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READING RUNES

Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium
on Runes and Runic Inscriptions
Nyköping, Sweden, 2–6 September 2014

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Discovery

Foreword

The 8th International Symposium on Runes and Runic Inscriptions with the theme "Reading Runes – Discovery, Decipherment, Documentation" took place 1–6 September, 2014, at Sunlight Hotel, Conference & Spa, in Nyköping.

The Organising Committee consisted of Marco Bianchi, Lennart Elmevik, Staffan Fridell, Svante Fischer, Anne-Sofie Gräslund, Alessandro Palumbo, Sofia Pereswetoff-Morath, and Henrik Williams, all from Uppsala University; Magnus Källström and Laila Kitzler Åhfeldt, both from The Swedish National Heritage Board; Patrik Larsson from Dalarna University; Cecilia Ljung from Stockholm University; and Per Stille from Linnæus University. Conference assistants were Maria Rossipal from The Swedish National Heritage Board and Hanna Åkerström from Uppsala University.

We were fortunate to find a number of sponsors for the symposium:

The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities
Riksbankens Jubileumsfond. The Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences
Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur
Åke Wibergs Stiftelse
Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala
Sven och Dagmar Saléns Stiftelse
Swedish National Heritage Board
Helge Ax:son Johnsons Stiftelse
American Association for Runic Studies

One of the sponsors, Sven och Dagmar Saléns Stiftelse, granted us funds to subsidize those requiring financial assistance to cover travel costs, primarily junior scholars with no doctoral degree or those lacking access to conference funding.

The scope of the symposium was broad, catering to a wide range of interests. Some may have found certain presentations irrelevant or even provocative as regards their understanding of the discipline, but we as organizers made no apologies for accepting such papers. Runic studies is simply too small a specialty for total agreement to be healthy, with only a few scholars attempting to cover the whole spectrum naturally developing in larger fields of study.

As long as the scholarly quality is satisfactory, all contributions to runic studies are welcome.

The program was structured around the theme of the symposium. The plenary lecture for *Discovery* was given by the late Helmer Gustavson: "Some Swedish Inscriptions in the Older Futhark and their Find Circumstances". This theme also encompassed the contributions of Gunnar Andersson & Kerstin O. Näversköld: "Runstenen från Björkö by – 10 bitar av ett stort pussel", Magnus Källström: "Elias Wesséns runstensundersökningar i Södermanland 1928 och 1929", and Lennart Lind: "Denarius Barbaricus".

The plenary lecture for *Decipherment* was given by Michael Lerche Nielsen: "Knot-Runes and Doubled Runes: Origin and Meaning". This theme included papers by Stig Eliasson: "Scandinavian Runic Epigraphy in an Unidentified Language? Inscription-Internal Linguistic Consistency and Cross-Inscriptional Parallels", Anne-Sofie Gräslund: "Kristet eller hedniskt? Reflektioner om bildinnehållet på U 448", Sofia Pereswetoff-Morath: "Om svårigheterna med att etablera läsningar för runinskrifter på metallföremål: det nyfunna kopparbrynet från Rjurikovo Gorodišče", Aya Van Renterghem: "Reassessing the Anglo-Saxon Runic Poem: Reading Runes with Early Editors", Roland Schuhmann: "Readings of Runic Inscriptions and their Effect on Early Germanic Grammar", the late Terje Spurkland: "*Hér var han*, *ok heðan fór han út*: Runic Inscriptions as a Source for Pilgrimages", Fredrik Valdeson: "Vg 199 – Ett första utkast till en tolkning", Nancy L. Wicker: "Bracteates and Beverages: alu in Light of the Discovery of a New Bracteate from Scalford", and Henrik Williams: "ᚱᛋ · ᚢᚱᛋᛏᚱ · ᚩ · ᚢᚨᛚᚢ · på Ög 83, ett tolkningsförslag av nekrologen".

The topic of *Graphemics* may be considered as a subtheme, and included contributions by Andreas Fischnaller: "Die Quellen der ersten gedruckten skandinavischen Runen", Kerstin Kazzazi: "Structural and Terminological Challenges of a Bilingual German-English RuneS Database", Jana Krüger: "Der Gebrauch von punktierten Runen in dänischen Runeninschriften", Jurij Kuzmenko: "Hur rungraffiti på mynt kan hjälpa vid tolkningen av andra runinskrifter (en ny tolkning av runinskrifterna på Værløse-spännet och Vedslet-amuletstenen)", Alessandro Palumbo: "Graphonomical Analysis of Runic Glyphs and the Use of Runic Forms in Medieval Gotland", Michelle Waldispühl: "Between Epigraphic and Runo-graphic Analysis: Exploring the Boundaries", and Gaby Waxenberger: "The Grapheme Inventory of Pre-Old English and Phoneme-Grapheme Relation". To this may be added the *ad hoc* seminar with Marcus Smith: "A Runic Font Initiative".

Another subtheme was Linguistics, featuring: Elise Kleivane: "Runes and Roman Script", Alexander K. Lykke: "Unstressed /i/ and /u/ in Old

Norwegian – A Study of the Norwegian Runic Material post 1050", Mikael Males: "Kan fornisländskans *rúnar* betyda 'bokstäver', förutom att betyda 'runor'?", Klaus Johan Myrvoll: "Syntaktiske avleiringar i runeinnskrifter og norrøn poesi", Luzius Thöny: "On Final Devoicing in Proto-Norse", Kendra Willson: "Interpretationes Fennicae: What to look for".

The plenary lecture for *Documentation* was given by James E. Knirk: "Documentation of Runic Inscriptions". Under this theme appeared Michael P. Barnes: "Documenting the Scandinavian Runic Inscriptions of the British Isles: Confessions of a Field Runologist", Lisbeth M. Imer: "The Greenlandic Runic Inscriptions – The Tradition of Writing in the North Atlantic", and Peter Pieper: "Ergebnisse der Neuuntersuchungen der Runeninschriften von Bad Ems und Beuchte".

One of the subthemes that emerged during the planning of the symposium was *Runica manuscripta*: Alessia Bauer: "Fallstudie zu den isländischen runica manuscripta", Wolfgang Beck: "Reading Runes in Late Medieval Manuscripts", and Inmaculada Senra-Silva: "Reading the ᛗ and ᛘ Runes in the Glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels: A Reanalysis". Another was the somewhat ambiguous *Changing Monuments*: Martin Findell: "Two New Reports on Runic Inscriptions in Britain", Daniel Föller: "Stylistic Device or Accidental Occurrence? Thinking about the Proximity of Words on Viking-Age Rune-Stones", Martin Hansson & Per Stille: "Runic Stones in the Landscape. What does the Location of Runic Stones Reveal about Viking Age Mentality and Society?", Judith Jesch: "The Viking Age Rune Stones of Norway", Jay Johnston: "Locating Decipherment: Understanding Material and Textual Context in the Interpretation of an Uncertain Inscription", Laila Kitzler Åhfeldt: "From Picture Stone to Rune Stone – Changing Traditions on Gotland", Lilla Kopár: "The Rise and Fall of Anglo-Saxon Runic Stone Monuments", Cecilia Ljung: "From Memorials to Grave Markers: Transformations of the Runestone Tradition in a Churchyard Context", and Marjolein Stern: "Changing Monuments: The Adapting and Adopting of Runestones and the Effects on their Perception and Decipherment".

As always, there was also an *Open Session*: Ekaterina Eroshkina: "Runologi i undervisningen", Karoline Kjesrud: "Runenes makt: hvem eier runene?", Irene García Losquiño: "Documenting Evolution: Purpose-Grouping in the Older Runic Inscriptions", Bernard Mees: "Elmer Antonsen as a Runologist", Rikke Steenholt Olesen: "Cast Censers with Runes", and Alix Thoeming: "Temporality and Regionality in the Rune-Stones of Viking Age Sweden".

Finally, there were a number of *Poster Presentations*: Ilya Egorov: "The Orthographic Variability in the Runic Inscriptions of Uppland, Söderman-

land and Östergötland", Andreas Fischnaller & Anne Hofmann: "Dokumentation von Runeninschriften mit Hilfe von Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI)", Nik Gunn et al.: "A New Runic Inscription From Viking Age Cleveland", Loraine Jensen: "The Challenges of Runic Studies in America", Minoru Ozawa: "How Many Rune Stones did Swein Forkbeard raise? A Contribution to Reconstructing the Commemoration Strategy of the Jelling Dynasty", Andrey Volgushev: "The Functions of the 'Lock' Element in the Ornaments of the Uppland Runestones", and Kristel Zilmer: "'Sight Words' in Medieval Runic Inscriptions – A Strategy of Runic Literacy?".

The titles do not always reflect the language of the presentations themselves.

All of the abstracts, including those of presentations not included in the present volume, may be found at https://doi.org/10.33063/diva-437002 although that agenda does not represent the last-minute changes which occurred in the final version. Two participants cancelled and two organisers were unable to attend. The program presented here reflects what actually transpired at the symposium, including changes to lecture titles. All in all, there were 85 participants, 50 lectures, and 7 poster presentations. The conference program further featured an evening excursion to the archaeological site of Släbro in Nyköping, an evening lecture by Lars Norberg from *Sörmlands museum* about the history of Nyköping and two parallel excursions to places of runic interest in Sörmland.

Sixteen papers are published in the symposium report, with the symposium themes reversed as the only plenary lecture included is the one on documentation. The articles in this volume primarily reflect what was submitted for publication after the symposium: most of the editing was done in 2015 and 2016, and the contributions have generally not been updated. Some authors have nevertheless included postscripts where necessary, taking note of more recent publications, for example. The articles have not been subjected to a regular process of review, although the three editors stand as a scholarly guarantee. We have let the authors take responsibility for their writing and we have allowed a great deal of leeway as regards references and bibliography, as long as general principles have been adhered to and consistency maintained within each contribution.

At least four of the symposium papers intended for the report eventually appeared elsewhere:

Gunnar Andersson & Kerstin O. Näversköld: "Runstenen från Björkö by – 10 bitar av ett tungt pussel". This was published (together with Magnus

Källström) as "Runstensfyndet från Björkö by" in *Fornvännen* 111, 2016, pp. 102–117.

Mikael Males: "Kan fornisländskans *rúnar* betyda 'bokstäver'?", forthcoming in *Scripta Islandica* 72, 2021.

Luzius Thöny: "On Final Devoicing in Proto-Norse", published as "The Chronology of Final Devoicing and the Change of *z to *ʀ in Proto-Norse" in *Futhark* 7, 2016 (publ. 2017), pp. 47–62.

Fredrik Valdeson: "Vg 199 – Ett första utkast till en tolkning", forthcoming as "Vg 199 Norra Lundby: Ett tolkningsförslag" in *Futhark* 11, 2020 (publ. 2021).

DOCUMENTATION

Plenary lecture

JAMES E. KNIRK
Documentation of Runic Inscriptions

Abstract
Documentation and examination are the essence of runological fieldwork. As discussed here, the recording aspect concerns the inscriptions, particularly the runes, themselves. The documentation of runic carvings is a multifaceted activity. It ranges from the production of reading protocols during the examination of inscriptions to the utilization of various techniques for registering what is found on the runic object: (a) visually, i.e. with drawings or photographs, (b) physically, e.g. with squeezes or casts, and (c) scientifically, such as by employment of microscopes, 3D scanning, or most recently Reflectance Transformation Imaging. The main requirement for all such documentation is objectivity.

Keywords: Documentation, runic inscriptions, reading protocols, drawings, photography, squeezes, casts, stereo microscope, 3D scanning, Reflectance Transformation Imaging

Introduction

Discovery, documentation, and decipherment are the three broad aspects of the theme "Reading Runic Inscriptions". The second of these, documentation – together with examination – comprises the core of runological fieldwork.

Documentation also applies to the discovery of runic inscriptions. Their uncovering is recorded in find-histories, in most cases, at least nowadays, by archaeologists. The accounts provide information primarily about the runic object itself, and thus contain important material for, among other things, an evaluation of the context of the inscription and an appraisal of its state of completeness and preservation. The circumstances of discovery can also be crucial for determining authenticity. In general, however, the record of the find-history has little to do with the particulars of the inscription itself.

As presented here, documentation concerns first and foremost the individual runes in the inscription. There are, of course, broader epigraphic features the runologist must record, for instance the placement and layout of the inscription, the order in which lines are to be read, and details of any

ornamentation. The importance of such matters for the interpretation and understanding of the runes must be evaluated in connection with decipherment. Although these are important considerations, they cannot receive a full presentation here and will be mentioned only in passing.

Documentation of runic inscriptions is a multifaceted endeavor. In form it ranges from reading protocols produced during the examination of inscriptions to the results of various techniques for documenting what can be seen on the runic object: (a) visually, i.e. with drawings or photographs, (b) physically, e.g. with rubbings, squeezes, or casts, and (c) scientifically, such as through the employment of technically advanced microscopes, laser or 3D optical scanning, or most recently Reflectance Transformation Imaging (abbreviated to RTI). The main requirement for all such documentation is that it be as objective as possible.

Reading protocols

Structured reading protocols are not the earliest form of documentation, but – as a scholarly genre – a necessary and welcome result of improved scientific recording methods in the 1800s. They have not changed much over the years, and still consist basically of sketches (more or less exact), a general description of the object and the inscription, and a rune-by-rune specification of what is observed. The rough drawing need not be a work of art but should delineate important traits of the object, the inscription, its runes and any other marks. The written presentation should include all aspects of interest for the inscription and for the individual runes or other signs, symbols or art-work. It usually begins with a general description, including identification and size of object, placement of inscription, layout and size of inscription and so on, especially if the inscription is a new find. There follows a line-by-line, rune-by-rune account, as a rule entailing the identification of rune forms with comments about any deviation from standard forms, any damage, and the like. The information should be detailed, especially when the reading is in doubt.

Good reading protocols can be presented verbatim in corpus editions, as was the case in vols. 3–5 of Norges innskrifter med de yngre runer (hereafter NIyR) after Aslak Liestøl had been employed by Oldsaksamlingen to supervise the Runic Archives and had started examining and documenting inscriptions prior to their publication by Magnus Olsen. An example can be seen in the article for N 226 Klepp 2 (NIyR 3: 152; cf. the first half of the typed transcript of Liestøl's handwritten protocol in Fig. 1).

Kleppe, i Bergens Museum

Line A. Steinen har her nokre slepper som ligg i
sylinderflater med aksen i ca 15 grader med overflata.
Langs sleppene er så ein del avskalingar som för ein
ser etter kan virke som deler av runene.

1. Berre hovudstav. Han ser ut til saman med r.2 å
   skulle lesat u, men det er eit resultat av avskal-
   ingane ved **k**leppa.
2. Det er ein sökk til högre for toppen, men det er
   usikkert om det er **e**in kvist.
3. Tydeleg þ.
4. Tydeleg hovudstav, men avskaling langs ei sleppe
   til venstre for toppen og foten.
5. Tydeleg hovudstav, men ein sökk til ~~venstre~~ högre
   for midten. Usikkert om det er kvist.
Tydeleg punkt, sansynlegvisnedre punkt i eit skilje-
teikn.

....slepper

Fig. 1. Typed transcription of the first part of Aslak Liestøl's reading protocol for N 226 Klepp 2, with a sketch. In the Runic Archives, Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

The arrangement in NIyR corresponds fairly well with that in Sveriges runinskrifter (hereafter SRI), Danmarks runeindskrifter and in Krause and Jankuhn's Die Runeninschriften im älteren Futhark (1966). In conjunction with the transliteration, any runes of interest are presented and discussed. The Danish publication, however, provides very limited information from reading protocols, most likely due to the fact that the publication was conceived as a supplement to Wimmer's edition some forty years prior where such information could be found.

Complete reading protocols are essential for and integral to the field documentation of runic inscriptions, and a field runologist should always codify his or her findings during an investigation in this way. Some reading protocols have a special purpose, for example to check the possibility of a new reading of a single rune or word, and will be correspondingly simplified and less complete.

It is of the utmost importance to keep the observations in a reading protocol as neutral, objective, and descriptive as possible. Here, as elsewhere, the scholar must differentiate between what is recorded or documented, and how these observations can be interpreted (cf. Page 2005).

Visual documentation: drawings

Visual documentation has traditionally entailed the production of either drawings or photographs, with drawings the earliest form of documentation. One of the first to use drawings was the Swedish "father of runology", Johannes Bureus, who drew runic inscriptions in the late 1500s and first half of the 1600s not only in manuscripts as the basis for his research but also for presentation in various publications for which he personally prepared both etchings and woodcuts. He was a proficient if not professional draftsman, as is demonstrated by his woodcut of U 439 Steninge (SRI 7: 233), for example, an Ingvarr stone that was lost soon after Bureus recorded it.

In Denmark, Ole Worm (Olaus Wormius) requested in the early 1600s that drawings be made of runic monuments in the Dano-Norwegian kingdom. Three bishops in Norway and one canon sent manuscripts to him containing drawings of fifty Norwegian runic inscriptions. The manuscripts (three of which still exist) were the basis for the illustrations in Book 6 of his Monumenta Danica (1643), the first publication of the Norwegian corpus. The only illustrator whose name is now definitely known was Worm's own proficient draftsman, the Norwegian Jon Andersen Skonvig/Skånevik (cf. Moltke 1956–58, for half of the rune-stones in the Bergen bishopric). Although canon Peder Alfssøn, a teacher at the Cathedral School in Oslo/Christiania, has traditionally been considered to be the illustrator of manuscript AM 371 fol. with inscriptions in the Oslo bishopric (cf. Moltke 1956–58, 1: 217–233), Worm in a letter dated 1638 (1751, 1: 383 [no. 383]; cf. 1965–68, 2: 55 [no. 700]) relates only that Peder Alfssøn had sent him the manuscript, which contained illustrations 'drawn by a painter in vivid colors'. At any rate, this person was no professional draftsman, as his inferior illustration of the N 68 Dynna stone demonstrates: the long single line of runes along one narrow edge of an elegant and tall stone is represented as four parallel lines on a squat block (Fig. 2).

Although in the mid-1600s a small cadre of professional draftsmen in Sweden produced the fine copper etchings and woodcuts published much later in Bautil (1750), in the 1700s and 1800s it was most often interested but not necessarily gifted amateurs who sketched runic inscriptions, sometimes out-
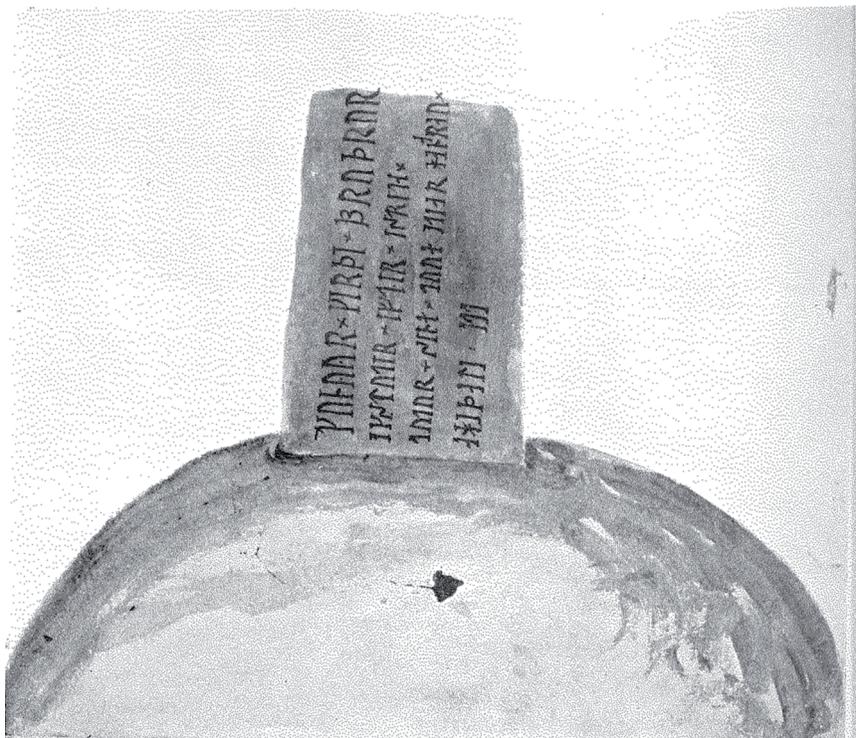
Fig. 2. Drawing of the N 68 Dynna rune-stone in the manuscript Peder Alfssøn sent to Ole Worm in 1627 (AM 371 fol., fol. 7r), from Moltke (1956–58, 1: 218).

lining only the runes themselves with no indication of the object. The main problem with most drawings from this early period is their tendency to generalize and idealize: the form of a rune-stone and the forms of the runes are more or less standardized. Later in the 1800s, more scholarly demands led to professional draftsmen again being engaged and to representations in which individualization and differentiation became the norm. The stellar runic illustrator from the mid-1800s and early 1900s was the Dane Magnus Petersen, who drew Danish runic inscriptions for Ludvig Wimmer's De danske Runemindesmærker (1893–1908), and also Norwegian ones for Sophus Bugge (Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer [hereafter NIæR], vol. 1, 1891–1903). His drawings were excellent, both those that he made based solely on his own observations during investigation of runic monuments and those made under the guidance of a runologist.

Photography made its entry into the documentation of runic inscriptions in the late 1800s (see below), and during the first decades of the 1900s photographs replaced drawings to a great extent, particularly in corpus editions. Drawings – even good drawings – were more subjective than photographs which, in general, were far more objective.

Of course, older drawings of lost or subsequently damaged inscriptions can provide primary documentary evidence (cf. Bureus's woodcut of U 439 Steninge mentioned above). In most other cases, however, drawings cannot now be considered as primary evidence. Still, they do have a place in the presentation of documentation (see below). This is particularly the case when the inscription is difficult to reproduce clearly with photography; then a drawing, accompanying a photograph or photographs, can be quite informative.

The drawings produced in the Runic Archives in the latter half of the 1900s, i.e. by Aslak Liestøl, James Knirk, and Jonas Nordby, were made by hand with a fine-point permanent marker on tracing paper. The semi-transparent paper was placed over an enlarged Xerox reproduction of a photograph on a light table or lightbox. When the final product was then reduced to publication size, minor irregularities arising from a shaky hand generally disappeared. Nowadays such drawings can be made as layers in a photo-editing program on the computer, as was Jonas Nordby's coloring-in of the lines on the Hogganvik stone (see Knirk 2011: 29 and the cover illustration for that issue of the periodical). If the photo is kept in place, the illustration represents a photograph with the lines traced; when the underlying picture is removed and only the top layer remains, the illustration becomes simply a drawing.

The main reason for filling in the runes with color is to make the inscribed lines clearer and more obvious. But whatever the scholar is not sure about should be handled with care; that is, any lack of certainty should be signaled. In the case of a probable but uncertain *b*-rune on the Hogganvik illustration referred to above, the strokes that were certain were drawn in, whereas dotted lines were used for those that were not entirely sure and of course nothing was sketched where nothing could with certainty be seen. This is in general the same procedure as is followed when the Runic Unit (Runverket), Swedish National Heritage Board, paints the hewn or carved lines on Swedish rune-stones.

Drawings can be good pedagogical tools in the popular or popular-scientific dissemination of information about inscriptions. Drawings of all the inscriptions in the "Kiss me!" runic exhibition in Oslo in 2010, presented in conjunction with the Seventh International Symposium on Runes and Runic

Inscriptions there that year, were part of the exhibition itself and are still available on the Internet.

A drawing can be illustrative and can even come close to constituting primary documentation in a corpus edition, even of an inscription that still exists and is in the same state as it was when it was first photographically documented. An example is found in the corpus publication of the merchant's tag N 722 from Søndre Gullskoen, Bryggen (the 'Wharf', or the 'German Wharf' [Tyskebryggen]) in Bergen, reading 'Ragnarr owns this yarn' (NIyR 6: 186–188). The photograph published there (p. 186), even when enlarged to over 150%, did not document the runes well enough, and therefore a drawing, on the same scale, was reproduced immediately below. On the facing page, close-up photographs, enlarged to almost 300% in relation to the object itself, provide more help, but there the inscription had to be presented in pieces, with overlap.

Modern drawings can in particular instances have certain advantages as illustrations. It may be almost impossible for one reason or another to photograph an inscription, as was the case in Norway with the runes on the church bell hanging in Hvaler church, N 11, where beams of the suspension structure largely conceal parts of the text. A drawing of a squeeze then substitutes for a nearly-impossible photograph in the corpus edition. Since the runes run around the circular bell, they would have had to be presented in several photographs. A continuous drawing therefore provides a clearer illustration, as would a photomontage.

Drawings can be executed with different degrees of representational accuracy. Magnus Pedersen's masterpieces were quite naturalistic. A somewhat more schematic sketch can include editorial information, such as line identifications and arrows to indicate reading direction, cf. the drawing from 1991 of the Tune rune-stone, reproduced in the relevant article in Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde (Knirk 2006: 333). The instance mentioned above of the merchant's tag N 722 exemplifies a somewhat schematic drawing consisting of the presentation of: (a) the outline of the object, (b) the incisions of the runes, and (c) indications of cracks or damage, using dots or lighter, darker, or jagged lines that contrast with those of the runic incisions. This is a good alternative for supplementing photographs in editions.

Visual documentation: photography

Historical development

The chemical camera was invented in the 1820s and, in various improved forms, came into common use in the course of that century. In the late 1800s, the film camera with light-sensitive material was developed and subsequently dominated the market for a century. The camera was used before the turn of that century for documentation in a variety of publications including NIæR (cf. two phototypes of the Tune stone on p. 40 in vol. 1, 1891), although initially in that work drawings were the preferred form of documentation.

   The plates in the first volume of the Swedish corpus edition (SRI), Ölands runinskrifter (1900–06), comprise only etchings, which is generally also the case in the second volume, Östergötlands runinskrifter (1911–18). Erik Brate used photographs in the first fascicle of volume three, Södermanlands runinskrifter, in the mid-1920s, but the quality was poor and the photos amateurish. Great improvements were made by Elias Wessén, who collaborated with a professional photographer, Harald Faith-Ell, during his field trips in Södermanland between 1928 and 1930.

   At about the same time, Erik Moltke was developing techniques for photographic documentation in preparation for the publication of Danmarks runeindskrifter. His considerations and recommendations are summarized in an article in Fornvännen from 1932 concerning 'technical aids and methods in the service of epigraphy', where among the techniques he discusses is the magnesium bomb, i.e. in modern terms: the flash. That article is still well worth reading on the subject of photographic documentation of runic inscriptions. The rewarding results of Moltke's technical and methodological work are evident in the superior photographic material in the Danish corpus edition of 1941–42 (cf. Moltke 1956–58, 2: 251–264). The Danes developed a system of double photographic documentation whereby two illustrations of most rune-stones are provided: one a natural, objective photo of the surface with the runes as they appear with the best possible lighting, and the other with the runes filled in with color.

   The Swedes have also at times employed this procedure in their corpus edition, SRI, but have most often provided only photographic documentation consisting of pictures taken after the runes and ornamentation have been painted on the stone, and not "objective" ones of the unpainted carving. Magnus Olsen, unfortunately, did not obtain good photographs for the first volume of NIyR, but for subsequent volumes, as a result of Liestøl's work,

he did. Krause and Jankuhn (1966) did not always use good photographs; for example, as the only documentation of the KJ 71 By stone, they published a photograph where the runes were colored in with white chalk.

Bengt A. Lundberg, the expert Swedish runic photographer, must also be applauded for his excellent documentary and artistic work. He published an article on 'photographing rune-stones' in Fornvännen in 1988 in which he discussed many aspects of runic photography, including the use of polarization filters and the like.

Although almost all photography now employs digital cameras rather than analogue (film) cameras, most procedures are basically the same and need not be discussed separately.

Examination and photography

Examination is almost always a prerequisite for good photographic documentation. If the runologist-photographer does not know what he or she is trying to document, the light may be placed in the wrong position and important details of rune forms concealed rather than revealed. In short: it is easier to make a decent photographer out of a professional runologist than it is to make a decent runologist out of a professional photographer. Probably the best solution is a combination: a professional runologist working together with a professional photographer, as with Wessén (first in Södermanland in 1928–30), and similarly Michael Barnes with Lundberg in preparation for the Maeshowe publication (Barnes 1994).

Although documentation is the topic here, a few comments are in order about the examination of runic inscriptions. The field runologist must understand the nature of the material on which the runes were carved as well as the way in which they were carved. He or she should register tell-tale signs of anything that affected the surface both before and after the inscribing took place. For rune-stones a magnifying glass can be used, perhaps preferably a small round one of the type used by film photographers to examine slides and negatives. For the examination of small objects, a stereo microscope with a fiber-optic light source is essential. Fiber-optic lighting ensures that the object being lit does not suffer as it is not heated up. Note, however, that sometimes the naked eye can see things that are not obvious under the stereo microscope. In order to achieve the most reliable results, the scholar must examine runic objects and incisions in as many ways as possible. That applies also to lighting; it is simply not true that light coming in obliquely from the side always produces the optimal effect. During an examination, the

scholar should try to distinguish between recent damage and old, between lines or holes made by the knife or chisel and cracks or other natural damage. Any marks must be examined to determine whether they are man-made and apparently intentionally cut, or perhaps represent a natural defect, or simply constitute prior or subsequent damage.

The key factor for visual examination is light, and the best source of light for rune-stones is often the sun. The sun, however, does not always cooperate on days set aside for inspection, and may be in the wrong position when it does. In the case of a bright day with the sun in the wrong position, a mirror can be useful. The scholar might even need to have a large piece of black cloth to produce shade so that the mirror can be employed to control the source of the light. Otherwise, it is important to have a good, strong electric light source, for example a 1000 watt halogen video lamp, and long electric leads or even a generator available, not only for photography, but also for inspection. Sometimes an artificial light source is even better than the sun for inspecting and photographing rune-stones.

Practical tips for photography

Erik Moltke in his article from 1932 has a number of useful methodological observations concerning the photographing of runic inscriptions. Some practical recommendations are repeated below, with new ones added. They concern two main areas: lighting and focus, with ancillary information about circumstances affecting the two.

As with examination, lighting is a key factor in good runic photography. Usually it is preferable to have one major light source, positioned at the left side of the inscription (if it is in a line) or of the object. However, as Moltke discovered while using his flash, many times the best results came with natural light and the magnesium bomb, or with natural light and a strong source of artificial light. Background lighting may add to the photograph in various ways, as long as the main source is strong enough to produce the desired contrast. Instead of simply showing very dark shading for the runes, the bottom of the grooves can be seen, for example. As already mentioned, a mirror can be used to control and direct the light of the sun onto an inscription, and it can also prove useful if an inscription is awkwardly placed, for example at a very short distance from a wall, so that the photographer cannot get far enough away to take a picture. The mirror can then be placed against the wall and a shot taken of the object in the mirror, which is, or course, a mirror image and must be reversed when the photograph is studied and used.

As regards artificial light sources, it must be remembered that the strength of the light diminishes quadratically in proportion to the distance from the source: if the source is twice as far away, the light is only one quarter as strong. Thus, if the light source is too close to the object being photographed, there may be a great difference in lighting between the extremities of the inscription. This difference is not particularly obvious to the naked eye while focusing the camera, because the mind adjusts for the differences, but it becomes obvious on the resulting photograph. An object 50 centimeters in length with a light source held over an arm's length, i.e. one meter, away, will have more than twice as much light on the end closest to the light source.

Although the best results are frequently obtained by arranging the light at an oblique angle to the surface with runes, a rough surface might produce too many shadows to have the light placed very sharply. A mirror can perhaps be used at the opposite end of the inscription from the light source; this would then neutralize the shadows of the uneven surface and increase the contrast with the shading in the grooves. Dark shading should not necessarily be avoided, unless the edge of the runic object is not well enough illuminated and therefore cannot be seen due to lack of light. In that case, a white Styrofoam block can be placed near the dark end and will reflect enough light to illuminate the edge but not so much as to decrease the contrast. If the grooves on a rune-stone are lighter in color than the rest of the surface, which is quite often the case (sometimes approaching white), taking a picture with direct lighting on the surface from right beside the camera may give good, complementary results. If the incisions themselves are dark, as they often are on rune-sticks or bones, direct light from right beside the camera may produce a good contrast and clear photographs. The object will appear flat, however, and the photo will usually be less aesthetically pleasing. Night photography of rune-stones with artificial light can be rewarding. The photographer then has complete control of the light and can usually obtain the greatest contrast between the runes and the stone surface. The same attainment of contrast pertains to photographing small objects in a dark room.

The number one rule is that the camera must be in focus, and it is quite often not enough simply to use autofocus, which might not function well enough; manual focusing is to be preferred. A tripod is usually necessary to ensure that the camera is held still and thus that the focus is clear. For photographing small objects, a copy stand is recommended. Although not as aesthetically pleasing, a neutral (grey) background is usually to be preferred for small objects. This also helps with automatic light measurement by the

camera since a white background would most likely lead to underexposure of the runic object and a dark background to overexposure. The problem can of course be reduced by selecting "center-weighted" metering.

For objects that are not flat, and particularly for rounded objects, depth of focus (i.e. the depth of the area that is acceptably in focus) is important. The entire inscription, not just part of it, should be in focus. A narrow aperture opening (a higher f-stop number, e.g. f 22–32) renders greater depth of focus, but will increase the time needed for the exposure. With non-flat objects, it is best to focus on the median distance rather than the shortest distance, which might be the distance to the object in the center of the field of view and thus the point autofocus would give most weight. Although it is good to get as close to the runic object as possible so that it covers almost the entire field of view, there may be some distortion (and less focus) if the object continues all the way to the very edge. As far as possible, runes should be photographed at a right angle (90 degrees) to the surface; taking a picture from the side will result in a lack of proportion. For high-quality documentation of small runes, a macro lens that allows 1:1 photography is recommended as this provides excellent possibilities for enlargement. With analogue (i.e. film) cameras, the film speed (ASA or DIN rating) or sensitivity to light was important because lower speed corresponded to finer grain but this is not the case for digital cameras, where pixels per inch rating (also indicated by file size) is important for higher resolution. There is, however, some loss of image quality by significant "noise" with exposures taken at high ISO levels. Digital cameras continue to improve, and the standard noise threshold of ISO 1600 (= ASA 1600) that was valid in 2010 was already a tremendous improvement on the analogue level.

Digital photographs can be manipulated easily using Photoshop or the like. Documentation can be improved by sharpening focus, increasing contrast and adjusting brightness. Scholars should, however, beware of over-adjusting, since that can produce somewhat unnatural effects, and they should always keep the file with the original photograph.

Examples of photographic documentation

In the following, documentation by photography of various problematic aspects of runic readings will be discussed and illustrated with close-ups taken with a macro lens. The problems include: damage to characters, runes at breaks in objects, pressure marks versus cuts, dubious dotting of runes, and intersection of carved lines. The examples are taken from inscriptions on

Fig. 3. Close-up (5:1) of the middle section of runes 6–11 on side A of the fragmentary bone with inscription N 831 Trondheim showing surface damage in the vicinity of rune 9 ᚭ **a**. © Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

wood and bone from Bryggen in Bergen and from Trondheim; in addition, there is a close-up of the KJ 16 Bratsberg silver bow clasp inscription.

Inscription N 831 Trondheim, on two conjoining fragments of a cattle rib-bone dated to the first half of the 1000s, has various damaged characters at the breaks and elsewhere. Side A reads: **sạ:ristisaatsumarlakantakhru...**, perhaps to be interpreted as *Sá risti, sá at sumarlangan dag …* 'He carved, he who a long summer day …', although there are other possibilities. Suggestions were made in the preliminary manuscript for the corpus edition to consider the form of the ninth rune (the first *a*-rune, ᚭ, of two) to be ᚭ, and then to read it either as **o**, and interpret **soa** as *svá* 'thus', or as a short-twig **b**, then with **sba** as *spá* 'prophecy'. There are small areas with surface damage in the immediate vicinity of rune 9: below the preceding *s*-rune, before the *i*-rune that precedes this, and near this *a*-rune, the lower portion of whose stave is partly eradicated (Fig. 3). The elongated damage to the *a*-rune, located on the left side below the clear branch, meets the stave slightly higher than the largely obliterated part, and runs in the same general direction as the branch on each of the *a*-runes; this is, however, also the direction of the other nearby surface scrapes. No cut is visible in the branch-like scar, which

Fig. 4. (a) Close-up (1.6:1) of the break in the stick at the end of side A of N 833 Trondheim showing runes 8–12 **riþih**, the left edge of a following stave, a thin strip where the surface has scaled off, and then the jagged break. (b) Close-up of the reverse with the runes **ast** and remains of a following stave, the left edge of which is visible in the lower part of the break. © Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

should thus not be considered to be carved. The reading as **a** appears certain.

On a fragmentary flat stick from Trondheim dated to the period 1175–1275, remnants of runes are visible at the break. Side A of N 833 reads: **spyrastriþih∗...**, *Spyr Ástríði h(v–)...* 'Ask Ástríðr who/what/where/when/why ...'. At the break, the stave of a thirteenth rune is clear (Fig. 4a), and there is a well-founded supposition that it belongs to the *u*-rune of an Old Norse interrogative starting with **hu**, *hv-*. In general: Where runes have been cut or hewn, the object (be it stick or bone, or even stone) is weakened, and breaks in objects therefore frequently follow incisions. Here the break is slightly displaced from the incision, and a thin strip of the surface has scaled off to the right of the clear remnant of the stave. The break has instead followed the stave of the last rune on the reverse side, the left edge of which is somewhat visible in the bottom half of the break (Fig. 4b). The reverse reads thus: **ast∗...** and is incomplete. In the preliminary manuscript for the corpus publication, however, this inscription was interpreted as complete, with **ast** for *ást* 'love', and the entire message was put in the context of a love triangle where the recipient was requested to track the woman (to see whom she met or what she did) rather than to question her about something. In fact, the stave in the break, which indicates that the word continued, probably belongs to an *r*-rune in a repetition of the personal name from side A, thus **ast[riþr]**, *Ástríðr*. Apparently this stick was labeled so that the recipient would know to whom the question was to be posed. The runes on the reverse are spread out and the name was probably the only word there.

Pressure marks can at times be mistaken for cuts, particularly if the

Fig. 5. (a) Close-up (2:1) of the remains of runes before and after a break in the round stick with inscription N 863 Trondheim showing an apparent ⌐ ǀ right after the break. (b) Close-up with greater enlargement (2.3:1) and different lighting revealing that the apparent **l**-branch is in reality a pressure mark with no cut in the bottom of the groove. © Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

surface cracked under the pressure. Then, however, the apparent "cut" is usually not clean and straight but jagged. On a short and broken round stick, perhaps a walking stick, with a badly damaged inscription, N 863 Trondheim, dated to the period 1050–1200, Aslak Liestøl thought he saw a long-branch (i.e. double-sided) *t*-rune right after the break in the middle of the inscription (Fig. 5a), where the left branch was visible at the edge of the break. In the preliminary manuscript for the corpus publication, an *l*-rune was the preferred reading, and the inscription, which begins with **kui:**, was interpreted as possible fragments of *qui es in coelis* 'who art in Heaven'. In different lighting, however, it is obvious that the "branch" downward to the right at the top of the stave was in reality caused by pressure rather than being cut (Fig. 5b). There is a stave, but no **l**-branch. At present a short-twig (one-sided) *t*-rune cannot be confirmed on the object itself, but Liestøl's photographs indicate that this may be a possible reading.

The dotting of an *i*-rune, which turns it into an **e**, is not always easy to confirm, for example on rune-sticks excavated from Bryggen. These objects lay in a water-logged environment for centuries, and consideration must be given to the fact that wood fibers, if they have been pushed down, rise up again if moistened. Due to the rising of wood fibers, many such dots have now all but disappeared (cf. Knirk 1998). Even obvious dotting can at times be overlooked, as it was by the author Ingrid Sanness Johnsen and the editor (myself) of the corpus publication of the ownership tag N 753 Nordre Engelgården, Bryggen. The inscription reads **þorlakramek**, *Þorlákr á mik* 'Þorlákr owns me', not **þorlakramik** as published there (NIyR 6: 209). The

Fig. 6. Close-up (1.6:1) of runes 7–11 in inscription N 753 Nordre Engelgården, Bryggen in Bergen, on an ownership tag illuminated with direct light, showing dotting in the groove of the next-to-last rune, thus ᛘᛁᚴ **mek**, not ᛘᛁᚴ **mik** as transrunified and transliterated in the corpus edition. © Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

dotting on the stave is difficult to perceive under oblique lighting due to lack of light in the cuts, but is quite clear in the bottom of the groove with light shining directly on the stick (Fig. 6).

The *ek erilaz* inscription on the KJ 16 Bratsberg bow clasp demonstrates how the crossing of lines carved in soft metal such as silver can leave tell-tale signs of the order in which they were made (cf. Peter Pieper's work discussed below) since slight burs, i.e. rough edges to the cut made by the engraving tool, are produced. It is obvious (Fig. 7) that the first two runes of the bindrune were not carved as ᛗ with the lower branch of ᚲ subsequently added. Rather they were conceived and executed as a unit. The staves were cut first, thereafter the long branch from the top of the first all the way to the middle of the second (representing one branch of the **e** and continuing as one of the **k**), and finally the second short **e**-branch (which is also the second **k**-branch) from the top of the second back to mid-way between the two staves. The latter crosses both the second stave and the first branch. While this observation has little to contribute to the reading as such, it may be of interest in a discussion of how runes were actually carved.

A warning concerning the use of photographic documentation for examination is in order. The size of the original object must always be kept in mind when photographs are studied. For example: Attempts have been made to date medieval inscriptions on Norwegian rune-sticks typologically by rune form. On enlarged photographs scholars have noted, for example, that the form of the *r*-rune was somewhat open, not closed, something that might indicate an early dating, i.e. before the influence of roman letter forms became more pronounced in the High and later Scandinavian Middle Ages.

Fig. 7. Close-up (3:1) of the KJ 16 Bratsberg silver bow clasp inscription demonstrating how burs along cuts in softer metals can be used to determine the order of the incision of lines, particularly in the first half of the complicated bind-rune (ᛗ+ᚲ êk). © Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

Such reasoning may be entirely off the mark, however, if the real height of the rune is only 1 cm, and the opening between the branch (i.e. bow and tail) and the stave is simply 1–2 mm. The observation may then tell more about the proficiency of the carver in controlling the knife than about the dating of the inscription.

It must be stressed, finally, that even though much more objective than drawings, photographs are not 100 % objective. Good photographs are, however, about as close as it is possible to come to the ideal for documentation, namely 100 % objectivity. Concerning more modern procedures for visual documentation, such as 3D scanning, see below.

Photographic documentation in archives

It is well known that drawings in archives, often from the 1600s, 1700s and even the 1800s, can preserve information on lost or damaged inscriptions, and archival searches are thus a necessary component of the production of corpus editions.

It is also important to consult archives for photographic documentation since, as is also well known, older photographs can preserve information which has been lost in the time that has elapsed since they were taken. This applies, however, not only to Swedish rune-stones documented photographically in the early 1900s but also to small objects, such as rune-sticks from excavations in Bergen, Trondheim, Oslo, and Tønsberg, which were unearthed during the past fifty years and are at present in storage or on exhibition in archaeological museums; these may have deteriorated, particularly those

that spent decades being preserved wet prior to conservation. Unfortunately, not all editors check archives for relatively recent pictures that may be better sources than the runes in their present state on the object itself. In particular, some runes now lost at breaks of sticks may have been present at discovery and appear on photographs taken before conservation procedures were carried out.

Photographic documentation should therefore preferably be made as soon as possible after discovery. There are simply too many examples of the deterioration of objects after they have been discovered and before they have made their way into museums and undergone the necessary conservation procedures. As conservation technicians know, initial photographic documentation should be carried out before conservation commences. Photographic documentation by conservation technicians is, however, not the same as that performed by a runologist, or by a professional photographer under instruction from a runologist.

Physical documentation

Various techniques for physically documenting runic inscriptions have been used in one form or another for centuries. Rubbings can be made, for example, or squeezes or impressions (negatives) or casts (positives) produced. Less exact and less "physical", tracings can be made on transparent plastic film, or even on paper by feeling the lines of the runes through the paper. Particularly in the case of lost or damaged inscriptions, older rubbings, impressions and casts can constitute primary documentation.

It can be noted that Lis Jacobsen, in her important contribution to the inscription on the KJ 101 Eggja stone in 1931, extensively employed a plaster cast made of the stone. Most of the close-up photographs presented in her publication (pl. 2–8) were taken of the cast rather than the stone itself. One advantage of such a procedure is that color differences on the original no longer disturb the perception of the carved grooves. In Danmarks runeindskrifter, photographs of casts are also sometimes presented as documentation.

The different techniques and types of material used to make squeezes or impressions will only be exemplified here. Squeezes are basically made by putting a sheet of some sort of material over the inscription and then pressing it into the grooves. One of the easiest materials to use is blotting paper, which is bulky and absorbent. This should first be drenched in water, and then can be beaten into place on a rune-stone by hammering with a brush

on the reverse. After careful removal, the paper dries and becomes stiff. Although a negative of the inscription is produced, the reverse can function as a positive, especially if it was covered with a piece of cloth before the hammering began so that the bristles did not tear it up. For more complete instructions on this method, see a long footnote in Moltke's previously mentioned article (1932: 325f., n. 2). The scholar sometimes has to be inventive when making impressions. If blotting paper is not available, toilet paper can be used, but then in many layers. Even aluminum foil can be employed, but then extreme care must be taken with the brush so that its bristles do not perforate the foil. Liestøl made latex impressions and plastic lacquer casts, and published an article about this procedure in 1956. Nowadays, silicone is the preferred material for making molds, but then a conservation technician should perform the procedure. Modelling clay (or Plasticine) can also be used, especially for coins and the like, and the person doing this need not be a technical specialist.

For the physical documentation of runic inscriptions, examination is not a prerequisite. A rubbing can be made, for instance, without any idea of what the readings are, and the same is true of other forms of physical documentation. Physical documentation is also quite objective, even though it can never replace the original object. The object itself must be examined, and any new findings arrived at by studying physical documentation must be compared with the inscription on the object itself if it still exists.

There are two major problems with physical documentation. Firstly, its production can damage or lead to deterioration of the object itself. For example, silicone molds were made of 140 runic objects from Bryggen to make copies for use by both Bryggens Museum and the Scandinavian Department at the University of Bergen; incidentally, copies were made from only fifty of the forms. When making silicone molds of rune-stones, a thin film of some substance must be applied to the surface so that the silicone does not adhere to it. Unfortunately, this procedure did not work well in Bergen, or was not correctly carried out. The sticks and bones were still being preserved wet and had not yet been conserved, and it was perhaps felt that a film of water was enough to prevent adhesion – which it was not. Almost all the wooden runic objects of which such molds were made have white silicone adhering to some of the grooves, as do many of the bones. (This means that the molds and consequently several of the copies that were made are not particularly good.) Hundreds of hours have been spent cleaning the objects under a stereo microscope with a very sharp needle and pointed tweezers. Much of the rubbery, white remnants of silicon in the grooves has thus been

removed physically. Since making impressions can damage objects, it must be executed with caution.

Secondly, and perhaps just as seriously: Private individuals, many scholars, most museums and many other institutions do not consider such physical documentation to be particularly important. Therefore impressions and casts may get lost, broken, or even be thrown away. For example, Liestøl relates that he made a latex impression of the runes on the N 449 Kuli stone in the 1950s (NIyR 4: 281), before the runes were painted red at the museum in Trondheim. His impression, or any resultant plastic lacquer cast, would present a welcome correction for documentation of the inscription. The grooves are now painted, and what is seen and recorded today, also with 3D scanning (see below), is the red paint in the grooves, not the very bottom of the incisions. But at the present time, neither his impression nor any cast can be found in the Runic Archives of the Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

Scientific documentation

Three rather recently developed procedures now employed for the scientific documentation of runic inscriptions are: (a) microscopic investigations, including light-section microscopy (as in Peter Pieper's work with the Weser runic bones, 1989), and other high-precision, digital microscopy, (b) laser or optical 3D scanning, and (c) Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI). These topics will here receive short shrift, but some general observations are still in order.

High-precision scientific instruments, in particular technically advanced microscopes, have made it possible to make minute examinations of carvings; for the current state of affairs, see Pieper 2015. For example, Pieper (2010) employed a scanning electron microscope (SEM) to identify the order of incisions in the jumble of cuts on the bow fibula from Hohenstadt (cf. Opitz 1977: 134–138). He was thus able to differentiate between layers of lines in the inscription, finding that an interpretable runic inscription had been crossed out but could be reestablished by discounting the later additions. In a lecture at the Twenty-Seventh Meeting of Field Runologists in Oslo in 2014 and in oral contributions there, Pieper emphasized that it is now possible to take extremely precise automatic measurements of, for instance, the breadth, depth, and profile of runic incisions with an advanced 3D digital microscope allowing magnification of up to 5,000 times (Keyence VHX 2000; with the Keyence VK-X 200 3D laser scanning microscope up to 24,000 times). He

expressed dissatisfaction with the general descriptions used throughout the past century, and even today, to characterize runic carvings. Most recently, for example, Michelle Waldispühl (2013: 62f.) employed the following categories for her epigraphic parameter of depth of incision: 'very deep', 'deep', 'moderately deep', and 'superficial', classifications which Pieper (2015: 338) terms arbitrary and capricious. Waldispühl provides no scientific definition of these terms and no quantification of depth.

The examination of runic inscriptions employing microscopes some 100 times stronger than the standard stereo microscope represents an exciting opportunity, but one aspect must be commented on, in particular concerning the precision of measurements. Precise measurements are important for documentation of runic inscriptions and individual runes in inscriptions. However, the simple fact that so much can be measured scientifically does not in most cases mean that such exact measurements will lead to new discoveries. Quantification in itself does not lead to new insight but must be digested and evaluated. Only in some specific instances will important new knowledge emerge from such quantification, and it is difficult to envisage how numerical information like this could facilitate better or more certain readings for any of the hundreds of inscriptions from Bryggen in Bergen. Such information is surely of much more relevance for the inscriptions on metal that Pieper has most often examined. In particular, specific measurements on such objects could, as he argues (2015: 338), lead to more precise descriptions of ductus and clearer quantified distinctions between carvings executed by different hands or with different tools.

Like physical documentation with squeezes and casts, neither laser or optical 3D scanning nor Reflectance Transformation Imaging is dependent on examination. The two actually lead to similar results, namely a topographical representation or topographical model of the runic surface.

Laser scanning and optical 3D scanning are different but related procedures. The first employs a laser range-finder where distance is as a rule determined by trigonometric triangulation (i.e. calculated by using the angle of reflection of a laser line or point to a sensor at a known distance from the laser's source). The second uses two technically advanced special cameras, with accompanying laser light source, which register deformation in a structured light pattern from which a computer can then calculate the distance to points in the field of view. In both, the distance from the scanner to a very high number of points on the surface being scanned is measured so that their individual x, y and z coordinates can be determined and a three-dimensional representation of the surface then produced. The micro-mapping of the coor-

dinates corresponds to a geographical topographic map, and computer programs used for analyzing such maps can be employed on the data. Laser scanning has advanced greatly since the 1990s when Jan Swantesson mapped the surface of the N 449 Kuli rune-stone at the Museum of Natural History and Archaeology (Vitenskapsmuseet) at the university in Trondheim (Swantesson 1998, Hagland 1998). Laila Kitzler Åhfeldt of the Runic Unit, Swedish National Heritage Board, has also used laser scanning for documentation of and research on runic inscriptions (concerning the method see e.g. Kitzler Åhfeldt 2002: 25f.) but now employs optical 3D scanning (on which see Kitzler Åhfeldt 2013: 59f.). Recently she made an optical 3D scan of the Kuli rune-stone, both its inscription and the cross ornamentation, with twenty-five times higher resolution (and in much shorter time) than Swantesson. The results will probably provide more support for the reading of damaged runes. Using computer programs allows the scholar, among other things, to control the lighting, so that he or she sees the surface with the light coming in for instance from the upper right, or lower left, or somewhere else, at 49 degrees above the horizon, or 32 degrees, or some other height. The scholar has complete control over the light and can use dark shading to establish the rune forms, thus achieving on the computer what the runologist attempts in the field with the object itself: an examination with light from different angles and directions.

Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI) can be defined as "a computational photographic method that captures a subject's surface shape and color and enables the interactive re-lighting of the subject from any direction" (Cultural Heritage Imaging's website). The result thus appears similar to that of a 3D scan, although the technology is entirely different. The procedure, which was first developed around the year 2000 and continues to be refined, consists of initially taking a relatively large number of exposures with a digital camera. The stationary camera is mounted on a tripod, and a series of photographs is taken with light, from a flash, coming in from three or four angles (low, medium, and high; or at angles of e.g. 60, 45, 30, and 15 degrees) and from various regular points of the compass all the way round the object, for instance all twelve points on a clock face, which then will produce 36 or 48 images respectively. Each image is a two-dimensional photographic representation with varying highlights and shading due to the variation in lighting. The reflection from the flash is visible in each exposure on two black billiard balls placed near the edges of the field of vision, and the position of the shiny reflections can be used by a computer program (RTI builder) to determine the exact location of the light source for each exposure. The program can use this information, synthesizing the recorded pixel registrations from

each image, to generate a mathematical model of the surface. The reflectance information derived from the three-dimensional shape of the object is encoded in each individual pixel, which in an RTI viewer is then able to "reflect" the software's interactive "virtual" light from any position selected by the user. Thus images can be produced on a computer screen with re-lighting from anywhere, not simply from the directions and levels that were recorded in the exposures. Recently the KJ 77 Myklebostad rune-stone from Norway was documented in this way, and the results will perhaps support suggestions for readings of extremely worn runes. The Cultural Heritage Imaging website further claims that "RTI also permits the mathematical enhancement of the subject's surface shape and color attributes", stating that enhancement functions can "reveal surface information that is not disclosed under direct empirical examination of the physical object".

The results of all three of the documentary procedures discussed here are quantified and objective. They can provide sober and unbiased evidence but cannot be used on their own as proof of new readings. They must be evaluated before the results are checked against the runic object by personal examination. For example, differences in the weathering of the runic surface of the Kuli stone, where quartz crystals have not deteriorated as much as nearby areas containing softer minerals, have led to registration by 3D scanning of height differences that have nothing to do with the carving; if the real cause of such deviation is not discovered through inspection of the stone itself, study of the measurements alone can lead to incorrect conclusions. The scholar must not be blinded by the hard science represented by these procedures and accept the results as scientific proof of readings. In the humanities, the scholar must still interpret – and check – the results of scientific measurements.

The real advantage of 3D scanning and RTI is not necessarily that more can thereby be seen than on the original object or on good photographs, although this may at times be the case. It is rather that the researcher can perform the "field" examination at leisure in an office on the computer and in addition have complete control over the lighting. The scholar does the same thing as the field runologist: uses the light from all angles to call forth the best results for a reading. It is not yet clear whether these new techniques of scientific examination and documentation will allow scholars to arrive at better readings than those reached by good runological fieldwork with the naked eye and employment of the other techniques discussed in this presentation. It remains to be seen whether the "enhancement functions" of 3D scanning and of RTI will prove to be particularly useful.

Publication of documentation

Documentation is usually provided in conjunction with the publication of runic inscriptions, particularly in corpus editions, and quite often also in other scholarly works. There are various ways this can be accomplished. The following section consists of comments and suggestions concerning the presentation of such documentation.

Presentation of reading protocols has varied in the Norwegian corpus editions. In that of the older runic inscriptions (NIæR), comments were made on every rune, even if it was straightforward and there was nothing to remark on. In that of the younger runic inscriptions (NIyR), only individual runes of any special interest are as a rule commented on, a practice which seems much more reasonable. It is difficult to understand why some scholars feel they must list and discuss every rune in an inscription with such unnecessary statements, or their equivalent, as: "The *l*-rune is an *l*-rune". This criticism applies similarly to providing individual height measurements for every single rune, even when there is only minimal difference and when the height may be determined by the constraints of the object. The average height of the runes, perhaps supplemented by the height of the tallest and the shortest rune and a specification of which these are, should suffice, at any rate if the height realistically has nothing to add to reading, interpretation, or understanding of the inscriptions.

The presentation of drawings in editions should be encouraged as a supplement to photographic documentation, in particular when the latter does not do justice to the inscription. These then help the reader to understand what he or she should try to see on the photograph. Drawings of runes can in addition substitute for transrunification, providing visual non-standardized information about the form of the runes.

The main reason for publishing photographic documentation is to allow the reader to check the readings arrived at by the editor. Photographs should provide a solid basis for further independent research. Unfortunately, much of what is provided in articles and editions as photographic documentation could better be termed illustration. Excellent photographic records are, however, no substitute for personal examination, and new readings based entirely on photos and not confirmed by personal examination of the runic object are inherently uncertain. In addition, practice in interpreting photographic documentation is necessary since mistakes can be made if expertise has not been developed.

The provision of close-up photographs whenever there is doubt about a

reading is encouraged, in so far as other documentary photographs do not provide optimal evidence. The presentation of a runic inscription, especially in a corpus edition, should be a source of as much information as possible for the reader.

Summary

The following short list is meant to function as a summary of some of the major points of this article.

- Documentation is one of the most important duties of the field runologist. Documentary work (composing reading protocols, taking photographs, etc.) should be performed as soon and as diligently as possible. Good documentation should be provided in editions of runic inscriptions. (The figures published in other presentations are frequently more illustrative than documentary.)

- Photographic documentation is not entirely objective but is the best means of traditional visual recording. Drawings of inscriptions for which there are good photographic records can be important and informative when the inscription is not adequately documented in the photographs. Thus drawings can still have a place in corpus editions. Close-up photographs should as a rule be provided for all areas where there is doubt as to reading.

- Documentation in editions should provide a solid basis for checking and evaluating readings. Documentation can be used to suggest new readings, but such proposals should always be confirmed by examination of the original.

- The employment of microscopes stronger than the stereo microscope is to be welcomed, but in many cases their use may not lead to new or improved readings. 3D scanning and Reflectance Transformation Imaging provide effective computer tools for investigation and documentation, especially if their "enhancement functions" prove to be useful for reading inscriptions. Still, nothing can substitute for personal inspection of original runic objects. All three procedures have gained a foothold in runic documentation, and will no doubt be increasingly employed.

The material in this presentation will be discussed more extensively in the Handbook of Runology which the runic project 2013–14 at the Centre for Advanced Study (= CAS), Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters in Oslo, is still hoping to prepare.

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ROLAND SCHUHMANN

(Neu-)Lesungen von Runeninschriften und ihre Folgen für die frühgermanische Grammatik

Abstract

Readings and re-readings of runic inscriptions in the Elder Futhark sometimes affect our understanding of early Germanic grammar. In this article one case is investigated, namely the ending of the 3rd sg. ind. pret. of weak verbs. In the runic inscriptions three forms are found (-**dai**, -**de** and -**dɑ**) whereas in Proto-Germanic only one ending can be assumed (*-*đē*ⁱ*). Different interpretations attempting to reconcile these deviating data are critically discussed.

Keywords: Grammar, Proto-Germanic, inscription, reconstruction

1.1.   Die früheste Schicht der Runeninschriften im älteren Futhark (ab ca. 150/60 n. Chr.; die Datierungen der Inschriften folgt Imer 2011) stellt die älteste eigenständige Überlieferung der germanischen Sprachen dar. Vorher ist lediglich Germanisches in der antiken Nebenüberlieferung bezeugt, das sich hauptsächlich aus Namen und ein paar wenigen Appellativa zusammensetzt (vgl. dazu Neumann 1994). Erst deutlich später setzt die Überlieferung der germanischen Einzelsprachen als Großkorpussprachen ein. Zunächst tritt das Ostgermanische, und zwar das Gotische mit der Bibelübersetzung Wulfilas (anzusetzen um ca. 350 n. Chr.), in Erscheinung. Noch viel später setzt dagegen die Überlieferung der westgermanischen Sprachen ein, nämlich ab ca. 800 n. Chr. und noch einmal später die der nordgermanischen Sprachen.

Diese Zeitspanne ist umso bedauerlicher, da die allermeisten der frühen Runeninschriften – wie allgemein und zurecht angenommen – eine Sprache aufweisen, die nicht ostgermanisch ist; die wenigen ostgermanischen Inschriften sind in der Ausgabe von Nedoma (2010) ediert. Wegen der frühen Überlieferung der ältesten Runeninschriften ist klar, dass sie die wichtigsten Quellen für die Kenntnis der frühgermanischen Grammatik sind. Aus diesem Grund ist es unerlässlich, dass die Lesungen der Runeninschriften, welche die Basis für die grammatischen Deutungen sind, zutreffen.

1.2.   In der Vergangenheit gab es eine ziemlich große Übereinstimmung darin, wie die Runeninschriften im älteren Futhark gelesen werden müssen. Dies sind in etwa die Lesungen, wie sie in der Ausgabe von Wolfgang Krause (und Herbert Jankuhn) erscheinen (Krause & Jankuhn 1966). Diese Übereinstimmung ist ebenfalls kodifiziert in der nahezu kohärenten Grammatik der älteren Runeninschriften, erneut von Wolfgang Krause (Krause 1971). Der Einfluss dieser Kodifizierung findet ebenfalls seinen Niederschlag im Wörterbuch von Buti (1982). Jedoch war dieses Wörterbuch mit der kodifizierten Wiedergabe der Inschriften seit der Publikation der Grammatik und der Edition der älteren Runeninschriften durch Antonsen (1975) eigentlich schon nicht mehr aktuell, da er vielfach abweichende Lesungen bot (samt einem strukturalistischen Ansatz für die Grammatik). Auch wenn sich seine Lesungen mehrheitlich nicht bewährt haben, so löste er dennoch eine zunehmende Zahl an Neulesungen aus.

1.3.   An dieser Stelle soll es jedoch nicht primär um die Glaubhaftigkeit solcher Neulesungen handeln oder um die Evaluierung der paläographischen Wahrscheinlichkeit einzelner Vorschläge. Vielmehr soll im Folgenden der Frage nachgegangen werden, wie Lesungen und einige solcher Neulesungen das Verständnis für die frühgermanische Grammatik berühren und ob sie in diesem grammatischen Kontext wahrscheinlich sind oder nicht.

2.1.   Ein für die frühgermanische Grammatik besonders problematischer Fall findet sich im Endungssatz der 3. Singular Indikativ des Präteritums der schwachen Verben. Die allgemein akzeptierten Belege für diese Endung sind (zu den Formen vgl. u.a. Krause 1971: 123, Syrett 1994: 246–255, Nielsen 2000: 160–164, Nedoma 2005: 167–168):

a.   Rosettenfibel von Lundegårde/Nøvling (210/20–250/60) mit **talgidai** in **bidawarijaz talgidai** ‚Bidawarijaz schnitzte‘;
b.   Schildfesselbeschlag von Illerup Ådal 2 (210/20–250/60) mit **tawide** in **niþijo tawide** ‚Niþijo machte‘;
c.   Holzkästchen von Garbølle (Stenmagle) (Datierung unsicher [möglich ist wohl ein Ansatz zwischen 200 und 550]) mit **tawide** in **hagiradaz ⵑ tawide ⵑ** ‚Hagiradaz machte‘;
d.   Brakteat I von Tjurkö mit **wurte** in **wurte runoz an walhakurne …** ‚er wirkte die Runen auf dem Welschkorn [Gold] …‘;
e.   Rosettenfibel von Skovgårde/Udby (210/20–250/60) mit **talgida** in **lamo ⵑ talgida** ‚Lamo schnitzte‘.

Daneben wird von einigen noch eine weitere Form angeführt, die diese Endung aufweisen soll (vgl. Nedoma 1997: 114, Stoklund 1998: 92, Nedoma 2005: 180, Anm. 42):

f. Riemenbügel von Nydam (310/20–375/400) mit **ahti** in **harkilaz ahti** ‚Harkilaz hatte (das)‘.

Dabei geht Nedoma jedoch davon aus, dass die Schreibung **ahti** einen doppelten Schreibfehler enthält und dass eigentlich ***aihtai** intendiert wäre. Ob diese Annahme wahrscheinlich ist oder nicht, braucht an dieser Stelle nicht zu kümmern. Klar ist jedoch, dass die emendierte Form keine separate, sonst nicht belegte Endung enthalten würde. Aus diesem Grund wird sie im Folgenden vernachlässigt.

3.2. Wenn die von a. bis e. angeführten Belege als Grundlage genommen werden, scheint es drei unterschiedliche Endungen für eine grammatische Form zu geben, und zwar **-dai**, **-de** und **-da**. Dabei ist die Tatsache wichtig, dass es sich um nahezu gleichzeitig bezeugte Formen handelt. Daraus resultiert jedoch das unmittelbare Problem, dass nach sonstiger allgemeiner Kenntnis der Grammatik des Urgermanischen nur eine einzige Endung für diese Form zu erwarten ist. Diese wird als urgermanisch *-$\eth\bar{e}^t$ rekonstruiert (vgl. Krahe & Meid 1969: 2, 127).

3.3. Zur Erklärung dieser Differenz wurden mehrere Vorschläge vorgebracht.

3.3.1. Es hat nur einen einzigen Versuch gegeben, die drei belegten Endungen mit der einen durch die Rekonstruktion erwarteten Endung in Übereinstimmung zu bringen. Dabei wird davon ausgegangen, dass die drei Schreibungen **-dai**, **-de** und **-da** nicht unterschiedliche Laute repräsentieren, sondern vielmehr abweichende graphische Versuche sind, die Endung urgermanisch *-$\eth\bar{e}^t$ wiederzugeben, wobei *-$\bar{e}$- als [æ:] gesprochen wurde (so u.a. Stoklund 1991: 97, Syrett 1994: 246–254, Schulte 1998: 151–152).

3.3.2. Demgegenüber gehen jedoch die meisten davon aus, dass eine zweite Endung in diese paradigmatische Form eingedrungen ist, die eigentlich nichts mit dem Präteritalsystem zu tun hat, nämlich eine Endung urgermanisch *-$\eth a\underset{\,}{i}$. Dabei wird angenommen, dass diese die urindogermanische Medialendung *-$o\underset{\,}{i}$ fortsetzt mit einem sekundär eingedrungenen vorurgermanischen *-t- (vgl. Nedoma 2005: 167f.). Es ist hier nicht der Ort über die

Wahrscheinlichkeit dieser Annahme zu sprechen, die aber (vermutlich zu Recht) kritisch betrachtet wurde (ablehnend etwa Lühr 1984: 50f.).

3.3.3. Aber auch dieser Ansatz kann das zugrundeliegende Problem (drei belegte Endungen, zwei angenommene Endungen) nicht lösen. Aus diesem Grund ist es gebräuchlich, die überlieferten drei Endungen auf zwei zu reduzieren.

a.   Eine Erklärung zur Reduzierung auf einer rein graphischen Ebene bietet Moltke, der natürlich noch keine Kenntnis von der Endung **-da** hatte. Er geht davon aus, dass eine **e**-Rune (in der Form ᛗ) der anzunehmenden Vorlage vom Runenritzer fehlerhaft als **ai** (ᚨᛁ) wiedergegeben worden sei: „(with ᚨᛁ for ᛗ at the end) – the misreading is so elementary that there is absolutely no need to start speculating on the possibility of an ‚archaic‘ verbal form" (Moltke 1985: 89).

b.   Demgegenüber will Seebold eine Neulesung der Form **talgidai** vornehmen. Er nimmt an, dass **talgidai** vielmehr als **talgida |**, also mit einem Trennungsstrich als letztes Zeichen zu lesen sei (vgl. Seebold 1994: 62, Seebold 1995: 163f., vgl. S. 164: dessen „**i** meines Erachtens ein verkanntes Trennungs- oder Wortendzeichen" ist). Auf diese Weise kommt er zu den beiden Endungen **-da** und **-de**. In die gleiche Richtung geht die Annahme von Looijenga (2003: 163), dass die Sequenz **talgidai** als **talgida i** ‚schnitzte hinein‘ zu lesen ist (vollkommen abweichend ist dagegen die Deutung von Grønvik [1994: 49-53], der weder in **talgidai** noch in **talgida** ein Verb sieht, sondern ein Nomen **talgida** m. *n*-St. ‚Schnitzer‘; **talgidai** sei nach ihm schließlich als **talgida ai** ‚Schnitzer. Ach‘ zu deuten.).

c.   Nach der am weitesten verbreiteten Meinung liegt bei der Varianz run. **-ai** : **-e** eine historische Lautentwicklung, nämlich eine Monophthongierung vor (vgl. u.a. Hollifield 1980: 150, 160, Antonsen 10–11, Nielsen 2000: 162–163, Nedoma 2005: 167). Es wird davon ausgegangen, dass ein urgermanisches unbetontes *-$a\underset{\cdot}{i}$# in frührunischer Zeit zu /ē/ geworden sei (das Zeichen # steht hier und im Folgenden für ‚Wortende‘). Diese Entwicklung zeige sich auch in der hier behandelten Endung: „… hat man für das frühe Urnordische eine Monophthongierung von schwachtonigem *ai* zu *ē* anzusetzen, die ‹außer im Ausgang der 3. Sg. Prät. Ind.› auch im Dativ Sg. der maskulinen *a*-Stämme eingetreten ist" (Nedoma 2005: 167). Diese Ansicht resultiert in den beiden Endungen **-dai/e** und **-da**.

d.   Es hat wohl nur einen einzigen Vorschlag gegeben, alle drei Schreibungen als das Resultat unterschiedlicher zugrundeliegender Endungen zu erklären. Tremblay (2003: 140–141, Anm. 117) sieht in der Endung **-de** die lautgesetzliche Fortsetzung von urgermanisch *-$\bar{d}\bar{e}^{\iota}$, in **-da** dagegen eine

analogische Bildung nach der 2. Singular urgermanisch *-*đē̆z* und schließlich in -**dai** die Kontinuante von urgermanisch *-*đai̯*. Er nimmt dabei an, dass das *-*ē̆*- in *-*đē̆z* eine offenere Aussprache hatte als das *-*ē̆*- in *-*đē̆ᵗ*. Aus diesem Grund sei das erste *-*ē̆*- mit dem Zeichen **a**, das zweite *-*ē̆*- mit dem Zeichen **e** geschrieben worden.

3.4. Die unterschiedlichen Vorschläge zur Erklärung der Endungssätze zeigen ein verworrenes Bild, das sich dadurch noch weiter verkompliziert, ob man lediglich von einer einzigen Endung urgermanisch *-*đē̆ᵗ* ausgeht oder von den beiden Endungen urgermanisch *-*đē̆ᵗ* und *-*đai̯*.

3.4.1. Wenn man für das Urgermanisch lediglich von der Endung *-*đē̆ᵗ* ausgeht, dann gibt es in der Tat keine andere Möglichkeit als in den drei Formen -**dai**, -**de** und -**da** bzw. in den beiden Endungen -**da** und -**de** lediglich graphische Varianten zu sehen ohne eine weitere zugrundeliegende Differenzierung.

3.4.2. Wenn demgegenüber von zwei Endungen im Urgermanischen ausgegangen wird, nämlich von *-*đē̆ᵗ* und *-*đai̯*, scheint die Annahme, dass -**dai** die Endung urgermanisch *-*đai̯* fortsetzt, logisch zu sein. Dann bleiben für die beiden restlichen Formen -**da** und -**de** zwei Möglichkeiten. Einerseits gibt es im Germanischen tatsächlich eine Monophthongierung von unakzentuiertem auslautendem *-*ai̯*# zu *-*ē̆*#, so dass -**de** tatsächlich das Endresultat dieser Entwicklung sein könnte. In dem Fall würde -**da** die Endung urgermanisch *-*đē̆ᵗ* fortsetzen. Andererseits kann aber auch nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass sowohl -**da** als auch -**de** graphische Wiedergaben von urgerm. *-*đē̆ᵗ* darstellen.

3.5. Wie fügen sich nun die oben angeführten Interpretationen in dieses Bild ein?

3.5.1. Die Annahme von Tremblay, dass es sich bei -**dai**, -**da** und -**de** um drei unterschiedliche zugrundeliegenden Endungen handelt, von denen -**da** durch eine analogische Bildung nach der 2. Singular urgermanisch *-*đē̆z* zustande gekommen ist, ist wenig wahrscheinlich. Denn zum einen würde es sich dabei um eine spontane Analogie handeln, welche keine weiteren Spuren hinterlassen hätte, zum anderen ist auch die Vermutung einer mehr geschlossenen und einer mehr offenen Aussprache von urgerm. *ē̆ nicht genügend abgestützt.

3.5.2. Auch die Ansicht, dass die drei belegten Formen **-dai**, **-da** und **-de** lediglich unterschiedliche graphische Wiedergaben von urgermanisch *-$\bar{d}\bar{e}^t$ sind, ist problematisch. Denn dies wäre der einzige Fall, in dem ein Laut durch drei unterschiedliche Runenzeichen wiedergegeben wäre (vgl. auch Nedoma 2005: 168, 180–181, Anm. 47).

3.5.3. Auch die graphische Reduzierung der Formen **-dai**, **-da** und **-de** zu lediglich zwei ist nicht ohne Schwierigkeiten. Die Annahme, dass das Schlusszeichen in **talgidai** nicht als eine **i**-Rune, sondern als ein Trennungs- oder Wortendezeichen zu lesen sei, ist nicht überzeugend, da ein solches Zeichen in der Form einer **i**-Rune im gesamten runischen Material singulär bliebe; die von Seebold (1994: 66) vorgeschlagene Parallele trifft wohl kaum das Richtige. Aber auch die Trennung von **talgidai** in **talgida i** ,schnitzte (hin)ein' ist wenig wahrscheinlich, da eine solche Fügung einerseits ohne Parallelen bliebe (vgl. Stoklund 1991: 98; das Argument ist aber wohl nicht allzu stark), andererseits um diese Zeit für urgermanisch *en ,in' doch wohl die Schreibung ***in** zu erwarten wäre.

3.5.4. Aber auch der Ausgangspunkt mit zwei Endungen im Urgermanischen scheint das Problem nicht so einfach zu beheben, wie es vielleicht den Anschein zu haben vermag (ganz zu schweigen vom fragwürdigen Eindringen der urindogermanischen Medialendung in das Präteritalsystem). Denn man müsste dabei annehmen, dass zufällig beide Phasen des Monophthongisierungsprozesses nahezu gleichzeitig bezeugt wären; kritisch dazu auch Tremblay 2003: 141, Anm. 117: „une hypothèse … ce qui suppose néanmois une monophtongaison d'-$ai\#$ précoce et s'accomplissant par hasard concomitamment aux inscriptions".

Exkurs

Üblicherweise wird diese Varianz zwischen **-ai** und **-e** mit dem nämlichen Wechsel zwischen beiden in der Endung des Dativ Singulars der maskulinen a-Stämme verglichen (zu den Formen vgl. u.a. Krause 1971: 116, Syrett 1994: 84–85, Nielsen 2000: 86), die auf urgerm. *-$a\underaccent{\smile}{i}$ zurückgeht (vgl. Krahe & Meid 1969: 2, 10):

a. Mit der Endung **-ai** ist auf dem Stein von Möjbro (160–560/70) die Form **hahai** belegt (**ana hahai slaginaz frawaradaz** ,auf dem Hengst erschlagen, Frawaradaz'); das daneben teilweise angeführte **gisai** auf dem Hobel von Vimose (150/60–375/400) sollte besser außer Betracht

bleiben, da die Inschrift nicht durchgängig lesbar und erst recht nicht deutbar ist (**talijo gisaioj ⚬ wiliz∗∗lao∗∗∗... t∗∗is ⚬ hleuno ⚬ an∗ ⚬ regu**).

b. Mit der Endung run. **-e** erscheinen auf dem Stein von Opedal (160–375/400) die Form **wage** (**leubu mez ⚬ wage ...** … ‚lieb zu mir, dem Wagaz …‘), auf dem Stein von Tune (375/400–520/30) **woduride** (**ek wiwaz after woduride ... worahto r**[?] ‚ich Wiwaz nach Woduridaz … führte die Runen[?] aus‘) und auf dem Brakteaten 1 von Tjurkö **walhakurne** (**wurte runoz an walhakurne** … ‚es wirkte die Runen auf dem Welschkorn [= Gold] …‘).

Problematisch an diesen Belegen ist die Form **hahai**, da sie sich nicht in das chronologische Bild der Monophthongierung von urgermanisch *-a$\underset{\,}{i}$# > *-$\bar{e}$# einfügt. Diese nicht ins chronologische Bild passende Schreibung hat indessen einen eigenen Erklärungsversuch bekommen. Und zwar soll sie das Resultat einer archaisch beibehaltenen, aber historisch korrekten Schreibung sein: „In itself, the spelling -**ai** for /-ē/ in **hahai** can only be explained as an archaic (conservative, inherited) spelling from a time when the diphthong was still pronounced as a diphthong" (Antonsen 2002: 47, vgl. auch etwa Krause 1971: 49: „Sg. D. -$\bar{e}$ … dazu vielleicht eine ältere, nur archaisch beibehaltene Form -*ai* in *hāhai*", Nielsen 2000: 86: „Presumably both runic suffixes designate a long monophthong $\bar{e}$, -**ai** being a conservative spelling overtaken by the monophthongization process"; nicht berücksichtigt wird die Form **hahai** von Nedoma 2005: 180, Anm. 44: „Die Zeugniskraft von **hahai** … ist nicht über jeden Zweifel erhaben"). Eine solche historische Schreibung wurde natürlich erst möglich, nachdem urgerm. *-a$\underset{\,}{i}$ monophthongiert worden war: „A new spelling for unstressed */ǣ/ did become available, however, through monophthongization of unstressed PG */ai/ > */ǣ/, reflected in … **talgidai** …, where -**ai** is a reverse spelling made possible by the change of */ai/ > */ǣ/ after the establishment of a writing system at a time when PG */ai/ had not yet been monophthongized (cf. historically correct … **hahai**)" (Antonsen 1975: 5 [vgl. ebd. 12, 16], ebenso Krause 1971: 158: „Die Endung -*ai* beruht anscheinend auf einer ‚umgekehrten Schreibung' für -$\bar{e}$"). Eine solche Erklärung als konservative oder umgekehrte Schreibung, die aus der Zeit vor der Monophthongierung stammen würde, birgt jedoch eine kaum zu überbrückende Schwierigkeit in sich. Um nämlich eine Schreibung beibehalten zu können, damit sie ‚konservativ' sein und dann auch als Umkehrschreibung benutzt werden kann (also nicht mehr in Einklang mit der gesprochenen Sprache steht), ist es entweder notwendig, dass genügend geschrieben, besser noch abgeschrieben wird, oder, dass sich

Grammatiker um eine historisch ‚korrekte' Schreibung bemühen. Daher finden sich konservative Schreibungen häufig im Lateinischen, da dort eine genügende Menge an Personen sich mit dem Schreiben, bzw. Anschreiben beschäftigte. Aber eine solche Situation ist nicht zu vergleichen mit der Schreibtradition im Kreis der Runeninschriften. Aus diesem Grund ist auch der Vergleich von Antonsen 2002: 47: „our form [= **hahai**] is therefore comparable to modern English spellings like ‚knight', which in Chaucer's day corresponded to the actual pronunciation, but from the point of view of present-day English, are conservative, etymological spellings" nicht statthaft. Nun ist die Masse an runischem Material schon gering genug, und Abschriften von älteren Runeninschriften in späterer Zeit, die allein konservative Schreibungen am Leben erhalten können, hat es wohl nicht gegeben. Sogar die Brakteateninschriften sind hiermit nicht zu vergleichen, da diese z. T. gestempelt und nicht abgeschrieben wurden. Ebenfalls scheint es unwahrscheinlich, germanische Grammatiker zwischen dem 2. und 4. Jh. zu erwarten, die einen derart normierenden Einfluss ausüben konnten. Kritisch auch Syrett 1994: 252: „arguments along these lines appear to presuppose some form of orthographic tradition at work leading runesmiths to continue using the digraph -**ai** even though according to the acrophonic principle it no longer mapped phonologically, but it is necessary first to discover such a spelling tradition before making conclusions about inverted spellings. In the later runic period, where we have far better evidence for widespread and competent literacy than for the period of the Nøvling clasp, it is extremely difficult to demonstrate the nature, or even the existence, of a traditional orthography at work". Des Weiteren spricht nun auch die zeitlich frühe Überlieferung des ‚jüngeren' -**e** gegen eine solche Erklärung. Denn auch das -**ai** in **talgidai** müsste dann, da zeitgleich mit -**e** in **tawide**, ebenfalls das Resultat einer archaisch beibehaltenen Schreibung sein (zur unwahrscheinlichen Annahme, dass run. -**ai** und -**e** zufällige Zeugen des Monophthongisierungprozesses darstellen würden, s. o.). Es wäre unumgänglich die Monophthongierung von unbetonten -**ai** zu -**e** in eine Zeit vor ca. 200 hinaufzuschieben, somit vor dem Einsetzen der ersten Runeninschriften (die Frage nach dem Zeitpunkt des Einsetzens der ersten Runeninschriften [Fibel von Meldorf] kann hier nicht näher nachgegangen werden). Wie eine ‚Schreibung' aus der Zeit vor dem Einsetzen der Runeninschriften hätte beibehalten werden können, bleibt durchaus fraglich. Auch wäre in einem solchen Fall eine arbiträre Verwendung der Zeichen run. **e** und **ai** zu erwarten gewesen, wofür es keine Belege gibt; vgl. auch Boutkan 1995: 360: „Firstly, Antonsen wishes us to believe that the runecarvers were led by traditionalism

when they maintained the spelling <ai> for */ǣ/ after the monophthongiza-
tion, but – obviously – followed a strict phonetic principle when they introdu-
ced the writing <e> after the raising of */ǣ/ to /ē/. Secondly, <ai> and <e>
are not used arbitrarily, which would be expected in Antonsen's explanation".

Daher muss auch für **hahai** eine andere Erklärung gefunden werden.
Die übliche parallele Behandlung von -**ai** und -**e** im Dativ Singular und im
Präteritum ist wohl nicht statthaft.

3.6. Nun ist es klar, dass für das Urgermanische ohne den einzelnen Be-
leg **talgidai** als Präteritalendung lediglich *-*đē̆ᵗ* angesetzt worden wäre.
Es scheint mir essenziell, daran festzuhalten. Dies hat zur Folge, dass eine
Neuinterpretation von **talgidai** notwendig ist. Die beiden übrigbleibenden
Formen -**da** und -**de** können dagegen mit der rekonstruierten Endung in
Einklang gebracht werden. Die genauen Details der Entwicklung brauchen
in diesem Kontext nicht behandelt zu werden (entweder ist -**da** ostgerma-
nisch bzw. westgermanisch gegenüber -**de** nordgermanisch oder -**da** und -**de**
sind beide dialektale Varianten im Nordwestgermanischen, wobei -**da** auch
ostgermanisch sein kann; vgl. auch Nielsen 2000: 162f.). Wie dem auch sei,
auch die Grammatik der frühen Runeninschriften muss mit der Grammatik
des Urgermanischen, wie es aus den germanischen Sprachen einerseits und
dem Urindogermanischen rekonstruiert wird, übereinstimmen. Nun weist
das gesamte germanische Sprachmaterial außer **talgidai** auf die Endung ur-
germanisch *-*đē̆ᵗ*. Dann kann **talgidai** nur auf zwei Weisen erklärt werden.
Entweder ist -**dai** wirklich eine separate Endung, die in dem Fall nur eine
sekundäre, analogische Herkunft haben kann. Der Ausgangspunkt für eine
solche Analogie ist jedoch nicht ersichtlich (dafür das Eindringen einer ur-
indogermanischen Medialendung anzunehmen, bleibt schwierig). Oder -**dai**
ist als ein Fehler anzusehen (sollte am Ende Moltke bereits die richtige Er-
klärung gegeben haben?).

4.0. Im Vorliegenden wurde an einem Beispiel gezeigt, wie Lesungen und
Neulesungen von älteren Runeninschriften mit dem, was über die frühger-
manische Grammatik bekannt ist, kollidieren können. Für das Urgermani-
sche kann für die Endung der dritten Singular Indikativ des Präteritums
nur eine einzige Endung, nämlich *-*đē̆ᵗ* rekonstruiert werden, während sich
in den Runeninschriften drei unterschiedliche Reflexe (-**dai**, -**de** und -**da**)
finden. Es wurde argumentiert, dass nur die Endungen -**da** und -**de** mit ur-
germanisch *-*đē̆ᵗ* übereinstimmen, -**dai** dagegen nicht. Wenn -**dai** tatsäch-
lich eine separate Endung darstellt, kann sie lediglich als eine analogisch

geneuerte Form angesehen werden. Wenn nicht, bleibt wohl nur die An-
nahme eines Schreibfehlers zur Erklärung übrig.

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MICHAEL P. BARNES

Documenting the Scandinavian Runic Inscriptions of the British Isles

Confessions of a field runologist

Abstract

Although fieldwork has been undertaken since the dawn of runology in the seventeenth century, very little has been written about it. The procedures adopted by the field runologist, the problems encountered and their solutions, are matters that can often only be dimly discerned in publications that emerge as the end product of the fieldwork. This paper offers insights into how the documentation of the Scandinavian runic inscriptions of the British Isles proceeded from conception to implementation. It includes accounts of the various trials and tribulations suffered by the field runologists involved, and reveals the sort of (mis)adventures that can lie hidden behind the sometimes arid presentations in published volumes.

Keywords: British Isles, runic inscriptions, runological fieldwork, Maeshowe, medieval Dublin excavations, SC 15 Thurso II, SH 6 Eshaness II, St. Molaise's cave inscriptions (SC 3–7, 9, 12–13), †E 5 Settle

The examination and documentation of inscriptions lie at the heart of runology. Without those core activities, there would be little to say about runes and runic writing at all. The great corpus editions are based on exhaustive fieldwork, as are many reports of individual inscriptions or groups of inscriptions. In the light of this, it is surprising that relatively little has been written on the subject. The procedures adopted by the field runologist, the problems encountered and their solutions, are matters that can often only be dimly glimpsed in the text of the edition or article that emerges as the end product of the fieldwork. At the first International Symposium on Runes and Runic Inscriptions held in Ann Arbor in 1980, Erik Moltke and Sven B. F. Jansson shared a few of the insights they had gained during a lifetime of runological fieldwork (Moltke 1981, Jansson 1981), but these are fairly idiosyncratic pieces, and Jansson's is largely anecdotal. In a brief article in *Fornvännen*, Bengt Lundberg gave a summary account of his experiences photographing rune-stones (Lundberg 1988). Useful in its day, the techniques he recommends have in part become standard practice, and in part been superseded by developments in photography. In *The Scandinavian Runic Inscriptions*

of Britain, Ray Page and I included a chapter entitled 'Examining the in-scriptions', which detailed the more significant problems we had encountered in our fieldwork and the steps we had taken to try to overcome them (Barnes & Page 2006: 44–50). This was not, however, intended as a full account of the work that led up to the edition; it was more in the nature of a warning to read-ers that the reliability of readings and measurements can vary according to an inscription's remoteness and the circumstances in which it is examined.

Since 1988 there has been a yearly meeting of field runologists. These have varied somewhat in structure and scope, but at most of them partici-pants have been offered hands-on experience. They have been directed to inscriptions, and given the opportunity to examine them and discuss their findings with fellow runologists. A few such meetings have been devoted to lectures, but these have not on the whole concerned runological fieldwork. The 1994 gathering in Schleswig, for example, dealt with runic tradition in the Danish-German border region, as is borne out by the published volume *Von Thorsberg nach Schleswig*.

Two general introductions to runology, Klaus Düwel's *Runenkunde* and my own *Runes*, incorporate brief guidelines on the examination of inscrip-tions, particularly new finds (Düwel 2008: 15–22, Barnes 2012: 177–8). Com-mon-sense advice is offered: *inter alia* that the field runologist should seek to learn as much as possible about the find circumstances, the nature of the object or structure bearing the inscription, and the age of inscription and inscription-bearer; measurements are to be taken, and the text examined both in its totality and rune by rune; the inscription should be photographed under different lighting conditions; drawings may also with advantage be made; and so on. From all this activity will emerge a reading – the writing the runologist thinks to see. It may in addition be possible to discern how the inscription was planned and carved, and to judge the extent to which layout, or particular rune or word forms, can be ascribed to the shape of the inscription-bearer, the space available on it, or difficulties the carver experi-enced with the material.

As is clear from this list of desiderata, neither Düwel nor I do much more than state what for the field runologist should be fairly obvious. However, the *Handbook of Runology*, which is envisaged as the tangible outcome of the 2013–14 Oslo-based project *The Reading and Interpretation of Runic Inscriptions: The Theory and Method of Runology*, is to include an entire section on field runology. Here, if all goes well, we can look forward to the setting out of detailed guidelines for runological fieldwork, based on older and more recent experience.

In the meantime, it will do no harm to offer a few insights into how the documentation and publication of the Scandinavian runic inscriptions of the British Isles proceeded from conception to implementation. The account can serve as a practical demonstration of field runologists at work.

Unlike Denmark, Norway and Sweden, neither Great Britain nor Ireland possesses an authority dedicated to the care, study and publication of runic inscriptions. This means that serious runological endeavour has been the product of individual interest and effort, chiefly on the part of academics trained in a branch of historical linguistics or archaeology. Such corpus editions as have been compiled have come about by chance rather than as the result of a grand plan.

For a long time many of the British inscriptions written in Scandinavian runes were destined to take their place in a future volume of the Norwegian corpus edition, *NIyR*. The editor of its first five volumes, Magnus Olsen, had examined much of the relevant material and written on it for sundry publications (e.g. 1903, 1912, 1954, *NIyR* 5: 230–32). It is, however, by no means clear that all of the inscriptions Olsen thus planned to annex are in fact Norwegian; nor indeed, precisely what "Norwegian" means in a British-Isles context.

In the 1950s, Aslak Liestøl (Magnus Olsen's runological collaborator in later years and ultimately his successor) made a detailed survey of the inscriptions in Maeshowe, the renowned prehistoric cairn on the Orkney Mainland. The aim, in line with Olsen's grand plan, was to document and edit these runic graffiti with a view to incorporating them into a future volume of *NIyR*. However, overwhelmed by the 550 or more inscriptions found at Bryggen, Bergen, Liestøl suggested to me in the late 1970s that I might consider taking over the task of editing and publishing the Maeshowe material. At that point, I had no experience of field runology, but agreed nevertheless to bear his suggestion in mind. In the following years I read up on the Maeshowe corpus, and began to make preliminary notes, but I still had very little idea of how to proceed with the actual examination of the runes. Then, in 1987, I managed to persuade a small group of colleagues with the requisite experience to accompany me on a field trip to Orkney (out of which grew the annual meeting of field runologists). From Sweden came Helmer Gustavson, Thorgunn Snædal, Jan Paul Strid and Marit Åhlén, and from Norway Terje Spurkland. Together we subjected all the inscriptions in Maeshowe to detailed examination, and it is chiefly on the basis of knowledge gathered from this experience that I proceeded on my later visits to the cairn. Naturally, I also took into account the type of information provided in published runic

corpus editions as well as in reports of new finds. With the help of a 500-watt lamp and tape measure, I recorded the location of each inscription in the cairn, its length, and the height of its graphs. Using magnifying glass and spyglass (loupe), I examined the inscriptions rune by rune, making notes and drawings. I was not starting from scratch, of course. Other runologists had been there before me, and I knew what the inscriptions were supposed to say – with the advantages and disadvantages such knowledge brings. Being only moderately handy with a camera myself, I was delighted when colleagues in the Swedish Runverket proposed that their photographer, Bengt Lundberg, should join me on one of my Maeshowe trips and undertake the difficult task of documenting the whole corpus. I received valuable advice and help from others too, Ray Page and James Knirk in particular. My visits to Maeshowe were of necessity many: it is astonishing how little you remember once you are on your way home, and how many details you have omitted to note.

From all this it will be clear that I learnt the trade on the job – through confronting the task of documenting and editing a corpus of runic inscriptions. But I doubt if I am alone in that respect.

Field runology, it gradually dawned on me, involves considerably more than the acts of examination and documentation. In Scandinavia, the runologist tends to arrive as the representative of some august institution, as a member of staff of a national museum, for example. He or she is there in an official capacity. In Britain one has first to explain who one is, what one hopes to achieve, and, where access is restricted – as in the case of Maeshowe – to apply for permission to spend extended time at the site. Maeshowe is under the guardianship of Historic Scotland, and in the 1980s and ’90s one applied to their office at Fort George, which lies not far from Inverness. Provided permission was granted, one then proceeded to Orkney, and, waving the relevant document, requested access. With today’s volume of tourism, affairs at the site are much more professionally organised than they were twenty or thirty years ago. In those days much depended on the whim of the custodian and his family. Some who had spent time in Maeshowe before me spoke of receiving a rather frosty reception. I therefore made it my first priority to cultivate the custodian, a local farmer by the name of Norry Sclater. I booked in at his sister’s bed-and-breakfast establishment nearby, and in the evening joined him for drinks and darts at the Pomona Inn or the bar of the Standing Stones Hotel. Having concluded fairly rapidly from this that I was a fit and proper person, he let me have a spare key to the cairn, so that I could come and go more or less at will. He also brought ladders as and when I needed them, and was happy in return to be offered tots of Highland Park. Maeshowe is always

damp and chilly, so the sensible runologist will keep a bottle of whisky tucked away out of sight in one of the side chambers of the cairn.

While working on the Maeshowe inscriptions, I had the opportunity of hearing the custodian address the groups of tourists who at regular intervals traipsed in and out of the mound. Norry did not vary his recitation greatly, so I soon came to know it by heart. At a certain point he would gesticulate towards a couple of stones in the south-east wall and, conflating two of the inscriptions, intone: "Here it says: 'In the north-west a great treasure is hidden, and happy he, who finds!'" On one occasion, and quite against the regulations, an elderly gentleman poked his head into the side chamber where my bottle of Highland Park resided. Deeply moved, he exclaimed: "Och, I see a wee bit of the treasure's still here!"

According to local legend, Maeshowe is haunted by a figure called the "Hogboy", i.e. *haugbúi* 'mound-dweller'. I cannot say that I ever encountered this supernatural being, despite spending several late winter evenings in the mound with the Orkney wind whistling outside. However, Norry informed me one morning that an anxious couple had stopped by his farm the previous evening to report seeing ghostly lights emanating from the passageway into the central chamber. Alas for the legend, it seems to have been nothing more than the reflection from my 500-watt lamp.

One of the Maeshowe inscriptions, or what is left of it, has to be inspected not in Orkney but in Edinburgh. No. 17 scaled off the wall shortly after excavation of the mound in 1861, and in 1863 six pieces, about a third of the total, found their way to Edinburgh, to what is now the National Museum of Scotland. Having spent a happy few hours with these fragments and about to leave the museum, I was called back by a curator and asked whether I wouldn't care to see further fragments of the same inscription! While extremely grateful to the man concerned, I was rather taken aback by the element of chance involved. Had it not suddenly dawned on this museum official that a chap interested in runes might be glad to see more rather than less, the additional five pieces he then brought out for my inspection (another third of the inscription) might still be lying unnoticed in a National Museum of Scotland store. (See further below on the Settle slate.)

The corpus edition of the Irish inscriptions (Barnes, Hagland & Page 1997) came about through the initiative of Jan Ragnar Hagland of the then University of Trondheim. In the early 1990s he suggested to Ray Page and me that the three of us should approach the National Museum of Ireland with a view to documenting and publishing the runic inscriptions found during the medieval Dublin excavations of 1962–81. The project was swiftly agreed be-

tween all parties involved, whereupon several visits were made to the National Museum to examine the material. Museum staff provided drawings and photographs, and the Director arranged for publication in the Royal Irish Academy's Medieval Dublin Excavations series. Since the four runic inscriptions from Ireland outside Dublin had not been edited as a group, Hagland, Page and I proposed that they should be included in the work, and that was accepted by the editorial board overseeing the Medieval Dublin Excavations publishing programme. At the time we were documenting the Irish runic material I can hardly claim to have been a seasoned field runologist, but I had learnt a fair amount from my encounter with the Maeshowe corpus. Cooperation with Hagland and Page taught me a good deal more – as also the attempt to get to grips with inscriptions that were in effect new finds – certainly ones that up to that point had not been satisfactorily described and edited.

Our brush with Ireland's runic heritage had as its outcome an edition that the three of us were reasonably happy with. Our activities failed, however, to produce much in the way of amusing anecdotes – at least not ones that can decently be given a public airing. This is probably because most of the inscriptions were in the keeping of the National Museum of Ireland, and our agreement with the museum elevated us more or less to the role of official runologists, to be afforded all the assistance and courtesy due to such exalted persons. For a time we were unable to examine the Greenmount bronze strap-end (IR 1), on tour with the *From Viking to Crusader* exhibition of 1992–3 (*From Viking to Crusader*: 333). We did catch up with it during the exhibition's sojourn in Copenhagen, but only to find that the authorities had placed it rune-side down in its display case – not, unfortunately, a first in the history of curating. Eventually, however, it made its way home to Ireland, where we were able to inspect it under modern museum conditions.

Experience gained from dealing with the Irish material was of considerable help when Ray Page and I undertook the more ambitious project of editing the Scandinavian runic inscriptions of Britain. As befits British runological endeavour, the seeds of this work were sown over a few pints of real ale in the Museum Tavern, a local well known to staff at the nearby British Museum. We probably had one pint too many, for in the light of the time and effort the venture ultimately cost us, this was a foolhardy idea. The task of examining the inscriptions took us from Canterbury in the south of England to Eshaness in the north-west of Shetland, and was spread over some twelve years, 1992–2004.

As with the Maeshowe corpus, many of the Scandinavian runic inscriptions of Britain had already been edited, or at least described. And indeed,

much that seemed to us doubtfully runic had been thrown into the mix. Not least because Hertha Marquardt's *Bibliographie der Runeninschriften nach Fundorten* 1 (Marquardt 1961) includes a fair number of doubtful items, we had constantly in mind the need to establish (to our satisfaction) what was in the corpus and what not – and the need to explain our choice to users of the edition we were planning. This part of our labours sent us up many blind alleys. Much that has been reported as runic in Britain has on investigation proved to be chance marks – the result of accident or wear, or simply natural furrows in a stone. Some objects said to have borne runes have disappeared, and where there was neither photograph nor drawing, we had to ask ourselves: How is the writer using the words "rune" or "runic"? Do they refer to anything we would recognise as runes, or simply to something old and hard to read?

In the case of pieces held by major museums, in Edinburgh, Kirkwall, Lerwick and London, we encountered few problems of access or other practical difficulties. The British Museum did, though, manage to mislay its two casts of the lost †E 10 Canterbury – and that at an early stage of our labours, so that we were able to examine them only once. In Edinburgh we had the good fortune to work while relevant sections of the National Museum of Scotland were being reorganised and inscriptions of interest to us were temporarily released from captivity before being remounted for public display. This enabled us to examine them in their entirety and with much greater precision than would have been the case if we had had to mingle with the general public in a museum gallery.

Many runic inscriptions in Britain are not held by major institutions. A good few are to be found in churches, some reside out of doors, and several are in private hands. In all such cases there may be problems of access, and difficulties in subjecting object and inscription to detailed and varied examination.

Until recently the stone bearing SC 15 Thurso II was set some 6.2 metres above the ground in the tower of Old St. Peter's Kirk, Thurso, Scotland's most northerly town. Having found our way to the north-eastern corner of Caithness, Page and I thus had to requisition a long ladder, climb it, and, perched perilously close to its top, try to examine the inscription, measure it and record its details. To make matters worse, the runes were set upsidedown in the wall. It will be easily understood that our account of Thurso II is less reliable than those of inscriptions examined in more favourable circumstances. (*Postscript*: Around the time of the publication of Barnes & Page 2006 the runic stone was removed from the wall of the church and sent to

Edinburgh for conservation. It was subsequently returned to Thurso and placed in the care of Caithness Horizons museum, currently closed for refurbishment.)

SH 6 Eshaness II offered obstacles of a different sort. Partly buried in a small churchyard in the north-west of the Shetland Mainland is a gravestone bearing writing in both runes and the roman alphabet. First mentioned in the 1770s (cf. Low 1879: 135–6), it was long regarded as lost. And when refound in the 1930s, it was deemed "a typical 17th-century tomb-slab" (*RC* 1946, 3: 89). This misdiagnosis may have had to do with the fact that in daylight it is hard to make out anything at all on the surface of the stone. Here we were helped by the Shetland Museum and the Shetland Islands Council. On our first visit they supplied a tent which blocked some of the outside light, enabling us to make a cursory inspection with the help of a lamp and torches and confirm the gravestone as a medieval object. In view of the poor state of the carvings and the difficulty of examining them *in situ*, we suggested the slab be taken into the Shetland Museum in Lerwick. This sparked a lengthy and at times heated disagreement between local opinion and the museum authorities. The locals argued (a) that the stone belonged in Eshaness, not in Lerwick, and (b) that as a matter of principle gravestones should not be removed from hallowed ground. Some went so far as to claim that a transfer from graveyard to museum would be "tantamount to theft" (*Shetland Times* 10 ii 1995), although in point of fact it was unclear with whom ownership of the memorial resided. Several participants in the debate adhered to the belief that the stone marked the last resting place of one John Williamson, popularly known as "Johnny Notions" and widely credited with having developed a method of inoculation against smallpox. Yet he died not in the Middle Ages but towards the end of the eighteenth century or very early in the nineteenth. As Page and I arrived in Shetland for our second visit to Eshaness, we were confronted by a headline in the *Shetland Times* (19 ix 1997), announcing: "Runic stone triggers anger". All manner of people had become involved, including the MP for Orkney and Shetland. It was clear the slab was unlikely to be moved in the near future. Once again the Shetland Museum and the Council stepped in, this time erecting a wooden shack over the site, which, with the door closed, gave us almost total darkness. A generator and 500-watt lamp were also provided, and a professional photographer, enabling us to carry out a thorough examination and have a series of excellent pictures taken. On the minus side, we were the whole time under the watchful eye of the local minister, one of our chief antagonists in what the press had by now dubbed the "rune-stone row". The minister was, at least to begin with, very

hostile, and offered negative running commentary on our activities, from time to time upbraiding us for "profaning holy ground". There is no denying that the feeling of being in "enemy territory" detracted from our ability to concentrate on the job in hand.

Difficulties of a different kind – indeed perils – attended our first attempt to get to grips with the inscriptions in St. Molaise's Cave, Holy Island (SC 3–7, 9, 12–13). Holy Island lies off the east coast of Arran in the Inner Hebrides. When Page and I, together with our wives, went to examine its eight or more runic inscriptions, the island was inhabited only by a couple of young Buddhists who were slowly restoring a tumbledown farmhouse. The sound between Arran and Holy Island was peaceful enough when the boatmen we had engaged ferried us over, but by the time they returned to take us back a storm had blown up. Holy Island had no landing stage at the time, with the result that we were unable to get safely on board for the return trip. Given the smallness of the craft and the size of the waves, we were not entirely unhappy about being left on *terra firma*. As the two men swung the boat round, the strains of the hymn *Abide with me* could be clearly heard.

Stranded on Holy Island, we had no alternative but to throw ourselves on the mercy of the Buddhists. They kindly provided bread, cheese and tea, and found us some damp blankets for the night. One advantage of our enforced stay was that we were able to start work bright and early the next morning after the Buddhists had most hospitably shared their breakfast with us.

Inscriptions with an apparently respectable pedigree occasionally turned out to be suspect. The runes on the Settle slate are a case in point. When first recorded (Smith 1962: 62), the slate was in the delightfully named Pig Yard Club Museum in the town of Settle, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. It was displayed together with various objects, mostly Romano-British, said to come from Victoria Cave in the Yorkshire Dales. Subsequently its inscription was treated in two learned articles (Page 1971: 173–4, Swanton 1971). Swanton saw in the runes what he called the "singular" ON personal name *Óframr* (1971: 214). Because of the rarity of the name he thought it likely that the Óframr Sigurðarsonr who carved Maeshowe inscription no. 17 was also responsible for the Settle runes. From photographs, however, the Settle characters seemed to bear an uncanny likeness to those of a missing part of Maeshowe no. 17, the whole of which had scaled off the wall of the cairn shortly after excavation, and broken in pieces (cf. above). Since the chief excavator of Maeshowe, James Farrer, had once lived at a place called Ingleborough, only 6 km or so from Settle, could he at some point have taken this piece with him from Orkney to Yorkshire, we wondered.

When we arrived in Settle, the Pig Yard Club Museum was no more. But we found a local gentleman farmer, one Thomas Lord, who had, as he put it, "come into possession" of the artefacts from the Museum. He turned out to be fairly knowledgeable, and explained that the Settle slate was not, as far as he knew, discovered in Victoria Cave at all. According to him, it had first come to light in 1937 behind a display cabinet in Giggleswick School Museum (not far from Settle). At some point it had been placed together with the Victoria Cave objects.

Lord allowed me to take the slate to the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh to see if it would fit with other fragments of Maeshowe no. 17 held there. Geological analysis showed the slate could be a lost part of the Maeshowe inscription, but in the event the piece did not quite fit with the fragments held by the National Museum of Scotland, though it was only a question of a few millimetres. The most likely explanation of the Settle inscription's genesis seemed to be that Farrer (or another) had for some reason copied the runes **ȏframr** on to a fragment of Orkney stone from a drawing of Maeshowe no. 17 in its complete state (of which a number exist). Faced with this evidence we classed the inscription as modern and relegated it to an appendix (cf. Barnes 1996, Barnes & Page 2006: 340–41).

The discovery of runic inscriptions must of course be distinguished from fieldwork. While I have documented many inscriptions, I have never been fortunate enough to find one – though my wife did spot a group of three previously unknown runes in Carlisle Cathedral while Ray Page and I were busy examining E 3 Carlisle I (cf. Barnes & Page 2006: 289–92, Barnes 2010). Runic inscriptions are discovered in all kinds of circumstances, and by all manner of people. OR 14 Tuquoy came to light during the 1982–3 rescue excavation of a late Norse settlement site on the Orkney island of Westray – though not as part of the excavation. True, the runes were first observed by one of the participating archaeologists, but while bending forward head in hands in an attempt to relieve the symptoms of a massive hangover. And as if that were not enough, we now learn (Sarah Jane Gibbon, pers. com.) that the most recent runic find from Orkney, OR 23 Naversdale, was unearthed by a pig – possibly a first in the annals of runology. (*Postscript*: For a presentation of OR 23 see Barnes, Michael P., 2015. Two recent runic finds from Orkney. In: *Futhark* 6. Pp. 143–151.)

Publication, too, must be kept separate from fieldwork, although the two are of course intimately associated. This is not the place to discuss the reporting of new finds or the making of corpus editions. I would simply note that if *The Scandinavian Runic Inscriptions of Britain* (Barnes & Page

2006) has any advantage over earlier runic corpus editions it is in its transparency. Page and I go to considerable lengths to explain how we arrived at the material we present to the reader, and to make clear the steps by which we proceeded from examination to interpretation.

There is to date no corpus edition of the Scandinavian runic inscriptions on the Isle of Man, which are spread across thirty-four stones or stone fragments, some with more than one discrete text. Ray Page had been working on such an edition for a good many years when he died in 2012. I have been lucky, or unlucky, enough to take over the manuscript, which I am even now checking, reworking and supplementing in close collaboration with Henrik Williams and James Knirk. This labour, which *inter alia* serves as a practical instance of runological field- and editorial work, has been subsumed under the Oslo runic project. Publication is planned for 2016, and will for the most part follow the lines established in Barnes & Page (2006). In addition to the Scandinavian corpus, the projected volume is for the sake of completeness to include the two Anglo-Saxon inscriptions found on Man. (*Postscript*: This edition finally appeared in 2019. It is entitled *The Runic Inscriptions of the Isle of Man*, and forms vol. 22 of the Runrön series. Authorship is credited to Michael P. Barnes, although, as will be clear from the above, a number of scholars were involved in its preparation.)

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ALESSIA BAUER

Arbeiten mit *Runica manuscripta*: Einige Überlegungen zu Corpuserstellung und Vorgehensweise

Abstract

The corpus of Scandinavian *runica manuscripta* covers a period of about 1000 years and utilises different systems of reference depending on the time and place of origin. Most of the *runica manuscripta*, however, originate from the post-Reformation period, i.e. from a time in which runic writing had long since lost its importance as a tool of communication in favor of the Latin alphabet.

Scholars working with *runica manuscripta* need to keep in mind a general consideration, i.e. that manuscript runes always represent a divergence from genuine runic writing due to their medium, which causes the runic graphs to undergo a realization different from that found in epigraphic records. The ductus of manuscript tradition is transferred to the runes, which very frequently show a tendency to resemble squiggles through the use of serifs or rounded and curved forms. As a result, the peculiar visual style of runic writing can be greatly distorted. Even if some of the records correspond quite closely to the epigraphic tradition, in most cases a mix of runic and Latin literacy can be observed, depending of course on the cultural background of the writers, who lived and acted in a 'Latinized' writing culture.

For this reason, a large range of forms has arisen and, in building the corpus—or better the different corpora—scholars must constantly ponder the extent to which they will accept a deviation from the standard as a special realization of a basic graph type or will simply declare it a pseudo-rune.

Keywords: *Abecedarium Nordmannicum,* Gørlev runestone, Latin literacy, Malt runestone, manuscript runes, runic alphabets, runic rows, *runica manuscripta*

Kurz vor der Erscheinung der Edition der nordischen *Runica manuscripta* durch die Autorin und Wilhelm Heizmann (vorgesehen für 2021) sollen im vorliegenden Beitrag einige Schwierigkeiten erläutert werden, denen wir im Laufe des Projektes begegneten, sowie individuelle Lösungen gezeigt werden, die wir nach unserem Ermessen ausgearbeitet haben. Zu dem Zeitpunkt der internationalen Runentragung in Nyköping (2014) waren wir damit beschäftigt, unsere Parameter für die verschiedenen Etappen der Arbeit, d.h. für die Corpuserstellung, Transliteration und Transkription, festzulegen.

Denn wer sich heute mit den *Runica manuscripta* wissenschaftlich befasst, betritt Neuland trotz der Pionierarbeit von René Derolez,[1] die inzwischen

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[1] Damit ist die umfangreiche Edition der angelsächsischen Manuskriptrunen in kontinentalen und englischen Handschriften von 1954 sowie die weiterführenden Studien von 1964 und 1991 bzw. die Überlegungen bezüglich des Zusammenhangs zwischen der epigraphischen und handschriftlichen Tradition von 1983 gemeint.

mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert zurückliegt, und einiger Einzelstudien zu bestimmten Manuskripten bzw. erster Versuche,[2] die nordische Tradition zu erfassen. Für einen wissenschaftlichen Umgang mit diesem Teil der Runentradition fehlen noch immer allgemeingültige methodologische Überlegungen, sodass die Untersuchungen weiterhin v.a. auf den eigenen Erfahrungen basieren.

Da Runen in Manuskripten – anders als in der Epigraphik – bis in die Moderne reichen, weisen sie vor allem, doch nicht ausschließlich in der späteren Phase, eine eigenständige Entwicklung auf. Aufgrund dessen stellen sich beim Identifizieren der Runeneinträge sowie bei ihrer Transliteration und Transkription Schwierigkeiten, die nur dieser Teildisziplin innerhalb der Runologie eigen sind und für die passende Lösungen gesucht werden müssen. Es lohnt deshalb einen Blick auf die Probleme zu werfen, die auf den verschiedenen Ebenen der Arbeit mit *Runica manuscripta* (u.a. Bestandsaufnahme, Transliteration sowie Transkription) auftreten können.

1. Erstellung des Corpus

Vorweg seien ein paar Zahlen genannt, um sich den Umfang und den einzigartigen Charakter des Corpus innerhalb der Runentradition vor Augen zu führen. Das bisher bekannte Corpus[3] beträgt um die 250 Handschriften. Diese verhalten sich in Bezug auf die Datierung wie folgt: Aus dem Mittelalter sind ca. 60 Handschriften bekannt. Sie datieren vom 9. Jh. bis zur Reformation auf Island (konventionell festgelegt auf das Jahr 1550). Darunter befinden sich allerdings auch Runeneinträge jüngeren Datums, die offensichtlich zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt angebracht wurden. Sortiert man die restlichen knapp 200 Manuskripte nach Jahrhunderten, stellt man fest, dass im 16. Jh. kaum Manuskriptrunen belegt sind (gerade mal sechs Handschriften im gesamten Corpus). Angespornt von der Sammeltätigkeit, die sich in der Frühneuzeit in Schweden und Dänemark entfaltete, fand im 17. Jh. offensichtlich ein *Revival* statt und aus dieser Zeit sind 33 Handschriften

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[2] Siehe Heizmann 1998 und Bauer 2010. Einige Handschriften waren bereits von Bæksted (1942) in seiner Edition der isländischen Runeninschriften erfasst worden; eine Auswahl ist ebenfalls von Þórgunnur Snædal (2008) behandelt worden. Eine umfassendere Publikation zum Thema isländische Schriftlichkeit mit Runen von Þórgunnur Snædal ist ebenfalls in Vorbereitung.

[3] Die Einschränkung ist wohl angebracht, weil die Handschriftenbestände in den Bibliotheken noch nicht vollständig erfasst sind und gelegentlich tauchen bisher unbekannte Manuskripte mit Runeneinträgen auf. Dies war beispielsweise der Fall im Herbst 2020, als festgestellt wurde, dass in einer Prager Handschrift (Prag Nationalbibl. XXIII F 129ˣ) aus dem späten 15. Jh. auf fast jede Seite (Bll. 7v–556v) kürzere oder längere Runeneinträge mit vorwiegend nordischen Runen eingetragen wurden.

überliefert, die sich v.a. an die gelehrten Werke von Johannes Bureus, Olaus Verelius sowie Ole Worm anlehnen. Doch zu einem regelrechten Höhepunkt der Überlieferung und Verwendung von Runen in Manuskripten kam es erstaunlicherweise erst im Laufe des 18. und im 19. Jh. Der Großteil der *Runica manuscripta* aus Island setzt um 1800 ein und reicht bis zu den ersten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jahrhunderts hin.

Diese Daten sollen verdeutlichen, dass man sich bei den Manuskriptrunen mit einer Überlieferung befasst, die sich vorwiegend aus jüngeren bzw. ganz jungen Einträgen zusammensetzt, welche im epigraphischen Bereich in der Forschung meist stiefmütterlich behandelt werden. Dies impliziert auch, dass dieses Phänomen aus einer Zeit stammt, in der die Runenverwendung in der Epigraphik schon längst erloschen war.

Der Weg zur Corpuserstellung und zu den soeben genannten Daten ist alles andere als unproblematisch gewesen. Bereits bei der Bestandsaufnahme sieht man sich mit einer Reihe von Problemen konfrontiert, die eng mit den Überlieferungsträgern zusammenhängen. Da die Schreiber des Öfteren keine bzw. irreführende Auskünfte liefern und der Kontext häufig nicht problemlos zu erschließen ist, ist es nicht immer eindeutig, was als Rune definiert werden kann und was nicht. Auch innerhalb eines gesicherten Runeneintrags gestaltet sich die Identifikation jedes einzelnen Zeichens als Rune als schwierig und ist nicht selbstverständlich. Im Folgenden werden lediglich einige Beispiele geboten, um die Probleme und die Vorgehensweise bei der Arbeit zu veranschaulichen. Es handelt sich jedoch nicht um seltene Einzelfälle, sondern beinah um die Regel.

Die erste Schwierigkeit hängt – nicht anders als für die Epigraphik – mit dem Erhaltungszustand des Textes zusammen. Dabei muss konstatiert werden, dass Forscher nicht ganz unvoreingenommen an die Sache herantreten: Dort wo man sie vermutet, versucht man Runen wahrzunehmen, obwohl diese kaum noch lesbar (v.a. unter den mittelalterlichen Pergamenthandschriften) oder sehr stark entstellt sind (in den jüngeren Belegen). Durch noch so kleine distinktive Merkmale – wie beispielsweise einem Zweig auf der richtigen Seite o.ä. – will man eine Rune ,entdecken', auch dort, wo das Medium stark beschädigt ist. Dies gelingt natürlich am besten dort, wo man ohnehin bestimmte Erwartungen hat, wie bei Fuþark-Reihen oder Runenalphabeten. Im Falle von Texten, die keine Runenreihen wiedergeben, ist die Erwartungshaltung geringer und dort muss der Forscher des Öfteren kapitulieren.

Ist der Überlieferungsträger in einem guten Erhaltungszustand, bieten sich andere Probleme der Lesung, die mit dem ,Inschriftenträger'

zusammenhängen. Das Medium aus Pergament bzw. Papier verleitete nämlich häufig zur Abweichung der bekannten Graphtypen, was dem handschriftlichen Duktus verschuldet ist. Dieser wird auf die runische Schriftlichkeit übertragen, die des Öfteren die Tendenz zur Verschnörkelung durch Serifen bzw. zu gerundeten und geschwungenen Formen zeigt. Die Hauptstäbe werden nach links oder rechts geneigt bzw. sie bekommen ohne ersichtlichen Grund eine Coda; die Zweige können zickzack-förmig oder geschwungen dargestellt werden, die Diakritika sind häufig überdimensioniert usw. Dadurch wird das charakteristische Erscheinungsbild der Runen teilweise stark entstellt. In manchen Fällen ist eine Art ‚runische Kursive‘ zu beobachten, die zum Teil stark zur Formvarianz beiträgt (vgl. Hagland 2006). All diese Merkmale erschweren die Identifikation eines Zeichens als Rune nicht unerheblich. Dadurch entsteht eine sehr große Formenvarianz, sodass stets abgewogen werden muss, bis zu welchem Grad man eine Abweichung akzeptiert und sie als Sonderform einer Rune oder lediglich als runenähnlich (Pseudorune) erklärt.

Da in den jüngeren isländischen Handschriften Runenreihen häufig innerhalb umfangreichen Sammlungen von Schriftsystemen überliefert sind, die in vielen Fällen als *rúnir* oder *málrúnir* bezeichnet werden, stellt sich die Frage, ob ein Schriftsystem, das benannten Namen trägt, in der Tat als ‚runisch‘ gelten kann (und in vielen Fällen ist diese Frage zu verneinen). Das ‚Etikett‘, das die Schreiber ihren Schriftreihen verliehen, ist an sich offensichtlich keine Garantie für deren Inhalt. Deshalb soll von Fall zu Fall entschieden werden, wie das Zeicheninventar behandelt werden soll.

Hinzu kommt, dass die Anzahl der Zeichen, die innerhalb einer Runenreihe bzw. eines Runenalphabets keinen Runen entsprechen, sehr groß sein kann und mit dem Grad der ‚Verfremdung‘ von der ursprünglichen Runentradition zusammenhängt. Dies ist nicht zwingend nur ein Charakteristikum der jüngeren Einträge, sondern wird bereits in Handschriften aus dem Mittelalter beobachtet, und zwar dort, wo die skandinavische Tradition nicht fest etabliert war, wie z.B. in England oder auf dem Kontinent.

Runica manuscripta sind deshalb differenzierter zu betrachten: Innerhalb des Corpus gibt es durchaus Belege, die mit der Epigraphik eine enge Verbindung aufweisen, und andere, die offensichtlich einer sekundären Tradition entstammen. Dabei spielen einerseits die Entstehungszeit der Einträge, andererseits der Entstehungsort eine entscheidende Rolle. Mittelalterliche Manuskriptrunen zeigen häufig, doch nicht konsequent, eine erstaunliche Nähe zur epigraphischen Tradition. Es sei hierbei auf die Runenformen des *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* (um 850 datiert) hingewiesen, die

den epigraphischen Runen der Steine von Malt (SJy 38, DR NOR1988;5) und Gørlev (SJy 46, DR 239) vollständig entsprechen,[4] bzw. auf ältere Einträge in isländischen Handschriften:
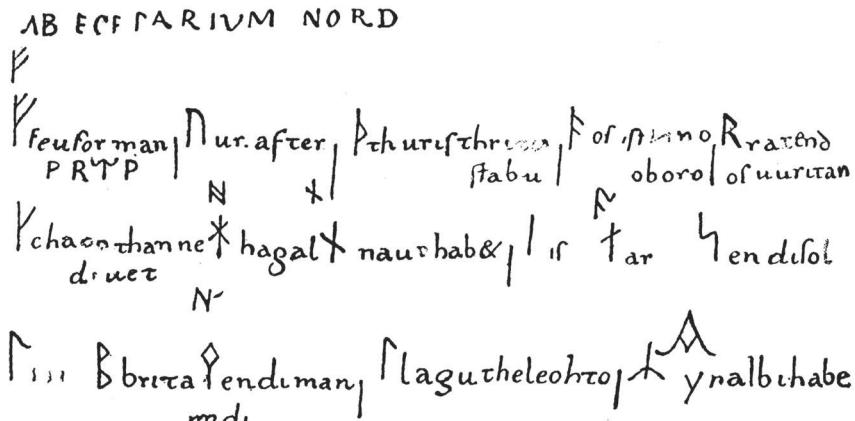
Abb. 1: Das *Abecedarium nordmannicum* (nach Grimm 1821, Tafel II).

Doch belegen beispielsweise die nordischen *Runica manuscripta* aus England einen hohen Grad an Sonderformen, die sich sogar zu einer – wenngleich eingeschränkten – Sondertradition, oder zumindest regionalen Ausprägung entwickelten. Die Rede ist von drei spätmittelalterlichen Handschriften (Cambridge St. John's College E. 6, British Library Add. 10374 und Oxford Bodleian Library Junius 1), die offensichtlich in irgendeinem Zusammenhang miteinander stehen, ohne dass eine direkte Filiation ausgemacht werden kann. Sie alle überliefern ähnlich abweichende Formen und alle drei fügen der Standardreihe eine Sequenz von ähnlichen Phantasiezeichen bei, die für Silben oder kurze Wörter, wie Konjunktionen, stehen.

In Bezug auf das gesamte Corpus der Manuskriptrunen betrifft die Varianz – wohl zu einem unterschiedlichen Grad – alle Aspekte, die konstitutiv zu den Runenzeichen gehören, nämlich die Form, die Runennamen sowie ihren phonetischen Wert, der in den *Runica manuscripta* häufig durch die Zuweisung zu einem lateinischen Buchstaben erfolgt. Teilweise ergibt sich, dass diese drei Komponenten unterschiedlich korrekt aufgeführt werden und in keiner engen Verbindung zueinander zu stehen scheinen. Das heißt, einem einwandfreien Graphtyp kann durchaus ein falscher Name oder Lautwert zugewiesen werden. Diese Unstimmigkeiten verraten unzureichende

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[4] Dazu siehe u.a. Birkmann 2004.

Kenntnisse von Seiten des Schreibers und deuten auf eine sekundäre Tradition hin. Zu solchen Diskrepanzen kam es offensichtlich vor allem dort, wo die Schreiber nicht vollständig mit der altnordischen Sprache vertraut waren und die Aufzeichnungen durch Vermittlung von außen erfolgten. Sie treten überwiegend in dem Teil der nordischen *Runica manuscripta* in Erscheinung, der außerhalb Skandinaviens entstand. Bei der Wiedergabe der Runennamen spielte sicherlich die Provenienz des Schreibers eine Rolle, der des Öfteren den Beleg mit dem der eigenen Sprache färbte (vgl. die Namen der Runen im *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* als Hybridformen aus Nieder- und Althochdeutsch sowie Altnordisch).

Die skandinavischen Handschriften aus dem Mittelalter sind in dieser Hinsicht zuverlässiger, weil die Runennamen weiterhin als gewöhnliche Substantive im Wortschatz des Isländischen beibehalten sind und anhand des akrophonischen Prinzips, das aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach von Beginn an als Kriterium für die Bildung der Runennamen galt, ihr Lautwert leicht zu ermitteln war.

Im Hinblick auf die Form sind die spätmittelalterlichen Einträge differenzierter zu betrachten und die nachreformatorischen weisen in vielen Fällen lediglich eine lose Verbindung zur echten epigraphischen Tradition auf.

Wie zu Beginn des Beitrags bereits erwähnt, macht das nachreformatorische Corpus den Großteil der nordischen *Runica manuscripta* aus: Dies betrifft zum einen die Anzahl der Handschriften, zum anderen die Anzahl der Runeneinträge pro Handschrift. Im Gegensatz dazu sind in den mittelalterlichen Manuskripten meist vereinzelte Belege geliefert.

Die neuzeitlichen *Runica manuscripta* entstammten in der Regel einer gelehrten Tradition und entfalteten sich in einzelnen Regionen unterschiedlich. Ausgehend von den Mittelalterrunen ist es möglich, regionale Entwicklungen zu beobachten; dabei entstanden neue ‚Standardreihen‘, die allerdings systemintern einige ganz unterschiedliche Varianten für ein und dieselbe Rune vorsahen.

In Schweden blieb es meist bei der Runenreihe des jüngeren Fuþarks, die allerdings funktional zum Runenkalender um die drei Zeichen ↑, ⵟ, ⵛ mit ausschließlich numerischem Wert vermehrt wurde. Eine konsistente Anzahl an handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen von Runenkalendern liegt in schwedischen Bibliotheken vor, wie Linköping, Uppsala und Stockholm.

Im isländischen Corpus handelt es sich in der Regel um Runenalphabete, die bis zu 26 Zeichen umfassen, wobei die letzten fünf (für *x y z æ ø*) eine größere Varianz aufweisen und oft ausgelassen werden. Hinzu kommt, dass in Runenalphabeten den Zeichen nach dem **þ** kein fester Platz innerhalb des

Alphabets zugewiesen wird, sodass sie nicht immer mit Sicherheit identifizierbar sind, außer der Schreiber selbst gibt ihren Lautwert an. Dies betrifft viele jüngere Einträge, doch ist es ebenfalls in älteren Belegen, wie AM 128 4to und AM 175c 4to, zu beobachten. Aus der Neuzeit kann für die isländische Überlieferung ein umfangreiches Zeicheninventar zusammengestellt werden, das folgendermaßen aussieht:

Abb. 2: Das Zeicheninventar der isländischen *Runica manuscripta*.

Zu den soeben dargebotenen Basisgraphtypen kommen dann die zahlreichen Varianten mit geschwungenen und gerundeten Zweigen, geneigten Stäben, mehr oder weniger großen Buckeln sowie unterschiedlich markanten Diakritika hinzu.

2. Transliteration

Nicht weniger problematisch als die Corpuserstellung gestaltet sich die Transliteration der einzelnen Runeneinträge. Da die Überlieferung der nordischen *Runica manuscripta* eine Zeitspanne von gut 1000 Jahren abdeckt und – abhängig von ihrer Entstehungszeit und Provenienz – unterschiedliche Referenzsysteme aufweist, erwies sich ein einheitliches Transliterationssystem für alle zeitlichen Schichten und regionalen Ausprägungen als wenig brauchbar. Entsprechend der Entwicklung in der nordischen Epigraphik sollte man deswegen – Entstehungszeit und -ort berücksichtigend – auf verschiedene Referenzsysteme Bezug nehmen. Als solche dienen das jüngere Fuþark in beiden Varianten der Lang- und Kurzzweigrunen, die westnordischen Mittelalterrunen mit der Erweiterung durch die punktierten Runen sowie Zusatzformen und schließlich für die nachreformatorischen Einträge sollte man die schwedische bzw. die isländische Sonderentwicklung separat behandeln. Auf der Basis des konventionellen Prinzips kann man nach dem Prinzip der imitierenden Wiedergabe systemimmanent transliterieren: Im Falle des *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* also das Zeichen ᚠ als

Langzweigform der **ɑ**-Rune, in spätmittelalterlichen Einträgen als **æ**-Rune, die im System der Mittelalterrunen kontrastiv zu **ɑ** als Kurzzweigrune (ᛍ) verwendet wird. Auf diese Art und Weise behandelt man die Runeneinträge einer bestimmten Epoche und Region in einer eher synchronen und geographisch abgegrenzten Perspektive, was eventuell Aufschluss auf gesonderte Traditionen geben kann.

Solange die Runen als Teil einer Fuþark- oder einer Alphabetreihe eingeordnet werden, ist man in der Lage, auch vom Standard abweichende Formen zu identifizieren und zu deuten. Wenn jedoch abgewandelte Formen in einem Text vorkommen, wird das Ratespiel komplexer. Zum Teil ist es außerordentlich schwierig, objektive Kriterien zu etablieren und zu befolgen, und man ist des Öfteren darauf angewiesen, den näheren Kontext des Eintrags miteinzubeziehen. Abweichungen in den Runenformen und entsprechende Schwierigkeiten in den Lesungen betreffen bereits mittelalterliche Einträge und sind keineswegs nur ein Phänomen der Neuzeit.

Doch sieht die Lage im Rahmen der jüngeren Einträge noch differenzierter aus. Vor allem auf Island etablieren sich mehrere konkurrierende Reihen, die gesondert zu betrachten sind. Hat man sich einen Überblick über das gesamte Corpus verschafft, stellt man fest, dass Graphe, denen in der Epigraphik ein bestimmter Lautwert fest zugewiesen wird, in den Handschriften mit anderen lateinischen Buchstaben assoziiert werden. Ein Beispiel dafür stellt den symmetrischen Graphtyp der **u**-Rune (ᚢ) dar, der in den Manuskriptrunen häufig für y steht, während die sog. Besenrune (ᛣ) oft für x oder z aufgeführt wird, vereinzelt jedoch auch für y. In Schweden wird hingegen punktiertes **u** (ᚤ) systematisch für y verwendet, während ᛣ wie in der Wikingerzeit als palataler r-*Laut* weiterhin gilt.

Analog zur unsteten Orthographie der lateinischen Schriftlichkeit, mit der die jüngeren *Runica manuscripta* grundsätzlich stark verbunden sind, zeigen sich bei Texten, die keine Runenreihen wiedergeben, Inkonsequenzen in der Wahl der Graphtypen. Undifferenziert und beliebig verwenden die Schreiber im selben Text Lang- und Kurzzweigrunen für a, n, t. Ähnlich verhält es sich mit den Runen ᛦ und ᛣ v.a. in der schwedischen Tradition, wo sie ohne Unterscheidung beliebig in allen Positionen im Wort verwendet werden.

Die Zuordnung der Pseudorunen, die am Ende der Alphabetreihe vorkommen und denen keine lateinische Entsprechung beigefügt ist, stellt ebenfalls ein Problem dar, das nicht ohne Weiteres gelöst werden kann.

3. Transkription

Spielen für eine vertretbare Umschrift Entstehungszeit und -ort eine zentrale Rolle, ist für die Transkription auf die Sprachstufe der Texte Rücksicht zu nehmen. Eine Einschränkung gilt für die zahlreichen Einträge aus jeder Epoche, die lediglich eine Fuþark- oder Alphabetreihe abbilden, wofür die Transkription unabhängig von der Datierung gleich bleibt. Dasselbe betrifft auch die Zeichen, die als Begriffsrunen verwendet werden (im skandinavischen Bereich ausschließlich **f** und **m**), weil sie seit dem Mittelalter als *fé* und *mað(u)r* unverändert sind.

Da die Mehrheit der mittelalterlichen Einträge aus dem westnordischen Gebiet stammt oder durch Isländer erfolgte, kann man sich für eine normalisierte Wiedergabe des klassischen Altisländischen des Spätmittelalters (1250–1350)[5] aussprechen. Oft ist eine genaue Datierung der Einträge nicht möglich – die Zeitspanne der paläographischen Datierungen deckt z.T. ein bis mehrere Jahrhunderte ab – sodass jede Entscheidung bis zu einem gewissen Grad willkürlich ist. Texte, die ins Mittelalter datieren, werden nach den orthographischen Regeln wiedergegeben, die für das Altisländische durch Wörterbücher und Grammatiken etabliert sind.

Für die nachreformatorischen *Runica manuscripta*, muss man hingegen – abhängig ob sie aus Schweden, Dänemark oder Island stammen – differenzierter vorgehen und jeweils eine *ad hoc* Lösung finden. Da die Orthographie in der Neuzeit nicht festgelegt war, stellt sich die Frage, nach welcher Norm transkribiert werden soll.

Was in allen Fällen zu beobachten ist, ist die Tatsache, dass die Schreiber die Runeneinträge nach der Praxis der lateinischen Schriftlichkeit behandelten: Sie markierten grundsätzlich die Geminata durch Doppelschreibung, trennten die Wörter durch *spacing* und verwendeten Trennzeichen, wenn ein Wort über die Zeilengrenze geht. Dies bedeutet, dass sich die runische Schriftlichkeit ab der Reformation innerhalb der Lateinschriftlichkeit und deren Regeln einschreibt, und viele genuine Aspekte verliert.

Mangels einer etablierten Orthographie werden Transkriptionen der jüngsten *Runica manuscripta* aus Island am besten an die des modernen Isländischen angelehnt. Dabei sollten manche Eigenarten der orthophonischen Wiedergabe, die für diese Zeit typisch sind, wie zum Beispiel die Diphthongierung von <é> zu [jɛ] (geschrieben <ie> bzw. <je>) beibehalten werden, wenn der runische Text selbst den Digraph **ie** aufweist.[6] Bis

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[5] Dazu siehe u.a. Schulte (2002: 882ff.).
[6] Die orthophonische Wiedergabe beschränkt sich nicht nur auf handschriftliche Runeneinträge bzw. auf die lateinische Schriftlichkeit: Aus dem Spätmittelalter bzw. der Frühneuzeit sind

zu einem gewissen Grad sollte die Transkription an die Orthographie des Schreibers angepasst werden.

Komplexer oder zumindest vielfältiger gestaltet sich die Transkription der kontinentalskandinavischen Einträge der Frühneuzeit. Aufgrund der großen Varianz in der Schreibweise, die in der lateinischen Schriftlichkeit zu beobachten ist, stellt sich oft die Frage, ob sich die Transkription stark an die Transliteration anlehnen sollte oder ob jeder Forscher für sich selbst bestimmte Regeln aufstellen sollte. Die Wörterbücher bieten nämlich mehrere voneinander abweichende, jedoch gleichwertige Varianten.

4. Funktion

Abschließend sollen ein paar Gedanken zur Funktion der *Runica manuscripta* fallen, die zu verschiedenen Zeiten wohl unterschiedlich gewesen ist. Ihre Verwendung differenziert sich erheblich je nach Epoche: Im Mittelalter stehen einzelne Runen hauptsächlich als Begriffsrunen für häufig auftretende Wörter wie *fé* und *maðr*. Außerdem wird die Runenschrift dazu verwendet, Schreibersignaturen oder kurze Marginalia, deren Zweck sich nicht eindeutig erschließt, zu verfassen. Ob dabei mehr ein Verbergen von Informationen oder eher eine Zurschaustellung von Fertigkeiten beabsichtigt war, kann nicht immer mit Sicherheit geklärt werden. Bereits zu einem frühen Zeitpunkt lässt sich auch ein (antiquarisch-)gelehrtes Interesse an der Runenschrift beobachten, wovon die zahlreichen Runenreihen und -alphabete aus England und vom Kontinent zeugen.

In der Frühneuzeit spielt das antiquarische Interesse weiter eine zentrale Rolle, wobei die Runen meist in Sammlungen von Schriftsystemen überliefert werden, die in den meisten Fällen keine praktische Anwendung finden. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt entwickelt sich zudem die ‚wissenschaftliche‘ Auseinandersetzung mit diesem Schriftsystem und es vermehren sich die Abhandlungen, die gerne auch handschriftlich rezipiert wurden, obwohl sie in Skandinavien als gedruckte Bücher Verbreitung fanden (vgl. die zahlreichen Einträge aus Johannes Bureus' *Runa-ABC-boken* sowie von *Adalruna Rediviva* in schwedischen Manuskripten, um nur ein Beispiel zu nennen). Die Bemühungen von Björn Jónsson á Skarðsá, auch von isländischer Seite Überlegungen über die Runenschrift anzustellen, genossen ebenfalls große Bekanntheit: Sein Werk *Samtak um Rúnir* (1642) wurde zwar nie gedruckt,

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ebenfalls Runeninschriften auf Grabsteinen belegt, die entsprechend der Aussprache häufig den Diphthong **ie** [iɛ] aufweisen. Als Beispiel seien an dieser Stelle Útskálar 1, Teigur 1 und Reykholt genannt; dazu siehe Bauer 2016.

war aber offensichtlich im Umlauf in Island, sodass zahlreiche Abschriften entstanden und mit der Zeit sogar verkürzte Kompendien.

Im Rahmen der Überlieferung von Laienwissen – und hier insbesondere bei Schriften über Heilkunde und Zauber – scheinen Runen eine weitere Funktion zu übernehmen: Sie wurden nämlich zur Verschlüsselung von Informationen angesetzt. Am meisten handelt es sich um *lækningar*, d.h. medizinische Hinweise, die sich meist botanischen Wissens bedienten, um Unheil abzuwehren bzw. Krankheiten zu heilen. Dass ausgerechnet Begriffe wie *getnaður* ‚Empfängnis‘, *mey* ‚Jungfrau‘ sowie weitere heikle Wörter in solchen Texten verschleiert werden, erstaunt deswegen nicht. Des Öfteren wurden die Ingredienzen verschlüsselt, die für die Heilung der Patienten benötigt waren. Ebenfalls in *grimoires* kamen Runen zum Einsatz, da sich die beiden Bereiche von Heilkunde und Magie oft überlappten.[7]

Ansonsten diente die Verwendung von Runen als Alternativschrift zu den lateinischen Buchstaben dazu, den Texten den Schein des Altertümlichen und Ehrwürdigen zu verleihen, wobei eine gewisse ludische Komponente in vielen Fällen ebenfalls mitschwang. Dabei offenbart sich das Potential des Spielens mit Sprache und Schrift, das den kreativen Umgang mit der Schriftlichkeit förderte: Texte, die auf den ersten Blick als ‚runisch‘ gelten könnten, sind bei näherem Hinschauen lediglich Spielereien ohne sprachliche Deutung. Obwohl sich benannte Haltung gegenüber der Runenschrift v.a. im 18. und 19. Jh. entwickelte und erst zu dieser Zeit zu einer verbreiteten Praxis wurde, finden sich vereinzelt auch Beispiele aus früherer Zeit, wie ÍB 799 8vo (Ende 17. Jh.).

Was die Runenzeichen betrifft, die in diesem spezifischen Kontext aufgeführt werden, handelt es sich um das typische nachreformatorische Zeicheninventar, das für die Aufzeichnung von Wörtern und Texten meist fest etabliert war. Anders als in den Schriftsammlungen, wo der Umgang mit den Formen überaus frei ist, zeigt sich hier eine gewisse Festlegung von Graphtypen, die die korrekte Identifizierung der Einträge ermöglicht.

Abgesehen von vereinzelten Hinweisen geben die Schreiber grundsätzlich nicht preis, warum und wofür sie das ‚Spiel‘ mit den Schriften aufnahmen, und man ist darauf angewiesen, den Überlieferungskontext – sofern vorhanden – mit einzubeziehen und eigene Gedanken über ihre mögliche Funktion anzustellen.

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[7] Dazu siehe Bauer 2017.

5. Schlussanmerkungen

Während man für die Epigraphik – unabhängig von der konkreten Realisierung der einzelnen Graphe[8] – von einem im Großen und Ganzen etablierten System ausgehen kann, müssen für die nordischen *Runica manuscripta* als erstes die gleichwertigen Runenreihen festgelegt werden , die als Referenzsysteme gelten sollen. Innerhalb des Corpus finden sich Belege, die der epigraphischen Tradition vollständig entsprechen, doch stellt der Großteil eine sekundäre, unabhängige Tradition dar. Die Diskrepanz zwischen den epigraphischen und den Manuskriptrunen hängt vorwiegend mit der Tatsache zusammen, dass die Schreiber runische Schriftlichkeit eher als Kuriosum und nicht als ein vollwertiges Kommunikationsmittel erachteten.

Nichtsdestotrotz sollte man dem Phänomen der Manuskriptrunen nicht gänzlich seinen Wert absprechen, denn es zeugt von einem langanhaltenden Interesse an runischer Schriftlichkeit und einem kreativen Umgang mit Runen.

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[8] Neueste Studien zur Graphematik zielen darauf ab, eine methodologisch fundierte Analyse der Graphe und ihr Verhältnis zu den Phonemen zu etablieren. Zahlreiche Studien sind in den letzten Jahren in diesem Bereich entstanden, u.a. Palumbo 2012, 2018 sowie Zimmermann, Kazzazi & Bahr 2018, Zimmermann & Kazzazi 2021, Zimmermann & Zimmermann im Druck.

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ANDREAS FISCHNALLER

Sources of the First Printed Scandinavian Runes

Abstract
The aim of this paper is to shed some light on the sources that were used for the first printed Scandinavian runes. These runes appear in works published in Italy between 1539 and 1555 either by or in connection with Johannes and Olaus Magnus. The books and the information about runes and runic inscriptions they contain are presented first. A closer look is then taken at the shapes of the runes used and at the roman letters they represent according to the books. It will be shown that these runes and their sound values can in part be traced back to a mediaeval runic tradition, while others were created to provide at least one rune for every roman letter. The forms of the newly "invented" runes can be explained to some extent by the influence of the shape of the roman letters they represent, whereas others were taken from a source that contained runes but did not provide any information about their sound values, namely the runic calendars.

Keywords: Olaus Magnus, Theseus Ambrosius, Bent Bille, Renaissance, printed runes, *q*-rune, *x*-rune, *belgþór*-rune

Introduction

Work with post-reformation runic inscriptions has long been a neglected area of runology.[1] A glance through the most common introductions to the study of runes reveals our lack of certainty as regards when runes stopped being used and how knowledge of runes was preserved (cf. Moltke 1985: 24, Düwel 2008: 3 or Barnes 2012: 2). We also do not know where the information about runes that is presented in 16th-century books comes from. This article will try to shed some light on these matters, beginning with the first printed books that contain information on Scandinavian runes. Essentially, these are works published by or in connection with Johannes and Olaus Magnus.

To do this, two approaches are used. The first looks at the information about runes and runic inscriptions that is presented in the books. The second compares the shapes of the runes to those known from runic epigraphy and runic manuscripts, and in a second step, compares the roman characters those runes represent in the three sources.

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[1] The most recent study covering a whole country was presented by Jonas Nordby 2001; the latest summary of post-reformation runic study can be found in Barnes 2012, where a whole chapter is dedicated to this area (Barnes 2012: 129ff.).

As their biography has some bearing on the content of their works, a very short survey of the life of the Magnus brothers will be provided here.[2] Johannes Magnus was born in Linköping in 1488, two years before his brother Olaus. Both embarked on an ecclesiastical career, and both studied in continental Europe in the early 16th century. After their studies, they both worked for King Gustav I on diplomatic and political missions. But in the 1520s, the relationship between the king and Johannes Magnus in particular became worse, finally leading the brothers to emigrate to Gdańsk. This became a base for further travels through Europe, with Olaus working as a secretary for his brother. In 1537, the brothers were called to the Council of Mantua, and in 1538, they moved to Venice where, one year later, Olaus' famous *Carta Marina* was printed. They left Venice in 1540 and moved to Rome, where Johannes died in 1544. Olaus became his brother's successor as Archbishop of Uppsala, which led him to the Council of Trent. Some years later, Olaus became the director of "Birgittahuset" in Rome, where he installed a printing press, enabling him to publish his brother's history of the northern kings in 1554 and his own history of the northern people in 1555. Olaus died in Rome in 1557.

Printed sources

To investigate how much knowledge the brothers had of runes, four printed sources will be used.[3]

The first source we have for their runic knowledge is not found in one of their own books but in Theseus Ambrosius' *Introductio in chaldaicam linguam, Syriacam atque Armenicam, et decem alias linguas* which was printed in Padua in 1539. This work, as the title states, is an introduction to a dozen languages, including a collection of foreign alphabets. There is, for example, an Anglo-Saxon runic alphabet on fol. 204v, which is described as a "Saracen" alphabet. More important for this article is the alphabet printed on fol. 206v, which is called "Alphabetum Gotthicum" (sic). The surrounding text, beginning on fol. 206r, tells the story of how Ambrosius came into possession of the alphabet, the most important part being:

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[2] The survey is based on the articles on Johannes Magnus (Lindroth 1973–75) and Olaus Magnus (Broberg 1992–94) which can be found in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*.
[3] The alphabet printed in Ambrosius' *Introductio* can be found in Schück (1932: 55). A version of both the *Carta Marina* and the German description of the map, *Ain kurze Auslegung,* can be found in the digital collection of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München. Pictures from the works of Johannes and Olaus can be found in the facsimile of Olaus' *Historia* (Granlund 1972) and in the modern translations into Swedish (Granlund 1976) and English (Foote 1996–1998).

[fol. 206r] Bona sors, ad Vincentinum Generale Concilium proximis his mensibus profecturus, Reuerendissimus Ioannes Vpsalensis Archiepiscopus, genere Gotthus, Bononiam venit. Casu à Iulio Canobino visitatur, interloquendum post multa hinc inde inuicem dicta (vt fieri solet) etiam de literis Gotthicis sermo habetur. Rogatus interim Archiepiscopi scriba, Gotthicum alphabetum, cum latinis sibi respondentibus literis, suppresso tamen elementorum nomine scripsit. [… fol. 206v] Alphabetum vero illud tale erat.

'A lucky coincidence! The highly dignified Archbishop Johannes of Uppsala, a born Goth, came (here) during the last months on his way to the Vincentinian General Council. By chance, he was visited by Julius Canobinus; after some mutual 'this and that' (as is common), they started talking about the Gothic letters. In the meantime, being asked to do so, the Archbishop's scribe wrote down the Gothic alphabet with the respective Latin equivalents, but he did not write down the names of the single letters. […] This is what the alphabet looked like:'

The text gives several hints as to where the alphabet came from. First of all, Johannes Magnus is described as "Gotthus", a 'Goth'. Second, it is explicitly stated that the "Archiepiscopi scriba", the 'Archbishop's scribe', wrote down the letters. As we have seen earlier, the Archbishop's scribe was Johannes' brother Olaus. So the first printed runes came from Olaus and not from his brother. The third, very interesting piece of information in the text is that Olaus wrote down the letters, but not their names. Of course one would like to think that the names referred to are the rune names known from the Scandinavian runic poems, but as they were not written down, this is far from certain.

To summarize, there are two things we learn from this short text: Knowledge of runes was most likely Olaus' domain; of course, we do not know whether or to what extent Johannes knew the runes too. Furthermore: the runes had names.

The second source is Olaus Magnus' famous *Carta Marina*, printed in 1539. His short description of the map, which was published in accompaniment with it in German and Italian, should also be included in any interpretation thereof. Part C of the *Carta Marina* contains a depiction of a person holding two items with a runic inscription. The description of this part is, to quote the German *Ain kurze Auslegung* (fol. 3v):

Hie ist ainer uon den alten rysen Starcatherus gena*nn*t hat zuay staine tafeln zu ainer gedechtnuss das in den landen seindt uil streitperlicher menner geuesen un*d* manhait mit gettischen buchstaben beschribe*n* uor uil hundert iaren angezaigt.

As *Ain kurze Auslegung* explains, the person is the giant Starcatherus holding two stone tablets with an inscription in Gothic letters, which were written many centuries ago and record the fact that there were many militant men there. The map itself also has a reading of the inscription next to Starcatherus, "translating" the inscription as STARCATHERVS PVGIL SVETICVS, 'Starcatherus, (a) Swedish warrior'. What can be learned from this short text is that when Olaus writes 'Gothic letters', he means runes and that runes were written a long time ago on stone to commemorate important men.

In his description there is another occurrence of a passage that may refer to runes, although we cannot be sure of this. In part "A a" of *Ain kurze Auslegung* (fol. 2r), Olaus describes Iceland and the surroundings of Helgafell, writing: "Darumbe steen uil grosser staine taflen bschrib*en* mit selzame buchstabe*n* uas die alte*n* kemfer tho*n*habe*n*", 'Around it, there are many large stone tablets, inscribed with strange letters about what the old heroes did'. This part is problematic as he calls the letters 'strange' rather than 'Gothic', although this could be due to the strange rune shapes that can be found in Iceland. Still, one cannot be sure that Olaus is referring to runes here.

The third source is Johannes Magnus' *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sveonumque regibus*, posthumously published by his brother in 1554. There are four instances where runes occur in this book. The first is the text on page 24, directly before the runic alphabet on page 25, which states that the *Gothi* had their letters long before the Romans and the Greeks had theirs. The text is immediately followed by the well-known depiction of the "Alphabetum Gothicum". The third instance is another picture of Starcatherus on page 171, which is similar to Starcatherus on the *Carta Marina* with the slightly deviating inscription **starkaterus pugil sucticus**. The fourth occurrence of runes is on page 220, where it states that when Filimerus founded his kingdom, he was looking for magic women called "Adelrunas". This continues: "The Gothic language calls this art 'Runa', or sometimes magic: and that is why until today the numerous stones in Gothia that are inscribed with Gothic letters are called *Runasten*" (italics in original).

To summarize, Johannes' *Historia* does not contain a great deal of information on runes beyond the fact that they are old. On the other hand, Johannes writes about a connection between runes and magic, an idea that is found neither in Ambrosius' *Introductio*, nor in Olaus' *Historia*.[4] It is said

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[4] There is, however, a hint in a story (re-)told by Olaus which shows a magical use of runes, cf. below.

that women who are able to do magic are called "Adelrunas" and that "Runa" means some kind of magic. This magic has something to do with letters as the stones that contain Gothic letters are called "Runasten".

The fourth source for this article is Olaus Magnus' *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, the History of the Northern People. As this work contains an extensive amount of information on runes which cannot be presented in detail, some examples will have to suffice.

There are several pictures containing inscriptions in runes and rune-like letters. The first is a stone monument on page 48 with the inscription **antikua s*rua**, which most likely means *antiqua serva*, 'save the ancient'.[5] The next picture is on the following page and depicts an obelisk. The inscription reads **gothi**, although the runes are slightly different from the first ones. On page 52, there is a picture of two clocks with a semicircle between them. The semicircle is inscribed with **abcdefgh**, the first eight letters of the roman alphabet written in runes. On page 54 we find a picture with four persons holding three staves that feature runes and rune-like symbols which unfortunately cannot be deciphered. Similar staves are held by two men in a picture on page 56, but the runes and rune-like symbols are impossible to read. On page 57, we find the runic alphabet that had already been printed in Johannes Magnus' *Historia*, and on page 90 we have a picture containing three rune-stones, again with illegible inscriptions. There seems to be another depiction of a rune-stone on page 94, yet again with an inscription that cannot be read. On page 124 is a picture of a wizard from Visingö who is fettered with two rune staves. Gebhardt (1900: 565), who looked closely at the runes in Olaus' *Historia*, suggests that the upper one could in fact say "runsta[f]". On page 161, we again meet Starcatherus in an image identical to the one printed a year earlier. The beginning of the eighth book shows a picture of the Mora stone with a newly elected king standing on it. The stone bears the inscription **mora sten**. The last picture can be found on page 457 and shows some containers, two of them inscribed with runes. The first one can be read as ***anna**, for which Gebhardt (1900: 566) suggests **tanna**, for Swedish *tunna*, 'barrel'.[6] The second container is inscribed with **gryta**, 'pot, cauldron'.

In addition to the pictures, there are also ten chapters that deal with runes and runic inscriptions. In Chapter 29 of the first book, it is said that in the

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[5] The transliterations are based on the runic-to-roman correspondence presented in the runic alphabet on page 57 of Olaus' *Historia*. Runes that are used in the pictures but that cannot be found in the alphabet are represented by an asterisk.

[6] During my presentation, Henrik Williams suggested **canna**, 'can', which seems to be the likeliest reading.

olden days, monuments were erected for fighters, including inscriptions intended to perpetuate the memory of these men's names and exploits. Olaus explains that there are stones both with and without inscriptions and discusses the meaning of the stones' arrangement. He even describes the order of the letters on the monument: according to Olaus, the inscriptions usually begin in the lower right corner of the stone, continue to the top, and end at the left side of the base. We also read that the letters are as thick and long as a man's middle finger. The chapter even covers the problem of erosion and damage caused by rain or mud that is often encountered when reading rune-stones. At the end of the chapter, Olaus gives examples of the content of the inscriptions: "I, Uffi, fighting for my country, slew thirty-two champions and at last was slain by Rolf, the champion, and lie here at rest" (Foote 1996: 66). Of course the inscriptions are invented, but the names in the inscriptions can be found on rune-stones. Except, of course, for Uffi.

In the next chapter, Olaus continues describing the monuments. He states that there is a very great number of standing stones, and in the case of Öster-götland, they are found around fortresses belonging to rulers: "and their lofty markings in Gothic letters give instruction, as if at the command of some ruler then alive, of what is to be pursued and what shunned by their successors, that is, they are to embrace virtue and abominate vices, etc." (Foote 1996: 67). At the end of the chapter, Olaus tells us that the monuments of "virtuous princes were marked with the sign of the Cross" (Foote 1996: 68), centuries before the Catholic faith was brought to Scandinavia.

Chapter 31 of the first book deals briefly with commemorative inscriptions that were carved for famous people who had been killed by rivers, storms, lightning, and whirlwinds.

One of the most important sections is Chapter 34 of the first book, where Olaus describes the use of staves inscribed with Gothic letters to foretell the future. The description of this tool continues: "The staff is adapted to the height of a man, with the number of weeks in a year on each side, and for each week seven Gothic letters, by which the golden numbers and, after the acceptance of Christianity, the dominical letters are marked off in the vernacular by characters" (Foote 1996: 73). Here Olaus is undoubtedly describing runic calendars. Knowledge of the calendars was, according to him, very common among peasants even before Christianity reached the North and there was allegedly a great interest in *computus* which was of course also shared by the priests. Olaus also states in this chapter that there are several books written in Gothic letters in Uppsala and Skara.

Chapter 36 of the first book also contains some important information on

runes. Runes are, as was already mentioned in Johannes Magnus' *Historia*, a very old system of writing, older than the roman letters. Rune-stones serve as evidence for this claim. Like letters written on paper, messages were sent incised in wood or the bark of trees.

In Book two, Chapter 32, Olaus mentions that the deeds of ancient kings are inscribed in stone. This use of runes is repeated in Book five, Chapter one. Runes are also mentioned in the twentieth chapter of Book three, where Olaus tells the story of a wizard who was bound by his teacher with a small staff engraved with Gothic or Russian letters.

Another interesting fact is mentioned in Book seven, Chapter 24. It is said that in the area of Lake Mälaren, in the city of Strängnäs to be precise, stones recounting the feats of champions were built into the walls of churches. The deeds were of course written in runes, and they are "longo atque obliquo ordine", which is usually translated as "in a long loop" (Foote 1998: 342). More information on runic calendars is provided in the twentieth chapter of Book 16. Olaus reiterates what runic calendars were used for and he even tells us the Swedish name for one: *Rimstaf*.

Rune forms

The next section is devoted to taking a closer look at the runes, their forms and their roman equivalents, starting with the last line of runes in the Ambrosius alphabet, the diphthongs. The alphabet features six diphthongs, which seems strange at first, since the Swedish language had lost all diphthongs by the Viking Age (cf. for example Widmark 2001: 80). But there is another language with six diphthongs that perfectly match those shown here: Latin. What can be observed here is the need to provide a runic equivalent for every letter that occurs in the roman alphabet, a tendency which is well known from mediaeval runic inscriptions. Except for the runes for <ei> and <oi>, which can be found in epigraphic sources, the runes seem to have been made up when Olaus was asked to write them down.

The basis for the runes seems to have been a late-mediaeval fuþork. The runes for Latin <c, f, g, h, i, k, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, u> can be found in runic epigraphy. There are some elements of the shapes of those runes which might hint at roman influence, for example the serifs on some of the runes mentioned. Furthermore, it is possible to exclude some runes from the search for runic sources if it is acknowledged that staves can be angular rather than vertical. There are then six runes left that could help in identifying a source:

the **b**-rune, the **q**-rune, the **x**-rune, the **y**-rune, the **z**-rune and the strangest rune here, the "ampersand"-rune or **et**-rune. Again, I will concentrate on only two examples, the **q**-rune and the **x**-rune.

The **q**-rune is a mirrored **þ**. According to Samnordisk runtextdatabas 'Pan-Scandinavian Runic Text Database', there are 13 inscriptions containing a symbol for <q>. Of those 13 inscriptions, eight use both roman and runic characters. In those inscriptions, the <q> occurs only in the parts written in roman letters. Of the five remaining inscriptions, two do not seem to have linguistic meaning (N 641 and N B421). The remaining three inscriptions are the lead amulet from Blæsinge, Denmark (DR Aarb1987;205 / Sj 50), the lost inscription †N 547 and the tree-amulet from Kilaarsarfik in Greenland (GR 43).

†N 547 is also called "(King) Olaf's wafer iron". In the drawing that survives of this object, we can see a runic alphabet running from right to left. Between the rune for <p>, which appears in its mediaeval shape Ⱪ, and the **r**-rune, we find a rune that looks like a normal **k**-rune. Compared to the other two **k**-runes in the alphabet which represent **g** and **k**, the twig seems to be slightly more rounded. Still, it does not match our rune for <q>.

The runic sequence on the tree-amulet from Kilaarsarfik, which contains the rune for <q>, renders it as a mirrored **k**-rune, but it is not translated in Samnordisk runtextdatabas and, in the absence of a good interpretation for this part of the inscription, we cannot be certain that there really is a rune for <q> here.

The lead-amulet from Blæsinge contains a Latin inscription written in runes. The **q**-rune appears three times, always in the word *neque*. To judge from the drawing which is available in the Danish Runic Database, the rune for <q> has the shape Ᵽ.

The Blæsinge inscription also contains a sign for <x>, but it is written with a roman X. †N 547 also has a rune for <x>, if we accept that the rune between the **u**-rune and the **y**-rune should represent the Latin <x>. Its shape is that of a normal **h**-rune of the younger fuþark, with the two branches crossing the stave in the middle. The other **h**-rune in this inscription has its branches above the middle of the stave. The rune following the **y**-rune has the shape ᛀ with a short horizontal line in the middle of each vertical element, and is supposedly meant to be a rune for <z>, which we find on two Danish inscriptions, on the lead-amulets from Odense (DR 204 / Fyn 23) and Kävlinge (NOR 1999;21 / Sk 20). In those inscriptions, this rune is used to represent Latin <x>, as in the 14th-century manuscript Clm 276 folio, held at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München (fol. 96v). There are four more

inscriptions from Norway (N A77, N A115, N B582, N B596) where a rune is used for <x>, but none of them uses the rune found in the Magnus alphabets; they all use a Viking-Age **h**-rune.[7]

The first step was to start with the sound values and to compare the epigraphic runes used for a particular sound value to the ones representing the respective sound in Ambrosius' alphabet. Of course, it is also necessary to reverse this process, meaning that one has to look for runes that are similarly shaped and see what sound they represent.

For this purpose, the so-called *belgþór*-rune ϕ, which appears mainly in Icelandic inscriptions, will be used. In those inscriptions, it is used to represent an <e> (cf. Bæksted 1942: 50f.). It also occurs in an inscription in Maeshowe, Orkney, and its sound value is discussed at length by Michael Barnes in his edition of the Maeshowe inscriptions (Barnes 1994), as well as in a separate paper (Barnes 1989). This rune can also be found in the Stavanger I inscription (N 250) where it represents a long e [e:]. According to Óláfr hvítaskáld's *Third Grammatical Treatise*, moreover, the rune represents [y] (cf. Barnes 1994: 49f.). There are also some inscriptions containing this rune where it appears to have no sound value at all, for example the Bårse font (DR 224 / Sj 78).

It has hopefully become clear that there seem to be no true parallels for certain runes in mediaeval runic epigraphy or manuscripts, since some runes shaped like the ones found in Ambrosius and Magnus never have the sound value given in these books. The next step is to widen the search to include inscriptions and manuscripts contemporary to the Magnus alphabets. From runic epigraphy, a famous example from this era comes to mind: actually two inscriptions in the cathedral of Lund (DR 312 / SkL 1 and DR 313 / SkL 2). Both in fact contain runes that are similar to the second <y> in the *Historia*-alphabets and the <y> in the Ambrosius alphabet, but in these inscriptions they are clearly **h**-runes.

Luckily, there is one manuscript from this period which also contains a rune representing roman <x>: notes made by Bent Andersen Bille between 1543 and 1545. For this purpose, Bille used a rune shaped like an ϕ with the stave rotated circa 45° clockwise. It is used in fol. 12v in the sequence **þæn sæϕsþænæ dak**, *ten sextene dag*, 'the sixteenth day'. The similarity to the rune printed in Ambrosius is remarkable. But although there are other similarities in the shape of the runes, it seems impossible to connect the sources; moreover, there is at least one considerable difference: the *tvímaðr*-rune ᛉ, which is used by both Ambrosius/Magnus and Bille, represents a <y> in

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[7] N B582 also contains a runic alphabet that uses a **k**-rune for <q>.

the first case, whereas Bent Bille uses this rune as a variant of <m> (cf. Hagland 2006: 156).

Conclusion

As was shown earlier, Olaus Magnus was familiar not only with runic epigraphy, but also with runic calendars. He knew exactly what these looked like and he gives a detailed description, far more detailed than his description of the rune-stones. As regards his alphabets, he may have felt the need to compare the runes to the roman alphabet, going so far as to add runes for diphthongs in the case of the Ambrosius alphabet. In the *Historia*-alphabets, Olaus likewise uses the roman alphabet and the Latin language as a basis, omitting typical Scandinavian letters such as æ and ø/œ. For those roman letters that had no runic equivalent, he used other runes which he took from one of the sources he knew: the runic calendars. The symbols he uses for $<x_1>$ (ϕ), $<x_2>$ (↑) and $<y_2>$ (⟰) are all found on runic calendars as there was a need to reach the Golden Number 19 in Christian calendars.[8] Those symbols were added at the end of the 16 runes of the younger fuþark, making it possible to use runes instead of roman letters (cf. Hallonquist 1994: 185). Still, the *Historia*-alphabet shows that he was familiar with late-mediaeval runic writing, as he uses an inverted ↑ for <c> and ⟨ for <p>. Given his obvious familiarity with runes, however, his use of the *ýr*-rune for <z> is quite baffling.

Olaus Magnus obviously knew a great deal about runes and their use and it should now have become clear that he used different sources for his book. On the other hand, having travelled in Europe and lived in Italy, he was not merely influenced by the European renaissance, but was fully part of it. By combining different approaches, we can reach conclusions and build hypotheses with some degree of certainty. Still, there remain some unanswered questions, so that a quote by Gebhardt (1900: 566) that is more than one hundred years old still maintains its validity:

> Überhaupt möchte ich an dieser stelle darauf hinweisen, dass sowol Olaus Magnus' grosse karte des nordens, Venedig 1539 als auch seine Historia, Rom 1555 eine unversiechliche fundgrube für die kulturgeschichte des nordens darstellen, die noch lange nicht genügend ausgeschöpft ist.

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[8] In the case of the **q**-rune, it seems to have been an invention of Olaus Magnus based on the lowercase roman letter q. He does not use this rune in the one instance where it could and should be used, in the picture on page 48. Like the mediaeval runecarvers, he uses a **k**-rune to denote roman <q> in the word **antikua**.

Postscript

At the time this paper was written, I was unfortunately not aware of an article by Carla Cucina that had already dealt with this subject:
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N A + number = Archive number in Runearkivet, Oslo.

N B + number = Archive number in Runearkivet, Oslo; runic inscriptions found in Bryggen, Bergen. Available at: http://www.nb.no/baser/runer/ (2015-01-04).

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EDITH MAROLD

Normalisierung und Transkription, ihre Funktionen und Anwendungsmöglichkeiten – Fragen eines Editors

Abstract
This article deals with questions which arise from the transcription of runic inscriptions. Transcription can be defined as the transfer of a transliterated inscription to a suitable linguistic form which is based on the (inevitably limited) understanding acquired from the study of other inscriptions, and from the results of historical linguistics. A transcription may represent the inscription in its individual linguistic form or in a form which is considered representative of a certain period or region (normalization). The advantage of normalization is that it allows for the comparison of lexicographic entities, although if the periods or regions are wide-ranging, the normalized text may be far-removed from the individual inscription. This investigation, using the example of East Norse monophthongization in Danish inscriptions (335 possible instances), shows that this sound change took place over a long period of time; the material is therefore divided in regard to timespan and region. Investigation of the distribution of monophthongized and unmonophthongized forms leads to further problems: Do writings with diphthongs or monophthongs actually represent these sounds or are they due to orthographic tradition or differing perceptions of the spoken language in its social or regional varieties? There are two possibilities for transcription: (a) monophthongs or diphthongs are represented in the same way as they appear in the writing (the disadvantage here is the uncertainty over whether the carver is accurate in regards to the spoken language); (b) normalization is employed relating to shorter time-periods and single regions: this is possibly the best choice.

Keywords: transcription, normalization, East Norse monophthongisation, Danish inscriptions, orthographic tradition, perception of spoken language

Die meisten Inschrifteneditionen und Datenbanken lassen es nicht bewenden bei der Umsetzung von Runen in entsprechende lateinische Zeichen und Hilfszeichen, Transliteration genannt, sondern fügen dieser auch noch eine sprachliche Deutung hinzu, die Interpretation oder auch Transkription genannt werden kann. Man könnte die Transliteration die erste Stufe von „reading runes" nennen. Sie ist gleichsam der Ausgangspunkt der Betrachtung der Inschrift als sprachliches Objekt. Schrift hat die Aufgabe, eine sprachliche Äußerung durch visuelle Zeichen zu vermitteln. Diese visuellen Zeichen vertreten in den europäischen Schriftsystemen Laute. Und nicht wenige Leser entwickeln beim Lesen von Schriftzeichen auch eine lautliche Vorstellung. Auf Grund dieser Funktion des Geschriebenen, eine sprach-

liche Äußerung zu repräsentieren, sehen sich die meisten Herausgeber von Inschriften veranlasst zu versuchen, ausgehend von der Transliteration der Runen, diese sprachliche Äußerung in ihrer Lautform zu rekonstruieren. Dabei stellen sich einem Editor von Runeninschriften nicht geringe Probleme: Während der Leser einer mehr oder weniger zeitgleichen Inschrift den Vorteil hat, die Kompetenz der Sprache seines Denkmals zu besitzen, trifft das auf den heutigen Forscher nicht zu, der mit dem Abstand von hunderten von Jahren auf eine Inschrift blickt. Wir besitzen die den Denkmälern zugrundeliegende Sprachkompetenz nur in einem mehr oder weniger geringen Maß. Häufig genug ist diese Kompetenz auch nur durch die Beschäftigung mit eben diesen Denkmälern entstanden. Und das ist problematisch, vor allem dann, wenn es neben den Inschriften keine andere Form der Schriftlichkeit gibt, z. B. Handschriftentexte, die als Korrektiv zur Verfügung stehen können. Deshalb spielt die Sprachgeschichte bei dem Versuch, die transliterierten Inschriften sprachlich zu interpretieren, eine bedeutende Rolle. Die historisch-vergleichende Methode der Sprachwissenschaft macht es möglich, sprachliche Entwicklungen und frühere Stadien der Sprache zu rekonstruieren. Ihre Ergebnisse können eine Hilfe bei der sprachlichen Deutung von Inschriften sein.

Ein Beispiel kann das illustrieren: Die germanische Sprache hatte nach Überzeugung der Sprachwissenschaftler[1] zwei Vokalsysteme: Die Langvokale und die Kurzvokale, jedoch die Runenschrift der älteren Epoche macht keinen Unterschied zwischen ihnen. Wir transliterieren also z. B. **woduridɑz**, aber auf Grund der Sprachgeschichte wissen wir, dass **o** und **i** hier Langvokale sein müssen; wir transkribieren daher *wōđurīđaz*. Bei diesem Wort sehen wir einen weiteren Fall, bei dem die Transkription auf Erkenntnissen der Sprachwissenschaft fußt: Die Runenschrift macht keinen Unterschied zwischen den Allophonen *d* und *đ*, in *wōđurīđaz* entscheidet man sich auf der Basis von sprachgeschichtlichen Erwägungen für den stimmhaften Spiranten *đ*, das intervokalische Allophon, während man z. B. den Anlaut von **dohtriz** als *d* (*dohtriz*), den stimmhaften Plosiv, wiedergibt, obwohl in beiden Fällen dasselbe Runenzeichen ᛗ verwendet wird.

Die ältere Periode der Runeninschriften ist dadurch gekennzeichnet, dass die Schrift verhältnismäßig nahe an der Sprache ihrer Zeit war. Wenn wir dagegen die Inschriften im Jüngeren Futhark betrachten, sind wir mit den Folgen der Reduktion des Futharks konfrontiert: Ein Zeichen kann mehrere Phoneme repräsentieren wie z. B. ᛁ ein *i*, *e*, *ē*, auch ein *æ*. Das macht es erheblich schwieriger, die Lautform der Denkmäler zu erkennen und zu prä-

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[1] Siehe z. B. van Coetsem 1970.

sentieren. Dazu kommt, dass in der Zeit dieser Inschriften die Sprache sich schneller änderte als in den Zeiten davor und und regionale Unterschiede deutlicher hervortreten. Aber auch hier kann man mit Hilfe der historischen Sprachwissenschaft versuchen, die Inschrift sprachlich zu deuten. Es wird sich im Verlauf der Untersuchung zeigen, dass hier noch weitere Probleme auftauchen.

Aus der Tatsache, dass die Inschriften zeitliche und regionale Sprach-varianten repräsentieren, steht der Editor vor der Entscheidung zwischen zwei Möglichkeiten: 1. Man kann versuchen, die individuelle Sprachform einer Inschrift zu erstellen, wobei man das Wissen über die Sprache und ihre Entwicklung in dem jeweiligen Zeitraum benützen kann. 2. Man kann die Inschrift aber auch als einer bestimmten Sprachepoche zugehörig be-trachten und sie entsprechend unserer Vorstellung über die zu dieser Zeit geltenden Regeln darstellen. Dabei wird dann allerdings die individuelle Sprachform der Inschrift nicht berücksichtigt. Dieses Verfahren ist aus den Philologien bestens bekannt und wird *Normalisierung* genannt. Man geht dabei von einer „Normalsprache" aus, die von der Forschung festgelegt wur-de. So wurden und werden isländische literarische Texte, vor allem die des Hochmittelalters, in Editionen „normalisiert", unabhängig davon, wie sie in den Handschriften erscheinen, die oft etliche Jahrhunderte später als das Original entstanden sind. Die Präsentation dieser Texte in einer „Normal-orthographie" wird auch in der Germanistik, Anglistik und Romanistik angewandt. Dieses Verfahren hat allerdings auch Kritiker auf den Plan ge-rufen, weshalb einige Editoren sich entschlossen, nur einen sog. diplomati-schen Text zu bieten, d. h. einen buchstabengetreuen, und damit eigentlich einen nur transliterierten Text. Auch unter Runologen ist das Verfahren der „Normalisierung" umstritten und wurde z. B. von E. Moltke abgelehnt, der in seiner Darstellung der dänischen Runeninschriften (Moltke 1976, 1985) nur Transliterationen der Inschriften bietet (ebenso verfährt auch Brøn-dum-Nielsen 1933).

Wenn man dieses Verfahren der Normalisierung auf die Runeninschriften anwenden will, muss man jedoch auf einen Unterschied hinweisen: Die vor-hin genannte Normalisierung eines isländischen literarischen Textes z. B. ist häufig zugleich auch eine Restitution eines angenommenen ursprüngli-chen Textes, des Originals. Wenn man den in Handschriften überlieferten Text einer Saga oder eines Gedichtes normalisiert, muss man zumeist von einem Text ausgehen, der schon eine längere Schrifttradition hinter sich hat, die jedoch meistens lückenhaft überliefert ist. Snorri Sturlusons Werke z. B. sind in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jh.s entstanden, sie liegen jedoch in

Handschriften vor, die z. T. erheblich später (d. h. in der Zeit vom 14.–17. Jh.) entstanden sind als die Originale.

Die Situation der Inschriften ist jedoch eine andere: Hier gibt es keine Handschriftentradition, wir haben es mit dem Original selbst zu tun, der Text beruht auf einer Sprachform, die zur Zeit seiner Entstehung gültig war. Dennoch haben nicht wenige Editionen von Runeninschriften im Jüngeren Futhark die Entscheidung getroffen, die Inschrift auch in einer „Normal-orthographie" darzustellen; das heißt z. B. Inschriften aus einem Zeitraum vom 9.–13. Jh. werden in ein Standardaltdänisch oder Standardaltschwe-disch transliteriert. So haben die Herausgeber der dänischen Inschriften in *DR* entschieden, bei den einzelnen Inschriften nur eine Transkription und eine Übersetzung anzubieten. In einem eigenen Abschnitt (*DR* I, 597–619) werden diese Texte dann transkribiert. Dabei entfernt man sich manchmal in erheblichem Maß von der individuellen Sprachform der Inschrift, wie im Folgenden an einem Beispiel, der sog. Ostnordischen Monophthongierung in den dänischen Inschriften zwischen 800 und dem Hochmittelalter, zu zeigen sein wird.

Worin kann man den Nutzen einer Normalisierung sehen, die sich doch erheblich von der individuellen Inschrift entfernt? In der Einleitung von *Danmarks Runeindskrifter* (*DR*) wird folgendes zum Nutzen eines solchen Vorgehens angeführt. Es handle sich um eine Normalisierung „der i det hele og store svarer til opslagsordene i ordbogen, således at transskriptionerne kan tjene som hjælp til orientering i denne" (*DR* I, 597). Einem solchen Vor-gehen entspricht auch die Präsentation der Inschriften in der *Samnordisk runtextdatabas* (jetzt *Runor*, https://app.raa.se/open/runor/search), in der die Inschriften in einer normalisierten *nationellt fornspråk* (z. B. *Run-svenska* oder *Rundanska*) präsentiert und sogar unabhängig von dieser in einen *fornvästnordisk text* übersetzt werden. Obwohl die Präsentation einer altschwedischen oder altdänischen Inschrift in klassischer altisländischer Normalisierung nicht unmittelbar einleuchtet, ist der praktische Nutzen einer solchen Übersetzung, insbesondere in einer Datenbank, nicht zu ver-achten. Wörter können gesucht und durch die Übersetzung ins Altisländi-sche sogar über die Sprachgrenzen hinweg verglichen werden. Geht man jedoch von den Aufgaben einer Edition aus, wo es um die Präsentation von jeweils einzelnen Inschriften geht, fragt man sich, wie hoch der Preis für eine solche Einheitlichkeit ist.

Die vorliegende Untersuchung stellt sich diese Frage im Hinblick auf ein Phänomen der Sprachgeschichte, die Ostnordische Monophthongierung.[2] Im

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[2] Ich habe Marie Stoklund für zahlreiche Hinweise zu diesem Thema zu danken.

normalisierten Altdänisch entspricht ein *e* konsequent einem germanischen oder protonordischen Diphthong *ai* bzw. *æi*, und analog ein *ø* einem protonordischen *au*. Die meisten Sprachhistoriker nehmen an, dass diese Monophthongierung von *ai > e* und *au > ø* am frühesten in Dänemark um 900 begann (z. B. Skautrup 1968: 128). Als Beleg dafür werden Inschriften aus diesem Zeitraum (Snoldelev (DR 248[3]) **stain** vs. Gørlev 1 (DR 239) **stin**) angeführt. Das führt zu einem Problem: Runensteine können fast nie archäologisch (es sei denn sie stehen in einem archäologischen Kontext), und nur sehr selten historisch datiert werden. Datierungsargumente sind zumeist ihre Sprachform und die Runentypologie. Und damit wird ein klarer *circulus vitiosus* offenbar: Lautwandel wird mit Hilfe von Runeninschriften datiert, und diese wiederum werden durch genau diesen Lautwandel datiert.[4] Es wäre also zumindest wünschenswert, runologische und sprachliche Datierungsargumente zu trennen. So gibt die dänische Datenbank *Danske Runeindskrifter* (www.runer.ku.dk) unter *Dateringskommentar* die Art des Datierungsargumentes an z.B. *Typologisk-sproglig datering* im Fall von Gørlev 1.

Bei einer Transkription, die runenschriftliches **ai**, **i** oder **e** durch altdän. *ē/e* repräsentiert, also alle dänischen Runentexte zwischen 800 und 1300 in dieser Hinsicht normalisiert, erhebt sich die Frage, wie weit man sich dabei von der Sprache der Denkmäler entfernt. Und dasselbe gilt auch für die Transkription von **au**, **u**, **y** und **ø** durch altdän. ø/ǿ.

Um einen Überblick zu bekommen wurden alle Zeugnisse der dänischen Runeninschriften (ab 850, d.h. ab Periode 2 bis 4) zur Ostnordischen Monophthongierung gesammelt, d. h. die Zeugnisse zu allen Wörtern mit protonordisch *ai* oder *au*.[5] Insgesamt sind das 354 Zeugnisse.[6] Unsichere Fälle, die auf problematischen Lesungen oder auf nicht vertrauenswürdigen Zeichnungen beruhen, sind vorsichtshalber ausgeschlossen, das betrifft 19 Inschriften. 72 von den 335 verbleibende Fällen betreffen die Monophthongierung von *au*, der Rest (263) die von *ai*.

Als Anzeichen einer Monophthongierung von *au* wurde eine Schreibung mit **u** (Per. 2), **y** oder **ø** (Per. 4) betrachtet; bei *ai* eine Schreibung mit **i** oder **e**. Dabei wurde bei insgesamt 207 von 335 Fällen festgestellt, dass die Schrift einen Monophthong aufweist, d. h. in etwa einem Drittel der Fälle zeigt die Schrift einen Diphthong. Wegen des doch längeren Zeitraums

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[3] In diesem Aufsatz werden alle dänischen Inschriften noch mit der alten Signatur zitiert.
[4] Völlig zu Recht wird in *DR* I, 853f. zurückgewiesen, dass es möglich sei, auf der Basis von Diphthong oder Monophthong eine Inschrift zu datieren.
[5] Bei den *au*-Diphthongen wurde *auk* ausgeschlossen, da dieses Wort oft minder betont ist und daher möglicherweise eine andere Entwicklung nehmen konnte. Dasselbe gilt auch von *þeix*.
[6] Die Basis dieser Sammlung stammt aus *DR* und wurde in der dänischen Datenbank, Nationalmuseet, *Danske runeindskrifter* www.runer.ku.dk überprüft.

Tabelle 1. *ai*- und *au*-Monophthongierung verteilt auf die dänischen Runenperioden.

	ai-Monophthongierung				*au*-Monophthongierung			
	ai		*ē*		*au*		*ǭ*	
2.1 Tidlig V	6	75%	2	25%	2	100%		
2.2.1. V Før-Jelling	6	100%			5	100%		
2.2.2. V Jelling	15	47%	17	53%	11	73%	4	27%
2.2.3. V Efter-Jelling	18	13%	124	87%	15	53%	13	47%
3 Før-Middelalder	26	47%	29	53%	10	90%	1	10%
4 Middelalder	4	25%	12	75%	1	11%	8	89%
SUMME	75	29%	188	71%	46	69%	26	31%

empfiehlt es sich, die Zuordnung der Inschriften zu Perioden mit einzubeziehen. Die Wahl der Perioden, wie sie in *DR* vorgenommen wurde, als zeitliche Gliederung, muss allerdings als problematisch bezeichnet werden, denn sie werden ja nicht nur durch den Lautstand der Inschrift bestimmt, sondern auch durch runentypologische Argumente, aber auch durch den Inhalt der Inschriften oder ihre Ornamentierung. Aber auch die in der dän. Datenbank (Nationalmuseet, *Danske runeindskrifter* www.runer.ku.dk) gegebene Datierung beruht – wie dort angegeben – auf sprachlichen und runentypologischen Argumenten und die dort angegebenen Zeiträume stimmen im Großen und Ganzen mit den Periodenangaben in *DR* überein. Auch hier lässt sich der *circulus vitiosus*, auf den oben hingewiesen wurde, nicht ganz umgehen. Um dennoch eine zeitliche Orientierung zu geben, seien für die einzelnen Perioden zeitliche Rahmen gegeben, die sich allerdings z. T. überschneiden:

2.1 Tidlig Vikingtid[7]: 700–900
2.2.1 Før-Jelling: 900–950
2.2.2 Jelling: 900–1020
2.2.3 Efter-Jelling: 970–1020
3 Før-Middelalder: 1025–1125
4 Middelalder: 1000 und 1300.

Verteilt auf die Perioden, zeigt sich Folgendes in den Runeninschriften: Hier wird zunächst angenommen, dass ein runenschriftliches **ai** auf einen Diphthong hinweist, ein **i** resp. **e** auf einen Monophthong. Analog eine Schreibung **au** auf einen Diphthong und eine Schreibung mit **u**, **y** oder **ø** auf einen Monophthong. Es wird sich allerdings zeigen, dass eine solche einfache Gleichung problematisch ist. (Siehe Tabelle 1.)

[7] In den Tabellen durch V abgekürzt.

Man kann aus dieser Tabelle allgemein erkennen, dass die Zahl der Monophthonge sich vergrößert. Zwar besagen Prozentzahlen bei diesen geringen Zahlen nicht allzu viel; sie können lediglich einen Trend andeuten.

Wenn man den ganzen Zeitraum betrachtet, kann man feststellen, dass bei *ai* die monophthongierten Formen (mit 188, d. h. 71 %) sehr viel stärker vertreten sind als die monophthongierten Formen bei *au* (nur 31 %).

Im Einzelnen betrachtet ergibt sich folgendes Bild:

1. Die *ai*-Monophthongierung: In den Perioden 2.1 und 2.2.1 gibt es fast keine Monophthonge, nur die zwei Wörter **risþi** und **stin** des Gørlev-Steines ragen heraus. In Per. 2.2.2 ist etwas mehr als die Hälfte der Fälle monophthongiert und in Periode 2.2.3 die meisten (87 %). Die Anzahl der **ai**-Diphthonge scheint im Vor-Mittelalter wieder kräftig anzusteigen, von 13 % auf 47 %. Das hängt aber damit zusammen, dass in diese Periode die Inschriften von Bornholm fallen, die in dieser Zeit noch weitgehend Diphthonge aufweisen. Das zeigt, dass eine Betrachtung aller dänischen Inschriften insgesamt kein adäquates Bild ergibt und durch eine Untersuchung der einzelnen Regionen ergänzt werden muss.

2. Die *au*-Monophthongierung: Die Monophthongierung von *au* ist weitaus geringer bezeugt; sie fehlt in den Perioden 2.1 und 2.2.1 vollständig und geht auch langsamer voran. Noch in Per. 2.2.3 sind weniger als die Hälfte der Fälle monophthongiert. Erst im Mittelalter erreicht sie einen Höhepunkt. Der Anstieg der nicht-monophthongierten *au*-Diphthonge im Vormittelalter (von 53 % auf 90 %) hat wiederum ihren Grund in der regionalen Verteilung der Inschriften, wobei Bornholm die Zahl der nicht-monophthongierten Inschriften im Vor-Mittelalter kräftig erhöht (s. u.).

Der nächste Schritt muss daher sein, die regionale Situation näher zu betrachten. (Siehe Tabelle 2.)

Ein Vergleich der einzelnen Regionen miteinander ist dadurch schwierig, dass die Anzahl der Belege manchmal sehr gering ist, z. B. Blekinge (2 Fälle), oder Öland (1), Halland (3) und manchmal auch nur auf bestimmte Perioden beschränkt ist wie z. B. Skåne mit 72 Fällen in Periode 2.2.3, sonst nur je 2 Fälle in Periode 2.2.2 und 3. Dasselbe gilt für Bornholm mit 54 Fällen in Periode 3, und 1 in Periode 4. Man kann daher sein Augenmerk nur darauf richten, welchen Beitrag die einzelnen Landschaften zum Gesamtbild einer Periode beitragen.

Periode 2.2.2: Hier fällt Jylland nicht nur durch hohe Zahl der Fälle auf, sondern auch dadurch, dass es die einzige Region ist, in der die monophthongierten Zeugnisse überwiegen (allerdings nur bei den *e*-Monophthon-

gen). Dagegen zeichnet sich Lolland-Falster durch das Überwiegen nicht-monophthongierter Formen aus.

Periode 2.2.3: Hier sind es zwei Regionen die entscheidend zum Überwiegen der Monophthonge beitragen: Jylland und Skåne. Beide Regionen zeigen aber immer noch ein Überwiegen der nicht monophthongierten **au**-Diphthonge.

Periode 3: Hier zeigt sich deutlich, wie stark das allgemeine Bild durch die Zeugnisse von Bornholm (23 *ai*- resp. 10 *au*-Diphthonge, gegenüber 20 *e*- resp. 1 *ø*-Monophthongen) geprägt ist. Die anderen Regionen fallen wegen der geringen Zahl an Fällen kaum ins Gewicht. Nur in Bornholm zeigt sich in der Hälfte der Diphthongschreibungen eine neue Schreibung für den Diphthong, nämlich **ei** (12 Fälle). Moltke (*DR* I, 853-54) hält diesen Diphthong nur für graphisch, ohne dass er einen Diphthong bezeichne, er sei aus der schwedischen Runenschreibung entlehnt.[8] Seine Begründung, dass mit dem Gørlev-Stein, die Monophthongierung bereits bezeugt sei, und dass diese späteren **ei**-Diphthonge daher nur ein „traditionelt ortografisk fænomen" seien (s. dazu u.), ist nicht überzeugend angesichts der statistischen Übersicht, die das langsame Vorrücken der Monophthongierung aufzeigt. Was die Entlehnung dieser Schreibungen aus schwedischen Inschriften betrifft, ist zu sagen, dass diese **ei**-Diphthonge in der Tat in Schweden zu finden sind. In Småland sind sie sogar häufiger als die **ai**-Schreibung,[9] die jedoch in den anderen Landschaften bei weitem überwiegt.[10] Es ist bemerkenswert, dass die **ei**-Schreibungen überwiegend erst in Per. 3.2 in Bornholm zu finden sind (10 gegenüber 1 in Per. 3.1). Das könnte entweder durch das Voranschreiten der Monophthongierung erklärt werden, aber ebenso gut durch die Zunahme des schwedischen Einflusses auf die Bornholmer Runenritzer.

Periode 4: Hier fällt keine Region durch besondere Zahlen auf, im Allgemeinen gibt es fast nur noch monophthongierte Formen, nur in Halland überwiegen noch die *ai*-Diphthonge.

Die Tabelle wurde in diesem Schritt so interpretiert, als würde die Schrift dem jeweiligen Lautstand der sprachlichen Situation entsprechen. Einige auffällige Phänomene lassen allerdings Fragen aufkommen:

Wie kann man die Ausnahme der monophthongierten Formen auf dem Gørlev-Stein erklären? Der Stein wird auf 800–850 datiert, und zwar aus runologischen (Helnæs-Gørlev-Futhąrk), aber auch sprachlichen Gründen

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[8] „[D]enne nye diftong, der savner mening i dansk, er i stenindskrifterne lånt fra svensk rune-ortografi."

[9] Als ein Beispiel kann genannt werden, dass dort 7 **stain**-Schreibungen gegen über 14 **stein**-Schreibungen belegt sind.

[10] z. B. Öland 23 **stain** vs. 7 **stein**; Södermanland 185 **stain** vs. 5 **stein**.

Tabelle 2. *ai*- und *au*-Monophthongierung verteilt auf die dänischen Regionen und Runenperioden.

	ai-Monophthongierung				au-Monophthongierung			
	ai		*ē*		*au*		*ø̄*	
2.1 Tidlig V	6	75%	2	25%	2	100%		
Jylland	1				1			
Fyn	3				1			
Sjælland	2		2					
2.2.1 V Før-Jelling	6	100%			5	100%		
Jylland					2			
Fyn	4				2			
Sjælland	2				1			
2.2.2 V Jelling	15	47%	17	53%	11	73%	4	27%
Jylland	9		14		9		3	
Lolland-Falster	5				2		1	
Blekinge	1		1					
Skåne			2					
2.2.3 V Efter-Jelling	18	13%	124	87%	15	53%	13	47%
Jylland	6		70		7		4	
Sjælland			1				1	
Lolland-Falster	1		2				1	
Skåne	10		50		7		5	
Öland	1				1		2	
London			1					
3 Før-Middelalder	26	48%	28	52%	10	90%	1	10%
Jylland	1		2					
Fyn			1					
Sjælland			3					
Lolland-Falster			2					
Skåne	2							
Bornholm	23		20		10		1	
4 Middelalder	4	25%	12	75%	1	11%	8	89%
Jylland	1		5				1	
Fyn			1				6	
Sjælland			3					
Skåne								
Halland	3		2					
Blekinge			1				1	
Bornholm					1			

(Bewahrung von ʀ nach Dental)[11] und gehört damit zu den frühesten In-schriften dieser Periode. Gerade an dieser Inschrift wurde die Frage, ob eine Monophthong-Schreibung auch eine Monophthongierung in der Sprache

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[11] Übereinstimmend *DR* I, 293–4 und *Danske runer*.

bezeugt, beheftig diskutiert. So ging z. B. Erik Moltke (1936–37, 258) davon aus, dass mit der Schreibung von **risþi** und **stin** für *raisþi*, *stain* auf dem Gørlev-Stein (DR 239) die Monophthongierung in Runendänisch bezeugt sei und alle späteren Diphthonge in der Schrift auf dem Festhalten an der traditionellen Schreibung zu begründen seien[12]. Harry Andersen (1945, 138–146) dagegen erklärte die Monophthong-Schreibungen mit Verweis auf den Stein von Stentoften (DR 357), der im Gegensatz zum ähnlich lautenden Stein von Björketorp (DR 360) keine Diphthongschreibungen aufweist, als „ristermanér" oder Schriftmagie. Gegen die Annahme einer traditionellen Orthografie in den Runeninschriften wandten sich zunächst Williams (1990, 10–14), und Lagman (1990, 16–20) mit dem methodischen Grundsatz, dass jede Inschrift als direktes sprachliches Zeugnis der aktuellen Sprachsituation gesehen werden müsse, das aus einer phonetischen Analyse des Ritzers hervorgehe.[13] Die unterschiedlichen Schreibung seien weniger häufig als bisher angenommen keine „Fehlritzungen", sondern Zeugnisse des aktuellen Sprachzustandes (Williams 1990, 14), und die variierenden Schreibungen Zeugnisse eines sich vollziehenden Lautwandels[14]. Man sollte in dieser Frage allerdings berücksichtigen, dass vermutlich nicht alle Runenritzer geschulte Phonetiker waren und dass das Erlernen der Schrift auch die phonetische Analyse beeinflussen kann. Karl Martin Nielsen (1960, 67) wies in dieser Diskussion schon früher darauf hin, dass man den Unterschied von Diphthong und Monophthong nicht als absolut ansehen dürfe. Er beruft sich dabei auf Marius Kristensen (1933, 84–89), der darauf hinwies, dass die Entwicklung von Diphthong zu Langvokal nicht in einem Schritt, sondern in einer kontinuierlichen Veränderung bestand. Skeptischer ist Barnes (2010, 198), der in Zusammenhang mit den Blekinger Inschriften davor warnt, in den Schreibungen der Stentoften Inschrift, nur eine sich entwickelnde Phonologie zu sehen. Er sieht vielmehr darin die Folge einer längeren Zeit von Sprachentwicklung, die zu einer Unsicherheit unter den Runenritzern

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[12] „når Gørlev-risteren har monoftongeret *æi;* så må alle indskrifter vest for Øresund, der er yngre end Gørlev-stenen, altså Glavendrup-typen og hele Jelling-gruppen have gennemført den samme lydforenkling, selv om de stædigt holder fast ved den traditionelle skrivemaade: **stain, raisþi** etc. vor de to vokaler (**ai**) nu imidlertid er blevet grafisk udtryk for den mellemliggende vokal (*æ, e*)." In seinem Buch *Runes and their origin* (1985, 164) vergleicht er die späteren **ai**-Schreibungen mit der Schreibung von *write* and *thought* im modernen Englisch. Dem ist allerdings entgegenzuhalten, dass die Orthografie durch die lange Zeit der Schreibtradition zu begründen ist.
[13] „… att det vi läser i inskrifterna är en direkt grafisk representation av en fonetisk analys" (Lagman 1990, 19).
[14] Lagman (1990, 17) erklärt die große Zahl der Varianten der Schreibungen von *stæinn* beim Ritzer Balle, als „inte särskilt anmärkningsvärd om diftongen höll på att monoftongeras i hans språk".

führte.[15] Weiters wäre der Umstand zu bedenken, dass es vielleicht auch in Soziolekten einen differierenden Lautstand gab, im Sinne von *high variety* und *low variety*. Falls die HV -Variante (wie häufig) traditionell war und den Diphthong aufwies, während die LV-Variante bereits den Monophthong hatte, könnte diese Tatsache durchaus die phonetische Wahrnehmung beeinträchtigen. Sprachveränderungen zeigen sich ja häufig zunächst in niedrigeren Soziolekten als „Normenverletzung", bis sie akzeptiert werden.

Da ein Schreibfehler in der Gørlev-Inschrift nicht in Frage kommt, – denn man könnte zwar einmal ein **a** in einem Diphthong vergessen, aber nicht gleich zweimal hintereinander –, könnte man daher annehmen, dass der Schreiber von Gørlev sehr feine Ohren hatte und bereits die Monophthongierung wahrnahm, während die meisten anderen Runenritzer dieser Epoche (Per. 2.1) möglicherweise ihrer Schreibtradition bzw. ihrer Sprachnorm folgten und **ai** schrieben – und das sind immerhin etliche Inschriften: Anslev, Flemløse, Glavendrup, Rønninge auf Fyn, Gunderup 2 in Jylland, Helnæs, Høje Tåstrup, Snoldelev, Tryggevælde auf Sjælland. Dass der Schreiber von Gørlev ein feines Ohr für sprachliche Neuerungen hatte, zeigt auch die Schreibung **wal** für *wæl* < *wel*, wo sich bereits die Öffnung von *e* zu *æ* zeigt.

Dass bis in Periode 4 immer wieder diphthongische Schreibungen zu finden sind, könnte also damit erklärt werden, dass die Monophthongierung ein langer Prozess gewesen zu sein scheint, der selbst im Mittelalter noch nicht abgeschlossen war. Hier könnte die Annahme von Karl Martin Nielsen (1960: 67) einer langsam fortschreitenden Veränderung der Diphthonge durch die fortschreitende Reduzierung des Gleitvokals, d.h. des zweiten Bestandteils des Diphthongs, hilfreich sein. Deswegen könnten die einen den Laut noch als Diphthong, andere ihn als Monophthong aufgefasst haben.

Die Tatsache, dass es auch innerhalb einer Inschrift ein Schwanken zwischen monophthongierten und nicht monophthongierten Formen gibt und dass es sich um besonders häufig vorkommende Wörter wie *raisa* und *stain* handelt, könnte vielleicht doch für die Annahme einer Schriftnorm sprechen. Auch bei **haiþabu** auf dem Stein von Haddeby könnte es sich um eine weitergeführte Ortsnamentradition handeln. (Siehe Tabelle 3.)

Wenn man diese Liste betrachtet, könnte man doch wieder an der Annahme einer Schreibtradition zweifeln. Was dagegen spricht, ist die Tatsache, dass es auch bei ein und demselben Wort in derselben Region ein Schwanken zwischen Monophthongierung und Nicht-Monophthongierung gibt.[16] Ganz

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[15] Vgl. Barnes 2010, 198: „a long period of linguistic change might have led to uncertainty among rune carvers about how to give their words graphic form."
[16] Vgl. Williams (1990, 12), der diese Variation als Argument gegen eine bestehende Schriftnorm anführt.

Tabelle 3. Schwanken in der Schreibung von ursprünglichem *ai*-Diphthong.

Per. 2.2.2	DR 363 Sturkö, Blekinge	**raisþi** vs. **stin**
	DR 143 Gunderup, Jylland	**raisþi** vs. **stini**
Per. 2.2.3	DR 213 Skovlænge, Lolland-Falster	**ra[i]sþi** vs. **stin**
	DR 1 Haddeby, Jylland	**himþiki, risþi, stin** vs. **haiþabu**
	DR 6 Slesvig-sten, Jylland	**risa** vs. **stain**
Per. 3	DR 399 Klemensker 1, Bornholm	**reisa** vs. **sten**
	DR 403 Klemensker 5, Bornhom	**reistu** vs. **sten**
	DR 404 Klemensker 6, Bornholm	**raisti** vs. **stin, suin**
	DR 384 Vestermarie 2, Bornholm	**suin** vs. **raistu**
	DR 387 Vestermarie 5, Bornholm	**risti** vs. **stein**
Per. 4	DR 365 Lösen 2, Blekinge	**risa** vs. **steina**
	DR 362 Vapnö, Halland	**raistu** vs. **stin**

ausschließen wird man allerdings die Erklärung durch Schreibtraditionen nicht können. Man sollte sich dabei vielleicht nicht eine mehr oder weniger geordnete und systematische Weitergabe von Orthografie vorstellen, sondern auch in Betracht ziehen, dass auch das häufige Lesen bestimmter Wörter die Vorstellung ihrer Schreibweise verfestigen kann. Wer etwa zehnmal **stain** gelesen hat, wird auch dann vielleicht **stain** schreiben, wenn er es selbst bereits mit Monophthong spricht.

Bei der Monophthongierung von *au* kommt dieses Schwanken viel seltener vor. (Siehe Tabelle 4.)

Fazit:
Die Schreibungen der Inschriften legen nahe, dass es sich bei den Monophthongschreibungen um die Abspiegelung eines länger andauernden Prozesses handelt. Dieser verläuft jedoch nicht kontinuierlich, sondern in einer eher zufälligen Form, sodass man nur die Tendenz wahrnehmen kann. Es gibt kaum regionale Gründe für das Auftreten der Monophthongierung oder der Beibehaltung der Diphthonge – von Bornholm und Skåne einmal abgesehen. Als Erklärungen bieten sich die unterschiedliche Wahrnehmung des Monophthongierungsprozesses durch die Schreiber und möglicherweise durch das Bestehen von Schreibtraditionen und Sprachnormen an.

Wie löst man das Problem nun in der Transkription? Zwei Wege bieten sich an, die ich gerne diskutieren würde:

1. Man transkribiert je nach der bezeugten Monophthongierung oder Diphthongierung in der Inschrift als *ai* bzw. *ē/e* oder *au* bzw. *ø̄/ø* . Damit würde man davon ausgehen, dass die Schreiber korrekt gehört und das Gehörte

Tabelle 4. Schwanken in der Schreibung von ursprünglichem *au*-Diphthong.

| Per. 2.2.3 Efter-Jelling | 66 Aarhus 4, Jylland | **augutr** vs. **tuþr** |
| | 411 Karlevi, Öland | **huki**, **u** vs. **traukr** |

jeweils adäquat wiedergegeben hätten. Fälle von nicht adäquater Wahrnehmung auf Grund von Schreib- bzw. Lesetraditionen oder Sprachnormen würden damit überdeckt.

2. Oder man benützt eine differenzierte Normalisierung: In den frühen Perioden 2.1. Tidlig Vikingtid und 2.2.1 Før-Jelling gelten noch die Diphthonge, ab Per. 2.2.2 Jelling müsste der $\bar{e}$-Monophthong gelten, ab dem Mittelalter der ø-Monophthong. Hier müsste man jedoch auch die Regionen berücksichtigen, und es fragt sich, wie man entscheiden soll, wenn etwa gleich viele Fälle von Monophthongierung und Diphthongierung überliefert sind. Die Entscheidung für eine zeitlich und regional begrenzte Normalisierung dürfte wahrscheinlich die weniger vorteilhafte sein.

In beiden Fällen wäre aber auch der Vorteil der Vergleichbarkeit der Inschriften und der Suchbarkeit der Wörter in Lexika dahin. Allerdings dürfte es dafür in unserer digitalen Forschungswelt Lösungen geben.

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BERNARD MEES

Elmer Antonsen as a Runologist

Abstract
One of the most important contributors to our understanding of older runic epigraphy, Elmer Antonsen was a controversial scholar. Best remembered for bringing an overtly structural and neo-Bloomfieldian approach to the study of the earliest inscriptions, he was also something of a contrarian, promoting readings and interpretations of older runic texts which did not find much support in the broader runological historiography. This paper examines some of his more lasting contributions to the epigraphic field in terms of his analyses of a handful of older runic inscriptions: that on the Nøvling fibula, on the Lindholmen amulet and finally the memorial text on the Reistad stone.

Keywords: Elmer Antonsen, historical linguistics, historical phonology, runic inscriptions, craft literacy, methodology

1. Introduction

The late Elmer Antonsen (1929–2008) was a historical phonologist who came to the study of early runic epigraphy only after he had completed his dissertation at the University of Illinois (Antonsen 1961a). As a neo-Bloomfieldian, his interpretations were often more structurally informed than those of his predecessors and hence more linguistically sophisticated. Yet his analyses were also often insufficiently argued, assuming considerable knowledge on the behalf of his audience and tending to over-claim. His assessment of the anthroponym **bidawarijaz** on the Nøvling fibula (KJ 13a, Antonsen 1975: no. 4), for example, seems to have been an advance on that represented in the corpus edition of Krause and Jankuhn at the lexical level, but it was interpretatively ambitious and poorly explained. Attempting to translate the text as if it were Indo-European rather than Germanic was incautious, even if Antonsen's basic etymological insight seems essentially to have been correct.

Antonsen's interpretation of the anthroponym on the Lindholmen amulet (KJ 29, Antonsen 1975: no. 17) was similarly unexpected and underexplained. Yet his basic etymological insight accords strikingly well with a more contemporary morphological assessment of the Indo-European term for 'sun', as well as a typological analysis of the find. It is his interpretation

of the inscription on the Reistad stone (KJ 74, Antonsen 1975: no. 41), however, which is perhaps the most remarkable. The recent discovery of a second rune-inscribed bracteate at Trollhättan (Axboe & Källström 2013) provides an answer to his critics that was not available in Antonsen's lifetime. His analysis, based on typological and phonological considerations, has often been criticised at the empirical level, but it makes considerably more sense than the interpretations put forward by other scholars.

2. Background

Born in Glen Falls, in upstate New York, at the beginning of the Depression, Antonsen came to linguistic study after serving in U.S. Army Intelligence, including spending time in the American zone of occupation in post-war Germany. After taking his dissertation under Ernst A. Phillipson at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, in 1970 Antonsen was appointed Professor of Germanic Languages and Linguistics, and served as Head of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures at Urbana from 1972–82, and subsequently the Department of Linguistics from 1992 up until his retirement in 1996. Other than his runological contributions, most of his publications were on historical Germanic phonology, including key contributions to *Language* (1961, 1965, 1966) and *Scandinavian Studies* (1963, 1967), a chapter in *Toward a Grammar of Proto-Germanic* (1972) and his last book *Elements of German* (2007). His best-known works, however, are his *Concise Grammar of the Older Runic Inscriptions* (1975) and the compilation of his revised runological writings *Runes and Germanic Linguistics* (2002).

Antonsen's contribution to runic studies was mostly phonologically predicated. His more formal structural approach to historical phonology saw him question some of the less clearly formulated interpretations that appear in Krause's corpus of the older inscriptions (KJ) and the grammar that Krause (1971) derived from it. Coming to the early runic texts after he had published his first extensive phonological studies of the Old Germanic languages, Antonsen could see a number of areas where traditional interpretations could be improved, while others he dismissed as implausible.

His *Concise Grammar* is still in print, but is filled with interpretations that Antonsen never fully explained. Quite often these prove worth revisiting as some of them represent advances over those found in the works of Krause, the leading figure in the runological field in the 1960s. Often his critics assume that there was little worth in Antonsen's revision of the tradition

of Krause. But not only was Antonsen one of the few runic scholars ever to publish in leading linguistics journals such as *Language*, his *Concise Grammar* represents an advance on Krause's work in many key respects, despite its many detractors (esp. the critical review of Knirk 1977 and the derivative Høst 1977).

Among Antonsen's characteristic contributions to runology was his critique of magico-cultural interpretations such as those that are typical of the scholarship of Krause. What principled typological work had been published in the area previously, for example, had tended to concentrate on the curses clearly represented in the transitional Blekinge inscriptions (KJ 96–97) and their reflections in younger-runic practice (Nordén 1934, 1940, Jacobsen 1935). Much of Krause's corpus is filled with magical speculation -- indeed its first edition (Krause 1937) is largely arranged on magico-religious grounds. But as Antonsen (2002: 41) complained, the "acceptance of the magical theory permits investigators to engage in boundless speculation that in effect removes these oldest attestation of any Germanic language from the realm of serious linguistic research." The use of typological analysis in runic studies, however, was something that Antonsen supported, even if he did not accept that it should be used in studies of the magical features which are widely recognised to appear in the early inscriptions by other runic scholars.

Although he did not explain his approach properly until 1980 (in a paper further developed in Antonsen 2002: 207–36), one of the key contributions that Antonsen made in his *Concise Grammar* was typological. Antonsen established the existence of three basic inscriptional types in the early runic corpus: maker's inscriptions, commemorative texts and magico-religious epigraphs. He also proposed some further epigraphic types, however, which have proved more controversial.

What Antonsen described with his three basic types is an epigraphic culture comparable to that which Havelock (1963: 39) characterised as "craft literacy", the first step towards full literacy attested in many historical cultures. Under craft literacy, epigraphic texts are generally made by craftsmen — the manufacturers of the associated items or other specialists such as magicians and priests. Three examples of such texts include the inscription on the Nøvling fibula, clearly a maker's inscription, the text on the Lindholmen amulet, which is usually accounted a magico-religious expression, and the Reistad memorial, clearly a commemorative text. Most early runic inscriptions can readily be fitted into one of these three basic types that also describe the majority of early Greek, Latin, Etruscan, archaic Italic and Celtic inscriptions. Other types recognised by Antonsen (such as his "symbols of office"

and Krause's "magico-poetic" weapon names; see Krause 1936) are not found in other early epigraphic traditions and hence are less clearly established typologically.

3. The Nøvling fibula

The first of the three inscriptions of which the interpretation in Antonsen's *Concise Grammar* was an advancement on that accepted by Krause is the maker's text on the Nøvling fibula. Conserved today in the Historical Museum in Aalborg, the rosette fibula from Nøvling, Himmerland, was discovered in 1963 in a woman's grave that has been dated by archaeologists to the C1b period – i.e. c. A.D. 210/20–260/70. The inscription clearly reads **bidawarijaztalgidai** 'Bidawarjaz carved' and Antonsen's main contribution was in his analysis of the name **bidawarijaz**.

The interpretation favoured by Krause (following Moltke 1963) related the first element **bida-** to the Old Norse hapax *biðkván*, translated as 'beloved' (cf. ON *biðja* 'to wish') by Kock (1930: §1955), and the second to the similar element in the name **ladawarijaz** attested on the Tørvika stone (KJ 91) which Antonsen connected to OHG *lantweri* 'levée en masse', literally 'land defence'. Krause's translation of **bidawarijaz** as 'der das von ihm Erwünschte verteidigt' is quite implausible, however, as *biðkván* (which is itself an editorial correction of *bifkván*) is usually accepted to mean a 'deserted' or 'waiting woman' (e.g. Faulkes 1997: 22). Instead, Antonsen duly took early runic **bida-** to be related to Old Norse *bið-* 'wait' which is more clearly attested in compounds such as *biðlund* 'forbearance' and *biðstund* 'bide a while' (cf. ON *bíða* 'to wait'). Yet a meaning 'he who defends those who wait' evidently did not make much sense to Antonsen who instead compared **bida-** to the Indo-European root which *bíða* is usually accepted to stem from – i.e. IE *b^heid^h- 'be loyal' – and cognate nominal formations such as Latin *fīdus* 'faithful, loyal' and *foedus* 'treaty, covenant'. Antonsen's translation of **bidawarijaz** as 'protector of the oath, covenant' assumed that **bida-** had retained an earlier meaning when attested onomastically than *bið-* has in Old Norse compounds, a claim to semantic archaism that is possible, but far from assured. Yet like his assumption that **bida-** preserved full-grade root vocalism which is not paralleled in Old Norse compounds, such a semantic interpretation was based on too little empirical evidence to be considered likely.

More recently, Harðarson (2007) has proposed that **bida-** should be interpreted as a cognate of the Old Irish participle *bíth* 'striking' and hence that

bidawarijaz should be translated as 'he who fends off a stroke' or 'he who wards off a blow'. Nonetheless as Bammesberger (2008) points out, the spelling **-warijaz** suggests that Krause's association of **-warijaz** with OHG -*weri* was wrong – the indication of a vowel before the glide in **-warijaz** indicates the effect of Sievers's (1878: 129) law (which only applies after heavy syllables) and hence a connection with ON *vár* 'oath', OE *wǣr* 'true' and OHG *wār* 'true' (< **wēraz*; cf. Lat. *vērus* 'true'). Bammesberger duly suggests that **bidawarijaz** reflects a compound of **bi(n)da-* 'bind' with a palatal enlargement of **wār-* and hence means 'being reliable with regard to a (binding) promise'. Yet ON *binda* never takes an *e*-grade form when it appears in Old Norse compounds – only *o*-grades in *band-* (e.g. *bandamenn* 'confederates') are found. Morphologically, the only likely interpretation of **bida-** is found in Antonsen's connection with ON *bið-* 'wait', with **bidawarijaz** most regularly to be taken on empirical grounds (i.e. in terms of actually attested rather than theoretically possible forms) as literally indicating someone who 'remains true'.

4. The Lindholmen amulet

Another older runic inscription whose interpretation Antonsen made an important contribution to is that on the Lindhomen amulet. Found by a peat cutter in 1840 in a moor near Lindholmen Castle, Scania, the decorative style of the letterforms on the 16 cm long piece of worked horn or bone suggests that the inscription is of migration-era or c. A.D. 375/400–560/70 date, and the object looks as if it may once have belonged to a helmet (Herschend 2001: 353, Stoklund 2001). Conserved in the Historical Museum at Lund University, the piece is usually accepted to be an amulet because of the presence of the 'charm-word' **alu** inscribed on one side of the convex face of the piece after a repetition of runes (**aaaaaaaazzznn**[.]**bmuttt**) whose proper interpretation is unclear. On the other hand, the naming section which appears on the other side was interpreted by Krause (after Olsen, *NIæR* II: 600, 625) as **ek erilaz sa wilagaz hateka**, 'I am known here as Wilagaz (i.e. the wily one)'. But there are no examples of older runic texts which include **sa** being used as an adverb 'here' or even as the definite article 'the'. Instead, the name is more obviously to be taken as **sawilagaz**.

By 2002, Antonsen had taken his dislike of magical interpretations to such an extreme that he had decided to categorise the Lindholmen find as a "symbol of office". But Antonsen's main contribution to understandings of the

Lindholmen inscription was to offer a plausible linguistic interpretation of **sawilagaz**. Other scholars have suggested that missing runes be assumed in the sequence (e.g. *Sa(i)wila(u)gaz*) given the obvious omission of an expected **i**-rune in the final verb **hateka** (usually written **hait-**); see von Friesen (1933: 13), Andersen (1947), Marstrander (1952: 99–108), Grønvik (1996: 65–74) and Elmevik (1999). But Antonsen's suggestion was much simpler and orthographically regular: he sought to connect **sawilagaz** with Gothic *sauil* 'sun'.

Yet the problem with such an identification is twofold. First, the Gothic spelling *sauil* has generally been taken to represent [sōil] and hence an apophonically regular cognate of Greek *hēlios* < IE *$seh_2\mu el$ 'sun' (Paul 1880). Moreover ON *sól* 'sun', like OE *sōl* 'sun', is usually accepted to continue an earlier *$s\bar{o}(w)ul$- < IE *seh_2ul – i.e. a form with suffixal apophony different from that attested in Gothic *sauil* (Wodtko et al. 2008: 606–11). Antonsen (2002: 232) instead made reference to the spellings of Goth. *tauja(n)* and *toja* which Marchand (1973: 71–72) had cited in the published edition of his 1955 University of Michigan doctoral thesis in order to argue that the traditional claim that the Gothic digraph *au* could represent a long monophthong was wrong. Antonsen followed his University of Illinois colleague Marchand in assuming that Goth. *sauil* should be understood as it is most obviously to be taken, not as containing a long vowel as has traditionally been assumed.

Antonsen's assumption, however, that an Indo-European form *$s\textschwa wel$- could lie behind Goth. *sauil* and early runic **sawil-** cannot be accepted. Nonetheless the variation of *$seh_2\mu el$ and *seh_2ul that is broadly acknowledged by comparativists suggests that accentual differentiation once applied in the suffix of the inherited Germanic forms and an apophonic alternation of *$s\bar{a}w\acute{e}l$ and *$s\acute{\bar{a}}wl$ would be expected to result in a Proto-Germanic variation of *sawil- and *sōwul- under Dybo's (1961) law. Dybo's law is clearly the reason why Old English *wer* 'man' shows a short vowel but its Sanskrit cognate *vīrá-* (< IE *μiH-ró-) evidences a long vowel. Shortening of inherited long vowels in pretonic position is a regular development in Germanic and so IE *$seh_2\mu él$ would be expected to appear as *sawil-* in early Nordic. Antonsen's solution is not just supported by Marchand's analysis of Gothic spelling, it is also quite regular (and expected) from a comparative perspective.

5. The Reistad stone

The third inscription is the early runic text on the Reistad stone, a commemorative inscription that Barnes (2012: 28–29, 2013: 15–16) takes as an example

of a find for which no categorical interpretation has yet appeared. Antonsen had interpreted the inscription quite differently from Krause, repeating his analysis somewhat more forcibly in his 1978 review of Høst's *Runer* (1976), in two of the articles which appeared updated as chapters in his *Runes and Germanic Linguistics* (Antonsen 2002: 5–8, 202–3) and finally in a rejoinder to Seebold's (2003) critical review of his 2002 book in 2007. Where the interpretations cited in Knirk's (2002) entry on the monument in the *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* (following Krause) seem truer to the text as it appears on the stone, Antonsen's makes rather better linguistic and typological sense. Most scholars (including Syrett 1994: 156–57, Bammesberger 1996, Eythórsson 1999 and Schulte 2003: 396) have tended to follow Krause's overall syntactic scheme, however, making Barnes's conclusion seem somewhat contrarian at first glance.

The 65 cm tall Reistad stone was found in 1857/58 and is usually thought to date to the c. A.D. 375/400–520/30 period. Conserved in the Historical Museum at the University of Oslo, it features a name on the first line (**iuþingaz**) and what seems to represent a full sentence in the second and third (**ikwakraz:unnam|wraita**). Yet as Antonsen was only too aware, Krause's interpretation of the Reistad form **unnam** as a verb cognate to OE *underniman* 'take surreptitiously, steal, take into the mind, understand' is quite irregular (cf. Bugge in *NIæR* no. 14, Vonhof 1905: 52–53, von Grienberger 1906: 122–23, Noreen 1923: 385, Marstrander 1929: 215, 1930, Birkmann 1987: 125–26). Krause and others such as Bugge before him had assumed a segmentation *und-nam with assimilation of the *-d- to the two (putatively) surrounding nasals. But not only would such a development be unparalelled elsewhere in early runic texts, Old Norse does not use a preverb *und-* (cf. Goth. *und* 'unto, up, until') in comparable formations – like Old English and German, it instead employs the rhotic development *undir-* (cf. Goth. *undar; undar* 'under', ON *undirleggja* 'subdue', *undiroka* 'under-yoke', *undirstanda* 'understand' and *undirtaka* 'overpower'). The non-rhotic preposition *und* (< *unda) appears as an archaic (and poetic) variant of *undir* 'under' in Old Icelandic, but it never appears as a preverb. Hence the usual interpretation of **unnam** as *und-nam is problematic on both phonological and morphological grounds.

Seebold (2003: 300–1) prefers to interpret the Reistad form as *unþ-nam – after all, the Charnay fibula (KJ 6) is usually accepted to feature a similar preverb in its sequence **uþfnthai** and (unlike *und-*) verbs featuring *unþa- are well-enough known in both East and West Germanic contexts. Nonetheless Antonsen preferred to see **unnam** instead as a form comparable to

the Gårdlösa expression **unwodʑ** and the Nordhuglo stone's **ungandiz** (KJ 12 and 65) – i.e. as a negated adjective serving as a cognomen given that a name *Ónæmr* is attested on several Upplandic rune-stones (Williams 1990: 137–39, 1993); cf. ON *næmr* 'hunted, outcast, keen, sharp, quick at learning' and *únæmr* 'slow of learning' to the vrddhi *nám* 'seizure, occupation, mental acquisition, learning'. Indeed Antonsen bolstered this interpretation by pointing out that the form on the following line cannot regularly be understood as an infinitive (as was suggested might be the case by Krause) – the *o*-grade ablaut of the verb **wrītan* is instead typical of preterites such as the 3rd sg. form **warᴀit** 'wrote' which appears on the transitional runic Istaby stone (KJ 98). Antonsen's verbal interpretation of **wraita** presumes that the final 1st pers. sg. pret. **-a* inherited from Indo-European has been retained despite it having been lost in each of the attested manuscript languages. As Antonsen (1965: 35, n. 68) had already adumbrated, however, long before he had begun work on his *Concise Grammar*, evidence for *a*-umlaut in 1st/3rd sg. pret. forms such as OE *bēad* 'commanded' (< pre-OE **bǣoda* < PG **bauda*) and *rād* 'rode' (< pre-OE **raeda* < PG **raida*) not being paralleled in the continental West Germanic languages suggests that the **-a* inherited from Indo-European must have survived into dialectal Northwest Germanic (cf. Antonsen 2007: 26). Indeed there are several examples of early runic verbs with unexpected vocalic endings, from the Vimose chape's **wija** (*vis-à-vis* Kragehul **wiju**) to the Udby inflection **talgida** (in contrast to **talgidai** and **tawide**); see KJ 24, Stoklund (1991) and Nielsen (2000: 159–64). The main problem with Antonsen's reading is that there is no real sign of an ending **-z** as he averred following **unnam** on the stone, only what Bugge saw as a rather inconclusive mark or crack in the rock that although also reported by scholars such as Marstrander (1929: 215) is no longer evident on the much-weathered monument.

Following Hollifield (1980: 160–61), Jasanoff (2005: 44) explains the Nøvling spelling **talgidai** as due to the preservation of 3rd sg. middle (weak) perfect periphrastic forms in *-dai* < IE **dʰedʰh₁ói* 'did', and the more recently discovered Udby find's **talgida** has been argued by Nielsen (2000: 160–64, 2011: 55–58) to preserve an aoristic construction *-da* < IE **dʰeh₁t*. Whatever the precise explanation, the appearance of spellings such as **talgidai** shows that the vocalic behaviour of the earliest texts is more complex than had long been suspected and that the development of word-final (and unstressed) vowels seems to be ongoing in early runic. Nonetheless Antonsen's interpretation of **unnam** and **wraita** both remain somewhat difficult, although unlike **un(d/þ)nam* both readings can ultimately be paralleled by later attested

North Germanic forms. Knirk was surely right to criticise Antonsen's reading **unnamẓ** as not justified by what can clearly be seen today on the Reistad monument, but the traditional interpretation of **unnam** as an equivalent to OE *underniman* is no less problematic on empirical grounds.

Moreover as Antonsen also argued, reading *ek Wakraz Unnām*[*z*] *wraita* would make much better typological sense than would an interpretation *ek Wakraz un*(*d/þ*)*nam wraita*. Not only are binomina well-enough represented in comparable early runic texts, the use of **wrītan* as a verb is paralleled several times in both Scandinavian and continental runic finds. *Wakraz Unnām*[*z*] would consist of two (etymological) cognomina (i.e. *Wakraz* itself seems originally just to have meant 'awake' or 'watchful'), but cognates of Wakraz are well-attested elsewhere as given names (cf. esp. the eighth-century Benedictine martyr St. Waccar), as are later reflections of putative Unnam[z]. Despite its morphological problems, Antonsen's interpretation is clearly better motivated in terms of actually attested compounds and forms than other explanations are. Eythórsson (1999) suggests (with Bugge), however, that **wraita** be connected with ON *reitr* 'a square, a space marked out, a place sketched out', as ON *rit*, OE *writ* 'writing' clearly attest the zero-grade. Yet this identification ignores the problem that *reitr* (acc. pl. *reitu* in *Grágás* I.65) seems to have been a *u*-stem originally, even if OHG *reiz* 'a scratch, a mark, a line' suggests that **wraituz* may well have retained its etymological meaning 'a scratch' in a text of this antiquity.[1]

Høst (1977: 153) was initially quite sceptical of Antonsen's reading **unnamẓ**, but seems to have become less so over time (Antonsen 2002: 6, 202–3). The form **unnam** is unique at Reistad, however, in that it is found quite near to the right-hand edge of the stone and hence could be interpreted as a partial form **unnam[iz]** if not Antonsen's **unnamẓ**. Although we might prefer not to allow such emendations (or orthographic fudges) on empirical grounds (cf. Seim 2003), the Reistad stone is quite weathered and it is clear that some early runic texts do feature comparable shortening or abbreviation. Several desinentially reduced early runic terms such as the Illerup fire-iron's **gauþz** (Stoklund 1995: 210) and the Gudme bracteate's **undz** (Moltke 1985: 114–15) seem similarly to have lost their stem vowels (or had them orthographically omitted) almost as if they represent Gothic or early West Germanic terms (Mees 2012: 267–70, 273–74). And Imer's (2011: 21) reading of the Gårdlösa form as **ek unwod ẉ** 'I Unwod(az) w(rote)' in light of the similar lack of an obvious inflection in the Værløse fibula's **alugod** (KJ 11) suggests that names in

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[1] The *o*-grade form does suggest an original *a*-stem formation, but a late development of a *u*-stem variant in Old Icelandic seems unlikely (Krahe & Meid 1969: 58–59).

early runic texts could sometimes be indicated with their stems abbreviated (much as occurs quite commonly in Roman epigraphy). Given the position of **unnam** as it appears on the Reistad stone, it seems a reasonable enough interpretation of the early Norwegian term to take it as a cognomen 'Slow-learner'.

Knirk was right to criticise Antonsen for his lack of respect for the primary epigraphic evidence – i.e. not acknowledging what textual forms were widely held by his colleagues to be recorded on the stone. But Antonsen was equally justified in his conviction that interpretations of such readings should be subject to linguistic (and indeed historical) verification. Spelling mistakes are well-enough known in both Roman and runic epigraphy, as are all sorts of contractions and abbreviations. Reistad **unnam** would be unique in North Germanic experience if it were to be accepted as a verb, whereas taking it as a cognomen *Unnām*[*iz*] (or *Unnām*[*z*]) < **un-nēm-iz* 'unseizable, untakeable, unlearned' (cf. Goth. *anda-nēms* 'pleasant') would be quite expected and (albeit somewhat ironic) otherwise unremarkable. The Reistad text already features several unexpected spellings – from the orthography **ik** for early runic *ek* at the left edge of the stone (which is often represented accordingly as **e̜k**) to the idiosyncratic treatment of the glide and velar nasal in what has usually been read as (a rather Latinate) **iuþingaz** 'Juthingaz' (cf. the ancient tribal name Juthungi) where we might expect *****juþiŋgaz** (hence Antonsen's alternative reading **idringaz**). It should come as no surprise to find similar orthographic eccentricity, then, in the representation of **unnam** (if for *Unnāmiz*, OSw. *Ónæmr*), particularly given the proximity of the difficult term to the right-hand edge of the stone. Yet a similar admission seems rather less likely for a verbal reading **un*(*d/þ*)*nam*, as among the Old Germanic languages only Gothic clearly forms compound verbs with *und* (e.g. *und-greipan* 'to seize' and *und-rēdan* 'to provide') and verbs featuring **unþa-* (cf. Goth. *unþa-þliuhan* 'to escape') are quite rare, particularly in West Germanic (where they are, moreover, typically denominative, e.g. OE *úþ-witian* 'to study philosophy' from *úþ-wita* 'philosopher, scribe'). Antonsen's interpretation of **ik** (if not **e̜k**) **wakraz unnam**[**i̜z**] **wraita** has much more to offer from a typological, empirical and linguistic perspective, and hence seems a more reasonable interpretation of the second and third lines of the Reistad inscription than it has often been judged previously.

Moreover Antonsen's interpretation of **wraita** has been strengthened by the appearance of a similar form on a bracteate found at Trollhättan in 2009 (Axboe & Källström 2013). The second part of the Trollhättan text clearly reads **wraitalaþo** which, given the common appearance of nom. sg. **laþu**

'invitation' on bracteates, appears best to be interpreted as 'I wrote an invitation' (Mees 2014: 287–88). The interpretation 'I wrote **alaþo**' preferred by Axboe and Källström (2013) is clearly predicated on the assumption that Antonsen's verbal interpretation of the Reistad form **wraita** is wrong. Yet the discovery of the second Trollhättan inscription may equally be taken as evidence that Antonsen was right – we do not know enough about the workings of the early Nordic laws of final syllables otherwise to be sure.

At the very least the Trollhättan II form would seem to rule out Eythórsson's interpretation of Reistad's **wraita** as being a reference to the surrounding land – it is hard to see how **wraita** could have any meaning other than a reference to writing given its appearance on a bracteate. And the Trollhättan II find similarly seems to preclude Bammesberger's (1996: 124) assumption of a spelling mistake (for a putative epenthetic *****warita**). Antonsen's contention that the *-*a* of the 1st pres. pret. sg. could have lasted into the fifth century is usually thought to be presumptive, as the West and East Germanic languages also lose *-*a* and hence the dating of the change is often ascribed to the Proto-Germanic period (cf. Ringe 2006: 118). This reasoning, however, confuses *terminus post quem* with *terminus ante quem* – as Boutkan (1995: 332–34) acknowledges (after Perridon 1991), the North Germanic loss of *-*a* could just as well have been late. Antonsen's evidence regarding Northwest Germanic *a*-umlaut was first adduced long before he became aware of the Reistad form and given the lack of counter-evidence it clearly supports his interpretation of **wraita**. Other than presuming that a morphologically unexpected nominal derivation **wraita** 'scratching, writing' is to be assumed in both the Reistad and Trollhättan II inscriptions (or postulating the presence of some sort of clitic **-a** in both texts), Antonsen's plea for acceptance of a late preservation of *-*a* in early runic seems a more plausible interpretation of the evidence at hand.

6. Conclusion

Antonsen's interpretations of early runic inscriptions have often often criticised for not paying enough attention to the empirical evidence represented by widely accepted readings of texts. Yet his linguistic interpretations of difficult inscriptions have often been dismissed on dubious grounds and frequently deserve more attention than his detractors have afforded them. His analysis of the names in the Nøvling and Lindholmen texts provided genuine advances on those accepted by Krause, and his interpretation of

the first-person text on the Reistad inscription was similarly insightful and worthy of attention. Whether he was ultimately correct or not, all three of his interpretations can clearly be taken as advancing the state of the historiography, and hence be accepted as more useful contributions to runological decipherment than they are often admitted to be.

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DECIPHERMENT

NANCY L. WICKER

Bracteates and Beverages: An Image from Scalford (and Hoby) and the Inscription **alu**

Abstract
Recent metal-detector discoveries of two die-identical Migration Period bracteates from the parishes of Scalford and Hoby with Rotherby, both in Leicestershire in the East Midlands of England, may throw light on the use of these objects and the interpretation of the older runic inscription **alu**. These pieces display an imitation Latin inscription but no runes, along with an image interpreted as a man quaffing a drink from a glass beaker, a figure previously unknown on bracteates. The iconography reinforces a connection between bracteates and beverages and may be construed as a profane representation of hospitality and nourishment.

Keywords: Older runic inscriptions, bracteates, imagery, England, Migration Period, drink, women

The discoveries of two Migration Period (fifth-to-sixth century) gold bracteates in Leicestershire in the East Midlands of England bring attention to a region previously outside of any consideration for bracteate scholarship. According to Wendy Scott (2015: 145), the first example was found north of Melton in Scalford parish (Portable Antiquities Scheme LEIC-EDD980) and the second — a die duplicate of the first piece — was reportedly found west of Melton Mowbray in the parish of Hoby with Rotherby in Leicestershire (PAS LEIC-1E63A8). Although these bracteates do not have runic inscriptions, I bring them to the attention of runologists because they exhibit an intriguing image previously unknown on bracteates. I suggest that this pictorial composition of a man lifting a beaker to his mouth should be examined in relation to the runic inscription **alu**, which occurs on several bracteates, with the prospect that such an investigation may lead us to a fuller understanding of how these objects were used and how their texts may be interpreted.

The bracteates from Scalford (IK 635,1) and Hoby with Rotherby (IK 635,2)

The specimen now referred to as the Scalford bracteate was discovered by metal-detecting in the Melton area in July 2010, too late for Charlotte Behr (2010) to include it in her article on new bracteate finds in England. However,

Figure 1. Bracteate from Scalford (IK 635,1), Melton parish, Leicestershire. Portable Antiquities Scheme reference: LEIC-EDD980. Photo: Creative Commons.

she subsequently published it in a regional journal (Behr 2011a) as well as in a volume in honor of the late Martin Welch (Behr 2011b). It is included in the final volume of the corpus *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit – Auswertung und Neufunde,* where it is assigned the number IK 635 in the *Ikonographischer Katalog* (Heizmann & Axboe 2011: 996–97).

The Scalford bracteate measures 2.4 centimeters in diameter and weighs 2.5 grams (Figure 1). The thin sheet of gold is bent, torn, and scratched in several places, and this damage leads to conjectures that were made in the published drawing of it (Figure 2). The main motif is a profile bust of a man with an elaborate diadem embellishing his hair. The features in front of his garment are presumed to be his arm with his hand holding a conical drinking vessel. In front of and behind his head stand several symbols and imitations of Roman letters. The pendant is one of only six Type A bracteates – which show a human head but no large animal – from early medieval England, and due to technical details of its undecorated loop and the absence of a wire edge rim, Behr asserts that it was most likely made in England (Behr 2011b: 2).

In November 2014, another bracteate was discovered by metal detecting, also in the Melton Mowbray region of Leicestershire. Initially, no specific find location was reported by the Portable Antiquities Scheme, but in her publication of 2015 Scott refers to the find place as Hoby. The disk is incomplete, with current dimensions of 3.4 by 2.8 centimeters and a weight of

Figure 2. Bracteate from Scalford (IK 635,1). Drawing by Jane Sandoe, from Behr, 2011.

3.59 grams. Although the object reveals significant damage – at least part of which is deemed to be post-depositional – the central image can be recognized as die-identical with the bracteate from Scalford, so it is designated as IK 635,2. The outer perimeter zone of the larger specimen from Hoby was punched with a stamp design previously unknown on bracteates, whereas the smaller Scalford example has no border. The Hoby find also differs from the Scalford piece with its beaded wire edge rim, a feature very common on Scandinavian bracteates. However, as Scott (2015: 125) notes, the die linkage of the two artifacts and certain technical details support local production rather than import from Scandinavia. Underneath the now-missing suspension loop of the Hoby pendant lies an irregularly shaped spiral of beaded gold wire soldered onto the punched outer concentric zone of decoration on the disk. This embellishment is similar to wire additions on several well-known bracteates from England (St. Giles' Field, Oxford, IK 323; Undley, Suffolk, IK 374; Unknown findplace, Kent, IK 554; Denton, Kent, IK 582); including three recently found bracteates from Binham in Norfolk (IK 604,2; 630,1; and 630,3, cf. Behr et al. 2014). Therefore, the wire spiral on the Hoby specimen bolsters the assessment that both objects under consideration here were more likely made in England than imported.

Although the bracteate from Hoby is bent and incomplete (Figure 3), it confirms details of the die design that were ambiguous on the earlier find from

Figure 3. Bracteate from Hoby (IK 635,2), Hoby with Rotherby parish, Leicestershire. Portable Antiquities Scheme reference: LEIC-1E63A8. Photo: Creative Commons.

Scalford, particularly the cup raised to the man's mouth. After differentiating the physical condition and find circumstances of the two distinct objects, I refer to the identical images and texts on the two bracteates from Scalford and its die-twin from Hoby as the "Scalford model". Even before the Hoby discovery, Behr (2011a: 1) proposed that the Scalford scene was profane, not sacral, describing it in the abstract of her essay as an "attempt to visualize an important social and symbolic activity of a Germanic leader, the feasting and drinking in the hall, that has often been referred to in early medieval literature and through grave goods in princely graves". Accordingly, this image may be significant for an interpretation of the use of some bracteates.

The inscription **alu** and possible references to drink and drinking

On the Scalford model, symbols and imitation Roman letters are positioned around the perimeter where runic inscriptions often are located on bracteates. There are no runes on this model, but the absence of runes on bracteates is not unusual. Whereas all rune-stones by definition have runes carved on them, not all bracteates have runes or even inscriptions of any kind. By the end of 2010, a total of 1003 bracteates (from 622 distinct dies) were known, and 222 (from 153 dies) of those have runes; thus, approxim-

ately a quarter of all bracteates have runes (Axboe 2011: 296). Even though this is a relatively large data set of runic texts, I maintain that to gain an understanding of the function of bracteates, we should consider those both with and without inscriptions. In light of the image of a man with a drinking vessel on the Scalford model, the meaning and use of the oft-occurring inscription **alu** should be re-considered. As recently as 2014, T. L. Markey and Bernard Mees (2014: 2) unequivocally stated that "no imagery suggestive of drinking or libations appears on the bracteates," but with these new finds, their assertion is no longer valid.

Runic inscriptions on bracteates are central to the entire corpus of texts in the early futhark since they represent approximately one-third of the total number of such texts on all types of artifacts (Wicker & Williams 2013: 183). In particular, the inscription **alu** is found on numerous Migration Period gold bracteates and on other objects as diverse as a rune-stone at Elgesem, Vestfold (KJ 57) and a ring from Karlino (formerly Körlin, East Pomerania, KJ 46, now lost). Gerd Høst Heyerdahl (1981) counted 23 items with **alu** and variants. A few additional examples have since come to light, notably a cremation urn from Spong Hill, Norfolk (Pieper 1986), an axe-shaft from Nydam, South Jutland (Stoklund 1994), two die-identical small, non-Scandinavian-type seventh-century bracteates from Hüfingen, Baden-Württemberg (Düwel in Fingerlin et al. 1998), and two sword pommels from Grenay and Saint-Dizier, France (Fischer et al. 2008, nos. 18, 23). The number of inscriptions counted depends upon whether one accepts:

1) shortened versions, for instance, **al** on a bracteate from Börringe, Scania (IK 26);
2) combinations of **alu** with other runes, including **alugod** on a rosette fibula from Værløse, Zealand (KJ 11) and **saralu** on a stone at Årstad, Rogaland (KJ 58);
3) and variants with runes in a different order and/or combined with additional runes, including **lua** on two arrow shafts from Nydam bog, South Jutland (Stoklund 1995); **foslau** on a bracteate from Fakse (IK 101); **uldaul** on a bracteate from the Tønder area, South Jutland (IK 353); **aalul** on a recently discovered bracteate from Stavnsager near Randers, Jutland (IK 649; Imer in Axboe 2017); and **aallu** on a bone fragment (possibly from a comb) from Horvnes, Nordland (Knirk 2006: 18).

In a study of runic formula words, Wilhelm Heizmann (2011: 533–38) enumerates a total of 54 discrete objects – revealing 34 unique texts – that are conceivably under consideration, including 27 bracteates from 21 dies. Among

these are recent discoveries of two die-identical pieces from Uppåkra, Scania (IK 591,1 and IK 591,2; Axboe & Stoklund 2003) and six die-identical bracteates from an unknown find place with the inscription **alulauwr** (IK 600; Heizmann & Axboe 2011: 959–61), but the recent find from Stavnsager (IK 649; Imer in Axboe 2017) was not included in his count. In short, **alu** texts on bracteates comprise over half of the corpus (34 objects from 21 dies) for this inscription and accordingly have attracted a great deal of attention.

Interpretations of alu are as diverse as 'temple', 'magic', 'enchantment', 'bewitchment', 'protection', 'ale' (or 'beer'), 'hale', and 'nourishment'. Ute Zimmerman (2015), in a paper presented at the 2010 International Symposium on Runes and Runic Inscriptions, summarizes the vast literature on alu. Here I highlight only a few of the possibilities. Zimmerman favors an interpretation as the beverage ale or beer, following Anders Bæksted (1945: 88) and Høst Heyerdahl (1981). In contrast to the numerous interpretations of alu as a noun, Lennart Elmevik (1999: 25) supports Erik Rooth's (1926: 9–10) proposal of a verbal form, 'I give strength' or 'I give protection', and considers its relationship to "the nourishing strength-giving beverage" (Elmevik 1999: 28). Furthermore, Markey and Mees (2014: 5) point to a "semantic strand of *alu(þ)… i.e., as an etymologically 'nourishing' drink." The concepts of drink and nourishment are not entirely unrelated since a drink can indeed be nourishing. Additional runic inscriptions on bracteates may also support a link between these pendants and beverages. John Hines (in Behr et al. 2014, pp. 50–52) points to the inscription medu, 'mead' (?) on the bracteate from Undley (IK 374), and in the same article proposes that **waat** on one of the bracteates from Binham (IK 604,1) is "a noun wāt standing for a drink", related to modern English 'wet'. Even though the Scalford model does not display a runic inscription referring to a drink, it is tempting to propose that its raised glass could contain ale (or mead, beer, etc.). Furthermore, it may shed light on a general intersection of bracteate texts with imagery, not as captions to pictures but as an intensification of related ideas.

The intersection of word and image

Previous efforts to equate word and image on bracteates have not met with great success. Detlev Ellmers (1972: 225–30) interprets the inscription **houaʀ** on a bracteate from Funen (IK 58) as 'the High One', which he recognizes as a by-name for Óðinn, thus prompting him to identify the accompanying image as the god. This thesis is embraced by Karl Hauck (1992) who extends the

identification of Óðinn to the humanoid figure that is shown alone on Type A bracteates and with a horse-like animal on Type C bracteates. However, one of the critical but unexplained limitations of this proposition is that the inscription **houaʀ** occurs on only one bracteate. In another attempt to equate word and image, Klaus Düwel and Wilhelm Heizmann (2006: 20) interpret the placement of **laukaʀ** ('leek') along the horse's leg on the Type C bracteate from Börringe (IK 26), mentioned above. Because of the supposedly significant location of the text, they propose that this plant of reputed curative properties was used to heal the horse's leg, as described in the Second Merseburg Charm. Although I do not question the identification of **laukaʀ** as 'leek', I contend that the positioning of the inscription along the horse's leg is simply fortuitous. The runes hug the perimeter of the disk, emulating where legends are normally placed on coins. Consequently, I maintain that the location of the runes so that **laukaʀ** touches the side of the animal's leg is merely coincidental (Wicker & Williams 2013: 156). Bracteate inscriptions do not seem to serve as captions accompanying the images with which they occur. Although it would be audacious to insist that **alu**, **medu**, and **waat** on bracteates are directly associated with the image of the man raising his glass on the Scalford model, we should consider the larger context of bracteates, both with and without runes, to examine how images and runic inscriptions on bracteates may be connected to how the objects were used.

The contexts of **alu** bracteates in light of the Scalford and Hoby discoveries

Zimmerman (2015: 51–52) stresses the importance of bracteate find circumstances for interpreting the inscription **alu**. Markey and Mees (2014: 1–3) also call for an examination of amuletic, bog, and funerary contexts to aid the etymological interpretation of this text. The archaeological find circumstances of a bracteate can be examined at three different scales: the physical condition of the artifact; the circumstances in which it was discovered, and the geographic location of the deposit in relation to other similar finds. By examining all three contextual levels, we may reach a better understanding of how an object was used, which in turn may assist interpretation of the inscription.

Both exemplars of the Scalford model exhibit heavy wear or rough handling. The Scalford bracteate was rather lightly struck, yet the central area displaying the man's head was pressed more firmly than the rest of the piece.

Therefore, this part of the impression is visible in the mirror image of the design on the reverse of the object whereas the vessel held by the man is barely perceptible. The suspension loop is intact, and its attachment was reinforced and strengthened on the reverse with a lump of gold. There is no attached wire rim, and the edge of the gold disk shows a great deal of abrasion as it is cracked in two places and crushed in the middle of the left side. The Hoby bracteate apparently was subjected to some kind of violence resulting in serious damage to it since almost one-third of the object is now missing. The Portable Antiquities Scheme assessment noted that the disk had been folded over itself before deposition but that some damage may have been post-depositional. I conjecture that the loop may have been compromised and torn away after persistent stress from usage. A tear extends downward from the spot where one side of the loop would have been attached and then extends along the juncture of the boundary where the central area struck by the die meets the punched border zone. The interface of die area and border is typically a vulnerable part of a bracteate where accidentally scoring a surround too deeply risks cutting through the gold disk. The beaded edge wire of the Hoby pendant exhibits heavy abrasion and is worn completely smooth along its outside perimeter. The overall impression is that both bracteates were worn for a long time, not simply for an occasional ceremony but instead throughout a lifetime.

We assume that the find contexts of bracteates are linked in some way to activities with which these items were associated before deposition. The find circumstances in which we discover them include undocumented single finds, hoards, graves, and settlements (with the last in this list yielding only a few recent examples). Both the Scalford and Hoby bracteates were discovered with the use of metal-detectors; unfortunately, no find contexts were documented. All bracteates displaying **alu** have come from hoards, settlements, and single finds; none has been recovered from a burial. Similarly, other bracteates with inscriptions that may refer to drink and drinking stem from non-burial contexts; the piece from Undley was discovered as a single find by a farmer (West 1983), and the one from Binham is interpreted as part of a hoard (Behr et al. 2014). On the other hand, objects besides bracteates that have **alu** inscriptions have been unearthed from both hoards and graves. Høst Heyerdahl (1981: 49) suggests that **alu** was carved on grave markers such as the Elgesem stone (KJ 57) to commemorate the grave-ale drunk at the burial. She states that an interpretation of **alu** as a warning or taboo for 'protection' of the grave does not make sense in this context. Other examples of **alu** in burial contexts include the cremation urn from Spong Hill (Pieper

1986) and a bronze mount from Fosse, Rogaland (KJ 48) and the bone comb fragment from Horvnes (Knirk 2006: 18), which were both excavated from grave mounds. Hoard finds include the Karlino (Körlin) ring (KJ 46), which was inscribed with a bind-rune of **al** (possibly a shortened version of **alu**) and discovered with a bracteate. Also found in a hoard are two arrow shafts from Nydam bog inscribed with **lua** (Stoklund1995). Zimmerman (2015) considers the contexts of all finds with **alu** and pinpoints two specific uses, one in connection with representations of the otherworld in burials and bog-offerings, and the other on objects given by military leaders to their followers. Recent finds of a few bracteates in settlement contexts, including a fragment found in the floor of the so-called ritual building at Uppåkra and a complete example in another structure there (Larsson 2007: 17, 21), have been explained as traces of ceremonies (perhaps including the presentation of bracteates) that took place in the hall of the leader (Andersson 2001: 77). Although bracteates may have been given to men by military leaders, bestowal to women may explain why these pendants were placed on the chests of women in burials rather than men. On the basis of such finds, Birgit Arrhenius (1992) proposes that elite women may have been given bracteates as part of their morning gifts of jewelry upon marriage. From finds of well-worn and pristine bracteates found together in burials, Sonia Hawkes (Hawkes & Pollard 1981: 350) conjectures that some bracteates were treasured for a long period of time, which leads to the proposal that some of these precious objects may have been passed on as heirlooms, eventually to be placed in graves or hoards, if not simply lost or melted down.

The geographic range of bracteates stemming from burials is nearly distinct from the distribution of those discovered in hoards (see map, Andrén 1991: 248). All bracteates with **alu** inscriptions, including from the Uppåkra settlement, are found in the zone of hoard finds located in southern Scandinavia and the northern margins of the Continent. On the other hand, female graves with bracteates are found in western Norway, in England, and across a broad swath of the Continent. (A few anomalous pieces that lack suspension loops and apparently served as Charon's coins have been found in male graves on Gotland; see Lamm and Axboe 1989.) The regions that contain female burials with bracteates are segregated from the areas where bracteates with **alu** inscriptions are found. The significance of this disjunction of find contexts and regional distribution invites speculation whether the inscription **alu** could have been an alternate way to signal a female connection with bracteates in regions where these objects were not placed in burials or where graves were not ostentatiously marked (and as a result not easily dis-

covered by archaeologists). Additionally, I propose that not only were bracteates worn and used by women but that some of these items were passed on to other women through inheritance and as a result rarely appear in graves.

A modest proposal concerning bracteates, women, ale, and nourishment

In *Beowulf*, Wealhþeow serves as hostess in a northern European hall building, bringing drink-filled vessels to the men (lines 620–22 and 2020–21). The image on the Scalford bracteate model may be interpreted as such a man lifting his glass to imbibe, corresponding to our stereotype of male drinking behavior. Charlotte Hedenstierna-Jonson (1998: 128–29) suggests that bracteates worn by women may have symbolized their role as hostesses serving drinks at ceremonies in such halls. However, we should not assume that Wealhþeow – and Scandinavian women, too – never consumed the beverage. The image of a drinking man displayed on a bracteate negates neither a woman's use of the pendant nor the vessel depicted on it. Høst-Heyerdahl identifies **alu** as 'ale' (or beer) and points to its use as grave-ale in a ritual carried out beside a memorial stone; furthermore, she cites the prophylactic use of both **laukaʀ** ('leek') and **alu**, mentioning in particular the use of warm ale to wash a newborn baby (Høst-Heyerdahl 1981: 46). In light of this usage, I return to Elmevik's interpretation of **alu** as 'to nourish' and Düwel's (2008: 13) as 'protection' to relate this text to the use of bracteates by women. I previously have mentioned special properties of ale as a protective and nutritious drink for women during pregnancy, childbirth, and nursing (Wicker 2012: 116). Although women in our time are discouraged from drinking alcoholic beverages while pregnant or nursing, throughout pre-modern and early modern times, women were served wine or beer with nutritious foods for the benefit of the mother and the child, as reported by Louise Hagberg (1949: 15–25) and Grethe Jacobsen (1983: 98–99). Accordingly, an association of **alu** with women, in the sense of 'ale' as well as 'protection' and 'nourishing/nourishment', is compatible. The linkage of bracteates with women in their graves may reflect their protective aspect with the added connection with nourishment. Just as drink was distributed to men in the hall, perhaps bracteates also were given to women there – presented in the hall, but worn throughout life, including during childbirth. The contextual associations of beer or ale with nourishment, health, healing, and protection are myriad and can be understood in both mundane and sacral contexts, pertinent to both men and women.

Conclusion

The discovery of the Scalford bracteate and its die duplicate from Hoby has opened up new lines of thought concerning whether bracteate imagery is sacral or profane. Occasionally a new find brings significant changes to the corpus and to our understanding. For instance, it had been presumed that no Type D bracteates (those with only animal ornamentation) had runic inscriptions, but this supposition was refuted by the discovery of a Type D bracteate with runes from Stavnsager (IK 649; Imer in Axboe 2017). Similarly, an animated debate concerning whether dies used to stamp bracteates were composed of bronze (copper alloy), wood, or clay was quieted in 1990, when a copper alloy example was discovered at Postgården in northern Jutland (IK 572; Axboe 1993). Since then, three more metal dies have been found in England (Behr 2010, catalog nos. 8 and 10; Behr et al. 2014: 70), and the argument now seems moot. The discovery of the first known English bracteate hoard at Binham also forces us to question our assumptions about find contexts, since previously bracteates had been found only in graves and single finds – not hoards – in England. These examples are lessons to us that our interpretations can change in the light of a new discovery. Over one thousand bracteates constitute a large data set, yet there are many gaps in our knowledge and challenges for us to understand the information that is available. Interpretations made from the absence of finds or from non-representative data are especially vulnerable. Moreover, many explanations have been based on the assumption that the use of bracteates was sacral, leading to the hypothesis that the meaning of "charm words" must also be sacral. The Scalford image of a man preparing to quaff a beverage is one more piece of information about bracteates and possibly pertinent to **alu**, too. As an art historian and archaeologist, I pose questions about runic inscriptions on bracteates that differ from those asked by philologists and linguists. However, all who study these objects should be prepared to re-examine whether word and image sometimes may be linked, especially in light of new discoveries. When confronted with a multitude of possible interpretations of **alu**, we should heed the context of the inscription and remember that a word may indeed have several definitions.

Postscript

This paper has been revised to regularize find location names for the two new bracteates under consideration. Both pieces were found in the Melton Mowbray area of Leicestershire and have been referred to as the Melton bracteates. The first example (IK 635,1) was reportedly found "north of Melton" in Scalford civil parish and is now referred to as the Scalford bracteate. At the time of my 2014 oral presentation and my original manuscript, the find location of the second bracteate (IK 635,2) had not been disclosed by the Portable Antiquities Scheme, so I referred to it as the Leicestershire bracteate. It subsequently was reported to have been discovered "west of Melton Mowbray" in the civil parish named Hoby with Rotherby (Scott 2015); therefore, it is now referred to in the bracteate IK classification as the Hoby with Rotherby bracteate (personal communication, Charlotte Behr). I shorten the name to Hoby where repetition renders the longer appellation awkward.

Published references to the Scalford and Hoby bracteates (Scott 2015) and the Stavnsager Type D bracteate (Imer in Axboe 2017) now replace my original references to websites that were not stable.

Scott's 2015 article had not yet been published when I presented my paper at the symposium in Nyköping nor when I submitted my manuscript. Upon reading her paper, I was pleased to find that she interprets bracteate use in the context of drinking rituals (Scott 2015: 150) similar to my proposal.

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LILLA KOPÁR

The Rise and Fall of Anglo-Saxon Runic Stone Monuments

Runic Inscriptions and the Development of Sculpture in Early Medieval England

Abstract
The Old English runic corpus contains at least thirty-seven inscriptions carved in stone, which are concentrated geographically in the north of England and dated mainly from the seventh to the ninth centuries. The quality and content of the inscriptions vary from simple names (or fragments thereof) to poetic vernacular memorial formulae. Nearly all of the inscriptions appear on monumental sculpture in an ecclesiastical context and are considered to have served commemorative purposes. Rune-inscribed stones show great variety in terms of monument type, from name-stones, cross-shafts and slabs to elaborate monumental crosses that served different functions and audiences. Their inscriptions have often been analyzed by runologists and epigraphers from a linguistic or epigraphic point of view, but the relationship of these inscribed monuments to other sculptured stones has received less attention in runological circles. Thus the present article explores the place and development of rune-inscribed monuments in the context of sculptural production in pre-Conquest England, and identifies periods of innovation and change in the creation and function of runic monuments. It points to changes in commemorative practices, monument types, and patronage that had an impact on the use of runes on sculpture, from their growing popularity on monastic commemorative sculpture in the late seventh century to their ultimate abandonment in a sculptural context in the early eleventh century.

Keywords: Anglo-Saxon England, stone sculpture, runic inscriptions, Old English, vernacular memorial inscriptions, name-stones

Runic inscriptions on stone constitute a significant part of the Anglo-Saxon runic corpus: not counting coins, about one third of the surviving inscriptions have been preserved in this medium, in most cases in a commemorative context as part of monumental sculpture. There are at least thirty-seven monuments with Anglo-Saxon runes, or traces thereof, known from the British Isles,[1] and the recent discovery of an inscription on a church wall at Kirby Misperton in North Yorkshire[2] has further increased this number. As for

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[1] There are an additional two graffiti inscriptions from Italy, at Monte Gargano and Rome, but they constitute a different type of record in spite of the shared medium of stone. The Kirby Misperton inscription resembles these two inscriptions in its graffiti-like nature.

[2] Joanna Story and Martin Findell, pers. comm. For a 3D model by Prof. Dominic Powlesland, see https://sketchfab.com/3d-models/kb-runes-2013–25dfc42f477d46beaf58b3867e9f69ab.

their geographical distribution, the vast majority of the monuments come from the north of England and adjacent territories, including the Wirral, (present-day) southwest Scotland, and the Isle of Man.[3] The only two southern outliers are the rather unusual Dover and Sandwich (or Richborough) stones from East Kent, less than twenty kilometers from each other, but probably separated by centuries.

These runic monuments have all (or almost all, see below) been assigned a post-650 A.D. date based on historical, art-historical, and, when possible, linguistic evidence. This puts them into the later (post-650) group of runic inscriptions (cf. Page 1999: 25–28, Parsons 1999: 40–42, Barnes 2012: 42), in linguistic terms of the period of (recorded) Old English (as opposed to Proto-Old English, c. A.D. 450–650). They represent a version of the runic script after its proposed reform and standardization in the seventh century (Parsons 1999: 130) that most likely originated in or was closely associated with a monastic context. This post-650 dating and the ecclesiastical context of the monuments are in harmony with the circumstances of the rise of sculptural production in England in the wake of the first reorganization of the English church (after the Synod of Whitby in 664) and concerted efforts in building churches and monastic establishments in the latter half of the seventh century (Bailey 1996: 23–41, esp. 24–25).[4] Although the earliest runic stone monuments are of mid- to late-seventh century date, most rune-inscribed monuments are dated to the eighth and ninth centuries—the most productive period of runic writing in England, but not the most prolific in Anglo-Saxon sculptural production. The use of runic inscriptions on sculpture continued into the tenth and the early eleventh century before it died off, some time after the settlement of the Vikings but before the arrival of the Normans.

The development of runic monuments in England has been discussed by runologists and epigraphers from the perspective of changes in literacy, language, and epigraphy (Okasha 1971: 4–6, Page 1999: 130–156, Parsons 1999: 76, Barnes 2012: 42–51, Findell 2014: 41–44, 54–55 etc.). In the following, I propose to look at further aspects of contextual transformations: changes in sculptural traditions, monument types, patronage, and commemorative practices—that is, transformations in sculptural production in pre-Conquest

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[3] A similar distribution is characteristic also for non-runic inscriptions, of which about eighty percent were found in the north of England (see Okasha 1971: 5, 140).
[4] Ray Page (1999: 131) noted only two monuments where an ecclesiastical origin is uncertain: the Falstone stone with a Christian memorial inscription and the Sandwich/Richborough stone with its undeciphered text, most likely a name. The latter may be of pre-Christian date (cf. Bailey 1996: 23–24). Interestingly, while the north of England has produced considerably more stone sculptures than the south, most surviving Anglo-Saxon stone churches (or parts thereof) are in the south (Okasha 1971: 5, Taylor & Taylor 1965: xxx–xxxiii).

England that had an impact, directly or indirectly, on the use of the runic script, its preservation in stone, and the rise and fall of runic monuments in England.

A note on dating

The dating of stone sculpture is notoriously difficult, and in the case of inscribed stones there is a real danger of circular arguments based on linguistic versus art-historical dating. In the development of Anglo-Saxon sculpture, specifically in the north of England, there is a watershed in the early to mid-tenth century that divides the earlier, so-called Anglian or pre-Viking period from the later, so-called Anglo-Scandinavian, Viking-Age, or simply late Anglo-Saxon sculpture. This periodization has significant regional variation (primarily with regard to the extent of Scandinavian control or lack thereof), and is based largely on developments in style, iconography, and patronage, as well as in drastic changes in the volume and distribution of sculpture (Bailey 1996: 13–18, 77–80, 1980). The majority of the rune-inscribed monuments fall into the earlier, Anglian period of sculptural production, but a few monuments show Scandinavian influence, most notably the tenth-century Crowle stone (no. 1, Lincolnshire)[5] with its Anglo-Scandinavian-style figural iconography and its curving rune-band (Everson & Stocker 1999: 147–152). (Figure 1) Further, the lost Leeds fragment (no. 9, Yorkshire) with its memorial inscription with a possibly Anglicized Scandinavian name (*Onlaf*) is suggestive of cultural interaction with Scandinavians (Coatsworth 2008a: 207). The now illegible (and thus disputed) Bingley font or cross base (no. 2, Yorkshire) is also of later, Viking-period date (tenth to eleventh century) with design elements similar to those in Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture (Coatsworth 2008a: 101–2). These few examples suggest some continuation of the tradition of vernacular runic monuments (although in reduced numbers) even under the changing circumstances of Scandinavian settlement.

In the context of the development of sculptural production in early medieval England, I would point to three periods of intense transformation of runic monuments. First, in the mid- to late-seventh or early eighth-centuries, when runes were widely introduced in ecclesiastical sculpture in the north of England; second, in the course of the eighth century, when there developed a fashion of formulaic vernacular inscriptions; and lastly, in the

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[5] The numbering of the monuments is based on the standard catalogue of Anglo-Saxon sculpture, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* (Cramp 1984–2018, 13 printed volumes to date). For the online catalogue, see http://www.ascorpus.ac.uk/catindex.php.

Figure 1: Crowle, Lincoln-shire. Photo: Judy O'Neill. Copyright: Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, Durham University.

Figure 2: Falstone, Northumberland. Photo: Tom Middlemas.

early to mid-tenth century, when a gradual shift in the balance of text and image in a commemorative context led to the decline of runic inscriptions on stone. Beyond these recognizable periods of change, it seems that rune-inscribed monuments were an area of constant innovation and experimentation, and the corpus, limited as it is, shows a surprising variety of monuments.

Monument types and chronology

Anglo-Saxon runic inscriptions appear on monumental crosses, name-stones, recumbent slabs, cross-shafts, and occasionally on unique and unusual monuments like the Falstone skeuomorph (no. 2, Northumberland), which appears to be a leather bag or wooden or bone reliquary rendered in stone (Coatsworth 2008b: 161, Cramp 1984, I: 172–3). (Figure 2) In runological literature, these diverse monuments are often referred to by the common label "rune-stones", as in Ray Page's seminal work, *Introduction to English Runes* (1999, Chapter 10: Rune-stones, 130–56). There is a real danger in putting all rune-inscribed stone monuments into one big bag, because we disregard, or at least marginalize, valuable contextual information as to their varied functions and audience. This type of information is important for interpreting the individual inscriptions as much as for understanding runic literacy at large. The term "rune-stone" itself is an unfortunate generic label for the Anglo-Saxon material as it is often used in a more specific sense to describe a particular type of inscribed memorial monument in a Scandinavian or Norse

Figure 3: Name-stone, Lindisfarne 29, Northumberland. Photo: Tom Middlemas. Copyright: Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, Durham University.

cultural context. From the point of view of sculptural typology, none of the Anglo-Saxon monuments is a rune-stone. They represent a different monumental and artistic tradition (or traditions) that emerged from a different cultural context and was inspired for the most part by models different from the rune-stone tradition in Scandinavia. Stone sculpture in early medieval

England originated as an ecclesiastical art form with strong ties to the Continent. Consequently, almost all surviving runic monuments in England show obvious links to a Christian context, in most cases to an ecclesiastical or monastic setting.

A review of the chronology of the runic monuments and its correlation to monument types allows us to detect some trends and local traditions. The earliest monuments with runic inscriptions from the north of England constitute a fairly unified typological group: they are small name-stones found at major monastic foundations at Lindisfarne (Northumberland, nos. 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30a–b), Monkwearmouth (Co. Durham, no. 4) and Hartlepool (Co. Durham, nos. 1, 2). (Figure 3) They are part of a bigger corpus of thirty similar slabs and fragments in total,[6] some in roman, others in runic lettering, and some roman-runic biscriptal. These name-stones are decorated with an incised cross and carry one or two personal names. They served commemorative functions, but it is unclear whether they have been used as grave markers. Only Hartlepool, where some of the name-stones were interred with bodies, suggests a direct connection with burials (Cramps1984: 97). The new finds at Lindisfarne also emerged from the general area of a cemetery, although they could not be associated with individual graves (David Petts, pers. comm.). Christine Maddern, in her 2013 monograph on Northumbrian name-stones, concluded that the function of the name-stones was "to perpetuate monastic memories and to seek salvation for the souls [of the departed and of the patrons] through prayer" in anticipation of the Last Judgment (2013: 250). The layout of some of the stones suggests that name-stones "may also have been intended as pages of libri vitae, each stone forming a page in a book to be read by Christ on the Last Day" (ibid.).

On the basis of their iconography, the majority of the name-stones are dated to the eighth century, with the non-runic Wensley stone (no. 8, N. Yorkshire, Lang 2001: 224–26) being the latest attested name-stone from the early ninth century (Maddern 2013: 248). The Lindisfarne stones seem to represent the beginning of this tradition in the second half of the seventh century. The rune-inscribed stones of Monkwearmouth 4 and Hartlepool 2 are of similar date, while Hartlepool 1 is possibly a bit later in the eighth century. It is possible that Jarrow had a similar tradition of runic name-stones, although none of this particular type survives.[7] The context and patronage of

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[6] A new name-stone fragment with the roman-letter inscription FRITH was discovered at Lindisfarne by DigVentures in 2016. For a digital model of the stone (by Hugh Fiske for DigVentures), see https://sketchfab.com/3d-models/lindisfarne-anglo-saxon-name-stone-v1-0b7f5c01740a4594baeb39dc1276efea.

[7] The Jarrow cross-slabs display longer Latin inscriptions (see nos. 16a–b, 14), but the fragment Jarrow 12 (Cramp 1984: 110–11) may point in the direction of simple name-stones.

these monuments are undoubtedly monastic, and the runic ones come from known centers of literacy nested in well-established cultural (and power) networks.

One might also expect similar name-stones from the monastic site of Whitby (N. Yorkshire), on the basis of its close connections to Hartlepool and its documented runic literacy.[8] But Whitby had a different tradition of inscribed gravestones: plain stone crosses with inscriptions across the lateral arms, as opposed to the manuscript-page-like slabs with letters in two or four quadrants around a central cross.[9] The earliest ones are dated to the late-seventh to mid-eighth century, the later ones to the eighth or ninth century. None can now with any certainty be identified as runic, but Whitby 23 may include a thorn amidst roman lettering (Lang 2001: 245) and Whitby 26 may have once carried a runic inscription (Lang 2001: 248). These two stones are both dated to the eighth or ninth century, and thus belong to a later phase of this tradition. Another fragment of a ninth-century cross-shaft from Whitby (no. 34, Lang 2001: 251–52) may represent a further development of these crosses with separate panels for inscriptions at the top of the broad face of the shaft, as on some other ninth-century crosses, e.g. at Lancaster St. Mary's (no. 1, Lancashire, Bailey 2010: 215–18), a feature that we will return to later.

Let us now take a quick detour to the south, home of two unusual and seemingly isolated monuments with runes. As opposed to the north, the south does not appear to have had any established tradition of runic monuments, thus the Sandwich and the Dover stones of Kent are hard to contextualize. If the surprisingly early dating of the Sandwich stone (no. 1) were correct (dated fifth to eighth century in Tweddle et al. 1995: 170; cf. also transitional period of seventh to eighth centuries in Parsons 1994: 317; early seventh century in Elliott 1989: 106; similarly Bailey 1996: 24), the chronological sequence of rune-inscribed monuments, and in fact of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture in general (Bailey idem.), would start in the southeast. However, the linguistic reasoning behind the dating of the Sandwich stone is very uncertain (Page 1999: 27–28, Parsons in Tweddle et al. 1995: 170). The inscription is most likely a personal name, and the monument is understood to be a funerary monument (grave marker). In contrast with the sculpture from the north, it carries no Christian symbolism and has no obvious link to an ecclesiastical site; it was found in a field near Richborough. Besides another very similar

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[8] Whitby's founder, St. Hild, was abbess of Hartlepool, and maintained control over Hartlepool even after her move to Whitby. Whitby has so far produced three rune-inscribed objects: a bone comb (7th–9th cent.), a jet disc (7th–8th cent.), and a silvered copper bracteate (8th cent.?), see Page (1999: 165, fig. 56; 170, fig. 61; 94 respectively).

[9] For the Plain Cross series, see Whitby 20, 21, 22, 26, also 23, 24 (Lang 2001: 39–40).

stone from the same site that might once have carried an inscription (Elliott 1989: 106, no. 2 in Tweddle et al. 1995: 170–71), this stone has no obvious typological parallels in England. It may have been inspired by Merovingian funerary monuments[10] or followed wooden prototypes (Tweddle et al. 1995: 169). Its vertical inscription is paralleled in early Scandinavian practice but it is unusual for Anglo-Saxon England. This unique monument may thus be the result of isolated local innovation, or developed under foreign influence, possibly in response to a demand for inscribed memorial monuments outside the monastic network.

At about the time of the rise of the name-stone fashion in the northeast, or soon thereafter, the northwest developed another type of runic monument: the monumental cross with a combination of extended text and carved images. The famous Bewcastle and Ruthwell crosses (now in Cumbria and in Dumfries and Galloway respectively), with the longest Old English runic inscriptions preserved in stone, represent this tradition. While the iconography of both monuments suggests sophisticated Christian communities, these large-scale public monuments are likely to have catered to a wider audience than a monastic community and served functions beyond commemoration. These monuments are suggestive of a context of secular Christian culture as opposed to an exclusively monastic setting.

The Bewcastle cross (no. 1; dated to the first half of the eighth century) with its long memorial inscription and the associated image of a secular figure (probably a reference to the deceased; cf. Bailey & Cramp 1988: 69) stands at the beginning of a new tradition of commemorative monuments with formulaic vernacular memorial inscriptions. (Figure 4) This new trend emerged in the eighth century, and there are a total of eighteen such monuments from the north of England,[11] with eighth to ninth century dating. Of the eighteen monuments, some have runic inscriptions while others have texts in roman lettering. The longest and best preserved examples come from Great Urswick (no. 1), Falstone (no. 2), Dewsbury (no. 10), Thornhill (nos. 1–4), and Overchurch (no. 1). As with the name-stones, there is no obvious preference for one script over the other in this context, although runic examples (11) outnumber those in roman lettering (6). Thornhill in West Yorkshire has produced individual examples in both scripts. The biscriptal

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[10] These Merovingian monuments are "also unlikely to date from after the seventh century" (Cramp 1993: 70 in Tweddle et al. 1995: 169).

[11] There are two additional eleventh-century vernacular memorial inscriptions from the south, Winchester Old Minster 6 (with Scandinavian influence) and London All Hallows 2. They are both in Anglo-Saxon capitals and represent a different vernacular memorial epigraphic tradition from that of the north. For an overview of the corpus of vernacular memorial inscriptions, see Parsons 2008; Kopár 2015.

Falstone memorial stone (dated mid-eighth to mid-ninth century) with its vernacular inscription repeated side by side in runes and in insular majuscules may serve as an example of the 'democracy of scripts' in a commemorative context. (Figure 2) It is important to note that monuments with formulaic memorial inscriptions suggest a greater awareness of the public nature of monuments compared to the earlier name-stones. They are no longer only or primarily memorials to the deceased and a reminder for continued prayers for the salvation of souls, but increasingly a statement of social and political legitimacy and power, claimed through an association with the deceased and reinforced through the patronage of the monument.

This sentiment is reflected in the overall design of some of the monuments where memorial inscriptions, documenting the names of the deceased and often also of the patrons, are given visual emphasis in design: They are placed in separate panels (see Great Urswick, Thornhill, also Lancaster St. Mary) on a par with the figural or decorative carvings. In these cases, the text becomes

Figure 4: Bewcastle cross, Cumberland. Photo: Tom Middlemas. Copyright: Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, Durham University.

an image and collaborates with the iconography of the monument.[12] (Cf. Figure 5) The aforementioned Bewcastle cross (Figure 4) is an early example of this, and it may also represent another emerging trend: the appearance of secular images of patrons or the deceased on memorial monuments—a feature that becomes one of the distinguishing markers of Viking-Age sculpture in the north with its numerous horsemen and warrior portraits. As I have argued elsewhere (Kopár 2013), the shift from monastic to secular patronage together with changes in the appearance of commemorative monuments started some time in the ninth century, right before or around the time of the Viking settlement. The outcome was twofold. On the one hand, it resulted in the proliferation of sculpture in the Viking period: the new Anglo-Scandinavian elite embraced this emerging commemorative tradition and harnessed the social and political potential of public monuments through secular patronage. On the other hand, the balance of text and image shifted in favor of images, and the tradition of formulaic memorial inscriptions in the vernacular was gradually abandoned. The bilingual context in the Scandinavian settlement areas may have contributed further to this shift already in motion. That these changes in commemorative sculpture predate the Vikings may be illustrated by the late ninth-century cross at Great Urswick (no. 1) in Cumbria, with its poetic memorial inscription accompanied by an (unidentified) scene with two figures in secular dress. (Figure 5) Examples of Anglo-Saxon runic monuments with Scandinavian influence (see above) indicate that the tradition of runic monuments continued into the Viking period, but ultimately was abandoned before the Norman Conquest.

The late tenth- or eleventh-century stones of Whithorn I in southwest Scotland (Dumfries and Galloway), and of Dover in Kent suggest that the last outposts of production of Anglo-Saxon runic stone monuments lay outside the earlier heartland of runic epigraphy in stone. Whithorn, the westernmost example of Anglo-Saxon runic epigraphy (together with the nearby St. Ninian's Cave) is, of course, not far from the two most splendid early runic monuments, the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses, but far enough from the dominant literary culture of late Anglo-Saxon Wessex (Findell 2014: 55). In the heartland of rune-inscribed sculpture, the Bingley font in Yorkshire, if indeed runic (see above), might be one of the last runic monuments, and has possible Scandinavian artistic influence.

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[12] On name-stones, the words (names) are visually subordinated to iconography in the design: they are regularly dissected by the dominant cross and divided into two parts to occupy adjacent quadrants around the cross.

Figure 5: Great Urswick. Photo: Gaby Waxenberger.

Conclusion

In this brief account of Anglo-Saxon sculpture with runic inscriptions, I have boldly attempted to achieve the impossible: to systematize a group of surprisingly diverse monuments, and to detect larger trends of transformation in a corpus that may not be representative of the actual production of rune-inscribed stones at all due to chance of survival. I am aware of these pitfalls. But I am convinced that there is value in attempting to provide an overview of runic monuments in the context of sculptural development at large, in order to understand the diversity and transformations of these objects over time, and perhaps to detect gaps and losses in the surviving record. Due to the limits of this short paper, only general trends could be addressed and therefore not all monuments are mentioned. And frankly, not all may fit the general trends described above. We must keep in mind that Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture is characterized by significant regional variation. Anglo-Saxon carvers and patrons were often very innovative, and it seems that those who liked runes were even more so than the average. The situation is further complicated by the fact that many of the sculptural sites are poorly documented; therefore, a true contextual analysis of individual monuments is at best informed guesswork. But it is worth a try. The more we understand the context, the better informed we will be about the individual texts, which brings us closer to their decipherment beyond the linguistic message.

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DANIEL FÖLLER

Gestaltung oder Zufall?

Zur relationalen Platzierung von Worten auf Runensteinen der Wikingerzeit

Abstract

During the last years, our understanding of runic inscriptions has changed thoroughly when runology processed recent developments in the Humanities. One of the more radical proposals, as postulated in two papers by Judith Jesch and Anders Andrén respectively, was the idea that meaning in runic inscriptions of the Viking Age could be created by relating words visually which were not connected grammatically. As this would gravely affect runological methodology as well as our idea of Viking Age runic literacy, these assumptions were scrutinizingly checked. The critique focused on two points: on the one hand, both studies were based on the analysis of a few exemplary sources and not of a representative corpus; on the other hand, it seems impossible to distinguish whether the proximity of words was intentionally arranged by the carver or occurred by chance. In this paper, the second argument is addressed. Two pairs of rune-stones (DR 2 + 4 from 10th-century Jutland, U 644 + 654 from 11th-century Uppland) are analyzed, each couple bearing near-identical inscriptions and being erected by the same sponsor(s) to commemorate the same person. Despite differences in wording and layout, identical visual patterns of related words can be found on both monuments of each pair. Obviously, they were intentionally placed. An interpretation reveals that these patterns of proximity emphasized or even augmented the content of the inscriptions. The placing of words in close proximity to each other appears as a stylistic device to create meaning, employed at least by the rune-carvers of these four inscriptions, but probably known to other rune-wise persons in Viking Age Scandinavia.

Keywords: runestones, Viking Age, Hedeby, Ingvar's expedition, word crossing, mediality, runacy

Durch die digitale Revolution erfreuen sich Runenzeichen einer nie ge-kannten Präsenz in der zeitgenössischen Alltagskultur. Doch obwohl sich das (erfundene) Monogramm eines Dänenkönigs aus dem 10. Jahrhundert auf abermillionen Geräten mit dem Bluetooth-Standard findet, ist dieses Phänomen doch nur als rein visuell anzusprechen. Es lässt sich kaum be-haupten, dass die runische Schriftkultur besonderen Einfluss auf die jüngs-ten medialen Umwälzungen hätte. Umgekehrt allerdings gilt das Gegenteil: Die Erforschung der Runeninschriften wurde durch die digitale Revolution massiv verändert. Damit sind nicht nur digitale Forschungsinstrumente wie die *Samnordisk runtextdatabas* oder die elektronische Verfügbarkeit zahl-reicher runologischer Arbeiten gemeint. Vielmehr haben sich auch Metho-den und Perspektiven der wissenschaftlichen Runologie verwandelt.

Die Reflexion über die runische Schriftkultur erreichte vor dem Hinter-

grund der medialen Innovationen und der damit einhergehenden Etablierung einer avancierten Medienwissenschaft seit Mitte der 1990er Jahre eine neue Qualität.[1] Ihr deutlichster Ausdruck sind jene Arbeiten, die sich mit der Verschränkung verschiedener medialer Ebenen auf runischen Schriftträgern befassen: Einander überlagernde sprachliche Ebenen, die visuelle Gestaltung des Schriftträgers und vielfältige Interaktionen mit seiner Umgebung ließen die Runenkultur (vor allem der Wikingerzeit) in neuer Weise dynamisch und vielschichtig erscheinen.[2] Auch das Verhältnis von Text, Sprache und Schrift wurde neu überdacht, und unabhängig voneinander formulierten Judith Jesch (1998) und Anders Andrén (2000) die These, dass bedeutungsvolle Beziehungen zwischen Worten von den wikingerzeitlichen Runenkundigen nicht nur über grammatische Strukturen, sondern auch rein visuell hergestellt worden sein könnten.

Damit wären die bisherigen runologischen Lesemethoden (entstanden aus der euromediterranen Buchkultur) defizitär; Andrén forderte denn auch vollmundig ein „re-reading" des gesamten Runencorpus. Bei aller Plausibilität haben Jeschs wie Andréns Überlegungen aber eine signifikante Schwäche: Beide argumentieren anhand isolierter Beispiele.[3] Damit bleiben die entworfenen alternativen Leseverfahren bei aller Eindrücklichkeit erst einmal hypothetisch – ob es sich bei den visuellen Proximitäten bestimmter Runensequenzen auf den von ihnen betrachteten Runensteinen um absichtsvolle Platzierungen oder schlicht Zufälle handelt, ist unklar. An diesem Punkt gilt es anzusetzen. Wenn die Platzierung von Worten tatsächlich ein Verfahren zur Bedeutungsgenerierung war, das wikingerzeitlichen Runenritzern zur Verfügung stand, müssten sich bei seriell hergestellten Schriftträgern mit vergleichbaren Inschriften Parallelen in der Positionierung von Runensequenzen finden lassen. Dies soll anhand zweier Runensteinpaare, deren Inschriften sich auf je eine Personenkonstellation beziehen, deren Gestaltung und Text aber zumindest leicht variieren, also keine genauen

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[1] Dies wird etwa aus der Zunahme von Beiträgen deutlich, die versuchten, die spezifischen Eigenheiten der runischen Schriftkultur herauszuarbeiten. Neben den etwas isolierten Aufsatz von Liestøl 1971 sind dies in chronologischer Reihenfolge (und ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit): Meijer 1997, Jesch 1998, Andrén 2000, Sawyer 2000, Beck 2001, Palm 2001, Spurkland 2004 und 2005, Brink 2005, Palm 2006, Staecker 2008, Föller 2009, Zilmer 2009, Bianchi 2010, Stern 2013; Nedkvitne 2004 behandelt die Runenschriftlichkeit nur am Rande.

[2] Bianchi (2010: 45–51) bediente sich des sprachwissenschaftlichen Begriffs der Multimodalität, um die wikingerzeitliche Runenschriftlichkeit zu beschreiben. Die visuelle Gestaltung der wikingerzeitlichen Runensteine jenseits der Schrift untersuchten ausführlich Gräslund 2001 sowie Oehrl 2006 und 2010; die Positionierung in der Landschaft betrachteten Øeby Nielsen 2007 und Klos 2009.

[3] Scharfe Kritik an Andréns Vorgehen äußerten Källström (2007: 169–175) und Bianchi (2010: 38f., 52f.); auch Staecker (2008) spricht diesen Punkt an.

Kopien voneinander darstellen, untersucht werden.[4] Wenn sich auf beiden Steinen eines Paares identische visuelle Konstellationen finden ließen, käme das einem Beweis, dass sie intentional platziert wurden, ziemlich nahe.

1. Ein König und seine Familie – die Sigtrygg<small>R</small>-Steine (DR 2 + 4)

Die beiden in der Nähe des süddänischen Handelszentrums Haithabu gefundenen Steine dürften zu den bekannteren wikingerzeitlichen Memorialzeugnissen gehören.[5] Beide wurden von einer Frau namens Āsfrīðr im Gedenken an ihren Sohn Sigtrygg<small>R</small> errichtet, der in einer der beiden Inschriften als König tituliert wird (DR 4). In beiden Inschriften wird ein gewisser Gnūpa als Vater des Verstorbenen genannt, und aus der Kombination dieses ungewöhnlichen Namens (Peterson 2007: 81 kennt nur einen weiteren Beleg) und des Königstitels folgert die Forschung üblicherweise, dass es sich bei dem Vater des Sigtrygg<small>R</small> um jenen *rex Danorum* (,Dänenkönig') Chnuba handele, der 934 vom ostfränkischen König Heinrich I. besiegt und tributpflichtig gemacht wurde;[6] 934 wäre dann der *terminus post quem*, wenn man annimmt, dass Gnūpa bei Errichtung der Steine für seinen Sohn nicht mehr lebte und deswegen die Mutter Āsfrīðr als Stifterin fungierte. Sie scheint nicht weniger prominent gewesen zu sein als Gnūpa, darauf deutet zumindest der Name ihres Vaters Ōðinkārr hin, der ebenfalls auf DR 4 erscheint.[7] Nur dieser

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[4] Runensteinpaare wurden meines Wissens bislang noch nicht ausführlich untersucht. Eine Suche in der *Samnordisk runtextdatabas* (in der Fassung 2008) nach dem Stichwort „parsten" ergab lediglich 20 Runensteinpaare. Beim Großteil der Fälle ist einer der beiden Steine nur fragmentarisch erhalten oder enthält keine Inschrift, so dass das entsprechende Paar nicht für eine Untersuchung wie die hier skizzierte in Frage kommt. Oftmals sind die Texte sehr unterschiedlich (z. B. Öl 26 + 27, U 343 + 344, U 668 + 669), was teils an unterschiedlichen Personenkonstellationen, teils am komplementären Charakter der Denkmäler liegt. Die berühmten Jarlabanki-Steine (U 127, 149, 164, 165, 212 A+B, 261) sind, was Text und Design angeht, beinahe identisch, ebenso wie U 763 + 764, und damit ebenfalls ungeeignet. Die beiden hier vorgestellten Runensteinpaare gehören nicht zu den aus der Datenbank entnommenen Runensteinpaaren, was verdeutlicht, dass eine systematische Untersuchung, ja überhaupt die Identifizierung dieses Corpus dringend notwendig wäre.

[5] Neben der Edition (DR 2 + 4) sind an neuerer Literatur noch Lund 1982, Moltke 1985: 193–195 u. ö., Stoklund 1997, Lerche Nielsen 2001, Stoklund 2001 und Laur 2006: 32–34 zu nennen.

[6] Eine Zusammenstellung der Quellen findet sich in Böhmer & von Ottenthal 1893: Nr. 46b, S. 29; die Namensform *Chnuba* überliefert einzig Widukind von Corvey I,40, S. 59 um 968. Ob der bei Flodoard (s. a. 943, S. 88) und Richer von Saint-Rémi (II,35, S. 123f.) erwähnte, wohl in jenem Jahr verstorbene *rex paganus* (,heidnische König') Setricus bzw. Setrich mit dem Sigtrygg<small>R</small> der Runensteine aus Haithabu identisch ist, lässt sich nicht sicher sagen.

[7] Adam von Bremen II,26, 36, 46, 49, S. 85, 96f., 106f., 110 erwähnt zwei miteinander verwandte Bischöfe dieses Namens im späteren 10. und 11. Jahrhundert, die zu einem bedeutenden und sehr begüterten Verwandtschaftsverband in Jütland gehörten, ja sogar *de semine regio*

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Stein ist auch von einem gewissen Gōrmʀ signiert; ob der andere (DR 2) ebenfalls von ihm stammt, ist ungewiss. Einige Forscher glaubten, in den Inschriften einen schwedischen Einfluss zu erkennen, was bisweilen zu weitreichenden politischen Spekulationen führte (zuletzt kritisch Lerche Nielsen 2001 und Stoklund 2001).

Die Texte von DR 2 und DR 4 unterscheiden sich nicht besonders stark, aber durchaus merkbar.[8] Sie bestehen im Wesentlichen aus sehr ähnlichen Memorialformeln; die Namensformen sowie das Vokabular für den Akt der Errichtung (**karþi**) und das Denkmal selbst (**kumbl/ kubl**) sind identisch, ebenso die syntaktische Konstruktion mit der etwas eigenartig erscheinenden nachgeschobenen Angabe des Vaters. DR 4 bringt drei Zusätze: Die Stifterin Āsfrīðr bezeichnet sich in einer Apposition als ‚Tochter Ōðinkārrs‘, der verstorbene Sigtryggʀ wird als König qualifiziert, und es gibt die schon oben erwähnte, vom Rest der Inschrift isolierte Ritzersignatur. Auch die grafische Gestaltung ist grundsätzlich ähnlich, in Details aber doch signifikant unterschiedlich (Abb. 1 + 2). Beide Inschriften sind auf länglichen Steinen in vertikalen Zeilen geschrieben; beide verwenden eine ähnliche Runenreihe; beide nutzen mehr als eine
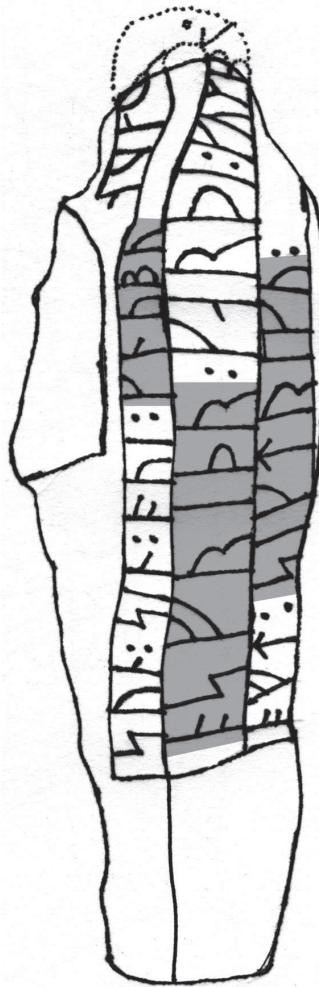
Abbildung 1. DR 2.

Danorum (‚aus dem Königsgeschlecht der Dänen‘) gestammt haben sollen. Alle weiteren Runeninschriften, die Männer dieses Namens erwähnen (DR 81, 133, 239) implizieren ebenfalls einen hohen gesellschaftlichen Status für die Männer dieses Namens.

[8] Text von DR 2 (nach der Datenbank *Danske runeindskrifter*; dorther auch DR 4): (A) **ạsfriþr : karþi : kum|bl : þaun | ạft : siktriku** : (B) **sun : şin : ạui : knubu** (Normalisiert: *Āsfrīðr gærði kumbl þaun æft Sigtrygg, sun sinn ok Gnūpu.* Deutsche Übersetzung: ‚Āsfrīðr machte diese Denkmäler nach Sigtryggʀ, ihrem Sohn und Gnūpas.‘) Text von DR 4: (A) **: ạsfriþr : karþi | kubl þausi : tutiʀ : uþinka|u|rs : ạft : siktriuk : kunuk** : (B) **sun : sin : | : ạuk : knubu** : (C) **kurmʀ : raist : runạʀ** ː (Normalisiert: *Āsfrīðr gærði kumbl þausi, dōttiʀ Ōðinkaurs, æft Sigtrygg kunung, sun sinn ok Gnūpu. Gōrmʀ ræist rūnaʀ.* Deutsche Übersetzung: ‚Āsfrīðr machte diese Denkmäler, die Tochter Ōðinkārrs, nach König Sigtryggʀ, ihrem Sohn und Gnūpas. Gōrmʀ ritzte die Runen.‘)
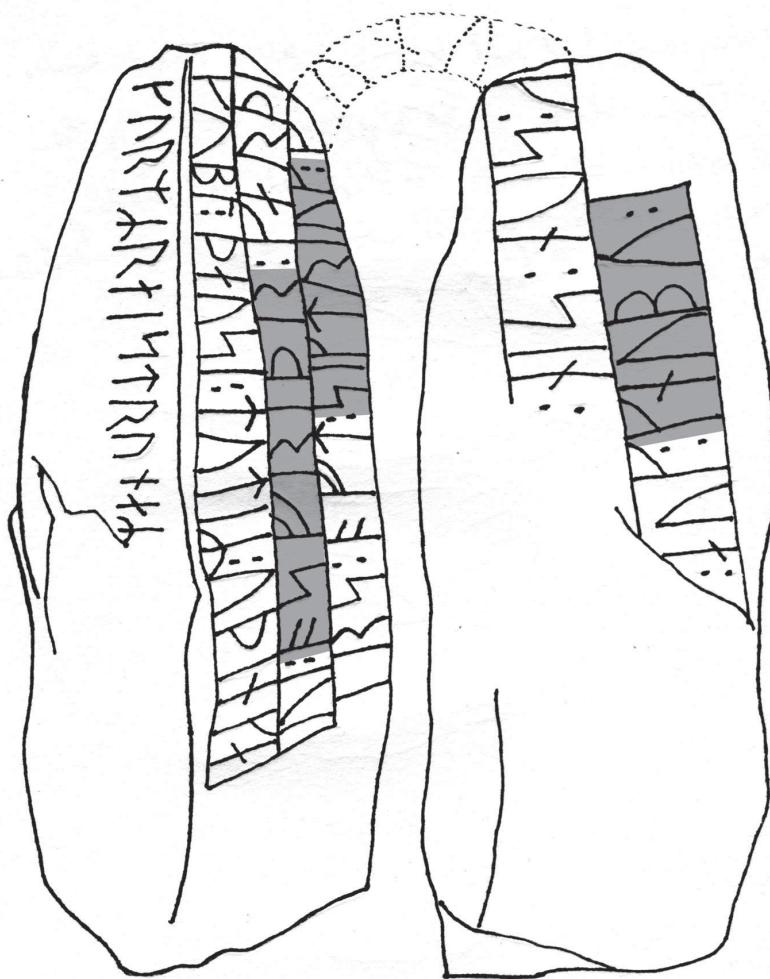
Abbildung 2. DR 4.

Seite des Steins; bei beiden ist die Hauptinschrift in drei Zeilen aufgeteilt und beginnt in der mittleren Zeile. Unterschiedlich sind erstens die Anzahl der Zeilen (DR 2: drei; DR 4: fünf), zweitens die Verteilung der Worte auf die einzelnen Zeilen, drittens die Leserichtung (auf DR 2 parallel von unten nach oben in durchgehenden Zeilen, auf DR 4 bustrophedon mit einer segmentierten Zeile) und viertens die Tatsache, dass die Inschrift von DR 2 aus der richtigen Perspektive ohne einen Positionswechsel lesbar ist, die auf DR 4 nicht.

Man kann die beiden Runensteine also keineswegs als identisch bezeichnen. Trotz der genannten Unterschiede bei der sprachlichen und grafischen Gestaltung der Inschriften sind einige Runensequenzen auf beiden Steinen dennoch in ähnlicher Position bzw. Relation zueinander platziert. Der Name der stiftenden Mutter Āsfríðr und der Name ihres verstorbenen Sohnes Sigtryggʀ berühren einander, wenn auf DR 4 auch nur knapp; der Name von Sigtryggʀs Vaters Gnūpa befindet sich stets auf der von der Hauptinschrift isolierten Seite; sowohl der Name Sigtryggʀs als auch derjenige Gnūpas sind gegenüber dem Namen der Mutter erhöht, wogegen dieser sich stets im Zentrum der Memorialinschrift befindet. Obwohl eine Intentionalität dieser Positionierungen schon deswegen anzunehmen ist, weil jene Merkmale sich auf beiden Inschriften trotz unterschiedlicher Formulierungen und visueller Arrangements finden, ist es schwierig, die dahinterstehende Aussageabsicht zu deuten.

Ein Blick auf die uns bekannten historischen Kontexte hilft zumindest teilweise. Die Nähe der Namen von Mutter und Sohn könnte für eine emotionale Verbundenheit stehen, die (auch) im Dänemark des 10. Jahrhunderts durchaus mit räumlichen Metaphern ausgedrückt wurde, wie andere Runensteine zeigen (besonders deutlich: DR 295). Die Positionierungen der Namen von Vater und Sohn an erhöhten Stellen könnten ihren herausgehobenen Status visualisieren, wie er in der Inschrift von DR 4 mit der Bezeichnung Sigtryggʀs als König auch sprachlich ausgedrückt und von den ottonischen Quellen für Gnūpa impliziert wird;[9] auch die Bedeutsamkeit von Personen innerhalb der Gesellschaft wurde in der Wikingerzeit mit Begriffen der Räumlichkeit umschrieben.[10] Die Platzierung der Namen von Sigtryggʀs Eltern auf je unterschiedlichen Seiten der beiden Steine könnte noch einmal betonen, dass sie zu unterschiedlichen Verwandtschaftsverbänden gehörten – auf ihre eigene Abstammung verweist Āsfríðr auf DR 4 ja auch explizit. Insgesamt scheint die Positionierung der Worte den sprachlichen Gehalt der Inschrift in erster Linie visuell zu unterstreichen, nur die herausgehobene soziale Stellung des Vaters Gnūpa wird nicht im Inschriftentext verbalisiert, wir kennen sie explizit nur aus einem lateinischen Text. Damit ist der (für das Frühmittelalter) seltene Fall gegeben, dass sich eine nur mit visuellen Mitteln getätigte Aussage durch den Abgleich mit anderem Quellenmaterial plausibilisieren lässt.

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[9] Widukind von Corvey I,40, S. 59 nennt Chnuba explizit *rex eorum* (‚deren König' = der von Heinrich I. besiegten Dänen).

[10] Vgl. etwa die entsprechende Bedeutung des Wortes *hór* (‚hoch') in der Skaldendichtung (Jónsson 1913–16: 314), die Wendung *leggja und sik* (wörtlich: ‚unter sich legen') für die Eroberung von Land (Jónsson 1913–16: 363).

2. Wie der Vater so der Sohn – zwei Ingvarr-Steine (U 644 + U 654)

Die uppländischen Runensteine von Ekilla bro (U 644) und Varpsund (U 654) wurden von fünf Brüdern zum Gedenken an ihren Vater Gunnlæifʀ errichtet, der nach Aussage der Inschriften auf der berühmten Expedition Ingvarrs ums Leben kam.[11] Die beiden Steine wurden etwa drei Kilometer entfernt voneinander aufgefunden, jeweils in der Nähe von Flussübergängen, und es wird angenommen, dass es sich um die ursprünglichen Situierungen der Denkmäler handelt. Beide weisen klare Merkmale von Gräslunds Stilgruppe Fp ('Vogelperspektive') auf und werden damit chronologisch in die Jahrzehnte zwischen 1010 und 1050 eingeordnet;[12] da sie aber zu der großen Gruppe der Ingvarr-Steine gehören, gelten die divergierenden Datierungsvorschläge für die Expedition auch für sie.[13] U 654 weist eine Ritzersignatur mit einer ungewöhnlichen Formel in der 1. Pers. Sing. auf; der Name des Ritzers lässt sich nicht mehr vollständig lesen, allerdings handelt es sich wohl um keinen uns anderweitig bekannten Künstler (Källström 2007: 160, 210) – vermutlich ritzte er aber auch U 644, der stilistische Parallelen aufweist.

Ähnlich wie bei den Sigtryggʀ-Steinen zeigen sich Parallelen und Unterschiede, sowohl bei der sprachlichen als auch der visuellen Gestaltung der Inschrift.[14] Beide Inschriften weisen die gleichen fünf Stifternamen auf,

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[11] Zu diesem Thema existiert eine Unmenge an Forschungsliteratur. Eine kurze Zusammenfassung mit umfangreicher Bibliographie bietet das Lemma Ingvarr in: PmbZ II 22766.

[12] Gräslund (1994: 118f.) benutzt U 644 sogar einmal als Beispiel für diese Gruppe. In ihren grundlegenden früheren Arbeiten (Gräslund 1991, 1992) geht sie ansonsten auf diese Gruppe nur am Rande ein. Ausführlicher äußert sie sich erst in einem späteren Überblick (Gräslund 2006: 119f., 126).

[13] Die Datierung auf die Zeit um 1040 basiert ausschließlich auf isländischem Material (Annalenwerken und der *Yngvars saga viðfǫrla*), das uns ab dem 13. Jahrhundert überliefert ist (zur Datierung PmbZ II 22766 mit Literaturhinweisen). Die Versuche, weiteres Material zur Stützung dieser Jahreszahl beizubringen (Sawyer 1982: 35 für archäologische Funde, Shepard 1982–85: 258–271 für eine altrussische Inschrift), waren bislang wenig überzeugend. Dementsprechend gibt es andere, konkurrierende Datierungsvorschläge (zuletzt Fuglesang 1998). Pikant ist dabei, dass Gräslund (1991: 113, 115; 1992: 197f.) die Datierung der Expedition auf 1040 zu einer Grundlage ihres chronologischen Entwurfs macht.

[14] Text von U 644 (nach der *Samnordisk runtextdatabas*, ebenso der Text von U 654; eingefügt sind nur die Wechsel von Schlange oder Leserichtung): **anu̧i̧tr : auk · kiti : auk · kar : auk · blisi · auk · tiarfr · | þir · raistu · stain þina · aftiʀ · kunlaif · foþur · sin han : fil · austr · miþ : ikuari | kuþ heabi ontini** (Normalisiert: *Andvēttr ok* **kiti** *ok Kārr ok Blesi ok Diarfʀ þæiʀ ræistu stæin þenna æftiʀ Gunnlæif, faður sinn. Hann fell austr með Ingvari. Guð hialpi andinni.* Deutsche Übersetzung: ‚Andvēttr und **kiti** und Kārr und Blesi und Diarfʀ, die errichteten diesen Stein nach Gunnlæifʀ, ihrem Vater. Er fiel ostwärts mit Ingvarr. Gott helfe dem Geist.‘) Text von U 654: **+ a--itr : auk · ka̧r auk : kiti : auk · -[l]isi : auk · tiarfr : ris[t]u : stain : þena : aftir : kunlaif : foþur sin | is u[a]s nuşţr · m[i]þ ikuari : tribin kuþ : hialbi : o̧þ þaira | al-ikraistik · runar | is kuni + ual · knari stura** (Normalisiert: *A[ndv]ēttr ok Kārr ok* **kiti** *ok [B]lesi ok Diarfʀ ræistu stæin þenna æftiʀ Gunnlæif, faður sinn. Es vas austr með Ingvari drepinn. Guð hialpi and þæiʀa. Al[r]īkʀ(?) ræist-ek rūnaʀ. Es kunni val knærri stȳra..* Deutsche Übersetzung: ‚Andvēttr und

offenbar auch in identischer Schreibweise;[15] der einzige Unterschied ist, dass die Namen des zweiten und dritten Stifters jeweils vertauscht sind, während die übrigen drei Namen stabile Positionen innerhalb der Aufzählung haben. Auch die Errichtungsformel und die Identifizierung des Verstorbenen als Vater der Stifter sind identisch. Beide Inschriften berichten in übereinstimmender Formulierung, dass dieser „mit Ingvarr" im Osten gewesen sei. Beide berichten ebenso einmütig vom gewaltsamen Tod Gunnlæifʀs, allerdings mit leicht divergierender Wortwahl: auf U 644 *fell* (‚fiel'), auf U 654 *vas … drepinn* (‚wurde erschlagen'). Dann folgt bei beiden ein Fürbittgebet, mit identischer Gottesanrufung und Seelenbegriffen, die aber doch leicht variieren: U 644 hat die seltene bestimmte Form **ontini** ohne Possessivpronomen, U 654 die auch anderweitig gut belegte Form **ot**, allerdings ergänzt um das Possessivpronomen *þæiʀa* (3. Pers. Pl. Dat.), womit sich das Gebet nicht nur auf den Verstorbenen bezieht, sondern auch auf eine oder mehrere andere Personen – ob damit die stiftenden Söhne, der Anführer Ingvarr oder die anderen (hier ungenannten) Opfer der Expedition gemeint sind, ist unklar. U 644 endet damit, auf U 654 folgt nun noch die Ritzerformel und in einer vom Rest der Inschrift geschiedenen Zeile am unteren Rand des Steins der Satz: ‚Der konnte gut ein Schiff steuern.' Auch hier ist unklar, auf wen er sich bezieht, vermutlich aber auf den Verstorbenen.[16]

Grafisch weisen beide ein nahezu identisches Design auf (Abb. 3 + 4), zwei Schlangen aus der Vogelperspektive, die jeweils eine Hälfte der Inschrift aufnehmen und deren Köpfe und Schwänze sich am höchsten und niedrigsten Punkt der Inschrift überkreuzen; in der Mitte beider Schlingen sind identische Kreuze aufgebracht. Die Unterschiede sind marginal: Die Verteilung von Köpfen und Schwänzen ist bei den beiden Steinen spiegelverkehrt; die Schwänze der Schlangen auf U 644 winden sich nach außen, auf U 654 nach innen; U 644 weist an der Unterseite außen ein knotenartiges Zierelement und auf der Oberseite außen ein kleineres Kreuz auf, jeweils dort, wo die Schlangen sich kreuzen, während diese Elemente auf U 654 fehlen. Die Form des Steins bedingt es, dass die Inschrift auf dem breiteren Stein U 644 großzügiger wirkt (Maße: 137 cm Höhe, 110 cm Breite), während die schmale Form von U 654 auch dessen Gestaltung beeinflusste (Maße der Hauptschlinge: 160 cm Höhe, 50 cm Breite) und die Inschrift gedrängter wirken lässt. Auch

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Kärr und **kiti** und Blesi und Diarfʀ errichteten diesen Stein nach Gunnlæifʀ, ihrem Vater. Der wurde ostwärts mit Ingvarr erschlagen. Gott helfe ihrem Geist. Alrikʀ, ich ritzte die Runen. Der konnte gut ein Schiff steuern.')

[15] Der einzige bislang ungedeutete Name ist **kiti**. Zu diesem vgl. die Überlegungen bei Stille 2004.

[16] Källström 2007: 167 überlegt, ob sich der Satz evtl. auf den Ritzer beziehen könnte. Angesichts dessen, dass der Ritzer für sich die 1. Pers. Sing. benutzt, der Satz mit dem Schiff aber die 3. Pers. Sing., erscheint das unwahrscheinlich.

die Verteilung des Textes auf die einzelnen Teile der Schlingen divergiert auf den beiden Steinen dementsprechend stark. Auf U 644 beginnt die Inschrift mit der Aufzählung der fünf Stifter am unten positionierten Kopf der rechten Schlange. Sie reicht bis zu dem Punkt, an dem sie die linke Schlange kreuzt, und in dieser setzt sich der Text mit der Errichtungsformel und dem Zusatz über Gunnlæifʀs Tod fort bis zum Ende des Schwanzes. Das wohl am Schluss zu lesende Fürbittgebet steht am Schluss der rechten Schlange, nach der oberen Kreuzung, zum Schwanz hin, grafisch also unmittelbar im Anschluss an die Aufzählung der Stifter. Auf U 654 beginnt die Inschrift ebenfalls am unteren Schlangenkopf, folgt hier aber der linken Schlange, die den Text bis zum Ende der Memorialformel am Schwanzende aufnimmt. Der Text setzt sich nicht direkt am benachbarten Kopf fort, vielmehr beginnt der zweite Teil der Inschrift mit der Erwähnung von Gunnlæifʀs Ableben und dem Für- bittgebet an dem (unten positionierten) Schwanz der rechten Schlange. Der Text endet beinahe auf Höhe des Knicks, etwa dort, wo ein Teil aus dem Stein herausgebrochen ist. Die Ritzersignatur beginnt am Kopf der rechten Schlange und trifft auf den Schluss des Fürbittgebets, die Inschriftenteile sind allerdings um 180° zueinander gedreht, gehen also nicht unmittelbar ineinander über, wenngleich sie grafisch nicht voneinander geschieden sind wie die beiden Inschriftenteile in der rechten Schlange von U 644.

Neben der Positionierung des Inschriftenbeginns am unteren Kopfende – einer für Uppland geradezu typischen Konstellation (Bianchi 2010: 73–84) – und der Tatsache, dass die rechte Schlange jeweils zwei nicht zusammen- gehörige Inschriftenteile enthält, gibt es vor allem eine Wortplatzierung auf beiden Steinen, die auffällig ist. Sowohl auf U 644 als auch auf U 654 berüh- ren sich der in der rechten Schlange geritzte Stiftername Kārr und die in der linken Schlange befindliche Runensequenz **miþ : ikuari** (‚mit Ingvarr‘). Dass hier kein Zufall vorliegt, impliziert (neben der an sich schon erstaun- lichen Koinzidenz) die sprachliche wie visuelle Gestaltung der Inschriften. Der Name Kārr steht auf U 644 an dritter, auf U 654 an zweiter Stelle der Stifterreihe – stünde er stabil auf einer Position, würde er auf einer der bei- den Inschriften den Namen des militärischen Anführers nicht berühren. Während die Positionierung des erzählenden Zusatzes zur Memorialformel auf U 644 im Schwanzsegment der linken Schlange zufällig erscheinen mag, beginnt die zweite Schlange auf U 654 mit eben diesem Inschriftteil, und zwar nicht wie auf U 644 direkt am Kopf der zweiten (in diesem Fall rechten) Schlange, sondern an ihrem Schwanz – hätte der Ritzer auch hier eine iden- tische Gestaltung gewählt, also auf U 644 den zweiten Teil der Inschrift am Schwanzende der zweiten (hier: linken) Schlange beginnen lassen und nicht
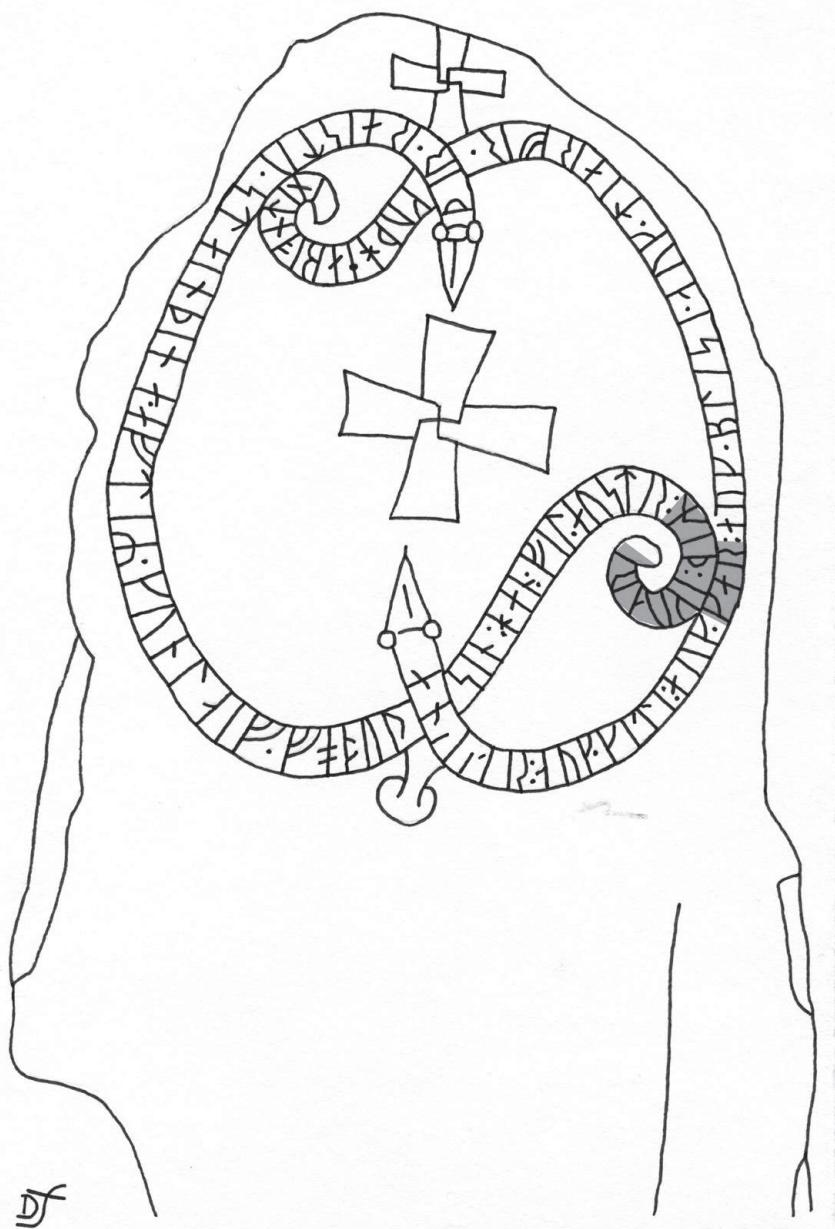
Abbildung 3. U 644.
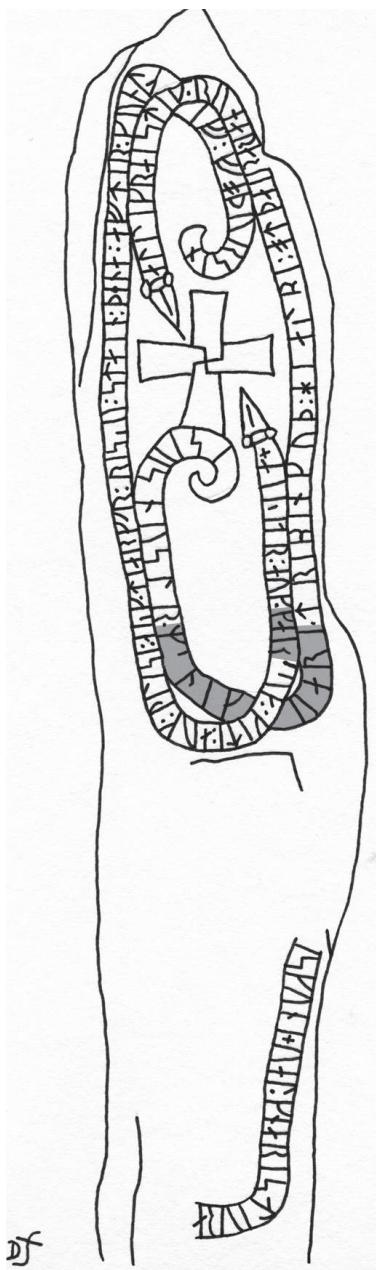
Abbildung 4. U 654.

am Kopf, oder auf U 654 am Kopf der zweiten Schlange (wo hier nur die Ritzersignatur beginnt) und nicht am Schwanz, hätten sich die Namen Kārrs und Ingvarrs in einem der beiden Fälle nicht berührt. Dass diese sprachlichen und grafischen Gestaltungsunterschiede so unmittelbar die Positionierung der beiden fraglichen Namen betreffen, bestärkt die Annahme, dass diese Positionierung dem Ritzer der beiden Steine offenbar ausgesprochen wichtig war – so wichtig, dass er die Gesamtanlage der Inschriften gleichsam um sie herum komponierte.

Wenn man die Nähe der beiden Runensequenzen auf beiden Steinen als intentionale Platzierung ansieht, ergibt sich natürlich die Frage, was damit ausgedrückt werden sollte. Wie schon auf den beiden etwa ein Jahrhundert älteren SigtryggR-Steinen dürfte die Nähe der Namen auf eine Nähe der Personen hindeuten, eine enge Beziehung. Da es sich bei dem militärischen Anführer Ingvarr und dem stiftenden Bruder bzw. Sohn Kārr aber wohl nicht um Verwandte handelte (es gibt jedenfalls keine Indizien dafür), könnte eine gefolgschaftliche Beziehung gemeint sein. Dann wäre Kārr gemeinsam mit seinem Vater GunnlæifR ‚mit Ingvarr‘ gewesen, also in dessen Gefolge, und angesichts dessen ist anzunehmen, dass auch er an der Expedition teilnahm, bei der sein Vater getötet wurde – allerdings kehrte er zurück, denn soweit wir wissen, stifteten nur Lebende Denkmäler für ihre verstorbenen Verwandten. Dass Kārr und GunnlæifR eine irgendwie herausgehobene Position in der Familie einnahmen, zeigt sich auch an dem Umstand, dass ein weiterer der fünf stiftenden Söhne – der stets an der Spitze der Brüder genannte Andvēttr – seine Söhne nach Ausweis eines anderen, später errichteten Steines von Ekilla bro (U 643) nach seinem Vater und eben diesem Bruder benannte.[17] Folgt man dieser Interpretation, so hätte der Ritzer der beiden Steine U 644 und U 654 mit dem grafischen Arrangement also einen Sachverhalt ausgedrückt, der sich der grammatischen Struktur der Inschrift nicht entnehmen lässt (Kārr als Gefolgsmann Ingvarrs). Sucht man auf den übrigen mit Ingvarrs Expedition verbundenen Runensteinen nach vergleichbaren Konstellationen, wo ein Stifter mit Ingvarr visuell, aber nicht sprachlich in Verbindung gesetzt wird, so findet man ähnliche Arrangements wie das hier vorgestellte auf Sö 108, Sö 131, Sö 335 und Vs 19 sowie eventuell auf U 785 und Vs 1;[18] Kārr wäre also durchaus kein Einzelfall.

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[17] Stilistisch gehört er in Gräslunds Gruppe Pr 4, die sie auf ca. 1070–1100 datiert (Gräslund 1992: 184f.; 2006: 122f., 126).

[18] Für eine erste Diskussion PmbZ II 22524, 22525, 22546, 27175, 28398, 22516, 28425. Zu Kārr ebd. 23680.

3. Konsequenzen

Die Analyse der beiden Runensteinpaare von Haithabu (DR 2 + DR 4) und Ekilla bro bzw. Varpsund (U 644 + U 654) zeigt ziemlich deutlich, dass bestimmte Runensequenzen von den Runenritzern mit voller Absicht relational zueinander auf den Denkmälern platziert wurden. Selbstverständlich lässt sich nicht vollständig ausschließen, dass die visuelle Nähe der entsprechenden Runensequenzen auf beiden Steinen der jeweiligen Paare zufällig zustande kam, plausibel ist dies allerdings nicht. Verstärkt wird der Eindruck der Intentionalität vor allem bei U 644 und U 654 durch die divergierende Anordnung der Stifternamen, was höchst unüblich bei identischen Stiftergruppen ist, vermutet man doch fein austarierte Rangfolgen hinter dem Arrangement der Namen (Sawyer 2000: 55). Auch dass sich Interpretationen jener visuellen Muster ergeben, die keineswegs isoliert sind, sondern sich mit anderen Argumenten stützen lassen (etwa der dem visuellen Arrangement entsprechende sprachliche Ausdruck für Verbundenheit durch Metaphern der räumlichen Nähe), spricht für die Annahme, dass die Worte absichtsvoll in Relation zueinander positioniert wurden.

Freilich erlauben die beiden Beispiele letztlich nur die Aussage, dass dieses Ausdrucksmittel von je einem oder zwei Ritzern in der Region um Haithabu Mitte des 10. und im nördlichen Mälarseegebiet in der ersten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts angewendet wurde; dass es auch anderen Runenritzern zur Verfügung stand, ist freilich anzunehmen. Um einerseits eine weitere Verbreitung zu belegen und andererseits weitere Hinweise auf die Intentionalität derartiger Platzierungen zu sammeln, sind neben der Suche nach weiteren entsprechenden Steinpaaren zwei weitere Methoden möglich.[19] Die erste wäre eine genauere Untersuchung der Terminologie, die für das Aufbringen von Runen verwendet wurde. Das Verbum *sætia* („setzen, platzieren") etwa, das mit einem direkten Bezug auf Schriftzeichen für das späte 9. Jahrhundert auf Seeland (DR 239) und in der Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts für Gästrikland (Gs 11) belegt ist, deutet in diese Richtung.[20] Eine weitere Möglichkeit wäre die Untersuchung von Steinen, an denen man den Verlauf des Arbeitsprozesses nachvollziehen kann; so lässt sich beispielsweise auf dem Stein von Berga (Sö 217) an der Verteilung der Runen erkennen, dass

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[19] Weitere Runensteinpaare, bei denen erste Analysen entsprechende Parallelen ergeben haben, sind DR 26 + 29, Sö 34 + 35, U 329 + 330 und U 766 + 767.

[20] Källström 2007: 95ff. Er diskutiert auch die Frage, ob mit den „Stäben" (*stafaʀ*) des Steins von Fyrby (Sö 56), auf sich dort das Verbum *sætia* bezieht, hölzerne Objekte oder die Runen gemeint sind.

die Inschrift offenbar nicht in der Reihenfolge des Textes angebracht wurde, sondern erst bestimmte Teile, und der Rest dann in die verbliebenen Lücken eingefüllt wurde (Föller 2009: 325).

Aus dem Befund, dass wikingerzeitliche Runenritzer aus der Relation von Worten offenbar nicht nur durch grammatische Bezüge, sondern auch durch visuelle Arrangements Sinn generieren konnten, lassen sich drei Konsequenzen ziehen. Erstens sollte den klassischen runologischen Arbeitsverfahren tatsächlich eine neue Komponente hinzugefügt und das grafische Arrangement der Inschrift stärker in den Blick genommen werden, da es immerhin möglich ist, dass nicht nur bereits gemachte Aussagen visualisiert und damit verstärkt wurden (wie der hohe Status des Verstorbenen auf DR 4 oder die Nähe des Verstorbenen zur Stifterin), sondern sich aus den visuellen Beziehungen neue Informationen ergeben können (am deutlichsten auf U 644 und U 654 die Verbindung Kārrs zu Ingvarr). Zweitens wäre zu überlegen, in welcher Weise Existenz wie Benutzungsmodalitäten dieses Ausdrucksmittels tiefere Einblicke in die wikingerzeitliche Runenkultur erlauben, wie etwa unsere Vorstellungen vom Rezeptionsprozess zu modifizieren sind oder was wir über die Konzeptualisierung von Worten und Namen erfahren. Drittens wäre eine wissens- und kulturgeschichtliche Einordnung dieses Phänomens zu leisten. Entstand es aus magischen Praktiken wie etwa der Vorstellung von der Wirksamkeit von Zauberzeichen durch direkten Kontakt?[21] Oder gehört es eher in einen weiteren europäischen Rahmen, etwa den der antiken und frühmittelalterlichen *carmina figurata* (Ernst 1991)? Eindeutig scheint jedenfalls, dass die weitere Untersuchung der Wortplatzierung gravierende Folgen für unser Wissen über die wikingerzeitliche Runenkultur zu entfalten vermag.

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[21] Zum Amulettgebrauch von wikingerzeitlichen Runeninschriften, wo dieser Effekt am deutlichsten hervortritt: McKinnell, Simek & Düwel 2004, MacLeod & Mees 2006, Düwel 2008: 208–211, Barnes 2012: 88ff.

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Postscriptum Februar 2021

Der hier publizierte Text entspricht dem Manuskript, das ich um die Jahreswende 2014/15 abgeschlossen und eingereicht habe; nur einige kleine formale und sprachliche Fehler wurden korrigiert. Nach meinem Wissen sind weder zum Thema der Wortplatzierung noch zu den vier untersuchten Runeninschriften Arbeiten erschienen, die Folgen für die Analyse oder deren historische Einordnung haben.

Die Forschungssituation zu den Runensteinpaaren hat sich nicht wesentlich verändert. Eine Abfrage in der letzten Version der *Samnordisk runtextdatabas* (2014) ergab 22 Runensteinpaare – die hier untersuchten sind dort allerdings nicht entsprechend markiert. Auf Unterschiede in der grafischen Gestaltung bei nahezu identischem Sprachbefund verwies Marco Bianchi (2016: 13–15) bei seiner Untersuchung des Runensteinpaars U 901

und U 904, was er als Anzeichen für eine „Runensteinsprache ohne Sprache"
deutete. Eine tiefergehende Untersuchung des Schriftarrangements auf
diesen Monumenten wäre lohnend.

Hanna Åkerström publizierte jüngst eine umfangreiche Studie zur Lese-
ordnung auf frühwikingerzeitlichen Runensteinen, die auch die hier unter-
suchten Beispiele DR 2 und DR 4 einschloss (Åkerström 2018–2019: 56f.,
66–70, 72–76, 78, 108f.). Angesichts der von ihr herausgearbeiteten Vielfalt
an Formen, mit denen Leseordnungen hergestellt wurden, sind die Paralle-
len in der Gestaltung der beiden Runensteine umso bemerkenswerter.

Für ein besseres Verständnis des Herstellungsprozesses und des Verhält-
nisses von Ritzern und Stiftern ist vor allem auf die Arbeiten von Laila Kitzler
Åhfeldt (2012, 2014, 2015, Kitzler Åhfeldt & Imer 2019) zu verweisen. Beide
Faktoren dürften für die Frage nach der Wortplatzierung eine wesentliche
Rolle spielen. Trifft ihr Befund, dass vor allem im spätwikingerzeitlichen
Schweden Ornamentschmuck und Inschrift von verschiedenen Personen
hergestellt wurden, auch auf die hier untersuchten Runensteine zu, könnte
man die Aussagen zum Arbeitsprozess wie der Konzeption von U 644 und
U 654 präzisieren: Der oder die Ritzer hätten dann die Inschriften jeweils an
die schon vorbereiteten Runenschlinge angepasst, was die Unterschiede im
Aufbau der Texte erklären würde.

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ANNE-SOFIE GRÄSLUND

Christian or Pagan?
Some Reflections on the Iconography of U 448

Abstract

'The iconography of the rune-stone U 448, a peacock and a rider, forms the basis of this paper. The inscription is a normal memorial one and has no explicitly Christian element. The ornament- ation does not include a cross. However, I will argue that the peacock and probably also the rider may be interpreted as images loaded with Christian meaning. The peacock, originally a sun symbol in India, was taken up by early Christianity in the Mediterranean area as a symbol of immortality. At the same time the fondness for representations of domestic fowl may show con- tinuity with Old Norse mythology and Viking-Age burials, where unburnt skeletons of domestic fowl are found in cremation graves. The rider may be regarded as an image of a holy rider and is compared with riders on Pictish symbol stones. My conclusion is that many of the images on rune-stones may be interpreted as a kind of syncretism, in fact Christian but understood as having a background in Old Norse religion.

Keywords: Rune-stone, iconography, Christianity, Old Norse mythology, peacock, fowl, rider, Viking-Age burial customs.

It is generally accepted that the late Viking-Age rune-stones should be understood in connection with the advance of the Christian mission; the distribution pattern of the rune-stones is often seen as an illustration of the spread of Christianity from the southwest to the northeast. In many ways, this could be true and it has been pointed out that the iconography of the rune-stones has clear Christian traits. Primarily this is of course relevant for the images of crosses. However, in the case of other images, could there be a more complex meaning behind them? In this brief article I will study the images of birds and of horses with riders and argue that they may show a syncretic background.

Birds

My starting point is the rune-stone U 448 from Harg, Odensala parish, in Uppland (Fig. 1). The inscription reads 'Ígull and Bjǫrn had the stone rais- ed in memory of Þorsteinn, their father' and thus says nothing about the religious belief of either the dead person or the raisers. Instead, what is extra- ordinary about this stone is the pictorial representation. On the central upper

Fig. 1. Rune-stone U 448, Harg, Odensala parish, showing a peacock and a rider. Photo: Runverket.

part of the front surface where a cross is normally located, there is a large bird with a crest on the skull, wings and long tail, in all probability a peacock.

In ancient India, the peacock was regarded as a sunbird, a symbol of love and long life. It was also connected to the cult of trees. The symbolism was later adopted in early Christianity through mediation from Hellenistic and Roman cultures, a kind of *Interpretatio Christiana*. In Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity, the peacock was kept as a temple bird for the worship of Hera and Juno. Later on, the peacock became a popular domestic animal in late republican and early imperial Roman Italy. Terentius Varro, a Roman scholar and author during the first century B.C., describes how peacocks were kept and bred in large flocks, both for pleasure and for profit. When sold, they fetched remarkably high prices (Toynbee 1973: 250).

As the flesh of the peacock was believed never to decay, it became a symbol of immortality. It was also seen as a symbol of resurrection as it lost its feathers and then grew new ones (Stander 1991: 11). In early Christian art on the continent there are frequent representations of peacocks. Two peacocks facing each other and sometimes drinking from a well or a vessel is a cherished motif, symbolising drinking from the Well of Life in Paradise – whoever drinks from it will get eternal life. St. Augustine compares the feathers of the peacock with their eye-motif with flowers in a meadow, alluding to the splendour of Paradise (Stander 1991: 16).

How did these ideas spread from the Mediterranean world to the North? An intermediate link has been recovered in Ireland. During the excavation of a very early church and churchyard in Caherlehillan, Kerry, SW Ireland, from the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century, the Irish archaeologist John Sheehan discovered two originally-erect stones and fragments of two more stones, decorated with carved crosses (Sheehan 2009: 200ff.). The stones were found in connection with a special grave, probably that of the founder of the church. One of the preserved stones and one of the fragments had representations of a bird carved on top of a cross (Fig. 2). The bird had long legs and a broad tail and has been interpreted as a simplified representation of a peacock. On the other stone there is something – a disc surmounting a handle – that might be a flabellum, the liturgical fan of the early Eastern Church, used to keep insects away during mass. Peacocks had a particular and strong association with the flabellum, in that peacocks' tail-feathers were sometimes used to make the fan. Owing to the presence at the site of eastern Mediterranean B-ware pottery, Sheehan suggests that some of the links between the eastern Mediterranean area and Ireland were direct and could be discerned on the earliest stratum of Irish Christian sites,

Fig. 2. Two standing stones with engraved symbols, the right one with a bird (peacock) on top of a cross, the left one with a probable flabellum. From the excavation of an early church at Caherlehillan, Kerry, Ireland, from the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century. After Sheehan 2009.

contrary to what has been argued before, i.e. that all the influence in Ireland was indirect, coming through Gaul (Sheehan 2009: 202).

The ecclesiastical connection between peacocks and the flabellum is still evident at the procession on Saint Liborius' day (July 23) in Paderborn, Germany. Saint Liborius (d. 397) is the patron saint of the Roman Catholic archdiocese of Paderborn. Legend tells that he was a bishop in Le Mans in Gaul and then moved to Paderborn. A peacock followed him all the way from Le Mans to Paderborn, where it fell down dead on the spot where the cathedral was later built. Saint Liborius is celebrated every year on the 23rd of July when his shrine is carried in a procession through Paderborn. At the head of the procession, a priest carries a large flabellum made of peacocks' tail-feathers.[1]

An example of ecclesiastical peacocks from Ireland, closer in time to the Swedish rune-stones than the carved stones from Caherlehillan, is found with two magnificent peacocks facing each other on the upper part of St. Patrick's bell shrine, made of bronze with gilt silver panels and decorated in Urnes style (Fig. 3). An inscription dates the shrine to the decade around A.D. 1100 (Ó Floinn 1983: 167f.).

The Norwegian Gokstad ship-burial, dendrochronologically dated to c. A.D. 900, contained the bones and feathers of one or two peacocks (Nicolaysen 1882: 69, Sjøvold 1985: 53), which demonstrates that this kind of bird was known in Scandinavia at that time. However, there are no clearly identifiable pictures of peacocks in Scandinavian art until the late Viking Age, when peacock-shaped as well as dove-shaped brooches appeared. In both cases there are clear connections to Christianity; the motifs are probably inspired and influenced by the Christian world of pictures and symbols (Pedersen 2001: 49ff., Vang Petersen 2010: 142f.).

However, in the Scandinavian Middle Ages peacocks were instead regarded as symbols of arrogance and pride. Owing to their beauty, they were kept in parks and gardens at castles and manors, and they also appear on some early aristocratic seals. Here, they served as a symbol of high status (Svanberg 2014). So far, I have found no example of ecclesiastical or folkloristic symbolism from the Middle Ages or later in Sweden, with one exception. In an excavated 18th-century grave in a burial vault under Sura Church in Västmanland, a child around two years of age was interred with peacock feathers on the chest, and a tuft of peacock feathers was attached to the top of a bonnet on the child's head (Jonsson 2009: 137 and Fig. 33). However, the meaning of this is unclear.

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[1] Thanks to Christiane Ruhmann, Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum, Paderborn, for this information.
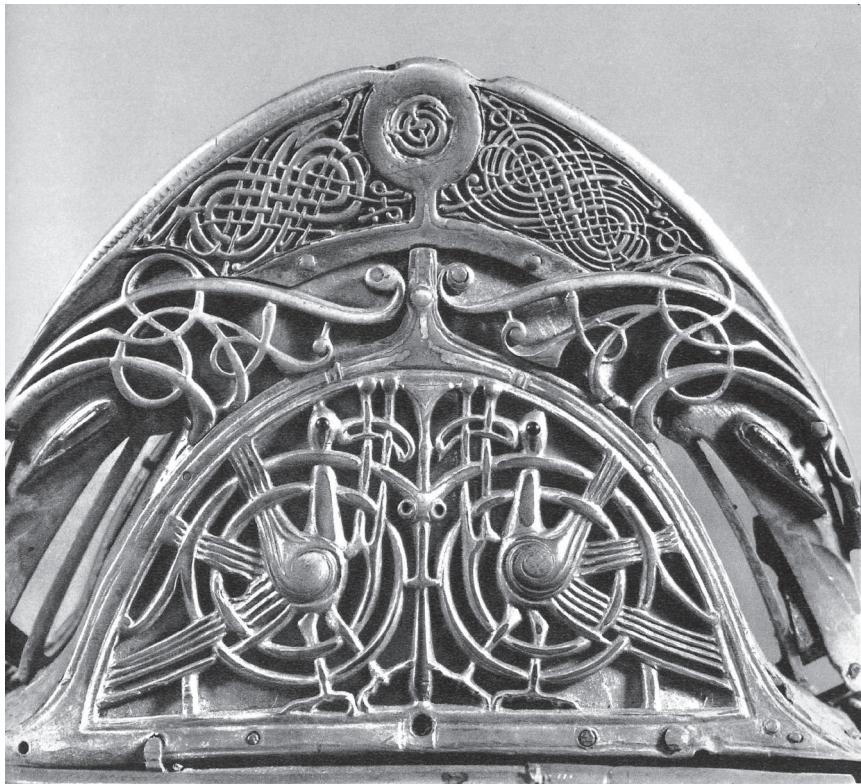
Fig. 3. St. Patrick's bell shrine, back of crest, detail with two peacocks. Circa AD 1100, Ireland. After Henry 1970.

Let us now go back to rune-stones with possible peacock representations; some of them are in my opinion clearly peacocks, while others are perhaps more dubious.

The bird on the stone U 257, Fresta Church, is unfortunately only partly preserved, but is highly reminiscent of the bird on U 448. As the tail is missing it is impossible to tell whether it is similar to a peacock, but the pictorial idiom of these two stones has been used to argue that U 448 might have been carved by Fot as U 257 probably was. The latter fragmentary carving is signed, but the only preserved rune of the name is the final **r**. Elias Wessén proposed that the two stones be attributed to Fot (UR 2: 246), as well as the then-lost U 874 from Hagby Church, based on the pictorial idiom of the bird image as it is documented in Bautil (UR 3: 546f.).

However, in October 2016, in connection with an archaeological excava-

Fig. 4. The recovered rune-stone U 874, painted and now raised close to Hagby Church. Photo: Magnus Källström, Riksantikvarieämbetet.

tion of the demolished porch of the old church, U 874 was recovered. This was a real sensation: I was there when the stone was lifted out, extremely curious to see the full image of the bird – and obviously it is a peacock, with a crest divided into three. After cleaning and painting of the runes the stone has now been raised just outside the church (Fig. 4). Magnus

Fig. 5. Fifth-century sarcophagus with two peacocks facing a cross, used in A.D. 693 as a coffin for Archbishop Teodorus. After Bustacchini.

Källström gives many more arguments for the attribution to Fot (Källström 2020: 82ff.).

There are some more probable examples of fowl among the bird representations on rune stones, as well as a probable eagle and some other probable birds of prey. It is not impossible that some of the fowl were meant to depict peacocks, as several of them have rather long tails, sometimes with tailfeathers fanned. It should moreover be noted that fifth-century sarcophagi from Ravenna depict pairs of peacocks facing each other on each side of a cross (Fig. 5) or a vessel with water. These have a crest on their heads but they do not have particularly long tails (Bustacchini n. d.: 153). In connection with this, it is very interesting that the bird on U 633, Broby, Kalmar parish, seems to have a crest divided into three, similar to that of U 874. Crests also appear on the bird pictures on the upper part of the front surface of U 171 from Söderby, Östra Ryd parish, and on U 753 from Litslena Vicarage, where the bird is placed in the spot where a cross is normally located. In addition to the just-mentioned U 171, U 633 and U 753, possible fowl that were perhaps intended to represent peacocks may be seen on a further three stones: U 31, Väntholmen, Hilleshög parish; U 629, Grynsta backe, Håbo-Tibble par-

ish; U 746 Hårby, Husby-Sjutolft parish. U 31 is now severely damaged so only the forepart of the bird's body is preserved, but judging by a drawing made in the mid-nineteenth century by Richard Dybeck and published in his journal Runa (UR 1: 1 Fig. 24), the bird showed distinctive peacock features, i.e. broad wings and a very long tail. Wessén proposed, with no further explanation, that the bird on U 629 should be seen as an eagle (UR 3: 66), probably owing to its large claws. This bird, however, has a long and broad tail, similar to the bird on U 746, so it may equally well be a peacock.

An interesting counterpart to this problem of species determination can be taken from numismatics. Early Viking-Age coins, i.e. the pictorial "Hedeby coins" from the beginning of the ninth century, include a small group of three coins where the obverse picture consists of two cocks facing each other (Malmer 1966: 60). Malmer points out that although the birds cannot be proven to be cocks, they do show similarities with them in the crest, tail-feathers and claws, and therefore she considers the designation "cock" justified. Sune Lindqvist describes bird pictures, possibly doves and peacocks, on the picture stones from Gotland, sometimes just ornamental, but sometimes symbolic, and borrowed from continental Christian art. He compares them to pictures on grave cists in the area of Trier and is of the opinion that these might have served as models for some of the picture stones (Lindqvist 1941: 93).

Pictures of birds on rune-stones, in all probability not meant as representations of fowl or peacocks, may be seen on U 692, Väppeby, Arnö parish and U 855, Böksta Hill, Balingsta parish. The forward-facing bird on U 692 certainly has a long, broad tail and broad wings, but it is depicted in the manner typical of an eagle. Clearly, the birds on U 855 are part of a hunting scene; they are probably falcons or hawks and this should be regarded as an example of hunting iconography, as is found on the Norwegian Alstad stone (where a bird similar to the one on U 692 is interpreted as a bird of prey). Such iconography stems from Roman and Byzantine art traditions and appears on Langobardian and Carolingian monuments (Fuglesang 1986: 186f.).

Other bird pictures with no link either to hunting or to peacock symbolism appear on two famous carvings from Södermanland: the Ramsund carving Sö 101, Ramsund, Jäder parish, and the Gök stone Sö 327, Näsbyholm, Härad parish. Both carvings depict scenes from the Sigurd legend, where small birds play a special role.

However, from the province of Södermanland there are some nice representations of cocks on rune-stones; they are placed centrally on the carved surface, on top of crosses. The cock may be regarded as a familiar domestic
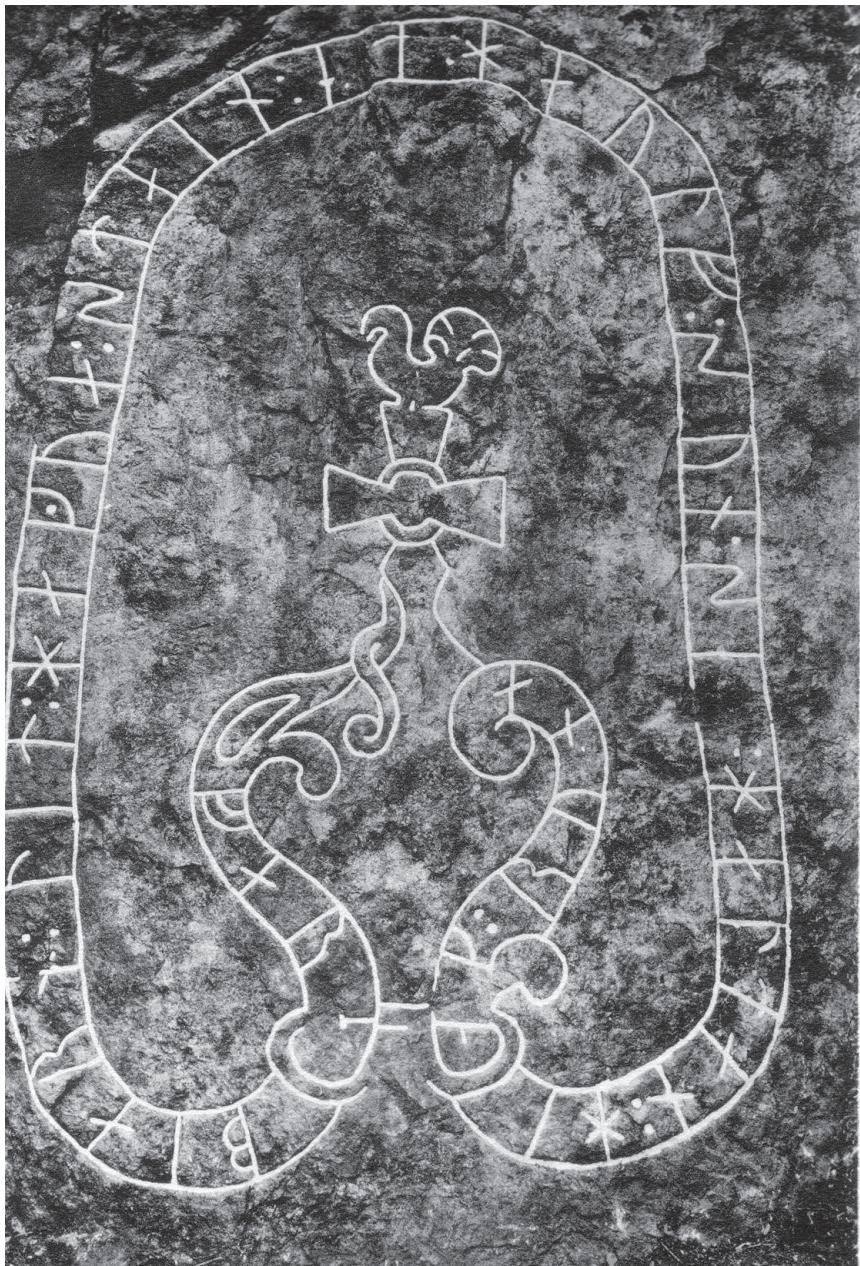
Fig. 6. Rune-stone Sö 270, Tyringe, Österhaninge parish, showing a cock on top of a cross. After Södermanlands runinskrifter.

animal that could replace the peacock. The complete stone Sö 270, Tyringe, Österhaninge parish (Fig. 6), and the fragments Sö 245 Tungelsta, Väster-haninge parish, and Sö 247 Ålsta, Västerhaninge parish, all originate from the eastern part of the province, on the peninsula of Södertörn in an area called Haninge, a name with its origin in the Germanic/Old Norse word *hane*, 'cock'. There is documentary evidence from the Middle Ages that a large forest-area here, constituting the border zone between two hundreds, was called *Hanveden* (Nyström 1990: 3f.), 'the forest of the cocks'. In this connection it probably refers to forest birds, i.e. black grouse and capercaillie. It has been argued that there are some further fragmentary bird pictures on rune-stones at Södertörn, but these are very uncertain. None of these Södertörn stones has any indication of Christianity in the inscription but all three are decorated by crosses.

The cock was an important bird in ancient mythologies, regarded as a symbol of the sun that could subjugate the power of darkness through its crowing at dawn and therefore as a protection against evil beings (Waida 2005: 551f.). In Old Norse mythology, cocks sit in the World Tree and crow to wake up the dead before Ragnarök, as described in Völuspa (Nordberg 2003: 260ff.). In Viking-Age graves in Scandinavia, the bones of cocks, hens or chickens are sometimes found. Like eggs, they are interpreted as symbols of rebirth and resurrection (Gräslund 1980: 54, 2008: 72f.). Cremation graves where unburnt fowl skeletons are found on top of the cremated bones of the deceased are important for the understanding of burial customs.

In Christianity the cock is seen as a symbol of the New Light, i.e. Christ resurrected. It has also been regarded as a symbol of watchfulness, and that is the reason why we still have church weathercocks. The earliest evidence of a church weathercock is a report that Bishop Rambertus of Lombardy in A.D. 820 had a cock cast for his church tower (Gerlach 1970: 209).

As both the cocks and the probable peacocks on the rune-stones are placed on the spot where the central cross is usually found, it seems reasonable in my opinion to give them a Christian interpretation, particularly as some of them are in direct contact with the cross. Analogous perhaps is the pictorial composition of U 629, where a cross emerges from the back of the bird instead, as well as a ninth-century dove-shaped gilt silver brooch with the same image, retrieved from a grave under the Cathedral of Osnabrück (Schnackenburg 1995). Direct contact with the cross indicates an important symbolic connection between it and these birds.

Riders

The representation of a rider on the Odensala stone corresponds to other Upplandic rune-stones which have simplified pictures of riders on horses. In some cases, the riders are depicted without arms, as on U 448, and on U Fv1973;194 (used as a base for a pillar in the chancel of Uppsala Cathedral, built in the 13th century). In this case, the inscription comprises the words *hvítaváðum* (white clothes), interpreted as baptismal clothes (cf. Williams 2012 and Gräslund 2015: 237). A similar picture of a rider without arms is found on a small fragment from Frötuna in Rasbo parish. However, there is a drawing of this stone from 1769-1770 by Peter Boling showing the stone almost complete, with only the top part broken off (Källström 2008: 233ff.). Thus, Källström has been able to read the whole inscription – the stone was raised by a son and a wife in memory of a man who died in Holmgård (Novgorod). The text ends with the prayer 'May God help Guðelfr's son's spirit'. The design consists of two rune-animals in eight-shaped vertical loops and a large central cross; there are in addition two human beings, one at the bottom and one at the top, the latter missing its head due to the damage. Some lines appear to the left of the top person. Could these possibly be a misinterpreted bird, corresponding to the picture of the rider to the right of the man? Interestingly enough, on the stone U 375, Vidbo Church, there are some remains of a bird's tail on top of the rider, who this time has arms. The same design is found on the stone U 599 Hanunda (cf. discussion above on the place-name Haninge), Hökhuvud parish, where the whole bird is preserved. Perhaps, as in Odensala, the bird was seen as a Christian symbol and therefore could sometimes replace the cross on the spot where this was normally located.[2]

Riders occur in Christian iconography, often with weapons. They might be interpreted as *Militia Christi*, holy riders, representatives of the army of Christ (Merzbacher 1970: 267f.). There is on the stone U 691, Söderby, Arnö parish, a rider with a sword in his right hand and a processional cross in his left (Fig. 7). The stone was raised by a father in memory of his treacherously-slain son. The inscription ends with the prayer 'May Christ help his spirit'. In this case it seems relevant to speak of a holy rider. Another iconographical

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[2] An additional possible carving of a rider is suggested by Sigmund Oehrl (2006: 30 and Fig. 72) on Sö 239, Häringe, Västerhaninge. The top of the stone is broken off and what remains of the picture is the lower part of a horse with four legs. Between the fore- and hind-legs are the leg and foot of a rider. Another rune-stone rider is seen on U 678, Skokloster Church. Stylistically, this picture seems to be much older, from the eighth or beginning of the ninth century. There has been much discussion over whether the picture is older than the inscription or merely old-fashioned; I will not consider it here.

Fig. 7. Rune-stone U 691, Söderby, Arnö parish, showing a rider with a sword in his right hand and a processional cross in his left. After Upplands runinskrifter.

interpretation could be that the rider represents Christ himself defeating the evil powers.

It is sometimes claimed that all pictures of riders represent hunting scenes, and the pictorial European tradition of hunting iconography has been identified as a token of royal or aristocratic power (Fuglesang 1986: 187). This may certainly be true of a scene such as the one on the above-mentioned U 855 depicting a rider with a spear on his horse followed by hunting dogs and falcons attacking a deer. However, for the rune-stones in question, I find more attractive another hypothesis put forward by the Scottish archaeologist Martin Goldberg in his work on Pictish symbol stones. From the eighth century onwards, the Pictish symbol stones seem to have a mixture of pagan and Christian motifs, in the same way as pre-Christian and Christian representations are mixed on our picture stones and rune-stones. It is easy to believe that, in a transition phase, motifs with pagan as well as Christian meaning were popular. There are many examples from various times and areas, during the Conversion Period, of customs from the old religion being accepted or tolerated, or given a new interpretation that fitted with the new religion, for example the so-called *Interpretatio Scandinavica*. Riders occur on some Pictish stones in what are traditionally interpreted as hunting scenes. Goldberg suggests that in this apparent motif there might be a hidden meaning – the picture is an allusion to the so-called *Adventus* motif, the entry of Christ into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday when he is welcomed as Messiah (Goldberg 2012: 160ff.). In my view this interpretation is supported by Maria Elena Ruggerini, who in an article on the Anglo-Saxon Easter liturgy (including Palm Sunday) makes a comprehensive investigation of sources. She points out that the ninth-century hymn *Gloria laus et honor*, which praises Christ as the pious and righteous King, Redeemer of Mankind, and was composed by Theodulph, Bishop of Orléans and based on Psalm 24, exists in a *Canterbury Benedictional* version with additional verses. One of these asks: *Quis rex hic equitat, cui Gloria redditur ista*? 'Who is this King who comes riding here, to whom glory is due?' (Ruggerini 2011: 213ff.).

Already in early Christian times, Easter was doubtless the most important feast of the Christian year. It may be that the riders on the rune-stones in question, as well as the peacocks and other fowl, were familiar motifs with an important meaning for Scandinavians as they were traditionally charged with symbolism in Old Norse mythology. This might have been a good way for the new converts to use these old symbols to show their knowledge of the Easter message. We could compare with the pictures on the Norwegian Dynna stone demonstrating knowledge of the Christmas Gospel, but there

these form more of a pictorial narrative; in that case the stable according to the *Interpretatio Scandinavica* looks rather like a domestic Scandinavian long-house.

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MARTIN HANSSON & PER STILLE

En landskapsanalys av runstenarna Sm 36 och Sm 37 i Bolmaryd

Abstract
This analysis comprises part of a larger project on the placement of rune-stones in the local area of Tiohärad. It considers two rune-stones, Sm 36 and Sm 37, in Bolmaryd. The older stone, Sm 36, is placed in the grounds of what would have been a large farmhouse or village and could only have been seen by its householders and visitors. The text is short and simply refers to a family relationship. The younger stone, Sm 37, meanwhile, like several of the rune-stones in Tiohärad, is placed in a communicatively strategic position on a larger road. It has a more extensive text which focuses on the social rank of the commemorated thane Vend. Both of the stones show how location and message can vary according to the intended recipients of the message.

Keywords: Landscape archeology, communicative purpose, rune-stone placement, Småland, Viking Age

Inledning

Runstenarnas placering i landskapet är en nyckel till förståelsen av vad dessa monument haft för betydelse och vad man velat åstadkomma genom att resa dem. Genom att studera runstenarnas placering i landskapet kan vi få en bättre förståelse för det sammanhang där den språkliga texten har formulerats. Detta är syftet med projektet "Runstenar i Tiohärad" (Stille 2007). Inom projektet ligger fokus på att studera de runstenar som fortfarande kan antas stå på ursprunglig plats. I ett fall har en arkeologisk undersökning invid en runsten genomförts (Hansson & Stille 2014, Hansson 2014). Vid sidan av en arkeologisk undersökning har även studier av historiska kartor samt ett flertal fältbesök genomförts inom projektets ram, vilket stöttats av anslag från Lennart J. Hägglunds stiftelse, Berit Wallenberg stiftelse och Hallenbladska fonden.

I denna artikel behandlas monumenten Sm 36 och Sm 37, som står i anslutning till byn Bolmaryd i Nöttja socken i Sunnerbo. Avsikten är att diskutera stenarnas landskapskontext i relation till deras textuella innehåll och därigenom försöka närma sig bakgrunden till varför de två stenarna restes där de gjorde.

Runstenar i Tiohärad

Runstensresandet fick i Sverige sitt verkliga genomslag under tiohundra-talet. Inom området Tiohärads lagsaga i Småland finns eller har funnits ett åttiotal runstenar av vikingatida typ (fig. 1). En del av dessa runstenar är idag förkomna men kända genom avbildningar, andra är enbart bevarade som fragment. De småländska runstenarna har publicerats och diskuterats i två årsböcker från museerna i Jönköping respektive Växjö (Om runstenar i Jönköpings län 2002, Runor i Kronobergs län 2008). Runstenarna i Tio-härad är i allmänhet huggna i granit och har rundad eller tillspetsad topp. Utsmyckningen på stenarna är oftast enkel, endast i ett fåtal fall förekom-mer djurornamentik. Det kristna inslaget på runstenarna är relativt stort. Kors finns på två tredjedelar av de runstenar i Tiohärad som är tillräckligt fullständiga för att man ska kunna avgöra detta. På främst ornamentala grunder anses runstenarna i Småland huvudsakligen vara resta under sent 900-tal fram till mitten av 1000-talet. Möjligen har runstenarna i området rests under en mycket kort period och vissa indicier talar för att flera run-stenar kan knytas till enskilda ristare (Stille 2008: 74).

Inskrifterna är enhetliga och följer oftast formuleringen "NN satte denna sten/gjorde detta kummel efter NN, sin (fader, broder el. dyl.)". Flera har intressanta tillägg som avspeglar resarnas sociala miljö. I inskrifterna dominerar män, såväl i rollen som resare av stenen som föremål för resandet. Fyra ensamma kvinnor förekommer som resare och i sex fall reser kvinnor och män stenen tillsammans. I inget fall är en ensam kvinna ihågkommen i en inskrift. Bakom runstensresandet kan man ana en mycket socialt med-veten storbondeklass, med stora hushåll och mycket folk i sin tjänst som det gällde att försörja och styra på rätt sätt. Dessa storbönder framstår som lokala hövdingar, sannolikt med betydande makt i sin hand när det gäller rättskipning, försvar och andra frågor av betydelse i lokalsamhället. Run-stenar måste därmed ses som ett sätt att signalera den egna personens/familjens/släktens betydelse jämfört med andra (Brink 2002, Zachrisson 1998, 2002, Eldblad 2002).

Kunskapen om runstenarnas ursprungliga placering varierar (Stille 2015). Den kan helt saknas som när stenarna är påträffade i ett sekundärt läge d.v.s. någon gång har förts från sin ursprungliga plats utan att förflytt-ningen har dokumenterats. Detta gäller till exempel för de flesta runstenar som påträffats i kyrkor eller andra byggnadsverk. Sammanlagt rör det sig i Tiohärad om 25 runstenar påträffade i eller vid kyrkor och tre i andra sekundära lägen.

Kunskapen om ursprunglig placering kan också vara god. Även om stenen
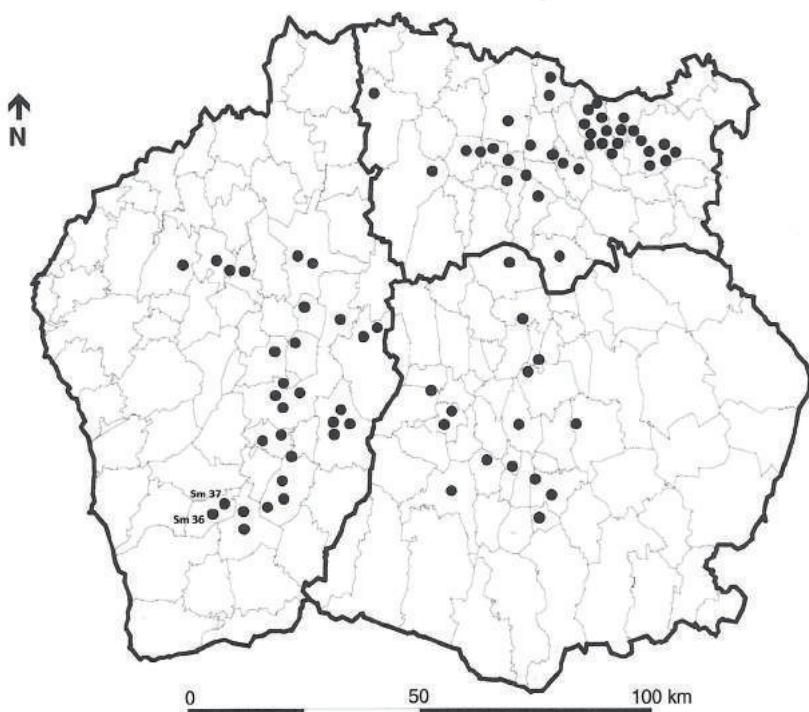
Fig. 1. Runstenar i Tiohärads lagsaga i Småland: Sm 36 och Sm 37 markerade. Karta: Martin Hansson.

har rests på nytt eller flyttats kan det finnas noggranna uppgifter om var den ursprungligen stått. Detta gäller för inte mindre än 25 stenar. Ännu bättre möjlighet till analys ger naturligtvis de stenar som står kvar på ursprunglig plats, vilket gäller för fjorton stenar. För dessa 39 runstenar, d.v.s. inte fullt hälften av materialet, kan man diskutera exempelvis hur stenen har varit vänd eller hur den varit synlig för människor. För ytterligare en del flyttade, återuppresta eller försvunna stenar, femton stycken, finns vagare äldre uppgifter. I dessa senare fall är det inte alltid möjligt att beskriva hur stenen har varit ämnad att ses, men väl om den har befunnit sig i närheten av eller kan kopplas till andra natur- och kulturfenomen som exempelvis vattendrag, vägar, gravfält eller bebyggelseenheter.

En runsten är betydelsebärande på flera sätt och innehåller flera potentiellt meningsbärande enheter: det språkliga budskapet, monumentets utformning och även stenens placering i landskapet. En runsten är en del av

en social praktik i samhället, en praktik som rör minnet av en avliden släkting, manifesterandet av kristen tro, arvsförhållanden eller en kombination av flera betydelser (Roesdahl 2005, Bianchi 2008, 2010). Som Anders Andrén (2000) har visat finns ett stort behov av holistiska, ämnesöverskridande studier av runstenar. I sin studie av runstensornamentik i Mellansverige har Andrén (s. 9 f.) visat hur man genom att kombinera inskrifternas betydelse med stenarnas ornamentik kan nå ny kunskap om meningsinnehållet. Sammanställs en analys av text och bild med runstenens plats kan den här typen av studie ta ytterligare steg framåt. Genom ett landskapsarkeologiskt synsätt kan man utifrån fornlämningsbild, topografiska förhållanden samt historiska kartor skapa en hypotetisk bild av vikingatidens landskap som ger möjlighet att på mikronivå studera hur en runsten varit rest i relation till gravplatser, kommunikationsstråk, topografi och bebyggelse (Hansson 2014).

Bolmarydsstenarna Sm 36 och Sm 37

Sm 36 är en runsten av gnejs, 2,05 meter hög, 0,65 meter bred och 0,22 meter tjock där överdelen skjuter över något åt väster, med texten på den södra sidan (fig. 2). Kinander nämner (i SRI 4:116 ff.) att stenen flyttades kring 1913 efter att tidigare ha stått ungefär sex meter längre söderut på samma gärde. Runorna ska då ha varit vända åt väster. Avståndet till den andra stenen, Sm 37, är cirka 1,7 kilometer.

Även Sm 37 är en runsten av gnejs, 1,95 meter hög och 1,25 meter bred, något avsmalnande uppåt samt 0,25 meter tjock (fig. 3). Stenen står idag invid en bro över Rörån med ryggen åt dagens landsväg, men tidigare gick landsvägen söder om stenen. Sm 37 har fallit omkull och rests åtminstone två gånger (SRI 4:119). Om stenens nuvarande placering avspeglar den ursprungliga placeringen har den haft textsidan söderut mot den landsväg som här passerade Rörån.

Bolmarydstenarna omnämns första gången 1667 av kyrkoherde Jöran Osaengius i en redogörelse över monumenten i Nöttja (Rannsakningar 1992:125). I den framgår att runstenen vid Rörbro låg på marken, medan stenen i Bolmaryds by stod upp. Stenarna undersöktes av Ulf Christoferssson vid en resa i sydvästra Småland. Hans första resa till Småland, då tillsammans med Johan Hadorph d. y., kan tidfästas till 1689 (Schück 1933:427). Träsnitten i Bautil är dock enbart signerade med U. C., vilket kan tyda på att uppteckningen gjordes vid en senare resa. Om uppteckningen enbart är

Fig. 2. Sm 36. Foto: Martin Hansson.

utförd av Christofersson kan detta kanske ha betydelse vid värderingen av hans läsning. Även vid Christoferssons besök stod stenen i Bolmaryds by, medan stenen vid Rörbro låg ned. Det framgår dock att ristningarna redan vid denna tid på sina ställen var skadade och svårlästa.

I Samnordisk runtextdatabas återges Sm 36 på följande sätt:

: uintᴿ : auk : -...[i]n : sat : kul : þusi : iftiᴿ : osmr :
Øyndr/Vintr ok [Sv]æinn/[St]æinn sattu kumbl þausi æftiᴿ Assur/Asmar.

Läsningen bygger på Helmer Gustavsons undersökning 2006 och erbjuder endast få svårigheter. Efter runföljden **auk** kommer ett parti där man kan se nedre delen av en stav och sedan följer ett flagrat parti. Lakunen ger knappast utrymme för mer än en runa till. Runorna är ganska djupt huggna i en skrovlig yta. Det gör att man kunde förvänta sig någon rest av en runa vid nedre delen. Något tecken på detta kan dock inte ses, vilket öppnar för en annan möjlighet. Vad man ser kan vara resten av en vänd solruna. Den skulle i så fall vara mycket bred. Även efterföljande solruna är vänd och bred. Den ursprungliga texten skulle då vara **sin**.[1] Detta kan väl närmast tolkas som namnet *Svæinn*, även om Peterson (2007:207, 214) för liknande skrivningar också räknar med möjligheten av namnet *Stæinn*.[2]

I manrunan finns mellan stav och höger kvist en grund fördjupning. Det är svårt att med Helmer Gustavson tolka den som en avsedd stingning. Den är mycket grund medan ristningen i övrigt är djupt huggen. I inskriften finns dock inga stingningar att jämföra med.

Ortografin ger för en senare tids läsare ett valhänt intryck. Runor tycks saknas i fyra ord, *Svæinn/Stæinn*, *sattu*, *kumbl* och *Asmar*. Tolkningen av **osmr** som *Assur* är knappast rimlig. Den kräver en felristning av ett slag som är nära nog omöjlig. Det första namnet i inskriften har tolkats som *Vintr* men kan också tolkas som *Vindr* (Williams 1990:122), med möjlig härledning till 'vind' eller folkslagsbeteckningen 'vend'. Henrik Williams (2015:173f.) menar sig kunna belägga namnet *Vindi* 'person från Vendland' på U 667. En stark form *Vindr* är rimligtvis fullt möjlig. Vad som talar för denna tolkning är att det bör vara fråga om samma person som omnämns på Sm 37. Det rör sig om samma bebyggelseenhet och ett nära sammanhang i tid där rimligtvis enbart en familj har den positionen att man reser runstenar. Runföljden **uit** i Sm 37 kan svårligen förstås som *Vintr*, men är förenlig med tolkningen *Vind* eller *Vend*, den senare tolkningen används fortsättningsvis.

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[1] Kinander läste **-in** och Liljegren **sin**, vilket också talar för denna läsning.
[2] Henrik Williams (ms) vill se ett namn *Sæinn* bakom denna och liknande skrivningar.

Sm 37 återges i runtextdatabasen på följande sätt:

[:] a[sur] · karþi : kubl : þesi : eftiʀ : uit : faþur : sin · [h]an uaʀ : mana : mestr : uniþikʀ [:] uaʀ : i[n]tr : mataʀ : uk umun hats : kuþr · þi(k)[n] : kus tru : kuþa : hafþi :

Assurr gærði kumbl þessi æftiʀ Øynd/Hvit, faður sinn. Hann vaʀ manna mæstr oniðingʀ, vaʀ yndr mataʀ ok omun hatrs. Goðr þegn Guðs tro goða hafði.

Läsningen bygger på Helmer Gustavsons läsning från 2005 och 2006 (ATA 322-4548-2006). Vad gäller första namnet i ristningen finns enbart Christo-ferssons läsning att tillgå, även om Kinander (i SRI 4:119) menade sig kunna urskilja delar av såväl första runan **a** som sista runan **r**. Problemet i texten gäller framför allt ordet som återges **i[n]tr** utifrån Christoferssons läsning. Kinander (i a.a.) menar sig bara kunna se stavarna i de två första runorna, men inga kvistar. Samtidigt påpekar han att såväl han som von Friesen ser det som möjligt att där funnits kvistar och att första runan skulle kunna vara en manruna. Gustavson (i ovan a.a.) anger att det inte finns några spår av kvistar i första runan, "som är diffus på grund av vittring". Han anger vidare att nästa runa har en grund fördjupning på höger sida, men påpe-kar att den följer stenens ytstruktur och därför inte behöver vara en avsedd huggning. Något spår av kvist på vänster sida kan han inte finna. Kinander (i SRI 4:120) diskuterar i Bugges efterföljd runföljden som ett möjligt **mitr**, *mildr*; han ger också ett eget förslag, **uitr**, *ō-ildr* 'ej snål', men stannar för von Friesens lösning att runföljden ska tolkas *yndr*, ett obelagt adjektiv för någon som unnar. Kinanders huvudskäl är metriska. Salberger (2000:42 ff.) menar att en läsning **mitr** skulle ge en betydligt rimligare text med ganska många paralleller och visar att de metriska skäl som Kinander anför mot denna tolkning inte är giltiga. Salbergers lösning verkar mycket övertygan-de. Runtexten var tydligen skadad redan på 1600-talet och Christofersson har haft svårigheter att läsa flera partier. Han återger **n**-runan med dubbel-sidiga kvistar men det är svårt att tänka sig att en vänsterkvist skulle ha va-rit synlig ens på hans tid, vilket i någon mån minskar tillförlitligheten i hans läsning. Full säkerhet är svår att nå, men *mildr* bör fortsättningsvis anföras som en alternativ tolkning. Salberger (s. 49) argumenterar också för att **hats** ska förstås som *halds*, 'hjälp', vilken tolkning även Kinander nämner. Frasen skulle alltså kunna återges *vaʀ mildr mataʀ ok ōmun halds*, d.v.s. en person som är frikostig med mat och underhåll för sitt husfolk.

En mindre anmärkning på runtextdatabasens återgivning kan göras och

Fig. 3. Sm 37. Foto: Martin Hansson.

det gäller skiljetecknen. På tre ställen återges skiljetecknen med ·. I samtliga fall beror det på att de är svårlästa och placeringen av punkten gör det troligt att de är skadade skiljetecken av typ ꞉. Det vore mindre vilseledande att återge dem med (꞉).

En relativ ålder kan anges i och med att Sm 36 som har Vend som resare är äldre än Sm 37 där denne är den ihågkomne. Detta gäller självfallet under förutsättning att det rör sig om samma person. Sm 36 har ett relativt enkelt utförande, medan Sm 37 ger intryck av att vara utförd av en van runristare. Båda har liksom huvuddelen av Smålands runstenar ett enkelt utförande utan någon ornamentik på runslingan. Anne-Sofie Gräslund (2006:126) har antagit att det rör sig om en tidig produktion och föreslår att denna typ av ristning kan vara utförd under perioden 980–1015.

Båda runstenarna är försedda med kors varav det ena är ett enkelt rakt kors av en utformning som återfinns på många runstenar. Sm 36 har ytterligare ett korsat kors, en ovanligare typ med bara 31 förekomster i det svenska materialet. Linn Lager (2002:129) nämner engelsk myntning som en möjlig förebild, men också att myntningen i Hedeby ligger närmare i tiden. Inspirationen kan ha kommit från skånskt område där DR 324 Lund 1 är den enda danska runstenen med detta kors. DR 264 Hyby 1 har ett liknande kors. Om dessa är äldre än Sm 36 är dock oklart. De övriga svenska inskrifterna med liknande kors är senare även om åtta sörmländska stenar ligger nära i tiden. Det korsade korset finns i Sörmland huvudsakligen på de stenar som Brate (1925) en gång sammanförde under det fiktiva namnet "Traen", men vars ristare efter den typiska ristningen Sö 158 som var Brates utgångspunkt kan kallas *Runtunaristaren*.

Korsen ger anledning att förstå resarna som kristna. Detta kommer ännu mer tydligt till uttryck på Sm 37 som rests över en man som hade "god tro på Gud". Båda ristningarna ger alltså belägg för kristen tro i sin samtid, något som inte setts som självklart (jfr Stille 2002). Intressant nog kallas han också för *tägn*. Det är långt ifrån självklart hur man ska förstå detta epitet, mer än att den som kallas så har en framskjuten ställning i samhället. Att det är en person som har ett stort hushåll som underhålls frikostigt framgår av texten i övrigt. Rimligtvis bör det röra sig om delvis fria personer i hushållet vars omdöme det fästs vikt vid. Utifrån detta finns det all anledning att uppfatta Bolmaryd som en storgård vid tiden för resandet av runstenarna.

Bolmaryd – fornlämningar och skriftliga källor

Sett i ett järnåldersperspektiv ligger Bolmaryd och Nöttja socken i den sydvästra utkanten av de mer tätbefolkade delarna av Sunnerbo, så som det framstår utifrån spridningen av järnålderns gravfält. I Sunnerbo är dessa, framför allt bestående av höggravfält, koncentrerade till Lagans och Prästebodaåns dalgångar samt runt sjön Bolmen. Den senare avvattnas via Bolmån söderut genom Nöttja och förbi Bolmaryd innan den längre söderut rinner ut i Lagan. På så sätt kan det aktuella området sägas vara förhållandevis centralt beläget om än inte i bygdens absoluta centrum.

Fornlämningsbilden visar också att det är längs Bolmån och runt sjön Exen som vi hittar järnålderns gravfält i trakten. Flera av de bebyggelseenheter i Nöttja socken som nämns i den äldsta jordeboken över Sunnerbo, från 1538, har järnåldersgravfält. Det gäller förutom Bolmaryd även Nöttja, Extorp, Bölminge, Balkarp och Malmaryd. I Skararp i Hinneryd socken vid Exens södra sida finns även här ett höggravfält. Det är också runt sjön Exen som vi finner de flesta av de största bebyggelseenheterna.

I Bolmaryd finns två gravfält där åtminstone det ena är av vikingatida karaktär (Nöttja 8:1). Detta ligger ca 150 meter öster om den nordligaste gårdstomten i byn som denna framträder på 1728 års karta (se nedan). Gravfältet som inte är undersökt består av 25 högar, en gravtyp som på andra håll i Sunnerbo daterats till vikingatid (Hansson 1998). Man kan på goda grunder anta att det är här den sena vikingatidens Bolmarydsbor är begravna. Avståndet mellan gravfältet och runstenen Sm 36 är närmare 400 meter fågelvägen, så något direkt samband mellan dessa olika monument har inte funnits. Det andra gravfältet (Nöttja 97:1) är en mer tveksam fornlämning. Att döma av noteringar på 1728 års karta är det sannolikt naturbildningar i form av sanddyner som felaktigt bedömts som fornlämningar. Lokaliseringen av det eventuella gravfältet antyder också att det, om det nu verkligen är gravar, sannolikt inte är vikingatida.

Första gången Bolmaryd nämns är 1353, då kung Magnus Eriksson vid ett rättarting i Berga tilldömer arvingarna efter Ulv Petersson, Jöns Petersson, Sibbe Petersson och Nils Petersson ett antal gårdar i Nöttja socken, däribland en i Bolmaryd (DS 4938). Nästa gång byn dyker upp är 1366, då Gunne Elinesson i Bolmaryd (troligen i Nöttja sn) kungör att han till sin son Bengt överlåtit sin mindre gård i Bolmaryd under sin livstid. När Gunne avlidit skulle sonen Bengt dela gården med sin syster (DS 7367). I ett brev daterat 1402 säljer väpnaren Folke Petersson en mängd gårdar till riddaren Abraham Brodersen, däribland fyra gårdar i Bolmaryd och en i Skararp (SD

165). Av de här uppgifterna kan man sluta sig till att det både fanns skatte- och frälsebönder i Bolmaryd under 1300-talet.

Enligt den äldsta bevarade skattelängden över Bolmaryd från 1538 fanns sex gårdar i byn, två skatte- och fyra frälsegårdar, sannolikt de fyra gårdar som tidigare varit i Folke Peterssons ägo. Med sex gårdar var Bolmaryd den största byn i socknen, större än grann- och kyrkbyn Nöttja på andra sidan Bolmån med fem gårdar. Sammanlagt verkar det vid denna tid ha funnits sjutton bebyggelseenheter med lite över trettio gårdar i socknen. De flesta enheterna utgjordes av ensamgårdar. Tre gårdar eller mer fanns förutom i Bolmaryd och Nöttja endast i Extorp, Balkarp och Malmaryd.

Bebyggelsebilden i Bolmaryd förefaller ha varit stabil över lång tid. Vi kan ana oss till minst fem gårdar i sent 1300-tal och sex gårdar 1538; fort- farande 1728, vid tidpunkten för tillkomsten av den första kartan över byn, hade den sex gårdar (se nedan). De fem gårdar som fanns på 1300-talet utgör ett starkt indicium för att byn bör ha bestått av flera gårdar redan under vikingatid. Möjligheten finns att Folke Peterssons fyra frälsegårdar år 1402 kan vara resterna av en äldre storgård som delats upp i landbogårdar.

Bolmaryd och runstenarna – en landskapsanalys

En viktig del i landskapsanalysen är studiet av de äldsta historiska kartor- na.[3] Kartmaterialet kan avslöja spår av äldre strukturer i landskapet från tider före kartornas tillkomst (jfr Tollin 1991). Runstenarna i Bolmaryd är som så ofta annars noterade i de äldsta kartorna men inte i de yngre (Vestbö- Franzén 2002:215ff.). I Peter Hamnels karta från 1694 är runstenen Sm 36 (Nöttja 9:1) medtagen i form av en rektangel med texten ”runsteen” intill. Sm 37 (Nöttja 7:1) finns inte medtagen i kartans bild eller text, men redo- visas i stället på 1697 års karta från Nöttja kyrkby som Bolmaryd gränsar till i nordväst. Här finns en rektangel med texten ”Rörbro Steen. Hvar under säges det en konung vid namn Kong Jöns, är begrafven.” I en annan karta från Nöttja från samma år återkommer sägnen om en begraven kung, ”Här ligger en steen wid broon hvarest kong Jöns säges wara begrafven under.” Intressant är att texten uppger att stenen ligger vid bron, vilket antyder att runstenen vid tiden för kartans upprättande var kullfallen.

I yngre kartor tas runstenarna inte med i kartbilden eller i kartans text. Kartan över Bolmaryd från 1728 innehåller dock en del intressanta mark-

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[3] Den nedanstående kartanalysen bygger till stora delar på det mycket värdefulla arbete som inom projektets ram utförts av kulturgeografen Aadel Vestbö-Franzen vid Jönköpings läns museum.
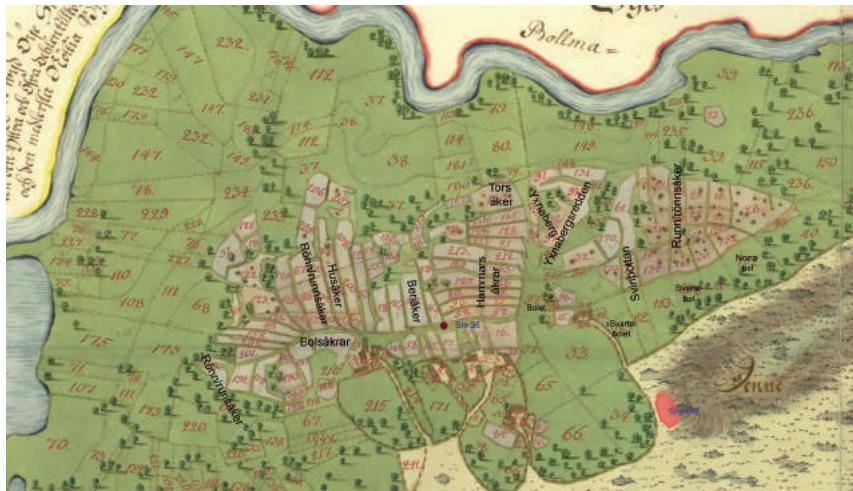
Fig. 4. Utsnitt ur 1728 års karta över Bolmaryd. På den rektifierade kartan har läget för Sm 36, bygravfältet samt en del intressanta marknamn noterats. Kartanalys av Aadel Vestbö-Franzén.

namn (fig. 4). Här finns ett par tegar som bär namnet "runsåkrarna", men de ligger cirka 200 meter respektive cirka 400 meter söder om Sm 36, samt 400 meter norr om densamma. I laga skiftesprotokollet från 1840 kallas samma åkrar alla *Rönnsåker*. Om åkrarnas namn avser runstenen och att *run-* genom en vokaländring har blivit *rönn-* eller om det är trädet rönn som avses i båda kartorna är oklart, men det senare är troligt eftersom det saknas uppgifter om att Sm 36 ska ha flyttats någon längre sträcka. I närheten finns också åkernamnen *Torsåker* och *Hammaråkrar*. Det förra namnet kan tolkas teofort och ha med religiös kult att göra, men det senare namnets koppling till *hammare* gör att man kanske snarare ska tolka området som fyndplats för "åskviggar" i form av stenyxor. En Husåker som kan indikera ett tidigare gårdsläge finns intill runsåkrarna.

Sm 37 står intill Rörbron på byns utmark i ett gränsläge mot byn Nöttja, där landsvägen passerar en mindre å (fig. 5). Rör borde här syfta på Rörån snarare än på förekomst av rösen i området för bron. Cirka 100 meter sydväst om bron vidtar ett soldattorps ägor. Mitt emot soldattorpet finns en höjd som på kartan från 1728 betecknas som Rörbacke, en hög ljungkulle. Troligen utgörs röret av fornlämningen Nöttja 10:1, den hällkista som ligger här.

Bybebyggelsen i Bolmaryd ligger på en närmast nord-sydligt långsträckt höjdrygg en bit söder om den punkt där den mindre Rörån rinner ut i den
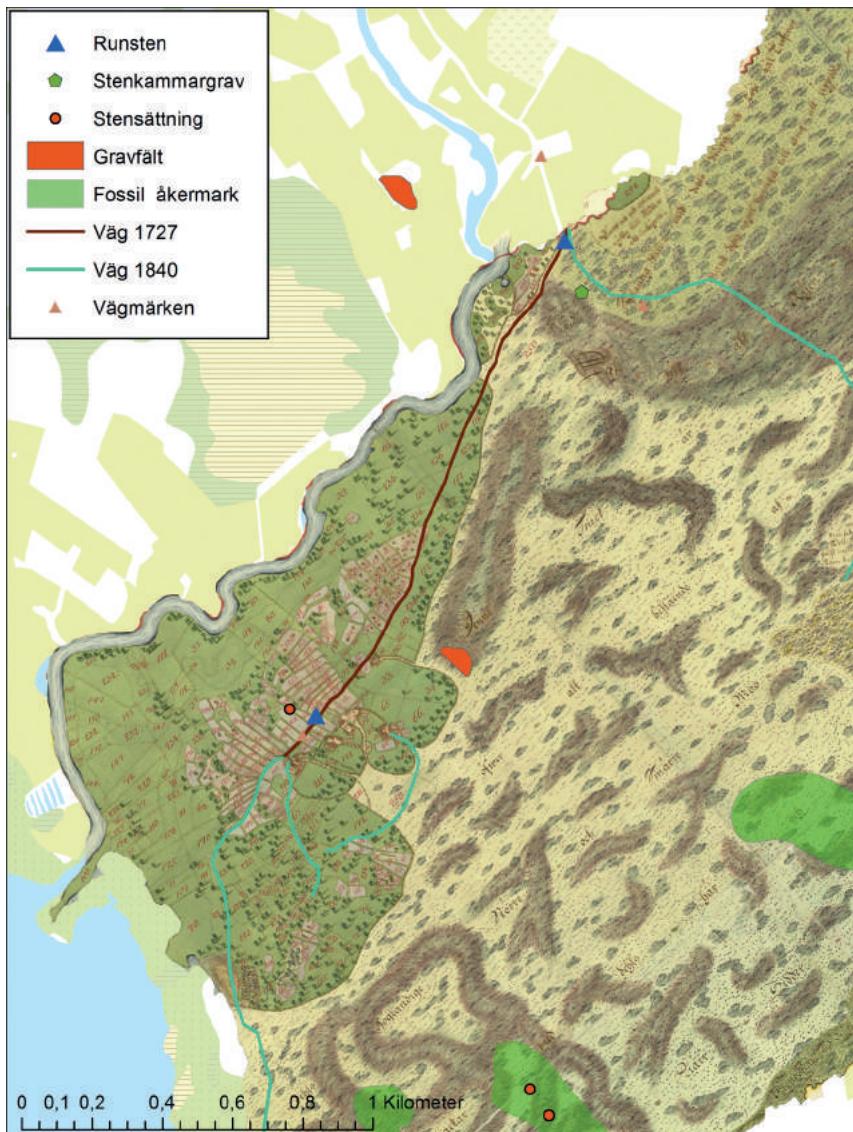
Fig. 5. Rektifiering av 1728 års karta över Bolmaryd med läget för Sm 36 (i söder) och Sm 37 (i norr) markerade. Kartanalys av Aadel Vestbö-Franzén.

större Bolmån. Bolmån utgör gräns för byns marker åt väster, medan sjön Exen utgör gräns åt söder. I öster avgränsas byn av ljungryar och våt-

Fig. 6. Utsnitt över 1685 års häradskarta över Sunnerbo. I öster ses den dubbelstreckade markeringen av Lagastigen förbi Hamneda kyrka, den enkelstreckade landsvägen mellan Hamneda och Nöttja. Bolmaryds något isolerade läge framgår tydligt.

marker. Häradskartan över Sunnerbo från 1685 visar hur Bolmaryd låg i relation till annan bebyggelse (fig. 6). Bolmaryd och Nöttja socken låg strax väster om ån Lagan och Lagastigen som under i princip alla tider fungerat som den stora nord-sydliga kommunikationsleden genom västra Småland. Från Hamneda vid Lagan gick en väg västerut mot Nöttja. Denna väg, som i princip fortfarande är i bruk som landsvägen mellan Hamneda och Nöttja, passerade en bit norr om Bolmaryd men gick inte genom byn. Där denna väg passerade Rörån stod Sm 37 i ett kommunikativt mycket fördelaktigt läge. Förutom att landsvägen på denna plats passerade ån var det även här som vägen ned till Bolmaryds by svängde av. För att nå bybebyggelsen fick man färdas ungefär en kilometer söderut.

Häradskartan från 1685 indikerar även vad som var dåtidens viktigaste kommunikationsstråk. På häradskartan finns två sorters vägar markerade, dels dubbelsträckade vägar som förefaller ha varit huvudvägar (som Lagastigen), dels enkelsträckade vägar som mer har karaktär av landsväg mellan enskilda byar (som vägen mellan Hamneda och Nöttja). Av detta kan

man dra slutsatsen att de förra sannolikt var de mest trafikerade och de som vid denna tid hade störst betydelse. Men kartan visar inte alla vägar i landskapet. Det måste dessutom ha funnits vägar av ännu lägre dignitet som inte är markerade på kartan, eftersom det saknas vägar fram till en hel del bebyggelseenheter. En sådan enhet är Bolmaryd. Man kan således urskilja vägar på minst tre olika nivåer av betydenhet.

Bolmaryds by låg 1728 samlad i en bytomt öster om åkermarken på en nord-sydlig höjdsträckning (fig. 4). Åkermarken var skiftad i långsmala tegar huvudsakligen på den västra sidan av byvägen, medan alla gårdarna låg på den östra sidan av vägen. I kartmaterialet finns en del antydningar till att gårdarna tidigare kan ha legat mer utspridda och först i ett senare skede kommit att regleras på bytomten. Ett par åkrar som avviker mot de långsmala tegarna är Yxnaberg och Yxnabergsredden. Namnen är bebyggelseindikerande och det är inte osannolikt att en av byns gårdar haft namnet *Yxnaberg* innan den flyttat in till bytomten.

En annan indikation utgör leden *bol* i marknamnen. *Bol* är mångtydigt och har dels med själva gården att göra, som exempelvis i *prästebol*, dels betecknar den mest högavkastande ängen som oftast låg i anslutning till bytomten, ofta som en del av, eller förlängning av en gårdstomt (Ericsson 2012:270ff.). Det är alltså möjligt att ensamliggande bolängar ska ses som bebyggelseindikerande, eftersom *boläng* betyder en äng som ligger vid bolet i betydelsen 'gården/tomten'. I Bolmaryd finns ett antal bolängar norr om bytomten, dels Bolet, dels Svartebol och slutligen Norra bol (fig. 4). Dessa skulle med denna tolkning kunna tyda på att byn tidigare bestått av flera spridda gårdslägen, där gårdarna sekundärt flyttat in till en gemensam bytomt.

Av topografin att döma låg Bolmaryd närmast i vad som är att betrakta som en återvändsgränd i landskapet. Det var endast de som hade ärende till byn som kom dit. Några genomfartsvägar förefaller inte ha gått genom Bolmaryd. Söder om byn låg sjön, i väster den förhållandevis breda Bolmån. Vadet över Bolmån låg en bit norrut i Nöttja, och det var här som socknens kyrka kom att byggas. Tolkningen att Bolmaryd har legat i en återvändsgränd styrks av den bild som ges av de äldsta kartorna över byn. Inga vägar leder från Bolmaryd mot grannbyarna, i söder Öje och i väster Extorp. Laga skifteskartan från 1840 redovisar en väg söderut över ljungmarkerna längs med sjön till Öje ägor, men byn utgör ändå en sorts återvändsgränd (fig. 5, 6).

Detta ger intressant bakgrund till hur man ska tolka byns båda runstenar. Sm 36 står centralt inom Bolmaryds inägomark och strax intill byvägen. Stenen har utifrån den landskapsanalys som gjorts en tämligen snäv exponeringsradie inom den egna byn. Det var endast besökare till byn, och

de som levde där, som hade möjlighet att uppleva den. Sm 37 har ett mer uppenbart exponeringsläge om syftet var att så många som möjligt skulle se stenen; dels står den vid en bred väg högre upp i väghierarkin, dels vid en bro som måste passeras. Genom sina olikartade placeringar kan man ana att det fanns skilda avsikter bakom att runstenarna restes på respektive plats.

Att döma av kartbilden 1728 står Sm 36 verkligen mitt i byn, invid byvägen och centralt framför och topografiskt högre än de fyra sydligaste gårdarna i byn som de låg 1728. Om gårdarna även legat här när stenen restes är okänt. Ursprungligen ska stenen ha stått sex meter längre söderut och med texten vänd åt väster. Idag står stenen i ett visst höjdläge, om än inte på den allra högsta punkten i byn. Denna ligger strax väster om runstenen och här ligger en grav i form av en möjlig stensättning (Nöttja 98:1). För en resande som närmar sig byn på byvägen norrifrån syns stenen på avstånd, även om texten inte är synlig från detta håll. Förhöjningen där stenen står har ett markerat läge i landskapet. Från den högsta punkten vid stensättningen, 70 meter väster om runstenen, har man utsikt över Bolmån i väster och sjön Exen i söder. Höjden planar ut i en markerad platå. Var det någonstans här som Svens och Vends storgård låg, med byns andra och sannolikt underlydande gårdar längre ned i sluttningen?

Sm 37 har ett helt annat läge stående vid vadet över bron vid allfarvägen, samtidigt som den kan ha fungerat som en vägvisare mot Bolmaryd. Man kan jämföra med Sm 61 vid Skaftarp som omnämner ett vägmöte. Av de båda stenarna har den senare Sm 37 ett betydligt mera offentligt läge. Stenen kunde ses och läsas av alla som passerade på landsvägen. Jämfört med Sm 37 var Sm 36 en betydligt mera intern angelägenhet. När stenarna utfördes måste resarna haft detta i åtanke, det var olika grupper i samtiden som man ville skulle ta del av dem. Även textmässigt kan man säga att de båda stenarna skiljer sig åt. Sm 36 har en traditionell text där Vend och Sven tillkännager att de nu tagit över efter Åsmar. Deras maktanspråk var kanske inte helt oomstridda, men runstenen bidrog till att klargöra och avgöra denna situation (jfr Sawyer 2002). Detta är också den äldsta stenen av de båda. På den mer offentliga stenen Sm 37 klargör Assur att han tagit över efter fadern Vend, som nu framstår som en hövding av betydelse, en tägn, och som dessutom beskrivs som god herre. Av texterna kan man sluta sig till att Vend varit framgångsrik i att befästa sin ställning inte bara i byn utan säkert också i regionen i stort när han nu kallas tägn. De ambitioner Vend hade när han reste Sm 36, vilket kanske gjordes i en osäker situation i samband med Åsmars frånfälle, har av allt att döma uppfyllts. På Sm 37 framgår att han varit bygdens aktade tägn och hövding.

Avslutning

Det är tydligt att de två stenarna Sm 36 och Sm 37 rests i olika positioner i landskapet och med olika syften. Den ena stenen kan ses som en intern angelägenhet för byn, den andra ett mer offentligt monument som tillkännager förändringar i maktstrukturen som inte bara var viktiga i byn utan som även behövde tillkännages mer allmänt. Ser man på Tiohärads runstenar i stort är det här något som återkommer. I många fall står runstenar i anslutning till det som på 1600-talets häradskartor framstår som dåtidens huvudvägar och landsvägar. Många gånger kan man utifrån fornlämningsbild, inte minst olika gravar, anta att dessa vägar med största sannolikhet också fanns under sen järnålder. Även om vägnätet naturligtvis har förändrats från tiohundratalet fram till sextonhundratalet, har denna förvandling nog varit störst i de delar av landskapet som kännetecknas av den tidigmedeltida kolonisationen (jfr Larsson 1964:78ff., Brink 2002), och i dessa delar av landskapet saknas det runstenar.
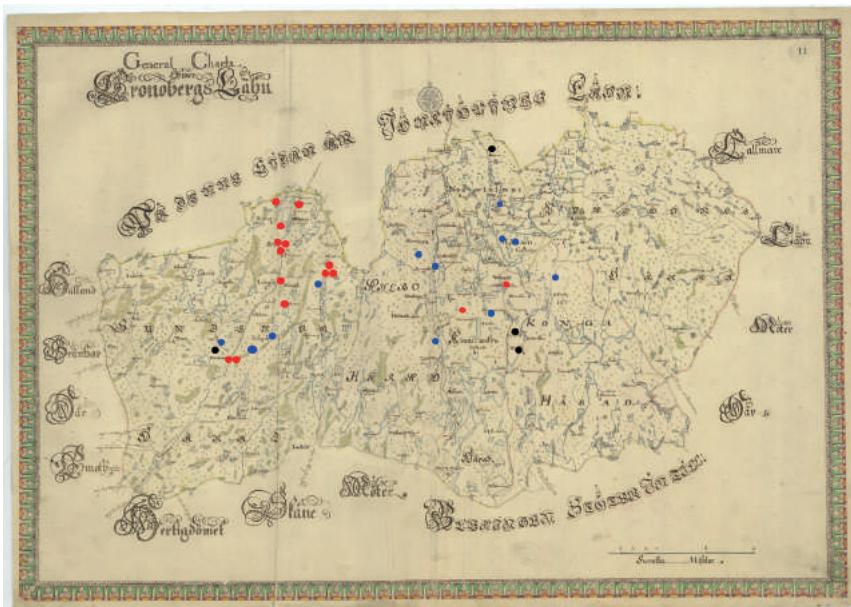
Fig. 7. Runstenar i södra delen av Tiohärad (Värend och Sunnerbo härad av Finnveden) i relation till vägnät som det framgår från en "General Charta öfwer Kronobergs lähn" från sent 1600-tal. Röda punkter avser runstenar som står i anslutning till vägar i den högsta väghierarkin, blå punkter runstenar som står i anslutning till vägar av den näst högsta väghierarkin medan svarta punkter motsvarar runstenar som står i andra lägen. En av dessa är Sm 36.

En översiktlig analys av runstenarna i Värend och Sunnerbo visar ett tydligt samband mellan 1600-talets viktiga vägar och runstenar (fig. 7). Att runstenar står invid vägar är ju känt sedan länge, men det visar sig att det framför allt är vid de större vägarna som runstenar rests, på platser där deras budskap ska ha kunnat uppfattas av så många som möjligt. Sm 37 är en sådan sten. Samtidigt finns det en mindre grupp av runstenar, dit Sm 36 hör, som inte alls har de här framträdande offentliga lägena utan som står betydligt mer undanskymt och som snarare vänder sig mot den egna byn och dess befolkning. Sm 42 i Tuna i Ryssby socken, som möjligen är rest i ett gränsläge mellan en storgård och övriga gårdar i byn, i anslutning till byns gravfält, är ett annat sådant exempel (Hansson 2014). Den välkända stenen Sm 16, som innehåller den längsta runinskriften i Tiohärad, kan också föras till denna grupp. Precis som Sm 36 står Sm 16 närmast i en topografisk återvändsgränd i landskapet, medan den stora landsvägen gick ett par hundra meter öster om runstenens position. Genom att på det här sättet detaljstudera runstenars landskapskontext kan man få inblick i vilka avsikter resarna hade när de valde att resa en runsten på just den plats som de gjorde.

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F23, Sunnerbo härad, 1685. Assar Rohman

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F54-15:1 Nöttja kyrkby, geometrisk avmätning, 1697. Peter Hamnel.

https://etjanster.lantmateriet.se/historiskakartor/s/show.html?showmap=true&mapTypeSelected=false&mapType=&archive=LMS&nbOfImages=1&sd_base=lms2&sd_ktun=4c4d535f4635342d31353a31

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F54-6:1 Geometrisk avmätning, 1694. Peter Hamnel.

https://etjanster.lantmateriet.se/historiskakartor/s/show.html?showmap=true&mapTypeSelected=false&mapType=&archive=LMS&nbOfImages=1&sd_base=lms2&sd_ktun=4c4d535f4635342d363a31

F54-6:2 Geometrisk avmätning, 1728. Anders Ulfström.

https://etjanster.lantmateriet.se/historiskakartor/s/show.html?showmap=true&
mapTypeSelected=false&mapType=&archive=LMS&nbOfImages=1&sd_
base=lms2&sd_ktun=4c4d535f4635342d363a32

07-nöt-1 Geometrisk avmätning, 1728 konceptkarta.

https://etjanster.lantmateriet.se/historiskakartor/s/show.html?archive=REG
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ktun=00023guc&mdat=1311539782

F54-6:3c Laga skifte, 1840. Jonas Lindqvist.

https://etjanster.lantmateriet.se/historiskakartor/s/show.html?showmap=true&
mapTypeSelected=false&mapType=&archive=LMS&nbOfImages=2&sd_
base=lms2&sd_ktun=4c4d535f4635342d363a33,..

JANA KRÜGER

Der Gebrauch von punktierten Runen in dänischen Inschriften der Wikingerzeit

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to shed light on the phenomenon of dotted runes in runic inscriptions from Viking-Age Denmark. It has often been stated that dotted runes were not used systematically. However, Lagman in his thorough investigation from 1990 pointed out that dotted runes are used with great consistency in the inscriptions on Viking-Age runestones in Sweden. The question this paper then tries to answer is whether this also applies to the inscriptions on Viking-Age Danish runestones. The conclusion this paper comes to is that both regions correspond in the respect that the dotted **i**- and **k**-runes are most often used to designate the sound value that lies furthest from the actual sound value of the undotted runes as regards articulation, i.e. the dotted **i**-rune is used considerably more often for [æ] than for [e] and the dotted **k**-rune for the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] than for the voiced velar plosive [g]. In fact, the use of the dotted **k**-rune for the voiced velar fricative seems to be very consistent in the Danish inscriptions of the *Efter-Jelling*-period.

Keywords: Dotted runes, Viking Age, runic inscriptions, younger futhark, Denmark, *Efter-Jelling*-period

Einführung

Kennzeichnend für den Übergang vom Älteren Futhark zum Jüngeren Futhark im 7. und 8. Jh. ist in Skandinavien eine Reduzierung des Zeichenbestands um ein Drittel von 24 auf 16 Zeichen, obwohl zu dieser Zeit durch sprachhistorische Lautwandelprozesse eine erhebliche Erweiterung des Phonembestands zu verzeichnen ist. Es kam also dazu, dass die Runenreihe der Wikingerzeit (ca. 800-1100) aus 16 Zeichen bestand, die jedoch bei weitem nicht das jeweilige Phonemsystem abdeckten. Die Runenzeichen waren ambig, denn sie repräsentierten jeweils mehrere Phoneme. In den letzten Jahrzehnten des 10. Jahrhunderts begann man in Dänemark und in anderen Gebieten Skandinaviens und auch Großbritanniens, bestimmte mehrdeutige Runengrapheme durch diakritische Zeichen in Form von Punkten bzw. kurzen Strichen zu differenzieren.[1] Der Punkt wurde in die Mitte des Hauptstabes, wie im Fall

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[1] Zu Ort und Zeitpunkt der Entstehung der punktierten Runen und ihrer Verbreitung s. Knirk (2010) und Schulte (2020) und dort angeführte Literatur.

der **i**-Rune (ᛁ), oder zwischen Haupt- und Nebenstab, wie im Fall der **k**-Rune (ᚲ), gesetzt. Mit diesem diakritischen Zeichen sollte angezeigt werden, dass der intendierte Lautwert von dem entsprechenden unmarkierten Runengraphem, also der Rune ohne Punktierung, abweicht. Das Konzept, Runen mit einem diakritischen Zeichen in Form eines Punktes zu versehen, war bereits in das Schriftsystem des Jüngeren Futharks integriert (s. Knirk 2010). Im System der Kurzzweigrunen bestand die **m**-Rune aus einem Stab mit einem Punkt am oberen Ende des Stabes und die **h**-Rune aus einem Stab mit einem Punkt in der Mitte des Stabes, wie beispielsweise die Futhark-Inschrift auf einem der beiden Runenstäbe von Haithabu (EM85;371A / DK Sl 8: Datierung: 800–1000) zeigt.[2] Es ist uns keine Futharkinschrift bekannt, die komplett mit allen punktierten Runen versehen worden ist, weder dem 16-typigen Futhark hinzugefügt noch in dieses integriert.[3] Daraus ist zu schließen, dass die punktierten Runen zu keinem Zeitpunkt den Stellenwert der nicht punktierten Runen erlangten. Oftmals wurde in der Forschung auf den unsystematischen bzw. nicht konsequenten Gebrauch der punktierten Runen hingewiesen (z. B. Jacobsen & Moltke 1942: 1000, Nielsen 1960: 60). Bei seiner Untersuchung der schwedischen wikingerzeitlichen Steininschriften kam Lagman (1990: 153) dagegen zu dem Ergebnis „att bruket av de stungna runorna i stort sett är konsekvent". Lagman (ibid.) zufolge liegen die Laute, die am häufigsten mittels punktierter Rune markiert wurden, artikulatorisch am weitesten vom eigentlichen Lautwert der entsprechenden unpunktierten Rune entfernt: So ist beispielsweise die punktierte **i**-Rune wesentlich häufiger zur Bezeichnung von [æ] als von [e] gebraucht worden, und was den Öffnungsgrad bei der Artikulation anbetrifft, so liegt [æ] weiter entfernt von [i] als [e] (Lagman 1990: 103).

In diesem Beitrag soll untersucht werden, ob für den Gebrauch der punktierten Runen in den dänischen wikingerzeitlichen Steininschriften vergleichbare Resultate erzielt werden können.

Die punktierten Runen treten im altdänischen Gebiet erstmals in der Periode 2.2 *Efter-Jelling* auf, die etwa den Zeitraum 970–1020/25 umfasst,[4] vor allem in Ostjütland und Südschonen. Bei etwa einem Fünftel der Inschriften dieser Periode sind punktierte Runen verwendet worden. Jacobsen und Moltke (1942: 1037–8) führen insgesamt 28 Inschriften mit punktierten Runen der *Efter-Jelling*-Periode an, von denen in der vorliegenden Untersu-

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[2] S. Abb. 1 bei Moltke (1985: 369).
[3] S. hierzu Haugen (1976: 87–88).
[4] Zur Datierung siehe Stoklund (2006).

chung jedoch nur 24 Inschriften berücksichtigt wurden, insbesondere aufgrund nunmehr späterer absoluter Datierungen in der dänischen Datenbank *Danske Runeindskrifter* (http://runer.ku.dk/).[5]

Es treten in erster Linie die punktierte **i**- und die punktierte **k**-Rune auf. Wesentlich seltener sind die punktierte **u**-Rune sowie die punktierte **m**-Rune. Letztere repräsentiert jedoch keinen anderen Lautwert. Sie ist in vier Inschriften zu finden: zum einen in Jütland auf den Steinen Århus 1 (DR 63 / DK MJy 74) und 5 (DR 68 / DK MJy 79) sowie in Schonen auf den Steinen Hällestad 1 (DR 295 / DK Sk 80) und 3 (DR 297 / DK Sk 82). Die punktierte **u**-Rune ist in zwei Inschriften Jütlands bezeugt, in der Inschrift auf dem Stein von Sjelle (DR 62 / DK MJy 68) und auf dem Stein von Århus 4 (DR 66 / DK MJy 77). Sjelle ist die einzige Inschrift der *Efter-Jelling*-Periode, in der sowohl die punktierte **i**-, die punktierte **k**- als auch die punktierte **u**-Rune zu finden sind. Die punktierte **u**-Rune steht hier in zwei Personennamen, einmal für [y] in **ḡyrþ** *Gyrð* und einmal in Verbindung mit **a** zur Bezeichnung von [øy] in **fraystain** *Frøystæinn*. Die punktierte **u**-Rune auf dem Stein Århus 4 befindet sich innerhalb einer unleserlichen Sequenz. In den schwedischen Steininschriften der Wikingerzeit ist die punktierte **u**-Rune nach Lagman (1990: 91) meist für die Bezeichnung von [øy] gebraucht worden, nur geringfügig weniger für [ø], aber deutlich weniger für [y].

Wenden wir uns nun den beiden am häufigsten auftretenden punktierten Runenformen, der punktierten **k**- und der punktierten **i**-Rune zu. Hinsichtlich ihrer Verbreitung lassen sich zwei Schwerpunkte feststellen: diese liegen zum einen im nordöstlichen Bereich Jütlands und zum anderen in Schonen (s. Abb. 1). Hinzu kommen die beiden Inschriften auf den Steinen Haddeby 1 (DR 1 / DK Sl 1) und 3 (DR 3 / DK Sl 3). Der größte Teil dieser Inschriften (11) weist nur die punktierte **k**-Rune auf, ein Drittel der Inschriften (8) hat beide punktierte Runenformen und 5 Inschriften bezeugen ausschließlich den Gebrauch der punktierten **i**-Rune. Es fällt auf, dass die Inschriften, die nur die punktierte **k**-Rune zeigen, überwiegend in Nord- bzw. Nordostjütland zu finden sind.

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[5] Hierzu gehören die Inschriften auf dem Stein von Schleswig (DR 6 / DK SlB 1), Alsted (DR 37 / DK Sj 59) und Simris 2 (DR 345 / DK Sk 47). Die Inschrift auf dem Stein Ålum 1 (DR 94 / DK MJy 37) wurde hingegen nicht berücksichtigt, da die Punktierung fraglich ist: Nach Wimmer (1899-1901: 195) handelt es sich um ein zufälliges Loch im Stein.
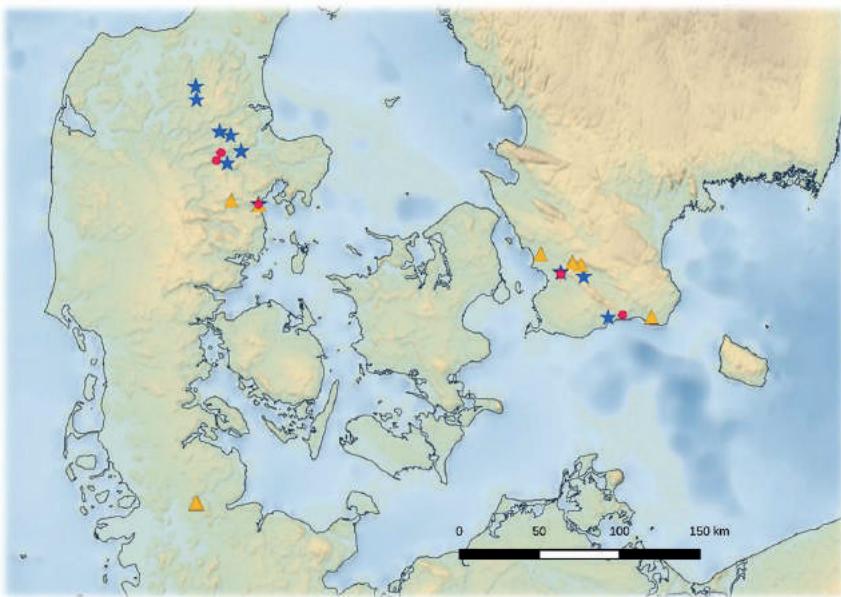
Abb. 1: Verbreitung der Inschriften mit punktierter **k**-Rune und bzw. oder punktierter **i**-Rune (Stern: punktierte **k**-Rune, Punkt: punktierte **i**-Rune, Dreieck: punktierte **k**- und **i**-Rune; ein Symbol kann mehrere Inschriften repräsentieren).

Vorkommen und Gebrauch der punktierten **k**-Rune

Die punktierte **k**-Rune ist 24 mal in 19 Inschriften bezeugt,[6] besonders häufig in Personennamen, beispielsweise auf dem Stein von Sjelle (DR 62 / DK MJy 68): **sigualta** *Sigvalda* oder auf dem Stein von Valleberga (DR 337 / DK Sk 42): **þurgutr** *Þorgotr/Þorgundr*. Desweiteren ist die punktierte **k**-Rune mehrmals in der Bezeichnung *þægn* zu finden, und zwar in vier Inschriften, die alle im nordöstlichen Jütland zu lokalisieren sind, und ebenfalls in vier Inschriften mit der Bezeichnung *fēlagi*.

Was den Lautwert anbetrifft, so ist die punktierte **k**-Rune verhältnismäßig gleich oft für den stimmhaften velaren Frikativ [ɣ] als auch für den stimmhaften velaren Plosiv [g] gebraucht worden: der stimmhafte velare Frikativ ist insgesamt 13 mal in 11 Inschriften durch die punktierte **k**-Rune

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[6] Diese und alle weiteren Belege der punktierten **k**-Rune sind im Anhang 1 aufgelistet. Für die Form **tuguta** in der Inschrift auf dem Stein von Ravnkilde 2 (DR 135 / DK NJy 68) liegt bislang keine zufriedenstellende Deutung vor. Daher ist unklar, welchen Laut die punktierte **k**-Rune hier repräsentiert.
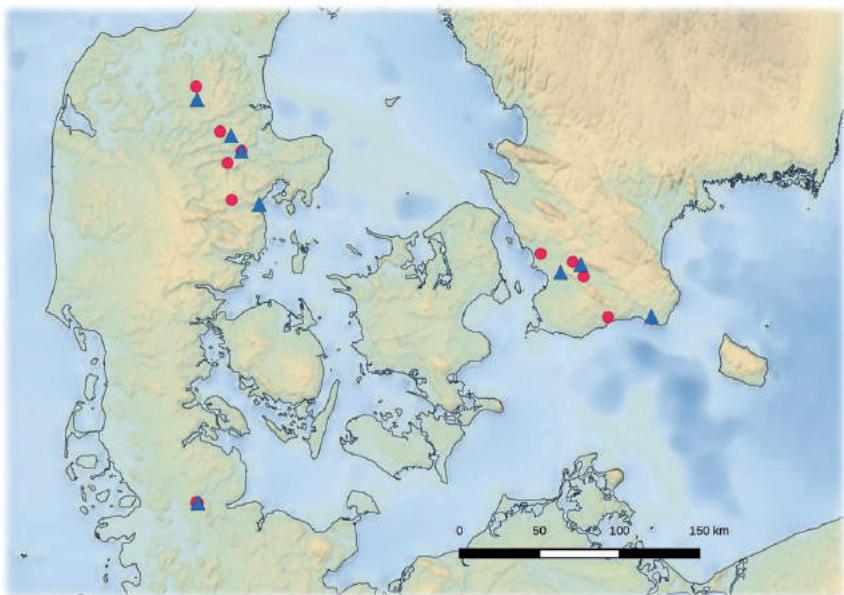
Abb. 2: Der Lautwert der punktierten **k**-Rune (Punkt: Frikativ, Dreieck: Plosiv).

wiedergegeben worden und der stimmhafte velare Plosiv insgesamt 9 mal in 8 Inschriften (s. Abb. 2).[7] Dabei ist interessant zu sehen, dass mit einer Ausnahme, und zwar dem Stein Haddeby 1, der Gebrauch der punktierten **k**-Rune für den Frikativ und den Plosiv einander auszuschließen scheint. Die punktierte **k**-Rune wird in den Inschriften entweder für den Frikativ oder für den Plosiv gebraucht.

Kommen wir nun zu der Frage, wie systematisch bzw. konsequent die punktierte **k**-Rune innerhalb der Inschriften der Periode *Efter-Jelling* gebraucht worden ist. Eine Antwort auf diese Frage ist mit einigen Problemen verbunden: Zum einen sind einige Inschriften nicht vollständig erhalten oder die Lesungen unsicher. Zum anderen tritt der stimmhafte velare Frikativ oder Plosiv des Öfteren nur einmal in einer Inschrift auf, wie z. B. in der Inschrift von Holmby (DR 328 / DK Sk 11). Das heißt die Anzahl an möglichen Belegen ist nicht so hoch wie bei der punktierten **i**-Rune. Es ist jedoch auffällig, dass in den 19 der 24 untersuchten Inschriften, in denen die punktierte **k**-Rune belegt ist, der stimmhafte velare Frikativ mit nur einer Ausnahme,

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[7] In **þigsla** auf Århus 1 (DR 63 / DK MJy 74) repräsentiert die punktierte **k**-Rune wahrscheinlich den stimmlosen velaren Frikativ (Jacobsen & Moltke 1942: 955 Anm. 2).

und zwar in dem Wort **biarki** *biargi* ‚dem Hügel' auf dem Stein von Hällestad 1 (DR 295 / DK Sk 80), immer durch die punktierte **k**-Rune wiedergegeben worden ist, d. h. in 14 von 15 möglichen Fällen (ca. 93 %). Anders dagegen verhält es sich mit dem stimmhaften velaren Plosiv. Dieser wird insgesamt 17 mal nicht mit der punktierten **k**-Rune wiedergegeben, z. B. findet sich in der Inschrift von Århus 3 (DR 66 / DK MJy 77) der Personenname **augutr** *Øygautr/Øgotr* (mit punktierter Form) neben dem Personennamen **kunulfʀ** *Gunnulfʀ*, in dem die punktierte Form für den stimmhaften velaren Plosiv nicht verwendet wurde. Oder in der Inschrift von Valleberga (DR 337 / DK Sk 42) tritt der Personenname **þurgutr** *Þorgotr/Þorgundr* neben dem Substantiv **kuþ** *guþ* ‚Gott' auf. Wenn man sich den Gebrauch der punktierten **k**-Rune für den stimmhaften velaren Plosiv ansieht, so fällt auf, dass dieser überhaupt nicht im Anlaut eines Wortes zu finden ist.[8] Im Inlaut eines Wortes hingegen ist die punktierte **k**-Rune in 9 von 15 möglichen Fällen (60 %) für den stimmhaften velaren Plosiv bezeugt,[9] insgesamt dagegen nur in ca. 35 % der möglichen Fälle.

Es scheint also das Bedürfnis bestanden zu haben, durch die Punktierung der **k**-Rune insbesondere die vom stimmlosen velaren Plosiv [k] abweichende Artikulationsart und Stimmhaftigkeit zu markieren oder, allerdings in geringerem Umfang bzw. mit weniger Konstanz, nur die abweichende Stimmhaftigkeit, die zu Beginn eines Wortes jedoch überhaupt nicht markiert wurde. Es bleibt also festzuhalten, dass die Schreibung des stimmhaften velaren Frikativs [ɣ] mit punktierter **k**-Rune innerhalb der Inschriften der Periode *Efter-Jelling*, die überhaupt die punktierte **k**-Rune verwenden, durchaus konsequent durchgeführt zu sein scheint, im Gegensatz zur Schreibung mit punktierter **k**-Rune für den stimmhaften velaren Plosiv [g].

Vorkommen und Gebrauch der punktierten **i**-Rune

Die punktierte **i**-Rune ist in den Inschriften der Periode *Efter-Jelling* 28 mal in 13 Inschriften bezeugt.[10] Von Karl Martin Nielsen ist der Gebrauch der punktierten **i**-Rune in diesen Inschriften bereits 1960 eingehend untersucht worden. Er kam zu dem Ergebnis, dass die punktierte **i**-Rune dabei vorzugsweise zur Bezeichnung von [æ] verwendet worden ist. Dem ist zuzustimmen.

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[8] Lediglich in der Inschrift von Sjelle (DR 62 / DK MJy 68) haben wir einen unsicheren Beleg dafür, dass am Beginn des Namens *Gyrð* die punktierte **k**-Rune verwendet worden sein könnte.
[9] Unsicher, und daher hier nicht berücksichtigt, ist **aki** in der Inschrift von Sjörup (DR 279 / DK Sk 51), das sowohl *ægi* als auch *ækki* repräsentieren könnte.
[10] Alle Belege der punktierten **i**-Rune sind im Anhang 2 aufgelistet.

Allein die Präposition *æftiʀ* ist mit punktierter **i**-Rune für [æ] in 7 der 13 Inschriften zu finden. Dagegen findet sich kein einziger Beleg für eine Schreibung von *stēn* ‚Stein' oder des Verbs *rēsa* ‚errichten, aufstellen' bzw. der entsprechenden flektierten Verbformen wie *rēsþi* oder *rēsþu* mit punktierter **i**-Rune. Dieses durch Monophthongierung entstandene *ē* wird in den hier untersuchten Inschriften durchgängig mit der ‚normalen' unmarkierten **i**-Rune wiedergegeben.[11] Weitere Belege für den Gebrauch der punktierten **i**-Rune für durch i-Umlaut entstandenes [æ] stellen die verschiedenen flektierten Formen von *dræŋgr* (**trek**, **trekiaʀ**, **tregʀ**) und des Demonstrativpronomens *þæssi* (**þensi**, **þesi**) dar. Unsicher was den Lautwert anbetrifft sind dagegen die Belege, in denen die punktierte **i**-Rune monophthongiertes *æi* wiedergibt (**erik**, **eþi**, **þeʀ**, **þeʀa**), denn hier könnte sie für kurzes oder langes *æ* stehen (s. Nielsen 1960: 59–60). Problematisch ist auch, welchen Laut die punktierte **i**-Rune in **frebiurn** in den Inschriften auf den Steinen von Århus 5 (DR 68 / DK MJy 79) und Västra Karaby (DR 321 / DK Sk 25) repräsentiert, *ø̄* oder *ē*.[12] Der Diphthong *øy* wurde zu *ø* monophthongiert, was sich wohl in der Schreibung des Namenelements *Frøy-* mit **u** wiederspiegelt, (z. B. **frustin** in U 169 Björkeby). Daher nimmt Brøndum-Nielsen (1950: §175 Anm. 2) an, dass die Schreibung mit **e** bereits den Delabialisierungsvorgang *ø̄ > ē* wiedergibt. Desweiteren ist nicht sicher, welchen Laut die punktierte **i**-Rune in den Formen der Bezeichnung *fēlagi* (**felaga**, **felaḳa**) repräsentiert, im Gegensatz zur Schreibung des Wortes mit der unpunktierten **i**-Rune auf den Steinen Haddeby 1 (DR 1 / DK Sl 1) oder Århus 5 (DR 68 / DK MJy 79). Da die unpunktierte **i**-Rune in der Schreibung **stin** ‚Stein' wohl für *ē* steht, könnte man mit Brøndum-Nielsen (1950: §162) annehmen, dass auch in **filaka** die **i**-Rune für *ē* steht, und dass in der Schreibung des Wortes mit der punktierten **i**-Rune ein davon abweichender Laut wiedergegeben werden sollte, und zwar das durch Lautöffnung aus dem *ē* enstandene *ǣ*. Gleiches gilt für die Präteritalform **let** ‚ließ' in der Inschrift auf dem Stein Lund 2 (DR 315 / DK SkL 4).[13] So kam Karl Martin Nielsen bei seiner Untersuchung (1960: 60) zu dem Schluss, dass es in den dänischen Inschriften der *Efter-Jelling*-Periode keinen sicheren Beleg für die Schreibung von [e] mit der punktierten **i**-Rune gibt.

Vergleichen wir abschließend die gewonnenen Erkenntnisse mit der Untersuchung Lagmans zum Gebrauch der punktierten Runen in den schwedischen wikingerzeitlichen Runeninschriften, so ist festzustellen, dass

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[11] Lediglich für die Inschrift auf dem Stein von Bjäresjö 3 (DR 289 / DK Sk 31) ist eine unsichere Lesung **sten** zu verzeichnen.

[12] Zum Namenelement *Frøy-* s. Peterson (2007: 69).

[13] Zu diesen und weiteren Belegen s. Nielsen (1960: 59–64).

die Ergebnisse im Wesentlichen übereinstimmen. Wie Lagman festgestellt hat, liegen auch hier die Laute, die am häufigsten mittels punktierter Rune markiert wurden, artikulatorisch am weitesten vom eigentlichen Lautwert der entsprechenden unpunktierten Rune entfernt. In beiden Gebieten ist die punktierte **i**-Rune meist für [æ] und wesentlich seltener bzw. in den dänischen Inschriften möglicherweise gar nicht für [e] gebraucht worden. Ebenso ist die punktierte **k**-Rune in beiden Gebieten wesentlich häufiger für den stimmhaften velaren Frikativ [ɣ] als für den entsprechenden Plosiv [g] bezeugt. In den dänischen Inschriften ist der Gebrauch der punktierte **k**-Rune für den stimmhaften velaren Frikativ im Prinzip als konsequent durchgeführt zu bewerten.

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Anhang 1: Belege für die punktierte **k**-Rune

aigi Hällestad 1 (DR 295 / DK Sk 80)
augutr Århus 3 (DR 66 / DK MJy 77)
ąsgutr Ravnkilde 2 (DR 135 / DK NJy 68)
felaga Västra Karaby (DR 321 / DK Sk 25), Gårdstånga 1 (DR 329 / DK Sk 8)
filaga Haddeby 1 (DR 1 / DK Sl 1)
filągą Sjörup (DR 279 / DK Sk 51)
himþiga Haddeby 3 (DR 3 / DK Sl 3)
himþigi Haddeby 1 (DR 1 / DK Sl 1)
igi Randers 2 (DR 116 / DK MJy 60)
isgi Ravnkilde 2 (DR 135 / DK NJy 68)
[i]sgis Lund 1 (DR 314 / DK SkL 3)
lags:mąn Sjelle (DR 62 / DK MJy 68)
sig|ualta Sjelle (DR 62 / DK MJy 68)
tregʀ Haddeby 1 (DR 1/ DK Sl 1)
tugutạ Ravnkilde 2 (DR 135 / DK NJy 68)
þigin Langå 3 (DR 86 / DK MJy 16)
þign Randers 1 (DR 115 / DK MJy 59), Glenstrup 2 (DR 123 / DK MJy 49), Giver (DR 130 / DK NJy 65)
þigsla Århus 1 (DR 63 / DK MJy 74)
þurgiʀ Asferg (DR 121 / DK MJy 47), Holmby (DR 328 / DK Sk 11)
þurgutr Valleberga (DR 337 / DK Sk 42)

Anhang 2: Belege für die punktierte **i**-Rune

eþi Sjelle (DR 62 / DK MJy 68)
eftiʀ Haddeby 1 (DR 1 / DK Sl 1), Århus 3 (DR 66 / DK MJy 77), Århus 5 (DR 68 / DK MJy 79), Ålum 4 (DR 97 / DK MJy 49), Västra Karaby (DR 321 / DK Sk 25), Valleberga (DR 337 / DK Sk 42)
eftịʀ Holmby (DR 328 / DK Sk 11)
erik Haddeby 1 (DR 1 / DK Sl 1)
felaga Västra Karaby (DR 321 / DK Sk 25), Gårdstånga 1 (DR 329 / DK Sk 8)
felaḳa Århus 3 (DR 66 / DK MJy 77)
frebiurn Århus 5 (DR 68 / DK MJy 79), Västra Karaby (DR 321 / DK Sk 25)
let Lund 2 (DR 315 / DK SkL 4)
mest Århus 5 (DR 68 / DK MJy 79)
trek Bjäresjö 3 (DR 289 / DK Sk 31)
trekiaʀ Haddeby 1 (DR 1 / DK Sl 1)

tregʀ Haddeby 1 (DR 1 / DK Sl 1)
þensi Sønder Vinge 2 (DR 83 / DK MJy 24)
þeʀ Valleberga (DR 337 / DK Sk 42)
þeʀɑ Valleberga (DR 337 / DK Sk 42)
þesi Västra Karaby (DR 321 / DK Sk 25), Holmby (DR 328 / DK Sk 11)
þise Gårdstånga 1 (DR 329 / DK Sk 8)
uel Valleberga (DR 337 / DK Sk 42)
uestr Haddeby 3 (DR 3 / DK Sl 3)
ufteʀ Gårdstånga 1 (DR 329 / DK Sk 8)

WOLFGANG BECK

Reading Runes in Late Medieval Manuscripts

Abstract

Whilst the *runica manuscripta* of English tradition, the Scandinavian rune poems, and the occasional use of runes as writers' signatures and in the Old High German glosses have been comparatively well-researched, this does not apply to the same extent to the use of runes in late medieval (German) manuscripts. Runes and runic alphabets are found far less frequently in these, for example in the foreign alphabets in the Voyages by Sir John Mandeville or in a manuscript with medical remedies and an invocation of the devil; finally also in a magical treatise relating to the hermetic tradition. However, the use of runes in late medieval manuscripts cannot properly be explained by the functions usually attributed to the *runica manuscripta*. On the understanding that discussion of *runica manuscripta* is not just a runic problem in the narrow sense, but can also contribute to an understanding of medieval culture, the specific implications of the use and pragmatics of the late medieval *runica manuscripta* will be explored. The function of runes in late medieval manuscripts should be determined at the same time with reference to secret written forms, readability and illegibility.

Keywords: Medieval runes, *runica manuscripta*, cryptography

1. Introduction

The *runica manuscripta* have played a continuous role in runology, although never a dominant one (Derolez 1951: 40). Research into manuscript runes has prioritized those of the English (Derolez 1954, 1991) and the Scandinavian (Heizmann 1998) tradition simply because of the amount of material. Runic alphabets and rune poems naturally attract the greatest interest in runology because of their informational value for the names of the runes. However, within the tradition of manuscript runes, runic alphabets and rune poems are classified as exceptional because the individual runes do not fulfil an orthographic function but instead are merely explained or named. Otherwise, manuscript runes perform different functions, which Bauer (2003a: 9-11, 2003b: 601) has recently systematized following the preparatory work of Derolez (1954) and Heizmann (1998): (1) In Icelandic and English manuscripts, manuscript runes were used as supplementary characters to record Germanic phonemes such as /w/ and /þ/ that are not represented by the roman alphabet. (2) Runes were used as ideographic runes (*Begriffsrunen*).

The rune is the so-called signifier and the name of the rune, referring to the extra-linguistic object or referent, is the signified. Here, the runes serve as "abbreviations in the context of Latin script" (my translation of Heizmann 1998: 514, in reference to the roman, rather than the Latin, alphabet). (3) In bookbinding, runes fulfilled the technical function of signature marks. (4) Runes were used to record monograms, names of writers, and marginal notes. Especially for (2) and (4), a decorative and cryptographic function can be postulated; medieval writers could also exhibit their education through the use of a foreign alphabet.

In comparison with the English and Scandinavian tradition, continental *runica manuscripta* are encountered far less frequently. They seem to belong mainly to the early Middle Ages. Apart from the famous rune poem Abecedarium Nordmannicum, their use corresponds to functions that can be found in the English and Scandinavian tradition. Runes were used as additions to the roman alphabet (as in The Lay of Hildebrand and The Wessobrunn Prayer), as signature marks or *Kustode* or for recording the names of writers like **cundpato** (München, BSB, Clm 6250, fol. 280r), **madalfrid** (München, BSB, Clm 6291, fol. 246r) or **ercanfrit** (Würzburg, UB, M. p. th. f. 47, fol. 71r). Runes were also used to record Old High German stylus glosses (Nievergelt 2019). All of these aspects of early medieval *runica manuscripta* usage have been fairly well studied. In contrast, the existence of manuscript runes in late medieval continental manuscripts has rarely been referenced. Runology hardly appears to notice the existence of late medieval continental manuscript runes. However, manuscript runes can be found more or less continuously in continental manuscripts in the High and Late Middle Ages, although in vestigial form. In the following, some late medieval *runica manuscripta* will be presented in detail.

2. The foreign language alphabets of Jean de Mandeville

The Voyages by Jean de Mandeville represent a literary construct in the form of a fictional travelogue which was probably written in the mid-fourteenth century. They have since been translated from French into almost all the European vernaculars as well as Latin, the language of scholars. Created as a comprehensive description of the world, the various versions of the Voyages include up to eight different foreign alphabets: Greek, Egyptian, Hebrew, Tartar-Russian/Saracenic, Persian, Chaldean, Chinese, and the alphabet of the land of Prester John. The alphabet designated as

Tartar-Russian in the group of manuscripts with eight alphabets (as Saracenic in the group of manuscripts with six alphabets) can be found at the end of Chapter 46 of the first book in the German Diemeringen version, in which a land route to Jerusalem via Germany, Libya, and Tartary is presented. The Tartar-Russian inventory usually contains 27 or 28 graphemes. According to Letts (1949: 157), "Mandeville's Saracen forms are in fact Runic"; similarly Seebold (1998: 441) states that this alphabet presents "clear runic forms", which were alphabetized and given names originating from the tradition of Cosmographia by Aethicus. While this finding holds true for the letter names, the characters must be relativized. In fact, some of the characters are runic. This can be explained by the tradition of the Aethicus alphabet, which is probably not a pure product of the imagination (Löwe 1976) but rather based on the Old Turkic runic script – or better, the Orkhon-Yenisei notched script. In Mandevillian research, the assertion of Letts and Seebold (i.e. that Mandeville's alphabet contained runic characters) was accepted without reflection (Przybilski 2002: 310). Although this may apply, with reservations for a few manuscripts such as Brussels, Ms. 10420-10425, fol. 49r (Derolez 1951: 53, 1954: 276), the bulk of the tradition appears to follow Aethicus, which argues for scholarly knowledge of various scriptural traditions. For the study of *runica manuscripta*, such isolated records of forms of runes are of subordinate value, not least because they are not intended as runes but rather may have arisen through the contamination of various alphabetic traditions.

3. Liber Runarum

The Liber Runarum is a short treatise that has been passed down in four manuscripts (Dresden, SLUB, N 100, fol. 198r-200v; London, BL, Sloane 3854, fol. 97rv, 101rv; Rome, BAV, Pal. lat. 1439, fol. 346r-347v; Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 12834, fol. 1r-6r) in the context of medieval Hermeticism (Hermes Latinus). In a further manuscript (Bamberg, SB, Msc. Nat. 7, fol. 410r-417v) that was unknown to the editor Lucentini (2001), it appears as Ars Runarum. The Liber Runarum provides a guide on how to engrave the name of planetary angels with runic characters in materials assigned to the planets (e.g. lead – Saturn; gold – Sun) for the purposes of magic. The magical principle is based on the notion of the entanglement of macrocosm and microcosm, more precisely on the notion that there is a sympathetic relationship between the planetary angels and the associated magically effective material, which can be enhanced by the use of special characters. Each zodiac is connected to

the adjacent one by a zodiac sign with a fantasy name, and each zodiac sign is assigned two elemental properties and two runes. The runes assigned to the zodiac signs are placed in alphabetical order so that the zodiacs of *Aries* and *Taurus* under the zodiac sign of *Salmadys* belong to **a** and **b**, while the zodiacs *Taurus* and *Gemini* under the zodiac sign *Lachlym* belong to **c** and **d**. The Liber Runarum denotes the graphemes as runes (*figure que rune nuncupantur*) and also mentions the names of the graphemes: *ar, berke, kon, yistungian, istungenis, foe, koen, hagel, lys, barke, lager, math, nother, other, bierde stungen, bierde blesena, rether, soel, tir, ur, xers, yos, zazir.* It is obvious that the Liber Runarum uses the common names of the Scandinavian runic tradition in a partially corrupt form. Here, the designations *yistungian, istungenis, bierde stungen, bierde blesena* refer to the tradition of dotted runes (*stungna runor*). Although the graphemes reproduced in the manuscripts mostly represent known runic characters, some characters can hardly be attributed to known runes (Burnett 1983: 428 f.). The use of runes and the mention of their names attest to a scholarly tradition in a special magical-hermetic context. The Liber Runarum provides a further example of use in the context of a love spell, whereby the name of the angel of Venus and of the Moon (*Behonydiun, Lyeleyl*) as well as the name of the girl to be enchanted should be engraved on a silver plate. In tabular form, the Liber Runarum also indicates the transliteration of various planetary angel names. At first glance, the runic transliteration of these names seems to be defective; the name of the moon angel *Lyeleyl* is reproduced in different forms: **lafksao**, **lafkfaohro**, **lafkkao**. The writer obviously did not understand the complicated secret system of substitution explained in the treatise (Lucentini 2001: 417 f.). If I have correctly understood the complicated instructions, the correct transliteration would be **lxficxo**. However, failure to follow one's own encryption algorithm is of interest only for cryptologists rather than runologists because the substitution process is character-independent – it also works well with roman characters. The use of runes is therefore simply another small step in the encryption process. This is of interest inasmuch as the use of runes refers back to the high medieval Scandinavian tradition of using runes in magical contexts. The Buslubœn from The Saga of Bósi and Herraud and several episodes from Egil's saga are the most prominent examples of this. However, the Liber Runarum remains deficient in its knowledge of runes. It belongs to the tradition of using runes as magical characters but features neither a complete and 'real' character inventory nor the 'correct' names of the runes. Nor do the transliterations appear to demonstrate a complete understanding of the cryptographic system and the runes.

In this respect, theoretical and scholarly knowledge and practical applicability of the runic characters diverge, which is not indicative of a living tradition of runes in late medieval continental manuscripts despite the attempt here to connect an autochthonous scriptural tradition with the late medieval Hermetic tradition of astrology and magical images.

4. Invocation of the devil and remedies

The Liber Runarum appears to confirm the thesis that the scholarly tradition of manuscript runes moved away from the correct use of runes as a system of graphemes and that the theory and practice of using runes therefore collapsed. A German manuscript from the middle of the 15th century nevertheless shows that correct application of the runic grapheme system was possible. The writer of a Macer manuscript (Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Cod. XXIII.F.129, fol. 39r-56v) in the so-called German vulgate edition partially resorted to using runes to record medical remedies. These characters, to judge by their form, originate from the Danish tradition. Beckers (1984: 139; my translation) notes that "[w]ithin the texts written entirely in bastarda, [he] encrypted only a few words in runic script, and these were mostly the names of the medicines used or the organs to be treated." The writer, whose language appears to originate from the Upper German-Alemannic region, seems to be quite familiar with the specifics of runic orthography. The writer uses colons as word separators and bind-runes (**c͡h**, **e͡n**, **e͡r**), as can be seen in the following remedy against earache:

Item nim **fenchel** : **hus** wurtz, **retich** saft, milich uon einer frawen, dy einen knaben seiget der acht tag alt sy, vnd **emeissen eier**, **lor** : **ol**, **kaczen** : **harn** ein wenig, dar vß smier ein saft vnd ein wasser vnd tůe all mal 1 tropffen oder zwen in dyn or, wo dir dan we sy; so genist er an allen zwifel. [Take fennel, houseleek, radish juice, the milk of a woman breastfeeding an eight-day-old boy, ant eggs, bay leaf, oil, and a bit of cat urine and prepare it into a juice and a water and drip one or two drops in your ear where it hurts. It will then without a doubt be healed.]

Similarly, the writer copies down a Middle High German formula for invoking the devil (fol. 533v) which has a substantially higher proportion of runic characters than the Macer remedies. Here, the writer writes various satanic names (**boes gaist**, **diabolo**, **satana**, **schwartz huindlin**) as well as the performative aspects of the formula with runes: **rief** mit **lutter stim dise** wortt, ich will **dir zuo sprechen**; was du **in fragst**, **das** sagt er **dir** [call out

these words in a loud voice; I want to talk to you; what you ask him, he tells you]. One can interpret this process as an encryption strategy which aimed to "protect the dangerous text from unauthorized readers" (Beckers 1984: 144; my translation). However, the use of runes as an unfamiliar alphabet is a cryptographically weak encryption strategy; anyone who was acquainted with contemporary writing systems could read such texts by drawing on traditional lists of alphabets and runes, as found, for example, in the Munich manuscript Clm 276, fol. 96v (Derolez 1965: 35 f.), which contains a fuþorc with runic names: *fhe*, *vr*, *thors*, *os*, *rether*, *chon*, *hagal*, *nodh*, *ihs*, *ar*, *sol*, *thur*, *biorchi*, *madher*, *lagher*, *vir*, *solhengethe* and a runic alphabet. Like other (early) medieval secret writing systems such as the partial substitution *bfk-*, *cgl-* or point ciphers (Nievergelt 2019: 13 f.), these would hardly have existed to conceal the writing as this contradicts the very intention. As medieval thinking connected magic and medicine, and in consideration of the potentially magical nature of runes, the effect of auratisation, i.e. charging or potentiating the magical energy of the individual texts, was more likely.

5. Conclusion

The late medieval continental *runica manuscripta* provide an important link between the early medieval and the epigraphic tradition on the one hand and humanistic employment by Bonaventura Vulcanius and Wolfgang Lazius on the other. Wolfgang Lazius was the first to edit the section with 15 runic graphemes and rune names from the treatise De inventione litterarum in his book De aliquot gentium migrationibus sedibus fixis, reliquiis, linguarumque, initiis (et) immutationibus ac dialectis, printed in Basel in 1557. In his work De literis et lingua Getarum siue Gothorum item de notis Lombardicis; quibus accesserunt specimina variarum linguarum, printed in Leiden in 1597, Bonaventura Vulcanius presented runes and runic inscriptions in comparison with the Gothic language. It cannot be ruled out that Johannes Trithemius' knowledge of runes was acquired due to his contact with Johannes Virdung of Haßfurt, the writer of one of the Liber Runarum manuscripts (Rome, BAV, Pal. lat. 1439) (Láng 2008: 259 f.). With regard to the question of the relationship of manuscript runes to the epigraphic runic tradition, i.e. "One or Two Worlds?" (Derolez 1983), which Seebold (1991: 516) tried to answer by differentiating the two traditions (an 'old' tradition of epigraphic runes and a 'learned' tradition of manuscript runes), the answer is complex. One can neither confirm the early view that *runica manuscripta* were a phenomenon

that was largely decoupled from epigraphic tradition (Derolez 1954: 430) or "a bookish pursuit, first merely an orthographic convenience in the writing of the vernacular, but later an antiquarian pastime for its own sake" (Elliott 1989: 56) – nor the opposing view that there was a continual connection between the two traditions (Parsons 1994: 198). The late medieval tradition affirms both findings; however, a very different conclusion must be drawn: The existence and use of manuscript runes is highly specific to the type of text and depends on context. From an epigraphic perspective, neither the Mandeville alphabets nor the Liber Runarum represented runes correctly; on the other hand, the Macer remedies in the Prague manuscript display an advanced scriptural practice that appears to be based on epigraphic tradition and that documents the continued correct use of runes.

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STIG ELIASSON

Runic Inscriptions in an Unrecognized Foreign Tongue?

Methodological Preliminaries to Language Identification[*]

Abstract

Some allegedly nonsensical runic inscriptions from the late Viking Age and the early Middle Ages in Scandinavia might appear to be written in an unencrypted natural language. This paper discusses prerequisites to determining their possible linguistic meaningfulness and to identifying the language or languages concerned. Major indications of meaningfulness, both linguistic and non-linguistic, are cross-inscriptional textual parallels, particularly if the inscription-carriers are geographically far apart. Clues which jointly suggest linguistic structure include the employment of essentially all the signs of the basic 16-symbol futhark, the occurrence of special 'rune-like signs' that appear to augment the futhark inventory, the linguistically natural frequency of graphs, linguistically natural graphotactics, the recurrence of specific runes or runic combinations e.g. in 'quasi-word-final' position, and seemingly natural usage of separators. A crucial pre-condition of identifying the language used consists of the establishment of a basis for the comparison of inscription and language, either through recourse to actual contemporary language data or through historical-comparative and language-internal reconstruction. Factors suggestive of successful language identification include (a) a high degree of inscription-internal structural and lexical consistency vis-à-vis the language under investigation (barring borrowings and code-mixing), (b) parallels with other internally consistent inscriptions, (c) a markedly better match to one particular language than to others, and (d) the applicability of the hypothesis to cases beyond the one for which it was originally devised. Due to the complex nature of the enterprise (highly impoverished runic script, brief texts, meager corpus of inscriptions, absence of contemporary records for many languages, lack of socio-cultural information etc.), the analyst normally operates with varying degrees of probability rather than definitive proof of language identification.

Keywords: Nonsense inscriptions, non-lexical inscriptions, inscription-internal consistency, cross-inscriptional parallels, comparison of inscription and language, internal reconstruction, historical-comparative reconstruction, accidental resemblances, language identification

1. The language of late Viking-Age and early medieval runic inscriptions in Scandinavia

A common tacit understanding in runology is that late Viking-Age and early medieval runic inscriptions in Scandinavia are, with one notable kind

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of exception, always written in Scandinavian. For commemorative stone inscriptions, this view has been made explicit in what we may call *the monolingual postulate for late Viking-Age runic epigraphy in Scandinavia*:

(1)   [L]ate Viking-Age rune-stones … differ in size, shape, and design, but the content of the inscriptions is very uniform, and *everywhere the language is Old Scandinavian*. (Sawyer 2000: 7; italics added by SE)

Non-epigraphic runic inscriptions from the early Middle Ages, on the other hand, are sometimes written in Latin, or a mixture of Scandinavian and Latin. In addition to these three kinds of interpretable inscriptions, we have both non-epigraphic inscriptions as well as a few seemingly epigraphic inscriptions that are considered to be linguistically meaningless. On the basis of their linguistic character, Viking-Age and early medieval runic inscriptions in Scandinavia are therefore in practice grouped as in (2).[1]

(2)   *Linguistic character of Viking-Age and early medieval runic inscriptions in Scandinavia:*
        (a) Scandinavian;
        (b) Latin;
        (c) Mixed Scandinavian-Latin;
        (d) Linguistic nonsense.

Group (2d), linguistic nonsense, constitutes a residual category ranging from apparently random scribblings to strings of runes that are obviously systematically organized in some way. The customary designation for this category is 'nonsense inscriptions' or, more recently, 'non-lexical inscriptions'. Neither term is entirely felicitous. While nonsense inscriptions may constitute nonsense from a purely linguistic point of view, they may carry meaning in some other (non-linguistic) respect. The alternative expression 'non-lexical inscriptions' expressly excludes lexical features, although surprisingly not structural ones. By either name, group (2d) comprises all those inscriptions which the modern analyst cannot satisfactorily assign to groups (2a–2c). While category (2d) is quite heterogeneous, embracing extraordinarily diverse inscriptional types, a small subset of these is of particular interest to the linguist in that the inscriptions appear, at least superficially, to express a natural language.

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[1] Sporadic occurrences of Greek and Hebrew elements may be treated as borrowings (Knirk 1998: 478). The mixture of sense and nonsense in a single inscription is not given a special category here.

This paper discusses some prerequisites to the task of determining whether certain nonsense inscriptions might be linguistically meaningful and of identifying the language potentially involved. The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 provides additional background on the notion of nonsense inscriptions, supplies illustrative examples of uninterpreted or allegedly nonsensical inscriptions in the younger futhark from Denmark and Norway, and describes three closely interconnected facets of the basic linguistic procedure for probing the linguistic or non-linguistic character of uninterpreted inscriptions. Section 3 lists properties that may point to linguistic structure in linguistically undetermined runic inscriptions and adduces a few striking instances of cross-inscriptional parallels in such inscriptions. Section 4 returns to the task of language identification, comments on the choice of language(s) for testing, addresses the varying documentation of the medieval stages of some conceivable language matches, and outlines three types of comparison between inscription and language. Section 5 sums up the preceding discussion and notes important considerations which may suggest successful language identification.

2. Nonsensicality, examples of presumed runic nonsense, and key facets of the language identification procedure

The idea that old inscriptions which analysts cannot interpret constitute linguistic nonsense is also met with outside Scandinavia. A notable case of this sort relates to inscriptions from the 6th–4th centuries B.C. in Ancient Greece, which have thus far not been given any undisputed, linguistically meaningful interpretation. In his *Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions* of well over eight thousand items (published as Immerwahr 2008), the American classicist Henry R. Immerwahr found that "about a third are without meaning", i.e. "nonsense inscriptions" (Immerwahr 2006: 136). Reasons for writing nonsense are according to Immerwahr (2006) "sloppiness or haste" (139), "lack of writing competence" (142) including "knowledge [only] of individual letters" (154), "a fall-back technique for those who had difficulty writing properly" (140), mechanical copying "without proper comprehension" (146), non-familiarity with certain names and lack of knowledge of their spelling (141), the "desire to complete a visual picture" (139), the fact that "writing nonsense was respectable because writing letters had prestige in itself" (140), and so forth. Immerwahr (2006: 155) concludes:

> This picture is what one might expect in a social group that consisted of citizens, metics and other foreigners and which did not have the advantage of formal schooling enjoyed by the aristocracy. They mostly learned writing from each other and were proud to adorn their products with inscriptions, whether meaningful or not.

Similar arguments have been put forth for 'uninterpretable' runic inscriptions in Scandinavia (e.g. Moltke 1985: 317–318). It remains open, however, whether an entirely different explanation might be offered for some of the more elaborate or technically more accomplished Scandinavian runic inscriptions that have been claimed to constitute nonsense. Beyond their unintelligibility, the evidence advanced for their nonsensicality is not always particularly profuse, and the analyses and argumentation in favor of categorization as nonsense are usually not pursued in great detail. Moreover, as Latin inscriptions in runes show, runic writing is not inherently restricted to Scandinavian or Germanic languages. Could it be the case that some of the 'nonsense' inscriptions in Scandinavia are written in an unidentified foreign language, or even that several unidentified languages might theoretically be discernible?

Before attempting to determine whether certain 'uninterpretable' inscriptions might be written in an unrecognized language, we must first identify exemplars that are especially amenable to analysis. That means that the text specimens should be fairly long and well preserved, undamaged at the beginning and end if possible, not obviously abbreviated (to the extent that this can be surmised), preferably employ 'word' dividers, and so on. Short inscriptions, still more obscure due to the poverty of Viking-Age runic script, can often be read in many different ways and matched to elements of many different languages; they may, however, on occasion be of use in the context of other longer inscriptions.

A small set of uninterpreted or allegedly nonsensical runic inscriptions is reproduced in Table 1. Three of the inscriptions in Table 1 (Bh 56, Fyn 47, N 647), all of which have been suspected of being largely or entirely nonsensical, are sufficiently lengthy to enable at least a tentative inquiry into their linguistic nature. The remaining two inscriptions (NJy 54 and N 863) are included because they pertain to two of the longer inscriptions (Bh 56 and Fyn 47).

A linguistic analysis of such uninterpreted inscriptions involves at least three closely interconnected procedures, (a) inscription-internal analysis, (b) cross-inscriptional analysis, and (c) comparison of inscription and language, as noted in Figure 1.

Table 1. Examples of uninterpreted Scandinavian late Viking-Age/early medieval runic inscriptions with symbol strings that might reflect unencrypted texts in one or more natural languages.

No.	Locality	Transliterated text	Date
Bh 56	Østermarie	× ku̜pmt : nku̜ski : uɑku × hlɑ : osu × ɑirbrni : ku̜pi : gu̜p : msmiht : ionþpn × ‖ +itk̜i□ik̜i ‖ +?⁽?⁾ ‖ ku̜ · i … ‖ n̜ik̜	1025–1075
Fyn 47	Sørup	m- · srnesɪsn : urnu̜kbh-͡ɑsɪ̜ ⊠ snrþmi : itcsihk̜i × li ‖ isifuþrlɑk · iseyɑ · li	1050–1250
NJy 54	Suldrup	k̜ : n̜ik̜ :	1100–1300
N 647	Bergen	ᚾ--o̜re̜ɑɑ̜ · þni : tsimuto̜muinok : ioigɑnnisɑbsicɑ͡msic	c. 1200
N 863	Trondheim	kui : n̜-ᚾli	1050–1200

Note: Subscript dot ‿ = uncertain reading; hyphen - = unidentified but countable rune; … = possible but uncountable rune; ‿ marks two or more runes united into a bindrune; a superscript ligature sign ‿ marks two or more runes united into a bindrune; ⊠ = ornamentation interrupts inscription; ᚾ = break of inscription carrier; □ = empty, possibly sealed, portion of surface with no clear trace of runes or dividers; ‖ = new line or new side. The symbols **k̜ l n̜** stand for reversed **k**, **l** and **n**-runes, respectively, while the symbol **g** represents a dotted reversed **k**-rune. The question marks ??⁽?⁾ in the transliteration of Bh 56 indicate three symbols often interpreted as golden numbers with some reservations for the last. Fyn 47 **ɪs** is perhaps a so-called chair-**s**; **n͡uk** is an unusual multiple bindrune; **k** is an upside-down **k**. In N 647 the second **i** has also been read as **e**. Bh 56 **n̜ik̜** and NJy 54 **k̜n̜ik̜:** are written from right to left. To enhance readability, spaces are inserted before and after a separator such as ×, :, and · . Abbreviations (contractions and/or suspensions) may occur on Bh 56, Fyn 47, NJy 54, and N 863. For further information on the inscriptions, see DK whose sigla for Danish inscriptions have been used here, DR (cols. 454, 220–221, 175), NIyR 6 (95–96), Hagland (n.d.), and the *Scandinavian Runic-Text Database*. The dates for the Danish inscriptions follow DK.
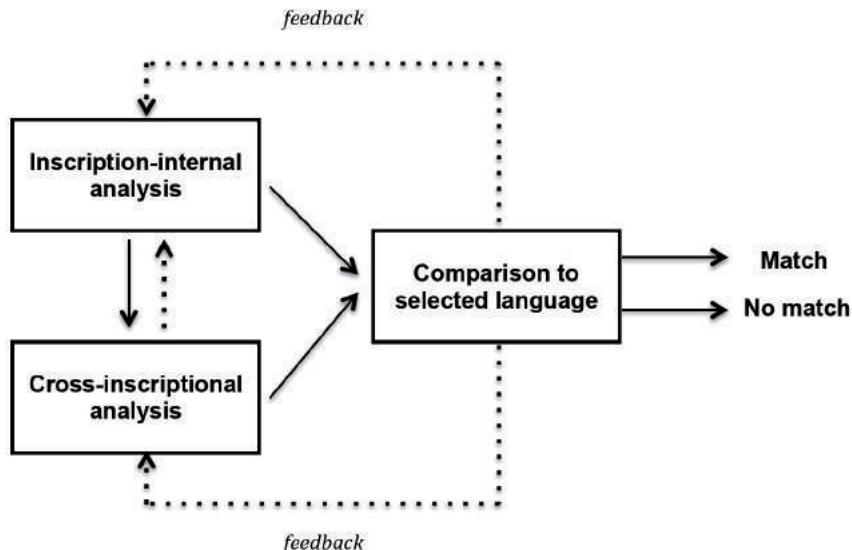
Figure 1. Schematized connections between three facets of the basic linguistic procedure for identifying the potential language of a linguistically unidentified runic text.

3. Inscription-internal and cross-inscriptional analysis

The first step in the linguistic investigation of linguistically undetermined inscriptions is inscription-internal analysis. Indications that a (non-encrypted) natural language (NL) may be hidden in an allegedly nonsensical inscription include those in (3).

(3)   *Properties of runic 'nonsense' potentially suggestive of a (non-encrypted) text in a NL:*
   (a) The runic inventory used does not seriously contradict typical NL phoneme *inventories;*
   (b) The frequency of individual runes does not entirely conflict with typical NL phoneme *frequencies;*
   (c) The sequential distribution of runes (graphotactics) in the inscription approximates existing types of NL *phonotactics* (barring potential abbreviation)*;*
   (d) Separators (or, occasionally, spaces) divide the inscription into chunks potentially corresponding to linguistically meaningful elements in a NL;

(e) A particular rune or runic combination recurs in specific positions such as chunk-final position, suggestive of inflectional suffixes in NLs;

(f) Special 'rune-like signs' occur which might, under certain circumstances, suggest the need to express foreign phonemic distinctions not specified by the 16-rune futhark.

For instance, the clearly readable part of the Bergen inscription N 647 makes varied use of most of the runes of the basic futhark and some additional variants in a sequentially orderly fashion with occasional separators, and is more or less reminiscent of a text in a NL. The more intricate texts of Bh 56 and Fyn 47 also employ augmented symbol inventories, and Fyn 47 evinces a final element **li** on Side A as well as Side B, reminiscent, for example, of a morphological ending. It is evident, however, that the considerations in (3) offer loose guidelines rather than firm criteria.

The next step in the investigation is cross-inscriptional analysis. One of the aims of this kind of analysis is to compare different linguistically undetermined inscriptions with each other in order to ascertain whether they contain similar configurations of runes. Such cross-inscriptional similarities may in principle be (a) purely accidental, (b) conventional but linguistically meaningless, or (c) linguistically meaningful. Table 1 provides several intriguing examples. One of these is Østermarie Bh 56 **ḳu·i...** ‖ **ṇiḳ** which has parallels in Suldrup NJy 54 **k:ṇiḳ:** and Trondheim N 863 **kui:ṇ--ᛜli**. Moreover, both Bh 56 **ṇiḳ** and NJy 54 **k:ṇiḳ:** are written in reversed reading order from right to left, which may be important. Another potential correspondence is the element **li** that appears twice on the Sørup stone, separated from the preceding runes by a divider (**×li** and **·li**, respectively), which may also occur on Trondheim N 863 in the form **ᛜli**. Finally, Østermarie **itḳi□iḳị** may have a counterpart in Sørup **itcsihḳị**. Significantly, these three suspected cross-inscriptional parallels actually *interconnect* with each other in the way depicted in Figure 2.

The parallels are unlikely to represent mere random resemblances.[2] Moreover, since the four inscriptions are geographically far apart, it is improbable that the parallels are simply meaningless imitations of one another. In addition, the texts of the two stone inscriptions Bh 56 and Fyn 47 are otherwise quite varied and do not appear to constitute conventional though non-linguistic formulas. It is likely that something else underlies these NL-like inscriptions that we have not yet understood.

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[2] Already DR (cols. 175, 454) points out that the similarity between the Bh 56 sequences **ḳu·i...** ‖ **ṇiḳ** and NJy 54 **k:ṇiḳ:** cannot be accidental.

Trondheim
N 863

kui:ṇ--᷉᷉li

Suldrup   k:ṇiḳ: ḳu·i… ‖ ṇiḳ   *Østermarie*
NJy 54   itḳi□iḳi   *Bh 56*

:itcsihḳi×li ‖ … ·li

Sørup
Fyn 47
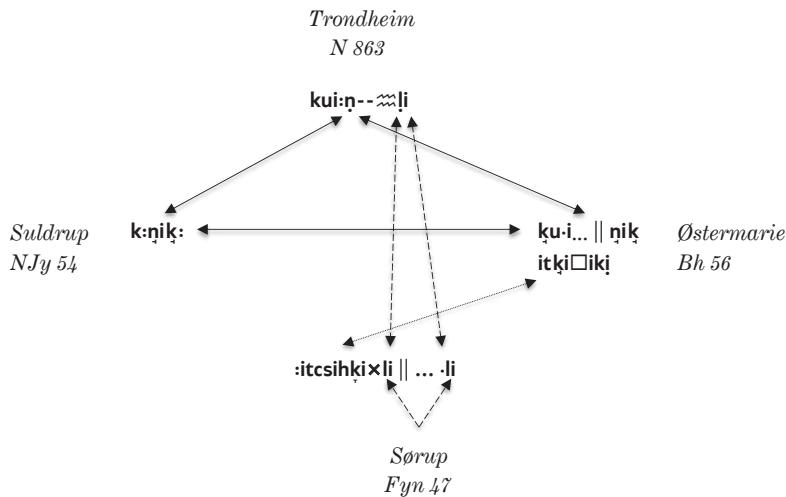
Figure 2. Interconnected cross-inscriptional parallels in four uninterpreted Danish and Norwegian inscriptions from the late Viking Age/early Middle Ages.

4. Language identification

It is, of course, possible that the five mysterious inscriptions in Table 1 are all encrypted. Hitherto, however, this has not been proved, and modern runologists have usually accepted that most of them are largely nonsensical. Yet neither encryption nor nonsense seems a likely explanation for the stately and elegantly designed Sørup stone.

Another traditionally overlooked possibility is that the language or languages of the inscriptions in question have not been satisfactorily identified (cf. Section 1). Language identification as a practical task and as a topic for scientific research is most familiar from computational linguistics. Within that research context, Lui & Baldwin (2012: 25) give the following definition:

> Language identification … is the task of determining the natural language that a document is written in. It is a key step in automatic processing of real-world data, where a multitude of languages may be present.

Automatic language identification, today a common procedure on the Internet, typically operates on longer modern texts commonly written in one specific language in a standardized orthography, mostly with overt marking of word boundaries (e.g. by means of spacing). Unfortunately, in the analysis

of older, linguistically unidentified inscriptions, few of these favorable conditions apply. Ancient inscriptions are often short, written in variable orthography, and frequently damaged; the corpora of inscriptions are comparatively small, and the contemporary bodies of text in languages to which they may be compared are commonly restricted or even non-existent. If, like in numerous Roman epitaphs, abbreviations occur, these will in runic script mostly be non-standard, will easily be able to be read in diverse languages, and will usually not aid in determining the language used. Theoretically, moreover, while the individual exemplars in any given corpus of natural-looking, linguistically unidentified inscriptions might all be written in the same language, they may also be written in different ones. Finally, some inscriptions might show instances of borrowing, code-mixing, or code-switching (cf. 2c above). In particular, the likelihood of sporadic borrowing must be considered during attempts at ancient language identification.

The first move in runic language identification proper is to choose a language against which the text can be compared. Caution in the study of allegedly nonsensical, yet natural-looking, presumably unencrypted, runic inscriptions requires a renewed and extremely thorough review of the Scandinavian option. Only if that fails should other languages be considered. Archaeological discoveries or historical documents might provide promising suggestions as for the choice of languages to be tested, although most often this is not the case. In general, nearby languages spoken by a large group of people customarily involved in foreign trade and exchange are more likely candidates than geographically distant minority languages spoken in a restricted locality by a sedentary population, but many different scenarios are imaginable.

One factor that substantially affects the reliability of the comparison of inscription and language is the record of the proposed language in written texts at the time of the inscription. Another one is the degree to which unattested properties of this language can be reconstructed. We discern three major possibilities of decreasing strength as in (4).

(4) *Stage of proposed language contemporaneous with inscription under analysis:*
   (a) Actually attested in comprehensible written documents from the time period in question;
   (b) Only inferred through historical-comparative and internal reconstruction;
   (c) Merely internally reconstructed (for language isolates).

Table 2. Approximate extent of documentation of four languages/language groups in the 10th–13th centuries.

Language or language group	Documentation in 10th–13th century texts	Examples of further roughly contemporary evidence	Sample references for the language or language group
Old Russian (Old East Slavic)	Ample	Recorded onomastics	Schmalstieg (1995) Zaliznjak (2004) Schaeken (2019)
Medieval Baltic	None	Recorded onomastics	Eckert et al. (1994) Zinkevičius (1996)
Medieval Fennic (Baltic Finnic)	None (exception: Novgorod birch bark letter #292)	Recorded onomastics	Laanest (1982) Schaeken (2019: 133)
Medieval Basque	None (except two brief glosses, together comprising five distinct words). (No homeland monuments from this time inscribed with texts in Basque)	A few 12th c. lexical items (noted by the French traveller Aimery Picaud). Recorded onomastics (anthroponyms and toponyms)	Orpustan (1999) Trask (1997)

Examples of these three situations from northeastern and western Europe are shown in Table 2.

While Old Russian, i.e. Old East Slavic, is amply documented for the period in question, medieval Baltic is not textually documented at all, and medieval Fennic is textually attested only through a mid-13th century birch bark letter. Similarly, the entire corpus of 10th–13th century Basque texts consists of two short glosses (the so-called Emilian Glosses) of no more than six word tokens constituting five distinct words, two of which are highly obscure, in a Latin manuscript from circa A.D. 950–1050 (Trask 1997: 42). The chances of successful language identification are immeasurably better when the stage of the language concerned is documented in text and can be comparatively and internally reconstructed than when the language stage is essentially only comparatively and internally reconstructible, and dramatically reduced for a stage of language such as 10th–13th century Basque, where the analyst is dealing primarily with internal reconstruction, modern dialectal evidence and recorded onomastics. Thus, the reliability of results obtained will be successively weakened as we proceed from situation (4a) to (4c). Especially in the case of a possible match to a language isolate without medieval textual documentation, the impossibility of matching the inscription to alternative languages is, therefore, an important consideration in the appraisal of the inscription.

The types of comparison of inscription and language are those found in (5).

(5)　(a) Structural comparison (morphology, phonology, syntax);
　　　(b) Lexical comparison (vocabulary);
　　　(c) Onomastic comparison (particularly of possible personal names).

The component of overall comparison that is absolutely crucial to language identification is structural comparison, as languages are generally defined by structural traits rather than by their lexicons or onomastics.

5. Summary and concluding remarks

A common assumption in Scandinavian runology is that, excepting the occasional use of Latin, late Viking-Age and early medieval runic inscriptions in Scandinavia are always written in Scandinavian (Section 1). While the monolingual postulate for late Viking-Age epigraphy in (1) above generally holds true, a few apparent epigraphs remain that do not easily lend

themselves to a Scandinavian reading, such as Bh 56 and Fyn 47 (Section 2). In addition, there are a number of non-epigraphic inscriptions that are not readily interpretable as ordinary Scandinavian or Latin. Analysts assign both groups to the broader class of nonsense or non-lexical inscriptions. Yet some of these inscriptions have the *prima facie* appearance of texts in a natural non-encrypted language (Section 3). Some, furthermore, display complex systematic cross-inscriptional parallels, which in fact precludes the idea that these particular inscriptions are simply meaningless gibberish. The determination of their exact character is exceedingly difficult, however. One possibility is that they might be written in a previously unrecognized language (Section 4).

Considerations which suggest that an attempt to identify the language of an inscription might have some validity include the following:

(6)   (a) In the absence of code-mixing, the comparison of the inscription and a specific language yields a large measure of inscription-internal structural and lexical consistency relative to that language;

        (b) Cross-inscriptional parallels with other inscriptions can be adduced, similarly fulfilling condition (6a);

        (c) The inscription shows a much better match to the hypothesized language than to others (although the match may not be perfect due to unrecorded dialect variation, impact of language contact etc.);

        (d) The hypothesis explains additional cases, i.e. cases beyond the ones for which it was originally devised.

The considerations in (7) are highly important:

(7)   (a) The emergent interpretation of the inscription is reasonable from extra-linguistic communicative considerations (e.g. a foreign-language replica of the Scandinavian Viking-Age commemorative formula might conceivably appear on a runic memorial stone);

        (b) Geographical distance, historical circumstances, cultural factors etc. do not preclude any chance of contact;

        (c) Language-external evidence in the form of archaeological finds, genetic data, documentary attestations, cultural influences etc. suggests direct contacts to the general region where the assumed language is/was spoken.

The value of individual pieces of putative evidence varies greatly. In isolation, a given piece of evidence normally proves little. Only in combination and when a reasonably coherent pattern emerges do the individual pieces of evidence begin to carry weight. Ultimately, as we have seen, attempts to determine the nature of inscriptions suspected of being written in a foreign tongue encounter a multitude of practical obstacles such as purely material difficulties in runic analysis, the extremely impoverished Viking-Age runic writing system, the brevity of text specimens and limited corpus of inscriptions, huge diversity of content in non-epigraphic inscriptions, absence of contemporary texts in many potential language matches as well as possibly unknown dialect diversification in these and lack of dialect data. Further difficulties concern the limitations of internal and historical-comparative reconstruction, the possibility of borrowing, the dearth of socio-cultural information, and finally the ever-present risk of accidental resemblance. Reasons such as these generally compel the analyst to operate with varying degrees of probability rather than definitive proof of language identification.

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DISCOVERY

MAGNUS KÄLLSTRÖM

Elias Wesséns runstensundersökningar i Södermanland 1928 och 1929

Abstract

In 1924 Elias Wessén was engaged as the editor of the corpus edition *Sveriges runinskrifter* as a successor of Erik Brate, who had died in April the same year. Just before his death Brate had completed the first fascicle of the third volume of the series, *Södermanlands runinskrifter*, but most of the plates had been withdrawn, since many of the photographs were of low quality. In the summers 1928–30 Elias Wessén undertook new investigations of the runic material in Södermanland in cooperation with a professional photographer, Harald Faith-Ell. These investigations mark a turn in the edition and publication of the series *Sveriges runinskrifter*. This article offers a brief description of the two first years' field work, based mainly on Wessén's own notes preserved in the Diocese Library in Linköping.

Keywords: Corpus editions, Elias Wessén, fieldwork, runic inscriptions, runology, Sveriges runinskrifter, Södermanland.

Södermanlands runinskrifter, som publicerades 1924–36, har som bekant två utgivare, Erik Brate och Elias Wessén. Verket har dock inte tillkommit i samarbete mellan dessa, utan Wessén övertog arbetet efter Brates död den 1 april 1924. Av det tilltänkta verket hade då ett texthäfte omfattande knappt hälften av landskapets runstenar utkommit strax dessförinnan. Däremot hade de flesta av planscherna till detta häfte dragits tillbaka, eftersom många av fotografierna inte höll tillräckligt hög kvalitet.

Wesséns uppdrag var i första hand att företa en nyfotografering av de runstenar som Brate hade behandlat. Man trodde nämligen inledningsvis att det fanns ett fullständigt manus till hela landskapet och mycket tyder på att så också varit fallet, men det gick aldrig att spåra upp.[1] Den senare delen av Södermanlands runinskrifter är därför i sin helhet Wesséns verk.

Under tre somrar 1928–30 undersökte Wessén det sörmländska runmaterialet på nytt. Undersökningarna ledde inte bara till bättre avbildningar utan också till en rad nyläsningar och kompletteringar av de inskrifter

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[1] I ett brev till riksantikvarien Sigurd Curman den 14 mars 1924 skriver Brate själv: "Manuskriptet till hela arbetet är färdigskrivet tillika med inledning och ordlista, och enligt utlåtande av faktorn hos PAN [dvs. P. A. Nordstedts] kan min stil sättas utan att maskinskrivas; dock kan ju en och annan sida behöva skrivas om, som genom tillsatser blivit svårläst." Jfr även uppgifterna i Brate (1925: 124).

som Brate redan hade publicerat. Dessa samlades i ett 46 sidor långt avsnitt med rättelser och tillägg, som man alltid måste konsultera när man vill studera någon av de inskrifter som finns utgivna i Brates del av arbetet. Det räcker dock inte med detta utan en del av rättelserna framgår endast av planschmaterialet. Detta gör också Södermanlands runinskrifter till en av de snårigaste volymerna i Sveriges runinskrifter, eftersom det tvingar läsaren att söka information på flera olika ställen. Dessutom förutsätter Wesséns framställning att den som tar del av verket kan dra en hel del egna slutsatser både rörande både läsningen och tolkningen av inskrifterna, utan att det särskilt påpekas i texten (se vidare Källström 2005: 301 ff.).

Wesséns inträde som medarbetare i Sveriges runinskrifter markerar utan tvivel ett viktigt skifte i svensk runologi vad gäller både undersöknings-metodik och dokumentation. Många av dessa erfarenheter har han säkert tillägnat sig i arbetet med runstenarna i just Södermanland. En del av detta har han själv kortfattat beskrivit i inledningen till verket (se SöR: xci f.). Hans anteckningsböcker från Södermanland åren 1929–35 förvaras i ATA, men något primärmaterial från den allra första resan 1928 har vad jag vet inte varit känt. För några år sedan fick jag i Wesséns samling i Linköpings stiftsbibliotek syn på två blå anteckningsböcker, som visade sig innehålla kortfattade dagboksanteckningar från de första årens undersökningar i Södermanland. Den ena är daterad 1929, medan den andra saknar årtal. Av sammanhanget framgår dock att den avser 1928. Dessa anteckningar inne-håller ett viktigt stycke runologihistoria och ger en unik inblick i Elias Wesséns tidigaste insatser för det svenska runverket.

Resan 1928

Resan 1928 var förmodligen den första mer omfattande undersökningsresa som Wessén företog, även om han tidigare hade studerat runinskrifter i olika sammanhang både ensam och tillsammans med sin lärare Otto von Friesen.

Till skillnad från sina föregångare i Södermanland, Sten Boije och Erik Brate, reste Wessén inte ensam utan i sällskap av "artisten" Harald Faith-Ell, som svarade för det fotografiska arbetet.[2] Av allt att döma var detta första gången som en professionell fotograf anlitades under en längre period för det svenska runverket. Att resan skulle företas av två personer var ingalunda okontroversiellt – förmodligen i första hand av kostnadsskäl – och i den rapport som Wessén lämnade till Riksantikvarien den 30 augusti

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[2] Om Faith-Ells verksamhet som tecknare och fotograf vid Vitterhetsakademien, se Hedman 1999: 181 f. och Trotzig 2018: 92, 94 f. och passim.

samma år får Faith-Ell ett särskilt omnämnande: "Jag anser mig särskilt böra framhålla, att detta resultat till stor del uppnåtts genom min utmärkte medhjälpares, herr Harald Faith-Ells skicklighet, praktiska händighet och outtröttliga arbetsiver. Herr Faith-Ell har ej blott utfört all fotografering utan verksamt deltagit i alla arbeten, ej minst det tidsödande uppritandet av inskrifterna."

Wessén färdades också bekvämare än sina föregångare, som hade fått nöja sig med häst och vagn eller cykel. Redan 1922 hade han köpt en motorcykel med sidovagn, vilken 1928 ersattes av bil, "anskaffad väsentligen för Sörmlandsundersökningens skull" (citerat efter Ranius 1997:146).

Den första resan 1928 påbörjades lördagen den 13 juli och avslutades en dryg månad senare, den 19 augusti. Resan ägnades enbart åt områden med inskrifter som fanns i det redan utgivna häftet av Södermanlands runinskrifter. Wessen och Faith-Ell reste nästan i nummerordning med början i Daga härad, därefter till Hölebo och slutligen Rönö samt de härader som ligger väster därom, Jönåker och Oppunda. De avslutade med att besöka Väster- och Österrekarne, där dock endast ett mindre antal ristningar dokumenterades.

Egentligen borde man återge anteckningarna från början till slut och låta Wessén själv föra ordet hela tiden, men det tillåter tyvärr inte utrymmet. Därför får det i stället bli ett mer tematiskt ordnat axplock som jag hoppas ska ge en uppfattning om innehållet. Trots att beskrivningarna är högst summariska ger de en levande bild av hur undersökningarna gick till och vilka svårigheter de båda runstensundersökarna hade att övervinna. Om man skall ge en enkel karakteristik av Wesséns text så påminner den för en nutida läsare om en blandning mellan Carl v. Linnés resebeskrivningar och Beppe Wolgers och Olof Landströms barnboksklassiker *Ur en kos dagbok* från 1973. Inte minst det myckna regnandet har slående paralleller i det senare verket.

Så här lyder Wesséns första dagboksanteckningar från 1928:

> 13/7   Ankomst till Gnesta kl. 2.30 e.m.
>   Sö 10 Frustuna kyrka uppritades.
>   Efter anvisning av kyrkoherden besöktes Yttervala, där i en källare ett par fragment av runstenar funnos inmurade.[3]

> 14/7   Sö 10 Frustuna fotograferades.
>   Sö 16 Kattnäs besöktes, men ingenting kunde där göras, då stenen låg framstupa och måste vändas. Detta åtog sig kyrkvaktmästare Gustafsson att göra samma dag.

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[3] Sö 366.

> Sö 17: Norrtuna gård besöktes, men ingen där kände till något runstens-
> fragment. Gården har i år brunnit. Är Sö 17 förd till något museum (Sthm,
> Strängnäs)? Detta borde i så fall omtalas i "Sdms Runinskr.".[4]

> Sö 8 Nybble, Sö 9 Lifsinge (Nybble) och Sö 14, 15 Gåsinge undersöktes
> och fotograferades.

På ett liknande sätt fortsätter texten. Emellanåt kan Wessén dock tillåta sig kommentarer som inte direkt berör det runologiska arbetet. Skildringen av ett besök i Önnersta by i Björnlunda socken, dit de lockats av en oriktig upp-gift om en runristning i fast häll, avslutas exempelvis med följande notering: "Önnersta by [är] ur bebyggelsesynpunkt mycket intressant. 4 gårdar tätt bredvid varandra utefter bygatan med en mängd små hus, delvis gamla och vackra, åtminstone ett med överbyggd svale." Man får också veta sådant som att de serverades "god mat" hos Erikssons i Dalhem i Bettna socken eller att den "ingeniör Lundgren" som bebodde Sanda i Lids socken "såg ut som en riktig bonde".

Trots att Wessén hade tillgång till både bil och sällskap framgår det av anteckningarna att undersökningarna innebar många svårigheter. Någon systematisk runstensvård existerade inte vid denna tid och ofta befann sig ristningarna i ett skick som gjorde dem besvärliga att både undersöka och fotografera.

När man studerar bildmaterialet kan man inte låta bli att förvånas hur vissa runstenar kunde vara placerade, som exempelvis den stora Bjudbystenen (Sö 55) i Blacksta socken, som sedan gammalt var söndersprängd i flera delar. Den hade arrangerats i uppochnedvänd ställning ovanpå en stenmur på baksidan av en talarstol på "Goodtemplarnas festplats", vilken enligt Wessén (i rapport till riksantikvarien den 30/8 1928) dessutom "tedde sig mycket skräpig och ovårdad" (fig. 1).

Ett annat exempel ger skildringen av besöket vid de båda runstenarna vid Kungberga i Runtuna socken (Sö 149, Sö 150) den 31 juli:

> Den större stenen (Sö 149) låg kullvält i en mängd bitar, större och min-
> dre. Den befanns vara alldeles skörbränd, tålde ingen hantering och kan ej
> resas på sin plats. Enligt de upplysningar vi fingo av nuv. arrendatorn Karl
> Karlsson (gården tillhör det Taubes-ska fideikommisset Brotvik) har den
> föregående arrendatorn under lång tid haft en tegelugn för byk o.dyl. all-
> deles invid stenen, oaktat han blivit förehållen det olämpliga och straffvärda
> häri. Karlsson åtog sig att i höst föra stenen till Runtuna kyrka, där den bör

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[4] Sö 17 var ett av de tre sörmländska runstensfragment som Wessén aldrig återfann på resan 1928. Det är fortfarande försvunnet.

Fig. 1. Runstenen Sö 55 Bjudby, Blacksta socken, på "Goodtemplarnas festplats", som den såg ut vid Wesséns och Faith-Ells besök den 10 augusti 1928. Foto ATA.

> läggas under tak. Vi sammanplockade så gott sig göra lät bitarna och foto-graferade stenen i liggande ställning [se fig. 2].

I vissa fall låg runstenarna omkullfallna med ristningen nedåt och måste vändas innan de kunde dokumenteras. Andra lutade så mycket framåt att de inte gick att fotografera och ibland måste också delar av ristningen grävas fram. Någon gång kunde en missriktad lokal fornvårdsinsats också vara till hinder för den vetenskapliga undersökningen, vilket var fallet med runblock-et vid Axala i Björnlunda socken, dit de kom den 15 juli:

> Sö 2 Axala besöktes, men måste lämnas, då ristningen befanns vara klumpigt ifylld med vit oljefärg. Den skall åter besökas från Aspa och färgen avlägsnas med såpa och lut.

En annan svårighet var att lokalisera ristningarna, som inte alltid fanns på den plats som hade uppgivits i den tidigare litteraturen och som ibland till och med kunde vara okända av lokalbefolkningen. Den 19 juli skriver exem-pelvis Wessén:

Fig. 2. Den spruckna och skörbrända Sö 149 vid Kungberga i Runtuna socken. I bakgrunden skymtar fragmentet Sö 150. Foto H. Faith-Ell 1928.

> Efter frukosten: Sö 39 Åda allé söktes och påträffades efter mycken möda, alldeles täckt av mossa. Ingen på trakten tycktes veta om den. Den befinner sig på själva bergväggen, ett par meter över marken, på nö. sidan om landsvägen, snett emot Sö 36 på ung. 20 m. avstånd. – På grund av ihållande regn kunde stenen endast rengöras.
>
> Efter middagen besöktes åter Sö 39, men då den var alldeles våt, kunde ingenting vidare göras.

I stället fick de återvända ett par dagar senare för att göra undersökningen. Wessén skriver vid detta tillfälle (den 21 juli):

> Efter middagen uppritades Sö 39 i Åda allé, ett tidsödande och besvärligt arbete. Faith-Ell fann härvid en alldeles ny inskrift, på bergväggen några meter norr om Sö 39.[5]

Av det nyss citerade utdraget framgår att dåligt väder ofta utgjorde det största problemet. Under nästan hälften av dagarna på resan 1928 regnade det, vilket försvårade såväl undersökning som uppmålning och fotografering. Ofta fick de avbryta arbetet och återkomma på nytt någon av de följande

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[5] Den nyfunna ristningen fick beteckningen Sö 359 i det slutgiltiga verket.

dagarna. Som ett exempel kan nämnas svårigheterna att undersöka och av-
bilda runstenarna vid Bogsta kyrka:

> 28/7   Regn hela förmiddagen. Fuktigt och kallt.
>   Stenen i Ludgo kyrkas vapenhus[6] fotograferades. Vi fortsatte sedan till
> Bogsta kyrka, där vi besågo de båda runstenarna. Men regnet var för svårt
> för att vi skulle kunna göra något.

Undersökningen fick i stället utföras några dagar senare, men inte
heller då verkar förhållandena ha varit särskilt ideala:

> 31/7   Dagen började med uppehållsväder men övergick småningom i regn,
> på kvällen ösande regn.

Trots detta lyckades de dokumentera både de båda runstenarna vid Kung-
berga i Runtuna (Sö 149 och Sö 150, se ovan), liksom Fagerlötsblocket i
Bogsta (Sö 126). Wessén skriver:

> Vi fortsatte till Hamra gård och torpet Fagerlöt, dit körbar bilväg ledde.
> Fyra små flickor visade vägen till ristningen i bergväggen (Sö 126), inne i
> den vackra skogen, vid en gångstig till Berga. Ristningen undersöktes och
> fotograferades.
>   Därpå till Bogsta kyrka. Regnet började alltmer försvåra arbetet. Under
> skydd av presenningen lyckades vi rita upp den ena stenen (Sö 123),[7] som
> fotograferades, ehuru med stor svårighet. Däremot måste vi, för andra
> gången, lämna Bogsta utan att ha fått den andra stenen (Sö 124) avbildad.
> Hemfärden skedde i ösregn.

Regnet har också satt tydliga spår på det fotografi av Sö 125, som Faith-Ell
tog (fig. 3a). Trots detta användes just denna bild i planschdelen av Söder-
manlands runinskrifter (pl. 58), men då hårt retuscherad (se fig. 3b).

När vädret någon gång var gynnsamt gick arbetet betydligt fortare. En
sådan dag var enligt anteckningarna den 30 juli, då de befann sig i Lids
socken:

> Vi fortsatte med stenarna västerut och lyckades under denna dag, tack vare
> det vackra vädret, hinna med 5 stenar. Men vi unnade oss knappast 5 minu-
> ters rast på hela dagen, bilresorna undantagna. Kaffe kl. 8 på morgonen och
> ½ 9 på kvällen och matsäck (smör och bröd) utgjorde vår föda.
>   Först de båda stenarna vid Lids kyrka, Sö 128 och 129. Därpå till Hag-
> stugan, Sö 130. Den vackra stenen låg kullfallen med ristningen nedåt; vi

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[6] Sö 134.
[7] Felskrivet för Sö 125.

Fig. 3a–b. Den regnvåta Sö 125 vid Bogsta kyrka fotograferad den 31 juli 1928. Till höger den retuscherade versionen som användes i Södermanlands runinskrifter. Foto: H. Faith-Ell (ATA).

måste vända på den. Stenen borde resas. Marken äges av greve Wacht-meister på Ånstad (såväl Hagstugan som Sparsta äro numera torp, bebodda av statare).

På hemvägen stannade vi vid Sö 131 Lundby och vid Sö 133 Väringe och togo bilder av dessa.

Alla fem stenarna äro på sitt sätt intressanta: Den hjulformiga 129, sand-stenshällen 128, den ståtliga versifierade inskriften 130, Ingvarsstenen 131 och den falska runstenen 133.

Arbetsdagarna sträckte sig i regel från åttatiden på morgonen till halv nio på kvällen och de arbetade veckans alla sju dagar. Under den mer än månads-långa resan 1928 gjorde de bara en enda dags avbrott under en helg i början av augusti då Faith-Ell åkte till Stockholm och Wessén till Mjölby för som han skriver "enskilda angelägenheter".

Efter det korta uppehållet lämnade de det runstensrika området kring Nyköping och sökte sig västerut genom Jönåkers och Oppunda härader, där det var betydligt glesare mellan runstenarna. I Vadsbro den 11 augusti fick de via telefon veta att Faith-Ell hade fått tillåtelse att följa med ytterligare en vecka.

Två dagar senare när de hade avslutat arbetet i Oppunda härad med de fåtaliga runstenarna i Västra Vingåker i den västligaste delen av landskapet, skriver Wessén:

> Regnet blev nu alltmer ihållande. Men vi kunde nu ta det med ro. Vi foro den långa vägen över Julita till Skogstorp, där vi fingo kvarter hos fru Kihlmark, nära stationen.

Härifrån gjorde de under de avslutande dagarna utflykter till runstenarna söder och väster om Eskilstuna. Bland annat undersöktes runblocket Sö 120 i Ärla socken i det stora skogsområdet sydost om staden:

> 15/8   Kl. 9 till Skogshall, "Skrivarestenen", Sö 120. Regnet hade gjort stenen alldeles våt, och i den fuktiga luften inne i granskogen torkade det ytterst långsamt. Vi fingo vänta i flera timmar, och endast genom att två gånger om fylla i ristningen med tjock krita fingo vi den i sådant skick, att den kunde fotograferas.

En annan ristning som dokumenterades under resan var den berömda Sigurdsristningen på Ramsundsberget vid Mora i Jäders socken (Sö 101), vilket verkar ha varit ett avsteg från den ursprungliga planen till följd av en plötslig väderförbättring:

> 17/8   Första gången på mycket länge vaknade vi vid solsken och klar himmel; utsikterna till hel uppehållsdag voro alltså goda. Med anledning därav beslöto vi att ägna dagen åt Ramsundsberget.
> Vi foro kl. 9 till Tumbo kyrka, där Sö 82 nu fotograferades. Därpå fortsatte vi till Västerby (Sö 85). Stenen där, som var täckt av grön mossa, tog dock längre tid än beräknat, och först kl. 1.15 voro vi färdiga att avresa till dagens egentliga mål.
> Kl. 2 voro vi framme vid den vackra platsen för Sigurdsristningen (Sö 101). En kvart senare började arbetet med uppritandet, som tog 3 ¼ timmar. F.-E. arbetade i huvudsak med den vänstra sidan, jag med den högra. I villan Ramsund (Bergman) fingo vi låna en förträfflig stege för fotograferingen. De första bilderna togos kl. 5 e.m., väl i sista stund för belysningens skull. Kl. 7 var allt färdigt. Kl. 8 voro vi åter i Skogstorp, varefter bilderna framkallades.

Här tog de också en bild av sig själva medan de var sysselsatta med uppmålningsarbetet (fig. 4). Resultatet av den första fotograferingen av ristningen var tydligen inte till full belåtenhet och redan dagen efter var de tillbaka för att ta nya bilder. Därefter undersöktes den runristade gravkisthällen Sö 116, som då som nu satt inmurad i sakristians yttervägg till Sundby kyrka. I detta

Fig. 4. Harald Faith-Ell (t.v.) och Elias Wessén (t.h.) målar upp den berömda Sigurds-ristningen (Sö 101) på Ramsundsberget vid Mora i Jäders socken i augusti 1928. Foto: H. Faith-Ell (ATA).

fall valde de att även fotografera stenen utan uppmålning, förmodligen för att den är reliefhuggen och därför ovanligt tydlig. Wessén skriver:

> Sedan gjorde vi uppehåll vid Sundby kyrka, där den vackra kalkstenshäl-len (Sö 116) fotograferades dels som den var, dels med ristningen ifylld med svart. Vi arbetade delvis under åska och regn, och kunde endast genom att trycka oss platt intill muren undgå det från taket nedösande vattnet och fort-sätta arbetet. Lyckligtvis klarnade det så småningom upp och vi lyckades taga bilderna. Kl. 6 voro vi åter i Skogstorp.

Med denna ristning avslutade de sitt arbete i Södermanland för denna som-mar. Den sista dagen användes till hemresa och för att "enligt ett särskilt förordnande besikta en runsten i Åkers socken".[8]

Även om man bortser från alla svårigheter som de hade brottats med är resultaten imponerande. Sammanlagt undersöktes och fotograferades under denna resa 104 runristningar (stenen i Åker då oräknad). Av dessa var 101 behandlade av Brate i Södermanlands runinskrifter och tre nyfunna. Tre av

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[8] Här avses runstenen Sö 335 från Ärja kyrkoruin, som olovandes hade förts till parken vid Lida herrgård och där låg omkullfallen.

de stenar som fanns hos Brate hade de inte kunnat återfinna. Resultatet sammanfattade Wessén i en ganska omfattande rapport till riksantikvarien, som han hade färdigställt redan före augusti månads utgång. I rapporten redogör han för sitt arbete, hur många runstenar som hade undersökts och hur många fotografier som hade tagits. Samtidigt går han igenom de runstenar som var i behov av olika typer av vårdåtgärder. Enligt Wessén var fallen av "uppenbar *vanvård*" sällsynta, men han framhöll två konkreta exempel, bl.a. den ovan nämnda runstenen Sö 149 vid Kungberga i Runtuna. Däremot hade han en betydligt längre lista över runstenar där han framställde "*vissa förslag till stenarnas bättre vård*". Bland dessa finner man bl.a. den ovan nämnda Bjudbystenen Sö 55, den omkullfallna Sö 130 vid Hagstugan i Lids socken, men även den märkliga Skarpåkersstenen Sö 154 i Runtuna, som enligt Wessén fortfarande låg "på den skräpiga vedbacken utanför Lindö gård". Wesséns rapport föranledde inte mindre än 13 olika skrivelser till riksantikvarieämbetets ombud eller olika gods- och gårdsägare runt om i Södermanland med direktiv eller förslag till olika typer av åtgärder.

Resan 1929

Året efter återupptogs fältundersökningarna i Södermanland och Wessén hade nu förlagt arbetet till månaden juni, kanske i hopp om att undvika det som vi känner igen som typiskt svenskt semesterväder. Resan påbörjades den 6 juni och avslutades ett par dagar efter midsommar den 25 juni. Även denna gång var Faith-Ell hans följeslagare och fotograf. De reste från väster genom den norra delen av landskapet och genomgick systematiskt Åkerbo, Västerrekarne, Österrekarne, Åkers och Selebo härader.

Liksom för resan 1928 kan det vara lämpligt att citera några rader ur dagboken från den allra första dagen:

> Den 6 juni, torsdag, skulle vi börja våra undersökningar i Sörmland. Faith-Ell kom till Uppsala onsdag kväll och bodde hos oss över natten. I dag har vi haft det bästa resväder, över all förväntan vackert efter de regniga och kalla dagarna. Vi startade kl. 9 från Uppsala, där jag lämnade kvar Borghild o. Kerstin. Över Enköping och Västerås till Kungsör, där första uppehållet gjordes. Efter en måltidsrast (kl. 1) uppritades och fotograferades *Sö 333*.[9]

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[9] Den åsyftade stenen är Sö 336 Kungsör i Kung Karls socken. Wessén använder här och i resten av dagboken en annan numrering av runstenarna än i det slutgiltiga verket. Denna måste återgå på Brate, men att döma av ett antal ark som finns inlagda i Wesséns anteckningsbok från 1929–30 (ATA) har Wessén inte haft tillgång till någon fullständig förteckning efter Brate utan måste själv ha rekonstruerat fram nummerföljden med hjälp av olika källor (främst olika hänvisningar i det redan utgivna häftet, men troligen också Svenska runristare [Brate 1925], där samma numrering förekommer).

Fig. 5. Runstenarna vid Gredby gata utanför Eskilstuna i juni 1929. I diket framför den påbörjade bensinstationen halvligger runstenen Sö 107. Den mer än 3 meter höga Sö 109 ses i en liknande position framför trävillan i bakgrunden till höger. Foto H. Faith-Ell 1929.

> Därefter till Torpa k:a, *Sö 334*,[10] en mycket besvärlig och tidsödande inskrift, som jag dock ej lyckades tyda. Två avklappningar togo vi. Klockan var nu över 6 på e.m., och vi togo vägen till Skogstorp, där vi fingo kvarter hos fru Kihlmark.

Beskrivningen av 1929 års resa påminner mycket om resan 1928, även om de denna gång var mer lyckosamma med vädret. Precis som under den föregående sommaren var arbetstempot mycket högt:

> 9/6   Söndag. Mulet men uppehållsväder under f.m. Kl. 9 från Skogstorp till Eskilstuna, där vi genomgingo alla fem där befintliga inskrifter: *Sö 108* på kyrkogården, *337* och *338* vid Slottskolan,[11] *109* och *107* i stadens utkant. Sö 107 står i ett lerigt dike, delvis med ristningen dold, starkt lutande [se fig. 5]. Därinvid bygges en bensinstation, och stenen står inom det för stationen inköpta området, utsatt för uppenbar fara att skadas eller eventuellt bli osyntig[12] genom staket o.dyl. Stenen bör flyttas, och då ingen lämplig plats

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[10] Motsvarar Sö 337.
[11] Här avses Sö 357 och Sö 358.
[12] Så ser det ut att stå. Troligen felskrivet för "osynlig".

Fig. 6. Wessén och Faith-Ell vid den stora runstenen på Kjula ås (Sö 106) i Kjula socken den 11 juni 1929. Foto: H. Faith-Ell (ATA).

finnes i närheten, föreslås Stadsplanteringen i Eskilstuna. Även Sö 109 står illa, utsatt för okynne och hotad av bebyggelse. – På hemvägen talade jag vid baningeniör Valey[13] (Ekbacken) om saken. Han är villig ombestyra stenens flyttande och resande på stadens bekostnad. – Vid 2-tiden började regnet, och vi hunno endast med stor svårighet avsluta våra arbeten. Eftermiddagen kunde ingenting uträttas. Vi hade besök av amanuensen Schnell,[14] som undersöker fornborg vid Mälby i Jäders socken.

10/6   Solskensdag. Kl. 9 till Jäder, varifrån jag omedelbart fortsatte till Mälbylund, där jag avlämnade Faith-Ell, som skulle hjälpa Schnell i fornborgen med fotografering. Under tiden undersökte och uppritade jag de båda Vävlestenarna (*Sö 102* och *Sö 103*). Efter en middagsrast till Jäders kyrka där vi under eftermiddagen medhunno alla fem stenarna (*Sö 96–100*). Vi beundrade den vackra kyrkan. Kl. 7 åter till Skogstorp. Denna dag alltså 7 stenar – ett rekord. Med undantag för ett par skurar hade dagen också varit vacker.

Resan fortsatte vidare mot öster och flera av landskapets märkligaste runstenar granskades. Den 11 juni undersökte de den stora runstenen Sö 106 på Kjula ås, "som tog oss flera timmars arbete", vilket också förevigades med en bild, där t.o.m. bilen fick vara med (fig. 6). Den 13 juni undersökte de rist-

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[13] Baningenjör Klas O. Valley.
[14] Arkeologen och sedermera landsantikvarien i Södermanland, Ivar Schnell (1904–1993).

ningen på Gökstenen (Sö 327) i Härads socken. "Den tog mycket tid att rita upp" är Wesséns enda kommentar i dagboken. Även här togs ett fotografi där de själva är med i bild, men där de hade placerat sig i det nedre högra hörnet så att de skulle kunna retuscheras bort vid publiceringen (fig. 7). Att denna bild inte kom med i Södermanlands runinskrifter beror förmodligen på att en del av ristningens vänstra del råkade hamna utanför bildfältet. En ny bild med ristningen uppmålad med mörk färg i stället för vit togs några år senare (se nedan).

Från Härad gick färden till Strängnäs, där de under de följande dagarna undersökte runstenarna vid domkyrkan och i det närmaste grannskapet. Den 16 juni flyttades verksamheten över till den runstensrika Selaön, där de hade lovats bostad hos folkskollärare Erik Hed i Tuna skola vid Ytterselö kyrka. Öns runstenar höll dem sysselsatta nästan en vecka och den kulturhistoriskt intresserade folkskolläraren gjorde dem ibland sällskap på deras färder. Några ögonblicksbilder från arbetet på Selaön kan vara värda att citera:

> 18/6   Från YSelö kl. ½ 9 f. m. Under denna dag undersökte och avbildade vi följande sex stenar: *Sö 191 och 192* Östa hage (Y.Selö), *209* L. Lundby[,] *207* Klippinge, *208* Ljunga och *206* Fröberga.[15] En ovanligt vacker dag, varmt och klart, men frisk och ren luft. – Nu 53 ristningar. – I Årby hörde vi efter den sten, som skall vara inmurad i spisen i den gamla byggnaden på gården.[16] Vi kunde med säkerhet konstatera att så är fallet. Spisen var mycket förfallen och oanvändbar. En insatt järnspis kunde dock brukas vid tvätt o. dyl. Fru Jönsson, som äger gården, vill gärna låta riva ned spisen, om hon kan få "lite hjälp" till kostnaderna, som hon, alldeles överdrivet, beräknar till 100 kr.

> 20/6   […] På e. m. till Kolsundet. Båda ristningarna där vållade oss mycket besvär. Den ena (Sö 196) var kullfallen och restes med förenade krafter; dock måste vi uppskjuta undersökningen till en annan gång. Den andra (*Sö 197*) var ytterst svår att fotografera; men vi lyckades med en brandstege. – Nu 62 ristningar.

> 21/6   Vi lämnade YSelö kl. 9 f. m. och begåvo oss åter till Kolsundet. *Sö 196* uppritades och fotograferades. Läsningen klar och tydlig, men tolkningen ännu oviss. […]

Vid midsommar hade Wessén och Faith-Ell nått Mariefred och hunnit undersöka och avbilda 70 runstenar i den norra delen av Södermanland. Endast tre dagar av resan återstod nu och härifrån är det kanske lämpligt att låta Wessén ensam få ordet:

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[15] I det slutgiltiga verket har dessa ristningar i stället följande nummer: Sö 202, Sö 203, Sö 212, Sö 210, Sö 211, Sö 209.
[16] Motsvarar Sö 214.
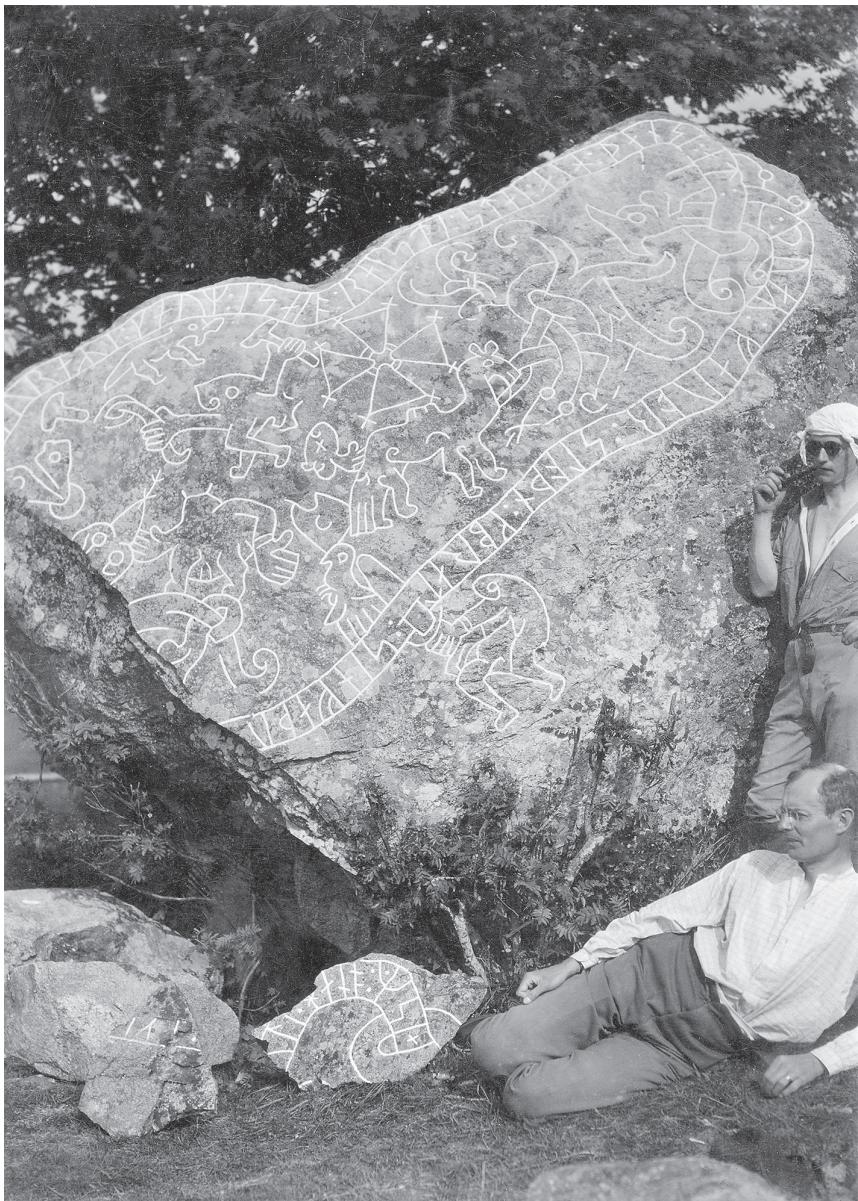
Fig. 7. Faith-Ell och Wessén vid Gökstenen (Sö 327) i Härads socken i juni 1929. Stenfragmentet längst till vänster i bilden med några uppmålade linjer har nog inte tillhört stenen och har troligen inte heller varit någon runsten. Foto H. Faith-Ell 1929 (ATA).

23/6 Midsommarafton, regndag. Vi gingo ut till Kärnbo kyrkoruin, där vi undersökte en sten uti muren (*Sö 177*). Därpå till Gripsholm, där vi började med den vackra runstenen av sandsten på gårdsplanen utanför ingången (*Sö 178*). Stenen far illa genom sprickor, som hota att spränga den sönder. Vida mera arbete vållade oss den andra Gripsholmsstenen, tröskelsten vid ingången till teatertornets bottenvalv (*Sö 179*). Den måste utritas vid lyktljus och fotograferas vid blixt. Det lyckades till sist ganska bra [se fig. 8]. På kvällen ett långt samtal med prosten Flentzberg,[17] som meddelade åtskilligt av intresse. – 73 ristningar.

24/6 Midsommardagen, ösregn. Väderleken uteslöt varje tanke på egentligt arbete i det fria. Vi tillbragte ett par timmar på morgonen och ett par på e.m. i Gripsholmssamlingarna. Kl. 1 besökte vi prosten Flentzberg och besågo hans samlingar.[18] I stadskyrkan fotograferade vi tvenne runstensfragment (*Sö 331*[19] och *182*). – 75 ristningar.

25/6 Mulet, men uppklarnande. Vi lämnade Mariefred kl. ½ 10 f.m. Vid torpet Runsten sökte vi förgäves efter det fragment, som enligt prosten Flentzberg där skulle finnas.[20] Vi fortsatte till Turinge kyrka, Erik Dahlbergs kyrka. Den stora, vackra runstenen (*Sö 339*)[21] där rengjordes och uppritades på nytt. Sedan till YtterEnhörna kyrka. Arbetet med runstenen på kyrkogården (Sö 187)[22] tog längre tid än jag tänkt, då den var mycket otydlig och belysningen högst ogynnsam. Kl. ½ 8 voro vi framme i Södertälje, där vi åto en enkel supé på SansSouci. Kl. 8.45 skildes vi åt. Faith-Ells tåg gick till Stockholm, och jag fortsatte omedelbart med bilen till Nyköping, dit jag kom kl. 11.

Dokumentationen från resorna 1928 och 1929

Trots att undersökningarna 1928 hade lett till många korrigeringar av de läsningar som Brate hade publicerat i det första häftet av Södermanlands runinskrifter innehåller de ovan citerade dagboksanteckningarna inga kommentarer om detta och det är ytterst sällan som själva inskrifterna berörs.

I anteckningarna från 1929 nämner han dock i samband med granskningen av runstenen vid Högstena (Sö 105) i Kjula socken den 11 juni att inskriften "var mycket svårläst, och vi häpnade över både S. Lindqvist[23] och Brate." Beträffande de båda runblocken vid Skämby i Åker (Sö 331, Sö 332) skriver

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[17] Anton Flentzberg (1854–1939).
[18] Flentzbergs samlingar tillhör i dag Sörmlands museum i Nyköping.
[19] Motsvarar Sö 334 Ärja ödekyrka, Åkers sn.
[20] Sö 181.
[21] Motsvarar Sö 338.
[22] Motsvarar Sö 190.
[23] Här åsyftas uppenbarligen läsningen i Lindqvist 1915: 132 f.
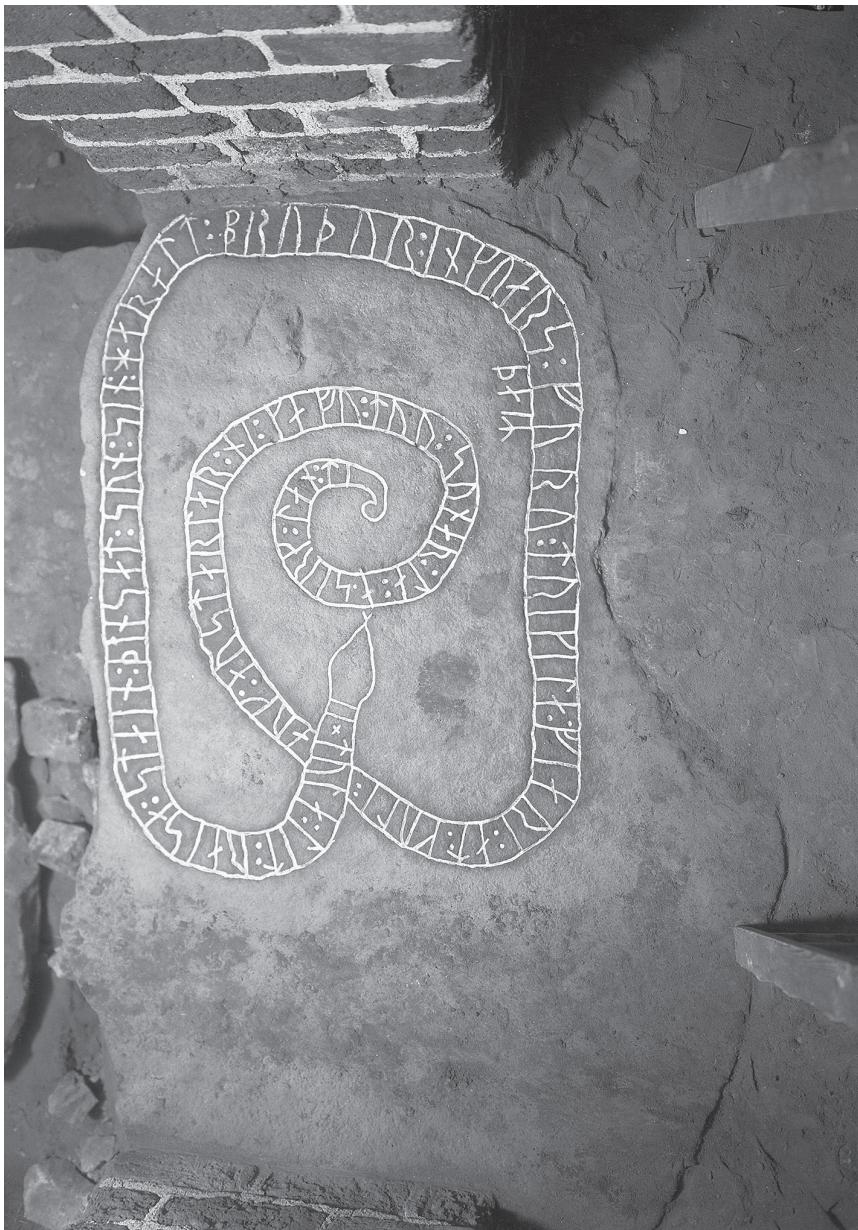
Fig. 8. Den berömda Ingvarsstenen Sö 179 som 1929 fortfarande låg som tröskelsten i källaren till Gripsholms slott och som fick "utritas vid lyktljus och fotograferas vid blixt". Foto: H. Faith-Ell (ATA).

han den 22 juni att ”[d]en ena var synnerligen svårtydd; men Brates fantastiska tolkning var i varje fall oriktig och innehållet en enkel minnesinskrift.” Den tolkning som Wessén syftar på härrör från Brates undersökning 1922 och hade den högst förbryllande lydelsen: ”Hustrun Urd lät spänna väven med en orm. … Skeppshövding god …”

I slutrapporten till riksantikvarien året innan hade Wessén nämnt att han förutom dagboken också fört ”protokoll över varje särskild undersökning”. Tyvärr har dessa protokoll, som måste ha utgjort grunden för det långa avsnittet med tillägg och rättelser i SöR, inte kunnat lokaliseras. Från resan 1929 finns däremot en regelrätt anteckningsbok bevarad i ATA.[24] Den bär titeln ”Runstenar i Södermanland 1929–30” och här ser man hur Wessén har arbetat (se fig. 9).[25] För varje sten anges först uppgifter om stenens plats och storlek skrivna med bläck, något som han måste ha sammanställt redan innan avfärd med ledning av i första hand Brates tidigare rapporter till Vitterhetsakademien. Därefter har han fyllt på med blyertsanteckningar om läsningen i samband med undersökningen och uppmålningen av inskriften.

I en senare anteckningsbok ”Runstenar i Södermanland” rörande främst undersökningarna av runstenarna på Södertörn sommaren 1930 finns några lappar utrivna ur ett enkelt linjerat anteckningsblock med ett par läsningsprotokoll, som uppenbarligen härrör från den första resan. Det ena bär nämligen datumet 22/7 och rör den ristning, som Faith-Ell hade upptäckt vid Åda allé den 21 juli 1928 (Sö 359). Det andra läsningsprotokollet, vilket saknar datum, handlar om den nyupptäckta Sö 360, som då låg vid Blacksta prästgård och som de granskade den 10 augusti samma år. Båda protokollen innehåller mycket utförliga kommentarer till läsningarna av dessa inskrifter. Om detta beror på att det rörde sig om nyfynd eller om lika grundliga anteckningar även har förts för de stenar som redan var behandlade av Brate kan vi naturligtvis inte veta, men man kan misstänka att Wessén här kan ha varit mer summarisk.

Inskrifterna återges i anteckningsböckerna sällan med runor utan direkt i translitterering och förmodligen betraktade han fotografiet av den uppmålade ristningen som en lika viktig del av dokumentationen. Läsningskommentarerna i anteckningsböckerna kan därför många gånger vara betydligt mer sparsmakade än de som man finner i det slutgiltiga verket, något som

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[24] Den ingår i samlingen ”Fältmaterial för runstensundersökningar i Södermanland och Uppland”, vilken omfattar sju anteckningsböcker från Wessén. Två behandlar Södermanland och de övriga Uppland. En av de senare innehåller också en del excerpter och anteckningar inför arbetet med Gotlands runinskrifter. Dessutom innehåller samlingen ett kuvert med några tidningsurklipp om arbetet i Uppland.
[25] Anteckningsboken innehåller även anteckningar från senare undersökningar, bl.a. finns dagboksanteckningar från ”Sommaren 1933”.
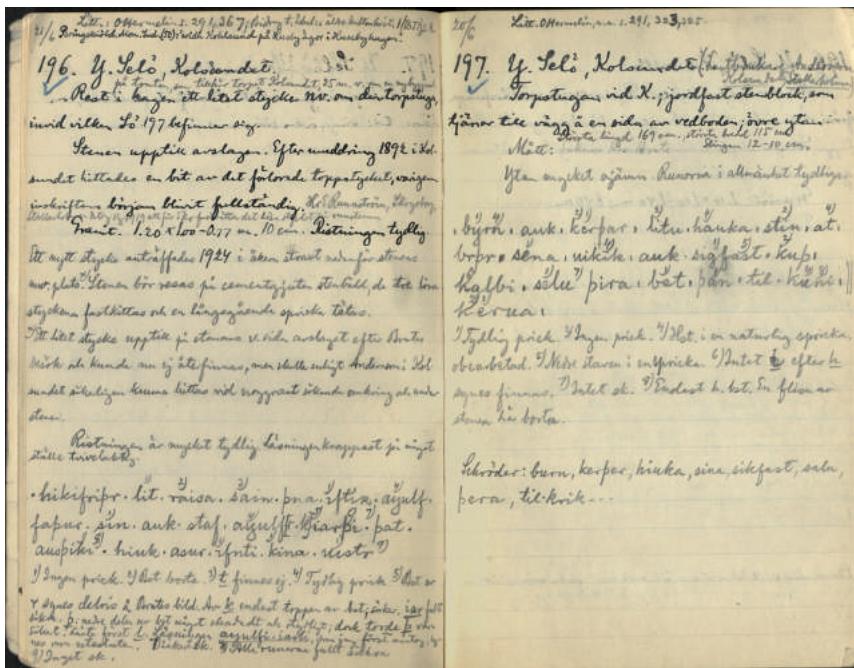
Fig. 9. Wesséns egenhändiga anteckningar om de båda runristningarna vid Kolsundet i Ytterselö socken (Sö 196, Sö 197) i anteckningsboken "Runstenar i Södermanland 1929–30". Efter original i ATA.

kan vara viktigt att känna till när man skall bedöma Wesséns läsning av en viss inskrift. En hel del av kommentarerna kan ha formulerats i efterhand med utgångspunkt i fotografiet eller ur minnet.

Att Wessén själv har reflekterat över det hastiga arbetstempot framgår också av ett brev till professor Otto von Friesen den 27 september 1929 med anledning av att denne hade bett om en kostnadsberäkning för det påföljande årets fältarbeten i Södermanland. Wessén skriver där:

> Det återstår omkring 90 stenar, belägna i Villåttinge, Rönö, Svartlösa, Öknebo och Sotholms härader. Den minsta tid, som åtgår för dessa, är en månad; snarast bör man räkna med 40 à 45 dagar. Vad jag ångrar mest, när jag tänker på de båda sista somrarna, är att jag ibland arbetat för rastlöst, detta för att få största möjliga utbyte av pengar och tid. Ger man sig mera ro, exempelvis med ordentlig rentvättning med sodalut, inväntande av gynnsammaste belysning o. dyl., kan man nog få bättre resultat och tillförlitligare eller vackrare bilder. Och det bör man naturligtvis inte underlåta, även om det skulle kosta lite mera.

Avslutning

Runstensundersökningarna i Södermanland fortsatte som nämnts även sommaren 1930 och Wessén och Faith-Ell reste då främst på Södertörn. Från denna resa finns en anteckningsbok med läsningsprotokoll, men jag har ännu inte stött på några dagboksanteckningar. I anteckningsboken med protokollen över undersökningarna 1929 och 1930 i ATA återfinns däremot en kortfattad dagbok rörande en kompletterande resa i Södermanland den 19–28 juli 1933. Wessén och Faith-Ell uppsökte då bl.a. några av de stenar som de hade granskat under sina första resor. En av dessa var Gökstenen i Härad (Sö 327) och det kanske är lämpligt att avsluta med att citera anteckningarna från just denna dag, eftersom den tydligt visar att de arbetade på samma sätt som under sina inledande resor och att de ingalunda hade dragit ned på tempot:

> 21/7   kl. 9 till Turingevägen, där 306–308[26] fotograferades. Därefter till Mariefred, Kärnbo kyrkoruin (Sö 177). Till Ärja ödekyrka, där Sö 332[27] ifylldes och uppmålades.[28] Över Strängnäs (kafferast) till Näsbyholm. Gökstenen rengjordes, ifylldes (röd) och avbildades.
> Kl. 10 e.m. åter till Strängnäs.

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[26] Motsvarar Sö 311–313.
[27] Motsvarar Sö 335.
[28] Förmodligen har Wessén tänkt skriva "fotograferades" eller liknande.

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