the graves; one of the results is shown in Fig. 5.11. The table and the MCAs primarily show that apart from the cremation graves, few very clearly defined groups can be outlined; rather, variation is gradual. The well-preserved and well-documented ship graves from Gokstad, Storhaug, and Oseberg stand out for sharing many similar details – but this may in part be due to lack of information from some of the other burials. The table shows, however, a clear differentiation between Sutton Hoo 1 and 2, Snape, and Hedeby on the one hand and most of the other inhumation graves on the other; but that is not quite so clear-cut in the MCA. Here Borre and Ladby, which both are relatively well illuminated graves, don't separate clearly from the former group, highlighting how the priorities chosen in the intuitive organisation of the table – for example, giving more weight to ship orientation, and less to the presence of shields or horses – influences the interpretation. If a grave such as Grønhaug ends up far from Storhaug in the MCA, this is due to lack of information about Grønhaug, rather to more salient differences.

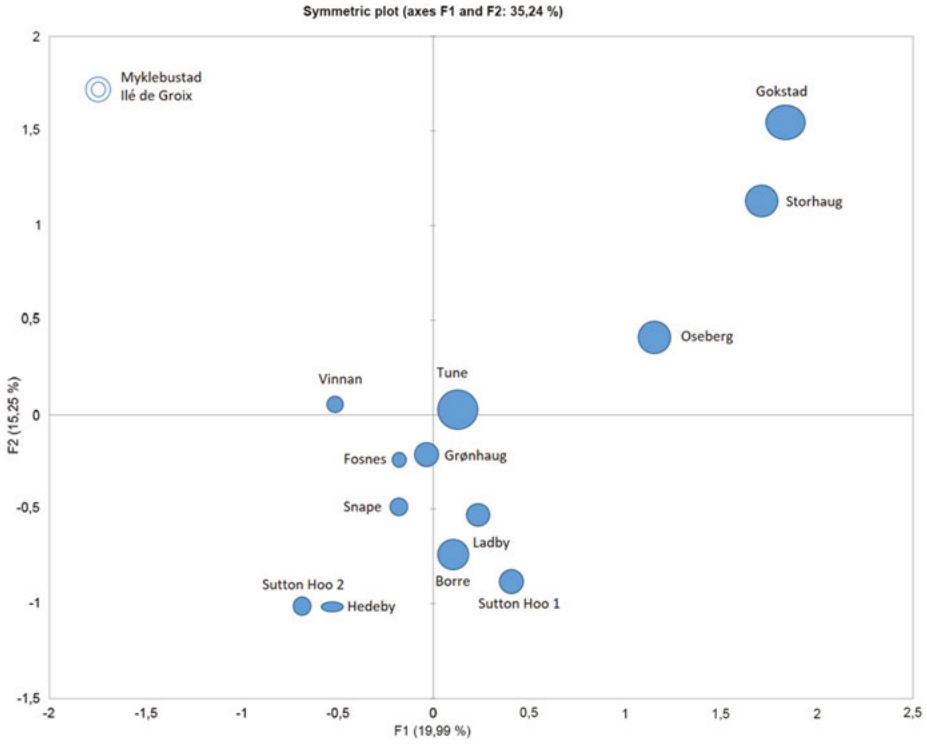

Fig. 5.11: A graphic representation of one of the multiple-component analyses carried out to support the interpretation of Tab. 5.2. The representation accounts for only 35% of the information in the table, meaning that it may not reveal all trends in the data. Marker size reflects mound diameter. Illustration: Jan Bill.

Tab. 5.2: The data used for the comparison of the ship-related event frames in the ship burials.

	Inhumation (Y) or cremation (N)	Orientation N-S (Y) or E–W (N)	Ship in (Y) or on (N) surface	Body in (Y) or below (N) ship	Horses in ship	Horses outside ship	Ship equipped	Addit-ional boats	Many shields	Moss covering of ship	Summary
Gokstad	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	1N 9Y
Storhaug	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y	N	Y	1N 8Y
Oseberg	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		N	N	2N 7Y
Ladby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y			N	N		2N 5Y
Tune	Y	Y	Y	Y						Y	5Y
Grønhaug	Y	Y	Y	Y					N		1N 4Y
Vinnan	Y	Y		Y							3Y
Fosnes	Y	N	Y	Y	Y				Y		1N 5Y
Borre	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y			N		3N 4Y
Snape	Y	N	Y	Y					N		2N 3Y
Hedeby	Y	N	N	N							3N 1Y

Sutton Hoo 2	Y	N	N	N				N	4N 1Y
Sutton Hoo 1	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	5N 3Y
Myklebust	N		N					Y	2N 1Y
Île de Groix	N		N					Y	2N 1Y

For reasons explained above, mound sizes cannot be compared across the entire area where ship burials occurred, but it is possible to compare across graves within Norway. Here, Fig. 5.11 shows that Borre belongs with Tune, Storhaug, Oseberg, and Gokstad in a class above the other burials while Grønhaug is more modest of size and Fosnes and Vinnan clearly very small.

Taking also the chronological and geographical variables into consideration, we can divide the ship graves into groups:

A. An early group, encompassing the East Anglian ship graves and Hedeby, characterised mainly by their east–west orientation and geographical context. The singular position of Sutton Hoo 1 in Fig. 5.11 is due to the possible uniqueness of some of its characteristics.
B. A late group consisting of Gokstad, Storhaug, Oseberg, and Tune, and possibly Ladby and Borre, characterised mainly by very large mounds, but also by staging a ship departure during the burial ritual (as far as can be established given the preservation conditions). Borre's membership in the group is questionable, due to its deviant orientation and because the ship was not dug down into the soil surface, implying that it may not have shared the departure motif.
C. A third group consisting of small ship graves that are emulations of those in group B. It encompasses Vinnan and Fosnes, and could possible also include Grønhaug and Ladby, if these do not belong in group B. Ladby does have, however, a quite monumental mound when considered in a Danish context – but less so if it was culturally of east Norwegian origin.
D. The last group comprises the cremation burials, about which the analysis says very little.

The next step is to consider the messages that event-frames including the more powerful variables may have been communicating. The frames seem to be represented in:

- Inhumation versus cremation
- Orientation of ship
- Placement of the ship in or above the soil surface
- Placement of the deceased in or below the ship
- Maritime equipment

The choice between inhumation and cremation in combination with ships seems to have been a choice between very different eschatological ideas. A burial in a ship in the ground points to soil and water as the elements through which the passage to the afterlife was reached, while cremation prescribes fire and air as media, as expressed by Ibn Fadlan's informant (Warmind 1995:137, §92).

The choice of orientation likewise seems entirely conscious, with the large majority of the Scandinavian examples pointing in southerly directions, and the East Anglian ones towards the east. This implies that the ships were oriented towards

certain destinations, supporting the idea that the funeral was conceptualized as a journey. Notably, the orientation does not seem to be influenced by the direction to navigable water (Tab. 5.1), indicating that the destination was not to be reached across a real sea. Placing the dead in the ship is in line with an interpretation of the ship burial as a preparation for a journey, while the placement below the ship may indicate that no such journey was expected.

The presence of maritime equipment on board, as seen in Oseberg and Gokstad, is a further indication of the grave ship as meant for travel. The presence of boats (Gokstad, Storhaug) and gangways (Gokstad, Storhaug, Oseberg) adds a facet of departure to the scene (Figs. 5.12 and 5.13). Both elements are means to communicate between ship and land, as their presence in the burial situation seems to suggest. The examples of the Oseberg and Gokstad graves are the most illustrative. In Oseberg, the ship was clearly made ready for departure as part of the preparations for the burial. The ship was dug halfway down in a trench and moored to a large stone. It was thus symbolically floating, and oars were ready in the oar-ports to turn the ship once the mooring had been taken. One of the very last items to be brought on board, on top of the wagon, sledges, horses, and other remains from the burial procession, was the gangway. Probably the construction of the mound started immediately thereafter, thereby causing the ship to gradually disappear into the earth.

Fig. 5.12: The ship remains and (below) the gangway from the Storhaug burial. The preserved part of the gangway measures c. 3.10 m. Similar gangways were found in the Oseberg and Gokstad burials (Fig. 5.12). Drawing. Unknown. Photo: S. Skare, UMB.

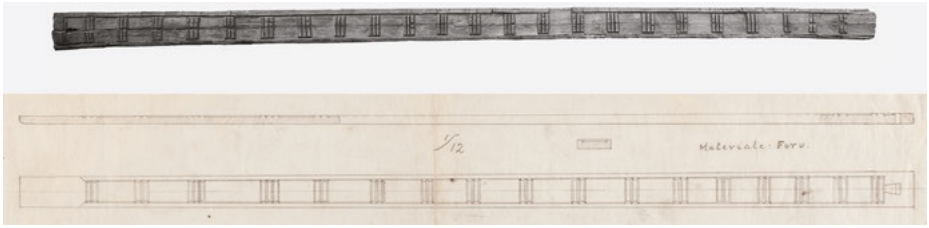

Fig. 5.13: Gangways from Oseberg (top) and Gokstad (below). The Oseberg gangway was found on top of the sledges and other grave goods in the fore of the ship, and measures 6.90 m. The Gokstad gangway was placed outside of the ship, along and well below the gunwale. It measures 7.50 m. Drawing: Fr. Johannesen. Photo: unknown (top) and M. Teigen (bottom), MCH.

In Gokstad the scene is no less telling. Here there are no moorings, but there is an entire sea of clay – as big as the mound later to be built – around the ship (Cannell 2012). On the foredeck were found the broken-up remains of three boats and a sledge, probably the equivalent to the wagon and sledges from in the Oseberg burial and used to bring the ship's last cargo on board. A gangway was found too, lying on the clay outside the ship.

In the light of the observations from the Oseberg and Gokstad burials, it appears that the boat and gangway found in the Storhaug burial may have served a similar purpose. Evident in all three cases is an event-frame that presents a part of the burial as the loading of a ship that is bound to depart with the deceased. In the case of the Storhaug ship that might even explain the oar driven down in the soil next to the ship, as if made ready to punt the ship out from the coast. Part of that event-frame also includes the orientation of the ship, communicating the destination of the voyage, and, in the case of Gokstad and Tune, the clay and soil surrounding it in place of water.

If this reading of some of the event-frames surrounding the ships in the graves is somewhat correct, the ships are part of a ritual core crucial to fulfilling a specific role in the funeral. The present author has elsewhere argued that this post-mortal journey is meant to bring the deceased to the realm of death (Bill 2016b). This does not exclude that the size and standard – the grandeur – of the burial bore an influence on how this journey was understood. So the question still stands: Why the monumental ship graves?

5.1.4 Known monumental ship settings

Much less can be said about the monumental ship settings in comparison to their counterparts with real ships. In the cases where monuments have been excavated, results have often been limited, indicating the elusive character of the monuments' use. Table 5.3 lists the known examples of such stone settings, together with their

Tab. 5.3: Known monumental ship settings.

No.	Ship setting	Length (m)	Orientation	Dating	Remarks and references
1	Anundshög 1, Västmanland	53	ENE-WSW	10th or early 11th century, based on dating of Anundshög which has an "entrance platform".	Anundshög is a monumental burial mound, 64 m in diameter. Its construction postdates a fireplace C14-dated to 210–540. Two ship settings, aligned end to end, extends approximately radially from the mound perimeter; a stone is buried centrally in both. The location is a cemetery with further mounds, small ship settings and a runic stone contemporary to the ship settings (Capelle 1986:45; Bratt 2004).
2	Anundshög 2, Västmanland	51	ENE-WSW	10th or early 11th century.	See above
3	Runsa, Uppland	55	NE-SW	*C* 450–550, based on land upheaval and the date of the associated, fortified settlement.	The monument has a central stone ("mast-stone") (Capelle 1986:42; Risberg 2011).
4	Askeberga (Rane stenar), Västergötland	55	E-W	Typological to Early Medival Period	Built of very large boulders, weighing up to 15 t, but is missing the stem and stern stones (Riksantikvarämbetet, Fornsök: RAÄ-number Vad 10:1. Object ID: 10208000100001; Capelle 1986:44).
5	Nässja, Östergötland	43	N-S	Typological to Early Medival Period	Large stone in centre – higher amidships stones (Riksantikvarämbetet, Fornsök: RAÄ-number Nässja 2:1. Object ID: 10047200020001; Capelle 1986:44).

(continued)

Tab. 5.3 (continued)

No.	Ship setting	Length (m)	Orientation	Dating	Remarks and references
6	Linköping, Östergötland	50	N-S	890 – 1030, based on two C14 analyses.	Excavated in 1989–90 and was found to contain no grave – has been suggested to be a thing site (Ericsson 2005:190)
7	Ullevi 1, Småland	c 50	E-W	Typological to Early Medival Period	(Ohlmarks 1946:55; Capelle 1986:52)
8	Ullevi 2, Småland	c 50	E-W	Typological to Early Medival Period	(Ohlmarks 1946:55; Capelle 1986:50)
9	Sundsholm, Småland	40	–	Typological to Early Medival Period	Mound in centre (Ohlmarks 1946: 28, 55; Capelle 1986:52)
10	Össlöv, Småland	42	N-S	Typological to Early Medival Period	(Riksantikvarämbetet, Fornsök: RAÄ number Berga 152:1 Object ID: 10070201520001)
11	Blomsholm, Bohuslän	42	NNW-SSE	Typological to Early Medival Period	Orientation from Google Earth (Capelle 1986:50)
12	Uppgarde, Gotland	46	WNW-ESE	Typological to Early Medival Period, but uncertain	(Englund 1979; Capelle 1986:49)
13	Sicklinge, Gotland	c 40	NW-SE	Typological to Early Medival Period	(Ohlmarks 1946:50; Capelle 1986:47)
14	Köpings klint, Öland	40	–	Typological to Early Medival Period	(Ohlmarks 1946:56; Capelle 1986:49)

15	Ljungarum, Skåne	60–63	NNW-SSE	Typological to Early Medival Period	(Vestergaard 2007:180–181; Furugård 2011:10)
16	Färlöv 1 (the westernmost), Skåne	50	N-S	700–900, C14 on bone and stratigraphy. A rune stone datable to the period 600–900 has disappeared.	(Vestergaard 2007:179– 80; Furugård 2011:9–10)
17	Färlöv 2, Skåne	74–81	N-S	800–1000, C14 on bone and stratigraphy	(Vestergaard 2007:179–80; Furugård 2011:9–10)
18	Södra Ugglarp, Skåne	39–40	ENE-WSW	Typological to Early Medival Period	(Vestergaard 2007:178; Furugård 2011:11)
19	Torup, Vitaby, Skåne	42	NNW-SSE	Typological, but burials from Late Iron Age and Viking Age on site	(Ohlmarks 1946:58; Vestergaard 2007:179)
20	Stenhed, Skåne	52	NW-SE	Typological to Early Medival Period	(Furugård 2011:10–11)
21	Ängakåsen Skåne	60	WNW-ESE	Typological to Early Medival Period	(Vestergaard 2007:181; Furugård 2011:11)
22	Kabusa, Skåne	70	NNE-SSW	Typological to Early Medival Period	(Furugård 2011:10)
23	Kåseberga (Ales stenar), Skåne	67	NW-SE	600–1000, C14 and stratigraphy	(Vestergaard 2007:178–9; Furugård 2011:9; Riksantikvarämbetet, Fornsök: Valleberga 20:1, Object ID 10113600200001)

(continued)

Tab. 5.3 (continued)

No.	Ship setting	Length (m)	Orientation	Dating	Remarks and references
24	Lejre 1, Sjælland	60–90	NW-SE	900–950, grave goods and stratigraphy	(Andersen 1995; Vestergaard 2007:176–7; Christensen et al. 2015: 34–35)
25	Lejre 2, Sjælland	40–50	NW-SE	Typological to Early Medival Period	(Andersen 1995; Vestergaard 2007:176–7)
26	Lejre 3	45–50	–	Typological to Early Medival Period	(Andersen 1995:91)
27	Lejre 4	45–50	–	Typological to Early Medival Period	(Andersen 1995:91)
28	Tryggevælde, Sjælland	–	–	900–925, runic inscription, contemporary with Glavendrup,	(Vestergaard 2007:177–8)
29	Glavendrup, Fyn	52	WNW-ESE	900–925, runic inscription, contemporary with Tryggevælde	(Vestergaard 2007:174–5)
30	Vejerslev, Jylland	90	N-S	C 600, grave goods	(Vestergaard 2007:174; Holst 2017)
31	Jelling, Jylland	356	NNE-SSW	Shortly before 957/959, dendrochronology, stratigraphy, runic inscription	(Holst et al. 2013a:492; Jessen et al. 2014:Tab. 1)
32	Bække, Jylland	45	WNW-ESE	10th century, possibly AD 960–70, based on runic inscription on stem stone	(Vestergaard 2007:175)

dates when available. Altogether 26 sites with 32 monumental ship settings are listed; only 13 of these have been dated by means other than typology, which is not reliable for separate dates within the early Middle Ages.

Vejerslev is the only ship setting with an unambiguous early date of c. 600, on the basis of artefacts from a centrally placed cremation grave; Runsa in Uppland also can be dated very early. The 'Ale's Stones' site at Kåseberga in Scania provides early dates from around 600, but with continued activities up to c. 1000.

Even if poorly dated, the geographical distribution of the monumental ship settings, seen in combination with their size, is noteworthy (Fig. 5.15). Most prominently, they are complimentary to the monumental ship graves, but with an overlap in Denmark where the ship graves are few. Moreover, the largest monuments, those above 60 m, are all concentrated in Denmark and Scania. Additionally, there is little regularity in the orientation of the ship settings; however, orientations in the compass directions from north-south to east-southeast-west-northwest is more than twice as common as from east-west to north-northeast-south-southwest. The Blomsholm ship setting (Fig. 5.14), with the southern stem stone markedly higher than the northern one, even seems to be indicating that the fore is to the south – a possible tendency towards the same orientation of the stone ships as in the ship graves.

Both the complementarity to the monumental ship graves and the tendency towards a shared alignment point at a shared core between the two rituals – that they are to some extent communicating the same message, although in two very different ways. The pattern is compatible with two regional variants of a shared core ritual. The next step will now be to look to the written sources to see how they resonance with the archaeological ship burials.

5.2 Ship graves in written sources

With 18 different stories that include ship burials – some of them mentioned in several sources – the medieval written heritage that shows explicit use of the ship burial motif is marginally more plentiful than the archaeological ship burial examples (Tab. 5.4). The majority of these sources, however, postdate the actual use of the ship burial ritual by two or more centuries, and were produced in a Christian environment distant in time, space, and beliefs from early medieval Scandinavia. Nevertheless, they are products and parts of the reception history (Holtorf 2001) of the rituals that were manifested through the monumental ship burials. The written sources represent receptions of the rituals and the residual monuments, handed down through memory, as well as oral and written tradition. Crosman (1980) points out that in such chains, each link is formed by the recipient as its meaning for this one person. Thus the literary accounts have, down the chain, an increasing degree of independence from the intended message produced by those designing and

Fig. 5.14: Monumental ship setting at Blomsholm, Bohuslän, 42 m long. The curved sides of the stone setting and the up to 4 m high, inward-sloping stem and stern stones give the stone ship a shape resembling that of many of the Viking Age ship depictions on coins, Gotlandic picture stones, and some rune stones. Photo: Jan Bill.

performing the original ritual – and can contain an increasing number of further meanings, added by former recipients. The information that the written sources may offer on the monumental ship burial rituals is thus reduced, enveloped, and modified, reflecting collective memories that existed regarding these burials later in the Middle Ages and how these were used and transformed to meet new needs. The following section investigates the majority of these sources as a group, seeking similarities and differences between them, before engaging with the two most promising in terms of furthering understanding of the ship burial phenomenon: the *Beowulf* poem and the *Húsdrápa*.

First, it is necessary to point out the solitary character of one of the oldest sources, the unique eyewitness account of a ship cremation burial of a Rus' chieftain in 921–2, recorded by the Muslim theologian and traveller Ahmad Ibn Fadlan. While on a mission for the Caliph in Baghdad to the Yaltawar, the chief of the Volga-Bulgarians, Ibn Fadlan describes a funeral that is generally supposed to have taken place among Scandinavians in the territory of the Volga-Bulgarians near or at Bulgar, their administrative centre at the confluence of the Volga and Kama rivers. This is at

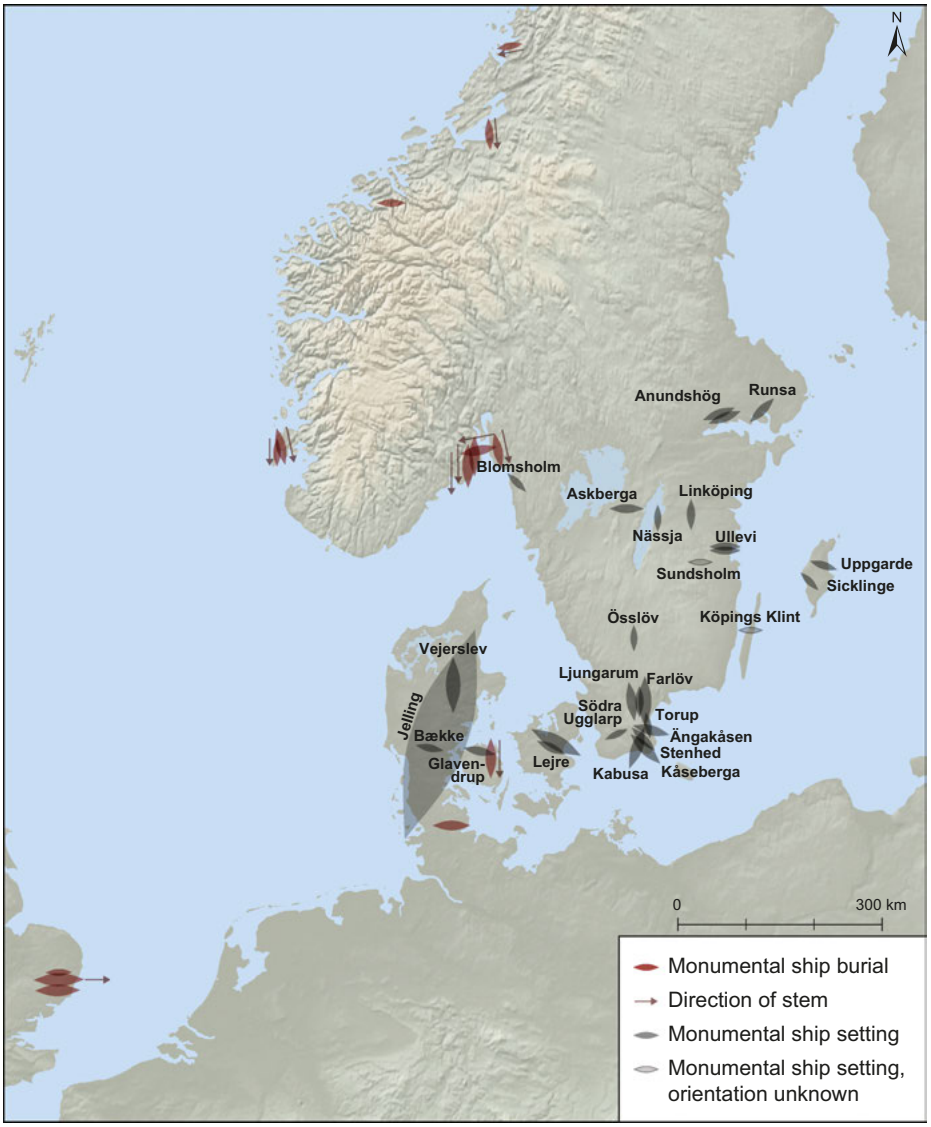

Fig. 5.15: Monumental ship settings and monumental ship mound graves. The length of the signatures reflect the relative lengths of ship settings and the grave ships respectively. Illustration: J. Bill, I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

the middle Volga, well outside the region where Scandinavians settled. Montgomery (2000:13) has suggested that Ibn Fadlan only heard about the funeral while he was in Bulgar, and that he travelled into Rus' territory specifically to attend it. This is an unlikely scenario, considering the 600 km distance from Bulgar to nearest settlement areas of the Rus', and the described 10-day duration of the complete funeral ritual.

Tab. 5.4: Literary examples of ship burials, sorted chronologically after oldest possible date, compiled from Müller-Wille (1970:126–41) and Müller-Wille et al. (1978:281–6). Coloured entries represent burials of Skjǫldungar kings.

	Ship burials in written sources (Person buried/source/date/remark)	God	King	Cleric	Warriors	Chieftains/ magnates	Cause of death	Burial type
1	Scyld / Beowulf / 7th-8th cent. / Slade 2002–2005	Singular					Natural	Floating burial, on sea
2	Gilda / Life of St. Gildas by the monks of Rhuis / 9th – 11th cent. / Cameron 1969			Sing.			Natural	Floating burial, on sea
3	Anonymous chieftain / Ibn Fadlan / 921–922 / Warmind 1995					Sing.	Natural	Cremation, on land
4	Balder / Úlfr Uggason's Húsdrápa /c 985 / Lindow 1997:20 Also in Prose Edda, Gylfaginning chap. 49 / c 1220 / Sturluson [1982]	Sing.					Murder/ war	Cremation, (on sea?)
5	Atli / Atlamál / 1100–1200 / Dronke 1969:107–10					Sing.	Murder	Inhumation
6	Ásmundr Atlason / *Landnámabók* (Sturlubók, Melabók, Hauksbók) / c 1100–1220 / Benediktsson 1969					Sing.	Natural	Inhumation
7	Geirmund Hjörsson heljarskinn (p. 164_{29-31}) / *Landnámabók* (Sturlubók) / 1275–80 / Benediktsson 1969					Sing.	Natural	Inhumation
8	King Sigurd Ring / Skjǫldunga saga / 1180–1220 / Friis-Jensen and Lund 1994:19–20		Multiple				War	Cremation, on sea

9	The Saxon king Gelderus (buried by Hotherus, a Swedish king with inherited rights to the Danish crown, but also Saxo's model of Hǫðr, Baldr's brother)/ Gesta Danorum 3.2.11 / 1185–1219 / Grammaticus 2005:58–9)/	Sing.	Mult.		War	Cremation, on land
10	Kings, jarls and army commanders on one ship each, ten ship commanders on one ship (slain foes buried by the Danish king Frotho at a southern Baltic coast / Gesta Danorum, 5.7.6 / 1185–1229 / Grammaticus 2005:58–9) /	Sing.	Mult.		War	Cremation, on land
11	The Danish king Haraldrus Hyldetan buried by the Swedish king Ringo / Gesta Danorum, 8.5.1 / 1185–1219/ Grammaticus 2005:58–9	Sing.			War	Cremation, on land
12	King Haki / Ynglinga saga ch. 27 / 1220–1230 / Sturluson [1838–39]	Mult.			War	Cremation, on sea
13	Danish(?) warriors/Fagrskina /c 1220 or Egil Ullserkr and warriors / Hákon the Good's saga / 1220–1230 / Sturluson [1838–39]		Mult.		War	Inhumation
14	Thorgrim / Gísli saga Súrssonar / 1240–1250 / *The Sagas of the Icelanders* [2001]			Sing.	Murder	Inhumation
15	Auðr djúpúðga Ketilsdóttir / Laxdæla saga ch. 7 / 13th cent. / *Laxdœla saga* [1934]			Sing.	Natural	Inhumation
16	Karl and the Norwegians / Svarfdæla saga ch. 26 / 13th cent. / *Svarfdæla saga* [1966]			Mult.	War	Inhumation
17	King Ragnar from Helluland / Bárdar saga Snaefellsáss / early 14th cent. / *Bárdar saga Snaefellsáss* [1860]	Mult.			?	Inhumation
18	Þórir from Hrafnistu / Áns saga bogsveigis / 14th cent. / *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda* [1943]			Mult.	Murder	Inhumation
19	Soti / Hardar saga ok Holmverja / first half of the 14th cent. / *Harðar saga ok Hólmverja* [1891]			Sing.	?	Inhumation

It is more likely that the funeral perhaps took place not *in* Bulgar, but within a few days of travel from there. Thus the socio-political context of the funeral that he witnessed was a group of travelling Rus' deep in foreign territory. That is a radically different situation from most of the archaeological ship graves, with the possible exception of the Île de Groix cremation grave. Further, because this record from the Abassid court was not known in western Europe until 1823, it is not part of the Scandinavian perception history in the period of interest here (Warmind 1995:131). While it is thus difficult to evaluate this particular source within the same framework as the others, it nevertheless provides, as pointed out by Price (2010), an outstanding opportunity for insight into the complexity of a Scandinavian mortuary ritual. It therefore is more useful to analyse Ibn Fadlan's account within the same framework as the archaeological finds, with a focus on aspects related to the use of ship symbolism. In that light, discussion turns to Sass' translation and Warmind's 1995 reading (132–7).

The funeral is that of a man whom Ibn Fadlan (§87) describes as a prominent chieftain among the Rus' in Bulgar; he is not a king or prince, but one or several levels below that. He will be cremated, as Ibn Fadlan's (§87) informant claims all Rus' are cremated in boats – poor men in small boats, and chieftains, as in this case, in large vessels.

The first mention of the ship occurs on the day of the funeral, as it stands ready and pulled up from the river (§89). It was thus a real craft, not a symbolic representation of one. The word used for ship is *safina*, which is quite indistinct, simply meaning 'vessel'. It is not a given that it was a Scandinavian-type, clinker-built vessel; nails and timbers from such vessels in Kievan Rus' have been found mainly along Lake Ladoga, Volchov, and at Gnezdovo at the upper Dnepr, that is, in the west. Only two instances are known from the Volga river system, from Timerevo and Rostov 600 km to the north-west from where Ibn Fadlan attends the funeral (Leontev and Nosov 2017:402). The vessel could thus have been a local type, suitable for the conditions on the shallow, broad rivers of the region, rather than one brought in from Scandinavia, or built in the Scandinavian tradition. Flat-bottomed barges and enlarged logboats were used on the Volchov-Dnepr waterway (Sorokin 1997) and undoubtedly also on the Volga.

The account describes how first four supports of birch and other wood were set up, and that "there was also made around it something like great warehouses of wood. Then it was pulled up until it rested on this wood" (§89). Warmind (1995, 132–3) suggests that since the root of the word for 'warehouse', *anbars*, means 'to lift', it could also mean 'scaffolding'. Another possible etymology was perhaps simply 'woodpile', indicating that the vessel was pulled up on a solid quantity of carefully stacked-up fuel, perhaps secured with the four poles. If the boat was Scandinavian, and thus not flat bottomed, the four poles could have served to keep the vessel stable for the ceremony, much as the stones under the Storhaug ship.

After the vessel is placed on the pyre, a *qubba* is constructed on board (§89). A *qubba* is a 'domed tomb structure' but originally meant 'a tent of hides' (Meri 2002:264). Warmind (1995:133) suggests that the word be read as 'tent', which

seems apt for the timeline of the funeral – the entire ritual, from the vessel being placed on the pyre to the conclusion of the cremation transpired within less than a day. That agrees poorly with the construction of any timber structure on board. It is, however, far from certain that this should be a tent with straight, sloping sides as known from the Oseberg and Gokstad ship graves. A yurt, the round, domed tent of the Eurasian steppe, could be considered as well, and if, perhaps initially, only its wooden skeleton were erected but not covered, this could explain why Ibn Fadlan is able to report so vividly on what is happening inside the *qubba*.

The following details from the ritual are informative about the size of the vessel. First a bedstead is brought on board – actually before the tent is mentioned – and prepared with blankets and cushions (§89). The dead man is propped up in a sitting position upon the bed, now inside the tent. His weapons are placed beside him, and food in front of him. Several large animals are then slaughtered and placed in the vessel: a dog, two horses, and two cows, plus some birds. Finally an intoxicated slave girl is brought on board and into the tent by an old woman, followed by six men (§90). The men take turns having intercourse with her while the others hold her down on the bed by her hands and feet. Next two men pull a rope tied around her neck while standing on either side of the bed, while the old woman stabs her with a knife.

Thus, the tent was big enough to hold a bed with two bodies upon it, five more persons along its sides, weapons and food, and still leaving room for the execution of the violent ritual. From that it can be inferred that the tent was sizable; the large bed from Oseberg alone would take up a 2.2 x 1.9 m area inside the tent (Grieg 1928:82). Even if it is presumed that local travelling equipment was used – a yurt-type tent and a barge-like craft with vertical sides – it can be assumed that the vessel must have been well over three metres wide. If a Scandinavian-type vessel was used, it would almost certainly have qualified as a ship as defined in this chapter.

The text also holds some information about the conclusion of the ritual, after the pyre had burned out:

> Then they constructed on the place of the ship – where they had pulled it out of the river – something like a round hill and in the middle they erected a large piece of birch-wood and wrote upon it the name of the man and the name of the king of the Rus. And then they went away.
>
> (Warmind 1995:137, §92)

It is noteworthy that a mound is built on the place of the cremation, and that this mound sits on the river bank, by contrast to the ship graves in Scandinavia and East Anglia, which mostly are placed some distance from navigable water. The memorial also included a runic inscription over the deceased, as seen in some ship settings, but here made in a non-durable medium. Nothing is said about the size of the mound, but the impression is that while the memorial is substantial, it is apparently not monumental on the same scale as the ship inhumation graves in Scandinavia.

The mentioning of the dead chieftain's king is a noteworthy detail, as it informs the social standing of the deceased. The king of the Rus' could be understood as the

Kievan prince, but Stefanovich (2016), on the basis of preserved Byzantine treaties with Kievan Rus', has argued that Kievan Rus' in the first half of the 10th century rather consisted of many relatively autonomous, smaller polities. These, he finds, were headed by mostly Scandinavian petty-kings, who would send their own envoys and merchants in larger delegations to Constantinople. A possible interpretation of Ibn Fadlan's report is that the deceased was such an envoy or merchant, although on a mission to the east rather than to the south. What seems clear is that the inclusion of the name of the king on the burial marker demonstrates that the deceased was not travelling only on his own behalf.

Ibn Fadlan's report is rich in detail but poor in explanation, with little to say about the function of the ship in the ritual. It is clearly described as a standard procedure – any man would be cremated in a boat of some kind – and since Ibn Fadlan is being told that the cremation secures a swift journey to Paradise for the deceased, it can be assumed that the ship plays a role in this voyage (for a contrary viewpoint, see Warmind 1995:135).

There are several similarities, but also clear differences between the burial that Ibn Fadlan attends and the excavated ship burials. In the former, a real vessel is used for the funeral, bigger than what was used in the contemporary Uppland boat graves – if of Scandinavian type, it could have been about the size of the Salme II or the Grønhaug vessel. The cremation burial with a ship has few parallels, but the late date of the burial fits well with both Île de Groix and Myklebustad. The placing of horses and cattle inside the ship is consistent with several of the ship inhumation graves, and likewise the placing of weapon and nourishments inside the burial 'chamber'. The human sacrifice may be paralleled in several of the graves where there are multiple individuals: Île de Groix, Hedeby, Oseberg, and perhaps Borre – but there is no positive evidence of sacrifice in these graves, and Borre is the only grave that may have held a both a male and a female (Myhre 2015:52).

The most important difference lies perhaps with the mound. It is impossible to know how big it was, but since Ibn Fadlan apparently witnessed the departure of the Rus' after they had constructed it, it is unlikely that it took weeks to build. Most of the known ship graves, and indeed all of those with monumental mounds, are placed quite high in the landscape and far from the shore. It is conceivable that the mound of the Rus' chieftain was not supposed to signal any dominance of the landscape, in opposition to the monumental ship graves in homelands.

Attention will now turn to the remaining 18 literary examples in Tab. 5.4. These can be differentiated through four variables for which most of them show evidence: 1) the selected method of disposal of the body (cremation, inhumation, or a 'floating burial', that is, the body is left to drift away on a ship), 2) the status of the deceased (a god, a king, a cleric, a warrior, or a chieftain/magnate), 3) the cause of death (natural, murder, or war), and 4) whether the described burial was for a single individual, possibly accompanied by human sacrifices or dead subordinates, or for several of same social standing. Furthermore, kings considered to be offspring of

Skjǫld by the historiographers have been marked out. The table is sorted chronologically after the oldest likely composition date and shows the variations in these elements against time and against each other. As stated, the analysis will first examine the younger of these sources, nos. 5–19, leaving aside *Beowulf*, the closely related *Life of Saint Gilda*, and *Húsdrápa*.

5.2.1 Late traditions, examples nos. 5–19

No clear-cut patterns emerge out of Tab. 5.4, but some tendencies can be identified, especially among the examples from the 12th–14th centuries. The clearest observation is the relation between mode of disposition and rank. It is chieftains and magnates, not kings, that are inhumed. Out of ten inhumation burials, eight belong to this group, while one inhumation burial is for warriors and one for a king. By contrast, the five cremation burials are all kings, in two instances together with their warriors. The geographical differentiation between cremation and inhumation burials is also striking. The inhumation burial texts are mostly playing out in Iceland or, for *Atlamál*, possibly Greenland (Dronke 1969 107–10). Only two can with certainty be placed elsewhere, namely in Norway. These are Hákon 'the good' Haraldsson's burial of the slain from the battle at Rasterkalv in *Nóregs konungatal* and the burial of Þórir from Hrafnistu i *Áns saga bogsveigis*. One burial on Iceland, in *Svarfdæla saga*, is of Norwegians on Iceland (no. 16). By contrast, those mentioning cremation burials have their geographical focus elsewhere. Snorri, in his *Ynglingar saga*, tells us about the Danish King Haki who is organising his own cremation in a floating ship near Uppsala after being mortally wounded in a battle against the Swedish Ynglingar kings. In Arngrímur Jónsson's Latin paraphrasing of *Skjǫldungar saga* he tells about the Swedish King Sigurðr hringr who also has himself cremated on a drifting ship, perhaps in the outer Oslo Fjord, which was a border zone between the powers in the region. According to Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* Sigurðr hringr had previously arranged another ship burial, that of the Danish King Haraldr hilditǫnn, after having killed him. It is also Saxo who let the Saxon king Gelderus be cremated in a ship on land by the Swedish-Danish King Hotherus, and who let the Danish King Frotho order that slain foes from a vast sea battle on the southern Baltic coast, from kings down to skippers, be cremated on their ships. The literary cremation ship burial phenomenon is thus clearly complimentary to its inhumation counterpart, located as it were in the Danish-Swedish sphere as in contrast to the inhumation burials in the Norwegian-Icelandic-Greenlandic sphere. There might also be a chronological element to the differentiation between these two groups. The mentioning of cremation burials is confined to a brief time horizon from the writing of the now lost *Skjǫldungar saga*, shortly before or after 1200 (Friis-Jensen and Lund 1984:19–20) to Snorri's composition of his *Ynglingar saga* around 1225. It is also limited to a small group of perhaps not more than three authors.

Inhumation burials appeared in earlier texts, if the dating of *Atlamál* is correct. The occurrence of Asmundur Atlason's ship burial in all of the three oldest surviving versions of *Landnamabók* warrants a dating of this motif back to *Styrmisbók* from around 1220, with the possibility of a dating back to the first, early to mid-12th-century version of *Landnamabók* (Benediktsson 1969). What is clear is that the inhumation motif continues to be used in the narratives well into the 14th century, even if in *Bárdar saga Snaefellsáss* and *Hardar saga ok Holmverja* the narratives report the breaking of ancient mounds, not the making of new ones.

The written sources discussed above make clear that the perception histories of the ship burial phenomenon took at least two different directions after the burial rite itself ceased to exist. The first associated them with cremation, with (sometimes Skjǫldungar) kings of a distant past, and with the broader region of Denmark-Sweden, and is found in texts occupied with royal genealogies: the lost Icelandic *Skjǫldungar saga*, Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*, and Snorri's *Ynglingar saga*. The second connected the ship graves to important, but not necessarily royal persons, to inhumation burial, and to a mainly North Atlantic environment. This strand is found in texts that are mainly playing out in Iceland. Indeed, there was some blending between the two, and ship burials of both types could also serve to honour slain warriors, but still the contrast is marked. Why? If Snorri's famous mentioning of the *brunaǫld*, the cremation age, in *Prologus* to *Heimskringla* expresses a more widespread conceptualisation of the past in his time, it is possible that the choice of cremations only should underline the antique quality of the narratives. That would be in contrast to more recent ones such as the warriors from the battle at Rastarkalv (Tab. 5.4, no. 13) or the numerous literary burials situated on Iceland. Bearing the archaeology in mind, however, it is evident that the diversity is instead based on different sets of collective memories. As shown, monumental ship burial symbolism was used differently in the two areas. In Denmark-Sweden, monumental ship settings were erected that harboured, at least in some cases, cremation burials. Oral tradition about these, in poetry as well as among people around the monuments, would have kept memories alive and formed a base upon which Saxo, Snorri, and *Skjǫldungar saga*'s creators would have built.

Corresponding to a dominance of cremation in the Swedish-Danish ship burial memories, the other strand of perception would be grounded on the monumental inhumation burials in Norway. Norwegians did play a dominant role in the colonisation of the North Atlantic and would have brought their tales and traditions with them, just as they brought along the boat grave ritual (Mooney 2016:161–2). This viewpoint finds some support in a closer investigation of who was given ship burials on Iceland in the Icelandic literature. In the above-mentioned *Svarfdæla saga* (no. 16), Karl, a Norwegian immigrant to Iceland, and his group of Norwegian warriors – 'Eastmen' – are honoured with a ship burial, possibly indicating that this was considered suitable *because* they were from Norway. Concerning Auðr djúpúðga Ketilsdóttir (no. 15), the ship burial could be understood in the context of her marriage with King Óláfr 'the white' of Dublin, who is in *Hauksbók* a descendant of Hálfdan hvitbeinn and thus of

the Vestfold kings (*Landnamábók* [1900] 36, 156–7, 268). Although expelled from Dublin upon the death of Óláfr, she was, in the Icelandic narrator's perspective, a queen widow whose children with Óláfr were of a most important royal lineage. Indeed, the importance of an example such as that of Auðr djúpúðga Ketilsdóttir should not be exaggerated. *Landnamábók* and *The sagas of Icelanders* are full of people of noble origin, and it is not surprising that this also accounts for some of those being given a literary ship burial. The last and most compelling example is, however, that of Geirmundr Hjǫrsson Heljarskinn (no. 7) in the early versions of *Landnamábók*. In *Hauksbók* (*Landnamábók* [1900]:38), *Sturlubók* (*Landnamábók* [1900]:161), and *Melabók* (*Landnamábók* [1900]:239) he is from a line of petty-kings from Rogaland, ousted by King Haraldr hárfagri's conquest of western Norway. This line, *Melabók* elaborates, descends from an *Afuallz* at *Afuallz nesi*, the mythological King Avald/Ǫgvaldr from Karmøy. The name Avald means the 'very powerful' or the 'horrifying, powerful' leader or king (Brink 2018; Mundal 2018:46), and in that sense the use of king Avald is similar to the use elsewhere in the invented Icelandic genealogies, for example that of Haraldr hilditǫnn ('wartooth') as ancestor of Rafn hinn heimski from Trondheim (Jónsson 1900:103–4, 216, 235). Nevertheless, it is an odd coincidence that mythological kings from both the areas with the highest concentration of archaeological examples of monumental ship graves, Vestfold and Karmøy, are cited as ancestors for prominent persons who are given ship burials in the Icelandic high medieval tradition. It could be that this tradition still contained some memory of monumental ship burials made for kings and queens in these places. These memories – inserted in a plausible context with accepted mythological figures – were used to connect important Icelanders with the rulers of ancient kingdoms, confirming the high medieval Icelandic audience's conviction of descent from noble origin. In the same light we may also understand the efforts of Snorri's fosterfather, Jón Loptsson, and of Jón's grandfather, Sæmundr the Wise, to trace their clan, the Oddaverjar, back to the Skjǫldungar (Acker 2007:3).

There is a ritual aspect of the two ship burials mentioned in *Skjǫldungar saga* and *Ynglingar saga* (nos. 8 and 12) that has no counterpart in the archaeological record: the cremation of the deceased on a drifting ship. Indeed, remains of a floating, burning Viking ship may survive archaeologically, as demonstrated by the Hedeby 1 longship (Crumlin-Pedersen 1997), but the chance, if it ever happened, that it would be discovered and correctly interpreted as a funeral remains extremely slim. The absence of archaeological evidence thus does not rule out the possibility of real-life events as models for these funerals. However, the lack of control over such a ritual, with the prospect of having the half-burned corpse of the deceased wash up on a nearby shore, is decidedly unpractical; as a poetic ideal, it would work out very well (Newton 1993:50). The burial of a mythological ancestor in this way would not only demonstrate a supernatural presence – which would ensure the successful transformation of the body – but would also explain the absence of any burial mound for the ancestor. The marine cremations of *Skjǫldungar saga* and

Ynglingar saga also bear another common, otherwise unique feature among the late literary ship burial traditions. In both cases the burial is decided upon by the dying king, who in this manner takes control over his own destiny. Both elements can be found in the early literary traditions.

5.2.2 Early traditions

The later written sources suggest that the ship burial rituals in the late Iron Age lived long enough in collective memory to preserve information about ritual differences within the Scandinavian world. It also preserved vague links between the monumental remains of these rituals and the kings and queens of the past. But some of them pointed back to traditions that were mythological, rather than practical, in character, and which indicated a supernatural dimension. Moreover, the later sources give next to no indication – apart from the show of homage – of the meaning behind the rituals. The three remaining sources, to which focus will now turn, may do exactly that. Continuing with the reception history approach, the section will begin with one of the two younger of them, the *Húsdrápa*, and its description of the ship funeral of Baldr in only six preserved half-stanzas.

Húsdrápa

Húsdrápa is partly preserved in *Skáldskaparmál* in Snorri's 'Prose Edda', but the poem is also mentioned in *Laxdæla saga* which dates from 1230–60 (*Laxdœla saga* [1934]:xxv, lxxvii–lxxx). Here it is said that Úlfr Uggason composed the text for Óláfr Hoskuldsson and presented it at the celebration of the marriage of Óláfr's daughter. The *Húsdrápa* is conventionally dated to c. 978–85, although North has argued for a dating as late as c. 995 (North 2007:400–1). The preserved parts mainly describe scenes on the wooden panels of Óláfr's new-built hall, but also include praise of Óláfr. The six half-stanzas on Baldr's funeral are thus a first-hand account of the depictions, but a second- or perhaps rather third-hand account of the mythological beliefs behind them. What were these beliefs? Did they spring from the mind of Óláfr Hoskuldsson, or from the artisans that built his hall for him, thus expressing late 10th-century Icelandic pagan mythology? Or did they come from somewhere else?

Húsdrápa is difficult to interpret due to its fragmentary nature, and because it was not necessarily reproduced by Snorri in the same order as it was originally composed; not even all manuscripts of *Skáldskaparmál* have all its stanzas in the same order. Thus a number of different editions exist, providing different interpretations of the poem. One is North's from 2007, in which he emphasises that the poem originally was above all a poem in praise of Óláfr Hoskuldsson, a fact that should be the

starting point for reconstructing and interpreting it. Based on this precondition, he reads a key fragment of a half-stanza in a radical new way, of particular interest in the context of this chapter; discussion will return to his reading after devoting attention to an important detail in *Laxdæla saga*.

Chapter 29 in the saga explains in some detail how Óláfr went to Norway and spent two winters there to obtain the timbers for the hall from jarl Hákon (*Laxdœla saga* [1934]). As has been noted, the saga was composed much later than the poem and the events surrounding it, but the information that the timbers would be brought in from Norway is likely true, given the state of forests in Iceland. More surprising and therefore also uncertain is the information about the length of the stay; the felling and transport of the timber down to the coast should not take more than one winter. However, if the timbers were not only felled in Norway, but the elements for the hall building also produced and decorated with carvings there, a two-year stay would have been necessary. At the household of jarl Hákon, timbermen and woodcarvers in sufficient numbers and with appropriate skills to produce a spectacular hall building over a short period of time would have been available – as may not quite have been the case in Iceland. Further, a prefabrication would reduce significantly the amount of timber to be transported across the North Atlantic. Indeed *Laxdæla saga* does not mention such a flurry of activities during Óláfr's stay in Norway. Instead, it has him spending the first winter at the farm of Giermund gnýr, a retainer of jarl Hákon who later turns out to become his son-in-law. North (2007:402–3), for a number of reasons, rejects the credibility of the saga when it comes to the story about Giermund gnýr, a viewpoint which of course also would encompass information about the duration of the stay. But then there is his reading of the above-mentioned key fragment of *Húsdrápa*.

The fragment consists of the incomplete sentence *hlaut innan svá minnum,* which occurs twice in the preserved text, as the last lines in the stanzas 6 and 9 in North's numbering. The traditional readings assume that 'the hall' is the missing subject in the sentence, rendering the complete sentence as 'the hall had decorations on the inside'. But pointing to the fact that the poem is dedicated the praise of Óláfr, North (2007:397–9; see also North et al. 2011:585–7) suggests that it is Óláfr who is the subject of the refrain-like sentence. He further points out that *innan* in a maritime context also may have the meaning 'from the east' or 'from Norway'; a more precise interpretation perhaps could be that in/innan would point to the waters inside the skerries and islands along the Norwegian coast, while út/útan would point to the open waters outside these. Following North, *hlaut innan svá minnum* should thus be read 'He [Óláfr] got it [the house] from Norway with images like this' (North 2007:399; North et al. 2011:585–7). If this is indeed the intended meaning, it seems to confirm the hypothesis suggested above: that the carvings in Óláfr's hall actually were produced by jarl Hákon's craftsmen – and thus also a product of his or their thinking. *Húsdrápa* several times emphasises the good relations between Óláfr and Hákon jarl, and North (2007:403–4) suggests that the text's agenda

may not only have been to glorify Óláfr, but also to cast him as Hákon jarl's man in Iceland. If indeed the jarl considered Óláfr in such a role, the decorated hall may also be considered more than an awe-inspiring proof of the friendship. With its heathen pictorial programme it may also have been intended as an export of Hákon's pagan revivalism, which unfolded from the point when he broke his allegiance to the Danish King Haraldr Gormsson blátǫnn in 975 until his death in 995. If so, the carved scene in Óláfr's hall of Baldr's funeral is not illuminating the late 10th-century Icelandic mythology associated with ship burial, but rather that of the elite in central and northern Norway.

Baldr's funeral is also described by Snorri in *Gylfaginning* in somewhat greater detail. Because Snorri himself states that *Húsdrápa* described Baldr extensively, it is likely that the additional material in *Gylfaginning* comes from the former source, given that Snorri had access to a more extensive version of the poem. But at least one stanza in *Gylfaginning* about Baldr's death is from another, unknown poem, possibly older than *Húsdrápa* but also describing his burial. We should thus consider the few stanzas in *Húsdrápa* and Snorri's more extensive text in *Gylfaginning* as expressions of a number of different receptions of the original myth: the one actually depicted in Óláfr's hall; Úlfr Uggason's interpretation of that; Snorri's interpretation of *Húsdrápa*; and possibly Snorri's interpretation of another, now lost poetic source, possibly from before Hákon's pagan renaissance.

In *Húsdrápa* it is made very clear that Baldr's burial was a cremation, as the pyre is mentioned several times. Further crucial pieces of information are found in what is conventionally numbered as stanza 11, which reads that the giantess of the mountains, Hildr, *fram haf-Sleipni þramma*. The phrase *haf-Sleipni* is a play on 'sea-Sleipner', a suitable kenning for a godly ship, but also a very common kenning for longships in other contexts. Therefore, neither Lindow's (1997) suggestion that its use is an allusion to the role of horses as means of post-mortem transport in Norse cosmology, nor the observation that Sleipner is the horse that Hermod used in his futile attempt to rescue Baldr from Hades need to be of great relevance for the interpretation. Of greater interest are the adverb *fram* and the verb *þramma*, because this is what the giant does to the ship; Lindow, following Turville-Petre (1976; Lindow 1997:76), translates *þramma* as 'trudge', while North (2007) uses the word 'trundle'; both translate *fram* as 'forward'. Both thus indicate that the ship is moved forward by the giantess, but also that this requires a certain effort on her part – it is a feat of strength, not a casual act. Since the original order of the stanzas remains unknown, this episode's place in the sequence of *Húsdrápa* is subject to interpretation: either occurring as a preparation for the funeral, bringing the ship in place, or later, during the ceremony. Lindow (1997:81), inspired by Ibn Fadlan's account, suggests that the giantess was moving the ship up onto the funeral pyre. Placing a cremation ship on top of a pyre makes sense, since sufficient room was needed for large quantities of firewood to guarantee a successful cremation and the shipboard space was to be used for the funeral rituals. But this is a controversial reading that

not even Lindow places full stock in, concluding that "Snorri, it seems, thought that the funeral ship was launched" (Lindow 1997:84). North (2007:371) and Turville-Petre (1964:109) are further examples of the conventional understanding of *Húsdrápa* on this point.

As stated, Snorri's description of the burial in *Gylfaginning* is richer in details than in *Húsdrápa*. It is likewise described as a cremation funeral (Sturluson [1982]:46.24, 46.34–7, 47.6). The text has a clear structure, and there is no uncertainty as to the sequence in which the events unfold. First, the gods bring Baldr's corpse to the coast in order to arrange his cremation on his ship (46.22–4). Next, they call for the giantess because they cannot move the ship without her powerful assistance (46.24–32). Only after that is Baldr's corpse carried onto the pyre; his wife Nanna dies and is placed on the pyre too, the fire is lit and Thor blesses it with his hammer, in the process kicking a dwarf into the flames (46.32–7). Here the chronological narrative ends, and in the following part the attendees to the funeral are described in order of rank (46.38–47.4). At this place is found the only contradiction between the two narratives: *Húsdrápa* explicitly states that Freyr is riding first, whereas *Gylfaginning* has Óðinn first (North 2007:391). In the final part of the description of Baldr's funeral, the text lists the grave gifts, namely the golden ring Draupnir and Baldr's horse with gear (47.4–7). It is thus clear that Hyrrokkin's moving of the ship takes place before, and as a part of, the preparations for placing Baldr on the pyre. But as in *Húsdrápa*, there is no clear evidence in *Gylfaginning* that the ship is actually launched. The crucial passage is when the intention of the gods to use Baldr's ship for the cremation is spelled out: *Hann vildu goðin fram setja ok gera Þar á bálfǫr Baldrs*. Lindow suggests that it be read literally, as 'put forward', to allow for his Ibn Fadlan-inspired reading, but he presents the conventional reading of the phrase as meaning 'launch' (Fritzner 1973:216; Lindow 1997:84). However, since *setja* also occurs alone in relation to ships in a number of other Norse texts from around 1000, with the meaning 'directing' or 'steering', Lindow is correct in supposing that *setja fram* is not necessarily a fixed compound and may be read more generally as moving the ship forward. The question can be discussed further on the basis of other acts in the story that relate to the ship, namely Hyrrokkin's moving it, the placing of the corpses of Balder and Nanna, the unfortunate dwarf Litr, the ring Draupnir and Baldr's horse. Table 5.5 shows various translations of *Gylfaginning's* wording at these points. Apparently, only when Baldr is brought onto the pyre is a term is used that could indicate that the ship is in the water, and not on land; Baldr's body is *borit út á skipit*, 'carried out on the ship', while everything else is brought 'on' or 'into'. Considering that Hringhorni is *allra mesta skipa*, 'the greatest of all ships', we may consider if 'out on the ship' could mean that the dead god is being carried out on the vast expanse of Hringhorni's deck, rather than out on the ship in the water? Notably, in contrast to the two marine cremations that Snorri and the author of *Skjǫldungar saga* account for King Haki and King Sigurðr, here there is no description of how the ship sails away. It is further apparent that Hyrrokkin's violent moving of the ship is taking place on land; the consequences

Tab. 5.5: Gylfagynning's wording and various translations of actions related to Baldr's cremation.

	Intention of the god	**Hyrrokkin's act**	**The placing of Baldr**	**The placing of Nanna**	**The placing of Litr**	**The placing of Draupnir**	**The placing of Baldr's horse**
Gylfaginning	"setja fram"	"hratt fram"	"borit út á skipit"	"borin á bálit"	"hratt honum í eldinn"	Lagði á bálit	Leiddr á bálit
Nyerup 1808	"trække ud"	"skjød Skibet ud"	"baaret ud paa Skibet"	"lagt på bålet"	"sparked [. . .] op i Ilden"	"kastede [. . .] på Bålet"	"ført på Bålet"
Cnattingius 1819	"draga det ut"	"sköt skeppet ut"	"utburit på skeppet"	"laggd på bålet"	"upp i elden"	"kastade på bålet"	"lades ock på bålet"
Jessen 1867	"sætte frem"	"drev det frem"	"bares [. . .] ut på Skibet"	"båren på Bålet"	"slyngede ham i Ilden"	"lagde på Bålet"	"ledtes på Bålet"
Sander 1893	Ikke direkte oversetelse						
Jonsson 1902	"skyde ud i Søen"	"stødte det frem"	"baaret ud på Skibet"	"baaret ud på Skibet"	"sparkede ham [. . .] ind I Baalet"	"lagde på Bålet"	"blev ført på Bålet"
Lauridsen 2013	"sætte frem"	"drev det fremad"	"båret ud på skibet"	"blev lagt på bålet"	"sendte ham ind i ilden"	"lagde [. . .] på bålet"	"blev ført på bålet"

are an earthquake and a fire, not a tsunami. The murder of Baldr heralded Ragnarök and thus made him the first victim of the last battle, and fits well with the later tradition of connecting cremation and the warrior-death. But as enumerated above there are a number of reasons to question whether *Húsdrápa*, as well as the original wood carvings in Óláfr's hall and the Baldr-myth behind them, served as inspiration for the later examples of marine cremation burials. Could the idea of the marine burial come from another side, perhaps the one represented in the *Beowulf*?

Beowulf

The *Beowulf* poem is preserved in the Nowell Codex of the Cotton Vitellius A.XV manuscript, now in the British Library. The Codex can be dated on orthographic evidence to the years around 1000, but the *Beowulf* section of it is clearly a transcript, and thus a copy of an older document (Newton 1993:2–10). The debate about the composition date of the poem itself has been raging for decades, with suggestions ranging from the 6th century up to the time of the preserved manuscript's fabrication around 1000 – or even later. The dispute has been productive in leading to a refinement and solidification of the arguments for an early date, while a similar development cannot be found for the opposite (Chase 1981; Frank 2007; Neidorf [ed.] 2014; Damico 2015; Neidorf 2016). A number of indications in the text, especially the lack of Scandinavian loan words, suggests that the composition pre-dated the strong Scandinavian influence on Old English (OE) from the 9th century onward, and Newton (1993:10–17) has suggested a composition date in the 8th century, a proposition that we shall follow here for the OE version.

In a recent book Gräslund has evaluated the poem from an archaeological perspective. He concludes that the poem is set in an early to mid-6th century environment, and that it was composed in south-eastern Scandinavia in the late 6th century (Gräslund 2018:33–42). The new dating and provenance is based on a comparison of the poem's material environment, especially in terms of golden rings and chain mail, with the material culture of England and Scandinavia in the 6th to 11th centuries, which he finds to favour a Scandinavian origin. He further suggests that the poem was brought to East Anglia very early, perhaps already around 600, with a skald accompanying an east-Scandinavian bride travelling to marry an East Anglian prince at Rendlesham, thus bringing with her not only the poem, but also the ship burial custom (Gräslund 2018:178–85). Given the (for Gräslund) uncorrupted descriptions of Scandinavian material culture, he suggests that the poem was written down in its first Anglian version shortly after this time, and thus significantly earlier than within the 685–725 timespan suggested by several English scholars (Gräslund 2018:34).

According to Gräslund, the archaeology is crucial to his dating of the poem, and with that also to the transmittal of the idea of royal ship burials to England:

> The decisive [argument, author's comment] is, however, that there is no archaeological materiality in the poem which does not belong in the Migration Period, and nothing which exclusively belongs in the Vendel Period. (Gräslund 2018:42, author's translation)[3]

Yet, there is something. The poem on several occasions makes references to sailing (lines 36, 1429, 1898, 1905, 1906 in Slade's numeration, Tab. 5.6), very clearly showing that it plays out in an environment where the use of sail was well known and practised. It was thus meaningful to suggest a mast on a grave ship in a burial taking place some generations before the events described in the poem. Gräslund (2018:217) states that it is 'unthinkable' that Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons should not be familiar with sailing, but there is very little evidence for the use of sail in Scandinavia until the 8th century. Rowed ships without sail are known from the 3rd and 4th centuries from Nydam in south-western Denmark, from the late 7th or 8th century from Kvalsund in western Norway, and with some uncertainty from the Storhaug and Grønhaug ships from the late 8th century. The Salme II ship burial from the mid-8th century has some constructional features that indicate it to be a sailing ship (Peets et al. 2012:44). The Oseberg ship, built c. 820, is the oldest preserved example of a Scandinavian-built sailing ship; considering the elaborate constructions supporting its mast, it is obvious that its construction was preceded by that of other sailing ships.

The Gotlandic picture stones are an indispensable source to Iron Age seafaring in the Baltic, but the datings of the different stones are disputed. They begin to show the use of rowing vessels in the 5th–6th centuries, according to Varenius (1992:82), who has studied those of the stones showing ships. The earliest, simple depictions of ship with sails are in Varenius' group II, which he dates broadly within the 7th–9th centuries. Imer (2004:106), however, included 11 of Varenius' 32 group II stones in her analysis based more broadly on pictures and ornamentation, and rejected datings prior to the second half of the 8th century for these. From around 800 a more widespread use of sailing ship pictures is evident in Scandinavia, mainly on rune stones and famously on the Hedeby coins (Malmer 1966; Varenius 1992).

The old *futhark* inscription on the Eggja runic stone from western Norway has been suggested as early evidence for the use of sail, with a dating to the 7th century grounded on archaeological and art-historical evidence. This is based on one of several suggested interpretations, which sees the text as a commemoration of victims of a shipwreck caused by a failing rig (Grønvik 1985). Although this reading is peculiar in suggesting that *keiper* could be placed in the mast top (Grønvik 2002) – that word is only known to have been used for oar tholes – the terminology used for the

3 In Sweden, the Migration Period constitutes 400–550, the Vendel Period 550–790.

Tab. 5.6: Excerpt of Slade's translation of *Beowulf*, lines 26–63.

Him ðá Scyld gewát tó gescæphwíle	**26**	Then Scyld departed at the destined time,
felahrór féran on fréan waére·		still in his full-strength, to fare in the protection of the Lord Frea;
hí hyne þá ætbaéron tó brimes faroðe		he they carried to the sea's surf,
swaése gesíþas swá hé selfa bæd		his dear comrades, as he himself had bid,
þenden wordum wéold wine Scyldinga	**30**	when he yet wielded words, that friend of the Scyldings,
léof landfruma lange áhte·		beloved ruler of the land, had ruled for a long time;
þaér æt hýðe stód hringedstefna		there at the harbour stood with a ringed-prow,
ísig ond útfús æþelinges fær·		icy and keen to sail, a hero's vessel;
álédon þá léofne þéoden		they then laid down the beloved prince,
béaga bryttan on bearm scipes	**35**	the giver of rings and treasure, in the bosom of the boat,
maérne be mæste· þaér wæs mádma fela		the mighty by the mast; many riches were there,
of feorwegum frætwa gelaéded·		from far-off lands ornate armour and baubles were brought;
ne hýrde ic cýmlícor céol gegyrwan		I have not heard of a comelier keel adorned
hildewaépnum ond heaðowaédum		with weapons of battle and war-dress,
billum ond byrnum· him on bearme læg	**40**	bill-blades and byrnies; there lay on his breast
mádma mænigo þá him mid scoldon		many treasures, which with him must,
on flódes aéht feor gewítan·		in the power of the waves, drift far off;
nalæs hí hine laéssan lácum téodan		in no way had they upon him fewer gifts bestowed
þéodgestréonum þonne þá dydon		with the wealth of a nation, than those did
þe hine æt frumsceafte forð onsendon	**45**	who him in the beginning had sent forth
aénne ofer ýðe umborwesende·		alone upon the waves being but a child;
þá gýt híe him ásetton segen gyldenne		yet then they set up the standard of gold,
héah ofer héafod· léton holm beran·		high over head; they let the sea bear,
géafon on gársecg· him wæs geómor sefa		gave to the ocean, in them were troubled hearts,
murnende mód· men ne cunnon	**50**	mourning minds; men cannot
secgan tó sóðe seleraédenne		say for certain, (neither) court-counsellors
hæleð under heofenum hwá þaém		(nor) heroes under heaven, who received that
hlæste onféng.		cargo.
I		
Ðá wæs on burgum Béowulf Scyldinga		Then was in boroughs, Beowulf the Scylding (Beaw),
léof léodcyning longe þráge		beloved king of the people a long age
folcum gefraége –fæder ellor hwearf	**55**	famed among the folk –his father having gone elsewhere,
aldor of earde– oþ þæt him eft onwóc		elder on earth– until unto him in turn was born
héah Healfdene héold þenden lifde		high Half-Dane, he ruled so long as he lived
gamol ond gúðréouw glæde Scyldingas·		old and battle-fierce, the glad Scyldings;
ðaém féower bearn forðgerímed		to him four sons in succession
in worold wócun weoroda raéswan:	**60**	woke in the world, the leader of the legions:
Heorogár ond Hróðgár ond Hálga til·		Heorogar and Hrothgar and good Halga;
hýrde ic þæt Ýrse wæs Onelan cwén		I heard that Yrse was Onela's queen,
Heaðo-Scilfingas healsgebedda.		the War-Scylfing's belovèd embraced in bed.

mast top itself is precise and convincingly demonstrates the use of sail. The dating, however, is questionable. Spurkland (2005:70–1) has pointed out that historical linguists would balk at dating the text in isolation to before 800, since it is written in Old Norse, not Proto-Scandinavian. The archaeological date was given by Shetelig who excavated the heavily disturbed grave in 1917, and was based on the paucity of the burial (Grønvik 1985:7–8). Indeed, very sparingly equipped graves without mounds can be found from later periods than the 7th century. Shetelig also provided an art-historical dating, based on the partial horse figure incised together with the runes, which he saw as a typical example of early Vendel style, dating to the 7th century (Grønvik 1985:7–8). However, the figure is not very detailed, and close parallels to it can be found in later contexts, for example an 8th-century copper-alloy figurine found in Ultuna (Hulth et al. 2013:39–40, 66), or the Alskog Tjängvida I picture stone from Gotland, dating to as late as the 10th century (Imer 2004). It thus seems more likely that the Eggja-stone is a late example of the old *futhark* than an early example of Old Norse, and may date to the 8th or even 9th century.

The ship burials themselves may also contribute to the discussion. In the cases where we have firm evidence, the 9th- and 10th-century monumental ship burials are made in sailing ships and have burial chambers placed directly behind the mast. These are the Oseberg, Gokstad, Tune, and Ladby burials. In contrast, the 7th- and 8th-century ship burials from Sutton Hoo 1, Grønhaug, and Storhaug all have their burial chambers placed in the centre of the vessel, and all lack evidence of mast and sail. Poor preservation prohibits categorical exclusion of the notion that some of these may have had masts and rigging, but the central placing of the deceased may reflect what is seen on the rowing vessels of the Gotland picture stones: in the rowed ship, it was the central area that was used for tents or chambers (Fig. 5.16). It may also be noted that the 34 skeletons in the presumed sailing vessel from the Salme II vessel were not placed in the centre of the ship, but towards the north-east, in what was presumably the area behind the mast (Peets et al. 2012).

It can be assumed that the adaptation of sail in Scandinavia took place gradually over space and time. The archaeological and pictorial evidence mentioned above indicate that the sail spread first in the southern areas in the 7th or even early 8th century, and were only later adopted further to the north (e.g. Bill 2009 for this pattern in Viking Age to late medieval shipbuilding in the region). In that case, *Beowulf* itself constitutes a very early testimony for the use of sail in Scandinavia. With a philological dating to around 700 for the Old English text from which MS was copied, the Scandinavian poem from which it was translated was probably from the last decades of the 7th century – which would make it tentatively the first indication that sail had been adopted in southern Scandinavia. This chapter will assume this date for the further discussion of *Beowulf*'s place in the reception history of the monumental ship burial ritual.

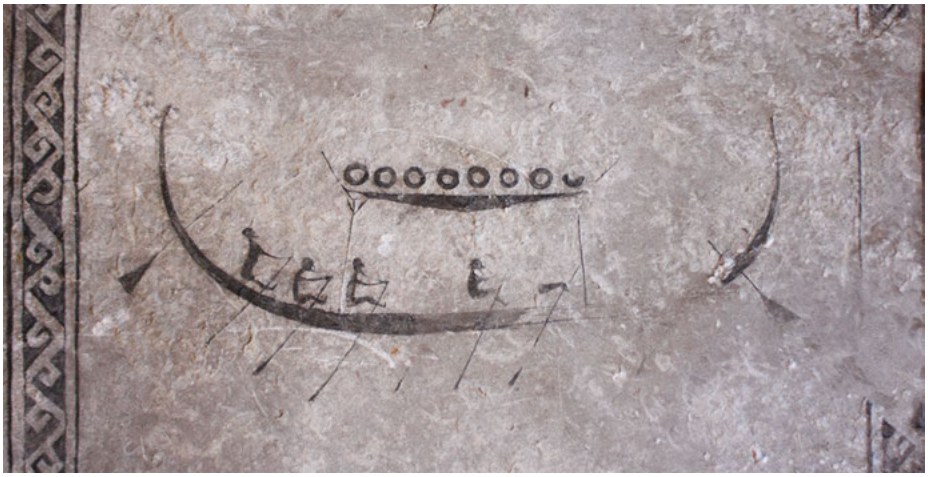

Fig. 5.16: Rowing ship on a picture stone from Sanda church, Gotland. Photo: B. Enderborg.

Beowulf is thus unique to all other written sources on ship graves in that it was not only contemporary with (as Ibn Fadlan's report), but even older than the majority of the archaeological monumental ship burials; only the Snape and Sutton Hoo ones are older than the poem. While the poem well may reflect ideas about older burial rites, it is reasonable to assume that the poem could have an influence on individuals that knew it and were using monumental burials. The *Beowulf* poem, as suggested by Gräslund, must have had the power to inspire the design of ship graves that were built, and is thus not only a reflection of the reception history of the burial rite, but also played a role in its creation. For that reason, the relevant part of the poem, the lines 26–63, deserves to be fully commented upon here, based on the edition and translation by Slade (Tab. 5.6).[4]

The text contains a number of parallels to the later descriptions of ship burials, but also several unique features. No reason is given for Skjǫld's death, only that it arrived at his fated time, and that he was then still a vigorous man (lines 26–7). It is also said, in line 27, that he is going into Frea's protection. Slade notes that Frea can mean both the Christian God and the pagan Freyr, but given the date and the Scandinavian context of the funeral, the latter seems the more likely interpretation. In line 28 Skjǫld, in a parallel to Baldr's burial, is carried to the coast, while lines 29–30 reveal that this was done on his own bidding – Skjǫld himself had, before this death, ordered the format of the burial. This is a parallel found in two other

4 http://www.heorot.dk/beo-intro-rede.html (accessed 28.08.2018).

burials, those of the Skjǫldungar kings Sigurðr hringr and Haki, who also take the arrangement of their funerals into their own hands. Lines 32–3 describe the burial ship as *hringedstefna*, just as Baldr's ship was *hringhorni* in Snorri's account of his burial, and it is ready, even eager, to sail. In this might be discerned another parallel to Sigurðr hringr and Haki's burials. Line 33 states that this is the ship of an "*æþeling*", a prince, something that may relate to it being *hringedstefna*. In 34–6 we learn where Skjǫld is placed in the funeral ship, namely *on bearm scipes* [. . .] *be mæste*, which must mean on the deck of the ship, at the mast, thereby regarding the keel as the back-bone of the ship. This corresponds well with the other written sources, although none of them are as explicit as *Beowulf* on that topic. It also fits well with most of the archaeological burials; a reading where *beærm* was understood as the bow ('breast') of the ship completely lacks archaeological support.

In the following lines 35–41 a description is given of the riches that Skjǫld's followers heap upon him in the ship, a gift list which resamples that of the Sutton Hoo burial. Most of the other archaeological examples of ship burials are either plundered or cremated, but the two that are not – Hedeby and Storhaug – both contain such exotic valuables and weaponry that the poem describes as burial gifts for Beowulf (Wamers 1994; Opedal 1998). Additionally, the rich insular inventory from the Oseberg burial that was left unnoticed by the plunderers of the burial may count as exotic valuables, and perhaps also the peacocks from the Gokstad burial. In lines 41–6 are found two very important pieces of information on the burial. The first is that the burial ship with the corpse and the grave goods will travel out on the sea; in this respect, *Beowulf* can thus have served as an inspiration for the texts describing the funerals of Sigurðr and Haki, and of *Gylfaginning*'s version of Baldr's cremation if it is read as a marine burial. The second piece of information shows that Skjǫld's funeral is not really a disposal of the body – indeed, the entire ritual is explained as an inversion of what happened once upon a time, when Skjǫld first came to the Danes – alone, as a child, sent over the sea, surrounded by rich gifts. It is thus more of a return than a dispatch. This is not a motif that we find in any other descriptions of ship burials apart from the *Life of St. Gildas*, but it is presented in *Æthelweard's Chronicle* from the late 10th century, as discussed below.

It is not said who sent Skjǫld to the Danes; in the closing lines of the prologue, lines 50–3, this question is put centre-stage as something unknowable to man. In this there is a sense of closing a circle, of restoring an order, of Skjǫld going into the protection of Frea. Taken together, this ensures that Skjǫld is embarking on a journey, which is bringing him, in some form, back to the gods who had sent him in the first place. As seen in the archaeological ship burials, the posthumous voyage is also a theme in the physical graves, expressed by the ships 'floating' in the soil and by the presence of by-boats and gangways in Gokstad, Storhaug, and Oseberg.

The lines 53–63 also cited above form the beginning of the *Beowulf* story proper and say nothing about Skjǫld's burial – but they reveal the purpose of the prologue. Over these few lines are described the succession of fathers and sons from Skjǫld to Hrothgar, the king of the Danes at the time in which the poem plays out. Since the *Beowulf* poem in itself is set in bygone times, Skjǫld's mystical occurrence and disappearance after death are rendered as something that happened in the mythical past, thereby establishing a founder of a Danish royal line without actually providing a genealogy up to any king living at the time of the poem's recitation. The poem does give the names of Hrothgar's two sons, Hrethric and Hrothmund, and of his daughter Freawaru, as well as of Hrothgar's siblings and a nephew, Hrotulf, thus offering several openings for expanding on Skjǫld's genealogy, an opportunity which may not have been wasted on contemporary poets, historians, and chroniclers.

Establishing king lists and royal pedigrees leading back to a mythological origin was a widespread but already ancient phenomenon in the medieval world, and the example of *Beowulf* attests to its presence in pre-Viking Age Scandinavia. Generally, such works would point back to ancient heathen gods, mostly Óðinn; to cultural heroes; to figures from the Old Testament; or to combinations thereof. The function of such genealogies has been considered to be primarily ideological, to justify the ruler's claim to power (Scheibelreiter et al. 1998; Sundqvist 2000:155–6), but also as instrumental in forging group identities (Hedeager 2000:40). However, it has been pointed out that as a phenomenon such lists and genealogies are very heterogeneous and that, in spite of the frequent indications towards Scandinavian origins, the majority are probably derived more from Roman and Biblical than from ancient Germanic traditions. In many instances they seem to be products of specific, contemporary needs rather than of inherited lore (Poel 2016). It is in this light that the coexistence of king lists and royal pedigrees should be evaluated *vis-a-vis* monumental ship burials. Before doing so, however, the section below will briefly touch upon the last uncommented example of a ship funeral from Tab. 5.4.

The Vita of St. Gildas

The Latin *Vita of St. Gildas* was composed at some point in the 9th to early 11th century by the monks of St. Gildas-de-Ruys at Morbihan in Brittany. The original is lost, and it is known today from an early 17th-century edition by John à Bosco, *Floriacensis vetus bibliotheca*. Here, the discussion will rely solely upon Cameron's (1969) examination of the relevant parts of the *Vita*. Cameron demonstrates that in the section on St. Gildas' death and burial, the *Vita* shows very close resemblances to the narrative of Skjǫld's funeral in *Beowulf*. During his life, Gildas founded two monasteries, one in Britain and one in Brittany. The *Vita* describes how Gildas, to avoid strife about which

abbey should keep his remains after his death, issues instructions about his funeral. He is to be put in an unmanned ship, his shoulders resting on his tombstone, and the ship shall be pushed out to drift on the sea, thereby placing the choice of his final resting place in the hands of God. Miraculously the ship is found three months later near the abbey at Rhuys, hence this is where his remains are buried. The scene was apparently incorporated into the *Vita* to explain and justify why the remains of St. Gildas are in Rhuys. This circumstance may offer a hint to the dating of the *Vita*, since the remains of the saint were temporarily evacuated from Rhuys to a third monastery, the Abbey of Saint-Gildas of Châteauroux, between 920 and 1008. The *Vita* may thus have been produced to support the return of Gildas' remains to Rhuys, which would place its composition very close in time to the production of the preserved *Beowulf* manuscript, suggesting that the copying of *Beowulf* indicates a wider interest in that particular poem at that time.

5.2.3 King lists and royal pedigrees in the time and region of the monumental ship burials

King lists and royal pedigrees (the latter characterized by information about the family relations between the various kings) are attested in all the regions where monumental ship graves and ship settings were constructed. No other region is as rich in them as the British Isles, where they exist for early medieval Irish and Anglo-Saxon as well as Welsh kings (Poel 2016:252–3 with references). The oldest preserved royal pedigrees in Anglo-Saxon England are those found for the Wessex and Kent royal lines in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* from the 730s. A royal genealogy from East Anglia, where the monumental ship burials from Snape and Sutton Hoo are located, is first found in the manuscripts of the *Anglian Collection*, in sections that are believed to derive from an original text composed in the 760–70s (Poel 2016:250). It also appears some decades later in the early 9th-century *Historia Brittonum*. In both these early versions, the lineage of the kings begins with Woden (Óðinn), followed by a Caser or Casser (not the usual Baldæg/Baldr as in most of the other Anglo-Saxon pedigrees), but there are no indications of a link to the *Beowulf* genealogy of Skjǫld. Such a connection between Danish and Anglo-Saxon pedigrees is only established much later, between 871 and 892, when it is found in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*'s genealogies of Alfred the Great. It is also included in Asser's *Life of Alfred* from 893, and it has been suggested that its appearance in the context of Alfred is due to his intensive dealings with Danes (Frank 1997:128–9; Poel 2016:251). In *Chronicon Æthelweardi*, a Latin version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* written c. 980 by Æthelweard, a descendant of King Æthelread I of Wessex, a close link is found to the *Beowulf* poem. In the pedigree for King Æthelwulf, Alfred's father, it is told how a child, surrounded by arms in a boat, drifts ashore in Denmark and becomes king

(Æthelweard n.d. [1962]:31–3). In spite of small differences – the child is Scef and becomes father of Skjǫld, and there are differences in the descendants of Beowulf, Skjǫld's son – there can be no doubt that the *Beowulf* poem and *Chronicon Æthelweardi* are referring to the same origin myth. This is lending further support to the theory that this myth was a stable asset at Anglo-Saxon courts throughout the centuries from when it was brought in and first fixed to parchment in Anglo-Saxon language until the surviving *Beowulf* manuscript was penned in the early 11th century. There is, however, no trace that it adjoined the Anglo-Saxon pedigrees, as these came to form a model for the inclusion of Skjǫld in the Icelandic pedigrees from the 12th century (Bruce 2002:55–6).

Turning to Scandinavia, what has been said about the pedigree of the Skjǫldungar in *Beowulf* above has already exhausted the preserved sources of royal lineages in the Danish realm contemporary to the ship burials. From Norway are known the *Ynglingatal* and the *Háleygjatal*. The latter was, according to Snorri in *Skáldatal* and in *Heimskringla*, composed by Eyvindr skáldaspillir Finnsson, who first was skald for the son of Haraldr hárfagri, Hákon góði, then served another Haraldsson, Haraldr Gráfeldr, before finally becoming skald for Hákon jarl Sigurðarson of Hlaðir; Eyvindr is believed to have lived c. 915 to 990 (Whaley 2012:171). *Háleygjatal*, which praises Hákon jarl (*c* 970–*c* 995) and enumerates his ancestors, is preserved in a number of different manuscripts and is always referred to as the work of Eyvindr skáldaspillir. Based on internal evidence, its date can be set to 985 or shortly thereafter (Poole 2012:195). It is thus later than the period of the archaeological ship burials, but it has been composed within a devoted anti-Christian environment, for the man who provided Óláfr Hoskuldsson the hall with the carvings of Baldr's ship burial, described in *Húsdrápa* (above). Importantly for this analysis, the poem expressively underlines the origin of Hakon jarl's lineage as the fruit of a union between Óðinn and the giantess Skaði (st. 2). It thereby demonstrates that at least shortly after the era of the ship graves – and at a time and probably also in an environment in which the myth of a godly ship burial was still being reiterated – the idea of a godly origin of the ruler was being explicitly promoted – but not one with a ship motif.

Central to the topic at hand because of its focus on Vestfold is the king list *Ynglingatal*, which provides the names, death accounts, and sometimes places of burial for 27 generations of kings. The first 21 of these are Swedish, and the last six are rulers of territories in eastern Norway. Relevantly, it names several kings who ostensibly were buried in Vestfold during the era of the monumental ship graves, and provides these kings with an ancestry squarely based in Uppsala. The poem thus provides the region with the highest density of such burials with an origin myth derived from another region with a very different use of ship symbolism in burials. The question is: does this poem provide any information on origin myths possibly associated with the east-Norwegian ship burials? Crucial in this context is of course the date of *Ynglingatal*, and thereby its relevance as a source to royal

burials in 8th and 9th century, as well as the purpose of the poem; how should the information presented therein be regarded?

Ynglingatal is almost exclusively preserved through Snorri's *Ynglingar saga* in *Heimskringla*, which Snorri claims was composed by Þjóðólfr ór Hvíni, a skald who, he writes, served in the retinues of Haraldr hárfagri and other 9th-century kings (Marold et al. 2012:4–6). Þjóðólfr and his biography are known exclusively through Snorri, and there is little corroborating evidence. The poem *Haustlǫng* and a few other works are ascribed to him, but the only one of these that connects him to Haraldr is five stanzas of a praise poem with a quite uncertain attribution (Fulk 2012) and two *lausavísur* from Haraldr's court that Snorri provides in *Haralds saga hins hárfagra*, ch. 26 and 35. Snorri's attribution, if accepted, indicates a date for *Ynglingatal* to the later 9th century or around 900. However, opinions on the date of composition differ, with suggestions ranging from the mid-9th to the early 13th century, and the discussion is ongoing (e.g. Krag 2012; Dusse 2013:76–8). The main proponent for a late date today is Krag (1991, 2012), but the arguments he has put forward for it were quickly met with critique (e.g. Andersson 1992; Fidjestøl 1994; Oskarsdóttir 1994) and have been convincingly refuted on linguistic grounds by Sapp (2000) and more extensively by Skre (2007). In *Poetry from the Kings' Sagas,* Marold et al. (2012:6) conclude that "Overall, then, a convincing case has not been made against the authenticity of the poem as a ninth-century creation", and since 2012 further linguistic and metrical arguments for an early date have been brought forwards, most notably by Myrvoll (2014). A few scholars have suggested a less specific date for the poem, seeing it as an entity that was continuously transformed over time, and thus today is composed of fragments from many different points in time (Norr 1998; Dusse 2013; Myhre 2015:122). It is, however, difficult to see how metrical characteristics, as demonstrated by Sapp and Myrvoll, should survive well in such a process, even in a poem written in *fornyrðislag*. Thus, in the current context, the most challenging scenario, the conventional late 9th-century date or a date around 900, is also the most plausible. In that case, the date of the poem falls in the middle of the chronological range for the dendrochronologically dated ship burials from Østfold and Vestfold. The later of the east-Norwegian royal burials in *Ynglingatal* thus could have taken place around the time of the Oseberg ship burial, and shortly before or at the same time as the Gokstad, Tune, and Borre burials. The question thus arises: is it possible to conceive that both the royal burials in the *Ynglingatal* and the presumed royal burials in the ship graves take place within the same landscape at the same time? That depends on *what* the poem is actually meant to say about its kings.

It is necessary to remark that despite the many attempts to connect the east-Norwegian ship graves to the individual kings and queens mentioned in *Ynglingatal*, these have largely been disproved through dendrochronological dating of the graves in the early 1990s (Myhre 1992c, 1992a, 1992d, 1992b), as well as through new osteological analyses of the Gokstad and Oseberg skeletons in 2009 (Holck 2009a, 2009b). More fundamentally, however, these discussions were all based on an acceptance of

a genealogical link between the king list in *Ynglingatal* and the Hárfagri dynasty that today is understood as entirely a 12th-century construction (Skre 2007:407). The discussion of the identity of the individuals in the ship graves as early members of the Hárfagri' dynasty is thus obsolete. The dates of the individual east-Norwegian kingships mentioned in *Ynglingatal* cannot be calculated based on any historical events associated with Hárfagri or his descendants and occur, as far as they are historical at all, at indistinct times within the early Viking Age and the centuries before.

The poem itself contains some hints to its history. It is clearly divided in two parts, evident through a change in the naming principles between the Swedish and the Norwegian group of kings, but also by rarely naming the burial places of the former, but frequently of the latter. Therefore, it has long being suggested that the first part of the poem includes an older, Swedish king list, which was incorporated in order to provide an ancestry to the east-Norwegian kings listed in the second part of the poem (Myhre 1992d:13; Marold et al. 2012:5–7). Thus, the poem's first part has a history that may extend beyond the 9th century. The divide, however, is transgressed by another characteristic to which several scholars have called attention, even if it has been ignored by many more: the derogatory language of the poem, assigning to many of the kings rather humiliating fates, especially when compared to the ideal of a warrior death. Already Snorri was aware of this characteristic and in the very first lines of his prologue to *Heimskringla*, just before introducing *Ynglingatal*, he makes a specific reference to this kind of poetry as being *sǫguljóð til skemmtanar*, 'historical poems for entertainment' (Birgisson 2008:207, 237). The phenomenon has been commented upon by modern scholars (e.g. Lönnroth 1986:91), but the most strident critique of the understanding of *Ynglingatal* as a genealogical poem on this basis is provided by Birgisson (2008). His understanding of the work is that it is a libel poem, a *nið*, composed not for, but against the kings mentioned in it. Since Þjóðólfr of Hvinir is on Hárfagri's side, the poem must therefore be directed against kings in eastern Norway who are Hárfagri's opponents. Based on the historical sources regarding the political situation in eastern Norway in the 9th century, Birgisson concludes that these were most likely to be the "the Swedish and the Danish neighbours of the newly established Norwegian dynasty" (Birgisson 2008:491).

Critiques against Lönnroth's and Birgisson's readings have been raised in turn, noting that some of the types of deaths claimed as indicative of *nið* are in fact characteristic for legends of kings (Marold et al. 2012:8). As well, other explanations for the unusual character of the poem have been suggested, for example as a grotesquerie that should be understood within a carnivalesque tradition (Oskarsdóttir 1994). Very relevant to the discussion at hand is Goeres' analysis from 2015. Here she sees – partly based on Birgisson – the bizarre deaths of the Swedish kings in the poem as mnemonic devices employed to make these kings memorable to the audience in the absence of any physical monuments, whereas referring to the

mounds in the landscape serves the same function for the east-Norwegian kings (Goeres 2015:46–50).

It thus appears that no authoritative understanding of *Ynglingatal* exists. The indication is that it may well be of late 9th century date, but its affiliation with Haraldr hárfagri rests entirely on Snorri's testimony about the identity and biography of its composer. Even if one accepts that it was written for Haraldr, it is not certain whether it was written to praise his lineage, or rather to ridicule those of his adversaries, and thereby does little to help understand the identity of the rulers it describes. In a wider perspective, written sources from the time of the ship burials and further into the late Viking Age show us that ideas of royal lineage and their elevated origin – whether from gods or cultural heroes – did exist at that time, in multiple different genres and for different needs. Not surprisingly, the few examples that have survived up to the present day are those of the few lineages or kingdoms that continued into or were established in the 12th and 13th centuries, when history-writing began in Scandinavia. The exceptional survival of the Skjǫldungar's genealogy in *Beowulf* shows us that such origin myths also existed in Scandinavia long before the Viking Age, and for kingdoms that had not yet developed into the form about which the later historians would write. It is difficult to imagine that there should not have been many other such origin myths, and the first part of *Ynglingatal* may indeed contain the remnants of one, even if it may be Swedish rather than Norwegian. *Háleygjatal*, on the other hand, created after the jarls of Hlaðir had ascended to the Norwegian throne, demonstrates that the production of origin myths continued throughout the Viking Age. Throughout the era and area within which the monumental ship graves were used, there also existed traditions of using origin myths and royal genealogies to reinforce the ideological foundations for kingship. In at least one case, such a tradition implicates a relationship between ship burials and origin myths. Remembering Warmind's word of caution that archaeology is a better source for the study of early religion than biased texts, this chapter will now let the archaeological ship burials form the basis for a theory of their genesis to see whether it can be developed further in combination with the written sources.

5.3 Towards a synthesis

5.3.1 Monumental ship burial rituals – an interpretation

As shown above, the use of monumental ship symbolism in funeral contexts goes back to the decades before and around 600 for both ship inhumation burials and ship settings, while conclusive evidence for ship cremations is more elusive and possibly not older than the Viking Age. It is evident that all three funeral forms are

monumentalised versions of burial rites that were in use in in Scandinavia during the preceding centuries. Thus, boat inhumation burials have been sporadically attested from the Neolithic, the Bronze Age, and the early parts of the Iron Age before becoming more frequent from the Migration Period onward (Müller-Wille 1970). Burials in boat-shaped stone settings were most common in the Bronze Age and Viking Age, but examples are known from the Neolithic as well as various points of the Iron Age (Capelle 1986). Boat cremation graves are not possible to detect unless the cremated vessel contains iron parts, something that occurs only during the Roman Iron Age. It is thus possible that boat cremations also were in use much earlier, but the oldest attested examples date from the Migration Period (Müller-Wille 1970:Catalogue I:89, 177, 261, 265, 268).

The enduring presence of these main forms of funeral use of boat symbolism before the late 6th century constitute a Scandinavian-wide backdrop of tradition against which the new, monumental use of ship symbolism could be pitted. This backdrop also contained other elements, most notably picture stones with ship motifs as seen on Gotland from perhaps as early as the 5th century (Varenius 1992:82). Already long before the first monumental ship setting or ship grave was envisioned, the boat had thus been established as a medium of communication with the otherworld at the occasion of the funeral. In the late 6th and early 7th centuries this ritual tradition, the content of which is little known, was put to new uses in increasingly hierarchical societies. This played out in different ways. Some of the east-Swedish boat grave cemeteries – notably Valsgärde and Vendel – show how the tradition was adapted to serve an elite probably one step below the high kings of Gamla Uppsala. They did so in an outspokenly non-monumental manner that stood in contrast to the massive burial mounds constructed at the same time in Gamla Uppsala (Ljungkvist 2008a; Ljungkvist and Frölund 2015), and also to the oldest well-dated examples of funerals using ship symbolism on a monumental scale, the 90 m long Vejerslev ship setting in western Denmark and the ship graves from Snape and Sutton Hoo. These are adaptations of the older rituals seemingly designed to top the burial hierarchy of their time and place. In the case of Sutton Hoo, their erection and rapid demise can be seen to run in parallel with pagan royal manifestations, the memory of which is preserved in texts only a few generations younger (Carver 2005:503).

A sticking point in the discussion of the ship grave phenomenon, and of Sutton Hoo in particular, is the relationship between East Anglian and Scandinavian use of boat symbolism. In contrast to Scandinavia, the tradition of using entire boats in burial rites was not widespread in England before 600, although a ritual background has been suggested for the reuse of ship planks in some Kentish 6th-century graves (Brookes 2007). The Snape cemetery is therefore highly unusual in holding two or possibly three graves in logboats besides the ship grave; they are, however, thought to be younger than the ship grave and thus do not represent a first introduction of the ritual into the region (Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001).

Several scholars have suggested a direct connection between Scandinavia and East Anglia to explain the short-lived ship-burial phenomenon on the western North Sea coast. Especially eastern Sweden has been posited as a fulcrum for these contacts, and not only due to the shared ritual of high-status burials in boats in the late 6th and early 7th centuries. In this view, the notion of direct contact has been attested through the apparent east-Swedish origin of especially two of the very elaborate examples of war-gear in Sutton Hoo: the splendid crested helmet and the similarly sumptuous shield, both of which have close parallels in finds from the mounds in Gamla Uppsala and the Vendel and Valsgärde boat graves (e.g. Maryon 1946:30; Nerman 1948:90; Bruce-Mitford 1978:208; Gräslund 2018:173–85). However, the apparent direct relationship between East Anglia and eastern Sweden only occurs when the regions in between are deemed void of similar objects around 600 – a claim that it is becoming increasingly difficult to uphold. Indeed, the scarcity of richly equipped 6th- and early 7th-century burials that can be noted in parts of Scandinavia other than eastern Sweden (Nørgård Jørgensen 1999:32–5) serves as sufficient explanation for the apparent emptiness. A growing number of metal detector finds further demonstrate that similar ostentatious military equipment was employed among other Scandinavian elites. A gilded copper-alloy ocular found in 2000 at Gevninge close to Lejre is best understood as a fragment of a 6th- or 7th-century crested helmet (Price and Mortimer 2014:523–4). An eyebrow of a quality that rivals that of the Sutton Hoo helmet, dated to the 7th century, was apparently part of a sacrifice placed outside the cult house in Uppåkra (Helgesson 2004:230–1; Larsson 2011:196). And in 2015, a close parallel to the central mount on the forehead of some of the east-Swedish helmets was found at Næs in Gran, one of the most fertile inland landscapes in eastern Norway.[5] Ljungkvist (2008b:18) dates the Vendel grave XII and Valsgärde graves 8 to his Vendel Period phase 1 (560/70–620/30) and Valsgärde 5 and 6 to phase 3 (660–700/10), while Gräslund and Ljungkvist (2011:125) leave the possibility open for a slightly later date for Valsgärde 5 and 6. These helmets all show mounts very similar to the find from Næs, thus providing a dating range for this in the late 6th to early 8th century (Ljungkvist 2008b:18). As the number of such finds grows, a direct connection to eastern Sweden becomes an increasingly implausible explanation for the presence of these objects in the Sutton Hoo burial.

Nor does the choice of a sea craft as burial container necessarily establish a link between eastern Sweden and East Anglia – or for that matter, between Norway and East Anglia, as suggested by Bonde and Stylegar (2016:9). As demonstrated by Crumlin-Pedersen (1991), a rather rich record exists of Scandinavian boat graves from the 1st to 6th century, and it is still growing (e.g. the 1st-century Hedegård boat grave from Jutland in Madsen 1997). The chronological and spatial centre of gravity for this record is at present in 2nd- to 4th-century Scania and Bornholm, but

5 Acquisition number 2015/641, Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

it is notable that 5th- to 6th-century boat graves are found also in Jutland. An important addition to Crumlin-Pedersen's map are the two very well-preserved and richly equipped Saxon boat graves from Fallward in Niedersachsen, dated to the 5th/6th century (Schön 1999). Especially one of these, with its contents of highly decorated wooden furniture, copper-alloy and ceramic vessels, and a high-quality late Roman belt set, undoubtedly should be understood as an elite burial. It is thus clear that there were closer sources to inspire East Anglians to use ship symbolism in burials than present-day Sweden or Norway.

Nevertheless, Snape and Sutton Hoo represent something fundamentally new with their combination of unusually large craft and monumental mounds. What is behind this invention? It has been suggested that the Anglo-Saxon use of mound burials was inspired by Merovingian examples, and indeed the most intensive use of the monument form is found in Kent and Sussex, regions most intensively subject to Frankish influence. But monumental, older burial mounds in the Anglo-Saxon landscape – predominantly from the Bronze Age but with monumental examples from Roman times – were reused for burials over wide parts of England and could well have served as inspiration for the construction of the few new monumental mounds. The least likely region to have offered impulses for the barrows at Snape and Sutton Hoo is perhaps the part of Scandinavia closest to East Anglia, where monumental mounds apparently were not constructed at that time (Hedeager 1992:297). A possible exception is Grydehøj at the royal centre of Lejre, with an exclusive cremation grave which two radiocarbon dates on charcoal only broadly place in the 5th–8th century (Andersen 1995:113). By contrast, many of the largest burial mounds in Norway and Sweden – including some of the largest in northern Europe overall – date to the 5th and 6th centuries (Skre 1997; Pedersen et al. 2003:299–320; Ljungkvist 2008a; Ljungkvist and Frölund 2015).

It is thus evident that when the first monumental ship graves were created in East Anglia, their designers could draw upon existing traditions of boat inhumation burials and of barrow burials from a wider area around the North Sea and into the Baltic. The same area also showed a trend towards the construction of monumental grave memorials for the uppermost elite, but only in smaller subregions had ship symbolism appeared as well. The rich boat burials from eastern Sweden also represent a novelty of the time, but with their humble boats and general lack of mounds, they differ starkly from the monumental ship graves.

What could have led to the idea to bury ships in mounds at Snape and Sutton Hoo in the late 6th to early 7th centuries? By focusing on the use of ship symbolism as the core message of the ritual, and consider the form – ship setting or ship burial – only as a frame for representing this, it appears that indeed ship burials are more useful in that particular landscape than ship settings. Monumental mounds were already established as memorials in the landscape, while ship settings were nowhere around. Boat inhumation burials could be found in places closer than Scandinavia, and may have been a more familiar phenomenon. Furthermore, given the region's sandy soil

type, the boulders necessary to construct a ship setting would need to be transported over long distances. Even if the idea of constructing stone burial ships for funerals was part of the Scandinavian impulse for the ship burials that especially Sutton Hoo 1 seem to reflect, the choice of using real ships could have prevailed for practical as well as symbolic reasons.

What would be the possible link between the ship burial in *Beowulf* and the East Anglian ship burials? The Sutton Hoo ship burials were clearly located on what had already been a high-status burial ground, while dramatically overshadowing any earlier burial there. They also mark the culmination of the site; afterward, burials becomes more modest, and towards the middle of the 7th century, the last high-status burials there are established; in the 8th century the site is taken into use as an execution cemetery (Carver 2005:309–12). The entire development of the Sutton Hoo burial site should be seen in the context of the formative years of the East Anglian kingdom as first a pagan but soon a Christian polity (Carver 2005:502–3). The massive investment in the two ship graves must be understood as a response to an urgent need to make manifest the pagan and, to some extent, also 'Scandinavian' character of the rulership. Indeed, Snape can be included as a precursor in this picture, even if knowledge of this site is much more partial (Filmer-Sankey 1992:50). Both cemeteries had since long been abandoned as elite burial sites at the time when the *Beowulf* poem was translated into OE, and it cannot be assumed *a priori* that its myth explains the ship graves in any way. Independently from the intended message of the Snape and Sutton Hoo ship graves, however, if a social memory of them still existed in the 8th century, presumably it would have contributed to the myth's popularity in later Anglo-Saxon England. The myth would have the power to provide content to a rather hollowed out memory of the ship graves, as indicated by the transformed use of the Sutton Hoo cemetery.

The second round of monumental ship inhumation graves appears in the late 8th century, on Karmøy in western Norway. The dates of the two burials are c. 779 and c. 790, one-and-a-half century after the East Anglian ones, but not long after the translation of *Beowulf* into OE. As shown above, these differ from their East Anglian counterparts in a number of respects: orientation, the use of horses, and probably also the expression of a post-mortem journey. These burials could be understood as an import of the ship burial ritual from East Anglia to Norway (Bill 2015; Bonde and Stylegar 2016). By that time, more than one-and-a half centuries after the East Anglian ship funerals took place and the conversion of East Anglian rulers to Christianity shortly thereafter, it could not be the import of a living ritual; but the west-Norwegians could have been inspired from tales still being told about the ship burials, together with the OE version of the *Beowulf* poem. With these components, they would have the essentials of a new ritual in hand: a re-enactment of Skjǫld's burial, but with the use of a real vessel and inhumation burial, rather than the use of stone ships and cremation, as was the practice further south. Arguably, there is little evidence with regard to a direct route of communication along which

this idea would have travelled, even if Bonde and Stylegar (2016:12) have pointed to the presence of Anglo-Saxon glassware in western Norway as documentation for its existence. But as demonstrated by Baug and Skre (2019), western Norway already at that time was well connected with the trade route along the southern North Sea coast, and thus also with Anglo-Saxon England. It is hardly a leap to suppose that ideas also travelled along this route.

Irrespectively of, where the inspiration came from, in the late 8th century two monumental ship burials were constructed on Karmøy within a few years of each other. Given the strategic position of Karmøy (Skre 2014) and the orientation of the two mounds towards the sound between Karmøy and the mainland, it appears likely that their erection was the outward signal of a political shift in the powers controlling this crucial, centuries-old seafaring lane. Many other monuments around the Karmsund testify to the long history of political focus on this sound, and the island undoubtedly had a history of other petty-kingships before the late 8th century. The two monumental and at that time highly unconventional princely graves, with their associated histories of magnificent burials in ships, are likely to represent the introduction of a new political configuration in tandem with a new origin myth justifying rulership. How that myth was formulated, and to what extent it reiterated that of the Skjǫldungar in *Beowulf* remains unknown. Through archaeology, it appears certain that it did include the sending off of the dead ruler in a richly equipped ship, a scene so vividly re-enacted that it left boat, gangway, and broken oars as abandoned requisites in the Storhaug grave as the drama concluded and the mound was erected over the scene.

In 834 two women, about 50 and 70+ years of age, respectively, were put to rest in the Oseberg ship burial in Vestfold in eastern Norway. As the dendrochronological investigations have demonstrated, the ship had been built 14 years earlier in the same area as the ships from the Karmøy ship graves, not far from Karmøy. The burial closely resembles those of Karmøy, especially the earlier of these, the Storhaug burial. The motif of a ship being prepared for a journey is vividly illustrated by the mooring to the stempost, the gangway pulled aboard, and oars lying ready in the oar holes for turning the ship. The dendrochronological and ritual connections between the Karmøy graves and the one from Oseberg – and later Gokstad – are the best evidence for them sharing not only a burial ritual, but also belonging to the same political network or clan. Moreover, the younger of the two women in Oseberg is old enough to have been born between the two Karmøy burials, while the older woman would have been young at that time. Even if the younger woman is to be considered the main figure of the Oseberg burial, she is not too young to have acted as a conveyor of the new burial ritual from western to eastern Norway. She would probably have participated in the Grønhaug burial herself, and the Storhaug burial would still be in fresh memory among people around her as she grew up. Theoretically, she may even have been a daughter of the man buried in Grønhaug. The idea, suggested by Bonde and

Stylegar, that the Oseberg ship came to eastern Norway as a dowry for one of the women buried in the ship, is a very possible explanation for the presence of a west-Norwegian ship in an east-Norwegian grave – and for the introduction of monumental ship burials in eastern Norway (Bonde and Stylegar 2009).

Is it in concordance with current knowledge about Viking Age Scandinavia to interpret the female Oseberg burial along the same lines as male ship burials when considering them as instrumental in transferring power from one ruler to the next? The evidence of rune stones clearly demonstrates that quite frequently, women of the elite would inherit land after their husbands or sons (Sawyer 2000:111–16), with two famous examples being the Tryggevælde and Glavendrup ship settings (Tab. 5.3). More importantly, they could apparently also play important roles in the formation of new ruler dynasties, as demonstrated by Thyra, the queen consort of Gormr 'the old' and mother of Haraldr Gormsson blátǫnn. Thyra was memorialised by a rune stone raised by Gormr at Jelling, on which she was called *tanmarkaR but*, and again by Haraldr on the large Jelling stone. Here he wrote that 'King Haraldr ordered this monument made in memory of Gormr, his father, and in memory of Thyrvé, his mother; that Haraldr who won for himself all of Denmark and Norway and made the Danes Christian.' The meaning of the phrase *tanmarkaR but* is obscure, but is generally understood as 'the one who mended Denmark' (Sawyer 2000:160). What she did, and how, is unknown, but it might have been something the likes of which is explained in *Ragnarssona þáttr* ch IV in *Hauksbók* (*Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda* [1943]). Here, Thyra is identified as the daughter of Haraldr '*klakk*', and the marriage makes it possible for Gormr to include Haraldr's kingdom in his own after Haraldr's death; it thus seems that it was within her capacity as inheritor of her father's kingdom that she becomes *Danmerkr-bót*, her epithet also in *Ragnarssona þáttr*. Birgit Sawyer (2000:158–66) addresses similar ideas in her interpretation of the Thyra inscriptions in Jelling. *Ragnarssona þáttr* is, according to Finnur Jónsson (1923), a late compilation from around 1300, and the family relation between Thyra and Haraldr '*klakk*' is obviously an anachronism, since Haraldr is mentioned in Frankish sources already in the first half of the 9th century. Nevertheless, it is, together with the epithet, also mentioned in *Saga Hálfdanar svarta* (ch. 5) and thus goes back at least to Snorri.

The monumental mound over the Oseberg ship burial was, as were the rune stones of Gormr and Haraldr, an epitaph over a woman, and the explanation for its construction may be parallel to that of Thyra's. Even the younger of the Oseberg women was around 50–55 years old when she died (Holck 2009b:53). If the Oseberg ship was part of her dowry, she was 35–40 years old at the time of marriage, which indicates that this was probably not her first marriage. Could it be that a strong west-Norwegian clan married off a widowed daughter or daughter-in-law to a weaker counterpart in the east in the hopes of establishing itself there? This is of course speculative, but it is a fact that two generations later, very similar ship funerals are taking place in the same region.

Among the male burials, the Gokstad burial is the best preserved, and best documented, of the three east-Norwegian monumental ship burials from around 900. As discussed above, it bears some striking similarities to Storhaug and Oseberg, especially in the concept of the burial drama representing a ship that is afloat. The knowledge of the Tune and Borre ship graves is too fragmentary to say whether they also had such elements in their ritual. As much is possible for at least the Tune ship, with its extensive clay filling. The close chronological and spatial proximity of the later group of eastern ship graves makes it compelling to see them as a response to a situation requiring a stark reinforcement of the morale of the followers of this group of rulers. It is beyond the goal of this work to discuss what that situation was, but the deterioration of royal power in the 9th century, after the death of King Gudfred in 810, may have loosened Danish control over eastern Norway and allowed a new dynasty to establish itself in the area. A possible acute threat around 900 could be the Swedish King Olof 'the brash', who, according to Adam of Bremen and Svend Estridssen, conquered Denmark at that time (Adam et al. 2002:44).

In Denmark and southern Sweden, the use of monumental ship symbolism took another course. The poor dating of the ship settings hinders discussion, but it clear that the greatest investments were made in Scania and present-day Denmark, that is, in the homeland of *Beowulf's* Skjǫld-figure. It is possible that the ship settings, as did the ship burials, saw intensified use in the 10th century, as indicated by the dated monuments at Lejre and Jelling. If so, this intensification would coincide with the increased construction of ship graves in, especially, eastern Norway.

It seems clear that when Haraldr, or possibly his father, builds the Jelling ship setting around the middle of the 10th century, it is meant to be the final word spoken in the language of the monumental ship burials. At 356 m long, it is more than triple the length of any other such monument and shortly thereafter it is rendered part of a past era by the erection of Haraldr's Christian rune stone as part of the complex monument. During the period when the two mounds were erected in the Jelling stone ship, the Oseberg and Gokstad burials, and possibly also other Norwegian ship burials, were defaced (Bill and Daly 2012). Haraldr, with his conquest of Norway and his use of ship symbolism, had both opportunity and motive to command this action, which would give him a monopoly in his lands on the use of the ship burial ritual and its monuments – and thereby on the use of the Skjǫldungar origin myth. Another, completely different explanation is also possible. While it remains unknown where Haraldr's dynasty originated, Adam of Bremen and *Ragnarssona þáttr* claim that Haraldr's father's father was King Harthacnut – *Hardegon* by Adam of Bremen – whom Adam writes came from *Northmannia* (Adam Bremensis n.d. [2002]:chap. 44). In the context that would mean that Harthacnut came either from Normandy or from Norway – in the latter case he could be from the dynasty erecting the ship graves in eastern Norway, and perhaps also the one at Ladby. The defacing of the Viken ship graves would, in this scenery, rather be the deed of Hákon jarl Sigurðarson after his break with Haraldr Gormsson blátǫnn, than Haraldr's.

However the destruction of the Oseberg and Gokstad monuments came about, the picture that subsequent historiographers have conveyed was that the Skjǫldungar, or ship origin myth, was solely a Danish/south-Swedish phenomenon. The picture was perhaps in part inspired by the visible stone ships scattered in the landscape, since Saxo Grammaticus certainly must have seen the four still standing at Lejre in his time. The Norwegian kings, on the contrary, were equipped with an Ynglingar origin devoid of any ship symbolism and of a somewhat dubious character. One can speculate why Snorri would have needed this Ynglingar background so badly for his 'finehair' kings; apart from establishing a 'finehair' claim on eastern Norway, it could also have been an attempt – successful, even – of erasing the memory of earlier kings in that region who had been using, in Snorri's time, an entirely Danish origin myth, with its magnificent ship burials.

Still, in the Icelandic sources the collective memory of the magnificent ship inhumation graves did survive, albeit now removed from any ideas of origin myths, and rather used solely to enhance the greatness of Icelandic families. The stories about ship burials of descendants of Vestfold and Avaldsnes kings may indicate that some memory of the monumental ship graves as real royal burials had survived into the High Middle Ages.

Several monumental ship graves that have not been specifically addressed in this synthesis merit a brief survey. Most remarkable is the ship-chamber grave from Hedeby, which Wamers (1994) has suggested is the grave of Haraldr '*klakk*'. As demonstrated, in spite of its later date, the grave shares features with the Anglo-Saxon graves, whereas it fits poorly with the Norwegian examples. It can certainly be noted that Hedeby around 850 was not a remote place to receive impulses from Anglo-Saxon England, nor was it an unlikely place to invest in royal burial symbolism, situated as it was directly on the border with the Franks. The double symbolism of a ship burial, to be seen from the north, from Denmark, and an elaborate chamber grave to be seen from the Frankish side, is somehow fitting for this location, and also for a person between the Franks and the Danes, such as Haraldr '*klakk*'.

The other Danish monumental ship burial, from Ladby, clearly follows the Norwegian model, but its vessel is low and slender, apparently built in a south-Scandinavian tradition (Bischoff and Jensen 1998). It may represent an east-Norwegian incursion, diplomatic or military, in a period of political instability in Denmark, or even the expansion of the early Jelling dynasty, if the latter indeed originated in Norway. The burial may also simply represent a Danish imitation of the Norwegian ritual.

Regarding the ship graves north of Karmøy, the Fosnes and Vinnan inhumation burials are small, compared with those from western and eastern Norway, and should be understood as emulations of the large ship burials, created by less important chieftains and petty-kings. The cremation burials at Myklebust and Île de Groix are special cases that can only receive superficial treatment with the

methods employed here. If they are indeed as late as has been suggested, they may be understood (at least the Myklebust grave) as 10th-century reactions against Christianisation (Østigård 2015) and connected with the beliefs evidently expressed in the imagery of Baldr's funeral.

5.3.2 The ship graves on Kormt – harbingers of a new era

As this investigation has shown, the two funerals that took place on Karmøy in the last quarter of the 8th century were anything but ordinary, and carried with them a message that was to echo through archaeological and written sources for centuries to come. As far as can be determined on the basis of the finds and texts extant today, these two burials were the first examples in Norway of a magnificent burial rite thanks to which some of the most fantastic treasures have survived from the Migration Period and the Viking Age in northern Europe. The burials also constitute the oldest finds in Norway that would permit a glimpse into how words and materiality were brought together in order to forge myth and reality into a strong foundation for rulership. This is of course an art as old as rulership itself. But by way of a series of unique, tell-tale sources – the *Nowell Codex of the Cotton Vitellius A.xv* that captured the origin myth of the kings of the Danes in such an early version, the miraculously preserved Sutton Hoo 1 ship grave that illustrates what formidable rituals empowered the earliest social memories of ship burials, and the unique Norwegian ship burial record with its details and dendrochronological links – scholars are at last able to study this process in some detail. The last of the fantastic finds that has made this possible is that of Jelling, a monument which better than any other in Scandinavia highlights the urgency with which Viking Age rulers created a tangible and unforgettable version of the past on which their kingdoms rested. Taken together, supported by other finds and sources, the burials reveal the possible embrace across the North Sea of one particular myth, that of a god-sent king who became the ancestor of the royal lineage, but who had to be returned to the gods through a magnificent ship burial. This myth was celebrated at a point in time that lies just beyond the horizon of what is illuminated by the Scandinavian written sources. With that embrace, taking place centuries earlier in what is today Denmark and southern Sweden, a Norwegian clan also set aim on expanding rulership into kingship. Others may have done so previously, but the spread of the monumental ship burial rite in its Norwegian version seems to indicate that this group was met with greater success than any others so far. Traditional historiography ascribes the uniting of Norway to Haraldr 'finehair', and it has not been the aim of this work to discuss whether the monumental ship graves can be attributed to this dynasty, or to its predecessors. In a general way, it seems reasonable to think of the clan behind the ship graves as aspiring to kingship over large parts of Norway. In this way, the ship graves on Kormt were harbingers of a new era in which political

ambitions were growing and ambitious rulers aimed at establishing kingdoms on the same scale as those they could see among Anglo-Saxons and Danes.

By looking at the ship graves on Kormt in this perspective, it opens up a number of compelling questions. Most profound from a Norwegian perspective is the alternative that it offers to the Ynglingar mythology provided by the early historiographers; perhaps several origin myths were being constructed and employed among the inland and coastal petty-kings of the Merovingian and early Viking periods. Is it possible to identify the presence of such myths through monument types and remains of rituals other than the ship graves? Another question is related to the elusive field of ship symbolism and cremations. Can more be done to understand the rituals of these burials? Particularly of the Baldr burial myth? There are also open research avenues into the degree of connections between the Karmøy and the east-Norwegian ship graves – can more be done to illuminate these? Finally, how did the monumental use of the boat burial tradition impact the boat burial tradition from which it developed? Did the latter transform as a new layer of meaning was imposed on it? Ultimately this brief chapter can serve only as a preliminary attempt towards addressing a complex issue, leaving open many questions that can only be answered through multidisciplinary approaches and international cooperation. If the ideas put forward here on a humble scale stimulate future research, then the Kormt ship graves may take on yet another layer of meaning, as harbingers of new research perspectives.

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Section C: **The High-Medieval Royal Manor**

Anette Sand-Eriksen, Erlend Nordlie

6 The High-Medieval Royal Manor Complex

In 2017, the remains of a 51 meters long and 10 meters wide masonry building were excavated south of the 13th-century St Óláfr's Church at Avaldsnes. These remains represent the eastern wing of the high-medieval royal manor complex at Avaldsnes, of which the church constituted the northern wing. This chapter describes and discusses the layout, functions, and building history of the eastern wing. Part of the eastern wing was discovered and partially excavated in 2012; interpretations based on earlier results will be re-evaluated in light of new evidence. Historical sources, a selection of recovered artefacts, and results from scientific analyses are brought into the discussion. Central themes of discussion are the building history of the complex, the functions of its components and of the whole, and the possibility of continuity between the medieval manor and the rectory that later occupied the same site. The most important results are strong indications of precisely such continuity, evidence of at least two building phases around AD 1250 and 1300 and of a much larger and more monumental manor complex than was previously realised. Also, several observations indicate the distinctly multifunctional nature of the complex, well-suited to the geographical site and to the royal administration of the period.

The 2017 excavation at Avaldsnes uncovered the ruins of two connected masonry buildings (A60010 and A60020) that constituted the east wing of a high-medieval royal manor complex (Figs. 6.1–6.2). These buildings are closely connected to St Óláfr's Church – at one point they were physically joined to it. It is generally accepted that the construction of the church was initiated by King Hákon IV Hákonarson, and probably finished before the end of his reign in 1263 (Lidén 1999a:123–30). Excavation results show that at least one part of the east wing was built in parallel with the church, the rest within 3–6 decades. Although details of the building history remain somewhat unclear, 1250–1320 at Avaldsnes was clearly a period of great activity and grand planning of an exceptional nature for a non-urban site. This necessarily implies the manor's centrality within the royal administration of the time; the importance of Avaldsnes and the resources invested there must be regarded in light of the 1247 and 1308 papal privileges, confirming the King's right to elect and organise his own royal chapel clergy to churches built by himself, his ancestors, or successors (Helle 1999:54–6, 69, 75). As such, the building remains found at Avaldsnes provide new opportunities for exploring aspects of medieval Norwegian history (for instance, Hommedal, Ch. 7 and Opsahl, Ch. 8). Excavation results, historical sources, and comparable building types and sites indicate the manor's multifunctional nature, including storage

Anette Sand-Eriksen, Erlend Nordlie, Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo

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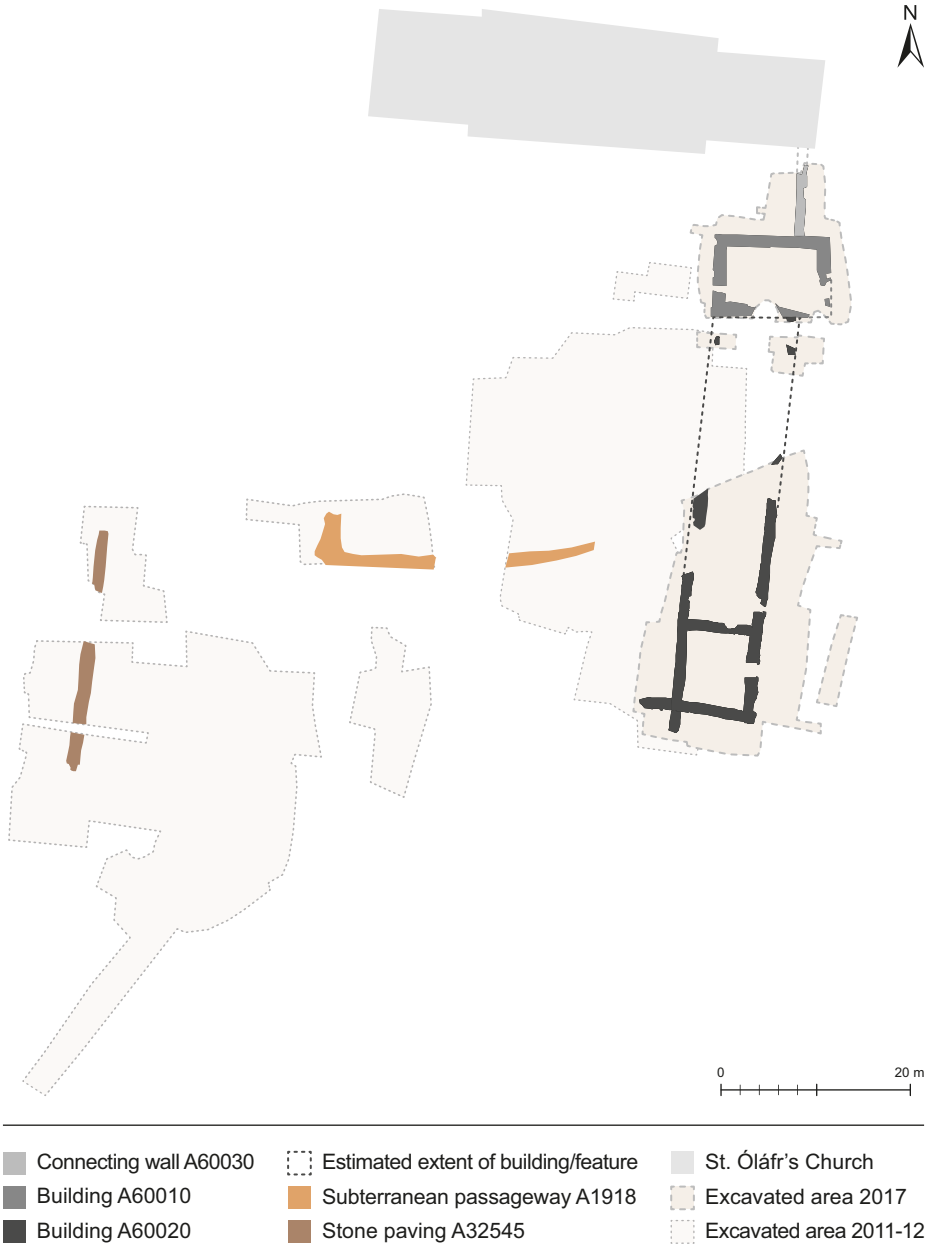

Fig. 6.1: Components of the high-medieval manor complex, including observations from previous excavations, and extent of excavated areas. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

and protection of goods and valuables, control of traffic along the coast, local and regional administration, and accommodation for the royal entourage. Members of the royal collegiate may also have resided and worked in the buildings.

Fig. 6.2: Overview of the 2017 ARM Project excavation. Area 1 to the left with A60020 and Area 2 to the right with A60010 and A60030, connecting the buildings to St Óláfr's Church. Photo: T. Olsen, Linsaa. Model: S. Kristiansen, MCH.

The buildings of the east wing are not described or even explicitly mentioned in any surviving contemporary sources. A substantial building complex at Avaldsnes is, however, implied by King Hákon VI Magnússon's formidable compensation claim after a destructive raid by the Hanseatic League in 1368 (RN 7:46; Opsahl this vol. Ch. 8). Moreover, early modern historians and antiquarians c. 1600–1800 mention masonry remains near the church, variously interpreting them as traces of an older church, a chapel, a vestry, or a chapter house (Lidén 1999a:134–5; Skre 2018b:14). Even the earliest source to explicitly mention masonry remains, Peder Claussøn Friis around 1613 (Friis 1632:67; Storm 1881:LXVI–LXIX, 324–5), apparently had no knowledge of the monumental royal manor complex that stood there 250 years earlier. The east wing and the high-medieval manor complex as a whole seem to have been forgotten within a few centuries, while St Óláfr's Church continued to be used and a rectory was built directly on top of the royal manor's eastern wing. Even so, the destruction in 1368 cannot have been complete; as will be demonstrated in this article there are indications that at least some parts of the masonry eastern wing were still in use in the 17th century. More likely, the association of the building remains with a royal manor were lost during the 15th and 16th centuries while the site and surviving structures were occupied by the rectory.

6.1 Discovering the Avaldsnes Royal Manor

The 2011–12 excavations at Avaldsnes aimed at investigating changes in settlement patterns, building types and agricultural strategies and output, monumentality

oriented towards the Karmsund Strait, and other indications of aristocratic presence and superregional networks through the first millennium AD (Skre 2018c:58). These excavations constitute the most extensive campaign of fieldwork conducted at Avaldsnes, extending over two seasons and encompassing excavation areas totalling nearly 5,300 m^2, revealing extensive remains from the period in focus, as well as both earlier and later periods (Bauer and Østmo 2018a:71).

With just two weeks left of the planned fieldwork, the project unexpectedly discovered the ruins of a c. 8 meters long and 9 meters wide cellar in a high-medieval masonry building. Because the circumstances permitted neither the time nor the resources for further excavation, it was decided that the partially excavated ruin would be covered and the trenches filled and closed. The excavation results were published in the first volume from the Avaldsnes Royal Manor (ARM) project, where one chapter was dedicated to the high-medieval building remains revealed in 2012 (Bauer 2018b:277–307).

The building remains extended beyond the northern end of the excavated area (Bauer 2018b:280), suggesting the possibility that the building had been part of a larger royal complex at Avaldsnes, leading to a number of new research questions regarding the size, shape, building history, and use of the high-medieval manor complex, as well as its significance in broader contexts. Because the possibility of uncovering evidence for researching high-medieval kingship was not known when the ARM project was planned, it had not been accounted for in the research plan developed during the 2007–9 pilot project phase. Following the unexpected discovery of high-medieval remains in 2012, a plan for further excavations was produced during the following months (Bauer 2013). A GPR survey was carried out in 2013 (Stamnes and Bauer 2018:365), with the partial aim of gaining further information about possible medieval structures. One of the surveyed areas was part of the cemetery just south of the chancel of St Óláfr's Church, where a late 18th century report of remains of an octagonal masonry construction (Hansen 1800:259) suggested that further medieval structures related to the manor complex may have been preserved. The GPR data showed a number of high-reflective anomalies coinciding with the reported site of the octagonal building, 16 paces south of the church (Stamnes and Bauer 2018:365).

6.2 Excavating the Avaldsnes Royal Manor

Based on historical sources, geophysical surveys, and the 2011–12 excavations as well as previous archaeological surveys from 1985 onward (an overview is provided in Bauer and Østmo 2018a:66–70), an excavation plan was developed with the aim of fully investigating known and suspected medieval building remains through a thorough excavation of two areas (Bauer 2013). In 2016, funding and excavation permits were secured, and in 217 excavations were conducted. A modern pathway

and an underground high-voltage cable, both of which prevented excavation, separated the two excavation areas. Area 1 covered an area south of the pathway and underground cable, where the first remains of medieval masonry were found in 2011–12, while Area 2 lay to the north, mostly inside the cemetery of St Óláfr's Church (Fig. 6.3). Within these areas a total of 633.5 m^2 were excavated.

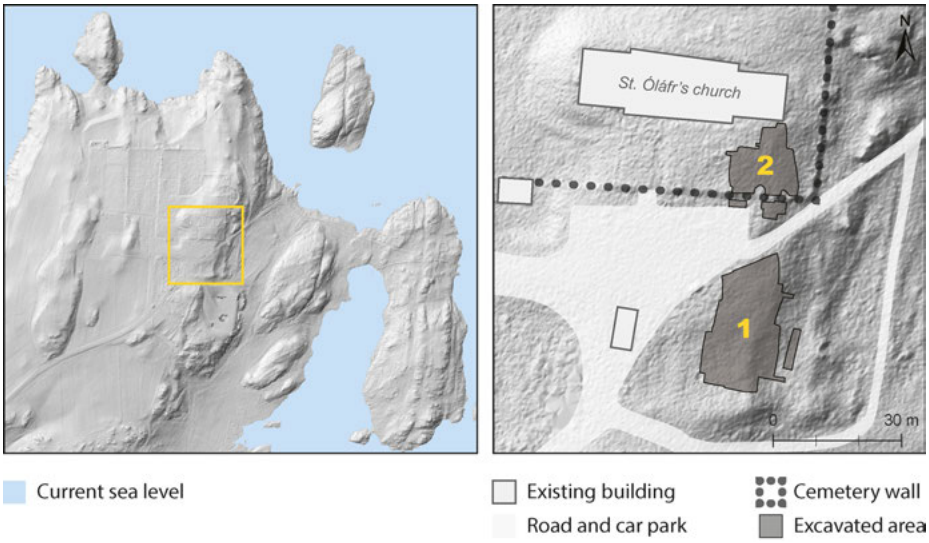

Fig. 6.3: Topography of Avaldsnes and the two excavation areas, separated by a graveled path leading down to the strait and islets to the east. The cellar in the southern part of Area 1 is situated in a depression, while the northern part of A60020 and A60010 are placed on higher-lying bedrock. Along the northern edge of Area 1 a high-voltage cable is buried beneath the path, at least partially placed in the high-medieval subterranean passageway (cf. Fig. 6.1). LiDAR produced by Blom Geomatics AS. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

The excavation set out to address the following specific objectives:

- Size and extent of the high-medieval masonry building, including rooms and the possibility of other wings adjoined/annexed to the larger high-medieval complex
- The function, dating, and use of the building and the larger complex, with possible changes of use over time
- Potential evidence of walkways in connection to the building(s) and middens with medieval domestic waste
- The transition to and traces of later rectory buildings and gardens after the destruction of the high-medieval manor in the 14th century

Bearing in mind that objectives would in all probability have to be reconsidered during the 18 weeks of fieldwork, the excavation strategy was built around

highlighting the first two objectives through open-area excavation, starting with trenching and mechanical removal of topsoil. The trenches would then be expanded based on presumed continuation of exposed features. The main excavation method applied was single-context excavation (Harris 1979), where individual contexts are excavated in their reverse chronological sequence – by exposing, documenting, and removing one horizon until a new one appears. In order to elaborate upon and reveal further information about the construction and stratigraphy, several crosscutting sections were established, allowing profile documentation as well as collection of samples for scientific analysis in accordance with the excavation objectives. To comply with the third objective, trenches were dug outside buildings in areas that were likely to contain traces from medieval occupation, such as middens, pathways, and the like. Traces of the post-medieval rectory were documented and removed in the same manner, in the course of uncovering medieval remains.

The excavation areas, structures, finds, samples, and sections were recorded using a Trimble TSC3 total station. The data were imported into and analysed in an Intra-site Information System, *Intrasis* version 3.1.1, and later processed in Esri ArcMap 10t and Adobe Illustrator for map production. Recorded features were given unique denominations consisting of one or two letters, depending on type of feature, relation, and subclass (such as 'P' for samples, with 'PK' for charcoal samples, and 'PM' for macrofossil), and a five-digit code, with the exception of contextless features, finds, and samples, which were assigned a six-digit code. Meta-features or superstructures consisting of several excavated features, such as buildings A60010 and A60020 or a distinct building component (e.g. A60022A), were created during post-excavation work.

All field documentation used the national museum IT collaborative MUSIT's application for tablets – containing context sheets, field diaries, and photo lists. Such data were backed up daily and loaded into Intrasis, thus compiling an updated, on-site, comprehensive geographic information system of the excavation data. Samples were collected from structures of special interest, such as micromorphological sample packages from sections and macrofossil samples from features with the potential for preserved organic material. The latter were processed in a flotation tank, dried and sorted on site or at the museum before a selection was forwarded for scientific analysis to Rachel Ballantyne at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge. Analysis of micromorphology was conducted by Richard Macphail at University College London. Samples for 14C dating were selected from macrofossil material and analysed by Göran Possnert and Lars Beckel at Ångströmlaboratoriet at the University of Uppsala. Results (Ballantyne 2018; Kveiborg 2018; Macphail 2018; Possnert and Beckel 2018) will be presented under their respective structures where relevant. In the following, results from 14C datings are given in terms of 1σ; the calibration curve for each dating is found in the appendix to this chapter.

6.3 Before 1250: topography and archaeology

Kormt[1] is the largest island in Rogaland County, southwestern Norway, located in the north-westernmost part of the county (Fig. 6.4) Facing the North Sea in the west, the island is characterized by moorland in the south and a mainly agricultural landscape in the north, as well as several sugar-white sandy beaches in the southwest. The geology of Kormt consists of both sedimentary and igneous rocks: granites, metamorphic sandstones, quartz, and pillow lava deposits (Cannell et al. 2018:435). The excavation areas lie on the edge of an undulating bedrock plateau some 20 meters above sea level, ending to the east in a steep scarp (Fig. 6.3), allowing a vista over the Karmsund Strait and mainland to the east (cf. Cannell et al. 2018:426). The placement of A60020's cellar in a natural depression near the edge of the plateau probably reflects a conscious exploitation of the natural landscape. On a larger scale, so does the strategic siting of the manor by a bottleneck at the southern end of the sea-route, near relatively productive land in northern Kormt. Otherwise the wind-swept coastal landscape is only modestly fertile, and the local combination at Avaldsnes of resources, opportunities for control, and ease of communication appears to be the main reason why aristocrats preferred to reside here (Skre 2018c:53).

Already in the Bronze Age, if not earlier, these circumstances resulted in the accumulation of wealth and power at Avaldsnes, one expression of which was an exceptional concentration of monumental grave mounds and cairns. Northern Kormt again saw aristocratic settlement from c. AD 200 (Skre 2018d:750–8). At that time the farmyard was fixed to the area of the high-medieval royal manor, where it continued to be located until c. AD 1900. The cooking pit and the cremation grave discovered during the 2017 excavation should be understood in the context of the Iron Age farmyard. The grave was found while uncovering a stone pavement within the high-medieval eastern wing, and contained 1,950 grams of burnt and fragmented bones in a severely damaged ceramic urn (S13897/3–5). Due to the poor preservation of the bones, only 10% of the material could be identified, but the osteological analysis determined that they belonged to a healthy individual of unknown sex, aged between 20 and 60/70 years. The grave contained a spindle whorl in burnt clay (S13897/1) and several decorated comb fragments (S13897/2), which placed the grave in the Roman Iron Age (AD 1–400). Three previously excavated cremation graves c. 200 meters to the south belonged to the same period (Sjurseike 2001; Østmo and Bauer 2018c:245, fig. 12.1 nos. 9–11), as do raised stones and several secondary graves in older mounds within a 200 meters radius (Østmo and

1 The current name of the island is Karmøy. To avoid confusion with Karmøy Municipality, which includes other islands as well as parts of the mainland, the earlier name 'Kormt', closer to the Old Norse *Kǫrmt*, is used here to designate the island upon which Avaldsnes is situated (Skre 2018a:9).

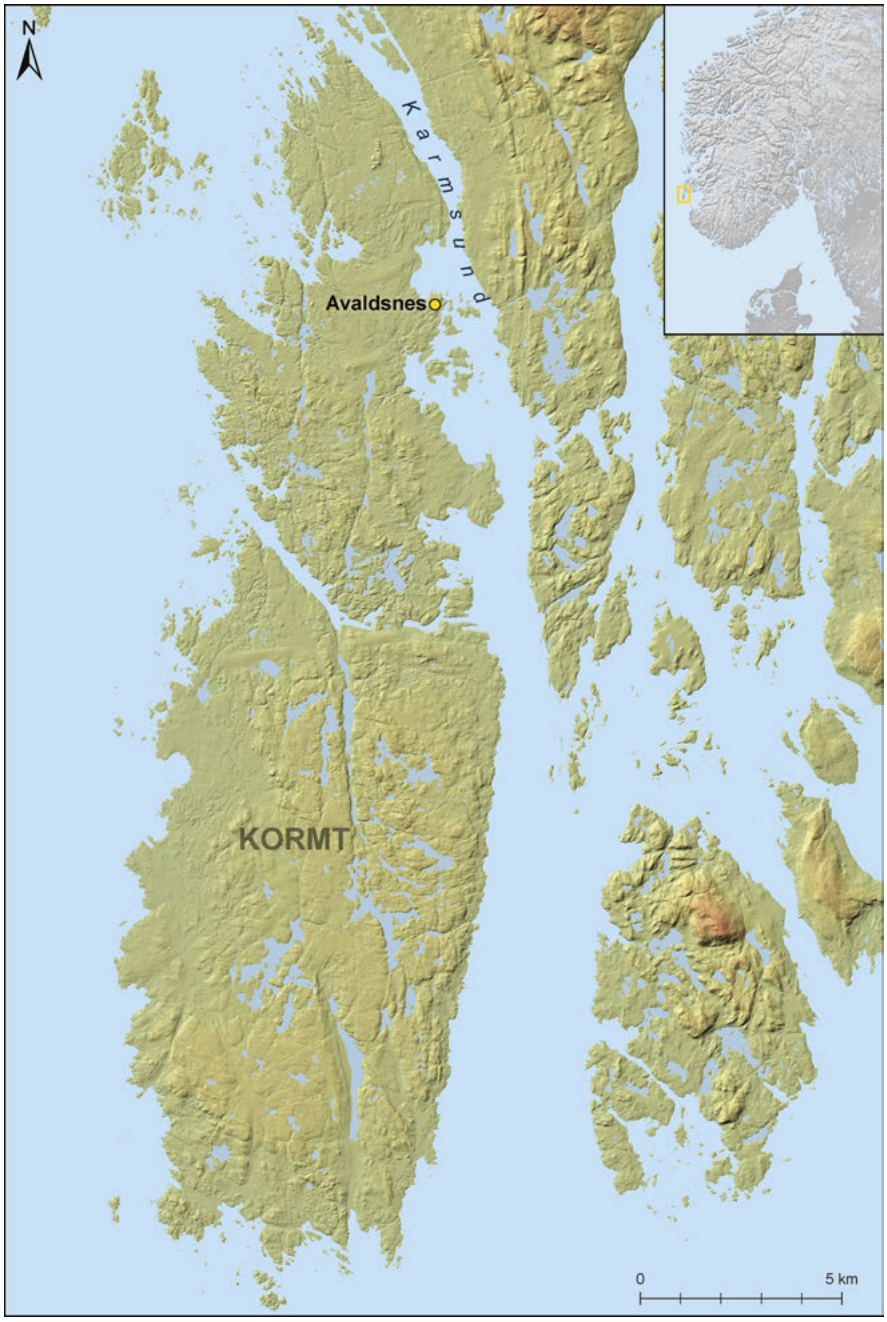

Fig. 6.4: Avaldsnes on Kormt, with the Karmsund Strait separating the island from the mainland to the east. Kormt is the largest island in Rogaland County, southwestern Norway. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

Bauer 2018c:fig. 12.1, tab. 12.1). The cooking pit, which was cut by a post-medieval rectory cellar, in all likelihood belongs contextually and chronologically with the c. 120 pits discovered in 2011–12 to the west and south of the medieval manor site, with dates spanning from c. 350 BC to AD 600 (Bauer 2018a:254).

Although scant, the post-600 and pre-high-medieval archaeological and written evidence suggests more or less continuous aristocratic presence – definitely from around AD 900 (Østmo and Bauer 2018a:92–7, 2018b:126–8, 135; Skre 2018d:759–64), when Avaldsnes became one of the manors for the first Norwegian kings. They were Christians since around AD 1000, and saga accounts indicate that Avaldsnes had a church then (Saga Ólafs hins helga 1900:120). Several church buildings may have replaced each other before the building of the present St Óláfr's Church c. 1250. In line with what was common elsewhere in Scandinavia, they were probably built on the same site.

No remains of masonry buildings pre-1250 have been definitively identified, with the possible exception of some intriguing soapstone portal components with Romanesque features, held by *Nordvegen Historiesenter*. These were found in 1984 in the basement of the modern church tower from the 1920s, but there is no record of how they came to be there (Vea pers. com.; Haugesunds Avis 7.5.1984). With some minor exceptions, the 2017 excavations in the cemetery did not penetrate into intact deposits that pre-dated the high-medieval building remains, and no early-medieval features were identified. In 2011–12, a handful of early-medieval dates were obtained from deposits to the west and southwest of the areas excavated in 2017 (Østmo and Bauer 2018a:95–7). The preserved evidence was too insubstantial to give a clear picture of the nature of the manor in this period, but did show that activity continued into the 12th century; although no structures or deposits have been documented from the late 12th and early 13th century, it seems extremely improbable that the site was abandoned. More likely, material remains from this period were removed or truncated beyond recognition by the extensive later disturbances of deposits to the west and south of the 2017 excavation areas. Sections documented in and near the high-medieval buildings also seemed to show that some topsoil or turf was removed before construction began, perhaps in the process destroying traces of 12th- and early 13th-century activity.

6.4 The high-medieval manor complex: physical remains

While the 2012 excavation and the subsequent geophysical investigations in 2013 showed that further masonry remains were likely to be found, the extent revealed in 2017 was unexpected, and much more substantial and complex than anticipated. In both excavation Area 1 and 2 ruins were covered by grass turf and demolition

rubble, and truncated by several disturbances. Remains of the larger rectangular building A60020 were covered by 15th- to 19th-century rectory building remains, garden soil and several stone-paved surfaces in Area 1 (Fig. 6.5). The building is truncated in the north by a high-voltage cable and a pathway towards the harbour and islands in the east. In Area 2 north of the truncations, traces of A60020 were found on both sides of the cemetery wall, while inside the cemetery, just south of St Óláfr's Church's chancel, extensive and relatively well-preserved remains of building A60010 and connecting wall A60030 were discovered (Figs. 6.6–6.7). These remains were covered by 20 cm to 1 meter thick deposits extensively truncated by numerous burials from c. 1600–1900. All the medieval buildings, including the church, are constructed in rubble-core masonry, either built directly on bedrock or on foundations consisting of ditches filled with rubble without any mortar. Both construction methods, and the two in combination, are common for medieval masonry buildings in Norway (Ekroll 1997:76). The character of the masonry is typically high-medieval, with mostly unworked stone; large stones of uneven shapes are surrounded and supported by smaller pinning stones set in lime mortar.

Fig. 6.5: Area 1 and A60020 during excavation, seen from the south. Left: in the foreground a thick deposit of garden soil levelled out the depression in which the cellar is placed, thinner heavily truncated deposits in the background. After seven weeks of excavation, A60020 is still covered by several flagstone pavements from the post-medieval rectory. Right: deposits have been removed outside the building on the west and east sides, partially removed inside the cellar and to the south of the building. This was the situation after thirteen weeks of excavation, and compared with the picture to the left illustrates the complex stratigraphy and disturbances of the post-medieval rectories. Photo: MCH.

In the north-eastern part of the island and the adjacent mainland the bedrock is dominated by extremely friable green schist, completely unsuited for building purposes. More suitable glacially transported stone, readily available locally on beaches and in cultivated fields (Geis 1967:108–10, 124), appears to have been used

Fig. 6.6: Phase 1; the similarities between St Óláfr's Church and A60010 suggest that they were constructed within a short period of time, the archaeological evidence makes it plausible that A60010 was planned alongside the church from the beginning. Certain style elements point toward a culmination of Phase 1 before 1275. LiDAR produced by Blom Geomatics AS. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

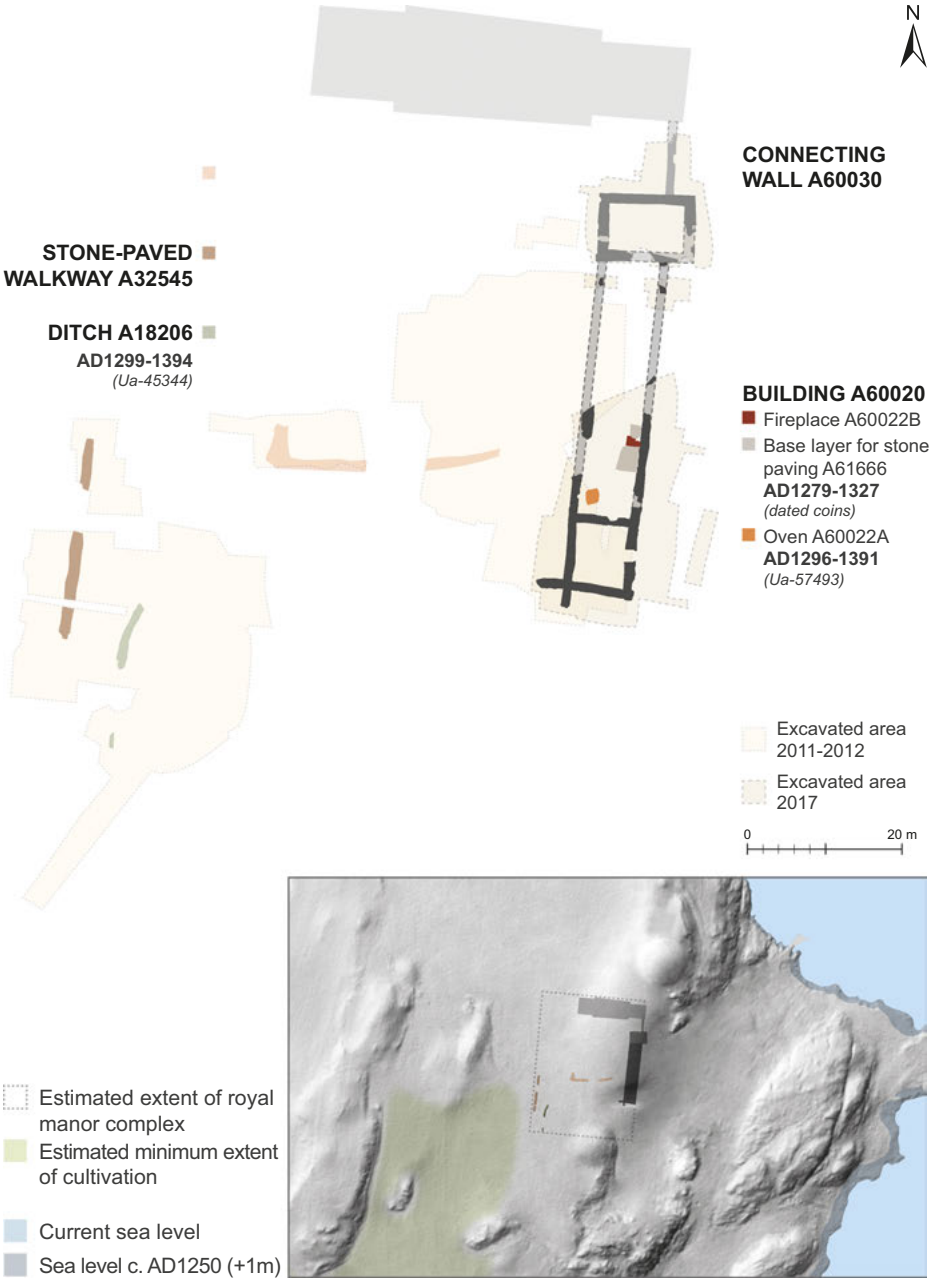

Fig. 6.7: Phase 2; finds and radiocarbon dates indicate primary use of A60020 in the 3–5 decades around 1300, and although construction work in Phases 1 and 2 may have overlapped, work on A60020 and A60030 definitely began later than that on A60010 and the church. LiDAR produced by Blom Geomatics AS. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

throughout the manor buildings. The exception is quarried and worked soapstone, several fragments of which were found in the demolition deposits (S13896/10–22, and S13896/73). Some finely worked soapstone is also still *in situ* in the masonry, framing doors and embellishing a corner. Similar architectural soapstone elements also occur in St Óláfr's Church; identical ornaments and mouldings in the portals of the church and A60010 suggest the two buildings were built in close parallel.

6.4.1 Main phases

The known history of the high-medieval manor complex can be arranged into three main phases based on excavated features, written sources, and architectural elements, relevant details of which will be further elaborated below. *Phase 1* starts with the construction of St Óláfr's Church around 1250 and likely includes the construction of A60010, while *Phase 2* is defined by the addition of A60020 and A60030 around 1300. After completion, the mentioned structures formed a continuous east wing – a 70 meters long masonry façade facing the harbour and the Karmsund Strait. The transition from Phase 1 to Phase 2 cannot be precisely dated. Details of the building history of the east wing will be discussed more thoroughly below, but it is safe to assume that extensive building activity took place at Avaldsnes in the period 1250–1320. The east wing was clearly completed and in use before the Hanseatic League's attack in 1368. However, as the 2017 excavation showed indications of continued use after the attack, it cannot have been completely destroyed, and the manor thus had a *Phase 3* after 1368.

Phase 1 – AD 1247–c. 1300

According to Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar ([1964]:314) the construction of a church at Avaldsnes – which can be safely assumed to be the extant St Óláfr's Church – was among the "good works" of King Hákon IV Hákonarson. The style of the church windows, portals, and masonry is typical of his reign (1217–63), most likely the latter half. A likely incentive to begin building was a letter from Pope Innocent IV in 1247, confirming the king's right to elect clergy to churches that were built by himself, his ancestors, or successors (Bagge 1976:48–9; DN 1:43). Seemingly contradicting the saga, the will of Hákon V, written between 1312 and 1319, stipulates that the royal income from Kormt was to be allocated toward construction of the church until its completion (DN 4:128; Lidén 1999a:130). The apparent conflict between the saga and the will can be resolved if we assume the provision in the will concerned parts of the building that were not essential to the function of the church, but still closely connected to it. A candidate could be the unusually large western tower (as suggested by Lidén 1999a:131), which unfortunately was completely replaced

during restorations in the 1840s and 1920s; whether it was stylistically in line with the preserved parts of the church is impossible to determine from depictions of the tower ruin before it was torn down, and the potentially informative joints between tower and nave were destroyed in the same process.

Perhaps be the most parsimonious solution to the contradiction between the saga and the will would be that work on the manor complex as a whole could have been funded by the same income (again suggested by Lidén 1999a:134); a credible solution as the manor in Hákon V's time would have been further bound to the church by the formal establishment of the royal collegiate, after Pope Clement V granted the king permission to organise his own chapel clergy in 1308.

Similarities between the church and A60010 suggest that they either were constructed in parallel or within a short period of time; these consist of the very similar character of the masonry in general, and the style of the portals, which have identical dog-tooth ornamentation and column base mouldings. The archaeological evidence makes it plausible that A60010 was planned alongside the church from the beginning, and that St Óláfr's Church and A60010 were erected before A60020 and A60030. As will be discussed later, the dimensions of A60010's preserved masonry indicate a building of substantial height, which along with its proximity to the church is reminiscent of medieval free-standing towers known from several sites in Sweden (e.g. Lovén 1996:365–71; Ödman 2002:18–19), as well as Stavanger Cathedral in Norway (Ekroll 1997:144).

Phase 2 – c. 1300–68

Construction work allocated here to Phases 1 and 2 respectively may have overlapped, and determining an exact date for the transition between the two is neither possible nor essential for the understanding of the manor complex. Style elements and archaeological evidence that will be discussed below do however indicate that Phase 1 culminated before 1275, compatible with the saga statement that the church was completed during the reign of Hákon IV (1217–63). A radiocarbon date from oven A60022A in building A60020 supports dating Phase 2 to the 14th century, with a grain of barley dating to AD 1295–1395 (Ua-57493).[2]

Three dateable silver coins found adjacent to fireplace A60022B in A60020, support dating the primary use of the building to the 3–5 decades around 1300. The coins have been identified as Edwardian Long Cross pennies, first struck during the reign of Edward I of England in 1279, continued by Edward II, and ending with the reign of Edward III 1327–77. Long Cross type pennies were in use until the end of the 15th century, but certain features place the Avaldsnes finds early in the series.

2 See appendix for more details on radiocarbon dates referred in this chapter.

The legend on the best preserved coin, S13896/1, appears to be written with a Roman N rather than the Lombardic n. This seem to be the case on the two other coins, S13896/2 and 3 as well, although their legends are not as clear. All three coins are very similar in other features too. Their alloy composition (With and Oschmann 2018:10), smaller size (1.7–1.9 cm), and the Roman N seem to exclude coins struck during the reign of Edward III – that is, after 1327. Furthermore, S13896/1 appears to have a bifoliate crown, which in most cases means that the coin belongs to the reign of Edward II, 1307–27 (Savage 2014:20–2; Wood 1989:44). This relatively narrow time frame matches the radiocarbon date very well, lending further support for dating the construction and primary use of the building to the decades around 1300.

The masonry buildings examined in 2017 formed the east wing of the manor complex. Along with the church, these buildings would have defined the northern and eastern sides of the manorial courtyard (Fig. 6.7), with other features possibly representing the courtyard's western limit. A 25 meters long stone-paved walkway (A32545) was discovered during the 2011–12 excavations and interpreted as belonging to the high-medieval manor due to its orientation and placement (Bauer 2018b:302). The walkway is parallel to A60020 at a distance of 57 meters, and may have led to the western entrance to the church in the tower. A ditch (A18206) 5 meters further east, also excavated in 2011–12, was however interpreted as defining a boundary between cultivated areas to the west and the courtyard to the east (Bauer and Østmo 2018b:149). This would have left the walkway outside the courtyard, if contemporary; there is a possibility the ditch belongs to a phase earlier than the walkway and A60020. While the walkway was impossible to date directly, fill in the ditch was dated to 1299–1394 (Ua-45344), perhaps indicating an expansion of the courtyard toward the west around the time A60020 was built.

A subterranean passageway beneath the courtyard area probably belonged to the high-medieval manor as well (Fig. 6.7). First discovered in 1923, segments of the passage were investigated in the 1980s and during the 2011–12 excavations. Measuring 0.5 meter in width and 1 meter in height, it was cut into bedrock with a roof consisting of large stone slabs, with slabs lining parts of the walls. A total of 30 meters was uncovered, but due to modern truncations, neither end has been found (Hemdorff 1986:8; Bauer 2018a). The function of the passageway cannot be established with certainty, but the prevailing interpretation has been that it functioned as a secret passage or escape tunnel; an interpretation as a drain or water channel can be excluded due to the shape of the terrain. Judging from its orientation and course, the passageway likely led from somewhere in the courtyard (possibly another building) into A60020; the eastern end seems likely to have been inside the latter as no traces of the passageway were found to the east of the building. Unfortunately, the area inside A60020 where the passageway could have emerged was damaged by a post-medieval cellar. Although the tantalising possibility emerged during the excavation that this cellar was placed in an older cut, no evidence was found to either prove or disprove the idea.

The courtyard where the passageway may have originated would likely have had various wooden buildings to house workers, livestock, and supplies and possibly workshops. No traces of such buildings have been found, but the wooden architecture of the time did not necessarily involve subsurface foundations; in the preservation conditions at Avaldsnes remains of medieval timber buildings cannot be expected to survive.

Phase 3 – 1368–1698

Although the manor was attacked and burnt by the Hanseatic League in 1368, the 2017 excavation showed that it cannot have been completely destroyed. No observations could be directly related to the 1368 attack; all traces of masonry collapse and most signs of fire were found above post-medieval deposits, likely evidence of the fire in 1698. Some fragments of soapstone building elements for instance had soot on some faces, which shows that they were *in situ* in the walls during a fire; however, which fire is impossible to determine from the evidence found. Lack of archaeological evidence for the 1368 attack in itself suggests that the east wing or at least parts of it were used in the 15th–17th centuries (Fig. 6.8). A medieval coin (S13896/4) identified as a *hvid* issued by King Hans (1483–1513) found in the privy A60025 supports this continuity. A similar coin (S12779/1) dating to the short interregnum period preceding King Hans' reign was found in 2012 in a disturbed context (Østmo 2018:518), another indication of late medieval activity on the site.Moreover, a barley grain from the uppermost in a sequence of burned layers in the privy was radiocarbon dated to AD 1490–1670 (Ua-57492). Below this were found two thin layers containing burnt organic matter interpreted as stable floor waste, which may have been charred during a building fire; on the other hand, the presence of insects suggests that it had been decaying long enough to become colonised before being burnt (Ballantyne 2018). From the lowermost layer in the sequence a fragment of bark with sapwood edge was radiocarbon dated to AD 1490–1640 (Ua-57498).

6.4.2 A60010 – Northern building

Originally a free-standing rectangular masonry building with at least two entrances (Fig. 6.9), A60010 was erected c. 9 meters to the south of the chancel of St Óláfr's Church. The remains measure 8.65 by 12.1–12.6 meters externally, with masonry preserved in heights above the plinth from close to zero in the east to a little over one meter in the west. Except for a few small trenches, excavations did not penetrate beneath the plinth level.

The generally well-preserved state of the masonry is somewhat surprising considering the amount of activity and truncations in the cemetery over the centuries.

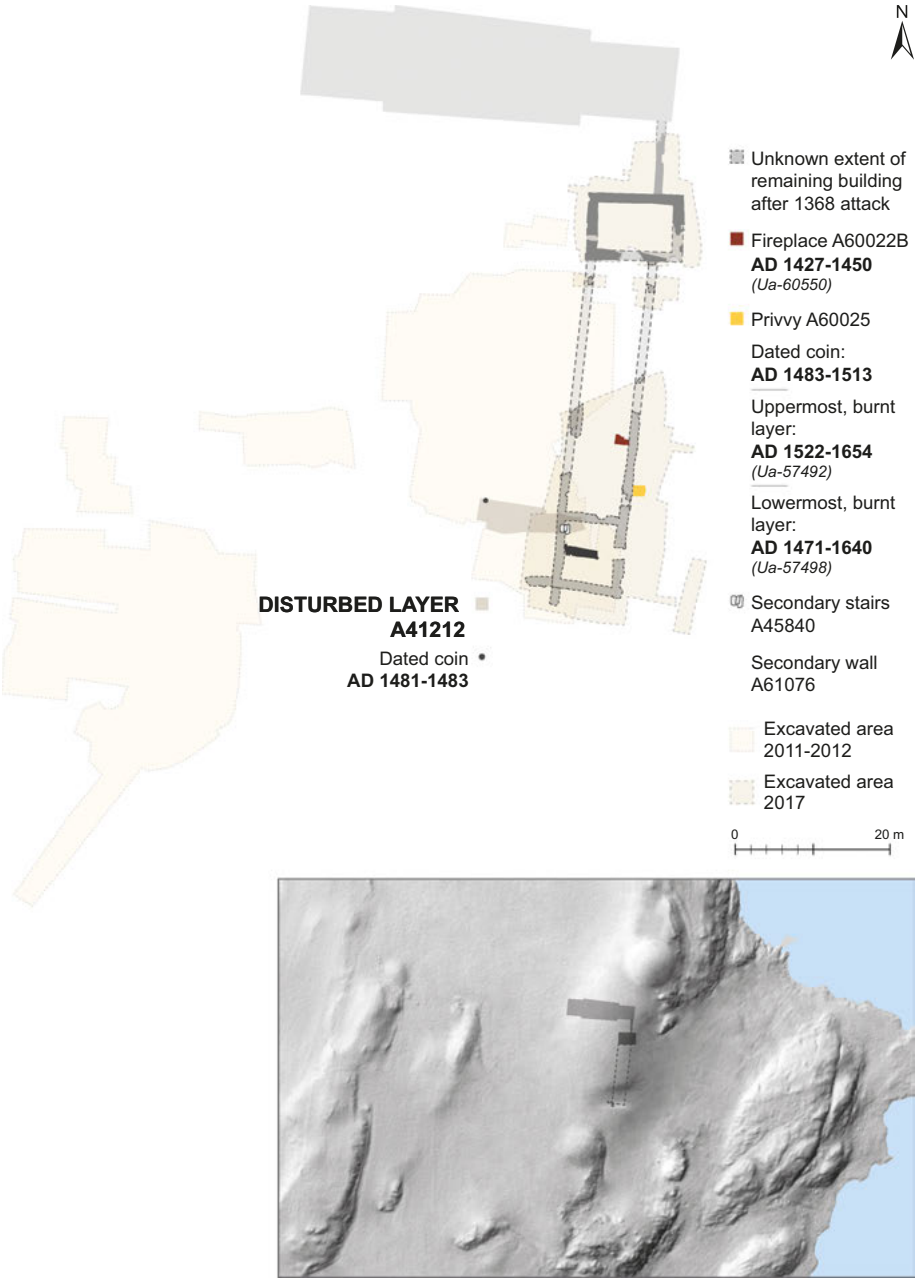

Fig. 6.8: Phase 3; the manor was attacked and burnt by the Hanseatic League in 1368, but not completely destroyed. Observations and results from the excavation suggest that parts of the east wing were used in the 15th–17th centuries. LiDAR produced by Blom Geomatics AS. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

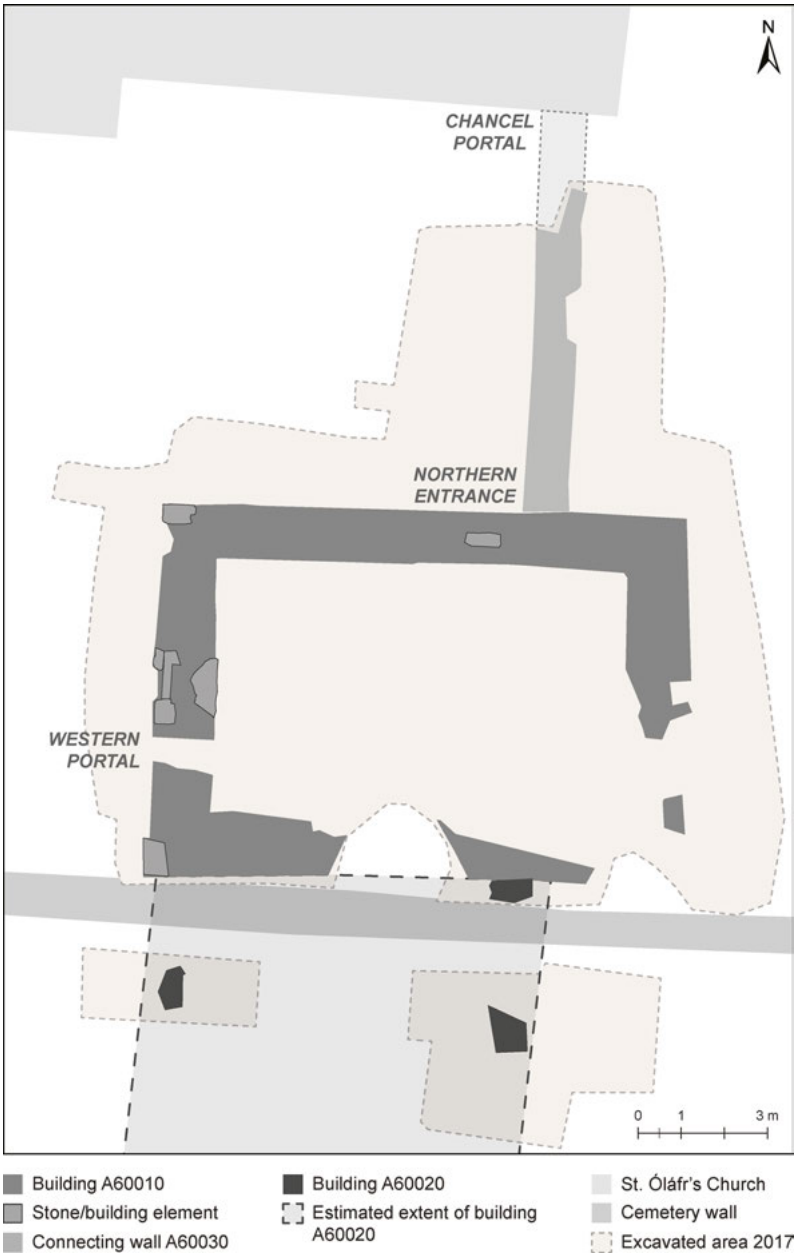

Fig. 6.9: Northern building A60010. Unbound joints where it meets A60020 and A60030 show that A60010 originally was free-standing, with a doorway in the northern wall (directly opposite the chancel portal), and a portal in the western wall. Details of the latter are identical to corresponding features of the southern nave portal of St Óláfr's church, suggesting they were built in parallel. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

Still, several 17th to 19th century burials disturbed or destroyed parts of the walls. Seedlings planted in the 1950s grew over the decades into massive hardwood trees; three of them grew directly on top of the southern wall and their roots have broken up the masonry (Fig. 6.10). Although cut down during excavation, the tree roots, as well as the current cemetery wall, prevented complete exposure of A60010's southern wall. Fortunately, the other walls were completely exposed, and it was possible to free just enough of the southern wall to ascertain the shape and size of A60010 and investigate abutting structures.

Fig. 6.10: A60010 during excavation, large tree stumps and cemetery wall obscuring the southern wall. In the foreground, one stump has been removed, freeing the south-western ashlar A66666 (right). Between A66666 and the north-western ashlar A62060 (left), the western portal is centrally placed. One can also glimpse the plinth dropping towards the east along the northern wall, following the undulating bedrock (facing east). Photo: MCH.

Walls and floor

The walls are of high quality at least equal to that of the church walls and with near-regular coursing, at least where the walls are preserved in sufficient height to judge (Fig. 6.11, compare Fig. 6.16). A60010 and the church also have similar frequencies of pinning stones in the wall faces, proportionally less than the later

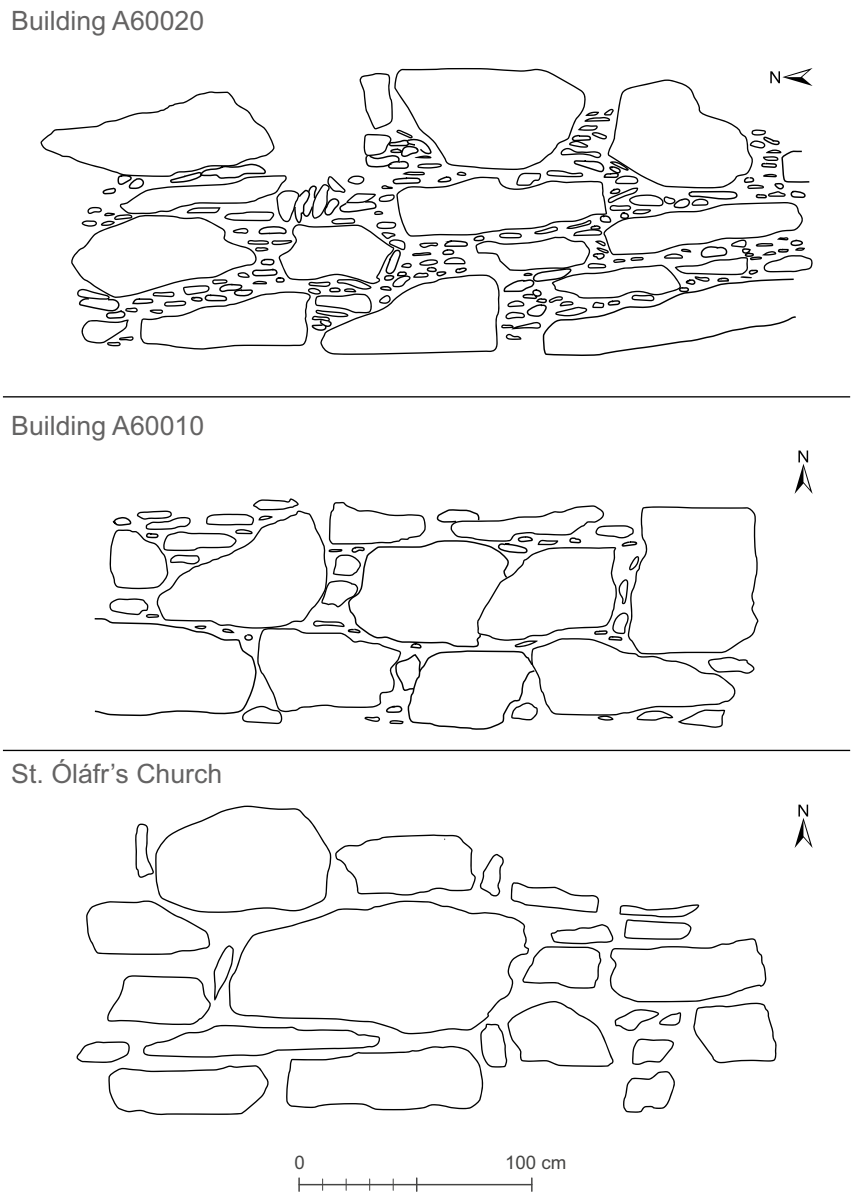

Fig. 6.11: Sections of wall from A60020, A60010 and the southern wall of St Óláfr's church. While cement obscures the pinning in the latter, the silhouettes of the larger stones show that comparatively little space is left for pinning, and the general impression is that this masonry resembles the example from A60010 more than that from A60020. The drawings are based on photographs, which are not as clear due to differences in lighting, stone and mortar colour and soil remaining in the joints. In all three cases the pictured masonry is immediately above the plinth. Illustration: A. Sand-Eriksen, MCH.

building A60020 (Fig. 6.11). Because the use of pinning generally increases in the late 13th and early 14th centuries, this is one indication that A60010 was built in parallel with the church, or very nearly so. The possible chronological implications of pinning stone use will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

Deviating slightly from the church's orientation, A60010 has a near exact cardinal alignment, with the eastern and western walls externally measuring 8.65 meters and the northern wall 12.1 meters. Due to poor preservation of wall faces, the south-eastern corner of the building is not well defined. Judging from the preserved remains, the southern wall appears to be slightly longer than the northern wall, likely around 12.6 meters. Wall width fluctuates slightly from c. 1.25 meter in the narrowest part to 1.35–1.5 meter in the sections sufficiently well preserved to be measured reliably, leaving a floor area of about 5.8 by 9.45 meters. Although difficult to measure precisely, the walls of the church appear to have roughly the same thickness.

The western wall is well preserved, with a rectangular ashlar in both of its corners, the north-western a finely cut soapstone (Fig. 6.10). As neither the north-eastern nor the south-eastern corners are sufficiently preserved, there is a possibility that they had ashlar corners as well. All corners in St Óláfr's Church have soapstone ashlars, while the better preserved southern corners of A60020 have no ashlars, further underlining the closer relationship between A60010 and the church.

The wall plinth and foundation of A60010 varies in shape and level, but appears generally substantial. A shovel-dug test pit on the outside of the northern wall indicated that the foundation is as wide as the plinth, which is 10–20 cm wider than the wall. As there are no masonry remains of the east wall, it can only be traced as partially worked bedrock, in some places with mortar preserved *in situ*. The plinth is generally more distinct and visible on the inside of the building than on the outside, and clearest along the western part of the northern wall. Following the terrain the northern plinth appears to diminish and drop in two steps east of the northern entrance (Fig. 6.10). The first drop is only around 15 cm, while the second measures c. 40 cm; such a height difference may indicate that the floor had two levels, where the smaller drop could represent a footstep. While there are a number of possible explanations for such a feature, the most likely has to be the undulating nature of the bedrock.

No definite evidence of more than one floor or any traces of internal structures was found. The dimensions and construction of the preserved walls and foundations would likely have allowed several floors, and would otherwise represent an unnecessary investment of labour and material. Where possible, the walls were placed on bedrock, further increasing their load-bearing capacity.

Western portal

Near the middle of the western wall of A60010 parts of a 0.68 meter wide entrance is preserved (Fig. 6.12), consisting of a finely cut threshold stone, placed on large

Fig. 6.12: Although only 0.68 meter wide the western portal in A60010 would have made a stately impression with its decorated columns and ashlar frame, cf. Fig.13 (facing east). Photo: MCH.

flagstones that partly extend underneath the walls on either side of the opening. Column bases of soapstone rest partly on the threshold stone and partly on a large flagstone projecting from under it. On top of the southern column base there is a soapstone ashlar, constituting a continuation of the column base. The same block also has preserved some of the transition from base to column. While no part of the column itself is left, a fragment of so-called dog-tooth ornament by the side of the column remains. Both the profile of the column base and the dog-tooth ornament are identical to those extant on the southern nave portal of St Óláfr's Church (Fig. 6.13); further parallels with other buildings will be discussed below.

Northern entrance

In the northern wall of A60010 there are also traces of an entrance (Fig. 6.14), directly opposite the chancel portal, slightly east of the middle of the northern wall of A60010. Unlike the western portal there are no worked stones left, but there are impressions in *in situ* mortar that appear to be from ashlars. Additionally, there is a carefully placed horizontal flagstone, which is unlikely to be a masonry binder due to its parallel orientation with the wall. A more likely explanation would rather be

Fig. 6.13: The southern nave portal of St Óláfr's church to the left, and the southern column base of A60010's western portal to the right. Both with the same dog-tooth ornament, although damaged in the latter case. Photo: MCH.

that this is a door sill, similar to the one on the inside of the threshold in the western portal. Adjacent to it are fragments of another larger flagstone, which could have served as a base for a threshold stone, as in the western portal. Although the exact width of the opening cannot be established, the size of the flagstones, the *in situ* impression in the mortar to the west, and A60030 to the east seem to indicate an opening of more or less the same size as in the western portal. Total width including decorative elements would have been less than 1.4 meter.

6.4.3 A60030 – Connecting wall

Between the northern wall of A60010 and the southern wall of the chancel, remains of wall A60030 were found (Figs. 6.15–6.16). A60030 has the same orientation as the east wall of the chancel and the long walls of A60020, thus deviating somewhat from the alignment of A60010. A60030 has a typical high-medieval masonry style similar to the other building remains. An unbound vertical joint where it meets A60010 shows that the latter is older; A60030 also covers part of the flagstone interpreted as a threshold base in the northern entrance discussed in the previous paragraph. It seems most likely that A60030 was built in the same phase as A60020.

A60030 consists of a single masonry wall slightly wider than one meter, of which a length of 7.5 meters was uncovered and examined. The northern end was not completely uncovered, as doing so would have risked damaging the southeastern corner of St Óláfr's church and obstructed use of the chancel portal during excavation. Additionally, there were signs that 19th and 20th century work on the church had disturbed the area, for instance cement on nearby exposed segments of the church wall base. Therefore, about 1.2 meter has been left unexamined between A60030 and the south wall of the chancel. Nevertheless, it is safe to assume that

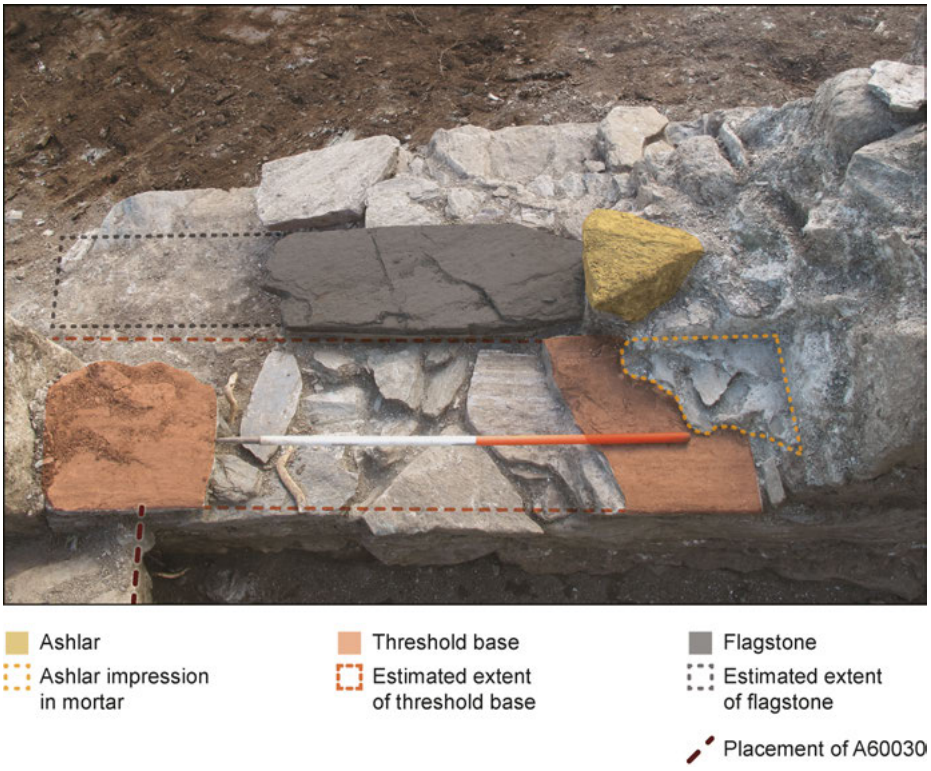

Fig. 6.14: Northern entrance seen from outside A60010. The threshold base appears to represent in situ fragments of a larger flagstone door sill indicated by a dotted line, originally supporting the door frame and possibly a threshold similar to the one in the west. This stone and the smaller flagstone beyond it in the centre of the wall are oriented parallel to the wall, and cannot have functioned as binders. The smaller flagstone in the centre of the wall is furthermore completely uncharacteristic of the rubble core of the wall elsewhere. The dark dotted line to the right shows the placement of A60030. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

the wall has met the chancel's southern wall in a unbound joint similar to the one at the southern end of the wall.

Post-medieval burials had disturbed nearly all soil on both sides of A60030, and damaged some parts of the wall. However, due to an outcrop of bedrock where soil cover was too shallow to accommodate burials, a small patch of intact stratigraphy (C66660, Fig. 6.17) on the west side of A60030's northern end was preserved, the only such found in the cemetery. A silty deposit (6) contained the only identified concentration of soapstone fragments from stone working in all of the excavation areas. This layer covered two yellowish silty layers (7a and 7b), similar to those found beneath structures and cultivation layers in other trenches and interpreted as undisturbed geological substrate. These two layers seem to show that when A60030 was built, turf and any cultivated soil had been removed down to a level where areas of

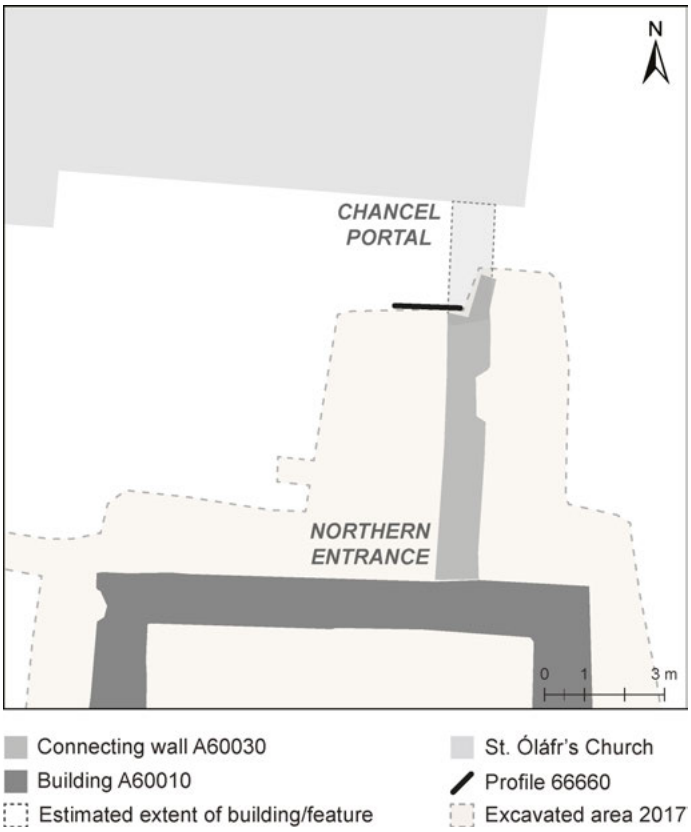

Fig. 6.15: The remains of wall A60030, discovered between the northern wall of A60010 and the southern wall of the chancel. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

bedrock were exposed. Although it could not be established with certainty, the layer containing soapstone waste appears to pre-date A60030. If this is the case, the soapstone working would be connected to the construction of the church or A60010 rather than to A60030, as both buildings contain soapstone elements, whereas no traces of such elements were identified in the preserved remains of A60030.

Under the demolition refuse (2a and 4) a dark layer (5) was exposed, likely representing accumulation against A60030 before demolition. This and the first layer above it (4) could also represent levelling layers under a flagstone pavement between the chancel and A60010, but no observations confirmed a paved surface. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that there was some traffic across this area, and as it would have led directly into the chancel, the surface is unlikely to have been either mud or rubble.

Furthermore, as the chancel door originally could have been barred only from the outside, the space outside it was almost certainly enclosed (Lidén 1999a:135). There

Fig. 6.16: High-quality masonry, A60010 (forefront) and St Óláfr's Church chancel in the background (compare Fig. 6.11). Above the western side of the chancel portal there appears to be an unbound vertical joint of several meters (facing north). Photo: MCH.

may also have been a construction outside the church above the chancel portal – an above-ground passageway leading into the church and a room above the chancel (cf. Lidén 1999a:121). As will be discussed later, similar passages are known from other medieval churches, providing the users a measure of security and comfort.

Within the area excavated to the west of A60030, no traces of a wall parallel to A60030 west of the portal were found. As the entire well-preserved northern wall of A60010 has been exposed and examined, traces of another western wall related to A60030 would have been found if present (Fig. 6.9). Even so, the proposed passage above A60030 could have been supported by cantilevered beams from A60030, possibly also from the chancel and A60010. Presuming the construction was placed more or less directly above the chancel portal, it would be rational to place A60030 as close to the portal as possible to minimize structural stresses and risks. A60030's placement 80 cm west of the chancel's southeastern corner, left only about 20 cm of wall between the chancel portal and A60030. This hypothesis also presupposes

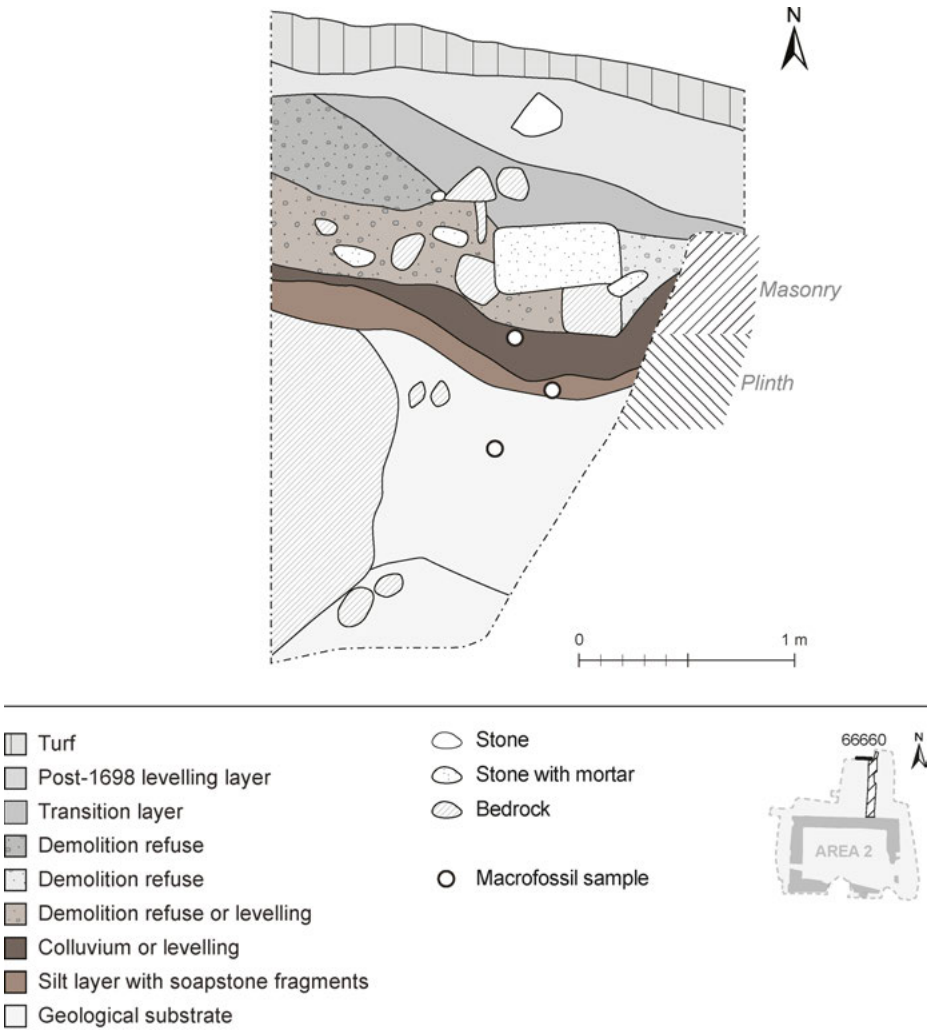

Fig. 6.17: Section C66660, immediately west of A60030, in front of the chancel portal. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

the existence of a floor above the chancel, a possibility supported by the small window high in the gable of the chancel and parallels in other medieval churches, such as Dønnes church and possibly Tingvoll church (Lidén 1999b:136–7). It seems unlikely that the single wall carried a superstructure entirely constructed of masonry, but a wooden gallery or covered passage is feasible, maybe with an eastern masonry wall directly over A60030. Wooden pillars or a wooden wall west of the chancel portal could also be an alternative or supplement to cantilever support for the upper part of the structure.

The chancel wall above the western side of the portal appears to have an unbound vertical joint of several meters (Fig. 6.16), immediately east of the soapstone frame of the eastern tracery window. This irregularity has previously been interpreted (Bagge 1976:172) as showing that the chancel at some point was extended eastward, or that the tracery windows are secondary (Bauer 2018b:295; Lidén 1999a:130). However, the former hypothesis is difficult to accept, as there is no similar irregularity in the northern wall of the chancel (Fig. 6.18), and the latter hypothesis remains uncertain: stylistically the tracery is not incompatible with the accepted building period of the church around 1250 (Lidén 1999a:123–5; Ekroll and Stige 2000:136; window styles and dating are discussed in greater detail below). No such joints occur on the western side of the window nor on either side of the second tracery window further west in the chancel wall. In light of the discovery of A60030, it seems more

Fig. 6.18: The northern chancel wall of St Óláfr's Church, photographed in the 1930's. More recent photos obviously exist, but are seldom as clear. While the masonry is somewhat obscured by render, there are no obvious breaks in the north wall. The eastern side of the eastern window opening is much nearer the corner of the chancel on the inside than on the outside, due to the c. 1.5 meter thick walls and the much wider inside opening. In other words, the window could hardly have been placed further east. Originally published by: Norman. Photo: unknown, The Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage's archives.

plausible that the irregularity in the chancel wall is connected to the blocking of an opening from an above-ground passage into a room above the chancel. A60010 also fits well into this picture, both physically and functionally, as will be discussed later.

6.4.4 A60020 – Southern building

A60020 consists of building remains found in Areas 1 and 2, increasingly fragmented towards the north, representing a large rectangular masonry building measuring 9–9.2 by 41.9–43.2 meters externally. The width of the walls varies from 1.1 to 1.45 meter, dimensions substantial enough to support further masonry floors. In Area 1, the remains were truncated by groundwork conducted when constructing the rectory buildings and their gardens. It is highly likely that parts of the masonry from the high-medieval buildings were reused up until the rectory fire in 1698, and that collapsed rubble or demolition deposits from the older building were cleared to make room for new constructions. After the fire, a garden was laid out over the southern end of A60020 and new rectory buildings were raised over the middle part; north of Area 1 too little remained to speculate on the post-medieval history of the building.

In the southern end of Area 1 the garden deposits were especially thick, due to the leveling out of originally undulating terrain. Consequently, they covered masonry preserved in heights from 1 to nearly 2 meters. This lower-lying part of A60020 has been interpreted as a cellar – while it was placed in a natural depression, and consequently not truly subsurface, it was 2–3 meters below the ground floor of the rest of the building and likely had storage functions. North of the cellar, where the bedrock rises, the remains vary from worked bedrock, some with *in situ* mortar, to 0.5 meter high masonry. In this part of Area 1, remains from the post-medieval rectory complexes consisted of numerous overlapping stone-pavements and deposits containing household refuse and stone rubble. The 2011–12 excavations provided much information about the rectory phase at the site, in particular after the 1698 fire (Bauer 2018c), while the 2017 excavation found less evidence from this phase. The pre-1698 rectory, and particularly the possible continued use of medieval buildings after the 1368 fire, will be discussed later in this chapter.

Outer masonry walls

The outer walls contain stones more roughly broken in varying shapes and sizes laid in less regular courses than A60010. Much of the walls of A60020 are c. 1.1–1.2 meter wide, which is somewhat narrower than A60010; however, certain sections in the southern part of the east wall measure 1.3–1.45 meter in width. The most likely explanation for this difference is the need for additional strength in the lowest-lying part

of A60020, which was partially weakened by the opening for the cellar door in this part of the wall.

The masonry varies in preservation, from relatively well-preserved to greatly disturbed and truncated (Fig. 6.19). Starting in the southern end, the largest section of coherent masonry measures 9 meters east–west and 14.8–24 meters north–south, varying from c. 0.5 to 2 meter in height. While the eastern wall has at least one preserved wall face for the entire 24-meter length, all that remains of the western wall's northern part is the plinth; if this part of the wall had any openings, no

Fig. 6.19: Southern building A60020; well-preserved masonry in the south, greatly disturbed and truncated in the north. Area 1 ends with the diagonal grass strip, where an underground high-voltage cable is buried by a gravel path to the harbour in the east. The rectangular cut in the middle of the picture, adjacent to the grass strip, is the post-medieval rectory cellar. By the northeast corner of this cellar, a small section of the eastern wall reappears. Photo: T. Olsen, Linsaa. Model: S. Kristiansen, MCH. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

traces would be preserved. In the northernmost part of Area 1, the eastern wall is truncated by a post-medieval rectory cellar, measuring c. 2.2 by 3.5 meters. North of the cellar, on the edge of Area 1 a small part of the eastern wall was preserved; this could not be followed further due to the adjacent high-voltage cable. In Area 2 remains from the eastern and western walls were found on both sides of the cemetery wall; on the southern side they consist of stone rubble, mortar and worked bedrock, with no preserved hearting, while to the north they had the same character as the remains in Area 1: plinth and masonry faces were preserved. The latter remains abut A60010, which was thus already standing whenA60020 was erected.

Although A60020 is built using the same materials and techniques as A60010, the larger proportion of pinning stones, rougher stonework, and more irregular courses suggest a somewhat later date (Fig. 6.11). More irregular stones, less even coursing and larger proportions of pinning were increasingly used during the high medieval period (Ekroll 1997:85–6; Lidén 1976:40–1; Hommedal pers. com. 21.2.2017); in Bergen much of this development seems to have taken place in the second half of the 13th century (Kristoffersen 1984:31). A60020 thus seems to be built after A60010, a sequence further supported by the unbound joints where the buildings meet. Even if the terrain was dictated to some extent by the buildings' plan and placement, the orientation of A60020, deviating from A60010's near-perfect cardinal alignment, could be a further indication that they were not only built at different times, but that A60020 was not planned at the time when A60010 was laid out.

A60024 – Drainage

Drainage of groundwater and surface runoff from the west of A60020 would have been a necessity, as an area of several hundred square meters drained mainly into the depression where the cellar was built. The exact size of this basin is impossible to measure due to modern disturbances, and some water may have drained into fissures in the bedrock. Nevertheless, the amount of water was significant enough to include drainage ditch A60024 in the building plans, built before the cellar walls were raised (Fig. 6.20). The ditch is c. 30–40 cm deep and 0.95 meter wide; a section of 2.8 meters was uncovered inside the cellar. It continued under the western wall of A60020, the bottom of it at a level slightly below the deepest foundations observed (Fig. 6.21).

A 17th-century disturbance of c. 1.6 meter in diameter cut the ditch near the middle of the cellar, allowing the cross section of the ditch to be examined without damaging it further. Whereas the bottom of the ditch was unlined, the sides were strengthened with flagstones, and larger flagstones covered the entire construction. Tests with an auger indicated the ditch continues 2.5 meters westward

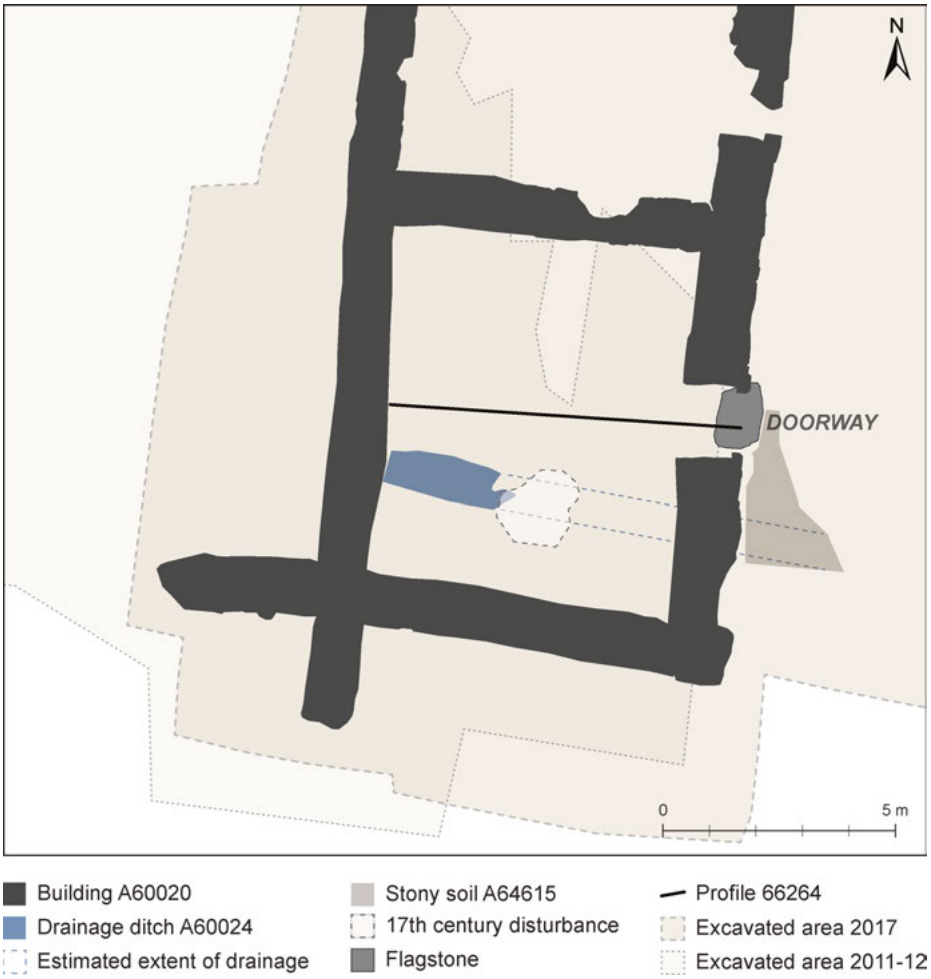

Fig. 6.20: The original cellar in the southern end of A60020. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

outside A60020. Similar tests inside the cellar suggest that the drainage system originally continued across the entire room, before ending somewhere beneath the base of the eastern wall. The drainage ditch appears to have released all the water collected in the west into the south-eastern foundations, which were laid in an area of particularly stony soil. This well-drained soil appears to have been deposited there in connection with the laying-out of the foundations, and along with the slope and shape of the terrain would have allowed the water to escape. The foundations themselves may thus have had a draining function, with A60024 mainly serving to convey the water from the deepest part of the western foundations eastward.

Fig. 6.21: Drainage ditch A60024 continues under the western wall of A60020. The ditch was cut, likely in the 17th century, and emptying this cut exposed a cross section as seen in the foreground (facing west). Photo: MCH.

Cellar and doorway

The southern part of A60020 (Fig. 6.20) was covered by nearly 2 meters of deposits, mainly humic soils deposited there in connection with the post-1698 rectory garden, levelling out the east–west oriented depression in which the cellar room is located. The nearly quadratic room is constructed of four inter-binding walls measuring c. 6.6 meters internally east–west and 7.4 meters north–south, giving the cellar 50 m^2 of floor area. Three of the walls are part of the building's outer walls, discussed above, while the northern wall is internal. However, the wall's dimensions, foundations, and general construction do not differ from the outer walls, perhaps indicating a load-bearing function related to further internal masonry walls in upper floors.

A 1.28 meter wide doorway is situated in the middle of the cellar's eastern wall. This is nearly 20 cm wider than the widest of two doors in the stone cellar from the first half of the 13th century at Aga in Hardanger (Berg 1995:176), and comparable to or somewhat wider than three cellar doors from around 1300 recently documented in Oslo (two of them in the bishops' fortified complex; Edman pers. com; Langvik Berge pers. com.). After the 2012 excavation the doorway was interpreted as walled up (Bauer 2018b:283); however, further excavation in 2017 found no break between the fill in the doorway and the demolition rubble found on either side of the eastern wall.

At the bottom of the door opening there is no distinct raised threshold such as the one found in the portal in A60010, but rather a roughly level area paved with flagstones. The door jambs are of cut soapstone; the southern jamb now has one block, 0.56 meter high, while the northern has two blocks totaling 1.2 meter, partially resting on the threshold. Both jambs have equally deep inward-facing rebates while the corners on the outside are chamfered (Fig. 6.22). No traces of hinges were found, and it is unknown whether the door was single- or double-leafed. The width of the doorway suggests it could have been double-leafed, as a single leaf would have been c. 1.3–1.5 meter wide depending on construction details, to some extent obstructing movement and storage space (cf. Bauer 2018b:289). However, the discovery of a ramp (Fig. 6.23) placed far enough from the entrance to leave space for an inward swinging single-leaf door, could suggest the opposite. If the door was double-leafed the ramp might have been placed closer to the doorway, to utilize more of the room.

With the exception of flagstones in the doorway, no trace of flooring was found, and the room may have had an earthen floor. Deposits sampled for micromorphology analysis certainly showed evidence of trampling, partially in damp conditions, and probable deposition of turf, soil, and stone for ground raising (Macphail 2018:13–16). Some of the trampling observed may be connected to the construction phase rather than being direct evidence for an earthen floor, but it seems unlikely that a different type of floor could have been removed without leaving any trace. An east–west oriented section (C666264, Fig. 6.23, placement shown on Fig. 6.20) through the cellar showed no such traces, but revealed an interesting declivity towards the doorway, interpreted as traces of a ramp between the door and a raised floor level in the western part of the cellar. The ground-raising deposits raised the surface in the central part of the room by perhaps as much as 40–50 cm, and thinning towards the east created a roughly 3/10 slope. The width of the doorway would have allowed passage of large barrels, bales of goods, and even small carts; a ramp rather than one or more steps would have facilitated the movement of items further into the room. An observed difference in height between the western and the eastern wall plinths, the former 20–40 cm higher than the latter, supports the idea of a ramp and a raised flat area as original elements of the plan.

Fig. 6.22: The 1.28 meter wide cellar doorway oriented towards the harbour in the east is one argument for interpreting the cellar as a storage room. Pictures showing the doorway seen from the outside (facing west) and inside (facing east). Both doorjambs have inward facing rebates, meaning the door swung inwards. Photo: MCH.

Possible structural elements were found in a stone rubble and mortar deposit inside the cellar, for instance two finely shaped and dressed soapstone fragments and several non-diagnostic fragments. One of the identifiable fragments appears to have belonged to a transverse arch (S13896/10), while the other is a pentagonal fragment (S13896/15), likely from a ribbed vault (Fig. 6.24). Their identification as vault stones is not definite; alternatively, they could be from tracery windows, or from another room, as there is no other evidence for a vault in the cellar, which certainly had no tracery windows. As the cellar door was barred from the inside (Fig. 6.22), it is very likely the cellar could also be accessed from inside the building, most probably through a trap door in the roof (Hommedal pers. com. 2018). This is an argument against a vault in the cellar.

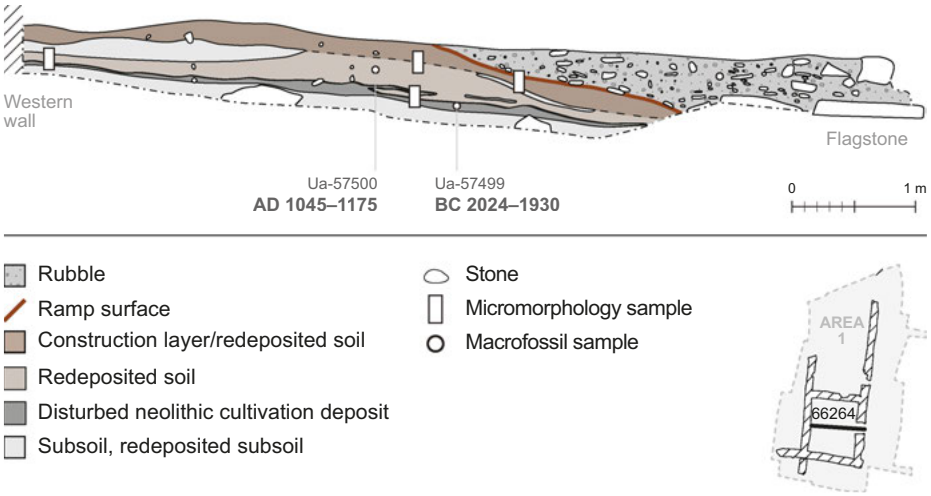

Fig. 6.23: The east–west-oriented section through the cellar revealed an interesting declivity in the stratigraphy towards the doorway. The feature is interpreted as traces of a ramp from the door up to an elevated platform in the western half of the room. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

Discovered in the rubble spilling through the cellar door was another finely cut soapstone with several profiles (S13896/16, Fig. 6.25), clearly from the corner of a window frame. Seen from the outside, the stone would have been placed in the lower left corner of the window. A rebate facing outward originally held a wooden window frame in such a manner that no water could run off the window into the building, and shows that the stone comes from a window that had glass or some other covering rather than from a loophole or similar uncovered opening. The outside edges of the window opening were chamfered like those of the cellar door and the windows on the church. While the stone has some damage to edges and corners, the dressed faces are well preserved without obvious weathering or wear; likely the stone remained in its original place until being deposited in the cellar with other rubble, and was not redeposited afterwards. On the basis of these assumptions it would appear that the wall the window belonged to remained standing until the cellar door went out of use.

A60021 – Ground floor partitions, internal walls

Remains of the ground floor of A60020 are preserved from the northern wall of the lower floor storage room and to the northern end of Area 1. Traces of partitions show that there were at least two rooms in this section of the ground floor. There may well have been more rooms on this level; arguments for further possible divisions will be presented after discussion of the preserved partitions.

Fig. 6.24: Finely dressed soapstone fragments from vaults or tracery windows. Photo: T. Gil Bell, AM. Model: S. Kristiansen, MCH.

Fig. 6.25: S13896/16; cut soapstone fragment from a window opening. Measurements: height 18 cm, width 36 cm and length 39 cm. Photo: T. Gil Bell, AM. Model: S. Kristiansen.

The likely vertical continuation of the cellar's northern wall would probably have constituted a partition between a room above the cellar and the ground floor rooms to the north. Just north of the cellar there are two internal walls, A60021A and -B, defining at least two rooms: a 3.25 by 5.1 meters room in the southeastern corner of this area, and a larger room taking up the rest of the space in A60020 north of the cellar (Fig. 6.26).

The two internal walls are both secondary to the walls of A60020, as shown by unbound vertical joints, but it has not been possible to determine when precisely they were added. As their dimension and construction are sufficient for them to bear part of the load of the buildings upper parts, they may have been added while the building project as a whole was still in progress. The internal walls are similar in their masonry and materials to other walls in the complex, other than being relatively narrow at about 0.8–0.9 meter wide. Still, they would have had some load-bearing capacity, and unlike the outer walls would be mostly free from the pressure of the roof. It is thus possible that at least part of their function was to support further internal walls or other heavy structures on the floor above.

With the exception of the southern side of A60021B, where there is a plinth of flagstones similar to that found under much of A60020, the internal walls are laid directly on bedrock and have no other foundations. Some traces of cutting into the bedrock nevertheless seem to show that an effort was made to provide a level base for the walls.

East of A60021A and south of A60021B, inside the eastern ground-floor room, the bedrock level drops 1.5 meter north to south (Fig. 6.27). This would obviously not work as a floor, and presumably the eastern room had a wooden floor at the

Fig. 6.26: The ground floor level in the middle of building A60020. This part of the building seems to be separated into at least two rooms by two internal partitions. Certain features suggest the rooms may have been used storing and preparing food. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

Fig. 6.27: The ground floor in the middle of building A60020, with oven A60022A marked in orange, fireplace A60022B in red and stone-paved floor A63400 in white. External and internal wall remains are given dark shading. The picture also shows the bedrock dropping towards the south inside the eastern room, leaving a possible crawl space. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

level of the surrounding rooms, leaving a crawl space underneath the eastern room. In King Hákon's Hall in Bergen, bedrock outcrops take up significant floor space in two out of three rooms in the basement, and those rooms were used for storage (e.g. Ekroll 1997:136; Fischer 1980:128). Although small, it is likely that the space underneath the eastern room would have been similarly utilized – perhaps for storage of goods requiring darkness, a degree of humidity, and stable temperature, like a root cellar. No specific support for this theory was found while excavating the room itself, but the interpretation of the space as a storage room for food does fit well with the discovery of a collapsed oven (A60022A) and a fireplace (A60022B) just outside this small room (Fig. 6.26). Certain observations indicate the oven was used for food processing (further discussion of the oven and the fireplace below).

As mentioned earlier, the preservation of A60020's masonry remains varies greatly within Area 1, a difference probably explained by the shallower bedrock level in the north. This also affects the internal walls; the remains of A60021B

consist mainly of plinth and *in situ* traces of mortar, while the southern two thirds of A60021A have significant portions of wall face preserved, built of stones large enough that the rubble core constitutes less than one third of the width. Unfortunately, the original intersection of the two is completely truncated, and no traces of any openings were found. An entrance into the room is perhaps most plausible in the northern end of A60021A, but as most of A60021B consists of only wall base, an entrance might equally have existed somewhere along that wall. Moreover, the possibility cannot be excluded that this wall continued further west to close off a western room of about 2.7 by 5.1 meters. A 5–10 cm deep, roughly 45 by 18 cm cut (A66782A, Fig. 6.26) in the bedrock, 1 meter from A60021B, could indicate the placement of a doorjamb or a wooden wall stud.

No distinct traces of internal divisions further north were found, but the placement and construction of the fireplace, could indicate a division immediately north of it (Fig. 6.26). Some support for such an interpretation could come from the shape and extent of the flagstone pavement or floor A63400 (Fig. 6.27), of which no traces were found north of the northern edge of the fireplace.

A60022 – Fireplace and oven

Approximately 3 meters north of internal wall A60021B an open masonry fireplace (A60022B) was discovered, consisting of a 40–50 cm oval-shaped hearth, 13 cm deep with a rounded bottom (Fig. 6.28). The hearth contained red, burned silt and ash with charcoal fragments. The hearth is situated on top of a 0.5–1.1 meter wide and 1.7 meter long stone foundation. Part of this, c. 1 by 1 meter situated directly underneath the hearth, is made up of large, neatly placed stones. At the northern

Fig. 6.28: The fireplace hearth, facing north. At the northern edge two unevenly burnt stones indicating a possible northern wall can be seen. The right picture, facing north, shows the difference in the hearth's foundation, the right half being less even. Photo: MCH.

edge of this part of the foundation there are two stones that project slightly above the level of the hearth, both with traces of burning on the side facing the hearth. This seems to indicate that the fireplace had a northern wall, which could mean that it occupied the corner of the room and was open to the west and south. The fireplace probably had a masonry superstructure channeling smoke to a chimney or a vent in the wall; without any superstructure over the fireplace the room would need a smoke vent in the roof. While common in wooden buildings (Christie 1974:22–4), this arrangement is not known from medieval masonry buildings in Norway, and is perhaps less likely in a royal manor. It would furthermore preclude a floor above the fireplace, for which there are other arguments presented below.

The part of the fireplace structure (Fig. 6.28), between the hearth and the wall is difficult to interpret. No direct parallels are known, and no preserved features explain why the hearth itself was not placed closer to the wall, as were for instance fireplaces in in the Archbishop's Palace in Trondheim (Hommedal 1997:18) and St Óláfr's Monastery in Oslo (Hommedal 1986:85, 90). Conceivable reasons are connected to a chimney or other vent, perhaps placed to avoid conflict with structural elements such as vault ribs and consoles; other possibilities include wooden structures or furniture placed along the eastern wall, which would have required a certain distance to an open fireplace, or simply the need for working space around the fireplace.

Apart from the 3.3 by 3.7 meters section of a stone-paved floor (Fig. 6.27) adjacent to the fireplace, no features indicating the further arrangement or layout of the room were discovered. However, directly south of A60022B, the stone paving had apparently been removed or never laid – possibly another hint at wooden constructions along the wall south of the fireplace. Either way, a leveled base layer had been deposited there (A61666, Fig. 6.26). On the surface of this underlying sand and gravel layer three silver coins were found (S13896/1–3), a find context that could indicate they were lost during the building's period of use. The coins will be discussed later, but it is worth mentioning here that all three have been identified as Edwardian Long Cross pennies, struck in the period 1279–1377. Only one of the three coins may be securely dated to a narrower part of this period (S13896/1, Fig. 6.29), with traits linking it to Edward II (reign 1307–27).

At the northern end of the stone-paved floor, poor preservation made it impossible to determine whether it originally continued further. As the end of the pavement coincided with the fireplace's likely northern wall, it is possible that the floor and the room it was in ended here. This would support the above–mentioned hypothesis that the fireplace was in the north-eastern corner of the room. Above the leveled base layer in which the coins were discovered, two whetstones (S13896/72)[3] were found in a demolition deposit, one from each side of the fireplace – possibly

3 A total of eight whetstones were found, all catalogued under S13896/72. Mentioned artifacts were recorded as F62552 (1 by 8 cm fragment) and F62529 (2.5 by 10 cm fragment).

Fig. 6.29: S13896/1; the best preserved of three Edwardian Long Cross pennies, it has distinct features most likely dating it to the reign of Edward II, 1307–27. Photo: R. With, AM.

an indication that the room (or rooms) had practical functions. On the other hand, two hewn soapstone fragments, again from either side of the fireplace, could imply a higher-status room. The fragment found south of A60022B is 40 cm long and sooted, with several house marks (*bumerker*) and a possible mason's mark (S13896/11, Fig. 6.30) on one of the faces, apparently from the framing of a door or window opening. Three of the six sides are broken, but one side has traces of mortar. The inscription of house marks is well known from stones found around doors, such as on the portals of St Óláfr's Church. As it was found near the fireplace, the fragment could conceivably be from that structure too, but the layer in which it was found may have been disturbed by clearing and building work after the fire in 1698. The

Fig. 6.30: Soapstone ashlar and possible sculptural fragment. S13896/11 (left) has *bumerker* and a possible masons mark on one side, which also has traces of soot; found close to A60022B, it could stem from the fireplace construction itself. Measurements: height 10.5 cm, width 24 cm and length 26–34 cm. S13896/13 (right) was also found near the fireplace. Measurements: height 3 cm, width 8 cm and length 13 cm. Photo: T. Gil Bell, AM. Model: S. Kristiansen, MCH.

fragment found north of the fireplace (S13896/13, Fig. 6.30) appears to be from a decorative or even sculptural element, and was unfortunately found in a similar context to the previous fragment.

The remains of the collapsed oven A60022A (Fig. 6.31) were discovered in the western of the two rooms north of the cellar. Due to this area's degree of disturbance and the complexity of its stratigraphy, the oven's original size and shape were unclear. The only clearly defined part is the 1.5 by 1.7 meter partially preserved chamber, with what appears to be an opening towards the north. The chamber is constructed of stone and silty clay, without mortar, and was filled with red, burned silt, ash, and charcoal. A sample from the chamber was dated to 1295–1395 (Ua-57493), the assumed primary use of A60020 in the High Middle Ages.

Fig. 6.31: The partially preserved chamber of oven A60022A (facing south), see Fig. 6.25 for placement within building A60020. Photo: MCH.

Not enough of the oven is preserved to ascertain its original shape, height, or function; however, certain observations may provide some indications. As no slag, other vitrified material, or metal prills were found, the oven seems not to have been used for high-temperature processes such as metal- or glassworking. This leaves two obvious plausible uses for the oven: heating the building or cooking. Cooking use seems more likely, as the fireplace would have heated the large ground-floor room to the

north of the cellar; if there was no partition between this room and the space where the oven stood the latter would be superfluous and oddly placed. On the other hand, the oven seems oversized for a smaller separate room. If it was used for heating other rooms, for instance through a hypocaust system, this would have required complex masonry on the upper floor for which there is no physical evidence or contemporary parallels. Two admittedly weak arguments in favour of such an arrangement are the placement of the oven against an internal wall, meaning the smoke necessarily had to pass through a masonry chimney through the floor above, and the existence of the internal masonry walls in themselves, capable of carrying further masonry higher up. Unfortunately, no trace of the chimney itself was preserved. Fireplaces, ovens, and chimneys were usually built against or partially within an external wall, but a similarly placed oven by an internal partition is known from St Òlàfr's Monastery in Oslo (Hommedal pers. com. 21.2.2017; Hommedal 1986:85, 90).

Assuming that the oven was used for cooking, the partially preserved chamber appears to be too near the floor for practical cooking *in* the chamber. A more likely explanation is that the excavated chamber may have been purely for burning fuel, with cooking taking place on top of the oven. Finds of several fragments of stone griddles (S13896/71 and S13896/75) for cooking flatbreads (Weber 1989:7) could be related to the use of the oven. The griddles would originally have been 30–50 cm in diameter; fragments of such griddles are common in high-medieval domestic contexts. While the fragments were not found in direct stratigraphic connection to the oven, they (and a number of quernstone fragments) nevertheless showed a distinct spatial distribution: all were found within an 8 meters radius around the oven, mostly to the south of it. No similar fragments were found to the east of A60020, in its northern half, or near A60010. While the distribution does not prove anything, given the disturbed nature of much of the stratigraphy it does suggest that the use of griddles and querns took place primarily in the southern part of A60020.

Macrofossil material from a sample taken from the oven chamber contained charred cereal grains. Most of the grains were whole and found together with weed seeds and an intact oat floret (Ballantyne 2018), material which may seem to indicate an early stage of food processing. The existence of weed seed and encased grains in the material cannot however exclude actual cooking, since they may have entered the chamber through being picked out and discarded while preparing food. It is more likely that drying or roasting of whole grains prior to hulling, crushing, or grinding would take place on a larger scale in a separate building.

A60023 – Buttresses?

Two wall segments (A45720 and A45745) of roughly the same dimensions and construction as the walls of A60020 were found abutting the outer south-western corner of the building (Fig. 6.32–6.33). These are not bound structurally to the walls of

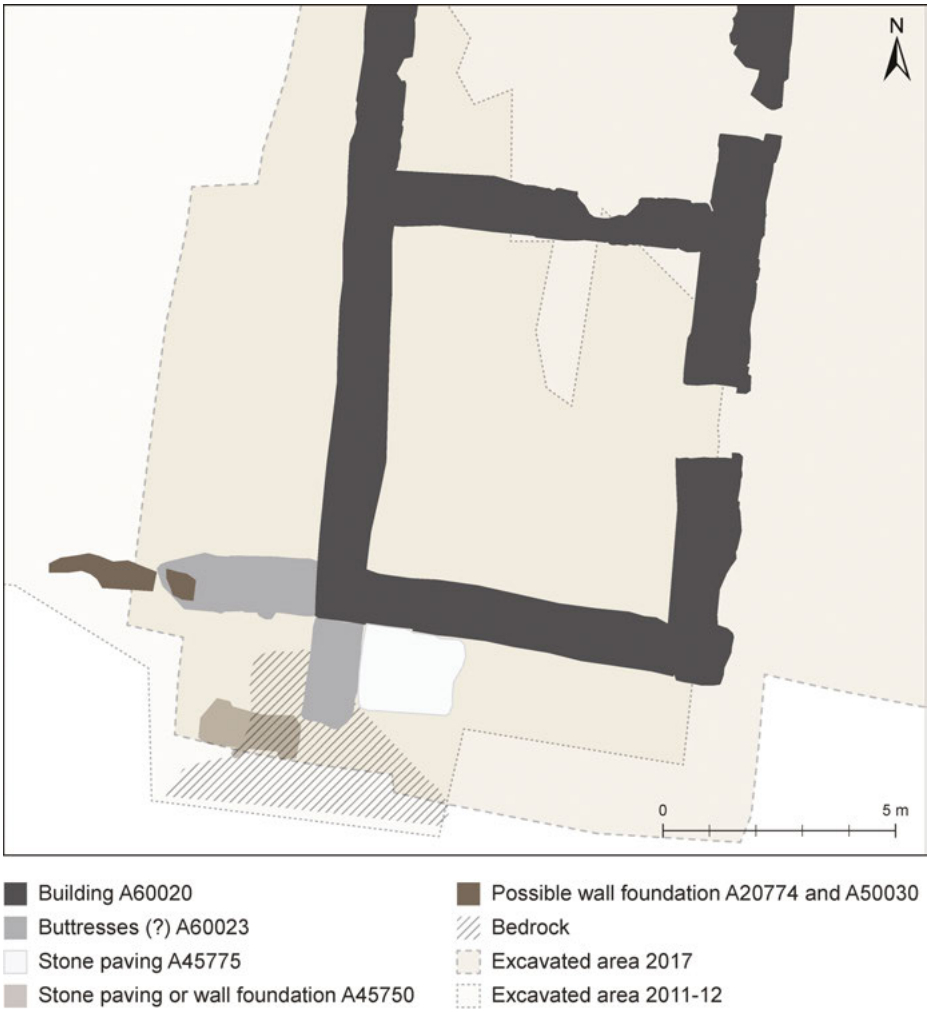

Fig. 6.32: Features by the southwest corner of A60020. A20774 and A50030 were only superficially investigated in 2011–2012, and were only partly reexcavated in 2017. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

A60020, and are a secondary addition. The wall segments were discovered in 2012 (Bauer 2018b:290–1) and interpreted as buttresses to support a weakened or poorly built part of A60020. Slight differences in the texture and colour of the mortar compared to that in the walls of A60020 (Bauer 2018b:283) are further evidence that the buttresses were built later. Although the length of the interval cannot be decided, the masonry is clearly medieval, a conclusion supported by the stratigraphy in the area.

While it is possible that the wall segments are buttresses built in response to structural damage or weakness in the walls near this corner, no obvious signs of instability were observed in the masonry there. Problems may have appeared higher up

Fig. 6.33: The western part of A60023 (facing east). Photo: MCH.

in the walls, but since the south-western corner appears undamaged and is built mostly on bedrock, any instability cannot have resulted from weak foundations. Therefore, the previously proposed parallel (Bauer 2018b:290–1) with the buttresses of the medieval church at Voss does not seem convincing, as that church is built on sand and has very obvious problems with uneven settling of the walls, already apparent during the building process (Berg 1977:18, 52–3). Due to its position in the terrain and the climate of the region, the southern part of A60020 was potentially exposed to both groundwater flow and surface runoff that might weaken the mortar in the walls. However, this risk was at least partially removed by the drainage system described above, and there was no obvious mortar failure near the supposed buttresses.

However, structural problems in the walls that *might* have begun to appear during the high medieval use of A60020 were observed 2–3 meters to the north and

east of the south-western corner, where parts of the inner face of the wall were sagging into the room. While the sagging in the south wall may well have occurred as late as after the area was converted to a rectory garden, the problem with the inner face of the western wall obviously began earlier; an internal buttressing wall (A61076) was added there in the 17th century. The outer wall face appears unaffected, and the observed damage is not consistent with problems that would be solved by adding external buttresses.

With these observations in mind, other possible interpretations of A60023 have to be considered. Their purpose could be to strengthen A60020 in connection with changes to the original plan, such as extra floors or some type of projecting structure at this corner. A60023 may also have been built in connection with a partially projecting upper floor or external gallery otherwise supported by corbelling or cantilevering along the rest of the western and southern wall, as at the bishop's residence in Stavanger (Ekroll 1997:144–5). Above-ground external galleries are known from other high-medieval buildings (e.g. Ekroll 1997:138).

It is also conceivable that the western part of A60023 represents the remains of a wall originally extending westward from the corner of A60020 (Fig. 6.32). In 2011–12, a possible wall foundation in line with the western part of A60023 was found (Bauer and Østmo 2013:87, 94). At the time, A60023 was interpreted as having a clear-cut end towards the west, leaving a gap of 0.5 meter between the structures. Further excavation in 2017 showed that A60023 continued westwards, and in fact overlapped with structure A50300. According to documentation from the 2011–12 excavation the latter appeared very similar to, and was and likely the same as A20774; however, both were only superficially investigated at the time. Constructed of flagstones covering a stone-filled ditch, both structures were interpreted as remains of a drainage ditch meant to lead water under A60020 (Bauer and Østmo 2013:94). In light of the new westward extent of A60023 and comparison with plinths and foundations in A60010, A60020, and A60030, A20774 and A50300 may more plausibly be interpreted as part of A60023. Another argument against interpreting A20774 and A50300 as a drainage ditch is the discovery of A60024 under A60020 (Fig. 6.20), only 2 meters to the north. This structure is more obviously designed for drainage and better placed, lying lower in the terrain and not up against bedrock. On the basis of these arguments, it appears that the western part of A60023 originally was at least 5.7 meters long, an implausible size for a buttress for a building less than 10 meters wide.

It is tempting to interpret this wall segment as part of a curtain wall closing off the southern end of the manor courtyard, but this would require a separate explanation for the southern part of A60023, which is difficult to find. The southern part is identical to the western part in construction and general appearance, and both have the same mortar type that differs slightly from that used in A60020. The bedrock on which it was partly built continues rising to the south of the present end, so it is possible that the southern end is a result of the demolition of the wall segment to its present height rather than an original end. If one disregards the buttress

interpretation, the two parts of A60023 together suggest the possibility of a room to the south of the southern wall of the east wing, joined to the south-western corner of A60020. Demonstrably later than A60020, it is unclear whether the hypothetical building or room represented by A60023 was finished before 1368, and it probably disappeared along with A60010 and A60030 in the late medieval period.

A60025 – Privy

Against the outside of the eastern wall of A60020, about 7 meters north of the cellar entrance, a cut in the bedrock has created a level surface measuring 1.3 by 1.5 meter (Fig. 6.34). Based on the shape, size, and placement, parallels in contemporary buildings, as well as certain observations in the fill, it appears to be the base of a privy structure projecting from the wall higher up. Such a projecting construction may have been connected to residential rooms above the ground floor of the building, as at the contemporary *Steinhuset* ('the Stone House') in Gran where a privy projected slightly from eastern wall on the first floor (Rosborn 1991:5–6, 9, 11). This floor probably had a residential function, and the privy was placed on the wall facing outward from the courtyard of the original complex.

Fig. 6.34: Structure A60025. Left; the two uppermost layers have been removed, the first a mixed silty sand and stone layer covering an *in situ* burnt layer, dated to 1490–1670. The picture shows the next burnt layer, dated to 1470–1640. Right; the cut has been emptied, showing the difference in depth; 5–10 cm in southwest and 45 cm in northwest. Coin S13896/4 was found in the layer removed between the pictures; the axe S13896/8 was partially covered by the layer. Part of the axe is visible in between the stones to the north on the picture to the left (facing west). Photo: MCH.

The western edge of the cut is nearly flush with the line of the eastern masonry wall, while the southern and northern edges are perpendicular to the wall. As the bedrock rises towards the north the edges are not equally high: in the south-western corner

the cut was 5–10 cm deep, while the north-western corner was c. 45 cm deep. Although the fissured bedrock, sloping terrain, and shallow cut were less than ideal for preservation of organic material, partially mineralised plank remains were found between the stones and along the western wall, in addition to an abundance of charred plant remains found in the fill of A60025. The uppermost layer was an *in situ* burned deposit containing florets and grains of hulled six-rowed barley (Hordeum vulgare), lesser amounts of cultivated oats (Avena sativa), and many small arable weed seeds, outnumbering the cereal remains. One barley grain from this context was radiocarbon dated to AD 1520–1660 (Ua-57492). Below this, two very thin layers contained similar archaeobotanical material, charcoal, traces of charred insects, and a compact, leafy organic matter, possibly stable or byre floor waste. The material may have been charred during a building fire, but the presence of insects suggests that it lay open and decaying for long enough to become colonised (Ballantyne 2018). A fragment of bark with sapwood edge from the lowermost of these layers was radiocarbon dated to AD 1490–1640 (Ua-57498). Additionally, an apparent late-medieval silver Danish *hvid* (S13896/4) of King Hans was found in this layer. Coins of his reign (1483–1513) were the first to be minted in both Denmark and Norway (Galster 1972:45), but it has not been possible to assign this particular coin to a specific mint. A similar coin (S12779/1) dating to the short interregnum period preceding King Hans' reign was found in 2012 in a disturbed context (Østmo 2018:518).

In the same layer a fragmentary frame or rough lining of stones appeared along the northern edge and around the north-eastern corner. An axe head (S13896/8, Fig. 6.35) with plank remains stuck to its side was found between the layer and the stones. There were also mineralised wood fragments inside the eye of the axe, likely traces of the handle. The shape and weight of the axe head indicate a felling axe, possibly also used for coarse woodworking and construction work, typologically dated to the 13th century or possibly the two preceding centuries (Vike pers. com. 15.9.2017; Nøttveit 2000). It seems likely that the axe is related to the construction phase and assumed primary use of A60020 in the High Middle Ages. The above 15th–17th century dates of primary deposits, on the other hand, together with the find of a late-medieval coin, shed some light on the post-1368 history of A60020, indicating that the privy was in use up until the 1698 fire. This continuity will be discussed in greater detail below.

6.4.5 The 1368 attack and 15th–17th-century continuity

Although it is neither certain, nor likely, that the manor was left in total ruins, the formidable reimbursement claim (RN 7:46; Opsahl this vol. Ch. 8:##) indicates that significant parts of the royal manor complex must have been damaged. As previously mentioned, excavated features and observations point to the manor complex being used after the 1368 attack. There is also a possible written source: in 1374 Hákon VI had a letter (DN 15:29) written while staying at or near Avaldsnes. Some scholars take

Fig. 6.35: Axe head S13896/8 after conservation. Patches of mineralisation have been left on where it preserves traces of organic material, but the shape and general state of the object are clear. Photo: R. With, AM.

this as indication that the manor was not entirely in ruins at this point (Helle 1999:99), while others have argued that the letter could have been written aboard a ship (Mundal 2018:44–5). The original letter is not preserved, but from the existing copy, the letter appears to have been written *in* and not *by* the Karmsund Strait, implying that the manor buildings at least were not fit for royal use at the time. However, it cannot be determined whether this means they were awaiting repairs, under repair, or being repurposed. The lack of archaeological evidence directly related to the attack strongly indicates one of the three possibilities, as it proves that traces of fire and any collapsed rubble in the area were cleared away, while surviving structures were at least partially reused. For instance, the privy was probably constructed for the high-medieval complex, as shown by the 13th-century axe head (S13896/8) found at its base, but also contained *in situ* deposits containing a late-medieval coin (S13896/4) and radiocarbon dated to the 15th–17th century. This continued use of the privy is a strong indication that the walls of A60020 were still part of a standing building at the time.

Evidence of certain changes made in the 17th century *over* deposits containing typical 17th-century refuse shows that A60020's cellar continued to be used into at least the early 17th century, probably right up to the fire of 1698. These changes were a staircase into the cellar, a secondary supporting wall inside the cellar (Fig. 6.36), and a likely drainage cut in the cellar floor, truncating the original medieval drainage ditch (Fig. 6.20 and Fig. 6.21). The staircase was discovered during the 2011–12 excavation and correctly identified as secondary (Bauer 2018b:284), while the other two features were found in 2017.

During the construction of the post-1698 rectory, deposits containing numerous finds spanning the 15th–17th centuries were used for levelling. Together with

Fig. 6.36: 17th century changes in the medieval cellar; in the northwest corner a secondary staircase built partly into the wall is marked in red, while an internal buttressing wall in the foreground is coloured yellow (facing northwest). Photo: MCH.

previously documented *in situ* late-medieval to early-modern deposits only a few meters to the west of A60020's western wall (Bauer and Østmo 2013:182–3) and the finds and dates from the A60025, this supplies further evidence of continued use of at least parts of the manor complex in the 15th and 17th centuries.

While A60020 survived the 1368 attack sufficiently intact structurally to allow reuse of some of the walls at the very least, A60010 and A60030 do not seem to have survived. It appears likely that the masonry remains identified by Peder Claussøn Friis (1632:67) as a royal chapel were from A60010, implying it was completely ruined in the late 16th century when he frequented Avaldsnes (Skre 2018b:13–14). In the northwestern corner of A60010, burnt deposits seemed to show a small *ad hoc* hearth, radiocarbon dated to the 18th century (Ua-57495 1660–1950 and Ua-57502 1660–present, but from the calibration curves both are most likely from the 18th century; see appendix). However, 18th–19th-century descriptions and depictions have no structures where A60010 and A60030 once stood (Bauer 2018c:310–13). Rather, the older pre-1840s cemetery wall crossed the area; although it is unclear exactly where its course ran, it must have been built over the remains of A60010 or A60030. It is possible the 18th-century hearth in the corner of A60010 dates to an episode where the ruins were

partially uncovered, perhaps in connection with reconstruction work after the 1698 fire. Other deposits or structures that might have shed further light on the history of A60010 and A60030 after 1368 have not been found. Further south, the observations from the privy and the reuse of the cellar show that masonry from A60020 survived 1368 and was incorporated in the rectory buildings that burned in 1698. During the subsequent rebuilding and the establishment of a new rectory garden, all above-ground traces of A60020 seem to finally have been removed or covered as well; they are not visible in depictions from the 1730s/40s onward (Bauer 2018c:fig. 15.1–3).

Besides the actual building history (and "ruin history") of the manor buildings, the question of when the royal manor became a rectory is difficult to answer confidently due to a lack of sources. This may be a clue in itself, as the 1374 letter is the last royal document from Avaldsnes, perhaps indicating that it soon afterwards ceased functioning as a royal manor. Because A60020 was not abandoned, it seems plausible that the rectory or a precursor institution was established around this time. No documents directly related to the transition from royal manor to rectory at Avaldsnes are known, but in light of the general development in Norway and the documented history of the manor, it is reasonable to assume it took place in the 15th century. Certainly, by the time of the reformation in 1537, the farm was not royal property but belonged to the church and its priest (Bauer 2018c:322). Possibly this was the *de facto* situation in 1429 as well, when the bishop in Stavanger apparently was in a position to dispose of income to St Óláfr's Church according to his own wishes (Lidén 1999a:136). Although the process is not well documented (Sandvik 1965:57, 59–60; Stylegar and Brendalsmo 2006:146), it appears that actual rectories only started to appear in the late medieval period (Stylegar and Brendalsmo 2006:152), and the lapse of the Avaldsnes manor from royal control may well fit into this general trend. Opsahl (Ch. 8) shows that the late 14th century saw a lasting reorientation of royal interest and activity in south-eastern Norway; combined with the increasingly complete domination of the Hanseatic League over trade between Norway and Western Europe, this no doubt left Avaldsnes much less essential to the royal administration in the late 14th and 15th century.

6.5 The Avaldsnes high-medieval royal manor complex

Both buildings and the wall connecting the manor to St Óláfr's Church exhibit a masonry style securely placing them in the High Middle Ages. As argued earlier, the profound similarities between the portals in A60010 and the church indicate that they were built in close parallel, and probably planned at the same time. Although A60020 and A60030 are built with the same type of materials and basic techniques, unbound joints and a certain development in masonry style (Fig. 6.11) confirm that

A60010 originally was a free-standing building. How long it remained that way before being connected to A60020 in the south and to the church via A60030 to the north cannot be determined accurately based on the preserved remains.

The evidence that A60010 was originally free-standing, combined with its close proximity to St Óláfr's Church, brings to mind different building types that are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The siting, size, and plan are reminiscent of ruins that have been interpreted as canon residences, but well-documented examples are not known from medieval Norway. For instance, Ekroll (1997:135) proposes this interpretation for at ruin removed in Trondheim in the 1940s, but does not elaborate his argument beyond stating that it stood in a churchyard. South of the Hamar cathedral, stone cellars have also been presented as remains of canons residences, but they have not been archaeologically investigated (Sæther 1995:78); in Oslo similar remains were partly removed without any investigation around 1900, and the remainder excavated later offered no real clues as to their function (Fischer 1936:3, 6). Interpreting A60010 specifically as a chapter house is no less problematic, as the few examples from Norway belong to cathedrals and monasteries.

Neither alternative is impossible; the papal letter of 1308 implies that St Óláfr's Church already had a collegiate at that time (Helle 1999:75). Still, given the lack of finds, building elements, or written sources that would further elucidate the functions of A60010, it seems more plausible to place it in the wider *kastal* category as a likely multifunctional multi-storey building with at least the appearance of a defensive tower. According to measurements of a number of 12th- and 13th-century towers in Sweden, the thickness of the walls of A60010 is within a range where a height of more than 10 meters would be possible; indeed one tower in Kumla in Närke had similar walls and was more than 18 meters high, while another in Harmånger in Hälsingland, where the walls are only 20 cm thicker, is nearly 20 meters high (Lovén 1996:367, 369). These heights do not include gables, roofs, or wooden superstructures. Unfortunately, few comparable buildings have both recorded wall thickness and original height, and in many cases there are doubts regarding the possible existence of vaults, which require thicker walls to accommodate outward pressure. No building parts that could be ascribed to vaults were found near A60010.

Less towerlike (but still towering) contemporary Norwegian buildings may perhaps also support the idea that A60010 was at least 10 meters tall. The previously mentioned *Steinhuset* at Gran has walls that vary from 1.2 to 1.8 meter in width (from available documentation they appear to be around 1.5 meter for the most part), and was originally at least 10 meters high with two storeys completely above ground and a partially subsurface cellar (Rosborn 1991:3, 8). The mid-13th-century grand hall building now known as *Håkonshallen* in the royal manor in Bergen has walls about 1.7–1.9 meter thick, as well as two storeys above a partially subterranean cellar. The latter was around 2 meters high originally, the first floor was about 3 meters high, and the second more than 5 meters high (Fischer and Fischer 1980: pl.8; Hommedal, Ch. 7). While the walls of A60010 are somewhat thinner, this does

not necessarily mean the building was lower; in the case of *Steinhuset* the walls had to support two vaults, while *Håkonshallen* is nearly twice as wide as A60010, meaning the roof exerted a much greater lateral pressure on the walls.

Free-standing medieval towers (Fig. 6.37) similarly sited adjacent to churches are known chiefly from Sweden, especially in the eastern regions and most commonly on Gotland (e.g. Lovén 1996:365–71; Ödman 2002:18–19). *Kastal* is a term used in Swedish and to some extent in Norwegian literature, derived from Latin *castellum*, meaning a fortified stronghold or tower (Lewis and Short 1891:297). While the word is found in medieval texts, it seems to have been used interchangeably with other terms and for several quite different structures and complexes (Eriksson 1995:13–14). In modern (especially Swedish) literature, it is used in a more narrow sense for free-standing towers near churches. Almost all examples of such towers are connected to churches strategically situated near important roads and crossings, and to particularly rich churches (Lovén 1996:370). Although they appear to be defensive structures, the degree to which they were defendable in practice varied, and their defensive value is often unclear.

Fig. 6.37: Valleberga in southern Sweden, a heavily altered medieval church with a relatively intact medieval *kastal* south of the chancel. Foto: K. Adolfsson (www.adolfsson.photo).

Some similar buildings existed in medieval Norway, such as near the cathedral in Stavanger (Ekroll 1997:144) and adjacent to churches in Jämtland (Lovén 1996:365). Freestanding towers not associated with churches existed as well, for instance on a cliff by the river harbour of Skien (Ekroll 1997:181) and near the river harbours in Trondheim (Ekroll 1997:134–5). Both are likely dated to the 12th or early 13th century, and their siting near the harbours is likely significant. Two other early 13th-century towers were built as part of smaller fortifications on holms in Mjøsa and Glomma (Fischer 1951:212–18; Eriksson 1995:131–6), strategically placed in the middle of traffic in respectively the largest lake and river in Norway. Later, under Hákon IV's successor Magnús VII (reign 1263–80), towers combining defensive, residential, and possibly other functions were built in Bergen and Tønsberg, but these

examples are more obviously integrated parts of major fortified complexes (Belsvik 1997:46; Eriksson 1995:36–40, 145). The central keep of Akershus Fortress may originally have been designed in the same period as a free-standing tower (Eriksson 1995:149), but this is impossible to prove or disprove at present. In the bishop's manor in Hamar another likely free-standing tower from the second half of the 13th century was subsequently incorporated into a more extensive fortification (Sæther 1995:60–2). All in all, both dating and physical context would seem to place A60010 somewhere between these examples. Although the multiple functions of all these towers are not completely known nor necessarily uniform in time and space, some suggested functions may serve as a starting point for the further interpretation of A60010, and of the royal manor complex as a whole.

Kastal type towers were mainly placed along important thoroughfares of the time, and it is likely they had communicative functions and administrative roles, for instance connected to the collecting and safe keeping of taxes. The royal manor complex at Avaldsnes was ideally placed for such functions – monitoring the Karmsund Strait, a bottleneck in the *Norðvegr* and a natural site for an administrative center capable of managing both taxes and trade.[4] Such multi-functionality fits well with A60010 and A60020 and their connection to the church;in 1308, Pope Clement V granted the king permission to organise his own chapel clergy, further strengthening the position of the royal canons and thereby the state administration.

Parallels to the combination of economic administration, royal representation, monumentality, and defence are most obvious in the royal castles in the major towns of the time, but partial parallels exist in more rural settings elsewhere in north-western Europe. Jes Wienberg (2003:22) has shown that several churches around the Baltic in the High Middle Ages had multiple functions, and furthermore were increasingly fortified after c. 1240. The fortification, however, was generally not very strong, and may have been designed to give a superficial impression of strength or to serve as a symbolic demonstration of power (Wienberg 2003:26). In a similar but more general vein Charles Coulson (1996:179–80) has argued that medieval 'fortification' of houses, manors, and castles, through for example crenellated rooftops, did not necessarily relate to *de facto* military improvement but should rather be regarded as a reflection of status, position, and wealth. Defence may not necessarily have been the original or primary function of A60010; nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that it was at least one of the considerations involved, especially in view of the valuables accumulated both in the church and in the rest of the manor.

Christian Lovén (1996:370) states that all known examples of *kastal* in Sweden are placed to the south of the churches with which they are associated, where they could guard the main entrance to the church. A60010 conforms to this pattern, and

4 In Chapter 8 in this volume, Erik Opsahl documents the frequent royal visits to Avaldsnes and describes the functions of the royal manors and chapels within the administration of the time.

its position slightly beyond the south-eastern corner of the church would have made it possible to cover both the main entrance and the eastern wall of the chancel with its three windows, as well as flanking the eastern wall and providing an unhindered view of any approach toward the church and the manor from the harbour in the east. Including the church tower, the manor as a whole would have had an extensive view of any approach. Originally at least 22.6 meters high and measuring c. 10 by 12 meters externally, the church tower was exceptionally large (Lidén 1999a:116–17, 119). In fact, within a 2.7 km radius no terrain west of the strait stood higher than the church tower. There is no doubt that such vantage points conferred a military advantage, regardless of the actual defensive strength of the buildings themselves.

Once A60010 was physically connected to A60020 in the south and St Óláfr's Church through A60030 in the north, its defensive value likely would have diminished – personnel in the upper storeys of A60010 no longer had direct control over the whole of the base of the building. Access to all connected buildings would subsequently have to be denied to potential attackers, and the size of the crew required to defend the east wing as a whole would have to be several times the number of men required to defend A60010 alone.

As the connection of structures made the manor complex as a whole harder to defend, the construction of A60020 can be interpreted in two ways in terms of military planning: either the fortification was deemed less important at the time and not emphasised as much in the further development of the manor, or, conversely, defense was indeed more important and a larger crew was necessary. This does not mean that A60020 itself was primarily a defensive building, but rather that there is a possibility that the additional building mass, accumulation of valuables, and likely added or expanded functions represented by A60020 required a strengthened garrison. If true, a further expansion of the manor complex might have been considered, that is adding south and/or west wings, or otherwise enclosing the complex. Work on an expansion may even have been initiated; the discovery that the western buttress by the south-western corner of A60020 extended farther west than was realized in 2012 (cf. Bauer 2018b:fig. 14.2), and may have continued more than 5 meters westward, adds a tangible basis to this theory.

A stone fragment that may be part of a battlement (S13896/17, Fig. 6.38) could indicate that A60020 had a crenelated parapet or rooftop; it was found in the central part of A60020, but in a layer of rubble that was probably deposited after the 1698 fire, and is unfortunately not possible to place more precisely. While the actual defensive strength of the building is uncertain, opportunistic attacks may have been deterred through the illusion of fortification – a tactic known from churches around the Kalmar Strait in Sweden (Søgard 2005:58; Wienberg 2000), and from the northernmost medieval stone church in Norway, Trondenes Church. At Trondenes the most impressive part of the walls, up to 3 meters high and including two small towers, face the shoreline (Søgård 2005:30–6), a parallel to the grand impression given by the eastern wing at Avaldsnes to those approaching from the east (Fig. 6.39).

Fig. 6.38: S13896/17; stone fragment that may be part of a battlement. Measurements: height 12 cm, width 22 cm and length 42 cm, the possible embrasure measures 12 by 17 cm. Photo: T. Bell Gil, AM. Modell: S. Kristiansen, MCH.

Fig. 6.39: Suggested reconstruction of the High Medieval Royal manor at Avaldsnes, seen from the harbour northeast of the manor. Illustration: R. Børsheim/Arkikon.

A particularly wide cellar door towards the harbor might therefore seem counter-intuitive; however, the door could probably be defended from the upper storeys, where there may even have been a crenelated parapet (Fig. 6.38). Furthermore, the door was likely barred from the inside when not in use, with ample room for a thick

bar and solid hinges in the nearly 1.5 meter thick wall. Barring the door from the inside would necessitate some sort of passage to the cellar from the floor above. No traces of the room above the cellar are preserved, but the approximate level of the floor, as indicated by the raised bedrock and the partially preserved flooring and structures found in the rooms north of the cellar, would not have allowed for any elaborate construction. The cellar measures only c. 7.5 by 6.5 meters internally, and with its two levels would not have much floor space to spare. A smaller wooden stairway, accessible through a trapdoor, seems the most plausible solution.

As stated above, preserved building remains confirm that A60020 had at least two floors built in masonry, including the cellar, while their dimensions support the idea of an additional third floor. Based on the examples given in the discussion of A60010's height above, a reasonable estimated height for A60020's cellar and ground floor would be around 6 meters, as the highest level of the cellar floor appears to have lain nearly 3 meters below the ground floor. An additional third floor above this, either in masonry or timber, would easily bring the total height to around 10 meters, similar to the original height of the church (Lidén 1999a:119).

Considering that the excavated features indicate the ground-floor rooms in the middle section of A60020 were to some extent used for food storage and preparation of food and beverages, the floor(s) above could have functioned as the royal residence, with an audience chamber or hall and a bedchamber, and possibly rooms for privileged guests. If so, there is a possibility that the ground floor oven heated one or more of these rooms. Furthermore, the second floor could have contained rooms allocated for the royal-chapel clergy, such as sleeping quarters and sitting rooms, and certainly a study or office, as the clergy constituted a vital part of the royal administration (cf. Bagge 1976:85–7; Stylegar 1996:33).

With this in mind, A60030 was likely built not merely to close the gap between A60010 and St Óláfr's Church, but possibly to support an aboveground passage into the chancel. As both the church and A60010 are older than A60030, this seems to imply that both the former buildings had to have their walls opened when A60030 was built, although this is not necessarily the case: A60030 may have replaced an earlier wooden construction that had been part of the church and A60010 complex from the beginning. Apart from the solid masonry of A60030 itself, capable of carrying more than its own weight, there are three main arguments for an above ground passage into the chancel. First, the irregularity in the chancel wall above the portal indicates a walled-up opening. Second, the placement of A60030 so close to the chancel portal could be an indication that it performed a load-bearing function for a structure with little support to the west of the portal. Third, the existence of similar structures in a number of high-medieval, high-status churches with adjacent masonry buildings has been confirmed by physical evidence found at the medieval cathedrals in Oslo and Hamar (Ekroll 1997:141, 143), as well as written evidence regarding the cathedrals of Trondheim and Bergen and in connection with a church in the royal castle on Holmen in Bergen (Ekroll 1997:108–9).

The maintenance of such a passage into a church may have served as a status symbol, allowing the users to enjoy more or less private access to parts of the church not open to the general public, such as the chancel, western galleries, or second-floor chapels. The passage may also have had some defensive value, both as elevated platforms and in providing escape into the sanctuary of the church from buildings with no such protection. A60030 certainly played a passive defensive role by denying access from the east and providing passage between the manor buildings and the church, and could have had an active defensive function if its superstructure was designed as a firing platform. In either case, it closed the gap between church in the north and the other buildings of the east wing to the south, completing a continuous masonry façade 70 meters long. The manor buildings were no doubt a striking sight from the sea in the east, especially considering the rarity of stone buildings at the time. Apart from a small stone church, much less conspicuously sited on the farm Bø approximately 1.7 kilometres to the north (Haaland 2001:42, 50), there were probably no contemporary masonry buildings on Kormt. All significant traffic from waters and lands further south to and from Bergen and Trondheim, in many respects the most important towns in Norway at the time, passed through the Karmsund Strait, and therefore the occupants would have benefited from presenting an impressive and imposing façade toward the strait.

Finally, the descriptions above make clear that the octagonal building that was supposed to have stood to the south of the chancel of St Óláfr's Church (Bauer 2018b:295–6; Stamnes and Bauer 2018:365–7 and fig. 16.20) never in fact existed there; such a building may have stood further to the west, south of the nave rather than south of the chancel. A number of (mostly late) 13th-century English cathedrals (and one Scottish) had octagonal chapter houses, all of which were closer to the chancel than the naves; on the other hand, most of these were also to the north of their respective cathedrals.

6.5.1 New light on certain details of St Óláfr's Church

The aforementioned irregular masonry above the chancel portal, along with the placement of the portal and the style of the two adjacent windows have been interpreted as evidence that the chancel was altered or expanded eastward after the church was finished (Bagge 1976:174; Bauer 2018b:295). The chancel's two plate tracery windows definitely contrast with the simpler lancet windows found in the rest of the church, but this does not exclude the possibility that they are contemporary with the others. Plate tracery was first used in England and France in the early 13th century (Lidén 1976:59), whereas its adoption in Norway is generally accepted to have occurred in Bergen after the catastrophic 1248 fire (Ekroll 1997:50–1; Lidén 1999a:124). It is possible that the fire and the subsequent building boom destroyed even earlier examples of tracery and related stylistic elements in Bergen (Ekroll and Stige 2000:183–4); given the town's status

at the time, developments in western Europe would not necessarily take decades to influence architecture there. Gothic elements certainly influenced stone-building milieus along the west-Norwegian coast before 1248, such as Dale Church in Luster from the second quarter of the 13th century (Hoff 2000:28–9) and parts of Fana Church in Bergen, which probably dates to the 1220s (Lidén 1994:11–12, 2003:7–9). As St Óláfr's Church is likely built after 1248, these arguments are not essential, but they show that by that time, elements of Gothic style had already been spreading in western Norway for at least a decade or two. Portals and other details similar to those of A60010 and St Óláfr's Church (Fig. 6.13) are found in Dale Church (Ekroll and Stige 2000:184), in Voss Church from the second half of the 13th century (Ekroll and Stige 2000:150–4), and in Utstein monastery from the same period (Lidén 1999a:131; Ekroll and Stige 2000:130).

In any case, rebuilding in Bergen after 1248 coincided with the construction of new stone buildings at the royal castle on Holmen in Bergen. This must have resulted in an immense increase in demand for skilled workers in relevant fields that was likely partly satisfied by English craftsmen and locals, who together formed companies of builder-architects that developed a rather distinct "Bergen Gothic" style. The style spread to several subsequent building projects in Hordaland and neighboring landscapes (Ekroll and Stige 2000:46–7; Lidén 2003:28–9).

Building projects initiated by Hákon IV (reign 1217–63) seem to generally incorporate the the period's current architectural innovations (Ekroll 1997:30), and as plate tracery was being replaced by bar tracery after 1270[5] (Lidén and Magerøy 1990:92–3; Ekroll 1997:30) it is entirely plausible that the Avaldsnes tracery windows are built before the last quarter of the 13th century. The use of different window types in St Óláfr's Church (Fig. 6.40), although not common, is hardly unique: the nearby Kvinnherad Church from the second half of the 13th century has tracery windows in the eastern and southern walls of the chancel, but lancet windows in the northern wall and elsewhere in the church. There is no indication that this is not the original arrangement there (Ekroll and Stige 2000:140). The monastery church at Utstein, also from the second half of the 13th century, is another example of parallel use of lancet windows and plate tracery, and is similarly influenced by the "Bergen Gothic" style.

The placement and style of the chancel's two northern windows and the lack of discernible breaks in the northern wall (Fig. 6.18) also argue against an expansion of the chancel. The windows are identical to the other lancet windows in the church, and the eastern window is placed so near the corner that it cannot realistically have been there before the hypothetical extension; there is no trace in the northern wall to indicate that the window has been moved eastwards. Furthermore, if the chancel was expanded, the eastern wall would have to be secondary – a

5 A well-preserved and documented example is the Franciscan church that currently serves as Bergen Cathedral; it was built in the 1270–80s with bar tracery but also with dog-tooth ornament and column bases similar to the ones in A60010 and St Óláfr's Church.

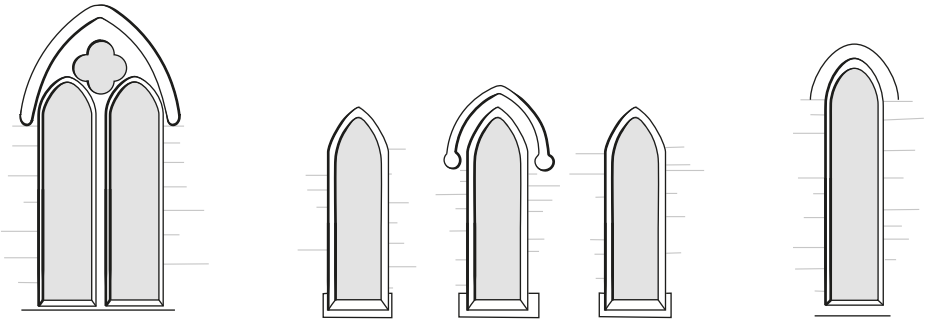

Fig. 6.40: Simplified drawings of the window types in St Óláfr's Church, seen from the outside. From the left to the right: Plate tracery window, two are found on the south wall of the chancel (Fig. 6.16). "Trinity window" composed of three lancet windows, on the east wall of the chancel. Simple lancet window, on the north wall of the chancel; the original windows of the nave are the same style. The proportions and shape of the lancet windows are echoed by the chancel portal (compare Fig. 6.16). Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

proposal for which there is no evidence. The lancet-style trinity windows in this wall are a typically early Gothic feature (Ekroll and Stige 2000:33, 138), indicating that it is contemporary with the rest of the church. This is further supported by the fact that the finely worked soapstone ashlars in the eastern corners of the chancel are identical to those in the corners of the nave, although their surface treatment and shape cannot date them more precisely than between 1200 and 1500 (Lidén 1976:21). Admittedly, in case of an expansion they could have been reused without reworking – just as the ashlars in the western tower were used to replace ones missing from the western corners of the nave in the 1830s (Lidén 1999a:121).

All in all, however, the most parsimonious explanation would be that no expansion took place. The chief remaining argument for a possible alteration is the unusual placement of the portal, very close to the southeastern corner of the chancel. Hans-Emil Lidén (1999a:132–3) has pointed out that choir stalls occupied the space along the chancel's inner walls, and questions whether the portal had to be relocated to make space for additional choir stalls in the early 14th century when the number of clergy at Avaldsnes possibly increased, or whether sufficient space already existed. The latter is not improbable; a number of royal chapel clerics likely accompanied Hákon IV on journeys between the royal manors (Bagge 1976:135–6; Helle 1999:69–71), and spacious choir stalls may therefore have been included in the original building plans, proscribing a more common centrally placed chancel portal. Additionally, while Hákon V's royal chapel organisation and clergy was only officially approved by the pope in 1308, the letter confirming their privileges seems to imply that St Óláfr's Church already had a collegiate at that time (Helle 1999:75). As the early 14th-century royal clergy at Avaldsnes cannot have numbered more than seven (Helle 1999:98), it seems unlikely that their

number increased enough to warrant significant alterations to the chancel building itself.

The discovery of A60010, probably planned and built in parallel with the church, shows that the chancel portal and the northern doorway of A60010 are placed directly opposite each other, thus leaving little support for the idea that the chancel portal was moved or added to obtain this alignment. The most plausible building history of the chancel is that it was finished near the end of Hákon IV's reign in its current shape and size. Although not immediately obvious, a small window on the top of the eastern wall of the chancel indicates that originally there had been a room above the chancel. The churches at Voss and Fana have similar windows (Lidén 1999a:121), probably added for the purpose of letting light into the small chapel or other room above the chancel.

With these results, it is clear that the royal manor at Avaldsnes continued to hold an important place in the administration of the region and the medieval Norwegian kingdom up to the end of the latter as an independent entity. Monumental masonry buildings with possible defensive functions were built in at least two phases c. 1250–1320, reflecting the enduring importance of the site through several royal reigns. Had it not been for the dramatic changes in the economic and political situation in the late 14th century, it is difficult to imagine the attack in 1368 leading to the same swift dereliction and steep descent into obscurity for the royal manor complex at Avaldsnes.

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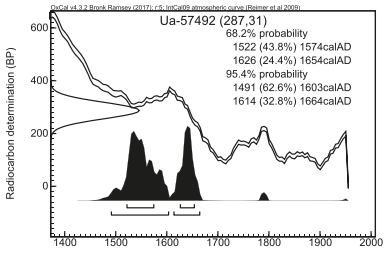
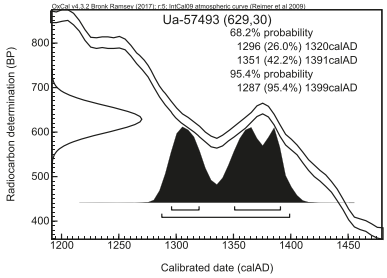
Appendix: Radiocarbon datings

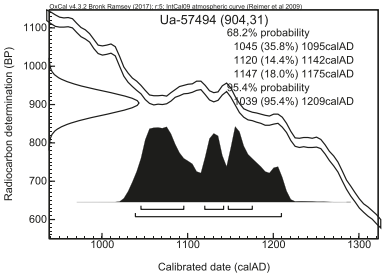
All radiocarbon datings from the ARM excavation 2017 have been calibrated according OxCal v4.2.3 (Reimer et al. 2009); they are all listed by laboratory number, and with respective calibration curves.

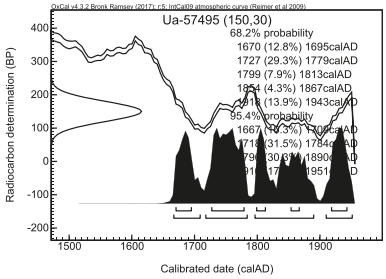
All dating results referred to in the text are given in terms of 1σ (68.2% probability). If this includes more than one time interval, only the start of earliest and the end of the most recent is indicated in the text.

LAB NO.	SITE, SAMPLE NO.	MATERIAL	RADIOCARBON AGE BP	CALIBRATED 1 SIGMA	CALIBRATED 2 SIGMA	CONTEXT
Ua-57492	*P6478828*	*Hordeum vulgare*	*287 +/– 31*	*AD 1522–1654*	*AD 1491–1664*	*A64740 Burnt layer in privy A60025*
Ua-57493	*P6481131*	*Hordeum vulgare*	*629 +/– 30*	*AD 1296–1391*	*AD 1287–1399*	*A60022A Oven*
Ua-57494	*P6511033*	*Hordeum vulgare*	*904 +/– 31*	*AD 1045–1175*	*AD 1039–1209*	*A64870 Silty layer outside of cellar door*
Ua-57495	*P6636862*	*Unknown*	*150 +/– 30*	*AD 1670–1943*	*AD 1667–1951*	*A66360 Burnt layer in building A60010*

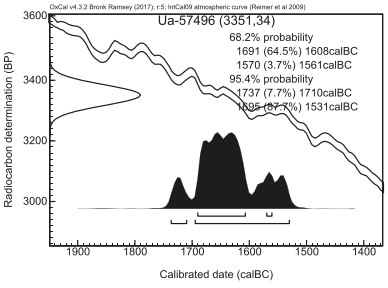


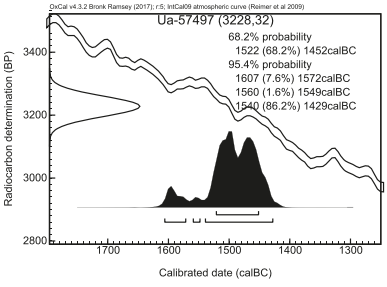


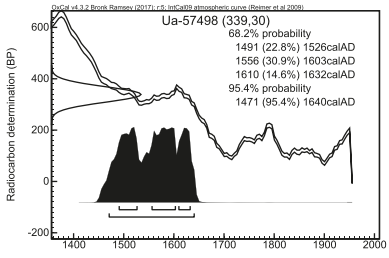


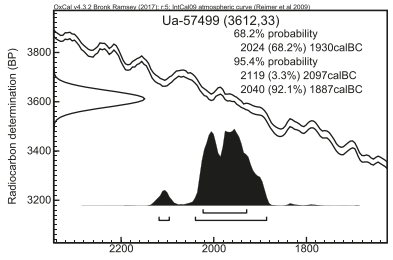


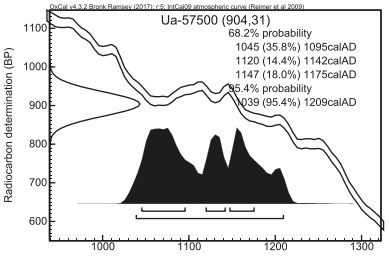
LAB NO.	SITE, SAMPLE NO.	MATERIAL	RADIOCARBON AGE BP	CALIBRATED 1 SIGMA	CALIBRATED 2 SIGMA	CONTEXT
AVALDSNES						
Ua-57496	*P6435024*	*Corylus avellana*	*3351+/– 34*	*BC 1691–1561*	*BC 1737–1531*	*A64076 Layer, unknown type*
Ua-57497	*P6435125*	*Salix/ populus*	*3228 +/– 32*	*BC 1522–1452*	*BC 1607–1429*	*A64323 Layer, unknown type*
Ua-57498	*P6603745*	*Bark with sapwood edge*	*339 +/– 30*	*AD 1491–1632*	*AD 1471–1640*	*A66011 Charcoal lens in privy A60025*
Ua-57499	*P6629358*	*Corylus (wood)*	*3612 +/– 33*	*BC 2024–1930*	*BC 2119–1887*	*A66644 Cultivation deposit*
Ua-57500	*P6629459*	*Corylus avellana, Hordeum vulgare*	*904 +/– 31*	*AD 1045–1175*	*AD 1039–1209*	*A65910 Construction layer*
Ua-57501	*P6635661*	*Pinus sylvestris*	*303 +/– 30*	*AD 1522–1645*	*AD 1489–1652*	*A66280 Burnt layer*
Ua-57502	*P6657067*	*Calluna*	*195 +/– 30*	*AD 1662–1952*	*AD 1648–1955*	*A66560 Burnt layer*
Ua-60550	*P6240915*	*Pinus*	*457 +/– 28*	*AD 1427–1450*	*AD 1415–1466*	*A62400 Hearth*
Ua-60551	*P6261216*	*Betula*	*1742 +/– 29*	*AD 250–336*	*AD 235–386*	*A62575 Layer, unknown type*

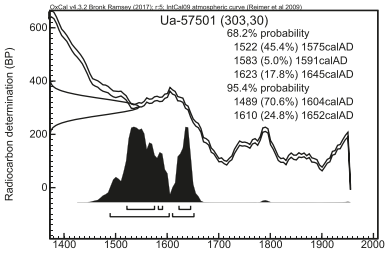


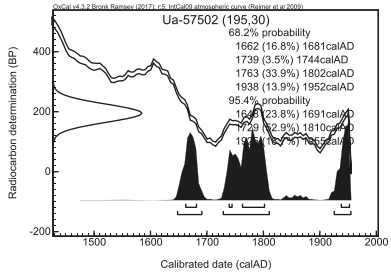


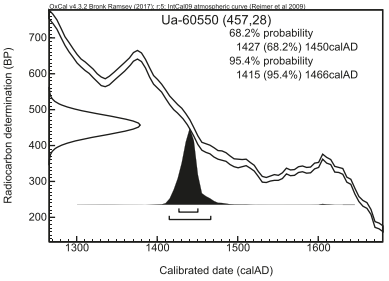

OxCal v4.3.2 Bronk Ramsey (2017); r:5; IntCal09 atmospheric curve (Reimer et al 2009)
Ua-57498 (339,30)
68.2% probability
1491 (22.8%) 1526calAD
1556 (30.9%) 1603calAD
1610 (14.6%) 1632calAD
95.4% probability
1471 (95.4%) 1640calAD
Radiocarbon determination (BP)
Calibrated date (calAD)

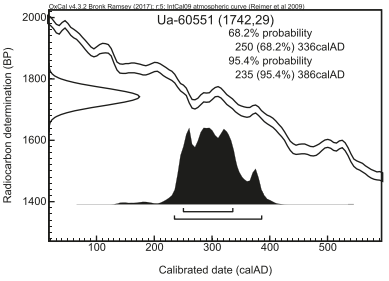

OxCal v4.3.2 Bronk Ramsey (2017); r:5; IntCal09 atmospheric curve (Reimer et al 2009)
Ua-57499 (3612,33)
68.2% probability
2024 (68.2%) 1930calBC
95.4% probability
2119 (3.3%) 2097calBC
2040 (92.1%) 1887calBC
Radiocarbon determination (BP)
Calibrated date (calBC)


OxCal v4.3.2 Bronk Ramsey (2017); r:5; IntCal09 atmospheric curve (Reimer et al 2009)
Ua-57500 (904,31)
68.2% probability
1045 (35.8%) 1095calAD
1120 (14.4%) 1142calAD
1147 (18.0%) 1175calAD
95.4% probability
1039 (95.4%) 1209calAD
Radiocarbon determination (BP)
Calibrated date (calAD)


OxCal v4.3.2 Bronk Ramsey (2017); r:5; IntCal09 atmospheric curve (Reimer et al 2009)
Ua-57501 (303,30)
68.2% probability
1522 (45.4%) 1575calAD
1583 (5.0%) 1591calAD
1623 (17.8%) 1645calAD
95.4% probability
1489 (70.6%) 1604calAD
1610 (24.8%) 1652calAD
Radiocarbon determination (BP)
Calibrated date (calAD)


OxCal v4.3.2 Bronk Ramsey (2017); r:5; IntCal09 atmospheric curve (Reimer et al 2009)
Ua-57502 (195,30)
68.2% probability
1662 (16.8%) 1681calAD
1739 (3.5%) 1744calAD
1763 (33.9%) 1802calAD
1938 (13.9%) 1952calAD
95.4% probability
1660 (23.8%) 1691calAD
1729 (62.9%) 1810calAD
1934 (8.7%) 1955calAD
Radiocarbon determination (BP)
Calibrated date (calAD)


OxCal v4.3.2 Bronk Ramsey (2017); r:5; IntCal09 atmospheric curve (Reimer et al 2009)
Ua-60550 (457,28)
68.2% probability
1427 (68.2%) 1450calAD
95.4% probability
1415 (95.4%) 1466calAD
Radiocarbon determination (BP)
Calibrated date (calAD)


OxCal v4.3.2 Bronk Ramsey (2017); r:5; IntCal09 atmospheric curve (Reimer et al 2009)
Ua-60551 (1742,29)
68.2% probability
250 (68.2%) 336calAD
95.4% probability
235 (95.4%) 386calAD
Radiocarbon determination (BP)
Calibrated date (calAD)

Alf Tore Hommedal

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,

Alf Tore Hommedal, University Museum of Bergen, University of Bergen

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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 Håkon 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; Ersland 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 hall[3]

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 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.

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).

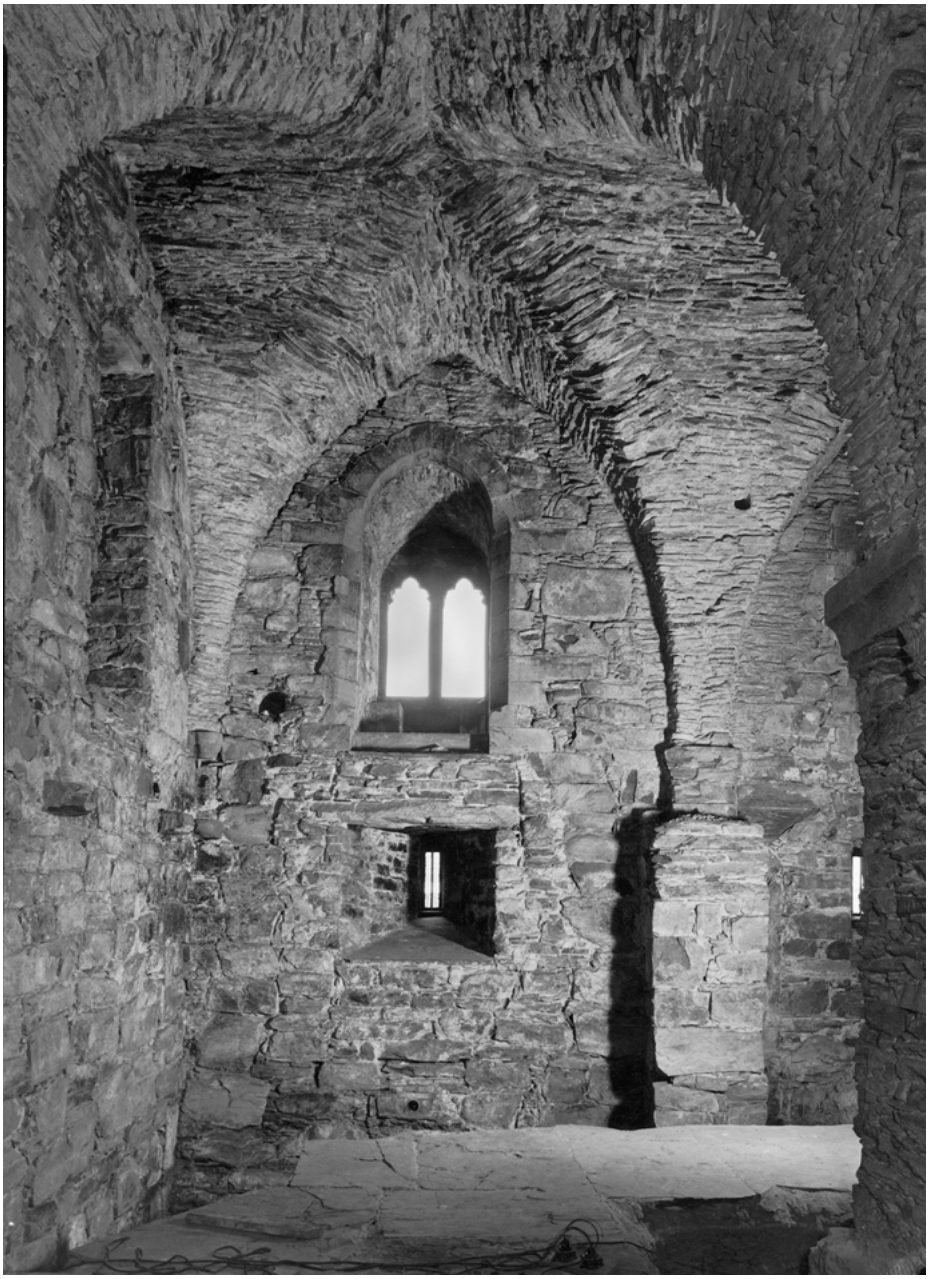

Fig. 7.7: The royal *palatium* at Holmen. King Håkon's hall, the two lower stores during restoration in the 1950s. The vaults, built after the fire in 1266, are constructed with thin flagstone. Photo: G. Fischer. Source: The Directorate for Cultural Heritage.

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 splendidness 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 lager 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).

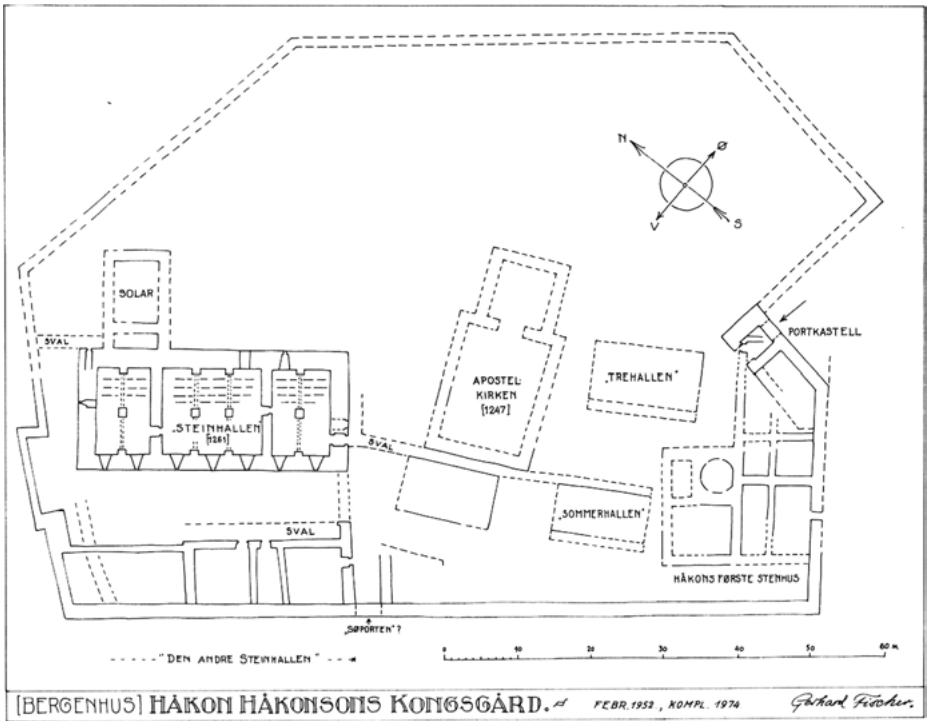

Fig. 7.8: The royal *palatium* at Holmen, Bergen, around 1261. Drawing: G. Fischer. From Fischer and Fischer 1980:fig. 87.

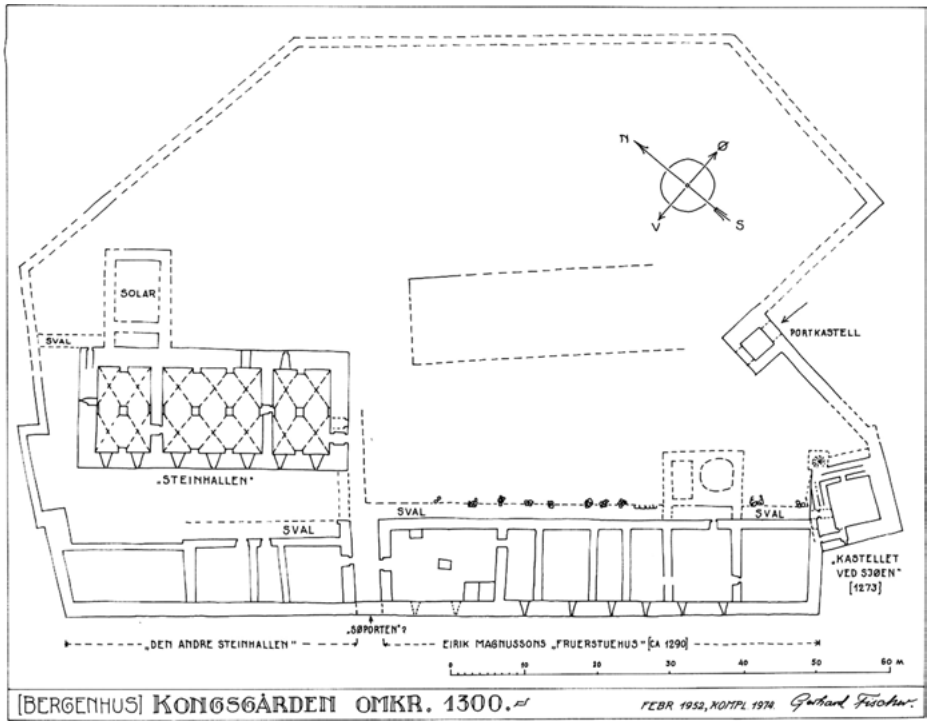

Fig. 7.9: The royal *palatium* at Holmen, Bergen, around or after 1302. The (third) Chapel of the Apostles was located outside the wall towards the south-east and consecrated in 1302. The (second) Chapel of the Apostles, to the south of "Steinhallen" (Håkonshallen) was then torn down. Drawing: G. Fischer.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

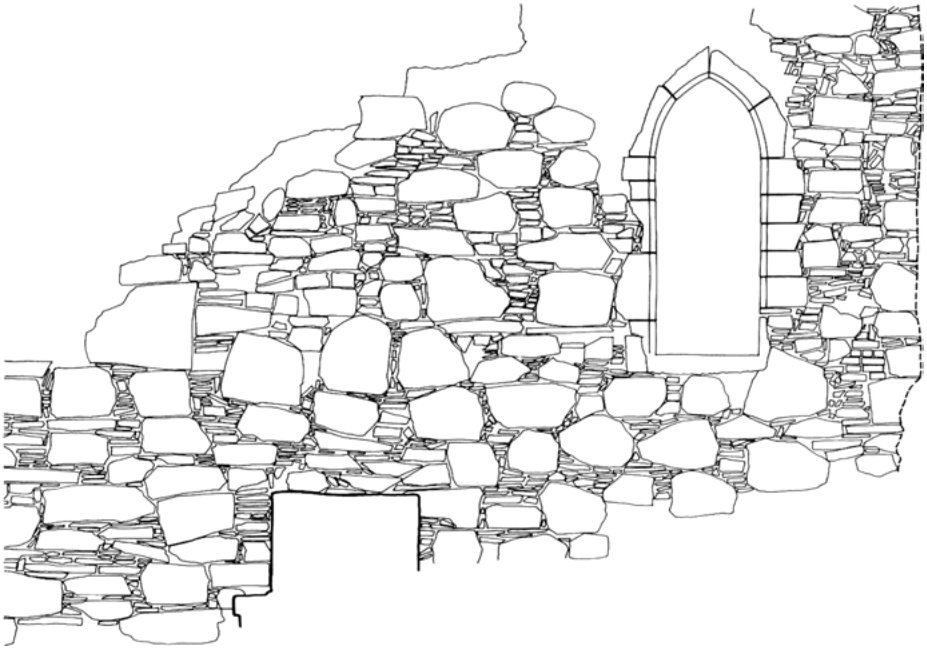

Fig. 7.13: The royal *palatium* at Holmen. The residential quarter from the late 13th century, facing Vågen. Part of the eastern wall. Drawing G. Fischer *et al*. From Fischer and Fischer (1980:pl. 6).

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

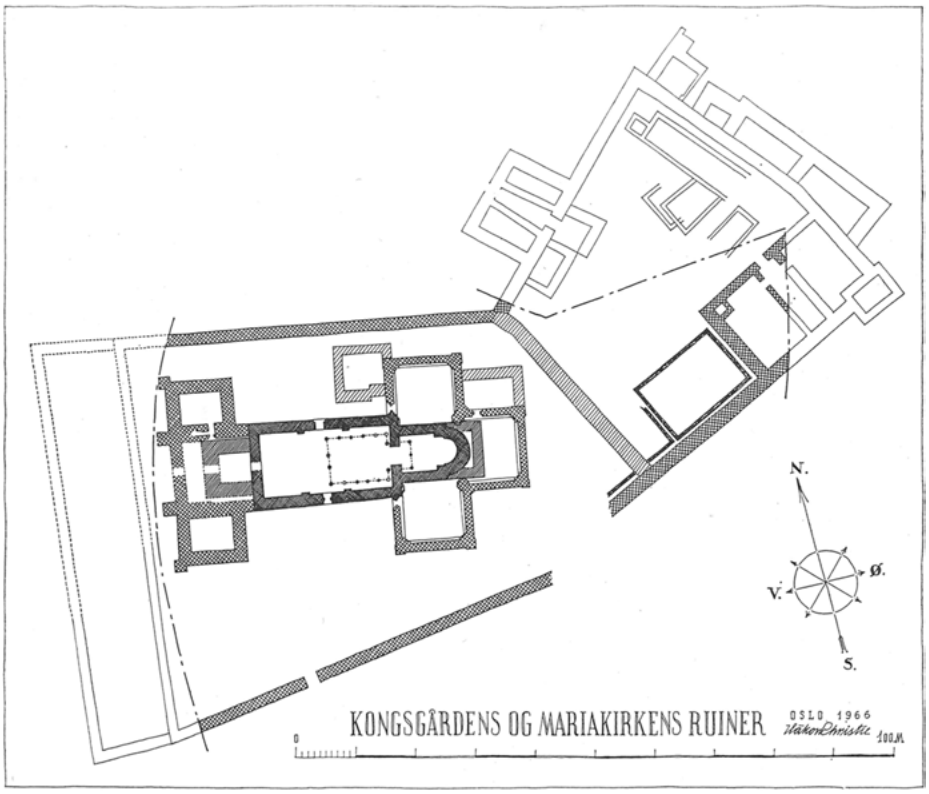

Fig. 7.14: The royal *palatium* in Oslo early in the 14th century, also included earlier building phases in St Mary's royal Chapel to the left. The non-shaded parts of the ruin site are removed. After Christie (1966:73).

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

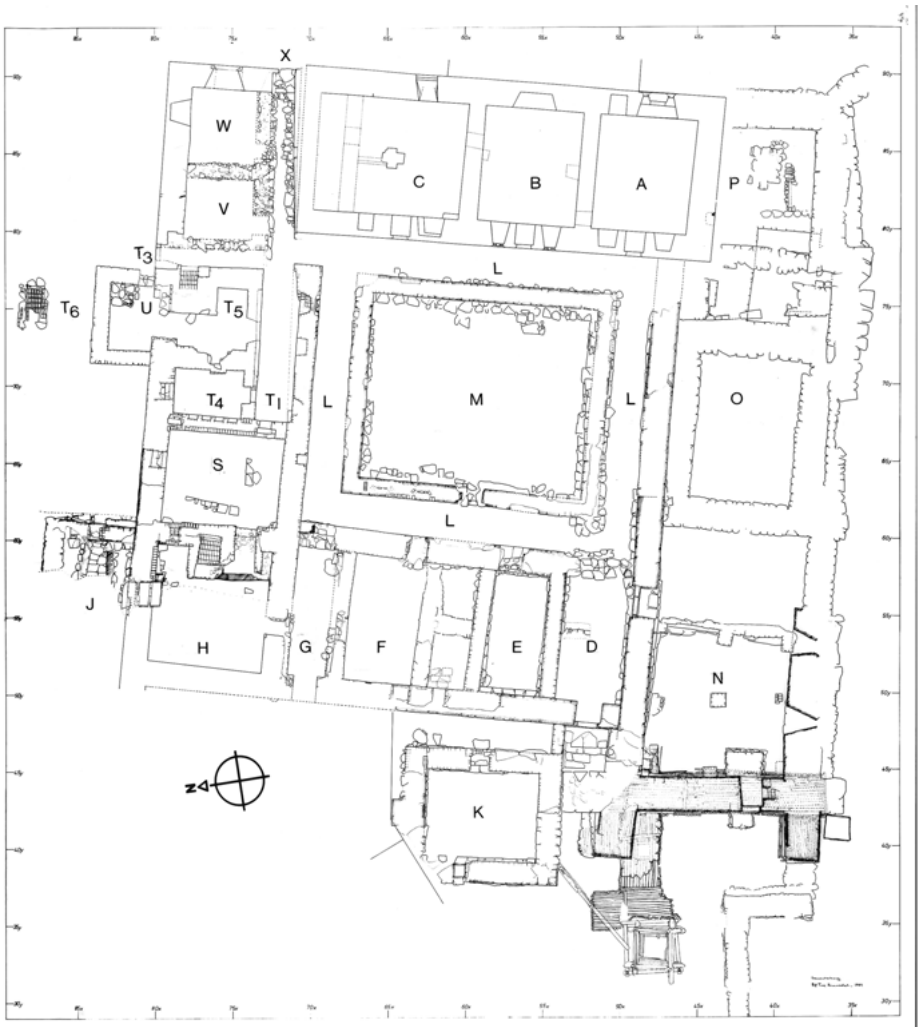

Fig. 7.15: Oslo. St Óláfr's Dominican Friary. The ground plan with all surveyed building parts. The building parts interpreted as from a failed royal building project by King Hákon IV are found in the south-west (N and south of K). Drawing: A. T. Hommedal after drawings produced 1924–74 by G. & D. Fischer,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

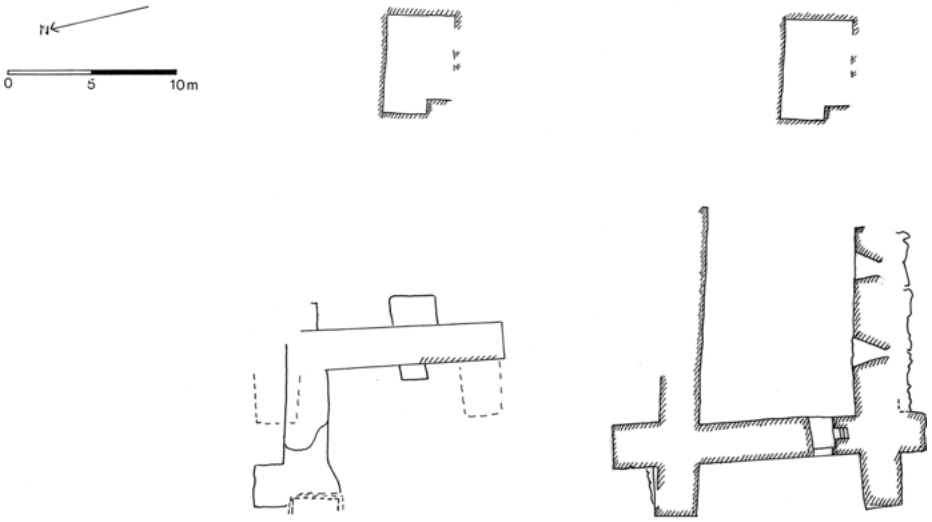

Fig. 7.16: Oslo. King Hákon IV's failed building project at the later site of St Óláfr's. To the left the first building phase, possibly terminated by a fire in 1224. To the right the second and revised building phase, abandoned in the 1220s or before the mid-1230s at the latest. After Hommedal (1986:ill.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

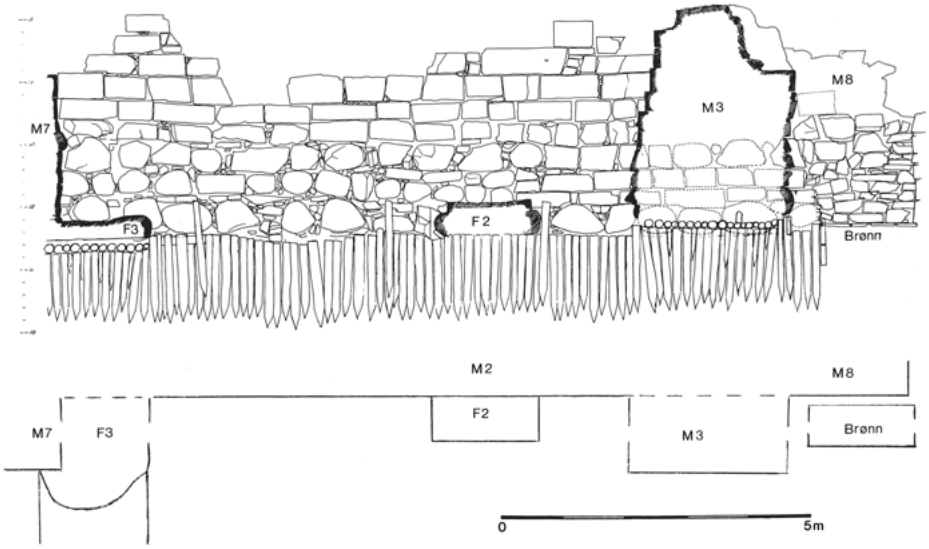

Fig. 7.17: Oslo. King Hákon IV's failed building project at the later site of St Ólafr's. The western wall with the pillars (M3, M7, and M8), viewed from the west (see Figs. 7.16 and 7.18). In the lower part, the pile fundament with capping stone fundaments (F2, F3) and original masonry can be seen, 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-

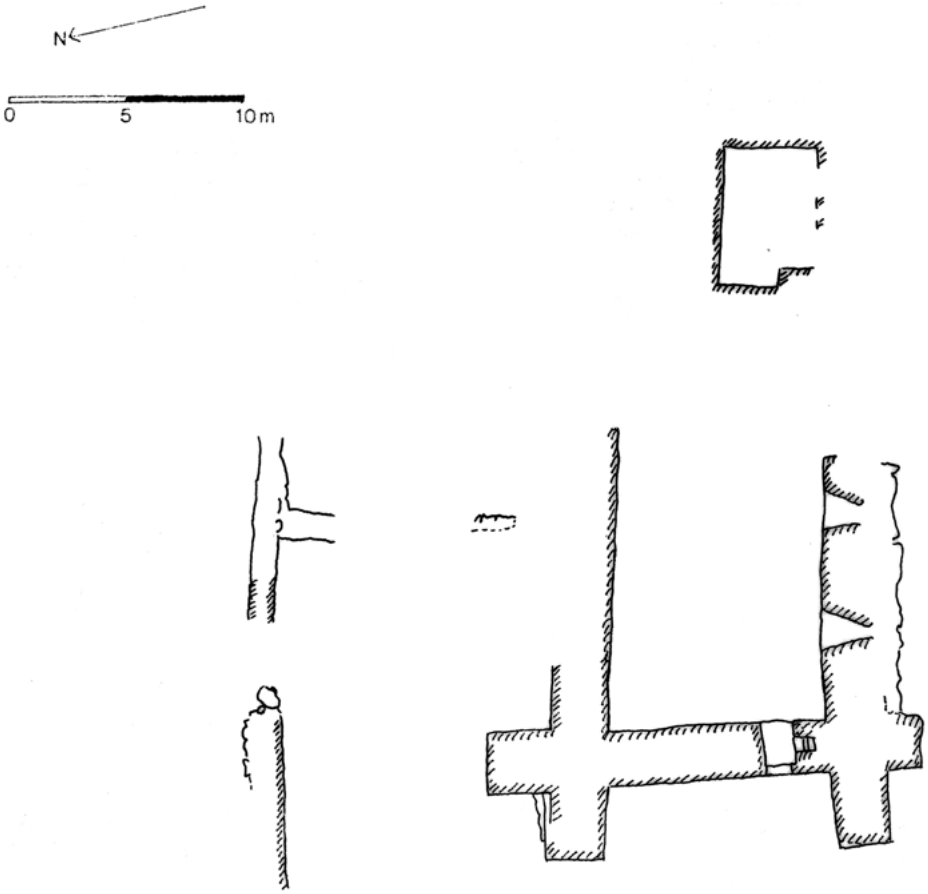

Fig. 7.18: Oslo. King Hákon IV's failed building project at the later site of St Óláfr's. The building fragments interpreted as an intended royal keep with adjoining buildings. After Hommedal (1986:ill. 161).

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

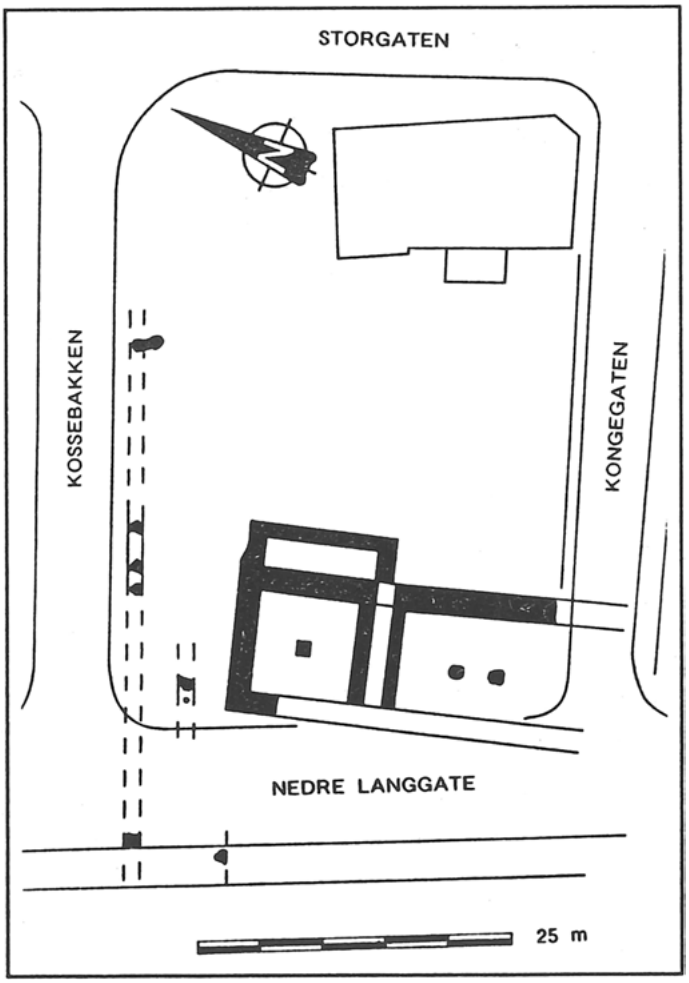

Fig. 7.19: Tønsberg. The documented remnants of the royal edifice in the town centre, probably from the first part of the 13th century (King Hákon IV). The remnants have been interpreted as from a hall-building. After Eriksson (1995:143).

plateau of Berget (Fig. 7.20) with a surrounding curtain wall with two gate houses with towers (built by Hákon 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 Hákon IV, where the chapel, the hall building, and living quarters, and likewise a residential stone keep, are located (Fig. 7.20).

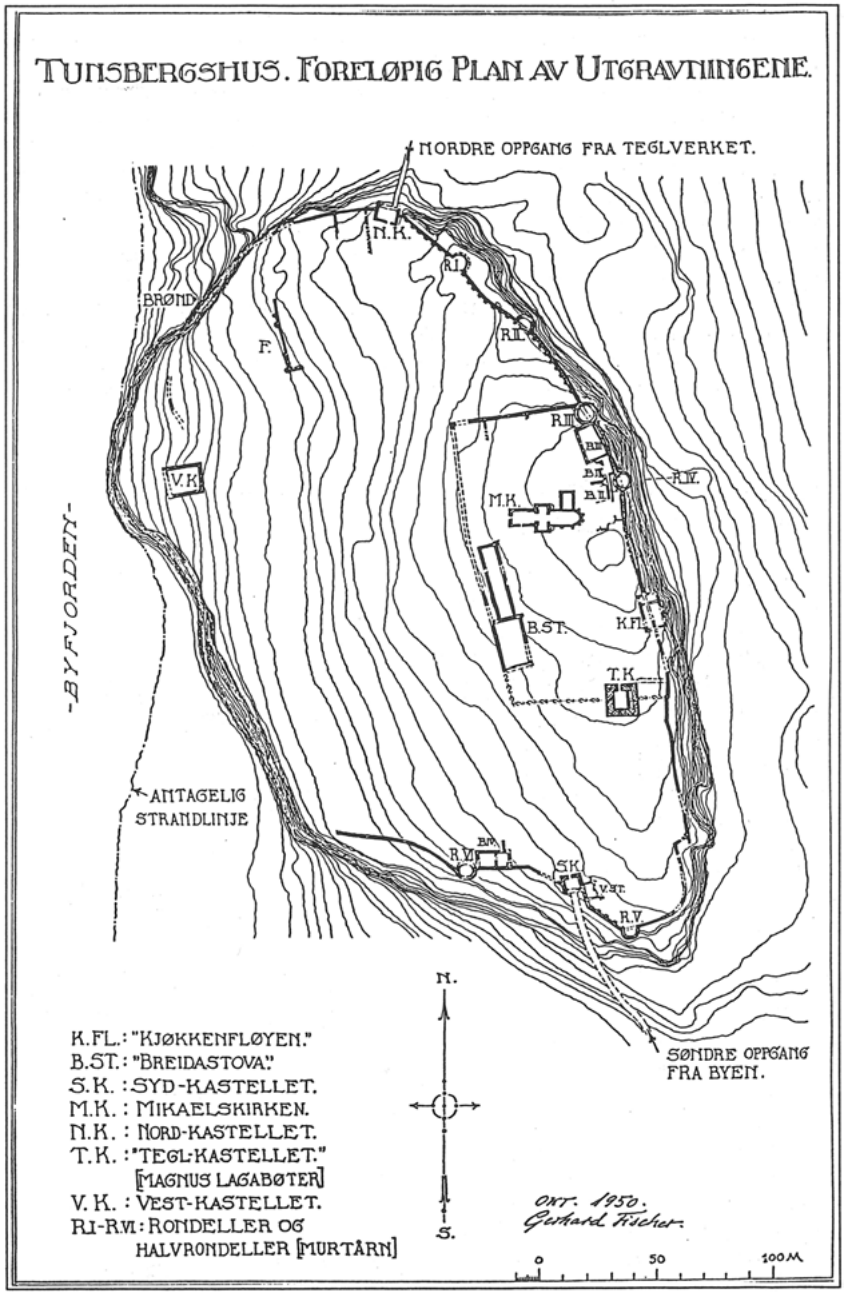

Fig. 7.20: Tønsberg. The documented remnants of the royal castle or *palatium* at Tunsberghus. MK = St Michael chapel in its ground form as a royal chapel; TK = the large residential stone keep; B.St = living quarters with a hall. Compared to Avaldsnes, we see that the elements of the *palatium* are 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, "Teglkastellet"

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 it 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). "Teglkastellet" 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 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

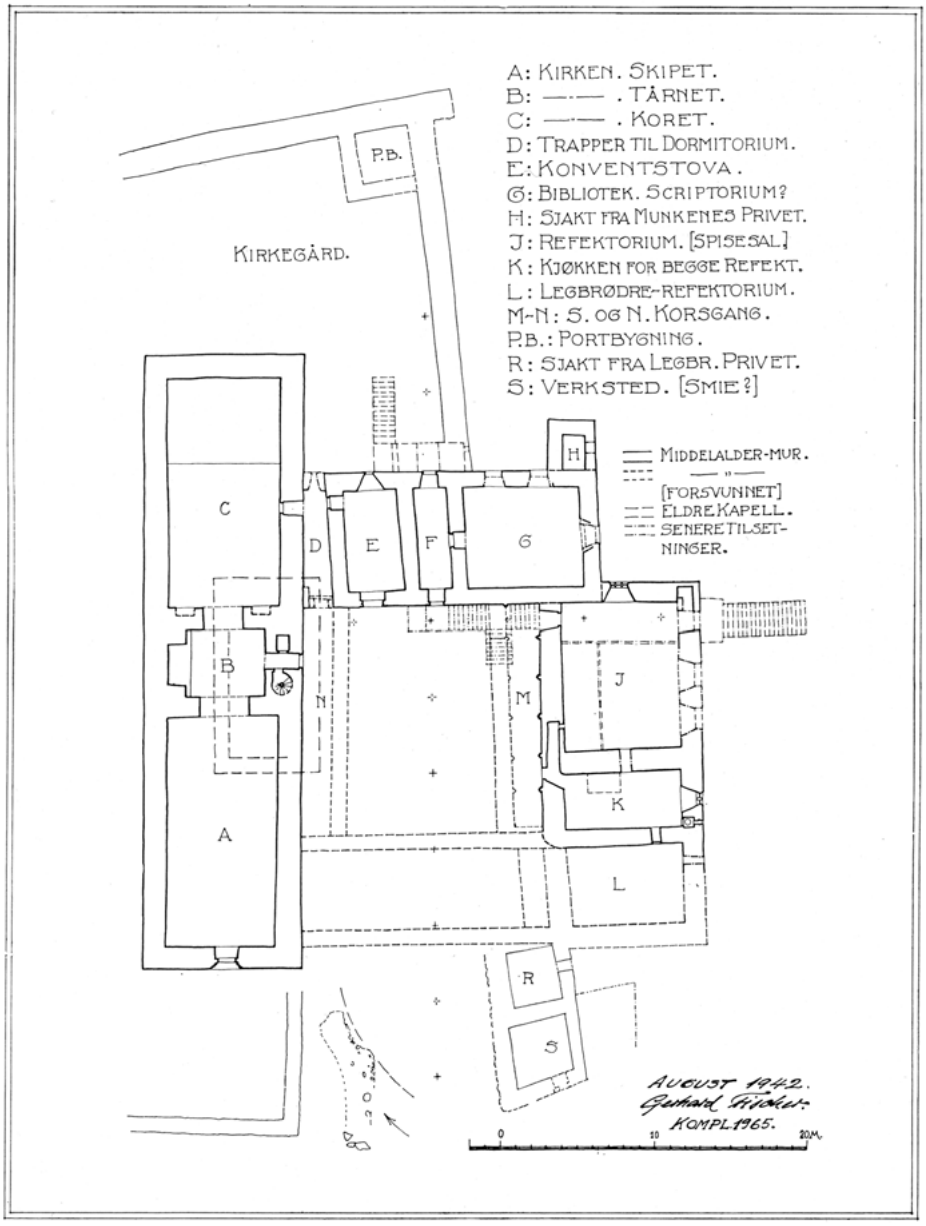

Fig. 7.21: Utstein abbey, the layout. The possible royal building face consists of the rooms E, F, and G. The dotted lines (B and N) are conjectural – of a possible original chapel. After Fischer (1965).

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

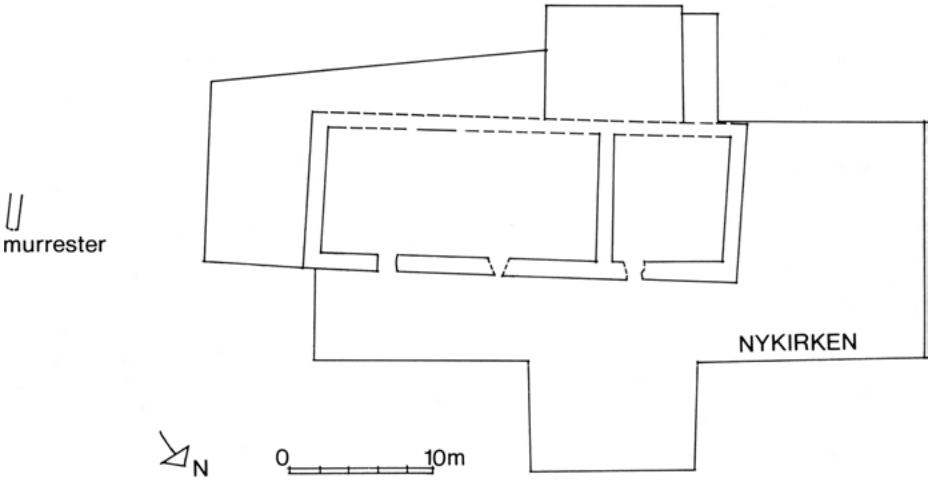

Fig. 7.26: The archbishop's residence in Bergen. Layout of the original, late 13th-century building. The basement (dotted lines are conjectural). Illustration after Kristoffersen (1988).

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 ('*Sydfløy*' 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 Kritoffersen (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

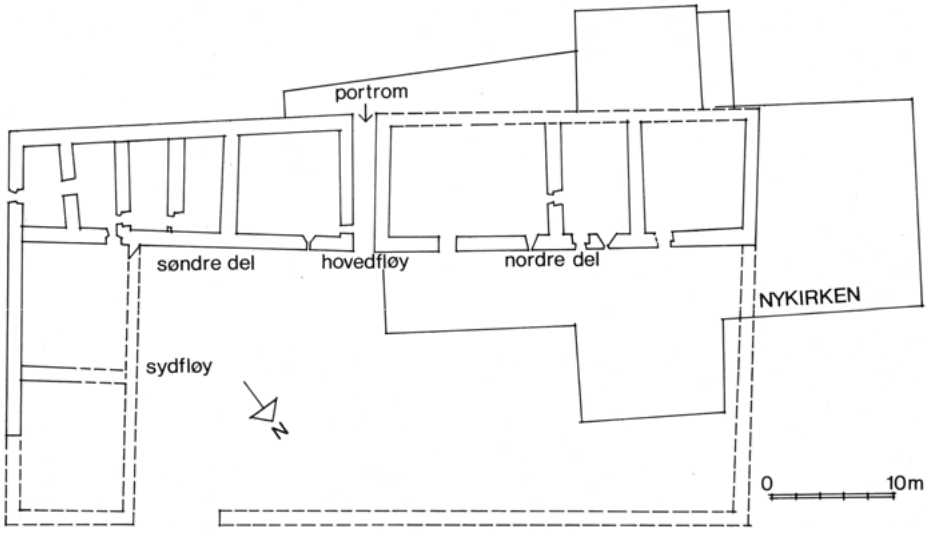

Fig. 7.27: The archbishop's residence in Bergen. Layout of the basement after the extension in the early 14th century (dotted lines conjectural). Illustration after Kristoffersen (1988).

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).

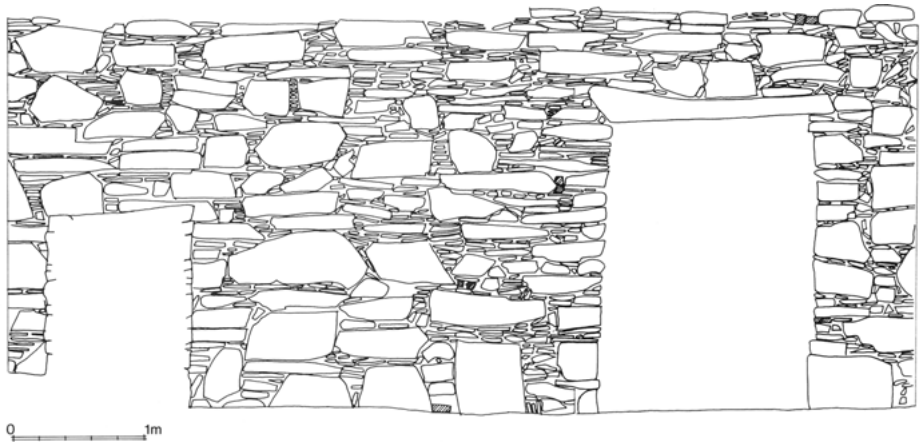

Fig. 7.29: The archbishop's residence in Bergen. The eastern wall's masonry character (internal) with the typical masonry character in the building. Even though the courses in the masonry are not through the stones and the masonry is levelled. The character of the masonry is similar to the royal palace's 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

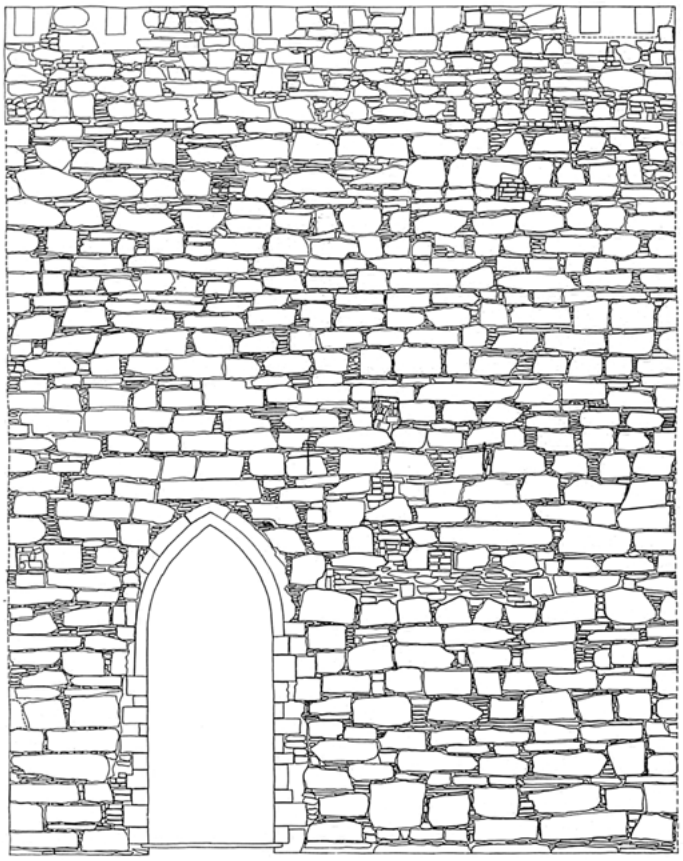

Fig. 7.30: Bergen. The Franciscan church (St St Óláfr's). The nave's internal northern wall, western part (present tower part), built c. 1270. The medieval Franciscan church is the present Lutheran cathedral of Bergen (Bergen domkirke). After Lidén and Magerøy (1983:276).

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.

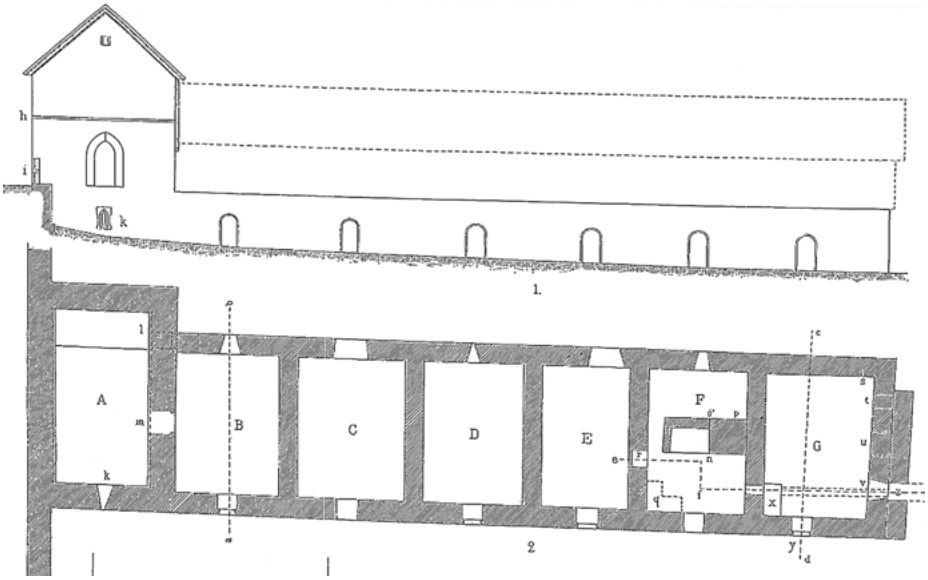

Fig. 7.32: Stavanger. The bishop's palace. The layout viewed from the courtyard in the west. The dotted lines mark the medieval first floor in wood (now lacking). The bishop's chapel to the left (A marks the basement room underneath the first-floor chapel). The rooms F and G were originally part of a 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 (Ersland 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 Storøya, 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 *palatuim* (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 building 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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Erik Opsahl

8 Avaldsnes' Position in Norway in the 14th Century

The article's point of departure is Pope Clement V's privilege for King Hákon V Magnússon in 1308. The pope granted the king the right to organise his own chapel clergy, relatively independent of the regular ecclesiastical administration, under the leadership of the king's dean in Bergen. The papal privilege provided for a royal chapel organisation including St Ólafr's Church at Avaldsnes. The article discusses Avaldsnes' position in the royal administration of Norway during the 14th century based on the preserved source material from the period, primarily diplomas. In opposition to the traditional view, the article claims that the domestic kingdom existed beyond 1319 and at least until the death of Hákon VI Magnússon in 1380. The article goes against the view that Oslo was made the capital of Norway by King Hákon V. The Norwegian kings continued to be mobile in the 14th century, and Avaldsnes continued to be of vital importance as a royal stronghold. Avaldsnes and Karmsundet were also of vital importance for outsiders, especially the Hanseatic League; during the first half of the 14th century, these German merchants acquired control of the trade between their own region and Norway, as well as the trade between Norway and England. The established a Kontor *(office) in Bergen around 1360. The route from the south to Bergen passed through Karmsundet, where the Hanseatic merchants established an intermediate port between North-Germany and Bergen called Notow. The port continued to be important throughout the 15th century. Relations were not always peaceful; in 1368, during the Second Hanseatic war, a Hanseatic fleet burned down the royal buildings and farms at Avaldsnes. There are indications that the royal complex at Avaldsnes was never rebuilt after 1368. This was probably due to the end of the domestic medieval kingdom in Norway ocurring shortly thereafter.*

The erection or at least the completion of the masonry building at Avaldsnes is viewed as a result of the establishment of the royal chapel organisation in 1308. Pope Clement V (1305–14) granted King Hákon V Magnússon (1299–1319) the right to organise his own chapel clergy, relatively independent of the regular ecclesiastical administration, under the leadership of the king's dean in Bergen. The papal privilege opened the way for a royal chapel organisation consisting of fourteen churches, four of which were collegiate, including St Ólafr's Church at Avaldsnes. The chapel organisation was led by the provost of the Church of the Apostles in Bergen, who received the title *magister capellarum regis*. The royal collegiate churches had their roots in the king's *jus patronus* (right to patronage) to certain chapels and clergy in his household. Pope Innocent IV had granted King Hákon IV Hákonsson (1217–63; Fig. 8.1) this right to three churches, two of them in stone, at the king's farms already in 1247. The pope also granted King Hákon *jus patronus* for new churches built at the king's farms as long as the king granted the churches sufficient estates (DN I no. 43; Bagge 1976:27; Helle 1999:54–5). Furthermore, in 1246, King Hákon IV had obtained from Pope Innocent IV the same right to churches built in the north under the auspices of

Erik Opsahl, Department of Historical Studies, NTNU

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the Christianisation campaign against the heathens (DN I no. 37). Furthermore, in 1247, the pope granted permission to Queen Margreta (c. 1210–70) and her sons to retain *jus patronus* to three chapels in Stavanger diocese that had been subject to a disputed between the queen and the bishop (DN VIII no. 6). These three chapels might have been among the four in the diocese subsequently included in the royal chapel organisation. In any case, King Hákon IV probably began construction of St Ólafr's Church at Avaldsnes shortly after 1247 (Helle 1999:56).

Fig. 8.1: Great seal of King Hákon V Magnússon (1299–1319), obverse and reverse. Photo: National Archives of Norway. Seglsamlingen, Kopisamlinger RA/EA-4048/F/Fc/Fca/L0029.

In so doing, King Hákon V therefore took up a process initiated by his grandfather, Hákon IV, and continued by his father, Magnus VI the Lawmender (1263–80), in 1308 (Helle 1999:71; Sand-Eriksen and Nordlie this vol. Ch. 6). Avaldsnes had probably served as Hákon IV's administrative centre in south-western Norway after the king had confirmed the bishop's authority over Stavanger (Helle 1999:64–5). The Avaldsnes masonry building – or at least part of it – might therefore have been erected already in King Hákon IV's reign. Nevertheless, the investment in the royal chapels in the beginning of the 14th century indicates King Hákon V's ambitious plan for the expansion of the royal administration (DN I no. 113; Bagge 1976:11,2010:263–7; Bauer 2018:278; Helle 1974:113–15, 1999:67–84). The source material, though meagre, nonetheless provides clear evidence of the importance of the chapels in the royal administration: in 1349 King Hákon's successor, King Magnús VII Eiríksson (1319–55/74; Magnus II in Sweden), demanded that the chapels be exempted from the papal tax levied on ecclesiastical institutions, arguing that the chapels were not ecclesiastical institutions and that their clerics were rather officers in the royal administration (DN VI no. 192; Bagge 2010:264). Thus, there was a state-building process underway, even if 14th-century royal administration is hardly comparable to a modern administrative system.

King Hákon V probably began construction or enlargement of the masonry building at the same time that changes were made to St Óláfr's Church. The larger complex was completed most likely under King Magnús VII (Fig. 8.2; Bauer 2018:278; Lidén 1999:130–1). If so, this would not be the only building complex initiated by Hákon V and completed by his successor. The masonry building is possibly a result of the papal letter of privilege from 1308 and demonstrates that Avaldsnes was a site for the royal collegiate. We do not know the precise number of the collegiate. St Óláfr's Church ranked fourth of the collegiate churches and at maximum would have consisted of a dean, four canons, and two deacons (Helle 1999:80; Lidén 1999:107). There might also have been a school at Avaldsnes, as at the collegiate at St Mary's Church in Oslo and the Church of Apostles in Bergen (Bauer 2018:279). The masonry building most likely served as the collegiate's dwelling at Avaldsnes; although it cannot be ruled out as the king's residence, the king most likely resided in private buildings elsewhere in the complex (Bauer 2018:297). A historical interpretation of the building complex at Avaldsnes must take as its point of departure the interpretation of St Óláfr's Church as a royal collegiate church and Avaldsnes as a royal stronghold or geographic point of support. Both have their origins in the Norwegian kingdom's character and function in the 14th century.

8.1 The Norwegian kingdom in the 14th century

Two historical myths concerning Avaldsnes in the 14th century have to be dispensed with from start: that King Hákon V was the last national Norwegian king in the Middle Ages, and that Hákon V made Oslo the capital of Norway.[1] Hákon V's death in 1319 has traditionally been viewed as the beginning of Norway's long period of unions with neighbouring countries. King Hákon's three-year-old grandson, Magnús VII Eiríksson, inherited the Norwegian throne the same year he was elected king of Sweden. As a result, the two countries were joined in personal union from 1319. In the traditional view, the country lost its full independence in 1319, and did not regain it until 1905; King Magnús VII is considered a foreign king; the royal court and household, the core of the central government in the 14th-century Europe, were moved out of Norway. By contrast, the view among Norwegian intellectuals from the 16th century until the late 19th century was that the Norwegian domestic kingdom existed until Hákon VI's death in 1380 (To norske historisk-topografiske skrifter fra 1500-tallet:21; Kraggerud 1991:88–9; Storm 1881:165–6; Aschehoug 1866:174; Aubert 1897:2). The 20th-century interpretation of Norwegian

1 This section relies heavily on Opsahl (2014); see also Opsahl (2002, 2003a); Moseng et al. (2007: 140–232, 321–33).

Fig. 8.2: Upper picture: Avaldsnes today with St Óláfr Church. Lower picture: reconstruction of how the royal complex at Avaldsnes might have looked around AD 1300. Photo: KIB Media. Reconstruction: R. Børsheim/Arkikon.

dependency following the royal succession in 1319 was probably inspired by the more recently experienced Swedish-Norwegian personal union between 1814 and 1905, in which only the king and the foreign policy were shared. That Norway re-gained its full independence by the re-establishment of a domestic kingdom in 1905 influenced the interpretation of Magnús VII Eríksson's reign (e.g. Ibsen 1898; Koht

1956; Castberg 1964:80; see also Bjørgo 1995:94–5; Rian 2000; Opsahl 2002). In that light, upon his arrival in Norway in November 1905, the newly elected King Haakon VII (1905–57) was welcomed by Prime Minister Christian Michelsen with the words: "For nearly six hundred years the Norwegians have not had their own king … today it is otherwise"[2] (Heiberg 1906:1014–19).

Despite the deep resonance of these words, this is nevertheless a problematic, not to say anachronistic interpretation. While there is no doubt that Norway drew closer politically to Sweden in 1319, the Norwegian–Swedish personal union throughout the 14th-century did not permanently deepen the political union between the two kingdoms (Fig. 8.3). On the contrary, from the mid-14th century Norway again had a king of its own, King Hákon VI Magnússon (1355–80), the youngest son of King Magnús VII Eiríksson. Admittedly, King Hákon became the Swedish king in 1362, but was dethroned two years later. Thereafter he controlled some western regions of Sweden; several Swedish aristocrats remained loyal to him, and for the rest of his reign he was preoccupied with the goal of regaining the Swedish throne. Nevertheless, King Hákon's main base was his Norwegian kingdom, and his reign must be regarded as a continuation of the Norwegian domestic kingdom. Even his father's reign in Norway had more in common with the domestic kingdom than the later union monarchy from 1397, when the three Scandinavian kingdoms were united in the so-called Union of Kalmar. King Magnús was in his minority until 1331/32, and Sweden and Norway had separate regencies from 1322/23. It is true that when Magnús came of age, he resided more often in Sweden than in Norway; nevertheless, he is documented with a degree of certainty as visiting Norway during the majority of the period 1330–42. The order of succession was settled both in Norway and in Sweden in 1343/44. King Magnús' youngest son Hákon was acclaimed as Norwegian king, while his older brother, Erík, was designated to became king of Sweden upon his father's death.

Until Hákon (born 1340) came of age in 1355, King Magnús was to rule Norway, which he is documented as visiting every year between 1344 and 1350. In 1350, King Magnús designated the knight Orm Øysteinsson as steward ("drottsete") in Norway. When Hákon VI came of age in 1355, King Magnús continued to rule some regions in Norway in addition to his Swedish realm. After 1355, Magnús' Norwegian realm consisted of the landscapes on both sides of the Oslofjord, the so-called Viken, probably Jemtland (today Swedish Jämtland) and Hålogaland in the north, and the tributary countries in the west, among them Iceland. Orm Øysteinsson continued as steward in Magnús' part of the Norwegian realm; for reasons unknown, Orm was executed in 1358 or 1360, whereupon King Magnús' wife, Queen Blanche (d. 1363), resided in Norway as his representative. Still, King Magnús is documented as visiting Norway half of the years between 1350 and 1363. When King Magnús was released after six

2 "I snart 600 år har det norske folk aldri havt sin egen konge … I dag er det annerledes".

Fig. 8.3: Scandinavia in the 14th century. (After Moseng et.al. 2007 p.319). Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

years of captivity in Sweden in 1371, he returned to Norway, where he took part in the reign of Norway together with his son, King Hákón VI, travelling around the country quite frequently until his death in 1374, which will be discussed in greater detail below.

Overall, these details cast the period between King Magnús VII's ascendance to the Norwegian throne in 1319 and King Hákon VI's death in 1380, and even the late

period between 1380 and 1397, in a different light regarding the question of domestic rule in Norway: it clearly represents a continuation of the domestic kingdom in Norway rather than the beginning of united monarchy under which Norway held an inferior position. This conclusion is bolstered when the analysis includes other representatives for the royal dynasty besides the king and stewards. After the establishment of the Union of Kalmar in 1397, union monarchs besides Queen Margaret (d. 1412) seldom visited Norway. The shift, it must be said, took place in 1397, not 1319 – an accurate grasp of the timeline is crucial when looking at Avaldsnes' position in the 14th century.

Likewise, for the question of Norwegian kings' mobility in the 14th century: even as certain towns or cities became the most prominent places of residence for European monarchs throughout the Middle Ages, every European monarch remained mobile. In Norway as in the rest of Europe, this mobility was necessary for several reasons: control of representatives and the population throughout the country; building legitimization by meeting the subjects; and the logistics of supplying food for the court, as most food had to be consumed where it was produced. A pattern of travel developed for Norwegian kings during the 13th and 14th centuries between a few central towns and castles (Fig. 8.4). Bergen was the most prominent royal residence in the last half of the 13th century and continued to be an important residence and administrative centre throughout the 14th century, though less dominant as a royal residence.

As mentioned above, a widespread misunderstanding holds that King Hákon V made Oslo the capital of Norway, or that the town was his main residence (e.g. Bauer 2018:297). The concept of a "capital" should in any case be avoided for the Middle Ages. It produces too much modern connotations of stability, dominance and function which no town or city held in Europe in the Middle Ages. Furthermore, Oslo was not Hákon V's main residence according to the preserved sources. While Hákon did characterise Oslo as his dukedom's most prominent town when he was a duke (1284–99), he is nevertheless documented as visiting Bergen as often as Oslo while he was a duke (DN V no. 15). Tønsberg with the castle Tunsberghus was also an important residence for him (Fig. 8.5; Helle 1972:605–14). Hákon's dukedom consisted of Oslo and environs ("Osloherad"), the interior of south-eastern Norway ("Opplanda"), Ryfylke in the south-west, a region bordering Haugalandet where Avaldsnes is situated, the Faroe Islands, Shetland ("Hjaltland"), and probably Agder (Blom 1972:39–40; Helle 1974:249). As king, Hákon V in 1314 decided that the dean at St Mary's Church in Oslo would henceforth hold the post of royal chancellor (DN I no. 143). Doubtless, this decision strengthened Oslo as a royal residence, yet Hákon did not intend to settle himself permanently in Oslo or establish a central administration there. On the contrary, the decree from 1314 presupposes the king to be mobile, and therefore called for a vice-chancellor to be appointed to accompany the king on his travels because the dean's responsibilities as dean required him to remain at St Mary's Church. The 1314 decree will be discussed further below; at this point, it is noteworthy that Hákon V is documented as residing in Bergen approximately twice

Fig. 8.4: Known royal castles or fortresses in medieval Norway and royal castles built in Norwegian-controlled western Sweden during the second half of the 14th century. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

as often than he is in Oslo. A significantly greater number of royal letters from his reign are issued in Bergen (Bagge 1976:141; Nedkvitne and Norseng 1991:152). Furthermore, he is documented as residing in Tønsberg or Tunsberghus almost as often as in Oslo.[3]

3 I have set up the main itineraries mentioned in this article. My numbers for Hákon V's letters differ slightly from Bagge's, but the conclusion remains the same.

Fig. 8.5: Model of the royal castle Tunsberghus in the 14th century. The castle was one of the most prominent royal residences in the 13th and 14th centuries. Photo: The Armed Forces Museum.

It is clear that while King Hákon V strengthened Oslo's position, he did not replace Bergen with Oslo as the most prominent royal residence. Throughout the 14th century the royal travel pattern in Norway moved between Bergen, Tønsberg, Oslo, and Båhus near Konghelle close to the Swedish border in south-eastern Norway (now in Sweden). According to the preserved sources, the three towns and the castle Båhus seem to have become almost equal in frequency and importance as royal residences. The kings visited Nidaros or Trondheim much less as that town became increasingly the archbishop's residence. The state-building process and consolidation of the kingdom in Norway from the second half of 13th century also included material manifestations of castles and other prominent buildings. The masonry building at Avaldsnes was probably a result of this process.

8.2 The royal travels and royal building complexes in Norway in the 13th and 14th centuries

King Sverrir (1177–1202) built the first masonry castles in Norway in the late 12th century, close to Nidaros and Bergen.[4] Both were named "Sverresborg"; the castle in Nidaros alternatively was called "Sion" (Fig. 8.6). Sverrir also fortified Nidaros

4 This section is mainly based on an unpublished manuscript from a work in progress (Opsahl in prep.). Further references for the details are found there.

Fig. 8.6: Reconstruction of Sverresborg (Sion), near Nidaros (Trondheim), first stone-built castle in Norway by King Sverrir (1177–1202) in late 12th Century. Drawing: unknown. Owner: Directorate for Cultural Heritage.

with a wooden palisade, and wooden and masonry citadels (Ekroll 2007:91–6). Of special relevance to the building complex at Avaldsnes are the citadel and probably a church built by Sverrir in the newly conquered territory of Jemtland (in today's Sweden), very close to each other, almost wall to wall, in Sunne. The citadel's entrance was at ground level, indicating that its purpose was not primarily military; taxes and other goods were probably stored in the citadel and its main function was most likely to serve as a symbol of the Norwegian royal power in Jemtland. The fact that the archbishop of Uppsala (Jemtland was part of the Swedish not the Norwegian archdiocese) probably built a similar citadel close to another church in Brunflo, not far from Sunne, strengthens the hypothesis of the citadels as symbols for the two social powers or "state power" in the Middle Ages.

Sverrir's grandson King Hákon IV Hákonsson repaired and rebuilt the castles respectively in Nidaros and Bergen. His reign witnessed a major increase in royal building activities. New structures include Valdisholm, a small regional castle in Borgarsysla in Southeast Norway, not far from the Swedish border; Mjøskastellet, a citadel at Steinsholmen in the lake Mjøsa; Dyngehus, a small regional castle or fortress in Båhuslen (today's Swedish Bohuslän); Ragnhildsholmen, a castle close the Swedish border, also in Båhuslen; "Åkeberg", probably a citadel or small fortress in Oslo. He rebuilt the rampart at Agdenes at the expense of Trøndelag; rebuilt or initiated renovation of the royal palaces both in Oslo and Bergen into true castles and began to convert the natural fortification, "Berget", near Tønsberg, into a castle,

Tunsberghus. His son and successor, King Magnús VI the Lawmender, continued to upgrade the royal palace in Bergen, which later became Bergenhus, as well as Tunsberghus. Presumably this activity was continued under King Eiríkr II Magnússon (1280–99); a major new step in the royal building activity came during King Hákon V's reign. The most prominent building project was the castle Akershus, close to Oslo. Akershus' building history is complicated, with many uncertain features and questions without clear answers. Nevertheless, it is undisputed that Hákon V did not finish the castle, which rather was continuously rebuilt and enlarged throughout the 14th century and later in the Middle Ages. It is possible that Hákon VI undertook further enlargement of Akershus in spite of the crisis in the wake of the plague epidemics. Such an ongoing building process is also the case for Båhus, a castle of strategic importance close to the Swedish border in south-eastern Norway, not far from the aforementioned Ragnhildsholmen. The first Båhus castle was built of timber, and probably rebuilt as a masonry castle late in Hákon V's reign and into the 1320s. Hákon V also built a small castle or fortress in Finnmark in the northeast, Vardøhus, as a symbol of the Norwegian king's power in the north. Of course, castles and fortresses also were a very concrete physical expression of military strength.

Magnús VII Eiríksson seems to have initiated renovations on both Vardøhus and Tunsberghus. The latter was updated with new towers around 1350. Hákon VI, in addition to possibly completing Akershus, also initiated construction of several castles or fortresses in the western parts of Sweden he controlled after being deposed as Swedish king in 1364 (Fig. 8.7). These fortresses served as strongholds in Hákon's war with the

Fig. 8.7: King Hákon VI Magnússon's (1355–80) Royal Coat-of-Arms in the book *Gelre Armorial*, compiled before 1396. This is a Union Arms of Hákon as King of Norway and Sweden. Hákon VI was elected King of Sweden in 1362 but deposed two years later. The King nevertheless continued to style himself as King of Norway and Sweden and controlled the western part of Sweden for the rest of his reign. Wapenboek Gelre, folio 66v.

Mecklenburg dynasty in Sweden. The Norwegian kings' building "program" in the 13th and 14th centuries resulted in a network of royal palaces, castles, and fortresses throughout the kingdom. Some of the castles were residences during certain periods for the king and his court, others had a mainly or exclusively military purpose. Royal estates or farms were also part of this network. The buildings were designed to accommodate the mobile king and his household in addition to royal servants and representatives.

As mentioned, Avaldsnes was without a doubt part of this geographic network of royal lodgings (Sand-Eriksen and Nordlie this vol. Ch. 6). It was located along the important sea route between Bergen and Oslo (Fig. 8.8). In addition to the royal building complex, there were lodging houses for other travellers at Karmsundet. The king, the church, and private persons alike built lodging houses for travellers around the country. The knight and royal councillor, Ogmund Finsson, who was steward in the 1360s, built the lodging house at Karmsundet, according to Hákon VI (DN XIX no. 583; RN VII no. 46; Steen 1942:402–3; Opsahl 2003b; Blom 1992:677–80). However, except for those located in mountain passes and the open wilderness, most of these lodging

Fig. 8.8: The sailing route along south-western Norway. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

houses were built to house poor travellers, of the sort that common people, priests, cloisters, and king's farms preferred were housed elsewhere (Steen 1942:402–3; NgL IIr 1 no. 347 tillegg; RN VIII no. 46). Although sailing was the primary means of travelling between Bergen and south-eastern Norway in the Middle Ages, kings did travel by land occasionally. Overall, travelling by land seems to have been as common as travelling by sea in Norway in the Middle Ages (Steen 1942:272–97; Ekroll 2006:155–69). The distribution of medieval coin finds in Norway lends support to the importance of travelling by land in medieval Norway (Gullbekk and Sættem 2018). This was the case especially during the winter season. For instance, Magnús VI rode from Bergen to Borg (now Sarpsborg) in March 1273 (Árna Saga Biskups:28). Hákon VI was in Valdres, in the interior of south-eastern Norway, in December 1368, probably en route to celebrate Christmas in Bergen (DN X no. 70). Even in the sailing season, between May and September, some chose to travel by land instead of sailing. Christian I (1450–81) sailed to Bergen after his coronation in Nidaros in August 1450 but decided to ride from there on his way southward in September (Opsahl and Sogner 2003:198). His son and successor as Danish–Norwegian king, Hans (1483–1513), was crowned as King of Denmark in Copenhagen, on 18 May 1483 (NgL IIr 3 no. 7; Heise 1899–1905:18). Thereafter the king sailed with three ships to Oslo. From there he rode to Nidaros where he was crowned King of Norway on 20 July. Hans then returned by land; his route southward can be traced by following the royal decrees he issued during his travel. He left Nidaros on 25 or 26 July; was at Støren, 50 km south of Trondheim, on 26 July; was at the king's farm Tofte at Dovre, c. 180 km south from Støren, on 31 July; at the king's farm Steig, Hundorp, c.100 km from Tofte, the next day; and at Hamar, c. 130 km further south, on 6 August. Hans was at Tunsberghus in Tønsberg on 18 August, c. 230 km from Hamar, but the king and his retinue could have sailed from Oslo to Tønsberg. At the very least, he must have sailed from Tønsberg, as he had reached Konghelle (close to today's Kungälv in Sweden) already by 8 September (NgL IIr 3 nos. 8–13, 15, 16, and 20).

Hans' route in the 1483 illustrates how a king could travel in Norway in the 14th century as well. By the same token, Magnús VII's fate illustrates the dangers of travelling along the Norwegian coast outside of the sailing season. The king set sail from Bergen, probably to celebrate Christmas with his son, Hákon VI, in Tønsberg. King Mágnus was most likely heading for Avaldsnes when his ship was wrecked just to the north in Bømlafjorden, where he drowned on 1 December 1374. Previously Mágnus had visited Avaldsnes in June 1350 on his way southward after a national assembly in Bergen, which he had most likely summoned to confirm the aforementioned decisions for the succession in Norway and Sweden in 1343/44 in the aftermath of the Black Death (DN II no. 307). The meeting was attended by his wife, Queen Blanche, both his sons, Erík and Hákon, and probably several Norwegian and Swedish magnates, including Orm Øysteinsson, many of whom, or at least his family, must have travelled with

him from Bergen (Storm 1977:276–7, 404–5). In any case, it is safe to assume that he visited Avaldsnes several times during his relatively long reign. The royal decree issued in his name from Avaldsnes in 1355, however, was issued on his behalf by his steward in Norway, Orm Øysteinsson (NgL 3 no. 87).[5]

Eiríkr II Magnússon issued the oldest preserved royal letter written at Avaldsnes in 1297 (DI II no. 167; Mundal 2018:44; Bauer 2018:297 gives the wrong reference). His brother, Hákon V, is documented as visiting Avaldsnes several times, in April 1308, May 1309, June and October 1313, and April 1314 (DN II no. 90, III nos. 71, 81, IV no. 105; NgL 3 nos. 37, 39; Helle 1999:98–9; Bauer 2018:297; Mundal 2018:44). Based on the king's itinerary he might also have visited Avaldsnes/Karmsundet in 1301, 1302, 1304, 1305, 1306, 1310, 1312, 1315, and 1317. Prominent men and royal counsellors were together with the king at Avaldsnes in April 1314: Havtore Jonsson, knight and the king's son-in-law; Snare Aslaksson, baron; Sigurd Ormsson, knight and former lawman ("lagmann") in Ryfylke and Agder; and Øyvind Guttormsson, lawman in Stavanger (DN IV no. 107; Helle 1999:99). All of these men, except for Havtore Jonsson, were connected to the south-western region of Norway (Helle 1972:587, 596–7, and 603). All four illustrate the makeup of the royal retinue in the 14th century. Some counsellors served in the king's retinue permanently for a period and followed him on his travels; others met with the king during his visits to their region. Bjarne Audunsson, knight, keeper of the royal seal, and royal counsellor, was together with the king at Avaldsnes on both occasions in 1313 (Helle 1999:98–9). The royal decrees Hákon issued at Avaldsnes illustrate how a 14th-century European king performed his "office work". There were no clear "office hours"; rather, the mobile king usually spent some time doing "paper work" between hunting or other amusements such as gatherings with his men, eating, drinking, and travelling. As the preserved royal decrees from Avaldsnes during Hákon V's reign illustrate, king could equally handle matters local to where he happened to be at the moment, or questions from other regions or on a national level.

Hákon V travelled southward from the winter residence in Bergen in 1308, 1309, and 1314. In 1313, he might have sailed along the coast from Nidaros; at the least, the king was in Nidaros from March to May that year (RN III no. 839). Both in 1309 and 1313 Hákon led his fleet ("leidang") to Denmark in the summer (Munch 1859:516–20, 560; Rosén 1939:214). These marine expeditions were part of his strategy during the prolonged inter-Scandinavian conflicts around 1300, which involved the Norwegian king, the Danish and Swedish kings, Swedish dukes, and Scandinavian aristocrats. These conflicts resulted in Magnús VII Eríksson's Norwegian-Swedish realm (Fig. 8.9), and in the long perspective, the Union of Kalmar in 1397 (Moseng et. al. 2007:160–76, 321–8).

5 The king himself was probably in Sweden at that time. Both Helle (1999:99), and Bauer (2018:297), erroneously claim that Magnús VII was at Avaldsnes in 1355.

Fig. 8.9: King Magnús VII and II Eriksson's realms, Norway (1319–55/74), Sweden (1319–64), and Scania (1332–60). (After Harrison 2009:434) Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

Hákon VI issued the last known royal charter from the Avaldsnes region in 1374, perhaps on his way from Bergen (DN XV no. 29; RN VII no. 416). He is documented as visiting Bergen relatively often in the 1370s, thus it can be assumed that he stayed at Avaldsnes several times. Based on the king's itinerary, besides 1374, he might have visited Avaldsnes/Karmsundet in 1361, 1362, 1372, 1373, 1375, 1376, and 1378. As did his great-grandfather, Hákon VI made extensive use of the royal chapel organisation, to which we will now return.

8.3 The use of the royal chapel organisation in the 14th century

How then did Hákon V and his successors to the Norwegian throne in the 14th century use the royal chapel organisation? As mentioned, the king's central motive for establishing the organisation was to secure the recruitment of competent civil servants. Although the civil administration around the king remained small in the Middle Ages, the need for competent clerics followed the state-building process as literacy grew in importance (e.g. Lunden 1976:426–9). The canons at the royal chapels had a twofold duty: religious tasks at the churches and administrative tasks for the king. How this organisation functioned in practise remains not well understood. Nevertheless, religious tasks were often the responsibility of priest-vicars appointed to perform the service at altars (Regarding different ranks of priest-vicars: Helle 1999:79). Presumably the king recruited his secretaries ("skrivere") among the royal clergy. Unfortunately, it is not possible to confirm such an assumption based on the source material. Hákon V's chancery seemed to include both clerical and lay servants. Several of the known royal secretaries later entered an administrative career, especially in the local administration – which does not preclude that some of the laymen could have received some clerical education and might have been consecrated to lower clerical ranks.

It is nevertheless possible that the majority of the royal secretaries were royal clerks. There are indications that four of Hákon V's secretaries came from the royal clergy, for one of whom it is particularly likely. The secretaries, mentioned in royal documents in the first half of the 14th century, titled "clerk" ("klerk") or "notary" (" notar"), did not stay permanently at certain royal chapels. Instead, they travelled along with the king and wrote royal letters at different places, among them Avaldsnes. They might however have resided at a royal chapel when not accompanying the king. If some were priests at a royal chapel, they could engage choir vicars while they were away with the king. The royal letters drawn in one of the towns with royal chapels, possibly as they were elsewhere in medieval Europe, were written and archived in the choir or sacristy in the actual royal chapel. St Ólafr's Church at Avaldsnes might have had the same function for the royal decrees written there (Bagge 1976:134–43; Helle 1999:83–4).

Between 1280 and c. 1350, the name of the person had written a royal letter in Norwegian was commonly written at the end of the letter. Twenty-one persons are named in 87 documents from Hákon V's reign (Bagge 1976:135). Balte wrote the aforementioned royal decree at Avaldsnes in April 1308. He might later have served as Hákon's chaplain and perhaps canon in Nidaros and Bergen (Bagge 1976:137; see also Agerholt 1933:410; Hagland 1986:241; Vågslid 1989:87). When the king visited Avaldsnes in 1309, Bård Petersson wrote the actual royal letter. He seems to have served as a permanent royal secretary for many years. He was probably a layman but might have held a lower clerical rank. Bård Petersson seems to have stayed in

the Stavanger area for longer periods, where he had property (Bagge 1976:137; Agerholt 1933:405–11; Hagland 1986:238–9; Vågslid 1989:44–50; see also Hagland 1990). Torgeir Tovesson and Tord Trondsson wrote the royal decrees issued at Avaldsnes in 1313 in respectively June and October. Torgeir seems to have been quite wealthy and a loyal and effective royal servant (Bagge 1976:138–9; Agerholt 1933: 408–17; Hagland 1986:241–2; Vågslid 1989:72–5). We have less information about Tord Trondsson (Hagland 1986:206, 241; Agerholt 1933:412–14; see also Blom 1974). Helge Ivarsson was the last royal secretary to be mentioned by name as one who had written a royal letter. The last letter was issued in 1345 (NgL 3 pp. 164–5). It is unclear why this tradition ended. Nevertheless, even if the name of the secretary who wrote King Mágnus' decree from Karmsund in June 1350 is unknown, we know that this secretary had followed the king from Bergen, as the handwriting is identified as the same as that on the decree King Mágnus issued in Bergen on 2 June (Vågslid 1989: 325–6). Unfortunately, Hákon VI's letter issued at Karmsund in July 1374 is only preserved in a copy from 16th century, which prevents identification of the writer.

Much more is known about the use of clergy in royal service in general in the 14th century. Both royal and other clergy held prominent positions in the royal service. The clearest example is the position of royal chancellor: two chancellors were canons at the Apostle Church in Bergen. In 1314 Hákon V decided that henceforth the dean at St Mary's Church in Oslo should be chancellor (Bagge 1976:144; Helle 1974:215, 2005; Bandlien 2015). Hákon V's decision to permanently combine the post of chancellor with the post of dean at St Mary's differed from practice elsewhere in Europe at the same time. European medieval kings practiced vacancy or frequent replacements of chancellors to prevent one chancellor from becoming too powerful. There is no direct indication as to why Hákon decided as he did; one major motive might have been to avoid a potential regency dominated by leading aristocrats for his successor, as he and his brother had experienced when they were in their minority (Bagge 1976:150). In any case, his successors, Mágnus VII and Hákon VI, practised the more common European "principle" for rulers when it came to the post of chancellor. Pål Bårdsson became dean at St Mary's and royal chancellor in 1327. He resigned as both when he became archbishop in 1333/34 (Blom 1992:198–204; Helle 2003). When he came of age, Mágnus allowed the post of chancellor to stay vacant until 1344. In the meantime, the king at times entrusted the seal to different men, laymen and clergy alike, but most often retained the seal himself. Identities are known for several of the secretaries who followed him on his travels in Norway and in Sweden.

Mágnus' decision to promote his clerk and keeper of the royal seal, Arne Aslaksson, to chancellor and dean at St Mary's in 1344, was probably a result of the tensions between king and aristocrats in Norway in the 1330s. The two documented aristocratic revolts were likely due to dissatisfaction with royal policy. The homage of Hákon VI as Norwegian King already in 1343/44 was probably a compromise. Most likely Mágnus' plan was to let his two sons succeed him, respectively in Norway and Sweden. The Norwegian elites on the other side sought to institutionalise immediately

a domestic kingdom with Hákon, who grew up in Norway (Moseng et al. 2007:173–6). The restoration of the combination chancellor-dean in 1344 was probably another result of the same comprise. Both the installation of Hákon VI as Norwegian King and the promotion of Arne Aslaksson as chancellor strengthened the domestic central government in Norway (Blom 1992:211–39).

Peter Eiriksson succeeded Arne Aslaksson as dean at St Mary's Church in 1351. Peter was a royal secretary and kept the royal seal, first in Mágnus', then in Hákon's service. Hákon promoted Peter Eiriksson as chancellor in 1358. He nevertheless continued to write some of the royal letters. Peter followed the mobile Hákon VI on several occasions but resigned as chancellor already in 1363. Nonetheless, Peter remained a prominent royal counsellor for the rest of his life (Opsahl 2003c; Vågslid 1989:331–7; Blom 1992:737–40). Vinald Henriksson managed Hákon VI's royal seal in the mid-1360s. The Swedish-born Vinald, had been priest in Båhuslen before he became Hákon's clerk. Later Vinald became dean at The Apostles' Church in Bergen and thereby leader of the royal chapels, and subsequently became archbishop of Nidaros in 1387 (Blom 1992:740; Dybdahl 2005). Vinald's successor as keeper of the royal seal was Henrik Henriksson, another Swedish-born clerk. Henrik later succeeded Peter Eiriksson as dean of St Mary's around 1370. Henrik Henriksson may have written several royal letters and followed Hákon VI on his travels during the 1370s. Henrik's itinerary does not contradict the possibility that he accompanied Hákon if the king visited Avaldsnes in 1375.

Despite their policy concerning the chancellor post, overall Mágnus VII and Hákon VI utilised the royal clergy intensively, continuing Hákon V's policy of protecting and strengthening the organisation, especially St Mary's (Blom 1967: 418–50, 1992; Moseng et al. 2007:224 and 329). St Ólafr's Church and the clergy at Avaldsnes must have benefitted from this even though the details remain obscure. How then was the economic and administrative position beyond the royal chapel at Avaldsnes during the 14th century?

8.4 Avaldsnes as a juridical and economic centre in the 14th century

Hákon V reorganised the legal system in Norway during his reign as part of his aforementioned policy of strengthening his power as the establishing of the royal chapels were. Among Hákon's measures was to establish new *lagting* (regional courts), including Avaldsnes as *lagting* for Ryfylke and Agder. Other new *lagting* were Steig for Hålogaland (northern Norway), Sproteid for Jemtland (today Jämtland in Sweden), Skien for Telemark and Numedal, and Båhus for Båhuslen (today Bohuslän in Sweden). The fact that the new *lagting* for Ryfylke and Agder was located at Avaldsnes and not in Stavanger, the only town in the region,

indicates Avaldsnes' importance as a royal centre in the region (Helle 1974:182, 1999:100–1). Knut Helle suggests Hákon's "special interest" for Avaldsnes was behind the decision (Helle 1999:103). The *lagmannen* (presiding judge) travelled about his *lagsokn* (jurisdiction area) to decide cases or arrange more regular *stevner* (judgment proceedings). He could judge or decide alone or together with the *lagrette,* the popular element in the judicial system consisting of a permanent group of men belonging to the leading members of local society. Eventually the *lagrette* came to consist of *lagrettemenn* in multiples of six. The *lagtinget* was held yearly. Criminal cases and cases concerning money and manors could be sentenced or decided here (Helle 1999:101; Bagge 2010:200–1). Already in 1308, Andres "at Avaldsnes" delivered a sentence together with the knight Sigurd Ormsson, *lagmann* in Ryfylke and Agder (DN IV no. 74). Andres was most likely a *lagrettemann*. We have only one preserved source that reveals what happened at *lagtinget* at Avaldsnes. The document, issued on 24 June 1322, is a report to Mágnus VII and his council (DN I no. 168). The 11 issuers, four priests and seven laymen, reported how the audience at the *lagting* had interrupted and overruled a court proceeding. Jon Torsteinsson, *lagmann* in Ryfylke between 1322 and 1324, might be the same person who witnessed a sale in Stavanger in 1343 (DN IV nos. 155–6, V nos. 69, 162).

Besides the *lagmann*, the *syslemann* (the royal regional civil servant, his representative) met at *lagtinget*. Sivian met as a representative for *syslemann* Gaute, who was probably the knight Gaute Ivarsson to Talgje (Helle 1999:101). Sivian might have been a *lagrettemann,* too. At least the six other laymen behind the report from 1322 were probably *lagrettemenn*. Clergymen and laymen from both Rogaland and Agder met at *lagtinget* at Avaldsnes in 1322. Two of the clergymen, Hall and Jon, were priests at Avaldsnes. The two other priests came from Agder. One of the laymen we know came from Agder, another from Rogaland. A third layman, Jon knoll, is involved in a case where two royal counsellors had pronounced a sentence in Bergen in 1307 (DN I no. 110). Jon might also be the man who represented Duke Hákon's *syslemann* in Stavanger in 1297 or 1298 (DN II no. 39). A large number of people seem to have attended the *lagting* at Avaldsnes in the summer of 1322; perhaps a market was arranged alongside the proceedings (Helle 1999:103). Eventually, Stavanger, with its more centralised location, became the more favourable location for the *lagting*. By 1351 at the latest the *lagting* had been moved to Stavanger and the *lagmann* had taken permanent residence in the town, although he continued to arrange *stevner* in the countryside. This fits a general trend in the 14th century by which legal processes were centralised in towns and other centres (Helle 1999:103).

The aforementioned Andres "at Avaldsnes" was probably an administrator for the royal farm there (Helle 1999:88). Most likely, the royal farm and the royal chapel made up a joint economic enterprise under leadership of administrators such as Andres. The royal clergy at Avaldsnes was maintained through the manor donated by the kings, the parish income from St Ólafr's Church, and offerings and gifts from travellers visiting the church. The clergymen probably benefited from the management of the royal farm.

The management included most likely the aforementioned lodging house for travellers. Most important perhaps was the possible joint management of the ship *Avaldsnesbussen* by the royal farm and chapel. The joint management did not themselves undertake to sail the ship but leased it to experienced shipmasters. Such investment in ships was rather common for clerical institutions, prominent aristocrats, and even kings in the High Middle Ages (Helle 1999:99–100; Lunden 1976:351–9). *Avaldsnesbussen* is documented as visiting King's Lynn in East Anglia three times during 1303–5. The shipmasters were men from Bergen. They imported boards, balks, goatskin, fish oil, and stockfish into England and brought malt, English cloth, honey, wheat, and linen back to Norway (DN XIX nos. 422, 436). The shipmasters' homeplace and goods such as fish oil and stockfish indicate that *Avaldsnesbussen* sailed to England from Bergen. This seaway seems to have been the ordinary route for all ships from Rogaland. Royal administrators and clergy at Avaldsnes could nevertheless export their own commodities on *Avaldsnesbussen*. Timber and goatskin were ordinary land-rent commodities. English import commodities such as wheat, malt, cloth, and honey were attractive in Norway. Wheat was needed for communion bread, while honey was the common sweetener in the Middle Ages. The merchant Sigleiv Susse, originally from Gotland who eventually attained citizen in Lynn, might have been a more permanent agent for the royal farm and chapel at Avaldsnes. At Hákon V's order and expense, Sigleiv acquired a new church bell from England for St Ólafr's Church (DN IV no. 128; Helle 1999:100).

Norwegians more or less disappeared from the shipping trade between Norway and England after 1310. The German Hanseatic League and to some extent other foreigners took over this trade. Nevertheless, Norwegians still had a monopoly on the shipping trade with northern Norway and the Norwegian *skattland* (crown dependencies). *Avaldsnesbussen* continued to sail between Norway and Iceland throughout the first half of the 14th century until it sank near Iceland in 1343 (Helle 1999:100; Storm 1977:402). The Hanseatic League was in any event to prove fatal for Avaldsnes in many other ways.

8.5 The Hanseatic League and Avaldsnes

Merchants from different northern German towns collaborated to promote their common interests in overseas trade in the 13th century. This organised cooperation to gain and defend privileges in overseas towns was called *Hanse* (Low German) or *Hansa* (High German) (the origin of the word is unclear). Eventually, seeking to extend political effectiveness and influence, the towns organised themselves as the Hanseatic League or simply *Hanse* around the mid-14th century. The overseas trade was primarily with the Baltic and Scandinavia, and eventually England. Lübeck was the principal and dominant town both in the league and in the trade with

Norway and the rest of Scandinavia. Other major Hanseatic towns involved in the trade with Scandinavia were Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald, and Hamburg. All of the towns, including Lübeck, were part of the Wendish cultural region. One of the Hanseatic League's assets was the ability to import grain, a much-needed commodity in northern Norway. During first half of the 14th century, Hanseatic merchants managed to gain control of the trade not only between their own region and Norway but also over trade between Norway and England. This was probably due to the Germans' superiority in organisation, capital, and access to markets for Norwegian stockfish. Nevertheless, the Hanseatic League founded a *Kontor* (office) in Bergen around 1360. Such a *Kontor* functioned as a trading post and were also established in London, Bruges, and Novgorod (Figs. 8.10 and 8.11).

The Hanseatic League's heyday was second half of the 14th century. The numbers of active members of the league differed from time to time. Sending representatives to the so-called *Hansetag* activated a town's membership. The *Hansetag*, usually held in Lübeck, was a central meeting where decisions for the league were made. The league aimed at protecting their dominant position in the overseas trade with Scandinavia through privileges; which could be renewed in return for lending kings money and providing military support by financing mercenary troops. Other times they supported revolts and opposition against kings considered as their enemies. In the long perspective, it suited the league's interest to promote balance of power among Scandinavia kings. The Scandinavian kings on their part attempted to control and maintain the Hanseatic trade and activity within their privileges. Norwegian kings continued to forbid foreign merchants from taking part in the domestic trade in Norway including sailing north of Bergen or to the Norwegian crown dependencies. The German merchants in Bergen were not allowed to stay over the winter and were obliged to pay taxes and obey Norwegian law. The situation resulted in tensions and sometimes open confrontations with the Germans (e.g. Opsahl and Sogner 2003:70–8; Helle 1982).

The fairway from the south to Bergen passed through Karmsundet. There are indications that the Hanseatic merchants established a sort of intermediate port there, between northern Germany and Bergen, called Notow (Elvestad and Opedal 2001). A merchant from Lübeck left two barrels with tar to keep in repair probably for buildings at Notow in 1425 (RN X no. 551). Englishmen were accused of stealing commodities from a ship from Lübeck outside Karmsundet in 1405. The English had driven the ship landward and taken it to Karmsundet, possibly to Notow (DN XIX no. 194). Although the precise location of Notow in Karmsundet remains unknown, place names and archaeological findings indicate that Notow might be today's Bukkøya just outside the church on Avaldsnes. Today the names Nora Nottå and Søra Nottå occur on Bukkøya; Notow could be a German misspelling of Nautøy, possibly an older name on the island. Søre Nottå might also have been the name of a bay on Stutøy, further south (Helle 1999:62). If Nora Nottå was north on Bukkøy and Søre Nottå lay south on Stutøy, together they encompass a relatively large

Fig. 8.10: Reconstruction of an early 14th-century cog (*Kamper Kogge*), the typical vessel of the Hanseatic League. Photo courtesy of Stichting Kamper Kogge.

harbour area, made up of one inner and one outer harbour. Archaeological evidence indicates that the harbour was in use between c. 1250 and 1550, 14th and 15th centuries being the main periods (Elvestad and Opedal 2001:75). Avaldsnes might have been a royal free port, established and consolidated from mid-13th and into the 14th century. Such a royal free port could have had the function of a "port of trade"; that is, an area where the political authorities arranged and guaranteed exchange of commodities. If so, Notow would have served as exactly the kind of port the German merchants needed on their route between the continent and Bergen (Elvestad and Opedal 2001:78–9; see also Lunden 1972:86–9). A 16th-century

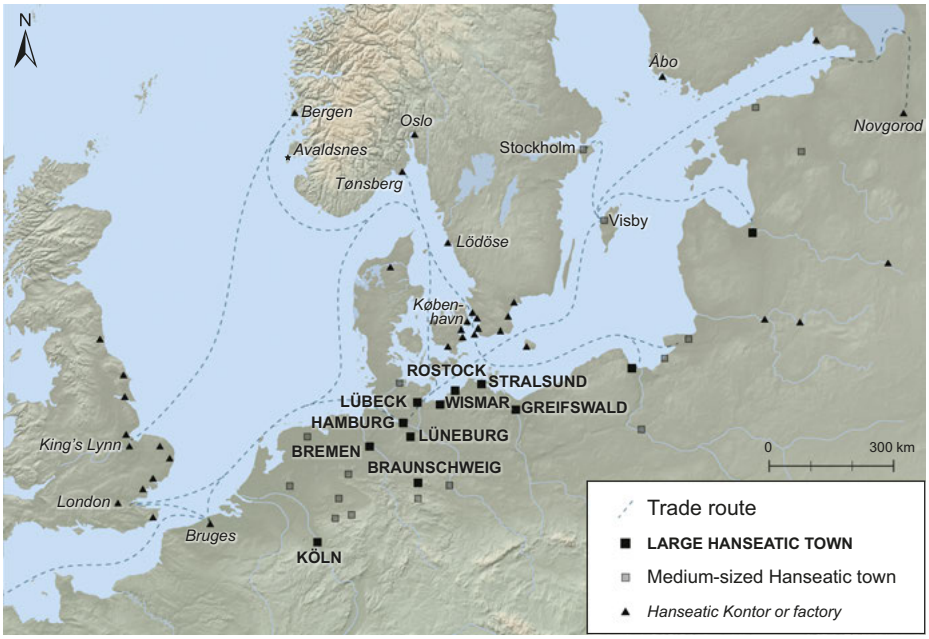

Fig. 8.11: The most important Hanseatic sea-trade routes around 1350. Trade routes branched out from the principal axis between Novgorod in the east and London in the west. One of the oldest branches went to Bergen. Later, German traders also sailed to Oslo and Tønsberg. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

source, "Den norske so", claims that "Notow" was the first Hanseatic post in Norway. Due to piracy, the Germans were compelled to move the port to Bergen, according to the same source. While this cannot be right, it seems that "Notow" continued to be an important port throughout the 15th century (Helle 1999:60–2). On the other hand, it seems like the royal building complex at Avaldsnes was in ruins or at least in decay in the same century. The Hanseatic League was at least partly responsible for this.

8.5.1 The burning of Avaldsnes

Due to many external and internal factors the Danish Kingdom was de facto dissolved as a united kingdom and lacked a king in the years 1332–40.[6] The country

6 This section is based on the following works; Bagge 2014:236–47; Erslev 1898–1905:345–51; Hørby 1989:362–73; Imsen and Sandnes 1977:263–9; Moseng et al. 2007:321–8; Munch 1862:803–26; Tunberg 1926:269–89.

was divided among German aristocrats and royal creditors. In this situation, Mágnus VII succeeded as Swedish king to establish control over the eastern Danish territories, Scania, Halland, and Blekinge (today in Sweden). The high cost of this expansive policy might have been one of the motives for the aforementioned aristocratic rebellions against him in Norway in the 1330s. A decisive moment occurred when Valdemar IV Atterdag became Danish King in 1340. A formidable politician, Valdemar undertook a deliberate and patient policy to regain full power as Danish King throughout Denmark. Among the many opponents to Valdemar's policy of reconquest were Mágnus, the Swedish aristocracy, nothern German rulers, and the Hanseatic League. The alliances of the opponents were not stable but changed over time. For instance, Mágnus challenged the Swedish magnates through his centralisation policy in Sweden, on account of which the Swedish magnates forced Mágnus to accept his son Erik as joint Swedish King in 1356.

Erik died in 1359, and Valdemar managed to regain Scania in 1360. The next year he even invaded and obtained control over Gotland and Öland. Valdemar IV posed a threat to the Swedish throne and especially the Wendish towns in the Hanseatic League after his victories in 1360/61. The Scania market was vital for the Wendish towns. In his opponents' view Valdemar had gained too much control over both this market and the trade in the Baltic Sea by controlling Scania, Gotland, and Öland. Mecklenburg, Holstein, and the Wendish towns formed an alliance against Valdemar. Swedish magnates had taken Hákon as Swedish king in opposition to Mágnus' Swedish reign in 1362 and wanted Sweden and Norway to join the alliance against Denmark. As part of the policy to strengthen his position versus the Swedish magnates, Mágnus had entered into an alliance with Valdemar in 1359, and Hákon VI engaging Valdemar's daughter, Margaret, in 1359, confirmed the alliance, as was typical for medieval alliances and treaties. The Swedish magnates attempted to destroy the alliance with Denmark by breaking the engagement between Hákon and Margaret, hoping that instead he would engage a daughter of a count of Holstein. At first, Hákon seems to have accepted this policy as Swedish king. A naval attack by a German fleet (from Mecklenburg, Holstein, and the Wendish towns) supported by a Swedish-Norwegian fleet was planned. The German fleet besieged Helsingborg in 1362, but no Swedish-Norwegian fleet came. Valdemar managed to drive away the Germans and invade south-western Sweden. The Wendish towns made peace with Valdemar in 1365, ending the First Hanseatic War.

The main reason for the Swedish-Norwegian fleet's non-appearance at Helsingborg was a changed situation in Sweden: Hákon had reconciled himself with his father, Mágnus. The two kings chafed at the dominance of the Swedish magnates and re-established the alliance with Valdemar to counter it. Hákon married Margaret in 1363 to confirm the alliance. In response, the oppositional Swedish magnates deposed Mágnus and Hákon in favour of Mágnus' cousin, the German

Albrekt of Mecklenburg, as Swedish king. Mágnus and Hákon's attempt to regain their Swedish kingdom in 1365 ended in defeat. Mágnus was captured and imprisoned in Sweden for six years while Hákon retreated to Norway. Henceforth, Hákon's foreign policy hinged on two main goals: to regain his Swedish kingdom and to redeem his father. His best and perhaps only possible ally in this struggle was his father-in-law, Valdemar of Denmark, although this alliance was not without problems; Valdemar's daring made conflicts and wars more likely.

The Hanseatic League was not satisfied with their situation in Scandinavia after the aforementioned peace treaty with Valdemar in 1365. They found the agreed terms for their trade in Denmark inadequate. Even worse was the treatment their merchants experienced from Valdemar's officials, which they considered infringements upon the treaty terms. Furthermore, the league was dissatisfied with Hákon for not confirming their privileges in Norway. The widespread dissatisfaction among the Hanseatic towns led them to join in a federation against the Danish and Norwegian kings, agreed between around 80 Hanseatic towns in Cologne in November 1367. Duke Albrekt of Mecklenburg, father of King Albrekt of Sweden, and his sons, the counts of Holstein, and some Danish magnates joined the federation later. Among the federation's main goals were to win better privileges and conditions for Hanseatic trade in both Denmark and Norway, and if possible to conquer Scania and Gotland to be handed over to Sweden.

The Hanseatic League ordered their merchants to leave Norway before 1 May 1368 and implemented a trade blockade of both Norway and Denmark. The Second Hanseatic War broke out in summer 1368. A Hanseatic fleet besieged Copenhagen, which surrendered after two weeks. Several other Danish strongholds surrendered. Duke Albrekt of Mecklenburg invaded Scania. King Valdemar left Denmark to seek help from friendly German princes. He must have consulted his steward in Denmark, Henning Podebusk, from abroad on how the Royal Council could seek peace on the best conditions as possible. At the same time, a fleet from the Dutch Hanseatic towns ravaged and plundered the coast of Norway from Jæren, Sokndal, Ryfylke, to Agder east of Lindesnes and then the coast of Båhuslen. They burned down Marstrand including the castle, cloister, and church, Konghelle, all buildings around Båhus, and three parishes on the island Hisingen. The critical situation forced King Hákon to seek armistice already in August 1368 (RN VI no. 1298). While peace talks were planned to start the following year, a Hanseatic fleet ravaged and plundered the Norwegian coast in autumn the same year. According to Hákon, Hanseatic merchants defended the king's enemies against the king's steward, Ogmund Finsson, at Karmsund. Furthermore, during peacetime, they ravaged and burned down the king's and other farms at Avaldsnes, the king's forests on the island Selbjørn, and farms and houses belonging to the king's subjects at Karmsundet (DN XIX no. 583).

The Hanseatic military strategy seems to have been to attack royal strongholds along the Norwegian coast. Their attack and burning of the Norwegian king's farm at Avaldsnes indicate the importance of Avaldsnes, Karmsundet, and Notow in the second half of the 14th century. As mentioned, this transpired as the Hanseatic League had reached its peak as an economic, political, and military power. By destroying the royal buildings at Avaldsnes the Hanse probably hoped to secure their own stronghold at Notow. In 1365, a ship from Lübeck was attacked and seized by men from "Novum Castrum" between "Munsterzund et Calmerszund". The raiders later attacked unsuccessfully a ship from Reval (DS VIII no. 7150).[7] This incident might have taken place in Karmsundet, but in any case, Avaldsnes and Karmsundet were vital for both the Norwegian King and the Hanseatic League in the 1360s. At the same time, this was in many ways the zenith in importance for Avaldsnes.

In the end, King Hákon and the Hanseatic towns agreed upon a new armistice for two years in August 1369 (DN VIII no. 186). One year later, in July 1370, the parties entered into an armistice for five years and Hákon confirmed preliminarily the Hanseatic League's privileges in Norway (DN VIII no. 192; see also RN VII nos. 48–9). Denmark had already agreed upon a peace treaty with the Hanseatic towns in Stralsund in November 1369. King Valdemar ratified the treaty and the Hanseatic privileges in Denmark upon his return to Denmark in spring 1370. Although the peace treaty terms were harsh for Denmark, it brought an end to the military alliance between the Cologne federation and the aforementioned German princes and was therefore an asset for Denmark in the end. Likewise, for Norway: King Hákon VI managed to free his father from prison after a military campaign into Sweden ending in Stockholm in 1371. Five years later Hákon VI made peace with the Hanseatic League and confirmed their privileges in Norway in return for their acceptance of Hákon's son Olaf as Danish king (DN VIII no. 199). Olaf Hákonsson's Danish Kingdom from 1376 opened the way for personal union with Norway in 1380/81 when Olaf succeeded his father as king of Norway. Eventually this culminated in the unification of the three Scandinavian kingdoms in Kalmar in 1397 and the end of the domestic kingdom in Norway for around 500 years.

The loss of a domestic king meant that Avaldsnes lost its status as royal port and stronghold. We do not know if King Hákon VI Magnusson rebuilt the houses at Avaldsnes or if he and his men stayed on the ships in 1374. There are nevertheless indications that the royal complex at Avaldsnes never was rebuilt to its former glory after it was sacked in 1368 (Sand-Eriksen and Nordlie this vol. Ch. 6). If so, Avaldsnes experienced along with the rest of Norway the fundamental changes following the demise of the domestic kingdom.

7 The editors of DS have identified the incidents to have taken place somewhere between Mönsterås and Kalmarsund in Sweden, something Christian Lovén doubts due to several circumstances. Instead, Lovén suggests the incidents might have taken place in Karmsundet; personal communication by e-mail.

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