Contents

Preface — V

Abbreviations — XV

Section A: The West-Scandinavian Coast

Einar Østmo

1 The History of the Norvegr 2000 BC–1000 AD — 3
  1.1 Geography, technology, power, and time — 4
  1.2 Norway – northern or narrow? — 5
  1.3 The sea-route along the western coast of Norway — 11
  1.4 Navigation aids — 18
  1.5 Sea-route archaeology — 22
    1.5.1 Stone Age craft — 23
    1.5.2 The Late Neolithic and the Bronze Age — 25
    1.5.3 Early Iron Age — 36
    1.5.4 Late Iron Age — 45
  1.6 Conclusion — 50

References — 51

Mari Arentz Østmo

2 Intraregional Diversity. Approaching Changes in Political Topographies in South-western Norway through Burials with Brooches, AD 200–1000 — 67

2.1 Introduction — 67
  2.1.1 Landscape and communication — 70
  2.1.2 A conceptual framework — 73
  2.1.3 Material and methods — 78
  2.1.4 Centres and socio-political structure as point of departure — 80

2.2 Sub-regionality – a diachronic perspective — 82
  2.2.1 Roman Iron Age, phase C1b–C2 c. 210/220–310/320 — 82
  2.2.2 Roman Iron Age, phase C3 c. 310/320–400 — 84
  2.2.3 Migration Period c. 400–550 — 89
  2.2.4 Merovingian Period c. 550–775/800 — 98
  2.2.5 Viking Age c. 750/775–1000 — 105

2.3 Sub-regional trajectories — 114
  2.3.1 Karmsund on the outer coast — 115
  2.3.2 Jæren — 116
Section B: Rulership in First-Millennium Scandinavia

Dagfinn Skre

3 Rulership and Ruler’s Sites in 1st–10th-century Scandinavia — 193
3.1 Germanic ruler terminology in the first millennium AD: þiudans, dróttinn, konungr, and monarch — 196
3.1.1 The poetic evidence on Scandinavian rulership — 198
3.1.2 Scandinavian rulers’ terminology in the first millennium AD — 201
3.2 Peoples, lands, and rulers — 203
3.2.1 Svíar and Svíþjóð — 204
3.2.2 Danir and Danmørk — 204
3.2.3 Norðmenn and Noregr — 205
3.2.4 Tribes, amalgamation, and monarchies, the 1st–10th centuries — 206
3.2.5 Polities and territories, 1st–10th centuries — 208
3.3 Residences of the Skilfingar, Skjødungar, and the Vestfold Ynglingar — 210
3.3.1 The Skilfingar in Old Uppsala — 211
3.3.2 The Skjødungar in Lejre — 213
3.3.3 The Vestfold Ynglingar in Borre and Skiringssal — 214
3.3.4 Three royal lineages, four royal sites — 217
3.4 The societal transition c. 536–650 — 218
3.4.1 Two generations of ruler’s sites — 219
3.4.2 Economic and climatic upheaval — 219
3.5 A tentative synthesis — 221
3.5.1 From þiudans to dróttinn and konungr, 1st–6th centuries — 222
   The 1st-generation sites of the dróttinn — 222
   The 2nd-generation sites of the konungr — 224
Germanic Europe: Scandinavia, Britain, and the Continent — 226

3.5.2 From konungr to monarch, 6th–10th centuries — 229
The instability of kings and royal lineages — 229
Kingship and heroic warrior ideals of the north: the Scandinavian trajectory — 231

3.6 Epilogue: The stability of the rulership institution — 232
References — 234

Frode Iversen

4 Between Tribe and Kingdom – People, Land, and Law in Scandza AD 500–1350 — 245

4.1 Introduction — 245
4.1.1 Research questions and outline — 246
4.1.2 Background — 248
Tribes — 249
Law provinces — 250
Kingdoms — 252

4.2 Material and methods — 255
4.2.1 The onomastic evidence – ethnika of Getica and Widsith — 260
Getica — 260
Widsith — 261

4.2.2 The archaeological evidence – cemeteries, graves, and hillforts — 263

4.2.3 The royal manors and sites — 271

4.3 Results — 276
4.3.1 Location and size of the early tribes in Scandza — 277
4.3.2 Hillforts and tribes — 280
4.3.3 Royal sites and manors — 285

4.4 Discussion – between tribe and kingdom — 290
References — 298

Jan Bill

5 The Ship Graves on Kormt – and Beyond — 305

5.1 Ship burials – the archaeological dimension — 307
5.1.1 Monumental ship burials – an ad hoc definition — 307
Sizes of ships in graves — 310
Sizes of mounds — 312
Sizes of ship settings — 314

5.1.2 The Storhaug and Grønhaug ship graves — 315
Storhaug — 315
Grønhaug — 318
Dendrochronological connections to other ship graves — 322

5.1.3 Known monumental ship graves in northern Europe — 323
Distribution patterns in time and space — 329
Ritualization and ritual patterns in the monumental ship mound graves — 331

5.1.4 Known monumental ship settings — 340

5.2 Ship graves in written sources — 345
5.2.1 Late traditions, examples nos. 5–19 — 353
5.2.2 Early traditions — 356
Húsdrápa — 356
Beowulf — 361
The Vita of St. Gildas — 367

5.2.3 King lists and royal pedigrees in the time and region of the monumental ship burials — 368

5.3 Towards a synthesis — 372
5.3.1 Monumental ship burial rituals — an interpretation — 372
5.3.2 The ship graves on Kormt — harbingers of a new era — 381

References — 382

Section C: The High-Medieval Royal Manor

Anette Sand-Eriksen, Erlend Nordlie

6 The High-Medieval Royal Manor Complex — 395
6.1 Discovering the Avaldsnes Royal Manor — 397
6.2 Excavating the Avaldsnes Royal Manor — 398
6.3 Before 1250: topography and archaeology — 401
6.4 The high-medieval manor complex: physical remains — 403
6.4.1 Main phases — 407
Phase 1 — AD 1247–c. 1300 — 407
Phase 2 — c. 1300–68 — 408
Phase 3 — 1368–1698 — 410
6.4.2 A60010 – Northern building — 410
Walls and floor — 413
Western portal — 415
Northern entrance — 416
6.4.3 A60030 – Connecting wall — 417
6.4.4 A60020 – Southern building — 423
Outer masonry walls — 423
A60024 – Drainage — 425
Cellar and doorway — 427
A60021 – Ground floor partitions, internal walls — 430
A60022 – Fireplace and oven — 435
A60023 – Buttresses? — 439
A60025 – Privy — 443
6.4.5 The 1368 attack and 15th–17th-century continuity — 444
6.5 The Avaldsnes high-medieval royal manor complex — 447
6.5.1 New light on certain details of St Óláfr’s Church — 454
References — 457
Appendix: Radiocarbon datings — 461

Alf Tore Hommedal
7 The Royal Edifice at Avaldsnes: A Palatium for the King or a Residence for his Canons? — 465
7.1 Historical setting and theoretical framework — 466
7.1.1 What is a royal palatium in the 13th and 14th century? — 466
7.2 Norwegian parallels to Avaldsnes — 468
7.2.1 Bergen – the royal residence at Holmen with the Church of the Apostles and the collegiate — 469
The (second) chapel of the Holy Apostles — 471
The two stone halls: The great “Stone Hall” or “Breiðastofu” (Håkonshallen) — 472
The two stone halls: The smaller “Yule Hall” — 478
The first royal lodgings in stone, from the mid-13th century — 480
The curtain wall with at least two gatehouses — 481
The residential stone keep, “the keep by the sea” — 481
The second royal lodging in stone, from the late 13th century — 483
The (third) chapel of the Holy Apostles — 484
Summing up the royal 13th-century palatium in Bergen — 487
7.2.2 Oslo — 487
The royal residence with the St Mary church and the collegiate — 487
A keep construction initiated by the later St Óláfr Church in Oslo? — 489
7.2.3 Tønsberg – the royal residences, in the town and at Tunsberghus, with the St Michael Church and the collegiate — 494
The royal edifice or palatium located in the northern part of the town centre — 494
The royal edifice or *palatium* at the castle of Tunsberghus — 494
The Royal Chapel of St Michael — 497
The residential brick keep, “Teglkastellet” — 497
Bredestuen — 498

7.2.4 Other west-Norwegian edifices — 498
Utstein as a royal manor — 498
Bergen – the archbishop’s residence — 502
Stavanger – the bishop’s residence — 506
The other Norwegian episcopal edifices — 509

7.3 Conclusion: Avaldsnes in light of other Norwegian princely edifices — 512
References — 514

Erik Opsahl

8 Avaldsnes’ Position in Norway in the 14th Century — 517
8.1 The Norwegian kingdom in the 14th century — 519
8.2 The royal travels and royal building complexes in Norway in the 13th and 14th centuries — 525
8.3 The use of the royal chapel organisation in the 14th century — 532
8.4 Avaldsnes as a juridical and economic centre in the 14th century — 534
8.5 The Hanseatic League and Avaldsnes — 536
8.5.1 The burning of Avaldsnes — 539
References — 543