

II. Old Norse Myth and Society

HOW UNIFORM WAS THE OLD NORSE RELIGION?

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One often gets the impression from handbooks on Old Norse culture and religion that the pagan religion that was supposed to have been in existence all over pre-Christian Scandinavia and Iceland was rather homogeneous. Due to the lack of written sources, it becomes difficult to say whether the ‘religion’ — or rather mythology, eschatology, and cult practice, which medieval sources refer to as *forn siðr* (‘ancient custom’) — changed over time. For obvious reasons, it is very difficult to identify a ‘pure’ Old Norse religion, uncorroded by Christianity since Scandinavia did not exist in a cultural vacuum.¹ What we read in the handbooks is based almost entirely on Snorri Sturluson’s representation and interpretation in his *Edda* of the pre-Christian religion of Iceland, together with the ambiguous mythical and eschatological world we find represented in the *Poetic Edda* and in the filtered form Saxo Grammaticus presents in his *Gesta Danorum*. This stance is more or less presented without reflection in early scholarship, but the bias of the foundation is more readily acknowledged in more recent works.² In the textual sources we find a considerable pantheon of gods and goddesses — Þórr, Óðinn, Freyr, Baldr, Loki, Njǫrðr, Týr, Heimdallr, Ullr, Bragi, Freyja, Frigg, Gefjon, Iðunn, et cetera — and euhemerized stories of how the gods acted and were characterized as individuals and as a collective.

Since the sources are Old Icelandic (Saxo’s work appears to have been built on the same sources) one might assume that this religious world was purely Old

¹ See the discussion in Gro Steinsland, *Norrøn religion: Myter, riter, samfunn* (Oslo: Pax, 2005).

² For a new and excellent handbook on Old Norse religion, see Steinsland, *Norrøn religion*.

Icelandic. However, evidence for the existence of this apparently Old Icelandic religious world is also found in other parts of Scandinavia, and the assumption that it is confined to Iceland is, as is well known, false. Some of the stories and mythical themes preserved in Iceland are also depicted on picture and runic stones, and alluded to in runic inscriptions in eastern Scandinavia during the Viking Age. One such case is the famous story of Þórr fishing for the Miðgarðs-orrmr, a story that is told in the skaldic poem *Ragnarsdrápa*, the eddic poem *Hymiskviða*, in *Gylfaginning* in *Snorra Edda*, as well as being depicted on the Altuna runestone in Uppland, Sweden, on the Hørum stone in Thy, Denmark, and on a picture stone from Gosforth in England.³

There is one important source that can qualify our view of the pagan religion in early Scandinavia and that is place-name evidence. The problem with place names is that they represent only a fraction of the names once in use, although taken together the ones we know of represent a large body of evidence that provides clues to which gods and goddesses were worshipped and where. Place names therefore provide a means of discriminating between written sources. Another advantage with names is that they are unbiased; no individual determined which names should be coined, and no one had the power to control the naming process. The names therefore represent the beliefs and actions of the general population, with no hidden agenda or deliberate program. The other advantage with place names is that they provide a spatial dimension to the discussion, which makes it possible to use geography in the study of religion.

The study of place names related to the pre-Christian religion of Scandinavia has oscillated in intensity over the last two centuries. The field was very highly esteemed in the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth century,⁴ with a decline in interest from the 1950s, due to the contemporary critique of the romantic and nationalistic research agenda of earlier scholars and the lack of source criticism in earlier research. This trend was very strong and changed the

³ See Preben Meulengracht Sørensen, 'Thor's Fishing Expedition', in *Words and Objects: Towards a Dialogue Between Archaeology and History of Religion*, ed. by Gro Steinsland (Oslo: Norwegian University Press, Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning, 1986), pp. 257–78; Steinsland, *Norrøn religion*, pp. 199–202.

⁴ The highlights in research on Scandinavia were Magnus Olsen, *Hedenske kultminder i norske stedsnavne*, Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1914, 4 (Oslo: Dybwad, 1915), later contextualized in relation to pre-Christian Norwegian society in his *Ættegård og helligdom: Norske stedsnavne sosialt og religionshistorisk belyst*, Institutt for sammenlignende kulturforskning, Serie A, 9a (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1926), both groundbreaking works for their time.

direction of historical research in general in Germany and Scandinavia, especially during the 1960s. The loose extravagances early scholars allowed themselves in interpreting, reconstructing, and evaluating sources led to a backlash against the study of place names in relation to pagan religion. Today there is definitely a new trend of focussing on pagan religion in Scandinavia,⁵ and young scholars have dared again to engage in research which in the 1950s and 1960s was considered to be controversial.⁶ No doubt the major research project *Vägar till Midgård* in Lund has also been important in supporting this trend.

An important, but in many cases misleading contribution was by Jan de Vries.⁷ In the second volume of his *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* he presented several distribution maps with names of gods and goddesses in Scandinavian place names, such as Óðinn, Þórr, Ullr/Ullinn, Njǫrðr, Freyr, and Freyja.⁸ Unfortunately de Vries missed many names and, more problematically, mapped a lot of names that did not have a theophoric background or were very doubtful; the latter names were mainly field names he had found. De Vries's results were therefore very unreliable, and the reviews of his attempt were, in many cases, scathing.⁹ This present article is an attempt to present more reliable maps, although it is only a preliminary work.

For toponymic research on Scandinavian pagan religion, a turning point was a short article by Lars Hellberg in 1986 on pagan place names in the province of Uppland, Sweden.¹⁰ This programmatic article was later followed up by two symposia, in 1987 ('Old Norse and Finnish Religions and Cultic Place-names' in

⁵ New handbooks are popping up like spring flowers. Two major introductions are Rudolf Simek, *Religion und Mythologie der Germanen* (Darmstadt: Theiss, 2003) and Steinsland, *Norron religion*.

⁶ Three major and solid contributions are Per Vikstrand, *Gudarnas platser: Förkristna sakrala ortnamn i Mälardalsregionen*, Acta academiae regiae Gustavi Adolphi, 77 (Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, 2001); Neil Price, *The Viking Way: Religion and War in Late Iron Age Scandinavia*, Aun, 31 (Uppsala: Institutionen för arkeologi och antik historia, 2002); and Olof Sundqvist, *Freyr's Offspring: Rulers and Religion in Ancient Svea Society*, Historia Religionum, 21 (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 2002).

⁷ Jan de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, 2nd edn, 2 vols, Grundriss der germanischen Philologie, 12.1–2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1957), II.

⁸ The maps are on pages 53, 116–17, 155, 194, 195, and 309.

⁹ See for example Jöran Sahlgren's reviews in *Namn och bygd*, 25 (1937), 183–84, and 46 (1958), 191–93.

¹⁰ Lars Hellberg, 'Hedendomens spår i uppländska ortnamn', *Ortnamnsällskapets i Uppsala årskrift* (1986), 40–71.

Åbo, Finland) and in 1990 (the 16th NORNA symposium ‘Sakrale navne’ in Gilleleje, Denmark).¹¹ Shortly thereafter came three *Stand der Forschung* articles written by the three doyens of Scandinavian onomastics at that time, Professors Thorsten Andersson (Sweden),¹² John Kousgård Sørensen (Denmark),¹³ and Jørn Sandnes (Norway),¹⁴ which represented the new attitude in the field. The most important modern work in the field, however, came in 2001 with a PhD thesis by Per Vikstrand on the sacral place names in the Lake Mälaren region, a seminal work, which is the obvious landmark for future research in this field.¹⁵

In the present study I have chosen to analyse theophoric place names containing the names of the gods/goddesses Freyr, Óðinn, Þórr, Ullr/Ullinn, *Niærþer/Njörðr, and Týr. In order not to drown in problems I have left out Freyja since there are particular linguistic difficulties involved in determining whether place names contain the name of the goddess or a word *frøy* (< **fraiw-*) referring to ‘(good) growth’.¹⁶ As I stated above, but must emphasize again, the names presented here are the ones that I am as certain as I can be are theophoric, and they represent only a fragment of what once existed. Apart from the names discussed here, there are many other place names that are also theophoric, namely settlement names with no medieval name evidence and minor names, of fields and natural features, which also nearly always lack older written forms. Such names are

¹¹ For a short historical overview of research, see Lennart Elmevik, ‘Fornnordiska gudagestalter och svenska ortnamn’, *Saga och sed* (1995), 11–19.

¹² Thorsten Andersson, ‘Haupttypen sakraler Ortsnamen Ostskandinaviens’, in *Der historische Horizont der Götterbild-Amulette aus der Übergangsepoche von der Spätantike zum Frühmittelalter*, ed. by Karl Hauck, *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philol.-Hist. Klasse 3*, 200 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), pp. 241–56; and ‘Orts- und Personennamen als Aussagequelle für die altgermanische Religion’, in *Germanische Religionsgeschichte: Quellen und Quellenprobleme*, ed. by Heinrich Beck, Detlev Ellmers, and Kurt Schier, *Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, 5 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992), pp. 508–40.

¹³ John Kousgård Sørensen, ‘Haupttypen sakraler Ortsnamen Südskandinaviens’, in *Der historische Horizont*, ed. by Hauck, pp. 228–40.

¹⁴ Jørn Sandnes, ‘Haupttypen sakraler Ortsnamen Westskandinaviens’, in *Der historische Horizont*, ed. by Hauck, pp. 257–66.

¹⁵ Vikstrand, *Gudarnas platser*.

¹⁶ The name of the goddess has even been thought to be unattested in place names, a stance presented by Elmevik in ‘Svenska ortnamn med förleden Frö-’, in *Ortnamn i språk och samhälle: Hyllningsskrift till Lars Hellberg*, ed. by Svante Strandberg, *Nomina Germanica*, 22 (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 1995), pp. 107–15.

extremely interesting to analyse and have a huge potential, but the collection and analysis of material is overwhelmingly time consuming.¹⁷ It is notable, however, that the spatial distribution of these later names corresponds closely to the names presented here; hence they emphasize rather than contradict the spatial pattern I present below in the Appendix.

The theophoric place names formed using the name of the god Freyr are indicated by the genitive *-s-* (*Fræyslandum*, *Fræyshof*, *Frøsakir*, *Frøsvi*). For Sweden I have included thirty-eight ‘certain’ *Frøs-* names, and for Norway twenty-two names, but here a larger proportion are uncertain. In Denmark we only have one ‘certain’ name with the god Freyr, namely the district name of *Frøs Herred* on Jutland. This presents, of course, a considerable imbalance across Scandinavia. This uneven distribution is actually even more pronounced. The Freyr names are very much concentrated in two regions: the first region — and by far the most important one — has its core around Lake Mälaren in central Sweden, with names running along the eastern coast to the north and to the south, and to eastern Västergötland. The second region is around Viken in Norway. Significantly, Freyr names are totally lacking in Trøndelag, Nordland/Troms, and Rogaland. They are very rare in all of western Norway, and the few cases we have here are problematic and more or less uncertain. We can also see that the Freyr names are practically absent — apart from *Frøs Herred* — in all of Denmark and southern Sweden. We therefore get a very distinct pattern: Freyr has a documented cult in the old Svea-dominated region in eastern Sweden and in south-east Norway, around Viken, incorporating Vestfold, Østfold, Hedmark, and Opland (see Fig. 1).

As mentioned already, many of the names from Norway are problematic and cannot be described as ‘certain’. Only a couple of names seem secure, namely *Frøshov* in Trøgstad, Østfold (Fræyshof 1391) and *Frøishov* in Hole, Buskerud (a Fræyshofue 1342). Also the three names †*Frøisli* (Frøsli 1669), †*Frøysland* (Frøsslanndt 1592), and †*Frøysakr* (Frøssagger 1592) in N. Land, Opland, look fairly ‘secure’, occurring more or less together in a small district, although all lack old name forms. An interesting but problematic name in Norway, which has been used as a parallel in connection with the famous name *Njarðarlog*, is the farm name *Frøitlog* in Sokndal in Rogaland, western Norway, reconstructed as †*Frøyslog*.¹⁸ This

¹⁷ For important contributions on this matter, see especially Vikstrand, *Gudarnas platser*.

¹⁸ See for example Sophus Bugge in *NG*, XVI, 279; Magnus Olsen in *NG*, x, 9–10, and in *Det gamle norske ønavn Njarðarlog*, Christiania videnskabs-selskabs forhandlinger for 1905, 5 (Oslo: Dybwad, 1905); and *NSL*, p. 118. For these and other abbreviations used below, see the list of Abbreviations at the end of the Appendix.

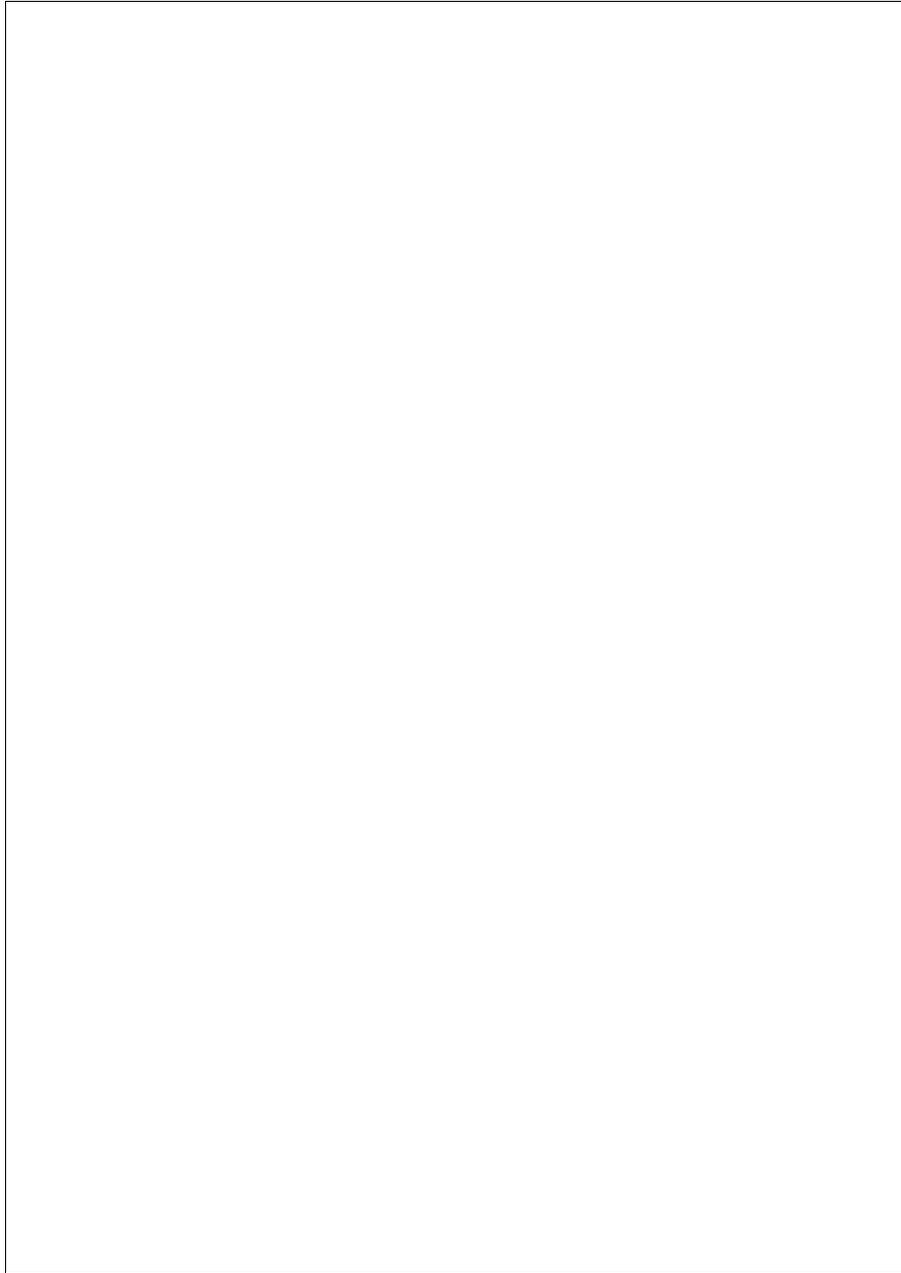


Figure 1. The distribution of theophoric place names in Scandinavia containing the name of the god Freyr (open circles are uncertain).

reconstruction is not obvious when we consult the fairly young written forms of the name: Fretlandt 1500s, Fretlonn 1500s, Føtland, Frøttlandd 1563, Frødløff 1567, Frøtløff 1610, Frøtleff 1616, 1668, Frøtløv 1723. Sophus Bugge took the liberty of seeing the god's name Freyr here and the word *lög* 'laws', and assumes the name was once used for a law district where Freyr had a special role, presumably in a communal cult.¹⁹ This interpretation must be considered uncertain.

In Sweden, on the other hand, there are many Freyr names that seem to be very 'secure': eleven *Fröslund(a)*, eight *Frösvi*, two *Frösåker*, a *Fröseke* ('the oak grove dedicated to Freyr'), and two names ending in *-tuna*. In Uppland we have a parallel to the Danish *Frøs Herred* in the old district name of *Frösthult* (frøstolpt 1314), containing the word OSw *tolpt*, referring to a minor district in the ancient naval organization, the *ledung*.

The distinct pattern of Freyr names found in the old Svea-dominated area of eastern Sweden seems to corroborate the evidence of Old Norse literature, where Freyr is often called a *sviagöð* ('god of the Svíar'),²⁰ and in poems such as *Haustlǫng*, which names the Swedes as *allar áttir Ingvifreys* ('all Ingui-Freyr's family'). There is also Saxo's mention in Book I of *Gesta Danorum* of a *Freysblót* ('sacrifice to Freyr') among the Swedes, and his claims that 'the most valiant of the Svear [. . .] were kinsmen of the divine Frø' and that Freyr was a Swedish ruler ('Rex Suetiæ Frø').²¹ In addition Adam of Bremen describes a well-equipped Freyr in the pagan 'temple' in Uppsala in his *Gesta* (4:26). A cult of Freyr therefore seems to have been strong among the Svíar in Svíþjóð. On this point the literary and the toponymic evidence are in harmony.

Theophoric place names with the name of the god Óðinn normally occur as *Ons-* or *Odens-*. In my material I have identified approximately seventy names: forty-nine in present-day Sweden, eleven in Norway, and eleven in Denmark. These names have a more even distribution than the Freyr names: they are found more or less in all the major regions of Scandinavia, with the exception, once again, of western Norway. For Sweden the majority of the Óðinn names are again to be found around Lake Mälaren, but names occur all over Götaland down to Skåne in the south; there are also occasional names in northern Sweden, in Dalarna and Jämtland. The distribution of Óðinn names in Denmark is fairly even. The exception is therefore western Norway (see Fig. 2).

¹⁹ *NG*, xvi, 279.

²⁰ Sundqvist, *Freyr's Offspring*, p. 165.

²¹ Sundqvist, *Freyr's Offspring*, p. 165.

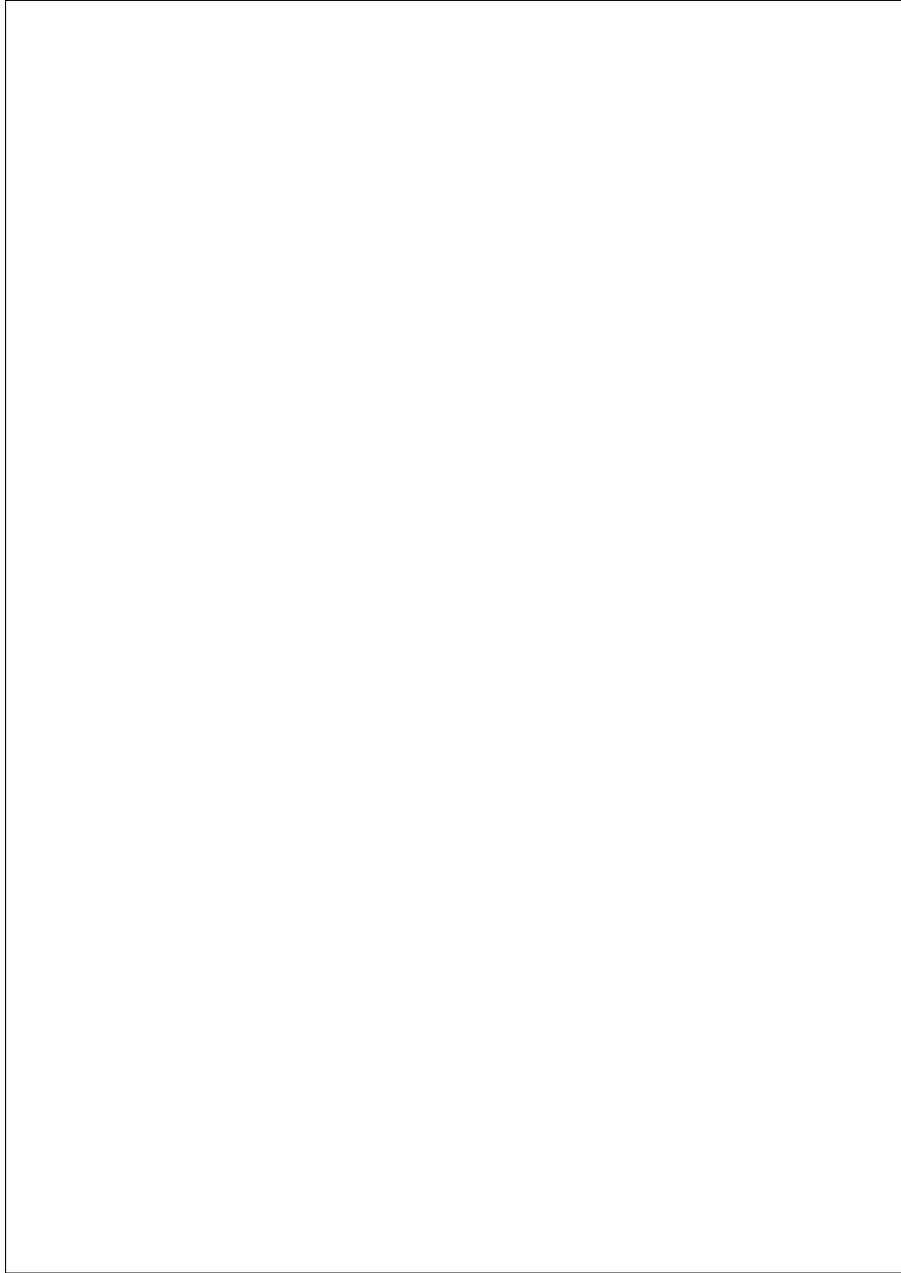


Figure 2. The distribution of theophoric place names in Scandinavia containing the name of the god Óðinn (open circles are uncertain).

Many of the names found in Norway are uncertain to some degree. Most certain are *Onsåker* in Våler, Østfold (Odensakr *RB*); the two, obviously connected, *Onsø* the parish and *Onsø* the hundred in Østfold; and the lost †*Odhinssalr*, very probably to be understood as the predecessor of *Huseby* in Onsø.²² A parallel to the latter name is a lost †*Odhinssalr* in Trøndelag. In Denmark we have a couple of very interesting names, especially three ODa *Othenshylla* (*Vognsild*, *Onsild*, *Vonsild*) and five ODa *Othensvæ* (*Oddense*, *Oens*, *Vojens*, *Odense*, *Onsved*), which all seem very secure. In Sweden we again have several fairly certain names, such as *Onsicke* in Hagunda, Uppland (i Odhenseke 1409) and *Odensicke* on Selaön, Södermanland (odhinseke 1365), seven *Odenslund(a)*, five *Odensvi*, etc. It is noteworthy that there are two OSw *Odhenssalr* in Sweden as in Norway, one in Halland (*Onsala*) and one in Jämtland (*Odensala*). The *Odensala* in Ärlinghundra, Uppland should not be counted among these names, since it is a corrupted form of OSw *Opinsharg* ‘the cult site (*høgr*) dedicated to Óðinn’. Notable too are the many Óðinn names referring to topographical features, such as lakes, wells, islands, and mountains or hills (*Odensholmen*, *Onsjö*, *Onsberga*, *Odens källa*, *Odens kulle*); an interesting case are names referring to rapids, such as *Odensfors* in Tierp, Uppland, and ?*Odensfors* in Gullberg, Östergötland. Difficult to interpret and assess, however, are the many *Odensland/Onsland* found especially as minor names in Uppland.²³

The god Þórr might perhaps be expected to be well represented in place-name evidence with examples evenly spread all over Scandinavia (see Fig. 3). This is in fact the case, but with some exceptions. Again the majority of the Scandinavian Þórr names are in central eastern Sweden, where the greatest number is to be found in the province of Uppland. Þórr names are scattered thinly but evenly over southern Scandinavia (southern Sweden and Denmark). In Norway we again find the majority of Þórr names around Viken. In western Norway there is an occasional name of rather uncertain background; in Trøndelag these theophoric names are missing altogether. It would come as no surprise if, after closer analysis, western Norway also turned out to lack Þórr names. It is also noticeable that there are regional differences on a smaller scale. So for example western Västergötland, Dalsland, Värmland, western Västmanland, and Närke lack Þórr names; western

²² See Kåre Hoel, ‘Huseby-gardens gamle navn: Huseby-Tesal, Huseby-Odinssal, Huseby-Skiringsal’, in *Institutt for namnegransking: Årsmelding 1985* (Oslo: University of Oslo, 1985), pp. 119–32; Stefan Brink, ‘Husby’, in *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, ed. by Heinrich Beck and others, 2nd rev. edn (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1968–), xv (2000), 277.

²³ These names will be discussed by Per Vikstrand in a forthcoming article.

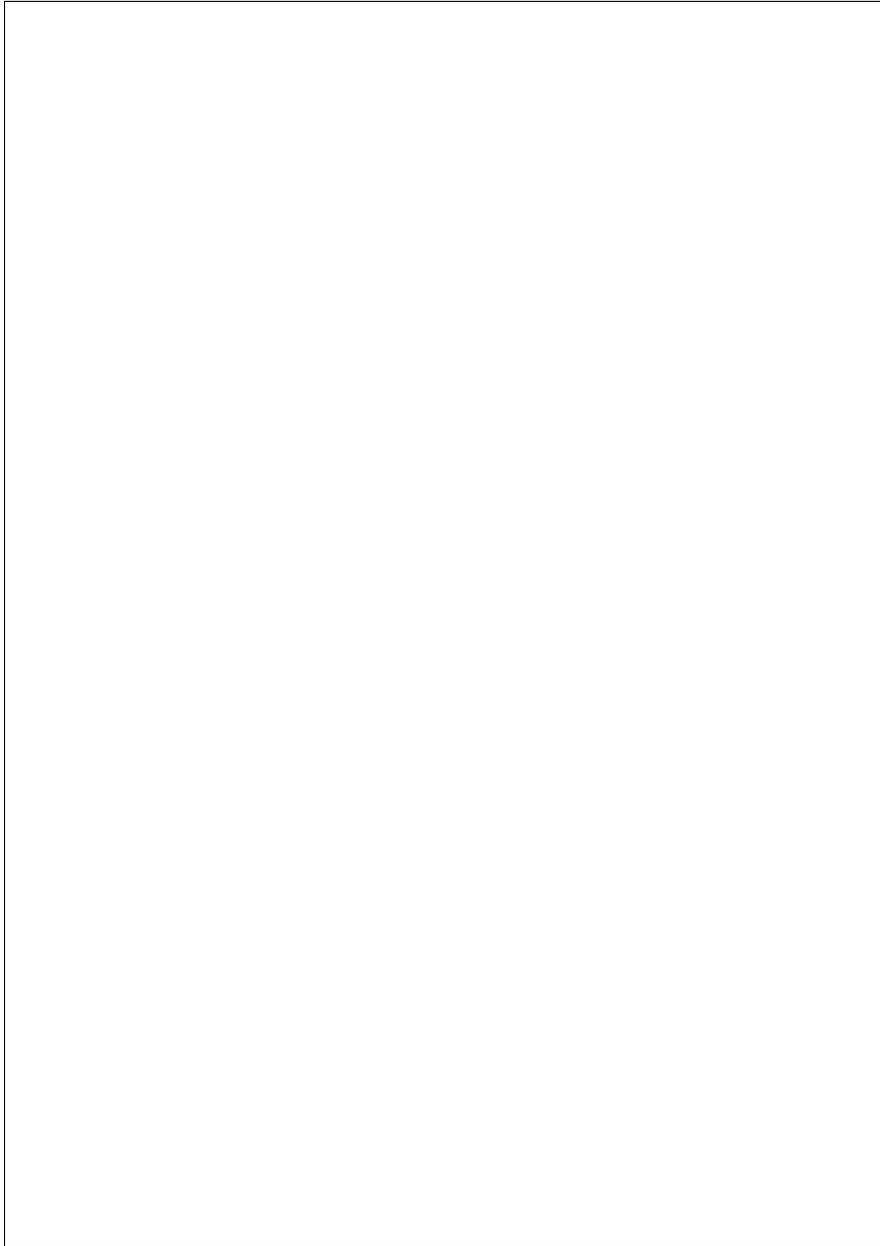


Figure 3. The distribution of theophoric place names in Scandinavia containing the name of the god Þórr (open circles are uncertain), and also the problematic Norwegian *Totland* names (+).

and northern Jutland likewise. The most plentiful occurrences are to be found around Oslo, in Uppland, and in southern Södermanland.

In Norway the majority of the Þórr names are ON *Þórshof*; there are ten in all, all found in the south-east part of Norway (Østfold, Akershus, Buskerud, Hedmark, and Oppland); in addition there are six more or less certain instances of *Þórsnes*. There are some very problematic names, most surviving in the form *Totland*, all found in western Norway (Vest-Agder, Hordaland, and Sogn and Fjordane). The reason for an identification with Þórr is one instance, *Totland* in Alversund, Hordaland (af þorslande c. 1175, þorsland 1427, Thotland 1463, Torsland 1490, Totland 1500s), whose older forms point in the direction of the first element being the god's name Þórr. The other *Totland* cases have only young written forms, and they do not help us very much. The exception is *Totland* in Daviken, Sogn and Fjordane (i Þothlandi BK, Thotlandt 1563), which has an early form with Þoth-, not Þors-. The *Totland* name in Daviken needs to be borne in mind in any discussion of these names, and suggests it would be unwise to assume automatically that all instances of *Totland* are survivals of an older **Thórslund*.

For Sweden, the overwhelmingly most frequent name containing Þórr as an element is *Torslund(a)*, with twelve cases found, nine in Uppland and one each in Södermanland, Östergötland, and Öland. Next most frequent is *Torsåker*, which occurs five times. Several of these have become parish names. Semantically interrelated to *Torsåker* are *Torsång* in Dalarna (< *Thorsvanger*) and *Torsvallen* in Valbo, Gästrikland (< *Thorsvalder*). There is one *Torsvi* in Trögd, Uppland, and a lost †*Thorshugle* in Uppsala, Uppland, where the second element is the word **hugl(e)* ('mound', probably 'grave mound'). We may also note the famous hill fort *Torsburgen* on Gotland and the town name *Torshälla* in Södermanland, which is a corrupt form of *Thorsharg* (in *thorshargi* 1288). In southern Scandinavia there is a *Torseke* in Villand, Skåne, a *Torslunde* on Sjælland and Fyn, and a *Torsager* on Djursland, Jutland.

The place-name evidence makes it clear that in the cult of Þórr, the god cannot have been exclusively a god of the sky. Names such as *Torsåker*, *Torsager*, and *Torsvang* indicate that Þórr must also have been connected to agrarian activities. It has therefore been assumed that Þórr, like Freyr, should be considered a fertility deity in the pagan Scandinavian pantheon. It is clear from the toponymic evidence, at least for central Sweden, that Þórr was one of the most important gods, perhaps the most important, and was connected to agrarian activities, as is indicated in names such as *Thorsakir*. The character of Þórr place names indicates

a very different type of god from the picture we get from Snorri and from Old Norse poetry, as has been noted by several scholars.²⁴

A most elusive god in the pagan Scandinavian pantheon is Ullr, known in Old Norse literature as, *inter alia*, a winter god, although he is not a central figure in Snorri's stories of the gods. The place names containing his name paint a very different picture. One gets the impression that Ullr must have been a major god, but the Ullr names also reveal that the cult of Ullr was never pan-Scandinavian. His occurrence in the toponymic material is confined to two distinct regions: the provinces around Lake Mälaren, including central parts of Östergötland, and the area around Viken, principally restricted to Østfold, Vestfold, and Akershus. Even more interestingly, we have some indisputable Norwegian place-name evidence of what has been assumed to be a by-name for Ullr, namely Ullinn.²⁵ Trøndelag totally lacks names in Ullr or Ullinn; nor do southern Sweden or Denmark have any trace of Ullr. The southernmost Ullr name is *Ullevi* in Gårdby on Öland, a name typical for the Mälär provinces and found in an area that was clearly Svea dominated, the south-east coast of Sweden, including Öland and Gotland (see Fig. 4).

Among the twenty-seven Norwegian names containing Ullr, some are 'uncertain', such as *Ullreng* in Skedsmo, Akershus (Vlleregh *RB*) — one would not expect a god's name in a place name with *-engh* 'meadow' as the second element — and as many as eight instances of *Ull(e)land*. More certain are *Ullevål* in Oslo (a Ullaruale 1309), †*Ullarål*, an old name for a part of Haug parish on the west side of Randselven in Norderhov, Buskerud (i Vllerrale 1355), and a couple of places named **Ullarvin*, such as *Ulleren* in Oslo (i Ullarini *RB*), *Ulleren* in southern Odalen, Hedmark (Ullerni *RB*), *Ulleren* in Hole, Buskerud (Ullaryn 1291), and *Ulleren* in eastern Eiker, Buskerud (a Ullaryn 1445). There are several names for topographical features, such as inlets, lakes, islands, and peninsulas, containing the god Ullr's name, as well as, and perhaps rather remarkably, a couple of names in *-pveit* 'minor field, clearing'.

²⁴ See for example Vikstrand, *Gudarnas platser*, pp. 162–64, and references there.

²⁵ The pair Ullr/Ullinn looks like an identical construction to Óðr/Óðinn, but as, for example, Magnus Olsen has pointed out (*Hedenske kultminder*, p. 104), if Ullinn was to be derived with the same suffix as Óðinn (< Pr.-Germ. *Wōdanaz) one would expect a form *Ollinn, not Ullinn. Instead Olsen deduces an older Pr.-Germ. *Wulðinaz for Ullinn, with an adjectival suffix *-ina* 'belonging to, part of'. It is easier perhaps to look upon Ullinn as a derivative parallel to the variant form of the god Óðinn that we find in OE Wōden and OSax Wōdin < Pr.-Germ. *Wōðinaz (de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, II, 416), hence a Pr.-Germ. *Wulðinaz; in this way a parallel between Ullr/Ullinn and Óðr/Óðinn may be maintained.

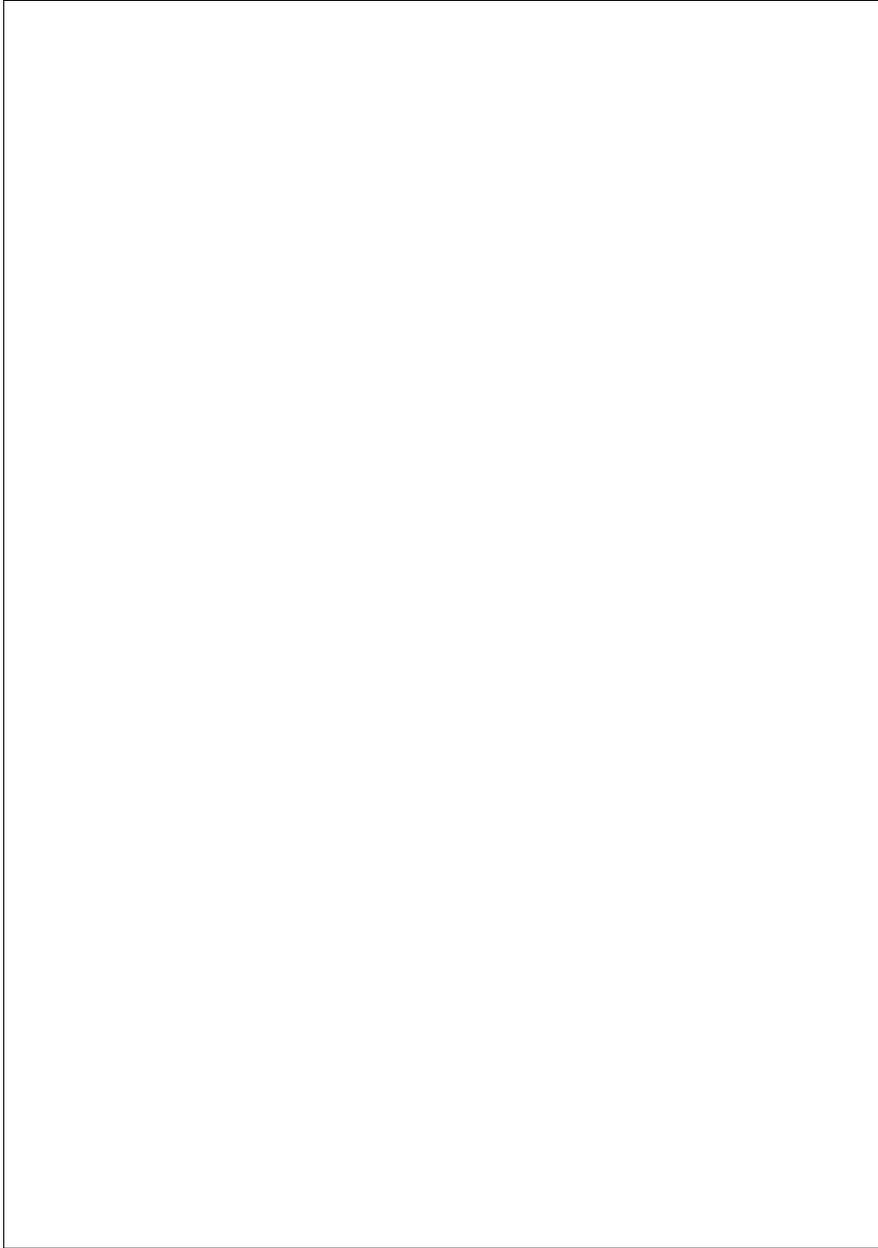


Figure 4. The distribution of theophoric place names in Scandinavia containing the name of the gods Ullr (●) and *Ullinn (+) (open circles are uncertain); also the even more problematic Norwegian *Ull(e)land* names (open square).

For Sweden we have an astonishing twenty-three instances of *Ullevi*, making Ullr the god by far the most frequently connected to a *vi* ('pagan cult site'). There are five *Ullunda*, two *Ulleråker*, and one *Ultuna*, the latter a farm or a chieftain's 'manor' in the district called *Ulleråker* in Uppsala, Uppland. As in Norway we also have a couple of instances of *Ullarvin*. There are also some elusive names, such as *Ullbolsta*, a parish district in Ulleråkers hundred district, Uppland (de vllabolstad 1316), *Ulbersta*, a parish district and a hundred district in Skärkind, Östergötland (af vllabolstaþ 1367, af vllabolstadh 1371, j vllaboolstadhe 1375), *Ullstämna* in Trögd's hundred district, Uppland (i Vllastempne 1419), *Ullstämna* in Landeryd's parish district, Hanekind's hundred district, Östergötland (vllastempnu 1317), and *Ullekalv* in Högby parish district, in Göstring's hundred district, Östergötland (vllacalff 1337, i vllakalfwe 1384), which seems to contain the god's name, but how these names are to be interpreted is a matter of debate.²⁶

In Norway we seem to have place-name evidence for the cult of the god ON Njǫrðr, and in Sweden evidence of the cult of the goddess *Niærþer, and not the other way around. This strange circumstance is probably an artefact of the early history of research into these names.²⁷ In Norway the names were connected early on with the god Njǫrðr mentioned in Old Norse literature, whereas in Sweden the names beginning in *N(i)ærdh-* were instead connected to the goddess Nerthus, mentioned by Tacitus in his *Germania*. No one has yet tried to reconcile this discrepancy, which is undoubtedly illusory. According to Magnus Olsen there are around a dozen place names in Norway containing the name of the god Njǫrðr.²⁸ The most certain of these are the two *Norderhov*, in Løiten, Hedmark (a Nærdrhofue 1370) and in Ringerike, Buskerud (Nierdarhofs sokn *RB*). Then in addition we have five instances of *Njarðarheimr* and four of *Njarðarland*. These names are found all over southern Norway, but not in Trøndelag, Nordland, or Troms.

For Sweden, Per Vikstrand reckons up sixteen place names with **Niærþer*: five *Närlunda*, five *Niærdhavi*, three *Nälberg(a)*, and the island name *Norderön*.²⁹ Of particular interest is *Nälsta* in Spånga, Stockholm (nærthastaff 1354), as it is an OSw form of *Niærdhastaf*; the same may be the case for *Nällsta* on Selaön in

²⁶ For a discussion of these names, see Vikstrand, *Gudarnas platser*, passim.

²⁷ See Vikstrand, *Gudarnas platser*, pp. 101–02; Anders Hultgård, 'Njǫrðr', in *Reallexikon*, ed. by Beck and others, XXI (2002), 234–40; and Thorsten Andersson, 'Theophore Namen', in *ibid.*, xxx (2005), 444.

²⁸ *Hedenske kultminder*, pp. 50–56.

²⁹ *Gudarnas platser*, p. 98.

Södermanland (nerddestum 1334, nærdistom 1411), and these names probably denoted some kind of standing idol connected to *Niærþer. The distribution of the Njård-names in Sweden is distinct and regional. These names occur in central eastern Sweden, with the sole exception of *Norderön* in Jämtland. Denmark has only a few uncertain names that may contain the name of the god/goddess Niærth: one is *Nerum* close to Copenhagen on Sjælland (Niartharum 1186); two others are the two *Nerå* on Fyn, which, according to John Kousgård Sørensen is a corruption of *Niærtharhøgh*.³⁰

The geographical distribution of the god Týr (< Pr.-Germ. *Tīwaz, cf. Lat. *deus*) in Scandinavian place names is highly uneven. Sweden has no examples of this god's name in any place name to my knowledge. It was assumed in earlier scholarship that the name of the large forest that divides the provinces of Västergötland and Närke, *Tiveden* (< *Tīwiper*), had the god's name as the first element, but this is impossible. Instead it may very well contain the related word ON plur. *tívar* 'gods', giving the meaning 'the forest where gods and deities dwell'. In Norway there is one place name containing Týr that has never been disputed, namely *Tysnes* (Tysnes 1330, Tysnæss *BK*), a parish and hundred on the island ON *Njarðarlög* in Hordaland.³¹ The other place name discussed in this connection is *Tislauan* in Melhus, Southern Trøndelag (Tisle NRJ, Tislagh, Tyslag 1559). Since we do not have any medieval forms of this name, it is very difficult to draw definite conclusions, but it is clearly possible that this name contains the name of the god Týr. The traditional interpretation is that the name is an ON *Týslög*, hence a parallel to *Njarðarlög*, with a meaning 'the legal district dedicated to the god Týr',³² and this possibility must be considered. A third Norwegian name is the lost †*Tésal(i)r* in Råde, Østfold (Tesala kirke *RB*, i Tesale 1403). No one has seriously proposed seeing the name of the god Týr in the first element in this name: the older form's Te- is an insurmountable obstacle. The first element in this name is utterly elusive. The original and brave scholar Magnus Olsen had a suggestion of course.³³ Té- in Tésal(i)r is, in his opinion, the name of another god *Tér (< *Tewa-) closely related to Týr (< *Tiwa-). Although he adduces some linguistic parallels in Sanskrit and Old Greek, this suggestion must be considered a philological shot in the dark. To sum up, in Norway we have one, perhaps two place names indicating the cult of the god Týr.

³⁰ 'Haupttypen sakraler Ortsnamen Südschwedens', p. 235.

³¹ *NG*, XI, 171.

³² *NG*, XIV, 279.

³³ Olsen, *Hedenske kultminder*, p. 231.

In Denmark the picture is totally different. Here we have at least thirty-three place names that could potentially have the name of the god Týr as the first element.³⁴ There are six *Tislund*, three *Tiset* (< *Tisvidh*), four *Tisbjerg*, and three *Tishøj*. The most well-known name is probably *Tissø* on Sjælland (Tisøe 1452), with a couple of parallels denoting a small lake which must have been dedicated to the god. *Tissø* has become one of the most important sites for understanding Viking-Age society in Scandinavia, thanks to the extensive archaeological excavations there.³⁵ There can be no doubt that the cult of the god Týr, connected to war and legal matters, was extensive in Denmark. It is however notable that Týr names are lacking in Fyn, Langeland, Lolland, and Falster, making a strange lacuna in the distribution in the middle of Denmark (see Fig. 5).

These are the gods and goddesses that we find in the Scandinavian place-name corpus (with the exception of Freyja, which I have not discussed). There are a few place names which have been assumed to contain the names of other gods and goddesses known from Old Norse literature, such as Baldr, Forseti, Víðarr, Frigg, and the otherwise unknown *Fillinn.

The name of the god Baldr is evidently nonexistent in Swedish place names, but has been assumed in a couple of Danish and Norwegian place names. The Danish ones, *Baldersbæk* and *Bollesager*, are not conclusive, with only the former as a strong candidate in my opinion. Among the few Norwegian names in contention, only *Balleshol* in Nes, Hedmark (a Balldrshole 1356, but a Baldissøle 1358) and *Balsnes* in Fillan, Nordmøre (Balldrnes 1342, af Baldaznese AB, Bollisnes 1559) warrant serious consideration; even more uncertain is *Basberg* in Sem, Vestfold (j Baldzbergi RB, Baldraasberg (1320) 1409).³⁶ Unfortunately the older forms vary considerably, and it is not obvious that the names have Baldrs- as the first element. To conclude, there may be a few names in Denmark and Norway

³⁴ See Bente Holmberg, 'Den hedenske gud Tyr i danske stednavne', in *Mange bække små: Til John Kousgård Sørensen på tresårsdagen 6.12.1985*, ed. by V. Dalberg and Gillian Fellows-Jensen, Navnestudier udg. af Institut for Naavneforskning, 27 (Copenhagen: Reitzel, 1986), pp. 109–27.

³⁵ See for example Lars Jørgensen, 'En storgård fra vikingetid ved Tissø, Sjælland: En foreløbig præsentation', in *Centrala platser, centrala frågor: Samhällsstrukturen under järnåldern. En vänbok till Berta Stjernquist*, ed. by L. Larsson and B. Hårdh, Uppåkrastudier, 1 (Lund: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1998), pp. 233–48, and 'Kongsgård, kultsted, marked: overvejelser omkring Tissø-kompleksets struktur og funktion', in *Vägar till Midgård*, vol. II: *Plats och praxis: Arkeologiska och religionshistoriska studier av nordisk förkristen ritual*, ed. by Kristina Jennbert, Anders Andréén, and Catharina Raudvere (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2002), pp. 215–47.

³⁶ Compare Botolv Helleland, 'Sosiale og sakrale uttrykk i stadnamn: Freistnad på ei tematisering', in *Ortnamn i språk och samhälle*, ed. by Strandberg, pp. 125–42 (p. 131).

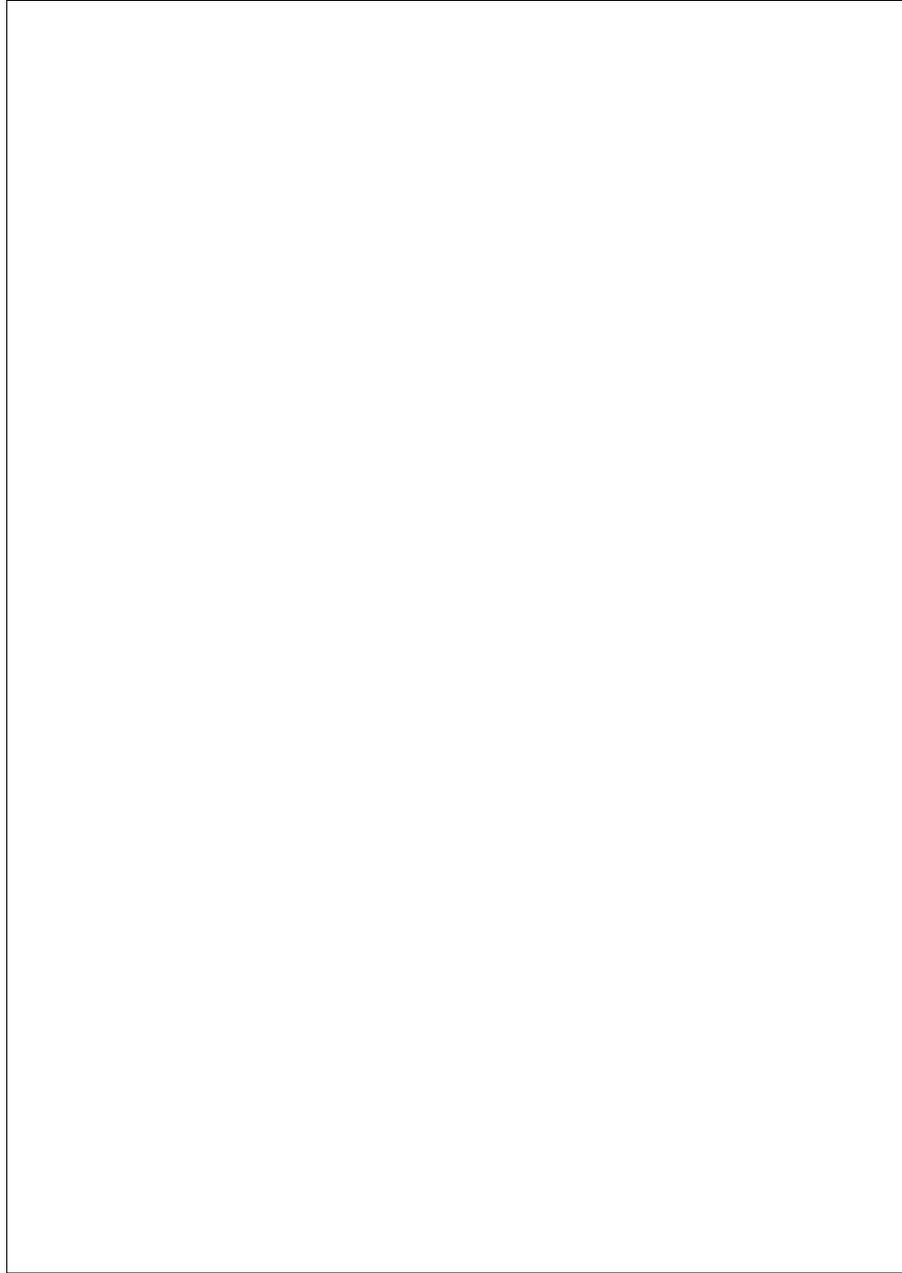


Figure 5. The distribution of theophoric place names in Scandinavia containing the name of the god Týr (open circles are uncertain).

indicating the existence of a cult of the god Baldr, but the evidence is fragile and inconclusive.

The lost farm *Forsetlund* in Onsø, Østfold, Norway (i Fosættelundi *RB*, Forsettelund 1480) has a very interesting name in an intriguing local context, as it is, along with †*Odbinssalr*, in Onsø (< Óðinsøy), a district with rich evidence of pagan cult. It has been assumed, with good reason, that the first element of this name is the name of the god Forseti, hence the name was ON *Forsetalundr*.³⁷ Older forms of the name support such an interpretation. If this is correct, this name is the only evidence in the Scandinavian place-name material — to my knowledge — of a cult of the god Forseti. This elusive god is mentioned by Snorri as Baldr's son, and in *Grimnismál* 15 he is said to reside in Glitnir, a hall made of gold and silver, where he sits and mediates in legal disputes. The legal aspect of this god is also referred to in his name, which means 'one who leads a legal meeting, a thing'.³⁸

In and around the parish of *Vang* — the old *Riðabu* in Hedmark (east of Lake Mjøsa) — we have what is for Norway a unique 'sacral landscape', judging by the place names: *Disen*, *Åker*, *Vang*, *Torshov*, and *Vidarshov*. This place-name milieu has been observed and discussed for a long time. Unfortunately the evidence is not as clear as it appears from the present-day forms. The name *Vidarshov* has been understood as an ON *Víðarshof*, evidencing the cult of Víðarr, the son Óðinn begot with the giantess Gríðr, killer of his father's killer at Ragnarök. The older forms of this place name are, unfortunately, not all that old — no medieval forms are known: Wirishaugh *c.* 1550, Wiersøgh 1578, Virso 1574–97. From this it seems rather adventurous (to put it mildly) to reconstruct an ON *Víðarshof*. Instead the name seems to be an older ON *Virishaugr*, containing a man's name *Virir, or perhaps Virfir, known from *Vqluspá*, and *haugr* ('grave mound'). Such a name has at least a few Swedish parallels, with a man's name as the first element and the word OSw *högher* 'burial mound' as the second, often referring to a grand grave mound, for example *Hillessjö* (< Hildishøgh 1310) in Uppland referring to the grave mound *Hilleshögen*.³⁹ The usual explanation of the name *Torshov* is also questionable. Older forms of the name, such as Torseg 1520 and Torsogh 1578, 1593, actually point in the same direction as *Vidarshov*, to an ON *Þórshaugr* or *Þórishaugr*, the latter containing the man's name Þórir. Although there are

³⁷ Mattias Tveitane, 'Forseti', in *Realllexikon*, ed. by Beck and others, IX (1995), 343–45.

³⁸ Compare the title of Iceland's president, 'Forseti' Íslands.

³⁹ Karin Callissendorff, *Ortnamn i Uppland* (Stockholm: AWE/Geber, 1986), p. 34.

parallels to the first element being a man's name, one cannot rule out the possibility that we have here the names of the gods Þórr and Víðarr, while the second element in both names looks like *-haugr* 'burial mound'. It is impossible to be certain in either case, due to the lack of old (medieval) forms of the names.

The goddess Frigg, Óðinn's wife according to the *Poetic Edda* and to Snorri, does not occur very frequently in Old Norse literature, and the same is true for the toponymic material: we only have knowledge of her cult in a couple of place names. These are *Friggeråker*, a parish and hamlet in Gudhem, in the district of Falbygden, famous for its ancient monuments, in Västergötland (de frigiær aker, in frigiæraker 1311, in friggjæraker 1323, i frigerachar 1390, i friggerakers sokn 1423); and the lost farm name †*Friggjarsetr* in Hegra, northern Trøndelag, Norway (af Fryggiosætre AB). The Swedish name has normally been seen as a definite instance of the name of the goddess Frigg. The earlier name forms correspond well with the expected *Friggiær-*, and the second element of the compound, the word *aker* ('arable land'), gives the place name a main element that is semantically plausible. However, since this may be a unique case, Lennart Elmevik has presented a non-theophoric interpretation.⁴⁰ He sees the word ON *fridgerð* ('making peace, conciliation') in the first element of the name. The name has, in his opinion, gone through the following development: **Fridgerð(ar)aker* > **Fridgiærðaker* > **Friggiær(ð)aker*. The etymological handicraft looks possible, but one has to admit there are many more or less problematic links in this chain of evidence. Personally I accept the traditional interpretation and see *Friggeråker* as an example of a name evidencing a cult of the goddess Frigg. More problematic is the Norwegian name. Magnus Olsen reconstructs a **Friggjarsetr* from the forms in Aslak Bolt's land register (1430s–40s),⁴¹ but this is not at all obvious from the preserved form *Fryggiosætre*. Instead the name looks to me like an ON **Friggusetr*, indicating a woman's name **Friggia*, or perhaps an otherwise unknown weak variant of the goddess name Frigg. The Norwegian name is problematic and a connection with the name of the goddess Frigg can certainly not be taken for granted.

Finally we have the interesting case of the god(?) **Fillinn*. In the central part of the settlement district of Våge in Gudbrandsdalen, Opland, Norway, we have three *vin*-farms in a row: *Ullinsyn*, which also is the vicarage in the parish (a Vllinsin 1354, a Vllinsini 1356), *Lyen* (i Lygin 1345, i Lyghine 1360, a Lyghini 1361), and *Fillinsø* (a Fillinsin 1325, a Fillensœæ 1446): there are hence three

⁴⁰ Lennart Elmevik, 'Härnevi och Friggeråker', *Namn och bygd*, 83 (1995), 67–77.

⁴¹ Olsen, *Hedenske kultminder*, p. 207.

related names, ON *Ullinsin*, *Lýgin*, and *Fillinsin*, which could be parts of an original, subsequently divided **Vin*. Magnus Olsen, who first drew attention to these names, considered that one of them, *Ullinsin*, must be a *vin*-name containing the name of the god Ullinn.⁴² There can be no doubt that he is right. *Lýgin* seems to have as the first element a stem **lýgi-*, with a parallel stem in **ljúg-*, found, for example, in Goth *liuga* f. ‘marriage’ and OHG **liugi* ‘peace, agreement’ (in *urliugi* ‘war’; cf. with ablaut OSw *ørlog*, MLG *orloge*, *orlich*, MFr *orloge* ‘war’). It is Olsen’s plausible idea that an Old Norse form **lýgi* n. once existed, meaning ‘final agreement, pact’, with a topographical denotation ‘a place which has become sacred and not possible to violate by oath-taking’, hence ‘a thing site’. Several names in Norway contain the stems **lýgi-* and **ljúg-*, such as *Lye*, a vicarage in the parish of the same name in Time, Rogaland (a Lyghi 1384), and three instances of *Lystad*, in Skiptvet, Østfold (i Lyghistadhūm *RB*), in Sørūm, Akershus (Lygistad *RB*), and in Ullensaker, Akershus (Lysistad *RB*). In the name *Fillinsø*, ON *Fillinsin*, Olsen sees a toponymic compound parallel to ON *Ullinsin*, so that the first elements in both names are the names of gods: **Ullinn* and **Fillinn*. Neither appears in Old Norse literature, only in place names, but at least for Ullinn, the evidence seems plausible and has never been questioned. The reconstructed **Fillinn* is in Olsen’s opinion from a Pr.-Germ. **Filbinaz*, related to Pr.-Germ. **felþa-* ‘arable land’, and he considered the god to be a hypostasis of Freyr. In support of this assumption Olsen points to the probably related name pair *Ullinsakr/Frøysakr* in N. Land, Opland, and to the Finnish god Pellonpekko. To cut a long story short, Magnus Olsen has drawn attention to a most interesting case in Våge, and our conclusion must be that his interpretation of the element **Ullinn* in ON *Ullinsin* is a cogent one; the derivation of **lýgi* ‘thing site’ in *Lyen*, ON *Lýgin*, is clever, potentially possible, and extremely interesting; and as for **Fillinn* in *Fillinsø*, ON *Fillinsin*, this remains a bold, intriguing, and well-argued case, albeit highly speculative.

Conclusion

This spatial and toponymical exercise has revealed that the existence of cults of many gods and goddesses, as suggested by Old Norse literature, is not supported by the toponymic material. According to place-name evidence, only a few gods and even fewer goddesses were the objects of an actual cult in Scandinavia: Óðinn,

⁴² Olsen, *Hedenske kultminder*, pp. 103–30.

Þórr, Freyr, Ullr/Ullinn, Njǫrðr/*Niærþer, Týr, and probably Freyja. There are some isolated indications of a cult of Baldr, Forseti, and Frigg. The evidence presented here does not indicate that there was an actual cult of all of the gods and goddesses in the pantheon mentioned in *Snorra Edda*, the *Poetic Edda*, skaldic poetry, and by Saxo.

The other finding of my analysis of the place-name material is that different cults seem to have been distinctly regional in many cases. Óðinn is found all over Sweden and Denmark, around Viken and in Trøndelag in Norway, but strangely enough never in south-western Norway. Þórr had a cult in Sweden, Denmark, and in south-east Norway, but place names formed using Þórr's name are lacking in Trøndelag and northern Norway and the ones found in western Norway are uncertain. Freyr had a distinct cult in the Svea-dominated area, with a core around Lake Mälaren; in Norway we find Freyr names in the south-eastern region, in Østfold, Vestfold, Hedmark, Buskerud, and Oppland. Again there are no names in Trøndelag and northern Norway, and the ones in western Norway are of uncertain origin. Denmark lacks Freyr names altogether, except for Frøs Herred on Jutland. Ullr has a similar spread to the cult of Freyr, with two distinct areas, the Svea region in eastern Sweden and the Viken region in Norway, whereas Trøndelag has no names and western Norway has some uncertain ones. Denmark has no evidence of a cult of Ullr. A regional cult of Ullinn is demonstrable for the central and western areas of Norway, and only there. Týr was obviously an important god in Denmark — probably the most important — according to the place names there. His name does not occur in Swedish place names. In Norway we find Týr names in western Norway and possibly in Trøndelag.

This is a strong indication that the pagan 'religion' in early Scandinavia was never homogeneous. There were obviously regional cults of certain gods and goddesses. Ullr and Freyr had a distinct regional cult in the Svea-dominated area in Sweden and around Viken in Norway. The cult of Ullinn was a local cult in central Norway. What is striking is that western Norway seems to have been distinctive; it differs considerably from the Viken region, for example. Here gods such as Þórr, Óðinn, and Freyr were not worshipped; instead there are indications of cults of Njǫrðr and Týr in this region. In Denmark the cult of Týr seems to have been particularly strong, with many place names bearing his name. Gods and goddesses such as Loki, Heimdallr, Bragi, Gefjon, and Iðunn never occur in Scandinavian place names, which may indicate that there was never an actual cult of these deities.

Appendix

*Theophoric Place Names in Scandinavia*⁴³

Freyr

Norway

1. Frøshov, Trøgstad hd, Østfold (Fræyshof 1391)
2. ?Fresvold, S. Odalen hd, Hedmark (Frøsuælli *RB*)
3. ?Frøise, Lom hd, Opland (Frøso 1520)
4. Frøisen, Ø. Gausdal hd, Opland (Frøysynar 1329, a Frøsene 1459)
5. ?Frøisli, Lunner hd, Opland (Frossliidt 1520)
6. †Frøisli, N. Land hd, Opland (Frøisli 1669)
7. †Frøysland, N. Land hd, Opland (Frøsslanndt 1592)
8. †Frøysåker, N. Land, Opland (Frøssagger 1592)
9. Frøishov, Hole hd, Buskerud (a Fræyshofue 1342)
10. Frøisåker, Gøl hd, Buskerud (Frøisaack 1500s)
11. ?Freste, Ramnes hd, Vestfold (i Frøysteigi *RB*)
12. ?Fresti, Sem hd, Vestfold (a Frøysteighi *RB*)
13. Frostvet, Hedrum hd, Vestfold (Frøyspueit *RB*)
14. ?Frøisnes, Bygland hd, Aust-Agder (Frøissnnes 1601)
15. ?Frøisland, Søgne hd, Vest-Agder (Frøi landt 1601, Frøsseland 1610)
16. ?Frøisti, Vanse hd, Vest-Agder (Frøsthienn 1594)
17. ?Frøsvik, Ullensvang hd, Hordaland (Frysuig 1500s)
18. Fretland, Sogndal hd, Sogn og Fjordane (i Frøyslandi *BK*)
19. Fresvik, Leikanger hd, Sogn og Fjordane (i Fræysvik 1317)
20. ?Frøisland, Førde hd, Sogn og Fjordane (Frøessland 1608)
21. ?Frøise, Stranda hd, Møre (af Frøysin *AB*)
22. ?Frøiset, Veø, Møre (Frøsetter 1500s)

Sweden

1. ?†Frøshögarna, Uppsala, Uppland (frøshøgana 1497)
2. Fröslunda, sn, Lagunda hd, Uppland (De fröslundum 1314)
3. Frösvi, Tillinge sn, Åsunda hd, Uppland (j frösui 1467)

⁴³ Analysed and selected from the medieval register 'Medeltidsregistret' at SOFI, Uppsala; Olsen, *Hedenske kultminder*; Kousgård Sørensen, 'Haupttypen sakraler Ortsnamen Südsandinavien'; Elias Wessén, 'Forntida gudedyrkan i Östergötland 1–2', *Meddelanden från Östergötlands fornminnes- och museiförening* (1921), 85–147, (1922), 1–48; Elias Wessén, *Minnen av forntida gudedyrkan i Mellan-Sveriges ortnamn*, Studier i nordisk filologi, 14.1 (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1923); Elias Wessén, *Studier till Sveriges hedna mytologi och fornhistoria*, Uppsala universitets årsskrift, 1924: Filosofi, språkvetenskap och historiska vetenskaper, 6 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1924); Hellberg, 'Hedendomens spår'; Holmberg, 'Den hedenske gud Tyr'; and Vikstrand, *Gudarnas platser*.

4. Frösthult, sn, Simtuna hd, Uppland (De frøstolpt 1314)
5. Fröslunda, Altuna sn, Simtuna hd, Uppland (ij fröslundum 1356)
6. ?Frösvik, Ö. Ryds sn, Danderyds skl, Uppland (Frösvik 1369, j fridzwik 1424)
7. Frösåker, hd, Uppland (in frösakir 1344)
8. Fröslunda, Harakers sn, Norrbo hd, Västmanland (fröslundir, Fröslundum 1288)
9. †Frösboberg, Västerås, Västmanland (in Frösbobergh 1357)
10. Frösshammar, Arboga lfs., Åkerbo hd, Västmanland (fröshamar 1291)
11. Frössvi, Kolbäcks sn, Snevringe hd, Västmanland (in frösswi 1331)
12. Frösvi, Romfartuna sn, Norrbo hd, Västmanland (in fröswj 1357)
13. Frösåker, Kärrobo sn, Siende hd, Västmanland (frösaker 1291)
14. Frösvi, Edsbergs sn and hd, Närke (fruoswi 1216, de frösui 1341)
15. Frösvidal, Kils sn, Närke (i Fröswi 1438)
16. Fröslunda, Överselö sn, Selebo hd, Södermanland (i frayslutum Sö 208, fröslunda 1314)
17. Kilfröslunda, Överselö sn, Selebo hd, Södermanland⁴⁴
18. Fröslunda, Fors sn, Eskilstuna, Södermanland (in fröslundum 1346)
19. Frustuna, sn, Daga hd, Södermanland (fröstuna 1331)
20. Frösui, Österåkers sn, Oppunda hd, Södermanland (j frösui 1397)
21. Frössle, Kärna sn, Hanekinds hd, Östergötland (fröshella 1435)
22. Fröslunda, Bankekinds sn and hd, Östergötland (in fröslundum 1337)
23. Frösvik, Oppeby sn, Kinda hd, Östergötland (fröswy 1307)
24. ?Fröstad, Rystads sn, Åkerbo hd, Östergötland (in Frøpstadhum 1354, in Fröstathum 1354)
25. ?Fröstad, part of Östra Tollstads sn, Vifolka hd, Östergötland (frösta 1530)
26. Fröseke, Älghults sn, Uppvidinge hd, Småland (i Fröseke 1404)
27. ?Fröset, Fröderyds sn, Västra hd, Småland (frösryth 1296)
28. ?Fröset, Hångers sn, Östbo hd, Småland (j frösidh 1494, frösseriitth 1538)
29. Fröslunda, Stenåsa sn, Möckelby hd, Öland (in fröslundum 1312)
30. Frösve, sn, Vadsbo hd, Västergötland (Frösvi 1397)
31. Fröslunda, Sunnersbergs sn, Kållands hd, Västergötland (fröslwnde 1470s)
32. †Fröslunda, Kåkindes hd, Västergötland (i fröslwnda 1494)
33. Fredsberg, sn, Vadsbo hd, Västergötland (frösbjærg 1279, frösbyergh 1279)
34. Fröslöv, Valleberga sn, Ingelstads hd, Skåne (i Frösløff 1477, Frösløff 1491)
35. Frösten, Jättendals sn, Hälsingland (fröstena 1483, frosstuna 1542)
36. ?Fröst, Alnö sn, Sundsvall, Medelpad (i ffrössetther 1535)
37. Fröstland, Bjärträ sn, Ångermanland (i fröslunda 1500, i fröslund 1519)
38. Frösö, island and sn, Jämtland (De frøsø 1314)

Denmark

1. Frøs Herred, hd, Jylland (Frøsheret 1231)

⁴⁴ It is very difficult to determine which *Fröslunda* in Överselö parish (*Fröslunda* or *Kilfröslunda*) older forms in medieval documents are to be identified with.

Njǫrðr/*Niærþer

Norway

1. Nerdrum, Fet hd, Akershus (i Niærdarini 1363)
2. Norderhov, Løiten hd, Hedmark (a Nærdrhofue 1370)
3. Norderhov, sn and hd, Buskerud (ON Njarðarhof; *NSL* p. 234)
4. Nærland, Nærbo hd, Rogaland (Nordelandh c. 1520)
5. Nærland, Finnø hd, Rogaland (Niærdaland 1308)
6. Nørland, Masfjorden hd, Hordaland (Nerdelandt c. 1520)
7. Nerland, Eresfjord, Nesset hd, Møre (Nordlandæ sokn *AB*)
8. ?Nardo, Strinda hd, S.Trøndelag (i Nirdole *AB*)
9. Nærum, Rygge hd, Østfold (af Nerdheimum 1320)
10. Nalum, Brunlanes hd, Vestfold (Næiardheim *RB*)
11. Næreim, Suldal, Rogaland (Nerenn, Nerem 1567, Nerrimb 1602, Nerim 1610)
12. Nereim, Fjelberg hd, Hordaland (Niardhæims sokn 1326)
13. Nærem, Sylte hd, Møre (af Nerdheime *AB*)

*Sweden*⁴⁵

1. Norderön, sn, Jämtland
2. Närtuna, sn, Långhundra hd, Uppland
3. Nälsta, Spånga sn, Sollentuna hd, Uppland
4. Närlunda, Ekerö sn, Färentuna hd, Uppland
5. Närlunda, Badelunda sn, Siende hd, Västmanland
6. Närlunda, Gåsinge sn, Daga hd, Södermanland
7. Närlunda, Husby-Oppunda sn, Oppunda hd, Södermanland
8. Nälberga, Tystberga sn, Rönö hd, Södermanland
9. Nälberga, Svärta sn, Rönö hd, Södermanland
10. Nalavi, Kräcklinge sn, Hardemo hd, Närke
11. Nälberg, Hardemo sn and hd, Närke
12. †N(i)ærdarvi, Viby sn, Grimstens hd, Närke
13. Närlunda, Bällefors sn, Vadsbo hd, Västergötland
14. N(i)ærdhavi (Närby), Drothems sn, Hammarkinds hd, Östergötland
15. Mjärdevi, Slaka sn, Hanekinds hd, Östergötland
16. Mjärdevi, Hogstads sn, Göstrings hd, Östergötland
17. ?Nällsta, Ytterselö sn, Selebo hd, Södermanland (nerddestum 1334, nærdistom 1411)

*Denmark*⁴⁶

1. Nærum, Copenhagen, Sjælland (Niartharum 1186)
2. Næra, N., Fyn
3. Næra, S., Fyn

⁴⁵ See Vikstrand, *Gudarnas platser*, p. 98, supplement with Nällsta.

⁴⁶ See Kousgård Sørensen, 'Haupttypen sakraler Ortsnamen Südsandinavien'.

Óðinn

Norway

1. Onsaker, Våler hd, Østfold (Odensakr *RB*)
2. Onsø, hd, Østfold (ON Óðinsøy, see *NG*, I, 309)
3. †Óðinssalr, Onsø hd, Østfold (óðinssalri *Fagrskinna*)
4. Onsrud, Ullensaker hd, Akershus (a Odenshofue 1331, a Odenshofue *RB*)
5. ?Onsaker, Gran hd, Opland (Onsager 1667)
6. ?Onsaker, Hole hd, Buskerud (Onsagger 1578)
7. ?Osland, Kirkebø hd, Sogn og Fjordane (a Odenslande 1322)
8. ?Osland, Kinn hd, Sogn og Fjordane (i Odenalanðe *BK*, Odhenslandh 1500s)
9. Onsøien, Buviken hd, S. Trøndelag (af Odinsyn *AB*, Odhensøy *AB*)
10. Onsøien, Byneset hd, S. Trøndelag (Otthensø 1500s)
11. †Óðinssalr, Beitstad hd, N. Trøndelag (see *NSL* p. 240)

Sweden

1. Onsicke, Skogs-Tibble sn, Hagunda hd, Uppland (i Odhenseke 1409)
2. Odensfors/Onskarby, Tierp, Uppland (Odensfors 1480/odenskarlaby 1486)
3. †Onsta, Tierp, Uppland (odenstatt, odenstat 1500s)
4. Onslunda, Tensta sn, Norunda hd, Uppland (apud villam Odinslunde 1302)
5. Odenslund, Söderby-Karls sn, Lyhundra hd, Uppland (j odhenslunde 1365)
6. Odenslunda, Fresta sn, Vallentuna hd, Uppland (de Ødhinslundum 1351, j Odhenslundum 1409)
7. †Odensholmen, ?Östra Ryds sn, Danderyds skl, Uppland (in opinsholmi 1315)
8. Odensholmen, Skånåla sn, Seminghundra hd, Uppland (odens hálma 1634)
9. Odensala, sn, Ärlinghundra hd, Uppland (othinsharg 1286, othinsaerg 1288, othinshargh 1291, in odhinshargh 1310)
10. †Odinssalir, Sala sn, Övertjurbo hd, Västmanland (Onsals backar 1785)
11. †Odensvi, sn, Åkerbo hd, Västmanland (Odhienwi 1351, j opinswj 1366)
12. Onsholmen, Irsta sn, Siende hd, Västmanland (odensholm 1449)
13. ?Onsjö, Fagersta, Västmanland (onsøø 1486, Onssyö 1539)
14. †Odensö, probably in Munktorps sn, Snevinge hd, Västmanland (aff odizsiøø, i odinzøø, i odinzø 1485)
15. Odensvi, Viby sn, Grimstens hd, Örebro, Närke (i odhinswi 1385)
16. †Odenslunda, Aspö sn, Selebo hd, Södermanland (Otthinslundum 1100s)
17. †Odensvi, Kattnäs sn, Daga hd, Södermanland (j Odensui, j Odenswij 1361)
18. Onsberga, Runtuna sn, Rönö hd, Södermanland (?othensberghe 1431)
19. Onsberga, Sättersta sn, Rönö hd, Södermanland (odhinsbiærgh 1364)
20. Odensberga, Gryts sn, Daga hd, Södermanland (in Odhinsberghum 1348)
21. Odensicke, Ytterselö sn, Selebo hd, Södermanland (in odhinsheke 1331, j odhinseke 1365)
22. †Odensjö, probably in Rönö hd, Södermanland (j odensiø 1462)
23. ?Odensfors, Vretaklosters sn, Gullbergs hd, Östergötland (i wdhens ass 1500, odhensffors 1535)
24. ?Odenstomta, Kuddby sn, Björkekind's hd, Östergötland (i odhinstomptum 1409)
25. Odensaker, Kullerstads sn, Memings hd, Östergötland (j odhensakre 1375)

26. ?Odenstad, Gillberga sn and hd, Värmland (innan Odinstadum 1355, J odhenstadhum 1361)
27. Onsön, island, Segerstads sn, Grums hd, Värmland (een öö ok heter Odhinsöo 1480)
28. Vångsgårde, Orsa sn, Dalarna (odensgerdhe 1539)
29. Odensala, Östersund, Jämtland (i odhinsal 1410, j odinsall 1430)
30. Odensjö, Barnarps sn, Tveta hd, Småland (odhensioo, odhenssioo 1394, i Odhensjö 1456)
31. Odensjö, sn, Sunnerbo hd, Småland (i odhinsredha sokn 1389, Odhænsörÿth 1413)
32. Odenslanda, Vederslövs sn, Kinnevalds hd, Småland (i Odhenslandom 1406)
33. Odensvi, sn, S. Tjusts hd, Småland (i Odenszwij 1358, in odhinswÿ 1371)
34. Odensvi, Högsby sn, Handbörds hd, Småland (in Othenswi 1351)
35. †Odensö, probably a small island in Emån, Högsby sn, Handbörds hd, Småland (vsque insulam Odensöo 1344)
36. Odens källa, a well in Åkatorp, Gudhems sn and hd, Västergötland (widh odhens kyældu 1287)
37. Odensåker, sn, Vadsbo hd, Västergötland (Othensaker 1292, odhensaker 1313)
38. Onsö, island in Lake Vänern, Torsö sn, Vadsbo hd, Västergötland (jnsule dicte othensö 1371)
39. Onslunda, Flistads sn, Vadsbo hd, Västergötland (Onslunde 1540)
40. Odens kulle, hill, Gökhemms sn, Vilske hd, Västergötland (Odens kulle 1561)
41. ?Onsered, Tvärreds sn, Kinds hd, Västergötland (odensrydh 1482)
42. ?Onsjö, Larvs sn, Laske hd, Västergötland (Onsky 1550)
43. Onsjö, Vassända-Naglums sn, Väne hd, Västergötland (odhenshögh 1397, i odinssiö 1517)
44. Onsön, Dals-Eds sn, Vedbo hd, Dalsland (een gardh i odhensö 1421)
45. Onsala, sn, Fjäre hd, Halland (de Othænsæle c. 1300, aff Otænsælæ 1403, i Odensale 1490)
46. Onssjö, Vapnö o Söndrums snr, Halmstads hd, Halland (in Oothensö 1377, i Odhinsyö 1399)
47. Onslunda, sn, Ingelstads hd, Skåne (aff Othænslundæ 1401, Othinslunda 1430)
48. ?'Onsualle kielle', boundary mark in Höör, Höörs sn, Frosta hd, Skåne (aff Onssualle kielle 1517)
49. Onsjö, hd, Skåne (i odenshärdt 1245, in Othens H. 1351, i Odenshärdt 1351, in othænhæret 1297–1333, Othænsheret c. 1300 Vjb, in othinshæret 1330)

*Denmark*⁴⁷

1. Vognsbæk, Skærum and Hørmested sn, Horns hd, Jutland (Wonsbech 1530)
2. Vonsild, sn, Gislum hd, Jutland (Othensild 1428?, Vonssöld 1442)
3. Oddense, sn, Hindborg hd, Jutland (Otenssogen 1410, Odens 1463, Otthensæ 1464)
4. Onsild, hd, Jutland (Othenshulle c. 1186)
5. Oens, Ølsted sn, Hatting hd, Jutland (Ottens 1464, Otthens 1484)
6. Vonsild, sn, N. Tyrstrup hd, Jutland (Odenschulde 1436, Wondsyld 1452)
7. Vonsbæk, sn, Haderslev hd, Jutland (Odensbek 1413, Odensbeke 1462)
8. Vojens, sn, Gram hd, Jutland (Wodens 1421, Wodense, Wodenze 1475)
9. Onsbjerg, sn, Samsø (Othensberg 1424)

⁴⁷ Many thanks to Dr Peder Gammeltoft, The Name Research Section, Dept. of Scandinavian Research, University of Copenhagen, for help with identifications and written records.

5. Torslunda, Fröslunda sn, Lagunda hd, Uppland (i Torslundom 1420)
6. ?Torsmyra, Vendels sn, Örbyhus hd, Uppland (j torsmyra 1471)
7. Torsvi, sn, Trögds hd, Uppland (De thorsui 1314, thorswi 1303)
8. Torsholma, Frösunda sn, Semingundra hd, Uppland (I þorsulmi U 343, Jn thorsholmi 1296)
9. ?†Torsholm (= Munkholmen), Tärnsund, Uppland (in dorsholm 1298)
10. Torslunda, Täby sn, Danderyds skl, Uppland (j thorslundom 1457)
11. Torslunda, vicarage, Ekerö sn, Färentuna hd, Uppland (in thorslundum 1342)
12. Torslunda, Sång sn, Färentuna hd, Uppland (Thorslundum 1257)
13. Torslunda, Husby-Lyhundra sn, Lyhundra hd, Uppland (ij torslunda 1536)
14. Torslunda, Haga sn, Ärlinghundra hd, Uppland (in thorslundum 1335)
15. Torsåker, hd, Uppland (ii thorsakirshundare 1370)
16. Torstuna, sn and hd, Uppland (torstunum 1257, de Thorstunum 1287)
17. Torslunda, Torstuna sn and hd, Uppland (Jn thorslundum 1296)
18. ?Torsmossen, Odensvi sn, Åkerbo hd, Västmanland (in thorsmusa 1331)
19. Torsåker, sn, Rönö hd, Södermanland (De þorsaker 1314)
20. ?Torsholmen, (island in the lake Båven) Helgesta sn, Villåttinge hd, Södermanland (Thordsholm 1447, Torsholmen 1480, Torsholmen 1502)
21. Torshälla, town, Södermanland (thorsharchum 1252, thorshargy 1279, in thorshargi 1288)
22. Torsö, (island in Båven) Ludgo sn, Rönö hd, Södermanland (torsøø 1476)
23. Torsberga, Stenkvista sn, Ö-Rekarne hd, Södermanland (j thorsberghum 1381)
24. Torsberga, Runtuna sn, Rönö hd, Södermanland (torsberga 1535)
25. Torslunda, Husby-Oppunda sn, Oppunda hd, Södermanland (j thorslwndom 1375)
26. ?Torsnäs, Torsåkers sn, Rönö hd, Södermanland (thorsnæs 1384)
27. ?Torsjö, Ö. Ryds sn, Skärkinds hd, Östergötland (j thorsridhi 1371, j thorsydhe 1376, j thorsydhe 1381)
28. Torslund, Ö. Stenby sn, Östkinds hd, Östergötland (thorslundh 1393, i Thorslunde 1412)
29. ?Torsnäs, Ö. Eneby sn, Norröping, Östergötland (thoorsnæs 1453)
30. ?Torsnäs, V. Hargs sn, Vifolka hd, Östergötland (i Torsness 1488)
31. Torsnäs, Ö. Stenby sn, Östkinds hd, Östergötland (j thorsnæsi 1377, j thorsnæs 1383)
32. Torsåkra, Horns sn, Kinda hd, Östergötland (torsåker 1545)
33. Torsburgen, Gotland (þors borg GutaLaw)
34. Torslunda, sn, Algutsrums hd, Öland (de thorslundom 1283)
35. Torsrum, Ålems sn, Stranda hd, Småland (in thorsrumi 1316, j toorsrwm 1461)
36. Torsås, sn, S. Möre hd, Småland (Thorsas 1290, thorsaas 1335)
37. ?Torsjö, Höreda sn, S. Vedbo hd, Småland (ij Torsrijd 1406, thorsio 1409)
38. Torsjö, Ö. Torsås sn, Konga hd, Småland (in Thorsyo, parochia Thorsaas 1348)
39. Östra Torsås, sn, Konga hd, Småland (i Thorssaas sokn 1403, i torsas 1474)
40. ?Torset, Vallsjö sn, Västra hd, Småland (j torsryd c. 1500)
41. Västra Torsås, sn, Allbo hd, Småland (j thorsase 1376)
42. ?Torseryd, Odensjö sn, Sunnerbo hd, Småland (in Thorsrydh 1354)
43. ?Torset, Berga sn, Sunnerbo hd, Småland (j thorsrydh 1424)
44. Torsö, Otterstads sn, Kållands hd, Västergötland (jn thors øø 1311)
45. ?Torsundet, (strait between Lållandsö and Spårön) Kållands hd, Västergötland (ij thorsund 1391)
46. Torsö, sn, Vadsbo hd, Västergötland (de torsøø 1293, in thorsø 1309, thorsø 1310)

47. ?Torse, Istorp sn, Marks hd, Västergötland (Thorzrijdh 1434)
48. Torsås, Brunns sn, Redvägs hd, Västergötland (i Torsäesz 1540)
49. Torslanda, sn, V. Hisings hd, Bohuslän (j Þorslandum 1388, Thorslanda *RB* c. 1400)
50. Torsång, sn, Dalarna (thorsanger 1288, thorsang 1336, Thorsunge 1357, Thorsange 1368, Torsang 1368, j thorsang sokn 1386)
51. Torsvallen, Valbo sn, Gästrikland (i Thorsvallen 1443)
52. Torsåker, sn, Gästrikland (De thorsakir 1314, Deinde thorsakir 1302–19)
53. Torsåker, sn, Ångermanland (De thorsakir 1314, in thorsakir 1316)
54. ?Torsjö, Gunnarps sn, Halland (i torsridh, torsrid 1455)
55. ?Torsjö, (small lake) Enslövs sn, Tönnersjö hd, Halland (Thoresiø 1452)
56. Torsjö, Solberga and Örsjö snr, Vemmenhögs hd, Skåne (de Thorsyo 1349, thorssiø 1428)
57. Torseke, Fjälkestad sn, Villands hd, Skåne (y Thorsseeghe 1551)

Denmark

1. Torslunde, Sjælland (Torslundæ 1308)
2. Torslunde, Lolland (Torslund 1200s)
3. Torslund, Fyn (Thorslundæ 1315)
4. Torsager, Djursland, Jutland
5. Torsbjerg, Schlesvig

Ullr

Norway

1. ?Ullvet, Eidsberg hd, Østfold (Vlleþueit *RB*)
2. Ullarøy, Skjeberg hd, Østfold (Vllarøey 1349)
3. Ulleren, Aker hd, Akershus (i Ullarini *RB*)
4. Ullevål, Aker hd, Akershus (a Ullaruale 1309)
5. ?Ulreng, Skedsmo hd, Akershus (Vlleregh *RB*)
6. ?Ulleren, Ullensaker hd, Akershus (Vlreng 1520, Wllrudh 1500s)
7. Ulleren, S. Odalen hd, Hedmark (Ullerni *RB*)
8. †Ullarøy (now Gjersøien), S. Odalen hd, Hedmark (i Vllarøey 1306)
9. ?Ulland, Fåberg hd, Opland (Wlleland 1604)
10. Ulleren, Hole hd, Buskerud (Ullaryn 1291)
11. †Ullarål, Norderhov hd, Buskerud (i Vllærale 1355)
12. Ulleren, Ø. Eiker hd, Buskerud (a Ullaryn 1445)
13. ?Ulleland, Ø. Eiker hd, Buskerud (Wllalanddh 1430)
14. ?Ulland, Flesberg hd, Buskerud (Vllelannd 1500s)
15. Ulleviken, Sem hd, Vestfold (Vllarvik *RB*)
16. Ulleberg, Brunlanes hd, Vestfold (Wlleberg 1593)
17. Ullaren, Tinn hd, Telemark (Vlleren 1511)
18. ?Ulledalen, Kvitseid hd, Telemark (Vlledallen 1665)
19. ?Ullveit, Gjerstad hd, Aust-Agder (Vllethuedt 1593)
20. †Ullarøy, V. Moland hd, Aust-Agder (Ulleroen 1670)
21. ?Ullero, Spind hd, Vest-Agder (Vllero 1594)
22. ?Ulleland, Fede hd, Vest-Agder (Vlleland 1594)

23. ?Ulland, Hitterø hd, Vest-Agder (Vlleland 1594)
24. †Ulleland, Nærbø hd, Rogaland (Ulleland 1668)
25. ?Ullenes, Rennesø hd, Rogaland (Vlnes 1563)
26. ?Ulland, Samnanger hd, Hordaland (Vlleland 1668)
27. ?Ulleland, Volden hd, Møre (or Vllarlande 1324)

Sweden

1. †Ullund(a), Kungshusby sn, Trögð, Uppland (j wlllund 1457)
2. Ullbolsta, Jumkils sn, Ulleråkers hd, Uppland (de vllabolstad 1316, in vllabolstadh 1316)
3. Ullunda, Tillinge sn, Åsunda hd, Uppland (ii Vllalunde 1353)
4. Ullbro, Tillinge sn, Åsunda hd, Uppland (Vllabro 1444, j vllabro 1445)
5. Ulleråker, hd, Uppsala, Uppland (vllarakir 1298)
6. Ultuna, Uppsala, Uppland (Wlertune 1221, in vllatunum 1316)
7. Ullevi, Stora, Bro sn and hd, Uppland (in wllawi 1326)
8. Ullevi, Lilla, Bro sn and hd, Uppland (j Wllawij 1486)
9. Ullfors, Tierps sn, Örbyhus hd, Uppland (wllafors 1326, i Ullæfors 1357)
10. Ullstämna, Litslena sn, Trögds hd, Uppland (i Vllastempne 1419)
11. Ulleråker, Simtuna sn and hd, Uppland (vllarakyr 1346, j Vllarakri 1360)
12. Ullberga, Råby-Rekarne sn, V.-Rekarne hd, Södermanland (j vllabergh 1461)
13. †Ullalunda, Jäders sn, Österrekarne hd, Södermanland (j vllælunde 1344)
14. Ullevi, Överjärna sn, Öknebo hd, Södermanland
15. Ullevi, Sorunda sn, Sotholms hd, Södermanland (wllai 1400-t., i vllawy 1452)
16. Ullevi, Gåsinge sn, Daga hd, Södermanland (j vllawij 1366)
17. Ullevi, Nikolai sn (Nyköping), Jönåkers hd, Södermanland (vllæui 1330)
18. †Ullunda, Ytterenhörna sn, Selebo hd, Södermanland (en by benempd Vllalund j Enhörna sockn 1358)
19. Ullunda, Ytterselö sn, Selebo hd, Södermanland (i wllalundum 1356)
20. Ullvi, Irsta sn, Siende hd, Västmanland (in Vllai 1371)
21. Ullvi, Munktorps sn, Snevinge hd, Västmanland (i vllawy 1382)
22. Ullvi, Köpings sn, Åkerbo hd, Västmanland (in Wllæui 1349, j wllai, aff vllai c. 1400)
23. ?Ullekalv, Högby sn, Göstrings hd, Östergötland (vllacalf 1337, i wllakalfwe 1384)
24. Ullstämna, Landeryds sn, Hanekinds hd, Östergötland (vllastempnu 1317)
25. Ullevi(d), Örberga sn, Dals hd, Östergötland (in Ullervi 1313, in vllæru 1320)
26. Ullevi, Järstads sn, Göstrings hd, Östergötland (af Vllawi 1358, ii vllai 1376)
27. Ullevi, Kimstads sn, Memmings hd, Östergötland (ii wllawi 1381)
28. Ullevi, St. Lars sn (Linköping), Östergötland (de wllawi 1300, in vllævi 1343)
29. Ulbersta, Skärkinds sn and hd, Östergötland (af vllabolstaþ 1367, af vllabolstadh 1371)
30. Ullavi, V. Stenby sn, Aska hd, Östergötland (i Wllawy 1434)
31. Ullnäs, Örberga sn, Dals hd, Östergötland (vllanæs 1432, j vllanæs 1435)
32. ?†Ullanäs, Nora sn, Närke (vllanæs j nora sokn 1415)
33. Ullavi, Askersund, Sundbo hd, Närke (ij Vllai 1405)
34. †Ullavi (cf. Ullavisjön between Rinkeby and Glanshammar), Närke (Ullavi 1606)
35. Ullavi, Kils sn, Närke (Ullevi hampn 1554)
36. ?Ullersäter, Näsby sn, Fellingsbro hd, Närke (i Wllasæthrom 1413, i Wllasæthrom 1413)
37. Ullevi, Sköllersta sn and hd, Närke (ij gårde i Wllewich 1498)

38. ?Ullerud, Nedre, sn, Kils hd, Värmland (de vllarø 1326, Ullarø 1330–34)
39. ?Ullene, sn, Vilske hd, Västrgötland (Ollene 1330–34, vllene sokin 1447)
40. ?Ullervad, sn, Vadsbo hd, Västergötland (vllarwi 1278, vlärwi 1293)
41. ?Ullasjö, sn, Kinds hd, Västergötland (de wllæsio 1314, vllasio 1406)
42. Ullerön, Dals-Eds sn, Vedbo hd, Dalsland (een gardh j vllarø 1421)
43. Ullevi, Gårdby sn, Möckelby hd, Öland (j vllawj 1448)
44. Ullevi, Gamleby sn, S. Tjusts hd, Småland (in vllai 1340, in wllawi, in vllawy 1346)
45. †Ullavi (mentioned with Rottne, Söraby sn, Norrvinge hd), Småland (Wllai 1350)
46. Ullvi, Leksands sn, Dalarna (j vllevi 1450)
47. Ullberg, Njurunda, Medelpad (vllbergghe 1472, i vllberg 1500, i Wllbärgh 1502, i vllberg 1515)
48. †Ullvi, Hackås sn, Jämtland

Ullinn

Norway

1. Ullensaker (< Ullinshof), hd, Akershus (Ullinshofs sokn 1300)
2. Ullershov, Nes hd, Akershus (a Vllinshofue *RB*)
3. †Ullinshof (Nes vicarage), Nes hd, Hedmark (Vllinshofwe 1341)
4. †Ullinsvin (Våge vicarage), Våge hd, Opland (aVllinsin 1354, a Vllinsini 1356)
5. Ullensaker, N. Land, Opland (Vllinssakærs sokn 1337)
6. Ulsåker, Hemsedal hd, Buskerud (Vllesaack 1500s, Vllenssagger 153, Vllendtzagger 1604)
7. Ullensvang, sn and hd, Hordaland (Ullinsvangr 1309)
8. Ulleland, Førde hd, Sogn og Fjordane (i Ullinslande *BK*)

Abbreviations

<i>AB</i>	<i>Aslaks Bolts Jordebog</i> , ed. by P. A. Munch (Oslo: [n.pub.], 1852) [1430s–40s]
<i>BK</i>	<i>Björgynjar kálfskinn</i> , ed. by P. A. Munch (Oslo: [n.pub.], 1843) [c. 1360]
Goth	Gothic
hd	hundred district (herred, hærardh)
lfs	landsförsamling
MFr	Middle Frisian
MLG	Middle Low German
<i>NG</i>	<i>Norske Gaardnavne</i> , 19 vols (Oslo: Cammermeyer, 1897–1936)
<i>NSL</i>	<i>Norsk stadnamleksikon</i> , ed. by J. Sandnes and O. Stemshaug, 3rd edn (Oslo: Samlaget, 1990)
ODa	Old Danish
OE	Old English
OHG	Old High German
ON	Old Norse
OSax	Old Saxon
OSw	Old Swedish
Pr.-Germ.	Proto-Germanic

<i>RB</i>	<i>Biskop Eysteins Jordebog (Den Røde Bog): Fortegnelse over det geistlige Gods i Oslo Bispedømme omkring Aar 1400</i> , ed. by H. J. Huitfeldt (Oslo: [n.pub.], 1879)
skl	skeppslag
sn	parish district

Translations of Frequent Name Elements

ak(i)r/åker/ager	'arable land'
berg	'hill, mountain'
eke	'oak grove'
eng/äng	'meadow'
fors	'rapid, stream'
hof/hov	'pagan cult site or building'
hol	'mound, small hill'
holme	'island, peninsula'
hyllæ	'shelf, ledge'
høgr, harg	'pagan cult site (of some kind)'
källa	'well'
kulle	'small hill'
land	'grassland, field, arable land'
lund	'grove'
løg/lag	e.g. 'laws', and later 'law district'
nes/næs	'peninsula'
ø/ö	'island'
sal(r)	'(banqueting) hall'
sø/sjö	'lake'
vangr	'grass land, field'
vi/vé/væ	'pagan cult site'
vin	originally '(kind of) meadow'
vøllr/vall	'grass land, levelled field'