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 fornsidr (‘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. 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.

In the textual sources we find a considerable pantheon of gods and goddesses — Þórr, Óðinn, Freyr, Baldr, Loki, Njördr, Týr, Heimdallr, Ullr, Bragi, Freyja, Frigg, Geðjon, 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

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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 an assumption that it is confined to Iceland is, as is well known, inaccurate. 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 Midgardormr, a story that is told in the skaldic poem Ragnarsdrápa, the eddic poem Hymiskvida, 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

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4 The highlights in research on Scandinavia were Magnus Olsen, Hedenskekultminder 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 focusing on pagan religion in Scandinavia, and young scholars have dared again to engage in research which in the 1950s and 1960s was considered to be controversial. 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. 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 Öðinn, Þórr, Ullr/Ullinn, Njörðr, Freyr, and Freyja. 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. 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. This programmatic article was later followed up by two symposia, in 1987 (‘Old Norse and Finnish Religions and Cultic Place-names’ in...
Åbo, Finland) and in 1990 (the 16th NORNA symposium ‘Sakrale navne’ in Gilleleje, Denmark). Shortly thereafter came three *Stand der Forschung* articles written by the three doyens of Scandinavian onomastics at that time, Professors Thorsten Andersson (Sweden), John Kousgård Sørensen (Denmark), and Jørn Sandnes (Norway), 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.

In the present study I have chosen to analyse theophoric place names containing the names of the gods/goddesses Freyr, Óðinn, Þórr, Ullr/Ullinn, ‘Njálkrfr/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’. 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

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


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: Hylningskrift 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.\textsuperscript{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- (Frœyslandum, Frœyshof, Frœsakir, Frœsvi). For Sweden I have included thirty-eight 'certain' Frœs- 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 Frœs 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 Frœs Herred — in all of Denmark and southern Sweden. We therefore get a very distinct pattern: Freyr has a documented cult in the old Svedominated region in eastern Sweden and in south-east Norway, around Viken, incorporating Vestfold, Østfold, Hedmark, and Oppland (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 Frœshov in Tørgstad, Østfold (Frœyshof 1391) and Frœshov in Hole, Buskerud (a Frœyshofue 1342). Also the three names †Frœisl (Frœsl 1669), †Frœysland (Frœsslanndt 1592), and †Frœysakr (Frœssagger 1592) in N. Land, Oppland, 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 Njarðarlög, is the farm name Frœitlog in Sokndal in Rogaland, western Norway, reconstructed as †Frœyslog.\textsuperscript{18} This

\textsuperscript{17} For important contributions on this matter, see especially Vikstrand, Gudarnas platser.

\textsuperscript{18} See for example Sophus Bugge in NG, xvi, 279; Magnus Olsen in NG, x, 9–10, and in Det gamle norske onavn Njarðarlög, 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: Freotlandt 1500s, Fretlonn 1500s, Fotland, Frøtlannd 1563, Frødloff 1567, Frøtloff 1610, Frotleff 1616, 1668, Frøtløv 1723. Sophus Bugge took the liberty of seeing the god’s name Freyr here and the word log ‘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 Frösäker, 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 Frøshult (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 sviagod (‘god of the Sviar’),20 and in poems such as Haustløng, which names the Swedes as allar åttir Ingvifreyrs (’all Ingvi-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 Sueciae 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 Sviar in Sviþjóð. 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 VALER, ØSTFOLD (ODENSKR RB); the two, obviously connected, Onso the parish and Onso the hundred in ØSTFOLD; and the lost Odhinssalr, very probably to be understood as the predecessor of Huseby in Onso. 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 Othenshylæ (Vonsild, 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 Odinseke 1409) and Odensicke on Selaön, Södermanland (odhinseke 1365), seven Odenslund(a), five Odensti, 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 Arlinghundra, Uppland should not be counted among these names, since it is a corrupted form of Oþinsbarg ‘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, Odenskälla, 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.

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


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 (+).
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...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 þórs(hof); 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 þøthlandi BK, Thodlandt 1563), which has an early form with Poth-, 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 *Thórsland.

For Sweden, the overwhelmingly most frequent name containing Þórr as an element is Torsland(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 (< Thorsvaller). There is one Törsvi in Trög, Uppland, and a lost *Torsvugle in Uppsala, Uppland, where the second element is the word *‘bngl(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 Thorsberg (in thröshargi 1288). In southern Scandinavia there is a Torske in Villand, Skåne, a Torslunde on Själland 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.\footnote{See for example Vikstrand, \textit{Gudarnas plats}, pp. 162--64, and references there.}

A most elusive god in the pagan Scandinavian pantheon is Úllr, 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 Úllr must have been a major god, but the Úllr names also reveal that the cult of Úllr 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 Úllr, namely Ullinn.\footnote{The pair Úllr/Ullinn looks like an identical construction to Óðr/Óðinn, but as, for example, Magnus Olsen has pointed out (\textit{Hedenske kultrinder}, 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. *Wulōnāz for Ullinn, with an adjectival suffix -ōna ‘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 ŌSax Wōdin < Pr.-Germ. *Wōdanaz (de Vries, \textit{Algermanische Religionsgeschichte}, ii. 416), hence a Pr.-Germ. *Wulōnāz; in this way a parallel between Úllr/Ullinn and Óðr/Óðinn may be maintained.} Trøndelag totally lacks names in Úllr or Ullinn; nor do southern Sweden or Denmark have any trace of Úllr. The southernmost Úllr name is \textit{Ullevi} in Gàrdby on Öland, a name typical for the Mälar 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 Úllr, some are ‘uncertain’, such as \textit{Ulreng} in Skedsmo, Akershus (Vllerengh \textit{RB}) — one would not expect a god’s name in a place name with -\textit{engh} ‘meadow’ as the second element — and as many as eight instances of \textit{Ull(\textit{e})land}. More certain are \textit{Ulløvål} in Oslo (a Ullruale 1309), Ï\textit{Ullarvål}, an old name for a part of Haug parish on the west side of Randseleven in Norderhov, Buskerud (i Vllærrale 1355), and a couple of places named ‘\textit{Ullrørven}, such as \textit{Ulleren} in Oslo (i Ullarini \textit{RB}), \textit{Ulleren} in southern Odalen, Hedmark (Ullerni \textit{RB}), \textit{Ulleren} in Hole, Buskerud (Ullaryn 1291), and \textit{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 Úllr’s name, as well as, and perhaps rather remarkably, a couple of names in -\textit{þveit} ‘minor field, clearing’.
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 Ullråker, and one Ultuna, the latter a farm or a chieftain’s ‘manor’ in the district called Ulleråker in 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 villabolstad 1316), Ulbersta, a parish district and a hundred district in Skärkind, Östergötland (af villabolstaþ 1367, af villabolstadh 1371, j villabolstadhe 1375), Ullestamma in Trögd’s hundred district, Uppland (i Vllastempne 1419), Ullstamma in Landeryd’s parish district, Hanekind’s hundred district, Östergötland (vllastempnu 1317), and Ullekale in Högby parish district, in Göstring’s hundred district, Östergötland (vllacalff 1337, i willakalfwe 1384), which seems to contain the god’s name, but how these names are to be interpreted is a matter of debate.\(^\text{26}\)

In Norway we seem to have place-name evidence for the cult of the god ON Njörðr, 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.\(^\text{27}\) In Norway the names were connected early on with the god Njörðr mentioned in Old Norse literature, whereas in Sweden the names beginning in *Niærdh- 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 Njörðr.\(^\text{28}\) 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 Njardarheimr and four of Njardarlund. 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 Närdhav, three Nälberg(a), and the island name Norderön.\(^\text{29}\) Of particular interest is Nällsta in Spånga, Stockholm (nærthastaff 1354), as it is an OSw form of Nierdhastaf; the same may be the case for Nällsta on Selaön in

\(^\text{26}\) For a discussion of these names, see Vikstrand, Gudarnas platser, passim.


\(^\text{28}\) Hedenske kultminder, pp. 50–56.

\(^\text{29}\) Gudarnas platser, p. 98.
Södermanland (nerddestum 1334, nærdistom 1411), and these names probably denoted some kind of standing idol connected to *Njarðar. The distribution of the Njárd-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 Njárth: one is Nærum close to Copenhagen on Sjælland (Niartharum 1186); two others are the two Nærå on Fyn, which, according to John Kousgård Sørensen is a corruption of Njarðarbogh.30

The geographical distribution of the god Týr (< Pr.-Germ. *Tiwaz, 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 (< Tiwiber), 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 (Tynes 1330, Tynness 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(í)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(í)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.

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. There are six Tislund, three Tiset (< Tisvith), 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. 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, Viðarr, 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 Balldrshol 1356, but a Baldissole 1358) and Balsnes in Fillan, Nordmøre (Balldrnses 1342, af Baldaznese AB, Bollisnes 1559) warrant serious consideration; even more uncertain is Balsberg in Sem, Vestfold (j Baldzberg RB, Balдраasberg (1320) 1409). Unfortunately the older forms vary considerably, and it is not obvious that the names have Baldr- as the first element. To conclude, there may be a few names in Denmark and Norway


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 Fossettlandi RB, Forsettelund 1480) has a very interesting name in an intriguing local context, as it is, along with †Oðhinssalr, in Onsø (< Øðinsøy), 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 Grímnismál 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 Griðr, 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 Voluspá, and baugr (‘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 høgher ‘burial mound’ as the second, often referring to a grand grave mound, for example Hilleshögen (< Hildishøgh 1310) in Uppland referring to the grave mound. The usual explanation of the name Torshov is also questionable. Older forms of the name, such as Törseg 1520 and Torsogh 1578, 1593, actually point in the same direction as Vidarshov, to an ON börishaugr or börishaugr, the latter containing the man’s name Bórir. Although there are

38 Compare the title of Iceland’s president, ‘Forseti’ Islands.
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 frigieraker 1311, in frigieraker 1323, i frigerachar 1390, i frigerakers 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 Friggjar-, and the second element of the compound, the word akr (‘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. He sees the word ON friðgerð (‘making peace, conciliation’) in the first element of the name. The name has, in his opinion, gone through the following development:*Friðgerð(a)kr > *Friðgierðakr > *Friggerð(ð)akr. The etymological handcraft 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), but this is not at all obvious from the preserved form Fryggiosætre. Instead the name looks to me like an ON *Friggjesettr, indicating a woman’s name *Friggja, 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, Oppland, 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 Fillensœœ 1446): there are hence three

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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. There can be no doubt that he is right. Lýgin seems to have as the first element a stem *lygi-, 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 ørlag, MLG orloge, orlich, MFr orloge ‘war’). It is Olsen’s plausible idea that an Old Norse form *lygi 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 *ljigi- and *ljúg-, such as Lyen, a vicarage in the parish of the same name in Time, Rogaland (a Lyghii 1384), and three instances of Lystad, in Skiptvet, Østfold (i Lyghistadhium RB), in Sorum, Akershus (Lygistad RB), and in Ullensaker, Akershus (Lysistad RB). In the name Fillinsn, 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. *Filþina, 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 *lygi ‘thing site’ in Lyen, ON Lýgin, is clever, potentially possible, and extremely interesting; and as for *Fillinn in Fillinsn, 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,

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Þórr, Freyr, Ullr/Ullinn, Njörðr/*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 found 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 Njörðr 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

Freyr

Norway
1. Froshov, Trøgstad hd, Østfold (Frœyshof 1391)
2. Frøsvold, S. Odalen hd, Hedmark (Frosuælli RB)
3. Frøie, Lom hd, Opland (Froso 1520)
4. Frøis, Ø. Gausdal hd, Opland (Frøysynar 1329, a Frøene 1459)
5. Frøidli, Lunner hd, Opland (Frossi 1520)
6. Frøidi, N. Land hd, Opland (Frøsi 1669)
7. Frøysland, N. Land hd, Opland (Frosslandt 1592)
8. Frøysaker, N. Land, Opland (Frossager 1592)
9. Frøishov, Hole hd, Buskerud (a Frøyshofuge 1342)
10. Frøisæll, Gol hd, Buskerud (Frøsaack 1500s)
11. Frøest, Ramnes hd, Vestfold (i Frøyste 1500s)
12. Frøest, Sem hd, Vestfold (a Frøysteigh RB)
13. Froshet, Hærum hd, Vestfold (Frøysquet RB)
14. Frøisnes, Bygland hd, Aust-Agder (Froissnes 1601)
15. Frøisland, Sogne hd, Vest-Agder (Frøilandt 1601, Frøsseland 1610)
16. Frøisti, Vanse hd, Vest-Agder (Frosthienn 1594)
17. Frøivik, Ullensvang hd, Hordaland (Frøysig 1500s)
18. Frøsland, Sognal hd, Sogn og Fjordane (i Frøyslandi BK)
19. Frøsvik, Leikanger hd, Sogn og Fjordane (i Frøysvik 1317)
20. Frøisland, Forde hd, Sogn og Fjordane (Frossland 1608)
21. Frøiset, Strandha, More (af Frøis AB)
22. Frøiset, Vø, More (Frosetter 1500s)

Sweden
1. Frøshögarna, Uppsala, Uppland (Frøshøgana 1497)
2. Fröslunda, sn, Lagunda hd, Uppland (De frøslundum 1314)
3. Frösvi, Tillinge sn, Åsunda hd, Uppland (j frösvi 1467)

43 Analyzed and selected from the medieval register ‘Medeltidsregistret’ at SOFI, Uppsala; Olsen, Hedenskekultminder; Kousgård Sørensen, ‘Haupttypen sakraler Ortsnamen Südskandinaviens’; Elias Wessén, ‘Forntida gudsdyrkan i Östergötland 1–2’, Meddelanden från Östergötlands fornnunnes- och museiförening (1921), 85–147, (1922), 1–48; Elias Wessén, Minnen av forntida gudsdyrkan i Mellan-Sveriges ortsnamn, Studier i nordisk filologi, 14.1 (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1923); Elias Wessén, Studier till Sveriges hedna mytologi och forn historia, Uppsala universitets årskrift, 1924: Filosofi, språkvetenskap och historiska vetenskap, 6 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1924); Hellberg, Hedendomens spår; Holmberg, ‘Den hedenske gud Tyr’; and Vikstrand, Gudarnas platser.
How uniform was the Old Norse religion?

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

4. Frösthult, sn, Simtuna hd, Uppland (De frøstolpt 1314)
5. Fröslunda, Altuna sn, Simtuna hd, Uppland (I frøslundum 1356)
6. Frösvik, Ö. Ryds sn, Danderyds skl, Uppland (Frösvik 1369, j fridzwik 1424)
7. Fröskäker, hd, Uppland (in frøsakir 1344)
8. Fröslunda, Harakers sn, Norrbo hd, Västmanland (fröslandir, Fröslundum 1288)
9. Fröboberg, Västerås, Västmanland (in Frøstobergh 1357)
10. Frösshommar, Arboga lfs., Åkerbo hd, Västmanland (frøshamar 1291)
11. Frösvi, Kolbäcks sn, Snevringe hd, Västmanland (in frøswi 1331)
12. Frösi, Romfartuna sn, Norrbo hd, Västmanland (in frøswi 1357)
13. Fröskäker, Kårbo sn, Sende hd, Västmanland (frösaker 1291)
14. Frövs, Edsbergs sn and hd, Närke (fruoswi 1216, de frøsui 1341)
15. Frövidal, Kils sn, Närke (i Frøsvi 1438)
16. Fröslunda, Överselö sn, Selebo hd, Södermanland (i frøslundum Sö 208, frøslunda 1314)
17. Kilfröslunda, Överselö sn, Selebo hd, Södermanland (i frøslundum Sö 208, frøslunda 1314)
18. Fröslunda, Fors sn, Eskilstuna hd, Södermanland (in frøslundum 1346)
19. Frustuna, sn, Daga hd, Södermanland (frøstuna 1331)
20. Frösi, Österåkers sn, Oppunda hd, Södermanland (I frøsui 1397)
21. Frössle, Kärna sn, Hanckinds hd, Östergötland (frøsslundum 1337)
22. Fröslunda, Bankekinds sn and hd, Östergötland (in frøslundum 1337)
23. Frösvik, Oppeby sn, Kinda hd, Östergötland (frøsvy 1307)
24. Fröstad, Rystads sn, Åkerbo hd, Östergötland (in Frøstadhum 1354, in Frøstatham 1354)
25. Førstad, part of Östra Tollstads sn, Vipolka hd, Östergötland (frøsta 1530)
26. Frösecke, Ålghults sn, Uppvidinge hd, Småland (i Frøsecke 1404)
27. Fröset, Fröderyds sn, Västra hd, Småland (frøsryth 1296)
28. Fröset, Hänge sn, Åsbo hd, Småland (frøseth 1494, frøsseriith 1538)
29. Fröslunda, Stenåsa sn, Möckelby hd, Öland (in frøslundum 1312)
30. Fröse, sn, Vadsbo hd, Västergötland (Frøsvi 1397)
31. Fröslunda, Sunnersbergs sn, Källands hd, Västergötland (frøslund 1470s)
32. Frösund, Kåkinds hd, Västergötland (i frøslunda 1494)
33. Fredsberg, sn, Vadsbo hd, Västergötland (frøsbyr 1279)
34. Frösö, Vallevberga sn, Ingelstads hd, Skåne (in Frøsollf 1477, Frøsollf 1491)
35. Frösten, Jättendals sn, Hälsingland (frøsten 1483, frostuna 1542)
36. Fröst, Alnö sn, Sundsvall, Medelpad (i frøsstether 1535)
37. Fröslund, Bjärtrå sn, Ångermanland (i fröslunda 1500, i fröslund 1519)
38. Frösö, Island and sn, Jämtland (De froso 1314)

Denmark
1. Fros 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.
Njörðr/Niørær

Norway
1. Nerdrum, Fet hd, Akershus (i Niærdarini 1363)
2. Norderhov, Loitén 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. Nærlund, Finno hd, Rogaland (Niærdalund 1308)
6. Nærlund, Masfjorden hd, Hordaland (Nærdalundt c. 1520)
7. Nærlund, Eresfjord, Nesset hd, More (Nordlande sokn AB)
8. Nærdor, Strinda hd, S. Trondelag (i Nirdole AB)
9. Nærum, Rygge hd, Østfold (af Nerdheimum 1320)
10. Nålum, Brunlanes hd, Vestfold (Naiardheim RB)
11. Nærem, Guldal, Rogaland (Næren, Nerem 1567, Nerimb 1602, Nerim 1610)
12. Nærem, Fjellberg hd, Hordaland (Niardheims sokn 1326)
13. Nærem, Sylte hd, More (af Nerdheime AB)

Sweden
1. Norderön, sn, Jämtland
2. Närtuna, sn, Långhundra hd, Uppland
3. Närlunda, Spånga sn, Sollentuna hd, Uppland
4. Närlund, Ekerö sn, Färntuna hd, Uppland
5. Närlund, Badelunda sn, Sjönäs hd, Västmanland
6. Närlund, Gäsinge 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)erdhavi (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, närdistom 1411)

Denmark
1. Nørum, Copenhagen, Sjælland (Niartharum 1186)
2. Nær, N., Fyn
3. Nær, S., Fyn

See Vikstrand, Gudarnas platser, p. 98, supplement with Nällsta.
See Kousgård Sørensen, ’Haupttypen sakraler Ortsnamen Südkandinaviens’.
### Norway

1. Onsaker, Valer hd, Østfold (Ödensakr RB)
2. Onso, hd, Østfold (ON Òðinsøy, see NG, i, 309)
3. Òðinssalr, Onso hd, Østfold (ððinssalir Fagrskinna)
4. Onsrud, Ullensaker hd, Akershus (a Odenshofue 1331, a Odenshofue RB)
5. Ònsaker, Gran hd, Oppland (Onsager 1667)
6. Ònsaker, Hole hd, Buskerud (Onsagger 1578)
7. Òsland, Kirkebo hd, Sogn og Fjordane (a Odenslande 1322)
8. Òsland, Kinn hd, Sogn og Fjordane (i Odenalande BK, Odhenslandh 1500s)
9. Ònsóen, Buvin hd, S. Trøndelag (af Odinsyn AB, Odhensøy AB)
10. Ònsøien, Byneset hd, S. Trøndelag (Orthsøe 1500s)
11. Òðinssalr, 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/odenskaraby 1486)
3. Ònsta, Tierp, Uppland (odenstatt, odennstat 1500s)
4. Oslunda, Tensta sn, Norunda hd, Uppland (apud villam Odinslunde 1302)
5. Odenslund, Söderby-Karls sn, Lyhundra hd, Uppland (j odhenslude 1365)
6. Odenslund, Fresta sn, Vallentuna hd, Uppland (de Òðinslunden 1351, j Odhenslundum 1409)
7. Òdenscholmen, Òstra Ryds sn, Danderyds skl, Uppland (in Òðinsholmi 1315)
8. Odenscholmen, Skånela sn, Seminghundra hd, Uppland (odens hálma 1634)
9. Odensala, sn, Árlinghundra hd, Uppland (Óthinsaerg 1286, Òthinsaerg 1288, Òðinsharg 1291, in Òðinshargh 1310)
10. Òðinssalir, Sala sn, Övertjurbo hd, Västmanland (Onsals backar 1785)
11. Òdensvi, sn, Ákerbo hd, Västmanland (Odhenwi 1351, j Òðinswji 1366)
12. Ònsholmen, Irsta sn, Siende hd, Västmanland (odensholm 1449)
13. Ònsjo, Fagersta, Västmanland (onso 1486, Ònsyö 1539)
14. Òðensô, probably in Munktorps sn, Snevinge hd, Västmanland (aff odizsœ, i oðinsœ, i oðinzoe 1485)
15. Òdensvi, Väby sn, Grimstens hd, Örebro, Närke (i odhinshwi 1385)
16. Òðenslunda, Aspö sn, Selebo hd, Södermanland (Orthsinslundum 1100s)
17. Òdensvi, Kattnäs sn, Daå hd, Södermanland (j Òðensui, j Odenswij 1361)
18. Ònsberga, Runntuna sn, Rönö hd, Södermanland (?othensbergh 1431)
19. Ònsberga, Sättersta sn, Rönö hd, Södermanland (odhinsbiørgh 1364)
20. Odensberga, Grypts sn, Daå hd, Södermanland (in Odhinsberghum 1348)
21. Odensicke, Ytterselö sn, Selebo hd, Södermanland (öndhinshake 1331, j odhinseke 1365)
22. Òðensjo, probably in Rönö hd, Södermanland (j odensio 1462)
23. Òdensfors, Vretaklosters sn, Gullbergs hd, Östergötland (i wdhens ass 1500, odhensfors 1535)
24. Òdenstomta, Kuddby sn, Björkekins hd, Östergötland (i odhinstomptum 1409)
25. Odensåker, Kullerstads sn, Memings hd, Östergötland (j odhensakre 1375)
Many thanks to Dr Peder Gammeltoft, The Name Research Section, Dept. of Scandinavian Research, University of Copenhagen, for help with identifications and written records.
HOW UNIFORM WAS THE OLD NORSE RELIGION?

10. Odense, Fyn (Othenesuuigensem 988, OÄSVI 1018-35, Odansue c. 1075, Othenese, Othensœ 1123)
11. Onsved, Skuldelev sn, Horns hd, Sjælland (Othense 1085, Othænsweht 1320)

Þórr

Norway
1. †Torshov, Tørgstad hd, Østfold (i þosofuobørhom RB)
2. Þorsnes, Borge hd, Østfold (þorsnæs c. 1400)
3. ?Þóse (< Torshof) in Þorsnes, Borge hd, Østfold (Þosse 1500s)
4. ?Þorsnes, Våler hd, Østfold (þoresnese 1433)
5. Þorshov, Aker hd, Akershus (i þosofuæ 1370, þorshof 1376)
6. Þorshov, Enebakk hd, Akershus (þoأساue 1403)
7. ?Þorshov, Skedsmø hd, Akershus (Þousøg 1578)
8. Þorshov, Gjerdrum hd, Akershus (þorshofæ RB)
9. ?Þorshov, Yang hd, Hedmark (Þorseg 1520, Þorsgh 1578)
10. Þorshov, Loitien hd, Hedmark (Taasshaagh 1475, Þorshoff 1529)
11. Þorshov, Jevnaker hd, Oppland (þorsof 1361)
12. †Þorshov, Sigdal hd, Buskerud (Þoأس 1578, Þossøg 1617)
13. †Þorsøy, Tjølling hd, Vestfold (þossøy RB)
14. Þorstvet, Hedrum hd, Vestfold (Þorsweitt 1500s)
15. ?Þorsnes, Vikedal hd, Rogaland (Þossednes 1602)
16. Totland, Alversund hd, Hordaland (af þorlandi c. 1175, þorsland 1427, Þotland 1463, Þorldand 1490)
17. Þorsnes, Jondal hd, Hordaland (þorsnæs BK, þorsnes 1314)
18. ?Þorsnes, Balestrand hd, Sogn og Fjordane (Þorness 1500s, Þorsnes 1603)
19. Þorsøtter, Y. Holmedal hd, Sogn og Fjordane (þorsøtte BK)
20. ?Þorsnes, Hilleø hd, Troms (Þorssønes 1614)

Totland (original Þorsland?)
1. Totland, Åseral hd, Vest-Agder (Þotdžlanndt 1595)
2. Totland, Ø. Siredal hd, Vest-Agder (Þotldand 1619)
3. Totland, Finnås hd, Hordaland (Totland 1500s)
4. Totland, Samnanger hd, Hordaland (Þotldand 1610)
5. Totland, Hosanger hd, Hordaland (Totland 1500s)
6. Totland, Masjorden hd, Hordaland (Totland 1500s)
7. Totland, Daviken hd, Sogn og Fjordane (i Þotlandi BK, Þotldand 1563)

Sweden
1. †Torshuggle, Uppsala, Uppland (i Þorsvlghom 1415, þorshuglæ land f. 1418, þorsghlum 1430, þorsghlum 1440, een wreet nest sancti peders kyrkia Aft torsala bagga liggiandes 1479, vidh torsala bakka 1481)
2. Torslunda, Tierp sn, Uppland (torslunda 1544)
3. Torslund, Almunge sn, Närđinghundra hd, Uppland (torslunda 1556)
4. ?Torsbro, Ramsta sn, Hagunda hd, Uppland (torsbro 1460)
5. Torslunda, Frösunda sn, Lagunda hd, Uppland (i Torslundom 1420)
6. (?Torsmyra, Vendels sn, Orbyhus hd, Uppland (j torsmyra 1471)
7. Torsvi, sn, Trögds hd, Uppland (De thorsvi 1314, thorsvi 1303)
8. Torsholma, Frösunda sn, Semingundra hd, Uppland (I þorsulmi U 343, Jn thorsholmi 1296)
9. (?Torsholm (= Munkholm), Tärnsund, Uppland (in dörrholm 1298)
10. Torslunda, Täby sn, Danderyds skl, Uppland (i thorslundom 1457)
11. Torslunda, vicarage, Ekerö sn, Färentuna hd, Uppland (in thurslundum 1342)
12. Torslunda, Sånga sn, Färentuna hd, Uppland (Thorslundum 1257)
13. Torslunda, Husby-Lyhundra sn, Lyhundra hd, Uppland (i j torslunda 1536)
14. Torslunda, Haga sn, Ärlinghundra hd, Uppland (in thorslundom 1335)
15. Torsåker, hd, Uppland (ii thorskirkshundare 1370)
16. Torsstuna, sn and hd, Uppland (torstunum 1257, de Thorstunum 1287)
17. Torslunda, Torstuna sn and hd, Uppland (Jn thorslundom 1296)
18. (?Torsmossen, Odensvi sn, Åkerbo hd, Västmanland (in thorsholm 1331)
19. Torsåker, sn, Rönö hd, Södermanland (De þorsaker 1314)
20. ?Torsholmen, (island in the lake Båven) Helgesta sn, Villåttinge hd, Södermanland (Thordsholm 1474, Torsholmen 1480, Thorsholmen 1502)
21. Torshälla, town, Södermanland (thorsharchum 1252, thorshargy 1279, in thorshargi 1288)
22. Torsö, (island in Båven) Ludgo sn, Rönö hd, Södermanland (torsoø 1476)
23. Torsberga, Stenkvista sn, O-Rekarne hd, Södermanland (j thorshberghum 1381)
24. Torsberga, Runtuna sn, Rönö hd, Södermanland (torsberga 1335)
25. Torslunda, Husby-Oppunda sn, Oppunda hd, Södermanland (i thorslundom 1375)
26. (?Torsnäs, Torsåkers sn, Rönö hd, Södermanland (thorsnäs 1384)
27. ?Torsjö, O. Ryds sn, Skärkinds hd, Östergötland (j thorsrdhi 1371, j thorsydhe 1376, j thorsydhe 1381)
28. Torslund, O. Stenby sn, Östskins hd, Östergötland (thorslundh 1393, i Thorshunde 1412)
29. (?Tornsás, O. Eneby sn, Norröping, Östergötland (thorsnas 1453)
30. (?Tornsás, V. Hargs sn, Vifolka hd, Östergötland (i Tornsnes 1488)
31. Tornsás, O. Stenby sn, Östskins hd, Östergötland (j thorsnas 1377, j thorsnas 1383)
32. Torsåker, Horns sn, Kinda hd, Östergötland (rorsaker 1545)
33. Torsburgen, Gotland (jors borg GutaLaw)
34. Torslunda, sn, Algutsrums hd, Öland (de thorslundom 1283)
35. Torsrum, Ålems sn, Stranda hd, Småland (in thorshumi 1316, j toorswmi 1461)
36. Torsás, sn, S. Møre hd, Småland (Thorshas 1290, thorsas 1335)
37. (?Torsjö, Höreda sn, S. Vodbo hd, Småland (i Torsjöd 1406, thorsio 1409)
38. Torsjö, O. Torsás sn, Konga hd, Småland (in Thorsyo, parochia Thorsas 1348)
39. Östra Torsás, sn, Konga hd, Småland (i Thorssas sökn 1403, i torsas 1474)
40. (?Torset, Vallsjö sn, Västra hd, Småland (j torsryd c. 1500)
41. Västra Torsás, sn, Allbo hd, Småland (j thorsase 1376)
42. (?Torseryd, Odensjö sn, Sunnerbo hd, Småland (in Thorsryd 1354)
43. (?Torset, Berga sn, Sunnerbo hd, Småland (i thorsryd 1424)
44. Torsö, Otterstads sn, Kållands hd, Västergötland (i thors ò 1311)
45. (?Torsundet, (strait between Lållandsö and Spårön) Kållands hd, Västergötland (j thorsund 1391)
46. Torsö, sn, Vadsbo hd, Västergötland (de tosöø 1293, in thorso 1309, thorso 1310)
HOW UNIFORM WAS THE OLD NORSE RELIGION?

47. Törse, Istorp sn, Marks hd, Västergötland (Thorzrijdh 1434)
48. Torsä, Bruns sn, Redvågs hd, Västergötland (i Torsæss 1540)
49. Torslanda, sn, V. Hisings hd, Bohuslän (i jorslandum 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. Torsäker, sn, Gästrikland (De thorsakir 1314, Deinde thorsakir 1302–19)
53. Torsäker, sn, Ångermanland (De thorsakir 1314, in thorsakir 1316)
54. Î Torsjö, Gunnarps sn, Halland (i torsridh, torsrid 1455)
55. Î Torsjö, (small lake) Enslövs sn, Tönnersjö hd, Halland (Thoresio 1452)
56. Torsjö, Solberga and Orsjo snr, Vemmenhögs hd, Skåne (de Thorsyo 1349, thorssio 1428)
57. Torske, Fjälkestad sn, Villands hd, Skåne (y Thorsceghe 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. Ûltvet, Eidsberg hd, Østfold (Vlleþueit RB)
2. Ullarøy, Skjebøe hd, Østfold (Vllaøy 1349)
3. Ulleren, Aker hd, Akershus (i Ullarini RB)
4. Ullevål, Aker hd, Akershus (a Ullaraulæ 1309)
5. Ûleng, Skedsmo hd, Akershus (Vllerengh RB)
6. Ûleren, Ullensaker hd, Akershus (Vleng 1520, Wilerudh 1500s)
7. Ulleren, S. Odalen hd, Hedmark (Ullerni RB)
8. Ûlaren, (now Gjersøien), S. Odalen hd, Hedmark (i Vllaøy 1306)
9. Ûlland, Fåberg hd, Opland (Vlleland 1604)
10. Ulleren, Hole hd, Buskerud (Ullaryn 1291)
11. Ûllaratl, Norderov hd, Buskerud (i Vllarræte 1355)
12. Ulleren, Ø. Eiker hd, Buskerud (a Ullaryn 1445)
13. Ûleland, Ø. Eiker hd, Buskerud (Vllalanddh 1430)
14. Ûlland, Flesberg hd, Buskerud (Vlleland 1500s)
15. Ulleviken, Sem hd, Vestfold (Vllavik RB)
16. Uleberg, Brunlanes hd, Vestfold (Vlleberg 1593)
17. Ulleren, Tinn hd, Telemark (Vlleren 1511)
18. Ûlledal, Kvitscif hd, Telemark (Vlledal 1665)
19. Ûltveit, Gjerstad hd, Aust-Agder (Villehuelt 1593)
20. Ûlaren, V. Moland hd, Aust-Agder (Vllerøen 1670)
21. Ûllerø, Spind hd, Vest-Agder (Vllerø 1594)
22. Ûlleland, Fede hd, Vest-Agder (Vlleland 1594)
23. ?Ulland, Hitterø hd, Vest-Agder (Vlleland 1594)
24. †Ulleland, Narbo hd, Rogaland (Ulleland 1668)
25. ?Ullenes, Rennesø hd, Rogaland (Vlnes 1563)
26. ?Ulland, Samnanger hd, Hordaland (Vlleland 1668)
27. †Ulleland, Volden hd, Møre (or Villarlande 1324)

**Sweden**

1. †Ullund(a), Kungshusby sn, Trögd, Uppland (j willelund 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. Ulkuna, Uppsala, Uppland (Wertune 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, Öryhus hd, Uppland (wllafors 1326, i Ullafores 1357)
10. Ullstämma, Litslena sn, Trögs hd, Uppland (i Vllastempne 1419)
11. Ulleråker, Simtuna sn and hd, Uppland (vllarakir 1346, j Vllarakri 1360)
12. Ullberga, Råby-Rekarne sn, V.-Rekarne hd, Södermanland (j vllabergh 1461)
13. †Ullalunda, Jäders sn, Österrekarne hd, Södermanland (j vllalunde 1344)
14. Ullevi, Överjärna sn, Öknebo hd, Södermanland (wllawij 1366)
15. †Ullevi, Överjärna sn, Öknebo hd, Södermanland (en by benempd Vllalund j Enhörna sockn 1358)
16. Ullunda, Ytterenhörna sn, Selebo hd, Södermanland (en by benempd Vllund j Enhörna sockn 1358)
17. Ullstra, St. Lars sn (Linköping), Östergötland (de wllawij 1300, in vllawi 1343)
18. †Ullevi, Stenby sn and hd, Västmanland (af vllawi 1343)
19. Ullevi, Skönmarka sn, Sköllersta sn and hd, Östergötland (af vllavic 1400)
20. Ullevi, Kils sn, Svedala sn, Västra Österbyhd, Västmanland (in vllaki 1419)
21. Ullevi, Munktorps sn, Sneviringe hd, Västmanland (i vllavich 1482)
22. Ullevi, Köpings sn, Åkerbo hd, Västmanland (in Wllau 1439, j wllawi, aff vllawij c. 1400)
23. †Ullekalv, Högby sn, Göstrings hd, Östergötland (vllakalv 1337, in wllakalv 1384)
24. Ullstämma, Landeryds sn, Hanekinds hd, Östergötland (vllastempnu 1317)
25. Ullevi(d), Örberga sn, Dals hd, Östergötland (en by benempd Vllalund j Enhörna sockn 1358)
26. Ullevi, Järstad sn, Göstrings hd, Östergötland (af vllawi 1358, in vllawi 1376)
27. Ullevi, Stenby, Askersund, Sundbo hd, Närke (ij gårde i Wllewigh 1498)
28. Ullevi, Sköllersta sn and hd, Östergötland (af vllawij 1434)
29. Ullevi, Österbys sn, Dals hd, Östergötland (af vllawi 1343)
30. Ullevi, Kilby sn, Askia hd, Östergötland (i Wllawiy 1434)
31. Ullevi, Österbys sn, Dals hd, Östergötland (vllawij 1432, j vllawi 1435)
32. †Ullnäs, Nora sn, Närke (vllanæs j norasokn 1415)
33. Ullevi, Askersund, Sundbo hd, Närke (ij vllawi 1405)
34. †Ullavi (cf. Ullavisjön between Rinkaby and Glanshammar), Närke (Ullavi 1606)
35. Ullevi, Kils sn, Närke (Ulevi hampn 1554)
36. †Ullberg, Örbyhus sn, Fellsbro hd, Närke (i Wllasethrom 1413, i Wllasethrom 1413)
37. Ullevi, Sköllersta sn and hd, Närke (i gårde i Wllewigh 1498)
HOW UNIFORM WAS THE OLD NORSE RELIGION?

38. †Ullerud, Nedre, sn, Kils hd, Värmland (de vllarø 1326, Ullarø 1330–34)
39. †Ullene, sn, Vilske hd, Västergötland (Ollene 1330–34, vllene sokin 1447)
40. †Ullervad, sn, Vadsbo hd, Västergötland (vllervi 1278, vlarwi 1293)
41. †Ullasjö, sn, Kinds hd, Västergötland (de wllæsio 1314, wllasio 1406)
42. Ullerön, Dals-Eds sn, Vedbo hd, Dalsleland (een gardh j wllerø 1421)
43. Ullevi, Gårdby sn, Möckelby hd, Öland (j vllawj 1448)
44. Ullevi, Gamleby sn, Tjustrs hd, Småland (in vllæu 1340, in vllawi, in vllawy 1346)
45. †Ullavi (mentioned with Rottne, Söraby sn, Norrvidinge hd), Småland (Wllaui 1350)
46. Ullvi, Leksands sn, Dalarna (j vllewi 1450)
47. Ullberg, Njurunda, Medelpad (villebergghe 1472, i vlleberg 1500, i Wllebärgh 1502, i vlleberg 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 (Vlinssakærs sokn 1337)
6. Ulssaker, Hemsedal hd, Buskerud (Vllesaack 1500s, Vllensagger 153, Vllendrzagger 1604)
7. Ullensvang, sn and hd, Hordaland (Ullinsvange 1309)
8. Ulleland, Førde hd, Sogn og Fjordane (i Ullinslande BK)

Abbreviations

AB Adaksi Bolts Jordebog, ed. by P. A. Munch (Oslo: [n.pub.], 1852) [1430s–40s]
BK Bjørgynjar kálfskinn, ed. by P. A. Munch (Oslo: [n.pub.], 1843) [c. 1360]
Goth Gothic
hd hundred district (herred, hæradh)
lfs landsforsamling
MFr Middle Frisian
MLG Middle Low German
NG Norske Gaardsnavne, 19 vols (Oslo: Cammermeyer, 1897–1936)
NSL Norsk stadnamleksikon, 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
**Transliteration of Frequent Name Elements**

- **ak(i)r/åker/ager** ‘arable land’
- **berg** ‘hill, mountain’
- **ekte** ‘oak grove’
- **eng/äng** ‘meadow’
- **fors** ‘rapid, stream’
- **hof/hov** ‘pagan cult site or building’
- **hol** ‘mound, small hill’
- **holme** ‘island, peninsula’
- **hylæ** ‘shelf, ledge’
- **høgr, harg** ‘pagan cult site (of some kind)’
- **källa** ‘well’
- **kulle** ‘small hill’
- **land** ‘grassland, field, arable land’
- **lund** ‘grove’
- **lo/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’
- **vollr/vall** ‘grass land, levelled field’