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Placing Place Names in Norwegian Archaeology

Current Discussions and future Perspectives

Sofie Laurine Albris (ed.)

UNIVERSITY OF BERGEN

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Northern Rogaland and southern Vestland mapped by Joannes Janssonius in 1636. Public Domain.

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Preface

In 2019, I started the research project ArcNames at the University of Bergen. One of the defined goals of the project was to revive interdisciplinary discussions between archaeology and onomastics in Norway.

The discipline of onomastics is being cut down at most Norwegian universities and only few specialised onomastic researchers remain. Meanwhile, archaeological discoveries are forwarding new understandings of the settlement history in Norway, encouraging us to re-evaluate traditional views on the place name material. The need for an informed dialogue between onomastics and archaeology is growing with the constantly expanding knowledge about landscape and settlement. The application of place name material in archaeology, however, is a debated issue in Norway.

Onomastics has a lot to offer archaeology, and vice versa, and collaboration between the two disciplines could be better facilitated. All the Norwegian archival material related to place names has recently been gathered in the Language Collections at the University of Bergen, creating a new basis for revitalizing place name research in Norway. In this context, I arranged an interdisciplinary seminar at the University of Bergen on October 20, 2020. The aim was to bring together researchers from both onomastic and archaeology working with toponymy in the Norwegian Iron and Viking Age landscape to discuss the status and perspectives of place names in Norwegian archaeology and to bring attention to current problematics, particularly the reduced capacities in the onomastic discipline. The workshop had presenters from various Norwegian institutions addressing the relevance and use of place names in archaeology today and discussing problems and limitations, in addition to exploring future possibilities in this line of research.

Several of the speakers agreed to contribute with written articles. With some additional papers, the result is this collection of articles presenting various perspectives on the use of place names in relation to archaeology in Norway. I am very grateful to all the authors for taking time to contribute to this volume.

This collection of papers serves to illustrate how place names have a continued relevance to archaeology both in and beyond Norway. Views on the material differ and the evidence may seem incoherent, but this should rather encourage interdisciplinary studies than discourage them. Using place names and archaeology in combination has a long range of methodological implications, and it also calls for qualified theoretical discussions, something that has been lacking in traditional research.

Sofie Laurine Albris and Krister SK Vasshus introduce the topic of interdisciplinary work between archaeology and onomastics, giving an overview of the key themes covered in the book and in research history. The paper further discusses the theoretical perspectives in combining two such different source materials as archaeology and place names.

Peder Gammeltoft uses new digitized mappings of the main types of Norwegian settlement names to address settlement patterns in Norway from a macro perspective.

Geir Grønnesby discusses the observed differences in settlement structure between the Early and Late Iron Age in Norway and their implications for our understanding of place names, particularly from a theoretical perspective. The article proposes that the fundamental relationship between people and landscape changed significantly at the end of the 6th century, with significant impact on landscape experience and naming practises.

Per Vikstrand evaluates the linguistic and archaeological evidence of plural tuna-names in Norway. In the Iron Age, plural tuna-names have clear connections with centrality in Central Sweden and are part of a prestigious vocabulary connected with centrality during the Iron Age. Vikstrand concludes that only Tune in Østfold is a clear representative of this type of place name in Norway.

Kjetil Loftsgarden uses a quantitate approach to the place name element *skeid* throughout Norway. The name localities are evaluated in combination with archaeological and historical sources and likely sites of skeid-assemblies are identified and discussed.

Birgit Maixner uses place names in combination with archaeological and topographical evidence to identify and evaluate components of centres of power in the coastal landscape of northern Trøndelag in Central Norway.

Håkon Reiersen and Christopher Fredrik Kvæstad present a detailed analysis of the Iron Age and Medieval portage at Haraldseid in southwest Norway. The article combines place names, early maps, historical and archaeological evidence, to demonstrate the strategic importance of the site and suggests that there is a core of truth in local legends, associating it with the Viking king Haraldr Fairhair.

Dikka Storm studies the Sámi settlement Stuorgieddi on the island of Iinnasuolu in Southern Troms. The local Sámi place names have gone through a process of Norwegianization and translation into Norwegian until work has been in recent decades done to recreate and restore Sámi place names according to the Place Names Act of 1990. The article demonstrates how the local Sámi place names reflect the economy and use of cultural and social space as well as the close connections between people, their activities and place names at Stuorgieddi.

I want to thank the UBAS editorial group and the anonymous peer reviewers for their assistance in editing and reviewing the chapters. Thanks especially to Randi Barndon, who served as the supervisor of the ArcNames project for encouraging me to put the book together. I also thank AHKR (department of Archaeology, History, Cultural Studies and Religion) at the University of Bergen and the University Museum of Bergen for their administrative assistance with the publication.

Both the seminar and this publication were put together as a part of the research project *ArcNames. Individuals, social identities and archetypes – the oldest Scandinavian personal names in an archaeological light*, funded by the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme. The project research focused on personal names and individual identities in the Scandinavian Iron Age from an archaeological point of view. The project was a Marie Skłodowska-Curie individual fellowship under grant agreement No. 797386, running from March 2019 to June 2021 and hosted at the University of Bergen at the Department of Archaeology, History, Cultural Studies and Religion.

Sofie Laurine Albris *National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen, January 2023*

Sofie Laurine Albris and Krister SK Vasshus

Placing place names in Norwegian archaeology. Key themes, challenges and reflections

Archaeological discoveries are forwarding new understandings of the settlement history all over Scandinavia, encouraging us to re-evaluate traditional views on the place name material. But how can place names inform the archaeologist about settlement and social organisation – and what can we learn from toponymy about early mentality and perception?

As a part of the introduction to the book, this paper offers an overview of the most central themes, challenges and theoretical perspectives related to the use of place names in archaeology. The various topics and problematics are illustrated through the individual papers published in the book. These studies present a variety of approaches and datasets that show how place names can be employed in archaeological enquiry about the landscape on various scales. Through these examples, the chapter discusses general research historical aspects and the key methodological issues to a qualified interdisciplinary approach. Following this, the chapter addresses the integration of place name studies in artchaeological research from a theoretical viewpoint. With this, we advocate that toponyms and onomastic research have a general relevance to archaeology and we aim to revitalise the dialogue between archaeology and onomastics in Norway and beyond.

Is toponymy relevant to archaeology?

In recent years, place name research as a discipline has suffered severe reductions in Norwegian academic environments – as it has elsewhere in Scandinavia. Many practicing researchers have retired or found positions that focus on administrative tasks, and few have been replaced. Meanwhile, Scandinavian archaeology sees a constant influx of data from excavations, rapidly developing metal detection and new methods used in surveying and research. This changes our preconditions for understanding the place name material, while place names can help direct and qualify archaeological enquiry into the organisation of settlement and landscape.

Place names have a wide range of uses to archaeologists, and historically, collaboration between Norwegian archaeologists and onomastic scholars have strong traditions. Indeed, one of the founding fathers of the toponymic discipline in Norway, Oluf Rygh (1833-1899), was an archaeologist and historian. As the onomastic discipline became more refined through the 19th and 20th centuries, the emphasis on the linguistic traits of names became more predominant in scholarly work. This is arguably a part of the reason why toponymy has played a minor

role in archaeology in Norway in the late 20th and early 21st century, although it has not been entirely absent (see Brink 2007, Særheim 2014). In addition, it has caused some scepticism among archaeologists in later decades when excavated settlement remains seem not to fit with the place name evidence, based on traditional place name chronologies (cf. Øye 2013, p. 225). Often, it has turned out that traces of cultivation and settlement date further back at a locality than place name types and burial monuments indicate. This has underscored how settlement and cultivation are dynamic long-term processes and has caused new discussion about the continuity of historically known farms, about when and how settlement patterns became stabile, and about the way cultivation was organised (see also Pilø 2005, Gjerpe 2014, 2017, Grønnesby 2019).

The findings that place name types and archaeology mismatch, should in our opinion not lead to archaeologists dismissing or abandoning toponymy as a source category in the study of settlement history. On the contrary, we believe that it encourages new discussions of methodological strategies and theoretical approaches. We should take the discrepancies between place names and settlement remains as an opportunity to study the dynamics of human activity in the landscape (see for example Vikstrand 2013, Hansen 2015).

In this paper, we begin with introducinbg this book and its individual chapters by outlining some of the basic lines of research history and methodological conditions for combining archaeology and onomastics that are relevant to the themes addressed in the individual papers. Following this, we proceed with a theoretical discussion about the integration of place names in the general archaeological understanding of the materiality of the landscape and the built environment.

Key themes in research history and methodology

The qualities and challenges of two different source materials

As research fields, archaeology and onomastics have always been closely linked in Scandinavia, especially in their formative years, as the disciplines have a common interest in landscape and settlement history (Albris 2014a, p. 33-48). Collecting source materials in the 19th and 20th centuries often happened in parallel: In the paper by Peder Gammeltoft in this volume, more can be read about the archaeologist Oluf Rygh and his work collecting Norwegian farm names. As Gammeltoft also addresses, our combining the collected place names with archaeology can be methodologically difficult, particularly because each source material comes with its own problems. The two source materials have very different formation processes, which means that the working methods in research vary significantly. The archaeological record is created by human activity and practices, that both consciously and unconsciously produce material traces. Its preservation is conditioned by natural circumstances, soil types and the degree of disturbance of a site. The representativity of the material is dependent on preservation but also on the scope of surveys, excavations and other investigations as well as on our ability to date the material with varying precision (Kristiansen, 1985, p. 7-10, Renfrew and Bahn, 2004, p. 56-61, 124-48). Archaeology is thus shaped by, and informs us about, the ways the material world is created, used, deposited and decomposed.

Place names, on the other hand, survive through continued oral communication and finally through writing. A challenge to all scholars working from our modern perspective is

understanding the nature of oral culture and how oral traditions and transfer of knowledge played a central role in prehistoric and early historic societies (cf. Brink 2005). Place names were a part of this continued oral communication and transfer of knowledge and were only put in writing at a later stage. The relations between place names, collective memory and written hegemonies are a key issue in the papers by Reiersen and Kvæstad and by Dikka Storm in this volume. Place names are a part of an ever-ongoing discourse about the landscape and its embedded localities, and they can migrate, be transferred or changed through their use in the spoken language (Strid 2011, p. 292). Place names are linguistic elements, while they are also tied to a concrete physical location and form a part of a cultural and historical context of the landscape. This way, they can also become a political tool, something reflected in Dikka Storm's paper, where she describes how Norwegian authorities through many years changed and eradicated Sámi place name forms when they were mapping the landscape in later centuries. Names reflected the use and activities connected to sites but were overwritten by Norwegian nomenclature. Through retracing Saami place names, Storm is able to reveal striking reconstructions of Sámi mental maps related to the Sámi way of life and economy. This study further reminds us of the importance and relevance of oral and local narratives. In the paper by Reiersen and Kvæstad, the authors attempt to look behind orally transmitted evidence, place names and local legends, that connect the place name *Haraldseid* with the Viking king Haraldr Fairhair. They combine place names, folklore, early maps, historical and archaeological evidence to discuss the long-term infrastructure of the coastal landscape of South-western Norway surrounding the Iron and Viking Age central place of Avaldsnes, suggesting that there may be an element of historical truth behind the oral traditions.

Often still in use, place names represent a living collective memory about places that may be in constant change, while also remaining very persistent, acting differently than other elements in the language (Hald 1965, p. 20, Holmberg 1996, p. 54-55, Ainiala *et al.* 2016, p. 15, 27). The representativity of place names depends on their use and thereby on continuity in the groups that use them, on the size and social development of these groups and on the point in time when they became part of the written record (Christensen and Kousgård Sørensen 1972, p. 104-112).

The main source materials, basic nature of knowledge and research methods of archaeology and onomastics as disciplines are thus fundamentally very different in character. This causes difficulties in cross-communicating and aligning research aims between the two fields. Despite the different conditions of the source materials, archaeology and onomastics are nevertheless disciplines with much in common. They confront similar problematics regarding representativity, because they both work with source materials that have a fundamentally fragmented character. Moreover, both come with a long list of uncertainties regarding dating and interpretations (cf. Kousgård Sørensen 1964, p. 83, Jørgensen 1977, p. 93, Kristiansen 1985).

Although some basic problematics of the two disciplines are very similar, the methodological challenges in combining the materials are increased by the many uncertainties attached to both. An important matter to consider when different source materials are combined is the mode of communication and exchange between disciplines. In interdisciplinary work, there is always a danger of simplification and eradication of uncertainties when results from one field are employed in another, something often discussed in archaeology and the natural sciences (cf. Stutz 2018) but equally relevant here.

As research fields, archaeology and onomastics have different purposes, paradigms, discourses and views on scholarly work, and misunderstandings occur, especially because the two fields have very different research aims. The fact that onomastic research is mostly carried out in linguistic environments at universities has meant that the primary research goal of this discipline is often to study language and vocabulary in itself (cf. Andersson 2015, p. 9). Archaeology on the other hand is occupied with all aspects of human life that are reflected in the material world – which is often everything but language. To an archaeologist, the main interest of a name may be the potential information that can be extracted about society, concrete knowledge about a location or new angles on an archaeological phenomenon. Some archaeologists feel sceptical towards onomastics, probably because the highly specialised linguistic knowledge is not easily accessible to other scholarly groups (Johnson 2007, p. 109-10).

In Scandinavia, there has been a particular clash between archaeology and onomastics within the field of settlement history (see for example the heated discussions in Jørgensen *et al.*, eds. 1984). The discussions were due to unrealistic expectations of the capacities of the respective source materials, going far back in research history (Brink 1984). Before the development of large-scale archaeological investigations, knowledge about settlement structures was limited and mainly based on burials. Therefore, in the early 20th century, there was an interest for using mapping of place name types as a main tool for writing settlement history (Holmberg, 1996, p. 53-57, Albris, 2014a, p. 36, overview in Schmidt 2015, p. 54ff.). This type of work has acquired new relevance with developments in later decades of digital resources and possibilities in digital mapping and datasets (see below and Gammeltoft and Loftsgarden, this volume). Today we are more aware however, that linguistic evidence can only place various place name types within a very broad relative chronology. Some place name types were produced through many centuries, which means that they only tell us about settlement development on a very general level (see overview and research history in Schmidt 2015, p. 66f. and examples in Gammeltoft, this volume). The very broad chronology of place names makes it difficult to establish a precise relation between the individual name formation and founding of a particular settlement (see for example Grøngaard Jeppesen 1981, p. 12). To make these chronologies more precise, some early researchers looked to archaeological finds in the vicinity of a place name, to indicate its age, based on the assumption that the names must have been formed when a place was first settled (see examples in Brink 1984). However, early settlers may have had very different ways of using the landscape and organising settlements, and therefore also of forming and using names. This is a very important point made by Grønnesby in his paper in this book. Grønnesby presents the faint traces of Bronze Age and Early Iron Age place perception preserved in nature names in Trøndelag to demonstrate how ways of classifying places and naming the landscape were completely different in the mobile, pastoral economy of these periods. This, we believe has intriguing implications for the ways we should interpret the types of place names that are early seen from a linguistic point of view.

In later decades, the amount of archaeological evidence has increased dramatically all over Scandinavia through excavations, metal detecting and various surveying technologies, challenging our traditional views of the place name material. It has turned out that the linear view on settlement expansion was oversimplified. The settled landscape could be very stable in some areas, while in others, farms could move around, and settlements could consolidate or disperse while landscape boundaries changed. In these processes, it is likely that some

names disappeared or that new place name types eradicated older names when areas were restructured. The observation that there are often few of the linguistically oldest names and more of the younger types was in early research interpreted to reflect gradual settlement expansion through time. Today, we rather have the view that there are fewer of the oldest names, because these have disappeared and been replaced over time.

It is possible and relevant to discuss place name formations based on archaeological evidence, but it often requires complicated analyses of larger areas and evaluations of settlement patterns, as well as of concentrations and boundaries in the landscape. In Denmark and Sweden, discussions of these problematics have taken place in various interdisciplinary fora (Vikstrand 2013, Dam 2015, Hansen 2015, Albris 2017). In Norway, onomastic researchers have traditionally kept more to linguistic questions, an exception being Inge Særheim's cooperation with archaeologists on the prehistoric settlement of Jæren (cf. Særheim 2014). In more recent years, however, many Norwegian archaeologists have taken up place names in relation to settlement analyses in large-scale and local landscape developments (cf. Gjerpe 2017, Grønnesby 2019, Maixner 2020), and these studies are showing very interesting results. This opens for some potentially fruitful areas of cooperation between the disciplines in Norway.

Place names as a digital resource

An important prerequisite for employing place name material in archaeological research is access to the source material, which has been revolutionised by digital resources. At the workshop on place names and archaeology in October 2020 that formed the starting point of this book, onomastic researcher Berit Sandnes from the Norwegian Mapping Authority, Kartverket, presented a range of digital resources and tools available to archaeologists through online services.

Search engines, digitised maps and place name registries facilitate access to large bodies of material and give new opportunities for creating overviews of both archaeology place name materials. However, we are faced with methodological challenges in qualifying the data we are extracting. Therefore, digitization and employment of Geographical Information Systems and databases is a particularly important and current theme when we discuss the collaboration between onomastics and archaeology. Experience and specialized knowledge are necessary to assess the background, status and interpretation of each name. Digital resources are especially central in the papers by Kjetil Loftsgarden and Peder Gammeltoft in this volume. In Loftsgarden's paper, it is demonstrated how Kartverket's Central Place Name Registry can be employed to extract a large body of names related to the word *skeid*, referring to places where horse games and competitions took place. The name registry can thus create insight into possible patterns and areas of interest. Although work lies ahead with critically assessing each *skeid*-name, the survey demonstrates the opportunities archaeologist have of using place names to help create insights into the landscape. Peder Gammeltoft is particularly addressing these issues in relation to the registry Norske Gaardnavne (Norwegian farm names) produced by Oluf Rygh (Rygh 1898-1936). Gammeltoft is working on a new georeferenced database of farm names, which encompasses evaluating the interpretation, localisation and status of each name. Based on the current, preliminary material, Gammeltoft demonstrates possibilities of creating distribution maps while also discussing problems with interpreting and localising each individual name. Both Gammeltoft's and Loftsgarden's papers illustrate the many

considerations that must be taken when digitizing large numbers of names – issues especially pertaining to the administrative history of the names and the named units.

Place names and settlement changes

An important theme related to Gammeltoft's work on mapping of the main Norwegian Place name types is settlement chronology and our understanding of settlement names and how and when names were coined. New evidence of stability or instability in settlement and landscape use have strong implications for the dating of place name types (see also the papers by Grønnesby and Storm). The workshop featured an important block on this theme with presentations by Grønnesby and in addition by Lars Erik Gjerpe (Museum of Cultural History) and Søren Diinhoff (University Museum of Bergen). Grønnesby and Gjerpe presented data about farms known from historical sources in eastern Norway and Trøndelag respectively. According to archaeological evidence, farms in these areas settled on their current locations about AD 500-600. Before this period, the archaeology suggests that settlements were more labile. The settlements moved around, and seemed not to be strictly connected to defined land ownership as they appear to have been in the Late Iron Age and the Viking Age. This is discussed in depth in Grønnesby's paper in this volume.

Diinhoff on the other hand, demonstrated that a very different pattern can be observed in Western Norway. In the west, some farms were settled in the Neolithic period on places where the soil is of the best quality, and often there has been a continuity of activity on these places into the present (see also Diinhoff 2013). These differences call for further discussions, for example regarding the chronology of certain place name types, how to understand the transition from labile to stabile settlements, and regional differences within Norway and in Scandinavia.

In relation to such discussions, it is important to address settlement structure in general and patterns in distributions of place name types on different scales. This discussion is taken up from different perspectives in the papers by Gammeltoft and Grønnesby, but it is important to be aware that we are only just beginning to scratch the surface of these problematics. The attitudes towards how the various place name types should be viewed and dated vary across Scandinavia and we need more sharing of information to understand the material and the processes that lie behind it. New perspectives from archaeology encourages us to completely rethink relations between cultivation practices, burial monuments, settlements, the concept of the farm and the concept of 'place'. Key to these questions is understanding the differences between organisation and landscape perception that develop between the Early and Late Iron Age. This must be connected with the formation of an increasingly owned landscape and fixed settlement organisation that begins to appear clearly from the sixth and seventh centuries (see also Hansen 2015 for a discussion of this in a Danish context and Vikstrand 2013 for a Swedish context).

Place names and centrality

Another area of dialogue between archaeology and onomastics concerns social organisation, including for example religious phenomena or power structures. The question of centrality and the social organisation of the landscape has become a classical thematic in the intersection between Iron and Viking Age archaeology and onomastics in Scandinavia. The basic concept

of these studies is that place names containing word elements that refer to various societal functions can be used to point out how society was organised in a spatial perspective (cf. Brink 1999). This topic has deep roots in Norwegian scholarship, for example with Magnus Olsen's *Ættegård og Helligdom* from 1926 (see also Sandnes 1992). In later decades, this area of research has been largely driven forward by Swedish onomastic researchers such as Lars Hellberg, Stefan Brink and Per Vikstrand, while others have taken on specific areas or name elements (cf. Christensen 2010, Vasshus 2015, Svensson 2015, Albris 2017, Ødegaard 2018). In the 1970s, Lars Hellberg (1975, 1984) developed a theory about name environments based on recurring structures in settlement types found in Central Sweden that he argued represented Iron Age administrative organisation. One of the key elements in these structures was the plural *tuna*-names discussed by Per Vikstrand in this volume. The name environment theory had great impact on archaeological research in the 1980s and 1990s. This was spurred by new discoveries of so-called central places, for example in Gudme in Denmark, which could comprise large elite buildings, trade crafts and military functions (cf. Brink 1996, p. 238, 1999, p. 434, Jørgensen 2009, Christensen 2010, p. 15). According to Stefan Brink, place name environments reflect the onomastic side of the same phenomenon we see in the archaeological record, where various functions are found dispersed within certain areas in the landscape. He states that these complexes made up independent political units that can be seen as early-stage towns (Brink 1999, p. 434 f). It is worth considering whether we should instead apply a term such as *low density urbanism* and view the large, settled areas with many assembled functions that we see around places such as Gudme and Sorte Muld in Denmark as a different kind of urban site functioning within an agrarian setting (see Fletcher 2020).

In Norway, several archaeological studies in recent years have investigated various aspects of social organisation in the landscape. Marie Ødegaard has worked in depth comparing place names and archaeological sources to shed light on the development of assemblies and thing sites (cf. Ødegaard 2018). Birgit Maixner has showed how *Sæheim*-sites along the coast indicate early landing and trading sites (2020). Clear place name environments like those we find in Central Sweden, however, are difficult to identify in both the Danish and Norwegian areas, although Stefan Brink has convincingly analysed the area around Kaupang (Brink 2007). The Danish archaeologist Lisbeth E. Christensen has pointed out that the Swedish investigations have often interpreted the individual names based on their relation to surrounding names, which involves a risk of constructing such relations (Christensen 2010, p. 12, 248-253). The great challenge when employing place name material in mapping the social landscape is that we cannot avoid selecting particular names or finds that relate to the subjects we are investigating. It is sometimes impossible to include all data, but the selection means that the less relevant parts of the context may be left out and makes the argument appear clearer. It is therefore important to evaluate the interpretations against the more general picture. We are reminded that place names do not necessarily refer to characteristics that are relevant or interesting from an archaeological point of view (Vikstrand 2001, p. 18-19). We may for example mainly find nature names in an area with a rich and special archaeological locality (Albris 2011).

Various aspects of centrality are the main themes of the papers by Vikstrand, Maixner and Loftsgarden in this book. Birgit Maixner uses place names and archaeology to trace and discuss the chronological layers of Iron Age central areas related to large burial mounds in coastal Trøndelag and demonstrates how place names can be a source to understanding the

maritime cultural landscape. Kjetil Loftsgarden directs focus towards the place name element *skeid* and activities related to infrastructure and trading routes across the Norwegian mountain ridges. Loftsgarden gives examples of place names containing the elements *skeid* and *leik* indicating locations of reoccurring games connected to economic and social gatherings that otherwise leave few physical traces and can be difficult to detect. Hallingskeid in Grøndal is an interesting exception, as there were found cooking pits and possible continuity of use dating back to ca. 300 BC.

These types of studies are particularly strong when place name evidence is held up against archaeological material (cf. Albris 2017). However, strict source criticism is essential, as it is easy to fall into circular arguments. It is particularly critical to heed regional and chronological variations in terminology as well as the scales of possible connectedness in the landscape. It is also very important to be aware of dating methods and the relative chronology between various sites in a landscape as well as the interpretational framework for different indications of centrality. The significance of chronology, infrastructure and the development of social organisation is also central in the paper by Vikstrand. Here, the terminology of place names and the use of names to trace social organisation in the landscape is addressed in relation to Norwegian *tuna*-names, both on a local and inter-Scandinavian level. Vikstrand demonstrates how every name, and its surroundings must be carefully evaluated. Names in *Tuna*/*-tuna* are clearly connected with centrality and rich archaeological finds in Central Sweden and Vikstrand is working on research project *Tuna revisited* at the Department of Archaeology at the University of Uppsala to reassess this group of names. His paper illustrates the importance of looking across present day borders when we study settlement and landscape of the past. Languages of the past did not follow modern day national divisions, something Gammeltoft also notes in his paper.

Studying place names in relation to material remains and the landscape bring us closer to the processes at play in the interactions between people and land and to the way people in the past perceived and communicated about their surroundings. These are aspects that need to be considered from a theoretical perspective. This is specifically done in the paper by Geir Grønnesby in this volume, where the author rethinks some of the traditional interpretation models about landscape and settlement in Scandinavia and readdresses the evidence of place names in relation to the development of the cultivated landscape. Grønnesby has a distinct theoretical focus, something that has not received much attention in either onomastic or archaeological research (Although see Albris 2014a and b and below). Reflections on the theoretical and methodological implications of combining the two research fields can be fruitful new starting points for our ways of thinking about the ways landscape and places were perceived in the past. Below, we outline a theoretical framework that encompass the relation between place names and the material environment and the way place names can work as sources to changing human perceptions of localities and landscapes.

A theoretical relationship between locality, landscape and name?

Despite methodological challenges, an advantage of combining place name studies and archaeology is that the two source materials offer different perspective on the landscape. A theoretical discussion about the relation between the material record and onomastic evidence

is therefore important for our approach to the methodological issues outlined above and for understanding the implications of changes in naming traditions (see also Dalberg 1977, Ainiala *et al.* 2016, p. 13ff.). Below, we develop further the theoretical framework first presented in Albris 2014a and 2014b, arguing that place names, archaeological evidence and topographical surroundings are related through long-term processes and practices embedded in a landscape context. While archaeology provides information about physical conditions, concrete events and practices related to each place, this framework emphasises how place names offer insight into perceptions, communication and emic categories related to place and landscape in past societies.

The nature of the evidence and the practice perspective

In theory, the fact that archaeology and place names are both products of human activity in interaction with specific environments makes it possible to bring them together on equal terms (Johnson 2007, p. 148). It is in their mutual connection to the particular place that the connection between toponymy and archaeology must be sought.

As archaeological remains represent tangible traces of concrete human activity, it is sensible to view them from a practice perspective (e.g., Pauketat 2001, p. 73, Stutz 2003, Johnson 2007, p. 145). Practice here is a term that covers the relationship between mental structures and human actions as a dynamic historical process (Bourdieu 1977, Giddens 1979, p. 55, 66). With a focus on practice, we can observe through the archaeological record how practice patterns develop in long- and short-term perspectives. Likewise, place names are created through ongoing dynamic practices of naming and oral transmission, reflecting how humans perceived and communicated about their surroundings (Ainiala *et al.* 2016, p. 19).

On the physical level, 'places' are created when humans move through, occupy or build in the landscape (Norberg-Schulz 1980, p. 18, Creswell 2003, p. 269). However, naming a place defines it as something coherent in our minds, creating 'place' within the more abstract 'space' (Mauss 1979, p. 27, Dalberg 1976, Johnson 2007, p. 148). As linguistic practices, place names are affected by tradition, general naming patterns and analogies to or comparison with other places and names (Dalberg 1977, 1997). In the act of naming, choices are made that are meaningful within a common frame of reference at that time, and these may be renegotiated through time (Norberg-Schulz 1980, p. 69, Vikstrand 2001, p. 19, Strid 2011, p. 292). Although naming may happen as part of planned strategies or organisation, the survival of a place name requires a group of people to agree about the choice of name. This means that they reflect a certain consensus within the group of name users (Ainiala *et al.* 2016, p. 17). Place names therefore offer archaeology a past, collective experienced perspective on places. This is for example valuable for identification of sites with religious connotations, that are difficult to identify through material culture alone.

Spatial preconditions

Although humans in a practice-oriented perspective create and recreate their reality, an "objective" physical or material world exists, which is not only a human construction. In later decades, there has been a focus in social sciences, materiality studies and geographical thinking on the generative forces of the physical conditions in which humans are situated (e.g. Latour 1993, Ingold 2000). Research has shown that topological structure and qualities

of space play a role in the perception of the surroundings and in social life (e.g. Hillier 1996, 2004, p. 116, see also Olsen 1997, p. 209, Holst 2004). In a long-time perspective, a world or a landscape created by people through historical courses of events will come to appear given and inevitable. For example, we experience burial mounds as a natural part of the landscape, although they were once inserted here by people. Thus, the landscape is both a product of and a producer of practices and integrated in the processes of social reproduction (Creswell 2003, p. 277-78). This is in line with the British anthropologist Tim Ingold's argument to view *landscape* as a process, where human activity, materiality and objects are in constant interaction with the surroundings (Ingold 2000, p. 186-88, 199). In this perspective, landscape manifests the dynamic relationship between humans and the environment, and 'place' is created in the continued interplay between materiality, human consciousness and human actions. This interaction is the process that forms the common context for the creation of place names and archaeology (Fig.1).

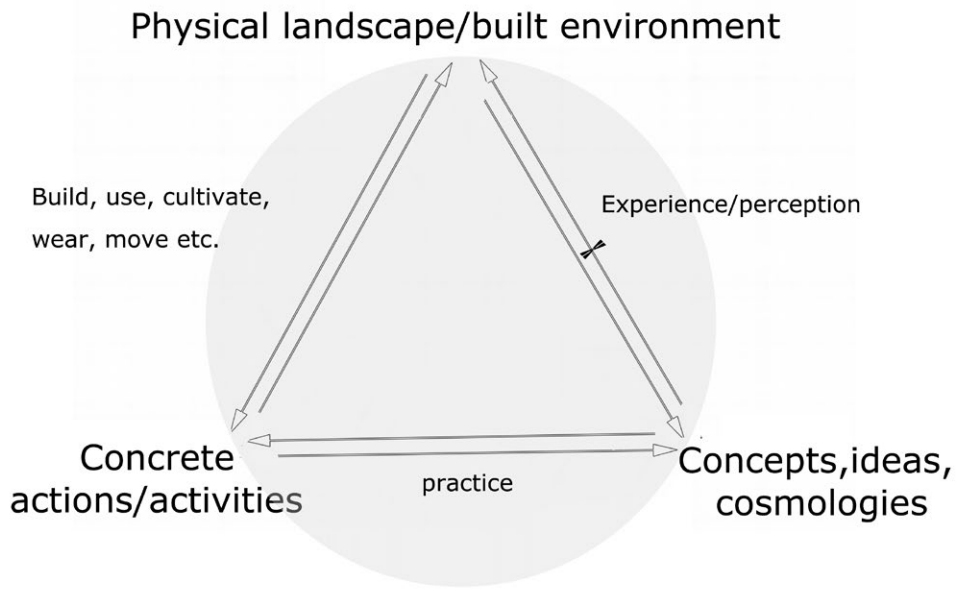

***Figure 1**. Model summarising the interdependent relationship between practice as a process and the material reality: Ideas, practices and the physical world shape each other in a long-time perspective, meaning that dwelling in the landscape and creating places is a constantly evolving process, entangled with the material reality. Modified after Albris 2014a.*

Classification and experience of landscape

The terms *cultural landscape* and *landscape* denote something that is created or transformed by human activity (Head 2010, p. 427). In a research historical perspective, landscape has basically been studied either as a material object, viewed from a distance, or as a lived and experienced world with humans in the centre (Creswell 2003, p. 269-273, Fleming 2006, Head 2010, p. 428). The first perspective classifies human activity in the landscape based on aspired objective and scientific criteria, for example by recording distributions of finds and

place names on maps. The British archaeologist Chris Tilley has criticised this perspective for being an abstraction (Tilley 1994, p. 7-34). Tilley's own phenomenological perspective seeks to understand human experience of the landscape. This view has in turn been rightly criticised for reflecting the archaeologist's own subjective and thereby relative experience (Creswell 2003, p. 278, Fleming 2006). From the perspective of human cognition however, the phenomenological approach is important, because it represents the lived experience of the specific person (Ainiala *et al.* 2016, p. 26, 34). As the German philosopher Martin Heidegger pointed out, we cannot establish contradictions between humans and the environment, as humans themselves are a part of the world (e.g. 1946, 1971). All perception, cognition and understanding of the surroundings start from experiencing them through our own body (see also Ingold 2000, p. 174, 186, 199). In his work "Bauen, Wohnen, Denken" Heidegger illustrated how language itself expresses human embedding in the world: the German word *bauen* used in the sense 'to build', in fact means 'to dwell'. The same meaning underlies the Scandinavian word *bygge*, 'build', the word *by*, 'settlement, town, village' and the place name element *-by*/*-bø*. *To build* therefore goes beyond merely constructing, it is to belong, to dwell in the world (Heidegger 1971, p. 144-146).

A distinction can thus be made between an objective, "scientific" description and an experiential, *lived* description of reality - each of which are equally true. For example, says Heidegger, a hammer can be described by referring to materials and dimensions – a method in line with the traditional archaeological object description. For the one who uses it however, the hammer embodies the activity *to hammer* (1971, p. 161ff). This distinction also applies to places in the landscape. Archaeological registration classifies sites in typologies according to form and function: burial sites, settlements, middens, depositions etc. However, as is demonstrated in for example cognitive linguistics, this is not necessarily the way people of the past themselves understood the localities they lived in (Lakoff 1987, Ainiala *et al.* 2016, p. 25-26). This is an issue that has been debated in archaeology, particularly within the research on depositions of wealth in the landscape (e.g. Bradley 1990, p. 1-42, Maher and Sheehan 2000, Randsborg 2002). In landscape studies, it is therefore important to retain a balance between an overall structural perspective on one side and a lived and experienced perspective on the other.

Genius loci – man-made 'place' as an interpretation of nature

The act of naming a place does not directly reflect reality, but rather choices made by the name givers, governed by their interpretations in close interaction with the environment (Dalberg 1976, Albøge 2000, p. 112, Gelling and Cole 2000, p. 131). 12). This is way of concretising the understanding of the world comes very close to the architectural phenomenology developed by the Norwegian architect Christian Norberg-Schulz (1926-2000). Norberg-Schulz claimed that humans experience landscapes as structured in points (elements that concentrate space), paths (elements that create direction in space) and domains (confined areas that creates patterns in space) (1980, p. 19-20, 32). Topography forms coherent areas in which humans find "subplaces" where they feel at home (ibid. 40). A hilltop for example forms a natural centre in a flat landscape (ibid. 171, see also Dalberg 1976). Norberg-Schulz uses the term *genius loci*, 'spirit of the place' - a classical concept which in antiquity denoted the inherent spirits or deities of places.

To Norberg-Schulz this term describes the meaning humans draw from the physical reality, experienced through five dimensions; *things/elements*, *cosmological order*, *characteristics/personifications*, *light* and *time* (ibid. 24-32).

This process of interpretation is reflected materially when humans build, and directly expressed in name choice. In contrast to the archaeological classification, place names can thus inform us about what people of the past emphasised and experienced as meaningful about places. Place names often quite specifically refer to basic landscape features. In place names, the generics concretise or delimit points or domains, denoting certain elements or things, such as mountains, groves, hills, islets, and lakes (cf. Ainiala *et al.* 2016, p. 23-24). In addition, we find categories for man-made places used as generics: the farm, the village, the house, or the town. Norberg-Schulz remarks how the delimitation itself can be perceived as the most important feature of the man-made place (Norberg-Schulz 1980, p. 58, 69). This is reflected in many Scandinavian settlement name generics, such as *-tun* and *-toft*, that originally mean 'fenced-in area' (see Vikstrand, this volume). Space as a system of relations is described in place names through specifications such as *north*, *south*, *above* or *below*. As each name points out a character of one place to separate it from surrounding places, naming also reflects the relations between places, i.e., a topological system or structure (Norberg-Schulz 1980, p. 42, 166, see also Dalberg 2005, Hillier 2004, p. 20-25).

This way, place names play a key role in human conceptualisation of 'place' in interaction with natural phenomena. The very concept of a 'place' has been described by Per Vikstrand as created in an interplay between a physical locality, the place name, and human conceptions about this place (Vikstrand 2001, p. 18-19). Place names therefore offer us insight into the human or phenomenological perspective, into the lived and perceived landscape of the past.

Categorising places in the landscape

In view of the theoretical perspectives outlined above, it is interesting how many Scandinavian settlement names have the natural environment as their point of departure. As stated by the late Swedish linguist and onomastic scholar Thorsten Andersson:

> *'The foundation of Old Scandinavian settlement naming customs is linguistically made up of ancient nature names. It is the ancient nature names – and their etymology – that stand at the centre of an interdisciplinary study of the development of settlement patterns in Scandinavia and these names have their roots in Proto-Norse, in Proto-Germanic and to some extend even in Pre-Proto Germanic periods' (Andersson 2015, p. 27, authors' translation from Swedish).*

Nature names is a term for names that refer to natural and topographical traits and reveal no direct information about social structure or society in general. The presence of nature names does not reflect that an area was void of settlements, they rather reflect how the settled and cultivated landscape was defined in peoples' minds by the natural surroundings (Gelling and Cole 2000, p. xix). When names denote man made features or refer to the way an area was used, we use the term *culture names* (Ainiala et al. 2016, p. 23-24, 65ff). The use of nature names seems to have been a very old practice, but since much of the vocabulary has been in use into our own time, these names can be almost impossible to date. In Scandinavia, language seems to have evolved in an unbroken chain since an Indo-European language was

at some point introduced, and it is difficult to find evidence of substrate earlier languages (Særheim 2012).

In addition to the phenomenon of nature names functioning as settlement names, the fundamental etymological meaning of many Scandinavian settlement name types indicate that they were originally coined as field names. They refer to pasture, meadows, cleared or fenced areas. A good example is place names in *-vin*, that are typical for Norway and probably one of the relatively oldest settlement name types found here (Nielsen 2000, p. 315, Schmidt 2015, p. 71f). Although *vin*-names function as names for settlements, the original meaning of the name element is 'pasture, grassland'. The specifics are often topographical words and sometimes also sacral terms (Schmidt 2015, p. 72). When built environments were eventually established on these fields, the names came to denote settlements (Andersson 2015, p. 20). When original field designations came to function as settlement names, it poses a settlement historical puzzle: did these fields belong to existing nearby settlements or were they communal fields? What was the relation between pre-existing settlements, the named fields, and the farms that were later established on these fields? The original field names thus offer a glimpse into a previous organization of the cultivated landscape that was restructured at some point by establishing settlements on the fields (ibid. 25). However, it is up to archaeology to cast light on the conditions that created this situation. The general observation is that there is often a close geographical connection between traces of cultivation and contemporary settlements (Diinhoff 2013, p. 59).

In reality, it is only very few of the general settlement name types that can be deemed *primary settlement names* – names that from their origin designated built environments (Andersson 2015, p. 26). One of these may be the names in *-heim*, a name type also very well represented in Norway (Brink 1991, see also the overview of name types by Gammeltoft, this volume). The equivalent of the modern word 'home', *-heim* may originally have meant 'populated place/area', which developed into meaning 'farm, settlement' (Hald 1942, p. 41, Schmidt 2015, p. 70). This name type is considered to be as old as the *vin*-names, meaning that they can go back as far as the Early Iron Age. Yet names in *-heim* seem to have been coined well into the Viking Age. The specifics in *heim*-names are mostly words for topography, plants, animals and sacral words as well as other place names such as river names (Hald 1942, p. 37). Some of the *heim*-compositions are very common and can be termed as stereotypical, which is considered to be a later phenomenon (i.e., Late Iron Age, Brink 1991). Examples are names such as *Solheim* or *Sæheim*, 'Sun-home' and 'Sea-home'.

The *heim*-names seem to have been area names, probably more specifically comprising the farm including its adjacent fields, which may explain why the element can cover both large (e.g., Trondheim) and small areas like the individual farm (Brink 1991, Vikstrand 2013, p. 41). Many of the names that survived for long periods can have worked as domain or territorial names, comprising larger areas (see Vikstrand 2013, p. 45f.).

Area names and early collective organisation

In addition to names with punctual references to farms, towns or villages, there is evidence to show that names of territories, Norwegian *bygd*, 'settled area' had great importance in prehistory (Andersson 2015, p. 9-10). Contrary to administrative units like parishes or hundreds, the *bygd*-territories grew out of long historical processes, following natural

topographical delineations sometimes with diffuse boundaries (Andersson 2021, p. 98ff). Often, the names of such areas are based on nature names, mainly of prominent landscape features or the characteristics of the main assembly point of the community (Andersson 2015, p. 9-10). The name of a *bygd* may also derive from designations for its inhabitants, but these again could be based on certain characteristics of the area or the main assembly point. There thus seems to have been an interplay between area names, population names and names of common assembly places, and in all categories the key etymological content is often an original nature name or vocabulary related to natural characteristics. In a Western Norwegian context, the territory is often centred around a fjord and named after it, such as *Hardanger* or *Gloppen* (Andersson 2015, p. 10-11). Apart from a few rare examples, the *bygd*-area names have a generally collective content, something that according to Thorsten Andersson may reflect the underlying social structure of prehistoric society. Andersson states that the old *bygd*-territories hold a key to understanding the social organisation before divisions into parishes and hundreds (Andersson 2021, p. 100-101). These old territories in many cases were the foundation of new structures and many of the older area names were transferred to the new administrative units gaining another function when these systems were established. Together with the *thing*-sites, the prehistoric *bygd*-territories are the central organisational principle of prehistoric society, Andersson claims (ibid.).

Scandinavian place naming seems to have been more conservative when it comes to the use of nature names than the equivalent naming of places in other Germanic areas. Linguistically, Iron Age Scandinavia is part of a wider Germanic language continuum where many of the same place name types are found across Scandinavia, the Continent and England (Nielsen 2000, p. 61f., Andersson 2015, p. 12). An example is the names in *-hēm*/*-heim*/*-haim*/*-ham*, that are found all-over North-Western Europe (Nielsen 2000, p. 307-10). On the continent and in England, the element can be found in combination with population and tribal names as well as personal names, whereas the Scandinavian names in *-hēm*/*-heim* are never combined with personal names. Place names that are built using individual personal names stand in contrast to the many nature names and area names that seem to have a collective focus (Andersson 2015, p. 11).

Claiming and owning the landscape

At some point in the later part of the Early Iron Age or the beginning of the Late Iron Age in Scandinavia, a new way of defining places was introduced, where personal names or personal designations could act as specifics in place names (Brink 1988, p. 64, Vikstrand 2002). Seen against the above background, naming localities for specific individuals rather than group phenomena or natural features represents a significant break in the ordering of the landscape.

One of the earliest exponents of this tendency is the South Scandinavian generic *-lev* Old Danish *lef* f., that is estimated to have been productive between ca. 300 and 800 AD (see detailed overview on this name type in Albris and Dam 2019). The dating is based on developments in sounds and inflexions, on parallels with the personal name material in early runic inscriptions and on the non-occurrence of *lev*-names in the Danelaw and the absence of Christian personal names. The meaning of the specific was widely discussed in research through the 20th century, but it is etymologically related to modern Danish *levn*, which basically means 'that which is left behind or handed over'.

Names in *-lev* are mainly found in South Scandinavia (Fig. 2). An outlying area is the Thüringen Region in Germany, where we find a large number of names in *-leben* (Schönwälder 1993). Although we have not yet established with certainty what was the meaning behind *-lev*, the name type seems to represent a quite specific kind of land right, that may only have been active in the areas where the name type is found.

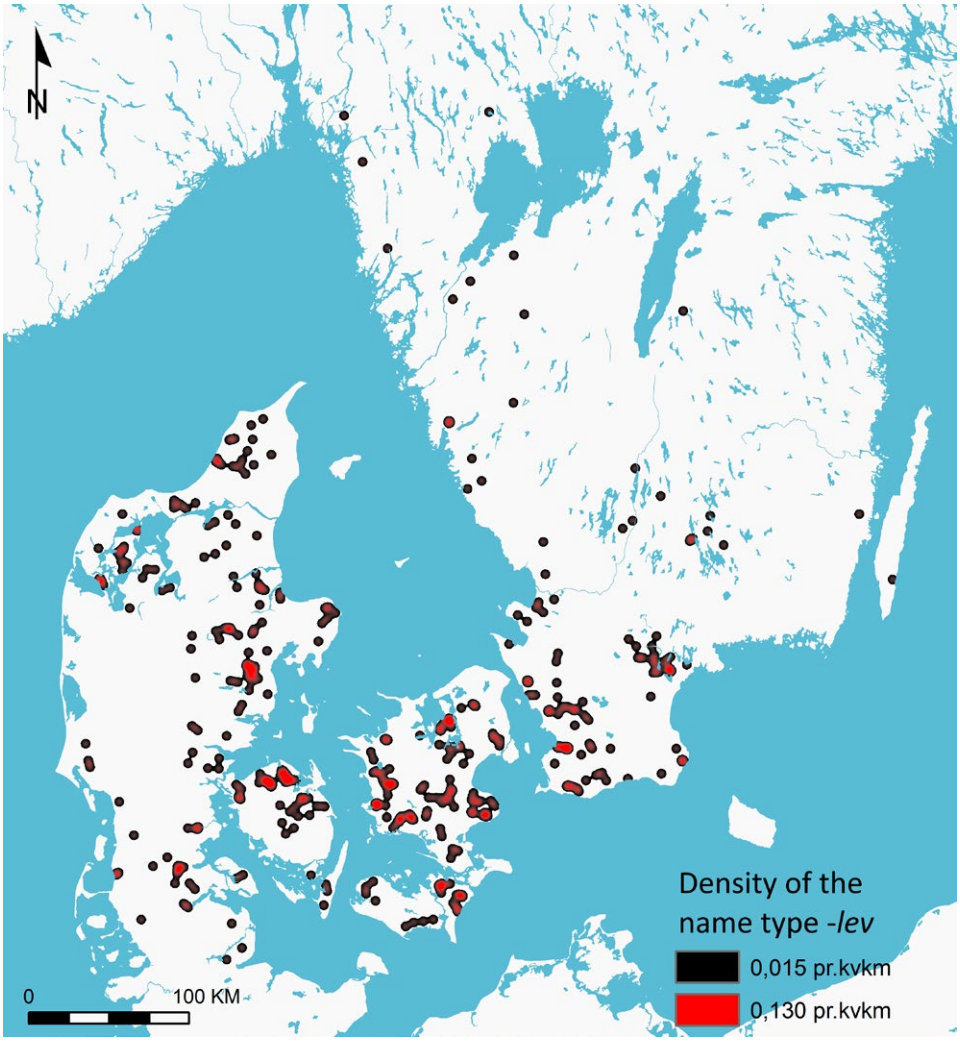

***Figure 2**. The distribution of lev-names in Southern Scandinavia. Map by Anders Pihl and Laurine Albris.*

In the parts of Scandinavia where no *lev*-names occur, i.e., the most of Norway, Central and Northern Sweden, the earliest place name element to be combined with personal name specifics is probably *-sta(d)*. Personal names are also found combined with other name types, such as those ending in *-land*, *-set*, and *-by*/*-bø*. They are however most common in names ending in *-torp*, 'outlying settlement', that were mainly formed during settlement expansion

in the Late Viking Age and Medieval period. There seems to have been a wave of new place names containing personal names, that were formed all over Scandinavia in these periods.

The names in *-sta(d)* or *-staðir* are very widely discussed, both in respect to the dating and the meaning of the generic and the specifics (Særheim 2006). In contrast to *-lev*, the place name element *-sta(d)* is weirdly unspecific as it literally just means 'place (for something)' without revealing what kind of place we are dealing with, and it may have originally been a field name as well as denoting settlement (Nielsen 2000 p. 311, Vikstrand 2013, p. 55, Andersson 2015, p. 20).

Names in *-sta(d)* are among the most frequent settlement name types in Norway and Sweden, while a bit less frequent in Denmark (see also distribution maps and discussion in Gammeltoft, this volume). Their presence in Iceland, means that they were probably productive in Viking Age Norway, while they had probably gone out of use as new name formations in Sweden and Denmark at this point (Schmidt 2015, p. 73). The Norwegian *sta(d)*-names have therefore traditionally been placed in the Viking Age, but actually the name type seems to have been well established by then, and a part of the names may have been formed already in the Roman Iron Age (See also Særheim 2006, Vikstrand and Zachrisson 2006). On a general Scandinavian level, *sta(d)*-names seem to have had a very long production period beginning in the Roman Iron Age and in Norway perhaps continuing into the Medieval period. Probably, there are several chronological phases of formation periods, perhaps relating to the types of specifics. In early research it was assumed that almost all of the names in *-sta(d)*, had personal name specifics (Schimdt 2015, p. 73-75). Yet, although personal names do play a prominent part, it is not as significant as once thought. The general estimate today is that the personal name specifics make up 30-40 % of the names (Særheim 2006, p. 14-15).

In a paper from 2006, Vikstrand and Zachrisson suggested a connection between the formation of names in *-sta(d)* and a settlement transition happening in the period ca. AD 400-600 in Central Sweden. Here, a mobile and disperse settlement pattern on the clay flatlands was transformed to a concentration and fixation of settlements on higher grounds (note that a similar process is seen in other parts of Scandinavia, e.g., Hansen 2015 and Grønnesby, this volume). They observe that some of the settlements that retain continuity through this transition can be related to names in *-sta(d)* with personal name specifics, such as *Grimsta* and *Skäggesta* (Vikstrand and Zachrisson 2006, p. 205). They see this as an indication of a stronger relation between individuals and land forming in the transition between the Early and Late Iron Age.

The introduction of anthroponyms in toponymy is relevant to our understanding of the development and definitions of land rights in the Scandinavian Late Iron Age and Viking Period and the perception of the landscape as *owned* (Vikstrand 2002). It can be argued, that in these periods, personal names functioned as a part of a general social communication (Albris 2020). Personal names were the central content of most runic inscriptions from their first appearance around the 2nd century AD (Imer 2015, p. 67-90). The efforts put into emphasising personal names should be taken as evidence that they were of strong importance.

Based on correspondences between the name vocabulary, motifs in the period's artwork, ritual and poetry, we get the impression that in the pre-Christian period, most personal names were basically meaningful (Albris 2020, see also Schulte 2019, p. 86). The semantics of personal names circled around leadership, hospitality and most significantly the central ideal of the

warrior identity. Names and the meanings and associations embedded in them can thereby be seen as media that worked within the general discourse and rhetoric in society. The key purpose of choosing, reciting, and writing personal names was to communicate family and kinship connections. Relations could be marked by alliteration between names of related individuals or by repetition of name elements from names of other family members (Shaw 2011, p. 157-159). It is possible that contemporaries would be able to place an individual within a family or kinship group based on elements in his/her name.

Although the use of anthroponyms in place names is much discussed in onomastics, discussions tend to be focus on linguistic and chronological issues related to each individual place name type. It is rarely problematised in a general archaeological landscape context what motivations could lie behind referring to a named individual in the characterisation of a topographical location (however, see Vikstrand 2002). In the context of archaeological research, the interest in place names tends to focus on the framework for dating the major types of settlement names and on their ability to indicate centrality in the landscape. However, we may view the use of anthroponyms in toponymy as a part of the social landscape, based on the view that settlement history is a form of social history (Skre 2001, p. 3-4). Choosing a personal name to describe a location can be seen as a statement containing a message beyond the basic designating function, depending on the social, economic, and ideological context in which the name was coined. This type of place name formation should be viewed in the light of the contemporary political language as expressed in for example monuments and other types of investments that promoted certain families or individuals.

In pre-Christian Scandinavia, family and kin formed the centre of most peoples' lives and determined a persons' social position and possibilities. Runic inscriptions on stone were parts of strategies to claim family rights to land, placed on highly visible positions and functioning as marks of power and status in the landscape. It is interesting to consider that in the Old Danish area where we find many names in *-lev*, there are none of the earliest rune stones, while in Norway, there are no names in *-lev*, but many early rune stones (Imer 2011). Do we see here two different strategies of making claims on the landscape?

Society's emphasis on kinship is more widely expressed in the numerous burial mounds, both in the the erection of new mounds and reuse of older mounds (e.g. Pedersen 2006, Lund and Arwill-Nordbladh 2016). In Norwegian Medieval law, inherited land could be claimed by orally declaring your genealogy back to the burials in the mounds (Zachrisson 2017, p. 120-121). Naming your ancestors in connection with concrete monuments in the landscape was likely also important in pre-Christian times. Thus, there is a close connection between names, kinship, land rights and monuments. We therefore may propose that claims to land was probably the main reason why personal names began appearing in Scandinavian place names from ca. AD 300. Before this, land rights may have been defined very differently.

To sum up, the introduction of personal names in toponymy represents a significant shift in the way a 'place' could be perceived. Although the personal names enter place names at different times across Scandinavia, the phenomenon is parallel to, yet different from, the development of runic monuments and other burial monuments. Variations in chronology and the name types combined with personal names across Scandinavia most likely reflect locally specific developments in definitions of landownership related to in social change during the Iron and Viking Ages.

Conclusive remarks

In place names, we have a unique window into a range of emic perspectives on landscape perception, into the understanding of the past in the past, and ways of classifying places in the landscape. Interdisciplinary work with different types of source material is therefore a fruitful and important way to gain insight into landscape organisation in the past. Despite methodological difficulties, there are advantages in the fact that place names and archaeological remains each have their particular strengths. Both materials can often be tied locally to concrete places. Furthermore, they both represent products of human life that are largely independent of written historical records. A mutual understanding of the potentials and limitations of the two source materials and of various research methods, aims, discourses and traditions can help us avoid unfulfilled expectations. Above all, it is important to ask new questions and to enhance interdisciplinary cooperation in the future.

Employing place names in relation to archaeological analyses requires access to qualified and updated data and information about scope, location, transmission and linguistic interpretations of place name material. Access to qualified onomastic expertise has become more difficult at a particularly critical point when approaches to the evidence need to be rethought. Creating such new approaches is a complicated and time consuming matter that requires reviews of new and old material and systematic methods applied to diverse bodies of material.

With this collection of papers, a step is taken in this direction: the book is put together with the purpose of discussing questions and possibilities in using place names as a resource of knowledge about the landscape. The papers in this book are mostly examples of work in progress that address possibilities and perspectives for combining place names and archaeology in the Norwegian landscape. The papers show in different ways how archaeology and place names in combination with studies of the topographical landscape can help retrace layers of former mental orders and ways of organising the landscape. Important recurrent aspects in all the papers are issues of long-term processes and the relationship between land use, power structures and nature names, settlement names and functional names and the relationship between oral and written traditions. External linguistic hegemonies, authoritative mapping and imposed interpretations of the landscape will be always recurring themes in working with Norwegian place names, as the Norwegian landscape was under centuries of administration conducted in Danish.

The individual studies show that toponymic and archaeological inquiry can continue to inform and support each other in Norway, Scandinavia and beyond. It further carries the important message to keep the onomastic discipline alive for it to be a resource to archaeologists and other researchers working with landscape and settlement history.

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Peder Gammeltoft

Place names types and their distribution – what do they signify?

This article is a work-in-progress detailing how the digitization of the central Norwegian settlement name source, Norske Gaardnavne by Oluf Rygh can be used in advancing place name research and spread the results to other research fields. The new digital Norske Gaardnavne was launched in the autumn 2021 together with other place name resources in a new place name portal.

Norske Gaardnavne was digitized around the turn of the millennium, and has recently been updated and coordinates provided to the place names listed in the 19 volumes published from 1897 to 1936. To illustrate the potential in the new digital Norske Gaardnavne, these place name datasets are used to make distribution maps to show period-specific distributions of settlement names and distributions of typologically similar place name types. This enables the reader to gain a quick overview of certain place name type concentrations and even possibly get insight into the times when certain areas experienced major transformations in settlement organization at a national, regional or local level.

Considerations as to what settlement name type distributions signify and the reasons for their distribution concentrations are also touched upon and viewed from a temporal perspective. Comparisons with similar place name types in Denmark and Sweden are also made.

Introduction

At the outset, toponymic research is interdisciplinary in scope. To be able to interpret place names or a name type and understand the context in which it has been coined, the name researcher must be a *Jack-of-all-trades*. Albeit specialised in linguistics, the name researcher also needs to have a broad insight into history, archaeology, history of administration, geography, biology, etc. Interdisciplinary interaction is always present in toponymic research with new insights from relevant disciplines that need to be considered in an onomastic light. This makes place name research ever dynamic in nature – and ever relevant to other disciplines.

Norwegian toponymical research activities have mainly focussed on securing the country's rich treasure trove of minor names before they vanished. One reason for this is that Oluf Rygh, in his *Norske Gaardnavne* (Norwegian Farm Names) (Rygh 1897-1936), has dealt with the majority of settlement names, parish names and regional names. Therefore, very little effort has been made to make Norwegian settlement names available to other research fields. Only the handbook, *Norsk stadnamnleksikon* (Norwegian Place name Lexicon, Stemshaug and

Sandnes 1997), has made place names and place name research available to the general public. The lexicon provides a general overview of the Norwegian place name stock, from regional names to the names of municipalities, cities, towns, settlements and natural features.

In connection with the transfer of the Norwegian Language Collections from the University of Oslo to the University of Bergen, the transferred copy of the digital *Norske Gaardnavne* was georeferenced. Therefore, it is now possible to see place names and place name types in a geographical context and eventually compare these to e.g. archaeological finds and cultural or natural phenomena.

This article is a work-in-progress report, but with some considerations on what place name type distributions signify and what the reason for their distribution concentrations might be. The place name types will generally be viewed in a temporal light and will be compared with similar place name types in Denmark and Sweden.

The outset: *Norske Gaardnavne*.

Norske Gaardnavne (Norwegian Farm-Names) is a series of 19 volumes based on a manuscript prepared by Oluf Rygh and published from 1897 to 1936. Rygh was a highly respected professor of archaeology, philology, and history at the University of Oslo. In 1863, the Norwegian parliament (Stortinget) commissioned a general revision of the public cadastre of Norwegian public and private lands to allow for consistent land ownership records, and to revise land taxation in Norway. Another intention of this work was to correct inconsistencies and errors in place names in previous cadastres from 1838 and earlier. In 1878, Oluf Rygh, Professor Sophus Bugge and Johan Fritzner, were appointed members of a commission to revise the place names of the cadastre. The initial work was completed in 1882, in time for the new cadastre to be published in 1886. However, interest in the work was great, and in 1896 the parliament allocated funding to publish the revised place names in a scientific series. The first volume of the series *Norske Gaardnavne* was published in 1897.

The published series is published in county (amt) volumes and is structured according to local government area (herred), thus mirroring the structural framework of the 1886-cadastre. There is a further subdivision into parishes, although this division is not directly relevant to the cadastre. Each cadastral unit of significance – farm settlement areas (gård) as well as individual farm holdings (bruk) – comprises an article structured with a cadastral number and a head form (in a standardised spelling), followed by pronunciation information, source forms, and an etymological description. The etymological interpretation used scientific linguistic principles and was based on pronunciation and a detailed compilation of various written records detailing land ownership. Norske Gaardnavne documents almost 61,000 settlement names.

At the time, there was no officially sanctioned standard of spoken Norwegian. This caused challenges to the standardisation effort. Since most Norwegians spoke their own dialect, the main technique for establishing a correct spelling was through recording the oral pronunciation. To accomplish this, the commission studied pronunciations used among common people in everyday conversations. Differences were observed regionally as well as between urban and remote areas (cf. original manuscript by Oluf Rygh, submitted to the Cadastral Commission on June 10, 1882, Place Name Archive of the Language Collections). However, they found consistent relationships between the current verbal forms and the original names as found in

both the current parish records and in historical sources. Since many of the Norwegian farm names are of considerable age and created up to around a thousand years prior to written sources, the historical sources were the main tool for establishing the origin and etymology. The commission reviewed a number of older sources including the Diplomatarium Norvegicum, old land records such as *Aslak Bolts jordebok*, *Biskop Øysteins jordebok 'Røde bok'*, *Oslo Kapitels Gods jordebok*, *Olaf Engelbrektsens jordebok*, *Bergens kalvskinn*, as well as the cadastral works from 1665 and 1723, etc.

Norske Gaardnavne had a monumental significance for place name research in north-western Europe. Not only did it establish the standard for scientific place name research, but the concept also became the inspiration for similar studies in Denmark (*Danmarks Stednavne*), England (*English Place Name Society Survey of English Place-Names*), Scotland (*The Survey of Scottish Place-Names*), and Sweden (*Sveriges Ortnamn*), to mention some.

The new digital *Norske Gaardnavne*

Norway was at the forefront in digitising its central historical sources. As early as 1981, the Registration Centre for Historical Data was established at the University of Tromsø, with the aim of creating a national population register. One of their digitisations were also the 1886 Cadastre (Matrikkelen av 1886). A few years later, in the mid-1990s, the Dokumentasjonsprosjektet (the Norwegian Documentation Project) began mass-digitising sources, including *Norske Gaardnavne* and the 1950 cadastral draft (Matrikkelutkastet av 1950) which have been digitally searchable for almost 20 years.

Hitherto, no attempt has been made to link these digitised cadastres together or to link historical cadastres to the modern, spatially enabled cadastre. The main reason for this is that the Norwegian cadastral code system is dynamic, a serious limitation to historical-administrative research. The consequence is that, even though the current cadastral system was introduced in 1886, interlinking or merging with modern cadastral data was almost impossible - until now.

With the transfer of the Norwegian Language Collections from the University of Oslo to the University of Bergen in 2016, the opportunity arose to reorient the Norwegian Place-Name Archive and modernise the collections. Having established an overview, the decision was made to begin the modernisation with the cadastral works. However, to enable the cadastre to be given coordinates, it was necessary to implement the management system for the Norwegian cadastre over time. In 2018, Kåre Bævre, of the Folkehelsesinstitutet (Institute of Public Health) in Oslo, provided the Language Collections with a copy of his work on the historical cadastre. This enabled the historical cadastre to be combined with the modern digital Norwegian cadastre. I have since then upgraded the historical cadastre and assigned coordinates to the historical cadastral records. Thus, it became possible to georeference the 1886 Cadastre as well all the other digital historical cadastral works from 1838 to 2010, in addition to other historical and administrative resources, such as censuses and statistical accounts (Gammeltoft 2021, p. 81f).

The work was undertaken in several stages. Since the cadastre documents property history, I have introduced the unique Historisk matrikkelnummer (historical cadastral code), *MIDu*, developed by Kåre Bævre, as well as a new Historisk gårdsnummer (historical farm area code, or township code), *GNIDu*, and applied them to each historical cadastre since 1838. Kåre

Bævre's unique historical cadastral number, MIDu, uses a twelve-digit code system, i.e. four digits for the kommunenummer (municipality code) + four digits for gårdsnummer (farm area/township code) + four digits for bruksnummer (single farm holding/cadastral code). I have introduced the unique historical farm number, GNIDu. It consists of the same first eight digits of the cadastral number kommunenummer + gårdsnummer. For the data set of relevance to Norske Gaardnavne, the 1886 Cadastre, this could be done automatically for 95% of the material and with manual or semi-automatic adjustment for the rest of the material.

After the 1886 Cadastre and Norske Gaardnavne had been coded with historical cadastral and farm numbers, all farms and single holdings could be assigned point coordinates. The point coordinate deposition was quite complicated. Although the system remains the same, the Norwegian cadastre has undergone considerable development. This means that it was only possible to enter an exact location for about 2/3 of the historical cadastral numbers (bruksnummer). Exact location here is in the form of either an address point, a building point or a building centroid (if there are several addresses per single cadastral unit). The remaining cadastral numbers have been given coordinates with a lower degree of precision. Lesser precise point coordinates are either a centroid of the main land plot (hovedteig) of the cadastral unit, if the unit still exists but has no buildings attached to it (approx. 15% of the material), or a centroid point of the overall farm area if the cadastral unit no longer exists (approx. 18%). Norske Gaardnavne also records a number of lost settlements. These have not been assigned coordinates. In this way, some 99.2% of the cadastral units treated in Norske Gaardnavne have now been assigned coordinates. The fact that not all the cadastral material is precisely allocated is a direct consequence of a decentralised system of updating the cadastre with no central archival registration of changes.

The result, as shown in figure 1, is a complete and full localisation of Norwegian farm names in all of Norway, apart from Finnmark (which did not have the same cadastral system as the rest of Norway until the second half the 20th century). As the figure also shows, the concentrations of names vary considerably from region to region. The greatest concentrations are found in the Viken area around the Oslofjorden, the Mjøsa region north of Oslo, as well as on the southern tip of Norway between Kristiansand and Flekkefjord. Lower concentrations can be found along the entire coast and fjords of Vestlandet, Telemark, central Trøndelag and to a lesser degree in southern Nordland. These concentration areas correspond to the main agricultural areas of Norway (OECD 2021, p. 37).

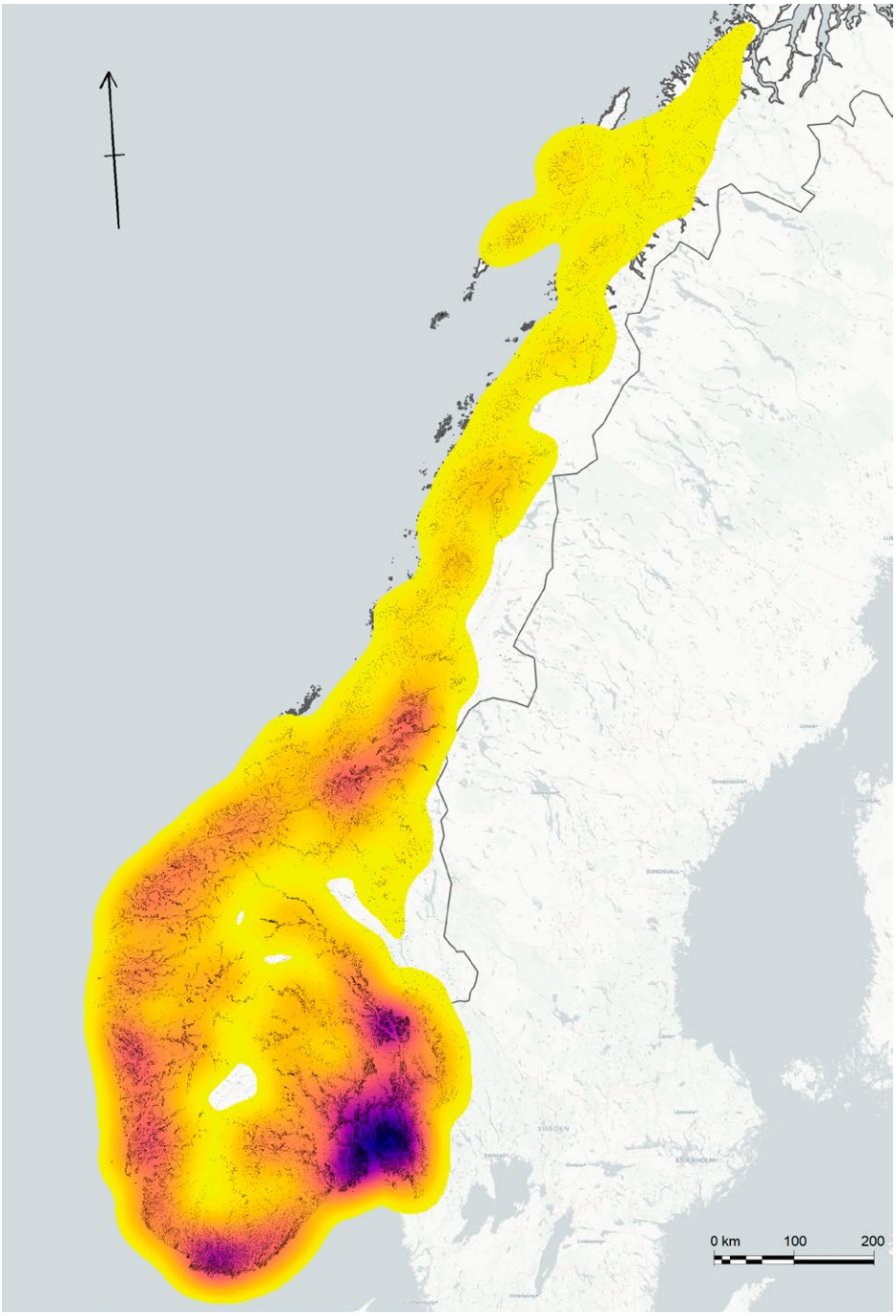

***Figure 1**. Map of the ca. 38,000 place names from Norske Gaardnavne recorded prior to 1730, overlaying a place name density map. The darker the area, the denser the settlement concentration. Map by Peder Gammetoft, Språksamlingane and CartoDB, all CC-BY. Map size 3,200 x 2,150 km.*

The new, spatially enabled digital Norske Gaardnavne (available at https://toponymi.spraksamlingane.no) differs somewhat from the printed series, as well as the Norske Gaardnavne digitised by the Dokumentasjonsprosjektet (https://www.dokpro.uio.no/rygh_ng/rygh_felt.html). The printed volumes contained roughly 60,800 entries, consisting of farm names (ca. 40,000), single holdings (ca. 15,600), lost, no longer existing settlements (ca. 4,200), as well as administrative names, such as parish (sogn) and municipality (herred) names (ca. 1,000). In the online version from Dokumentasjonsprosjektet, however, only farm names and single holdings are searchable, that is, a total of 55,600 items. The new digital Norske Gaardnavne has one entry per cadastral unit. Some 3,600 entries in Norske Gaardnavne cover several cadastral units, the so-called *navnegård* (multiple same name cadastral units, resulting from the splitting up of a parent farm into two or more independent farm units prior to the publication of the 1886 cadastre). In the printed version, these are distinguished by having more than one cadastral farm number. This means that an additional 8,100, entries have been added to the dataset. In total, the new digital Norske Gaardnavne has ca. 69,000 entries with cadastral information and coordinates.

Mapping the new digital Norske Gaardnavne

Obviously, many of the entries in the new digital Norske Gaardnavne are onomastic duplets. Therefore, to study older name types, only unique name entities should be used. Moreover, far from all names are of an age relevant to this study, as a substantial number of place names in Norske Gaardnavne are of recent date. So, to avoid 'noise' from modern place names, be they name transfers or names modelled on existing place name patterns, all place names not mentioned earlier than 1730 are excluded. This leaves just under 38,000 individual place name localities in existence.

For this study, I have used all place names recorded prior to 1730, i.e. a corpus of place names numbering ca. 38,000. This enables us to make distribution maps and quantitative analyses of virtually any place name type recorded in Norway. This work is far from complete, so this article must be seen as a work in progress and one that is not yet fully quality assured. The dataset includes, as mentioned above, names of municipalities (herredsnavn), parishes (soknenavn), multiple cadastral unit entities (navnegård), farm areas (gårdsnavn), individual farm holdings (bruk/gårdsbruk) and lost settlements (albeit without coordinates).

Place name distributions and place name densities – what do they signify?

Place name visualisations are powerful means of showing where place names of a certain type occur and where they are most frequent. With the current georeferenced Norske Gaardnavne, it is possible to visualise virtually any kind of imaginable place name distribution, be it single names, name types, name types from certain periods such as the Viking Age, or place name types combined with archaeological finds or anything else with cadastral information.

Every place name distribution map must be approached with caution. For instance, what appears to be a very specific distribution may in reality be the result of an 'overspill' from a neighbouring country. Similarly, distribution maps from a single country completely cut out the context and connection with other countries and tend to display place names as national entities (following modern borders!) and not as the linguistic entities they are. In some cases,

the source situation may also warp the distribution, if the source situation is radically different from one part of a country to another.

In the following, I shall show just a few visualisations to suggest the potential that lies in this new digital Norske Gaardnavne. I will make use of a combination of distribution maps and density maps. This type of combinatory visualisation has the advantage that they show both the distribution of a place name type, as well as where it most frequently occurs. The maps will show a few place name types grouped on the basis of the classical Scandinavian place name periodisation: The Iron Age, Viking Age and the transition period between the late Viking Age and the Middle Ages.

Three Iron Age examples

Of the Norwegian place name types usually taken to be pre-Viking Age (AD c. 0-800), Old Norse (ON) *vin*, f. and ON *heimr*, m. are considered almost archetypal (cf. Stemshaug and Sandnes 1997, p. 393f. and 203f.). Another place name type which is generally seen in Scandinavia as belonging to the same period is the place name derivation *-ing*, m./f. This place name type is not emphasised at all in Norske Gaardnavne, despite the fact that there are no fewer than 171 definite or probable *-ing* farm name derivations in Norway. In Danish and Swedish name research (Jørgensen 1994, p. 142f, Wahlberg 2016, p. 155f), the name type is generally considered to be among the very oldest place names, many of which originate from the first half of the first millennium AD, mainly because this name type causes so-called i-mutation under certain circumstances. The Norwegian place names also show examples of this, although the name type may have been in use for a longer time period than in the rest of Scandinavia (Gammeltoft, 2022, 39-69).

In Scandinavian research, the name types ON *vin*, f. and ON *heimr*, m. are all considered to be pre-Viking Age, although the former is only very marginally attested in Danish (Hald 1965, p. 73f). In Swedish name research, *vin*, f. is considered to have been productive over a long time, spanning almost the entire first millennium (Wahlberg 2016, p. 363f). The element ON *heimr*, m., derives from Germanic **haim-*, and the name type is found throughout the Germanic speaking area. In Danish and Swedish name research the place name type is generally only found to belong to the middle centuries of the first millennium (Wahlberg 2016, p. 126). The same seems to be the case for the Norwegian extension, as the name type is generally not found in the Viking Age colonies. No more than a handful of names of this type are found in Shetland and approximately 30 in Iceland.

The distribution of these three place name types is quite interesting, see figure 2. The *ing*-names are by far the numerically smallest, but the distribution map shows that the name type is found throughout the country as far north as Lofoten. Its highest concentrations are in Nordhordaland and in Rogaland in the Stavanger area. Smaller concentrations are found in the stretch Oslofjorden-Mjøsa, as well as in Gol, Sogn and central Trøndelag. This concentration distribution is quite different from the more similarly distributed *vin* and *heimr* place names. However, of these two, ON *vin* seems to group closer together around Voss and in Nord-Trøndelag than ON *heimr*. These three name types, seen together, seem to suggest that the Iron Age settlement areas centred around the Oslofjorden-Mjøsa area, Western Norway as well as central Trøndelag, but were in the process of moving northward from a foothold in the Lofoten area.

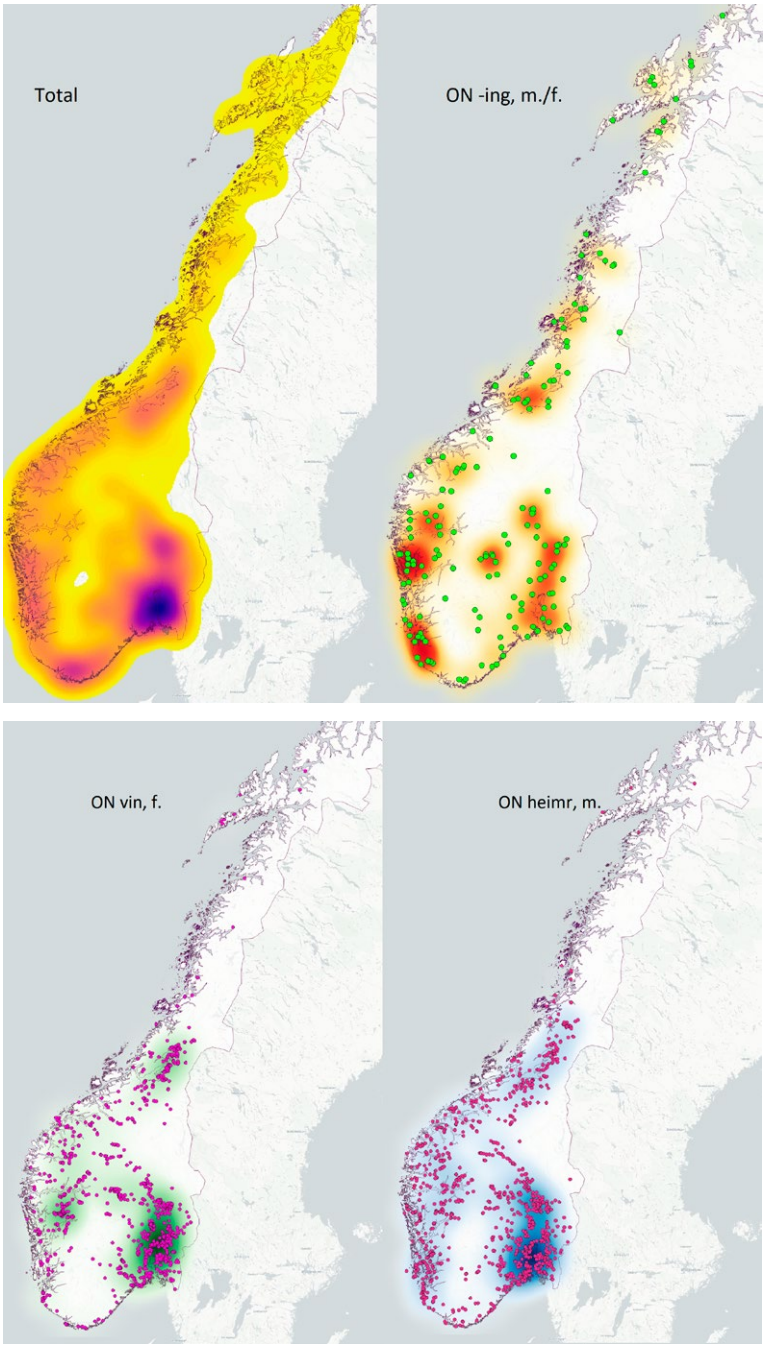

***Figure 2**. Place-name concentration and density maps of the Iron Age place name types ON -ing, m./f. (171 ex.), ON vin, f. (ca. 950 ex.), and ON heimr, m. (ca. 1,100 ex.). Top left map shows the density of all settlements from Norske Gaardnavne recorded prior to 1730. The darker the colour, the higher the density. Maps © Peder Gammeltoft, Språksamlingane and CartoDB, all CC-BY. Map sizes 3,200 x 1,800 km, north up.*

It is important to note that only the place name type *heimr* can be called a settlement name per se. And this is possibly even taking matters too far, as what does the term 'home' really cover? The living quarters, the farm itself, or the resource area? Likewise, the other two place name types either designate an area of diffuse extent, as in the case of *-ing*, which only signifies an area where something exists, or as *vin*, which originally designated a landscape feature. At some time, these place name types consolidated into denoting farm settlements akin to today's situation (see also Grønnesby, this volume). The application of the name at the time of formation was thus not necessarily the same as the historically known farm unit. They may reflect earlier and different settlement structures (cf. Pilø 2005, p. 261-265, Gjerpe 2014, p. 68-69), if settlements at all! However, current archaeology assumes that the landscape started to be structured in the way we know it from c. 600 AD (Grønnesby 2019, p. 285), at which time these place name types had come to designate settlements.

The Viking Age

The Viking Age (AD 800-1050) was a period of expansion in Norway – both internally and externally. In addition to an internal expansion taking available land up for farming (Pilø 2005, p. 249), a substantial part of the population moved to the North Atlantic Area to establish themselves there and seek a means of existence (Kershaw and Røyrvik 2016, Margaryan, A. *et al.* 2020). Wealth became much more dynamic, owing to riches gained from trade, raids and overseas attacks – and finally Christianity encroached on existing belief systems and took over as the dominant religion at the end of the period. These elements also form part of the dating of the place name types of this period (Christensen and Sørensen 1972, p. 195-201). The fact that a place name type occurs in significant numbers in the North Atlantic area can help us determine that the type was active in the Viking Age. If a place name type is infrequent or absent, it is an indication that it either pre-dates or post-dates the Viking Age. In addition, if a place name type is frequently compounded with what appears to be low-status personal names – a possible sign of sudden changes in wealth – this may also help to date a place name type to the Viking Age, particularly the latter part (cf. Dalberg and Sørensen 1979, p. 155-156, although see Sawyer 1988, p. 168ff, for an alternative interpretation). In addition, if a place name is compounded with a word pertaining to Christianity or a Christian personal name, it likely post-dates the Viking Age (Christensen and Sørensen 1972, p. 186-188).

Compared to the Iron Age, there seem to be two general tendencies, which are illustrated in both figures 3 and 4. The one tendency, consolidation, as illustrated by the place name types ON *býr*/*bær*, m. (Fig. 3) and ON *staðir*, m. (fig 4.) is hardly surprising. It is one where the existing areas of concentration (the Oslofjorden-Mjøsa area, Western Norway and central Trøndelag) are further built up and settlement also extends into surrounding areas. With ON *staðir*, m., we also see an extension into Nordland and particularly into the Lofoten islands, signalling that Old Norse culture seems to spread further northwards during this period. The other tendency we see, is best termed 'specialisation' through new areas of concentrations emerging, as illustrated by ON *land*, n. (Fig. 3) and ON *bólstaðr*, m. (Fig. 4). These distribution concentrations occur in areas where there was seemingly only modest activity in the Iron Age, according to the mapping of Iron Age place name types. In addition, the concentrations are often also found in areas where the overall place name concentrations are not high. Thus, we seem to be dealing with an overrepresentation of certain place name elements in particularly delimited areas. This might signal sustenance specialisation in certain

areas or, alternatively, localised naming traditions. Place names with the suffix ON *land*, n., occur mainly in South Norway, with the greatest concentration on the southern tip between Kristiansand and Flekkefjord and extending west from there through Rogaland to southern Nordhordaland. Proximate to this distribution area, are again more modest concentrations, mainly in Ytre Sogn, Telemark and the Oslofjorden area. Otherwise, the distribution of *land*-suffixed names in the rest of the country is quite modest.

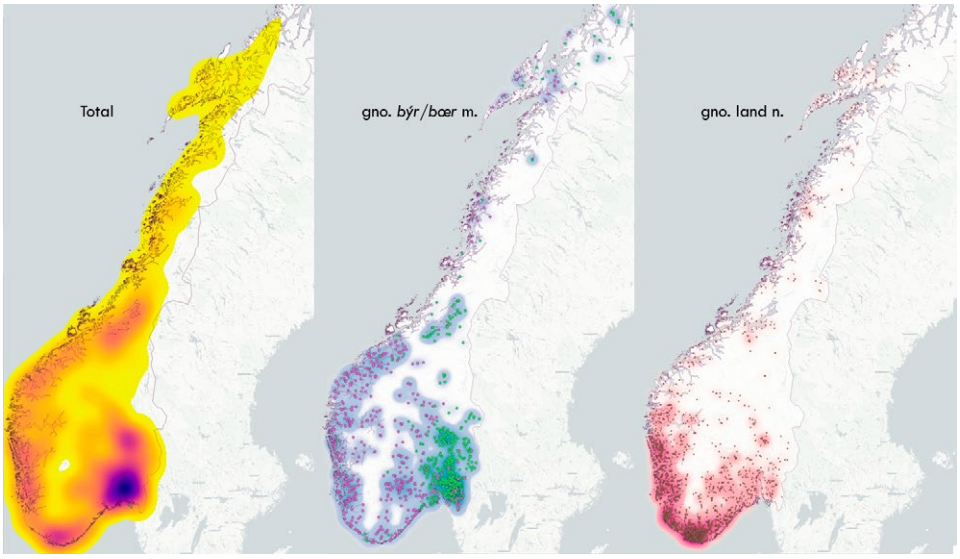

***Figure 3**. Place name concentration and density maps of the Viking-Age place name types ON býr/bœr, m. (ca. 1,200 ex.), and ON land, n. (ca. 2,100 ex.). Left map shows the density of all settlements from Norske Gaardnavne recorded prior to 1730. The darker the colour, the higher the density. Maps © Peder Gammeltoft, Språksamlingane and CartoDB, all CC-BY. Map sizes 3,200 x 1,800 km, north up.*

ON *bólstaðr* (and Old Swedish *bōlstaþer*), m., has a typically central Scandinavian distribution concentration. The name type is generally found in a narrow distribution area stretching from southern Finland, across central Sweden and Norway to Scotland and Iceland in the west (Gammeltoft 2001, p. 15). It is also the only ON place name type which occurs more commonly in the Viking Age colonies in Scotland and Iceland than in Norway. In the North Atlantic area, *bólstaðr*-names outnumber examples in Norway by a factor 2½:1 (Gammeltoft 2001, p. 222, 232f and 249).

It is tempting to see the Norwegian distribution of ON *bólstaðr*, m., with its main concentration in Møre og Romsdal and Sogn og Fjordane as the originator of the strong popularity of the name type in the North Atlantic area. This may be partially true, although factors such as status and possibly type of sustenance of the name type could equally well play a role in its popularity in Viking-Age Old Norse communities outside of Norway.

As in the rest of Scandinavia, ON *býr*/*bœr*, m. (Jørgensen 1994, p. 50, Stemshaug and Sandnes 1997, p. 113f., Dam 2015, p. 68f, Wahlberg 2016, p. 55,), ON *land*, n. (Jørgensen 1994, p. 172f., Stemshaug and Sandnes 1997, p. 281, Wahlberg 2016, p. 194), and ON *staðir*, m. (Stemshaug and Sandnes 1997, p. 421ff.), are all considered to have a long period of

productivity from the (late) Iron Age to, especially in the case of the first two, well into the Middle Ages. In Denmark and Sweden, however, *staðir*-names are generally reckoned to have ceased to be productive already in the late Iron Age (Dam 2015, p. 50, Wahlberg 2016, p. 299), because the place name type is not found in Scandinavian place names in the Danelaw. Danish archaeological find concentrations also suggest that the majority of place names of this type must have been in existence already at the beginning of the Viking Age. Norwegian *staðir*-names, however, are seemingly mainly of Viking Age in type, as is the name type found in relatively significant numbers in the Scottish Isles and in Iceland (Stemshaug and Sandnes 1997, p. 421).

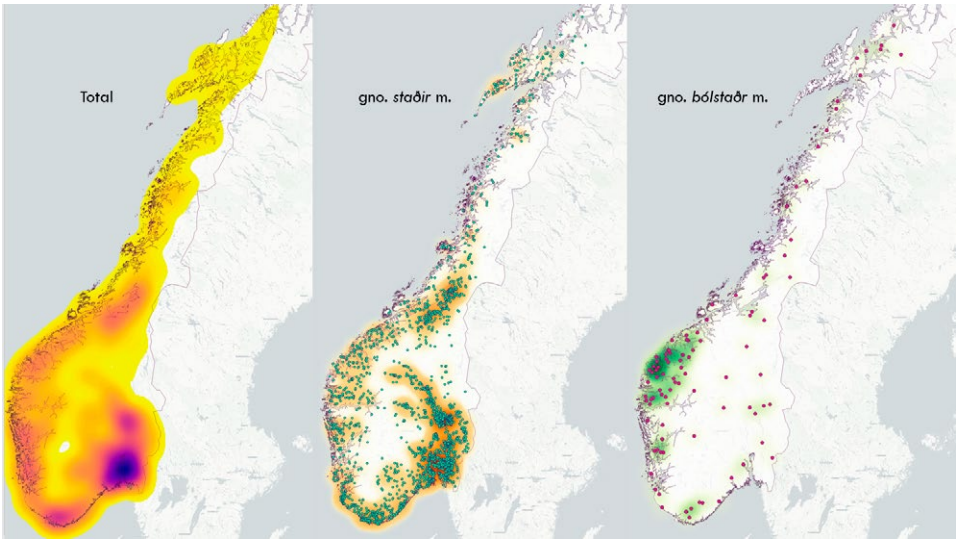

***Figure 4**. Place-name concentration and density maps of the Viking-Age place name types ON staðir, m. (ca. 2,500 ex.), and ON bólstaðr, m. (ca. 100). Left map shows the density of all settlements from Norske Gaardnavne recorded prior to 1730. The darker the colour, the higher the density. Maps © Peder Gammeltoft, Språksamlingane and CartoDB, all CC-BY. Map sizes 3,200 x 1,800 km, north up.*

Late Viking Age and the Middle Ages

The tendency seen in the place name types ON *land*, n. and ON *bólstaðr*, m. for regional concentration distributions, is continued with place name types having a period of productivity that seemingly belongs to the late Viking Age and the Middle Ages, namely shieling-type place names in ON *setr*, n. and *sætr*, n. (Stemshaug and Sandnes 1997, p. 387ff. and 389ff.), as well as place name types indicating clearing of land to make way for farming, such as ON *þveit*, f., and ON *rud*, m. (Stemshaug and Sandnes 1997, p. 466f. and 370f.). In Sweden, the cognate *säter*, is generally not considered to be very old (Wahlberg 2016, p. 319), and the name type is entirely absent in Denmark. However, cognates of ON *þveit*, f., and ON *rud*, m., occur in large numbers in Denmark and are also relatively frequent in Sweden (Jørgensen 1994, p. 307, Dam 2015, p. 134 and 139, Wahlberg 2016, p. 268). Neither of the place name types can be assigned exclusively to either the Viking Age or the Middle Ages, but seem to be productive in both periods, with the possible exception of ON *rud*, m., being slightly later than the other place name types.

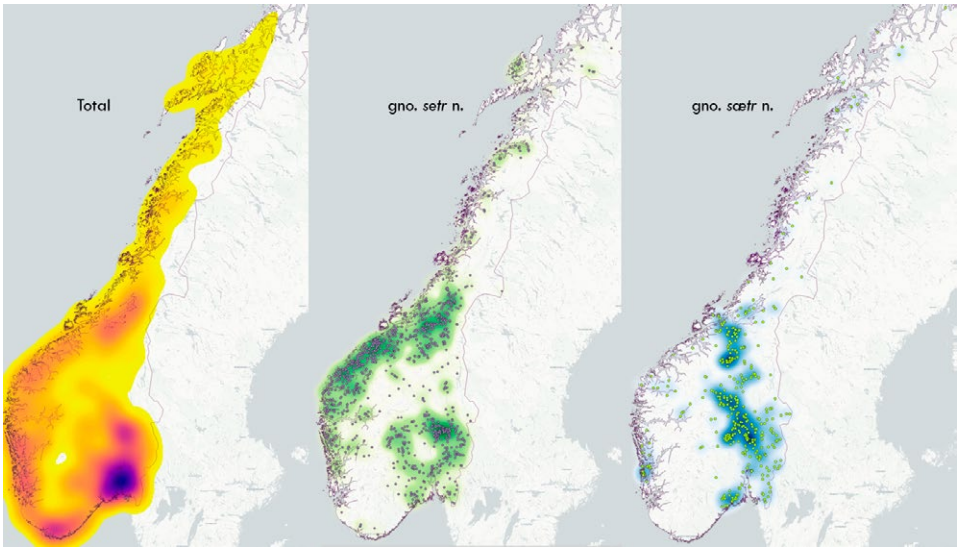

Figure 5. *Place-name concentration and density maps of place name types of the late Viking-Age and early Middle Ages, ON setr, n. (ca. 1,200 ex.), and ON sætr, n. (ca. 420). Left map shows the density of all settlements from Norske Gaardnavne recorded prior to 1730. The darker the colour, the higher the density. Maps © Peder Gammeltoft, Språksamlingane and CartoDB, all CC-BY. Map sizes 3,200 x 1,800 km., north up.*

Distribution wise, ON *setr* and *sætr*, n., seem to be almost complementary. The main distribution concentrations of ON *setr* are found in Sogn og Fjordane, Møre og Romsdal, Trøndelag, as well as the Mjøsa area. Lighter concentrations are found in Numedalen, Hallingdalen, Romerike and Glåmmadalen areas in the southeast and in the Saltfjorden area in Nordland and in Vesterålen. The distribution of ON *sætr*, on the other hand, is much more limited, with the highest concentrations on the eastern side of Mjøsa, Randsfjorden, Valdres and Gudbrandsdalen, and in the border regions between Møre og Romsdal and Trøndelag. There are two probable reasons for this almost complementary distribution. It is either the result of two different kinds of transhumance or shieling activities, resulting from differences in topography, or it might owe to dialectal differences and local preferences. When studying the distribution more closely in areas where the two name types occur side by side, it seems that ON *sætr* tends to be placed in more marginal areas than those ending in ON *setr*. Thus, the distribution patterns are more likely to be due to differences in the type of transhumance (Rygh 1898, p. 73, Stemshaug and Sandnes 1997, p. 387 and 389).

Like ON *land*, n., place names in *-þveit* are also mainly found in south Norway. However, the greatest concentrations are from central Hordaland to central Rogaland, as well as either side of the Oslofjorden. The place name type ON *ruð*, m., is almost exclusively – and in very high numbers – limited to the Oslofjorden area and its hinterland, including Glåmdalen and the Mjøsa area. Occurrences outside this area are few and far between. Both name types, *þveit* and *ruð*, are close to Danish and Swedish concentrations and, as one possible interpretation of distribution, may represent a Kattegat-Skagerrak onomastic interference region (cf. Dam 2015, p. 135 and 140). However, it is also likely that the clearing of woodland and scrubs was more viable in the generally more fertile areas of southern Norway.

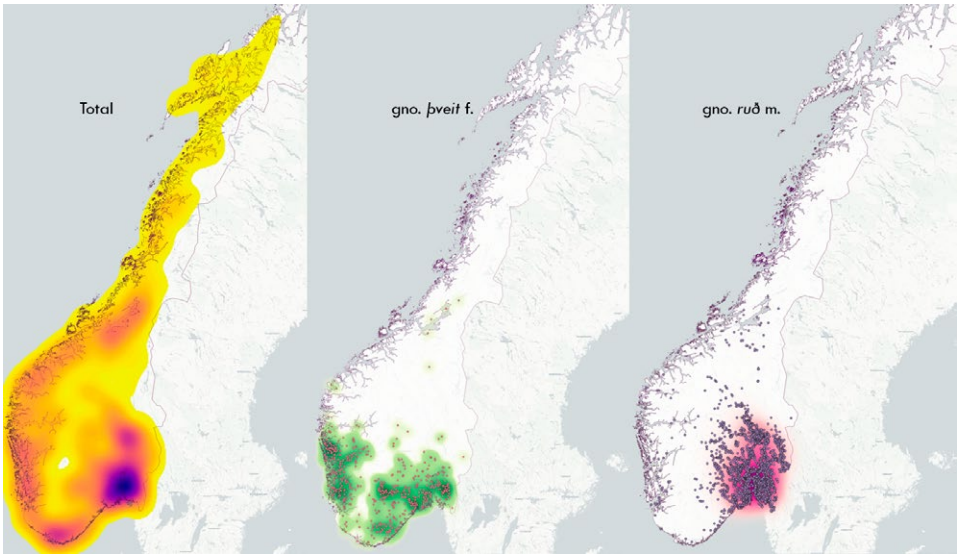

***Figure 6**. Place-name concentration and density maps of place name types of the late Viking-Age and Middle Ages, ON þveit, f. (ca. 660), and ON ruð, m. (ca. 3,500). Left map shows the density of all settlements from Norske Gaardnavne recorded prior to 1730. The darker the colour, the higher the density. Maps © Peder Gammeltoft, Språksamlingane and CartoDB, all CC-BY. Map sizes 3,200 x 1,800 km., north up.*

Rounding off

I hope this brief visualisation of a few place name types indicates the potential in the new digital *Norske Gaardnavne* and the benefits of distribution maps to show period-specific distributions of settlement names and distributions of typologically similar place name types. Distribution maps enable the reader to gain a quick overview of where certain place name types are found and even when certain areas became populated or experienced major transformations in settlement organisation. The distribution maps from the new digital *Norske Gaardnavne* are not merely suitable for national overviews. As they are assigned coordinates, it is also possible to use place name types in regional and local studies. And by assigning them periodisation, it is possible to establish a relative chronology for settlement development at a local level as well. It would be interesting to compare these distributions with georeferenced archaeological data to assess whether these materials support or contradict each other.

This article has highlighted that Norwegian place name types have widely differing distributions. I have not gone deeply into why this is so because of limitations on the length of the article. Now *Norske Gaardnavne* in its new format allows for new kinds of research to be conducted and for a greater coordination between, for instance, archaeological find distributions and place name types. The new digital *Norske Gaardnavne* was launched in the autumn 2021 together with other place name resources in a new place name portal, https://toponymi.spraksamlingane.no.

However, for place name research as an independent discipline, it is now time to investigate more thoroughly why some name types are more typical of certain areas than others. Another thing that has been hinted at is trying to see place name distributions in relation to

neighbouring countries as well as in relation to their research traditions. The dating of the various place name types varies considerably between the Scandinavian countries – why is this? No one has ever really delved into this interesting and traditional research problem. With improved digital availability of place name services, it is now time to look beyond national borders and internal research traditions and start to approach the bigger picture. Distribution maps as shown here can bring new insights to place name research. We have the opportunity now to see things more clearly.

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Geir Grønnesby

Settlements without names, names without settlements – and the transformation to an occupied landscape

Archaeological settlement surveys have shown marked differences in the settlement structure between the Early and Late Iron Age. The historic Norwegian farm seems to be established at the end of the 6th century. This has consequences for the way we look at farm names. If the historical farms did not exist in the Early Iron Age, what were the 'farm names' in the Early Iron Age? The starting point for the discussion is that the relationship between people and landscape must have changed significantly at the end of the 6th century. The article discusses this by looking at how the landscape was used and experienced. While the Late Iron Age landscape was divided into properties and thus had a cell structure, the landscape of the Early Iron Age can be seen as a landscape defined and experienced through the movement between places defined by the practices that have taken place in these places. The differences between these two ways of experiencing the landscape mean that the practice of naming places must have been different. The terms chronotope and praxiotope are used to describe these two different ways of naming places. The theoretical starting point is symmetrical archaeology and practice theory.

Introduction

Place name research in Norway dates back to the 19th century and has concentrated on farm names. A common assumption is that some of the present-day farms' names have been names of farms since the Early Iron Age or possibly earlier. However, although some researchers have explicitly stated that some farm names had different origins (e.g. names relating to nature) (Olsen 1926, p. 56, Stemshaug 1985, p. 90), this has not been thoroughly discussed.

Archaeological traces of occupation dating from the Early Iron Age (BC 500-AD 550) in Trøndelag, Norway have been found over large areas in fields surrounding present-day farmyards. These are in marked contrast to the settlements of the historical farms, which in many cases have occupied the same places since the end of the 6th century. This is evident by culture layers on most studied farmyards from this period onwards (Grønnesby 2013, 2015, 2016, Grønnesby and Heen-Pettersen 2015).

This situation raises the question of what the farm names were before the historical farms were established. This question is tied to the way we classify the Early Iron Age settlement (i.e. before AD 550).

This article will discuss the differences in settlement structure between the Early and Late Iron Age and the consequences for how we look at the presumed farm names. I will use a perspective taken from symmetrical anthropology and regard the landscape as a hybrid (Latour 1996). I will combine this with practice theory as designed by Shove *et al.* (2012). Terms like *inscription*, *chronotope* and *praxiotope* will be central to the analysis.

Research history

Place name research

Since the 19th century, place name research in Norway has been broadly interdisciplinary, closely linked to studies of settlement history and Norse religion (Særheim 2013, p. 553). The earliest research relating to place names was initially conducted as part of the national project: the process of creating a legitimate basis for Norway as a nation. Already in the early 19th century, Wilhelm Frimann Koren Christie was of the opinion that place name research was a national task (Stemshaug 1985, p. 16). However, the most important person in Norwegian place name research was the archaeologist, historian and philologist Oluf Rygh. The impact of Rygh's work is demonstrated by Ola Stemshaug's subdivision of place name research into three epochs: before Rygh, during Rygh, and after Rygh (Stemshaug 1985, p. 15 ff.). Rygh started the monumental task of collecting and interpreting all farm names in Norway for his reference work *Norske gaardnavne* (Norwegian farm names, see also Gammeltoft, this volume).

However, the connection between farm names and archaeological traces of occupation was not firmly recognised until the 1920s, when archaeologists, particularly Anton Wilhelm Brøgger, established archaeology as part of the national project (Brøgger 1925, Grønnesby and Heen-Pettersen 2015, Grønnesby 2019, p. 34f). In common with Brøgger, archaeologists such as Sigurd Grieg (1926a, 1926b, 1934, 1938) and Helge Gjessing (1921, 1925) had works published in which they combined the results of archaeological surveys of settlements with place names. In the following years, the link between archaeology, farms, and place names was strengthened even further (Grønnesby and Heen Pettersen 2015, p. 171ff, Grønnesby 2019, p. 34). In Norwegian archaeology, it has been commonly assumed that there was a connection between farm names and burial mounds (Haavaldsen 1984, Pilø 2005, p. 51). The mounds and the finds in them could date both the farms and place names in areas where there were no archaeological traces of settlements. However, this assumed link between farms, names, and burials is problematic because it presupposes that there has been continuity in the use of farms, names and hence that the relationship between burial finds and settlements has remained consistent.

Until large-scale surface excavation was used as a method during the 1980s and 1990s, settlements from the Migration Period (AD 400-550) in south-west Norway were the primary source of information about Early Iron Age settlements in south-west Norway. Elsewhere in the country, farm names, burial finds, and retrospective methods were regarded as indicative of the development of settlements (Gjerpe 2014).

The problems associated with dating farm names in Norway make it difficult to decide which names can be dated to the Early Iron Age, although some seem to be more reliable than others. These include simplex nature names such as *Berg, Dahl* and so on, and compound names combined with the endings *-vin* (pasture), *-heim* (home), *-bø/-by* (to dwell) (in Norway, the simplex name *By* is used on individual farms and is interpreted as being as old as the simplex nature names (Stemshaug 1985, p. 110)). While the latter two can be traced back to the activity 'to dwell' or 'to stay in a place', the *-vin* element can be traced back to livestock grazing. All four elements can be regarded as descriptive of significant activities (Stemshaug 1985).

The simplex names related to nature can be linked back to prominent topographical features. In traditional societies, such places can be spiritual in nature by virtue of their formation and the way they appear to influence human behaviour. Usually, myths, stories, and songs are linked to such places, which in turn are placed within a larger cosmology (Basso 1996, Oetelar and Oetelar 2006). If their names survived a sufficiently long time and were 'translated' into farm names, it must have been because they were significant places where important events took place. However, name elements such as *berg* (mountain), *ås* (ridge), and *dal* (valley) may not have been names but could instead have been appellatives (Neumüller 2012).

Edmund Leach has characterised place name research as 'butterfly collecting', since researchers have collected and catalogued names in order to determine their etymological significance (Leach 1961). However, the development that occurred in international place name research during the 1990s has been described as a critical turn since the focus shifted from the etymological to the social and political aspects of place names. This approach was partly based on modern situations, such as circumstances in the wake of war and conflict (Rose-Redwood *et al.* 2010, p. 457). Another focus has been on the landscape as socially constructed, whereby people have used place names to think 'with' the landscape, not 'about' the landscape. Place names have thus come to be seen as written into a landscape that existed within major cultural narratives and helped people make moral and political judgements (Rose-Redwood *et al.* 2010, p. 458). Thus, place names were symbolic texts intertwined with larger systems of meaning and ideology that were read, interpreted, and acted upon by humans. The socially constructed landscape was seen as a form of ideology wherein the main purpose was to control meaning and channel it in particular directions (Alderman 2008, p. 199).

The concept of landscape as socially constructed became popular in post-processual archaeology. In particular, Christopher Tilley's book *A Phenomenology of Landscape* (1994) has been of great importance. Tilley's perception of the landscape as based on phenomenology sees 'space' as meaningful in relation to human actions (see also Albris, this volume). Thus, a landscape is a set of named, relational places that form part of a system in which the social is reproduced, transformed, and structured (Tilley 1994, p. 29).

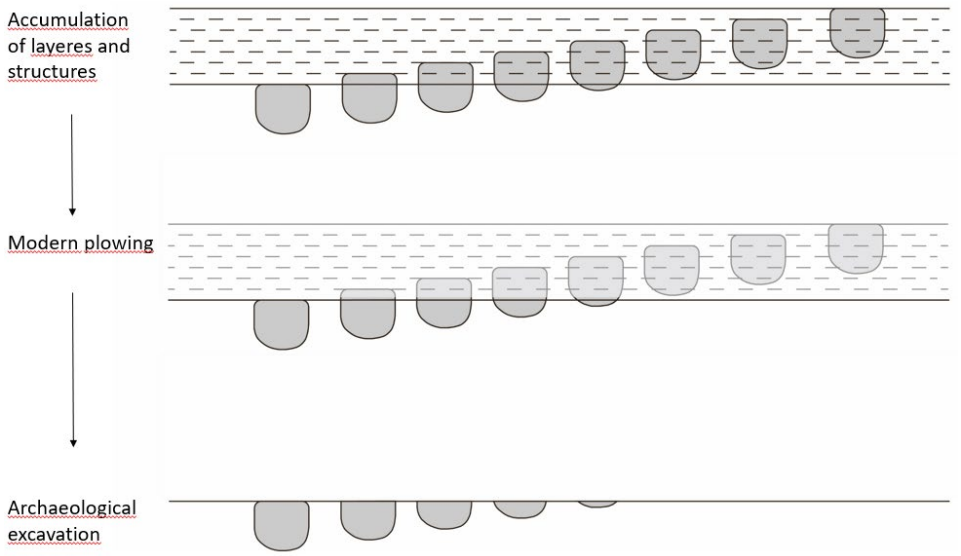

***Figure 1**. Sketch showing how layers in the soil accumulate over a long period of time and that what we excavate is only part of a site's history. Illustration: Geir Grønnesby, NTNU University Museum.*

Settlement archaeology in the Early and Late Iron Age

Since the 1980s and 90s, archaeologists in Norway have uncovered an enormous number of house structures from the Iron Age. There exists no summary of the material, but it seems like the vast majority of these are dated to the Early Iron Age, i.e. up to approximately AD 550. These are large-scale surface excavations that involve removing the ploughing layer to uncover the underground. In the underground, we find a vast number of post-holes and cooking-pits. Traces of settlement are spread over large areas. Some houses lie alone, some overlap, while others group together. However, there are always a large number of post holes without any context. The 14C-dates also show a larger time span than that indicated by the houses. The question is, what are these post holes and in what context do they belong? I think the answer to this lies in the so-called *dyrkningslag* (literally 'cultivation layers') dated to the Early Iron Age. These layers are often treated as layers created by ploughing. In reality, they are layers created by the ard (or scratch plough). The ard is not equipped with a mould board and does not turn the soil as the plough. In several excavations, we have detected a large number of cooking pits in these layers. In one excavation, we found a sequence of five cooking-pits lying on top of each other. The five cooking-pits were dated from the Pre-roman Iron Age to the Migration Period (Grønnesby 2019, p. 158). We have also found graves and post-holes. This means that these layers are created in an alternation between cultivation and other activity, for example, settlement activity (Fig. 1). This has profound consequences for how we look at settlement and land use in the Early Iron Age.

It seems as though settlements in the Early Iron Age had a more labile character. I follow Tim Ingold (1986) and distinguish between settlements, which are stable because ownership of land is practised, and on the other hand, what I have called labile societies. In labile societies, there is a continuum between a high degree of mobility and a high degree of stability in the settlement. Pastoral nomads are typically labile societies (Grønnesby 2019, p. 131ff).

According to Ingold, there are two forms of sedentism, and one of these occurs when there is a shift in the balance between livestock farming and agricultural farming (Ingold 1986). This may be a temporary form of sedentism that can shift back to increased mobility, and in the context of the present study, it can be referred to as 'unbounded sedentism' and therefore be included in the concept of mobility as a time-limited practice of sedentism. The second, more fundamental form of sedentism – 'bounded sedentism' – occurs when structural change happens in production factors, namely when there is a shift in emphasis from mobile wealth (in the form of livestock) to land ownership. The fundamental difference between these two forms of sedentism is that in the case of unbound sedentism, the settlement is not anchored in the topography in the same way as in bounded sedentism. In this article, I will use the term labile for societies in the Early Iron Age since it captures the continuum between a high degree of mobility and a high degree of sedentism (Fig. 2).

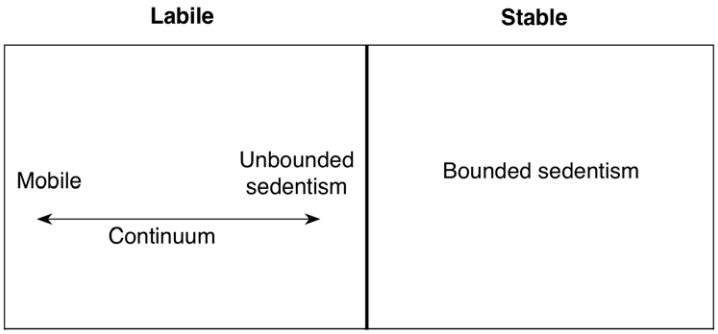

***Figure 2**. Illustration: Geir Grønnesby NTNU University Museum.*

Settlements are not the only traces of people in Trøndelag. We also find burial grounds, hill forts, boathouses, caves and rock shelters, and places for iron extraction. Settlements in the Early Iron Age in Trøndelag seem to have been settlements with a high degree of unbound sedentism. Many of the houses seem to have had a high age and may have been used for a long time. This type of unbound sedentism may have been caused by economic conditions. Shifting the centre of gravity between agriculture and livestock is part of the strategy of labile groups. One can feed more people per square meter with agriculture than with animal husbandry. Agricultural systems are also more stable (Cribb 1991, p. 23-44). We do not know the nature of this type of settlement and do not know if everyone lived in the same place at the same time. Perhaps parts of the population lived in permanent settlements, while others wandered around. Maybe places like hill forts, caves, and rock shelters should be seen in conjunction with this way of organizing the landscape.

The Danish archaeologist Jesper Hansen has seen a similar development from the labile to the stable around AD 600 on Funen. In the period up to the 6th century, Hansen characterizes the settlement as labile because it is not possible to trace permanent property boundaries. From the 7th century, significant changes occur as the farms move together into villages that form a settlement structure that is the origin of the structure still seen in the oldest settlements on Funen (Hansen 2015, 2017).

The Norwegian farm and the farmer have been vital in the formation of the Norwegian national identity (Opedal 1999, Gjerpe 2014). Historians and archaeologists in the 19th and

20th centuries explicitly used the farm and the farming society to give Norway a history. To achieve this, they used retrogressive methods whereby conditions in present society explained past societies. One consequence of this was that the farm, as a social, economic and political institution, became central in explaining early agricultural society. Since early farming society was part of our history, it was difficult to envision a society different from the historical peasant society. The association between history/archaeology and the farming society as a national identity indicator became so strong that the farm became what Bruno Latour calls a black box (Latour 1987, p. 3). The term 'black box' refers to statements that are not questioned; it is used about statements that are perceived as scientific truths. The term 'gård' was self-explanatory and could be used without further discussion. The problem is that connotations of the word *gård* (farm) are activated when used in prehistoric situations. The concept of land as property and the fact that property was transferred down through the generations via the *odel* (allodial system) became crucial to the way settlement in the Early Iron Age was envisioned. The society in the Early Iron Age was essentially the same as the society in the Late Iron Age. The difference was primarily a difference in complexity.

Excavations in recent years have revealed that there are profound archaeological differences between settlements in the Early Iron Age and that of the Late Iron Age. First, the cultivation layers (*dyrkningslag)* from the Early Iron Age might indicate that settlements had a labile character in this period. Second, cultural layers on the historical farm's farmyards show a high degree of stability, which settlement in the Early Iron Age lacks. These layers are documented in about 70 farmyards in Trøndelag. About 50 are dated between AD 550–1600. These layers are stratified layers of a vast amount of fire-cracked stones. One source calls these layers *bryggestein* (literally 'brewing stones'). Possibly because the rocks were used for brewing beer (Grønnesby 2016) (Fig. 3).

Figure 3*. Cultural layer from a farmyard at Ranheim (Vik) outside Trondheim. Photo: Åge Hojem, NTNU University Museum.*

So, there is a profound difference between settlement in the Early Iron Age and the Late Iron Age. While the Late Iron Age farms have been situated on the same spots for centuries and can be characterised as stable, the Early Iron Age settlement seems to have a labile character.

This change should probably be seen as a transformation to a society where land was property. When you own a specific piece of land, you will find the best spot for your houses. If there is no reason to move the houses, they will stay in the same place for centuries.

If this is right, it must also have consequences for the way we see the farm names. Societies that do not practice the principle of ownership of land will be organised in other ways in terms of politics, society, and religion. The relationship between people and land will be completely different (Grønnesby 2019).

Theoretical background – symmetrical anthropology and practice theory

In this article, I will look at the critique emerging from symmetrical anthropology and archaeology. This critique affects not only phenomenological landscape analysis but also the humanities in general. It concerns the ontological division between nature and culture that dates back to the work of philosophers such as Francis Bacon and René Descartes (Possamai 2013). According to Bruno Latour, this division was a hallmark of modernisation. In order to understand and analyse the world, the world had to be purified (or subdivided) into 'nature' and 'culture' (Latour 1993). One result of this purification process was an ontology whereby reality consists of two distinct worlds: the subjective human world and the physical material world. This created a distinction between the modern (us) and the non-modern (traditional communities) – the great divide. This distinction has been particularly in focus in the humanities and formed part of the basis of both processual and post-processual archaeology. Post-processual archaeology has been criticised for reducing the physical world to a passive background for human action. The human world has been seen as socially constructed, and the terms 'culture' and 'society' have been defined solely from a social constructionist point of departure (Olsen 2010, p. 5 ff.). The physical world itself was thus emptied of meaning in favour of a social construction. In particular, textual analogues were used to 'read' material culture (Olsen 2010, p. 39 ff.). The problem with this starting point is the absence of the material world or objects as active participants in human lives. The difference between objects and texts was ignored. However, the presence of objects in our lives is constituted in ways other than through texts. To see objects or the physical world as a text is to disregard their distinctive character and their ability to have repercussions on human action (Olsen 2010, p. 59-60).

According to Latour, we live in a world in which materials and humans are continually overlapping (Latour 1993). In practical daily life, we are in constant relationships with non-humans. Thus, the idea of a two-part ontological world does not exist in our daily activities. Rather, our entire existence is dominated by overlaps between 'nature' and 'culture'. The scale of this process has escalated since the Industrial Revolution. We have never been so dependent on things (i.e. objects) as today, which is why Latour claims that we have never really been modern (Olsen 2010, p. 101 ff.). Latour uses the concept of hybrids to denote the overlapping of nature and culture and the term actant (a reworking of the term actor) to describe how the nodes in a network can be both humans and non-humans.

In this line of thinking, the object – in this case the landscape – is attributed an active role in how people act. The landscape will have inscriptions – landscape forms or topography – that will act on human behaviour to a greater or lesser extent. In this context, the inscription refers to how the landscape topography will generate certain patterns of action. Inscriptions may be strong or weak, which means that place names cannot be seen as human social constructions but as actants in a network with both humans and landscape. The networks will help stabilise place names as objects and ensure a shared understanding of what place names represent.

To understand how humans behave in relation to the landscape, I will use practise theory as designed by Shove *et al.* (2012). Practise theory has also been used by Sofie Laurine Albris, who sees archaeological objects, place names and landscape in relation to human practices (2014, see also Albris, this volume). While Latour stresses that we have to follow the actants in the networks (1987), Shove *et al.* say that we have to follow the elements in practice to study a controversy (2012, p. 22). The reason we can combine symmetrical archaeology and practice theory is that material is an element in practice. 'Social relationships' are inherent in what they call 'the hardware of daily life'.

Practice consists of three elements: material, competence and meaning (Fig. 4). Materials are defined as everything material: objects, infrastructure, the body and the landscape. Competence is defined as all forms of understanding and practical knowledge, while meaning is seen as all that is socially meaningful at any given time. 'Social life' is created in an interplay between material, the meaning we put in it and the competence needed. When an action occurs, all three elements are activated and in Shove *et al.*'s terminology, bonds are formed between them. Elements can be combined in many different ways and thus create different practices. Practice arises, is maintained and disappears as the bonds between the elements are formed and broken.

New practices arise when old or new elements are combined in new combinations. When the bonds between the elements are broken, the elements can survive for a certain time. Materials that cease to be an element of a practice will eventually disappear since no materials last forever, but they can also be part of new practices.

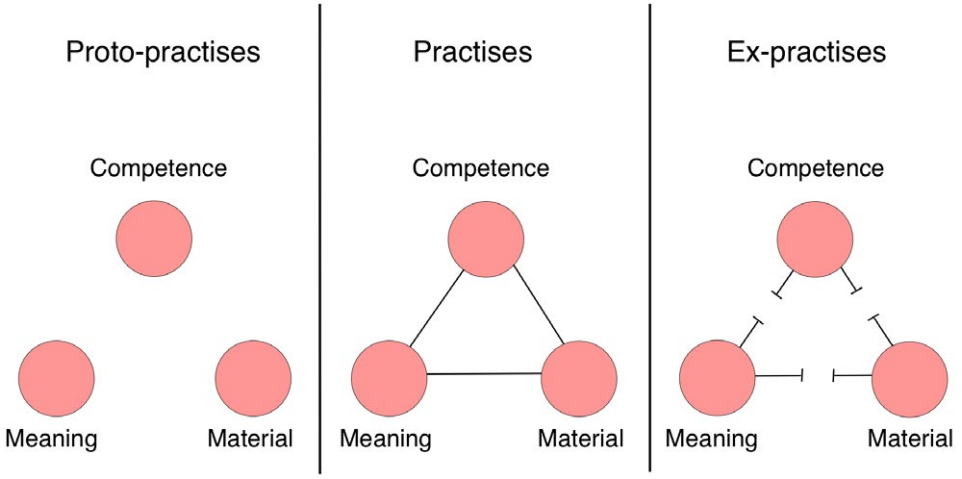

Figure 4. *The figure shows how practice consists of the elements competence, meaning and materials. After Shove et al. 2012, fig. 2.*

Different practices can establish connections in that co-location is an essential part of practices. Shove *et al.* denote such practices 'practice clusters' and 'practice complexes' (2012, p. 81ff). The difference between these is that practice complexes form closer connections than clusters. Co-location is not the only requirement for forming clusters or complexes. The way the material practice elements are organised in relation to each other can be important for how practices are linked (2012, p. 83f). The same goes for sequences and synchronisation of practices. The many practices in a hospital require co-location but are also about how the physical elements are organised in relationships with each other, as well as the order and synchronisation of the practices. Practice is something that takes place in a given place at a given time and cannot move. The elements, however, may move. The most obvious is that materials can be moved by transportation. However, the landscape can not be transported or moved. It is more complicated to understand how meaning and competence move. Competence moves through processes of decontextualisation and recontextualisation. This implies that competence must be abstracted from its local point of departure and reversed to one recipient situation. This presupposes a distinction between local competence and cosmopolitan competence. Cosmopolitan competence is detached from its local origins. This implies an understanding that knowledge can exist in a dislocated reservoir, an epistemic community where users can gain expertise. In modern society, it is possible to see that both libraries and the internet can function as such a cosmopolitan reservoir of competence, but in societies where writing is poorly developed, this reservoir is left to memory and to some common perceptions of what competence consists of. The ability to move competence involves the ability to acquire cosmopolitan competence and decode the competence in a new practice situation. Meaning can move through processes of packing and unpacking, association and reclassification. Shove *et al.* claims that the possibility of associations and reclassification is limited and made possible by both existing patterns and distribution of opinion (2012, p. 55). This means that not all meaning, and competence, can be moved, and this entails that meaning and competence that is moved must be linked to existing local practice elements so that the transfer can occur. In this transfer, meaning and competence are transformed in that the elements of meaning and competence are connected with new practice elements. All the elements depend on an infrastructure to move. In a non-writing society, movement of the elements will depend on the movement of people and objects. Since the transition from the Early to the Late Iron Age was a period where both people and things seem to have been moving over large areas, this is an approach that can say something about how the actors (or practice elements) moved in the networks. It also says something about how the relationship between mobile actants and non-mobile actants (landscape) worked. A place can be seen as an element in practice and in combination with a lot of other practices.

The two theories are complementary in that symmetrical archaeology shows how humans and landscapes work in the same networks and how the landscape, through both natural and human-made inscriptions, acts on human practice. Practice theory is helpful because it connects places in the landscape and people through practice.

I will use symmetrical archaeology and the concept of chronotope to discuss farm names in the Late Iron Age and practice theory and the concept of praxiotope to discuss the same names in the Early Iron Age.

Names

The farm name as a chronotope – the historical farm

Russian literature writer Mikhail Bakthin adopted the term chronotope (meaning time-space) from physics and used it to describe how time and space can be combined in one concept (Olsen 2010, p. 108). Keith Basso later used chronotope to describe how places functioned in apache mythology. Basso describes chronotopes as 'points in the geography of a community where time and space intersect and fuse. Time takes on flesh and becomes visible for human contemplation…' (Basso 1984, p. 44). Stefan Brink has used chronotope in the sense of 'historically meaningful places' (Brink 2008). This article will use chronotope to describe how Norwegian farm names were used to anchor land property in the landscape by combining time and space through inscriptions in the landscape.

The historical farm should be understood as a specific political, economic, and social organisation. Its main characteristic is that it was based on ownership rights to a defined piece of land. In Norway, these rights were transferred from generation to generation through the hereditary right of ownership known as *odelsrett* (allodial entitlement). Due to the connotations that the term *gård* (farm) has in terms of Norwegian national identity, it should not be applied in the context of the Early Iron Age settlement (Holm 1999, Grønnesby and Heen-Pettersen 2015).

In Norwegian, the term *gård* is linguistically related to the term *gjerde* (fence) and has the same semantic origin (Bjorvand and Lindeman 2000, p. 332, Falk and Torp 1991, p. 230). The explanation for the derivation of the appellative *gård* from the original meaning 'fence' is likely due to the fact that, as a boundary, the fence was crucial for defining what constituted the farm (see also Vikstrand, this volume). Essentially, each farm had physical limits, and these boundaries were decisive for people's access to resources, determined the nature of relationships with people outside the farm, and also defining those who lived and worked on the farm. This means that the main distinctive feature of the appellative *gård* is its spatial delineation. Hence, the settlement itself was not the most important factor, but rather its boundaries. The expression *Gardr er grana sættir* (fences keep neighbours satisfied) from the Gulating law is a nice expression of the importance of fences/borders (Robberstad 1981, p. 109). This also means that the settlement and its name were anchored in the defined territory. By anchored, I mean that the name and the territory were inextricably interlinked.

Over the generations, the right to the land, or farm, was regulated through the hereditary right of ownership (*odelsrett*). It is believed that the word *odel* is an old word originating in the earliest runic alphabet, an assumption based on sources dating from the Middle Ages (Spurkland 2001, p. 20). The word *odel* is found on runic inscriptions dating from the Late Viking Age, in which it relates to property. The concept *odelshaug* (literally *odels mound*) and a legal case dating from the 1300s, which stated that a property belonged to the person who could trace his ancestors back to *hauk ok heidni* (literally "gravemound and heathendom"), thus indicating that some burial mounds had a legitimising role in relation to property rights (Zachrisson 1994, 2017). There is much evidence to indicate that the *odelshaug* was located relatively close to the farmyard, at least in some parts of the country (Grønnesby 2019, p. 196). The hereditary right of ownership and its manifestation in the *odelshaug* covered the temporal aspect of the farm. The owner legitimised his/her right to the farm by referring to the relationship to the ancestor in the burial mounds.

Thus, farm names linked the inscriptions *boundaries* and *odelshaug* in time and space - as a chronotope (Fig. 5). As inscriptions, both the boundaries and the mound were part of a relational network that over time translated the object *gård* into an unquestionable fact through a process of black boxing (Latour 1987). At the core of this process, the farm names linked the physical landscape to human behaviour. In Trøndelag, there are no traces of the original boundaries. By contrast, in Sweden, buried hoards and rune stones may have been used to mark boundaries (Zachrisson 1998). Regardless of how they were marked in the landscape, the boundaries must be seen as very strong inscriptions. This is illustrated by the Gulating law's punishment for removing boundary stones (Robberstad 1981 chapter 18). In parts of Norway, there are stories about people being punished after death as ghosts for having moved the border stones (Jacobsen 2002).

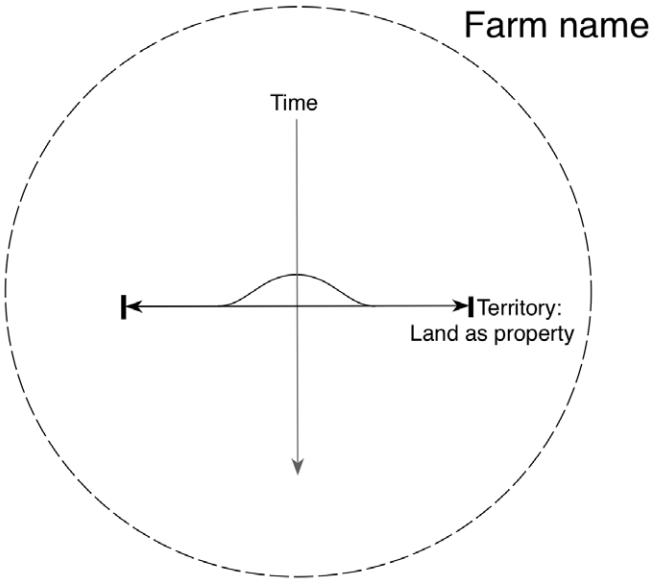

***Figure 5**. By uniting time and space through the inscriptions border and odels-mound, the farm names, as a chronotope, helped anchor the land property. Ill: Geir Grønnesby, NTNU University Museum.*

The path and the praxiotope – the Early Iron Age

In a labile society that does not practice land ownership, the relationship between humans and the landscape must have been very different. I will follow Paul Lane (2016) and first use the concept of 'path' to emphasise movements in the landscape. Second, I will suggest that places were identified by what was done or practised in different places.

In most labile groups, houses/tents/huts are bound by rules, whereby all objects and people have a fixed place, and the organisation of the house/tent/hut reflects a cosmological order. Through the formalised structure, a structured space is constructed and reconstructed in the same way, regardless of the physical relocation (Prussin 1995, p. 42, Mauvieux *et al.* 2014, Lane 2016, p. 210-213). For labile groups, 'home' is not a temporary place, even though it is moved, but is instead a stable and constant entity that is materialised in the form of a mobile home. 'Home' is, therefore, not a physical place, but a social and physical space that

is produced and reproduced with each new arrangement (Prussin 1995, p. 42). Although the group moves as a whole, the individual group members will still be in the same 'space'. Upon arrival at a new campsite, each Turkana will take some soil in his/her mouth and forehead to unite man and land (Broch-Due 2000: 60ff). Paul Lane calls the home a portable mnemonic aid (Lane 2016, p. 210). Hence, dwellings can be seen as portable inscriptions.

Mobility or movement in the landscape is part of a human cognitive experience. Accordingly, we should think about the landscape in the context of mobility or as points and movements between those points (Prussin 1995). The Turkana people in Kenya use the term 'path' as an analogy for social strategies. The physical pathways or routes along which the different households choose to drive their animals are also social paths. The choices that determine where people take their animals are strategic social and economic choices that can be successful or less successful. The Turkana expression 'to make paths' means to make the right choices. Accordingly, a poor person will be characterised by their inability to 'make paths'. Thus, paths are expressions of the movements in a landscape with a network of relationships with the potential for social and economic transactions (Broch-Due 1999).

Western humanities in general, and possibly archaeology in particular, have had a tendency to think in terms of localities and place. Paul Lane is one of the few scholars who have extensively examined how landscape archaeology can be based on mobility and the concept of 'path' as an alternative to the dominant place-centred landscape theories (Lane 2016, p. 198). Since labile groups relate to landscapes in a different way compared with sedentary farmers, archaeologists should use a different analytical approach when processing landscape data.

Paul Lane describes rock carvings, stone rows, and other prehistoric stone monuments in East Africa as nodes in a landscape in which many different meaningful places are linked by paths. Some of the stone rows mark graves and other types of places that were used over very long periods, whereas others were erected in connection with specific events that were fixed in people's memories through the use of the sites. Some stone monuments may have been established to mark routes. Lane sees these as 'places of memory' written in the landscape to mark people's presence in the past, present, and future. The places became nodal expressions of paths (or movements) in the landscape.

Labile groups often lack a strong sense of identity associated with places. Instead, their identity is linked to mythological and historical movements in landscapes, and both the history of individuals and groups are written in the landscape through paths. Places have meaning through the paths that link them together. The paths are the expression of a continual process of reconstruction of actual and potential networks of social and economic relations (Lane 2016). A pastoral nomad 'does not move to a dwelling but dwells by moving' (Casey 1993, cited in Lane 2016). Since movement always will be an option and a possibility in a labile society, this will probably be the same in a situation with a high degree of unbounded sedentism.

If a settlement was labile (i.e. not anchored to a fixed point in the geographical area), there is no reason to believe that it was referred to by a place name. More likely, it was probably referred to by the name of the social group. Places rooted in the topography by a name would be places where things happened, happen, or will happen and therefore not related to property but to events and practices. I have called these places *praxiotopes* (practice-place).

They are defined as places identified by the relation between the inscriptions (both natural and human-made) in the landscape and the practices performed there. A praxiotope is a place where certain things were done. A praxiotope might be a burial ground, rock carvings, hill forts, boathouses, caves, pastures, places for iron extraction, and so on.

In addition to emphasising the term 'path' as Lane does, I want to emphasise the significance of places in terms of praxiotopes. The landscape became meaningful in terms of places and what was done there, and the movement between those places.

This means that there is a fundamental difference between society in the Early and the Late Iron Age. The society in the Early Iron Age emphasised movements in the landscape and various practices in specific places. The Late Iron Age society practised property rights to the land, and most practices were carried out within the farm as a practice complex (Fig. 6). This created a cell-structured landscape that defined people in relation to the land as property.

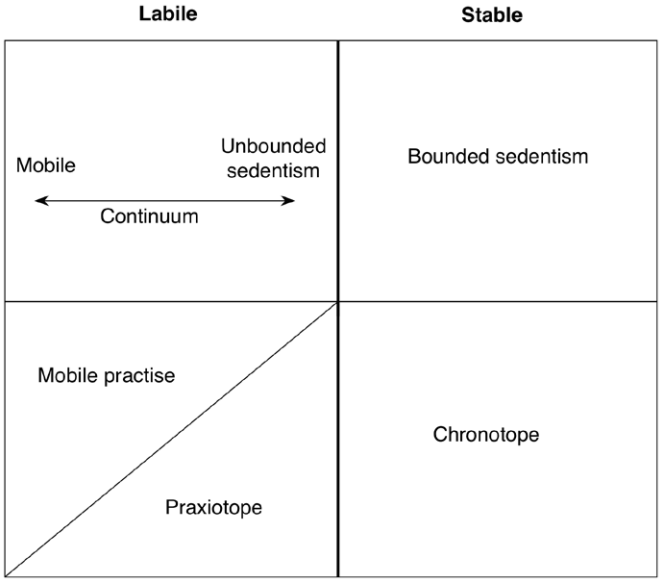

***Figure 6**. The figure shows how the landscape is perceived differently in stable and labile systems, respectively. Illustration: Geir Grønnesby NTNU University Museum.*

Territorialisation – the transformation to an occupied landscape in the Late Iron Age

If names in the Early Iron Age landscape were the names of significant places linked to human activity and settlements did not have names, then the later farm names must have undergone what Anders Andrén (1987) has described as a process of territorialisation. The territorial divisions in the Middle Ages, such as *syssel* (to be active with something), *herred* (army-ride), *sogn* (to search), originally denoted an organisation that had social significance, but not territorial significance. Andrén believes that the territorialisation of the terms has taken place successively and at slightly different times in the Scandinavian countries. All of these terms point to social activities and thus to social organisation. Andrén (1987) subdivides the terms

into three categories: (1) terms that express a social affiliation without spatial belonging, of which the organisation of the *ting* (parliament) in Iceland is one such an example, as each farmer had to associate himself with a *gothi* (a social and political position), regardless of their location; (2) terms that express a social affiliation with spatial anchorage; and (3) terms that express a spatial entity. These three principles can be seen as phases in a development whereby a society shifts from being based on social, organisational principles to being organised on the basis of defined territorial units.

The transition from a landscape that is not owned to an owned landscape represents a revolution in terms of how the relationship between people and the landscape was structured (see also Albris, this volume). In the earliest phase of territorialisation, a network of strong allies must have been created to 'translate' the landscape into an owned landscape. An important actant in such a network must have been significant places and their names. Due to the fact that they were 'black boxes', place names were enrolled in the new networks as powerful allies in the process of translation of the owned landscape from an idea to an indisputable fact. In the same process, the place names themselves were translated into farm names because of their hybrid character (i.e. the close relationship between the farm name and the physical landscape they represented). An essential part of this translation was the farm boundaries as strong inscriptions in the landscape and their ability to influence human behaviour.

If my argumentation is correct, there is reason to believe that other concepts for territorial units went through the same process. An example is the county organisation (*fylke*). The counties in Western and Central Norway are known from Aslak Bolts cadastre from c.1430, Magnus the Law-menders testament from 1277, and the earliest laws (Frostatings law from 1260) when they were territorial units. The term *fylke* is also known from the saga literature (Skevik 1997, p. 185). The earliest use of the word is in a skaldic poem in Olav Tryggvason's saga. Many researchers are of the opinion that the county division has older origins, possibly as far back as the Early Iron Age (Hagland and Sandnes 1994, Skevik 1997). The hill forts and the extensive iron production in Trøndelag in the Early Iron Age have been used as an argument for dating the counties (Stenvik 2005, p. 144) to the Early Iron Age. The Norwegian word for county *fylke* can be linked to *folk* (people) *flokk* (crowd, group of people, flock), and *følge* (to follow), and it was also connected to the organisation of Viking Age armies - *fylking* (Falk and Torp 1991, Skevik 1997, p. 188). The meaning of the term may originally have been to gather people (maybe warriors) for different occasions (for example, the acts of war) and, thus, had a social, not territorial, definition. It can be assumed that the term *fylke* went through the same process of territorialisation, from being a social, organisational principle to a territorial one. This would fit well with the fact that Germanic warfare is usually described as a social entity, wherein the relationship between the warriors and their leader was most important (Rives 1999, Grønnesby and Ellingsen 2012).

I will now show some examples of farm names that I believe have gone through the same process of territorialisation. All the examples come from Steinkjer Municipality in Trøndelag (Fig. 7).

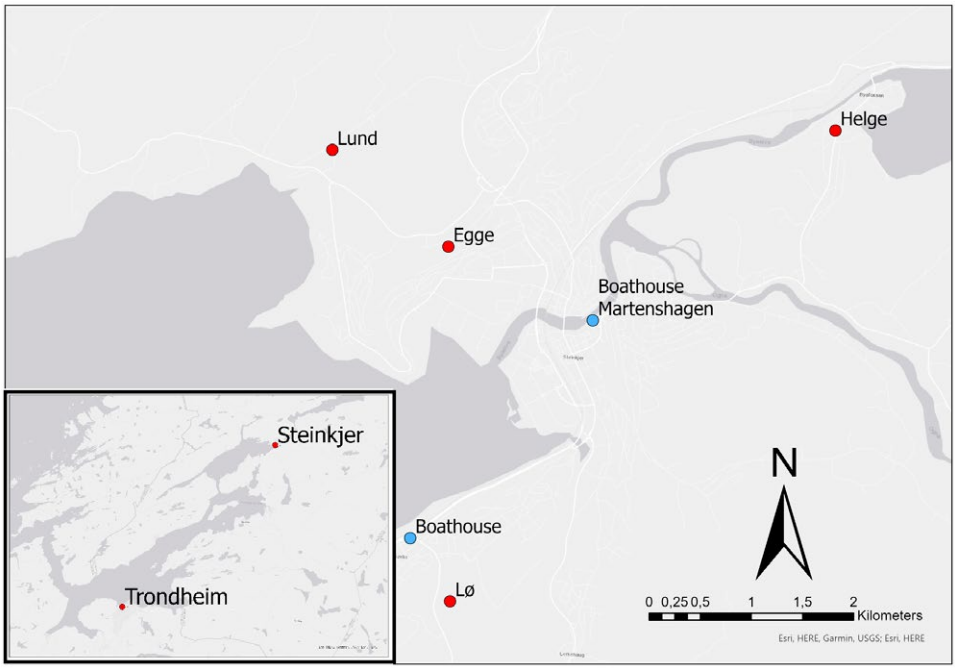

***Figure 7**. Steinkjer in Trøndelag. Map showing places mentioned in the text. © Kartverket.*

Lø

In 2002 and 2003, the remains of a boathouse dating from the Early Iron Age, together with a burial mound with a secondary Viking boat grave in the upper part, was excavated at the farm named Lø in Steinkjer Municipality. The mound contained a further burial mound with an urned cremation burial dating from the Migration Period, along with four graves from the Roman period (Ellingsen and Grønnesby 2012). The boathouse was originally 34 m in length and dated from the 5th century AD (Grønnesby and Ellingsen 2012, Ellingsen 2012). The burial mound lay close to the boathouse. The name *Lø* can be traced back to the same origins as the name *Lade* in the sense of 'a load, built-up quantity, or stack', meaning 'a place where one placed a load, a stacking space, storage space, or possibly a reloading place' (my translation) (Stemshaug 2010). The name *Lade* is usually connected to trading posts or places for the exchange of goods. The name *Lø* can thus be traced back to the Early Iron Age (Stemshaug 2010, p. 103). It is not unreasonable to see the name as an expression of an activity that took place by the sea and boathouse in the Early Iron Age. This activity's significance can be seen in the burial mound that was constructed adjacent to the boathouse (Ellingsen 2012). The name *Lø* thus has its origin as a description of an activity by the sea. By the time we meet the name *Lø* in the written sources of the Middle Ages, it had become the name of a defined territory. Thus, the name shifted from being the name or description of a significant activity associated with the boathouse to being a name of a territorial unit defined by its boundaries – the place name had become the name of a farm. The Viking Age boat grave at the top of the mound can be seen as both a way to make connections to the past and to cover up the past.

Egge

Another example of this is the farm name *Egge* (literally sharp edge or ridge). Egge is a farm known from Norse literature as a chieftain's residence in the Viking Age. The farmyard is located on top of a moraine ridge. In addition, there are several burial grounds known from the farm. One of them is dated to the Roman period. A test excavation on the farmyard has shown that the farmyard was probably established in the late 6th century. Settlement features from the Early Iron Age are located on several places around the ridge (Grønnesby 2013, 2015). The actual landscape formation, or the topographic inscription 'egg', influenced people to engage in certain actions, including the establishment of the burial fields. The burials themselves were inscriptions that linked practice and space as a praxiotope. The inscription 'graves' can be seen as a stronger inscription than the topographical feature because it confines the possible practices at the site. Again, when we meet the name in the written sources it is no longer a topographical feature but instead the name of a defined territorial unit.

Lund

Another example is the name *Lund*, which denotes a natural formation (a grove). Tacitus described sacred groves among Germanic tribes on the continent (Rives1999, p. 164), and medieval chronicler Adam of Bremen described a sacred grove in Uppsala (Adam av Bremen 1993, p. 207). Within place name research, it is accepted that sacred groves existed in Scandinavia, and this is partly due to the fact that the first element in the name is frequently the name of a god; for example, *Torslund* (Vasshus 2011). Similarly, other farm names that describe prominent topographical features, such as *Ås*, *Berg*, and *Dal*, may have gained significance through specific practices because they were spiritual places by virtue of their topographical features. The name *Hov*/*Hof* is usually interpreted as a religious building, but its etymological meaning is 'height or 'hill' (Sundqvist 2009, p. 68). It might have been the

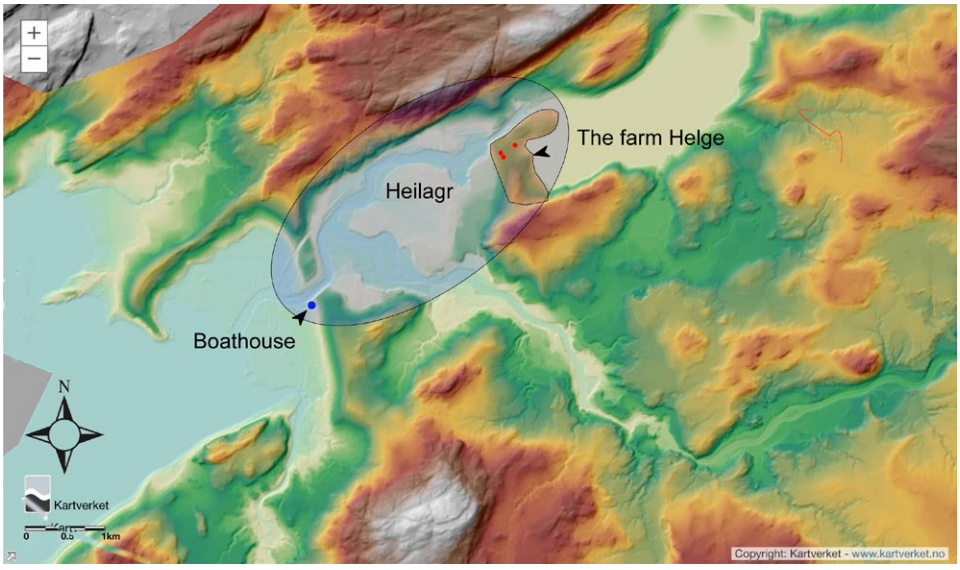

Figure 8. *Steinkjer in Trøndelag. What the landscape looked like with 10-12 m higher water level. © Kartverket.*

topographic feature 'height' as an inscription that gave the place its meaning and directed people to certain practices. Per Vikstrand concludes in his discussion that the name *Hov* is 'a constituent property of certain gathering places which only in certain cases have become the basis for the name' (author's translation) (Vikstrand 1992, p. 133). Such marked topographical features are inscriptions because they led to certain actions. The places became important, and therefore their names became important through the relationship between the topographical features (inscriptions) and human actions. Thus, nature-related names have survived due to their significance as places for certain practices and later as territorial names.

Helge

The last example is the name *Helge* (Fig. 8). The name consists of two parts, *helg* and *eid*, and means the holy isthmus (strip of land) (Rygh 1898). The farm is thus named after a topographical feature that was perceived as sacred. Together with two menhirs and one stone circle, there are many grave mounds on the farm. Three of these mounds are between 40–50 meters in diameter. The dates of the three huge mounds are not known, but we have reason to believe that they can be dated to the Merovingian period (AD 550-800).

In the summer of 2020, the University Museum in Trondheim excavated a boathouse in south-west of Steinkjer. The house was very large, at least 35 x 14.5 m and situated at the mouth of the Steinkjer river. Having a sea level some 10–15 m higher than today, the area between the boathouse and Helge would have been a wetland with a fluctuating water level and a gateway to a large hinterland. This situation gives the area certain liminal qualities as a border zone between the fjord and the hinterland. I would suggest that it was precisely these qualities of the area that were perceived as sacred. The boathouse at Steinkjer and the mounds on Helge are dated to the Roman period/Migration period and probably the Merovingian Age. It may be that when the farm was established, the name was translated into a name for the territorially defined farm. The site's sacred qualities were linked to the farm in the same way that the large mounds were inscriptions that helped to define the farm.

Settlements without names, names without settlements – and the transformation to an occupied landscape

These cases exemplify how 'non-moderns', meaning those who did not distinguish between nature and culture in the same way as the moderns, perceived the landscape as animated. Prominent features in the landscape such as peaks and valleys will appear as hybrids precisely because of their physical properties – the topographical features or inscriptions that make them actants in a network.

It may therefore have been the case that the names translated into farm names during the transition to the Late Iron Age were initially names of significant places, not of settlements. Settlements were referred to through the use of appellatives such as *hjem* (home) and *å bo* (to live). This corresponds to labile settlements that were not anchored in a fixed point in the landscape. The names that originated in the Early Iron Age and that later became farm names may have been place names, but they were not farm names. The fact that these place names were translated into farm names must therefore have been because they were important places through the practices performed at the site.

The place names of the Early Iron Age also served as chronotopes in the sense that they linked space and time. In this context, space was not the territory but rather the points, such as the nodes in a network of places. The significance of these places emerged through a relationship between the place, with its topographical features (inscriptions), and the actions (both in the past, present, and future) carried out at the place as praxiotopes. Hence, the name *Lund* was as much linked to the actions at the place as to the topographical term lund.

In the Late Iron Age, these places were enlisted as chronotopes in a new network as an ally to legitimise new inscriptions in the landscape, namely the boundaries. The boundaries, as inscriptions, entailed new and different actions linked to the places like Lø, Egge, Lund and Helge. These sites were transformed from praxiotopes, identified through inscriptions and practices, to chronotopes identified by the inscriptions borders and odel-mounds.

Similarly, as the burial mound at Lø both covered and preserved the past, the farm names did the same at Egge, Lund and Helge: they preserved the past while simultaneously contributing to changing human practices in the landscape.

The question is when the names shifted from being related to inscriptions and practices to becoming territorially defined entities. Andrén considers that this was a gradual process (Andrén 1987). The beginning of the process may have started during the transition from the Early Iron Age to the Late Iron Age and was linked to the establishment of land ownership rights as a fundamental structuring legal principle. The establishment of boundaries in the landscape served as new man-made inscriptions in the landscape, which in turn influenced human behaviour. With the transition to the Late Iron Age, the landscape became defined in a new network with a different purpose. The place names still existed because they helped enlist other actants into the network and establish and stabilise the farm as a fact or black box.

The transition between the Early and Late Iron Ages (or between the Migration Period and the Merovingian period) is usually regarded as corresponding to AD 550-600. This is reflected in major changes in the archaeological material. The use of big boathouses, hill forts, caves and rock shelters, and the extensive iron production ceased. The burial practices, types of objects, and weapon sets all changed (Solberg 2000). These changes took place against the background of major political, economic, and social changes on the continent (Grønnesby 2019). The reasons for the changes are not discussed here, but they are usually linked to the fact that the leaders in societies had reorganised the landscape into fewer and larger units (Myhre 2002, p. 164). The changes can also be seen in the context of influences from the continent and/or the Justinian Plague (Solberg 2000, p. 200 ff.) and climate changes due to a volcanic eruption (Gräslund and Price 2012). Regardless of the underlying causes, a situation was created in which new actants had the power to destabilise the old networks and establish new ones. Through this destabilisation, the old places and/or place names acquired a new 'agency' that caused them to be redefined from being meaningful places to defined territories. In both cases, they were chronotopes, but they combined time and space through different inscriptions in the landscape.

It is possible that Norse mythology, with its in-farm/out-farm dichotomy (Thorvaldsen 2013, p. 478), contributed to this process and was part of the enlisting of the 'farms' as actants in the new network. In the transition of names from place names to farm names, the importance of combining time and space became much more important for the farm names because the

boundaries were decisive for the constitution of the 'farm'. Thus, it can be said that the farm names' chronotopic significance was far stronger than the Early Iron Age place names.

Concluding remarks

The idea that the farm names can be traced back to the Early Iron Age seems outdated. Archaeological research on farmyards has revealed an accumulation of cultural layers that started in the Late Iron Age. This implies that the names of the historical farms cannot be traced back to the Early Iron Age as farm names. A more labile settlement that was not anchored in a point in the landscape did not have a place name but was probably referred to through the use of appellatives such as 'home', 'living', and 'the place where we are'. The later farm names, which on a linguistic basis can be traced back to the Early Iron Age, must therefore have been place names. Thus, farm names came into existence through a change in the interaction between people and landscapes.

In conclusion, present-day farm names cannot be seen as a source for settlement history for the period before AD 600. In order to understand today's farm names and their history, they must be seen as expressions of the relationships between the people and the landscapes in which they were active.

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Per Vikstrand

Plural *tuna*-names in Norway

This paper investigates the settlements with plural tuna-names in Norway, with the objective to investigate if they, as their East Scandinavian counterparts, show indications of centrality during the Scandinavian Iron Age. Of seven studied names, only Tune in Østfold with certainty displays such properties. It is argued that this name is an expression of a Scandinavian 'central place nomenclature', common but with regional variations, reflecting a prestigious vocabulary connected with central places.

Introduction

The plural names in *tuna* are well known for their connection with central places during the Iron Age. The etymological meaning of the word *tun* is 'fence, fenced area, enclosure', but its occurrence in the central-place nomenclature is due to a specialisation of meaning, about which we are still in the dark. The names are mainly confined to central Sweden, but scattered examples also occur in Denmark and Norway. One Norwegian name, *Tune* in Østfold, appears in a well-known aristocratic setting from the Iron Age, reminiscence of many Swedish *tuna*-sites. This motivates us to take a closer look at other plural *tuna*-names in Norway. Do they resemble *Tune* in Østfold and the Swedish names, with regard to landscape setting, name-environments and archaeological monuments and findings?

Studying the Norwegian names in *tun* is complicated, as there are obviously several layers of names, differing in both age and meaning. Although the etymology of *tun* as 'fence, fenced area, enclosure' is clear enough, the meaning of the place names is not. The word *tun* (Germanic **tūna*-) seems to be common Germanic (although not testified in Gothic), and it must thus be studied in a European context. An important characteristic in such a wider perspective is the profound divergence of meaning. While a *tun* in Western Scandinavia might be a 'farmyard, part of a farm, farm', the directly corresponding English *town* and German *Zaun* 'fence' have quite different meanings. The English names in *ton* do not seem to be a coherent group but are comprised of different chronological strata with different historical backgrounds and meaning (Blair 2018, p. 193–201). As for the Swedish names, it has been suggested that *tuna* developed into a technical term for the central place (Hellberg 2011, p. 39). Confronting the Norwegian material, we must try to sort out different layers of names. The easiest group to distinguish is the partition-names in singular *tun*, such as *Midtun*, *Nesttun* and *Øvre Tun*. These names are the result of partitions of older farms, and *tun* seems to have the above-mentioned meaning 'farmyard, farm'. The names are rather young and mainly confined to the western parts of the country (Sandnes 1997, p. 226–227, Sandnes and Stemshaug 1997, p. 323–324). Another group consists of compositions of *tun* in singular with *heim*, *land* and *vin*, such as *Túneimr*,

Tanum, *Tønjum* and *Tuntland*. These are of considerable age, and it seems probable that *tun,* in such names, retains its older meaning 'fence, fenced area, enclosure'. There are other singular names that might be more interesting in this context, names such as *Hovtun*, *Tunsberg*, *Logtu* (**Lagatún*) and several *Elgjartún* (Sandnes 1992, 1997). In this study, however, I will confine myself to the plural names in *tuna*, i.e. the names that formally correspond with the Swedish *tuna*-names.

However, it is not all that easy to delimit this group. The names are often sparsely documented in written sources. Sometimes the assessment of their grammatical number depends on one single case. Bearing this in mind, the corpus of names used may be neither complete, nor fully correct. It is mainly compiled from Tom Schmidt's excellent but synoptic presentation in Bustadnavn i Østfold 7 (Schmidt 2007, p. 20–21). The names are as follows:

Tune, Eina sn, Oppland county
Tune, Tune sn, Østfold county
Tune, Vang sn, Oppland county
Tune, Ål sn, Buskerud county
Toner, Strøm sn, Hedmark county
Setton, Fluberg sn, Oppland county
Sigtun, Kråkstad sn, Akershus county

***Figure 1**. Distribution of plural tuna-names in Norway discussed in this paper.*

I have excluded *Tune* in Kvikne parish in Gudbrandsdalen. It is mentioned by Schmidt but does not present any plural forms (and he never claims it does). The co-location with the church is of later date. *Toen* in Haug parish, Buskerud county has also been excluded. Although the oldest form of this name is *Thune* (1528), it is later documented as *Tunenn* (16th century), *Tunim* (1578) and *Thunnenn* (1592). Considering these forms and the pronunciation, it is probably correctly perceived as a compound of *tun* and *vin* (NG 5 p. 47–48). Tom Schmidt (2007, p. 21) points out, however, that this interpretation, due to the oldest attested writing of the name, cannot be regarded as certain. It should be added that *Toen* is situated in a remarkable environment, with names like *Hov*, *Løken* (**Leikvin*), *Ullerål* and *Norderhov* in the vicinity. It may be wise not to dismiss *Toen* as a potential *tun*(*a*)-name of importance. It is perhaps worth considering that this suggests **Tunvin* could be a secondary name formation to a now lost, plural **Tuna*.

From the list above it is clear that the plural names in *tuna* are confined to Østlandet, that is the eastern part of southern Norway (Fig. 1). I will start by discussing Tune in Østfold, as this place clearly provides guidance on what to expect of a central place *Tuna*.

Tune, Tune sn, Østfold county

Tune is well testified in plural forms (*Tuna*, *Tunom*) from the Middle Ages. The earliest source seems to be a law codex from around 1325 (Schmidt 2007, p. 18). Tune is situated close to the estuary of Glomma, Norway's largest river, on a vast island flooded by two tributaries of the river (fig 2.). The river was navigable up to the cascades at Sarpsborg, just a few kilometres from the Tune settlement. To continue further up the river, *Eidet*, located some kilometres northwest of Tune, was the best portage route (Stylegar 2003a, p. 292, Stylegar 2015, p. 165–167). Tune sits on the *Ra* moraine, an important prehistoric communication link, connecting the rapids with the *eid* 'passage between waterways'. This landscape setting, on a river and at rapids, controlling important communication links, has a marked resemblance to many Swedish *tuna* sites. Their strategic positions in the landscape, commanding waterways and entrances to major settlement areas, is very characteristic but has perhaps not been fully appreciated.

When considering the rich archaeological landscape around this place, I believe it is important to remember that *Tune* is primarily a settlement name, designating a settlement at Tune church. As the name of a parish, it has a wider denotation, but this is a later development. In the literature, the *Tune*-name has been associated with the ship-burial at Haugen ("the Tune ship grave") some 5 km off and on the other side of the river Glomma, or even with the Late Roman period settlement at Missingen, situated about 15 km from the church. We cannot make such associations. It is certainly true that Tune is at the centre of an imposing archaeological and onomastic complex around the Glomma estuary, but *Tune* is not, in itself, a territorial name.

At Tune there has been an extensive cemetery, likely consisting of several hundreds of grave monuments, but now mainly destroyed. This cemetery has been used from the Bronze Age to the Viking Age but seems to have an emphasis in the Roman period, with exclusive findings such as drinking paraphernalia of bronze or glass. A now lost silver cup belonging to the Roman period, allegedly similar to the one from Hoby in Lolland, Denmark, was also found. Perhaps there was also a goldsmith workshop in the Tune area. Exceptional findings of gold,

however, have not been discovered (Andersson 1995, p. 172, Stylegar 1998, p. 199, 2003b, p. 321–322). The emphasis on the Roman era at Tune is interesting, as this seems to be the formative period for many Swedish *tuna*-places.

The continued importance of Tune in the Migration period is testified by the Tune runestone, an impressive two-metre-high runic monument. Its oldest known and perhaps original position was by the Tune church (Grimm and Stylegar 2017, p. 123). The inscription is traditionally dated to c. 400 A.D., but a time span from A.D. c. 375/400 to 520/530 can be assumed (Imer 2011, p. 205). The text itself is much debated but seems to allude at the inheritance of a man called *Wōdurīdaz* (Grønvik 1981, Þórhallur Eyþorsson 2012). Although this inscription is highly relevant for the understanding of Iron Age Tune, it also abounds with intriguing problems. I shall be content to acknowledge the importance of the monument and will not venture into the debate over the inscription.

During later periods of the Iron Age, there seems to be a westward dislocation of power in the area, to Rolvsøy west of Visterflo (an arm of the river Glomma). At the farm Haugen, a great mound was excavated in the 19th century, containing a Viking Age ship-burial. A century earlier, another ship-burial had been discovered at the neighbouring farm of Rostad. Together with a chamber grave at Haugen and testimonies of several large grave mounds in the vicinity, this indicates an impressive necropolis (Stylegar 2003c p. 346–351). However, the church was built at Tune. Furthermore, it had a status superior to other churches in the province, as it was a *fylkeskirke* 'church of the *fylke* (county/province)' (Stylegar 1998, p. 198). Tune thus seems to retain its importance, and the Viking Age burials at Rolvsøy do not necessarily indicate a shift of power. Instead, they could be regarded as expressions of the same central place, perhaps indicating a Viking Age harbour at Visterflo (Stylegar 1998, p. 200, 2003a, p. 289, 292).

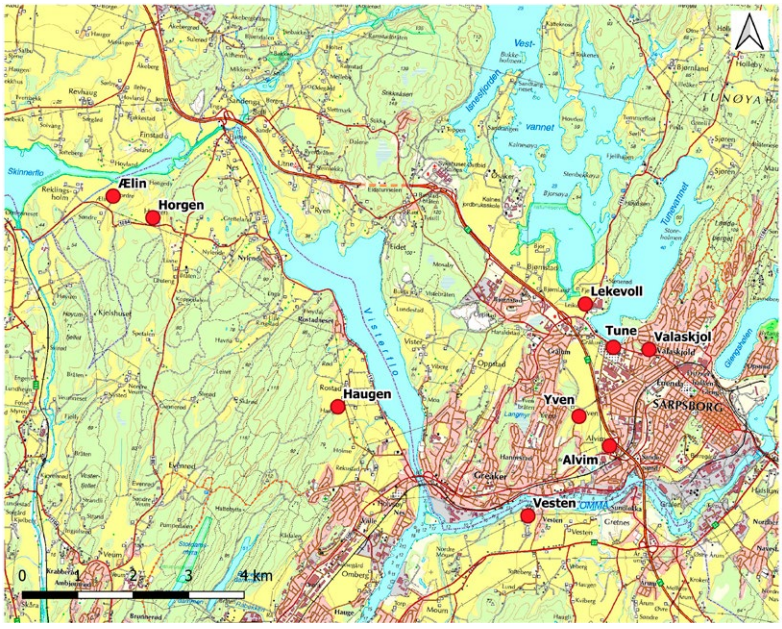

Figure 2. *Some important place names in the Tune area. Background map from Kartverket, Hønefoss. Map from geonorge.no.*

The place name setting

The Swedish names in *tuna* often occur in conjunction with other specific names, making up varying constellations of names and name elements. Frequent examples are *Karlaby*, *Rinkaby*, *Husaby*, *vi/vé, heilagr, salr, skeið* etc. These name environments are immensely important for understanding the names. Linked to Iron Age central places, they seem to reflect a prestigious nomenclature present at these sites. There is a name environment around *Tune* in Østfold, but it is a bit blurred and many of its components uncertain. In the following, I will rely heavily on Tom Schmidt's (2007) analysis of the place names in Tune parish. Although based on an earlier text by Kåre Hoel, it is mainly an independent work by Schmidt, and I will refer to it as Schmidt 2007.

Close to the Tune church was a farm called *Lekevoll*, from Norw. *leik*(*e*)*voll* 'gathering place for games and plays'. My impression is that names like *Leikvǫllr* or *Leikvin* are rather common at Norwegian central places. *Leikvin* often refers to large farms with a central position, while *Leikvǫllr* and *Leikvang* sometimes have a more peripheral position (Helleland 1994). It seems possible that such names may also refer to horse racing and perhaps horse fighting. At the great horse games in Valle in Setesdal in the 19th century, *Leikvollen* was the name of the place for horse races (Wessén 1922, p. 22–23, Solheim 1956, p. 32, Stylegar 2006). Unfortunately, *Lekevoll* is documented rather late, as the farm is from the late 18th century. Tom Schmidt seems willing to ascribe advanced age to *Lekevoll*, but hedges by stating that it could depend on late traditions triggered by the presence of ancient monuments (2007, p. 165–166). I fully agree with his assessment. Bordering Lekevoll is *Tingvoll*. *Þingvǫllr* is an Old Norse denomination for an assembly place, but the name in Tune is a late construction, perhaps inspired by *Lekevoll* (Schmidt 2007, p. 166). It is known, however, that there was an assembly place at Tune (Stylegar 1998, p. 199–200, Ødegaard 2015).

The name environment of the central place often includes religious names. This religious dimension is a bit vague in Tune, because there are a number of names that might have a religious background but only one certain case. I think we can discard a few names, certainly *Helgeby* and perhaps also *Torsbekk*, both probably having personal names as their initial elements (Schmidt 2007, p. 164, 264–265). However, *Torsbekk*, which last element is *bekk* 'brook', denotes a watercourse with a central and prominent position in the Tune area. It is furthermore very distinctive because it runs in a rather deep gully (see picture in Stylegar 2003d, p. 421). The absence of old forms of the name, however, renders a sacral interpretation highly uncertain.

The only certain sacral place name in the vicinity is *Vesten* on the south shore of river Glomma, just opposite Alvim (see below). The first part of the name is Old Norse *vé* n. 'sanctuary, holy place' and the second part *steinn* m. 'stone' (NG 1, p. 271), here probably in the well-attested meaning 'hillfort'. In that case, the name originally designated the hillfort on Holberget, surrounded by the three farms Vestre Vesten, Mellom-Vesten and Nordre Vesten. Interesting but more uncertain are *Horgen* and Ælin, situated side by side on Rolvsøy but at a considerable distance from Tune. *Horgen* is an old *Hǫrgvin*, a compound with *vin* 'meadow' where *hǫrgr* may carry its religious meaning, 'sanctuary'. But, *hǫrgr* is also a well-known topographical term. Jørn Sandnes (1964) has demonstrated that the meaning 'mountaintop' seems to be present in a number of *hǫrgr*-names from Western Norway and Trøndelag. However, according to Tom Schmidt (2007, p. 274), this not an option for the several *Hǫrgvin* names of Eastern Norway.

A more interesting meaning is 'cairn, stony ground', well known from Swedish dialects. Were it not for its colocation with Ælin, I might say that the easiest way to understand *Hǫrgvin* would be as 'the stony meadow or 'the meadow with clearance cairns' (Vikstrand 2001, p. 224 note 175).

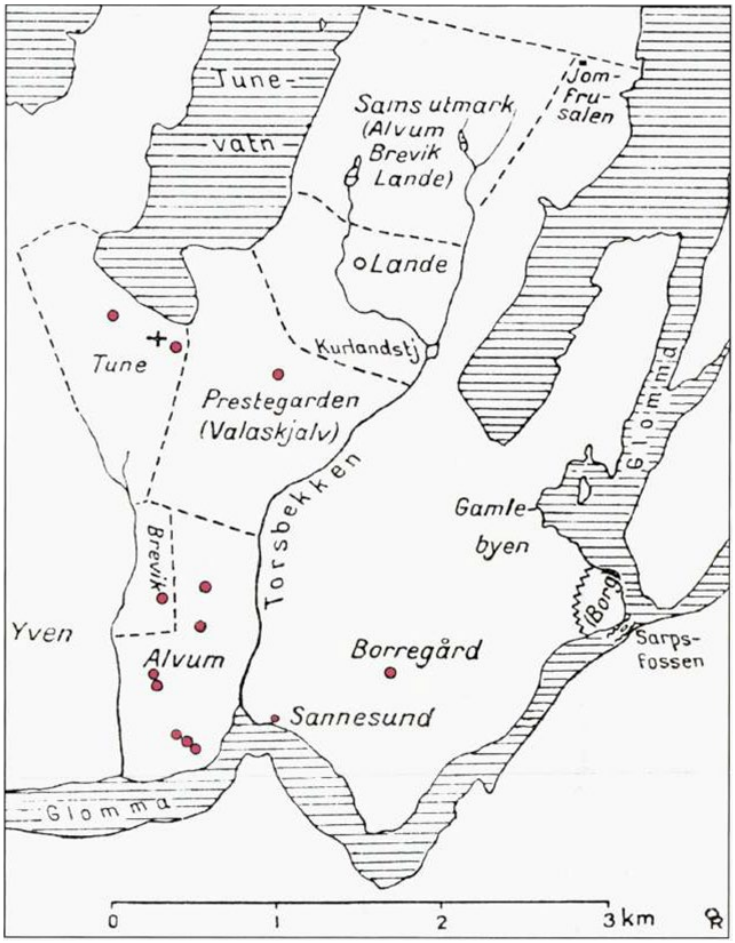

***Figure 3**. Alfheimr with underlying farms according to Asgaut Steinnes (1950).*

Ælin is also a compound with *vin* 'meadow'. The first element might, as Magnus Olsen has suggested (1915, p. 271–276), correspond to Gothic *alhs* 'temple'. On the other hand, it could also be Old Norse *ál* f. 'strap' or *áll* m 'stripe, trench, furrow'. Schmidt (2007, p. 267–271) points to an old water channel between Ælin and Reklingsholm (earlier *Skinnarey*), which might be the source motivating the use of Old Norse *áll*, meaning 'stripe, trench, farrow'. However, he also argues that the pronunciation of the name suggests a short first vowel, thus not supporting such an interpretation. Furthermore, he recognises that an identical name, not far away in Onsøy, is neighbour to *Hov*. This is probably a religious name. I believe both the

Hǫrgvin- and *Ælvin* names call for further investigation. As things stand now, it is possible neither to dismiss nor confirm them as sacral place names.

In addition, the military aspect of the central place might be reflected in place names. This is mostly in the form of military titles, such as *karl*, *rink*, *tegn* (*Karleby*, *Rinkeby*, *Tegneby*) etc., or in allusions on naval warfare as in *Snekkenes* to Old Norse *snekkja* 'warship'. The first type of names, which might be called *comitatus-names*, are rare in Norway. There are a few *Tegneby* and *Svenneby* in eastern Norway, but none in the vicinity of Tune. Frans-Arne Stylegar (2003c, p. 374) argues that this might be because the 'king' to whom these men had sworn allegiance resided in the Tune-area. It should be mentioned that *Holleby* in Tune has been discussed in connection with these names, assuming that the first element can be associated with Old Norse *hollr* 'reliable, friendly' (Stylegar 2003c, p. 374). Although the name is obscure, such a background seems unlikely (Schmidt 2007, p. 143–145).

Lande (*j Landum* 1397) just north of Tune, containing a plural form of *land* 'land, ground, landed property' is perhaps more interesting. Asgaut Steinnes (1950, p. 378–392, 1955, p. 218–220) has made the interesting observation that nearly all 13 farms with this name appear in the close vicinity of royal manors or chieftain's farms. He argues that they originally were outlying lands to the manors, later subordinate farms. Elaborating on this hypothesis, he believes these farms had a specialised function as lodgings for men in arms, the host or army. This assumption is based on a passage in Ynglingasaga, where king Gandalv in Alvheim waits with his army at a place called *Lǫndum*, before setting out to attack Vestfold across the fjord. Steinnes argues that *Lǫndum* refers to *Lande* in Tune. Traditionally, however, *Lǫndum* has been identified with Vesterøya in Hvaler, which seems more plausible (Schmidt 2007, p. 154, 2014, p. 229–233). It is nevertheless fully conceivable that the *Landir*-names in connection with central farms had a special function.

Alvim, Yven and Valaskjol

The most intriguing part of the onomastic landscape around Tune is doubtlessly the three names *Alvim*, *Yven* and *Valaskjol*. In a famous paper from 1950, Asgaut Steinnes compares these names with three mythological place names mentioned in Grímnismál, *Valaskjǫlf*, *Alfheimr* and *Ýdalir*, all designating different abodes of gods. He argues that the landscape around Alfheimr, which he comprehends as a Viking Age royal manor, has acted as a matrix for the mythological universe of Grímnismál (Fig. 3.). The similarities between these names—real and mythological—has later been discussed by Frans-Arne Stylegar (1998, p. 201–208), who is more apt to regard them as an ambition to recreate the territory of the central place with a mythological landscape as model. In view of such copious theories, there is sufficient cause to scrutinise these names from an onomastic point of view.

According to Grímnismál, *Alfheimr* is the abode of Freyr. *Alfheimr* is identical with *Alvim* (*Aluæimom* 1397), which seems to designate the most important hamlet in the area. Bordering Tune in the north, it stretches south down to river Glomma. It is the largest settlement in all Østfold county, comprising seven farms already in 1604 (Schmidt 2007, p. 227). According to Asgaut Steinnes (1950, p. 353–355, 396–401), Alfheimr is an old royal manor for the king of Vingulmǫrk. He further believes that it included the surrounding farms of Brevik, Tune, Valaskjol, Land and Borg. Snorri speaks of an old realm called *Alfheimar* situated between the two big rivers Glomma and Göta älv, and he attributes the name to a king Alf. Such eponymic

interpretations are typical of Snorri and the saga authors. It might very well be that the notion of *Alfheimr* as a realm is an apocryphal construction, based on an understanding of the name as **Elveheim* 'the land between the rivers' (Steinnes 1950, p. 368–369, Stylegar 2003d, p. 411–412 with references). Frans-Arne Stylegar (2003d, p. 403, 420) suggests that *Alfheimr* might have been a name for the entire Tune-area, from Visterflo to Sarpsfossen, or an even larger territory at the estuary of the river Glomma. Although I will not take a position on the details in this reasoning, I nevertheless find it plausible that *Alfheimr* originally was a territorial name designating an Iron Age domain of several settlements. This is actually characteristic of names in *heimr*, at least in eastern Scandinavia (Vikstrand 2013, p. 38).

It might seem surprising that Alfheimr, and not Tune, is "the centre of attraction" in this respect, but actually, it is not. The *tuna* places in Sweden often appear on the outskirts of old, central settlements, sometimes adjacent to a village, which seems to be of older and greater importance. This is especially true of *tuna* places outside the central distribution area around Lake Mälaren. A couple of examples are *Sätuna* bordering Gudhem in Västergötland and *Tuna* in Kumla parish, Östergötland, bordering Åsby. In these cases, the *tuna* settlements seem to have a controlling position.

Tom Schmidt (2007, p. 228) interprets *Alfheimr* as 'the settlement by the river', the first element being Old Norse *elfr* f. 'river'. Due to the shore displacement, he argues, Alfheimr was situated at the estuary of the river Glomma when the name was coined some 2000 years ago. Further, it reached up to Sarpefossen, the cascades at Sarpsborg, a natural hindrance and suitable control station for navigation further up the river. This interpretation gains support in comparison with the identical name *Alvhem* in Västergötland, Sweden, situated by the great river Göta älv. There are, however, two other *Alfheimr* place names in Østfold, and this complicates things. Perhaps *Alvum* in Kråkstad might be associated with the river Kråkstadelva, and *Alvum* in Heli with Glomma (cf. Harsson 2001, p. 180 f.), but this needs further investigation.

Nevertheless, the topographical alternative must have precedence. It thus appears that we should refrain from the tempting alternative to understand the first element as the mythological *alfr*, which designates a kind of supernatural beings of semi-divine character. Following this line of interpretation, *Alfheimr* would be a parallel to the much-debated *Gudhem* names and fit well in this central place environment.

Steinnes draws an analogy between *Yven* (*j Yuini* 1397) and Ýdalir of Grímnismál, the abode of the god Ullr. As the names are not identical, this is a weak point in his theory. In an attempt to explain the divergence, he argues that *Ývin* was the original name, but that the scald behind Grímnismál deemed it prosaic and changed it to *Ýdalir*, inspired by a dell between *Ývin* and Alfheimr (Steinnes 1950, p. 396). He assumes that the first element in both names is *ýr* m. 'yew'. Yew trees are rare in Scandinavia but not unknown, and the word Old Norse *ýr*, Old Swedish *ý*, does occur in place names. A sample of such names—in different forms—has been provided by Jöran Sahlgren (1912), among these *Idala* in Halland, Sweden, a direct parallel to *Ýdalir*. Tom Schmidt, however, with regard to *Yven,* is not at all convinced in this interpretation. Although he finds an explanation from *ýr* possible, he prefers to regard the first element as the name of a creek, formed to the bird-designation *úfr* 'eagle-owl' (2007, p. 220–221). However, this does not exclude the possibility of a link between *Yven* and Ýdalir, as the creator of Grímnismál might have understood *Ývin* as a compound with *ýr* 'yew' and

thus associated it with the god Ullr. Mythologies are usually full of such misunderstandings of place names.

Valaskjol (*Valaskioll* 1397) is a resurrected name of the parsonage in Tune. It was early on identified with the mythological *Valaskjǫlf*, the name of one of Odin's halls. Magnus Olsen (1926, p. 277–281) argues in favour of identicality of the names. According to him, the first element is *Váli*, the son of Odin and the revenger of Baldr. He compares *Valaskjol* with *Viskjøl* on the other side of the Oslo fjord, which seems to be a **Viðarsskjalf*, containing the name of another of Odin's sons, *Víðarr*, the avenger of Odin at Ragnarǫk. These two avengers are paired together in Vafþrúðnismál (*Víðarr ok Váli*) and seem thus to appear—as the only gods—in place names compounded with *skjalf*. This is all very enigmatic and demands an explanation, given the interpretations are correct. Olsen (1926, p. 280) regards *Valaskjol* and *Viskjøl* as transfers from the mythological to the real world, while Asgaut Steinnes—as mentioned above—understands *Valaskjol* the other way round as a real-world paragon for the mythological name. Frans-Arne Stylegar (1998, p. 204–208) is more in line with Olsen. The restructuring of the landscape around Tune and Alfheimr in accordance with a mythological universe, Stylegar argues, is a means for the ruler of this place to consolidate his power by claiming divine right to his position. This, then, must also include the use of mythological names in a real-world setting, thus blurring the distinction between the worlds of man and god and bestowing the ruler's manor with a divine nimbus. Such cosmogonic strategies for retaining power have also been discussed in conjunction with other central places in Scandinavia, e.g. Gudme and Uppsala (Hedeager 2001, Sundqvist 2004).

However, Old Norse *skjǫlf*/*skjalf*, Old Swedish *skialf*/*skiælf*, is a well-known word in place names, and it seems to designate tablelands, plateau-shaped hills or hills with a characteristic bedrock shelf (Vikstrand 1996; see also Olsen 1926, p. 274). Admitting this, it should not be denied that such names might also present ritual or mythological properties. This is clear from the Swedish *Vissgärde*, originally **Viskialf* 'the holy rock' (Vikstrand 2001, p. 333). Tom Schmidt (2007, p. 160) appealingly suggests that *skjalf* in *Valaskjol* might refer to a height called *Trompeten* nearby the parsonage. As for the first element, he falls back on Oluf Rygh's suggestion that it could be the genitive plural of Old Norse *váll* m. 'debris from the clearing of forests; tree trunks, roots etc.'. But as he himself ventures to demur (p. 158), this is not a meaning one might anticipate for a name with such a central position in an old landscape. An earlier suggestion (Brøgger 1932, p. 216, Sandnes and Stemshaug 1997, p. 476) is that the first element is Old Norse *válr* (Fritzner 1883–96, p. 847) 'fallen warrior (on the battlefield)'. Now, the Trompeten knoll actually forms part of the great cemetery at Tune, making this interpretation quite interesting. Schmidt dismisses this possibility, partly because of the lack of parallels. But parallels have been suggested, primarily *Valsgärde* close to Uppsala in Uppland, well known for its boat graves from the Late Iron Age. Lars Hellberg (1983) understands the name as 'the enclosure of the fallen warriors', thus directly denoting the cemetery. A stronger reservation is that no other compound with *válr* has the form *vala-* (Ståhl 1986, p. 74, Schmidt 2007, p. 160).

As regards *Valsgärde*, it is worth mentioning that Harry Ståhl (1986) has suggested it might be a name ending in *skjalf* and thus identical with *Valaskjol* and the mythological *Válaskjǫlf*. Unfortunately, the name is only testified from the 16th century and cannot be appraised with any certainty. If Ståhl's assumption were correct, however, it would supply us with another

connection between Tune and Swedish central place nomenclature. Probably, however, *Valsgärde* has a much more profane origin as a contraction of an original **Vallskos gärde*, depending on the nearby village of *Vallsko* (Vikstrand in SOL, p. 354).

Regarding ancient monuments (including the Tune rune-stone) and its strategic position, Tune is well in line with the Swedish *tuna* places. There is also a cluster of interesting place names around Tune, although theophoric and "military" names are missing. It should be mentioned that further downstream on the river Glomma, and not far from Tune, are several religious place names such as *Onsøy*, *Ullerøy* and *Hov*. Especially the setting around Onsøy is richly diversified and interesting, in some ways more so than that of Tune (see Hoel 1985, p. 126–129). Finally, the analogy between the mythological place names of Grímnismál and those of the Tune area cannot be ignored. In my opinion, it is an excellent example of place names acting as inspiration for myths; demonstrating how narratives can be woven around place names and thus inspire a "mythologising" of the landscape.

Tune, Eina parish, Oppland county

The name is testified as *Twner a Ynestrandh paa Totensmarken* 1490 (NG 4, p. 106); the form *Twner* is interpreted as plural nominative *Túnir* or *Túnar* (Schmidt 2007, p. 21). This *Tune* is located in the settlement area around the lake Einavatnet in Vestre Toten. The surroundings are dominated by names of younger types, especially *rud* but also *-li*(*en*) and *set*. There is archaeological evidence of a prehistoric settlement on the northwest shore of the lake, at the farm Sætre, but the area around Tune is devoid of ancient monuments and archaeological findings (RA Kulturminner). Tune has a dominating position by the lake, but overall, this seems to be a rather remote and young settlement area, remote from Toten's prehistoric settlement districts to the east, with the parish of Hoff as a possible centre.

There are no indications of high status or centrality for this Tune, or even of prehistoric origins. In the cadastre of 1838, Tune already consists of five parts. Perhaps an early division of the farm might explain the plural form, cf. *Tune* in Vang parish.

Tune, Vang parish, Oppland county

This name is testified as *a Tunom* 1395, *Thune* 1520, *Tunum* 1578 (NG 4:2, p. 314) and must be regarded as a plural *tuna*, although the evidence is meagre. The farms (*Tune* and *Søre Tune*) are situated about one kilometre to the south-east of the church. Place names and ancient monuments testify that this is an old settlement area. Especially the combination of *Bø* and *Vang* is significant. At the adjacent farm of Øvre Kvåle, there are iron-rich grave findings from the Merovingian period. There is also a possible large mound, Ellingshaugen, situated just a few hundred metres from the Tune-farms. It is, however, built on a natural hillock, and for that reason uncertain and impossible to measure (RA Kulturminner). This mound or hillock is very likely the background for the name *Kvåle*, a local adaption of *hóll*, Old Norse *hváll*, 'small hill' (NG 4:2, p. 314).

The parsonage carries the name of *Vang*, and this is the most significant onomastic feature in the surroundings. The lexical meaning of *vangr* is 'grassland, pasture, greensward', but already Magnus Olsen (1926, p. 216–220) noticed that farms with this name nearly always occur in very central positions and have often become the site of a parish church. He argued that *vangr* in these cases probably was a heathen equivalent of *kirkevangen*, the grassland

outside the church which acted as a communal meeting place, a bit like the English village green. The likelihood that such places could be involved in the cult is testified by *Ullensvang* in Hardanger, where the first element is a name of a god, **Ullin* (Helleland 2002). Another example is *Torsång* in Dalarna in Sweden, which reflects an Old Swedish **Thorsvanger* 'the *vang* of the god Þórr'.

Tune in Vang has a rather central location in an old settlement area, probably with a cultic site at its core, but otherwise there is not much to suggest any special status. If we follow Magnus Olsen, the oldest and most prestigious farm would be represented by the name *Bø*. I would like to draw attention to the fact that Tune consists of two separate farm-sites. Furthermore, bordering Tune to the west is the farm *Baggetun* (*Baggethunn* 1520 NG 4, p. 314), obviously of at least medieval origin. Observing the singular form of this name and taking into account the fact that Tune already in the Middle Ages consisted of several farms, I think it should be considered that these circumstances might motivate the plural form. *Tune* in Vang is then a plural *tuna* name, but not of the same sort as the Swedish names and not in itself indicating centrality.

Tune, Ål parish, Buskerud county

This *Tune* is testified in 1424 in a plural form, *paa Tunene*, albeit in a transcript from the 17th century. A document from 1526 mentions *nordregaarden paa Tune* 'the north farm at Tune'. NG speculates in this being a compound with *vin* 'meadow' (NG 5, p. 157), but this is dismissed by Tom Schmidt (2007, p. 21).

The centre of Ål parish has an interesting place name constellation with a *Hove* (Old Norse *Hof*) and an intriguing *Gjeldaker.* The latter is perhaps to be compared with the obscure Swedish *Gillberga*-names that frequently appear near *Tuna*-sites, although NG (5, p. 150–151) suggests the first element is *gald* m. 'hard ground'. If *Leksvol* (*a Leiksuale* 1310), with an outmost central location by the church, can be interpreted in line with the rather common *Leikvin* and *Leikvǫllr* is uncertain but tempting, cf. *Lekevoll* above. NG (5, p. 153, also Helleland 1994, p. 31) explains it as a compound of the man's name *Leikr* and Old Norse *váll* m. 'debris from the clearing of forests; tree trunks, roots etc.'

Tune, however, is not situated in the vicinity of the church, but some four kilometres further up the river. Here, the farms have very ordinary names, such as *Breie* (a name in *vin*) and *Strond* 'shore, waterfront'. A possible grave mound is situated more or less on Tune's farmyard, some 13 metres in diameter, believed to be an ordinary size in this part of Scandinavia. At the farm Bakke, situated only a couple hundred meters from Tune, several findings were made, probably from destroyed Iron Age graves (RA Kulturminner). The artefacts include a spearhead, a weaver's reed and a whetstone pendant, all fine objects but in no way extraordinary. This Tune, then, has a reclusive position in what seems to be an ordinary Iron Age setting.

Toner, Strøm parish, Hedmark county

The name is written *Tunar* 1306 (transcript 1397), *i Tunum* the 1390s and *i Tuna* 1422 (NG 3, p. 197). It thus clearly has a plural form. The farm Toner stands on the east side of Dølisjøen, a lake situated a couple kilometres north of river Glomma. The lake is connected with the river by a small stream named *Sloa*, but this is hardly navigable as it falls more than 20 meters on its first leg down to a smaller lake called *Nordsettjennet*.

Across the water from Toner is the farm Slåstad with archaeological evidence of prehistoric settlement from the Early Iron Age (RA Kulturminner). The name *Slåstad* (*i Slastadhum* the 1390s) is also of a prehistoric type, the first element being the river name *Sloa* (NG 3, p. 180). Otherwise, there are no archaeological indications of prehistoric settlement around the lake. Considering the place names, only *Slåstad* and *Døli* (from **Dalvin*, NG 3, p. 179) are of prehistoric types. It is probable that Øfstgarden and Melgarden originally were parts of Slåstad, which seems to have dominated the northern shores of the lake.

The location of Toner by a lake is consistent with the Swedish *tuna* places, which often have a connection to sounds, rivers, inlets or lakes. But whereas these nearly always have a protruding and strategic position, controlling waterways and important places, Toner in Strøm has a withdrawn and remote position. There is no archaeological evidence for high status or even prehistoric settlement at Toner, and no place names in the surroundings indicate centrality.

Setton, Fluberg parish, Oppland county

This name is not documented earlier than in the late 16th century, when it appears as *Sethum* 1578, *Setum* 1592, and *Settum* 1595 (NG 4, p. 181). Both NG and Magnus Olsen (1917, p. 90) believe it could be an old **Sigtunir*, but the late documentation makes this assumption very precarious. Setton does not seem to be associated with any central place and does not have a name environment pointing in such direction (Fig. 4.). In a plan for the preservation of cultural environments, issued by the local council, it is assumed that *Nordråk*, a farm to the south of Setton, is a 'Njorðs aker', 'the field of the god Njorðr' (Kulturminner og kulturmiljøer for Søndre Land commune, p. 4). This is not true, however, as the first element certainly is *norðr* 'north' (NG 4, p. 181). The name probably derives from the older and more dense area of settlement around Hov church, some 8 kilometres to the south-east.

Figure 4. *Setton with Husodden and Nordråk. Map from Kartverket through geonorge.no.*

A single grave mound is situated c. 200 metres to the west of Setton farm. To the south is a peninsula named *Husodden*. This is a remarkable archaeological place with several Stone Age settlements, vast areas with fire-cracked stones, grave mounds and pits for production of charcoal (RA Kulturminner). The emphasis is clearly on the Stone Age, but some of the sites with fire-cracked stones may date from the Iron Age and perhaps indicate some kind of communal activities. A 200-metre long stretch of beach full of fire-cracked stones is especially intriguing. It is easy to associate to the fields with pits containing fire-cracked stones recently observed in connection with *thing* sites in Norway (Ødegaard 2018, p. 96–97; see Sigtun in Kråkstad parish below). However, before it is feasible to appraise any tangible link with Setton, more knowledge is needed in forms of dates, investigations and analysis of the Husodden-complex.

Sigtun, Kråkstad parish, Akershus county

This name is rather well testified from the Middle Ages, thus written *i Sightunum* 1358, *i Syftunum* the 1390s, *i Sihgtunum* 1406 and *i Sigthwnæ* 1500 (NG 2, p. 28). Despite the corrupt form from the 1390s, there can be little doubt about this being an Old Norse *Sigtúnir*, corresponding to the well-known Swedish *Sigtuna*, the name of one of Sweden's first towns. The first element *Sig-* is much debated and no certainty has been reached as to its meaning. The name *Sigtuna* is, together with *Forn-Sigtuna* 'old Sigtuna', mentioned in Heimskringla and thus seems to have been well-known in western Scandinavia as well. This is supported by a number of younger *Sigtuna* names all over Scandinavia (including Iceland), obviously deriving from the well-known Sigtuna by Lake Mälaren.

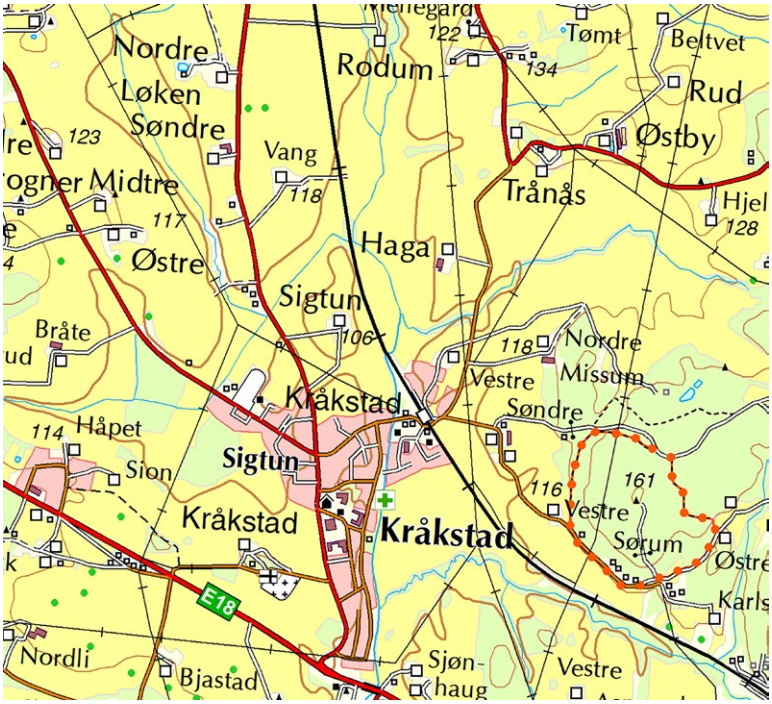

Figure 5. *Sigtun with surroundings. Map from Kartverket through geonorge.no.*

There are, however, a couple of old villages in Sweden that carry the name, and in these cases, they might be names formed independently. The same goes for *Sigtun* in Kråkstad, which seems to be an old settlement. The farm has a central location in the parish, situated just north of the church (Fig. 5.). Adjacent to the north and north-west are the farms of *Løken* (**Leikvin*) and *Vang* (see Tune in Vang above). This, then, is the most elaborated name environment, besides Tune in Østfold. It should be mentioned that there also is an *Oppsal* in the parish, situated about one kilometre south of the church. However, it seems as though this originally was a part of Harastad (*Herastadha* 1341 NG 2, p. 29–30). The name could depend on a factor involving elevation; Oppsal is situated a little higher than the other two farms in Harastad (Fig. 6.). Perhaps we should understand *Oppsal* as a sort of pun, referring to the Swedish *Uppsala* and inspired by the older *Sigtun*. There are examples of the two names occurring together in other parts of Scandinavia, e.g. *Uppsalir* and *Sigtúnir* in Þverá in Iceland (Holtsmark 1933, p. 121, see also Brink 1996, p. 63, 2016, p. 141).

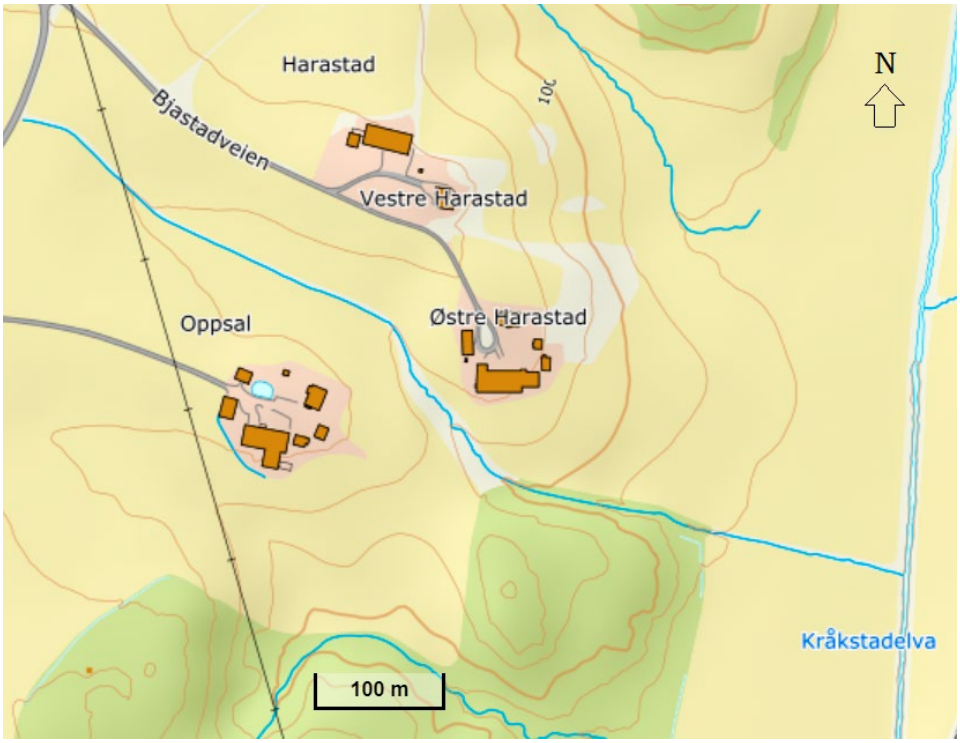

Figure 6. *Oppsal and Harastad in Kråkstad parish. Map from geonorge.no.*

A large part of Sigtun has been included in an archaeological survey, disclosing a settlement area on the ridge a few hundred metres north of the farm (Fig. 7). Traces of one or perhaps two houses were found, dating from the Roman Iron Age. A bit further to the north, on the slope above the river, were three large pits with fire-cracked stones, probably used for preparing food (information on this yet not published survey has kindly been provided by Anne Herstad, Seksjon for feltarkeologi, Viken fylkeskommune).

The farm next to Sigtun is Kråkstad, a settlement showing clear indications of high status. Beside the Romanesque church from Early Medieval times, there are at least four larger grave mounds with a diameter of 18–21 metres in the vicinity. Adjacent to the churchyard, a field of pits with fire-cracked stones has been investigated, dating from the period AD 245–540 (Russ and Figenschou Simonsen 2011). Such fields do sometime appear at places with old churches, hinting at a long continuity in the utilisation of these sites. The name *Kråkstad* (*Krakustadir*, *Krakastadir* the 1390s) probably has a river-name **Kráka* as its first element (NG 2, p. 29). A 'neighbouring position' to a high-status settlement is not uncommon for *tuna* places in Sweden. All in all, *Sigtun* in Kråkstad is the most interesting *tuna* name, besides *Tune* in Østfold.

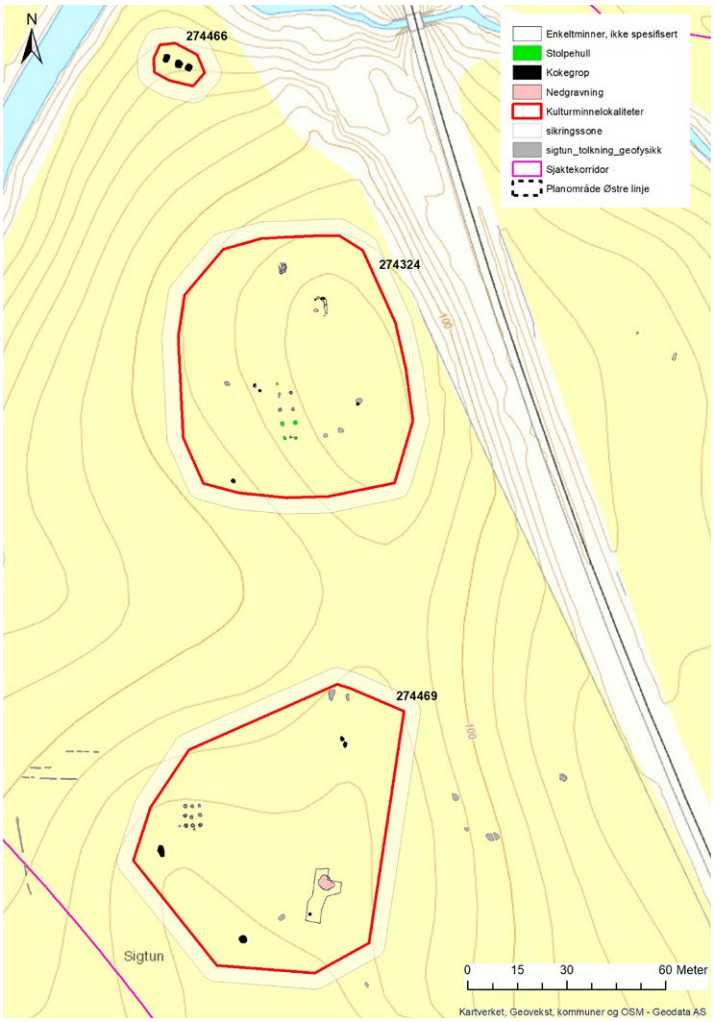

***Figure 7**. The area north of Sigtun in Kråkstad with red marking heritage localities. In the middle, postholes of a Roman period house are visible (grey). Further north are the three pits containing fire-cracked stones (black) (no. 274466). The quadratic construction in the southernmost area is from a storage house from historic times. Map supplied by Anne Herstad.*

How to understand the *tuna*-names of Eastern Norway

The result of this investigation is rather clear. *Tune* in Østfold shows signs of centrality regarding the archaeology, the landscape setting and the onomastic surroundings. With its highly aristocratic context, it stands out among the Norwegian *tuna* names. Some indications of high status or at least centrality are also found at *Sigtun* in Kråkstad parish, not so much in the settlement itself as it is connection to the high-status settlement at Kråkstad and the surrounding place names. Both *Tune* and *Sigtun* shows a likeness to Swedish names regarding location and environment, although the content of their name environments is very 'Norwegian', with names like *Vang* and *Leikvin*. For the rest of the *tuna* names, I have not been able to present any evidence for centrality or high status. It should be pointed out that this investigation is rather narrow in scope, as I have concentrated on the farms carrying the names and their nearest surroundings. A wider archaeological perspective might disclose other properties or relationships. The fact remains, however, that the *tuna* names of Eastern Norway do not occur in strategic positions such as are characteristic for the Swedish names. How these non-central but plural names should be understood is uncertain. For a couple of them, I have suggested that the plural form might depend on an early division into several parts. However, it is a well-known fact that place names often display a seemingly unmotivated plural form, a much-debated phenomenon with – certainly – many possible explanations.

As for *Tune* in Tune parish and perhaps *Sigtun* in Kråkstad parish, they might very well be inspired by the nomenclature of the Swedish central places. They could be compared with a couple of South Scandinavian names, *Tune* in Zealand and *Tuna* on the island of Ven between Sweden and Denmark, also regarded as influenced by Swedish names. Bent Jørgensen (2007: 114–118) has, however, pointed out that one must be cautious when linking a high frequency of name occurrence with the distribution of a word or phenomena, and he uses these southern *tuna*-names as an example, hinting at them being independent, South Scandinavian formations. This is certainly a sound, critical approach, but on the other hand, as place name scholars, we should not distrust our source material – including distribution maps – without good reasons. I would suggest that the easiest way to understand these southern and western *tuna*-names are as parts of a pan-Scandinavian central place nomenclature.

It has been noticed that the second generation of central places, emerging from *c.* 550 AD, show similarities in their layout, with a banqueting hall supplemented by a smaller and often enclosed building for ritual purposes (Jørgensen 2009, p. 349). There are also similarities in terms of the functions associated with them and how they are organised (Skre 2007, p. 48-50). Thus, a kind of a Scandinavian standard must have existed for how a central place should be constructed (Jessen 2012, Albris 2017, p. 31). This presupposes extensive connections between central places. We should probably regard them as a network through which ideas of societal organisation, rituals, warfare, agriculture etc., and also of poetry, songs and narratives of different kinds could be transferred. This transfer of ideas was most certainly also accompanied by a transfer of linguistic changes and innovations, including place names. Sofie Laurine Albris (2017, p. 63, 255–257) argues that certain place names – especially religious ones – provide insight into the collective representations of the ancient Scandinavian society. The place names actually hint at a Scandinavian central place nomenclature, common but with regional variations, reflecting a prestigious vocabulary connected with these sites (Brink 1999). The *tuna* names are certainly part of such a nomenclature, spread over a vast Scandinavian area from Ångermanland in the north of Sweden to Zealand in the south of Denmark.

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Kjetil Loftsgarden

Skeid – uncovering a fleeting meeting site

Although scarcely represented in archaeological or historical sources, place names reveal how widespread assemblies of the skeid-type were held throughout Norway, at least from the Viking Age/Early Middle Ages. These bottom-up organized types of gatherings were important centres of society, as hubs for communication and trade, and arenas for íþrótt (sport) and establishing and maintaining social ties.

This paper presents the spatial distribution of 564 skeid-names. Of these, 320 skeid-names are closer than two kilometres from a medieval church site, or one or more of the following place names: hov/hof, ting, or leik/lek. Through an examination of the landscape, archaeological finds and place names, 37 sites are highlighted as most likely to have hosted a skeid-type assembly. From these three sites are discussed more in detail.

The quantitative approach to place name data, in combination with archaeological and historical sources allows for an intriguing glimpse into the role and extent of a fleeting meeting site – the skeid.

Introduction

In late prehistoric and early historic times, the skeid (*skeið* n.), and other loosely organized recurring gatherings, were one of few places to meet people outside one's immediate family circle or closest neighbours. This was among the highlights of the year, a welcome break from the monotonous toil of everyday life. These places also served an important economic function, as a place for barter and trade (Loftsgarden 2017). Yet, we still know little about these informal yearly gatherings.

It is likely that skeids were widespread in the Viking Age – High Middle Ages (C. 800–1350 AD) (Vikstrand 2001, p. 360). The witness accounts and depictions of skeids, still a living tradition in some regions of Norway in the late 18th century, emphasize the more curious aspects – the horse fights and other carnivalesque features (Solheim 1956). Following recent archaeological research (Loftsgarden *et al.* 2017, Ødegaard 2021), this study has a quantitative approach. By using place names as well as archaeological and historical sources, I want to shed light on the distribution and prevalence of the skeid – where were skeids located, and how common was this type of gathering? I also want to explore the function of the skeids and how they relate to other types of assemblies.

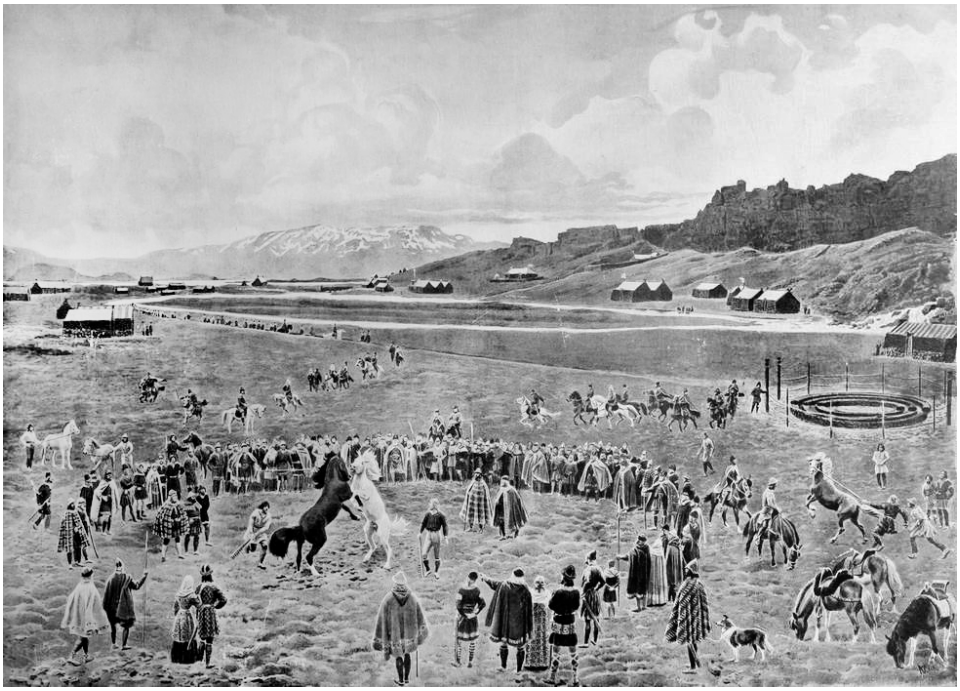

***Figure 1**. An artist's rendition of a skeid. Source: © Centre for Educational Texts, University College of Southeast-Norway.*

The archaeological and historical sources of the skeids are few and fragmented. However, place names hint at the widespread nature of this kind of assembly. Thus, my point of departure in this paper is place names. As early as 1898, Oluf Rygh argued that the element *skeid* in Norwegian place names referred to tracks for race and/or horse racing (NG vol. 1, p. 75). Still, a *skeid*-name will not necessarily point to an assembly site. The name element had a fundamental topographical meaning that is widely discussed and further, the names are probably not etymologically homogenous (Vikstrand 2001, p. 351-357, Christensen 2010, p. 89-90, see below). To increase the probability of identifying skeids that functioned as gathering sites, I will therefore focus on *skeid*-names that are in proximity to medieval church sites. These became important points of assembly from the Middle Ages. I will also seek out *skeid*-names that occur close to other place name elements that indicate gatherings, such as *hov/hof, ting* and *leik*. This is in line with the so-called name environment theory, of which the main hypothesis is that certain name elements relate to social functions in Iron Age society connected with the organisation of central places (see the Introduction, Maixner and Vikstrand this volume). These name elements are in themselves elusive and subjects to discussions: The element *hov/hof* had a fundamental meaning, 'hill, elevated place', but came to designate a magnate's residence, a hall or some sort of temple or sanctuary and are considered as dating from the 7th century, possibly earlier (Olsen 1926, p. 240–242, Stemshaug and Sandnes 1997, p. 225, Christensen 2010, p. 65-66). The element *ting* often points out places where the thing-meetings were held (Stemshaug and Sandnes 1997, p. 451, Semple *et al.* 2020). *Leik*, 'game, play' as in *Leikvǫllr* or *Leikvin* reflects more informal gathering places where competitions

were central (Buanes 1975, p. 178, Sandnes 1975, p. 52). Although the church sites and these place name elements indicate assemblies with different contents and may have changed over time, there is evidence to suggest that the location of assembly sites endured across long time periods (Ødegaard 2018).

The outlined method will give an initial indication of rural gathering places, which in turn should be the subject of further investigation in order to determine whether there in fact was gathering place – a skeid. As the evidence is connected with uncertainties, each name and its local environment must be evaluated to assess its individual status (see also Vikstrand, this volume). In this paper, I have chosen three sites as case studies, using available archaeological and historical sources. Still, this paper only scratches the surface of the significance and prevalence of this kind of site.

The skeids functioned as recurring hubs, connecting people across valleys and districts. They were of regional importance for communication and social interaction, as such, they may have been vital in the development of cultural norms (Loftsgarden et al 2017). Still, most skeid-sites were very different from the large central places of Scandinavia (e.g. Brink 1996, 1999, Christensen 2010), and seems to have been a bottom-up organized type of gathering.

The skeid

Through the descriptions of skeids held in the inland regions of Setesdalen and Telemark in the 18th century, we gain insight into the last remnants of a once widespread event (Gjellebøl 1800, p. 55–58). The skeid gatherings lasted a couple days each year, and were held in late summer, after the harvest. People from surrounding areas and hamlets met, gossiped and bartered. Competitions were an important part of skeids, especially horse fights and horse racing, where the contests followed well-established rules. The horse fights, as they are described as part of skeids in the 18th century, are remarkably similar to the way horse fights are described in the medieval laws and in saga literature.

Provisions regulating horse fights and horse races are stated in the regional Frostathing law (F ch. X 48) from the 12th–13th century and in the national law from 1274 (L ch. VII 36). Horse fights or horse races are also described in the following sagas: *Víga-Glúms saga*, ch. 13 and 18; *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar*, ch. 29; *Njáls saga*, ch. 58 and 59; *Reykdæla saga ok Víga-Skútu*, ch. 23; *Víglundar saga*, ch. 8 og 9; *Áróns saga Hjǫrleifssonar*, ch. 18; *Guðmundar saga Arasonar*, ch. 4 and *Þorsteins þáttr stangarhöggs*.

Medieval law texts, place names and Icelandic saga material indicate that horse fights, races and other contests (íþrótt) such as wrestling (*glíma*), feats of strength or ball games such as *knattleikr* have been part of the activities in places where people met, at least from Viking Age (Wessén 1921, Gunnell 1995, p. 24–35, Martin 2003, Gardeła 2012, p. 240).

In the sagas, horse fights are referred to as *hestavíg* and are often described as part of larger gatherings where people met for contests (*leik*), barter (*kaup*), as well as for political discussions and resolution of conflicts (or the establishment of new ones) (Gogosz 1999, p. 27). Such gatherings are also referred to as *hestaþing*, *leikmót* or *leikstefna* (Wessén 1921, p.111, Gogosz 1999, p.17–18). Horse races or -fights were held on flat grassy plains, in valley bottoms or by riverbanks, where the spectators had a good panorama of the goings-on (Guðmundsson 1903, p. 35, Gogosz 1999, p. 30). This corresponds well with the landscape in which many *skeid*-names appear.

Although the geographical focus of this study is modern-day Norway, there are place names referring to gatherings with horse fights or -races in both Sweden and Iceland, while place names containing *sked*(*e*)/*skeið* n. relating to cultic aspects or racing are not known in Denmark (Christensen 2010, p. 90). Some English place names suggest that horse fights were introduced to northern England with the Norse expansion. There was also a tradition of horse racing in Scotland (Macaulay 1764, p. 81–82, Whitaker 1958, p. 89). However, there are no indications that horse fighting was a widespread form of competition outside the regions with Norse influence (Smith 1955, p. 105–106).

The place name

Variations of the word *skeid* (ON *skeið* n.) in place names include Skei(d), Skeie, Skee, Skee- or Skede-. This list is not exhaustive. The etymological origin of *skeid*-names is hardly uniform however, its origin may be terrain descriptive and refer to a topographic divide (ON *skil*) (Norrby 1905, Pellijeff 1967, 1991, Stenvik 2001). It should be noted that *skeid* as describing a terrain formation, a divide, could also be a place well suited for a meeting place, for instance where two communication routes meet.

Ulf Erik Hagberg (1967) has proposed that the name derives from collecting and separating horses for sacrifice. Hagberg led the excavation of a sacrificial bog at Skedemosse at the island of Öland. Although only a part of the bog has been excavated, they found the remains of over a hundred horses and at least 38 humans being sacrificed during the Iron Age (Hagberg 1967, Hagberg and Pellijeff 1967, Fallgren 2020).

The explanation of skeid as being a place for meetings and activities of a communal and/or ritualistic nature, including horse-racing or -fighting, is most often put forth in Norwegian research (Olsen 1929, p. 69–71, Hovda 1970). Not least because of skeids of this kind being a living tradition in Norway until the 19th century. A similar conclusion has also been proposed in Sweden, where the *skeid*-names have been discussed by Per Vikstrand (2001). He studied the *Skædhvi*-names in particular and argues, based on analysis of the place name and the central location they have, that *skeid*-names can refer to a fenced-in, cult-ritual place or an ancient horse-racing and horse-fighting tradition with sacred and ritual connotations (Vikstrand 2001, p. 361).

Data and methods

Recent decades have seen an explosion in the amount of data available for archaeological and historical research. This, and rapidly increasing data capacity and more user-friendly software, have enabled us to systematize and analyse archaeological data on an unprecedented scale and speed. In this paper, I will triangulate place name data and archaeological and historical sources to initially identify possible skeid-sites. More than a million place names are part of the Central place name register (NO: Sentralt stedsnavnsregister (SSR)). Archaeological collections as well as almost all surveyed archaeological sites are digitized and available online (unimus.no and askeladden.ra.no). In addition, I have used spatial and topographical data available at The Norwegian Mapping Authority.

I have included farm names, but also other categories such as topographical names or names of shieling sites. For the 37 areas highlighted as most likely to have been the site of a skeid-

type assembly I have included the earliest recording of the farm name as stated in Oluf Rygh's 'Norske Gaardnamne' (1897–1936), see table 1.

The aggregated data used in this paper is available at the open-access repository Zenodo (https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.5566712).

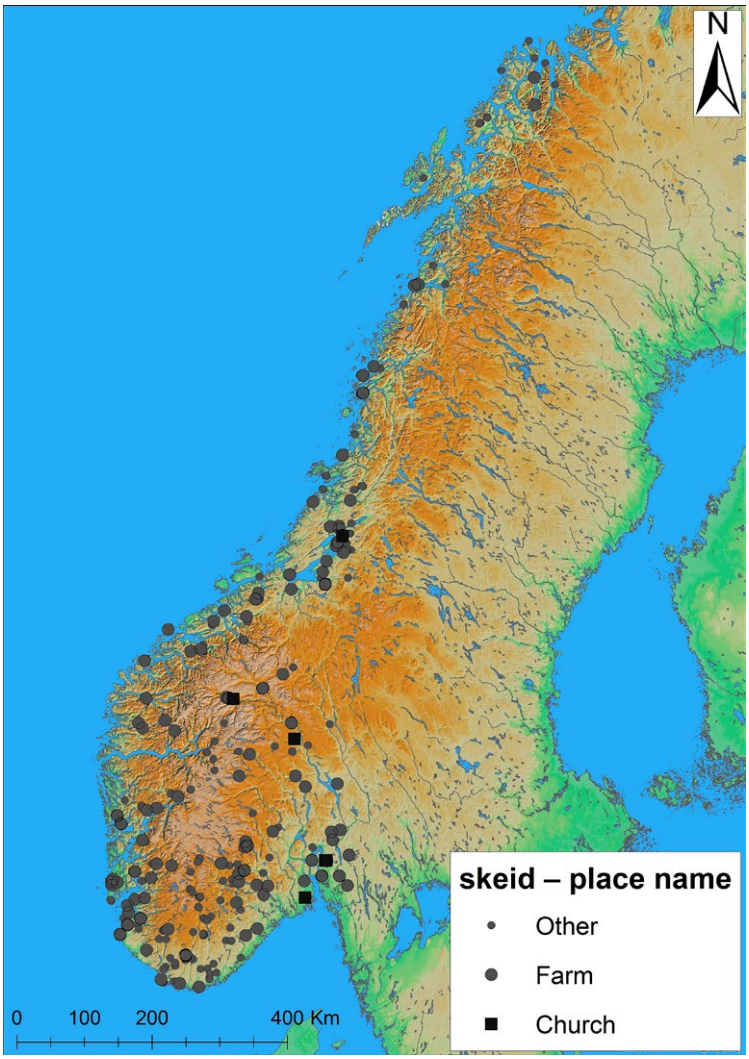

***Figure 2**. Spatial overview of 564 possible skeid-names. Base map: GioLandPublic DEM from the European Environment Agency.*

To provide an overview of possible skeid-sites, I searched SSR using the following terms: '*skei-*', '*-skeid*', '*-ski*', '*-skje*', '*ski-*', '*sked-*', '*-skid*' and '*skjåk-*'. I excluded place names that were obviously modern or otherwise did not fit. This left me 564 place names, including 154 farm names, see figure 2. In some places, there are several place names that likely point to the same skeid.

Using SSR to extract *skeid*-names makes the data prone to some uncertainties regarding name interpretations, because SSR is made up of today's forms of the names. To be on firmer ground regarding the interpretation of the *skeid*-names as alluding to assembly sites, the next step was to analyse the *skeid*-names in relation to medieval church sites, as well as place names associated with *ting*, *hov*/*hof* and *leik*.

I ran an overlay analysis using the geospatial processing program ArcGis and included only *skeid*-names that were closer than 2 km from a medieval church site, see figure 3. I used the same overlay analyses for a selection of place names from SSR, specifically '*-hov*', '*hov-* ', '*-hof*' and '*hof-*', as well as '*-ting*', and lastly '*-lek*', '*-leik*'.

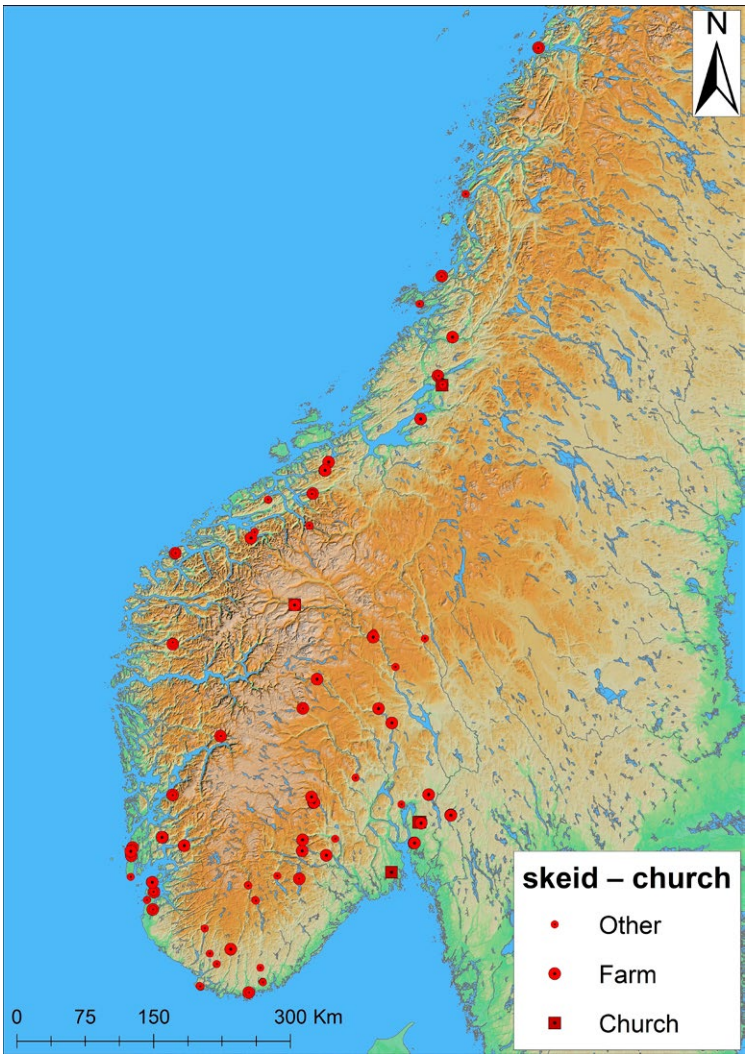

***Figure 3**. Skeid-names closer than 2 km to a medieval church site. Base map: GioLandPublic DEM from the European Environment Agency.*

There are obvious flaws to this the method. When extracting large numbers of place names from SSR, the starting point is the modern spellings of the place names. I have compared this with archaeological and historical source material. There is therefore a risk that I end up with some sites that are archaeologically and historically interesting as potential meeting places, but where the place name is absent from older sources, or has a different etymological origin.

Results

Using the methods outlined above I found 184 *skeid*-names that were closer than two km from a medieval church site, 72 *skeid*-names closer than two km from a *hov*/*hof*-name, 24 *skeid*-names that were closer than two km from a *ting*-name and 41 *skeid*-names that were less than two km from a *-leik*/*lek* name. At several localities, the *skeid*-name was close to several of the mentioned place names.

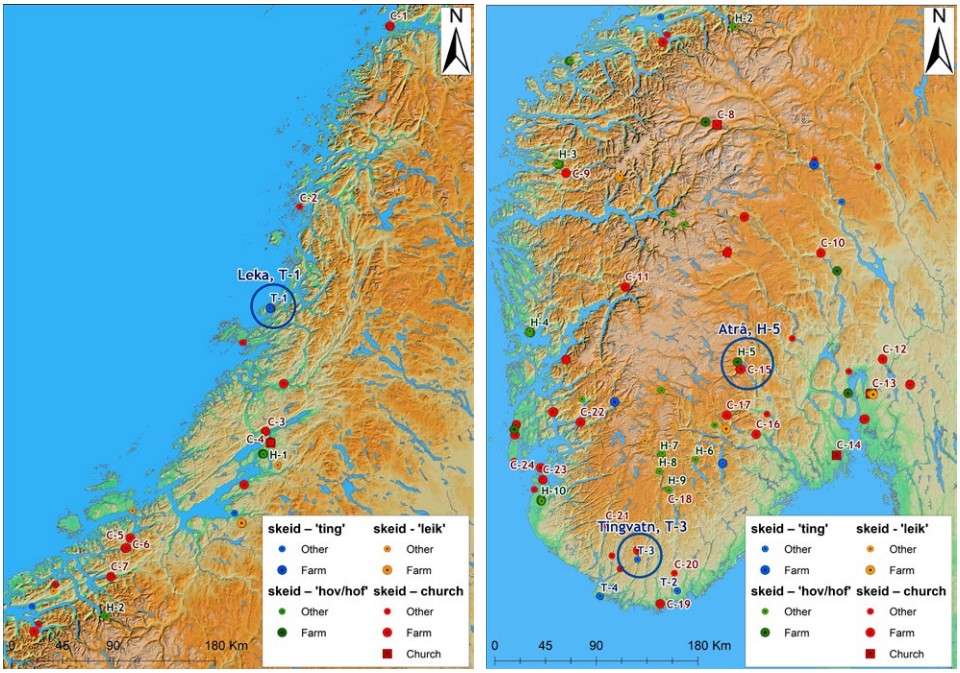

***Figure 4**. Skeid-names that are closer than two kilometres from a medieval church site, or one or more of the following place names: hov/hof, ting, or leik/lek. The case studies are highlighted with a blue ring. Base map: GioLandPublic DEM from the European Environment Agency.*

There is a total of 320 *skeid*-names that are closer than two kilometres from a medieval church site, or one or more of the following place names: *hov*/*hof*, *ting*, or *leik*/*lek*, see appendix (https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.5566712). Based on the landscape, archaeological finds and place names, I have chosen to highlight 37 areas that I find most likely to have hosted a skeid-type assembly, see figure 4 and table 1. This does not, however, rule out the possibility that some of the remaining sites may also have been skeids.

The site numbering in table 1 and the symbols used in figure 4 is applies through the paper. All points are *skeid*-names, however blue indicates that the *skeid*-name is closer than 2 km

from a *ting*-name, red indicates that the *skeid*-name is closer than 2 km from a medieval church site, and so on.

***Table 1**. 37 of the most promising sites to have hosted an assembly of the skeid-type.*

No	SSR_name type	Place name	Municipality
C-1	Farm, topography	*Skei* (NG, vol. 16, p. 90: Skee 1567), *Skeiddalen*, *Skeidhaug*, and more	Bodø
C-2	Topography	*Skeisvika*	Alstahaug
C-3	Farm, topography	*Skei* (NG, vol. 15, p. 269: Skedt 1559), *Skeismyra*, *Skeisplassen*, and more	Steinkjer
C-4	Church, farm, topography	*Skei* kirke, *Kjerkskei*, *Skei* (NG, vol. 15, p. 211: Skedt 1559), and more	Steinkjer
C-5	Farm	*Skeiet* (NG, vol. 14, p. 96: Schie 1667)	Hemne
C-6	Farm	*Skeiet* (not listed in NG), *Skeisbakkan*	Hemne
C-7	Farm, topography	*Skei* (NG, vol. 13, p. 415: Skeide DN. V 702, 1497), *Skeisøya*	Surnadal
C-8	Church, farm	*Skjåk* kyrkje, *Nigard Skjåk* (NG, vol. 4, p. 33: Skidakrum DN. III 137, 1326. Skedaukrum DN. III 145, 1330. Skedakr DN. I 228, 1343) *Uppigard Skjåk*, and more	Skjåk
C-9	Farm, shieling	*Skei* (NG, vol. 12, p. 325: Skey 1723), Skeistølen	Førde
C-10	Farm	*Skjak* (NG, vol. 4, p. 213: Scheagger 1520)	Nordre Land
C-11	Farm, topography	*Skeie* (NG, vol. 11, p. 481: Skeidh DN. III 571, 1446), *Skeiesflaten*	Ulvik
C-12	Farm	*Skedsmovollen*, *Skedsmo prestegård* (NG, vol. 2, p. 269: «Præstegaarden er den gamle Gaard Skeiðismór eller Skeiðsmór, hvorefter Sognet har faaet Navn»	Skedsmo
C-13	Church, farm	*Ski* kirke (NG, vol. 2, p. 38: « … den gamle Navneform er Skeiði». Skæidesbygd DN. II 72, 1306. Skeiðsbygd DN. IV 374, 1370) *Nordre Ski*, *Søndre Ski*	Ski
C-14	Church	*Skjee* kirke (NG, vol. 10, p. 190–191: Skæidaughum DN. IV 169, 1330)	Sandefjord
C-15	Farm	*Krosskei*, *Grønskei* (NG, vol. 7, p. 272: Grenaskææd DN. IX 294 c. 1430)	Tinn
C-16	Farm	*Løvskeid* (cotter's holding, NO: husmannsplass)	Bø
C-17	Farm	*Skeie* (NG, vol. 7, p. 332: Skier 1585, Skee 1602)	Seljord
C-19	Farm, topography	*Skeie* (NG, vol. 9, p. 65: Schede DN. XIII 670 671, 1534), Skeiebukta, and more	Mandal
C-20	Topography	*Skeia*	Vennsla
C-21	Topography	*Skeihaugen*	Sirdal
C-22	Farm	*Skeide* (NG, vol. 10, p. 352: Skee 1563)	Suldal
C-23	Farm, topography	*Skeie* (NG, vol. 10, p. 196, Skeidhe i Hunduoku DN. IV 387, 1379), *Skeisvika*, and more	Stavanger
C-24	Farm	*Hauskje* (NG, vol. 10, p.260: Hauskeim DN. IV 159, 1328, Hauskeidh DN. II 525, 1429)	Rennesøy
H-1	Farm	*Skei*, (NG, vol. 15, p. 211: Skedhe NRJ. II 214., 1520) *Nedre Skei*	Steinkjer
H-2	Topography	*Skeihammaren*	Sunndal

No	SSR_name type	Place name	Municipality
H-3	Farm, topography	*Skei* (NG, vo. 12, p.336: Skiede 1603), *Skeislona*, and more	Naustdal
H-4	Farm, topography	*Skeie*, *Skeisosen*, and more	Os
H-5	Farm, topography	*Skeie* (NG, vol. 7, p. 269: *Sckiee* 1723), *Hånåskei*	Tinn
H-6	Archaeological site	*Skeisteinen*	Fyresdal
H-7	Topography, shieling	*Skeid*, *Skeidet*, *Skeidstøylen*, and more	Valle
H-8	Topography	*Skeidet*	Valle
H-9	Topography	*Skeie*, *Skeievja*	Bygland
H-10	Farm	*Skei* (NG, vol. 10, p. 172: Skie 1616)	Sandnes
T-1	Farm, topography	*Skei* (NG, vol. 15, p. 371: Skede NRJ. III 215, 1521), *Skeishamna*, *Skeismyrå*, and more	Leka
T-2	Topography	*Skeivollen*, *Skeibekke*, *Skeihommeren*	Songdalen
T-3	Topography	*Skeiægra*	Hægebostad
T-4	Hamlet, topography	*Skeime*, *Skeimejordet*, and more	Farsund

The highlighted sites are all located close to the settlement areas; in addition, there are several *skeid*-names that are found in the outland and mountainous areas. Myths and legends are often associated with the outland assembly-sites, and archaeological finds show that these can have an equal time depth as skeid-sites closer to the farms (Loftsgarden *et al.* 2017). My overview shows that *skeid*-names are found in mountains and woodland areas from most of South Norway, see figure 5.

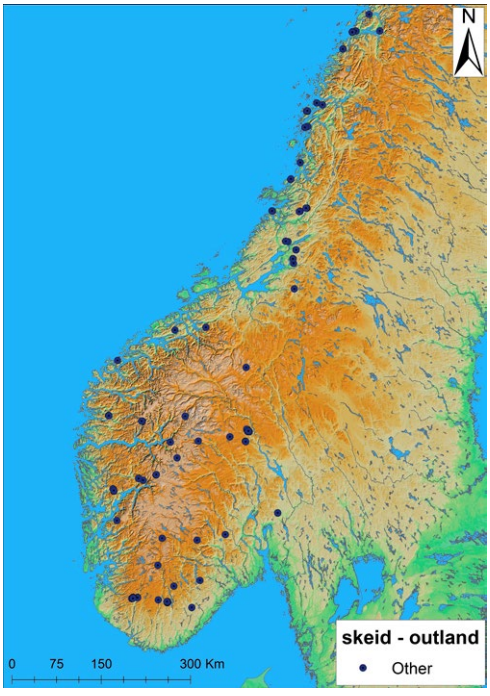

Figure 5. *Skeid-names in mountainous and woodland areas. Base map: GioLandPublic DEM from the European Environment Agency.*

Case studies

The spatial distribution of *skeid*-names indicates that this was a widespread type of gathering. The ideal next step would be a thorough assessment of each site and the *skeid*-names in context. Unfortunately, this goes beyond the scope of this paper, and I will settle on examining three sites in more detail.

Leka, T-1

On the island of Leka, northwest in Trøndelag, we find a central farm called *Skei* (NG, vol. 15, p. 371: *Skede* NRJ. III 215, 1521). The farm is located on the eastern part of the Island, close to the Lekafjord where the main sailing route runs.

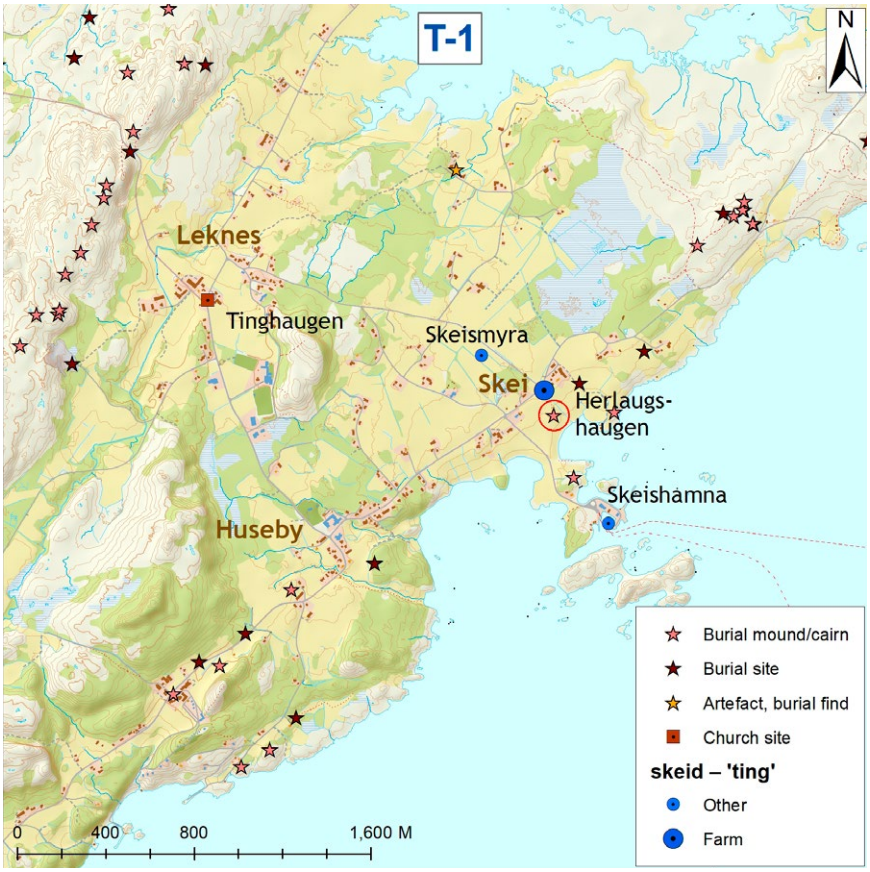

Figure 6. *The central farm Skei, on the island of Leka, showing relevant place names, archaeological finds and sites. See Fig. 4. for location on an overview map. Base map: The Norwegian Mapping Authority.*

A burial mound, Herlaugshaugen, is situated close to the farm Skei, marked with a red circle in figure 6. This is among the largest burial mounds from the Viking Age and has possibly been part of a larger burial ground (Rygh 1879–1880, p. 5–6). The mound had a diameter of up to 60 metres and has been as high as 12.5 metres seen from the seaside (Stamnes 2015). Three excavations have been made in the burial mound; unfortunately, this was done in the

period 1755–1780. A number of finds were made, including well-preserved human skeletons. Sadly, none of the finds from the 18th century excavations have been preserved. Based on reports and drawings, it is likely that the mound contained a buried ship. Judging from the size of the mound, one can speculate that the ship was as large, or larger, than the Oseberg and Gokstad ships (Petersen 1917, Alsaker 1996).

Herlaugshaugen is part of a rich natural and cultural landscape along Skeisnesset, which extends from Skei to the northeast of the island. Here along the headland there are a number of cultural monuments such as burial mounds and house remains. At Leka the *skei*-name appears close to a ting-name, *Tinghaug*, and a church site. The church was moved in 1634, previously the church was located at *Leknes* (NG, vol. 15, p. 371: Lekones, DN. V 423, 1431, Jæger-Leirvik 1967). In the early Middle Ages, however, the church may have been situated close to the farm Skei (Munch 1849, p. 70).

Although it is tempting to interprete the farm name Leknes as a *leik*-name, this is not applicable in this case (Stemshaug and Sandnes 1997, p. 286–287). Even so, other place names, archaeological finds and sites reveals a place of regional importance and power, and likely a place for different kinds of gatherings, including a skeid close to the farm Skei.

Atrå, H–5

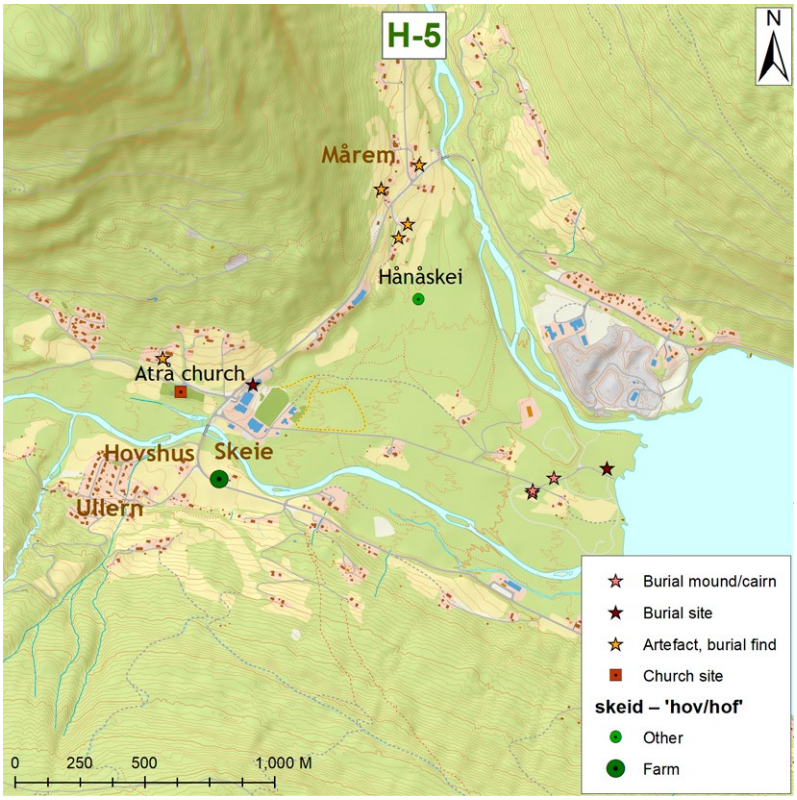

***Figure 7**. The central church site of Atrå, the nearby farms Skeie, Hovshus and Ullern. See Fig. 4. for location on an overview map. Base map: The Norwegian Mapping Authority.*

The farm *Skeie* (NG, vo. 7, p. 269: Sckiee 1723) is located on a wide and open valley floor where the rivers Gøyst and Mår flow into lake Tinnsjø, in northern Telemark. The hamlet's name is Atrå and central to the settlement area is a church site. Atrå was a church of regional importance in the early Middle Ages and was consecrated around 1180 AD by Bishop Ragnar of Hamar, an event which is documented in a contemporary runic inscription on an exterior wall plank of the church (Iversen and Brendalsmo 2020, p. 153). Atrå was the centre of all public life in this region in the Middle Ages and early modern period (Einung 1942, p. 343).

Three farms are situated just south of the river Gøyst – the aforementioned Skeie, along with Ullern and Hovshus, see figure 7.

Ullern/Ullaren (NG, vol. 7, p. 268: Vlleren DN. I 744, 1511) may relate to the Norse god Ullr (Bugge 1918, p. 128, Olsen 1923, p. 24), but other more mundane explanations may apply. As is the case for *Hovshus* (NG, vol. 7, p. 269, Hofshus 1665), which Rygh relates to an elevation/high ground. However, this does not correspond well with the flat topography of the farm (Einung 1926, p. 24), thus a connection to the Old Norse *hof* cannot be ruled out.

The three farm names, and the church site attests to the importance of the area as a place for gatherings of various kinds, including a skeid, and they may also serve as a reminder of the futility of operating with strictly fixed distinctions between different types meeting places.

Tingvatn, T–3

Among the many *skeid*-names, one of the most interesting sites is located south of the lake Lygne in Agder. In the middle of a quite large field, there is an area called *Skeiægra* (transl. 'skeid field'), see figure 8. Framing Skeiægra to the south is *Tinghaugen* (transl. 'thing/assembly mound'), a natural feature sloping gently towards the lake. Just east of the field is the farm of *Tingvatn* (NG, vol. 9, p. 263: Tingvatnn 1594). This was the site of a thing in the early modern period (Stylegar 2006). The last thing gathering took place here in the late 17th century (id 61643, State archive in Kristiansand). The place name Galgebakken (transl. 'Gallows hill') also adds the distinction that the area was a regional judicial centre, and at least one execution took place here in 1691 (Gysland 1998).

Between Skeiægra and the lake, there is a large burial mound, although not much remains of the mound today. The mound is called *Vehaugen*, which indicates something along the lines of 'holy mound' (Stemshaug and Sandnes 1997, p. 484).

The topographical place names are not documented before the early modern period; however, there are archaeological sites and finds that point to a long time depth. About 500 m southeast of Skeiægra there is a burial field with several mounds and three stone circles. The largest consists of seven stones, each about 1–1.5 m tall. In the middle of this stone circle, there is a low mound, which contained charcoal and a clay pot (Gjessing 1925, p. 52–53).

Tingvatn is located about 6.5 km north of Snartemo, home to one of the most spectacular burial finds in Norway. Dated to the early 6th century, it contained a complete set of weapons, a silver-plated glass goblet, a bronze cauldron, a gold ring, textiles and bear claws (Hougen 1935). A parallel to the Snartemo find is the Bjærum find, located about a kilometre southeast of Tingvatn. Here lies the largest burial mound in the region (Askeladden id 80841). Unfortunately, the mound was 'excavated' in 1776 and the finds have been lost. However, the 18th-century sources describe a rich find, including a sword with a gold-plated handle, similar to the Snartemo find (Stylegar 2007).

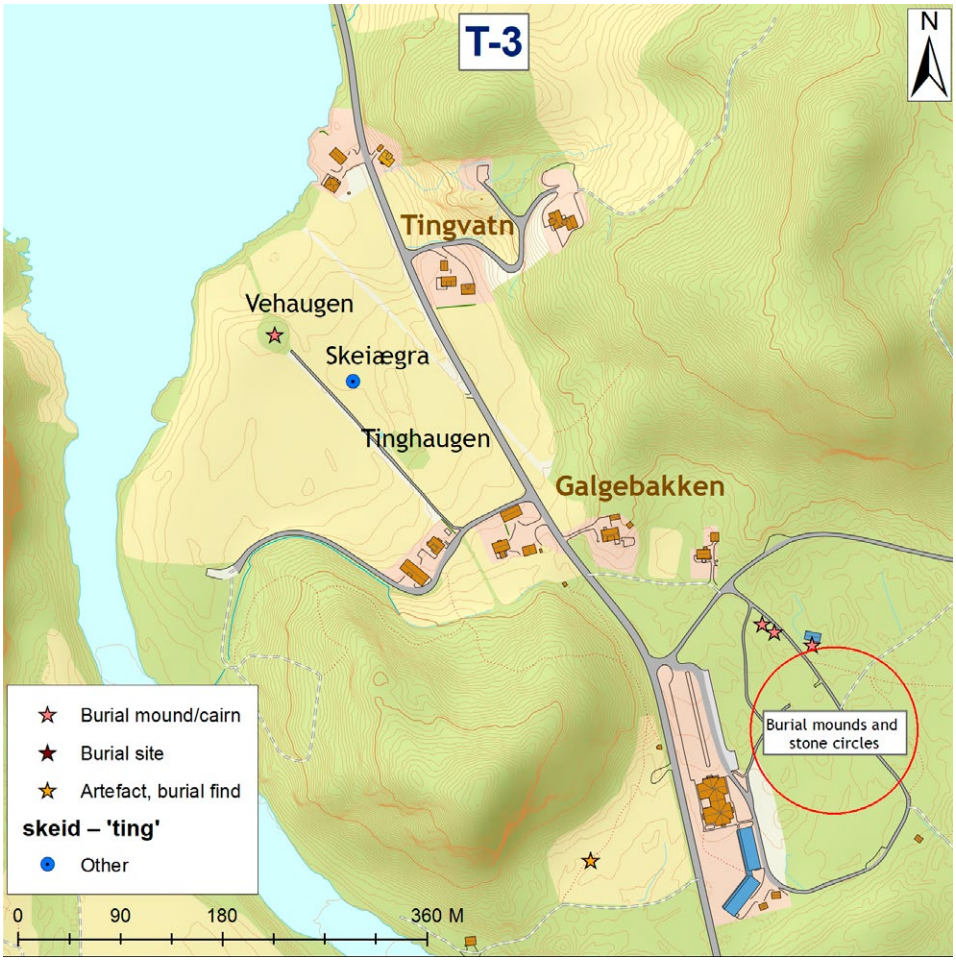

***Figure 8**. Skeiægra, framed by Vehaugen and Tinghaugen. Also showing the nearby field containing burial mounds and stone circles. See Fig. 4. for location on an overview map. Base map: The Norwegian Mapping Authority.*

In sum, this indicates a place of regional importance that held different kinds of assemblies, with contents changing over time. The place name Skeiægra and the location of this name suggest that also an assembly of the skeid-type was held here.

Discussion

The chosen three sites are from different regions, but also singled out based on the available archaeological and historical data. This means that the case studies likely represents skeids held at regional central places, and will not necessarily be the most representative of the skeids in general.

Although not all of the 564 possible *skeid*-names will point to a gathering place, it is reasonable to assume that skeids were fairly common. Nevertheless, we are dealing with a kind of assembly that is difficult to categorize. In addition, the activities and the function of the sites is likely

to have changed over time and we must assume that many, perhaps most sites did not leave a lasting impression in the form of an enduring place name.

In Norway, there are 1188 medieval church sites (Askeladden.ra.no). At 69 of these church sites there is a possible *skeid*-name found closer than two kilometres away; this amounts to nearly six percent of the church sites. Regarding *hov*/*hof*-names, the corresponding number is around 15 percent (186 of 1188 church sites). The relation between *hov*/*hof*-names and later church sites have long been acknowledged (Olsen 1915).

However, if we flip the perspective, we see that the percentage of *skeid*-names and *hov*/*hof*-names that are closer than two kilometres away from a church site, the numbers are respectively 32 percent (182 of 565 *skeid*-names) and 24 percent (347 of 1462 *hov*/*hof*-names).

The correlation between skeids and church sites may indicate that the cultic aspect of the skeids should be further emphasized. On the other hand, we can apply a more pragmatic view regarding the location of the church sites and acknowledge that churches may have been established close to already established assembly sites.

The societal role of the skeid

The sagas, myths and legends, as well as descriptions from the 18–19th centuries are important in filling in the blanks about the skeid and its societal role. Although the reliability of these individual sources must be scrutinized, they allow us to look behind the veil of time and help uncover how the days of the skeid unfolded for the people gathering in these places.

The skeids were loosely organised. Nevertheless, there are a number of ritualized activities – the horse fights and horse races follow strict rules, as well as myths and beliefs guiding the activities at the skeid (Solheim 1952, 1956, Loftsgarden *et al.* 2017). The concurrence of *skeid*-names, Medieval church sites, *hov*-, *leik*- and *ting*-names reflects the meeting places in a region, and it attests to how indistinct (to us, at least) the boundaries were between various realms.

The skeids should be considered multifunctional, including activities such as trade, establishing and maintaining social relations, competitions and consumption. It was also an important venue for meeting peers, particularly, perhaps, those of the opposite sex. Aspects of religion were also present at these small and loosely organized gatherings. In early modern times, there are several examples of seasonal meeting- and marketplaces that were arranged at the same time as Christian holidays (Loftsgarden 2017, p. 245–247).

It is sensible to seize the opportunity provided by such meetings to exchange goods, conduct thing meetings and celebrate holidays. This was all the more important in societies with difficult communication routes and dispersed settlements, which was the case for many parts of Norway. Assemblies, like skeids, served as centres for communication and were regular and vital places to maintain and strengthen social and economic relations. This was one of the few times per year for gatherings and was thus significant in creating and maintaining a sense of community and social affiliation beyond the members of one's kin and the closest neighbours' (McMillan *et al.* 1986, p. 9).

The horse was an essential part of the skeid. Horses were among the most important domestic animals in the Viking Age and Middle Ages, but also the most expensive (Øye 1976, p. 95).

Ownership of a strong and well-built horse garnered respect, and winning contests with horses earned honour for the owner. Conversely, however, being humiliated in competition could bring shame, and in the sagas, horse fights often end with malice and strife (e.g. *Víga-Glúms saga*, ch. 13) although hostility was not necessarily an outcome outside the social framework of a competition. The saga writers may also have over-represented competitions as an arena for conflict designed to perpetuate a feud or to establish and justify enmity (Martin 2003, p. 30–32).

It is likely that seasonal assemblies, such as the skeids, also were important venues for resolving conflicts and relieving social tension, for instance to gain access to and use of common land (Oosthuizen 2016). In a recent paper, Marie Ødegaard (2021) argues that the skeids were linked with local communities' organization of common areas and marked the end of the summer grazing – the shieling season.

Conclusion

From the study presented here, it seems evident that skeids were widespread throughout Norway, at least from the Late Iron Age/Early Middle Ages. From sagas and descriptions from early modern times, we get an insight into a multifunctional gathering place, where horse fights and -races are central and subject to established rules as well as accompanied by myths, superstitions and ritual overtones. The concurrence of *skeid*-names with medieval church sites, and *hov*-, *leik*-, and *ting*-names underscores this point.

The skeid appears as a bottom-up organized type of gathering. The skeids that were located in the outland and mountain areas outside of the settlements may have been loosely organized, perhaps little more than an agreed time and place, whereas the skeids in the settlement areas, near church sites, hov- or ting-names, may have been somewhat more organized assemblies. This is graded on a curve, and in any case, the skeid represents a more informal type of gathering than, for instance, the thing meetings. As such, the skeids were of little importance for the king and church, explaining the minor footprint of skeids in written sources. Since the skeids only lasted for a couple of days each year, the archaeological data is almost equally minimal.

However, the place names reveal how widespread this type of gathering was. Through the place names we can discern the importance of the skeids in a society with dispersed settlements and few central places. As regular gatherings, the skeid was a hub for communication and trade, and a place where friendships could be established and maintained. Thus, although being a fleeting meeting site, the skeids constituted important centres of society.

Acknowledgements

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Birgit Maixner

Place names as a resource for evaluating Iron Age central place complexes in the coastal landscape of northern Trøndelag, Central Norway

Archaeological research on Iron Age central place complexes in Norway has been limited so far compared to Denmark and Sweden, but especially little has been learnt about centres of power in the coastal landscape of northern Trøndelag in Central Norway, despite the fact that one of Scandinavia's largest burial mounds, the Herlaugshaugen on the island of Leka, is situated there. As the archaeological material from this region consists mainly of grave finds, the evidence of place names might be of particular importance to identify and evaluate various components of central place complexes according to those patterns that have been observed in other places in Scandinavia. This article focusses on those two areas in coastal northern Trøndelag in which large burial mounds have been found – the surroundings of the Herlaugshaugen burial mound on the island of Leka, and the land bridge between Firth Folda and Lake Salvatnet at the mouth of the Namsen water system – and brings together archaeological and toponymic evidence and topographical analyses in order to assess whether they provide indications of central place complexes at these sites.

Introduction

The reconstruction of the Iron Age coastal landscape of northern Trøndelag in Central Norway has generally received little attention in archaeological research apart from local-history overview work in the 1960s by historian and place name researcher Jørn Sandnes (1965). In contrast to the areas of inner northern Trøndelag where archaeologists focussed their interest in the past, very little is known so far about possible Iron Age centres of power on the coast of this region. This is despite the fact that one of the largest burial mounds of Scandinavia, the Herlaugshaugen on the island of Leka, is situated there.

The evidence of 1st millennium AD elite milieus and centres in southern Scandinavia, with political, economic and religious functions, which together represent centrality, led to the emergence of the concept of central places in archaeological research in the 1990s (Watt 1991, Fabech and Ringtved 1995, Helgesson 2002). According to this concept, a central place complex consisted of the centre itself, meaning a magnate's residence with a hall building, workshop areas for specialized handicrafts, religious areas, satellite settlements, and trading and harbour sites. An important element of the central place concept is the assumption of continuity of power (Eilersgaard Christensen 2007). Traditionally, interdisciplinary approaches

have been used to identify central place complexes, using archaeological, toponymical and historical sources. Whereas Scandinavian central place research developed in southern Scandinavia and under local conditions, in Norway there has been little focus on central place research following Myhre's (1987) ground-breaking work in the 1980s. Consequently, possible central place complexes of the 1st millennium AD are to a lesser degree known and investigated in Norway.

The archaeological source material of the Iron Age on the coast of northern Trøndelag consists primarily of grave finds, which are supplemented by scattered, stray and settlement finds and a few defensive structures. Consequently, place names might take a special role in the evaluation and reconstruction of settlement patterns of the Iron Age coastal landscape in the region. The last century's place name research has provided Scandinavian Iron Age archaeology with a rich basis for analysing the prehistoric landscape in combination with archaeological sources, and for better understanding the complex spatial structure of central places. In particular, the name environment theory founded by the Swedish researcher Lars Hellberg (1975) in the 1970s, and later further developed especially by Stefan Brink in several works (1996, 1998, 1999a), which takes its starting point in reoccurring structures in place names, is a useful tool to infer the structure and functions of Iron Age central place complexes. The theory, which has been criticised by Jørgensen (2005, p. 188–190), assumes that the individual place names within these patterns reflect certain elements and functions and their locations within an area, such as the magnates' farms, religious and legal functions, defence, craft production, and communication. In particular, Per Vikstrand (2001, 2004, 2011) has also contributed to the understanding of sacral place names through in-depth studies. While the aforementioned studies had their starting point and focus mainly on central Sweden, the relation of place names and central place milieus in southern Scandinavia has been investigated especially by Lisbeth E. Christensen (2007, 2010) and Sofie L. Albris (2014, 2015, 2017), without, however, being able to uncover patterns similar to those in central Sweden. In Norway, the scholar Magnus Olsen (1926) presented reflections and investigations on sacred place names already at the beginning of the 20th century. In contrast to Denmark and particularly Sweden, however, Norway has so far lacked comparative studies on the occurrence of place names in central place milieus, just as archaeological central place research in Norway has not yet been advanced to the same extent as it has in the neighbouring Scandinavian countries. Exceptions are studies that focus either on selected cultural environments, such as Frans-Arne Stylegar and Oliver Grimm's (2005) investigation of the maritime central place Spangereid, Stefan Brink's (2007, 2018) studies on place names in the vicinities of Kaupang and Avaldnes, and Marie Ødegaard's (2018) research on the relationship between place names and gathering places in Fyresdal and Råde, or on selected place names in their cultural-historical context, such as the studies on the place names Hov (Røskaft 2003), Lund (Vasshus 2011), Gudme (Stylegar 2011), Skeid (Loftsgarden *et al.* 2017), and *Sæheimr (Maixner 2020).

Some years ago, Per Vikstrand (2012) described the relationship between toponymy and archaeology as a 'stormy affair' that can fall between the extremes of speculative, insufficiently knowledge-based use of place names by archaeologists on the one hand and a 'cowardly' interpretation that merely describes landscape elements by place name researchers on the other. In fact, the use of place names in archaeology not only requires knowledge about the place name material's volume and localisation, but also involves several fundamental methodological issues (cf. Albris 2014, p. 21-32) that must be considered.

One of these issues is dating. Place names in Norway are generally not documented before the Middle Ages and in many cases, only since the 16th and 17th centuries. While for many of the so-called name classes, such as names suffixed with *-heim*, *-vin*, *-stad*, or *-land*, dating frameworks for different periods of the Iron Age are available (cf. Sandnes 1997, Vikstrand 2013, p. 11-14, Schmidt 2015, see also Gammeltoft, this volume); especially some of the place names indicative of central places cannot be dated using this scheme. Furthermore, the place names in an area, even when they can all be dated with high probability to the long period of the Iron Age, do not necessarily denote simultaneous phenomena and functions within this period.

A second challenge is the interpretation of place names based on their semantic content. The semantic content of place names can provide information about topographical characteristics, vegetation, fauna, buildings, traffic, agriculture, religious practice, etc. However, after a place has been given a name, the place can change, leaving the name unchanged. There is therefore no given correlation between the meaning implied by the name and the archaeological remains from a particular period. Conversely, linguistic changes can lead to the original meaning no longer being clearly inferred, and even appearing distorted (Albris 2014, p. 30).

A third central problem is representativeness, which also includes the absence of place names. The absence of certain names expected in an area based on archaeological sources may be due to various factors. On the one hand, the lack of transmission of a formerly extant place name, i.e. the possibility of name death, must be considered. On the other hand, it is quite possible that naming never took place. As Vibeke Dalberg (2008) has pointed out, the naming of a place depends on which of various ways of structuring a natural space through naming has been chosen. While place names refer to the specificity of a place, and must be unique within their local context, it is not self-evident that they refer to the very conditions that are of archaeological interest (Albris 2014, p. 23).

However, despite the challenges mentioned above, in recent decades the approach of combined use of place names and archaeological sources has proved to be a central tool for the identification and reconstruction of Iron Age centres of power in Scandinavia. The aim of this article is to investigate how place names in Norwegian archaeology can contribute to the evaluation of presumed Iron Age central places that have hardly been archaeologically explored. For this purpose, I selected the two areas on the coast of North Trøndelag in which large burial mounds with a diameter of over 20 m exist (cf. Forseth and Foosnæs 2017, p. 51) on the rationale that these may indicate a central function of the respective areas (Fig. 1). The first of these areas is a district on the island of Leka around the so-called Herlaugshaugen, which is one of the largest burial mounds not only in Norway, but in all of Scandinavia. The second area is the land bridge between Firth Folda and Lake Salvatnet, at the western end of which there are three large burial mounds situated in a row.

In the following, the settlement patterns in both areas will be examined individually with regard to topography, archaeological sources and place names indicating centrality. I will devote special attention to the relationship between the evidence of archaeological sources and place names, i.e. the extent to which the two categories of sources reinforce or complement each other. The aim is to evaluate the extent to which evidence of Iron Age central place complexes can actually be assumed in the vicinity of the large burial mounds, and which components can be identified. On a higher-ranking level, the objective of this article is to assess the place names' contribution to Norwegian central place archaeology in general.

The following chronology of archaeological periods is used in this article: Roman Iron Age: AD 1-400; Migration period: AD 400-550; Merovingian period: AD 550-750; Viking Age: AD 750-1050. In Norwegian Iron Age terminology, the Early Iron Age (AD 1-550) spans from the Roman Iron Age to the end of the Migration period, whereas the Late Iron Age (AD 550-1050) encompasses the Merovingian period and the Viking Age.

The archaeological data used in this study are derived from two databases: the Norwegian University Museums' collection databases (Universitetsmuseenes samlingsdatabaser) and the Directorate for Cultural Heritage's database of monuments and sites (Askeladden) in Norway. The following abbreviations will be used for the museum inventory numbers: B: University Museum of Bergen; T: NTNU University Museum. The place names are collected from The Norwegian Mapping Authority's official database of place names, Sentralt stadnamnregister (SSR) (kartverket.no).

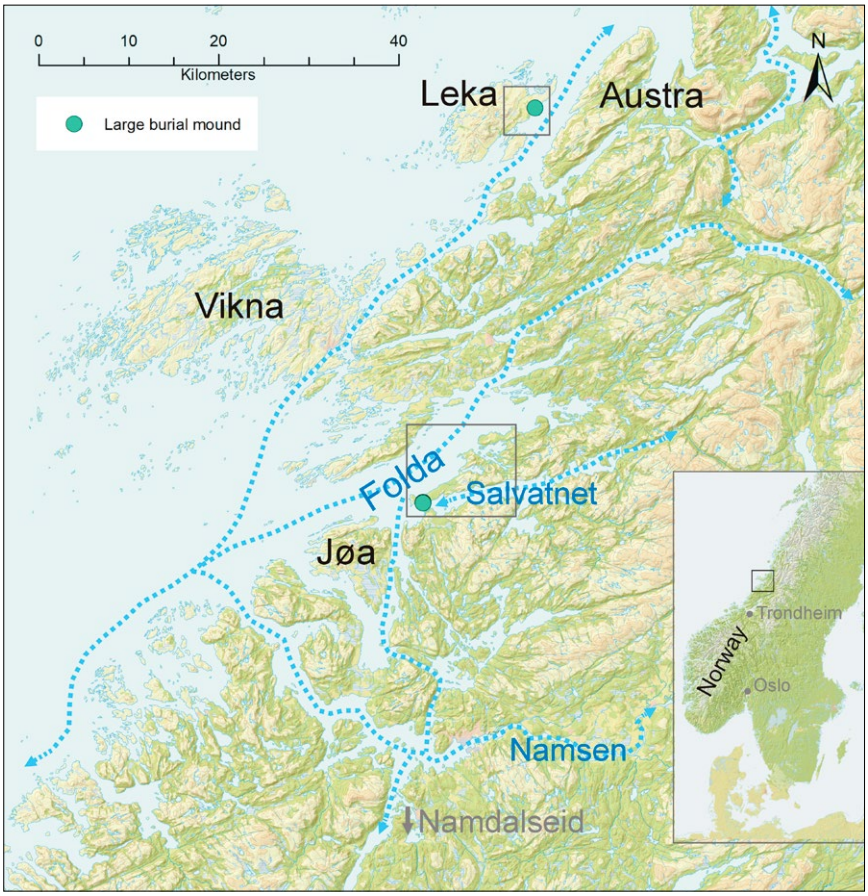

***Figure 1**. Distribution of large burial mounds with a diameter of over 20 m in the coastal landscape of northern Trøndelag. The areas under investigation in the article are marked with red rectangles. Basic map by Kartverket – www.kartverket.no. Illustration: B. Maixner.*

The surroundings of the Herlaugshaugen burial mound on the Island of Leka

The first area to be investigated for central-place elements with the help of archaeological sources and place names is the area surrounding the large burial mound, Herlaugshaugen, located in the north-eastern part of the island of Leka.

The island of Leka is located in the north of the county of Trøndelag, west of the main sailing route along the coast (Fig. 1). A 2.7 km wide, sound-like fjord, the Lekafjorden, separates Leka from the island of Austra to the east and the mainland immediately adjacent to it. In terms of its strategic location on the main sailing route along Norway's western coast, the island is comparable to the island of Karmøy in south-western Norway, with its centre of power at Avaldsnes (cf. Skre 2018), although the sound at Avaldsnes is much narrower.

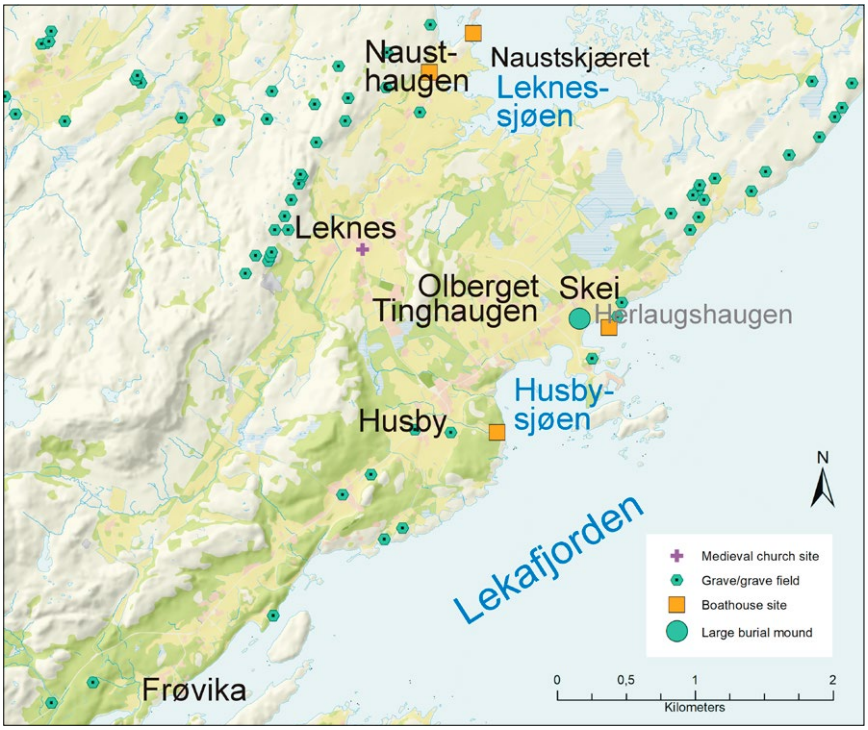

***Figure 2**. Map of the surroundings of the Herlaugshaugen burial mound on the Island of Leka. Basic map by Kartverket – www.kartverket.no. Illustration: B. Maixner.*

The centre of the island of Leka is characterised by a barren landscape consisting of exposed bedrock up to over 400 m high. Areas near the coast, however, which consist of marine beach deposit, are suitable for agriculture. Smaller such areas are scattered in the northwest, west and south of the island. The largest contiguous areas of arable marine beach deposit, however, are located in the vicinity of Herlaugshaugen on the east side of the island, in the area of the modern farms of Leknes, Skei, Husby and Frøvika. This triangular-shaped area has access to the sea in two directions, in the north via Leknessjøen bay, and in the southeast via several bays to the fjord Lekafjorden.

The archaeological sources from the vicinity of the Herlaugshaugen burial mound are limited so far, and primarily belong to only two categories: Graves and boathouse sites (Fig. 2). Along the coast and along the mountain rim northwest of the modern farm of Leknes, a large number of smaller burial mounds of earth and cairns of stone are present. Most of them probably date from the Iron Age, although, apart from Herlaugshaugen, they have not been archaeologically investigated and many of them have obviously been looted. However, their large number may indirectly indicate dense settlement in the area.

The largest and most dominant of the burial mounds is the aforementioned Herlaugshaugen in the area of the farm Skei, a monumental mound 62 m in diameter and seven m high (cf. Stamnes 2015, p. 17) (Fig. 3). Excavations in the 18th century yielded features that were interpreted as a boat grave with a chamber and animal grave goods, thus probably dating the grave to the Late Iron Age (cf. Petersen 1917). However, the descriptions of these early excavations indicate that a stone cairn seems to form the core of the monumental mound. Geophysical investigations conducted in 2012 indicated that the mound was constructed in several phases. Whereas these investigations gave no clear indications of a ship burial, a construction in the centre of the mound was detected, which might be the supposed central cairn (Stamnes 2015, p. 76).

***Figure 3**. The Herlaughaugen burial mound on the island of Leka. In the background the Lekafjorden and the island of Austra on the other bank of the fjord. Photo: B. Maixner, 2021.*

During the 1755 excavation, a figurative decorated bronze cauldron was found at the bottom of the burial mound, which was not further documented and subsequently melted down. The cauldron is described as 'Kiedel, meget udgravered' (Suhm 1784, Fortale) and 'kjedel av metall med opphøgede bilder' (unpublished, undated note of Harald Egenæs Lund (1910-1972), NTNU University Museum, Cultural History archives document No. 16767). These

descriptions may indicate that the cauldron was made in Repoussé metalworking technique. Thus, it could possibly have been a Roman vessel, similar to the bronze tableware from e.g. the Danish Hoby grave (cf. Friis Johansen 1911-1935). Consequently, in contrast to what is generally supposed, one might assume the presence of a rich primary grave from the Early Iron Age in the inner stone core of the Herlaughaugen burial mound.

Descriptions from the 19th century (cf. Rygh 1879-1880, p. 5), as well as the occurrence of several stray and grave finds from the vicinity of the Herlaugshaugen grave mound, namely a piece of payment gold from the Migration Period (T3979), a probable Early Iron Age anthropomorphic figure made of iron (T11946), an oval brooch from the Late Iron Age (B420) and a sword (B1360), probably from the Viking Age, indicate that the mound was part of a larger cemetery on the ground of the farm of Skei. About 1.5 km northwest of Herlaugshaugen, on the ground of the farm of Leknes and close to the mediaeval church site, two parts of a large disc-on-bow-brooch (T18340, T27627) indicative of high status (Fig. 4) from the Merovingian period were found.

***Figure 4**. Fragment of disc-on-bow-brooch (T18340) from Leknes on the island of Leka. Photo: Ole Bjørn Pedersen, NTNU University Museum.*

The second category of archaeological sources from the vicinity of the Herlaugshaugen burial mound are boathouse sites. Four boathouse sites in total are known from Leknessjøen bay as well as Husbysjøen bay and the adjacent bay to the north on the Lekafjorden (Fig. 2) (unpublished map of Harald Egenæs Lund 1952-1954, NTNU University Museum, Cultural History archives map No. 425a; Askeladden IDs 110648-1 and 110620-1). It is assumed that boathouses fulfilled multifunctional purposes, serving as shelters for both military and mercantile ships, as working places, and as storage rooms for maritime equipment and maybe

trading goods (Stylegar and Grimm 2005, p. 260). The boathouse sites at Husbysjøen bay and near the Herlaugshaugen burial mound are dated to the Iron Age according to the Directorate for Cultural Heritage's database of monuments and sites (Askeladden), but there is no information about the dating methods, and the dating basis is therefore uncertain. There is also no information about the size of the sites. More than 300 boathouses are known in Norway so far, and their dates range from the first centuries AD until c. 1500. For most of these boathouse structures, no archaeological dating is available but there is the possibility of a rough dating based on the sites' placement relative to the former local sea level, whereas dating based on the latitude-longitude relationship has proved less certain than previously assumed (Stylegar and Grimm 2005). Studying Iron Age boathouses from south-western Norway, Bjørn Myhre (1985) convincingly showed that these were concentrated around the chieftains' administrative centres. The number of boathouses in an area seems to provide information about different levels of society. While the occurrence of single boathouses indicates central farms, the occurrence of several boathouses seems to be linked to the most prominent farms (Stylegar and Grimm 2005, p. 259). The large number of boathouses in the vicinity of the Herlaugshaugen burial mound, although their dating to the Iron Age and contemporaneity is not certain, may support the exceptional nature of the area.

In sum, the representativeness of the archaeological finds from the surroundings of Herlaugshaugen is limited due to their small number, and their significance can be questioned. Nevertheless, it is striking that among the few archaeological finds and features, there are several categories associated with rich archaeological milieus: the Migration Period payment gold from the vicinity of the Herlaugshaugen burial mound, the large Merovingian disc-on-bow-brooch from the area of the farm of Leknes, the monumental architecture of the probably Late Iron Age extension phase of the Herlaugshaugen burial mound, and the possibly Roman Period bronze cauldron from the presumed primary burial of the same, if it was one.

At the same time, these finds and features indicate a long continuity of economic prosperity and high social status in the area throughout the 1st millennium AD. The numerous boathouse sites, if one assumes a dating to the Iron Age, underpin the impression of centrality and power. Directly, however, the archaeological sources represent only two practices in this area: the somewhat very elaborate burial of the dead, as indicated by the graves, and naval defence, and possibly mercantile activity, as indicated by the boathouses. It is therefore of interest to investigate the extent to which the place name material supports, complements or nuances the picture derived from the archaeological sources.

In fact, several place names referring to central functions are concentrated in the area. One of them is the farm name *Skei* (1518-1523 Skede), on the grounds of which the Herlaugshaugen burial mound and the associated burial ground are located. The place name element *skeið* is often associated with ancient horse races and fights (cf. Wessén 1921), but it has also been suggested that this place name could refer to a fenced-in place of worship (cf. Vikstrand 2001, p. 361). Another place name associating a central function is the neighbouring farm name *Leknes* (1430-1440 Lekones). The farm names *Leknes*, *Liknes* and *Leiknes* are often found in the coastal areas of Norway, and are explained to go back to either *leikr*, m. 'game' or the verb *leika* 'whirl'. In the former case, they may refer to a place where the population of the district gathered for cultic games in pagan times (cf. Rygh 1898a, p. 64-5, Sandnes and Stemshaug 1997, p. 287). No Medieval spellings with the diphthong 'ei' are attested for the farm name

Leknes on the island of Leka. An origin of the latter from *leikr* m. 'game' is therefore uncertain. That this may nevertheless be the case may be given by the fact, noted by Elias Wessén (1921, p. 116-8), that *skeið*-names occur in several cases in the neighbourhood of *leik*-names, and at the same time can be linked to church or assembly sites (see also Loftsgarden, this volume). Not only do the farm names *Leknes* and *Skei* occur in neighbourhood on the island of Leka, but, at least in the Late Middle Ages, a church was also located south of the modern farm of Leknes (Fig. 2). Approximately 500 m southeast of the modern farmyard of Leknes in the direction of the farm of Skei, an 88 m high, freestanding hill is located, the Olberget. A small farm at its foot bears the place name *Tinghaugen* and could thus also refer to an assembly site in the area. In contrast to the assembly aspect in connection with court functions and games related to the cult, the possible connection between *skeið*-names and large cemeteries has so far been undercommunicated. In addition to the present example from Leka, two examples from Trøndelag can be mentioned: the large cemetery '*Skeifeltet*' at the farm of Skei in the municipality of Sparbu, where there is also a courtyard site (cf. Stenvik 2001), and a recently excavated cemetery at *Skeiet* farm in Vinjeøra. However, since both the burial itself and possible subsequent commemoration ceremonies can be assumed to have been accompanied by assemblies, it is not a contradiction to find *skeið*-names related to cemeteries. Already the early Nordic historians assumed that close links existed between legal assemblies, pre-Christian cult sites and several forms of markets and games (cf. Munch 1852, p. 152-3, Schück 1926, p. 170-1).

About three kilometres southwest of Skei and Leknes, another place name indicates cultic activities. This is the place name *Frøvik* (1518-1523 Frøwig), which could possibly go back to a place name **Frøyjuvík* derived from the name of the goddess Frøyja (Rygh 1903, p. 370).

The assumption that central functions are concentrated in the vicinity of Herlaugshaugen is supported by another place name in the area: *Husby* (1518-1523 Hwseby). The phenomenon of more than 130 Scandinavian *Huseby*-names has been studied for a long time by a number of researchers (most recently Lemm in 2014 with a review of the research history). It is widely accepted that these names denote significant sites that were included in an administrative system of royal farms in the 11th or 12th century, and in this context received the standardised place name **husabýr*. An important observation is that the *Huseby*-names are a secondary phenomenon and have replaced the original names of the places. In some cases the original names can be reconstructed from historical records, for example in the case of three *Husebys* in south-eastern Norway, all of which contain the ending *-sal*: *Tesalr* or *Tesalir* in the municipality of Råde, *Óðinssalr* - with the theophoric name Odin - in the municipality of Fredrikstad, and *Skíringssalr* in the municipality of Larvik near the Viking Age trading place of Kaupang (Brink 1999b, p. 287). Unfortunately, the original name of Husby on the island of Leka has not survived.

Åke Hyenstrand (1974) had pointed to the fact that many *Huseby*-names are located in the immediate vicinity of monumental burial mounds or large cemeteries of the Late Iron Age. He concluded that many of the Medieval Huseby farms represented manors or the seats of minor kings in the preceding period. An embedment of the royal Huseby farms into already existing central place complexes, probably after previous confiscation or transfer to the Crown, is therefore likely.

Finally, two place names at the Leknessjøen bay contain the Old Norse word *naust*, as a term for a massive boathouse, as opposed to a light shelter (Old Norse hróf) (Falk 1912, p. 27-8). These are the field names *Nausthaugen* and *Naustskjæret*, both found in the area where Harald Egenæs Lund observed one of the boathouse sites mentioned in the 1950s.

***Figure 5**. Map of the Folda-Salvatnet-area. Basic map by Kartverket – www.kartverket.no. Illustration: B. Maixner.*

In sum, the archaeological sources and place names provide indications that in the Iron Age several central functions and components according to the central place concept were located in the vicinity of the Herlaugshaugen burial mound. However, without further archaeological investigations, it is impossible to clarify when and whether these functions and components existed simultaneously. Some of these components are indicated either by archaeological sources or place names, others by both categories of sources. The place name *Husby* can be interpreted as a reference to the former existence of a magnates' farm in the area, the original name of which is lost. The monumentality of the late extension of the Herlaugshaugen burial mound, the lost decorated bronze cauldron from the cairn inside Herlaugshaugen, which may be interpreted as a Roman import, and the status-indicating Merovingian disc-on-bow-brooch support this assumption. In contrast, some place names refer to functions that are not yet evident from the archaeological material, but which represent important components of central place complexes. These include, in particular, assembly functions and possibly cultic games (indicated by the place names *Skei* and possibly *Leknes*) as well as legal functions (Tinghaugen), but also the reference to cult practice (Frøvik). Finally, the unusually large number of boathouse sites as well as the two place names containing *-naust* may indicate

naval defence, possibly also mercantile activity as other central functions of the area. Apart from this possible indication, the elementary central place components craft production and communication, have on the contrary, not yet been illuminated in the area either by place names or by archaeological sources. Due to topographical considerations, they are likely to be found in the beach areas close to streams flowing into the sea. Probable localities are the beach zones of the bays on both sides of the headland projecting south of the Herlaugshaugen burial mound into the sound-like fjord (Fig. 2, 3). The find material of such places of exchange and production is usually characterised by weights, hacksilver, dress ornaments, imported goods and possibly non-ferrous production waste, and could therefore be most easily identified by the use of metal detectors.

The Folda-Salvatnet-area

The second area on the coast of North Trøndelag where the presence of large burial mounds suggests a central site complex is the headland between the firth Folda and the large lake Salvatnet (Fig. 5).

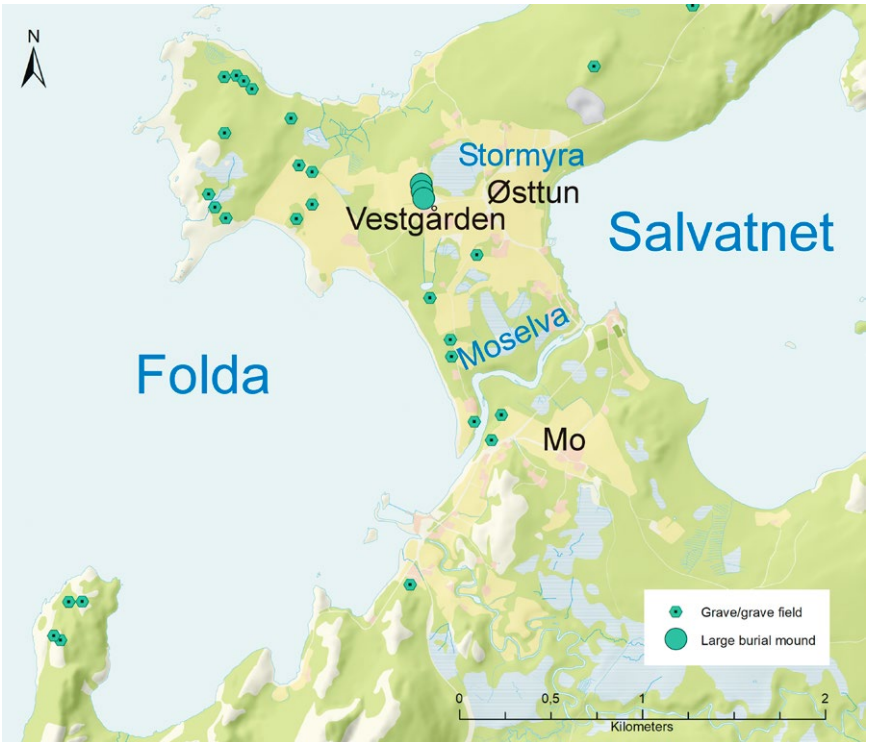

***Figure 6**. Map of the Salsnes-area. Basic map by Kartverket – www.kartverket.no. Illustration: B. Maixner.*

In the Iron Age, the area was situated at a cross-over between important water and land routes in several directions (Fig. 1): 1. the Firth Folda leading in a north-easterly direction, 2. the Namsen water system, which was an important connection eastwards to the inland and to areas in present-day Sweden, 3. the isthmus Namdalseid leading towards the Trondheimsfjorden in

the southwest, and 4. the lake Salvatnet leading into the interior of the region. Furthermore, the headland is close to the main sailing route running north-south along the Norwegian coast. In the Iron Age, natural resources in demand in the south, such as fur, antlers and iron, were probably transported to the sailing route along the coast via the inland waterways mentioned above.

Geologically, the area around Salvatnet is characterised by exposed bedrock. Exceptions are only two areas where there are larger areas of fertile marine beach sedimentation. The largest of these areas is situated in the area of today's Salsnes at the western end of the headland, on a bay at the mouth of the Namen water system in the area of today's farms Mo, Vestgården, Østtun and Kvernvika. In terms of its extension, this area represents one of the largest contiguous, agriculturally favourable areas in the entire region (Fig. 6). It is in this area that the three large burial mounds are located. Only a narrow isthmus of about 800 m width separates Firth Folda at this point from Lake Salvatnet, which stretches about 29 km inland. Lake Salvatnet drains into Firth Folda through the short Moselva river.

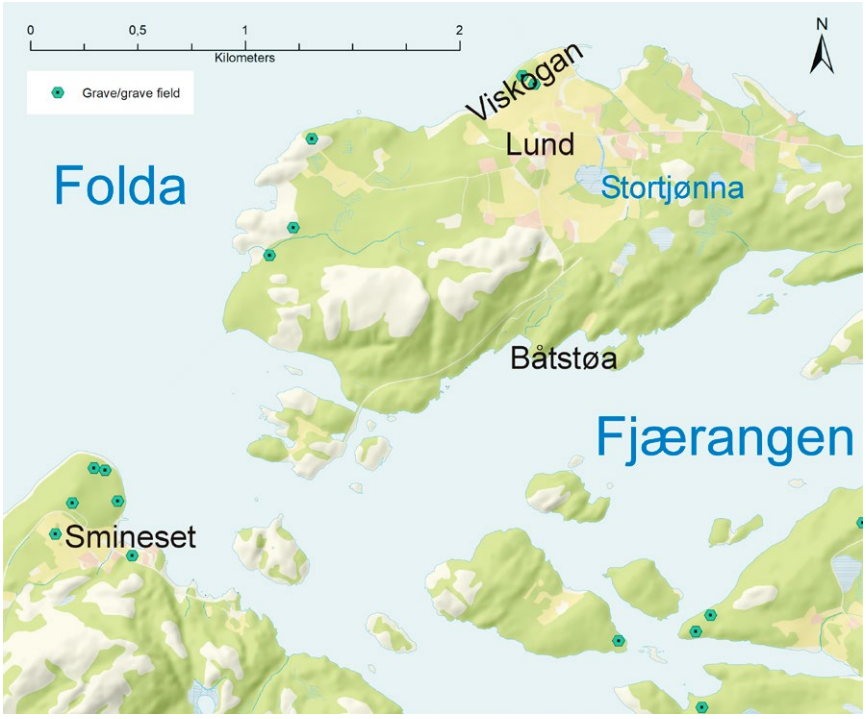

Figure 7. *Map of the Smineset-Lund-area. Basic map by Kartverket – www.kartverket.no. Illustration: B. Maixner.*

The second, but much smaller, area with favourable conditions for farming lies about ten km further northeast, on both sides of the mouth of the fjord Fjærangen, in the areas of the modern farms of Smineset and Lund (Fig. 7). While the land bridge between the Firth Folda and Lake Salvatnet is only narrow, it widens towards the northeast. The small, branched fjord Fjærangen, however, forms not only a sheltered bay south of Lund with the possibility of landing boats on the beach at the place called Båtstøa (båt = boat, stø = landing place), but also

leads far towards Lake Salvatnet. Due to its location at the entrance to the fjord Fjærangen and the associated passage into Lake Salvatnet, the area between Smineset and Lund has a similar strategic position as Salsnes.

The land bridge between an arm of the fjord Fjærangen and Lake Salvatnet is only about 800 m wide. A path leads across it in a depression, which is paved by a timber bridge on swampy sections. Dating proves construction phases in the Viking Age and the Middle Ages (Ystgaard 2005, p. 86). Even in modern times, people living at the inner parts of Lake Salvatnet pulled their boats across this land bridge when they wanted to fish in the sea (Askeladden ID 55996-1). The presence of a hillfort, Festningen, at this location indicates that this narrow point was also of strategic importance. So far, only one dating, pointing to the Bronze Age, is known from its construction (Ystgaard 2005, p. 87-8). However, typological features may indicate that the site was built in the later Roman or Migration period (cf. Ystgaard 2005, p. 112-3).

Apart from the constructions of the large burial mounds and the hillfort, the archaeological sources from the Folda-Salvatnet-area are sparse. Similar to the island of Leka, there is a large number of small burial mounds and cairns, which are mainly concentrated on the coast (Fig. 5). An exception are the three aforementioned large burial mounds lying in a row on a beach wall in the area of the farmyard of the modern farm of Vestgården (Fig. 6, 8). Today, the mounds are shut in between modern buildings and high vegetation in spots, but originally, they may have been visible from afar, and especially from the sea. The two outer mounds are cairns and are about 30 m in diameter, the middle one, which appears to consist mostly of earth, is slightly smaller. No dating information is available about them.

***Figure 8**. The northern and middle of the three large burial mounds at the present-day farm of Vestergården, Salsnes, seen from the west. Photo: B. Maixner, 2021.*

Immediately to the north-east of the large burial mounds is a circular bog, Stormyra (Fig. 6, 9), probably being a small, silted lake, about 300 m in diameter. On the south-western edge of the bog, several hearths with burnt stones and charcoal were observed in newly cultivated land in the 1940s (Askeladden ID 66798). Probably these were cooking pits. As no samples of charcoal were collected, their dating is unknown. However, cooking-pit sites in Norway generally date from the Roman Iron Age and the Migration period (c. AD 0-600) (cf. Ødegaard 2019).

Very few archaeological finds from the Iron Age and early Middle Ages are known from the Salsnes area. One is a female burial with jewellery from the transition between the Merovingian period to the early Viking Age (T22602) from a cairn from the area of the present-day farm of Østtun. The others are a cylindrical weigth of lead (T28532), and a 13th-century enamelled Limoges-mount, probably from a cross, from the plough horizon in the area of the Mo farm (T28531). Their presence suggests market activity, maybe even the existence of an otherwise undocumented medieval church at the junction between Lake Salvatnet and the coast.

In contrast, there are no known finds from the area of Smineset and Lund that can be dated with certainty to the Iron Age. However, there are two indications of iron extraction and processing from the vicinity of the farm of Smineset, namely an iron extraction site in a bog rich in bog ore (Askeladden ID 26298), and two slag deposits near the present-day farmyard (Askeladden ID 55997 and 16634). The dating of these sites is unknown, but generally the extraction of local bog-ore deposits near the settlements is a phenomenon that is older than the extensive specialised exploitation of rich bog-ore deposits in the mountain regions from the ninth century on (cf. Barndon and Olsen 2018, p. 80).

Figure 9. *The Stormyra bog at the present-day farm of Vestergården, Salsnes, seen from its north-eastern edge. Photo: B. Maixner, 2021.*

Two spindle whorls of soapstone (T13974-13975) from the ground of the farm of Lund belong to a group of objects that have a long period of use into the modern period, and therefore cannot be dated with certainty to the periods before that.

The significance of the archaeological sources for the Folda-Salsvatnet area is thus very limited. In combination with the topographically strategic location at the transition from Lake Salvatnet to the sea, and at the crossing point of important waterways, the three large burial mounds and the possibly medieval church site indicate a local or regional centre of power at this location. The function and significance of the agriculturally favourable areas around Smineset and Lund, on the other hand, which was obviously densely populated in the Iron Age due to the existence of cairns and small burial mounds, is not illuminated by the archaeological sources alone.

In the following, the evidence of place names will be examined. The place name *Mo*, which is very common in Norway and is situated at the outlet of Lake Salvatnet, is only descriptive of the topography and refers to a dry sandy plain (cf. Sandnes and Stemshaug 1997, p. 314). However, the place name may indicate plains suitable for holding markets.

The potential of the farm names *Vestgården* and *Østtun*, on the contrary, might be different. Oluf Rygh (1891, p. 241-2) assumes that they represent two parts of an originally larger farm with a vanished name. Possibly its name was **Tun*, which could be indicated by the two lost names *Uttun* and *Nordtun* in combination with *Østtun* and Vestgården's older name *Vesttun* (Rygh 1903, 341). If this is the case, the place name could indicate a farm with special status in the Iron Age - the nodal site within Stefan Brink's (1996) central place complex model (see also Vikstrand, this volume). Another possibility is that the vanished name was *Salisnes*, which survives from around 1430. This name in turn, according to Sandnes and Stemshaug (1997, p. 380), could go back to a lost lake name **Salir* or **Salr*. The question is, however, whether it is not more likely that a farm, and possibly the forerunner of today's farms Vestgården and Østtun, bore such a name, and that the name of the lake was derived from it. This comparison suggests itself not least because of the three burial mounds in a row is (Gamla) Uppsala in the Lake Mälaren area, one of the most important early mediaeval centres of power in Scandinavia and, according to the description by Adam of Bremen from the 11th century, also a major cult centre. Excavations at Gamla Uppsala revealed a magnificent hall of 60 m length from the Vendel period (AD 600-800) (cf. Brink 1996, p. 245, Ljungkvist and Frölund 2015). A number of researchers believe that *sal* in the name Uppsala refers to the local occurrence of halls (for a summary of the state of research cf. Vikstrand 2013, p. 142). *Sal*-names are relatively rare and often have uncompounded forms, i.e. *sal* or *sala*. In central Sweden, it has also been observed that *Sal*-names are linked to clay plains and thus pastures (Vikstrand 2013, p. 146). According to Herschend (2001, p. 54), however, this is not a contradiction, since pastureland is an important prerequisite for the development of wealth, which can find its expression in halls. In addition to Uppsala, there are other examples in Sweden of the occurrence of *Sal*-names in central place settings, such as *Sala* in Västmanland, and *Sal* in Västergötland (Vikstrand 2013, p. 146-7). It has also been suggested that *Sal*-names may give a clue to cult buildings (Andersson 1990, p. 89-91). If this assumption is right, large hall-like buildings of a manor could be supposed to have stood near the large burial mounds. Whether the lost name in the area was **Tun* or a *Sal*-name, it indicates centrality.

About 700 m south-west of the three large burial mounds, a small headland between the bays of Kynnvika and Sørsjøen bears the place name *Naustneset*, containing the above-mentioned element *–naust*, which refers to boathouses. As mentioned, boathouses show a link to chieftains' administrative centres, and the place name *Naustneset* thus fits into the milieu indicated by the large burial mounds and the *Sal-* or *Tun*-name.

A sacral function can possibly be inferred for the second largest area of agriculturally favourable land in the Folda-Salvatnet area, namely the area around the farms Lund and Smineset at the mouth of the fjord Fjærangen. Today's farm of Lund is situated on a spur about 300 m from the coast, and at about equal distances from the bays of Sandvika and Litlstrandbukta (Fig. 7, 10). Immediately south of the modern farmyard is a marked, rocky outcrop of 35 m in elevation. To the south-east, the farm borders a silted-up lake of a strikingly round shape, Stortjønna, similar to the Stormyra bog described next to the three large burial mounds at the farm of Vestgården on Salsnes.

The interpretation of the name *Lund*, sacred or profane, is not undisputed among place name researchers (cf. Vikstrand 2001, p. 282-3). However, research about the contexts of Lund names in the Lake Mälar Region and in western Norway has shown that around 30% (Vikstrand 2001, p. 291) and 36% (Vasshus 2011, p. 107-8) respectively of the names are to be regarded as sacral. Only one sacred Lund (grove) as a place of worship is attested for Scandinavia from contemporary written sources, namely according to Adam of Bremen (Book IV, chaps 26-27) (Trillmich 2000, p. 471-2) the holy grove beside the temple at Uppsala, in which sacrificed bodies of humans and animals were hung within the trees.

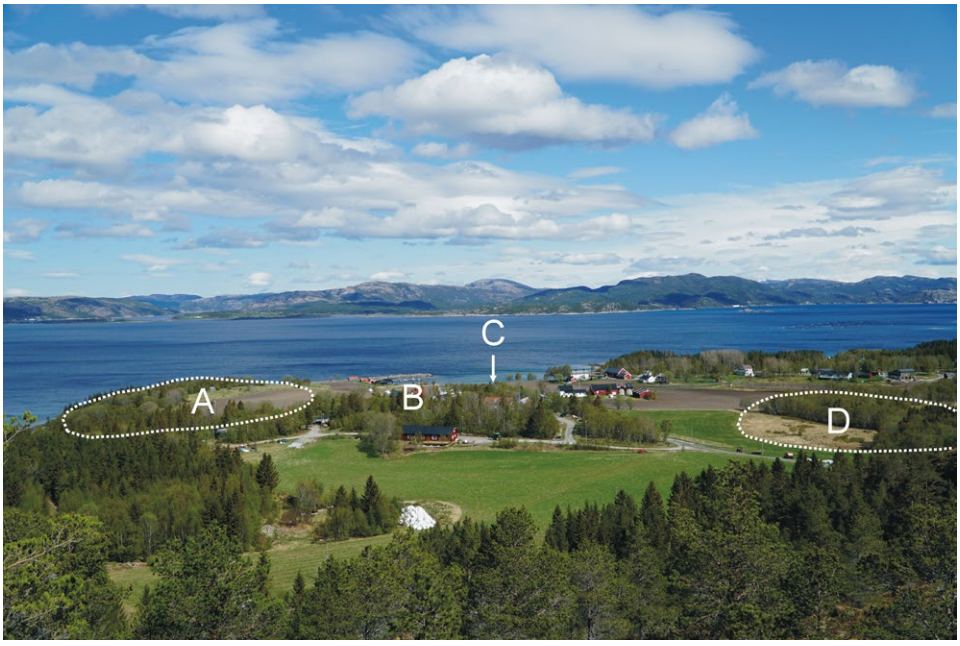

***Figure 10**. The area of the Lund farm, seen from the hill Nonhaugen. In the background the Folda firth. A Viskogan. B Farmyard of the present-day farm of Lund. C Rocky outcrop at the present-day farm of Lund. D The silted-up lake Stortjønna. Photo: B. Maixner, 2021.*

At the landscape level, theophoric place names compounded with *-lund*, such as the Swedish *Torslunda* or *Fröslunda*, may indicate that groves were used as places of worship in the Norse religion, although the link to individual gods was probably not essential (Vikstrand 2001, p. 291). A few years ago, investigations on a hill in Lunda, Strängnäs, Södermanland in Sweden near an Iron Age magnates' farm could provide archaeological evidence of a grove and give an impression of traces of religious practice that can be expected at such places. The archaeological features at the site encompassed stone settings and constructed 'floors' of sharp-edged stones. The find material consisted of fragmented burnt bones, pieces of burnt clay, tiny drops of resin, colourful beads and edged tools such as knives and arrowheads (Andersson 2006).

As Per Vikstrand (2001, p. 278-291) and Krister Vasshus (2011) have shown through their research, the name milieu in which *-lund*-names occur can provide crucial clues as to whether they are to be interpreted as sacred or profane. In the vicinity of *Lund* in the Folda-Salvatnet area there is a field name, *Viskogan*, which may indicate a sacral interpretation, although the age of this name is uncertain. The area named as Viskogan refers to a moraine range immediately on the coast, which is situated north of the modern farm of Lund. On the ridge lies a small burial ground comprising at least seven cairns. In the shell grit area between the moraine range and the modern farmyard of Lund, another grave, a flat grave, and other cultural traces were found (Askeladden ID 6766 and 36224). One meaning of *vé-* is 'sacred place' and can thus refer to places of worship. However, the place name element *vé-* can also phonetically coincide with *viðja* 'withy', *vík* 'bay', and *viðr* 'forest' (Christensen 2010, 110). *Vé-*/*-vé* occurs in numerous place names, both as a prefix and as a suffix. The prefix *Vé-*/*-vé* in nature names such as *Viholmen* (holm = holme), *Vinäs*/*Vines* (nes = headland), *Visjön* (sjö = lake), *Vimose* (mose = bog) is not uncommon (Andersson 1990, p. 77-83, Vikstrand 2011, p. 298-301). The present place name *Viskogan* (skog = forest) could refer to a sacred grove, although the age of the field name is unknown, as mentioned. The close proximity of the two place names Lund and Viskogen, and the presence of the aforementioned burial ground on the latter, however, could be indications that the area had a former sacral function. It is also possible that the marked rocky outcrop beside the present-day farmyard of Lund attracted ritual activity. There are several examples from Iron Age Scandinavia with indications that offerings took place at outcrops and erratic blocks (cf. Fabech and Näsman 2013, p. 77-9).

The place name *Smineset* (1430-1440 Smidianese) west of the mouth of the fjord Fjærangen probably goes back to *smiðja* f., smithy and *nes*, headland (cf. Rygh 1903, p. 382). The place name is interesting because it coincides with the mentioned archaeological evidence of iron extraction and processing. In Stefan Brink's (1996, p. 242, 2008, p. 62) model of a (particularly central and eastern Swedish) central place complex, the related place name *Smedby* represents an elementary component, which possibly has to be understood as denoting a smith's farm, where weapons or jewellery were forged. Thus, in combination with its location at the entry into the Fjærangen fjord, even a function related to fortification and warriors can be discussed as a basis for the place name *Smineset*. Thus, the site would correspond to the mentioned hillfort *Festningen* at the opposite access to the fjord.

The toponymic evidence thereby not only confirms the comparatively sparse archaeological sources in the Folda-Salvatnet-area, but even gives an impression of possible central functions that have not yet been illuminated by other sources. The assumption of the existence of a central place at Salsnes, which is indicated by the three large burial mounds in a row at the

present-day farm of Vestgården, is supported by the fact that either a central place indicating place name **Tun*, or a *Sal*-name, pointing to the presence of large halls, can be reconstructed in the area.

The area about 10 km away from Salsnes in the area of today's farm of Lund is archaeologically unobtrusive and does not stand out in any way from other areas along the coast that are favourable for settlement. It is only through the place names *Lund* and *Smineset*, possibly also *Viskogan*, that the area emerges as a central place with distinctive cultic functions and military elements. At the same time, the assumption of a place of worship at this location indicates that the assumed farm was not an ordinary farm, but a farm with central functions that controlled the entrance to the fjord Fjærangen and thus the connection between the Salsvatnet lake and the coast. Beyond a possible ritual component and a function related to fortification, the place name *Smineset* may pragmatically indicate that the processing of iron, extracted not only locally but possibly also in the hinterland of the lake Salvatnet, had economic significance. It can also be assumed that the trade in hunting products, especially furs and antlers from the hinterland as evidenced by several – but also undated – pitfalls (e.g. Askeladden ID 60356, 36222), took place via Lund and Salsnes.

The 10-km distance between the Salsnes and Smineset-Lund areas is borderline for considering them parts of a coherent central place complex. However, the fact that each controlled one of the two transitions between the Firth Folda and Lake Salvatnet makes it likely to understand them as belonging together in some way. It is likely that the Smineset-Lund complex is to be understood as a central farm, which was subordinate to a manor situated on Salsnes.

Striking landscape elements in both areas, Salsnes and Lund, are the circular bog and the silted-up lake Stormyra (Fig. 9) and Stortjønna (Fig. 10), respectively, both of which may have originally been lakes. It cannot be ruled out that these had a role in the cognitive landscape because of their conspicuous shape, and thus represented places where ritual acts were performed. An indication of this may be the fire pits at the edge of the Stormyra bog, which probably represent cooking pits. Norwegian cooking pit sites are associated with large gatherings in the context of political, legal and cultic affairs (cf. Ødegaard 2019). Charlotte Fabech (1991, p. 300) has drawn attention to the general tendency for a shift in ritual activities away from wetlands and open nature towards the dwellings of the social elite at the transition from the Early to the Late Iron Age. However, there are many examples of ritual deposits being carried out in water bodies in the Viking Age as well (Lund 2008). One example is the magnate's residential complex of Tissø on the Danish island of Zealand, which was situated at the bank of the Lake Tissø, approximately seven km from the coast. The complex was in use from the sixth to the eleventh century AD and is characterised by monumental halls and extensive workshop areas. As Lars Jørgensen (2014, p. 251) has pointed out, the Tissø complex constituted a pre-Christian ritual landscape encompassing the residence itself with cult buildings and ritual features, weaponry, tool and jewellery offerings in lake Tissø, an open ritual site with sacrifices and traces of meals, offerings of a sword and a tool chest in the Halleby river, a well with animal offerings, and horse sacrifices in a bog area. The distribution of the objects apparently sacrificed in Lake Tissø suggests that they were thrown into the water from the edge of the lake (Lund 2008, p. 56). It would be interesting to see if targeted investigations could bring evidence of ritual sacrifice of objects in the circular lakes/moors of Stortjønna and Stormyra.

***Table 1**. Compilation of central functions in the surroundings of the Herlaugshaugen burial mound and in the Folda-Salvatnet-area as indicated by archaeological sources and place names.*

	Surroundings of the Herlaugshaugen burial mound		Folda-Salvatnet-area			
			Salsnes		Lund	
	Archaeological sources	Place names	Archaeological sources	Place names	Archaeological sources	Place names
Manor	- Herlaugshaugen burial mound - Disc-on-bow-brooch - Roman cauldron (?)	Husby	Large burial mounds	-Sal *Tun (?)		
Assembly		Leknes Skei Tinghaugen	Cooking-pits (?)			
Cult		Frøvika Leknes Skei	Cooking-pits (?)	-Sal		Lund Viskogan (?)
Defence	Boathouse sites	Nausthaugen Naustskjæret	Iron extraction and processing	Naustneset		Smineset
Trade and production			Weight of lead	Mo		

Conclusion

The aim of this article was to shed light on the contribution of place names to the evaluation of possible central place complexes that have scarcely yet been explored archaeologically. Two areas in the coastal region of northern Trøndelag were selected, where the presence of large burial mounds suggested central sites: the area around the Herlaugshaugen burial mound on the island of Leka, and the land bridge between Firth Folda and Lake Salvatnet. Both areas were investigated for their strategic position, topographical features, archaeological sources and central functions indicating place names. As a result of this investigation, it can be stated that in both areas, the evidence of place names contributes significantly to identifying and spatially anchoring characteristic components and functions of Iron Age Scandinavian central place complexes.

In particular, the surroundings of the Herlaugshaugen burial mound appear through the combined archaeological and toponymic investigation as an obviously long-lived centre of power, whose core seems to consist of a chieftain's farm or manor, in the surroundings of which various assembly functions were observed; these were related to legal functions and (cultic) games, cultic activities, as well as naval defence. The Folda-Salvatnet area seems to have been located at a lower level of power, but because of its place name possibly referring to large halls, assembly functions indicated by cooking pits, military aspects and above all distinctly cultic elements as expressed both in the place names and in the landscape, it shows clear signs of having been a central place complex. A special strategic location is characteristic of both areas. The spatial distribution of the components indicated by archaeological sources and place names over a larger area coincides with a characteristic of Iron Age Scandinavian central sites. As can be seen from the compilation in Table 1, the contribution of place names at the two areas investigated is even greater than that of the sparse archaeological sources. Some functions, such as assembly, legal functions and cults, are so far almost exclusively indicated by place names. However, it should not be overlooked that the place names – just like archaeological sources – are primarily indications that require interpretation, and that neither their dating to the Iron Age nor their contemporaneity with each other and with

the archaeological sources is certain, although probable. Clear evidence of craft production and communication is missing from both groups of sources from both study areas but can be assumed in the areas close to the beach and should be detectable there with metal detectors. Striking topographical formations in combination with sacred place names, such as the circular lakes/bogs at Salsnes and Lund, as well as the striking rock formation at Lund, give perspectives on possible ritual actions that could have found their material expression, e.g. through the sacrifice of objects, and can be followed up by archaeological investigations. Hence, another important function of the use of place names in archaeology is that of a tool for identifying areas for targeted further investigations. Beside those already mentioned, the area-wide geophysical prospection for possible hall buildings indicated by the place name element *sal* in the vicinity of the large burial mounds on Salsnes, or the targeted search for boathouse sites in the area of the place name Naustneset, are practical applications of the inclusion of place name studies in Norwegian central place research.

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Håkon Reiersen and Christopher Fredrik Kvæstad

The Iron Age and Medieval portage at Haraldseid, southwest Norway. Legends, place names and archaeology

The old Norse term eið occurs in many Scandinavian place names. It denotes a passage over land between two trafficable waters, i.e., an isthmus which could be utilised as a portage for boats, people and cargo. Thus, the eið place names provide important evidence of sites that may have been central communication routes in premodern times. Haraldseid in southwest Norway is among the prominent examples of portage sites. Here, the personal name Haraldr has been associated in local legends with the Viking king Haraldr Fairhair, who resided nearby at Avaldsnes. Place names and legends documented in the 19th–20th centuries might disclose important historical insights into the use of this cultural landscape. Indeed, the archaeological evidence suggests that there might be a core of truth in some of the legends, bridging the gap between myth and reality. The article combines place names, folklore, early maps, historical and archaeological evidence in a synthesis about the strategic importance of the Iron Age and Medieval portage at Haraldseid. While local elites probably controlled and maintained the portage under the influence of rulers at Avaldsnes in the Iron Age, more direct royal control and transport of Hanseatic goods are attested in the Medieval period.

> 'For a period of time, Haraldr Fairhair lived at Haraldseid. The first time he travelled in these parts, he went in the Ålfjord to Haraldseidvåg. He then pulled his ships over the portage to Eidsvik and sailed out the Skjoldafjord. But he enjoyed the site of the portage so much that he later settled here, and Haraldseid was named after him. While he was living at Haraldseid, he had many ships in the Ålfjord.
>
> One time, Haraldr went courting to a girl from Kallstveit (others say Meland). He went to the girl regularly, but he did not want people to know how often he went, and he therefore had an underground passage made. The long tunnel from Haraldseid to Kallstveit is still there. In the Haraldsdal valley, there are many stone cairns and grave mounds, so it is not hard to believe that there have been many battles in these parts' (Mauland 1931, p. 37 authors' translation).

Introduction

The region of Rogaland in southwest Norway is rich in archaeology, at least partly due to its strategic placement. All ships sailing to the Continent from the northern and western coast of Norway had to pass through this region (Fig. 1). For ships passing the northern part of Rogaland, there were four main routes (Tveit and Elvestad 2006, p. 77). The main seaway went through the narrow, protected strait of Karmsund, on the eastern side of Karmøy island. The Iron Age centre and Medieval royal seat at Avaldsnes was situated centrally in the strait (Skre 2017). A second and much riskier route went across open waters on the western side of Karmøy. The last two alternative routes went through fjords further to the east and across the two major portages at Haraldseid and Sandeid. The main background for the long-lived centre at Avaldsnes was its strategic placement along the seaway at a point where traffic easily could be controlled. Active use of the alternative routes across portages, however, could potentially weaken this advantage.

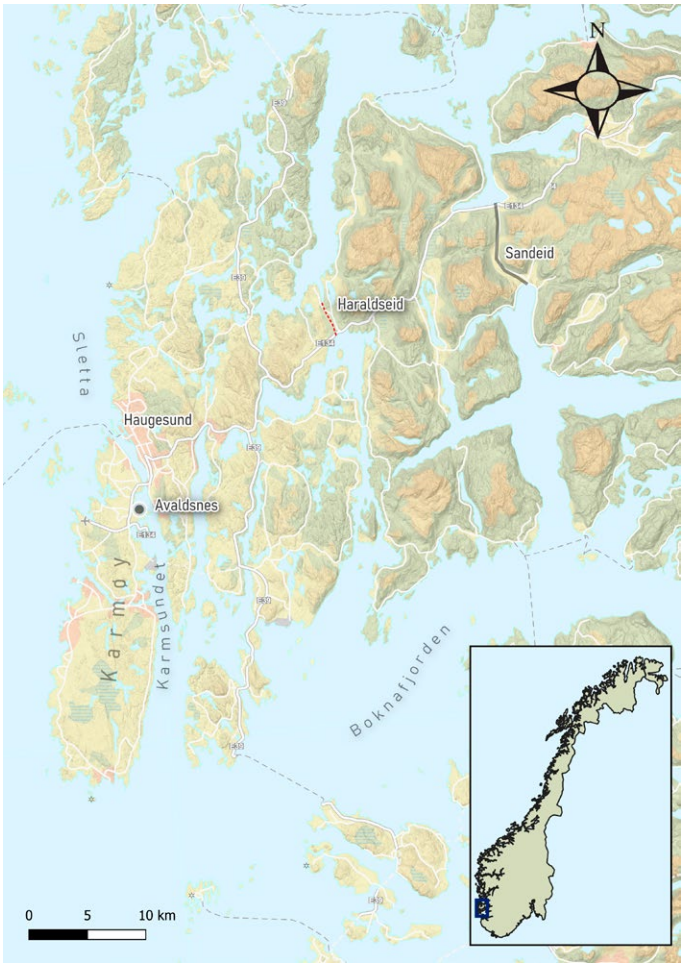

***Figure 1**. The location of Haraldseid in northern Rogaland along the Norwegian coast. The main seaway went through Karmsund, with another portage across Sandeid. Map: Christopher F. Kvæstad.*

This article discusses evidence of organised use of the Haraldseid portage in the Iron Age and Medieval period. It attempts to bring together research from the last decades, including studies of documentation of modern use, legends and place names related to the portage (Østrem 1996, 2012), the mapping of Haraldseid on Dutch maps from the 17th century (Fyllingsnes 2006) and results from the archaeological investigations in 2004 (Tveit and Elvestad 2006, Reiersen and Kvæstad 2020). The core of the article is a presentation and discussion of the archaeological evidence. Even so, the authors aim to include all types of available evidence, with a special emphasis on the interaction between place names and legends in the study area. Compared with the archaeological evidence, the local legends seem to preserve a core of truth surviving as local, collective memory. The legends linking Haraldseid to king Haraldr Fairhair (Østrem 1996), whose main residence was at Avaldsnes, could reflect actual long-term relationships between the Avaldsnes rulers and their allies at the portage.

Eið-sites: Place names and archaeology

The point of departure for discussing Haraldseid is the name in itself (1514-1621 Haralssedh, 1563 Harrildtzeidt). While surviving as the name of a farm, it is ultimately related to a wider area, the *eið* or portage. Similar to places with the element *skeið* (see Loftsgarden, this volume), the presence of the place name element *eið* provides the first clue that this might be a site of historical and archaeological interest.

One of the defining characteristics of places is that they have names. Place names provide sources of valuable information about the society and the local traditions they are placed in. They may inform about central locations and their functions in older rural settlements, including important sites of political power and communications (Særheim 2014). Place names not only locate where activities, happenings, or phenomena took place; through the linguistic material, the names may also tell us something about what may be connected with the place. Place name research aims to uncover the background for the naming of a place, i.e., topography, flora or fauna, methods of labour, traditions and historical events (e.g. Gelling 1993, Haslum 2012, p. 34, Særheim 2014, p. 49).

Place names containing the element *eið* are frequent in Scandinavia, as well as in the northern Atlantic islands inhabited by Norse populations in the Viking period (Nyman 2006, p. 169). The basic meaning of the term is 'walking', but the word more specifically refers to a passage between two trafficable waters. Other names for portages in Scandinavia are *-bor* and *-drag*, referring to places where boats were carried and pulled, respectively (Fig. 2, Nyman 2006, p. 170). Some *eið*-names might merely indicate an isthmus which had the potential to be used as a portage, although not necessarily used as such in a systematic manner. However, some *eið*-names convey important sites for communications throughout a long period of time.

***Figure 2**. Illustration of the two main methods of crossing a portage, carrying and pulling boats. After Magnus (Magnus 1555).*

At Haraldseid, the importance of the function as a portage is underlined by the place name *Isvik* (1766 Isvig, 1883-92 Eidsvik), interpreted as a later form of an original Eidsvik (Østrem 1996, p. 37–38, 1999, p. 535, 2012), found in the southern part of the isthmus. A similar pair of *eið*-names are found at the neighbouring portage at Sandeid. Here, the farm name Eide is found in the northern end at Ølen, with the settlement district Sandeid situated in the southern end. The stretch Sandeid-Eide is rich in archaeology (e.g. Fyllingen 2020). In the neighbouring region of Agder, another important *eið*-site with rich Iron Age archaeology has been identified at Spangereid (Stylegar and Grimm 2005, Stylegar 2006).

It is reasonable to assume that the original name of Haraldseid was *Eið*, with the genitive form of the man's name *Haraldr* added as prefix later (Østrem 1996, p. 36). As we shall see, in local legends there is little doubt that the man in question was the Viking king Haraldr Fairhair. Only two farms with the name Haraldr are known from Rogaland, and the other site, Haraldsveit, is situated between Haraldseid and Sandeid (Særheim 2007, p. 89). Since the personal name Haraldr seems not to have been affected by i-umlaut, it probably arrived in Scandinavia after the 6th century AD (Sørensen 1958, p. 246). Haraldr is attested in several Danish and Swedish Viking Age runic inscriptions (cf. Peterson 2007, p. 106). In Denmark, the personal name is typically compounded with the suffix *staðir* in place names, but also occurs in *torp*-names (Sørensen 1958, p. 246). Danish and Swedish *staðir*-names are generally thought to have ceased production in the Late Iron Age (see Gammeltoft, this volume), while *-torp* is a Late Viking Age and Medieval place name type.

Before returning to the place names and legends of the area, we will take a detour to post-Medieval uses of the portage at Haraldseid.

***Figure 3**. The Haraldseid portage seen from Skjoldafjord towards Ålfjord in the north. Båtavika is situated to the left of the industrial buildings, with the present settlement cluster at Isvik seen to the right. These areas presumably were the southern end of a western and an eastern route across the portage. Photo: Christopher F. Kvæstad.*

Boat travellers and Dutchmen

The use of the portage for transporting small boats is first mentioned in a legal case from 1766, where it is stressed that such transport relied on help from local farmers (Østrem 2012). While the use of the portage is mentioned briefly by a cartographer in 1859, more substantial sources first occur in the late 19th and early 20th century. At this time, the portage was mainly used by itinerant Romani groups known as the 'boat travellers', who got local farmers to transport their boats across the portage. The boat travellers mainly used the same, fixed routes, and one of these ran across Haraldseid (Vie 2013). The first mention of this practice dates from around 1900, when an ethnologist noted that, in the olden days, the Romani travellers had their boats transported from Haraldseid to the Skjoldafjord (Østrem 1996, p. 32).

The final phase of this use of the portage is documented by ethnographic interviews, reflecting a number of different methods used to move boats across the portage. In the 1930s, two brothers from the area were hired to transport three boats, using a wheeled hay-sled. The boats were open clinker-built vessels with four or six oars. According to another account regarding the same period, it was also common to put logs or thwarts under the boats when pulling them. It was also reported that in the early 20th century, boats were frequently carried across Haraldseid (Østrem 1996, p. 35–36, Tveit and Elvestad 2006, p. 78).

Even though this is the only documented use of the portage, Dutch maps from the 17th century seem to testify that the portage has deeper historical roots (Fyllingsnes 2006). The Dutch, who by the 16th century replaced the Hanseatic league as the dominant mercantile power in northern Europe, intensified the trade with western Norway in the 17th century. The trade in timber, driven by the construction of rapidly expanding Dutch cities, introduced the traders to the inner arms of the Boknafjord, a region known as Ryfylke (Kjerstad 2017). The timber trade made it necessary to properly map the Norwegian west coast for sea travel.

The first Dutch maps of Norway seem to rely on information from maps made by bishops in Bergen and Stavanger in the early 17th century (Berg 2017). However, the different versions of the maps indicate that the Dutch cartographers got additional information from sailors having local knowledge. While the map printed by Bleau and Bleau (1640) is explicitly based on the map of Stavanger bishop Scabo (deceased 1626), the rather similar map printed by Janssonius (1636) has several additional place names lacking on the Bleau map (Fig. 4). Both Bleau's and Janssonius' maps mark the land stretch *Harelds Eid*. On the maps, sites of parish churches like Avaldsnes and Sandeid are marked with dots. Haraldseid, on the other hand, is written in a similar manner as fjords. Thus, it must have been a well-known portage at this time.

It is a known phenomenon from early maps based more on mental imaging than on precise measurements, that they underline important features through exaggerations (Miller and Mason 2018). For instance, lake Røldalsvatn shown furthest to the northeast in Fig. 4, is greatly oversized (compare Fig. 1). This area was important for the Dutch timber industry, as the timber was floated down from the lake and loaded at the mouth of the river Suldalslågen (*Lougn elf* on the map) (Fyllingsnes 2006, p. 25). In a similar way, the significance of Haraldseid is underlined on the map by representing the isthmus narrower than it is. By making it narrower, it is shown as an easily manoeuvrable stretch of land. The Dutch merchants did not have ships that were suitable to being pulled over a portage. However, if the sailing conditions were risky, their valuable cargo could be transported the land route across Haraldseid while their ships carefully were manoeuvred around Karmsund.

Figure 4. *Extract of northern Rogaland and southern Vestland on Janssonius' (1636) map. Public Domain.*

Legends and place names

The mentioned historical sources indicate the same types of transport across portages which are known at many other sites in Norway in the post-Medieval period, including the transport of people, boats and cargo (Stylegar 2006). However, at Haraldseid, local legends suggest that the portage has a far older history.

The Haraldseid legend is closely linked with the Viking king and partly mythical figure of Haraldr Fairhair, a key character in the foundation myths of both Iceland and Norway. In both the Medieval period and more recently in the Romantic era, Haraldr was actively used as 'a heroic narrative character disseminating a foundation story of Norway becoming an independent nation' (Guttormsen 2017). The main source to Haraldr Fairhair is Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla, written in the 12th–13th centuries (Killings 1996). Here, the king is portrayed as the first king of Norway, reigning c. AD 872–930.

According to Snorri, after a series of conquests, Haraldr won a great victory over his petty king enemies at Hafrsfjord near Stavanger c. 872. Haraldr then became sole ruler of the country, ruling from his five manors in western Norway, of which Avaldsnes was the most prominent (Mundal 2017, p. 35–37). Although parts of Snorri's accounts are obvious reconstructions, the consensus is that Haraldr directly ruled a western Norwegian kingdom. Avaldsnes upheld the position as a royal manor to the 14th century, and the harbour was regularly used by the Hanseatic league in the 14th–15th centuries (Skre 2017, Elvestad and Opedal 2020, Hommedal 2020).

The passage quoted in the introduction captures the core of the Haraldseid legend, as it was recorded around 1900 (cf. Mauland 1931). It states that:

1. Haraldr Fairhair pulled his ships over the Haraldseid portage
2. Haraldr Fairhair dwelled at the Haraldseid farm
3. Haraldr Fairhair made an underground passage to a girl at Kallstveit
4. There are many cairns along the portage, the evidence of battles

Importantly, the core of the legend establishes the relationship between the king, the portage and the farm, and it also connects archaeological features in the landscape to the legend ('underground passage', cairns). In the following, we will review some of the associations in local legends with place names and features in the landscape. While not all legends are very old, they say something about how the local perception of the landscape up until recently was strongly associated with the legend. We will first examine the place names and legends from Haraldseidvågen following the beginning of the eastern path to Isvik, before turning to the end of the western path and the legend of the secret passage to Kallstveit (compare Fig. 5).

Dramatic legends of King Haraldr's men

From Haraldseidvågen, the boats were presumably pulled up *Longbakka* ('the long slope'), up the *Dalen* ('valley') area. Higher up the valley, the name *Båtaleite* (specific: no. *båt*, 'boat', generic: no. *leite*, 'place with a good view', Særheim 2007, p. 139) also relates to the transport of boats across the portage. The latter is believed to have been the site where the king's men rested when pulling boats over the portage (Østrem 1996, p. 35).

Near the site Skogagjerdet, two rocks are called *Røvarsteinane* ('Robbers' rocks'). An informant recalled a legend told by his father Henrik Dybdahl (1880-1937): '*Røvarsteinane* are related to Haraldr Fairhair and his boats. He came sailing from the north into the inner part of the bay of Haraldseidvågen. He then pulled the boats over logs to the Skjoldafjord where he was safe. On this trip, two of his men died and were buried here. They wanted to build a grave mound, but there was not enough soil for a mound' (Østrem 1996, p. 34, authors' translation). As the two men were not properly buried, it was said that they returned to haunt the site as ghosts. According to the informant, a man sitting on a white horse had been seen at the site.

The same informant further recounted the legend of the hill *Hovåsen* ('the high hill', cf. Særheim 2007, p. 110). The name is pronounced *Håvåsen* and has been interpreted locally as 'Head hill', as 'håve' is dialect for head. 'One of the robbers who had joined [Haraldr] got his head cut off. How and why, we do not know. His head was put on a stake on Håvåsen, as it is possible to see the Skjoldafjord from there. It was used as a marker for those who pulled the boats over logs' (Østrem 1996, p. 34, authors' translation). This legend exists in another version not mentioning Haraldr Fairhair, and it was probably based on the story of an actual murder in 1656 (Østrem 1996, p. 35).

Stylegar (2004) has previously argued that the Viking period portage path went along the east side of the valley to Isvik, and that the western path instead belongs in a younger phase. Part of his argument was that ancient graves are often found alongside the path of roads and portages. He therefore described the presence of a series of *haug* place names ('hill' or 'mound', cf. Særheim 2007, p. 90–91) following this part of the valley. From north, we have *Nausthaugane*

at Haraldseidvåg, then *Grimshaughaugen*, *Haugen*, *Asbjørnhaug*, as well as *Bjørkhaug*. However, these *haug* sites all seem to reflect natural hills and not burial mounds. While there was probably an eastern route alongside the western route, today there are no preserved traces of it. Instead, the combination of ancient roads, graves and a cluster of relevant place names are only documented on the western route to Kallstveit.

Queen Nua and the secret passage to Kallstveit

Another colourful local legend is linked with a leitmotiv in the sagas – Haraldr Fairhair's many extramarital affairs with mistresses (Norse: *friller*). The quote preceding the introduction above mentions Haraldr's lover at Kallstveit or Meland. Another informant, Lars Bjoland (1881-1969), gives a slightly different version of the legend, placing Haraldr's 'queen' at Nuasete: 'On Haraldseidheia, with a view over the Skjoldafjord, the croft Nuasete is located. Here, king Haraldr had the queen Nua guarding the passage' (Østrem 1996, p. 33, authors' translation). At the highest point on the west side of the portage, queen Nua controlled the traffic while Haraldr's men were pulling their ships across the portage. Several sources state that there was a secret passage at Nuasete, and one source claims that King Harald once hid there (Østrem 1996, p. 33). Mauland (1931) instead relates this story to Kallsveit/Meland, southeast of Nuasete, and states that the secret passage went from Haraldseid to Kallstveit.

The secret passage obviously refers to the sunken roads in the outfields of Haraldseid, Meland and Kallstveit, passing Nuasete. Even today, the remains of these roads have rather impressive dimensions, and it is easy to understand that they were interpreted as the remains of a collapsed, secret passage. At the end of this path, there is a cluster of place names explicitly related to portage practices, including *Båtavegen* ('The boat road'), *Draget* ('The [boat] drag'), and *Båtavika* ('The boat bay') in the Skjoldafjord (Østrem 1996).

The main lesson to be learned about this legend is that the sunken roads in the outfield of Kallstveit were perceived in the 19th and early 20th centuries not as portage roads but as traces of something old, associated with King Haraldr. Most likely, this means that the route had gone out of use before the documented use of the portage in the 18th to early 20th century. This certainly was not the route used by the 'boat travellers', it belongs to an older phase. Stylegar's (2004) assumption that the *Båtavegen* route belongs to the youngest phase therefore seems less likely. Presumably, both the eastern and the western routes were used in prehistory, and Stylegar might be right in assuming that larger ships followed the eastern path.

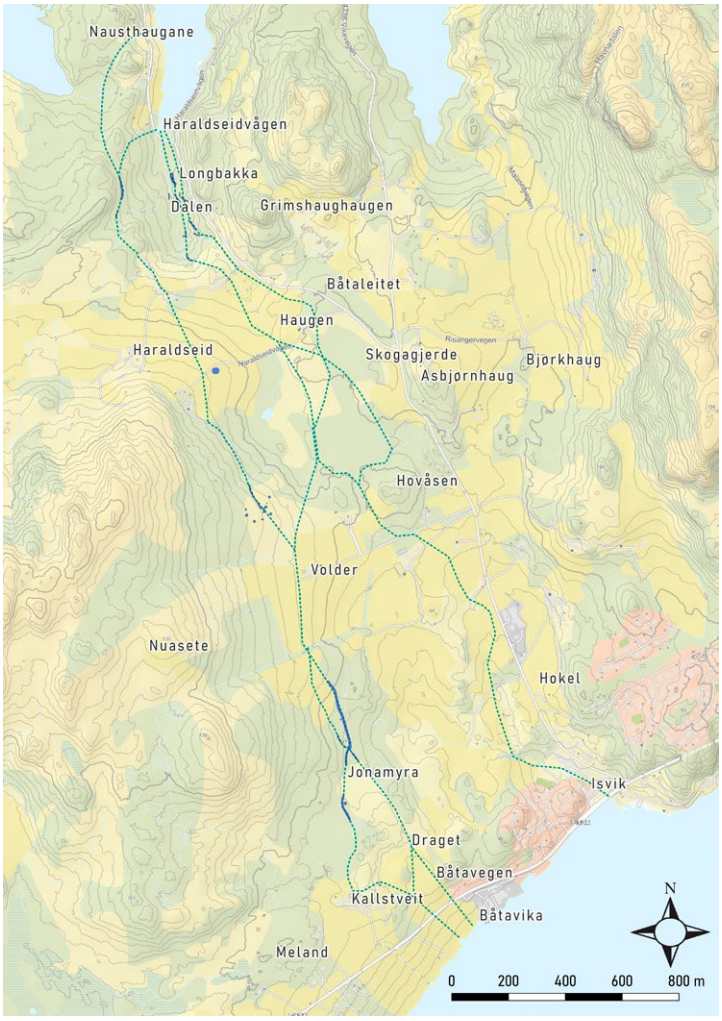

***Figure 5**. Place names and possible routes across Haraldseid. Map: Christopher F. Kvæstad.*

The archaeology of *Haraldr's eið*

Neither the documented use of the portage by boat travellers in modern times, the mention of the portage on Dutch maps, nor the legends associating the place name with a Viking king, provide any guarantee that the portage was actually used in prehistoric and early historic times. Could there be any core of truth in the vivid legends? To investigate whether the portage was used prior to the 17th century, we must turn to the archaeological material.

Although local legends have been very much alive at Haraldseid in recent centuries, very little was known archaeologically about the area until surveying and minor excavations were initiated in 2003-2004 (Elvestad 2003, Tveit and Elvestad 2004). For some years, only tentative results from the excavations have been available (Tveit and Elvestad 2006).

Recently, the archaeological material has been catalogued, radiocarbon dates and osteological analyses have been recollected, and the examined sites have been re-surveyed and added to the Askeladden database of cultural heritage (Reiersen and Kvæstad 2020).

With the place name as our starting point, we will first address the association with King Haraldr. Are there any possible traces of elite presence or indication of royal influence at Haraldseid? Did Haraldr Fairhair or any of his kind either dwell in or impose their influence on this area? We will then consider the traces of the *eið* itself. Is there any evidence of landing sites, and what are the characteristics and dates of the roads known across the portage? What kind of use and transportation do they indicate, and was traffic merely local, or regional in scope?

Figure 6. *Roman glass vessel and Viking period sword from two other sites in Rogaland, resembling those found at Haraldseid. Photo: Terje Tveit © Arkeologisk museum, UiS.*

From rich graves to royal domain

Although 19th century antiquarian accounts mention ancient house remains on the Haraldseid farm (Nicolaysen 1868, p. 153), these remains are now lost and there have been no settlement excavations at the farm. It is assumed, however, that the initial farm settlement at Haraldseid was situated at the site known as Syståvå (Østrem 1999, p. 403). This farm site is situated some 60 metres above sea level, with a good overview towards the Ålfjord and the northern inlet to the portage at the bay of Haraldseidvågen. Previously, there were several burial mounds in this area, but today only the largest burial mound is preserved, although damaged.

This burial mound is 18 metres in diameter and is situated a hundred metres northeast of the present farmhouses (Haraldseid in Fig. 7). Burial mounds of this size are rare in the region; large burial mounds are mainly found near Karmsund and Avaldsnes (Ringstad 1986). Before 1829, the remains of two richly equipped graves were found in a burial mound 'close to the houses' at Haraldseid (Nicolaysen 1862, p. 336). The mound in question was most likely the large mound mentioned above. The recorded finds were lost, but from the antiquarian descriptions, it is assumed that these finds originated from two different graves.

The first was a grave with a facetted glass vessel of Roman origin from the late Roman or Migration periods (c. AD 300-550). The glass was decorated with rectangular fields, and it held 0,3 litres. A glass of a similar type is depicted in Fig. 6. Roman glass vessels were part of the elite lifestyle in the Early Iron Age, and formed an important element in ritual drinking feasts where the social bonds between the elites and their warriors were negotiated (Reiersen

2017, p. 99). The lady of the house had a special role in this ritual, and glass vessels are found in the graves of men and women of the elites. It is possible that the glass vessel, whether it belonged to a woman or a man, was a gift from allies. The grave with a glass vessel presumably was the primary grave in the large burial mound, suggesting that the relatives of the deceased were so powerful that they had the opportunity to raise a monument of this size.

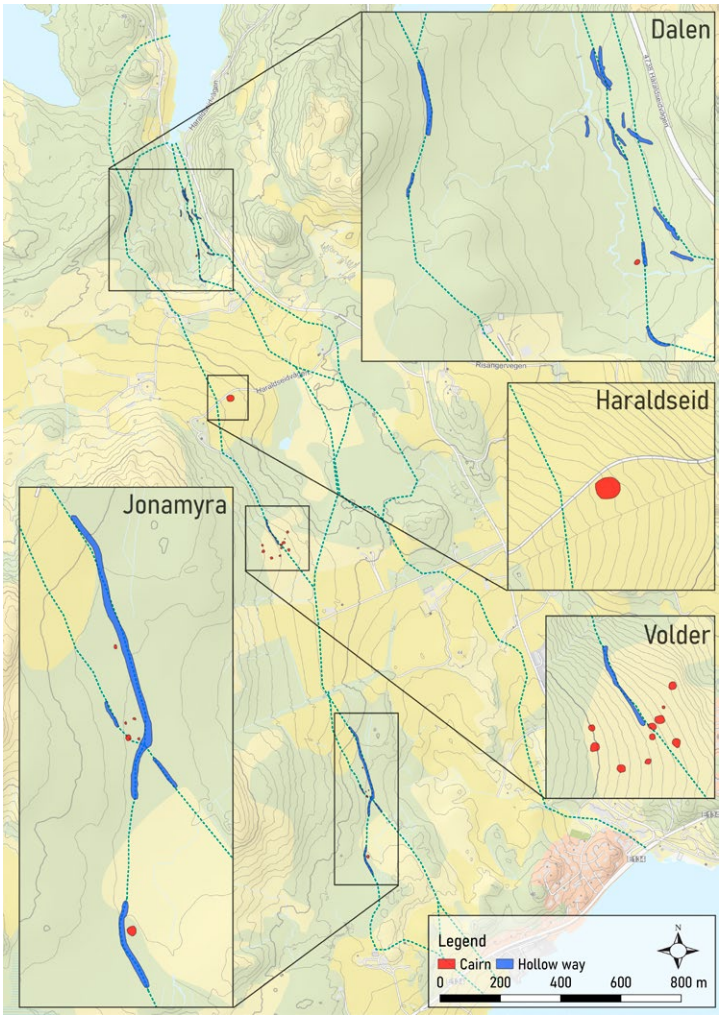

***Figure 7**. Archaeological features across Haraldseid, at the sites Haraldseid, Dalen, Volder and Jonamyra. Map: Christopher F. Kvæstad.*

In the Viking period (AD 800-1050), another richly equipped grave was incorporated into the mound, perhaps to create a link to the ancestors. This was an equestrian burial with a horse bridle and stirrups. Although the finds are lost and other finds from the grave remain unknown, this was probably also the grave of an outstanding person. Graves with stirrups are rare in southwest Norway. Before 1925, two soapstone vessels were found in one or more

graves close to the main farm at Haraldseid, indicating the presence of additional Viking period graves close to the settlement (Reiersen and Kvæstad 2020, p. 63).

Another richly furnished Viking period grave was found a few hundred metres east of the large burial mound. The placement of this grave was rather atypical, situated low in the terrain and next to a small river. Judging from other burial mounds known across the portage, this grave was most likely situated close to one of the routes across the portage. The grave included parts of an axe blade and a sword of Petersen's (1919) type H where the handle had bronze inlay. The sword was rather poorly preserved, but as an illustration, a similar sword is shown in Fig. 6. The grave is dated to the first half of the 9th century.

In sum, the graves known from the Haraldseid farm give the impression that a powerful elite lineage dwelled here in both the Early and Late Iron Age. The glass vessel and the large burial mound raised in the late Roman or Migration periods show that local elites had access to prestigious objects and that they had the power to put many people to work making a large burial mound for the lineage. Similarly, in the Viking period, another important individual was buried with equestrian gear in the old burial mound. The burial with a sword found along the portage route suggests a close association between the elites at Haraldseid and control of the traffic across the portage. From the placement of the graves, it seems to have been important for the Viking period elites at Haraldseid both to show a link to the ancestors buried in the large mound at the farm and to show their association with the portage.

When the first written sources emerge in the Medieval period, Haraldseid is listed as a royal domain. At this time, direct royal control of the farm is thus documented. In the 15th century, the farm was managed by nobleman Trond Benkestok, a member of the royal council (Østrem 1999, p. 403). In the early 17th century, the farm is listed as situated along the common road (Østrem 1996, p. 37), and this brings us further to the documented routes across the *eið*.

Routes across the portage

As seen in the discussion regarding place names, there are several possible routes across the portage. This review focuses on actual evidence of sunken roads that have been excavated. The review centres around the quoted descriptions of the excavators Tveit and Elvestad (2006), supplemented with additional information from subsequent landscape surveys, object studies, osteological analysis and radiocarbon dates (Reiersen and Kvæstad 2020). The evidence is examined from north to south, starting with the main locality at Dalen, and then continuing with the minor surveys conducted at the sites at Volder and Jonamyra (Fig. 7).

A landing site in Dalen

> 'At the end of the portage in the north, there are two sunken roads running parallel into a bog bordering the present shoreline [Fig. 8]. The first testpit was opened on a transverse section of the parallel sunken roads a few metres from the bog. The testpit displayed a rather complex structure. The depressions on each side initially understood as sunken roads, can be interpreted as two tracks on each side of an artificial earthwork, approximately 2 metres wide and 75 cm high. The tracks were probably dug down to a layer of sand, and the waste material was used in the earthwork. (…) Along the edge of one of the tracks there was a low string of stones marking the transition between

the track and the earthwork. In the middle of the earthwork between the two tracks there was an overturned stone monument, and close to the monument there was a concentration of charcoal and burnt bones. (…) On the left fringe of the track, there was another structure of flat stones and one small standing stone'

(Tveit and Elvestad 2006, p. 79–80).

***Figure 8**. The two parallel tracks at Dalen prior to excavation, seen towards north. Photo: Endre Elvestad © Stavanger maritime museum.*

The excavators interpreted the site as a landing site for boats. The oldest traces from the site were a few Mesolithic finds as well as pottery sherds assumed to date from the late Bronze Age (1100-500 BC) (Reiersen and Kvæstad 2020, p. 62). Two radiocarbon dates confirm a use of the site in the late Bronze Age (Table 1). However, the radiocarbon dates clearly identified an intensified use in the Roman period. The charcoal and cremated human bones, as well as fragments of an antler comb, stem from a Roman or Migration period burial. The 460 grams of bones presumably stem from a young adult (Bratbak 2004). In western Norway, standing stones were raised mainly in the phases AD 200-550 and 900-1100 (Knutzen 2006, p. 95). Due to the context, the stones at Haraldseid might be associated with the former phase. Tveit and Elvestad (2006) interpret these stones as marking the landing site. Interestingly, county governor De Fine (1745, p. 62) mentioned two standing stones at Haraldseid, assumed to be markers of the county border. The stones may just as well have marked the landing site to the portage, and one of these stones were rediscovered by road workers in 1965 (Østrem 1996, p. 37).

The grave and establishment of a landing site in the Roman period are contemporary with the first elite burial at the Haraldseid farm, the grave with a Roman glass in a large mound. While there were no finds at the landing site from the Viking period, there were, rather surprisingly traces from the Medieval period. These were sherds from stoneware of a type used by Hanseatic merchants in the high-Medieval period (c. AD 1150-1350) solely for the transport of goods. This type of stoneware differs from finer Medieval ceramics which were traded goods and are more commonly found in rural Norway (Demuth personal communication in Reiersen and Kvæstad 2020). As the ships of the Hanseatic league probably were too large for transport across the portage, presumably only the cargo was sometimes transported over land, reducing the risk of losing the cargo in rough seas (cf. Stylegar 2006). The sherds might stem from an accident during transhipment. As Haraldseid was a royal estate and under the control of nobleman Benkestok in the 15th century, the transhipment and transport of products across the portage was probably under royal control in the Medieval period (Reiersen and Kvæstad 2020, p. 62).

***Table 1**. Radiocarbon dates from charcoal samples taken at the excavation in Dalen and surveys at Volder and Jonamyra in 2004. Conventional dates after Gulliksen et al. (2006). Recalibrated using OxCal 20 (v. 4.4.3) with 2σ. In the article, the many dates to the Roman period (and overlaps with the late pre-Roman period) are emphasised.*

Lab. ref.	Sample	Locality	Uncalibrated	Calibrated	Period
T-18043	19	Dalen	2820 ± 70 BP	1199-819 cal. BC	Late Bronze Age
T-18044	22	Dalen	2825 ± 70 BP	1201-825 cal. BC	Late Bronze Age
TUa-5589	15	Dalen	2020 ± 35 BP	106 BC-114 cal. AD	Pre-Roman/Roman period
TUa-5588	7	Dalen	1890 ± 35 BP	65-235 cal. AD	Roman period
T-18042	17	Dalen	1925 ± 80 BP	101 BC-326 cal. AD	Pre-Roman/Roman period
T-18041	1	Dalen	1745 ± 65 BP	129-432 cal. AD	Roman period
T-18047	30	Volder	1925 ± 80 BP	101 cal. BC-326 cal. AD	Pre-Roman/Roman period
TUa-5590	28	Jonamyra	6005 ± 45 BP	5026-4786 cal. BC	Mesolithic period
T-18045	25	Jonamyra	3025 ± 85 BP	1447-1016 cal. BC	Early Bronze Age
T-18046	27	Jonamyra	2310 ± 80 BP	751-167 cal. BC	Pre-Roman period

Wheel tracks at Volder?

Up the valley from the landing site there are several sunken roads, partly running parallel one another. There is also a cairn here, and previously there were several cairns along the road including the Viking period grave with a sword (Reiersen and Kvæstad 2020). As mentioned, further south there might have been both a western route towards Kallstveit and an eastern route towards Isvik, but only the western route is known archaeologically. At some point the western route went further uphill, and the next traces of roads and cairns are to the northwest of a farm named Volder. To the south-east, the place name Nuasete occurs. As we have seen, the sunken roads of this area have been associated in folklore with Haraldr Fairhair's secret passage to visit queen Nua or a Kallstveit girl. The road at Volder went across a field with ten cairns. What was first seen as two parallel roads was later verified to be only one road.

> 'One testpit was established 90 [degrees] across the two depressions. In the distinct depression there was moraine sediment of grey silt under the turf and a layer of reddish-brown sand. Between the silt and the sand there was a thin layer of gravel cut off at each side by two darker fields with the same breadth of approximately 20 cm [Fig. 9 left]. The fields were running parallel in the same direction as the track, and

the breadth between them was 120 cm. Between the track and the parallel depression, there was an earthwork consisting of reddish-brown sand containing fragments of coal. In the shallow depression there were no traces of structural elements.

Our interpretation of the track is that the original ground surface and the relatively loose sediment of sand, was removed to uncover the compact layer of grey silt. The waste material was placed close to the road forming the earthwork between the depressions. The darker areas might be wear marks from wagons, wheeled sleds or sleds. The width between the wear marks was, as already mentioned, 120 cm, approximately the same as in Danish prehistoric roads' (Tveit and Elvestad 2006, p. 81).

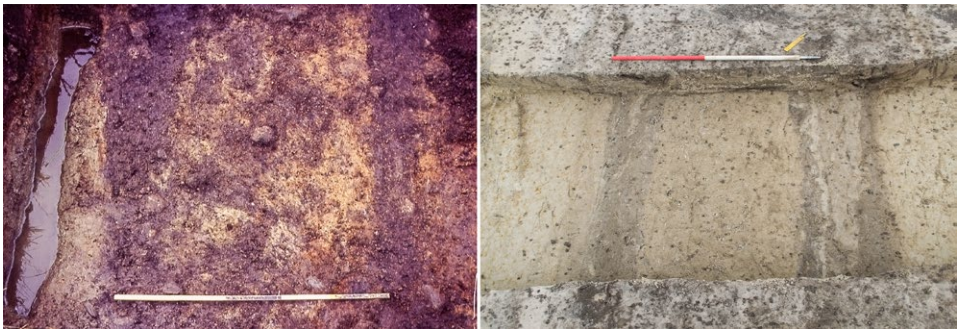

***Figure 9**. Left: Road with possible wheel tracks at Volder. Photo: Endre Elvestad © Stavanger maritime museum. Right: Similar tracks at Sømmevågen in Sola. Photo: Christopher F. Kvæstad © Arkeologisk museum, UiS.*

The charcoal sample from the tracks was dated to the early Roman period (Table 1; cf. Reiersen and Kvæstad 2020, p. 67). At the time the tracks were excavated, no prehistoric roads with wheel tracks were known from Rogaland. Today, at least one parallel is known from the locality Sømmevågen in Sola. In 2013, the site of a smithy from the 8th and 9th century was excavated (Meling 2014a). Here, a 50 metres long road was preserved, ending at the workshop (Fig. 9 right). The road with wheel tracks resembles those at Volder, indicating that vehicles with wheels – either wagons or sleds – were in use in the region prior to the Medieval period (Reiersen and Kvæstad 2020, p. 67).

A stone-paved road and box-shaped tracks at Jonamyra

In the area around Jonamyra, there are two sunken roads crossing each other, varying between U-shaped, V-shaped and square-shaped profiles. One of the roads is heading in a south-easterly direction towards the place name cluster *Draget*, *Båtavegen* and *Båtavika*. There are five small cairns in the central part of Jonamyra, as well as one larger cairn, 10 metres in diameter, furthest to the southwest (Fig 10 left).

'In this area one testpit in a deep V-shaped formation revealed a structure similar to the tracks at the first site – a dugout depression with a layer of stones in the bottom with a breadth of 1 metre. The only difference was that the bottom layer consisted of fist sized stones laid upon sandy and humified sediments. The depression was about 40–50 cm deep and was dug into sediment consisting of gravel. A survey with an earth auger gave the impression that the structure continued for at least 25 metres in each direction from the test pit.

> Another testpit was dug on a site close to the area with the portage place names. This track was a box-shaped or square depression with a breadth of approximately 1,5 metres and approximately 30 to 40 cm deep. Directly under the upper layer of turf, there was a thin flat layer of gravel and sand. But in contrast to the other structures this depression seemed to be due to wear. Not by walking or riding, but by the transport of broader objects' (Tveit and Elvestad 2006, p. 81).

***Figure 10**. Left: Trench with stone paved road at Jonamyra. Photo: Endre Elvestad © Stavanger maritime museum. Right: Stone paving radiocarbon dated to the Viking period, found underneath the present Sundevegen in Stavanger. Photo: Even Bjørdal © Arkeologisk museum, UiS.*

The radiocarbon dates from Jonamyra were rather early, including dates to the Mesolithic, the early Bronze Age and the Pre-Roman Iron Age (Table 1). The youngest date is interesting, however, as the first paved roads in Denmark occur in the Pre-Roman Iron Age, although the classical examples stem from the Roman period (Jørgensen 1988). In Sveio, the neighbouring municipality to the west, both a pre-Roman phase and a Viking period phase have been identified below a historical road known as the Royal road (Serafinska 2013). At Jonamyra, it is also possible that the pre-Roman date reflects the last activity before the road was constructed. The best regional parallel to the paved road at Jonamyra seems to be the paved road unearthed below the present-day road Sundevegen in Stavanger (Fig. 10 right). Even if the radiocarbon dates from the Sundevegen road stem from the Viking and Medieval periods, two farm complexes from the Roman and Migration periods have been excavated along the road and were presumably connected to it (Bjørdal 2019). Finally, during excavations at the portage Tiltereid in central Norway, a similar stone paved road was the foundation of a road laid with logs (Norwegian: *kavlveg*) (Heen-Pettersen and Haug 2015, p. 29). The oldest phase was dated to the early Bronze Age, with timber from the Viking period dating the latest phase.

As was stated by the excavators Tveit and Elvestad (2006), the road running south-east and having a box-shaped depression seems to have been shaped by wearing through the transport of broader objects, perhaps a horse with a sled carrying a boat towards Båtavika?

Finally, a few remarks should be made about the lack of radiocarbon dates confirming the use of the Haraldseid portage in the Viking period. As has been noted, the establishment of a richly furnished grave alongside one of the paths, indicates the importance of the portage at this time. From the mentioned analyses of other multi-phased roads, there is also reason to believe that not all phases can be identified by datable evidence. At Sundevegen, the local

context suggested that the road was in use in the early Iron Age, although only Viking and Medieval dates were recorded (Bjørdal 2019). Without the rather surprising finds of Medieval ceramics at Haraldseid, there would have been no direct evidence for the use of the road after the Roman period. By its impermanent nature, the transportation across the portage did not leave many traces after the road was established. Had the local soil conditions allowed for the preservation of unburnt wood, the picture might have been different. The log road found at Tiltereid was dated to the Viking period (Heen-Pettersen and Haug 2015). Without the preserved logs, only the Bronze Age phase would have been possible to identify there.

The documented roads across Haraldseid are presumably the surviving remnants of a larger network of paths that originally existed here. The preserved roads give the impression of different types of transport across the portage. Some roads have been dug out, and even paved, indicating a well-organised facilitation of a portage of regional significance. Other roads show traces of the transport itself, including possible traces of wheels and sleys. While the excavations at Haraldseid so far have been rather limited, it is in fact the best archaeologically examined stretch of road in the Rogaland region.

The Haraldseid portage and the rulers at Avaldsnes

Based on the archaeological features in combination with various sources, we might then try to discuss and synthesise the present knowledge about the portage across Haraldseid in the Early and Late Iron Age and in the Medieval period. The potential of using the isthmus as a portage presumably has been known by people travelling these parts already in the Mesolithic times and the Bronze Age. However, both radiocarbon dates and artefacts indicate an intensified use of the portage from the Roman period onwards.

The landing site at Dalen by Haraldseidvågen seems to have been established in the Roman period, with cultural layers, standing stones and a cremation grave from the period. The possible wheel tracks at Volder have a similar date. It does not seem to be coincidental that the inclusion of a Roman glass vessel in a large burial mound at the Haraldseid farm stems from approximately the same time. The location along the portage provided an opportunity for the people dwelling at the farm to increase their power by taking control of the traffic. The transport of boats or cargo across the portage demanded that local people facilitated the transport and allowed traffic to cross their land. The establishment of a better organised portage in the Early Iron Age coincides with the first signs of local power.

As has been stated by most researchers dealing with Haraldseid, the portage, due to its place in the communication, could not be understood separately but must be put into its regional context. The assumption made by Nordland (1950, p. 45–46) that Haraldseid was a 'back door' to Avaldsnes and Karmsund still seems the most reasonable explanatory model for understanding the regional context of Haraldseid throughout the Iron Age and Medieval period. As the most important centre of power in the region was so intimately related to the control of the traffic through the main seaway, it is likely that the portages at Haraldseid and Sandeid avoiding the Karmsund were controlled in one way or another (Table 2). These areas all had a deep history of power structures linked to topography and traffic. When actors with royal ambitions entered the scene in the Viking period, these well-established structures could be utilised.

In the Roman period, the Avaldsnes area had both the largest concentration of Roman imports in the region and the most opulent grave in Scandinavia from the period (Reiersen 2010, Stylegar and Reiersen 2017). There are indications that the Avaldsnes milieu had allies situated alongside the alternative seaways avoiding Karmsund (Elvestad 2010, Reiersen 2017). Elvestad (2005) has shown that status objects from the Early Iron Age in northern Rogaland are concentrated along the seaways, stressing the importance of controlling the traffic. We might therefore take a closer look at the distribution of Roman glass vessels in northern Rogaland, and in the bordering parts of Vestland in the north (cf. Reiersen 2017, Figure 5.6).

In southern Vestland, Roman glass vessels are found at Rosendal and Etne, both of which were major centres with good access to agricultural and outfield resources (Reiersen 2017). Glass vessels are also found at Stord and Borgundøy, minor centres situated strategically where several seaways met. Likewise, in northern Rogaland, Hebnes was a minor centre, strategically situated at the crossing of several fjords. A few glass vessels are found outside defined centres. One is found on the small island Feøy, strategically situated along the seaway going west of Karmøy, the other is found at the Haraldseid portage. Thus, the glass vessels are found at major centres, as well as at strategic places where the seaway could be controlled. It is rather likely that this pattern shows that glass vessels were given as tokens of alliances between milieus at major centres and subordinate partners situated at strategic places (Reiersen 2017, p. 99–106). In a regional context, the Avaldsnes centre is the most likely provider for the Haraldseid glass vessel, and it is plausible that this object reflects alliances with Avaldsnes.

***Table 2**. A simple comparison between activity at Avaldsnes and traces of elite presence and activity along the roads at Haraldseid in the Early and Late Iron Age and the Medieval period.*

Period	Avaldsnes	Haraldseid farm	Haraldseid portage
1-550	Elite graves Elite settlement	Large grave mound Grave with glass vessel	Roads established (stone paved, wheel traces), grave and standing stones at landing site
550-1050	Ship graves Royal manor	Equestrian grave	Rich grave with sword along road
1050-1550	Royal manor Hanseatic harbour	Royal domain managed by nobleman Benkestok	Hanseatic sherds at landing site

In the Early Iron Age, the name of the central farm most likely was uncompounded *Eið*. The genitive form of the man's name *Haraldr* then probably was added sometimes between AD 550-1050. At Haraldseid, the central features of the Viking period are the equestrian grave with stirrups found at the farm, and the grave with sword and axe situated along the portage path. Both stirrups and swords are associated with the uppermost levels of society. Similar to the status objects of the Early Iron Age, the datable weapon graves from the Late Iron Age in northern Rogaland cluster at seaways and portages (Hofseth 1988, p. 34–35). The two Viking period graves from Haraldseid might thus be put into a similar context as the Roman glass vessel, with Avaldsnes interpreted as the main agent controlling the regional traffic.

In the Merovingian period and Viking period, Avaldsnes upheld its position as a regional centre. The two oldest ship's graves in the country from the late 8th century indicate the presence of regional kings (Stylegar and Bonde 2009, Opedal 2010, Bill 2020), and from the 9th century, the sagas portray Avaldsnes as a royal manor (Mundal 2017). Opedal (2010) has suggested that the Avaldsnes kings had regional networks of allies in both the 8th and 9th centuries. In the latter period, Haraldseid has been pointed out as an important strategic site at the core of Haraldr Fairhair's kingdom (Opedal 2010, p. 197–199).

In this context, the equestrian burial with stirrups at Haraldseid seems highly relevant. Of the three preserved equestrian graves in Rogaland, one is dated to the 9th century, the two others to the early 10th century (Braathen 1989, p. 89–90, Meling 2014b, p. 113). Several researchers have associated the equestrian graves with the *lendmenn* administrators of the king, or a level below these (Skre 1998, p. 330 with references). The equestrian burial from the strategic site at Haraldseid could tentatively be linked to the establishment of alliances tying together the kingdom of king Haraldr Fairhair and his successors. The equestrian burial was put into the same mound as the older elite grave, stressing the link to the old lineage at Haraldseid. This might indicate that this was an alliance with the existing lineage, rather than a confiscation of land and a replacement of landowners. However, one cannot rule out the latter possibility. The new name of the portage might be related to the alliance with royals, or otherwise allude to contact with the kings at Avaldsnes, heirs of Haraldr Fairhair.

At some point, the portage probably was transferred more directly into royal hands, and in the Medieval period it was royal domain. Due to its' strategic importance, it seems it was eventually confiscated by the crown. At this time, people directly related to the king managed the farm. In the 15th century, the farm was managed by a member of the royal council, Trond Benkestok. The excavations at Dalen revealed sherds of Hanseatic transport ware. Again, Haraldseid's role as an alternative to Karmsund is underlined. The Hanseatic league used the harbour at Avaldsnes at least in the 14th and 15th centuries (Elvestad and Opedal 2020). Although the merchant group at times were in direct conflict with the crown, the use of the Haraldseid portage for the transport of cargo was presumably done with royal assent. While we have no direct traces of Dutch travellers using the portage in the 17th century, the maps at least confirm that this transport route was known at the time. Later, the use of the portage mainly was reduced to the local transport of boat travellers, before the millennia old practice went out of use prior to the Second World War.

Epilogue: The Haraldseid legend as collective memory

Through our work with the archaeological features at Haraldseid the last couple years, the authors' view of the local legends has changed. While at first the authors regarded the local legends merely as recent folklore, we now consider these as the final remains of old traditions having key embedded memories about ancient uses of the landscape.

Collective memory, or social memory, are shared pools of memories, knowledge and information within social groups, a process by which a 'society uses its past in giving its present form a meaning' (Byock 2004, p. 300). Collective memory can be constructed, shared, and passed on by large and small social groups. In contrast to individual belief, it is a construct of a collective notion about past ideas and events seen as a social phenomenon (Connerton 1989, Halbwachs 1992, Hutton 1993). Like all memory, they are not 'ready-made reflections of the past, but eclectic, selective reconstructions' (Lowenthal 1985, p. 210).

People tend to use the landscape and parts of it as mnemonic devices to navigate their surroundings (Wiley 2008), and spaces inscribed with meaning through past events become places. At Haraldseid, the actual use of the portage throughout the Iron Age was manifested in networks of roads guarded by burials of ancestors. Through the interpretations of these remains and the retelling of the Haraldseid legend, the narrative of powerful actors using and controlling the portage have been a part of the local understanding of the landscape for centuries.

In the end, the archaeology allows the core of the Haraldseid legend to be one of several possible interpretations. If Haraldseid was the farm of an ally of King Haraldr Fairhair, the king might well have dwelled at the farm enjoying an obligatory banquet (Norse: *veizla*). In some way or another, the farm might have been named after King Haraldr or his royal lineage. In addition, King Haraldr might well have travelled across the portage with the help of local men and women. But he was neither the first to do so, nor the last.

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Dikka Storm

The process of recording the Sámi place names at *Stuorgieddi* in the region of southern Troms, Northern Norway

Studies from a Sámi settlement on the island of Iinnasuolu *in the region of Southern Troms, Northern Norway, where a large number of traces in the outlying fields from earlier settlements are localised, were the point of departure for several studies on the past and present of the composite history of this settlement. A study of how the local Sámi place names were established locally, and on the maps will exemplify one part of these studies. The study of the recreation or reproduction of place names shows the process that extended from daily use of the Sámi place names, through the period of Norwegianization (a period lasting from the last part of the 19th century until the last part of the 20th century) and translation into Norwegian place names, until the confirmation of the Sámi place names according to the Place Names Act of 1990 and the use of them by the Norwegian Mapping Authority. Based on a discussion of the written and oral sources and looking at the settlement of* Stuorgieddi*, this article will exemplify the* Sámi *society, their economy and use of the landscape in this process in conjunction with the place names.*

Introduction

Taking as a point of departure Stuorgieddi, a Sámi settlement in Giehtavuotna, Kvæfjord community on the island of Iinnasuolu in Southern Troms, this paper will study the local Sámi place names both locally and on the maps. The representation of the names involves a process of re-creation or reproduction from daily use of the Sámi place names through the period of Norwegianization, a period lasting from the last part of the 19th century until the last part of the 20th century, and translation into Norwegian place names, until the Sámi place names were confirmed according to the Place Names Act of 1990 and the work to make the Sámi place names official on the Norwegian Mapping Authority could start. From a discussion of the written and oral sources and analysing the Sámi society at the settlement of Stuorgieddi, this article will exemplify their economy and use of the cultural and social space. Based on this process of change, it is demonstrated by the close connection between the population, their action and activities told by the place names. A broad theoretical and methodological approach has been used when studying the Sámi and Norwegianized place names during the period of two centuries, in order to understand the care and protection of the cultural, social and economic activities in the area of study during this period of Norwegianization. I have

used a processual approach to the concept of space as introduced by the social geographer Doreen Massey (1944-2016) (1994, p. 155-156, 2005, Castree 2016). This is supplemented by a contextual and structural approach inspired by the linguist and researcher of place names Kaisa Rautio Helander (2009, 2014), professor at Sámi allaskuvla. I further use a critical approach and analysis of the sources based on my earlier studies of the community and the region, from a perspective of cultural, historical and social science in regard to reindeer herding, household and gender and the Pietistic Mission to the region of Sáššá, Senja, and Viesterálás, Vesterålen, in the 18th century (Storm 2014, 2020).

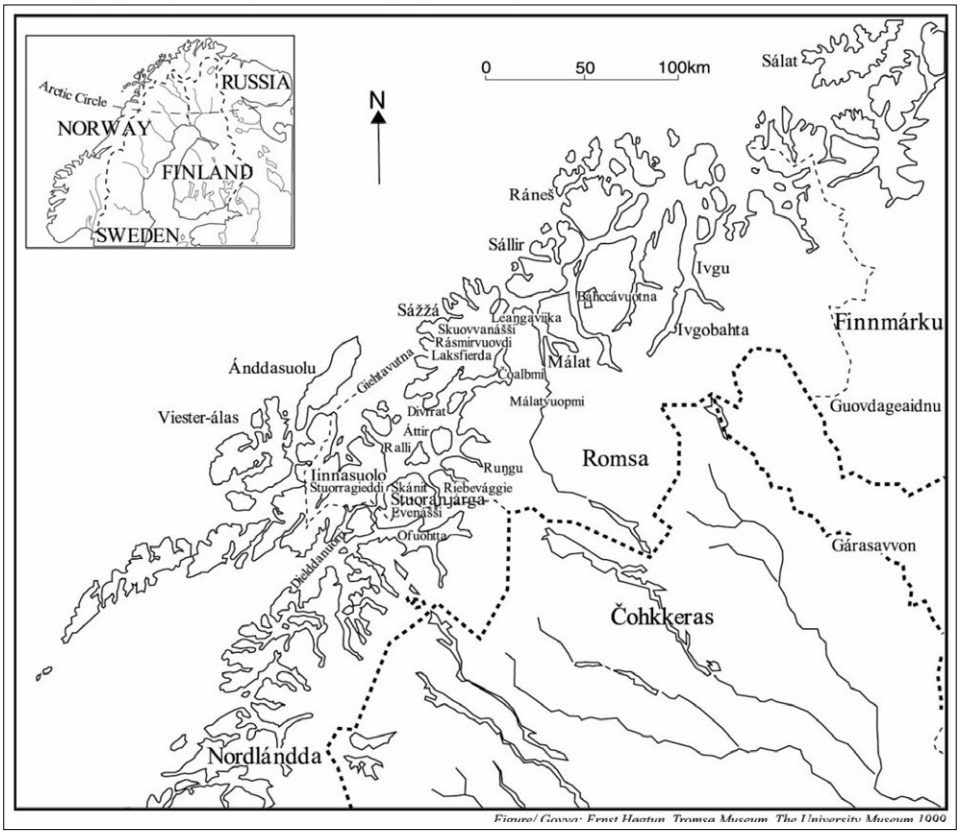


***Figure 1**. Map over the area of study in the region of the counties of Troms and Nordland in Northern Norway. Map D. Storm, Graphic E. Høgtun, Tromsø University Museum, UiT 1999.*

The population at Stuorgieddi in the community of Giehtavuotna at the island of Iinnasuolu

Giehtavuotna community is located on the eastern part of the island of Iinnasuolu, and in the county of Troms; the south and western part of the island is located in Nordland. Placing the names from the two counties together (Qvigstad 1935, p. 78-79, 81-83, 1938, p. 202-204) provides a better overall and general comprehension of areas of the island of Iinnasuolu and the area of study. The ethnic composition of the population in the community of Giehtavuotna

shows that the majority of the population in the first half of the 18th century was categorized as Norwegian, and the settlement pattern indicates that the Sámi population was located – apart from some farms in the main fjord - in the Gullesvuotna, Gullesfjorden, Austerfjorden and Guovvuotna, Godfjorden, adjacent to Giehtavuotna (Storm 2014, p. 189-192). An examination of the population growth during the 19th century does not provide an unambiguous, clear, unique picture. In the census of 1801, the population is settled at Storjord or *Stuorgiedde*; the Sámi place name is mentioned but is written neither in the land register nor on the map. By focusing on the farms of Stuorgieddi and the neighbouring farm Rássegohpi, Grashola in the community of Giehtavuotna, the ethnic composition of the population changed during the 19th century: According to the censuses the population at *Stuorgieddi* grew from 13 Sámi individuals in 1801 to 86 individuals at the two farms in 1900. The ethnic categorization of the population changed from a Sámi population in 1801 to a composite ethnic population in 1900, consisting of (56%) Sámi (15%) Mixed ('Blandet' which included Norwegian and Sámi) and (29%) Norwegian (Census 1801 Qvigstad and Wiklund 1909 p. 363; Census 1865, 1875, 1900 NHDC). In the census of 1891 (NA) an individual of Kven ethnicity was registered in addition to the Sámi and Norwegian composite population.

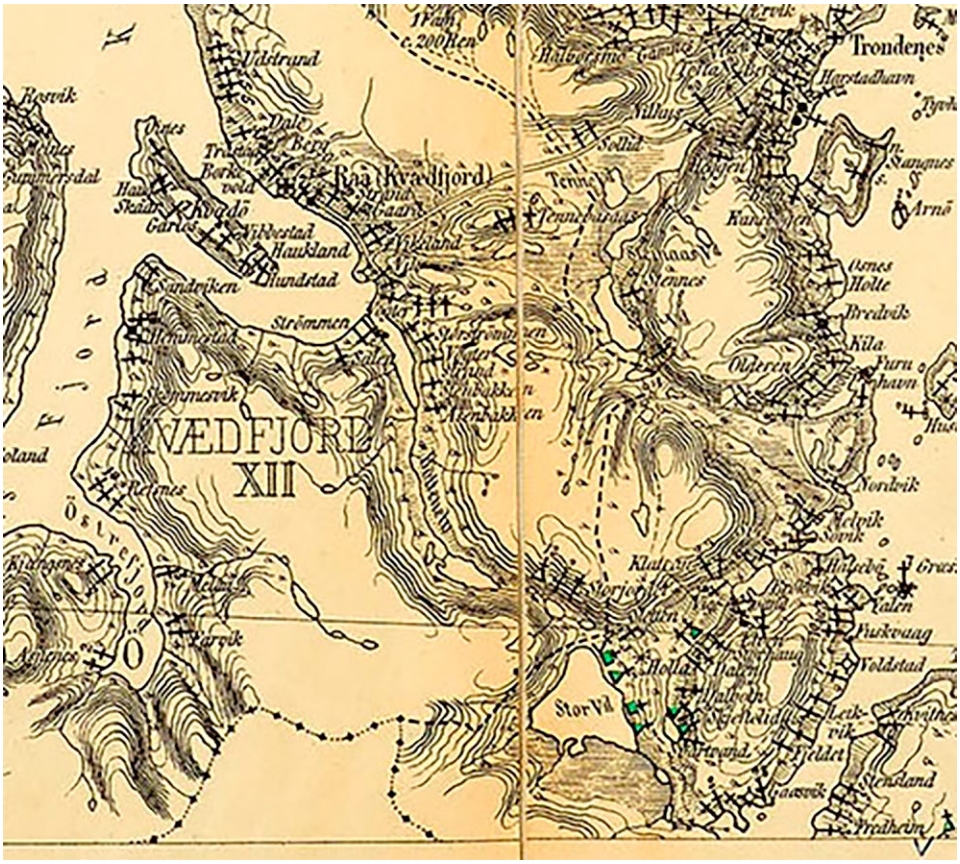


***Figure 2**. The central east part of the island of Iinnasuolo. Cut from J. A. Friis' Ethnographic Map 1890.*

By comparing the information from the censuses of 1875 and 1891 to the ethnographical map of Friis (1890), there were 15 families living at Stuorgieddi. According to the census of 1875, 12 of the families were living in turf huts (darfegoahtti*)* and at least one person spoke Norwegian, two of the families were characterized as Norwegians who lived in turf huts where at least one of the persons spoke Sámi. The settlement was located north of three lakes, cf. Fig. 2. From the start of the 19th century, reindeer herding, farming, along with fishing, were the central economic activities at Stuorgieddi (Storm 2014). During the century the combination of the economic activities changed to farming with livestock of cattle and sheep besides horses, and participation in the main fisheries at *Lufuohttá,* Lofoten and *Finnmárku,* Finnmark. Besides this, the land use of the outlying resources was an important part of the economy including the fishing in the lakes. This information was explicitly mentioned by the commission of the land register in 1819 (Forhandlingsprotokoll no 13 1 1819-1820 folio 111 Senjen og Troms tinglaug, Senjen and Troms Fogdregnskap).

During the 19th century the organization of the reindeer herding underwent a change from the family groups with reindeer herding in combination with farming, fishery and land use of the outlying resources. In the last part of the century, a stationary group was located to Kongsvik in the county of Nordland at the eastern part of the island of Iinnasuolu along the sound of *Dielddanuorri*, Tjeldsundet, with their reindeer district located at the north-eastern part of the island. Until the first decades of the 20th century, the area of Stuorgieddi was the passage, or trail, of the nomadic group from the mainland and to the reindeer areas on the western part of the island of Iinnasuolu and to the districts in Viesterálás. The descendants who took part of these nomadic movements have initiated their own studies (Inga and Øivand 2001).

Beginning in the early 18th century, the Norwegian State, by way of the Pietistic Mission and establishment of universal schooling for all under the administration of the church, began to show interest in the language people were speaking, namely Norwegian, meaning Danish or Sámi or Kven (Storm 2020, p. 175). Since then, different attitudes emerged towards the practice of Sámi language (Dahl 1955, p. 410). The changing attitude in the policy towards using the Sámi language had various repercussions within the respective settlements.

However, in the region of southern Troms, the Sámi, Norwegian and Kven languages were used respectively of the groups of the population in their different social groups side by side until the last part of the 19th century. The process of the Norwegianizing put an end to the development of use and practice of the languages in the schools. It was complicated by regulations, instructions, and orders to equally use of the official language. Use of Sámi language in the areas of transition [overgangsdistrikter] within the diocese of Troms was regulated from 1862, concerning Sámi language, and from 1870, the Kven language (Zachariassen and Ryymin 2021, p. 161, 163-164). In the region of southern Troms, there were five school districts within the community of *Runášši*, Trondenes. The area of study at Stuorgieddi in the neighbouring community of Giehtavuotna at the island of Iinnasuolu, was defined outside this district.

From 1880, and by way of the School Act of 1889 and according to the prescriptions of 1898, the Norwegian language was the official language in the school, and the Sámi language was to be used as a teaching language or as a discipline at school. Because these instructions entered into force according to the school-related statutes beginning in the 1860s and forward, and

the Sámi language was not to be used, this entailed a threat to the use of Sámi place names as well, and the place names gradually went out of more general use. The decision to use names that were associated with specific actions or activities became an internal matter of discretion in each settlement and to each user on an individual level. From the census of 1900 (NHDC), the change when the daily use of Sámi language at *Stuorgieddi* shifted to Norwegian seems like a process which started around the turn of the century and went on in the beginning of the 20th century. Anders Larsen (1870-1949) (1933, p. 59) a Sámi teacher at the school in the neighbouring settlement *Vuovdesiida,* Sørvikmark, on the island of Iinnasuolu, comments that the Norwegianization took place at Stuorgieddi during the 1920-1930s which he explained by interethnic marriages.

Figure 3*. The settlement of Stuorgiedde. Photo D. Storm, The Arctic University Museum of Norway.*

The place names – theoretical and methodological approach

Norwegian, Kven/Finnish and Sámi place names are encompassed by the Act of Place Names of 1990 (Lov om stadnamn 18 May No. 11, 1990), In the second section of the Act, the definition of the name of place and property is given: 'The place name signifies in this law, name of a geographical point, lines, and areas, which can be mapped. The name of the property (bruksnamn) means, in this law, the name of the land number or the farm registration number' (author's translation). The meaning of a place name is summed up by Ole Henrik Magga (1991, p. 5), professor emeritus at Sámi allaskuvla, as connected to a

small or large place that can be marked at the map and thereby show where the place is. The place can be small or big and in whatever form, and he adds that the place name is part of the language.

According to the Sámi researcher Johan A. Kalstad (1946-2008) (1994, 1997) information about traditional Sámi life is based on oral tradition and exists in different forms: the Sámi language is a cultural carrier orally as well as in print, and physical objects or remnants exist in the land-use areas of settlements, forests, and mountains on land or at sea. The written sources originate from within the societies who held power in Northern Norway, and they present information from their perspectives on issues related to demography, economy, and religion. Sámi place names is besides the cultural heritage of monuments and archaeological sites representations which are central sources in the reconstruction of the past.

When the life of humans and their language are so closely interrelated and expressed in a place name, as a source, the name can be of great importance to understanding the history of the settlement and the language. The place names are the oldest sources to Sámi and Norwegian language according to the linguist, professor emerita Tove Bull (1986, p. 57). And the linguist Aud-Kirsti Pedersen (1991, p. 95) adds that not only the old place names, but all place names give some information. From a perspective of language history Just Qvigstad (1853-1957) (1938, p. 255-273, Hansen 1992), the Sámi and Finnish linguist, folklorist, and former rector at the Teachers College in Tromsø, stated that he looked at place names and their form of differences by way of languages in close relation to history of the settlement and loans between the languages by contact between the groups of population. The place names can be presented from a structural perspective.

Helander has analysed how the process of Norwegianization of Sámi place names had an impact on the construction and shaping of the maps in the latter half of the 19th century within the Union period of Norway and Sweden (1814-1905) and until the first half of the 20th century. In her Doctoral thesis from 2008, *Namat dan nammii. Sámi báikenamaid dáruiduhttin Várjjaga guovllus Norgga uniovdnaáiggi loahpas* [In the name of names. The Norwegianisation of the Sámi place names in the *Várjjat* area at the end of the unification period of Norway], Helander points out that the maps were constructed as a basis for understanding the emergent strategy of space of the national state. By way of presenting the sources, the researchers and representatives of the state, participants of the process, she analysed the consequences it gave within certain Sámi communities. Using this processual approach, the place names can be studied as part of a process through the descriptions of the places. The approach of the geographer Allan Pred (1936-2007) (1986) illustrated by the phrase 'the becoming of places', can be seen as an expression of the different understanding or comprehension or sense of a place.

In this way, it challenges the way we approach or conceptualize a 'place', an 'area' or a 'region', as it moves through fundamental processes of social and cultural change. In her article *Global Sense of Place*, Doreen Massey (1944-2016) (1994, p. 155-156) discusses a spatial approach as a process. In her work, she focuses on an investigation based on contemporary data; however, I have used it to discuss historical processes. Her approach also aims at making the concept of 'place' operational for social research by pointing out that several processes may be in progress at the same time, representing a kind of joint action or social interaction. Furthermore, the conceptualization of place does not necessarily imply that various areas have to be delimited

by fixed borders. She also points out that a place does not have a single, unique identity, but she regards it as a mixture and full of internal conflicts. Nevertheless, she does not deny the uniqueness of one place. Peculiar aspects will be renewed continually, but this peculiarity does not necessarily result from a long internal history. As summed up by the geographer Britt Dale (2006, p. 161), the uniqueness of a place should be conceived as resulting from a long series of causes. She has pointed out that Massey's hypothesis of the development of a specific local community cannot be explained as a set of individual mechanisms. Instead, there is a need to look at the development from the opposite angle - influenced by a long range of political, cultural, and economic processes operating on different geographical levels.

Through a comprehensive discussion in her book *For space* (2005), Massey has further developed the approach to the concept of space as a process, by underlining the multiplicity which, in her opinion, characterizes it. Firstly, space should be recognized as a product of interrelations as constituted through interactions. Secondly, she proposes that we should understand space as a sphere of possibility based on contemporary plurality - as a sphere in which distinct trajectories coexist and which, therefore, is characterized by a coexisting heterogeneity. As such, space should be regarded as a product of interrelations and an assertion of the existence of plurality. Multiplicity and space are recognized as co-constitutive, a reciprocal arrangement that is summed up in the following way: without space, no multiplicity - without multiplicity, no space. Her third proposition is that we should recognize space as always under construction. If we read 'place' as a product of 'relations-between', which are necessarily constituted by embedded material practices that have to be carried out, it follows that it will always be in a process of being made. Thus, she claims that space is never finished and never closed, something that permits us to imagine space as simultaneity of 'stories-so-far' (Massey 2005, p. 9). Massey concludes that in such an intertwined space, there will always be possible connections or linkages which may be contrasted, and which will flourish through mutual influence, i.e., relations that will, or will not, be carried out. In her conception of space as a fluid, open plurality, Massey also underlines that space has to be 'multiplicity …' - a manifold of loose ends and lacking links. For the future to be open, space also has to be open, maintains Massey (2005, p. 11-12).

The knowledge of the Sámi monuments and material heritage was concealed in the society of Stuorgieddi. The study and documentation of mounds and archaeological sites have contributed to making them visible and be a part of the complex history of the area. Each localisation led to studies of each specific place and opened up for different stories about the population, their economy of life and cultural and religious activities.

The method of Helander (2015 p. 55-64) is to localize the place names in relation to each other to state the names in a contextual and spatial sense or comprehension. The placename can be regarded from different perspectives, from the form of the terrain or ground, the use and the location of the giver or contributor. The name in a name group derived from one main name to which several others were related. From the perspective of the hunting society, Helander has looked at localisation of settlement and land use in resource areas related to the systems of the *Siida* and the earlier *Sea-Sámi* hunting, fishing, and reindeer population.

This study from the region of southern Troms demonstrates that the strategy was related to power, control and rights or privileges. The need to name a specific place or area may have occurred since the earliest times. For purposes of taxation, military, and political conditions in

the late Medieval ages, according to the geographer J. B. Harley (1988, p. 281-282), a mapping took place, which preferred the social elites as the basis for localisation and record of farms in the land register to an emerging cartographical series. The action of the individuals and their resource areas were covered up, in the same way in the rural areas all over Europe. In the development of the use of place names for the two last centuries, it seems that the authorities needed to have names in a Norwegian version as the recording of the farm 'Storjord' in the land register in 1796. The Norwegian place names were to provide the Map authorities and the state a means by which to identify the areas as part of Norway, and as a stage in the building of the nation. This approach concealed the oral use by the local population, which was the main aim to display the place name which was underlined by Knut Bergsland (1914-1998) (1991a, p. 18-21) professor in Finno-Ugric languages.

Sources - Sámi place names on maps

To study Sámi and Norwegian place names of the area of southern Troms comprises and includes archival material, cadastral registers, accounts, reports and statement besides other literature and local studies, mainly in Norwegian language. One central source is the work of the aforementioned linguist, folklorist, and former rector Just Qvigstad. His interest of Sámi place names can be traced to early studies of settlement in the county of Troms and continuously through his career and manifold other studies. Amongst others he had his personal notes of Sámi place names in connection to the land register or cadastre of 1891, his works in connection to the *Commission of Reindeer Grazing Land of 1907* (Renbeitekommissionen af 1907) (Qvigstad and Wiklund 1909, Storm 2009, 2010 p. 45), and the summing up of this lifelong commitment in two publications of the Sámi Place names in the counties of Nordland, Troms and Finnmark (Qvigstad 1935, 1938).

In the period of the turn of the 20th century there was no systematic presentation of Sámi place names on the maps. But the Sámi place names were collected and systematically treated. From a wide circle of personal contacts through his work at that time, Qvigstad collected information, carried out and made descriptions and translations of recorded place names and localisations. Besides, he made general comments about the functions of Sámi place names and their meanings and what they express or state. One of his informers was Anders Huuva (1867-1961), a reindeer owner settled in Kongsvika at the island of *Iinnasuolu* (Qvigstad 2004). The names Anders Huuva gave, represent besides the topography of the area of study, a close connection to the practice of the work of a reindeer herder (Qvigstad 1935, p. 78-79, 81-83).

In relation to the focus on loanwords from Norse to Sámi which Qvigstad (1893) conveyed in his thesis, led to an in depth, discussion the next decades of the Sámi presence within the Norwegian society. Konrad Nielsen (1875-1953) (Larsen 2009), the professor in Finno-Ugric languages, participated in the discussion by elaborating the plural of the Sámi names on islands (Nielsen [1913] 1945). He analysed the plural form of names of islands in the county of Troms which could have roots or derivation from Finnish, Sámi, or Norse. Another observer to the discourse was Anders Larsen, the aforementioned Sámi teacher in the neighbouring settlement Vuovdesiida. Larsen (1931,1933) expressed his critical opinions about loanwords and the lack of Sámi names and presented some Sámi words and place names which at that time was in use at Stuorgieddi. He elaborated the nearness between the humans and the language. In his presentation of Stuorgieddi he used as a starting point the place names to

relate about the life and work at the place. In the area different layers of traces coexist. From a natural historical and folkloristic perspective, the work of the ethnobotanist professor Torbjørn Alm (1983ab, 1984, 1985) filled in with his different studies of the collection of names of plants, animals, and Sámi and Norwegian place names with the presentation in the adjacent to the area of study in Vuovdesiida, at Stuorgieddi and *Mieluk*, Melåa. Alm (1983ab, 1984) compared his collection of Norwegianized names from the settlement of Vuovdesiida, Stuorgieddi and Mieluk to the names recorded by Qvigstad and Larsen and elaborated on the characteristics or distinctive qualities of the natural environment and the representation of land use in these areas.

Parallel to the studies of the cultural mounds and traces at the area of Stuorgieddi and protected by the Sámi cultural heritage, Leif Skoglund, the local teacher, collected and recorded Sámi place names within the area of study within the communities of Giehtavuotna and *Hárstták,* Harstad. The place names originated in local knowledge from some chosen informants, archival material, and literature (Skoglund 1994; Qvigstad 1935). By way of assembling the names Skoglund questioned the informants about their life and work. Besides studies of written sources and literature, the collected material was filled in with information by surveys with other persons who owned or used the areas. His observation was that it was a living tradition in connection to the use of Sámi place names in the area. His emphasis on the subject started a consciousness in the community which resulted in these names being incorporated in the presentation of Norgeskart (the Map of Norway).

The context of maps connected to the area of study

How was the area of southern Troms visualized on the maps? The development of maps took place and was in progress parallel to the topographical-statistical work and under the direction of The Ordnance Survey (Norges Geografiske oppmåling) in close association with The General staff (Mook 1998, p. 11, Lie and Roll-Hansen 2001, p. 16-17). Beginning in the 18th century and up until 1948, the Norwegian mapping authorities, or Map service, fell under the Ministry of Defence. Beginning in 1884, the civilian sector of the Norwegian Geographical Commission was an advisory or consultative government agency for the Ministry of Defence. This connection was continued until 1948, when the agency was transferred to the Ministry of Transport and Communication and transferred again in 1972 to the Ministry of the Environment and then again in 2014, as a newly created governmental agency connected to the Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation (Harrson and Aanrud 2016, p. 535-547). The maps were until after the Second World War in this area representing the State of Norway, and the complex story of the ethnic composite population of the area was not reflected on the maps. Within the area of study, the Sámi place names were not presented.

The maps of the county of Troms were made already from 1874 in the scale of 1:200,000 and from 1886 in the scale of 1:400,000 edited by the Ordnance Survey. The first quadrangle maps of 'Kvæfjord' (L8), 'Harstad' (M8) and 'Lødingen' (L9) in the scale of 1:100,000 were measured in the first decade of the 20th century and edited in 1914 and later revised in the 1940-50s. These maps were made before the guidelines 1928-1929 for the development of the maps in Finnmark. Sámi place names on these maps were not in within the area of study, only along the mountain ridge in the inner parts of southern Troms.

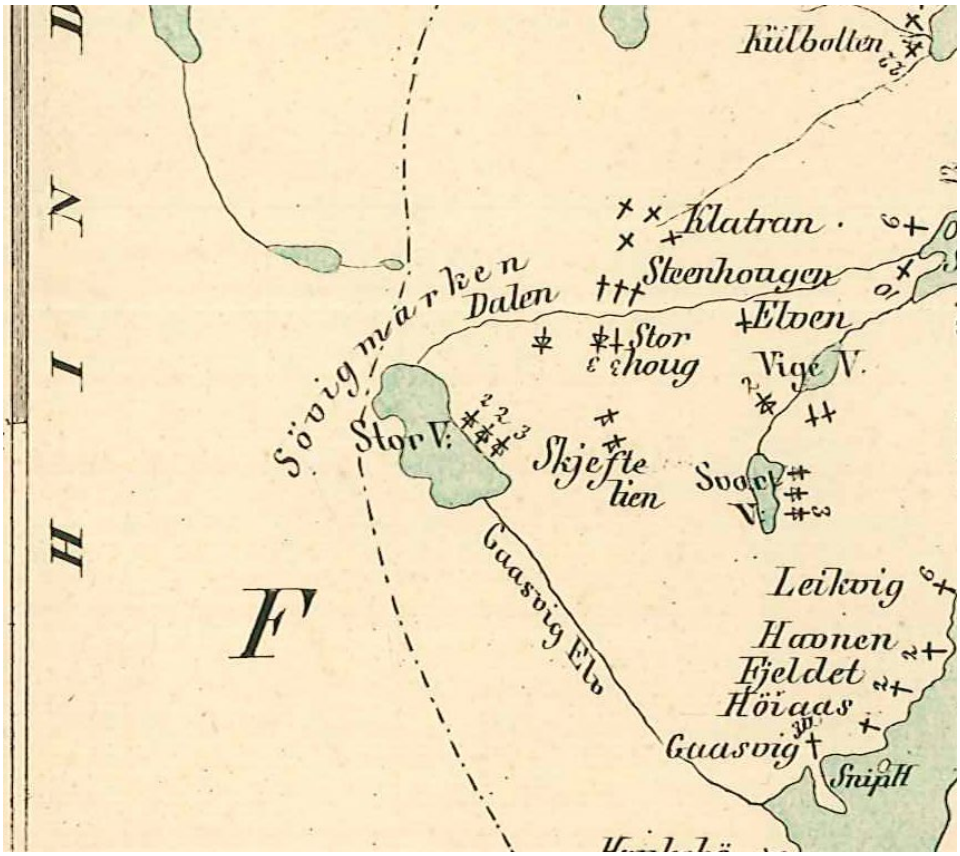


***Figure 4**. The east part of the island of Iinnasuolo. The settlement of Stuorgieddi west of the settlement in 'Søvigmarken' is not marked on the map. Cut from J. A. Friis' Ethnographic Map 1861.*

The ethnographical maps developed by Friis (1861, 1890) recorded the ethnic composition and the complex language situation in 1861 and 1890. The maps were published by way of grants by the Storting – The Norwegian Parliament (Helander 2008, p. 88), and it was stated that the maps were of scientific and administrative value in terms of information about the settlement and language situation and were useful in conflicts of nations and the school situation. The maps of the study area had no Sámi place names, with the exception, of the name of Hinnö island – "*Ina-suolu*", *Iinnasuolu*. On the map of 1861 (Friis) the neighbouring settlement Vuovdesiida was mapped but not the community of Giehtavuotna and the settlement of Stuorgieddi. Stuorgieddi was first mapped in detail in 1890 (Friis 1890) as discussed earlier.

In the first half of the 19th century Sámi, Kven and Norwegian names were used by the population. To ensure a correct presentation of the names, consultants were hired attend to a standardized orthography. From the second half of the century J. A. Friis (1821-1896), professor in Sámi and Kven languages at the University in Oslo, was engaged as a consultant (Nielsen 1929, Harrson and Aanrud 2016, p. 542). After the death of Friis, Qvigstad was appointed and served for two decades, subsequently followed by Konrad Nielsen (Bergsland

1991, p. 19, Helander 2008, p. 89). In spite of the enormous engagement Qvigstad had in collecting the Sámi place names, this was not reflected on the maps in southern Troms. Today the language consultants are engaged, among other things, in an institutional collaboration of the Norwegian Mapping Authority and the *Sámediggi*, the Sámi Parliament.

The Process of Norwegianization of Sámi place names on the maps

As Helander (2008, 2009) has pointed out, and elaborated further, the maps were constructed on the basis of the National State's emergent strategy of space during the 19th century and the beginning of the 1900s. By way of presenting the sources, the researchers and the representatives of the State, participants in the process, Helander analysed the consequences the strategy entailed for the area of *Várjjat,* Varanger, in certain Sámi communities. The Sámi place names were recorded on the maps from the 19th century and onwards. The researcher Thor Frette (1918-1987) and Bergsland have elaborated from a historical perspective until the Second World War, on the use of Sámi place names on the official maps. They pointed out the close connection between the naming of Sámi place names and the official attitude of the practice of the Sámi language (Frette 1983, p. 43-47; Bergsland 1991a, p. 18-21, Helander 2008 p. 307). They gave an overview of the rules that hindered, obstructed, interfered and prevented the mapping of the Sámi names.

Concerning the areas outside Finnmark, as the area of study in southern Troms, it can be questioned whether these areas were assumed to be Sámi areas. By studying the structural terms of the practice of Sámi place names that have influenced the process of naming during the period after 1945, and the resulting assessment of the guidelines protected by the Ministry of Defence in a letter of communication of 13 September 1928 and 18 March 1929 illustrates the process:

> *'… The Ministry (of Defence) determines hereby for the future the following regulations, in regard to the use of Lappish names [Lappish was the earlier term usedof the Sámi.] on the maps in Northern Norway':*
>
> In four subsections, it is stated:
>
> 1. 'The practice of the population at the place is to use only the Lappish name…'
> 2. 'When the practice of the population at the place is both in Lappish and Norwegian only the Norwegian name as a rule, will be stated and referred to. If the Lappish name in question is especially good to characterize the part of nature in question, the latter shall also be used, if space allows for it.'
> 3. 'Lappish names can be translated in full when they result in a suitable or appropriate name in Norwegian and the translation precludes any doubt about how the original name sounds. If the phonetic translation is essentially or substantially different from the original; the Lappish name can be included on the map next to the translation of the name.'
> 4. ' 'Norwegianized' forms of names, where the whole name is adapted to Norwegian pronunciation is admitted to a great extent, in respect to and as far as it goes, and such forms of names actually are in common use…' (translated by author) (NOU 1983: 6, p. 45).

It is a detailed description to how the work of consultants and the Map Service should handle each name. Under the first point there were specific instructions concerning translation to Norwegian of common nouns according to an enclosed list and further about names containing Sámi characters. The guidelines have consequences to how the names were treated. In the area of southern Troms this process must have been going on since the start of the 19th century or even before. The assessment of guidelines and the reasons for them, it is worth a closer study.

From the outset, the Sámi place names were to be used. But as it appears in the text of the administrative arrangements, which at that time was enforced by the Ministry of Defence, one did not condescend to map the Sámi forms of language (NOU 1983: 6, p. 45). The text of the instructions or guidelines gave an intricate introduction describing to how they were to be represented. If both the Sámi and Norwegian name was to be used, the Norwegian was as a rule the name to be put on the map. If the Sámi name characterized the part of the terrain, the Sámi name was to be included and mapped if space allowed. The Sámi names could be translated, when the Norwegian translation excluded any doubt about how the original name sounded. If the sound of the translated name differed significantly or substantially from the original, the Sámi name could be put on the map beside the translated one. The last subsection concerned the "Norwegianized" forms of names which often were applied. These names were adapted to Norwegian pronunciation and were used to the greatest extent, as far as such forms of names were in general use.

In the case of the place names, according to the mapping guidelines, the criteria relating to the user, the areas in which the place names were to be used and the language to be used were to be considered to determine the choice of place name. As it was articulated in the regulations of 1928/1929 mentioned above, this assumed knowledge of the two or three languages of the populations, referred to subsection 2, and the implications in the subsections 2, 3, and 4. The prescriptions was in use in the case of Finnmark. In the region of Southern Troms, the attitude may have contributed strongly to only a few or no Sámi names being mapped - even a century earlier than in Finnmark.

One example from the work of the land register in Finnmark which went on around the turn of the century 1900 can serve to reveal this process within the community of Giehtavuotna (Helander 2009, p. 260-262). The following is the explanation of Norwegianizing and distortion of the Sámi place names in Finnmark that Qvigstad wrote in a letter dated 30 March 1922 to Magnus Olsen (1878-1963), professor in Norse, religious history, runology, and place names (Rindal 2009):

> *'Those who came from the south, pronounce naturally the names in their dialect from their place of origin. A lot of the names in the land register are only mentioned in the book. In the process of setting the debts of a place, it was given a Norwegian name to the place, that the population in the areas of Sámi or Kven language have been forgotten by the owners and never were in use. This was applied especially to the land, which was not settled, parcels, and lots, but also settled places. They are named after the owner and the word "farm" [gård] or "place" [plads]. There are also new settled areas, places, or farms, that are not named in the land register, but they are attributed to older numbers and names, despite that in everyday speech and on the map, they have their own name'* (Qvigstad in a letter 30 March 1922 to Magnus Olsen).

As it is earlier proved the land registers during the 19th century in the district of the bailiwick of Senja and Troms were in the Norwegian language. The Sámi place names, the use of the local names in everyday speech, were not mapped in the areas of the coastal areas of southern Troms.

On the island of Iinnasuolu - Place names and Stuorgieddi

On the isthmus between Giehtavuotna and Dielddanuorri, the place name of *Stuorgieddi* – meaning 'small hills with a great meadow or pasture or grazing area' - is used to describe or characterize the place. In Giehtavuotna, the name *Storjorden* was recorded in 1796 when clearing the area for settlement (Qvigstad and Wiklund 1909, p. 363). Simultaneously, the name *Strømseidet* was recorded in the census of 1801, to locate the place in connection to or belonging to the farm *Strávvi* [Straumen] in Giehtavuotna (Qvigstad and Wiklund 1909, p. 363). The area of Stuorgieddi was a meeting place reflecting the interests and activities of various population groups and economic life. The economy of the population located there in 1801, was a composition or consolidation of farming, fishing in the lakes and rivers besides fishery, reindeer herding, hunting and use of outlying resources (Storm 2015, p. 222-224). How did the place names reflect the land use of the different population groups and their interests? *Stuorgieddi* is a well-known name that is used in several places in Northern Norway (Troms and Nordland) as in *Málátvuopmi,* Målselv, in the inner part of the county, or *Divtasvuodna*, Tysfjord, in the county of Nordland.

It seems that everyday use of the Sámi language at Stuorgieddi was discontinued during the first part of the 20th century. But the use of the Sámi place names did not disappear in the same way. The knowledge of and use of the Sámi place names has been continued by the people in the area. At the end of the 1980s and start of the 1990s, when the reorganization and revamping of the Map service was intensified and the Place Names Act of 1990 [Lov om Stadnamn] came into force, many names were changed. In the local community and environments, the revisions and changes revived a local wish to register and record the known names, both Sámi and the Norwegianized names, and a wish to get the name placed on the maps and create a conformity between the understanding of the names at the various places and what was printed on the maps. The recording was started simultaneously both within the Norwegian Mapping Authority and locally.

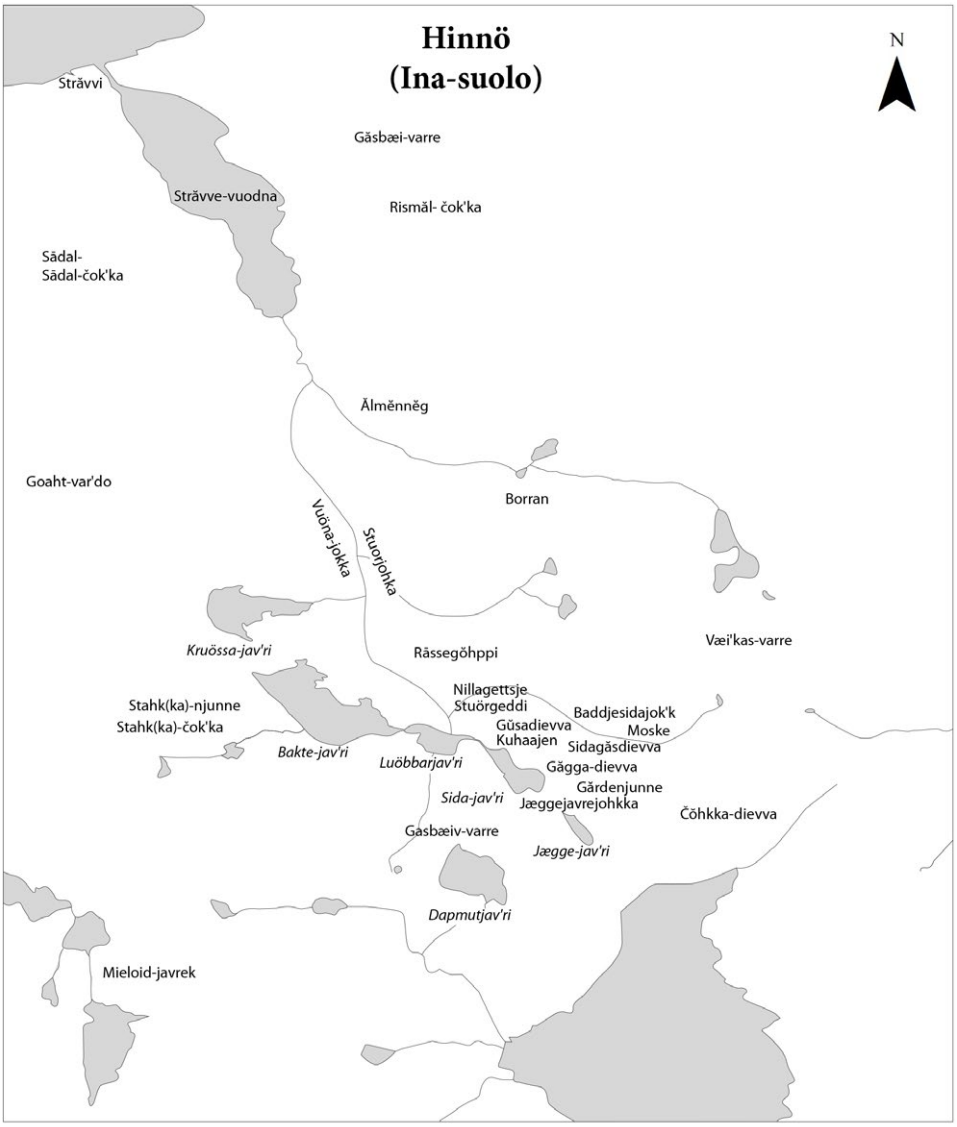
On the other hand, when using the personal notes of Qvigstad from the land register of 1891, a Sámi universe appears. It is a picture comprising the local activities and including information about the natural surroundings: the lakes, rivers, farms, outlying fields, mountain, and resource areas. With the addition of the names from the publications of Qvigstad (1935, 1938) and Larsen (1933) a new universe opens, showing the daily life at the places where the population of Stuorgieddi lived and worked. The names express information about localisation of the settlement, the distribution of farms, the fields, rivers, the outlying fields, and the surrounding areas. The names collected by Alm (1983, 1984) fill in the picture with focus on the flora and fauna, besides the topographic explanations. The Sámi, Norwegian and Norwegianized names collected by Skoglund (1994) take into account all these sources. The result is a unique demonstration of the process of continuity of cultural tradition in connection to the settlement and environment with its economy and land. This area with all its cultural traces and mounds in combination with the collection of place names, Sámi and Norwegianized, opens up for archaeological studies of this area with all its evidence regarding

the society of farming in combination to herding of cattle, fishing, hunting, land use of the outlying areas and reindeer herding. The area has been in focus by quaternary studies which shows the richness in lime or calcareous ground (Berggrunnskart Harstad M8 and Ofoten M9 Scale 1: 100 000, NGU 2010 - Accessed 23 March 2010). To underline the importance of the area, studies of the vegetation point out that this area with the cultural heritage and mounds was of great value (Bråthen, Alm and Vange 1996).

***Figure 5**. The place names at Storjord in 1944. From the Map Tjeldsund 1332 IV, NGO 1944, AMS 1952 1:50,000.*

This mental map can be compared to the section of the map from 1944 where all the names were in Norwegian and articulate processes of change and regulations. The mental map for the Sámi population at Stuorgieddi around 1900 was not mapped. Sámi place names were not cited and the Norwegian names on the map are brief, insignificant, or incorrect translations of the Sámi names. In what way do they give meaning to the population today? As they are presented on the maps, they signify some of the earlier situation for the users today.

The names convey narratives about persons and their actions and deeds connected to the reindeer herding in the area and about the topography of the mountains and valleys (Qvigstad 1938, p. 202-204). They tell about former reindeer owners and their activities located at the place of Stuorgieddi or the surrounding mountain areas. *Hudega-rep'pe, Baw'to-gied'de, Dævsko-jokka,* 'a cosy spot to keep warm', 'a place to have a fence to lead the herd or for working with the reindeer herd', and a river named after *Dævsko* - a female reindeer owner.



Kart: Dikka Storm 2001 Grafikk: Ernst Høgtun

Figure 6. *Sámi place names at the island of Innasuolu, in the area of study in the communities of Kvæfjord and Harstad, according to the notes in the land register of 1891 collected by Just Qvigstad during the last period of 19th and beginning of 20th century. Sketch of the area by D. Storm, Graphic E. Høgtun and I. Olsborg Figenschau, The Arctic University Museum of Norway.*

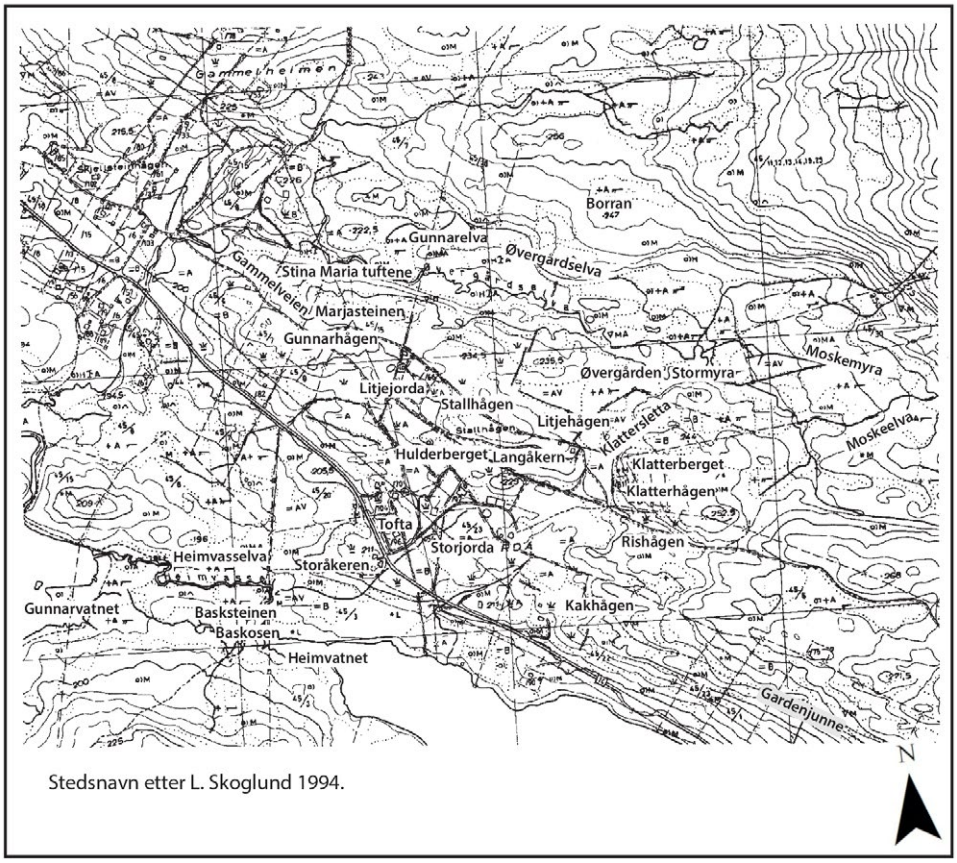


***Figure 7**. The place names in the area of study collected by L. Skoglund 1994. From the Map EK 248-5-2 Storjorda, Kvæfjord, Troms County, Scale 1: 5000. Map D. Storm, Graphic E. Høgtun and I. Olsborg Figenschau, The Arctic University Museum of Norway.*

Alm (1983ab, 1984) compared the collection of Norwegianized names from the settlement of Vuovdesiida, Stuorgieddi and *Mieluk*, Sørvikmark, Storjord, and Melå, to the names recorded by Qvigstad and Larsen which tell about characteristics or distinctive qualities of the natural environment. These include the form of a ridge *Borran,* 'ås', a mound *Kjoffan* ['haug'], a hill Čoaffi (Skoglund 1994, p. 26, Qvigstad 1935, p. 82, 2004, p. 32) a heap or hill in a Norwegianized expression, or *Geadgeláhku*/*Geargeláhku,* a stony plain or mountain plateau (Qvigstad 1935, p. 81, Alm 1984, p. 481, Skoglund 1994, p. 25). The names also show the life of fishing trout in the lake - *Dápmutjávri* or in Norwegianized form *Dagborvatnet*, which in the local form was named *Dattnborrvannet* (Qvigstad 1935, 82, Skoglund 1994, p. 24). An example of the areas of birds is a dry and stony knoll with cock of the woods Čukčá, in Norwegianized form *Tjutjaskallen* or *Tuttaskallen* (Alm 1984, p. 490). Today the name last mentioned is named on the map as *Tjuljaskallen* [ridge in Harstad - Hárstak] (The Map of Norway, Stedsnummer 481695).

To get knowledge about the cultural heritage and archaeological sites besides the names of the valleys and mountain areas, one approach is to participate in the work and speak with the users of the areas. With the approach of Massey (2005) in this process the localisation and descriptions tie up the stories in connection to each place. Based on lifelong use, the local people have an intimate knowledge about the seasonal cycle of the different economic activities throughout the year. This applies to reindeer herding, hunting, fishing, hay, firewood, egg gathering etc. The tasks are executed alone or together with family, parents or children, and with neighbours. The tasks are remembered both as hard work and joyful events. Through practice, one also keeps oral memories and other narratives or stories about other events or daily occurrences connected to chosen places and the area.

The reindeer owners have an intimate knowledge of the areas through their work with the herd throughout the annual cycle. There are working areas to mark, slaughtering, dividing, grazing areas and so on, which also include the perspective of the different weather conditions during the year. The autumn 1999 the reindeer owner Oskar Henriksen (1933-2000), located at Kongsvik, Leif Skoglund from Stuorgieddi and I were together examining the area of the valley of Kongsvikdalen, a part of the reindeer grazing district 23 Kongsvikdalen on the east part of the island of Iinnasuolu, where Henriksen had his grazing land. The encounter illustrated their different experiences, from their respective localisation, homestead and work, duties, and tasks belonging to localilities. During the conversation they recognized the intimate knowledge they both had about the mountain areas between Kongsvikdalen and Stuorgieddi. Oskar Henriksen, after a lifelong practice as a reindeer owner and herder, and land user, had experience in connection with husbandry, fishing, hunting of small game, berry picking, etc. Leif Skoglund had corresponding knowledge and experience, having grown up at Stuorgieddi and having participated in different activities such as fishing, hunting small game, picking berries and tasks in connection with husbandry, fishing, hunting, haymaking, etc.

The Sámi place names give information about orientation, description of formations localisation, activities and use of resources, places and or occurrences connected to the use of the individual or of groups from earlier use and to present. Some names are forgotten, and new names are coined. This will depend on whether the names are in use by the individual or groups belonging to the area, but it may also depend on the processes of ideology and power as the geographer Nigel Thrift (1983 p. 44-46) points out. Concealing, suppressing, or hiding and covering up, may occur in connection with local or external factors or elements. The more continuity in the population, the easier the names will be kept alive. Some places can have several names from different viewpoints or use over time. They can be forgotten, replaced, because the names or places have changed in function or have been in disuse. The discontinuation can be conscious or unconscious. During the process of Norwegianization, the system of prohibition of the Sámi language in school may have been a strong influence. Changed use reflected in the mentions or comments, about the areas may document a change of methods of farming. The process of the shift of language in the first part of the 20th century can contribute to changes.

It may be difficult to maintain and value the knowledge of resource use when the names were not transferred or handed down actively. Still, by elaborating the sources in this complex situation, one realizes that tradition was maintained by the seasonal practice of the economic activities such as reindeer herding, hunting, fishing, the grazing of the farm animals. Part of

the tradition is written and imparts knowledge about some areas. Norwegianized and Sámi names have been recorded in some mountain areas, such as *Tjoffan* - in English, a round knoll (Skoglund 1994, p. 26). The name recorded by Qvigstad (1935, p. 82, 2004, p. 32) as Čuf'fe or Čup'pe and Čoaffi as a heap, a hill, or a knoll. At Tjoffan, people made and stacked hay until the 1940-50s. It was found that they can still record the use of the Sámi place names, however in a distorted form (Leif Skoglund, personal communication). The continuity of the settlement at Stuorgieddi and established knowledge of the investigator and informants who grew up and worked in the area can explain why some of the name material, has been maintained. The names of the areas were passed on by the elders, who have experienced, worked, and used the names as references, guide, and landmark within the areas. Within the study areas, some names describe and confirm some of the recorded cultural mounds and traces from earlier activity and expand the understanding of the land use of the area during the 19th century (Storm 2014).

The names collected by Qvigstad (1891, 1935, 1938, 2004) have a spatial approach defining the cultural and social space, the mountains, the hills, the valleys, the lakes, some of the resource areas and names of the localisation of some farms. Even some names reveal a connection to the herding of the reindeer. Similarly, Larsen reveals information about the first settlement and the names of some of the men who cleared the land as *Nilla-gettsjel Nilseheimen* [*Nellagekjan*, Qvigstad 1891] where a person named *Nilas* or *Nils* at Stuorgieddi was one of the first to clear land. According to Skoglund (1994 p. 9) *Nellagekjan* is the place name used today, and the land is used for haymaking.

Some of the names describe the areas where quite a lot of mounds and cultural traces are recorded, and are today defined as a cultural historic site, a protected area. Together with the other information, the names shed light on the owners and people who lived and worked at the place as well as the land use of some of the areas. The aggregated collection of the different Sámi place names compared to the recordings of cultural sites and mounds reveals how the place underwent great changes over a long period of time.

The tale recorded in the census of 1801 of the widow and her sons and their families in conjunction with reindeer herding, fishing, and land clearing and farming is referred by Larsen (1933). He provides insight for understanding of the translated Sámi names into Norwegian at Stuorgieddi, where he describes some places and stories or events as Čohkka-dievva, in earlier writing; *Tsjokkedievva*, meaning 'a hill to sit and have a good view or panorama', 'Sittehaug' cf. Čohkkát, Čohkahit - to sit (Larsen 1933, p. 59, Svonni 1990). Larsen said that the first farmer often sat there in the evening and looked down with satisfaction on his wealth, the big reindeer herd gathered within the fence. He does not say whether these were his own observations or information that he had heard. The place name is referred by Qvigstad (1935, p. 83) as *Čǫk'ka-dievva* with the Norwegian name *Sitthåjen,* 'the sitting mound'. The place which is described is on top of a hill where there is a great sight in all directions from east to west. On the northern mountain slope, at one location, the name of the place is called Reingjerdan, the fence of the reindeer, and an older name *Veaikasvárri* [Væi'kas-varre] which was translated as copper mountain (Skoglund 1994, p. 10, Qvigstad 1891, 1935, p. 83). Today it is a seasonal migration route for the reindeer or elk.

The central lake is the *Siidajávri,* Heimvatn, in the Norwegian version. The lake is fed with water from *Jeaggijávri,* Myrvatn, and from Siidajávri the water goes to *Luopparjávri,*

Gunnarvatn, which gets water from *Báktejávri,* Steinvatnet. The settlement of *Stuorgieddi* is localised between the two watercourses going west and east. It is the watercourse of *Strávvevuonjohka,* Botnelva or Storelva, going west to *Strávvevuotna* Straumsbotn, and *Strávvi,* Straumen, in Giehtavuotna, and the watercourse going east through the lake of *Stuorjávri,* Storvatnet, and to Gausvik at Dielddanuorri. One river *Badjesiidajohka,* Øvergårdselv, the upper farm river or river to the upper farm, flows into Strávvevuonjohka from the upper area of Stuorgieddi, revealing that the area was divided into several farms. *Stuorgieddi* is located north of *Siidajávri* and *Jeaggijávri* and is an area with several small hills.

Figure 8. *Stuorgieddi 1992, Photo D. Storm, The Arctic University Museum of Norway.*

With a structural approach, the main name gives a contextual and spatial understanding and comprehension. The lake of *Siidajávri*, Heimvatn, cf. Qvigstad (1935, p. 83) [Sii'da-jaw're Heimervatn] in the Norwegian version 'home lake' entails a new approach to the area. The concept of *siida* can refer to the community or a group, the family, the place and requires an analysis about the organization of the society (Hansen and Olsen 2014, p. 168-174). Qvigstad (2004 p. 139) defines *siida* as home and refer to the Sámi languages in *Leaŋgáviika,* Lenvik and *Ufuohttá,* Ofoten in the region of southern Troms and northern Nordland, that the concept also can be understood as a farm 'gaard'. The place name *Siidagasdievvá* - according to Qvigstad (1935 p. 83) meaning 'farm between the hill', have got the Norwegian place name *Stallhågen*, a place name which Skoglund (1994 p. 11) gives no explanation to except that it is still in use. In the case of the name of the lake of the *Siida* or 'home', it opens for a wider discussion about the area. *Stuorgieddi* may represent the *siida* and the other farms, where there are several mounds and archaeological traces left. Some of the other recorded place

names refer to persons who have been living at the place. One of the mounds is named after a person called Gunnar Larsen, who died in 1879 and who was living at Gunnarhågen – 'the hill of Gunnar' (Skoglund 1994, p. 5). At the top of the hill there is located a cultural mound representing a dwelling site. Gunnar Larsen was son of Lars Olsen, the first of four tenant farmers. The area was used as a strip of land where the hay is harvested, and today is used as grazing land for sheep. One of the lakes was also named after him, Gunnarvatn - the lake of Gunnar. As this example conveys, besides the lake itself, some of the hills were named after persons, the functions of the cattle and the place to stable the horse. All these names indicate a quite intensive land use in conjunction with farming with cattle, horse and sheep as well as fishing in the rivers and the lakes.

Stuorgieddi at Siidajávri - Concluding remarks

A spatial approach to the concept of space inspired by the social geographer Doreen Massey, and a contextual and structural approach inspired by the linguist Kaisa Rautio Helander, has opened for an analysis of the source material of place names at Stuorgieddi, representing a period of two centuries when several processes were taking place. Until the last part of the 19th century, the population at Stuorgieddi were of Sámi ethnicity and their everyday language was Sámi as in the neighbouring settlement in Vuovdesiida. Around the turn of the 19th century, there was a change in ethnic affiliation, and the Sámi affiliation was neither openly acknowledged, nor emphasized. An examination of the process of intensified Norwegianization from the last part of the 19th century, the development of the practice of Sámi names on the maps, and the different observations of Sámi place names during this period provides a more complex picture of the role of the researchers, and of the cooperating roles of the government. It seems there was a collaboration between the researchers and the results they produced with the spirit of the age in which they worked, when the building of the nation, and its ideology, was central. The role of Just Qvigstad, as a researcher and collector of place names and folklore in general, at the same time compiling source material in connection to the negotiations between Sweden and Norway about reindeer grazing issues was key in the choice of direction research tasks would follow in the future. The examination of the chosen source material shows today that it opens for new studies, where processes besides the linguistic perspective, the approaches of historical, cultural, and social perspectives are brought in. Archaeological studies will open up for new perspectives on the area and the cultural heritage and mounds.

Despite the span of time between the earlier records of Sámi place names at Stuorgieddi, there is evidence that a relationship can be established between the earlier records of Sámi place names and the records that were conducted from the 1990s. To establish how long the place names were kept in Sámi language, and with their original meaning, demands further studies. Thus, the material of the place names demonstrates a process of translation and distortion for official use. At the same time the names prove a continual Sámi use or practice by the local population already from the start of the 19th century in the areas both in the limited area of study and in the areas of outlying resources and mountains. The names can be regarded as examples of the Sámi use under a Norwegian cover.

This focus on the place names - Sámi and Norwegian at Stuorgieddi illustrates some of the processes of Norwegianization in this area. As the process of Norwegianization appears, it is closely related to the perspective of the Norwegian government and their interests and strategy as they were stated on the official maps and in written documents until late. Detailed

information in Sámi language was translated systematically from the beginning of the 1800s. This examination of the matter shows the necessity to tie up, to study each separate region, and each place thoroughly to see which forces are at play and active in the process of Norwegianization and which counterforces tended to the preservation of local knowledge.

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Placing Place Names in Norwegian Archaeology

This collection of papers serves to illustrate how place names have a continued relevance to archaeology both in Norway and beyond.

The interdisciplinary use of place name studies and archeology have long traditions in Norway and Scandinavia. However, the prerequisites for this type of research have changed in recent decades with decreased resources in onomastic departments while archaeology develops rapidly through new methods in surveying, natural sciences, metal detection and excavations. Where do we stand today and how can we improve and renew our views on toponymy and of the methodological challenges we face when combining linguistic and material remains?

The various papers in the book emphasise how place names can provide unique insights into past people's perceptions of land and sense of place, providing access to emic categories otherwise unavailable to archaeologists. Names work as active elements in ongoing discourses about the landscape, and there can be intimate connections between places, names, populations and identities. Toponymy may reflect or evoke emotions on both individual and collective levels.

Through a range of perspectives, this collection of papers explores the status and perspectives of interdisciplinary research in a Norwegian context, focusing on the methodologies of interdisciplinary studies, research environments and prehistoric as well as historical periods.

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