

## *Runic inscriptions from the first period*

*taken from*

W. Krause, “Die Sprache der urnordischen Runeninschriften”

*and/or*

E. Moltke, “Runes and their Origin, Denmark and elsewhere”

E. H. Antonsen, “A Concise Grammar of the Older Runic Inscriptions”

E. A. Makaev, “The Language of the Oldest Runic Inscriptions”

### *Transcription conventions:*

The inscriptions given here are not in runes. I have used the letter equivalent for each rune with the following transcription conventions. **R** represents the rune Algiz which was pronounced as ‘z’ during the ancient Germanic period, and then gradually became pronounced as ‘r’. We can’t be certain, but the sound change likely occurred around the 5<sup>th</sup> century. This symbol, **R**, means therefore that it should be pronounced as ‘z’ if one wants to use the pronunciation of ancient Germanic times, and ‘r’ if one wants instead to place it in the times of the Viking civilization. The ‘i’ of Ihwaz is represented by **ī**, while the ‘i’ of Isaz is written **i**; the ‘ng’ of Ingwaz is written **ŋ**; and the ‘th’ of Thurisaz is written **þ** (thorn). The other runes are represented with their classic equivalents, for example, the letter **f** represents Fehu, etc. An X in the inscription means that the corresponding rune is illegible, and a question mark means that the letters are barely legible. /// means that a certain number of runes have been scratched. When runes are between ( ), then they didn’t occur in the original, when they are between [ ], it is that they are hardly legible. An approximate date is indicated in parentheses, except for the bracteates that are seldom dated.

(note: I am well aware that there are still discussions on the name of rune *Ihwaz* and on the sound it represents. I have chosen to follow Krause’s convention of notation, without intending in any way to take a position in this quarrel. )

### *Translation conventions:*

I have almost always taken Krause’s or Moltke’s translations, except when I found that it was interpreted a bit too much (with respect to the vocabulary and the grammar given by Krause himself). As often as possible, I give a word for word translation, and in the same word order as in the original, so that the reader can see easily which runic word had which meaning. In particular, I tried to provide the meaning of the words looked upon as names by the runologists. The reader will judge alone if a name or a concept are more intelligible in the concerned inscriptions. When the word order is clear, I leave it as such without comment. For example, ‘(he) has engraved runes these’ must obviously be understood as ‘he has engraved these runes’.

From time to time, I dare give my own opinion on the transcription. These relatively rare cases are vigorously underlined to avoid confusion between what is the classical scholarly opinion, and my non scholarly one.

#### 1. Alleso Bracteate

**lauR oþa Rlut : eaþl**

The beginning of this inscription has been interpreted as **lau(ka)R** = ‘name of the Laukaz rune’  
**oþa** = ‘ancestral property’

#### 2. Amla Stone (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century)

/// **XiR h(l)aiwidaR þar**

‘[erased name] (is) buried here’

#### 3. Austad Bracteate

**gt**

‘Gebo Tiwaz’ possibly meaning ‘gift to Tyr’

#### 4. Barmen Stone (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century)

**ek þirbijaR ru**

‘Me, the one who makes become soft, (I wrote these) runes.’

What I understand in this sentence, is that the rune-master is bragging about being able to steal souls, or being able to create ‘soft men’ as some Siberian shamans are called, in other words to teach *seidr*.

Antonsen translates **þirbijaR** by ‘one who makes strong’.

5. Belland Stone (around 500)

**keþan**

'of Ketha' (without doubt: Ketha's stone)

6. Berga Stone (around 500)

**saligastiR || fino**

Two names, a man and a woman. The name of the man, sali-gastiR means ground-guest, or hall-guest.

Antonsen says that the name **fino** means 'Finnish woman'.

7. Björketorp stone, two panels (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century) with these inscriptions:

(north-west side)

A: **uþarabasba**

(south side)

B1: **haidRruno ronu**

B2: **falahak haidera g**

B3: **inarunaR arageu**

B4: **haeramalausR**

B5: **uti aR weladaude**

B6: **saR þat barutR**

Krause's translation:

A: 'Prophecy of misfortune'

B1: 'The brilliant runes row'

B2: 'I have preserved here,'

(the final 'g' of B2 is joined to the beginning of B3 to produce the word *gina* = 'carrier of magic')

B3: 'Carriers of magic, runes. By *ergi*'

B4: 'without rest'

B5: 'Abroad, a malicious death'

B6: 'To the one (who) this (monument) destroys'

Of course, in the curse containing '**arageu**', which was translated as 'by *ergi*', Krause, as all the runologists do, links *ergi* to the curse. This might seem obvious because to be *ergi* was a great shame in the Nordic civilization, as I have often said. However, we need to remember that it was necessary to be *ergi* in order to practice *seidr* 'to the perfection', and therefore being *ergi* was also a proof of power: the one who was *ergi* was also a great magician. Here we have a direct trace of what the magician meant, and I think that the way he expresses it is ambiguous. One can interpret it as Krause does: 'Shame on you who will be *ergi*'. But, it can also be interpreted as an affirmation of one's own power: 'my runes are made powerful through *ergi*'. The magician may well be bragging of having been *ergi*, because it asserts his magical power. Of course, my interpretation goes against all that we know, but it is because what we know comes from the sagas, the Edda, etc., and all texts have been written by belated commentators who have insisted on the shameful aspect of being *ergi*. To the extent that all magical manifestations of power were considered diabolic, it is not surprising at all that these commentators have insisted on the shameful aspect of *ergi*. On the other hand, in a text coming from the magician himself, I do not see why he would not have praised his power, rather than shaming himself, and B3, B4 and B5 become:

'Runes, carriers of magic through *ergi*.

Without rest,

Abroad, a mischievous death.'

This argument will be continued later when we see the Stentoften stone which bears a very similar inscription.

Moltke gives the same runes (without the 'spaces' between words, for example, he gives for B1: **haidRrunoronu**) and translates them as follows (the (?) are his):

'I master of the rune row (?) buried here potent runes. Unceasingly (?) uncumbered by sorcery, utiaR to death through malicious guile (is) he who breaks it (the memorial).'

Antonsen and Makaev provide a translation similar to Krause's.

8. Bratsberg Fibula (around 500)

**ekerilaR**

'Me, the noble man'

Krause suggests that it should be interpreted as: ‘Me, rune-master’  
Makaev does not translate **erilaR**, he proposes : ‘I, the *eril*’.

The translation by ‘noble’ seems to me obvious since in Old English *eorl* means noble (‘earl’). See in particular the Old English Rune Poem at rune Yr: ‘*yr byþ æþelinga and eorla*, etc.’ i.e., ‘Yr is to princes and noblemen etc.’

9. Bratsberg Stone (around 500)

**þaliR**

A name meaning: ‘the silent one.’ Antonsen: ‘the still one’.

10. By stone Slab (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century)

**ek irilaR.HroRaR hroReR orte þat aRina ut a laifu .dR || rmpī**

The beginning of the inscription translates as:

‘Me, rune master, Hrör, son of Hrör, I have worked on this slab of stone for Olof.’

Krause proposes an interpretation for **dR || rmpī**: it could be **d(aga)R**, an evocation of rune Dagaz, and **rmpī** could be **r(unor) m(arki)þi** = runes marking.

Antonsen: the name **HroRaR** means ‘the quick moving’. He also reads **hroRe worte** in place of **hroReR orte**, but this does not significantly change the meaning of this inscription.

11. Bo Stone (around 500)

**hnabdas hlaiwa**

‘Hnabds’ (the mutilated) funeral mound’

12. Börringe Bracteate

**tanulu: al laukaR**

‘Omen magic (al is taken as **alu**) Laukaz.’

13. Darum Bracteate 1

**frohila laþu**

‘Frey’s (whose name also means ‘The Lord’ ) invitation’

This way of speaking reminds of the way Kalevala’s heroes call on Gods and Goddesses, for instance, ‘Oh! Ukko, heavenly creator, Jumala who reigns in the skies, come here when you are needed ...’

Moltke gives the identical inscription without commentary.

Antonsen reads **frodila** instead of **frohila**, and translates ‘Frodila (i.e., the little wise one) summons’

14. Darum Bracteate 5

**niuþil alu**

‘New magic’

Moltke gives the identical inscription without commentary.

Antonsen: ‘Magic. Niuþila (i.e., little newcomer)’

15. Denmark Bracteate 1

**lkaR**

A short form for Laukaz.

Moltke gives the identical inscription without commentary.

16. Eggjum stone slab (around 700)

Three panels:

P1: **ni s solu sot uk ni sakse stain skorin.ni XXXX maR nakdan isn X(X)rXXXR, ni wiltiR manR lagi  
XX**

P2: **hin warb naseu maR, made þaim kaiba i bormoþa huni.huwaR ob kam hi harisa a lat gotna?  
fiskR oR f XXnauim suwimade, fokl i fXaXX XXX galande.**

P3: **alu misurki!**

First sentence of P1: **ni** = 'no', 'not'; **s** = ist = 'is'; **solu** = 'sun'; **sot** = 'tracked', 'found'; **uk** = 'and'; **sakse** = 'the sax' (a type of sword); **stain** = 'the stone'; **skorin** = 'carved'.

Krause: 'Nor it (the monument) found the sun nor the sax has carved the stone (of the monument)'

Makaev: 'the stone was not (illuminated) by the sun, and the knife did not touch it'.

Second sentence of P1: **maR** = 'man'; **nakdan** = 'nude', stripped; **snXXrXXX** =? **snaarþiR** = 'to challenge'; **wiltiR** = 'to be in the wrong'; **lagi** = 'to be able to sleep'; **XX** =? **af** = 'after'. [Note that '=' means: 'perhaps equal to'].

'Nor a man can put down naked (this stone (the stone is stripped of its runes?)), unchallenged, nor man in the wrong can rest'

Makaev: '(evil) wizard must not uncover (the stone), neither deceived nor blinded (by sorcery)'.

First sentence of P2: **hin** = 'this one'; **warb** = 'covered'; **naseu** = 'lake of the corpse' = 'blood'; **made** = 'rubbed off'; **þaim** = 'with'; **kaiba** = 'pin' (the pin of an oar); **i** = 'in'; **bormoþa** = bor-moþa = 'hollowed-by-tiredness'; **huni** = 'short piece of wood' = 'a young animal' = 'small bear'.

'This one (stone) covered with blood the man [*the man covered the stone with blood*], rubbed off with (it) the pins in the hollowed bear [*a ship*]

Makaev: 'He made a sea of corpses (i.e., sacrificial blood) and with it smeared the oarlocks of the boat weary from drilling'. (*whatever may mean a boat weary of drilling!*)

Second sentence of P2: **huwaR** = interrogative 'who'; **ob kam** = 'arrived'; **harisa** = hari - sa =? hari - as = 'the troop (the army) of Aesir'; **a** =? 'in'; **lat** = 'country', 'empty space'; **gotna** = 'men'; Makaev: also possible 'of the horses';

Krause: 'As who (in what form) arrived the troop of Aesir to the country of men?'

Makaev: 'who came here to the land of the horses'.

Third sentence of P2: **fiskR** = 'fish'; **oR** = 'outside of', 'outside'; **fXXnauim** =? **firnaum** = 'a wave of horror'; **suwimade** = 'swimming'; **fokl** = 'bird'; **i** = 'in'; **fXaXX** =? 'enemy'; **galande** = 'howling'.

'The fish, swimming outside the wave of horror, the bird, howling in the enemy host'

Personal comments: The bird howling in the enemy host evokes the sound of the spear strongly thrown above the first enemy's ranks by Odin, and which marks the starting of the battle. The fish jumping out of the sea recalls the Franks casket (see inscription #146).

P3: **misurki** = 'the harmful one', and therefore **alu misurki!** can mean: 'magic (exerted) on the harmful!'

Personal interpretation:

'This stone was not yet lightened by the sun, and no knife had touched it. [*the runic stone was still lying in the earth, not engraved*] As the wanderer cannot find rest, you cannot lie this stone on the ground, stripped of its engraving. [*who will push down the stone stripped of its engraving, his soul will wander forever*] The stone has been covered with the sea of corpse (blood) and this blood smeared the oarlocks of the emptied small bear (a boat). [*the runemaster's blood hallowed the runes and made them move, i.e., activated their magic*] Who reaches the Aesir's group in man's land? [*Which man becomes divine?*]. The fish, swimming outside the wave of horror. [*the wise who learns how to swim in the horrors of life, and how to get out of them*] The bird, howling in the enemy host. [*The warrior who dies fighting*] Magic on the harmful!'

17. Eidsvag Stone (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century)

**haraRaR**

A name, meaning: 'the one who moves, agile'

18. Eikeland Fibula (around 600)

**ek wiR wiwio writu i runo aRsn**

**WiR** =?; **wiwio** = feminine name also meaning 'fishpond'.

'Me Wir for Wiwio I engrave runes now.'

Antonsen sees a masculine genitive plural in **wiwio**, and he reads **writum** instead of **writu i**, and **aisaR** instead of **aRsn**, he translates: 'Me, of the descendants of WiwaR, wrote the rune. AisaR (i.e., the zealous one)'

19. Einang Stone (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century)

**[ek go] dagastir runo faihido**

'Me Godagastir the rune I have painted.'  
Godagastir means 'Host of the Gods'.

Moltke makes the hypothesis that the missing runes are [ek gu] and he translates it as:  
'(I Gu)dgaest painted the rune.'

20. Eketorps slate fragment (middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century)  
upper part:

/// **gputþ** ///

lower part:

/// **aluk** ///, followed by 5 marks that seem to be runic but are indecipherable.

For **gputþ**, two interpretations have been proposed: 'Get out of here', or 'Ride away from here'. Krause is not able to interpret the **aluk**.

Personal interpretation: If we think of fever, then it would go (or ride) away from here, **alu k**, in other words, 'by the magic of Kaunan'.

21. Elgesem Stone (middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century)

**alu**

'magic'

Moltke notes this inscription without comment.  
Makaev says: 'runic sacred word'.

22. Ellestad Stone, containing four rows of runes.

R1: **eka sigimaraR afs** ///

'Me SigimaraR' (i.e., victory-famous; **afs** is joined to **ka** of the following row)

R2: **ka raisidoka**

'without blame I have erected'

R3: **stainaRX**

'the stone'

R4: **kk. kiiii. kkk** ///

a magical formula with Kaunan and Isaz as the basis.

Often, these secret runes can be interpreted as follows. The group of identical runes represents the rune carved, and the number of times that the rune is repeated represents the position of the second rune in the same *aett*. For example, **kk** represents rune **k**, Kaunan, since it is found in the first *aett*, and it is repeated twice, it is also referring to the second rune of the first *aett* which is Uruz. So **kk** represents Kaunan followed by Uruz; **kkk** represents Kaunan followed by Thurisaz, while **iiii**, with Isaz being the second *aett*, represents Isaz followed by Ihwaz. The magical formula would be thus: **ku kii kþ**.

23. Etelhem Fibula (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century)

**mk mrla wrta**

'Me (on) Merila I have made.'

Moltke gives the runes: **mkmrlawrt(a)** and notes that one usually interprets this formula as **m(i)kM(e)r(i)law(o)rta**: 'Merila made me.'

His hypothesis is that the 'ignoramus of a goldsmith' (so he says) who carved the runes blundered in copying a classical formula. It is true that the runes **m** and **e** are very similar, and that replacing the **m** by **e** gives: **ek erla wrta**, which is indeed very near to a classical formula: **ek erilaR wraitha** ('me, rune master, I engraved'). Without insulting the rune-master, Antonsen confirms this interpretation.

24. Faxe Bracteate

**foslau**

One hypothesis is to cut as **fo-slau** where **fo** would represent the futhark by its first and its last letter, and where **slau** would be a magical formula.

My personal interpretation of **slau** is **s** 'Sowelo' = sun, victory, and **lau** = **alu** = magic.

Moltke gives the identical runic inscription without comments.

25. Femo Bracteate

**ek fakaR f**

'Me Fakar I write'

(the isolated rune, **f**, is taken for *fahi*, I write).

The name Fakar can mean 'chief', or 'strong one', or 'horse'.

26. Floksland Bone Scraping-knife (middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century)

**lina laukaR f**

'Linen and leek',

which is a formula of fruitfulness. In this case, the rune **f** represents possibly Fehu, rune of the wealth.

27. Fosse Bronze Plate (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century)

**kaXa alu**

The first word is definitely a name: Kala, and therefore the inscription is 'Magic Kala' or 'for Kala'.

28. Funen Bracteate:

Side 1: **houaR**

'high'

Side 2: **laþu aaduaaaliia alu**

'magical invocation aaduaaaliia' (a magical formula)

As we have seen in # 22, one can decipher the magical inscription as **auduaplina**.

29. Forde Fishing Weight (middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century)

**aluko**

The diminutive of a feminine name based on the formula alu. A bit of imagination leads us to believe that the master of runes wanted to evoke with affection, 'little magic'.

30. Gallehus Horn B (around 400)

**ek hlewagastiR / holtijar / horna / tawido**

'Me, HlewagastiR, / son of Holt, / the horn / I have made'

The name, HlewagastiR, means 'glory-guest' or 'protection-guest'.

Moltke give the identical runic inscription translated as: 'I Laegaest, son of Holte, made the horn.'

31. Garbolle Wooden casket (around 400)

**hagiadaR i tawide**

'HagiadaR inside I have made' (= 'I have made runes engraved in wood of this casket')

Moltke notes, that by studying this inscription under the microscope, he succeeded in convincing Frau Krause that the **i** was an error. Indeed, Krause, having become blind at the end of his life, used his wife for his 'eyes'. Moltke makes it clear (and Odin knows that he was sparse with his compliments), that Frau Krause was 'an admirable rune reader'. Thus this **i** is a simple division mark that should not be translated. The 'inside' above is to be forgotten.

Antonsen reads **hagiradaR** in place of **hagiadaR i**, which means 'giver of suitable advice'.

32. Gummarp Stone (around 600)

**/// haþuwolafa / / / /// sate /// staba þria fff**

'battle-wolf sat sticks three fff', meaning: 'Haþuwolafa set the three lines Fehu Fehu Fehu'.

Here we have a clear example of the reason why runologists tend to present some runic words as names rather than to give their meaning. It happens that at least one historical character bore this name: Hathowulf, bishop of Cambrai 728-9.

Moltke translated the same runic inscription as: 'Hadulf placed three staves fff'



33. Gardlösa Fibula (around 200)

**ek unwodiR**

'Me, without rage' (or without ecstasy).

The word *wodu* means ‘rage’, but it also means ‘ecstasy’ and therefore *unwodir* means ‘presenting myself without ecstasy’. This root is found in the name Woden, or Odin, who is indeed the God of poetical ecstasy (or rage). It is interesting to note that all Anglo-Saxon words beginning with *wod\** designate either Woden or a form of madness.

I suppose that contrary to the rune master of the Björketorp stone, this one is boasting about never having known the poetical ecstasy associated with the practice of the runes, and therefore, he boasts of not being a disciple of Odin.

Moltke notes that in fact the **R**, which should have been written , is found under the form  and that it can not be mistaken for Kaunan of the Viking age which only appeared six centuries later. This is why it is supposed, instead, that it was an error of the jeweler who engraved the runes.

#### 34. Halskov Bracteate

**fahide laþoþ**

‘I have made the invocation.’

Moltke gives a much longer runic inscription, with only one comment, as follows:

**n? eturfahidelapþoþmhlisiaeiaugrsþnbeiaR**

**fahide** = ‘painted, carved’

#### 35. Hammeren Slate (around 500)

**XXhip: runXXXXXXrXd**

**XXhip** can be understood as **fahip** which means ‘(he) writes’, and therefore the inscription speaks of writing the runes.

#### 36. Himlingoje Fibula 1 (middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century)

**hariso**

A feminine name meaning ‘army, crowd’

Antonsen translates the name **hariso** by ‘female warrior’

Moltke gives an identical runic inscription on what he calls the ‘Himlingoje bow fibula’, without any comment.

#### 37. Himlingoje Fibula 2 (around 200)

**[ek] widuhudaR**

**widu** = ‘forest’; **hundaR** = ‘dog’.

‘Me, the dog of the forest (the wolf, most likely).’

Moltke calls it the ‘Himlingoje bow fibula’ and describes the same runes without comment.

#### 38. Himmelstalund Cliff Inscription (around 500?)

**braido**

Krause emphasizes that the form is undisputably feminine and that one could then interpret this inscription as a feminine name of a rune master. Her name would then mean ‘the large’.

This inscription is given by Moltke without comment.

Antonsen reads **brando** (i.e., the one who brandishes), and confirms the feminine form.

#### 39. Hitsum Bracteate

**foRo**

It seems to be linked to a family name, ‘Fosi’, with a feminine ending.

#### 40. Hojstrup Bracteate

**laþu**

‘Evocation’.

Antonsen: ‘Summons’

Moltke gives the identical runic inscription but doesn’t translate it.

#### 41. Istaby Stone (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century)

Side 1:

**afatR hariwulafa / hapuwulafR haeruwulafiR**

‘After Herjolf (Hariwulafa) / Half, son of Hjörflfs’

The three names mean ‘army wolf’, ‘struggle wolf’, ‘sword wolf’.

Side 2:

**warait runaR þaiaR**

‘(he) engraved these runes.’

Moltke gives two translations that have similar meanings:

‘In memory of Haerulf - Hadulv, Hjorulv's son, wrote these runes.’

‘Hadulv, Hjorulv's son, wrote these runes in memory of Haerulf.’

42. Järsberg Stone (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century)

C1: **/// ubaR hite: harabanaR**

‘mischievous I appoint: Hrafn (Raven)’

C2: **hait ///**

‘I appoint’

C3: **ek erilaR**

‘me, the master of the runes’

C4: **runoR w**

‘runes’

C5: **aritu**

‘I write’ (with the **w** of the previous row, it gives **waritu**).

Moltke gives: **ek erilaR ubaR h(a)ite harabanaR hait(e) runoR waritu**. He translates it as:

‘I the *eril* am called the pugnacious (literally, one who stands up in the face of aggression). I am called Ravn. I write runes.’

43. Kalleby Stone (around 400)

**þrawijan. haitinar was**

**þrawijan** = ‘to desire ardently’; **haitinar** = ‘called’; **was** = ‘was’.

Krause cites another author who interprets this inscription as a call for the union of two souls after death.

Makaev : ‘þrawija was called’.

44. Kinneve stone Fragment (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century)

**/// siR alu h ...**

**siR** is definitely the end of a name, **alu** means magic, and the **h** must represent the Hagla rune. This stone fragment was found in a grave and the inscription likely relates to mortuary magic.

45. Kjolevik Stone (middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century)

C1: **hadulaikaR**

‘combat-play’ Antonsen: ‘battle-dancer’ (those who amuse themselves through combat, could be a name)

C2: **ek hagustadaR**

‘me, obdurate bachelor (perhaps a name)’

C3: **hlaiwido magu minimo**

‘I buried son mine’

Moltke notes that the word **hadulaikaR**, considered the first word of the inscription, is in fact added above the runes and it is adjusted to fit over them. It likely designates the name of the one who engraved the runes.

Antonsen reads the last line as :

**hlaiwido magu minino**

and translates the entire inscriptions as follows: ‘Hadulaidaz [i.e. battle-dancer]. I, Hagustaldaz, buried my son’.

46. Kläggeröd Bracteate

**alu**

‘Magic’

Moltke also gives the same runic inscription without comment.



Elsewhere, Moltke comments on the formula, alu, by saying that **alu** and **laukaR** are ‘the favorite protective words of the Roman Iron age...’

47. Kragehul Spear-shaft (beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century)

**ek erilaR asugisalas muha haite.gagaga ginu-ga.he /// lija /// hagala wiju bi g ///**  
**asugisalas** =? ansu-gisalas = ‘hostage of the Aesir’; **muha** = ‘follower (man belonging to the retinue of a powerful person)’; **haite** = ‘I am called’; **ginu** = ‘effective magic’; **he /// lija** =? *helmat-talija* = ‘helmet-destroying’; **wiju** = ‘I hallow’; **bi** = ‘on’, ‘to’; **g ///** = ‘beginning of a name’  
‘Me, the master of runes, I am called follower (can be a name, ‘Follower’) hostage of the Aesir (can be a name, ‘Asgisls’).Gebo Ansuz (3 times) the effective magic of Gebo Ansuz. Breaker of helmets Hagala I hallow to NN. (= I hallow Hagala, the breaker of helmets, to NN).’


Moltke does not read the final **g** and replaces it by ?. He suggests various interpretations in parenthesis: ‘I, Asgil’s eril, am called Muha’ (‘I, the eril, am called Asgil’s *muha*’) *ga ga ga ginu* [a word to accentuate] = ‘very’; **hagala** [accusative neutral singular] = ‘hail’, ‘hail stone’, **wiju** = ‘I hallow’.


He notes that an English bracteate (called bracteate A) reads :

**gaegogae gaedae medu**

*Gaedae* evokes a ‘group of companions’ in Anglo-Saxon, and *medu* means ‘mead’. So the inscription can be interpreted as *Gyfu Aesc* (= ‘generosity of the ash’) *Gyfu Os* (= ‘generosity of the mouth’) *Gyfu Aesc* (= ‘generosity ash’) mead of the group’, which alludes to the magic of mead and to the group formed by the bind-runes.

The runes **gagaga** of the Kragehul lance are linked and look very similar to the English runes.

Runes of Kragehul : **gagaga** = 

Runes of bracteate A: **gaegogae** = 

Note that the words in runes read clearly as I indicate here. However, Moltke says **maegae** in place of **gaedae**, which is I guess a printing mistake.

Antonsen reads **em uha** instead of **muha**, and translates: ‘I am the erilaz of Ansugisalaz. I am called Uha. I give protection, I give protection, I give protection, ... hail ...’. Makaev gives a similar interpretation.

48. Kragehul Knifeshaft (beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century)

C1: /// **uma · bera**

C2: /// **aau...**

**uma** could be the end of a word meaning ‘experienced’; **bera** means ‘bear’, perhaps a name. What follows **aau** is not interpreted by Krause, it could be part of a magical formula.

Moltke does not read the last group of runes as clearly, he gives:?(a)u. He only says that **bera** might be the remnant of a proper name.

49. Krogsta Stone (middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century?)

A: **mwsicijX**

B: **s̅iainaR**

We don’t know how to interpret these inscriptions. Note that if the **ī** of B is read as a **t**, then B gives *stainaR* which means ‘stone’.

Side A also has the drawing of a man whose arms are ‘in a position of defense’, as we say.

50. Kylver flat Stone (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century)

Side 1: **fuparkgwhnijpiRstbeml̅ηdo**

a complete Futhark, where the Pertho rune is placed before the Ihwaz rune.

Side 2: **sueus**

a palindrome that we don’t know how to interpret.

Moltke dates this inscription to the year 400 and compares the formula **sueus** to **sis** of the Flemlose stone 2 (see below, # 146).

51. Karstad Inscription on a rocky wall (middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century)

First inscription:

**ek aljamarkir**

‘me, the foreigner’

Second inscription (carved by another hand )

**baijoR**

Krause suggests the meaning ‘both of them’ (a feminine form of the inclusive ‘we’, meaning ‘together we two’) but the meaning is very uncertain.

52. Kong Statuette (around 500? )

**XXXηο**

It is the statuette of a man, but the inscription is indecipherable.

Moltke describes the same inscription, and doesn’t decipher it either.

53. Körlin Bracteate (middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century)

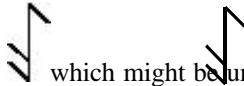
**waiga**

‘power, force’. Antonsen: ‘obstinate, bold one’

54. Körlin Ring (middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century)

**alu**

‘magic’

Antonsen reads **al alu** . He remarks that **alu** is written as  which might be understood also as a branch rune indicating the second rune (because of the two small branches at the bottom left) of the first *aett* (because of the small branch at the top right), that is Uruz, thus completing the **al** to **alu**

55. Lekkende Bracteate

**ea.**

‘Ansuz Ehwarz’, which can be interpreted as: ‘Odin takes his horse.’

56. Lellinge Bracteate

**salusalu**

It might, a magical formula. I interpret it as: ‘Sowelo alu, sun of magic, or victory of magic.’

Moltke gives the same runic inscription with the comment, ‘doubtless a doubled protective word. On the Vadstena bracteate (Sweden) [see # 110 below], we find the doubled sequence **tuwatuwa** (or **luwatuwa** ) as well together with the runic alphabet.’

Antonsen sees the feminine name Salu twice, meaning ‘offering’.

57. Lindholm bone Amulet (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century)

A: **ek erilaR sa wilagaR ha(i)teka**

B: **aaaaaaaa RRR nnn[n] bmu ttt : alu**

For A, **sa** = ‘this one’ or ‘here’; **wilagaR** = ‘cunning’, ‘astute’; **haiteka** = ‘I am called’. Side A gives therefore: ‘Me, master of runes here, I am called Astute (could be a name).’ Antonsen: ‘the sunny, bright one’

Side B obviously contains a magical formula.

Using the same deciphering as # 22, each repeated letter would call the rune itself and it would identify the *aett* in the Futhark, then the number of repetitions would identify which rune in the *aett*. With this hypothesis, Ansuz (of the first *aett*) is repeated 8 times, which gives Gebo; Algiz (of the second *aett*), repeated three times gives Isaz ; Naudiz repeated four times gives Jeran ; and Tiwaz (of the third *aett*), repeated three times gives Ehwarz. The message would then be:

**‘agRinjbmute : alu’**

It makes up a galdr whose meaning can not be reconstructed other than by intuition, but it could represent teaching in magic.

Moltke calls it the 'Lindholmen bone amulet'. He refuses to 'guess' the **i** of **ha(i)teka** and he treats the translation of 'the astute', for **sa wilagaR** as a 'fatuous interpretation' because the inscription does not cut between **sa** and **wilagaR** (= **sawilagaR**). He translates it as : 'I the *eril* am called SawilagaR', stating that one can interpret this name as 'one lying on the sea'.

Antonsen remarks that the **i** of **ha(i)teka** can be guessed reasonably since it can be the vertical bar of the **t** that follows.

58. Moos Lance-head (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century)

**sioag**

As such this inscription has no particular meaning, but if one reads it 'right-to-left', it gives **gaois**, which means 'howler'. Odin is often called the Gods' howler and this also be an allusion to Odin's 'Howling, I gathered them'.

It is given without comment by Moltke.

59. Myklebostad Stone (around 400)

**asugasdiR [h]lai [wa]: aih[ek] soXXaXXi [w]orumalaiba**

**asugasdiR** = ansu-gasdiR = a name, 'Asgest', meaning 'Guest of the Aesir'; **hlaiwa** = 'the grave'; **aihek** = 'I possess'; **soXX** =? soma = 'right'; **aXXi** can not be understood; **worumalaiba** = a name, 'Ormeleif' (with doubt) whose meaning would be 'the descendant of the snake'. This can be interpreted as Krause does:

'Asgest. Grave. I have rights (on?) Ormeleif'. Or, by keeping the meanings of the words:

'The grave of the host of the Aesir. I have rights (on?) the descendant of the snake.'

This makes me think of kennings that can be interpreted as follows.

The guest of the Aesir is certainly a warrior dead in combat who is now hosted by Odin in the Valhalla.

About the descendant of the snake. The snake, here **worum** (= of the worm), is a dragon often called worm in the Edda. I do not know of a myth where one of them would have children, but I know that they jealously keep watch on a treasure, as a mother would do of her child. Thus the guest of the Aesir - or a person named Asgest - claims rights on a hoard.

60. Mogedal Stone (beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century)

**laipigaR**

'Annoying'. Moltke: 'loathsome', Antonsen: 'travelling one'

61. Möjbro Stone (middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century)

**frawaradaR ana hahai slaginaR**

**frawaradaR** = frawa-radaR = 'fast decider'; **ana** = 'on'; **hahai** = 'horse' (dative); **slaginaR** = 'beaten'. This can be interpreted by:

'Fast - Decider (could be a name) beaten on the horse', which could be kind of epitaph.

Antonsen gives 'Advisor of lords slain on (his) steed'

62. Nebenstedt Bracteate 1

**gliaugiR uüu rnR**

**gliaugiR** = 'the one with the brilliant eyes'; **uüu** = wiju = 'I hallow'; **rnR** = runoR = 'runes'

63. Nedre Hov Scraper (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century)

**ek ad ///**

ek, 'me', is generally followed by the name of the rune master which has been partially deleted here.

64. Noleby Stone (around 600)

Side 1: **runo fahi raginaku(n)do. tojeka**

'a rune I write coming from counselors. I prepare'

Side 2: **unapou: suhurah: susiX hwatin**

'the satisfaction: suhurah (= magical formula): susiX (= magical formula) they can incite'

Side 3: **hakupo**

'for a vulture'. Antonsen says that this word has relatives in Old Swedish and Old English, meaning 'pike-fish'.

The inscription says that the two magical formulae start the magic for someone able to shape change and become a vulture (or a pike-fish), in other words, a sorcerer.

Moltke only gives **runo fahi raginaku(n)do** and translates it as: 'The rune I paint, from ruling powers derived.'

65. Nordhuglo Stone (Norway, 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century)

**ek gudija ungandiR i h ///**

**gudija** is the word that designates a *goði* in Iceland, what I call a 'chief - priest'.

**ungandiR** breaks down into un-, a privative prefix, and **gandiR**, meaning 'bewitched'.

'Me, *goði*, not bewitched to H...'

As this inscription is dated in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, Paganism was still thriving and had many centuries to enjoy in Norway when this inscription was made. Therefore it is not because of a 'christian spirit' that this *goði* asserted that he was not bewitched.

Antonsen translates **ungandiR** by 'not beatable' while noticing that Old Icelandic *gandr* means a charm (originally, a magical staff, a stick). He finds his 'beatable' by assimilating **gandiR** to the root *gud\** meaning 'battle', which I find very daring since *gandr* exists.

66. Norway Bracteate

**ano-ana**

A magical formula based on the word **ana** meaning 'on'.

67. Nydam Arrow-shaft (around 400)

**lua**

A version of 'alu'.

Moltke speaks of a set of Nydam arrows. One of them bears the inscription **alu**.

68. Naesbjerg Fibula (around 200)

**waraf[lu]s[a]**

Possibly, a name meaning: 'the one who holds himself in front of the chatter'.

Moltke calls it 'bow fibula', reads runes as **warafnisa**, and translates them as 'one wary of tittering, a man of gravity'. Antonsen reads **warawnis** and translates 'caring friend'.

69. Novling Fibula (around 200)

**bidawarijaR talgidai**

**bidā** = 'to demand', 'desire' (Antonsen: 'oath'); **warijaR** = 'the one who protects'; **talgidai** = 'I have carved';

**bidawarijaR** can be interpreted as the name, Bidar, or by keeping the meaning:

'The one who protects desires (Antonsen: the oath) has carved (these runes)'.

Moltke provides the same runes, but gives 'Bidar has carved' as the translation. He states that the verb used, *talgian*, refers rather to working with wood.

70. Opedal Stone (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century)

**birŋguboro swestar minu liubu meR wage**

There are two possible meanings in this inscription, according to the way the first word is split up.

Meaning 1: **birŋgu-boro**

'Grave-Bora, sister mine, love me of audacity'.

Meaning 2: **birg-ŋguboro**

'Has help, Yngbora, sister mine dear, to me from audacity'

Krause specifies some linguistic problems presented by the second version.

Antonsen remarks that **wage** (a masculine dative form) has been obviously added later since its direction is oblique as compared to the rest of the inscription. He links this word to 'rough waters' and not to 'audacity'. I conclude that there is no 'audacious love' in this inscription.

Makaev believes more in the meaning #2, beginning by: 'Help me, Ingubora ...'.

71. Over-Hornbaek Bracteate 2

**Xuþa þit Xih uilald tXuiu uXtwX**

**uilald** = 'work of art'

For the rest, Krause declares that it is an unintelligible inscription.

72. Reistad Stone (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century)

Side 1: **iupingaR**

'Iuþing' (a name with an unclear meaning). Antonsen contests that it is impossible to read a **u** here, he reads **idringaR** : 'of memorable lineage'

Side 2: **ek wakraR: unnam**

'me Wakraz (a name, meaning 'awake, watchful', probably the one of the rune master): I hear me upon (I understand myself)'

Side 3: **wraita**

'engraved'

73. Roes Stone (middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century)

**iu þin: udR rak**

**iu** = 'horse'; **þin** = 'this one'; **udR** = 'Udd' (a name meaning 'point' ); **rak** = 'pushed'.

'Udd pushed (incited) this horse.'

74. Rosseland Stone (middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century)

**ek wagigaR irilaR agilamu(n)don**

The meaning of **wagigaR** is unsure, one possible meaning is: 'the one who finds his way inside' (Antonsen: 'the active one'); **irilaR** has the same meaning as **erilaR**, 'the nobleman, or the master of the runes'; **agilamu(n)don** is a name 'coming from Agilamundo', which can be split into agila-mundo. Agila became the name Egill, famous in the sagas because of Egill Skallagrimsson; its root means 'fright'. *Mundo* can stem from either *mundr*, 'gift from betrothed to his betrothed', or *mund*, 'hand'. In the end, the expression is ambiguous (Antonsen: protectress of the blade?). In

'Me, Wagigar, master of the runes, (coming from) Agilamundo', either the master of the runes comes from the region called Agilamundo, or he is the son of Agilamundo, or he is at her service.

Moltke translates it as: 'I WagigaR *eril* of Agilamundo' and notes that Agilamundo is the name of woman. That would show that some women could have had an extremely respected position since they had an *eril* at their disposition. He notes that Krause's translation above is obviously also possible.

Makaev agrees Agilamundo is a feminine name, and he cites a king named Agilamundus.

75. Rävsaal Stone (middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century)

**hariþulfs · stainaR**

The Thurisaz rune could be interpreted as a Wunjo since the two runes are so similar. The stone on which this inscription is engraved is surrounded by others stones that allow us to understand the meaning:

'The stones of Hariwulf'. The name Hariwulf means 'the pack of wolves'.

Moltke insists on the reading of **þ**, without proposing a translation.

76. Rö Stone (around 500)

Side 1: **ek hraRaR satido [s]tain ///**

'Me HaraRaR I have erected the stone'

Side 2a: **swabaharjaR**

'SwabaharijaR (a name)'

Side 2b: **anaXXXXr**

'on XXXXr'

Side 3: **s[a]irawidaR**

's[a]ira - widaR = 'injury-large'

Side 4: **[ek] stainawarijaR fahido:**

'me, StainwarijaR I have drawn (runes).'

The complete inscription can therefore mean:

'Me Hararar, I have erected this stone. SwabaharijaR (rests here) with deep injuries. Me, StainwarijaR I have drawn (runes).'

The meanings of the names found on this inscription are as follows:

**hraRaR** = 'quiet', 'agile' (from Antonsen); **swabahaRjaR** = swaba-harijaR = 'swabian-group'; **StainwarijaR** = Stain-warijaR = 'stone - protector'

77. Saude Stone (around 500)

**wa(n)daradas**

A name, Wandaras, which means 'the one who has struggled against difficulties'.

Antonsen gives the inscription in words as:

**ajaradas**

'Wajaradaz's [i.e. woe-counsellor] (monument)'.

78. Schonen (or Skåne) Bracteate-1 (Skåne, Sweden, 500-550)

**lapu laukaR. gakaR alu**

**gakaR** is interpreted as *gauka*, 'the cuckoo bird'.

'evocation Laukaz. cuckoo magic'

79. Schonen Bracteate-5 1 (Skåne, Sweden, 450-550)

**ehwX**

Krause notes, as one possibility, that one could see the rune Ehwaz being called here, which seems clear enough to me.



Antonsen reads :

**ehwu**

'Ehwu [i.e. mare]'. (*ehw-u, fem. nom. sg.*)

80. Schonen Bracteate 4

**eelil**

Krause suggests that the bound runes **eli**  should read as **eh**  meaning 'horse.' The whole thing would then read as **e-eh** where *eh* means 'to the horse', which gives a magical formula based on Ehwaz: 'Ehwaz to the horse'


81. Seeland (or Sjælland) Bracteate 2 (around 500)

**hariuha haitika: farauisa: gibu auja:**

Krause translates:

'Hariuah I am called: the dangerous knowledgeable one: I give chance.'

**hariuha** is a name whose meaning is not clear; **haitika** = I am called; **farauisa** = fara-uisa = travel-wise; **gibu** =

I give; **auja** = chance. The final drawing, , can obviously be interpreted as a 'magical tree' but I believe instead that it must be seen (in the runic context) as a triple Tiwaz linked to itself, in the sense that the 'hat' of Tiwaz is repeated twice again along the length of the 'shaft'. (Antonsen supports this interpretation and calls it a triple t.)

'I am called Hariuha: travel wise: I give chance: Tiwaz (three times)'.

This one is called the Sjaelland bracteate by Moltke who translates farauisa as 'one who is wise about dangers.'

Makaev : 'I am called Harihua, I know danger, I bring happiness'. He further suggest to cut Harihua into hari (warrior) - uha (terror, fright).

82. Selvik Bracteate

**tau**

Interpreted by Krause as tauju, 'I manufacture'.

83. Setre Comb (beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century)

Side 1: **hal maR || mauna:**

'Greetings young girl || of the (between the) young girls'

Side 2: **alu na alu nana:**

'Magic Na, magic Nana'

Moltke notes that archaeology dates this piece in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and he considers it incomprehensible. Personal interpretation: Nana is the name of Baldr's wife. I suppose that this is a 'true' formula of seduction, 'I bewitch Na, I bewitch Nana'.

84. Sivern Bracteate

**r wrilu**

Interpreting the l as a t (Laukaz and Tiwaz certainly look alike), gives:  
**runoR writu** = 'runes I have written'

85. Skodborg Bracteate

**auja alawin, auja alawin, auja alawin, j alawid**

'Chance Alawin, Chance Alawin, Chance Alawin, Happy New Year Alawid!'

The isolated **j** is taken as the rune Jeran meaning 'good year'. In the names, **ala** means 'all', **win** means 'friend', and **wid** means 'large'. Thus, another interpretation is:

'Chance with you, friend in all, (3 times) Let the year be propitious with you in all!'

The alliterations in the original poem are certainly very important and activate the magic of the runes.

86. Skonager Bracteate 3

**niuwila || lpu**

Name meaning 'novice', 'little newcomer'; **lpu** = laþu = 'invocation'.

Moltke gives the same runes without a translation.

87. Skrydstrup Bracteate

**laukaR || alu**

'Laukaz || magic'

Moltke gives the same inscription, without translation.

88. Skaang Stone (around 500)

**harija leugaR**

harija = 'the troop', 'the band'; leugaR = 'joined of their own free will'.  
'Independent troop of men.'

Moltke sees a name in **harija**, Harija, and in **leugaR** a word whose root is 'deceived, lied' as in German *lügen*. Antonsen reads both as a name and he translates them as follows: 'Harija's [warrior] (monument). Leugaz [oath-taker] (erected it).'

89. Stärkind Stone (middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century)

**skipaleubaR**

**skipaleubaR** = skinþa - leubaR = 'fur - the one who likes'. Antonsen: 'the one who loves justice'.

90. Stenstad Stone (middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century)

**igijon halaR**

**halaR** = 'the stone'; **igijon** can be taken as a name: 'Igja', as i(n)gijon = of Ingwi (Ingwi's) = of the lord (name also given to Frey).

'Igjae's stone', or 'the lord's stone', or 'Frey's stone'.

Antonsen insists on the feminine ending of **igijon**. He translates: 'Ing's daughter' which leads me to believe that the inscription means actually 'Freyja's stone', as explained in my presentation of rune Ingwaz.

91. Stenstofen Stone (middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Sweden)

I 1: **nihua borumR**

'new' (acc.), 'son' (or 'peasant')

I 2: **nihua gestumR**

'new' (acc.), 'guest' (acc.)

I 3: **haþuwolafR gaf j**

‘combat - wolf’ (a name), gave Jeran’

I 4: **hariwolafR (m)aXXu s nu h(l)e**

‘herd-wolf (a name), (m)aXXu s = ?; nu = ‘now’; hle = ‘treasure’

I 5: **hideR runono felaheka hed // era ginoronoR**

I 6: **heramalasaR arageu weladud sa þat // bariutiþ**

For I1-I4, Krause translates:

‘The new son, the new guest gave a good year to Half, Herjolf now... a treasure.’

Makaev: ‘To the nine sons of (king) Uha, to the nine guests of Hua, HatuwolafR ... (unclear).’

For I5-I6, one notices the quasi - identity with the south side inscription of the Bjöketorp stone:

B1: **haidRruno ronu**

B2: **falahak haidera g**

B3: **inarunaR arageu**

B4: **haeramalausR**

B5: **uti aR weladaude**

B6: **saR þat barutR**

Aside from the slight differences in vocabulary, and by noting that the Bjöketorp stone is slightly younger than the Stentofte stone (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century), it is impossible that the Bjöketorp rune master ignored the Stentofte inscription. Since the two inscriptions are almost identical, it is interesting to note the inversion: Stentofte’s **heramalasaR arageu** becomes **arageu haeramalausR** in Bjöketorp.

If the dating were the opposite, one would say, without hesitating, that the Stentofte rune master wanted to correct the ambiguity of the Bjöketorp rune master by avoiding the possible interpretation **ginoronoR arageu**. Conversely, since the dating forbids this interpretation, I see only one possibility, and it is that the Bjöketorp rune master wanted to introduce this ambiguity.

Moltke translates: ‘To the??? dwellers, to the??? guests Hadulv gave ‘year’ (a fruitful year, prosperity). Haerulv??? - I master of the runes (?) bury here potent runes. With no cessation of sorcery, a malevolent guile’s death for the man who breaks it (the memorial)!’

He also comments on the word *argr*, translating it by ‘to go soft, perverse’. Contrary to my own interpretation, that practicing magic became synonymous with passive homosexuality, Moltke supposes that being called *argr* means to practice magic. It is hard to understand then, why such a malediction would be involved in these inscriptions.

Makaev: ‘I bid the mighty runes here. May he be in power of anxiety and dissipation, who breaks this.’

The poetic Edda uses the word ‘ginn’ to describe a divine feature. **ginoronoR** could thus be better translated by ‘the powerful and divine runes’.

92. Strand Fibula (around 700)

**siklís nahli**

**sikli** = ‘fibula’, ‘necklace’; **na-hli** = ‘death-protection’

‘This fibula is a protection against death.’

93. Strarup Neckring (around 400)

**leþro**

‘the (she-)leathery one’

Moltke thinks that it is the name of the woman who owned the neckring.

94. Strom Whetstone (around 600)

A: **wate hali hino horna:**

‘dampen the stone this horn’

B: **haha skapi, haþu ligi**

‘At-the-second-reaping-of-the-grass, I-want-to-cause-pain, the-one-who-is-beaten I-want-to-lay-down.’

A: ‘This horn moistens the stone.’

B: ‘I cause pain to the freshly cut grass, I want to lay down the ones that have been beaten.’

In a rare style, this inscription describes the reaper’s work.

Antonsen provides a rather poetical version: ‘Wet this stone, horn! Scathe, scythe! Lie, that which is mown down!’

Makaev refuses to see anything understandable here.



95. Sunde Stone (around 500)

**widugastiR**

**widu** = 'of the forest'; **gastiR** = 'guest'

96. Svarteborg Medallion (middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century)

**ssigaduR**

Krause prudently lets the initial double 's' fall, and translates the rest as 'Siegfried'.

**s** = Sowelo, sun or victory, **sigaduR** = **sigi-haduR** = victory - combat. This makes **ssigaduR** a very early 'Sieg heil', hated fifteen centuries after, an interpretation that Krause could not allow without pleasing the Nazis a bit too much. I believe that one can now interpret it without fear:

'Sun, victory in the combat!'

Antonsen refuses to read the two **s** at the beginning as runes, he claims they are simple 'embellishment'. He translates then **igaduR** as a name: Ingaduz.

97. Sonder Rind Bracteate

**uiniR ik**

'Friend me' interpreted as: 'me, friend'.

Antonsen reads: **uigiRik** which gives: 'Wigiz' [i.e., Fighter]

98. Tanem Stone (around 500)

**mairliṅu**

Mariliṅu, a feminine name (of a rune master?), a derivative of 'mari-' meaning 'famous'.

Antonsen: Marilingu [i.e., female descendant of Marila]

99. Thorsberg Chape [*a metal piece from the sheath of a sword*] (around 200)

A: **owlṗuṗewaR:**

**o** = Othala = 'property inherited'; **wlṗu** = wulṗu = 'of the God Ullr'; **ṗewaR** = 'servant'

B: **ni wajemariR:**

**ni** = negative form; **wajemariR** = waje - mariR = 'evil-doer - proclaimed-one'

'Property inherited. WulṗuṗewaR (The servant of Ullr) without a bad reputation.'

One could compare this with the name of the first God found on the Ribe cranium: **ulfuR**, which conveys the meaning of wolf (see, for instance, with Anglo-Saxon *ulf* = *wulf* = wolf, Old Norse *ulfr* = wolf), but **ulṗuR**, though very similar, belongs to the root *wulṗu-* (shining) which gave the Gothic *wulṗus* = 'splendour' and the Old Norse name, *Ullr*.

Called the Torsbjerg Sword-chape by Moltke who suggests that, in **owlṗuṗewaR**, the **o** is read as a **w**, and the **w** as a **u**. Moltke also says that **Wulṗu** = a God named 'Ullr'. For the second line, Moltke says that two translations are possible. One is as Krause gives. The second one considers **ni waje** as 'do not spare', and then the name of the sword would be **MariR** ('do not spare, Marir').

Antonsen translates as Krause: 'Wolṗuṗewaz [i.e., servant of Ullr] of immaculate repute'

100. Thorsberg Shield-boss (around 200)

**aisgRh**

**ais(i)g(a)R** = 'the one who struggles inside himself'; **h** = 'Hagala'

Krause does not give an interpretation. Hagala is the rune that knocks, that breaks. The shield-boss is there to avoid this and it contains in itself this force that struggles against Hagala. One can also compare it with the Kragehul lance where Hagala is described as breaking helmets.

I suggest this translation:

'(This shield) struggles inside itself (against) Hagala'.

Moltke notices that the inscription is on the inside of the boss, making it invisible when the boss was in place. Moltke sees it as a magical formula; he says, 'a pure swindle, aimed at hood-winking credulous customers.' He also wonders why the rune-master did not use a classical **alu** or **laukaR**.

It seems the rune-master invented a formula specific to this shield-boss which is hard to understand nowadays, as it should be.

Antonsen, like Krause, does not attempt to insult the rune-master, he sees in **aisgR** the root of many words, e.g., Old English *ascian*, meaning ‘to ask’ with the special undertone of challenging. He translates: ‘Challenger of the hail’. Comparing with the Kragehul lance, this makes perfect sense for a shield-boss. The swindling seen by Moltke might be real for a pure rationalist, who is now blinded by his/her own rationality from understanding a world drenched in magic.

101. Tjurkö Bracteate

**wurte runoR an walhakurne. heldaR kunimu(n)diu**

**wurte** = ‘it activated’; **runoR** = ‘runes’; **an** = ‘on’; **walhakurne** = walha-kurne = ‘foreigner-seed’ = ‘gold’; **heldaR** = ‘the fighter’; **kunimu(n)diu** = kunja-mundiu = ‘sex (or ‘family’, or ‘gender’)-protector’ (dative singular). Krause gives:

‘HeldaR of Kuminundi has activated the runes on gold.’

By interpreting the names (and by choosing ‘warrior’ for hledaR):

‘The fighter, the protector of the family, has activated the runes on gold’

Moltke and Antonsen give an equivalent translation to Krause’s. Antonsen’s more poetic version might be of interest to the reader: ‘The runes on the foreign-grain [i.e., gold] wrought Heldaz [i.e., battler] for Kunimunduz [i.e., protector of kin]’

Let us recall the Eddic poem called Sigdrifumal (Sigdrifa’s Lay), where Sigdrifa (named Brunehilde in the German version of poem) teaches nine runic songs to Sigurdr, the hero who just freed her from Odin’s spell. She then explains where to engrave these songs: ‘... on glass and gold, on the guardian signs ...’.

102. Tomstad Stone (around 500)

**/// an : waruR**

**an** is the end of a partially deleted name; **waruR** is ‘a protection made of stones’, a stone mound protecting a grave.

Antonsen: ‘NNA’s enclosure [i.e., monument of more than one stone]’

103. Trollhättan Bracteate

**tawo lapodu**

‘I prepare the invocation.’

Antonsen: ‘(I) prepare the invitation’

104. Tu Fibula (end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century)

**þiri. d[ap]XX ///**

‘this one. For the action (?)’

105. Tune Stone (Norway around the year 400)

Side A-1: **ek wiwaR after. woduri**

Side A-2: **de wita (n) da-halaiban: worahto: r ///**

Side B-1: **///R woduride: staina**

Side B-2: **prijoR dohtriR dalidun**

Side B-3: **arbij(a) arjosteR arbijano**

**ek** = ‘me’; **wiwaR** = a name meaning ‘the darting-one’; **after** = ‘after’; **woduride** is the dative of **woduridaR** = ‘rider of the fury’; **wita(n)da** = ‘the one who keeps watch’; **halaiban** = ‘the bread’; **worahto** = ‘I have activated’ (made active); for **///R**, Krause suggests either **meR**, or **priR**, and I prefer personally **priR** = ‘three’, which fits better with the rhythm of the poem (alliterations and systematic repetitions); **staina** = ‘the stone’ (accusative); **prijoR** = ‘three’; **dohtriR** = ‘sisters’ (Makaev: the daughters); **dalidun** = ‘have prepared’, ‘have divided’; **arbij (a)** = ‘inheritance’ (singular accusative); **arjosteR** = ‘the most elegant’; **arbijano** = ‘inheritance’ (genitive plural) (Makaev: heir);

Krause translates it as follows:

Side A: ‘Me Wiw after Wodurid / to (my) Brotwart, I have activated the runes’

Side B: ‘... to Wodurid the stone / three sisters have prepared / the inheritance (but) the most elegant of inheritances.’

Moltke quotes this inscription only in passing, and says that it talks about an inheritance.

Antonsen's translation is very similar to Krause's.

Makaev: 'For Woduridaz three daughters prepared the stone, the funeral feast of heirs?'

Keeping the meanings of the names, and making the hypothesis that they have prepared the stone, and the inheritance (in other words the destiny), I prefer the interpretation:

Side A: 'Me, servant after the rider of the poetical fury, for the guardian of the bread I have made the runes active.'

Side B: 'Three, to the rider of the trance, the stone / the three sisters they have prepared / what he had in inheritance, the most elegant of destinies.'

106. Tveito Stone (7<sup>th</sup> century)

**taitR**

'happy', or 'tender', or 'terrible' (Antonsen: 'happy, charming'). The stone was found on a grave.

107. Torvika Stone A (beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century)

**la(n)dawarijaR ///**

**landa** = 'free space, country'; **dawarijaR** = 'the one who protects'.  
'the protector of the country'

108. Torvika Stone B (end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century)

**Xepro dwen gk**

**Xepro** = hepro = 'from here'; **dwen** = 'distance-yourself'; **gk** = 'Gebo' and 'Kaunan'.

Krause says that the meaning of this inscription is not very clear. I interpret it as:

'Go from here, (you who) gives boils (or fever).'

109. Utgard stone Amulet (middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century)

**ea.**

'Ehwaz' and 'Ansuz', as in the Lekkende Bracteate (# 55).

110. Vadstena Bracteate

**luwa-tuwa. fuparkgw: hniþr: þemlþod:**

It ends therefore by a Futhark (where we can see that Othala precedes Dagaz) and where the three *aetts* are very well marked.

**luwa-tuwa** is clearly a magical formula, where **luwa** means 'on earth' and **tuwa** 'to the sky'. (Antonsen does not interpret **luwa-tuwa**)

'On earth and to the sky, the Futhark', or if read as **tuwatuwa** 'Twice to the sky, the Futhark.'

111. Valsfjord Cliff inscription (around 400)

**ek hagustaldaR þewaR godagas**

'Me, bachelor (= young warrior) servant (or man of the retinue) good day (genitive, a name).'

Krause gives: 'Me, the warrior, belonging to the retinue of GodagaR.'

Moltke prefers to see **hagustaldaR** as a name. Antonsen translates: 'I, Hagustaldaz [i.e., young warrior], servant of Godadaz [i.e., goody, the good one]'

112. Vatn stone (around 700)

Side A: **rhoaltR:**

a name taken from hroþu-waldaR that could mean 'governor of the celebrity'.

Side B: **faiXX ///**

**fai** =? faihido = 'I wrote'

113. Veblungsnes Cliff inscription (around 500)

**ek irilaR wiwila**

'Me the master of runes Wiwila.' Wiwala also means 'small servant'.

Moltke reads it as wiwilan and translates: 'I *eril* of Wiwila'.

114. Vetteland Stone (middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century)

C 1: /// **flagda-faikinaR ist:**

‘Female troll threatening is’

C 2: /// **magoR minas staina:**

‘son’ (gen. sing.), ‘mine’ (gen. sing.), ‘the stone’ (acc. sing.)

C 3: /// **daR faihido**

a partially deleted name, then **faihido** = ‘I have written’

Krause’s translation:

‘(this place?) is threatened by a monster - (Me, NN I raised) my son’s gravestone - (Me, NN) I have drawn (runes).’

Instead of ‘monster’, I think that it is much better to keep the expression ‘female troll’ that is found in the sagas and in the poem Beowulf.

Antonsen gives the Old Icelandic *flagð* meaning ‘troll-woman’. He refers also to Old Icelandic *flaga* : ‘attack’, Old High German *fluohhan* : ‘to curse’, and Old English *flocan* : ‘to strike’. For **faikinaR** he refers to Old High German *feihhan*, Old Saxon *fehn*, Old English *facen*, all three meaning: ‘deceitful’, and to Old Icelandic *feikn* : ‘disaster’.

Following these linguistic relationships, I prefer to translate **flagdafaikinaRist** by: ‘... is a deceitful female-troll’.

115. Vimose Woodplane (end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century)

Side A: **talijo gisai oj: wiliR XXla oXXX**

Side B: **tkbis: hleuno: anX: regu**

This inscription poses several problems. It dates from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and the **k** of **tkbis** is written as the **k** of the new Futhark. Many words are incomprehensible.

The only words that Krause is able to understand are: **talijo** = ‘plane’; **wiliR** = ‘you want’; **hleuno** = ‘means of protection’. It is not enough to give a global meaning to the inscription.

Moltke dates it to the year 200, and only understands the word, **talijo** = ‘plane’.

Antonsen relates **talijo** to Old High German *zellen*, Old English *tellan*, Old Icelandic *telja*, all three meaning: ‘to tell’ (as in ‘telling a tale’). **wiliR** relates to Old High German *wili*, Old English *wilt*, Old Icelandic *vill*, all three meaning: ‘will’. Interestingly, he sees in **hleuno** the Proto-Germanic root *\*hleun-non* meaning ‘fame’ or ‘protection’, feminine nominative singular. That he does not see here the name of a woman is a mystery for me since runologists precisely tend to jump on the interpretation ‘a name’. The other words of the inscription, he does not succeed interpreting. Taking into account Antonsen’s translation, I suggest the following: ‘Telling a tale ... you wish ... Hleuno [meaning: she-fame, or protectress]’

116. Vimose Comb (middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century)

**harja**

A name that is close to *harija* = ‘the troop’, ‘the group’, ‘the army’

Moltke simply says that Harja is certainly the name of the owner of the comb.

117. Vimose Chape (middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century)

Side A: **mariha || iala**

Side B: **makija**

Mariha has a questionable meaning, Krause interprets it as **mari** (a name = ‘the famous’) ; **ha** =? hai =? aih = ‘owned’; **iala** =? the name of the sword or an owner of the sword, a masculine name, Alli or Alla; **makija** = ‘the sword’. Either:

‘Mari (or The famous) has possessed Alli, (his) sword.’ Or:

‘Alli (sends) to Mari a sword.’

Moltke says that the archaeology dates it around the year 250-300, and that the only thing that is certain is that the inscription mentions a sword and ‘famous.’

In place of **mariha**, Antonsen sees **marida**, and he cuts the inscription differently as follows: **maridai ala**, where **maridai** means ‘has decorated’ and **ala** the same name as in Krause. This gives: ‘Alla has decorated the sword’.

118. Vimose Buckle (around 200)

Side 1: **aadagasu =? Ansuz-a(n)dag-a(n)su**

Side 2: **laasauwija =? la-a(n)sau-wija**

**a** = rune Ansuz; **adag** =? andag = a name, meaning: ‘meditative, pious’; **ansula** = ‘the small Aesir’; **ansau** = ‘Aesir’ (dative); **wija** = wiju = ‘I hallow’.

Krause’s translation: ‘Aesir! Andag (the pious) I devote, the small Aesir, to the Aesir’

It could also be said as in a galdr: ‘Ansuz! pious, (me) Small - Aesir, hallow to the Aesir’

Moltke does not give an interpretation for these runes, other than to say he suspects that whoever wrote them did not know what he was doing. I must confess that I find this way of scorning what is not understood slightly irritating. Antonsen provides a very clear interpretation. He reads **aadagast** in place of **aadagasu**, which leads to the words: **aada** = eminent, extreme; **gast** = guest; **laas** = lack (of); **wija** = luck, thus translating: ‘Andogast [i.e., eminent guest] lack-luck’ which makes perfect sense if, for instance, the buckle was a gift to an ‘eminent guest’ that was to be murdered later, not an impossible situation if referred to Snorri’s Heimskringla (‘The Lives of the Norse Kings’).

119. Vimose Sheathplate (end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century)

**awgns**

A name meaning ‘grandfather’

Moltke feels that the inscription is not runic at all.

Antonsen gives:

**awings**

‘Awings [i.e. descendent of Awa]’.

120. Vanga Stone (around 500)

**haukoþuR**

A name meaning ‘the one who acts like a vulture’.

Antonsen: ‘Haukoþuz [i.e. croucher, hunchback]’.

121. Vaerlose Fibula (around 200)

**alugod**

A name, meaning ‘good magic’ .

Moltke specifies that this fibule comes from a woman’s grave. He supposes that space was limited (the inscription stops at a swastika that seems to be earlier than the runes), and so the complete inscription should have been **alugodo**, a woman’s name, owner of the fibule.

122. Väsby Bracteate & Äskatrop Bracteate (around 500-550)

**uuigaR eerilaR f[a]hidu uuilad**

**uuigaR** = wigaR = ‘the warrior’ (here, a name); **eerilaR** = ek erilaR = ‘me, the master of runes’; **f [a]hidu** = fahido = ‘I wrote’; **uuilad** = wila(l)d = ‘work of art’.

‘The warrior (or a name), master of runes, I wrote the work of art.’

Moltke gives a similar meaning, but with runes less clearly read, and in a different order:

**f(a)hid(e)i(ui)la(i)di(ui)igaeerilaR**

Antonsen gives the following runes, citing the Äskatrop bracteate at the same time:

**f\*hi\*\*uilaid\*\*igazeerilaz** (Vasby)

**f\*hid\*\*\*\*laid\*\*igazeerilaz** (Askatrop)

‘Painted [wrote] . . . igaz I, the *erilaz*’.

123. Ars Bracteate 2 (450-550)

**laukaR**

Laukaz rune.

Moltke gives these runes without comment.

124. Arstad Stone (middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century)

Side 1: **hiwigaR** : ‘the one from this homeland’,

Side 2: **sar alu** : ‘here magic’

Side 3: **uḡwinaR** : ‘young friend’ (a name)

Krause translates: ‘Hiwig here magic - Ungwins (is buried here)’

Antonsen gives: ‘Hiwigaz [i.e. one with strong familial ties]. (For?) Saralu [i.e. protectress]. I, for my friend [i.e. spouse] . . .’.

He sees the following runes :

**hiwigaz**

**saralu** *sara-a-l-u*, fem. nom. (dat?) sg., meaning ‘protectress’

**ekwinai** . . . *ek*, 1<sup>st</sup> sg. nom. pers. Pronoun ‘I’, *winai*, fem. dat. sg. ‘wife’

125. Asum Bracteate

**ehe. ik akaR fahi**

**ehe** = dative singular of eh(w)aR, ‘the horse’; **akaR** = a name meaning ‘the one who rides’; **fahi** = ‘I write’  
‘To the horse, me Rider I write.’

Antonsen : ‘Mare. I, Akaz [i.e. leader], the suitable . . .’. *ehu*, fem. nom. sg., ‘mare’ (female horse)

126. Olst Bracteate

**hag alu**

**hag** =? *hagala*: ‘Hagala magic’

Antonsen gives: **hagalu** , ‘Hailstones’. *hagal-u*, neut. nom. pl., ‘hailstones’

127. Ovre Stabu Lance (end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century)

**raunijaR**

‘The one who puts (someone) to the test.’

Moltke dates the inscription to the second half of the second century.

*Here stops Krause's numbering, what follows is my numbering: I selected inscriptions with some link with ancient Nordic religion, or the use of magic.*

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