VI. BRACETEATES WITH RUNES

1. Introduction.

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

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

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

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

The overall impression of bracteate ornamentation is that the makers were suffering from a severe case of *horror vacui*. The whole gold-foil surface is filled in, hence the difficulty of deciding what was meant to be writing and what not. If a stroke, dot or line resembles a writing sign, this may just as well be an ornament, or a symbol for something unknown. Furthermore, initials and abbreviations based on letter sequences on Roman coins were used, next to Roman lettering and capital-imitation. The association with the paraphernalia of Roman emperors, such as the royal diadem with its central imperial jewel, and the Victoria statue, is rather strong. Seebold (1992, 1994a, 1995) investigated connections between the symbolism of the bracteates and Roman coins showing the emperor with his diadem (with a *terminus post quem* of 325, cf. Seebold 1992:270). Through a profound analysis of the development of Germanic symbolism emerging from the Roman background, Seebold seeks to unravel the meaning of the iconography of the bracteates and the connection with the text, i.e. the runes. By relating bracteate types to their places of origin and their texts he is able to
distinguish certain groups, such as the group Undley, Sievern and Hitsum (Seebold 1996:-194). These are included in this study.

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

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

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

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

Not only the object, the bracteate, is exceptional, but the runeforms also often deviate from runes in ‘normal’ inscriptions on other objects. The anomalous runeforms themselves could very well be worth a separate study. Yet the reason that it is possible to identify a divergent rune, for e.g. 1, is due to its frequent occurrence in a well-known word such as laukaz. The variety in forms is at least partly caused by the technique used for inscribing them. The runes were made with a matrix die (showing the motif in negative), which was placed against the obverse of the gold flan and subsequently struck. Many of the ill-formed, reversed and reverted runes may be the result of this technique.

Contrary to what I have done in the case of the other corpora in this study, I have not grouped the bracteates according to their geographical occurrence or way of deposition. The criterium ‘material’ does not apply here, the bracteates are all made of gold, except for Welbeck Hill (England), which is made of silver. The bracteates listed here have been found all over North-West Europe, including Scandinavia, Denmark, Germany, England and Frisia.
Recently two bracteates with the legend alu ota were found in a grave in Doanaueschingen, Black Forest, Germany. Since the most recent, elaborate and updated work on bracteates has been published in the six volumes of the IK, I have adopted the terminology used by its authors. The sequence UFO means Unbekannter Fund Ort = ‘Unknown Findplace’. Likewise, the names of the findplaces, for instance Südfünen, are retained. All bracteates are more or less named after their findspots. The placename in the IK list is connected with A, B, C, D, F or M, which points to the iconographic type of bracteate. Thus it becomes immediately clear to which group a certain text belongs. The IK-abbreviation Taf. means Tafel ‘Plate’. The remarks in the texts about items being ‘related’ refers to the iconography, and sometimes also to the runic text. Map 5 shows the spread of bracteates including one or several of the words laþu, laukaz, alu. Map 6 shows the find context for gold bracteates. 1: depot, 2: grave, 3: approximate border-line between depots and graves. Map 7 shows the spread of bracteates with long meaningful inscriptions. 1: inscriptions comprising at least four words, 2: comprising at least three words, 3: correct or partly correct rune-alphabet, 4: approximate border-line between depots and graves. Drawing of all maps: Christina Borstam. The maps have been copied (with permission) from Andrén’s article ‘Guld och makt’ (1991: 245-256), which was published in *Jysk Arkaæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXVII*.

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

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

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

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63 Recently two bracteates with the legend alu ota were found in a grave in Doanaueschingen, Black Forest, Germany.
Map 5. Spread of bracteates including one or several of the words *laþu, laukaz, alu.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. AUJA

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

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

4. FUÞARK

Bracteates with a complete fuþark, or part of it, are: Grumpan-C, Motala-C (Raan Marie-dam), Vadsen-C, Lindkær-C and Overhornbæk III-C, Schonen II-C and Gudme II-C. One has been found in a bog, one is a stray find; the others come from hoards. All bracteates with fuþark’s have been found in Sweden and Denmark and they are all C-bracteates.
Other *fuþark* inscriptions are on the stone slab from *Kylver*, found in 1903 near a farm called Kylver, on Gotland, Stånga parish. Since it was found in the surroundings of a grave, it is often thought to have belonged to that grave, which is dated in probably the fifth century. According to the find history, however, it is uncertain that the slab was indeed part of the sarcophagus (according to Anne Haavaldsen, personal communication). From much later times, several finds from medieval Bryggen and Trondheim bear *fuþark*’s, but these are probably connected with learning how to write (Fjellhammer Seim 1991:129f.). In view of the idea that *fuþarks* might have had a magical connotation, it is interesting to note that these younger *fuþarks* were mostly written on wooden chips. The meaning or function of a magical connotation (cf. for instance Krause 1966:10ff.) attributed to a *fuþark* has been the topic of some hot debate (Düwel 1992:91ff., and also IK 1, Text, p. 194). The abbreviated *fuþark* can be understood as *pars pro toto* for the whole sequence of the runic alphabet and may therefore stand for "Ordnung, Vollständigkeit" (Düwel 1992:98). The context, though, of objects with the older *fuþark* does not seem to point to a specific magical purpose.

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

- **BREZA**, pillar of a ruined (6th c.?) building near Sarajewo.
- **Aquincum**, brooch found as part of a hoard under the entrance of the former Roman theatre at Budapest. Only *fuþarkgw*.
- **Beuchte**, brooch found in a woman’s grave, context disturbed, but the runes may have been inscribed a short time before depositing the brooch, according to Düwel (see Continental Inscriptions). Only *fuþarzj*.
- **Charnay**, brooch found in a row-gravefield in Burgundy, France, context unknown. Complete *fuþark*, of which the final runes are abraded.
- From England two *fuþark* inscriptions are known:
  - **THAMES**, a scramasax, 9th c., found at Battersea in the river.
  - **BRANDON**, a pin, 8th c., found at a settlement site in Norfolk, East Anglia.

5. **LAÞU**

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

6. **LAUKAZ**

*laukaz* seems to have magical or ritual connotations, possibly in connection with fertility and growth. In this sense, a word like this on an amulet might add to the concept of protection against evil or destruction. In several manuscript runerows the name of the rune I appears to refer to *laukaz* (although often the ms. rune names are obscure or distorted). A few manuscripts record for I the name *lín* (Heizmann 1992:370ff.). One is irresistably inclined to associate this with the formulaic text on Flôksand *lîna laukaz* ‘linen & garlic, allium’,
referring to the supposed preserving qualities of the combination of linen and garlic, as is suggested in the *Völsa þátt* (see Krause 1966:85f.). *laukaz* is connected with fertility, sexuality, invocations and charms (Heizmann 1992:375 with ref.). Thus, Krause (1966:246f.), Antonsen (1975:63) and several others have proposed the intrinsic meaning 'prosperity'. Garlic was used as an antidote or medicine (cf. Saltveit 1991:138). *laukaz* is sometimes accompanied by other words, and appears (also abbreviated) on relatively many bracteates: Års (II)-C (IK 8), Skrydstrup-B (IK 166), Börringe-C (IK 26), Schonen-(I)-B (IK 149), and also on the FLØKSAND scraper. Shortened on: Danmark (I(?))-C (IK 229), Seeland (I)-C (IK 330), Allesø-B, Bolbro (I)-B and Vedby-B (IK 13, 1, 2 and 3), also on Hesselagergårds Skov-C, Hesselager-C, Südfünen-C (IK nrs. 75,1, 2 and 3), Maglemose (II)-C (IK nr. 301), Lynge Gyde-C (IK nr. 289), and Hammenhög-C (IK nr. 267); maybe on Nebenstedt (I)-B (IK 128). Uncertain is: RYNKEBYGÅRD-C (IK 147: lzolu).

The Hitsum bracteate.
7. CHECKLIST RUNIC BRACATEES

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

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

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

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

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

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


Short for [au]kaz.

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

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

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

Compare also with the text niuwila on Skonager (III)-C, IK nr. 163, here nr. 38. According to Müller (1975:164f.) the name niujil(a) might concern Balder (see above; frohila), or otherwise it is an initiation name ‘young newcomer’. Yet, niujil(a) might just be a PN, cf. OHG Niwilo. Antonsen (1975:59) reads niu-jil-(a), nsm. n-stam ‘little newcomer’. niujil reflects an East Gmc dialect, but it is remarkable that in the same region (westcoast of Jutland) an East Gmc and a West Gmc dialect (niuwila) appear to have been used side by side. Possibly,
niujil should be transliterated niwjil, since a runic u also reflects w, such as is the case for instance in uiu with ju in Nebenstedt (I)-B, nr. 29.


The text can be divided in: f(a)hidu uuilald uuigaz e[k] erilaz. The runes uu in uuigaz are distorted; the first u looks like k; the second looks like w. uuilald 'work of art' is written rather unclear. The second l in uuilald is retrograde. The r in erilaz looks similar to u (see below, Fynen, nr. 11). f(a)hidu = fahidó: 1 sg. pret. ind. 'I painted, wrote'. Halskov-Overdrev has fahide. EINANG fahido and VETTELAND fahido, the infinitive is Gmc *faihjan. The two e runes in e[k]erilaz are written together. 'I, erilaz, is subject, and belongs semantically to the preceding uuigaz wiga nsm. a-stem 'warrior'. The sentence runs as follows: 'I, erilaz, warrior, painted the work of art', which is a writer's formula, since, according to IK 'the work of art' would rather refer to the runes and not the bracteate. As to the meaning of erilaz, see Kragehul I, Danish Corpus, nr. 20.

Överhörnbaek (II)-A, IK nr. 312,1, and Raum Vendsysset(?)-A, IK nr. 312,2, exhibit the runic sequence ?up bap bit?ih?ilaldt?uiuu?tw? (IK 2, Text, p. 147). The runes in the middle may possibly be read as wilald, and thus the text would be a parallel to Eskatorp/Väsby.

11. Fünen (I)-C, UFO, IK nr. 58, Taf 69-70. Find circumstances unknown. Related items are Randers, IK nr. 142 and Maglemose (III)-C, IK nr. 300. Runes in four segments. Under the horse's head, running left, can be read horaz 'beloved' (cf. Antonsen 1986:328, Looijenga 1995+:96). The rune form þ, transliterated r in horaz, occurs at least 12 times, all denoting r, in inscriptions that have been investigated for this study (see Chapter IV.10.2). This may be enough evidence for reading horaz here. IK reads houaz = *houhaz 'High One' (Krause 1966:255, Müller 1975:163ff.). To the right along the edge, running right, is alu, although the last rune resembles l. On the leftside, along the edge, running right, is lapu. Furtheron along the edge, running right, is a sequence of runes, partly written in mirror-runes and bindrunes. IK reads aaduaaliun? and offers no interpretation.

Since most of the runes are doubled, I think we are dealing here with mirror-runes. These should not be transliterated by twice the same letter, but by just one. The first mirror-rune is then a. The next should not be taken as d, but as e. Then follows a single rune r, not u; the rune shows graphic features similar to the third rune in horaz. The next rune is a mirror-rune a, followed by a bindrune al, then two times i and one single-lined u. The last rune is hidden, but I suggest it to be an s. My transliteration is then aeraalius.
The whole legend runs thus: **horaz lapu aeraalius alu.** *hóraz* is the Gmc equivalent of Latin *carus* ‘dear, beloved’, which was a cognomen of a Roman emperor. *lapu* I take to mean ‘invitation (to the leader’s cult)’.

**aeraalius** I interpret as a misspelling of *Aurelius*. According to Andrén (1991:252) in bracteate-legends the Roman equivalent of *alu* may be *pius*, which is one of the Roman emperor’s epitheta. *Carus* and *Aurelius* are names of the emperor Marcus Aurelius Carus († 283), cf. Looijenga 1995.

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

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

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

The whole hoard may be regarded a building offer.


The final *a* is difficult to perceive. IK suggests the form *lapa* to be East Gmc against Proto-Norse *lapu* ‘invitation’. The *p* resembles *w*, cf. *lap* on **Welbeck Hill** (nr. 48).

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64 Germanic soldiers used to romanize their names (Bang 1906:17ff.). The fact that the cognomen on the bracteate has been translated the other way round, from Roman into Germanic, is not as strange as it might seem, because bracteates are germanized Roman medallions.
15. *Halskov Overdrev*-C, Slagelse Amt, Sealand, IK nr. 70, Taf. 85-86. Hoard find from a gravel pit near the coast, found together with three gold spiral rings and several parts of gold rings. Related item is SJÖÄNDAN, IK nr. 159. Runes run left along the edge, partly abraded. The text probably starts in the top left-hand corner, first a swastika, then: ???eturfahidelapo w (or ṣ, or Roman D) mhlsiaiaaugrsțnbkeiız

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fōzd could be a North Gmc female PN, nsf. ð-stem, or else it may reflect a connection with the tribal name of the Fosii. If the language is West Gmc (i.e. some Frankish dialect), the name may be a masculine PN, Fozo, nsm. n-stem. The form groba (ON gróf) reflects a West Gmc dialect, perhaps OS or OFris n/ASF. ð-stem, cf. OHG gruoba ‘groove, furrow’; possibly meaning ‘belonging to a grave’ (Seebold 1996:196), connected with Gmc *graban ‘to dig, make grooves’, pret. *grōb-*. Seebold suggests a connection with a funeral rite.
20. *Hjørlunde Mark-C or Slangørup* (now: Jørlunde), Frederiksborg Amt, Sealand, IK nr. 78, Taf. 99-100. Hoard find with another three C-bracteates and a gold fingerring. Related item is *Bolbro*, IK nr. 29. Runes run right: *alu*.


22. *Kjellers Mose-C*, Ringkøbing Amt, Jutland, IK nr. 289, Taf. 77-78. Related items are *Holmland*, IK nr. 84 and *Sejerslev Klitter*, IK nr. 155. Hoard find from a bog; runes are partly illegible and run from left to right. IK reads *il?? iualu*, which might be a combination of *alu* and, when reading from right to left: *ui* = *vð*, cf. ON *vð* ‘sanctuary, temple’, OS *wīh* ‘temple’ and OHG, OS *wīh* ‘holy’.

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

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


It appears that the *s*-like sign might be just a word divider, so probably one should read *alu* repeated twice. Also, the etymology and meaning of *salusalu* is obscure. Lundebey (1982) suggests a connection with Nynorsk *soll*, *spol*, an edible type of alga *Rhodymenia palmata* (see below, *Vadstena* nr. 47). There might be a connection with Fløksand *lina laukaz* (Lundebey & Williams 1992:19-21) concerning the nourishing qualities of *salu* = *alga* and *lina* ‘linnen, flax’ = edible part of flax, e.g. the seeds. This point of view may be applied to the enigmatic *alu* and *laukaz*, both referring to edible ware: ‘ale’ and ‘leek, garlic, chives’. Antonsen interprets *sala* as ‘offering’, obviously inspired by the Gothic verb *saljan* ‘to sacrifice’. Since on bracteates the occurrence of Latin (-inspired) words must be taken into account, I think Latin
salus ‘sound or whole condition, health’ or ‘a wish for one's welfare, greeting’ cannot be discarded. salus alu might be taken in the sense of a mixed Latin-Germanic text, as a result of cultural influence such as seems to be the case with Fünen (I)-C.

25. Lindkær-C, Randers Amt, Jutland, IK nr. 110, Taf. 139-140. Stray find from a field. Related item is Overhornbæk (III)-C, IK nr. 140. Runes run left along the edge

 Approximately the same sequence of runes is found in Overhornbæk (III)-C, see below, nr. 31. k has the form of an upside-down t rune, also found in Overhornbæk III. The fact that this rune is regarded to present k, is prompted by its place in the fuþark order. The whole sequence is taken as a fuþark quotation, until n in the normal order. What follows are degenerated signs, according to IK.


Short for la[u]k[a]z.

27. Maglemose (III)-C, Præstø Amt, Sealand, IK nr. 300, Taf. 87-88. Hoard find from a bog, containing a similar C-bracteate, Maglemose II-C, nr. 28 below, and one C-bracteate without runes. Furtheron the hoard consisted of four A-bracteates with runes, one big silver brooch and beads. Related items are Fünen (I)-C above nr. 10, and RANDERS, IK nr. 142. Runes running left under the horse's head, ho.z. To the right, runes running right: all. = alu. A third part has: tk/lp?mhi?, runes running left.

IK interprets ho.z as an abbreviation for houaz, cf. Fünen (I)-C. Both bracteates are very similar indeed, although the legends differ. I would opt for the reading ho[ra]z, cf. nr. 11.

28. Maglemose (II)-C, Præstø Amt, Sealand, IK nr. 301, Taf. 87-88. Hoard find from a bog, containing three C-bracteates and four A-bracteates, a silver brooch and beads. Related items are AVERSI-C, IK nr. 215, FREDERIKSSTAD, IK nr. 244, Hammenhög-C, IK nr. 267, Kjøller Gård, IK nr. 95, Lyng Gyde-C, IK nr. 298, Seeland (I)-C, IK nr. 330, Snesere Overdrev, IK nr. 175, RAUM TVED, IK nr. 357, and UFO IK nrs. 199 and 364. Runes run left (k reversed) between framing lines, lkaz, short for l[au]kaz.

The l-rune has the typical bracteate form.
29. *Nebenstedt (I)-B*, Kreis Nienburg/Weser, Niedersachsen, IK nr. 128, Taf. 165-166. Hoard find from a former bog, containing four B-bracteates, two F-bracteates and four D-bracteates; furthermore there were pieces of iron, probably equipment of a horse’s harness. Related items are *Nebenstedt (II)-B* (from the same findspot), and *Darum (IV)-B*, IK nr. 129,2. Runes run, all around the edge: `gllaugizu ïurnzl`.

The r rune has an u-like form, resembling r in *horaz*, above, nr. 11. *gllaugiz* might be a PN or epithet, consisting of gl– cf. ON *gljá* ‘to glow’, and *augiz* adj. nsm. i-stem `eyed’, the legend would mean ‘One with a gleaming eye’. Antonsen transliterates glœaugiz `bright-eyed’. ùuu = *wëhju*, 1 sg. pres. ind. `I consecrate’. *ruz* = r[u]n[o]z rœnœ apf. ð-stem `the runes’. The ï at the end was hidden under the hinge, but rediscovered. It probably stands for [l]aukaz]. Together: ‘One with a gleaming eye consecrates the runes, laukaz’. The consecrator may refer to Odin, as inventor of the runes, according to the Eddic *Havamál*.

30. *Ølst-C*, Randers Amt, Jutland, IK nr. 135, Taf. 173-174. Stray find, related item *Fjärestad*, IK nr. 56, and *Barshaldershed*, IK nr. 216. Runes run left, one colon has *hag* and another *alu*.

A combination may be meant of the `formulaic’ word *alu* and perhaps a PN *Hag* (cf. OHD Hago, cf. ON *hagr* `fit, firm’). Antonsen (1975:64) interprets *hagalu* as one word, nnp. a-stem, `hailstones’, cf. *hagela* below, nr. 31.

31. *Overhornbæk (III)-C*, Viborg Amt, Jutland, IK nr. 140, Taf. 179-180. Hoard find from a bog. Related item is *Lindkær*, see above. The hoard consisted of an A-bracteate, two C-bracteates and one D-bracteate, a gilt-silver brooch and two beads. Runes run left between framing lines along the whole edge, ending in two birds’ heads: `prkgwhagelaalaasulo?h`.

The text starts with *prkgw*, perhaps a *fugpark* quotation. The k resembles an upside-down t like in *Lindkær*. In the middle, after *prkgw* the following meaningful sequence may be read: *hagela ala a[n]su*, with one mirror-rune a. I interpret *hagela* as ‘hail’, cf. *hagalu* on *Ølst* above nr. 30. *ala* `all’. a[n]su vocative sg. m. u-stem. The sequence can be interpreted as ‘all hail to one of the Æsir’. A negative meaning of *hagal* cannot be presumed, since the bracteate was an amulet, or a precious gift, at any rate something positive. Another interpretation of the part *asulo* is possible, when related to Latin *ansula* `ring’, which might refer to the form of the bracteate (see *Vimose III*, a bronze buckle, Danish Corpus, nr. 10).

The first part, hariuha, may be a PN or epithet consisting of hari ‘battle’, and uha, or, less likely, u(n)ha, which might be interpreted as unga, ‘young’. Thus the whole word would mean "der Kampf-Junge" (Krause 1966:262) or "den här-unge, här-sønnen Balder, søn av hærguden Odin" (Grønvik 1987:88). Antonsen (1975:65f., 36) compares uha with Kragehul uha, and interprets hari-uha, "the first among warriors". As for hateka, cf. Lindholm hateka ‘I am called’ with enclitic -ika, -eka. Farauisa could be an epithet, consisting of fára- < Gmc *fēra- ‘danger’, ON fár n., or of fárū- ‘to travel’ and uisa = wōsa nsm. n-stem ‘wise’. Gibu 1 sg. pres. ind. ‘I give’, inf. Go giban, ON gefa, OHG geban. Auja may be asm. ‘good luck’ or ‘protection’. Uisa is written with u for w. Other spellings of auja can be found on the Vimose buckle auwija and the Oettingen brooch (Continental Corpus) aujabrg. Gibu auja is supposed to mean either ‘I give luck’ or ‘I give protection’.

33. Raum Trollhättan-A, Naglums sn., Västergötland, IK nr. 189, Taf. 243-244. The bracteate was assumingly found together with IK nr. 190, and probably belonged to a hoard. Related items are DARUM (II)-A, and SKONAGER (I)-A, IK nrs. 41, 1 and 2 and REVSGÅRD-A, IK nr. 145. Runes run right in two colons: tawol aþodu.

Since it is allowed in runic sequences to read regardless of divisions or spaces between textparts, one may take the sequence as tawō lapōðu, which can be interpreted as tawō, 1 sg. pres. ‘I prepare’, cf. inf. Gmc *tawōn, and the forms tawido and tawide in resp. Gallehus and Illerup II (Danish Corpus). lapōðu may be asm. u-stem ‘invitation’. Thus we get: ‘I prepare the invitation’.


36. Sievern-A, Kreis Wesermünde, Niedersachsen, IK nr. 156, Taf. 201-202. Hoard find from a former bog, found while digging for peat. The hoard contained two equal C-bracteates and eight D-bracteates. Related items are Hitsum, nr. 19, and Undley, nr. 45. Runes run left

65 The h would in this case have the value [ŋh], which seems unlikely, since another rune in the fuþark is supposed to represent the sound value [ŋ], the ◊ or 𝖏. There are two possibilities: that particular rune did not yet exist, or uha does not represent *unga but ûha, such as Antonsen claims and with which I agree.
between framing lines along the edge: \textit{rwrilu}, which assumingly is a misspelling for \textit{rwritu},
to be divided in $r[junoz]$, apf. $\delta$-stem 'runes', and \textit{writu} 1 sg. pres. ind. 'I write'. Note that the
abbreviation $r$ stands for 'runes', hence the $r$ does not denote its name but has a semantical
function, contrary to the symbolic use of $j$ in the next item, below, nr. 37.

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

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

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

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

The iconography shows a man in full length, surrounded by a deer, a bird, two snakes and
another animal, maybe a wolf. There are two colons, runes running right: \textit{laukaz}. Running left: \textit{alu}.

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

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

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


\textit{f} might be an abbreviation for *\textit{fahi} 1 sg. pres. ind. 'paint', inf. Gmc *\textit{faihjan}. The text is almost a parallel to \textit{Åsum} nr. 3. There \textit{fahi} is written in full, hence we have again an indication that abbreviations were used in runic texts. IK interprets: \textit{ek fåkaz f(åhi)}. \textit{Fåkaz} PN, nsm. \textit{a}-stem, 'horse', cf. ON \textit{fákr}; compare with \textit{akaz} 'driver' and \textit{(e)he} 'horse' in nr. 3. 'I, Fakaz, paint (the runes)'.

42. \textit{Svarteborg-M}, Bohuslän, IK nr. 181, Taf. 235-236. This fourth-century medallion-type predates the other bracteates by at least a century. Moreover, it is the only medallion-imitation bearing runes. It was found in a gravemound together with an urn with cremation, and this too is peculiar, since all other bracteates from that part of Scandinavia were deposited as hoards, or are stray finds. On the frontside are runes; the backside has capital-imitation and runelike signs.

The runic legend before the head runs left: \textit{sigaduz l}.

The \textit{s} rune is written in double lines, similar to the double \textit{s} in \textit{Bergakker} (The Netherlands, nr. 19, dated \textit{ca. 425}). \textit{sigaduz} may be a hypochoristic PN: *\textit{Sigi-haduz}, or \textit{sigaduz} may be taken as \textit{sigat(n)duz} 'magician'. Düwel took the double-lined \textit{s} as representing two times \textit{s} (1975:144-157), and interpreted \textit{S(i)siga(n)duz} 'magician of sisu', which means some sort of magic concerning death rituals, cf. OS \textit{siso} 'feierliche Klage, Leichenklage', or 'magical
incantation’ (Syrett 1994:181f.). Parallel to Bergakker, it may be assumed that only one s should be read.

43. *Tirup Heide-C or Schonen (V)*, Skåne, IK nr. 352, Taf. 133-134. Related item is Broholm, IK nr. 35. Find circumstances unknown. The bracteate is quite worn, but the runes are legible, running right, *ehwu*, nsf. wō-stem, ‘mare’.

44. *Tjurkö (I)-C or Målen*, Östra hd. Blekinge, IK nr. 184, Taf. 239-240. Hoard find of several bracteates and solidi of Theodosius II (408-450). Runes run left along the whole edge, between framing lines: *wurterunozanwalhakurname..heldazkunimudiu...*

The dots are division marks. *wurte* = *wurht*; 3 sg. pret. ind., inf. Gmc *wurkjan* ‘to work, to make’; (cf. TUNE: *worhlo*, ETEHL: *werte*, BY: *worte*). *runoz* = rūnōc apf. ō-stem ‘runes’. *an* prep. ‘on’, cf. ON á. *walhakurne wallhakurn*, consisting of *walh*, cf. OHG *walh*, ON *Valir*, ‘Romans, Celts, strangers anyhow’, and *kurn* dsn. a-stem ‘granule’ pointing to the strange (= imported gold) granule = the gold bracteate. *heldaz* PN, nsm. a-stem, cf. Proto-Norse *heldaz*, ON *hjaldr*, ‘fight(er)’ (De Vries 1962:230). *kunimu(n)diu* is the name of the receiver *Kunimu(n)duz*, a compound of: *kuni*- ‘tribe, family’, and: *mu(n)diu* dsn. u-stem, cf. OS, OE, ON *mund*, OHG *munt* ‘hand, protection’, Lat. *manus* ‘hand’. Gmc *kunjamunduz* is ‘protector of the gens’, so the name might be a metaphor. There is another possible interpretation of *walhakurne*. This concerns the meaning of Gmc *walha- ‘deep sleep’, vale(n) in Old Swedish and Norwegian dialects (Kluge/Seebold 1989:484). A connection with Swedish *vallmo* ‘poppy’, may be involved, especially considering the associations with medicinal and possibly religious practices. It appears that poppies were cultivated from prehistory onwards. Since other texts on bracteates might point to edible and drinkable ware, such as *laukaz* and *alu*, a translation of *walhakurne* as ‘poppyhead, i.e. opium’ cannot be discarded, in my view. Especially because of the intoxicating quality of opium, a ritual function might be involved, like seems to be the case with *alu*. The semantics of someone working runes on an opium seed box is no more difficult to understand than someone writing runes on a gold granule. ‘Heldaz made the runes on the gold granule (= the bracteate, or the poppyhead) for the protector of the gens’.

45. *UFO-B and Schonen (I)-B, 1 and 2*, resp. IK nr. 149,2 and IK nr. 149,1, Taf. 191-192. Three similar items from two different find spots. *Schonen (I)-B, 1 and 2*, originate from a hoard, together with an A- and a C- bracteate. Related items are LELLINGE, IK nr. 105, RAVLUNDA, IK nr. 143, OBERMÖLLERN, IK nr. 132, and 3 items from GUDME. The runes run right and are on a base line: *lapulaukarga kazalu*.

One may read this as *lapu laukaz gakaz alu*. Twice *ka* and once *ga* are written in bindrunes, cf. above nrs. 45 and 39. *ka* occurs in *Skrydstrup-B*, IK nr. 166; *ga* is in *Kragehol* and *Und-
ley. Ga(u)kaz, nsm. a-stem, might denote a bird, but Düwel (1984:332) thinks an interpretation of gakaz as gaukaz 'cuckoo' (cf. Krause 1966:256f.) not very convincing. He considers a PN also unlikely, since an ‘I-formula’ and/or a verbform is lacking. The legend appears to me an enumeration of formulaic words with a positive intent.


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

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

47. Vadstena-C, Östergötland, IK nr. 377.1 and Motala = Raum Mariedam, IK 377.2, Taf. 157-158. These are similar bracteates from two different find spots, Vadstena comes from a hoard, the other is an UFO. The Vadstena original has been stolen in 1938; IK used a copy for the description. Related items are Norra Törlund, IK nr. 130, Ravnstorp, IK nr. 313, Silleby Mellangården, IK nr. 334, Viby, IK nr. 381.
The runes on both bracteates run left along the edge, and read, starting from the loop: luwatuwa.ftparkgw:hnijibzs:tbeml pó(d).

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

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