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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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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 quantitative 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 Innasuoalu 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 archaeological 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 introducing 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 *Seheim*-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 *Tunal-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, Ainiåla *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 (Ainiåla *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 (Ainiåla *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).

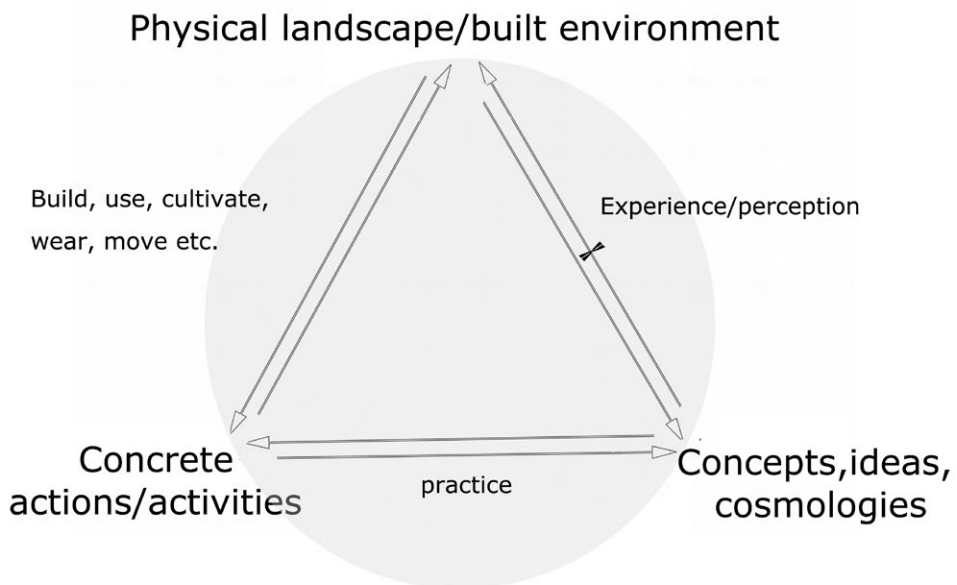


Figure 1. Model summarising the interdependent relationship between practice as a process and the material reality: Ideas, practices and the physical world shape each other in a long-time perspective, meaning that dwelling in the landscape and creating places is a constantly evolving process, entangled 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 *-byl/-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 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 extent 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 *Søheim*, '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 *-hēml-heiml-haiml-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 *-hēml-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.

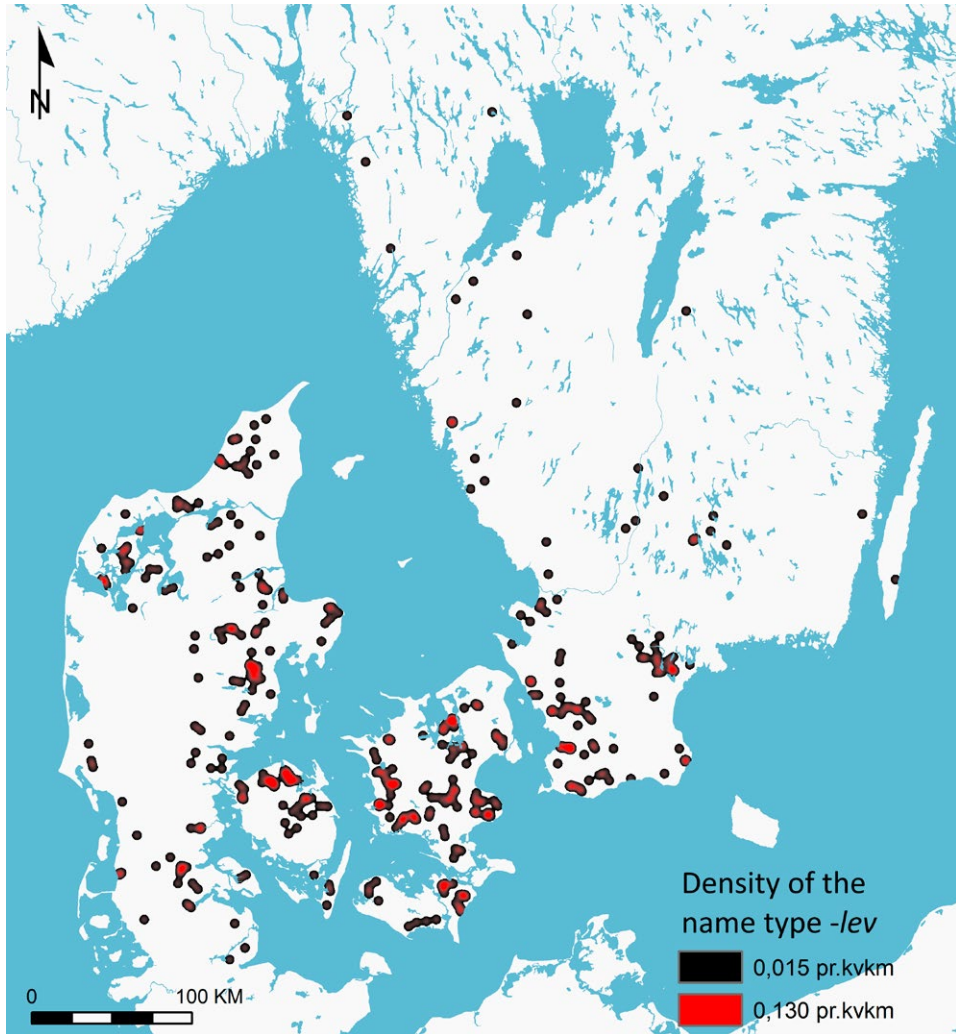


Figure 2. The distribution of *lev*-names in Southern Scandinavia. Map by Anders Pihl and Laurine Albris.

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 *-byl-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 (Schmidt 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 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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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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