

VI. BRACTEATES WITH RUNES

1. Introduction.

Contrary to my practice of runic investigations, I have not personally checked all bracteates that have been included here. Instead, and as a supplement to my own inspections, I used the meticulous drawings of the *Ikonomographischer Katalog*, further abbreviated IK. This monumental work, also known as *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit*, edited by Morten Axboe et alii (1984-1989) has proved to be a good source for investigations of the bracteate corpus.

According to Düwel (1992^a:32), 907 bracteates are known (in 1988), representing 566 dies. The earliest find was in the 17th century. The bracteates were first methodically studied in 1855, by Thomsen. Mackeprang (1952:25ff.) produced a typology of bracteates, based on Montelius' initial division and Salin's system of cataloguing according to the ornamentation in the so-called Germanic animal styles, dividing them into A, B, C, D, F-types (see for more references and elaborate information Birkmann 1995). Recent research of the material has yielded a revised sequence of the several types, adding the M(edailon) type and otherwise maintaining the A, B, C, D and F sequence.

- 1). M-type: medaillon-imitations;
- 2). A-type: man's head en profile;
- 3). B-type: man's figure, often together with animals;
- 4). C-type: man's head above horselike animal, often together with birds and other animals;
- 5). D-type and F-type: no human beings, but animals in the so-called 'Germanic animal style I'.

The C- and D- bracteates dominate the material. Runes are found on A-, B-, C-, and F-types, and on one M-type. The medallion-imitations predate the actual bracteates by more than a century. They show Roman capitals, capital-imitation, mixed runelike signs and capitals. The one M-bracteate with the runic inscription is *Svarteborg sigaduz* (on the reverse capital-imitation). A-type bracteates show capital-imitations, runes, and mixed runes/capitals. The largest number (95%) of rune-inscribed bracteates are found among the C-type.

The overall impression of bracteate ornamentation is that the makers were suffering from a severe case of *horror vacui*. The whole gold-foil surface is filled in, hence the difficulty of deciding what was meant to be writing and what not. If a stroke, dot or line resembles a writing sign, this may just as well be an ornament, or a symbol for something unknown. Furthermore, initials and abbreviations based on letter sequences on Roman coins were used, next to Roman lettering and capital-imitation. The association with the paraphernalia of Roman emperors, such as the royal diadem with its central imperial jewel, and the Victoria statue, is rather strong. Seebold (1992, 1994^b, 1995) investigated connections between the symbolism of the bracteates and Roman coins showing the emperor with his diadem (with a *terminus post quem* of 325, cf. Seebold 1992:270). Through a profound analysis of the development of Germanic symbolism emerging from the Roman background, Seebold seeks to unravel the meaning of the iconography of the bracteates and the connection with the text, i.e. the runes. By relating bracteate types to their places of origin and their texts he is able to

distinguish certain groups, such as the group Undley, Sievern and Hitsum (Seebold 1996:-194). These are included in this study.

The IK treats 182 rune-bracteates, representing 105 models. When taken together with bracteates exhibiting capital-imitations and runes, the total number of inscription-bearing bracteates is 211, pressed out of 127 stamps. The number of runic inscriptions on bracteates is about the same as the total number of inscriptions in the older futhark on other objects: ca. 190 à 200 specimens (over a period of some four centuries! Cf. Düwel 1992^a:34 and IK 3,1, *Teil G*).

48 legends are treated here. They have been chosen because of the relative ease with which their runes may be read, transliterated and interpreted, which does not imply that the purport of the texts can be *understood*. For instance: I have included all **alu**, **laþu**, **laukaz** texts, even the abbreviated forms, although nobody *really* knows what these words refer to and why they frequently appear on bracteates. These so-called formulaic words only appear on B- (emperor's head) and C- bracteates (man, horselike creature, bird), and possibly refer to the "ideal Germanic king" (Seebold) or "Odin" (Hauck). Elaborate information concerning the so-called formulaic words **alu**, **laukaz**, **auja** and **laþu** is given below. Furthermore I have included some more or less interpretable texts and the legends containing a *fupark*, also when abbreviated.

The act of inscribing runes on bracteates may have served a purpose different from the use of runes in general, as has been suggested by Düwel (1992^a:40f.), who proposes that the vowel and consonant sequences on bracteates may have served magical purposes, such as communication with the supernatural. He points to the importance of writing in an oral society: "die Macht der Schrift" (Düwel 1992^a:36).

A typological division of bracteate types with respect to the runic legends is still under discussion. The exact relation between picture and text is subject to conjecture. Only in exceptional cases is it possible to connect text and picture, as may for instance be expressed by the figurines with a raised hand, holding up some small round object (a bracteate?) and the accompanying text which contains the word **laþu** 'invitation' - to some festivity?

Not only the object, the bracteate, is exceptional, but the runeforms also often deviate from runes in 'normal' inscriptions on other objects. The anomalous runeforms themselves could very well be worth a separate study. Yet the reason that it is possible to identify a divergent rune, for e.g. **l**, is due to its frequent occurrence in a well-known word such as **laukaz**. The variety in forms is at least partly caused by the technique used for inscribing them. The runes were made with a matrix die (showing the motif in negative), which was placed against the obverse of the gold flan and subsequently struck. Many of the ill-formed, reversed and reverted runes may be the result of this technique.

Contrary to what I have done in the case of the other corpora in this study, I have not grouped the bracteates according to their geographical occurrence or way of deposition. The criterium 'material' does not apply here, the bracteates are all made of gold, except for Welbeck Hill (England), which is made of silver. The bracteates listed here have been found all over North-West Europe, including Scandinavia, Denmark, Germany, England and Frisia.

Since the most recent, elaborate and updated work on bracteates has been published in the six volumes of the IK, I have adopted the terminology used by its authors. The sequence UFO means *Unbekannter Fund Ort* = 'Unknown Findplace'. Likewise, the names of the findplaces, for instance *Südfinen*, are retained. All bracteates are more or less named after their findspots. The placename in the IK list is connected with A, B, C, D, F or M, which points to the iconographic type of bracteate. Thus it becomes immediately clear to which group a certain text belongs. The IK-abbreviation Taf. means *Tafel* 'Plate'. The remarks in the texts about items being 'related' refers to the iconography, and sometimes also to the runic text. Map 5 shows the spread of bracteates including one or several of the words **laþu**, **laukaz**, **alu**. Map 6 shows the find context for gold bracteates. 1: depot, 2: grave, 3: approximate border-line between depots and graves. Map 7 shows the spread of bracteates with long meaningful inscriptions. 1: inscriptions comprising at least four words, 2: comprising at least three words, 3: correct or partly correct rune-alphabet, 4: approximate border-line between depots and graves. Drawing of all maps: Christina Borstam. The maps have been copied (with permission) from Andrén's article 'Guld och makt' (1991: 245-256), which was published in *Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXVII*.

Of the 55 bracteates, described and listed here as 48 numbers, 26 are from hoards, 20 are stray finds, 5 are from unknown findplaces, 4 (possibly) from a grave. Bracteates showing **laukaz** emerge from a hoard 5 times, 4 are stray finds, 3 are from unknown findplaces. **alu**: 6 are from hoards, 3 are stray finds, 1 from an unknown findplace⁶³. **laþu**: 4 are from a hoard, 1 stray, 1 grave, 1 unknown. **auja**: 2 are from a hoard. **fupark**: 5 are from a hoard, 1 is a stray find. Most runes run from right to left, some occur mirror-wise. Since the runes were stamped into the goldfoil, it may be that mirror-forms were the result of a deliberate technique. One may have wanted to avoid too many reverted forms.

All bracteates found in Denmark are at the National Museum, Copenhagen, apart from Denmark (I)-C, which is lost; all bracteates found in Norway are at Oldsaksamlingen, Oslo; all bracteates found in Sweden and Gotland are at the National Museum, Stockholm, apart from Åsum-C, Kläggerod-C and Tirup-Heide-C, which are at the Historisk Museum, Lund. As regards bracteates found in Germany: Heide-B is lost, Nebenstedt (I)-B is at the Landesmuseum Hannover, Sievern is at the museum Bremerhaven. The Undley bracteate, found in England, is at the British Museum; the Hitsum bracteate, found in Friesland is at the Fries Museum.

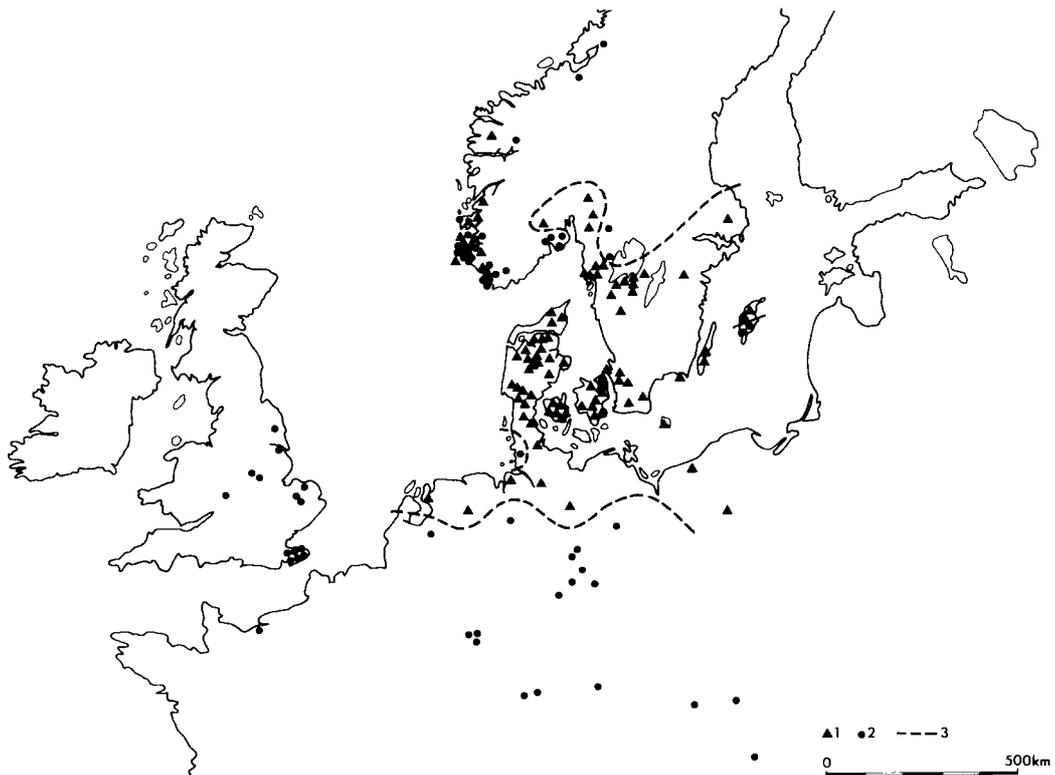
According to Peterson (1994^b:161) names or bynames occurring in bracteate legends have counterparts in West Germanic, especially in the Lower Rhine area. They are not met with in later Scandinavia. Among them are: Alawin, Alawid, Frohila, Kunimu(n)duz, Niuwil(a), Niuwila, Sigaduz.

⁶³ Recently two bracteates with the legend **alu ota** were found in a grave in Doanaueschingen, Black Forest, Germany.

Map 5. Spread of bracteates including one or several of the words *laþu*, *laukaz*, *alu*.



Map 6. The find context for gold bracteates. 1. depot, 2. grave, 3. approximate limit between depots and graves.



2. ALU

The literal meaning of the word **alu** is 'ale', but its meaning or function in runic texts, and its occurrence, especially on bracteates, is enigmatic. The interpretations run from 'magic' via 'extasy' to 'intoxicating drink'. A connection of **alu** with IE **alu-* 'bitter' and the mineral *alum* cannot be excluded, although this has been disputed by Høst Heyerdahl (1981) and Polomé (1996). The mineral was used as a medicine, as a prophylactic and as an amulet in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages (cf. Saltveit 1991:139, 141). Besides, alum is found in Scandinavia, and might have served as precious merchandise. Just as **laukaz** 'garlic, leek' will have been of interest because of the smell, **alu** may have derived its importance from the taste, according to Saltveit. Since both words (also) denote an antidote or a medicine, this might be a reason for their occurrence on bracteates = amulets (Saltveit 1991:140).

Recently, Polomé (1996:103) returned to his former (and later abandoned) statement that *alu* can be linked to Hittite **aluwanza-* 'affected by sorcery'; stating that "the comparison of Run. *alu* with Hitt. **aluwanza-* remains apparently a valid Anatolian-Germanic isogloss in the archaic magico-religious vocabulary". It does not seem unlikely to relate 'affected by sorcery' with an ecstatic state of mind, caused by drinking beer or ale.

The ELGESEM rune stone (Norway) bears only one word: **alu**. The stone was found in 1870 at a site which contained a large boat-shaped stone setting and 18 mounds. The stone was dug up from a mound with the inscription face down (Haavaldsen 1991:8). Later several graves were discovered in the same area, according to Haavaldsen. Antonsen (1984:334f.) considers it a cultstone, marking the cultplace; according to him **alu** does not only mean 'ale' but also depicts the situation of a person in trance, perhaps as the result of drinking beer. On amulets **alu** may refer to religious activities, initiation rites or a death-cult (see below), or symbolize the transitory state between the world of the living and the dead. Finally, ale may have been the liquid used for libations.

Objects with **alu** have been found on the Danish Isles, in Jutland, Gotland, Skåne and South Norway. Objects found outside that particular area are the *Heide*-bracteate, from the westcoast of Schleswig-Holstein, and two bracteates with **alu** from Donaueschingen (Black Forest, Germany). Finally **alu** is stamped mirror-wise in the clay surface of the three *Spong Hill* urns from East Anglia in England. These are cremation urns, dated fifth or sixth c., e.g. they were manufactured in the bracteate period. The occurrence of **alu** in both Schleswig-Holstein and East Anglia need not come as a surprise in the light of the *adventus Saxonum* to Britain in the 5th c.

As has been suggested, there may be a connection between **alu** and death. Deceased people were often given drinking vessels, such as Roman glassware, in their graves to symbolize their partaking at the eternal feast (Van Es 1994^b:68). The word **alu** may have been used to replace or symbolize a missing drinking vessel. Ale was used in ritual toasting to confirm a (new) situation, e.g. when a person had died and his heirs had come to drink *erfiøl* 'grave-beer'. Markey (1972) associates fire and ritual in a grove or temple with the goddess Freya. Werner (1988) suggests that bracteate-deposits may have been part of a fertility cult. Either way, some sacred cult - a fertility cult or a cult of the dead, or a combination of both - may have been involved.

A sacred and profane use of ale can be regarded complementary. The drinking of ale may have played a role during rites, such as the communication with spirits or gods. Enigmatic is the word *ealuscierwen* in the Old English heroic poem *Beowulf*, line 769. It may mean 'mortal fear', but 'robbing of beer' or 'distribution of beer' are possible translations, too (cf.

Lehmann 1992:365ff.). This word concerns the state of mind of the warriors of the hall of Heorot, when they witness Beowulf's struggle with Grendel. There is a serious threat of losing Beowulf, their final hope. About the ritual connotation of 'beer', cf. Høst Heyerdahl (1981:35-49), Grønvik 1987:135-143), Düwel in IK I, Text, p. 54, and Seebold (1994^a:63).

In my opinion, the meaning of runic *alu* in a cult context can perhaps be understood in connection with the so-called 'ale-runes': the Eddic *ql-rúnar* in *Sigrdrífomál* 7 and 19. I suppose *ql-rúnar* should not be translated literally with 'ale-runes'. I think the Eddic verse refers to the actual *writing in runes* of the formulaic word **alu**. Writing in itself may have been considered a magical act. The combined use of written charm and magical medicine is well-known from the antique and later medieval sources (see Gladigow 1992:12-31).

Bracteates with **alu**, also shortened, are found in Norway, Skåne, Denmark, Gotland, Schleswig-Holstein. They are: *Bjørnerud-A* (IK 24), *Börringe-C* (IK 26), *Darum (V)-C* (IK 43), *Djupbrunns-C* (IK 44), *Fünen (I)-C* (IK 58), *Heide-B* (IK 74), *Hjörlande Mark-C* (IK 78), *Kjellers Mose-C* (IK 289), *Kläggerod-C* (IK 97), *Lellinge-Kohave-B* (IK 105), *Maglemose (III)-C* (IK 300), *Ølst-C* (IK 135), *Skrydstrup-B* (IK 166), *UFO-B* (IK 149,2), *Schonen (I)-B* (IK 149,2).

3. AUJA

auja n. *ja*-stem, may have a symbolic connotation in the sense of 'divine protection' (cf. IK 1, Text, p. 178f.), or generally 'hail' or 'good luck' (Krause 1966:242; Antonsen 1975:66). Andersen discussed the possible meanings of **auja** (1970:180-205, with many references). The word **auja** eventually disappeared in the mists of time; its meaning can only be guessed at. Part of it, the name-element *au-*, appears to have been retained in placenames and personal names as *Ey-*, *Øy-*. Names with the element *aw-* are related, such as in **awimund** (Weimar III) and **awa** (Nordendorf I). The first part of the name **aujab[i]rg** (Oettingen) can also be regarded as related to **auja**. The Vimose buckle has **auwija** instead of **auja**, showing the West Germanic gemination of *w* before *j*, cf. Antonsen (1975:17, § 5.5) and (1987:23), who derives *auwija* < PG **aw-ja*. In his *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Pokorny (1959) gives the following roots: *au-*, *aē-*, *auē-* 'to like', possibly meaning 'to long for', or 'to favour, to help'. This would explain the interpretation of **auja** as 'luck', 'fortune', 'wealth, possession'. Andersen (1970:200) suggests a meaning 'protection' and 'lee', since the name-element *Øy-* appears to have had that meaning. Being an amulet, the bracteate would allow for a text **gibu auja** meaning 'I give luck' or 'I give protection', translations which are both equally acceptable (see below, nr. 33).

auja occurs on the following bracteates: *Raum Køge-C* (IK 98), *Skodborghus-B* (IK 161), both Denmark.

4. FUPARK

Bracteates with a complete *fupark*, or part of it, are: *Grumpan-C*, *Motala-C (Raum Mariedam)*, *Vadstena-C*, *Lindkær-C* and *Overhornbæk III-C*, *Schonen II-C* and *Gudme II-C*. One has been found in a bog, one is a stray find; the others come from hoards. All bracteates with *fupark*'s have been found in Sweden and Denmark and they are all C-bracteates.

Other *fupark* inscriptions are on the stone slab from KYLVER, found in 1903 near a farm called Kylver, on Gotland, Stånga parish. Since it was found in the surroundings of a grave, it is often thought to have belonged to that grave, which is dated in probably the fifth century. According to the find history, however, it is uncertain that the slab was indeed part of the sarcophagus (according to Anne Haavaldsen, personal communication).

From much later times, several finds from medieval Bryggen and Trondheim bear *fupark*'s, but these are probably connected with learning how to write (Fjellhammer Seim 1991:129f.). In view of the idea that *fuparks* might have had a magical connotation, it is interesting to note that these younger *fuparks* were mostly written on wooden chips. The meaning or function of a magical connotation (cf. for instance Krause 1966:10ff.) attributed to a *fupark* has been the topic of some hot debate (Düwel 1992^c:91ff., and also IK 1, Text, p. 194). The abbreviated *fupark* can be understood as *pars pro toto* for the whole sequence of the runic alphabet and may therefore stand for "Ordnung, Vollständigkeit" (Düwel 1992^c:98). The context, though, of objects with the older *fupark* does not seem to point to a specific magical purpose.

From the Continent four *fupark* inscribed objects are known:

BREZA, pillar of a ruined (6th c.?) building near Sarajewo.

Aquincum, brooch found as part of a hoard under the entrance of the former Roman theatre at Budapest. Only **fuparkgw**.

Beuchte, brooch found in a woman's grave, context disturbed, but the runes may have been inscribed a short time before depositing the brooch, according to Düwel (see Continental Inscriptions). Only **fuparzj**.

Charnay, brooch found in a row-gravefield in Burgundy, France, context unknown. Complete *fupark*, of which the final runes are abraded.

From England two *fupark* inscriptions are known:

THAMES, a scramasax, 9th c., found at Battersea in the river.

BRANDON, a pin, 8th c., found at a settlement site in Norfolk, East Anglia.

5. LAPU

lapu f. *ō*-stem 'invitation, summons' (which might refer to the act of an offering, or the initiation to a cult), cf. ON. *lqð*, OE. *laðu* f. 'invitation'; IK translates "Zitation", i.e. the calling of supernatural forces. The word **lapu** only appears on bracteates, also in a shortened form: *Darum (I)-B* (IK 42), *Skonager (III)-C* (IK 163), *Højstrup-C* (IK 83), *Gurfiles-C* (IK 264), *Fünen-I-C* (IK 58), *Schonon (I)-B* (IK 149). *Welbeck Hill* has **law** or **lap**, probably short for **lap(u)**. **lapodu** on *Raum Trollhättan-A* reflects a *u*-stem and is masculine (Antonsen 1975:20).

6. LAUKAZ

laukaz seems to have magical or ritual connotations, possibly in connection with fertility and growth. In this sense, a word like this on an amulet might add to the concept of protection against evil or destruction. In several manuscript runerows the name of the rune **l** appears to refer to *laukaz* (although often the ms. rune names are obscure or distorted). A few manuscripts record for **l** the name *līn* (Heizmann 1992:370ff.). One is irresistably inclined to associate this with the formulaic text on FLØKSAND **lina laukaz** 'linen & garlic, allium',

referring to the supposed preserving qualities of the combination of linen and garlic, as is suggested in the *Völsa þáttr* (see Krause 1966:85f.). **laukaz** is connected with fertility, sexuality, invocations and charms (Heizmann 1992:375 with ref.). Thus, Krause (1966:246f.), Antonsen (1975:63) and several others have proposed the intrinsic meaning 'prosperity'. Garlic was used as an antidote or medicine (cf. Saltveit 1991:138). **laukaz** is sometimes accompanied by other words, and appears (also abbreviated) on relatively many bracteates: *Års (II)-C* (IK 8), *Skrydstrup-B* (IK 166), *Börninge-C* (IK 26), *Schonen-(I)-B* (IK 149), and also on the FLØKSAND scraper. Shortened on: *Danmark (I)(?)-C* (IK 229), *Seeland (I)-C* (IK 330), *Allesø-B*, *Bolbro (I)-B* and *Vedby-B* (IK 13, 1, 2 and 3), also on *Hesselagergårds Skov-C*, *Hesselager-C*, *Südfünen-C* (IK nrs. 75,1, 2 and 3), *Maglemose (II)-C* (IK nr. 301), *Lynge Gyde-C* (IK nr. 289), and *Hammenhög-C* (IK nr. 267); maybe on *Nebenstedt (I)-B* (IK 128). Uncertain is: RYNKEBYGÅRD-C (IK 147: **lzolu**).



The Hitsum bracteate.

7. CHECKLIST RUNIC BRACTEATES

1. *Allesø-B*, *Bolbro (I)-B* and *Vedby-B*, Odense Amt, Funen, IK nrs. 13,1, 2 and 3, Taf. 15-16. All stray finds, turned up by a plough. The three bracteates are found on three separate spots near Odense. Related items are BIFRONS, IK nr. 23, *Nebenstedt (I)*, *(II)*, IK nrs. 128 and 129,1, DARUM (IV), IK nr. 129,2 and UFO IK nr. 361. The greater part of the runes run left. There are two segments, (a) running left: **lauz**, followed by a swastika, then: **owa**. (b) ; running left, **eapl**, followed by a division sign of two dots, then, running right, **tulz**, **l** reversed.

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The **l** of **lauz** shows only its upper part, due to lack of space. **lauz** is assumingly short for *laukaz* nsm. *a*-stem, 'leek, chives, garlic'. For the other runic sequences I can offer no interpretation.

2. *Års (II)-C*, Ålborg Amt, Jutland, IK nr. 8, Taf. 9-10. Hoard find, turned up by a plough. The hoard consisted of seven similar bracteates, two B-types, three C-types and three D-types; six ring-shaped goldpieces and one half of a glass bead. A related item is SCHLESWIG, IK nr. 325. The runes are on a base line, running right, **laukaz**.

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3. *Åsum-C*, Skåne, IK nr. 11, Taf. 11-12. Stray find, turned up by a plough. Related item is *Raum Sønderby*, IK nr. 340, here nr. 41. Swastika followed by runes running left between framing lines: **(e)heikakazfahi**.

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Krause (1966:268) interprets: **(e)he**, *ehē* 'for the horse', dative of **eh(w)az*, cf. *Tirup Heide*, nr. 43. **(e)he** reminds of *æhæ* in *Hantum*, (The Netherlands). **ik** 1 sg. personal pron.; the form **ik** may be Gothic or West Gmc. **akaz** nsm. *a*-stem, 'driver', ON *aka* 'to move, to drive, to lead'. It might be a PN, related names are ODan *Aki*, OE *Aca*, and ON *Aka-þórr*, which is an epithet of the god Thor. **fahi** 1. sg. pres. ind. 'I paint, draw' (the runes), inf. Gmc **faihjan*. *Sønderby* (nr. 41) has **ekfakazf**, interpreted as 'I, *Fakaz*, paint'. ON *fákr* means 'horse'.

4. *Bjørnerud-A*, Vestfold, IK nr. 24, Taf. 27-28. Stray find (?). Related items are MAEN and HAUGEN, IK nrs. 120, 1 and 2, SKÅTTEKÄR, IK nr. 160, TOSSENE, IK nr. 187; UFO IK nr. 196, HOLMETORP, IK nr. 279. Runes run left in segment near the head: **alu**.

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5. *Börringe-C*, Skåne, IK nr. 26, Taf. 29-30. Hoard find of four C-bracteates. Related item is ASMUNDSTORP, IK nr. 18. Runes run left below the horse's legs and behind figurine, reading **laukaz tanulu:al**.

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According to the photograph and drawing in the IK the reading **tanulu** is correct; there is no ***-nt-** in ***tantulu**, as proposed by Antonsen (1975:60). IK considers the etymology of ***tanulu** as uncertain; a nsf. *ō*-stem is proposed and tentatively a meaning 'protection, thrive'; **-ulu** might be a diminutive suffix. **al** is assumingly short for **alu**.

6. *Dänemark (I)-C*, IK nr. 229, Taf. 17-18. Find circumstances unknown. Related item BERESINA-RAUM, IK nr. 217. Runes run left between framing lines **lkaz**.

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Short for **l[au]kaz**.

7. *Darum (I)-B*, Ribe Amt, Jutland, IK nr. 42, Taf. 45-46. One of three similar bracteates. Hoard find from a bog consisting of eleven A-, B-, C- and D- bracteates, gold sword-sheath equipment, glass beads and a gold pendant. Related items are MADLA, IK nr. 117,1 and DJURGÅRDSÄNG, IK nr. 234. Runes run left, in two segments before and behind the head: **frohila** and **lapu**.

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IK is of the opinion that **frohila** is the name of the runemaster, a PN with suffix ***-ilan-**, cf. ON **Fraujila*, Go *Froila*, OHG *Froilo* 'little young lord', with **-h-** as hiatus marker. Might **frohila** be a sacral name for Balder? (Müller 1975). I guess the texts refers to an initiation rite of a young warrior, just like the related text on the Darum (V)-C bracteate (below, nr. 8) and the Skonager (III)-C bracteate (below, nr. 38). Darum and Skonager are near Ribe and in both places large bracteate hoards were found. One is tempted to assume the existence of a cultplace there. **lapu** means 'invitation' (see above).

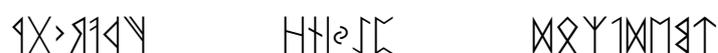
8. *Darum (V)-C*, Ribe Amt, Jutland, IK nr. 43, Taf. 47-48. Hoard find (see above, nr. 7). Runes run right; before the head is **alu**. Behind the horse is **niužil** < Gmc **niuja-* 'new' + *-ila*, diminutive suffix; Go *niujis*, OHG, OS *niuwi*.

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Compare also with the text **niuwila** on *Skonager (III)-C*, IK nr. 163, here nr. 38. According to Müller (1975:164f.) the name *niužil(a)* might concern Balder (see above; **frohila**), or otherwise it is an initiation name 'young newcomer'. Yet, *niužil(a)* might just be a PN, cf. OHG *Niwilo*. Antonsen (1975:59) reads *niu-jil-(a)*, nsm. *n-*stam 'little newcomer'. **niužil** reflects an East Gmc dialect, but it is remarkable that in the same region (westcoast of Jutland) an East Gmc and a West Gmc dialect (**niuwila**) appear to have been used side by side. Possibly,

The whole legend runs thus: **horaz laþu aeraalius alu**. *hōraz* is the Gmc equivalent of Latin *carus* 'dear, beloved', which was a cognomen of a Roman emperor⁶⁴. **laþu** I take to mean 'invitation (to the leader's cult)'.
aeraalius I interpret as a misspelling of *Aurelius*. According to Andrén (1991:252) in bracteate-legends the Roman equivalent of **alu** may be *pius*, which is one of the Roman emperor's epitheta. *Carus* and *Aurelius* are names of the emperor *Marcus Aurelius Carus* († 283), cf. Looijenga 1995^a.

12. *Grumpan-C*, Västergötland, IK nr. 260, Taf. 47-48. Hoard find, consisting of three C-bracteates, two gold spiral rings, eight glass beads and two bronze hooks. Related item OLOVSTORP, IK nr. 138, RAUM RANDERS, IK nr. 142, and *Vadstena*, IK nr. 377,1, here nr. 47. The inscription has a *futhark* divided in three *ættir* (eight runes each) beginning under the horse's right leg; the first *ætt* runs left, the next one runs right, the last one runs left again. **fuparkgw.....hniþi p....tbeml(i)ngod.....**



The **(i)ng** rune looks like **z**; the **p** is anomalous. **d** and **m** are undistinguishable. The dots may have the function of dividers between the three *ættir*.

13. *Gudme (II)-C*, Funen, IK nr. 392, Taf. 134-135. Hoard find from settlement. Three similar C-bracteates with runes, and a fingerring were found in a posthole of a building. Furthermore there were two B-bracteates, IK nr. 51,3 and IK nr. 391, a C-bracteate, IK nr. 393, three D-bracteates, IK nr. 455, 2, two gold pendants, one gold knob with almandines and a silver coin (*denarius*, Faustina, 125-176). Related items are OBERMÖLLERN, IK nr. 132 and RAUM HJØRRING, IK nr. 180. All three items of IK nr. 392 show runes running right behind the head, **fupar**. A *fupark* quotation.



The whole hoard may be regarded a building offer.

14. *Gurfiles (?) -C*, Ala, Gotland, IK nr. 264. Taf. 55-56. Stray find, find circumstances unknown. Related item is VISBY, IK nr. 385. Runes run left between framing lines, and are rather abraded, **laþaa**.



The final **a** is difficult to perceive. IK suggests the form *laþa* to be East Gmc against Proto-Norse *laþu* 'invitation'. The **þ** resembles **w**, cf. **laþ** on *Welbeck Hill* (nr. 48).

⁶⁴ Germanic soldiers used to romanize their names (Bang 1906:17ff.). The fact that the cognomen on the bracteate has been translated the other way round, from Roman into Germanic, is not as strange as it might seem, because bracteates are germanized Roman medallions.

15. *Halskov Overdrev-C*, Slagelse Amt, Sealand, IK nr. 70, Taf. 85-86. Hoard find from a gravel pit near the coast, found together with three gold spiral rings and several parts of gold rings. Related item is SJÖÄNDAN, IK nr. 159. Runes run left along the edge, partly abraded. The text probably starts in the top left-hand corner, first a swastika, then: **???**eturfahidelapo w (or þ, or Roman D) mhlsiiaeiaugrþnbkeiaz

Y 11M > 8 4 5 8 X / 11M 111 5 1 H M 4 8 4 11M 111 H 1 1 4 8 1 1 M

The first part can be divided into **???**etur fahide lapo 'Jetur (last part of a PN?) wrote the invitation', *fāhidē* 3 sg. pret. ind., the infinitive is Gmc **faihjan* 'to paint, to draw' (cf. *Åsum-C* nr. 3); *lapō*, asf. *ō*-stem, 'invitation'.

16. *Hammenhög-C*, Ingelstad, Skåne, IK nr. 267, Taf. 57-58. Stray find from a field. Runes run right in framing lines; the initial sign of the inscription resembles runic s. **lkaz**

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lkaz is assumingly short for **l[au]kaz**. The **l** has the form of the younger Danish **k**-rune.

17. *Heide-B*, Schleswig-Holstein, IK nr. 74, Taf. 91-92. Turned up by a plough. The bracteate probably originated from a grave mound. Related item is HAMBURG, IK nr. 71. Runes run right, **alu**.

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18. *Hesselagergårds Skov-C*, or *Fredskov-C*, *Hesselager-C* and *Südfünen-C*, Svendborg Amt, Funen. IK nrs. 75,1,2, and 3. Taf. 93-94. Three equal specimens found in three different find spots, all stray finds. Related item is *Maglemose (III)-C*, nr. 27. Five runes run widely separated along the edge **t e d o k**. A complex running right has **luzpa**. **luz** might be an abbreviation of **l[a]u[ka]z**. For the other runic sequences I have no interpretation.

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19. *Hitsum-A*, Friesland, IK nr. 76, Taf. 95-96. Related items are *Sievern*, here nr. 36, and *Undley*, here nr. 45. Unlocated find from a *terp*. Runes run left in two segments **fozo groba**.

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Fōzō might be a North Gmc female PN, nsf. *ō*-stem, or else it may reflect a connection with the tribal name of the *Fosii*. If the language is West Gmc (i.e. some Frankish dialect), the name may be a masculine PN, *Fozo*, nsm. *n*-stem. The form **groba** (ON *gróf*) reflects a West Gmc dialect, perhaps OS or OFris n/asf. *ō*-stem, cf. OHG *gruoba* 'groove, furrow'; possibly meaning 'belonging to a grave' (Seebold 1996:196), connected with Gmc **graban* 'to dig, make grooves', pret. **grōb-*. Seebold suggests a connection with a funeral rite.

20. *Hjørlande Mark-C* or *Slangerup* (now: Jørlande), Frederiksborg Amt, Sealand, IK nr. 78, Taf. 99-100. Hoard find with another three C-bracteates and a gold fingerring. Related item is BOLBRO, IK nr. 29. Runes run right: **alu**.

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21. *Højstrup Strand-C*, Præstø Amt, Sealand IK nr. 83, Taf. 105-106. Stray find, runes run left between framing lines, **laþu** 'invitation'.

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22. *Kjellers Mose-C*, Ringkøbing Amt, Jutland, IK nr. 289, Taf. 77-78. Related items are HOLMSLAND, IK nr. 84 and SEJERSLEV KLITTER, IK nr. 155. Hoard find from a bog; runes are partly illegible and run from left to right. IK reads **ll?? iualu**, which might be a combination of **alu** and, when reading from right to left: **ui** = $v\bar{i}$, cf. ON *vé* 'sanctuary, temple', OS *wīh* 'temple' and OHG, OS *wīh* 'holy'.

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If this were so, it would be another instance of a combination of **alu** and a religious concept, like there seems to be the case with the cult stone of ELGESEM (see above, in the introductory part).

23. *Kläggeröd-C*, Slimminge, Skåne, IK nr. 97, 1 and 2, Taf. 123-124. Hoard find from a field, consisting of four or five similar bracteates; on the same spot six or seven bracteates and a gold pendant were found later. Related item is KLÄGGERÖD-C, IK nrs. 96,1 - 4. The inscription has an upper line; the sidetwigs of the **a** run very low. Runes run left **alu**.

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24. *Lellinge Kohave-B*, Præstø Amt, Sealand, IK nr. 105, Taf. 131-132. Stray find. Related items are OBERMÖLLERN, IK nr. 132, RAVLUNDA, IK nr. 143 and SCHONEN (I)-B, IK nr. 149. Runes run left along the edge; triskele and swastika. The runes read **salusalu**.

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It appears that the **s**-like sign might be just a word divider, so probably one should read **alu** repeated twice. Also, the etymology and meaning of **salusalu** is obscure. Lundeby (1982) suggests a connection with Nynorsk *soll*, *søl*, an edible type of alga *Rhodymenia palmata* (see below, *Vadstena* nr. 47). There might be a connection with FLØKSAND **lina laukaz** (Lundeby & Williams 1992:19-21) concerning the nourishing qualities of **salu** = *alga* and **lina** 'linnen, flax' = edible part of flax, e.g. the seeds. This point of view may be applied to the enigmatic **alu** and **laukaz**, both referring to edible ware: 'ale' and 'leek, garlic, chives'. Antonsen interprets **sala** as 'offering', obviously inspired by the Gothic verb *saljan* 'to sacrifice'. Since on bracteates the occurrence of Latin (-inspired) words must be taken into account, I think Latin

between framing lines along the edge: **rwrilu**, which assumingly is a misspelling for **rwrITU**, to be divided in **r**[unoz], apf. *ō*-stem 'runes', and **writu** 1 sg. pres. ind. 'I write'. Note that the abbreviation **r** stands for 'runes', hence the **r** does not denote its name but has a semantical function, contrary to the symbolic use of **j** in the next item, below, nr. 37.

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37. *Skodborghus-B*, Haderslev Amt, Jutland, IK nr. 161, Taf. 207-208. Hoard find, which was turned up by a plough, together with three D-bracteates and a gold brooch with filigree and precious stones. A second hoard from the same spot has disappeared. Related item is SÆDDING, IK nr. 148. The runes run left along the edge between framing lines: **aujaalawinaujaalawinjalawid**.

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auja n/asn., see above, nr. 33. **alawin** PN or epithet, consisting of *ala* 'all' and *win(i)* 'friend', nsm. *i*-stem. **alawid** might be a PN too; Antonsen (1975:76f.) considers *-wid* as a nsm. or vocative *ja*-stem and compares with Go *ga-wadjon* 'betroth'. He interprets the name as "All-leader". The endings are lacking in *Alawin* and *Alawid*, likewise as in **alugod** on the *Værløse* brooch. This may be considered to reflect a West Gmc dialect. Otherwise *Alawin*, *Alugod* and *Alawid* should be taken as appellatives. The **j** before **alawid** appears to refer to the rune name of **j** **jāra*, meaning 'year, harvest', cf. **j** in *Stentoften* (Danish Corpus).

38. *Skonager (III)-C*, Ribe Amt, Jutland, IK nr. 163, Taf. 211-212. Hoard find, see above *Darum (V)-C*, nr. 8 and *Darum (I)-B*, nr. 7. The bracteate is found together with two similar items. They were part of a hoard, which was found while digging for peat. The total find consists of three C-bracteates with runes, one C-bracteate without inscription, seven D-bracteates, five A-bracteates of which four bear runes: SKONAGER (II)-A, DARUM (III)-A, IK nrs. 162,1 and 2; DARUM (II)-A and SKONAGER (I)-A, IK nrs. 41,1 and 41,2. Two bracteates are melted, so of the originally fifteen pieces thirteen are left. The *Skonager (III)-C* inscription consists of two segments with runes. Running right, under the horse's chin is: **niuwila**. Running left, under the man's foot is: **lpl**, which assumingly means *lapu*.

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niuwila = **niwjila*, < Gmc **newja-*, **niuja-* 'new', plus diminutive suffix *-ila*, cf. **niužil** in *Darum (V)-C*, nr. 8, and the OHG name *Niwilo*. Antonsen (1975:76) interprets **niuwila** as derived from PG **new-ja* + *-il-ōn* 'little newcomer' (see above, nrs. 7 and 8), showing gemination of *w* before *j* and therefore classified as West Germanic. Possibly the texts of *Darum (I)-B*: **frohila lapu**, *Darum (V)-C* **niužil alu**, *Skonager (III)-C* **niuwila l[a]pu**, all point to some sort of festivity (cf. Seebold 1996:196) in the neighbourhood of a cult-place. The sort of festivity may very well have concerned 'rites of passage', initiation rites for young warriors.

39. *Skrydstrup-B*, Haderslev Amt, Jutland, IK nr. 166, Taf. 215-216. Stray find in a marlpit. The iconography shows a man in full length, surrounded by a deer, a bird, two snakes and

another animal, maybe a wolf. There are two colons, runes running right: **laukaz**. Running left: **alu**.

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The man appears to hold his hand in the wolf's wide open mouth, a scene that may refer to the god Týr.

40. *Sønder Rind-B*, double bracteate, Viborg Amt, Jutland, IK nr. 341, Taf. 125-126. Hoard find, consisting of two similar double-bracteates. The runes are part of the ornamentation: a stylized image of a man with spear and sword. The runes are near the beast's tail, on a base line is **uinizik**.

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The initial **i** may as well be part of the frame, hence the runic legend is **uinizik**. The text may be divided into **uiniz** and **ik**. I take it that here again we find a spelling **u** for *w*. *winiz* nsm. *i*-stem, **ik** 1 sg. personal pron., hence we get: *winiz ik* 'Friend (am) I' (cf. Düwel 1975:158f.). As to the sequence, see *Eskatorp*, nr. 10, **uuigaz** [e]k.

41. *Sønderby-C*, Femø, Maribo Amt, IK nr. 340, Taf. 123-124. Stray find at the beach in the water. Runes running left in framing lines: **ekfakazf**.

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f might be an abbreviation for **fāhi* 1 sg. pres. ind. 'paint', inf. Gmc **faihjan*. The text is almost a parallel to *Åsum* nr. 3. There **fahi** is written in full, hence we have again an indication that abbreviations were used in runic texts. IK interprets: *ek fākaz f(āhi)*. *Fākaz* PN, nsm. *a*-stem, 'horse', cf. ON *fákr*; compare with **akaz** 'driver' and **(e)he** 'horse' in nr. 3. 'I, Fakaz, paint (the runes)'.
 42. *Svarteborg-M*, Bohuslän, IK nr. 181, Taf. 235-236. This fourth-century medallion-type predates the other bracteates by at least a century. Moreover, it is the only medallion-imitation bearing runes. It was found in a gravemound together with an urn with cremation, and this too is peculiar, since all other bracteates from that part of Scandinavia were deposited as hoards, or are stray finds. On the frontside are runes; the backside has capital-imitation and runelike signs.

The runic legend before the head runs left: **sigaduz l**.

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The **s** rune is written in double lines, similar to the double **s** in *Bergakker* (The Netherlands, nr. 19, dated ca. 425). **sigaduz** may be a hypocoristic PN: **Sigi-haðuz*, or **sigaduz** may be taken as *sig(n)duz* 'magician'. Düwel took the double-lined **s** as representing two times **s** (1975:144-157), and interpreted *S(i)sig(n)duz* 'magician of *sisu*', which means some sort of magic concerning death rituals, cf. OS *siso* 'feierliche Klage, Leichenklage', or 'magical

ley. ga(u)kaz, nsm. *a*-stem, might denote a bird, but Düwel (1984:332) thinks an interpretation of **gakaz** as *gaukaz* ‘cuckoo’ (cf. Krause 1966:256f.) not very convincing. He considers a PN also unlikely, since an ‘I-formula’ and/or a verbform is lacking. The legend appears to me an enumeration of formulaic words with a positive intent.

46. *Undley-A*, Suffolk; England, IK nr. 374b, Taf. 151-152. The bracteate is an unstratified and unassociated find made by a farmer on his land (Hines 1987:74; a drawing of the runes in Hines 1990^b:440). Seen in the BM, London. The runes run from right to left, rendering **gagoga maga medu**.

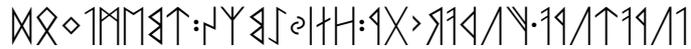
AMM̄·1X1M̄·X̄⇒XX

The part **gagoga** is written with three rune-crosses, nearly similar to **gagaga** in *Kragehul* (Danish Corpus). Since the language may be pre-Old English, the transliteration probably should be: **gægogæ mægæ medu**. **ga-* became **gæ-* in pre-OE through fronting. The unaccented final vowel in **gægogæ** may be *æ*, as unaccented *a* > *æ* (Campbell § 333). The transliteration of the second colon is more difficult, it could be **maga** according to the rule of restoration of *ā* before back vowels, cf. Campbell § 157, § 574 (analogous to *daga*). *maga* gpm. *u*-stem: ‘of the kinsmen’. **medu** nsf. *ō*-stem ‘reward’, cf. OE *mēd*, *meord* < Gmc **mezdō* (Campbell § 585, 588). The text would then be: ‘*gægogæ* reward of the kinsmen’.

The Undley inscription may show the very instance of the rune † representing both sounds *æ* en *a* (cf. Odenstedt 1991:53-69). The sequence **gægogæ** should be considered as an echo of the obscure **gagaga** in *Kragehul*. However, Eichner (1990:317, note 20) draws attention to a remarkable parallel in *Beowulf*, which he chooses not to relate with the Undley text: "Fern bleibt freilich *Beowulf* 247 *māga gemēdu* ‘die Zustimmung der Stammesgenossen’ (...)". It would seem to me, though, that there may be something in this. The text in *Beowulf* concerns the landing of the *Wederas* on the Danish coast, where they are met by *Hrothgar*'s thane, who powerful shakes his mighty spearshaft in his hand and says, among other things, "Never have warriors bearing shields made their approach more openly, and yet you had no knowledge of the warriors' password agreed on by our kinsfolk". This is the translation by Garmons-way/Simpson (1980:9) of the sentence *nē gē lēafnes-word gūð-fremmendra gearwe ne wisson, māga gemēdu*. The translation by Wrenn/Bolton (1973:107) is: "nor did you make certain of having the permission, the consent of the warlike kinsmen"; Wrenn/Bolton add: "*Lēafnes-word* is parallel variation to *gemēdu*". I conjecture: if Undley contains a similar text, albeit in a shortened version, would it be possible to take **gægogæ** as the *password*? After all, the inscription is in runes on a bracteate, which can be considered an important object in gift-exchanging networks among the Germanic elite of the Migration Period. If the Undley text is taken as *māga (ge)mēdu* the meaning would be: *māga* ‘of the kinsmen’; *gemēdu* apn. *ja*-stem ‘consent’; hence: ‘*gægogæ* = the password, the kinsmen's consent’.

47. *Vadstena-C*, Östergötland, IK nr. 377,1 and *Motala = Raum Mariedam*, IK 377,2, Taf. 157-158. These are similar bracteates from two different find spots, *Vadstena* comes from a hoard, the other is an UFO. The *Vadstena* original has been stolen in 1938; IK used a copy for the description. Related items are NORRA TORLUNDA, IK nr. 130, RAVNSTORP, IK nr. 313, SILLEBY MELLANGÅRDEN, IK nr. 334, VIBY, IK nr. 381.

The runes on both bracteates run left along the edge, and read, starting from the loop:
luwatuwa.fuþarkgw:hnijibzs:tbe ml̥o(d).



This is a complete *fuþark*, divided into three *ættir* and ending in **od**, although the **d** is nearly invisible. Both *Vadstena* and *Grumpan* end in **od**, whereas the KYLVER *fuþark* ends in **do**. Remarkable is the occurrence of two times **b** - instead of **b** and **p**. **luwatuwa** is according to Antonsen (1975:72) uninterpretable, and Krause (1971:171) remarks: "magische Doppelformel... Deutung ist nicht möglich". Lundeby & Williams (1992:17) read **tuwatuwa** and regard this as a parallel to **salusalu** on the *Lellinge* bracteate, see above nr. 24. **tuwa** has a connection with either Gmc **taujan* 'to do, make' or with English *tow*, ON *tó* 'linnen and/or wool', Dutch *touw*, cf. Gmc **tauwa* 'made of flax' (De Vries 1971:743). The reference to flax, linnen or wool concerns the spinning of these materials, according to both Lundeby and Williams. This would classify these texts as a series of naming nature-products: alga, linnen, wool, leek, garlic, ale.

48. *Welbeck Hill*-(?), Irby, Lincolnshire, England. IK nr. 388, Taf. 165-166. A silver bracteate, found in a woman's grave (Hines 1990:445). Date: mid 6th c., which postdates the other bracteates. In private possession. The bracteate is of local Anglian manufacture, but may be a copy of a Scandinavian one. Except for the silver bracteate some bronze objects were found in the grave, and some glass and amber pearls, an iron knife, an iron buckle, an iron ring, 4 iron keys and an ivory ring. The runes run left, and read: **law**, which could be miscopied *lap* for the well-known bracteate-word *lapu* 'invitation'.

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