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John Ljungkvist & Per Frölund, Gamla Uppsala – the emergence of a centre and a magnate complex

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Reviewers' comments

Referee 1, Lars Jørgensen

I have read the manuscript to the article on Gamla Uppsala with great interest. The paper is definitely worth publishing in JAAH. It discusses in an easily approachable way the importance of the latest investigations for the understanding of the classical elite complex. The paper provides a good impression of the *Stand der Forschung* for Uppsala. At the same time, the authors also give well-earned credit to previous research efforts. The paper is accompanied by a good set of illustrations.

The article also accounts for the results of the field archaeological efforts and the retrospective research strategy that aims to create an overview of the development of the complex. This makes it possible to greatly advance research at little financial investment. The many interdisciplinary analyses illustrate a steadily more fascinating picture of the site. At the same time, the cooperation between the different archaeological institutions in the area seems to have created dynamics and resources that have been of great advantage to the project.

The article provides a good description of the history of research of the site, and particularly that of the last decade. Datings and the development of the different house terraces are described in an exemplary manner, while simultaneously indicating the areas in which further investigations are necessary.

Through the implementation of new excavation methods and the interdepartmental cooperation the article shows the frame for a fascinating complex, where future investigations in all areas will provide new pieces to the puzzle.

I have only a few comments that the authors may want to consider:

- There may be alternative explanations to the so-called double way on the southern plateau hall. Could the outer timber row be a foundation to a wooden terrace? I am thinking quite rationally of the combination of rain and a clay terrace leading in to a royal hall! Furthermore, the authors refer to Bulbrogården. Here, postholes c. 1 metre in front of the walls of the hall may be interpreted either as securing a soil terrace, or as a foundation to a wooden terrace (in publication).
- Early in the paper, the authors mention a very fine dating of the foundation of the hall in the southern plateau. Only later is it mentioned, almost *en passant*, that the hall was burnt down and firmly sealed around 800 CE. This last dating must be further clarified. Is there a 14C dating or artefact dating? What is the 800-date based on?
- It is clear from the text that the Viking Age is still difficult to encompass in Uppsala. I would like to see a special table with Viking Age finds, both stray finds and graves. Fig. 4 shows 500 CE and onwards, but are there Viking Age finds of similar volume in all areas?

Referee 2, Else Roesdahl

My opinion: the article can be published, but only after major adaptations, revisions and changes. It seems to have been written too fast. The topic is of international importance and there is much new evidence and important results. The contents is interesting (although some parts should be elaborated on, see below). The general structure seems OK. The approach is perhaps not original, but the results of these massive investigations are very important.

Various overall comments:

- It needs serious adaptations for the benefit of an international audience (both text, captions and illustrations) it seems to have been written for readers who know Swedish terminology and topography etc. Eg p. 3, mentioning Medelpad in Norrland needs more specification for an international audience: add Northern Sweden; and (p 1 last line): what is OKB?; and p 1 'the valley' which one?
- The 'Swedish' chronological periods must be explained, by giving the years (eg the Vendel period; Migration period; Early Iron Age; Late Iron Age).
- All dates must be checked some of them are inconsistent.
- Terminology must be consistent: eg palace area/manor area (I think 'palace' in this context is wrong).
- The headings should be given further considerations and dates given when possible, eg p. 5 and 7.
- The important stone line is not seen on maps and it certainly needs further discussion.
- -sal may be related to Uppsala, but this is not explained (eg p. 7), although it is alluded several times.
- There must be fig. refs. in the text.
- There must be consistency among the various figures and captions with regard to denominations with letters, cf. figs. 5-6.
- It will also be much easier to follow the text if it is written on the plans themselves what is the North and South Plateaus, cf. figs. 5-6.
- There are details which do not make sense, eg line 3: 'No place is mentioned so often in saga material and other medieval sources' which is of course nonsense with regard to 'other medieval sources'.
- For readers unfamiliar with Gamla Uppsala it would be useful to mention, in the Introduction, the main monuments here, and relate them to a specific map.

The introduction gives a very brief overview of the history of the site, but why be so vague about the date of Adam of Bremen and the new archbishopric? I also need some information on the church: the remains of the archbishop-church, and on when the institution/centre was moved to present Uppsala. - a few lines should be used in order to see the site in wider perspectives! This is also archaeology! And what about the Viking Age? - not even the late 11^{th} -century hoard from 'Kungsgården' is mentioned. Everybody will wonder what has been found from that period.

About dating: as far as I read the text, much dating relies on very few C-14 dates. The reliability of this should be discussed, and it would be useful with a table showing the dating evidence.

I need a summing up with current research problems and plans for further investigations. A status.

In conclusion: it has fine potentials for being an important article, but major revisions are necessary.

Authors' comments

We sincerely thank the two peer-reviewers for their critique and their valuable opinions and suggestions about the manuscript. We have tried to follow their suggestions as much as possible.

The manuscript was reviewed before the summer of 2015. In May and June further excavations were made in the manor area, forcing forced us to rewrite some of the content of the paper, and to enlarge the manuscript as well as the figures to some extent. The most significant alterations appeared in the shape of a new terrace and workshop as well as clarification of the character of the Eastern terrace. In addition to editing the language, we have tried to clarify a number of issues, not least presenting the dating evidence of the great hall and to better clarify the illustrations. Reviewer 2 requested a content that was hard to fulfill. Our main goal for this article was to present an overview of some project results. To accurately include and describe every single period and main feature/area of Gamla Uppsala would require a very detailed paper.