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26 Emerging Kingship in the 8th Century? New Datings of three Courtyard Sites in Rogaland

The Norwegian ‘courtyard sites’ have variously been interpreted as special cultic, juridical, or military assembly sites, which served at more than the purely local level. Previously, on the basis of studies of artefacts and finds of pottery from these structures, the principal period of use of the courtyard sites in Rogaland has been dated to the early and late Roman Iron Age (AD 1–400) and the Migration Period (AD 400–550) through c. AD 600. To test the validity of this date range, the Avaldsnes Royal Manor Project has commissioned thirty new radiocarbon datings of material from three courtyard sites in Rogaland that Jan Petersen had excavated in 1938–50. These are Øygarden, Leksaren, and Klauhaugane; the latter is one of the largest courtyard sites in Norway. Øygarden has not previously been radiocarbon dated. For Klauhaugane, only a few radiocarbon dates had been obtained prior to this study. Leksaren was radiocarbon dated in the 1990s, with the results rather surprisingly indicating that its use continued into the 7th century. The present study demonstrates that the three investigated sites were in use during the Merovingian Period (AD 550–800) – a finding that both confirms and develops previous chronological frameworks. The courtyard sites in Rogaland fell out of use earlier than in other areas along the western coast of Norway. It is therefore suggested that their abandonment was connected to the emergence in the 8th century of royal power accompanied by greater control over jurisdiction – a royal power that subsequently expanded within the coastal zone.

The sites now known as ‘courtyard sites’ in Norway (Norwegian *ringtun*: literally ‘ring-settlement’) have in recent years been interpreted as thing-sites (Storli 2000; 2006; 2010; A.B. Olsen 2005; 2013b; 2014; Iversen 2014; 2015a). These were sites with booths and buildings suitable for occupation during longer meetings. Sites of this type were in use along the western coast of Norway as early as the early Roman Iron Age (AD 1–200) (Fig. 26.1). A few large sites were still in use in the Viking Period (AD 800–1030).

The large sites in Hålogaland remained in use until around the year 900 (Storli 2006). The site of Heggstad in Trøndelag shows evidence of continued use around the year 1000 (Strøm 2007). Two of the four sites in Sogn og Fjordane and at Voss were in use in the Viking Period: Hjelle i Stryn, with a date-range of AD 650–900, and the more uncertain Bø site, also in Stryn, with a date-range of AD 600–900 (A.B. Olsen 2014:45). Eight of the thirty total courtyard sites in Norway are situated in Rogaland (Fig. 26.2). They have hitherto been dated to the period c. AD 100–600 (Grimm 2010).

The dating of the courtyard sites in Rogaland has been based primarily on coarse types of pottery dated within the early Iron Age, on occasional typologically identifiable finds, and on decorated pottery of the bucket-shaped type that can typologically be dated more precisely between the mid-4th and the 6th century, when its



Fig. 26.1: The thirty courtyard sites known in Norway. More recently, these have been interpreted as thing-sites. Some courtyard sites in Agder, Trøndelag, and in northern Norway are uncertain. Data: Frode Iversen 2015. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.



Fig. 26.2: The courtyard sites in Rogaland.
 This study focuses on the Klauhaugane, Leksaren, and Øygarden sites.
 Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

production in western Norway ceased (Engevik 2008; Kristoffersen and Magnus 2010). The dating of possible later and earlier phases at the courtyard sites on the basis of pottery is therefore difficult, and few other datable objects have been found. A re-assessment of the date question must therefore be based upon new radiocarbon dates.

Three of the sites – among the best-documented courtyard sites in Norway – were excavated by the archaeologist Jan Petersen between 1938 and 1950 (Figs. 26.2, 26.7). The large collection of archaeological material from these excavations has scarcely been analysed. In what follows, we use thirty new radiocarbon dates to challenge the traditional dating framework. The new datings shed light upon the period of use of three of the major sites in Rogaland: Klauhaugane, Leksaren, and Øygarden. A few artefactual finds from the Merovingian and Viking Periods from the courtyard sites of Øygarden and Klauhaugane have already been noted. Kallhovd (1994) has shown

that Leksaren was still in use during the Merovingian Period. The later finds, however, have not yet altered the traditional dating of the sites to the early Iron Age (A.B. Olsen 2003; Grimm and Stylegar 2004; Grimm 2010). They were rather explained as secondary deposits.

The issue of the functioning period of the courtyard sites bears potentially significant implications for the wider discussion of political development along the western coast of what was to become Norway. If one or more courtyard sites were in use during the later Iron Age, they could possibly have played a juridico-political role in the establishment of petty kingdoms in western Norway. There is reason to believe that central thing-sites were relocated closer to the royal power centres as a paramount royal power grew stronger. In the Medieval Period (AD 1030–1537), and even as late as the beginning of the 17th century, the quarter-things in northern Rogaland were hosted by what had previously been important royal farms (Iversen 2015b). A dating of the abandonment of the courtyard sites is essential for a better understanding of the transition from the early to the later thing-system as well as for an investigation of possible connections with the introduction of trans-regional kingship.

26.1 Background and evidence

In 2013, the Avaldsnes Royal Manor Project launched a sub-project focusing on new datings of courtyard sites in Rogaland, with the objective of establishing more precise datings of the major sites investigated by Petersen from 1938 to 1950 from which there was still suitable material for radiocarbon dating. This was the case at Klauhaugane (excavated 1939–50), Leksaren (1938–9), and Øygarden (1940).

Petersen undertook fieldwork at four courtyard sites in Rogaland: the three named above and a smaller site at Håvodl in Time (Petersen 1936). The minor courtyard sites in Rogaland, including Håvodl (farm no. [gnr] 43, Time), Ritland (farm no. 13, Suldal), Kåda (farm no. 88, Hjelmeland), and Skjelbrei (farm no. 11, Sandnes), will not be discussed further here. These sites were not in use in the later Iron Age and are therefore of less relevance for the present investigation, which is concerned particularly with the end-phase.

Håvodl was subjected to further excavations led by Per Haavaldsen in 1984 and 1986–9; seven radiocarbon dates have been obtained from the site. Material potentially from the collapsed roof of building 2 points to the period AD 450–630, probably close to the end of that range (Grimm 2010:152). As this site is relatively thoroughly excavated and lacking identifiable material that might provide further information, I have decided to exclude it from further research. There is no evidence from either Ritland or Kåda as neither have been subjected to any excavation, while Skjelbrei was destroyed without any investigation having been conducted.

As noted, eight of around thirty total possible courtyard sites are situated in Rogaland (Fig. 26.2). Klauhaugane, with nineteen buildings or ‘booths’, is the third largest in Norway in terms of circumference, while Leksaren with fourteen to fifteen buildings and Øygarden with ten or eleven are a little smaller. Håvodl, by comparison, had only five buildings. Only Tjøtta at Helgeland and Dysjane at Tinghaug in Rogaland are larger than Klauhaugane. Petersen did not excavate at Dysjane, which was investigated by Nicolay Nicolaysen in 1869 and by Bendix Edvard Bendixen in 1879. Surviving evidence from those excavations that might provide new information on the period of use has not been discovered.

Petersen’s excavations took place before radiocarbon dating entered standard use by archaeologists. He nevertheless collected soil samples from hearths and culture layers for other purposes. The material was stored in Stavanger Museum. In 1975 the Archaeological Museum in Stavanger was established, which since 2009 has been a part of the University of Stavanger (AM). In the 1990s Karl Kallhovd (1994) obtained radiocarbon datings of Petersen’s Leksaren materials stored there in connection with his master project, leaving untouched the material from the other excavations. In this chapter, I supplement Kallhovd’s results from Leksaren with further research while reporting new datings for Øygarden and Klauhaugane.

Petersen excavated the sites fully. In consequence, little remains preserved at the sites today. In 1956, the landowner Lars Ødemotland gave Klauhaugane and around half a hectare of land to the Stavanger Museum, as it was called then, on the condition that one building plot should remain untouched “so that scholars in the future with possible better technical equipment could take it up” (*Stavanger Aftenblad*, 4 June 1956). At Klauhaugane two building ruins (Fig. 26.4 nos. 11 and 12) were left untouched, so the possibility of obtaining better data remains. Leksaren has to all intents and purposes been fully dug out. Such is likewise the case for Øygarden, with the exception of the area between buildings 9 and 10; it cannot be excluded that an eleventh booth lies there. As ‘scholars of the future’ we owe a debt of gratitude to Lars Ødemotland for his foresight in ensuring a partial preservation of the Klauhaugane site. Research ethics nonetheless encourage examining first the potential information in the preserved evidence prior to launching any new excavations of the untouched areas at the site.

26.2 Research history

The courtyard sites of Norway have been the subject of a rich body of scholarly literature. The Rogaland sites have been discussed by Petersen (1936; 1938; 1952), Oddmund Møllerop (1960a; 1960b), Bjørn Myhre (1972), Sveinung Bang-Andersen (1976), Per Haavaldsen (1986; 1988), Ottar Rønneseth (1959; 1961; 1966; 1986), and Karl Kallhovd (1994). These works are limited to empirical documentation of the sites with relatively little interpretation. The exception is Kallhovd’s work on Leksaren, which contains



Fig. 26.3: The Klauhaugane site as seen on LiDAR scan (above) and photo (below). The LiDAR image is seen towards the north, the photo towards the east. LiDAR source: hoydedata.no. Photo: Ragnar Johnsrud, AM.

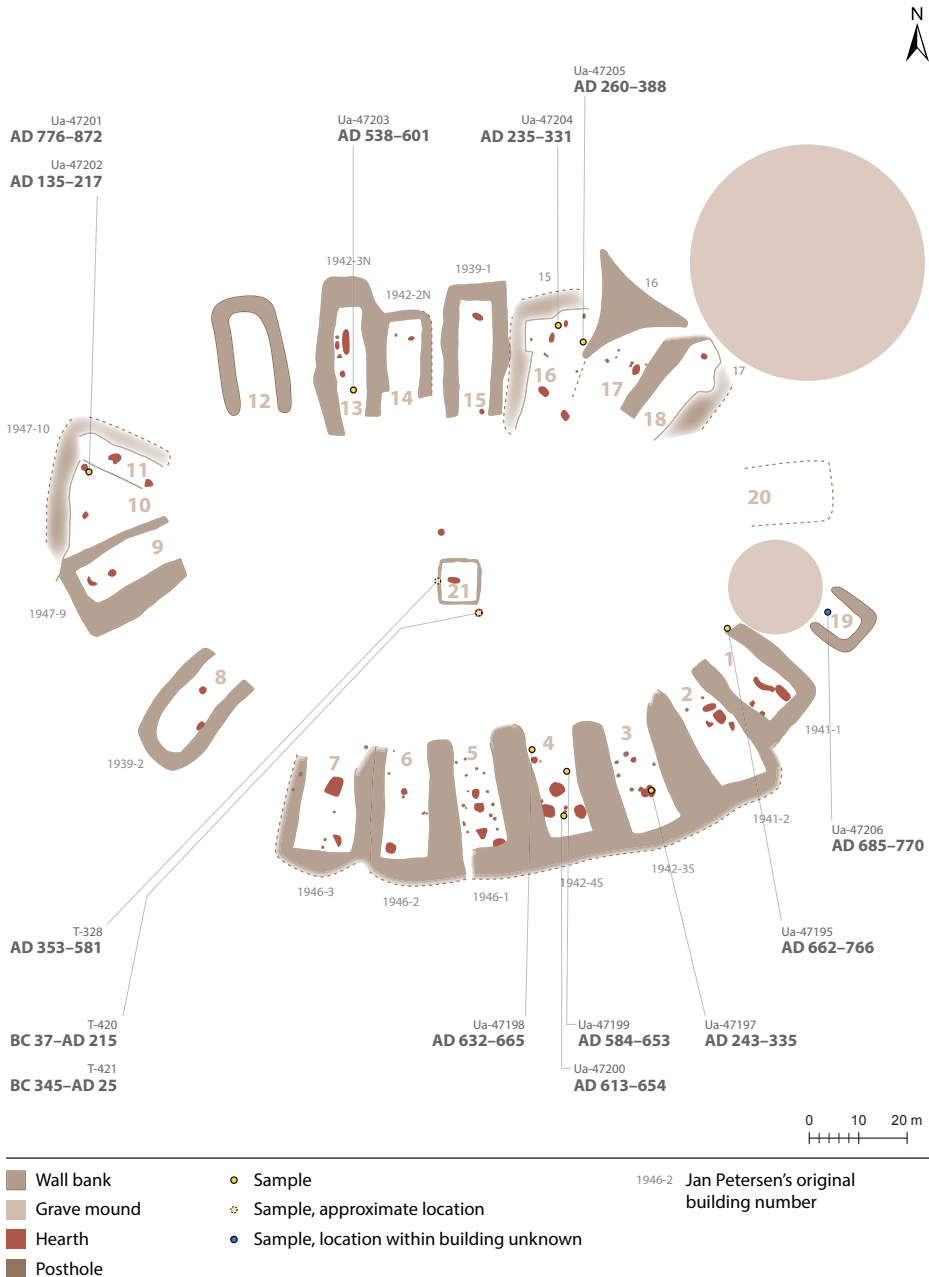


Fig. 26.4: The twenty-one buildings at Klauhaugane. Redrawn after Jan Petersen, adjusted from LiDAR data. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

an extensive section on theory and interpretation. Further, the present chapter will situate the sites within a wider geographical and socio-political context, an analysis rarely afforded in the previous literature.

In contrast to Petersen's view of the Rogaland courtyard sites as villages, Harald Egenæs Lund (1955; 1959; 1965) identified the Hålogaland settlements as places of residence for the military retinue of the chieftain. His conclusion is based on the courtyard sites' situation on outlying land, the absence of typical farm inventory, and the lack of droveways for livestock normally found at early Iron Age farms. In scholarship of the 1980s the 'chieftainship' model prevailed. Crystallising more recently is a 'thing-site' interpretation, particularly in the case of the Rogaland courtyard sites thanks to Mortens Olsen's study of the Jæren sites (2003).

In three important works on Hjelle and Hjerland in Sogn og Fjordane and on Sausjordet in Voss, Asle Bruen Olsen (2005; 2013b; 2104) has reinforced the interpretation of courtyard sites as thing-sites. Sausjordet in Voss is the most thoroughly investigated courtyard site this millennium. A.B. Olsen (2013b) has shown that there was activity at this site both before and after the post-built structure of twelve buildings was in use. Unlike the sites examined by Petersen, which survived in the landscape with visible external walls of stone and turf and thick cultural layers, Olsen's sites were identified by means of mechanical area-stripping now standard for excavations in Norway. These and other recent excavations have been carried out with greater professionalism and precision than was possible for Petersen. The sites thus machine-stripped are, nonetheless, poorer in artefactual finds and traces of buildings than the earlier excavations, which had rich cultural layers. The area-stripping method is well suited for identifying traces of ploughed-out sites in the subsoil, usually from posts and cut features such as hearths or cooking pits. Petersen's sites also included wooden buildings with pairs of standing posts; as noted, there are also the structural details such as the outer earth banks of stone and turf.

Since the mid-1990s several thousand post-built farm buildings have been identified in Norway by means of the area-stripping method. Several hundred, possibly up to a thousand, have been properly excavated (Iversen 2013b). On the other hand, new finds of courtyard sites are rare: only two or three new discoveries have been made as a result of machine-stripping (Sausjord, Helle, and in part Gjerland). This indicates that they were relatively few in the first place, compared, for instance, with normal farms. In the Jæren area, where this method is used widely every year, no such sites have been identified in the thirty-plus years in which this method has been employed. In Jæren, the known courtyard sites are located in the same type of landscape as are the other settlements of the area. There is therefore little grounds for attributing the paucity of new finds to their being located in places not typically affected by modern development projects. Consequently, there is hardly reason to harbour expectations for further discoveries of courtyard sites in future.

As noted, the sites in northern Norway have also been interpreted as thing-sites. Of particular importance in this regard are Inger Storli's works (2000; 2006; 2010).

Storli has produced a comprehensive report on several sites in Hålogaland; her minor archaeological excavations (test pits) enabled her to establish a firmer chronological basis for several sites, which in turn provided major contributions to support a thing-site interpretation of them. In her 2010 *Norwegian Archaeological Review* article, which stimulated a thorough discussion over the following year, she argues that the abandonment of courtyard sites occurred in conjunction with a centralisation process that reduced their number to three major sites, linked with later-known chieftainly centres such as Bjarkøy, Steigen, and Tjøtta. She situates this centralisation process in connection with the emergence of a superior political entity associated with the Jarls of Hålogaland.

The present author has identified connections between the spatial structure of the ring-settlements and their position in the administrative landscape of Hålogaland (Iversen 2014; 2015c). The number of buildings at the sites matches the number of local thing-groups within specific historical units at the half-*fylke* and *fylke* levels. This correlation supports the interpretation of the courtyard sites as sites of representative assemblies involving delegations from local thing-groups, indicating a long-term continuity and stability in the groups of local thing-circles that followed a common law. In an extension and corroboration of Storli's conclusions, I thus interpret the courtyard site at Bjarkøy, and that of Vollmoen on Steigen, as a form of Viking Period provincial thing-site. Grimm and Frans-Arne Stylegar (2004) stress the multi-functionality of the courtyard sites, highlighting the discovery at some sites of evidence of iron-production, among other activities. In support of this argument, I posit that the courtyard sites likely featured cultic, military, and juridical activities. I also associate the abandonment of the sites in Hålogaland with the latter's integration into the kingdom and the establishment of the *leidang* system in the 10th century, when new ship-districts with wapentakes under monarchical rule superseded the earlier military functions of the courtyard sites. In addition, a common-law thing for Hålogaland was established at Steigen, possibly replacing the principal thing-sites of the three minor chieftainships (Iversen 2015c). The new political entity was closely associated first with the Hålogaland Jarls, and later with the Jarls of Lade. The latter, as Storli has emphasised, pursued national political ambitions, in some periods ruling the Norwegian kingdom in alliance with the Danish kings. The power of the Jarls of Lade was first broken with the exile in 1015 of Jarl Hákon Eiriksson, who subsequently entered the service of Cnut the Great in England, where Anglo-Saxon sources record him as a *dux* in Worcestershire in 1019 (Johnsen 1981:8–15).

Grimm (2010) has more recently undertaken a thorough review of the Rogaland sites. In his book *Roman Period Court Sites in South-western Norway* he provides a comprehensive presentation of each individual site. A valuable contribution is his more precise definition of the phases of use, although, as Grimm himself points out, a degree of uncertainty remains concerning the dating of phases that lack radiocarbon dates.

26.3 The method

The AM archives hold a total of eleven reports from the initial Klauhaugane excavations (Petersen 1939a; 1939c; 1941a; 1941b; 1942a; 1942b; 1946; 1947; 1948; 1949; 1950), along with a short report by Møllerop, various newspaper articles and other documentation, and the neatly handwritten notes from Petersen's diary. These materials form the basis of my work. The reports are short (1–5 pages) but include long lists of finds with levels. For Øygarden there is a comprehensive fifty-seven-page excavation report including levels (Petersen 1940) and a pair of visit reports from 1925 and 1932. For Leksaren, the first excavation report (Petersen 1938) is thorough, reporting individually the building plots with levels for the finds and setting the template for the two reports from the following year (Petersen 1939a; 1939b). Kallhovd's analysis of Petersen's evidence from Leksaren (1994) is fundamental for my work on this site. New plans with numbered structures delineated by Grimm (2010) have also been useful to me (Figs. 26.4, 26.6, 26.9).

Petersen's method of reporting followed the practice of the time. Planning was based upon four or five fixed points (pegs) marked out along a line through the middle of the long axis of each building ruin. The distance to the find spots in question was then measured from two points and the compass direction recorded. The depth of the find was then read by means of levelling equipment. Together, these measurements defined a unique point in three dimensions. It is difficult to obtain a secure estimate of the stratigraphy beyond Petersen's scant descriptions. We lack section-drawings, as it was not standard practice in Petersen's time. It is still possible to distinguish between two principal contexts: hearth and cultural layer. The photographic record of the excavations has also been helpful. Petersen himself catalogued the finds in the museum's accession register. Taken together, the records provide an adequate starting point for identifying quite precisely the context and find location.

Grimm has identified various phases of use of the individual sites. His phase system is nonetheless relatively coarse and provides only boundary dates. I refer to these where relevant in the course of the review of each of the sites.

The review of the evidence and the selection of samples for radiocarbon dating were conducted by research assistant Grethe Moelle Pedersen and the author. We identified for radiocarbon dating a total of thirty-six relevant samples, two of which did not contain charcoal. One sample consisted only of pine and was therefore de-prioritised. In the case of three samples it proved impossible to obtain dates for technical reasons. The species of the samples were identified by Helge Irgens Høegh in order to select varieties of wood with low own ages. Twenty-two samples were birch (*betula*), seven bark (two of these *betula*), two hazel (*corylus*), and one rowan (*sorbus*). Compared with other species, birch usually has a lower own age – rarely more than a hundred years – and is therefore preferred for radiocarbon dating (Rundberget 2012:214), as a high own age is a common problem for radiocarbon dating. Nonetheless, is impossible to rule out a dating on birch to the Viking Period, for instance, might actually

be from an early Medieval Period context. The possibility of a context later than the obtained date must therefore be kept in mind when discussing the closing phase of the courtyard sites. Macrofossil analysis for obtaining more precise radiocarbon dates was not attempted, as the state of preservation of the pollen was deemed too poor.

Dating of bark can produce a more precise result due to its low own age. Xylem, a living cell between the bark and the wood, produces a new inner and outer layer every year, forming annual growth rings on the inside and bark on the outside. The tree trunk begins to thicken when the division of the cells commences early in the summer, and a new growth ring is formed during the growing season. Old bark generally moves outwards while new bark is formed in the ruptures. The surface of the bark – always its oldest layer – is subject to erosion by weather and wind. It is therefore no more than a theoretical possibility that old bark survives in the bark layer – without erosion the bark would be extremely thick. For this reason bark is preferred to timber from the trunk for radiocarbon dating in those cases when it can be determined where, in the trunk, the wood is from. Therefore, the most optimal for dating are thin twigs whose own age is consistently low.

The samples were radiocarbon dated at Ångström Laboratory, Uppsala, by Göran Possnert. Regarding calibration, results, etc., see Appendix II:879–83 and 896–900. Thirty samples were successfully dated: nine from Øygarden, nine from Leksaren, and twelve from Klauhaugane. Three of the thirty datings, two from Leksaren and one from Klauhaugane, proved to be too old, and are probably either false or from contexts not relevant to the present study. Altogether twenty-seven samples are suitable as evidence for the sites' functioning period. We shall examine these in greater detail.

26.4 Results

26.4.1 Klauhaugane

The Klauhaugane site is located on the farm Audamotland – farm 18 (Hå Municipality) in the ship-district of Kvia in the Jæren quarter. The name Klauhaugane, which translates to 'the claw mounds', refers to the structure's form, resembling an animal's paw (Møllerop 1960a:7). The courtyard site lies 150 m from the edge of the farm and 300 m from the settlement at Kvia, farm 19, which gave its name to the ship-district. The site is located on formerly unoccupied land, as indicated by the barren soil and poor conditions for cultivation. It is about 3.6 km from the nearest harbour (Obrestadhamna).

The courtyard site was first noted by Nicolaysen in 1885 as a "collection of elliptical burial mounds" (Nicolaysen 1885). There have been three fieldwork campaigns. Gabriel Gustafson dug out two or three "mounds" (walls) in 1891. Petersen and Schoolmaster Peder Heskestad undertook extensive excavations in 1939–50. Finally, Møllerop carried out minor excavations of the settlement-mound and plot 20 in 1959–60.

In a 1884 sketch by district agronomist Anda (MCH archive), at least three burials are plotted in the immediate vicinity (Kallhovd 1994:101). The area also contained a larger cemetery. Positioned on top of the northeastern corner of building 17 was a star-shaped structure, which of course is later than building 17. Cooking pits are recorded beside this structure (Kallhovd 1994:100–6; Grimm 2010:170–81).

A nearby grave, in which the deceased were cremated, contained a finely crafted bone object inscribed with decoration and runes (B 4384). Haakon Shetelig dated the grave to around AD 550 (S[c]hetelig 1914:40). In *Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer*, Sophus Bugge (1894:259) proposed the interpretation: **Ūha urte, Eburinu aijið þinnu wē. Tunþa bi Ūhan fāhiði tiard þinnu**, ‘Uha prepared, Eburinu owns this holy object. Tuntha wrote together with Uha the inscription in this row.’ (English translation: Looijenga 2003:357).

Wolfgang Krause (1966:72) has accepted Magnus Olsen’s view (1923:237–9) that this was a poor copy of an earlier inscription, and hence not amenable to interpretation. More recently, Ottar Grønvik (1996:255–67) has devoted thorough attention to this inscription. He divides the elements into ‘vowels’, ‘consonants’, and ‘unidentified elements’ of which there are no less than thirteen. His imaginative interpretation based on this admittedly tentative reading is: ‘Young woman, departed from this world, eternally born in your vé: I received the holy ale, and consecrate the horn so that there will be an increase [of ale] in it [in the horn] in the renowned vé.’

According to Grønvik, we encounter a deceased woman and a man who furnished her grave and recited the formula during the ceremony. Grønvik (1996:262) believed that the vé in this context refers to the hereafter, the place to which the dead were meant to travel. There is nevertheless great uncertainty in his interpretation. Here, let us be content to note that it is of interest that the word **ui**, vé, possibly the Old Norse word for a temple or holy place, appears in the context of a courtyard site which could possibly have been simultaneously a thing site and a cultic site.

Klauhaugane is comprised of twenty-one buildings arranged within an oval courtyard site (Figs. 26.3–4). There were at least two entrances to the site (between buildings 8 and 9 and between buildings 18 and 20). The external dimensions are 80 × 55 m (Grimm 2010; Petersen 1952:95) and the circumference is approximately 220 m. The site had a surface area of nearly 3,000 square metres and a settlement area of 1,650 square metres (162 m in circumference). Two hearths found within the site have been dated to the pre-Roman or early Roman Iron Age; their relation to the courtyard site itself is uncertain (Grimm 2010:136, 173).

Each row contained ten buildings, in addition to a square structure in the centre of the settlement area (building 21). The plots had an open gable-end facing inwards onto the site, with the exception of building 19, which is markedly smaller than the rest. Thus, nineteen buildings of roughly equal size opened onto the site. Features in the sub-soil indicate that the roofs were supported by posts. There were stone-set hearths in all of the buildings excavated other than building 19.

Both Gustafson and Petersen investigated the settlement-mound, which measured some 7 metres in diameter (Grimm 2010:13). There was pottery in the southeast, and a horse's tooth and animal bone higher up in the mound. Subsequently, following conventional archaeological practice in digging all the way to the bottom, Møllerop unexpectedly found a rectangular wooden construction of 25 square metres beneath the settlement-mound (building 21), consisting of well-preserved timber planks lying on edge within a trench. A sample from the wall-slot was radiocarbon dated to the Migration Period (T-328), AD 353–581. While Møllerop interpreted the feature as a building, I would not rule out its possible function as a base for benches. Charcoal from what were taken for cooking pits beneath the structure has been dated to the late pre-Roman Iron Age/early Roman Iron Age (T 420–421; Møllerop 1971:159; Grimm 2010:173; Grimm and Pesch 2010:15). Also found here were sherds of a crushed bowl of Jutish-inspired pottery from Period B2 (i. e. c. AD 70–150/160). The sherds were found both inside and outside the structure; it is difficult to assess with certainty whether they were associated with the building/seat-base or rather represent activity at the site prior to the establishment of the courtyard site.

Internal measurements for sixteen of the buildings are quite secure – they are up to 12.7 metres long and 3–5 metres wide. The largest interior areas are 50 square metres (buildings 6 and 7) and the smallest 33–36 square metres (buildings 11, 12, and 18). Building 19 is distinguished by its low interior area of 15 square metres. Consistently in every phase, each building contained no more than one or two hearths. The cultural layers reached a metre in thickness.

Altogether around 7,000 pottery sherds have been found. As Petersen puts it: “The archaeological objects we found were for the most part very homogeneous and not particularly exciting” (Petersen 1950:3). Pottery was found in all excavated buildings. Most notable are a single gold ring of about 3 grams in building 5 and a fibula in building 19; otherwise the finds included 8 knives, 5 nails, 2 ferrules, 3 pieces of iron slag, 1 arrowhead, 1 belt buckle, loom weights, 6 whetstones of slate and quartzite, 9 pieces of flint, 4 glass beads, 1 amber bead and 1 clay bead, 1 copper-alloy mount, 1 iron mount, 1 iron fibula, and 2 iron rings (Olsen 2003).

Grimm has related the finds and the structures to two principal phases. He dates phase 1 to c. AD 1–200 by means of artefactual finds together with two radiocarbon dates from the settlement area. He dates phase 2 to c. AD 200–500 through the artefactual finds, primarily the pottery. Gustafson dug two trenches in 1891 and discovered culture layers up to 1.2 metres thick in buildings 1 (or 3), 2, and 15. In building 15 (trench 1) he found a copper-alloy pin, possibly of Viking Period type (Petersen 1928:fig. 238; Grimm 2010:170) or from the late Migration Period (Kallhovd 1994:104). The pin is possibly the latest-dated object found from the site. The slate whetstones and two or three of the knives are also potentially from the Merovingian or Viking Period, as Petersen has shown (1942a; 1951:211–12). Kallhovd in particular (1994:80, 89) has provided support for the notion that the site was potentially in use longer than previously supposed. The new datings confirm his hypothesis.

New datings from Klauhaugane

A total of twelve new datings have been obtained from seven buildings. They point to a date-range from the late Roman Iron Age to the Viking Period. The latest date, from building 10, gives AD 776–872 (Ua-47201). This was taken from birch (*betula*); therefore, an element of own age must be assumed. The sample was taken at only 8 cm deep in the culture layer, thus presumably belonging to a late phase of use, possibly indicating the continuation of use into the 9th century.

Three samples from plot 4 point to the Merovingian Period. One of them (*betula*; Ua-47200) is from a burnt layer, probably a hearth, found at a depth of 57–71 cm, and is dated AD 613–54. Two samples from a culture layer in building 4 have produced closely matching results, AD 632–65 and AD 584–653 (Ua-47198, Ua-47199). Besides these, one sample from building 1 points to the Merovingian Period, more specifically the period AD 662–766 (*betula*; Ua-47195). This dating, obtained from a piece of charcoal found at a depth of 90 cm, is surprising – it could represent an error in Petersen’s measurements or perhaps a cut feature that he did not record.

The earliest radiocarbon dates point to the late Roman Iron Age – from around AD 300; realistically no earlier than AD 230. The pottery finds serve as confirmation of activity in the buildings in the 4th century. The earliest finds of pottery from the site are not associated with buildings but rather are from the general settlement area and thus cannot be linked directly with the courtyard site. The structure beneath the central mound is from the period post-AD 350. A fibula in building 19 can be dated to Period C1b. This corresponds to the first half of the 3rd century according to Lund Hansen’s (1987) chronology (Engevik 2008:19).

The new results thus show that at least three buildings (1, 4, and 10) were in use in the Merovingian Period. The unknown own age of the wooden material could potentially push the datings back in time, meaning that a dating of use and deposition within the very early Viking Period cannot be excluded. For example for the copper-alloy pin in plot 15 could be from the Viking Period. Taken together, these findings indicate that the site was still in use in the late Merovingian Period; as sample Ua-47201 indicates, possibly into the 9th century (AD 776–872). The functioning period can thus be dated from the 3rd century to around the year 800.

There is no indication that the site’s function changed in the final phase. If Klauhaugane had been re-used as, for example, a shieling after its initial function ceased, we might expect that the new function would have endured for a longer time. The absence of activity from the Viking Period and Medieval Period indicates, in my view, that the site had a specific function that ceased in the Merovingian Period and that a change of function is thus relatively unlikely. I therefore regard it most plausible that the activity in the late phase remained the same type of activity that had taken place here throughout the functioning life of the site.

26.4.2 Leksaren

Leksaren is located at Reistad, farm 54 (Hå Municipality, formerly Varhaug) in the Voll ship-district in Jæren quarter. The ship-district takes its name from the farm of Voll, farm 76, about 5.5 kilometres south of Leksaren. The courtyard site was situated in empty land 500 metres east of the historical settlement at Reistad, across the Reistad brook. The brook was once a high-yielding salmon river and according to Magnus Olsen the name *Leksaren* is derived from this species' Old Norse name, *lax* (masculine noun, pl. *laxar*; letter to Petersen: cf. Kallhovd 1994:111).

Petersen excavated Leksaren in the years 1938–9 (Figs. 26.5–6). The courtyard site measures 60 × 47 metres externally and the occupation area 31 × 26 metres. It consists of fourteen or fifteen buildings in an oval ring, divided into three or four groups: three foundations to the west (buildings 13–15), seven to the north (1–7), four to the east (8–11), and a lone building to the south (12) (Fig. 26.6). A 3.5-metre-long stone wall connects the groups of buildings to the north and the east. A 13-metre-long wall connects building 12 in the south with the group to the east. There are openings to the northwest and the southwest. There are burial mounds by both entrances, in addition to a settlement-mound in the middle of the site measuring 6 metres in diameter and 0.75 metres in height.

Leksaren was probably constructed within the boundaries of an earlier burial ground. Bronze Age remains have been found in the area (Kallhovd 1994:133). The burial mound to the southwest featured an internal stone circle and a stone construction with a possible burial chamber of 50 × 50 cm in which burnt bone was found. A radiocarbon dating of charcoal from the chamber points to the early Bronze Age: 1610–1310 BC (T-10889). The burial mound to the northwest contained a handled pot (R361) of the late Roman Iron Age and is thus contemporary with the courtyard site. One of the burnt bones from the grave was decorated “as a border of semicircular bows” (Petersen 1941a; Kallhovd 1994:133). Another grave that possibly derives from an earlier cemetery has been found in building 11.

In his dissertation, Kallhovd (1994) has reviewed the evidence and produced new radiocarbon datings, which expanded the functioning period to include the Merovingian Period (TUa-636). He considers whether the building plots were in simultaneous use, but arrives at no firm conclusion. It is uncertain whether buildings 4 and 5 were in use at the same time as the others; they are smaller, and measure only 2–3 × 6–7 metres internally. The other buildings are around 10 × 4 metres internally. Large hearths have been found along the central axes in all buildings.

Around 5,000 finds were discovered, mostly sherds of undecorated pottery, which are earlier than c. AD 600 but difficult to date with any further specificity. As Petersen has expressed it: “The artefactual assemblage found in the building remains at Leksaren was very uniform” (Petersen 1938:155). Only 90 pieces were decorated. Other find material is sparse, and includes two knives and one glass-imitation vessel, a ceramic copy of what is known as a faceted glass vessel of Type IV (Straume 1987:34).



Fig. 26.5: The Leksaren site as seen on LiDAR scan (above) and photo (below). The LiDAR image is seen towards the north, the photo towards the northeast. LiDAR source: hoydedata.no. Photo: Ragnar Johnsrud, AM.

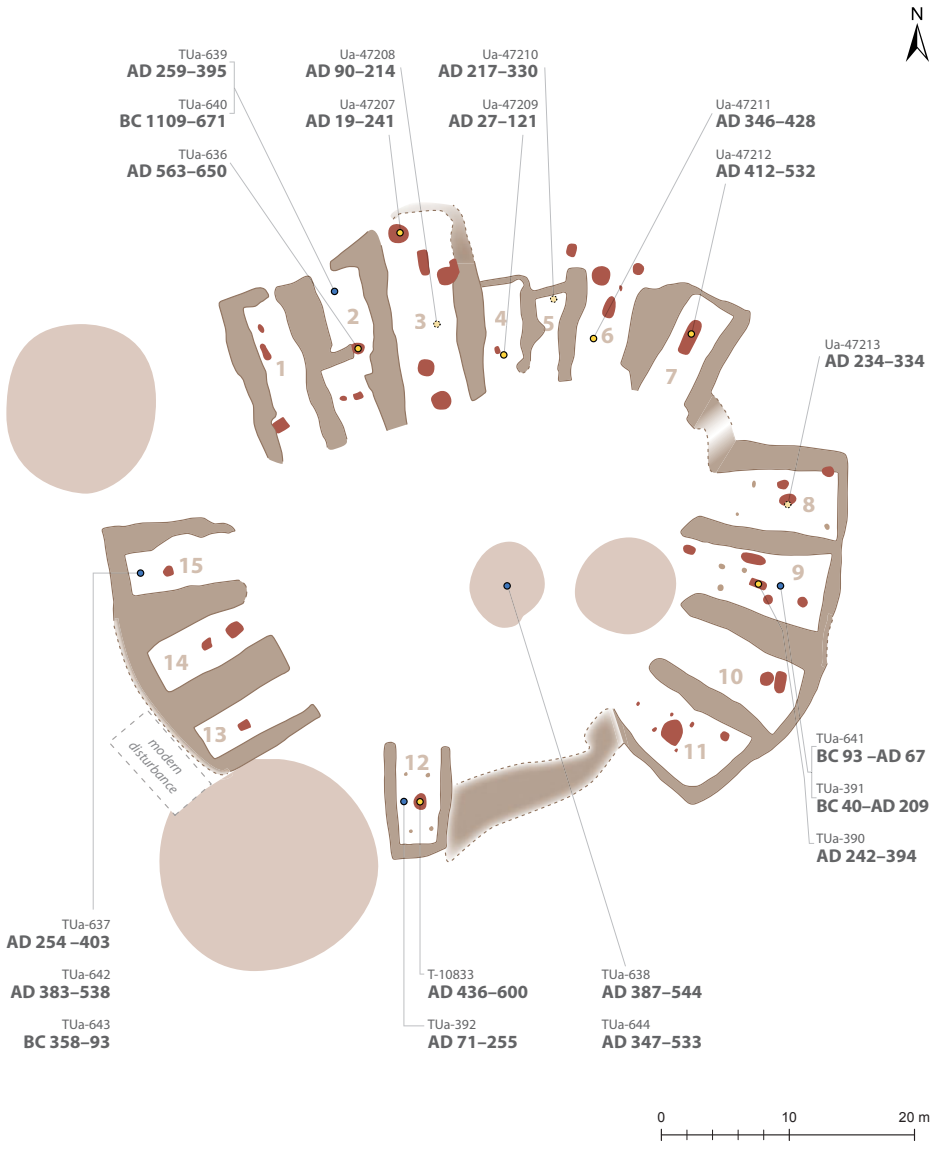


Fig. 26.6: The fifteen buildings at Leksaren. Redrawn after Jan Petersen, adjusted from LiDAR data. Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.



Fig. 26.7: Jan Petersen at the Leksaren excavation, July 1938.
Photo: P. Heskestad, AM.

A soapstone gaming piece of the 4th century was found in building 8 (Kallhovd 1994:128), along with 7 beads and 28 pieces of flint, in addition to a whetstone and several unidentifiable objects of iron.

Grimm has identified up to three stratigraphical phases. Phase 1 cannot be dated securely, but Grimm suggests AD 100–300. Phase 2 is dated to AD 300–500 on the basis of artefactual finds and radiocarbon dates. Phases 1 and 2 are identifiable in all of the buildings. Phase 3 (or 2b) has been identified in buildings 2, 6, 9, and 11. As noted, the latest radiocarbon dating is from hearth 6 in building 2, at AD 563–650 (Tua-636) (Grimm 2010:162).

Culture layers have been found beneath the stone walls in several buildings. These reveal the activity in the area before the ground plan was determined and the buildings raised. Kallhovd (1994:34) is inclined toward the view that building 9 was abandoned as early as the 4th century and building 15 in the 5th century, although, as he points out, the case for this is weak. Grimm has found that all three phases were represented in building 9. Waste was accumulated inside the buildings over time, resulting in the occurrence of hearths and structures at various levels.

New datings from Leksaren

Seven new samples appear to support Kallhovd's conclusions. All are birch (*betula*) except for Ua-47211, which is bark. The latest new dating is from a hearth in building 7, pointing to the Migration Period (AD 412–532; Ua-47212). Charcoal from a depth of 32 cm in building 6 provides a result of AD 346–428 (Ua-47211). The other samples are from culture layers and are earlier than these. Two samples from building 3 point to the 2nd and early 3rd centuries AD (AD 139–241 and AD 90–214; Ua-47207, Ua-47208), as does the sample from building 4 – AD 27–121 (Ua-47209). Samples from buildings 5 and 8 are apparently somewhat later – from AD 217–330 and AD 234–334, respectively (Ua-47210, Ua-47213). The earliest dating, from building 4, is at AD 27–121 (Ua-47209). One of Kallhovd's datings, from a charcoal-rich layer in building 9, indicates a similar date (TUa-391).

Until the present study, there had been eleven radiocarbon dates from food residues found on sherds and from hearths in five buildings, in addition to two datings from the central mound that provided the result AD 387–554 and 347–533 (TUa-638, TUa-644). In addition, 245 pottery sherds from the Roman Iron Age and the early Migration Period have been found in the mound. A hearth in building 2 is dated to AD 563–650 (TUa-636) and a hearth in building 12 is similarly dated to AD 436–600 (T-10833). These are the latest secure datings and are taken from reliable contexts.

When considering the functioning period it should be borne in mind that, in the course of his excavations, Petersen had the turf removed without examining it (Kallhovd 1994:124). Hence, the latest phases are potentially under-represented. The datable artefacts are primarily of the early Iron Age. No sherds of soapstone vessels or of later Iron Age pottery have been found; there is, however, a knife of the later Iron Age from building 7. The knife was found in the uppermost layer, and is of an early Viking Period type according to Petersen (1952:212). It could be a secondary deposit, therefore of later provenance than the layer in which it was found (Kallhovd 1994:129).

The under-representation of the latest phases might be due to the method of excavation. It is reasonable to consider the date of abandonment with primary reference to the latest hearths – that is, those in buildings 2 and 12. Overall, a dating to c. AD 100–600 seems plausible. It is possible that the site was also in use somewhat before the 2nd century AD, as Ua-47209, in particular would indicate.

26.4.3 Øygarden

This courtyard site is located on the farm Hegreberg, which is farm 43 at Vestre Åmøy in the Bro ship-district in Karmsund quarter. The Øygarden site was discovered in 1925 and excavated by Petersen in 1940 (1952:95) (Figs. 26.8–9). It consists of ten building ruins with dimensions of 7–8.5 metres in length and 3.2–4.4 metres in width. The site is organised in two rows of buildings in a half-oval horseshoe pattern, with a passage-

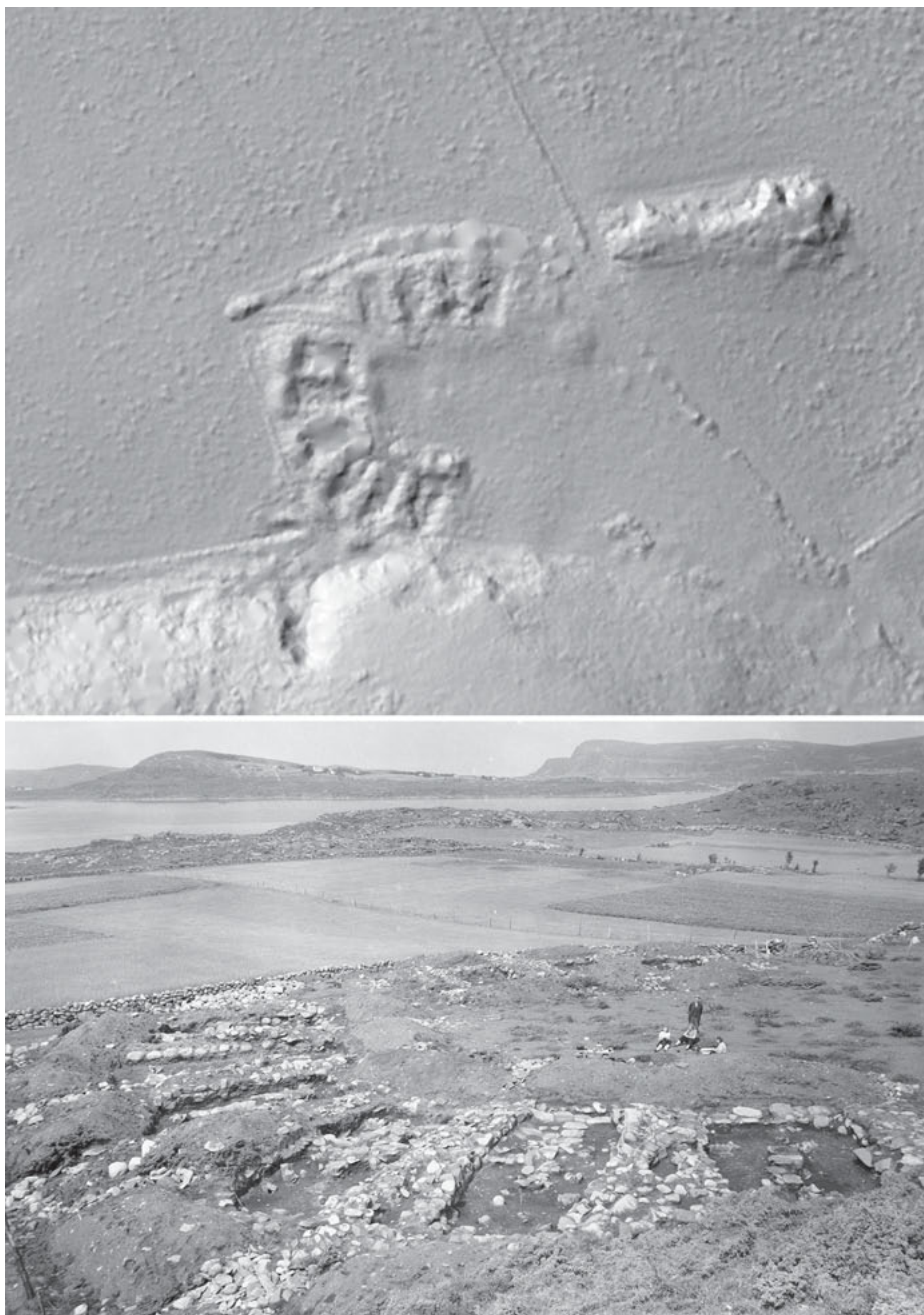


Fig. 26.8: The Øygarden site as seen on LiDAR scan (above) and during the excavations (below). Both seen towards the north. LiDAR source: hoydedata.no. Photo: G. Fischer, AM.

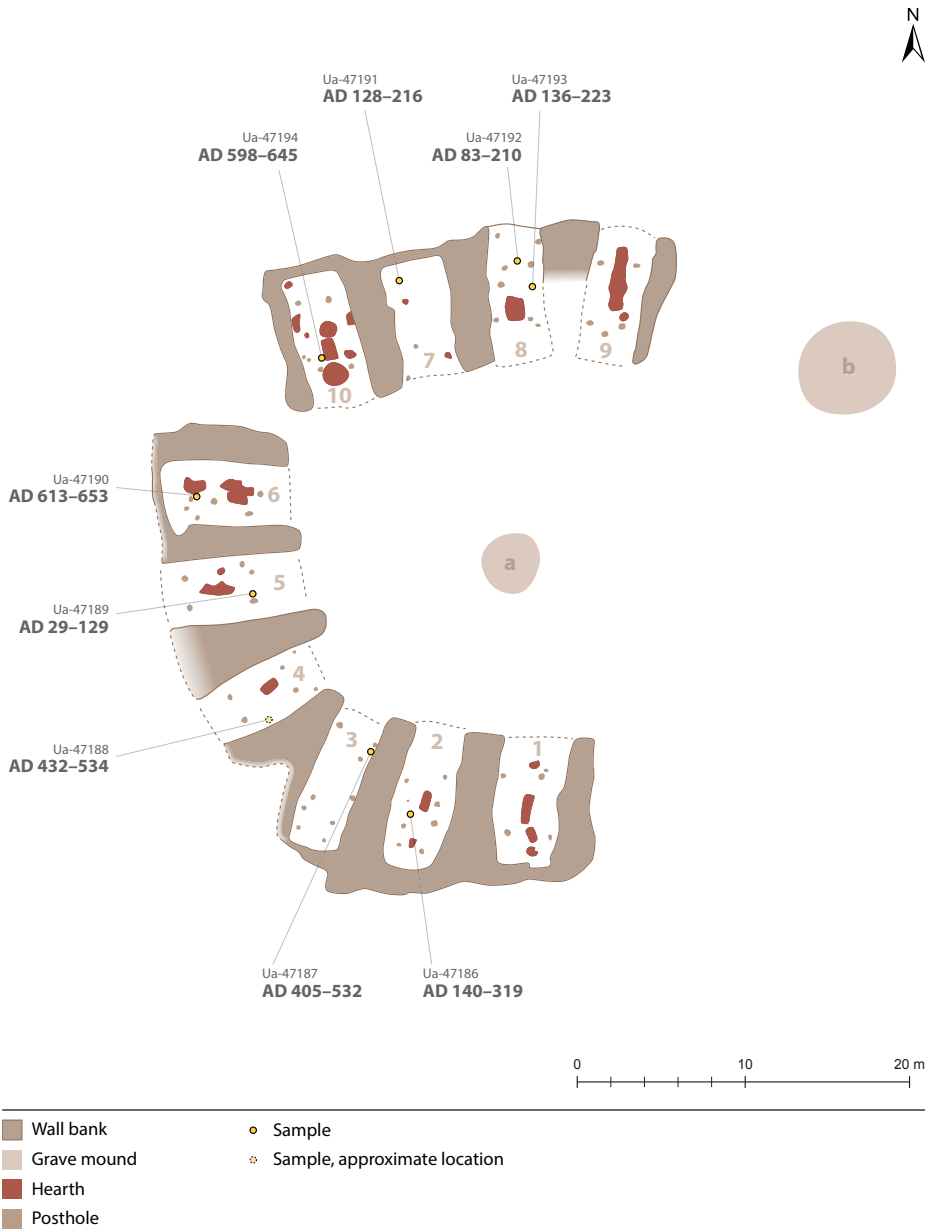


Fig. 26.9: The ten buildings at Øygarden.

Redrawn after Jan Petersen.

Illustration: I. T. Bøckman, MCH.

way between the rows in the northwest. The southwestern row consists of six buildings and the northern row of four. The site is open to the east. The settlement area measures approximately 400 square metres (25 × 22 metres) with an outer diameter of 44 × 27 metres (Petersen 1952:95; Grimm 2010:144). The form is unique in Rogaland (Grimm 2010:82) but bears similarities to those of Gimsøy and Bø in Hålogaland.

The courtyard site is situated in pastureland north of Hegraberget (75 metres above sea level). The historical farm-settlement is located on the opposite side of this hill, approximately 450 metres from the courtyard site. There are known graves alongside natural landing sites in the vicinity, but not near the courtyard site itself. Sandvika, the closest landing site, is only 280 metres away, and to the east there is the well-sheltered harbour at Båsen.

There were two mounds by the courtyard site. The eastern mound had a 73-centimetre-deep hollow measuring 1.9 × 1.7 metres. Discovered here was a knife of the Merovingian Period (type R407) together with a fragment of the tooth of a cow or horse and a bead. Petersen interpreted this as a possible votive mound (Petersen 1952:101; Grimm 2010:185). Also reported in the middle of the courtyard site was a low settlement-mound measuring 30 cm in height and 4 metres in diameter (Petersen 1952:101).

Charred pieces of wooden stakes were found lower in the layers. Petersen interprets these as indication that an earlier structure had burnt down (Petersen 1952:101). Buildings 2 and 7 were situated directly on top of sterile ground and had no preceding phase. Found at the entrance to buildings 1, 2, and 7 were 'threshold stones' set on edge (Petersen 1952:97). In general, the hearths were more individually formed than at Klauhaugane. Ninety sherds of pottery were found, half of these in building 9. Sherds of bucket-shaped pottery found at the base of phase 2 in building 9 have been typologically dated to AD 350–500 (Kristoffersen and Magnus 2010).

The buildings range from 22.5 (no. 7) to 34 square metres (no. 5) in internal area. The largest building is in the centre of the site. Petersen has identified what he took to be areas of stone flooring by the entrance. All of the buildings except no. 7 featured a central main hearth. Some buildings featured deeper hearths from earlier phases (Petersen 1952:98). The main hearths were large – up to 4.5 metres long in three buildings (3, 4, and 9). Buildings 4, 5, 8, and 9 had only one hearth. Buildings 6 and 7 respectively had two and three hearths, possibly contemporary, in phase 2. Building 10 stands out with four hearths of phase 1 and five of phase 3. This suggests special functions such as the preparation of food.

There are datable finds from five buildings (1, 3, 8, 9, and 10). Three buildings had artefacts of the later Iron Age, including a knife from building 3 (R401), a spindle whorl from building 9 (Hofseth's type IIc), and a sherd from a drinking vessel in building 10 (Petersen 1952:100). The drinking vessel (a claw beaker) is similar to a find from Borre that has been dated to the Merovingian Period (Grimm 2010:182). This type of find belongs primarily to the period from the end of the 5th century to around the year 700. The sherd from Øygarden is small and difficult to date with precision. Ellen Karine Hougen notes that the sherd is from a glass vessel of what is known as the

‘later Vendel Period type’, which is primarily of the 7th century or even somewhat later (Hougen 1968:88). This classification is also in agreement with earlier studies of drinking vessels (Näsman 1986; Munch et al. 2003). Overall, the courtyard site has resulted in few finds. These include glass beads in buildings 5, 6, 7, 9, and 10, a fragment of a ring-shaped amber pendant in building 1, and various nails, slag, soapstone sherds, and fire-flints scattered among the buildings.

Grimm (2010:184) has identified three phases (1, 2a, and 2b). The earliest phase is undated. He dates phase 2a to AD 300–500 and phase 2b, on the basis of the sherd of the aforementioned drinking vessel, to the Merovingian Period.

New datings from Øy garden

Of nine new datings, five are of birch (*betula*), two of birch-bark (Ua-47187, Ua-47190), and two of bark (Ua-47192, Ua-47193). The new datings indicate that the site was in use in the Merovingian Period. One dating taken from bark in building 6, at a depth in the culture layer of 54 cm, provides a result of AD 613–53 (Ua-47190). A hearth at the same depth in building 10 also points to the Merovingian Period – AD 598–645 (Ua-47194). In this case, the sample is birch; taking into account own age and the depth within the culture layer, it is possible that activity occurred here for some time thereafter. The datings from the culture layers in buildings 3 and 4, respectively AD 405–532 and AD 432–534 (Ua-47187, Ua-47188), point to the Migration Period. A hearth in building 2 has provided a relatively early date – AD 140–319 (Ua-47186). This hearth is probably associated with the building. The building shares walls with buildings 1 and 3 and thus represents a phase during which the ground plan appears to have been established. Early activity is corroborated by the datings of culture layers in buildings 5 and 7 – respectively AD 29–129 and AD 128–216 (Ua-47189, Ua-47191). The relationship between this activity and the buildings is not entirely clear, but these datings nevertheless testify to activity at the site at this early date.

A valid date-range for the site therefore lies between AD 100/150 and AD 600/700. The latest hearth has a date of AD 598–645 (Ua-47194), and similar dating of AD 613–53 has been found for a culture layer around half a metre deep (Ua-47190). The new datings likewise confirm Grimm’s inference that the site was in use before AD 300.

26.5 Discussion and conclusion

This is in fact a remarkable form of settlement, which we also have at four other sites in Rogaland, and several explanations of these have been offered. I have preferred to regard them as a form of village-settlement, others have believed them to have been thing-sites, and others still as sacred sites, while military sites have also been suggested as their explanation.

(Jan Petersen 1950, on Klauhaugane)

The earliest reference to the institution of the thing amongst the Germanii in northern Europe was provided by Julius Caesar around 50 BC, while a more detailed description of the thing was recorded by Cornelius Tacitus in AD 98 (Iversen 2013b), in both texts under the Latin word *concilium*. The earliest known appearance of the Germanic word ‘thing’ is from the 3rd century in the form of what appears to be the name of a god, *Thincso* (dative singular of *Thincsus*), occurring as part of a Latin inscription on a stone altar raised at Housesteads on Hadrian’s Wall in England by Germanic troops from Twenthe (*Germ[ani] cives Tuihanti*), present-day Netherlands. The courtyard sites in Norway were in use at this time, probably as thing-sites at a higher level, as has been argued in recent scholarship. This type of site fell out of use at a certain point, and a new type of open-air thing-site at an even higher level appears to have been introduced – these are probably the quarter-things, *fylke*-things, and juridical-things mentioned in medieval legal texts.

While the Frankish kingdom took shape as early as the 6th century, we can discern the contours of royal power in Scandinavia in the Merovingian and Viking Periods (AD 550–1030). In Modern English and German, *thing* and *Ding* have the meaning of ‘item’ while in Scandinavia the word also denotes a ‘legal case’. The linguist Tore Janson (2013) argues that the meaning of *thing* narrowed and shed its legal connotation on the Continent and in England because the institution of the thing was earlier to disappear there than in Scandinavia. Nevertheless, there is considerable evidence that the thing in Iron Age Scandinavia also underwent major changes with the emergence of royal power.

Avaldsnes and Utstein specifically, and Hesby with less certainty, were important bases of the 11th-century kingdom (Bjørkvik 1958; Iversen 2008). Both Avaldsnes and Hesby were central thing-sites at later dates, but neither has a courtyard site (Iversen 2015b). They did, however, feature open-air thing-sites of a higher level in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. At Avaldsnes there was both a quarter-thing in the 17th century and law-thing in the High Middle Ages. The law-thing at Avaldsnes was relocated to Stavanger around the middle of the 14th century. At Hesby there was both a quarter-thing in the 17th century and what is inferred to have been some form of *fylke*-thing (Iversen 2015b). A quarter-thing was originally the thing-site for a quarter of the type of province called a *fylke*; it is referred to alongside the *fylke*-thing and the law-thing in the Gulating Law, probably a reflection of the situation in the mid-12th century. I have previously suggested that the other royal farmstead of *Haraldr hárfagri* in Rogaland, Utstein, was an important thing-site before a monastery was established

in the 13th century – an event that theoretically could have led to the relocation of the quarter-thing to other royal farms. It seems in any case that an earlier ‘outer quarter’ was, at some juncture, divided in two; new quarter-things might have been established at Avaldsnes and Hesby, as previously there appears to have been a law-thing at Avaldsnes and more speculatively a provincial thing for Ryfylke at Hesby (Iversen 2015b).

If the courtyard sites were thing-sites at the quarter and *fylke* levels, as I have argued in other cases (Iversen 2015b; 2015c), substantial changes with respect to the location of the thing-sites must have been incurred when the courtyard sites were abandoned. With the exception of Dysjane at Tinghaug in Jæren, there is no coincidence between the location of the courtyard sites in Rogaland and the historical quarter thing-sites (Iversen 2015b). This suggests great changes in the thing-system in the period when the trans-regional royal power emerged in this area, not only with respect to the location of the things but also to their physical shape and function.

At issue is the question of whether there was not, before the reign of *Haraldr hárfagri*, a kingdom that incorporated a number of regions in the heart of the historical Gulating province – a kingdom that subsequently expanded from around the year 900 to become the Kingdom of Norway. Does the abandonment of the Rogaland courtyard sites reflect the development from a petty kingdom and the transfer of important assembly functions to new royal manors in the process of consolidating power? The establishment of a royal monopoly on force within the region could have altered the thing’s function as well as the area of its authority. Did local elites lose influence over armed jurisdiction as part of this process? Did the abandonment of the courtyard sites constitute a stage in the establishment of a royal monopoly on force?

In Rogaland, the weak dating evidence and lack of radiocarbon dates from several of the major sites has hindered study of the process of development of a legally and politically integrated *fylke* within a larger kingdom. To that end, we have undertaken a new investigation of the age of the sites, obtaining new radiocarbon dates from three courtyard sites – Klauhaugane, Leksaren, and Øygarden – where suitable material from Petersen’s excavations was available.

Our research has resulted in new information about the functioning periods of Klauhaugane (AD 200–700/800) and Øygarden (AD 100/150–600/700). This refined periodisation enables the sites to be linked more closely to the political developments of the Merovingian Period. The sites were in use for fully 500–600 years, into the 7th century and possibly beyond. They were probably established as thing-sites in the early Roman Iron Age. Klauhaugane, the second-largest courtyard site in Rogaland, was also the longest-lived, remaining in use into the early Viking Period. Storli has demonstrated a similar process of development in Hålogaland, where the largest sites were those that remained in use longest. Tjøtta, Bjarkøy, and Steigen, each within its own major region, were all still in use in the 9th century. Petersen believed that the buildings in Klauhaugane were “extraordinarily primitive” compared with those at Leksaren and Øygarden (Petersen 1942c): the walls were more loosely constructed,

and the hearths were merely “simple” open fireplaces made up of “ordinary” round stones, rather than the flagged and containing stones set on edge as at Leksaren and Øygarden (Petersen 1942c). Among many possible explanations, this discrepancy might indicate that assemblies at Klauhaugane were less frequent than at the other sites.

Already in 1994, Kallhovd had demonstrated the inadequacy, in methodological terms, of datings based on artefact typology. With the aid of radiocarbon dates, he discovered that Leksaren also had a Merovingian Period phase of activity. Our research has supported Kallhovd’s conclusions, indicating a date-range of AD 100/200–c. 600. The main phase of use appears, however, to have been the Roman Iron Age and Migration Period.

The new results thus bring the dating of the Rogaland courtyard sites more closely into line with those of Hålogaland, Trøndelag, and the rest of western Norway. This shows that courtyard sites were used as assembly sites in the later Iron Age throughout the western coastal zone of Norway, including Rogaland, although probably with regional variance. To the question of when precisely this tradition ceased in Rogaland, the datings and the artefactual finds strongly suggest the Merovingian Period. It seems certain that the Klauhaugane site was also in use in the 8th century. No less than six datings lie within that period. The question remains as to whether the regional variations in the timing of the abandonment of the courtyard site tradition – from Rogaland (8th century) to Sogn (9th century), Hålogaland (9th century) to Trøndelag (10th century) – reflect the pace of the progress of political consolidation culminating in a trans-regional kingdom in the Viking Period and earlier Medieval Period. This raises further questions as to the extent the kernel of an expanding kingdom was present in western Norway in the centuries preceding the age of Haraldr hárfagri.

Acknowledgements: Thanks to Professor Dagfinn Skre for discussions, critical reading, and comments on this paper. Thanks as well to the two anonymous reviewers for their valuable input. My sincere gratitude goes to Grethe Moell Pedersen for her efforts in connection with the new radiocarbon dates presented in this article and to Ingvild Tinglum Bøckman for the drawings. Thank you to Professor James Knirk for advice on the runic inscription from Klauhaugane and to John Hines for the English translation and proofreading. Many thanks to Head of Department Mari Høgestøl for facilitating our research stay in Stavanger.

LAB NO.	SITE, SAMPLE NO.	MATERIAL	RADIOCARBON AGE BP	CALIBRATED 1 SIGMA	CALIBRATED 2 SIGMA	CONTEXT
Ua-45381	Avaldsnes 382	Hordeum vulgare	1121 +/- - 30	AD 893–905, 912–971	AD 784–787, 821–842, 862–994	Posthole A53576
Ua-54363	Avaldsnes 332	Hordeum vulgare	1558 +/- - 30	AD 428–465, 482–533	AD 411–533	Posthole A45557, A13
T-328	Klau- haugane	Charcoal	1590 +/- - 100	AD 353–367, 380–581	AD 246–645	Building 21, wall trench
T-420	Klau- haugane	Charcoal	1920 +/- - 100	BC 37–30, 21–11, BC 2-AD 215	BC 172-AD 265, AD 272–335	Building 21, hearth
T-421	Klau- haugane	Charcoal	2080 +/- - 100	BC 345–322, BC 206-AD 25	BC 380-AD 85, AD 110–115	Building 21, hearth
T-10833	Leksaren	Betula, salix	1525 +/- - 60	AD 436–490, 510–517, 529–600	AD 420–641	Building 12, hearth 3
Tua-390	Leksaren	Betula	1725 +/- - 65	AD 242–394	AD 130–434, 495–505	Building 9, heart 11
Tua-391	Leksaren	Betula	1930 +/- - 80	BC 40-AD 139, 158–166, 196–209	BC 161–133, BC 117-AD 254	Building 9, layer
Tua-392	Leksaren	Food residue	1845 +/- - 80	AD 71–255	AD 3–382	Building 12
Tua-636	Leksaren	Betula	1450 +/- - 60	AD 563–650	AD 435–491, 509–518, 529–671	Building 2, hearth 6

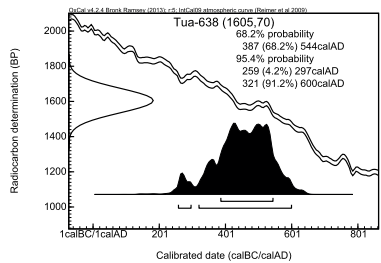
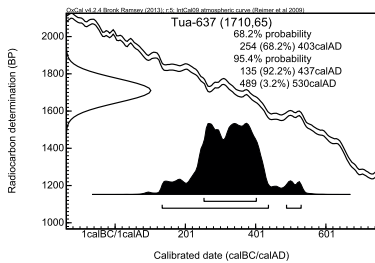
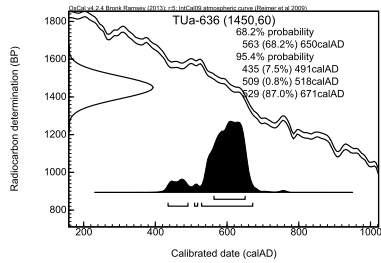
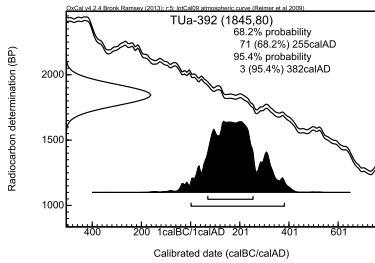
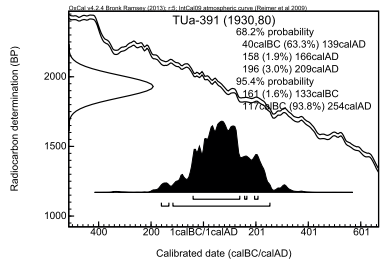
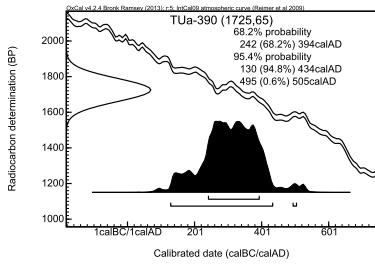
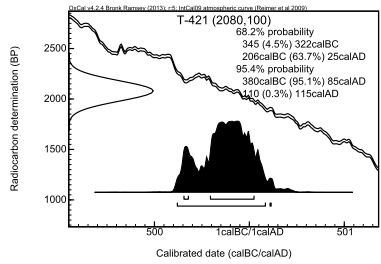
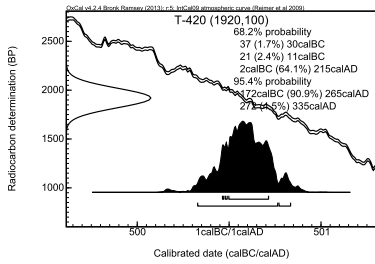
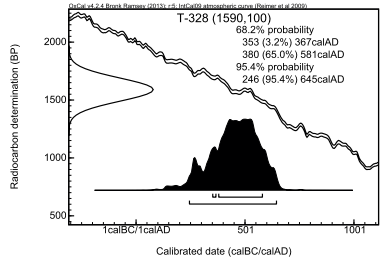
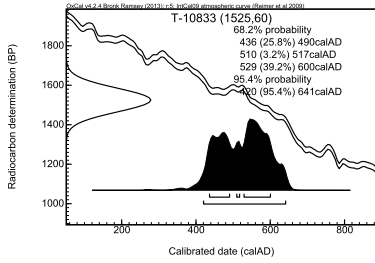
LAB NO.	SITE, SAMPLE NO.	MATERIAL	RADIOCARBON AGE BP	CALIBRATED 1 SIGMA	CALIBRATED 2 SIGMA	CONTEXT
Tua-637	Leksaren	Bark	1710 +/- - 65	AD 254-403	AD 135-437, 489-530	Building 15, culture layer
Tua-638	Leksaren	Betula	1605 +/- - 70	AD 387-544	AD 259-297, 321-600	Central mound
Tua-639	Leksaren	Food residue	1705 +/- - 45	AD 259-296, 322-395	AD 235-427	Building 2
Tua-640	Leksaren	Food residue	2705 +/- - 130	BC 1109- 1105, 1070- 1065, 1056-761, 682-671	BC 1260- 1228, 1221-510, 436-426	Building 2
Tua-641	Leksaren	Food residue	2010 +/- - 65	BC 93-AD 67	BC 181-AD 126	Building 9
Tua-642	Leksaren	Food residue	1620 +/- - 65	AD 383-538	AD 256-302, 316-576	Building 15
Tua-643	Leksaren	Food residue	2155 +/- - 90	BC 358-278, 259-242, 236-93	BC 394-AD 4	Building 15
Tua-644	Leksaren	Food residue	1635 +/- - 55	AD 347-371, 377-443, 451-462, 484-533	AD 257-300, 318-547	Central mound
Ua-47186	Øygarden	Betula	1790 +/- - 30	AD 140-151, 170-194, 210-258, 299-319	AD 132-264, 277-331	Building 2, hearth 8
Ua-47187	Øygarden	Bark, betula	1615 +/- - 30	AD 405-440, 485-532	AD 387-539	Building 3, cultural deposit 1

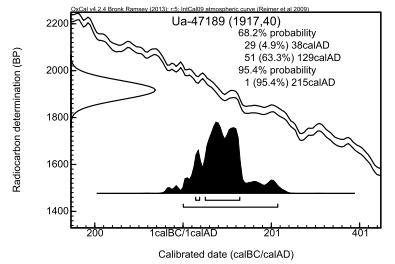
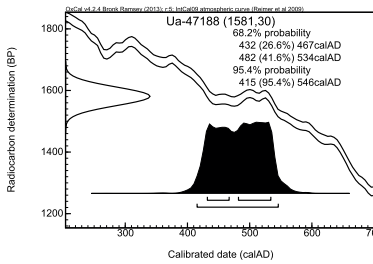
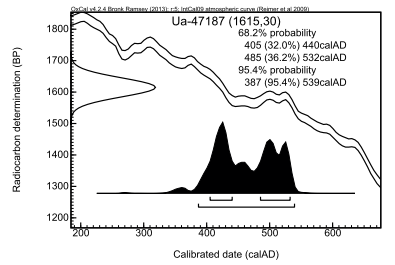
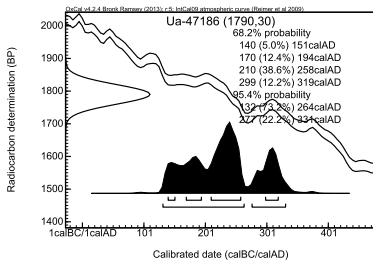
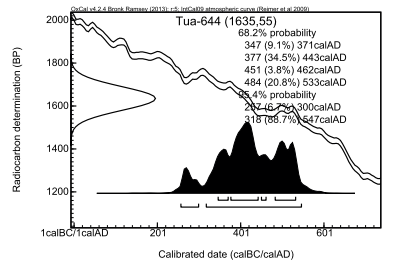
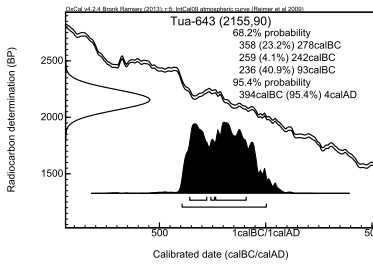
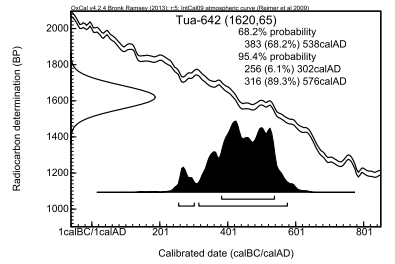
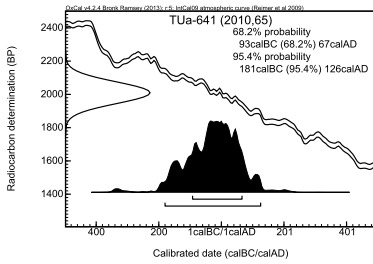
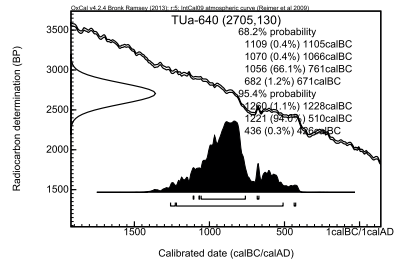
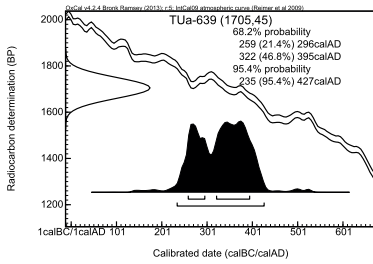
LAB NO.	SITE, SAMPLE NO.	MATERIAL	RADIOCARBON AGE BP	CALIBRATED 1 SIGMA	CALIBRATED 2 SIGMA	CONTEXT
Ua-47188	Øygarden	Betula	1581 +/- - 30	AD 432-467, 482-534	AD 415-546	Building 4, cultural deposit 5
Ua-47189	Øygarden	Betula	1917 +/- - 40	AD 29-38, 51-129	AD 1-215	Building 5, cultural deposit 7
Ua-47190	Øygarden	Bark, betula	1451 +/- - 31	AD 613-653	AD 582-664	Building 6, cultural deposit 15
Ua-47191	Øygarden	Betula	1851 +/- - 30	AD 128-216	AD 85-235	Building 7, cultural deposit 3
Ua-47192	Øygarden	Bark	1869 +/- - 30	AD 83-140, 150-170, 194-210	AD 74-226	Building 8, cultural deposit 7
Ua-47193	Øygarden	Bark	1828 +/- - 30	AD 136-223	AD 86-108, 120-245, 307-312	Building 8, cultural deposit 12
Ua-47194	Øygarden	Betula	1443 +/- - 30	AD 598-645	AD 565-654	Building 10, hearth 20
Ua-47195	Klau- haugane	Corylus	1311 +/- - 30	AD 662-708, 747-766	AD 656-773	Building 1, cultural deposit 3
Ua-47197	Klau- haugane	Betula	1749 +/- - 31	AD 243-266, 272-335	AD 216-391	Building 3, hearth 125
Ua-47198	Klau- haugane	Betula	1388 +/- - 31	AD 632-665	AD 601-677	Building 4, Cultural layer 10
Ua-47199	Klau- haugane	Bark	1434 +/- - 50	AD 584-653	AD 536-677	Building 4, Cultural layer 76
Ua-47200	Klau- haugane	Betula	1414 +/- - 31	AD 613-654	AD 582-664	Building 4, hearth 132
Ua-47201	Klau- haugane	Betula	1210 +/- - 31	AD 776-872	AD 693-748, 765-892	Building 10, Cultural layer 238

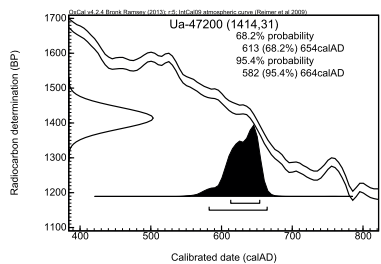
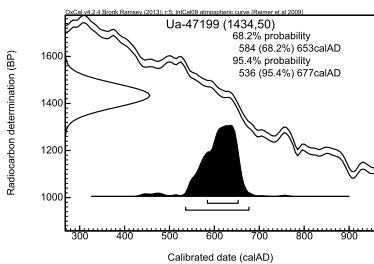
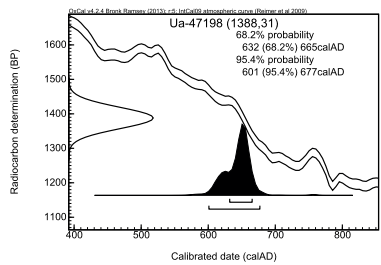
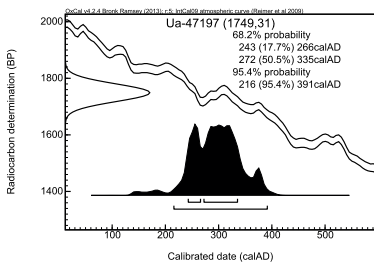
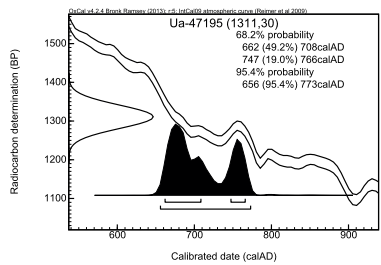
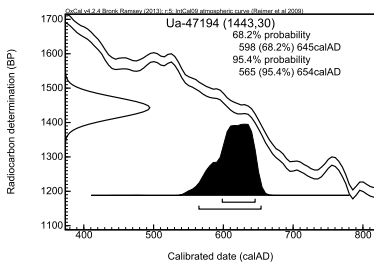
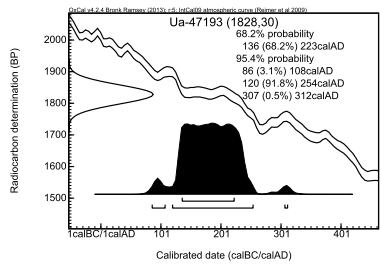
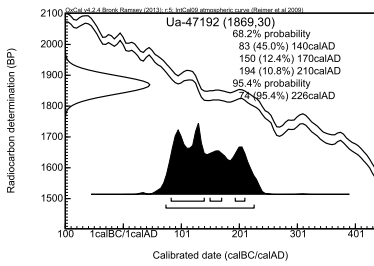
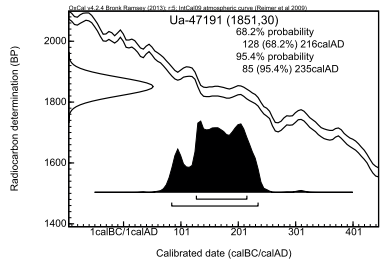
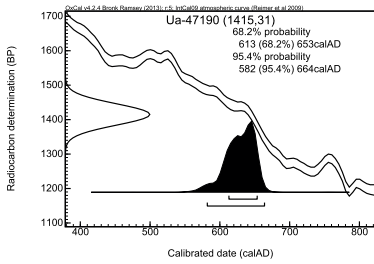
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Ua-47202	Klauhaugane	Betula	1831 +/- 30	AD 135–217	AD 86–109, 120–252	Building 10, Cultural layer 238
Ua-47203	Klauhaugane	Betula	1511 +/- 30	AD 538–601	AD 434–492, 508–518, 528–622	Building 13, cultural layer 33
Ua-47204	Klauhaugane	Betula	1763 +/- 30	AD 235–264, 277–331	AD 140–154, 167–195, 210–360, 365–384	Building 16/17, cultural layer 255
Ua-47205	Klauhaugane	Corylus	1708 +/- 30	AD 260–283, 324–388	AD 255–405	Building 16/17, post-hole 287
Ua-47206	Klauhaugane	Betula	1276 +/- 30	AD 685–723, 740–770	AD 662–781, 791–808	Building 19, cultural layer 1
Ua-47207	Leksaren	Betula	1810 +/- 30	AD 139–197, 208–241	AD 126–260, 295–323	Building 3, cultural layer 4
Ua-47208	Leksaren	Betula	1859 +/- 30	AD 90–100, 124–214	AD 80–232	Building 3, cultural layer 182
Ua-47209	Leksaren	Betula	1934 +/- 32	AD 27–41, 48–87, 105–121	BC 21–12, BC 1-AD 133	Building 4, cultural layer 67
Ua-47210	Leksaren	Betula	1775 +/- 31	AD 217–263, 277–330	AD 136–341	Building 5, cultural layer 47
Ua-47211	Leksaren	Bark	1652 +/- 32	AD 346–372, AD 377–428	AD 261–281, 325–442, 451–462, 484–533	Building 6, charcoal...

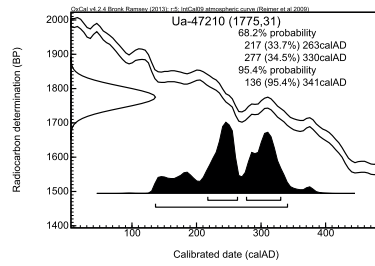
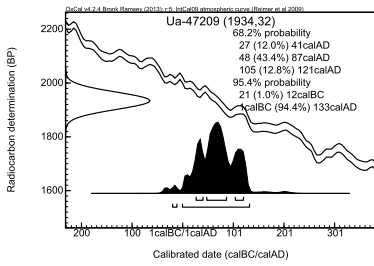
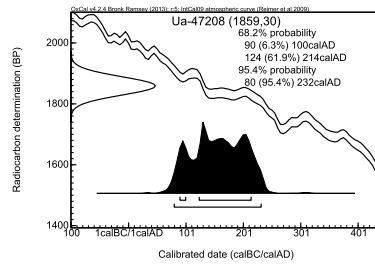
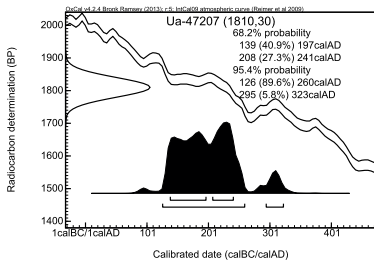
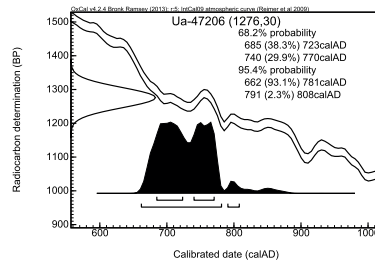
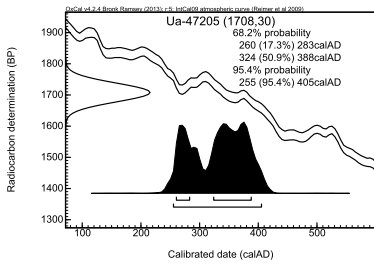
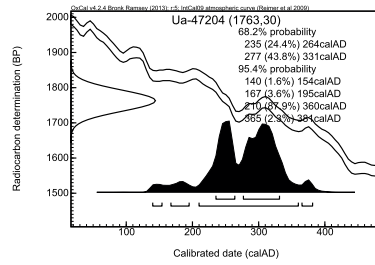
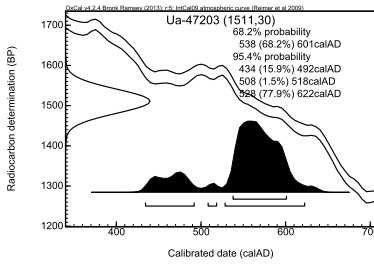
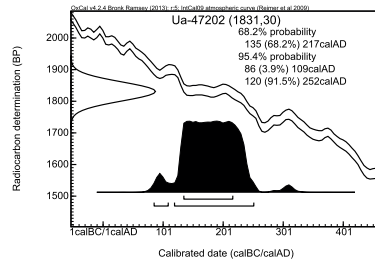
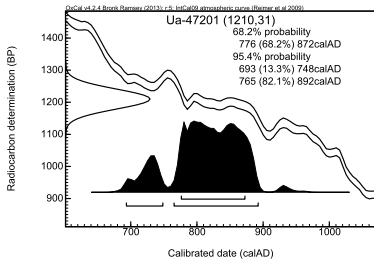
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Ua-47212	Leksaren	Betula	1608 +/- - 31	AD 412-441, 455-460, 484-532	AD 392-540	Building 7, hearth 25
Ua-47213	Leksaren	Betula	1762 +/- - 32	AD 234- 265, AD 274-334	AD 140-153, 168-195, 210-382	Building 8, cultural layer 23

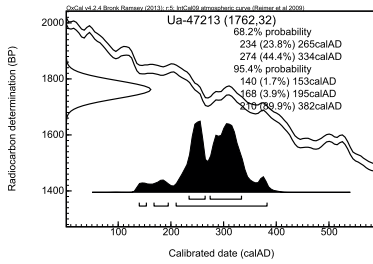
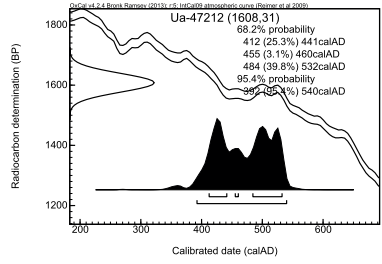
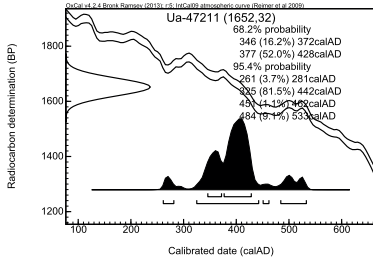
Courtyard Sites











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