The Provenance of Proto-Norse Personal Names I

ASSAR JANZÉN

FROM THE SO-CALLED Primitive Scandinavian or Proto Norse period we know more than one hundred runic inscriptions. They date from about 200 to 700 or 800 A.D., a period of about 500 or 600 years. The larger part of this era coincides with the time of the Great Germanic Migrations.

The vast majority of these inscriptions contain personal names. Sometimes there are two or more names in the same inscription. In a good many cases the existence or non-existence of a certain name depends on the deciphering and interpretation of the inscriptions. Therefore, there are several uncertain cases in which we may or may not have a personal name. But even if we disregard such doubtful instances we may say that we have perfectly certain evidence of quite a few decipherable names. By far the most of these are, naturally enough, masculine names.

If we look a little closer into the character of these old names, from various points of view, we can make several interesting observations. First, if we look at them from a linguistic viewpoint, it strikes us at once that there are two different types of names: compound and simple or, in technical terminology, dithematic and monothematic. Among the relatively certain names we find about 35 compound as compared with about 50 uncompounded names. Illustrative examples of the compound personal names are such as **hlewa-gastiR** (on the famous Gallehus horn, Denmark), **kunimu[n]duR** (on a brachteate from Tjurkö, Sweden), **a[n]sugis^{a}laR** (on a spear-shaft from Kragehul, Denmark), **ala-winiR** (on a brachteate from Skodborg, Denmark), **swaba-harjaR** and **staina-warijaR** (both on a stone at Rö on the Swedish west coast).

Among the uncompounded names we find such as **bera** (on a

knife-shaft from Kragehul, Denmark), **fakaR** (on a brachteate from Femø, Denmark), **heldaR** (on the already mentioned brachteate from Tjurkö, Sweden), **tʌitR** (on a stone at Tveito, Norway), **wiwaR** (on a stone at Tune, Norway), **wakraR** and **iuþingaR** (both on a stone at Reistad, Norway).

If we examine the ancient personal names from a cultural and social point of view, we may find an obvious difference between the two types of names. Of special interest in this connection are three names found in one and the same inscription on the stone of Istaby in southern Sweden, **hʌþu-wulᵃfR, hʌeru-wulᵃfR, hʌri-wulᵃfR.** These names belong to persons of the same family. This is evident from the so-called variation: the final element is invariable, the first one varies. This was a characteristic principle in Old Germanic name-giving. For certain reasons it is probable that the persons here mentioned represent a royal or at least very prominent family. Here, as well as in many other cases, in and outside of Scandinavia, we may find that the compound personal names belonged especially to the upper social classes. These names had a noble ring and by means of variation they could be kept as a signum of the family. On the other hand, the monothematic names were borne particularly by the middle and lower classes. They had quite often the character of bynames or nicknames. Of course, this observation must not be generalized too strongly. There were noble persons with uncompounded names and individuals of lowly birth with compound names—and many of both sorts. But in general, there existed a certain difference between the social ring and value of the two types of names.

If we study these Old Norse names from a historical and geographical angle, we may also discover some interesting facts. It is, for instance, easy to ascertain that a considerable number of the names we find in the Primitive Scandinavian runic inscriptions do not occur in later sources. Such names are ἅπαξ λεγόμενα in Scandinavia. But we may find them outside of Scandinavia, on the European continent or on the British Isles. There was, then, during these remote ages, a closer resemblance between the Scandinavian and the West-Germanic personal nomenclature than we find in later times. What is the reason for this? Here we encounter the interesting problem concerning the provenance of the personal names in the Primitive Scandinavian runic inscriptions. This will be briefly discussed in the following.

The close relationship between West Germanic and Primitive Scandinavian names has naturally been observed and studied by the Scandinavian philologists and onomatologists. But their judgments have gone in opposite directions.

The first one to touch upon the problem seems to have been the famous Norwegian linguist Sophus Bugge. In the first volume of the great work *Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer,* Vol. 1 (Christiania 1903), p. 12, and elsewhere—also in earlier works—he called attention to his observation that the Primitive Scandinavian personal nomenclature seems to have been considerably different from the naming system of recorded times. He also pointed out that those of the inscriptional names which are not found in later sources often correspond to or are related to names of the Goths and South Germanic peoples. And he added: "This might in the future serve to throw light upon the earliest migrations of the Germanic tribes." Bugge did not openly declare that those prehistoric Scandinavian names which are identical with or closely related to the Central-European ones came to Scandinavia from the continent, but apparently he considered this a possible solution of the problem.

Bugge's line of thought was developed by the prominent Swedish runologist Otto von Friesen in a remarkable treatise entitled *Röstenen i Bohuslän och runorna i Norden under folkvandringstiden,* published in 1924. His results were founded on deep and comprehensive investigations, from various angles, of the whole material involved. He proved that a mighty stream of cultural influences during the Age of the Germanic Migrations went from Central Europe up along the Rhine River and further along the shores of modern Belgium and Holland to Scandinavia. He held that it was first and foremost the tribe known as the *Heruli* that carried these communications. They were not only active in trade but also instrumental in spreading knowledge of the runic alphabet to the North. The original home of the *Heruli* was, according to von Friesen, southern Jutland and the Danish Isles. Regarding the personal names he found that the naming-system of the Primitive Scandinavian runic inscriptions shows a particularly intimate relationship to the one we know from the region of the Lower Rhine, at that time inhabited by Franconian tribes. Among his striking examples may be mentioned such Primitive Scandinavian names as

alawid, a [n]sugisᵃlaR, harja, saligastiR, otherwise unknown in Scandinavia but corresponding to the Old Franconian names *Alawit, Ansigisil, Herio, Saligast.*

The West-Germanic names followed, according to von Friesen, the cultural current to Scandinavia. And there these foreign names came to influence, almost change, the native nomenclature. He frankly stated that many of the runic names are un-Scandinavian in nature.

The Norwegian E. Belsheim went still further than von Friesen. In a large but never finished treatise entitled *Norge og Vest-Europa i gammal tid,* published in 1925 and subsequent years, he tried to prove that the continental names in West-Scandinavia, i.e., Norway and Iceland, came mainly from the districts of the Danube and the Rhine. These foreign names intruded, in Belsheim's opinion, upon West-Scandinavia—he disregards Denmark and Sweden—in such a multitude and to such a depth that the naming-system during the later Old Norse period was half South-Germanic. This opinion was, however, based on so many linguistic and other mistakes that the whole investigation, a complete failure, should be ignored.

Another outlook on the problem was hinted at by the Danish historian of literature K. Mortensen. In a paper entitled *Studier over ældre dansk Versbygning* (1901) he gave, in passing, with obvious reference to earlier statements by Bugge, his opinion on the relation between the prehistoric and historic Scandinavian nomenclatures. He, too, found dissimilarities between the naming-systems of the two epochs mentioned. But he also vindicated the view that there exists an apparent connection between the earlier and the later period. We may, he advises, take this fact as a caution that we must not look at the problem too onesidedly.

The great Icelandic philologist Finnur Jónsson expressed himself more positively in a survey of the Norwegian-Icelandic personal names before the year 900, especially the stock of names recorded in the Icelandic *Landnámabók.* The paper was published in *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed,* 1926. Jónsson expressed the opinion that there is no real contrast between the name-stock of the Primitive Scandinavian period and that of the later Old Norse era. It is not at all remarkable, he said, that certain names disappear and others come up in the course of half a thousand years. Of course, he was right. Already in the earliest times, as well

as later, there might have existed names that were characteristic of certain specific tribes, while others were more widely spread; many were the property of the whole Germanic world. Therefore we must be cautious about our conclusions and statements concerning the geographical distribution of prehistoric names for which the evidence is so scarce. Finnur Jónsson explicitly declared that he had his doubts about the correctness of von Friesen's assumption of loans and profound influences from the West-Germanic name-stock. What resemblance there is may be interpreted in other ways. Unfortunately he withheld his ideas about these other possible explanations. As a concluding remark he indicated that we must bear in mind how scant and poor the runic material is, and that we must not forget the resemblances because of the dissimilarities.

A conciliatory attitude between the two opposite opinions, represented by von Friesen and Finnur Jónsson respectively, was assumed by the prominent Swedish philologist and runologist Elias Wessén in an excellent book called *Nordiska namnstudier,* 1927. In this investigation he dealt not particularly with the names of runic inscriptions but rather with prehistoric Scandinavian name-giving as a whole. He was not blind to the differences in the nomenclature of the earlier and later periods. But he showed that a large number of personal names which undoubtedly date from the era of the Great Migrations or earlier, although they do not appear in runic inscriptions, were still in full use during the so-called Viking Age (800–1000 A.D.). In addition he found a considerable number of names of equal age which occur only sparingly in recorded times. They were apparently about to die out.

Wessén stated further, with good reason, that culture in Scandinavia during the era of the Germanic Migrations certainly was carried by comparatively few noble families, kings, earls, chieftains, or other aristocrats, scattered all over the Scandinavian territory. They had as merchants or warriors rambled over Europe and acquired education, knowledge, and culture. They had learned the secrets of the runes, and they used them when they came home. Thus, Wessén did not regard the *Heruli* as the all-important intermediary agents in spreading the knowledge of the runes to the North. The people in general did not know the magic and the value of the runes, and they did not use them until much later.

Wessén also laid stress upon the above mentioned social difference in rank between the dithematic and the monothematic names. In connection with this he showed how the nomenclature may change when new classes make their way into society.

These are the main contributions to the discussion about the provenance of the personal names in the Primitive Scandinavian runic inscriptions. No definitive solution of the problem has yet been offered. Opinions still differ. Can the question be answered? Probably we cannot come much further by the help of the sources which have been used by the scholars quoted above. The existing sources are exhausted, and we cannot expect to discover new runic inscriptions or archeological finds to the extent that they may change the picture or give considerable help towards a definite decision. Nor can we expect to find much more information in extra-Scandinavian sources. But there is one source of knowledge by means of which we have been able to throw light upon the culture, religion, and language of prehistoric times, and this to a never suspected degree. I refer to the place-names. These have not been brought into the discussion of the provenance of the Primitive Scandinavian personal names except by the author of this paper in a short survey of the practice in regard to names in ancient Scandinavia (see *Nordisk kultur,* Vol. 7, "Personnamn," 1947, pp. 24–28.) There I found reason to say that von Friesen's opinion of the continental influence upon the Scandinavian nomenclature must be looked upon as entirely misleading. In a review of this volume of *Nordisk kultur* in *Namn och bygd,* 1948, pp. 179–187 the Swedish onomatologist Ivar Modéer maintained that my conclusion seemed to be premature, but he admitted that the material is difficult to judge.

We shall take a closer look at the material of personal names we find in a couple of types of place-names and compare the evidence we get from this source with the results of von Friesen's investigation.

First we may ask: Are there any place-names containing personal names about which we know for certain that they came into existence during the Age of the great Germanic Migrations? The answer is yes. We are able to date great numbers of compound place-names by dating their final elements. There are several such groups of names which were used during the period mentioned.

Two of these groups are especially fit for our purpose, namely those ending in *-sta(d)* and in *-lev (-löv)*.

We begin our investigation with the first group. The place-names ending in *-sta(d)* offer most valuable material for comparison since most of them were formed prior to the Viking Age and since the bulk of them contains a personal name as the first element.

The *stad*-names comprise a tremendously large group of Scandinavian place-names. To-day the second element usually appears as *-sta(d)* in Norway and Sweden: *Eriksta(d), Folkesta(d),* as *-sted* in Denmark: *Ringsted, Alsted,* as *-staðir* (with case inflection) in Iceland: *Grimstaðir, Þursstaðir.*

The last element is originally, as still evident in Modern Icelandic, a plural form, which during the time it was productive in name-giving had the meaning of 'dwelling, habitation, homestead, farm.' The meaning of this word explains why such a large percentage of these names contain a personal name as the first element.

There are in Norway about 2,500 *stad*-names, in Sweden about 2,000, in Denmark a little more than 200, and in Iceland about 1,100 (out of 3,800 existing names of habitations). In many cases the first element is a noun referring to topographical or other characteristics of the place in question. But it is hardly any exaggeration to say that we have here in all some 5,000 place-names containing personal names. Not all of them, however, belong to the Age of the Germanic Migrations, which is roughly the same as that of the Primitive Scandinavian runic inscriptions.

The practice of using *-stad* as the latter element in place-names entered Scandinavia from the European continent before the birth of Christ. It spread gradually towards the North. In a short time it established itself as a mode and swept across Scandinavia like a huge wave supposedly culminating towards the middle of the first Christian millennium in Central Sweden around Lake Mälaren, where no less than two thirds of all Swedish *stad*-names are located. Not until later the wave of *stad*-names hit Norway, where most habitations of this type were established during the Viking Age. As the wave spread northwards it gradually ebbed, but having crossed the Atlantic it gained a new momentum and struck Iceland with an enormous force.

Hence it follows that the *stad*-names located in the southern parts of Scandinavia in general are a few centuries older than those

up north. This type of place-name was productive for more than a thousand years. It is possible that most of the South-Scandinavian names are older than the time of the Great Migrations. Most of the names in Norway and certainly all of them in Iceland are younger. The names in Norway and Iceland are therefore of lesser interest for this investigation and will be almost disregarded in the following. But most of the many names clustered in Central Sweden seem to have come into existence during the first 600 or 700 years of the Christian chronology. We may rest confident that this region offers only a comparatively small number of names invalid for our purpose, so small that it can hardly have any significant influence on the over-all picture.[1]

In an attempt to determine the origin and identity of the first element of the *stad*-names numerous more or less intricate problems present themselves. We do not, for instance, meet with most of the names in recorded sources until rather late, in the latter part of the Middle Ages, or, usually, still later. Naturally, the names have, in the course of time, changed a good deal, often so much that it is hard to tell what the first element originally was. But it does not fall within the scope of this paper to give an account of all the difficulties we face here. It is sufficient to say that we are able to sort out and establish a very large number of personal names, large enough to allow us to make important observations.

All Norwegian names of habitations have been interpreted and accounted for in the great work *Norske Gaardnavne,* but Denmark and Sweden are still waiting for the completion of exhaustive inventories of their place-names. Fortunately we do have a couple of excellent Swedish treatises of greatest value for our investigation. True, they cover only smaller districts, but these are located within the region in Mid-Sweden where the *stad*-names occur in profusion. We shall make use of them in the following. It is also possible to get a good idea of the situation in Denmark.

If we study the personal nomenclature in the *stad*-names we get a general picture quite different from the one we saw in the runic inscriptions. We find at once as a striking feature that the percentage of uncompounded names is remarkably large, about 90%. Furthermore, no less than 75% of all names are bynames or nicknames. This phenomenon becomes, at least partly, clear and natural if we take into consideration the above mentioned social difference

between the compound and uncompounded personal names. The name-stock we find in the *stad*-names belongs to the whole population, while the runic inscriptions offer information only from the very highest classes. It is possible that most parents, like the kings and chieftains, gave their sons a "real" name, compound or uncompounded, at their birth. But soon the youngsters got another more intimate and usually shorter name, given by the members of the family or the neighbors. These names are often nursery names, so called "lall-names," with their formative characteristics. Or they are elliptical formations of compounded names, e.g. ON *Siggi* from *Sigfriðr, Sigurðr* etc., *Leifr* from such compounded names as *Friðleifr, Þorleifr* etc. Also in these cases we should normally be able to discern possible foreign names, even if it is not always possible to establish the exact original basis of the ellipsis.

These shorter names were, as is the practice to-day, used in everyday life. The original baptismal names were probably seldom or never heard. But in the royal and noble classes it was different. There, the full compound names were, in some respects, symbols of the family traditions. These children were not so often given bynames, at least not outside of the family.

Now, if we first, only in passing, take a look at the Norwegian personal names concealed in *stad*-names, the bulk of which probably belong to the Viking Age, we find that the incomparably largest part of them consists of good, native Scandinavian names, more or less well known from contemporary or later sources, or they consist of shortened forms of such names. They are not always known to have come from Norway; if not, they have been recorded from Denmark or Sweden. Only in exceedingly few cases have the names been found only outside of Scandinavia. Such names may have been borrowed from the continent or the British Isles, but almost never necessarily so. Only a handful of names are otherwise completely unknown.

Consequently, the stock of personal names in Norway during the Viking Age shows very little influence from the European continent. But this does not prove that the same is true for the five or six previous centuries. To get a picture of the situation during this time we proceed to Sweden, from which country we shall first study two excellent place-name treatises from the region where we find the maximal concentration of *stad*-names.

Gösta Frazén discussed and interpreted in his doctoral thesis *Vikbolandets by- och gårdnamn,* 1937, the names of villages and farms in a coastal part of the province of Östergötland south of Stockholm. In this small district there are 78 *stad*-names. More than half of them contain a personal name as the first element. The majority of these are uncompounded names. They have usually the character of original bynames, e.g. *Bredh, Brun, Maghi, Kappe, Vibbe.* Only five of all the names are originally compound names. They are *Ingiæld, Redhar, Sigvardh, Ønd* (Old Icel. *Eyvindr*), and in all probability *Navar.* Native Scandinavian provenance can not for the slightest reason be questioned in more than two cases, *Valung* and *Fūrung* or *Fŭrung.* No such names are indisputably recorded from other places in Scandinavia. If these elements really are personal names, which in my opinion is somewhat questionable, they might be connected with continental names. It could be tempting to identify *Valung* with Old High German *Walunc* and, as was done already by Elof Hellquist, *Om de svenska ortnamnen på -inge, -unge och -unga,* 1905, p. 31, to assume *Furung* (if the stem-vowel is long) to be a derivation of the stem that is present in the Langobardic names *Fūro, Fūrolf* etc. But even if both *Valung* and *Fūrung* (*Fŭrung*) really are personal names, they are, as Franzén points out, more likely of native origin. Several possible interpretations present themselves.

Obviously, there are hardly any personal names of certain extra-Scandinavian provenance in this material.

Of still greater value for the elucidation of the problem here discussed is a splendid study by Jöran Sahlgren, the Nestor of Scandinavian place-name research, entitled "Sta-namnen i Närke," published in the periodical *Namn och bygd,* 1927 and some subsequent years.

There are in the little province of Närke, situated west of Stockholm, about 125 *stad*-names. Although Sahlgren to-day is of the opinion that more *stad*-names than he earlier believed contain appellative words with reference to some natural phenomenon rather than personal names, Närke still offers a material of at least 100 personal names incapsulated in *stad*-names.

Only a few of these personal names appear also in the just discussed material from Vikbolandet. This, of course, does not imply that a name found in but one place did not exist in the other. The

scant material does not allow such a conclusion. But it is, none the less, probable that local peculiarities in the personal nomenclature had originated as early as the Age of the Germanic Migrations.

About 90% of all personal names in the *stad*-names of Närke are monothematic. They have usually the nature of bynames, e.g. *Blak* (twice), *Dværgh, Kæfil, Skrum, Vædhur,* or they are elliptical names, e.g. *Aste, Hadhi, Saki, Toste, Vari,* or they are simple names that very early must have been real baptismal names, although they originally may have been bynames or shortened formations, e.g. *Hælghe* (twice), *Mæghin, Orm* (twice), *Ramn, Ro(e), Skiold, Sten, Thore, Ødh.*

Of greatest value for this discussion are the originally compound names, which are the following: *Aløgh* (or *Alek*), *Hærvidh, Redhar, Sighfast, Sværker* (probably developed from *Svartger*), *Æfar, Ørik,* and possibly *Hasten, Ingiæld, Vesæti.*

They are all good Scandinavian names, and many of them belong to the most popular names in later times. The only name in this material for which loan from the European continent could be considered is *Mōdhulf* or *Mōdhul.* Both alternatives are otherwise unknown in Scandinavia. *Mōdhul* could, as Sahlgren suggests, be closely related to the OHG *Motilo* (masc.) or *Mutila* (fem.). But if *Mōdhulf* is the correct form, there is no reason for seeking its origin outside of Scandinavia. Both *mōdh* and *ulf* are well known components of Scandinavian personal names.

Thus, we found no names of established foreign origin in the material from Närke.

In order to be able to compare the results—from these two districts within the region of maximal occurrence of *stad*-names—with the situation outside of this center, we may choose the southern half of the province of Västergötland, south of Lake Vänern. The place-names of this district have been interpreted and published in *Sveriges ortnamn, Älvsborgs län,* Vol. 2–14 (1906–1919). Here we find about 20 *stad*-names, most of which are concentrated in the central part of the territory, which possesses an extremely old culture. As usual, the first elements are simple personal names, all of native origin. Original compounds are the following: *Frøgny, Hælv* (probably from *Hæriulf*), a name in which the first element is *Thor-,* and possibly *Redhar* and *Vighmar.* Not a single name gives reason for suspicion of foreign provenance.

There is no doubt that the picture would be the same if we should undertake to examine the whole stock of Swedish *stad*-names. In Denmark and the southernmost provinces of Sweden we could, however, because of the proximity to Germany expect some continental names. But even here we find almost only typically Scandinavian names. Gunnar Knudsen gives in his survey of the Danish place-names in *Nordisk kultur,* 5. *Ortnamn* (1939), p. 96, the following illustrative examples: *Alflak, Fiari, Harald, Helghi, Hrolf, Hroar, Sigar, Sølvi, Thrugot, Ulf, Ølvir.*

A superficial investigation of names containing *-stad, -sted* in southern Sweden and in Denmark reveals very few cases in which the first elements are personal names of obvious or possible continental origin. Generally they are Scandinavian or common to the whole Germanic world.

Among all the names in *stad*-names I have been able to find interpreted in literature now available to me there is only one of possible continental provenance, namely *Swavi,* which perhaps means 'a man from Schwaben.' This *Swavi* seems to be the first element of the Danish place-name *Svavsted* (*Schwabstedt* 1322, *Swauestath* 1326). It could be an original *an*-stem or a short name for *Svawar,* identical with the runic name **swabaharjaR** below, which, however, might not be exclusively continental; see under the runic name below. On the other hand, it is interesting to see that such unquestionably Scandinavian names as OSwed. *Gøte,* ON *Gauti* 'man of the Gothic people (in Sweden),' which is the first element in the Southwest-Swedish place-name *Gödestad* (*Gødestatheby* 1447) as well as in hundreds of other Scandinavian place-names, and Old Scand. *Halfdan,* in the Danish place-name *Haldenstedt* (1407), have found their way to Germany: OHG *Gauto, Halbtene.*

As a result of this review of the *stad*-names in some representative regions of Scandinavia we notice that the personal names we find in this type of place-name show little or no trace of foreign influence. Immediately this question presents itself: Did the upper classes, whose names appear in the runic inscriptions, have names which to a considerable extent were intruders from the continent, while the people in general, whose names appear in the *stad*-names, used a purely native nomenclature? According to von Friesen there must have been such a difference, and he maintained, as we have seen, that a good many of the names used in aristocratic families

were borrowed especially from the region of the Lower Rhine. Although there must be several names of upper class families also among the first elements of the *stad*-names, it could, in spite of the deprecatory testimony of these place-names, still be possible that von Friesen was right. The leads and evidence we get from the *stad*-names do not bring us much closer to the solution of the problem, although this material certainly does not speak in favor of von Friesen's theory. It rather gives us a certain suspicion that something must be lacking in his argumentation, and it encourages us to investigate the problem further.

What we need is more material for comparison, especially such names as belonged to the highest social classes. Fortunately such material exists in another group of place-names in which the final element is *-lev* (*-löv*), meaning 'something left or inherited,' in place-names perhaps rather 'property (set aside) at somebody's disposal."[2]

The *lev*-names belong to the same era as the older *stad*-names. Their geographical distribution is limited to Denmark, where we find about 280 names, and to the southern part of the Scandinavian peninsula, where there are about 100 names, two thirds of which are to be found in Skåne, the southernmost province of Sweden. Thus, these names occur in the part of Scandinavia where a possible continental influence must have been strongest.

The percentage of compound personal names is here much larger than was the case in regard to the *stad*-names. We find a name-stock, the nature of which seems to correspond exactly with the type of names that is recorded in the runic inscriptions. It is generally assumed that most of the place-names ending in *-lev* belong to the Era of the Germanic Migrations. Some of them might be a little older, but that does not prevent us from using them as material of comparison. Further, and for this investigation most interesting and valuable, it is for several reasons certain that the families who first inhabited farms with *lev*-names were of noble and aristocratic lineage, especially belonging to the highest military class.[3] This is presumably just the same class of people that was partly immortalized in runic inscriptions.

The first element of the *lev*-names is always a personal name, except in a few cases in which the place-names seem to consist of a compound appellative ending in *-lev*, e.g. *Jer(s)lev, Jar(s)lev* 'estate

set aside at the disposal of the earl(s),' and possibly *Aarslev, Herslev;* see the following discussion of the *lev*-name material. In spite of the geographical location of these names we shall see that there are extremely few for which we have reason to suspect foreign origin.

There is a striking formative difference between the personal nomenclature of the *stad*-names and the *lev*-names. The vast majority of the former consisted, as we saw, of uncompounded (by)names, but the latter are usually real baptismal names, almost as many compound as uncompounded names. Among the latter the majority are ellipses of compounds. Extremely few have the character of nicknames. This phenomenon supports and confirms the presumption that there were real social differences in the nature of the Primitive Scandinavian naming-system.

In the hitherto published volumes of the great Danish place-name work *Danmarks Stednavne* (*DS*) we are able to get the following information about personal names in *lev*-names.[4]

TØNDER COUNTY, the south-western part of Jutland, just north of the German border (*DS,* Vol. 5): *Biarki, *Imbri, Sighar, *Thingi. Biarki* and *Sighar* are well known Scandinavian names. **Thingi* is an ellipsis of compound names containing *Thing-* as the first element. Several such names are known from Sweden and the continent (*Thinga*). Also a simplex *Thing* occurs as the first component of Danish and Swedish place-names; see *Danmarks Gamle Personnavne* (*DGP*), col. 1363. **Imbri* is known from several Danish place-names; see *DGP,* col. 239, 614. Most likely it is a byname or nickname and there is no doubt of native Scandinavian origin. In this county there is no evidence of German influence.

AABENRAA COUNTY, the south-eastern part of Jutland bordering on Tønder county and Germany (*DS,* Vol. 6): **A(a)r, Alf, Balder, *Frø, *Klippi, Unni, *Øn* (or **Eni* or **Æni*), **Øthær.* Well evidenced Scandinavian names are *Alf, Unni, *Øthær. Balder* and **Frø* are not mythological but real personal names identical with those of the gods. It seems possible that the two place-names containing *Balder* and **Frø* were formed before the time when these words became names of gods. Thereafter they were, of course, taboo among human beings. **Frø* could also be an appellative, meaning 'chieftain, prince.' In that case the place-name *Frøslev* would mean 'an estate at the disposal of the chieftain(s)';[5] cf.

Aarslev just below. **Klippi,* being a hypocoristic formation, seems to be comparatively young, possibly related to OE *Clip.* **A(a)r* is otherwise unknown in Scandinavia, but if it really is a personal name it contains familiar Scandinavian elements. It is, however, uncertain that the place-name here involved, *Aarslev* (*Arsleue* 1196, in copy from 1424), really contains a personal name. It has been suggested, and I find this more likely, that the first element is the same word as ON *árr* 'messenger, delegate';[6] cf. *Frøslev* above, *Jer(s)lev* and other names below. **Øn* could be, and probably is, the same name as ON *Aun* or *Au ðun,* of which at least the latter was spread over the entire Germanic territory. But since no definite interpretation of the pertinent place-name is possible, this case has little value for the discussion. We may safely say that we have not yet discovered any names borrowed from the Germanic peoples south of Scandinavia.

SØNDERBORG COUNTY, comprises the island of Als, located just north of the German border (*DS,* Vol. 7): *Hun, Sæbbi* (or *Sibbi*). Both names are Scandinavian. It is possible that the place-name that contains *Sæbbi* or *Sibbi* originally was one of the compound names of which these forms are hypocoristic short-names: *Sæbiorn, Sighbiorn,* etc. At any rate, we deal, also here, with native Scandinavian material.

HADERSLEV COUNTY, north of Tønder and Aabenraa counties (*DS,* Vol. 4): *Erra, Hathar, Hamund(i)* (or **Hami,* an ellipsis thereof). Only well known Scandinavian material.

VEJLE COUNTY, north of Haderslev county, but still in the southern half of Jutland (*DS,* Vol. 8): **Uri* (or *Wari*), **Winund* (or possibly **Windi*), *Biorn* (or *Biari*), **Jari, Rethar, Garth,* **Hersi* (or **Hærulf*), *Buri* (or **Borthi*). *Biorn* (or *Biari*), *Rethar, Garth* belong to the most used Scandinavian names. In the other cases the place-names in question are open to two or more possible interpretations. **Winund* is known from Sweden (cf. OHG *Winand*), **Windi* is evidenced at least in one other Danish place-name, *Vinderød,* of medieval origin. Instead of the two alternatives **Hersi* and **Hærulf,* names of which no instances have been found, I would rather believe that the place-name *Herslev* (*hærslef* 13th century) contains ON *hersir* 'chieftain.' If this is true, the place-name was originally an appellative **hersislev* 'estate reserved for a chieftain'; cf. *Frøslev, Aarslev* above. An original form **Hersis-lev*

would undoubtedly result in the recorded medieval *hærslef*. If **Borthi*, and not the all-Scandinavian *Buri*, happens to be the first component in *Borlev* (*Borløff* 1467), we could think of adoption of OHG *Borto*. For several reasons it seems very unlikely that *Jerlev* (*Jarlæzhæreth* 13th century, *Jarløf* 1248) contains a personal name **Jari*, an interpretation that was given already by Oluf Nielsen, *Olddanske Personnavne*, 1883, p. 52. *Jari* has not been found as a baptismal name, only once as a dwarf-name in Voluspa. This is, however, no strong argument against the possible existence of a real name **Jari*, since we deal with so remote ages. But two identical place-names exist in southern Norway and western Sweden. All three place-names represent an original **Jarl(a)lev*, which probably is an appellative, meaning 'property at the disposal of the earl(s)'; cf. ODan. *kununglef* 'public domain intended for the subsistence of the king(s)', OSwed. *ættalev* 'family estate.' There exists also a Danish *Jerslev*, which contains the appellative rather than a personal name; cf. *Aarslev, Frøslev, Herslev* above.[7] Whatever the meaning of these place-names may be, their first element belongs to the Scandinavian languages.

In this county we found no evidence of name import from the continent.

VIBORG COUNTY, in central Jutland (*DS*, Vol. 9): **Frathmar* (or **Framar* or **Frānmar*), **Grindir, Roir, *Tangi, Høkær* (or **Høgher*), **Østri, *Sio(a)r, *Windir, Guthi, *Ho* (or **Hosi*), **Wæri, *En* (or **Ethin*), *Withar, *Grandir*. Of these names the following are transparent and undisputedly, or most certainly, of Scandinavian origin: **Frathmar* (or **Framar* or **Frānmar;* all three alternatives have counterparts in ON), **Grindir* (mentioned by Saxo), *Roir* (evidenced in a couple of other place-names and on a rune-stone in Skåne, Sweden, from the Viking Age), **Tangi* (instanced from Norway and Sweden), *Høkær* (or *Høgher*), **Østri* (cf. ON *Austri, Vestri*, dwarf-names), **Siō(a)r* (in several other Danish *lev*-names; ON *Sjóvarr, Sævarr*), *Guthi, *Wæri, Withar, *Grandir*. Possibly continental is **Windir*. It could be OHG *Winidhari;* but cf. *Windi*, which, in spite of OHG *Windo,* most likely is native Danish, since it appears in at least seven Danish and South-Swedish place-names. If **Hōsi*, and not **Hō*, is the first component in *Hvorslev* (*Hoosløf* 1327) it could be OHG **Hoso* in place-names. If **En* or **Ethin* should happen to appear in *Enslev* (*Ænsleff* 1483) it could be an adoption of OHG *Aiduin*, although both compo-

nents occur in native Scandinavian names. But I see no serious obstacle to assuming that this place-name is identical with the South-Swedish *Enslöv* (*Enesløff* 1431), which seems to contain the all-Scandinavian *Enar* (ON *Einarr*).

It is possible that we here have one or two names that were loaned from the continent, but there is nothing that definitely proves such an assumption.

AARIBO COUNTY, comprising the island of Lolland, located between Zealand and the continent (*DS*, Vol. 11; at the time of writing not yet published): *Alf* (or *Athils*), **Brandar*, **Æki* (or **Æggi*), *Jarund, Folkar, Fræthi, Grundrith, Hereth, Hornbori*, **Køpi*, **Lumi, Sævar, Waldar, Ulvar, Ulf* (or *Ulvar*), *Ottar, Øthæn, Øthar*. Most of these names are without any doubt Scandinavian or all-Germanic names. Several of them occur in other *lev*-names from the South-Scandinavian territory. Only for the following names foreign origin could be contemplated. *Hereth* could possibly be an adoption of OHG *Harirad, Herat* (identical with OE *Herered*). But it may equally well be the same name as ON *Herrøðr*, OHG *Harifrith*, and if this is true, there is no reason for any supposition of loan from the continent. If *Køpelev* (*Kæpælef* 13th century and 1379, in a copy from 1433, *Køpeløff* 1481), really contains a personal name **Køpi*, it must, directly or indirectly, come from Roman territory; cf. Lat. *caupo*, OHG *koufo* 'merchant.' The German stem *kaup-* (in German *kaufen*, Danish *købe*, etc. 'to buy') was adopted from the Romans at an extremely early time, and from our point of view it may well be regarded as generally Germanic. Thus, **Køpi* could be a native Scandinavian formation. The same name is known also from OSwed. and probably also from ON. It does, however, not seem impossible to me that the place-name *Køpelev* could be an appellative noun meaning 'purchased property.' These interpretations operate with the presupposition that the two oldest recorded forms of *Køpelev* are scribal erros. But there exist in the province of Bohuslän in south-western Sweden three identical place-names *Køperød*, of medieval origin, one of which was written *j Kiæ(i)pa riodre, j Kiæpa rudi* 1388, *Kiøberødt* 1581.[8] These names do not necessarily contain *Køpe*, but perhaps instead the ON byname *Keipi* (probably meaning 'lefthanded'; cf. ON *Keipr*, also byname).[9] It is possible that also the first element of the Danish *Køpelev* could be **Kepi* 'lefthanded person.' Labialisation of the stem-vowel, with or without attraction from the verb

køpe 'to buy,' is quite natural. The first element of *Ørslev* (*Hezislef* 13th century, *Øsløff* 1438, in copy from 1624) is undecipherable and was not included in the name-list above.

We are not obliged to see any continental loan-words among all the names in this county.

FREDERIKSBORG COUNTY, comprising the north-eastern part of Zealand (*DS*, Vol. 2): *Sighar, Heri, *Frithar, *Kundar* (or **Kundfrith*), *Gerth* (feminine), **Landar, Thurir, Skuld* (feminine), **Fær, *Wæn*. Continental provenance may be considered only for the last name, which in *DS* 2, p. 146, is supposed to be a counterpart to *Vannius*, name of an ancient continental king. This combination is not fully convincing, but it is difficult to replace it with something better.

It is possible, thus, that one of the names from this county did come from the continent.

Among all these personal names in *lev*-names we found extremely few that possibly could have been loaned from the continent. When continental provenance ought to be considered it was almost always possible to give alternative interpretations based on native Scandinavian or all-Germanic elements. Those names which in any probability could be said to be strangers in the South-Scandinavian name-stock may be counted on the fingers of one hand.

I have gathered several other interpreted *lev*-names scattered in the huge literature on Scandinavian place-names now available to me. If these additional names are added to the above material, the impression of almost exclusively native origin is still the same. Normally the names are known from other Scandinavian sources. The following list of not yet exemplified names incapsulated in South-Scandinavian *lev*-names, is given with reservation for some possible errors in the interpretation and for giving too few alternatives in some cases: *Aghmar, Alvar, Andor, Anund, Ari, Bather, Birting, Brandi, Brunir, Dyr, Dyri, Eggir, Egher, Emund, Erik, Esi, Esti, Fialand, Fiallar, Flugha, Folkwarth, Frami, Frithger, Fughl, Ger, Geri, Gunrath, Guthi, Gyrthir, Gøtar, Halli, Hā-mar, Hasten, Hath* (or *Hathi*), *Helghi, Hemi, Hemir, Hialmar, Hildir, Høther, Løther, Mar, Orm, Ormar, Randver, Rodher, Romund, Ruthmar, Sighwith, Skapti, Skati, Skiold, Svali, Tryggi, Wimar* (or *Wemund*), *Wigh, Wikar, Witing* (or *Wiking*), *Wil, Winter, Withi, Wæstar, Wæthi, Wæther, Østar*.

These names are indisputably Scandinavian or all-Germanic. Possibility of loan from the continent may be contemplated in very few names not listed above. *Ballung* could be OHG *Ballung,* but it is more likely a patronymicon derived from the common Scand. personal name *Balli.* Or it could perhaps denote a person from a place that bore a name containing the toponymic stem *Ball-*. *Haghni* is, of course, OHG *Hagano.* But this name belongs to the ancient Germanic legendary world and spread along with the legends all over Europe. It is not valid as an example of continental influence specifically on the Scandinavian nomenclature as such. *Hareth,* which according to *DGP,* col. 476, possibly is to be found in a couple of Danish *lev*-names, *Haarslev* (*Haretzløff* 1490) and *Harridslev* (*Haretzløff* 1477), corresponds with OHG *Haredus, Harat* and OE *Haret* (cf. *Hæreþes,* gen., in Beowulf). But *Hareth* lends itself to several interpretations and may very well be Scandinavian. Possible Prim. Scand. ground-forms are **hauha-friðuR, *haþu-, *hanha-, *haiha-. Færthing* is identical with OHG *Ferting,* but it seems uncertain that it should be labeled as a continental loan. *Lyther* could be an adoption of OHG *Liuthar,* but equally well a generally Germanic **leuða-hariaz,* Prim. Scand. **leuða-harjaR,* ON **Ljóðarr.* Continental provenance is not evidenced.

The over-all picture we get from the personal names in *lev*-names is quite clear. We may safely assume that this picture would not change if we could include all *lev*-names in our material. The personal names we are able to peel out of *lev*-names are generally known from several regions of the Germanic territory, including Scandinavia, or they are purely Scandinavian formations. Many of them contain as the second element Proto Norse *-harjaR* 'warrior,' in ON reduced to *-arr,* OSwed. *-ar,* ODan. *-ar, -er,* OHG *-har(i), -heri,* OE *-here,* e.g. ODan. *Gøtar, Ormar, Rother, Sighar.* This formative element is extremely characteristic for the Völkerwanderung period in the whole Germanic world. Other such elements present in many names are Prim. Scand. *-winiR* 'friend,' *-māriR* 'famous (man),' *-unðuR* (or *-unðiR* 'warrior (?).' They were common to all Germanic tribes. We get the impression that the name-stock was more uniform in nature than later.

Possibilities of loan are not sufficient as criteria of a profound continental influence upon the structure of the Scandinavian nomenclature, unless there are a great many of such names. But we have found that this is not the case. Indisputable loans are ex-

tremely few, if any at all. This is a result that does not coincide with von Friesen's opinion that the Scandinavian name-stock of the upper classes during the Era of the Germanic Migrations to a large extent was imported from the continent. It should be borne in mind that the runic inscriptions and the *lev*-names give fully equivalent materials from all points of view. Both categories belong to the same time and to people of the same social standing. Further, the *lev*-names are attached to farms that are located in the southernmost part of Scandinavia, which quite likely must have been most exposed to continental influence, while the runic inscriptions from the same era are scattered all over Scandinavia.

There must be some reason for the lack of conformity between the joint testimony of the *stad*-names and *lev*-names on the one hand and von Friesen's results, founded on the runic names, on the other. Could the great Swedish scholar have misjudged his comparatively scant material or perhaps looked upon it too onesidedly? Our suspicion of such a possibility, aroused after our look at the *stad*-names, now grows deeper after our investigation of the *lev*-names. In order to find a possible solution to the intricate problem here discussed it seems desirable to scrutinize the details of von Friesen's runic material and his arguments.

[*To be concluded in next issue.*]

NOTES

[1] Concerning the age of the *stad*-names and other problems connected with them see *Nordisk kultur,* Vol. 5 (Stockholm, 1939), Gunnar Linde, *Studier över de svenska sta-namnen* (Uppsala, 1951).

[2] See for instance Kristian Hald, *Vore Stednavne* (København, 1950), p. 69 f.

[3] See Kristian Hald, *op. cit.,* p. 72.

[4] These volumes were not available to me, but the Danish Place-Name Archives in Copenhagen did me the great favor of sending me excerpts, made by Mr. Knud B. Jensen, of all *lev*-names treated in the hitherto published volumes of *Danske Stednavne* (*DS*), including one volume still in proof. I want to express my sincere thanks for this extremely valuable help.—For more detailed information about the OScand. personal names see *Danske Personnavne* (DP), E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn personnamn från medeltiden* (Uppsala, 1892–1934), *Nordisk kultur,* Vol. 7 (Stockholm, *och fingerade namn från medeltiden,* M. Lundgren, E. Brate, E. H. Lind, *Svenska* 1947). Later literature is listed in the (yearly) bibliographies in *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* and *Acta Philologica Scandinavica.*

[5] See Kristian Hald, *op. cit.,* pp. 71 f.

[6] Ibid., p. 69.

[7] About the different interpretations suggested for these place-names see Gustaf Sohlberg, *Ortnamnen i Skee socken* (Göteborg, 1943) (= *Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län,* Vol. 20:1), pp. 44 ff., Kristian Hald, *op. cit.,* p. 69.

[8] See *Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län,* Vol. 11 (Göteborg, 1951), p. 16.

[9] See E. H. Lind, *op. cit.,* col. 193 f.