

# Social order in the early Scandinavian landscape

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Skamt lét vísi vígs at bíða ... Sendi áro allvaldr þaðan ...  
En ungr konungr ... Svá brá stýrir stafntjöldom af...  
at mildinga ... ok doglingar ... ok silkingar ...  
Hverr er landreki sá er liði stýrir<sup>1</sup>  
(*Helgakviða Hundingsbana 1*)

It is, in contrast to the Carolingian realm or to Anglo-Saxon England, difficult to reconstruct a society and landscape in early Scandinavia from, for example, the Viking Age, owing to the lack of contemporaneous written sources. The main source material for this task comes of course from archaeology. But we end up with a very fragile societal skeleton to interpret. However, with the help of the few written sources we have (mainly *Vita Ansgarii* and Adam of Bremen's *Gesta*), the runic inscriptions, the Old Icelandic Edda poems and especially the place-names, a more lucid and perspicuous picture is obtainable. In this paper I will demonstrate that this inter-disciplinary approach is very rewarding. It is even possible to see different social strata in the Late Iron Age (AD c. 600-1100) landscape and society in Scandinavia.

As a starting point, one may focus on the quotations from the ancient Edda poem of *Helgakviða Hundingsbana*, which must hold some kind of world record in the noble art of loading poems with appellatives for leaders in society. This art, well suited to be called by the old Scandinavian word *íþrott* f. (skill), is eloquently attested in other Germanic poems, especially in *Beowulf*. In the stanzas here cited we hear of the *vísi*, the *árr*, the *allvaldr*, the *konungr*, the *stýrir*, the *mildingr*, the *doglingr*, the *siklingr* and the *landreki*.

Recently Richard Abels (1998, 259ff.) has highlighted a similar passage in the Anglo-Saxon Chron-

icle for the year 896, where the Chronicler, more or less with a sigh, notes that the Vikings have this year not afflicted the English people to any great extent. He is much more concerned about the death of many good king's thegns: Swithwulf, *bishop* of Rochester, Ceolmund, *ealdorman* of Kent, Beorhtwulf, *ealdorman* of Essex, Wulfred, *eaaldorman* of Hampshire, Ealhheard, *bishop* of Dorchester, Eadwulf, a *king's thegn* in Sussex, Beornwulf, the *town-reeve* of Winchester, and Ecgwulf, the *king's horse-thegn*.

As Abels points out, we here find a cross-section of the men that a king in ninth century England, in this case Alfred, relied upon for the administration of his realm: *bishops*, for ecclesiastical as well as secular matters, not to say military activities, as was the case for Bishop Ealhstan of Sherbourne and his successor, Heahmund, who are better documented for their battlefield exploits than their spiritual endeavours (Abels 1998, 269); *ealdormen*, who were the highest lay officials and, since the days of Ine in the late seventh century, the royal administrators of the shires, but also leading figures in military and judicial matters; *king's thegns*, making up the *fyrð*, thus the household warriors, but also many landed thegns, who had been granted royal land and estates, so the *fyrð* then covered a wide range of service, from men with great privileges and status, to humble retainers; *reeves*, whose primary charge was to oversee the king's estates and to collect renders, labour services and food rents, also played a vital part in the maintenance of law and order (cf. Seebohm 1902, 360ff.; Chadwick 1905; Loyn 1955 *passim*; Blair 1956, 222ff.; Stenton 1971, 302ff.; Sawyer 1978, 181; Loyn 1984, 47ff. and Abels 1988 *passim*).

Whenever needed, some or several of these officials could be summoned for participating in an assembly, the *witenagemot*, acting as the king's counsellors, the *witan* (Loyn 1984, 96ff.).

What is notable with this early Anglo-Saxon royal governance and administration is the *personal character*, where everything revolved about the king and his household, consisting of close kinsmen, other relatives, and clerical and secular officers, i.e. bishops and thegns. Another aspect is the *mobility* of this unit. The king, his household and his officials travelled constantly between and within the various ecclesiastical and royal estates of his realm. A third feature was the existence of an *assembly* (*witenagemot*), consisting of the king and his counsellors, the *witan*.

Regarding the thegns, there is also the interesting division between men of substance and property, serving as officers at court but possessing estates of their own, and humbler household warriors resident at court, obviously the Anglo-Saxon equivalents to what in early Scandinavia was called the *hirð* or *lið*,<sup>2</sup> consisting of *húskarlar*,<sup>3</sup> *hempægar*, *liðar* (sg. *liði*) etc.<sup>4</sup>

With the quotation from the Edda in mind, and the comparative knowledge from the much better documented Anglo-Saxon England, one may start with the truistic statement that early Scandinavian society was a hierarchically structured one, from the mighty "King", i.e. the King of kings, (the *Allvaldr*, *Landreki*, etc.), via the kings (*konungr*, *dróttinn*, *þjóðann*, *herkonungr*, *neskonungr*, *heraðskonungr*, etc.), the sub-kings, chieftains and high officials (the *valdr*, *høfðingi*, *vísi(r)*, *jarl*, etc.), the law-speakers (*lögsgumaðr*), the military leaders (*hersir(r)*, *skipari*, *stýrimaðr*, *\*stýrir*), the emissaries (*árr/ári*, cf. Goth. *airus*, *boði*, *sendiboði*, *plboði*, etc.) and the cult-leaders and/or secular leaders (*vífill*, *þulr*, *véseti*, *\*lytir*, *goði*, *\*vir/\*vér* (< *\*wīhar*), cf. Goth. *weiha* 'priest', etc.), the warriors in the *hirð* and *lið* (the *rinkar*, *karlar*, *húskarlar*, *sveinar*, *þegnar*, *drengjar*, *sessar*, *stafnbúar*, etc.), down to the slaves or the thralls (*þræll*, *þý*, *bryti*, *seta*, *þjónn*, *ambátt*, *deigja*, etc.).<sup>5</sup> All these, probably except the first (upper strata) and the small number of warriors in the mobile *hirð*, were tied to the land; they were farmers. In between the two last, we had, of course, the major bulk of people in society, the free farmer (*bóndi*, *hglldr*) and the tenant (*leilendingr*, *landboe*).

The societal construction that this contemporary terminology for persons unveils is more or less impossible to read in the archaeological evidence, which unfortunately, in this case, is next to silent. One may, of course, read the Old Icelandic sagas and from these reconstruct a West-Scandinavian society and then impose this as a model on Viking Age Eastern Scandinavia, but this is very problematic, for several reasons. However, this social order in society is in some way possible to "read" in the landscape in Scandinavia of today, thanks to the unbiased place-names, with the help of the contemporary evidence of the runic inscriptions, Old Norse literature and the ancient monuments. Names are unfortunately sadly neglected as a historical source material, being problematic for historians and archaeologists, since old names must be linguistically interpreted and reconstructed. And they are totally untreated by modern onomasticians, who today seem to have found other fields of interest. As I shall demonstrate below, it is with the help of place-names still possible to reconstruct the central site of the chieftain or leader in settlement districts, and also the farms of subordinates. Not so easy to find and reconstruct are the possible farms of the thralls.<sup>6</sup>

## Central or nodal places

The second thing is to reconstruct the nomenclature for central or nodal places, again after penetrating early place-names. This problem I have discussed in an earlier work (Brink 1996). The contemporary terms that have been used in pre-historic time for denoting some kind of central or nodal place are: *husaby* (although perhaps an early medieval construction), *salr*, *bo/bosgarþer*, *hof*, *vi/vé/væ*, *\*al*, *haugr/høggher*, *tuna(r)*, *\*husa(r)*, *akr*, *vangr*, *harg/høgrgr*, *stafr*, *vall/vøllr*, *hilla*, etc. These terms denote in some cases obviously a hall building, in other cases pagan cult sites (indoors or outdoors), assembly sites, early estates or chieftains' farms, some kind of administrative centres, etc.

After this operation it is possible to go out in the toponymic landscape and search for indications. Especially when analysing eastern middle Sweden, one makes the astonishing discovery that around the nodal or central places that we find,

other place-names seem to occur again and again, names like *Rinkaby*, *Karlaby*, *Gillberga*, *Smedby*, etc. Some of these contain a title or a nomination of a king, chieftain or some other leader in society, as in *Kungsåra* (< *Konungs-Harir*), *Godby* (< *Gufa-byr*), *Eriksöre* (< *Eriks-rør*), while some bear witness to other social groups, as *Hersby* < *\*hærse*, *Smedby* < *smidher* '(black-) smith', *Karby* < *karlar*, *Rinkeby* < *rinkar*, etc. Other names reflect pagan cult sites that probably had some function within a settlement district or a region, as *Ullevi* (< *Ullar-vi*), *Ullinsvang*, *Onsild* (< *Othins-hyllæ*), *Frösvi* (< *Frøs-vi*), *Norderö* (< *Njærðar-ey*), *Torshof*, *Torshälla* (< *Thors-harg*), containing the names of the pagan gods *Ullr*, *Óðinn*, *Freyr*, *Þórr*, and the goddess OSw. *\*Njærþ*. And in some few cases we have the names of cult leaders (*\*vivil*, *\*lytir*, etc.). Thus, it is actually possible to read a social order in the landscape.

Another remarkable thing is that when we examine these indications of centrality we seldom find one central site. Instead, several of these indicators of centrality occur in a condensed cluster, where the hall, the retinue, the cult sites, the farm of the (black?) smith, the assembly site, etc. are found in a small settlement district, normally only a couple of hundred metres apart. Hence, what we find during prehistoric time is no single central place, but in fact a *central (place) complex*.

One may stop here and wonder over the question of who the *karlar*, *rinkar*, *sveinar*, *þegnar*, *vísi(r)*, *stýrir*, *hersir(r)*, etc. were, and what their societal bonds were. We have no written records that may help us solve the problem. However, from the Icelandic sagas we can see that a king had an escort or retinue and that a chieftain had his followers. As commented on initially, in Anglo-Saxon England, kings, bishops and lords all had their retinues. We also found the names of these, namely *thegns*, *ceorls*, *rinks*, etc., thus more or less the same terminology as we have in early Scandinavia. We learned that these retainers and officials could follow the king or leader as his *hirð* in his court, or they could have been granted land, thus sitting on an estate or a farm. As I am going to comment upon in the synthesis below, we most probably had a similar situation in Scandinavia.<sup>7</sup>

When we study a distribution map for these retinues or followers, as they are known from place-names and runestones in Sweden, we can notice an

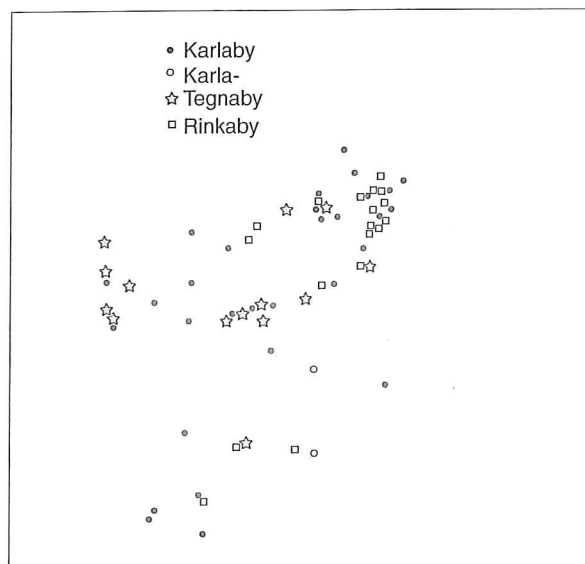


Fig. 1. A distribution of occurrences of retinues and social and military leaders, in the particular form of *karlar*, *rinkar* and *tegnar*, in Swedish place-names. Note the tendency to find *rinkar* in the east, *tegnar* in the west and *karlar* all over south and central Sweden.

interesting difference, to my knowledge not previously observed and discussed (fig. 1). The *rinkar* are found in eastern Sweden, never in the west (nor in Norway, but in Denmark however). The *thegnar* are found in the west, but not in the central province of the Svear, in Uppland. This distribution must have a background, but I do not have the answer to it – at least not yet.

## Reading the landscape

Let us now go out and “read the landscape”. I am here going to highlight only some few settlement districts in central and southern Sweden, where the structures discussed are found. For demonstrating this, it is easiest to turn to settlement districts in Sweden, where we have a rich source material. In Denmark it is not so easy to pick out such clear structures as in Sweden; obviously many of the Danish prehistoric place-names have been replaced and lost. One interesting example is, however, Gudme and Lundeborg on Fyn. The rich archaeological findings from this area have some kind of counterpart in the place-names *Gudme* (< ODa. *Guðhem*), *Lundeborg*, *Albjerg*, *Gudbjerg* and *Gjaldbjerg* (see DS 13, 162, 165; Sørensen 1985; Nielsen

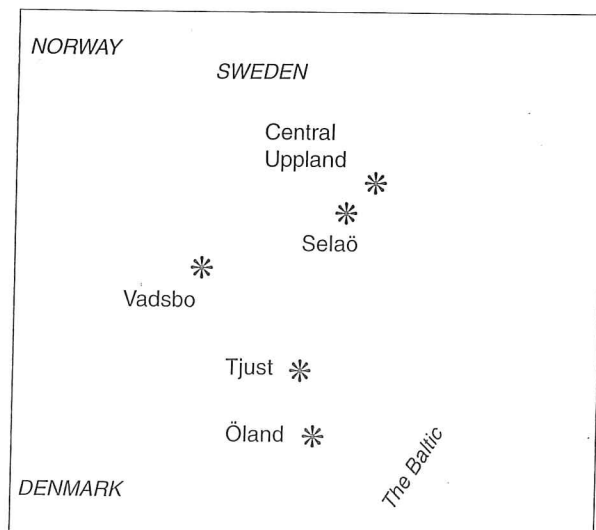


Fig. 2. Overview of the areas in southern and central Sweden that are discussed as case studies in this paper.

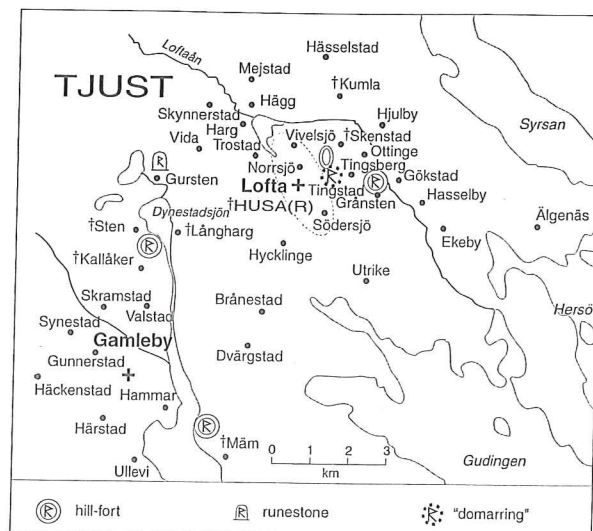


Fig. 3. The central part of the settlement district of Tjust, in the province of Småland.

et al. 1994), which I think must be looked upon as indications of an early central place complex with cultic activities of importance for a region. The structures are in Norway clearer than in Denmark, but not as comprehensive as in Sweden. Here we have interesting complexes at Onsøy and Råde in Østfold, around Hønefoss north of Tyrifjorden, around Ullensaker in Romerike, at Hamar and at Ringsaker west of Mjøsa, on Tysnes in Vestland, and in several places in Inn-Trøndelag.<sup>8</sup>

There are thus many illustrious settlement districts to focus on in this respect, but on this occasion I will discuss Tjust in the northeastern part of the province of Småland in southern Sweden, the central part of the large island of Öland, the Vadsbo district in the province of Västergötland in western Sweden, a central part of the province of Uppland, and the island of Selaö in Lake Mälaren in the province of Södermanland, both in middle eastern Sweden (fig. 2).

## Tjust

The old *land* of Tjust in the northeastern part of the province of Småland (fig. 3) has obviously its settlement-historical roots already in the Bronze Age. There is nothing preventing the name, Tjust (*theu(s)tes* by Jordanes in the 6th century), from being so old. The core settlement district of Tjust is situated at the inner part of two extensive gulfs.

During the Iron Age (most probably the Late Iron Age), two central complexes (probably tied together) are discernible. Around the church in Lofa we have some remarkable place-names and ancient monuments. The church has obviously been erected on a now lost farm or hamlet \*Husa(r) (Moberg 1962, 123), a typical central-place element. This unit has been divided into Norrsjö (< Norðr-Husar) and Södersjö (< Suðr-Husar), and also Vivilsjö, to the north, is probably a division from \*Husa(r). The name is an older \*Vivils-Husa(r), containing a term for a pagan cult leader \*vivil, ON *vifill* (Hellberg 1979, 129). Just north of \*Husa(r), there was most probably a small lake during the middle of the first millennium (and perhaps also in the Viking Age), and on its west side we find Harg 'pagan cult site'. To the east of \*Husa(r) we have two special kinds of stone circles, Sw. *domarringar*, and the two place-names Tingsberg and Tingstad, referring to a *thing* 'assembly'. We do not know the dating of this assembly, but tentatively it is tempting to tie it to the time of \*Husa(r).

Some kilometres to the west, around the small lake of Dynestadsjön, we find †Långharg 'the elongated pagan cult site'. To the south we have a strategic hill-fort and a lost hamlet in the vicinity called †Sten, a name denoting the hill-fort. South of †Sten was another now lost hamlet, †Kallåker (< \*Karla-akr), 'the arable land of the karlar'. North of the lake we have Gursten, a name that goes back to an OSw. \*Gupa-sten, interpreted as the part of †Sten

that belonged to the *gupi* (ON *goði*). This word is remarkably also found in an inscription on a runestone, originally standing in the hamlet, in the form of *kupaskaki*, interpreted as ‘the (son) Skægge of the *gupi*’ (Hellberg 1979, 161). It is seldom one finds such a concentration of place-names indicating prehistoric power and centrality. Thus, we have here in *Tjust* a rather unique central place complex, with indications of a main farm (\**Husar*), an assembly site (*Ting*-), a military retinue (*Karla*-), cultic and probably also profane leaders in society (*vivil*, *godhe*) and cult sites, probably for a larger district (*Harg*, *Långharg*, *Ullevi*).

## Vadsbo

In the northeastern part of the province of Västergötland we have the old district of *Vadsbo* (fig. 4). This is, together with *Tjust* and some other old *lands*, one of the most clear and distinct prehistoric *lands* or *folklands* that we have in Scandinavia. Unfortunately, the name of this settlement district or *land* is lost. *Vadsbo* is a settlement district around a small lake, *Östen*, some kilometres to the east of the very large Lake *Vänern*. The River *Tidan* connects the two waters. The settlement situation during prehistoric time has been a coherent settlement district in a kind of natural basin, with a small lake at the bottom. The vital communication route has been via the River *Tidan* to Lake *Vänern* and its watercourses.

In the most strategic situation, where *Tidan* debouches into *Vänern*, we had a farm †*Tuna*, bearing a typical central place element. By the river and around the small lake of *Östen*, we find *Karleby* (< *karlar*) and *Sveneby* (< *svenar*), memories of military retinues located in this settlement district, and we have cultic place-names, *Ullervad* (< *Ullarvi*) ‘the pagan cult site dedicated to the god *Ullr*’, *Frölunda* ‘the cultic grove dedicated to the goddess *Freyja*’, *Odensåker* ‘the arable land connected to the god *Óðinn*’, *Närlunda* ‘the cultic grove dedicated to the goddess \**Niaerb*’ and the elusive *Götlunda* ‘the cultic grove of the people *gøtar*’ or ‘the cultic grove dedicated to a god \**Gøti*’. On the east side of Lake *Östen* we have also two remarkable ancient monuments. First a huge ship-setting, Sw. *skeppssättning*, (55 x 18 m), the so called “*Ranstena domarring*,”

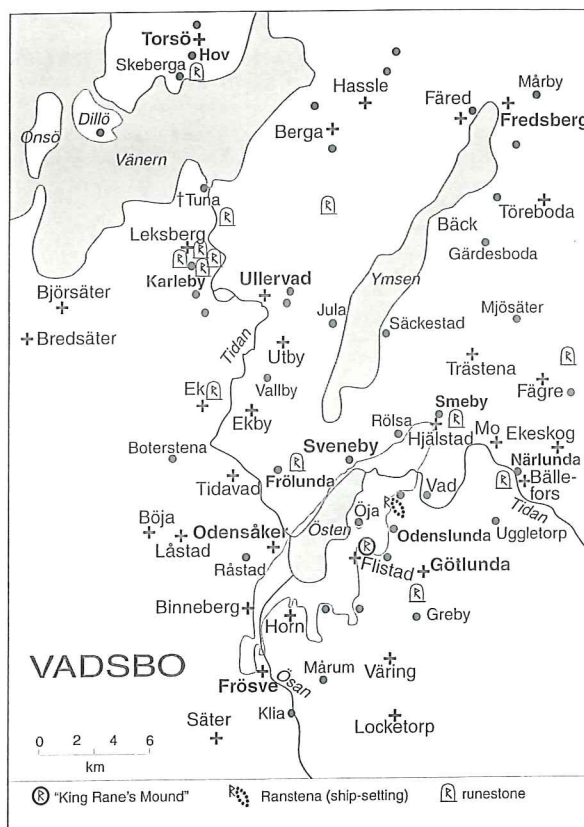


Fig. 4. The settlement district of *Vadsbo*, in the province of Västergötland.

ring”, consisting of 24 large stone boulders (1½–3 m high). This construction is one of the most monumental ancient monuments in Sweden (Stenberger 1979, 697f.). Nearby, in the hamlet of *Flistad*, we have a huge grave mound, the so called “*King Rane’s mound*”, beside the parish church. It measures 30 m in diameter and is 5 m high. In the vicinity, two large grave-fields are found. These two exceptional ancient monuments breathe power and may be assumed to have been some focal signals of power for the old *land* here in *Vadsbo*.

To conclude, we seem to have also here in *Vadsbo* indications of residences of power indicated by some extraordinary ancient monuments, a very strategic site (†*Tuna*), military retinues (*Karla*-, *Svena*-) and cult sites (*Ullar*-, *Frøju*-, *Frøs*-, *Niaerdhar*-) and the elusive *Götlunda*.

## Selaö

The island of *Selaön* in the large *Mälaren* lake is in several aspects rather unique (fig. 5). The toponymic

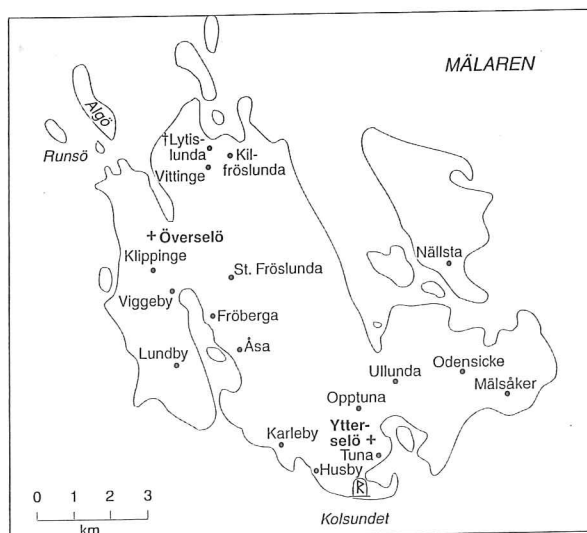


Fig. 5. The island of Selaö in Lake Mälaren, in the province of Södermanland. (Dark grey represents the situation of today; light grey a c.10 m higher sea level, representing a situation around the middle of the first millennium.)

evidence found here is extraordinary and very illustrative for our purposes. In the very south by the narrow sound of Kolsundet, between Selaön and the mainland of Södermanland, and beside a small bay, we obviously find the prehistoric focal site for Selaön, with respect to power and administration. Here we have the hamlet of Tuna and nearby a hamlet Husby. A neighbour to the latter is Karby (< Karlabyr). To this complex of central places we also have to draw a former *thing*-site, testified on a runestone standing here by Kolsundet (Sö 196).<sup>9</sup> This evidence may be coupled with information in medieval documents saying that the *thing*-site for the Selebo hundare was Kolhøggha on Selaön.<sup>10</sup> Thus, we have here in close proximity Tuna, Husby, Karby and a prehistoric *thing*-site Kolhøggha.

North of Tuna we find the hamlet of Ullunda 'the cultic grove dedicated to Ullr'. A couple of kilometres further north we find Nällsta (< Niærdha(r)staver) 'the staff or idol connected to the goddess \*Niærdh'. On the west side of the island we find Fröslunda 'the cultic grove dedicated to the god Freyr' near another hamlet called Fröberga 'the hill dedicated to the goddess Freyja'. Probably, this combination of two cultic place-names near each other, and with a female and a male god as the first elements, is no coincidence. It has been interpreted as having some kind of function in a pre-Christian pagan fertility cult. Perhaps the couple Ullr in

Ullunda and \*Niærdh in Nällsta are to be seen in the same context. In the north of Selaön we have Fröslunda 'the cultic grove dedicated to the god Freyr' again, and – and this is extremely interesting – as its neighbour a farm Lytis-lunda (today Janslunda), which has been interpreted as 'the cultic grove connected to lytir (a pagan cult leader)' (Elmevik 1990).

Finally, in the eastern part we have the famous castle and noble house of Mälsåker. It seems tempting to see Odensicke (< Odens-ek) 'the cultic oak grove dedicated to the god Óðinn' and the lost †Odensåker 'the arable land connected to the god Óðinn' in combination with the lordly estate of Mälsåker (< Mælis-akr), which probably has a long tradition here as a residence of nobilities, with the fact that Óðinn was the pagan god of the kings and chieftains in society. Of course, this latter is just a caprice, but perhaps a possible hypothesis to raise.

## Central Uppland

In the central parts of the province of Uppland (fig. 6), we have a very complex but extremely interesting situation regarding the settlement-historical genesis. By the strategically situated Lake Fysingen, three districts, hundare (hundreds), meet. Around this lake and in the vicinity grand ancient monuments are still standing, and extraordinary prehistoric artefacts and constructions have been found in archaeological excavations. The perhaps most imposing is the *kung Nordians hög*, a "King's" mound, i.e. a huge grave mound (60 x 9 m) in the hamlet of Husby (Åshusby), an old royal estate or hamlet. Fysingen and the River Verkaån must during the middle of and the Late Iron Age have been one of two main routes of communication for the people living to the east of Lake Fysingen, in the old land of Valand. On different, small rivulets, they have been able, probably as late as in the Viking Age and early Middle Ages, to get access to the main watercourses in the west by Lake Fysingen and Verkaån. Where the latter debouches in the main sailing route to Lake Mälaren, to the sea, and also up to Uppsala, on each side of the river we find two place-names in husa(r), namely †Norsa (< Norhusar) and Runsa (< Runhusar). At Runsa we also have a strategic and very interesting hill-fort (Olausson 1995).



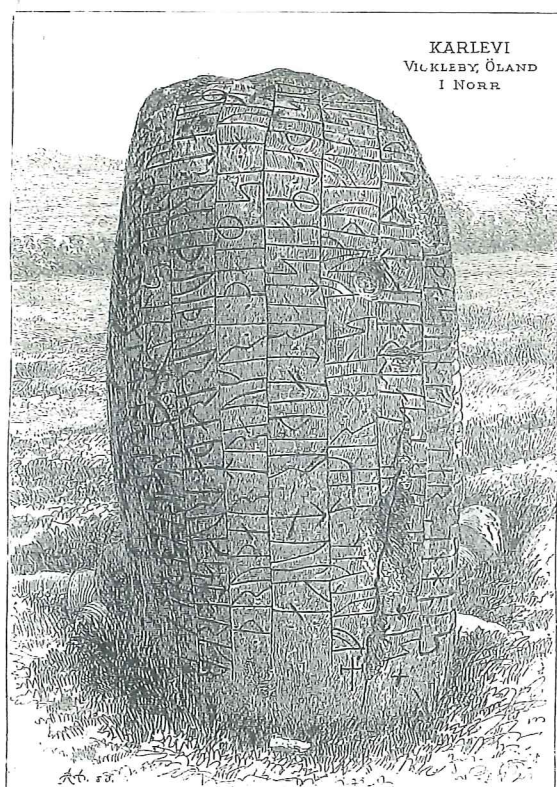


Fig. 8. The Karlevi runestone.

has been found and also a famous gold collar (Hagberg 1976; Fabech 1997, 157f.).

We have here, in the old *häräd* districts of Algutsrum and Gorbo, several highly interesting place-names that must be seen in connection with all these gold finds and extraordinary archaeological artefacts. The neighbouring hamlet to Björnhovda is *Torslunda*, in historic times a parish. This name must indicate a sacred grove dedicated to the god *Þórr*. Having said this, it is notable that only a couple of kilometres to the south-east, a famous amulet with a runic inscription has been found in a destroyed grave in the hamlet of Södra Kvinneby in Stenåsa parish. This rune amulet is today known as the *Kvinneby amulet*. The runic text is a kind of spell for a man called Bove against illness and evil spirits and gods, and a sentence in the text runs (Lindquist 1987, 26, after Gösta Holm): *Þórr gæti hans mer þem hamri...* (Thor protect or watch over him with the hammer ...). The god *Thor* has thus evidently been worshipped and presumably had a strong position in this area during at least the Viking Age.

In the vicinity we have several other theophoric place-names; such as *Fröslunda* (the sacral grove dedicated to *Freyr*) and *Ullevi* (the cult site devoted to *Ullr*). However, most interesting is perhaps the *hapax nomen proprium* of *Karlevi*. Here we have had a cult site for *karlar*. This unique name must have a special background. The neighbouring hamlet to the east is *Kalkstad*, which actually also may contain this *karlar*, since the name may be an older *Karlastadhir*.

On the land of Karlevi, between Eriksöre and Karlevi by the shoreline, the famous Karlevi runestone stands (fig. 8). This runestone, which for Öland is in several respects unique, carved with Danish runes in vertical lines after the Danish pattern and raised to commemorate a Danish chieftain, cut on a variety of stone found in Norway and with certain linguistic features that point to the same direction,<sup>11</sup> was erected around the year 1000, according to Wulfstan already in the late 9th century, in the realm of the Svear.<sup>12</sup> This, hence, pan-Scandinavian runestone has an inscription that runs as follows.<sup>13</sup>

A: ... stain sasi ias satr aiftir siba [g]uþa sun fultars in hons lipi sati at u tause[ip] ...

A: This stone is set after Sibbe gode, son of Foldar, and [one of] his retinue [*liði*] made/erected (it) at the island ...

B: fulkinlikr hins fulkþu  
flaistr uisi þat maistar  
taipir tulka þrupar  
traukr i þaimsi huki  
munat raip uipur rapa  
ruk starkr i tanmarku  
aintils iarmun kruntar  
urkrantari lanti

B: Hidden rests he who followed the greatest deeds (that most [men] knew) 'the workers of the fighting Trud' (= the chieftain) in this mound. No more shall a more honest, battle-strong sea warrior 'wagon-Vidur' (wagon = ship; Vidur = Óðinn) on 'the mighty land of the sea-king' (i.e. the sea) reign over land in Denmark.

Sibbe, the sun of Foldar, was obviously a Danish chieftain of some kind. At first his epithet was read as [*hinn*] *froði* 'the wise one' (Bugge 1900, 2, Öl 1), but this was later corrected to *goða*. Lis Jacobsen & Erik Moltke (1933, 72ff.; DR 411) and Magnus

Olsen (1957, 6) here read [*hinn*] *goði*, referring to Sibbe's high descent and wealth, as well as his bravery and sense of justice, but lately Jan Paul Strid (1991, 44ff.) has favoured the reading *Sibbe goði*, an interpretation I believe is correct. Most probably then, Sibbe was a *goði*, a chieftain with an escort. One member (*liði*) of this escort erected the stone, and this *liði* has, if Magnus Olsen (1957, 6f.) is correct in his emendation of the final *tausaip* ... as *tausaip[suari]*, been Sibbes, i.e. the deceased, oath-sworn (*dauds eið[suari]*).

This mention of an escort, a *lið*, is something that is extremely interesting while we are in the hamlet of *Karlevi* (the cult site of the *karlar*). If there is a connection between the *lið* on the runestone and the *karlar* in *Karlevi*, a hypothesis which, of course, is nothing more than a caprice, this would date the *karlar* institution in Scandinavia to c. AD 1000. Another thing is that this would allow us to assume that a *goði* could have an escort of *karlar*.

However, the perhaps most interesting part is the B section in the inscription, which is a runic verse in the old and highly prestigious metrical foot called the *dróttkvætt*, i.e. a poem suitable to be performed in front of the escort (*hirð*, *lið* or *drótt*) of a king or a chieftain. The former part of the word contains *drótt* f. 'military escort', a word related to *dróttinn* 'chieftain, king'. Thus, we have here a runestone with a runic poem most probably addressed to a king or a mighty chieftain, who died here in *Karlevi* and was buried here. That this king was from Denmark, and died here on Öland, possibly after participating and being wounded in the Battle of Fyrisvallarna in Uppland in the year 988 where King Erik (*sic!*) Segersäll was victorious, is another story we do not have time to (or dare not) elaborate on.

Speaking of King Erik Segersäll, it is most accurate to highlight another place-name in the vicinity, *Eriksöre* (*Eriksrør* 1377), in fact the neighbouring hamlet to *Karlevi*. This place-name seems to be a compound of the name *Erik* and the word *rör* (grave mound, particularly a large mound) (Hallberg 1985). Most probably, however, the former element is not the man's name *Erik*, which seldom seems to be found in prehistoric place-names (see SMP 5 col. 768). Instead it has been suggested that we here have the underlying appellative to this man's name (Hellberg 1986, 25f.), namely *\*aina-*

*rīkīar* (the almighty, the one in sole control, the one most powerful) (cf. Elmevik 1978), a word we also find in the famous *Eriksgata*, the route a newly elected king in early Sweden had to travel to get acquainted with and accepted by the different peoples and *lands* in his realm (see G. Hasselberg in KL col. 22-27). Thus, we have here most probably evidence of a kind of supreme King, an *Allvaldr*, *Landreki* or hence an *Ērikr* (< *Ainarīkīar*), a king who was accepted by other "kings" as superior. *Eriksrör* may be translated as 'the grave mound erected over the overlord, the supreme king, or the grave mound connected to a man of this quality'.

Before we draw any further conclusions from this, we also have to face yet another extremely interesting place-name, alas no longer extant. However, on old cadastral maps from the 17th century, a boundary mark in the form of a stone is called *Ingfreds sten* (Ingfred's stone). Lars Hellberg (1986) has in a very suggestive article offered the hypothesis that this old place-name goes back to an *\*Ingifrōs sten*. This *Ingifrōs* is the eastern Scandinavian form of the more common west Scandinavian *Yngvifreyr*, going back to a Proto-Scand. *\*Inguia-fraujar* (the ruler among the *inguianiz*), where the *\*inguianiz* are the 'people who count themselves as having *\*Ing* (< *\*Ingūaz*) as their tribal hero'. *\*Ing* is a *heros eponymos*, so typical for the Germanic tribes, while *\*Ingifrōs* may be looked upon as the title of the king who thereby asserts his affinity with *Ing*.

Of course, it may be pure coincidence that we have all these special place-names concentrated in this small area. However, I do not believe so. Instead, in the light of the unique archaeological finds, of gold, silver, etc., and the remarkable ancient monuments, such as the *Karlevi* runestone, the ring-forts as *Gråborg* etc., place-names like *Karlevi*, *Eriksöre*, *Ingifrōs sten*, together with *Ullevi*, *Torslunda* and *Fröslunda*, make sense. This part of Öland has, at least during the Vendel Period and the Viking Age, most probably also earlier, been the seat of a local king or chieftain, or perhaps more probably, a bridgehead for kings from Uppland and Östergötland and perhaps also Denmark (cf. Hagberg 1976; Herschend 1980; Näsman 1997, 155; Fabeck in press). This latter interpretation is in line with what we know of southern Öland in the early Middle Ages. By then this part of Öland comes under the dominion of the Östergötland

nobility, who more or less totally control the southern part of Öland (cf. DMS).

## The *karlar* and *rinkar* and the ownership of land

So far, we have had reminiscences of warriors, retainers, followers and escorts near some central site, most probably a chieftain's farm or the farm of a potential king. But the *karlar* and *rinkar* are remarkably also found in small, exclusive farming-settlement districts that lack any other indications of centrality, as in the cases of *Rimbo*, *Rö* and *Riala* in the province of Uppland (fig. 9). All three districts are small, consisting of only a handful of hamlets and farms. There is no place-name that attests power or centrality. Instead, the prehistoric place-names found are typical exponents of the Iron Age agrarian landscape of this region, thus, those ending in *-sta* (< *-staðir*) and *-by* (< *-byr*), with mostly men's names for the former and topographical words for the latter as the first element. Rather oddly and atypically, we find one place-name in each small settlement district containing a word for retainers or some kind of military leader. In *Rimbo* we have *Karby* (< *Karla-byr*), in *Riala* there has been a hamlet †*Rickeby* (< *Rinka-byr*), and in *Rö* we find the centrally situated hamlet of *Härsby* (< *Hærsa-byr*), thus evidence of *karlar*, *rinkar* and a *\*hærse*.

This discussion of hamlets for retinues and officials in small settlement districts with – in the place-names – no notable central-place context forces us to raise a most scorching but vital topic regarding our prehistoric Scandinavian society, namely the problem of ownership or property rights to land, farms and whole districts.<sup>14</sup> For prehistoric Scandinavia we lack the written evidence. For a comparison, one may note that in 7th century England and afterwards, the basic unit for purposes of assessment was the land of one family, *terra unius familiae*, or in the vernacular, *hid* or *hiwis*, referring to a nuclear family of man, wife and children (Charles-Edwards 1972, 4 ff; Sawyer 1978, 174; cf. Härke 1997).

As a domestic point of departure we may take the last stanza of the old (10th century) Icelandic poem *Vellekla*,<sup>15</sup> a panegyric to Hákon jarl:<sup>16</sup>

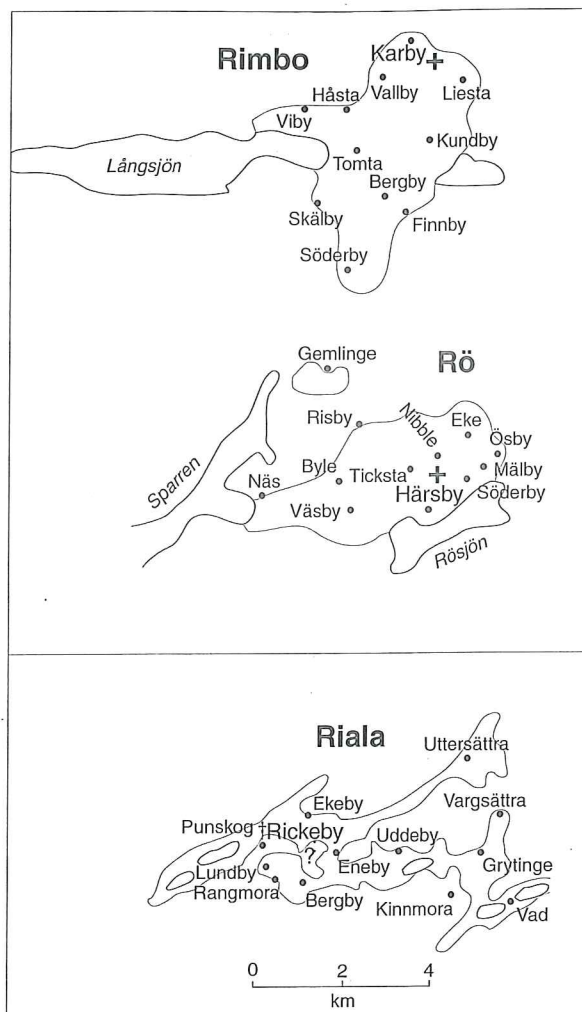


Fig. 9. The situation of the hamlets *Karby* (< *Karlaby*), *Härsby* (< *Hærsaby*) and †*Rickeby* (< *Rinkaby*) in the small settlement districts of *Rimbo*, *Rö* and *Riala*, in the province of Uppland.

Hvar viti gld und einum  
jarðbyggvi svá liggja  
(þat skyli herr of hugsa)  
hjarl sextían jarla;  
þess ríðr fúrs með fjórum  
faldleikr Heðins reikar  
logskundarðar lindar  
lofkendr himins endum.<sup>17</sup>

In this last stanza of the praise poem to Hákon jarl, the Icelandic poet Einarr Skálaglammm obviously sums up the great deeds of the jarl: Hákon is here referred to as a *jarðbyggvir*, who has the land of sixteen earls (*jarlar*) in his hand. This could be understood as the regions or districts for these *jarlar*, as was the case of Jarlabanke in eastern Sweden who

“owned” a *hundare* district (hundred),<sup>18</sup> but most probably it has the more accurate and precise meaning of cultivated land, arable (and farms). Thus from being a fighter, Hákon has become a cultivator of land, or perhaps the proprietor of a landed estate. The word *jarðbyggvir* is probably to be equated with *landsdróttinn* ‘the chieftain over (arable) land’, that he may distribute to tenants or thralls (cf. Olsen 1957, 27).

This information suggests that a high leader in society could own or at least control large areas of arable land and thus presumably also farms. He could probably handle these farms and lands at will, placing thralls on some farm or to work on some land, or distribute farms and land to tenants. If this interpretation is correct, there is nothing in the way of an assumption that a chieftain or a king could own or control part of or a whole settlement district, and was at liberty to organize this agrarian area at his whim, allocating and replacing tenants, using thralls for work in the fields and woodlands, and thus also to give away or place officials, cult leaders, members of a retinue, etc., in certain farms. This seems to be a fruitful hypothesis when we try to understand these *Karlabys*, *Smedbys*, etc. Chieftains and kings may have been in control of these farms, and have allocated them to their retainers and officials.

We have Viking Age evidence of probably a kind of “middle man”, thus not a king, sub-king or even chieftain, but a well-to-do farmer or the like, who was in possession of several farms (with arable land), on the Malsta runestone from the province of Hälsingland (Brink 1994). This man, *Hæ-Gylve*,<sup>19</sup> the runic inscription tells us, had procured “this land” (probably the farm or hamlet? of *Malsta*), and then in a small settlement district to the north three “*byar*”, hamlets (or maybe farms), and then *Lönnånger* and *Färdsjö* (probably two farms in the Viking Age).<sup>20</sup> The inscription is extremely important, since we here have evidence of an individual possessing farms and (arable) land during prehistoric time in Scandinavia. The evidence from the Malsta inscription may be underlined by the afore-mentioned Jarlabanke runic inscription. On the other side of the runestone in question, Jarlabanke has written that he alone owned the whole of *Täby*, which probably means that he was in sole possession of the hamlet *Täby* (with several farms),

and from some other runestones in the vicinity we learn that this Jarlabanke also was in possession of even more land outside *Täby* (Rahmqvist 1998, 22).

When raising this question of individuals possessing several farms and maybe whole settlement districts, we should definitely not forget or exclude the free farmers as actors in the agrarian society in these areas. During the early Middle Ages, the free farmers with their self-owned farms and hamlets were in a strong position, beside the estates with tenant farms owned by the nobility and Church (Rahmqvist 1996 *passim*). It seems obvious that this structure has older roots than the early Middle Ages, thus we have to reckon with free farmers as a vital part of society in early Scandinavia.

## Synthesis

We have seen that it is possible to find the (main) sites for both a superior king and for petty-kings and chieftains of the Late Iron Age in especially eastern Scandinavia. These individuals probably never were geographically static. What we find are probably the sites of the hall-buildings of these leaders. We can also see the existence of military escorts (*karlar*, *þegnar*, *rinkar*, *sveinar*) and other military leaders (*vísi*, *stýrir*, *hersir*(r) etc.). To these upper strata in society one may also tie the few witnesses of cult leaders, or perhaps profane and cultic leaders, such as the *goði*, the *þulr*, the *lytir*, the *vífill*, etc.

One would assume that the retainers, the escort, should follow their leader and dwell in his hall or house, which is the impression one gets from reading especially *Beowulf*, and which a word like *húskarl* actually hints at (cf. Westlund 1987, 49). The place-names speak against this. What we see are the different “elements” (i.e. the retainers, the cult leaders, the smiths, etc.) spread out in a settlement district. My interpretation of this is that all these “specialists”, the retainers, cult leaders, smiths, etc., first and foremost were farmers. They were thus given farms and hamlets for their daily livelihood. In that sense they were no specialists: they were both farmers and *karlar*, *rinkar*, cult leaders and smiths. This is for me the reason why we find this distribution of officials, cult leaders, retainers and craftsmen spread out in a settlement district. Besides these officials, we probably also

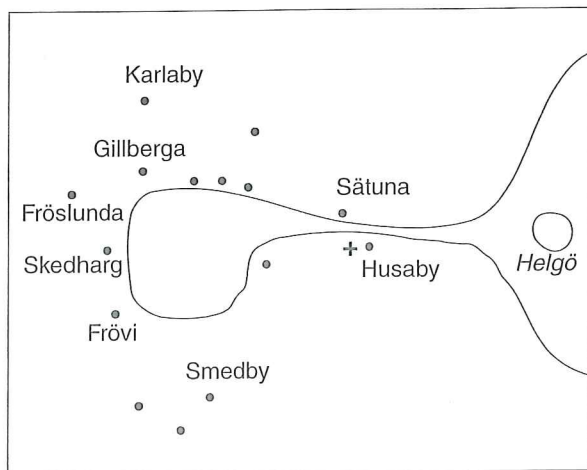


Fig. 10. A model for an idealized central-place-complex settlement situation, around an inlet during the Late Iron Age in central Sweden, with the focal site of Tuna, an early medieval Husaby, and sites for cult activities, a retinue, an assembly and a craftsman in the form of a (black-) smith.

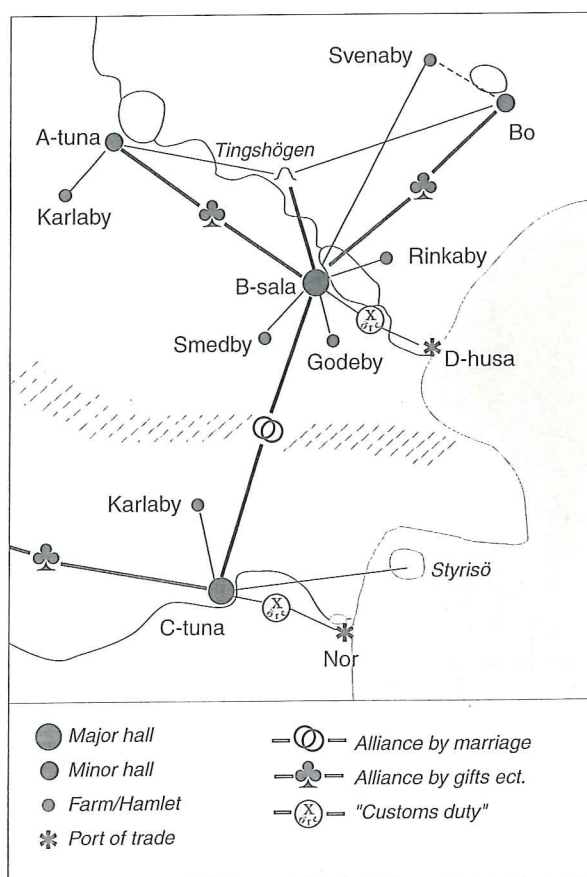


Fig. 11. A model of the hierarchically structured Late Iron Age society of Svitbjord (Sweden), with several central places, different levels of the social hierarchy, with sites with halls for kings and petty-kings, as well as chieftains and big men, all tied together with probably constantly changing bonds, as well as the distribution of assembly sites, farms of retainers, tied to their different leaders, and controlled harbours and trading-sites by the coast.

had small, mobile *hirðs* with retainers dwelling in the hall with the king or chieftain.

One of the main results of this discussion that has to be emphasized is the indication of the Scandinavian Late Iron Age central place as not being an actual or punctual central site, but more of a *complex* of different functional sites in close proximity, consisting of elements like a prominent farm of a king, sub-king or chieftain, probably with a special hall building for official purposes, farms for special craftsmen, like smiths, farms for cult leaders and military leaders, farms allocated to a retinue, cult sites and cultic groves, market-places and assembly places all spread out in the landscape, normally a small settlement district. One of the smallest central-place complexes to my knowledge is found in Tegneby on Orust on the west coast of Sweden, and two of the largest ones are the complexes found in Vadsbo (see above) and in Falbygden, both in the province of Västergötland (cf. Brink 1997b). Other very distinct central place complexes are found in Möre and Tjust in the province of Småland, on Vikbolandet and around the city of Linköping in the province of Östergötland, on Selaön and Fogdön in the province of Södermanland and in Arland in the province of Uppland.

The structure found occurs so frequently that it cannot be a coincidence. It must have been a kind of "model" for a Late Iron Age central-place complex, a mentally fixed structure. It is most easily readable in the middle Swedish landscape, especially around Lake Mälaren, but also found in Östergötland, Småland, Västergötland and Bohuslän. The "model" seems to have been pan-Scandinavian, since there are traces of it in Denmark and more clearly in Norway, where Tjølling in Vestfold and Åker/Vang east of Mjøsa in Oppland are the most outstanding examples.

The main ingredients of this *Late Iron Age central-place complex* are a coherent settlement district, normally in a communicative strategic position for a larger *land*, province or region. In several cases, a bay or an inlet leads into this settlement district, where it widens to become a lagoon-like bay or a lake (fig. 10). In a strategic position near the mouth of this inlet, very often a supposedly chieftain's farm is situated, normally with a name in *-tunar* or *-salir*, sometimes in *-husar*. Very often we have in

the vicinity a *Husaby* or a *Bosgården*, which hypothetically may be understood as a later administrative centre belonging to the Middle Ages (and maybe the Late Viking Age). In this settlement district, scattered around, we find the site of the retinue (*karlar, rinkar* etc.), often the farm of a smith (*Smedby*), an elusive place-name *Gillberga* (sometimes *Gilleby*), not yet convincingly interpreted, indications of an assembly- and *thing*-site (*Hög, Ting-* etc.), several pagan cult sites and groves (*Frösvi, Torslunda, Odensåker* etc.). Often this toponymic evidence may be coupled with extraordinary ancient monuments, such as rudiments of hall buildings, large mounds, cult houses or cult sites.

Most of these places that speak for "social order" in our Scandinavian landscape were probably interrelated in one way or another. From archaeological findings, written evidence from *Beowulf*, Icelandic sagas and runestones, and from the place-name evidence, we may arrive at a probable model for a Late Iron Age community in Scandinavia (fig. 11): Different kinds of alliances between leaders in society, bonds as result of strategic marriages or gift exchanges. Certain families controlling certain settlement-districts over long periods of time. Probably a hall building for official profane or ritual meetings and banquets built on an elevated, "prestigious" site. "Specialists", craftsmen and escorts dwelling on their farms and hamlets as farmers most of the time, some retainers in the *hirð* dwelling in the hall. Farms or strongholds at strategic sites for controlling trade and probably to charge customs duty for exchanged goods. Certain assembly sites that most probably have had some special, metaphysical status in the local tradition, very often allocated to a large grave mound. Several pagan cult sites and cultic groves, dedicated to different gods and goddesses of the pre-Christian Scandinavian pantheon. Maybe also farms allocated to a cult leader.

After working with the Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon material for some time now, I have more and more got the impression that it is possible to find resemblances between the various societies, but have also the feeling that there must have been differences. For example, Anglo-Saxon England was "a nation in arms", as it has been described (cf. e.g. Abels 1988, 1997; Yorke 1990), with warlords, large military escorts and constant strife. I

do not sense the same fierce society and constant fighting in early Scandinavia, although there can be no doubt that this obviously was the "ideal life" for the Scandinavian nobility.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps they were more farmers than fighters, a statement I am certain all Late Iron Age noblemen of Scandinavia would disagree with vociferously and in a most aggressive way.

To assure the reader that I do not underestimate the skirmishes, the fighting, the raiding and the killing in the Late Iron Age society of Scandinavia, let me finally cite the tragical inscription on a runestone from Högby in the province of Östergötland (Ög 81):

Tukir respi stin þansi eftir asur  
sin muþur brupur sin  
ian eataþis austr i krikum

[and on the reverse]

kuþr karl kuli kat fim suni  
feal o furi frukn treks asmutr  
aitaþis asur austr ikrikum  
uarþ o hulmi halftan tribin  
kari uarþ atuti  
auk tauþr bui

Torgård raised this stone in memory of Assur,  
her mother's brother.  
He died out east in Greece.

The good man Gulle had five sons:  
by Fyris fell Åsmund, the valiant *dräng*,  
Assur died out east in Greece,  
Halvdan was on Borgholm slain,  
Kari was killed at ...  
Dead is Boe too.

This laconic epitaph tells the story of a family nearly all wiped out, killed in fighting abroad, except the mourning wife and mother, who also cut the runes and raised the stone. Jan Paul Strid (1991, 60) has commented on this inscription: "All of them – Gulle and his five sons – were dead when the runes were cut. Asmund had fallen at Föret, presumably in the legendary battle on the banks of the River Fyris [at Uppsala] where the king of the Svear, Erik, won his cognomen *Segersäll*, the victorious. Assur was the last to die, probably in the Varangian guard, for the Emperor in Constantinople.

The probable reason why he was not mentioned first is that the brothers are listed after age. The third brother was killed either on the island of Bornholm or, possibly, at a place called Holm, which the Icelandic scalds associate with the island of Svolder. There the Swedes and Danes defeated the Norwegians under King Olaf Tryggvason in about the year 1000. Kåre met his fate at some place, the name of which has been the subject of much discussion. However, the location of this place is uncertain. About Boe nothing is said except that he is dead. This might imply that he died a natural death at home." Although Boe differs from his brothers, if Strid's assumption is correct, I persist in assuming that his was probably the normal way of leaving this Scandinavian earthly world during this era. Future scholarship may prove me wrong.

## Notes

1. 'Only for a short while, the *vísi* rested from fighting ... Then the all mighty did send *áro* ... A young *konungr* ... Then the *stýrir* tore down the tents on the ship ... to *mildinga* ... and *doglingar* ... and *silkingar* ... Who is the *landreki*, that is the *stýrir* of this *fýrd*'.
2. The *fýrd* in Anglo-Saxon England is somewhat elusive (Stenton 1971, 290). However, from a passage in Ine's law (ch. 51): *Gif gesiðcund mon landagende forsihte fierd, geselle cxx scill. & ðolie his landes; unlandagende lx scill.; cierlisc xxx scill. to fierdwite* ('If a nobleman who holds land neglects military service, he shall pay 120 shillings and forfeit his land; a nobleman who holds no land shall pay 60 sh.; a commoner [*ceorl*] shall pay a fine of 30 sh. for neglecting military service'; Attenborough 1922, 53, cf. Seebohm 1902, 418).
3. Note that the word *húskarl* is also found in OE, but the word is obviously an English loanword from the ODa (Lindow 1976, 121; cf. Larson 1904, 152f, Klingenberg 1991). Lars Hellberg (1984, 97) suggests that the word actually has been coined in England, thus in Danelagen, since housecarls are known only from England, not Scandinavia. This new word, *húskarl*, was then, according to Hellberg, an invention of the Danish-speaking court, to make a distinction to the Scand. *karl*.
4. This theme, where the *comes*, members of a *comitatus*, are divided into a companion in the *fýrd*, OE *gefera*, and the land-owning *thegn*, OE *gesith*, is mentioned already in Bede, book 2, chap. 9, and is discussed by Loyn 1955, 534 (and *passim*) and Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 67, cf. Abels 1998, 264. The latter (p. 223) also refers to Bede making a distinction between the *comes* (= *gesith*), a nobleman who has received a grant from the king and is resident on his own estate, and a *minster* (= *thegn*), a person attached to the king's household or a member of the royal family, see also Chadwick 1905, 308ff, Charles-Edwards 1976, 181ff. Henry R. Loyn (1955, 537) makes an interesting chronological distinction: *comites* in the seventh and eighth centuries were called *gesith*, he states, a term that during the ninth century is replaced by the term *thegn* (see also Stenton 1971, 486).
5. The contemporary terminology of leaders and other groups in different social strata in society I will develop on another occasion. For a preliminary report, see Brink 1996, 266ff.; cf. Aakjær 1928, Kuhn 1944, Green 1965, Lindow 1976, Hellberg 1978, 1984, Strid 1987, Westlund 1987, Sørensen 1989, Jesch 1993, 1994.
6. The datings and chronology of place-names are problematic, and an aspect impossible to touch upon on this occasion. (For a discussion, see for examples, Brink 1983, 1984, 1989, Strid 1993). The Swedish place-names discussed in this paper are all – probably – from the Late Iron Age (AD c. 500–1100).
7. For a discussion on the problem of the *hirð* or *lið*, i.e. the retinue or *comitatus*, and the retainers, i.e. the warriors or *comes*, for Scandinavia, see for examples, Kuhn 1944, Schlesinger 1953, Kuhn, 1956, Wenskus 1961, Green 1965, Lindow 1976, Hellberg 1984, Strid 1987, Jakobsson 1992, 95ff.
8. The Norwegian material I will comment upon and discuss on another occasion.
9. *hikifripr lit r-isa sain þna iftia ayulf fapur sin auk staf ayulf- kiarpi þat auspiki hiuk asur ifnti kina uistr – Ingfridr let ræisa stæin þenna æftir Øyulf, faður sinn, ok staf. Øyulfr gærði þæt austþingi (?) . Hiogg Assurr. Æfndi(?) Ginna vestr – 'Ingfrid raised this stone after Öulv, her father, and staff. Öulv made this thing in the east(?). Assurr carved (the runes). Ginna made (thing site) in the west(?)'.*
10. E.g. *a rættom thingxdagh oc thingxstadh a Sylbo thinge a Kul-löghum* (1419; SR 3, 170).
11. It has actually been proposed, by the well-reputed runic philologist Magnus Olsen (1957), that this inscription was composed by the famous Icelandic scald Vígfúss Víga-Glúmsson under the strong inspiration of Einarr Skáláglamm's poem *Vellekla*. Perhaps Vígfúss is the *liði* mentioned in the text. Of course this is merely a hypothesis, but Olsen's arguments and "evidence" are most interesting and worth considering (cf. also Olsen 1962, 51f.).
12. "þonne æfter Burgenda lande wæron us þas land þa synd hatene ærest Blecingaeg & Meore & Eowland & Gotland on bæcbord, & þas land hyra? to Sweon." (And then after Bornholm we have the land, first Blekinge, Möre, Öland and Gotland being the land to port, and these land belong to the Svear.). Cf. Lund 1983, 24f.
13. For the text and translation, see ÖI 1, Jacobsen & Moltke 1933, DR 411, Olsen 1957, Snædal Brink 1981, Strid 1991, 44; for the normalization, see Olsen 1957, cf. DR 411.
14. For an updated discussion on the genesis of ownership to land and farm in Scandinavia, see Widgren (ed.) 1995. See also Hatt 1939, Gurevich 1977, Stjernquist 1983, Winberg 1985, Widgren 1986, Myrdal 1989 and a most seminal article by A. Ya. Gurevich (1968).

15. The poem is assumed to have been written by Einarr Skálaglamm c. AD 986 (cf. Jónsson NIS A:1, 117).
16. After Jónsson's (NIS B:1, 124) normalization.
17. "When has one known of land belonging to sixteen *jarlar* under only one *jarðbyggvir*? This fact people must remember. The reputation of the generous [or brave] chieftain sails praised through the air to all four corners of the firmament." Cf. Jónsson NIS B:1, 124, Lindquist 1929, 55.
18. For a discussion of the runic inscriptions by this *Jarlabanke* and his stated possession of a *hundare*, and of the semantics of this verb *atti*, pret. of *ægha* 'own', see Andersson 1973, cf. Brink 1997a, 393.
19. The first element of the name, OSw. *Hæ-Gylve*, may actually contain a cognate to the above-mentioned OE *hiwis* 'family, kin' (Peterson 1994, 247ff.), Proto-Germ. \**hiwa-* 'family, household'; cf. Goth. *heiva-frauja* 'Haus-herr' (Feist 1939, 253).
20. *kiulfir uarþ um lanti þisu in þa nur i uika i þrim bium in þa lanakr in þa fiþrasiu — Gjylfir varð um landi þessu, en þa norðr i vika i þrim byum, en þa lanakr in þa Fæðrasio* (cf. Peterson 1994, 224f.).
21. Cf. Jakobsson (1992, 111ff.) who discusses this 'warrior ideology' in Iron Age Swedish society.

## Key to the symbols

- < = derived from, developed from  
 > = changed to, developed to  
 † = lost word or name  
 \* = reconstructed word or name

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