

Elliptical Epigraphy –  
What text types and formulas can tell us about the purpose of Gallo-Latin  
and Elder Futhark inscriptions.

Dissertation zur Erlangung der Würde einer Doktorin der Philosophie  
vorgelegt der Philosophisch-Historischen Fakultät der Universität Basel

von  
Juliana Roost  
aus  
Schlatt, Thurgau

Basel 2021

Originaldokument gespeichert auf dem Dokumentenserver der Universität Basel  
[edoc.unibas.ch](http://edoc.unibas.ch)

Genehmigt von der Philosophisch-Historischen Fakultät der Universität Basel, auf Antrag von Prof. Dr. Rudolf Wachter und Prof. Dr. Karin Stüber.

Basel, den 18. März 2019

Der Dekan Prof. Dr. Ralph Ubl

# Contents

<b>I</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>The Source Material and its Context</b>	<b>5</b>
2.1	Corpus of Inscriptions . . . . .	5
2.1.1	Epigraphical conventions and editorial principles . . . . .	7
2.2	Runic Inscriptions and their Context . . . . .	8
2.2.1	The Origin of the Runes . . . . .	8
2.2.2	Inscribed Objects . . . . .	10
2.2.3	Gender . . . . .	12
2.2.4	South Germanic Runic Inscriptions . . . . .	14
2.3	Gaulish Inscriptions and their Context . . . . .	15
2.3.1	Early Celtic Writing . . . . .	15
2.3.2	Romanisation . . . . .	16
2.3.3	Contact with Latin Epigraphy . . . . .	16
2.3.4	Inscribed Objects . . . . .	18

<b>3</b>	<b>Theoretical Background</b>	<b>20</b>
3.1	Epigraphy . . . . .	20
3.2	Literacy . . . . .	21
3.3	Epigraphic Habit . . . . .	22
3.4	Ethnicity and Identity . . . . .	23
3.5	Contact Linguistics . . . . .	24
<b>4</b>	<b>Classifications</b>	<b>25</b>
4.1	The Language of Epigraphy . . . . .	25
4.2	Types of Classification . . . . .	26
<b>II</b>	<b>Analysis</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Naming Inscriptions</b>	<b>31</b>
5.1	The Runic Naming Tradition . . . . .	32
5.1.1	Single personal names . . . . .	34
5.1.2	Extended naming formulas . . . . .	36
5.1.3	Runic Maker's signatures . . . . .	46
5.1.4	Multiple personal names . . . . .	52
5.1.5	Object names . . . . .	54
5.2	Gaulish Naming Inscriptions . . . . .	61
5.2.1	Single personal names . . . . .	61
5.2.2	Multiple names . . . . .	61
5.2.3	Other components . . . . .	63
5.2.4	A Gaulish memorial tradition? . . . . .	64
5.2.5	Named objects in Gaulish inscriptions . . . . .	65

<b>6</b>	<b>Ritual Inscriptions</b>	<b>66</b>
6.1	References to Legal Practices . . . . .	68
6.1.1	Heirs, inheritance and acquittal in Runic inscriptions . . . . .	68
6.1.2	Rites of passage in Gaulish inscriptions . . . . .	68
6.2	Cult Inscriptions . . . . .	72
6.2.1	Gaulish dedications . . . . .	72
6.2.2	Runic dedications . . . . .	77
6.2.3	Christian Runic inscriptions? . . . . .	78
6.2.4	Runestone protection formulas . . . . .	79
6.2.5	Gaulish curse tablets . . . . .	83
6.3	Runic charm words . . . . .	87
6.3.1	alu . . . . .	88
6.3.2	laukar . . . . .	92
6.3.3	laþu . . . . .	93
6.3.4	ehwe . . . . .	93
6.3.5	ota . . . . .	94
6.3.6	Other potential charm words . . . . .	95
6.4	Other Ritual Inscriptions . . . . .	96
<b>7</b>	<b>Pragmatic Inscriptions</b>	<b>99</b>
7.1	Makers . . . . .	100
7.1.1	Gaulish makers signatures . . . . .	100
7.2	Gaulish Business Inscriptions . . . . .	102
7.2.1	Graufesenque accounts . . . . .	102
7.2.2	Advertisements . . . . .	104

7.2.3	Wine epithets . . . . .	104
7.2.4	Aricani . . . . .	105
7.3	Personal Dedications . . . . .	106
7.3.1	Runic personal dedications . . . . .	106
7.3.2	Gaulish non-monumental personal dedications and positive wishes . . . . .	110
7.4	A Personal Message? . . . . .	113
<b>8</b>	<b>Summary and Conclusions</b>	<b>114</b>
<b>III</b>	<b>Appendix</b>	<b>118</b>
<b>9</b>	<b>Corpus</b>	<b>119</b>
9.1	Lexical Inscriptions . . . . .	119
9.1.1	Runic Inscriptions . . . . .	120
9.1.2	Gaulish Inscriptions . . . . .	201
9.2	Non-lexical inscriptions . . . . .	243
9.2.1	Runic Inscriptions . . . . .	243
9.2.2	Gaulish Inscriptions . . . . .	248
<b>IV</b>	<b>Works Cited</b>	<b>250</b>
<b>10</b>	<b>Works Cited</b>	<b>251</b>
<b>Index</b>		<b>265</b>

## Part I

# Introduction

## Introduction

The early Germanic language attested through the Elder Futhark and the Gaulish of the Gallo-Roman period, written in Latin script, are *Trümmersprachen* – a German term which literally translates to ‘debris languages’. It means they are only attested fragmentarily through a very small corpus and are thus not well understood, neither in terms of language nor content nor cultural context. The corpus consists of only a few hundred inscriptions and can be supplemented with names and terms attested through Latin and Greek sources. Both of these epigraphic cultures are found at the geographical margins of Latin literacy and there is evidence of extensive – in the case of Gaulish – or limited – in the case of Runic – contact with speakers and writers of Latin.

Even though the runes of the Elder Futhark were in use for several centuries, only a few inscriptions survive. This suggests a large proportion of lost inscriptions. After all, a writing culture with such low output can essentially be considered impossible, as Graf (2011: 213) demonstrates<sup>1</sup>: if a conservative estimate of a dozen rune writers would have produced an inscription a month, they would have produced over 79’000 inscriptions within the 550 year timespan of the older Runic inscriptions. What we actually have is a mere 370, approximately, so 0.7 inscriptions per year. Graf (2011: 214) suggests that the rate of loss in a primarily epigraphic culture, in which the durability of writing is valued over the communicational value of a given inscription, is higher than in a culture that uses pragmatic writing<sup>2</sup> for everyday purposes. According to Steuer (2015: 253) the archaeological record makes it clear how rare Runic inscriptions really are, depending on the type of item, one in a hundred or even just one in a thousand is inscribed. He thus concludes that Runic writers existed in low numbers among the elite, or the elite encountered them only in rare cases, or they did not have the urge to inscribe items. While we cannot assume that the number of inscriptions found is anywhere close the number of inscriptions made for the reasons outlined by Graf (2011) above, it is still clear

<sup>1</sup>The first person to do this calculation was Derolez 1981: 19 f.; Graf provides updated numbers.

<sup>2</sup>Parkes (1991: 275) defines pragmatic literacy as “the literacy of one who has to read or write in the course of transacting any kind of business, in opposition to professional literacy of scholars and recreational literacy”. While “business” could be taken to refer exclusively to trade, I use the term pragmatic literacy for any kind of literacy that is centred on conveying information for practical purposes.



that the number of Runic inscriptions made was low compared to the number of Latin inscriptions. The reason for this is that runes were used differently to Latin, even if they may have been developed to imitate Latin script originally.

Williams (2004: 270) suggests that “by studying what Runic writing *was not*, we may get hints of what it *was*” and highlights the lack of inscriptions relating to “cult, administration, literature, law, and so on”. Williams (1997: 187) postulates that Runic writing is essentially an imitation of Latin writing by a society that is nevertheless functionally illiterate: “The Germanic tribes could imitate the act of writing, and they *could have* employed the runes for some of the practical purposes filled by the Roman letters but they did not, since Germanic culture was oral, not literate for hundreds of years after the invention of the runes, in Scandinavia for more than a millennium”. This oral culture presents a stark contrast to contemporary Latin literacy, which Runic literacy aimed to imitate, “with limited success” (Odensted 1990: 173). Zimmermann (2010) argues that Runic usage is distinct and cannot be considered an imitation of Roman literacy in terms of content, as the functions and characteristics are different.

A Runic pragmatic literacy is clearly attested in medieval Norway where large numbers of wooden messages were found in moist ground (Spurkland 2005: 173ff.), but there is no indication for anything comparable in the early period. The finds from Norway draw attention to a further problem: certain materials survive only in very specific conditions, otherwise no trace would have remained of this specific use of Runic script. Only few wooden objects with Elder Futhark inscriptions remain and they give a hint at what may have been. In fact, the angular shape of many runes indicate they may have been developed for writing on wood (Odensted 1990: 10). Additionally, the first discovery of Norwegian rune sticks happened after a devastating fire in Bergen and elsewhere, the ground may hide further inscriptions, waiting to be discovered.

Moltke (1985: 69) presumes that such a pragmatic Runic writing culture existed even in the Roman Iron Age and that Runic makers’ inscriptions are examples of it, but we have yet to find an example of the bills and love letters Moltke imagines. Odensted (1990: 172), on the other hand, thinks that the practical literacy of medieval Norway, which includes bills and love letters, is a secondary use of the Runic script, rather than its primary one, and most likely influenced by Latin literacy introduced by Christianity. Page (1999: 114) suggests that in Anglo-Saxon England runes were used for “monumental inscriptions, practical correspondence and general use”, but adds that “[f]or how long runes were a practical and everyday script is a matter for conjecture only”. Here as well it could be argued that the influence of Christian Latin literacy induced the use of runes for more practical purposes. For the Elder Futhark, what little that has been discovered indicates a primarily epigraphic culture where writing was used only sparingly and that lacks many uses commonly expected from writing cultures (Graf 2011: 214; 228). Graf (2011: 228) describes Runic inscriptions as the expression of a writing culture which lacks specific components, which today would be considered self-evident, such as clear text type markers, presupposition triggers, addressee reference and text constituents. Instead we find marked authorship, strong self-reference, a surplus of technical verbs and tendencies towards brevity, consolidation, ellipse and abbreviation (*ibid.*).

The low number of inscriptions is less of a mystery in the case of Gaulish and has not attracted much attention from scholars. As Gallo-Latin epigraphy does not rely on its own alphabet, the question of transmission is less of an issue. We do not necessarily have to assume an unbroken tradition between all writers of Gaulish through the medium of Latin script, as they may well have learned to use Latin script in an entirely Latin context and chosen to write in their native Gaulish language independently from other writers of Gaulish. Nonetheless, we do find centres of Gaulish writing and a peak of Gallo-Latin writing in the first century AD, allowing us to look at Gaulish writing as a cultural phenomenon rather than just a few isolated cases. As Gaulish inscriptions have been predominantly studied as a linguistic source for early Celtic, without much consideration of the socio-historical context, little has been said about the use of Gallo-Latin epigraphy. Just as Elder Futhark writing, it is limited in its use compared to its bigger, Roman brother. It has been suggested, the choice of Gaulish could be a question of identity, a means to broadcast a Gaulish rather than Roman identity.

It is evident that the sources are limited, especially when we consider that we cannot fully read and interpret those few inscriptions which have survived in some form until the present day. But Page (2006: 280) suggests the following approach to the material:

Should we then accept our vulnerability and refuse to come to any conclusions at all? Here my early training as an engineer comes into play. A primary rule of engineering is that one should not demand perfection. “Do the best you can with the materials at hand.” So I do. And to this I add a second rule of engineering. “Don’t be surprised if it doesn’t work.”

With this advice in mind, I will attempt to address questions concerning the use and purpose of writing in these *Trümmersprachen* epigraphic cultures that emerge at the periphery of Latin epigraphy. I intend to examine the types of inscriptions that can be found in these epigraphic cultures, the purpose they serve and the ways in which this purpose is expressed and achieved. The field of Runic studies has occasionally been prone to an exceptionalist view of their material (Mees 2016: 9), but looking at the Runic material as an example of a peripheral writing culture rather than a unique phenomenon might help understand its purpose. A comparative or contrastive approach enables me to observe the difference in use between Gaulish and Runic inscriptions, which is presumably dependent on the difference in socio-cultural and socio-historical context. It also allows for an attempt to identify unique features and traditions within the writing cultures.

A comparison is possible through a typological approach. The corpus will be examined for formulaic components and features, which form the basis of a division of the corpus into different types of text. Within these classifications, it is possible to compare the subtypes that occur and the textual elements that are used to express the text contents both within a cultural group and between them. The gained insights may make it possible to compensate for the lack of adequate archaeological context available for many of the inscriptions, including the lack of accurate dates for many of them.

## The Source Material and its Context

### 2.1 Corpus of Inscriptions

The subject of this study is the early Germanic inscriptions written in the the Elder Futhark, the oldest form of the Runic alphabet, and the Gaulish inscriptions in Latin script, usually referred to as Gallo-Latin inscriptions. The Gallo-Latin inscriptions are the record of Gaulish written in Roman Gaul until the death of the language. The term Gallo-Latin is slightly misleading, as it would appear to imply a Gaulish form of Latin. However, the use of this term for the Gaulish written in Roman Gaul has been firmly established. As discussed in the introduction, both of these languages qualify as *Trümmersprachen*, which causes certain difficulties in the treatment of their grammar and the interpretation of the inscriptions. Covering the language and grammar of both the early Runic and Gaulish corpus would exceed the scope of this thesis. Readers unfamiliar with Gaulish may find an overview of the Grammar in Lambert (1995) and additional remarks on the epigraphy in the appendices to Lejeune (1988). Readers unfamiliar with Runic may want to consult Antonsen (1975), Nedoma (2006a) and, especially for dialect geographical questions, Nielsen (2000).

The Gaulish inscriptions are taken from the *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises* (RIG) where the Gallo-Latin inscriptions on stone can be found in Vol. II, Fasc. 1 (Lejeune 1988) and the more numerous Gallo-Latin inscriptions on *instrumentum*<sup>1</sup> can be found in Vol. II, Fasc. 2 (Lambert 2002). The inscriptions are identified by a number, whereby L-1–16 are in Fasc. 1 and L-17–139 are in Fasc. 2. Inscriptions that cannot be identified as Gaulish with certainty, for example because difficulties with the reading or interpretation concern precisely the elements which may be Gaulish, are included in the RIG, but marked with an asterisk.

The RIG is, however, not a complete record of Gaulish inscriptions, but a curated one aimed at highlighting interesting inscriptions. It does not include, for example, inscriptions consisting of only a name, which occur especially frequently on fibulas (RIG-II/2: 351). This is understandable, as

<sup>1</sup>A definition of this term can be found in section 3.1.

identifying them as Gaulish inscriptions is difficult and the definition of what constitutes a Gaulish name inscription changes depending on the research question asked. A scholar purely interested in etymology may consider any Gaulish onomastic material of interest, even if it appears in a Latin context. An inflectional ending may indicate whether the language of the inscription was Latin or Gaulish, but the often attested code-switching even in the shortest inscriptions (RIG-II/2: 33) means this is no clear-cut indicator either. Unfortunately, this means a gap in the record for this study.

The Runic inscriptions of the Elder Futhark have not been comprehensively edited since Krause and Jankuhn's *Die Runeninschriften im älteren Futhark* from 1966. While it still frequently cited, it is inevitably outdated in many respects: for example Krause (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: IV) lists 222 inscriptions, whereas Düwel (2008: 111) counts 370. Additionally, advances in both archaeology and historical linguistics mean that the treatment of the objects and the inscriptions are no longer adequate. Other works of comparable scope are Antonsen's *Concise Grammar of Runic Inscriptions* (1975), which due to its conciseness does not include much argumentation for its readings and interpretations, but is significantly more linguistically minded in its approach than Krause. Some of the discussions missing from Antonsen's 1975 work can be found in his 2002 work *Runes and Germanic Linguistics*. A more recent work is Looijenga's *Texts and Contexts of the Oldest Runic Inscriptions*, which gathers "nearly all older futhark inscriptions" (Looijenga 2003: 1) but offers readings and interpretations which are by Looijenga's own admittance "many cases [...] tentative and more or less speculative" (ibid.). The most recent and most complete record of Runic inscriptions is the online database *Runenprojekt Kiel*. Its contents were last updated 2012, but the database is still maintained. Its aim was to present all (by April 2012) known inscriptions with their interpretations and an extensive bibliography. The database does not offer a new assessment of any of the inscriptions, but instead offers an overview on all previous research for each inscription. The Runenprojekt Kiel serves as the basis for the corpus of Runic inscriptions used in this study. Individual inscriptions that were not included in the Runenprojekt Kiel were included if I came across them, but not specifically sought out. The runic inscriptions are presented in transcribed form in this study. While the Futhark can neither be considered standardised nor uniform, the transcription of the individual runic signs is conventional and largely uncontroversial. While a discussion of graphic variation in combination with the questions examined in this study may add interesting nuance, it unfortunately exceeded the scope of this project.

As the study centres on text types and formulas, inscriptions are required to contain comprehensible words or names to be examined. These semantically interpretable inscriptions can be found in the appendix, in section 9.1. The appendix also includes full transcriptions of longer inscriptions in cases where they have been omitted in the main text for the sake of legibility and brevity. An attempt is made to discuss the most important or plausible interpretations of the inscriptions, as far as they are relevant to this study. Unfortunately it would exceed the scope of this work to provide an in-depth discussion of all difficult and controversial inscriptions, but the interested reader may consider the citations provided a starting point for further reading. Inscriptions that cannot be read or interpreted well enough to be ascribed to a type of text are not included in the corpus and thus not described in the appendix; they are however listed in section 9.2 for transparency. This also includes

inscriptions which only consist of a small number of signs (cf. Table 9.2), sequences of signs that cannot be read or interpreted (cf. Table 9.4 for inscriptions on bracteates and 9.2 for inscriptions on other types of items) and Runic inscriptions consisting of signs of the Futhark in order, so called Futhark-inscriptions (cf. Table 9.3). The categories listed above only apply to Germanic inscriptions, which can be easily identified through the use of Runic script. For Gaulish inscriptions to be identified as such, they have to feature identifiable fragments of Gaulish lexical or grammatical components. The inscriptions that can be identified as Gaulish but not interpreted well enough to be used in this study are listed in Table 9.5.

### 2.1.1 Epigraphical conventions and editorial principles

For the reasons outlined above I will not offer new readings or interpretations of inscriptions, but rely on existing works. The Runenprojekt Kiel presents a reading of each inscription and various interpretations by different scholars. My appendix does not contain a separate reading and interpretation, as but it is also due to the fact that the scope of this project made it impossible to see all of the inscriptions in person. This helps keep the appendix concise.

Additionally, due to my focus on the content of the inscriptions, it is more important to present a coherent and convincing interpretation than a detailed transcription, which would nevertheless involve some degree of interpretation. The summary included in the appendix explains one, in some cases several, interpretations with remarks about the remaining uncertainties.

I largely follow the Runenprojekt's editorial principles, regarding the way inscriptions are presented and transcribed. This includes line breaks within the inscription, indicated by |, and word dividers, indicated by '. Additionally, I have decided to follow the Runenprojekt Kiel's use of **ᚱ** and **ᚰ**, except when citing readings and interpretations by runologists who disagree with the practice, e.g. Antonsen, who consistently uses **z** rather than **ᚱ**. The same applies to the use of brackets, where I follow their use, except when explicitly citing a specific publication.

The Runenprojekt uses [square brackets] in readings to indicate gaps in an inscription, usually caused by some kind of physical damage to the item, and in interpretations to indicate insertions by scholars, even in cases where there is no gap. As I am not presenting separate interpretations and readings, insertions that do not correspond to gaps in the inscription will be highlighted in the commentary. (Round brackets) indicate sections of a reading that are open to interpretation or cannot be read or identified clearly. Signs enclosed in round brackets thus indicate an interpretation. [...] are used to indicate an unclear number of missing signs, usually at the end or beginning of an inscription.

Note that **n** before stops is rarely written in runic inscriptions. Its insertion is not usually controversial and thus not highlighted in interpretations. The same applies to geminates, which are never indicated in runic inscriptions and are written out in expanded form without additional commentary. **Z** is used to indicate non-runic symbols and numbers are used to indicate the number

of undecipherable runes. A deviation from the principles applied in the Runenprojekt are the word breaks which I have inserted for clarity and legibility.

In case of the Gaulish inscriptions, I largely follow the transcriptions as presented in the RIG. This means that the editorial principles differ between the Gaulish and the Runic part of the corpus, in keeping with their separate scholarly traditions and conventions. Gaps in inscriptions are indicated by [square brackets], expanded abbreviations by (round brackets), missing or illegible letters are indicated by dots . and damaged or otherwise difficult to read letters are marked with a dot underneath, e.g. **ḁ**. Word dividers are indicated by · and line breaks with |. Inscriptions in capital letters are presented in bold small caps, inscriptions in cursive are presented in bold. Detailed information on the Latin scripts used in Gaulish inscriptions can be found in the RIG's appendix.

## 2.2 Runic Inscriptions and their Context

### 2.2.1 The Origin of the Runes

The Elder Futhark was used from approximately the 2nd century AD up until the 7th, peaking in the 5th century (cf. Table 2.1). The geographical spread (cf. Table 2.2) includes most of central Europe; inscriptions are found in modern day Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Sweden, Switzerland and Ukraine. The significant centres of Runic use are southern Scandinavia in the Early Runic period and southern Germany in the later period of Elder Futhark writing.

**Table 2.1: Chronological spread of inscriptions in the Runenprojekt Kiel**

Century AD	Number of inscriptions
2nd	2
3rd	39
4th	27
5th	164
6th	87
7th	19
8th	1

Runic inscriptions are the primary linguistic source for the period of 200–500 AD. The language of this period is referred to as Early Runic e.g. by Nielsen (2000). This makes Runic inscriptions also the linguistic source for the split between West and North Germanic. Antonsen argues that “from the phonological, morphological, and syntactic points of view” (1975: 26) the language of the early Elder Futhark inscriptions of Scandinavian provenance can be considered the ancestor of both North and West Germanic, but not South Germanic (Antonsen 1999: 324) dialects. Nielsen (2000: 294ff.) considers Early Runic to be more closely related to North than to West Germanic or even South Germanic languages. However, Nielsen does not think it can be called North Germanic, as it does

Table 2.2: Geographical spread of inscriptions in the Runenprojekt Kiel

Country	Number of inscriptions
Belgium	2
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1
Czech Republic	2
Denmark	138
France	5
Germany	118
Hungary	7
Italy	1
Netherlands	3
Norway	69
Poland	8
Romania	2
Sweden	79
Switzerland	1
Ukraine	1

not exhibit distinctive traits that define North Germanic and emphasises that in the first half of the first millennium AD we are dealing with a North-West Germanic dialect continuum that dissolves gradually (ibid. 295). During the later stage of the Elder Futhark period the inscriptions display more distinct dialect areas and also distinct Runic cultures.

Even though the earliest inscriptions are found in Scandinavia, far away from the centres of contemporary literate cultures, it is clear that the Runic script was modelled on a Mediterranean script, rather than being an independent invention. Latin, Greek as well as Etruscan alphabets have been considered as the source (cf. e.g. Düwel 2008: 175ff. or Odensted 1990: 145ff. for an overview) and the question of origin is closely related to the question of when the runes were developed. The suggestions for the date of the development of Runic script range from 6th century BC to the 4th century AD (Williams 1997: 178). The findspot of the earliest Runic inscriptions has been taken as an indicator for the place of origin of the runes, but as objects may have travelled before being deposited, this is not necessarily reliable (Fischer 2005: 44f.). The *opinio communis* is that the intense contact between the Romans and Germanic tribes led to a derivation from Latin. This is e.g. supported by Williams (1997: 179–181) who supposes a date of origin at about the second century AD and Fischer who prefers a first century AD time of origin. There are however other theories, e.g. Mees' (2000, 1999) proposal that runes are based on the Celtic usage of North Italic scripts.

A Nordic origin of the runes is in any case perfectly plausible, despite the distance to the Roman empire. Roman writing was certainly known in southern Scandinavia and the inscriptions are found in the same places as Runic inscriptions. Thorsberg, for example, is the findspot for three Runic inscriptions<sup>2</sup> and a bronze shield boss inscribed with **AEL AELIANVS**, an abbreviation of a Roman name *Aelius Aelianus* interpreted as an owner's mark (Imer 2007: 41). A sword strap from Illerup,

<sup>2</sup>The Thorsberg sword chape, shield buckle and a further, non-lexical inscription on a sword fitting.

also known for a large number of inscriptions, including two of the **Wagnijo** lanceheads, is inscribed **OPTIME MAXIME OMNIUM MILITANTIUM CONSERVA**, i.e. ‘May Jupiter, the foremost, the greatest protect all fighters’ (translation taken from Fischer 2005: 82). In the first one and a half centuries AD about 50 Latin inscriptions and imprints – mostly manufacturer’s marks on imported objects – are known from Scandinavia (Imer 2010, 41f.). For the following period up until the 4th century AD, the number of objects with Latin script on them rises to over a hundred (ibid. 45). This indicates that though remote, the North was in touch with the Roman world and its epigraphic culture.

As a complex and highly organised institution, the Roman military carried literacy, together with other features of Roman culture, all the way to the frontiers of the Roman empire. Writing was used both for organisational purposes and in the private sphere by individual soldiers (cf. eg. Adams 2003: 276 on the Vindolanda record) and Latin literacy was also adapted and used by non-Romans (e.g. Adams 2007: 622f.). This established the contact between Germanic peoples and Roman epigraphic culture, but not the process and motivations that led to the creation of Runic script.

A mere imitation would have consisted of using Latin script, which is what happened in Gaul with both the Greek script first used by Gauls, then the Latin script. Instead, the Germanic peoples created their own script, though it was based on Latin. Zimmermann (2010: 98) considers the characteristics of Early Runic inscriptions too distinct for them to be considered imitations of Roman writing. Fischer (2005: 36) postulates that Germanic peoples developed their own literacy as a reaction to the imperialist presence. An expression of Latin power was turned into a Germanic one. Features of an aggressive culture may be imitated by a preliterate culture, a practice called “*imitatio imperii*” (Fischer 2005: 34). The presence of the Roman empire even through mere text created a need for an own literacy. Fischer speculates that a “widespread dormant and passive Latin literacy among Germanic affinities” (2005: 36), acquired for example through the Roman military, would have made it easier for Runic literacy to spread, as some people would have already been familiar with the concept and use of literacy, despite not having employed it in their non-literate surroundings. Fischer (2005: 44) additionally postulates a kleptocratic spread of Runic literacy, as the preliterate society will not be able to support the reproduction of literacy and spread of the literate ideology otherwise.

### 2.2.2 Inscribed Objects

The large chronological and geographical spread discussed in the previous section requires us to accept that Elder Futhark inscriptions did not come from a homogeneous culture, but instead, as e.g. Zimmermann (2010: 87) suggests, from “a set of differing ‘cultures’ which might be characterised by different text-types showing a particular distribution in time, space and context”. One indicator for the different cultures is the type of archaeological find (cf. Table 2.3). This is relevant because a variation that may seem geographical at first glance, can also be explained by the difference in archaeological context. For instance, one would not expect to find the same types of objects in a row grave field as in a bog deposit. Many objects of the Early Runic period originate from bog deposits, large offerings of predominantly spoils of war, including objects of both Scandinavian or southern, including Roman,



**Table 2.3: Types of objects in the Runenprojekt Kiel**

Type of object	Number of inscriptions	Number in this corpus
Bracteates	150	75
Attire	103	65
Stone	61	50
Weapons	42	14
Other mobile objects	32	15
Tools and equipment	19	14

provenance. These objects were sometimes destroyed before being deposited (Ilkjær 2000). Grave goods, on the other hand, though they may not be of local provenance, are in most cases provided by the local population. Aside from containing different kinds of items, these environments also preserve different kinds of materials. Wood, which is likely to have been a commonly used writing material (Fischer 2005: 49), is hardly preserved at all from the Early Runic period – only a handful of cases remain<sup>3</sup>. Other variations in the use of materials cannot be attributed to the conditions in the ground, and must therefore reflect genuine cultural differences. The Nordic bone finds, for example, do not have parallels in the south not because they did not survive but because they never existed (Fischer 2005: 49). It is also worth keeping in mind that an inscription may have been added to an object at any time from its creation to its deposition, either by the original manufacturer, an owner or the person who deposited it in a bog or a grave.

The majority of Runic objects are bracteates. Bracteates are round, thin, golden pendants predominantly produced from the mid 5th to the mid to late 6th century AD. They were mostly produced in modern day Denmark and Gotland using models. Düwel (2008: 45) counted 964 known bracteates from 601 models. Bracteates are visibly inspired by 4th century Roman stamped gold coins and medallions (Düwel 2008: 44). They are thus not an autochthonic product of the local culture, but the product of a cultural transfer to the periphery (Beck 2006: 71). In a process that resembles the development of the Runic script, rather than directly copying the Roman medallions, the local crafts people developed their own repertoire of visual and written formulas. Approximately 230 bracteates are inscribed, either with imitations of Latin capital letters or with Runic signs. About 170 bracteates carry Runic inscriptions (Düwel 2008: 46). Accordingly, despite being the largest group of objects inscribed with runes, inscribed bracteates are a minority amongst bracteates. This means that the writing, rather than being the core of a bracteate's message, is an addition to the iconographical contents portrayed (Axboe 2011: 298). In terms of their geographical distribution, it has to be considered that the small and light objects travel well, and often do not originate where they were found. Bracteates based on the same models can be found in different locations.

There are six types of bracteates in the migration period (E types appear in the Vendel period), the following summary is based on Fischer (2005):

<sup>3</sup>Namely Illerup, Nydam, Kragehul, Wremen, Neudingen, Frøslev (non-lexical) and Garbølle.

- M-type bracteates, of which there are 17, are the closest imitations of Roman medallions and include imitations of Latin capitals.
- A-type bracteates, of which there are 87, show a human head, derived from images of Roman emperors, but the iconography no longer corresponds to the Roman originals. They may, however, still be trying to imitate those in some cases, such as Broholm and Elmerlund, which are said to depict the Emperors Valens and Valentinian I.
- B-types, of which there are 85, show a whole human figure, something that is not common for depictions of emperors. While they imitate the reverse sides of Roman coins, they show distinct signs of innovation and unique motives.
- C-types, of which there are 385, show a human riding an animal. These are not only the most frequent type but also show the most Runic inscriptions and a distinct preference for Runic formulas such as *ehwu*, which is concentrated around Gotland and *alu*, which is concentrated on Denmark, though overall widespread.
- D-types, of which there are 334, do not have any runes.
- F-types, of which there are 13, four of which with runes, are rare and depict four legged animals only.

Finally, there are the figural gold foils, of which there are 3000 objects which show anthropomorphic depictions. They are found in different contexts to bracteates and show a further degree of removal from the Roman origins (Fischer 2005: 159).

The next largest group of objects after bracteates is attire, a group which mostly consists of inscribed fibulas and is especially frequent in the Southern Germanic area. Other mobile objects such as weapons and armour or tools and equipment make up the rest. The centres of distribution of inscribed weapons in Denmark and southern Germany can partly be explained through the types of find contexts that are frequent in those locations: In Denmark inscribed weapons appear largely in the bog deposits, whereas in Germany they are predominantly found in the very frequent and well excavated row grave sites. Pieces of attire, similarly, are frequently found in graves in Germany, as they belonged to the objects people would wear when buried. Only 61 inscriptions are on immobile objects, i.e. monumental stones. These are exclusive to Sweden and Norway and do not occur further south.

### 2.2.3 Gender

An obvious difficulty with gender in inscriptions is that the gender of a person mentioned in an inscription can sometimes not be determined with certainty, either because of damage to the inscription or because of ambiguity in the linguistic record. An example for this are the Runic names on *-o*. Antonsen (2002: 262ff.) summarises the traditional view on these names as follows: *n*-stems in *-o* were

originally considered to be feminine, and thus interpreted as female names. They were considered to stand in opposition to male names in *-a* and were contrasted with South Germanic masculines in *-o* and feminines in *-a*, as they appear in Old High German. This view is based on the assumption that the differentiation of grammatical genders that arises in the Germanic languages was already complete at the time of the oldest runic inscriptions. However, this assumption was made less plausible with the discovery of runic inscriptions that seemed to indicate a societal function like weaponsmith or silversmith that in the patriarchal early Germanic society was more likely to be held by a man (Antonsen 2002: 268). It seems dangerous to base conclusions on our assumptions about early Germanic gender norms, considering how little we really know about early Germanic society. Nevertheless, Antonsen's conclusion that the differentiation of grammatical gender is not in fact complete in the runic corpus and names in *-o* can not always be assigned to a specific gender with certainty remains convincing. More recently García Losquiño (2015) examined the evidence for the West Germanic names in *-o* and concluded they are most likely male.

The Early Runic fibulas of Scandinavia are women's jewellery and were mostly found in richly equipped graves (Zimmermann 2010: 96). But there is no evidence of female rune carvers in Scandinavia and the inscribed objects too indicate a "male dominance in the Early Runic discourse" (Fischer 2005: 65). This is in clear contrast to the South Germanic Runic tradition, where several women signed their names to Runic inscriptions (Düwel 2002). Indeed, female writers appear to make up the majority in that area: three out of four – admittedly a slim corpus from which to draw conclusions. The remaining writer's signature is on a female object, as are several masculine personal names. Thus, even aside from the question of authorship, South Germanic Runic culture seems to be strongly associated with women. However, this may partly be due to the preservation of specific materials. Alemannic women had more bronze and silver objects than men, who had more iron objects. Bronze and silver surfaces are better preserved than iron surfaces in those graves, so that corrosion may have corrupted the evidence significantly (Fischer 2005: 49). Fischer goes as far as to consider Runic literacy "a discourse firmly under male hegemony" even in the South Germanic area (2005: 64). He is sceptical of our ability to contrast male and female Runic literacy based on the inadequate examination of the material sources (Fischer 2005: 168). Nevertheless, it seems inadequate to claim that women do not express themselves as individuals (Fischer, *ibid.*) when we have several writer's signatures by women.

Fischer is not the only person who is sceptical of the role of South Germanic women in Runic literacy. Looijenga (2003: 272) goes even further and claims that female runographers did not exist, and that the feminine personal names in the signatures and other inscriptions are those of the person who commissioned the object: "In the early medieval men's world of writing, it appears unlikely to me that female runographers existed among the artists who made the Runic objects". This begs the question whether it is legitimate to drastically change the interpretation of an inscription based on preconceived notions about the writing culture of the period, when we know so little about Runic culture.

### 2.2.4 South Germanic Runic Inscriptions

South Germanic Runic inscriptions are typically found in row grave fields (German *Reibengräberfelder*). This type of burial, named after the arrangement of the graves in lines, incorporates influences from the Germanic North and the Roman South (Fehr 2008). It is a local innovation in the Germanic frontier of the former Roman empire that presumably reflects the need to signal social status through burials to stabilise the social order (*ibid*). In these graves, people are laid to rest with personal belongings, such as attire and weapons. These items are mobile and meant for personal use and occasionally inscribed in either Latin or runes. Spoken Latin survived in the South Germanic area for several centuries after the collapse of the Roman empire (eg. Rieger 1998). The survival of Latin may have been responsible for the lack of Runic inscriptions in certain areas, Rieger (1998: 374–375) suggests the strong Roman oral culture of Trier led to the absence of Runic inscriptions in the area. This isn't to say that Runic and Latin literacy exclude each other, on the contrary, Fischer identifies “an aristocratic preoccupation with Continental Runic and Christian ideology expressed in Latin capitals”, for which examples can be found e.g. in Chéhéry (Fischer 2005: 162). Runic inscriptions are predominantly found in the Alemannic area, less so in the Rhinefrankish area, with exception of the location Freilaubersheim, which alone accounts for 16 finds. Another isolated findspot is Weimar, where runes were found in a single grave field.

South Germanic Runic inscriptions are largely a late phenomenon in the chronology of older Futhark inscriptions. They range from the 5th to the 7th century, with a focus in the 6th century, and exclusively appear on portable items. Their position within Runic inscriptions as a whole partly depends on where the runes are considered to have been conceived (cf. section 2.2.1). If they were inspired by Latin and emerged in modern day Denmark, they must have spread southwards. If, however, they were created closer to their source of inspiration, whether that source be Latin or North Etruscan, we have an unexplained gap in the record from their invention to their re-emergence several centuries later. Most frequently the emergence of runes in Southern Germany is explained as a consequence of the Frankish expansion into Thuringia and a subsequent cultural contact with the North. Martin (1977) for instance suggests that before the fall of the Thuringian empire, the area was oriented towards Roman culture, whereas afterwards northern mythology and writing culture was influential. Siegmund (2004) relativises this opinion and shows the Nordic fashion to be a rather small and short-lived phenomenon. Fischer (2005: 169) also believes the evidence contradicts this picture: “On the contrary, Runic contexts in the North point to a decrease in Continental contacts during the 6th century. The phenomenon of Continental Runic in Southern Germany must hence be explained anew”.

“Nordic style” brooches with Runic inscriptions are considered evidence of the Nordic Runic connection, but Fischer points out (2005: 171) that they are largely copies and imitations. The artistic language was most likely no longer understood and they were worn differently than they had been worn in the north. The evidence for a Nordic connection for other Runic objects is even thinner (*ibid*. 173). Fischer admits two exceptions: “the Nordic form of **k** on the brooches from Griesheim,

grave 43, and KJ 152 Nordendorf II”. Only Griesheim, however, can be considered an example of a nordic rune type, as the bent line that comprises most of the “rune” on the Nordendorf fibula, appears to have a different quality to the other lines in the inscription and is more likely to be a scratch<sup>4</sup>. This indicates that there was a fashion, an “ideological need to appear ‘Nordic’” (Fischer 2005: 162) which encouraged the import of individual items, such as the bracteates that have been found on the continent, imitations of Nordic brooches and the use of runes, but that did not correspond to Nordic ethnicity or even close enough contact to transfer the shapes of specific runes. Additionally, it has to be considered that the objects in the row grave fields contain not only Runic inscriptions, but also Latin ones, indicating that the population was interested in written forms of expression from any cultural sphere, not only the North. Behrens and Thews (2009) describe the use of runes as a trend with which the elites tried to express association with the Franks and distinguished themselves from those who did not use runes. Seebold (1991: 499) considers the southern Runic tradition an “archaising curiosum” and puts the difficulty of linguistic interpretation of many inscriptions down to this.

## 2.3 Gaulish Inscriptions and their Context

### 2.3.1 Early Celtic Writing

The earliest inscribed form of Celtic is Lepontic. While Lepontic is sometimes considered to be an early Gaulish dialect (e.g. by Eska 1998), the *communis opinio* since Lejeune (1971) seems to be that it is an independent language, separate from Cisalpine Gaulish. Lepontic is found on inscriptions around the town of Lugano from the 6th to the 1st century BC. The inscriptions are written in their own alphabet, called the Lepontic alphabet or the alphabet of Lugano, which is a variant of the North Etruscan scripts.

Before the Roman Empire expanded into Gaul in the 1st century BC and initiated the spread of the Latin script and language in Gaul, Transalpine Gaulish was first attested through Greek script, starting in the 3rd century BC. Marseille has been assumed to be the point of contact, though Mullen (2011) suggests that commercial contacts within the Italian peninsula may have contributed to the process of adopting the Greek script. In Narbonensis, Gallo-Greek inscriptions appear from the 2nd, possibly even the 3rd, to the first half of the 1st century BC. In the centre-east, Gallo-Greek covers the 1st century BC and the first half of the 1st century AD. The 281 inscriptions included in the RIG-I consist of one inscription on a cliff face, 73 inscriptions on stone monuments of various kinds, 195 inscriptions on ceramics, and 12 on various other materials, including bone, gold, silver, iron and lead. Of the 73 stone inscriptions, about twenty are votive inscriptions and 40 funerary inscriptions, the rest cannot be read well enough to be assigned to a category. (RIG-I: 3–4) Gallo-Latin epigraphy

<sup>4</sup>This is based on my own observations, but also supported by Waldispühl (2013: 295), who prefers not to offer a reading for the last rune.

is not a new discovery of writing in Gaulish, it is built upon the Gallo-Greek epigraphic tradition, from which it retains special characters (RIG-II/1: 58).

Most Gallo-Latin inscriptions are difficult to date, but where dating is possible, the majority appear to be from the first century AD, with a rare few monumental inscriptions from the 1st century BC and a few later ones, mostly graffiti (RIG-II/1: 57, RIG-II/2: 9), e.g. the spindle whorls, which are from the 3rd to 4th century and are partly in Latin (Meid 1980). The geographic spread exceeds the borders of present day France, with inscriptions found in Belgium, Switzerland, the Rhineland and perhaps even Britain<sup>5</sup>.

### 2.3.2 Romanisation

The term “romanisation” was first coined by Mommsen in 1885, but the first in depth analysis came from Haverfield in 1905, who described it as a civilising process (e.g. 1915: 11). The term has developed past this colonial perspective since then, and Webster (2001) offers a sketch of its history from the 1920s to the 1990s, which is when it was revised by Millet (1990) to denote an emulation of Roman material culture by native elites to re-enforce their own social position. Woolf (1998) criticises romanisation as a concept as well, stating that it is an umbrella term for a broad range of processes, which may be considered either a drawback or an attractive feature, but that overall romanisation has no explanatory, merely descriptive potential, as it was not an active force.

It may be argued that it is impossible to extricate the term from its misleading connotations that it acquired in its over century-long history, but the term remains a useful and commonly used shorthand to describe the spread of Roman culture. It remains only to be careful about simplifying the concept and its apparent counterpart, resistance. Unwillingness and inability to change should not be conflated (Woolf 1998: 20) and Woolf points out that Gaulish military resistance to the empire was not tied to rejection of Roman culture.

### 2.3.3 Contact with Latin Epigraphy

Epigraphy, though the discussions usually center around epitaphs specifically, is one of the cultural practices associated with the process of romanisation (Woolf 1998: 93). It reflects the obligations of Roman citizens to commemoration, thereby locating individuals in the social order and network of social relationships (Woolf 1998: 78). From this point of view, inscriptions can be seen as an assertion of social identity. This assertion requires a comprehension not only of the Latin language but of the cultural context and the associated conventions of epigraphy (*ibid.*). Webster (2001) argues that Roman provinces should be considered creolised rather than acculturated. Taking epigraphy as an example, Webster (2001: 222) criticises the assumption that Romano-Celtic iconography necessarily

<sup>5</sup>For a discussion on whether the Celtic inscriptions from Bath should be considered continental Celtic, and therefore most likely Gaulish, or British Celtic see Mullen 2007, Schrijver 2004 and Schrijver 2005.

emulates a metropolitan ideal or that every provincial subject would have epigraphised their iconography if they had been able to afford it. Instead, the use of Latin epigraphy is more likely to be a choice. The introduction of Roman epigraphy marks the beginning of the end of local epigraphies, such as the Gallo-Greek tradition in Gaul; though local languages continued to be used, writing in local languages becomes a fringe phenomenon, secondary to Latin epigraphy (Woolf 1998: 93). Woolf (1998: 206) does not think that Celtic or Gallic identity survived beneath romanized practices, and that the identities were only opposed in “an early – but brief – formative period”. This would imply that using and writing Gaulish was not associated with a separate identity. In contrast to Woolf’s opinion, Häussler (2002) believes that local traditions and alphabets were invigorated and used by local elites to represent their identities. In turn, when Latin was chosen, this expressed a social or individual identity, rather than being oriented towards the linguistic understanding of the readers of the inscription (Häussler 2002: 73).

The names may be viewed as a mirror of the changing identities. Stüber (2009) compares the names in Gallo-Greek and Gallo-Latin inscriptions to those used in the Latin inscriptions of Gaul. The Gallo-Greek inscriptions, presumably representative for Gaulish naming before the Roman conquest, show single names and occasionally patronymic adjectives. This pattern is still found occasionally, but no longer exclusively in Gallo-Latin inscriptions. The names themselves also change with time, from Gaulish to Latin ones, and patronymics develop into gentile names (*ibid.*). Woolf addresses a specific development in epitaphs, where Roman names initially dominate, before the Gaulish name pattern increases in town and the Roman name pattern increases in rural areas. At first glance this goes against what we might expect, showing an increase rather than decrease of local names versus Roman ones. Woolf (1998: 103) does not agree with the idea that this is easily explained by rural people moving into urban centers, instead he sees the reason for this development in the significance of epigraphy. Instead of spreading together with Roman citizenship and identity, it seems to have spread beyond, and people imitate the cultural practices of local elites without adopting a Roman identity and Roman names.

Häussler (2002: 62) points out that the Roman Empire did not exclusively cause the spread of Latin inscriptions, but provided a stimulus for ‘native’ types of epigraphy, e.g. Gallo-Lepontic, Venetic, Oscan and Gallo-Greek. This is consistent with the spread of Gallo-Greek epigraphy sketched above. Choosing script and language was a question of identity, says Häussler (2002: 73), and the occasional occurrence of Italo-Roman names and titles does not mean that Latin epigraphy and Roman values were wholly adopted. Latin language, Latin names and the Latin alphabet were all taken up at different times (Häussler 2002: 69). Even concerning the language there must have been different stages to the adoption process. Mullen (2012: 25) proposes the following situation for southern Gaul during the Principate:

L1 (first language) Gaulish is spoken at home by the majority of the population and has the status L, whereas L2 (second language) Latin is spoken in domains such as education, non-local trade and the army, and has the status H. Within this broad

schema there may have been diglossic regions, communities or individuals, but they will have formed only part of a patchwork of linguistic interactions.

While Mullen (2012) assumes separate domains for Latin and Gaulish, and therefore a period of stable bilingualism before the disappearance of Gaulish, Clackson (2012: 42) suggests that Latin was entering all levels of Gaulish society and that this “represent[ed] the beginning of the end for the local language”. Unfortunately, the sources to determine both the use of the Gaulish language after the Roman conquest, as well as the chronology of its decline, are lacking. As mentioned above, the majority of Gallo-Latin inscriptions are from the 1st century AD, indicating that after this period written Gaulish, and presumably also spoken Gaulish, was in decline. There are later texts however: the spindle whorls inscribed with flirtatious phrases in both Latin and Gaulish, with a high degree of code switching (Adams 2003: 196ff.), are dated to the third to 4th century AD (Meid 1980). External sources on the use of Gaulish offer little insight. Blom (2009) analysed the semantic development of the Latin terms *gallica* and *celtica* referring to language and concluded that they cannot be uncritically translated, as they may refer to Gaulish Latin or the Gaulish language depending on chronology and context. Meissner (2010) presents evidence for the survival of Gaulish in Trier in the 5th century AD, namely Gaulish interference as an explanation for non-standard features in a Latin inscription.

Gaulish epigraphy held a niche position besides the dominating Latin epigraphy, though in comparison with other Roman provinces, Gaul had a low number of Latin inscriptions. This can be explained by the connection between levels of urbanism and levels of epigraphy (Woolf 1998). Even stronger is the contrast between Mediterranean regions like Narbonensis, which again were more urbanised and had a higher level of epigraphy than more isolated areas away from the coast, such as central France (Woolf 1998: 19). Paris, for example, had a population of 5000–8000 inhabitants but produced less than 50 inscriptions (*ibid.*, 99). These inscriptions, and those in other urban centres, cannot be considered to convey an accurate picture of the population of a city; lower status freeborn citizens left hardly any trace, while ex-slaves are vastly overrepresented (Woolf 1998: 99).

#### 2.3.4 Inscribed Objects

As mentioned in section 2.1, the RIG is not a complete collection of Gaulish inscriptions and such a complete collection would be hard to come by, as the line between Gallo-Latin and Latin inscriptions is difficult to draw. Additionally, similar inscriptions, including maker’s marks on ceramics, are summarised under single entries, where they really refer to several, in one case nearly 100, objects. For this reason, no table comparable to Table 2.3 is provided for Gaulish inscriptions. The majority of inscriptions are found on equipment, most of which consists of various types of ceramics. Even so, equipment can be assumed to be vastly underrepresented in the corpus, as it is likely to be inscribed with single word or name inscriptions. The same applies to the category of jewellery, which is represented exclusively by rings in the RIG. In comparison with the Runic objects outlined above it bears



noting that the largest category of ceramics does not appear at all in the Runic objects, neither do lead tablets or spindle whorls<sup>6</sup>, which comprise a smaller but most interesting part of Gaulish epigraphy.

<sup>6</sup>Spindle whorls with Runic inscriptions are known only from the medieval period, not from the earlier Runic period.

## Theoretical Background

### 3.1 Epigraphy

It is surprisingly difficult to find a simple definition of epigraphy. Cooley (2012: 117) cites the definition for inscriptions of the OED as “traced upon some hard substance for the sake of durability”, but criticises the apparent necessity of assessing the writer’s intention before being able to identify something as epigraphy. Additionally, if it is the hardness of the material that is the key, the exclusion of coins, for example, seems arbitrary. Durability, as well, is not a useful criterion, as many inscriptions were never intended for posterity but preserved through what Cooley (2012: 118) terms a “quirk of archaeology”, more so where the material choice was determined by availability, such as in the case of pottery shards. Durability as a criterion may also exclude writing that was never intended to be permanent, such as graffiti and utilitarian inscriptions on smaller items (Woolf 1996: 24). Often only monumental epigraphy is considered epigraphy at all, a restriction that clearly does not work for peripheral writing such as that covered in this study. The distinction then between epigraphy and neighbouring fields, such as numismatics, is largely arbitrary and by convention.

It seems worth mentioning that the majority of inscriptions considered in this study are indeed atypical, if compared with the definition discussed above. As discussed in sections 2.2.2 and 2.3.4, the majority are not monumental in nature but belong to the category which in Latin epigraphy is called *instrumentum domesticum*. This, termed “the least helpful of all of the usual categories” by Cooley (2012: 185), is ultimately similar to a classification like “other”, a “convenient dumping ground” (ibid.) for inscribed portable items, whether they be of utilitarian nature or prestige objects. In Latin epigraphy this category may be applied to everything from inscriptions on amphoras and terracotta lamps to stamps on bricks, tiles and terra sigillata or even graffiti (Harris 1993: 7). As can be gathered from this list already, inscriptions tend to be short, often single word names, which in the case of stamps can frequently be considered brand names, rather than personal names, used over a long time in some cases. The inscriptions were added either during the manufacture, especially

stamps, or later, as in the case of dipinti and graffiti. Even the ones applied during manufacture were used selectively, which implies they were perhaps not essential to the production process (Cooley 2012: 207). Instead they may have been more closely related to the distribution process, for example in the case of exported goods. There are also a range of inscriptions that do not relate to commercial activity, called “ideological” or “non-functional” by Cooley (*ibid.*).

### 3.2 Literacy

The literacy of an individual is not a strict dichotomy, instead there can be various degrees of literacy with various degrees of familiarity with writing, various abilities to read and/or write. Reading epigraphy does not require full fledged literacy, that is a well developed ability to both read and write, instead it can fall “somewhere between reading and decoding” (Bruun and Edmondson 2015: 750). Cooley (2012: 285) also considers the reading of an inscription to consist of more than just deciphering the text, but as the response to the “inscription as a physical object”, which has to apply to scholars who deal with them as much as it did for the original audience. Cooley (2012: 309) also points out that monumental inscriptions frequently reference being read and concludes from that that even illiterate people were largely willing to engage with an inscription, be it directly or via a third party.

Romanisation of an area lead to an increase of literacy. Bowman (1991: 121f.) points out that while the proportion of literate people may have been 20% or lower, the use of literacy implies that even illiterates participated in literacy and engaged with information broadcast through literacy. Still, the degree of literacy remains an interesting question that is still being investigated, e.g. by Derks and Roymans (2002) who examined the use of script in North Gaul and the Rhineland by means of seal boxes, i.e. containers for seals, which were used to seal written documents, including legal and private texts. Their findings indicate a “widespread knowledge of literacy among rural populations”, which was potentially “penetrated by way of the army” (*ibid.* 102). This is especially interesting considering that the area does not appear very romanised in terms of architecture. It implies that pragmatic advantages of the use of script may have been the driving force for the spread of literacy in the area, rather than cultural considerations.

The acquisition of literacy can come hand in hand with the acquisition of a second language. This means that a language comes as a package with a script in which it is written, both of which will have to be learned by someone intending to use that language fully (Adams 2003: 765). Additionally, we have to remember that Latin writing has little punctuation and requires fluency and habitual use to be understood, something which does not apply to Runic Literacy, which can often be read with less specialised knowledge (Fischer 2005: 54). Digraphic and even trigraphic literacy is an urban phenomenon frequent in multilingual areas (Fischer 2005: 51). The emergence of literacy is also tied to societal changes. According to Fischer (2005: 9) literacy is frequently introduced to enable the ruling hierarchy to keep records, though in the cases dealt with in this paper this isn't a new idea, but an imitation of Roman customs. Nevertheless, the use of this new technology and the vocabulary

associated with it causes additional social stratification that applies even when not currently engaged with the practice of writing.

### 3.3 Epigraphic Habit

The number of inscriptions do not directly measure the literacy of a population, the use of literacy is a separate factor. MacMullen (1982) coined the influential term “epigraphic habit” to examine the motives and reasons for the more or less frequent use of literacy (ibid. 233): “As will appear, however, the epigraphic habit, within (inevitably within) the boundaries of the literate part of the population, traced its own distinct life-line: people who could write did so often or seldom according to motives so far unclear”. In his paper he observed the rise and fall of the number of inscriptions and papyri throughout the first three centuries AD and the close connection between inscriptions and romanisation, and determines that the “habit was an aspect of culture, not a practical necessity” (ibid. 238), an observation for which he credits Mócsy (1966: 407ff.), who drew similar conclusions when discussing the indications of age on epitaphs. In his observations, MacMullen (1982: 236–246) sees the need to differentiate between the different materials, such as stone and papyri and different uses, such as private and public. Papyri, being addressed from one person to another, lend themselves to more coherent patterns due to their utility, whereas stone addresses a community rather than an individual. Private inscriptions reflect prosperity, whereas public ones reflect government processes and the number of people engaged with them. The epigraphic habit then was connected to what MacMullen calls “the sense of audience” – permanent memorials presupposed a future audience, an ongoing civilisation of which they considered themselves to be part, whereas doubts of the permanence or relevance of the world they were part of may have contributed to a fall of the epigraphic habit. Epigraphy therefore becomes a reflection of a shift in collective psychology (MacMullen 1982: 246). While MacMullen’s analysis remained fairly generalised, Meyer attempted to go into more detail with her study. In her 1990 paper she suggested that the “sense of audience” identified by MacMullen was not generic but depended on romanisation, something that MacMullen had “noted but not explained” (1990: 74). According to Meyer (1990: 91–96), tombstones are erected as a conscious practice and in pursuit of Roman status and citizenship.

The concept of the epigraphic habit was very influential, though recent scholarship has preferred the term “epigraphic culture” (Prag 2002: 15) in an attempt to do justice to the complexity of the topic: “More recent discussions have tried to move from ‘habit’ to ‘culture’, noting the limitations not only of such attempts at direct explanation, but also of restricting oneself to, for example, lapidary funerary epigraphy, or even inscribed monuments. Seeking the wider socio-cultural context requires more than seeking a socio-cultural explanation (audience or legal status) for just one element (Latin lapidary epitaphs) of what is inevitably a much bigger, more disparate phenomenon (epigraphic culture).” Woolf (1996: 24) places the study of the epigraphic habit “uneasily between investigations at the level of the place of writing in Roman society, and more limited studies of particular cultural practices in which writing might play a more or less significant part”.

### 3.4 Ethnicity and Identity

Identity in historical periods rarely leaves a tangible, unambiguous record, and can only be grasped approximately through historical and archaeological evidence. Ethnic identity is “socially constructed and subjectively perceived” (Hall 1997: 19), and the formation and perception of identity may be influenced by genetics, kinship, common language, material culture, belief systems or cultural practices. Which of those dominate the formation of identity in the ancient world has to be reconstructed from the evidence (Herring 2009: 123).

The often made assumption that ethnic identity can be reconstructed beyond doubt on the basis of material culture has been heavily criticised in recent decades. Herring (2009 : 125) points out that “There is no a priori reason to assume that “archaeological cultures” correlate with socio-political or ethnic groupings; they are effectively modern constructs” and group identities may have been communicated in ways that left no mark in the archaeological record, whereas the archaeological record may suggest differences in ethnic identity where there are none. This discussion has entered various fields; Celtic studies for example has struggled with the term “Celtic” in itself. From a linguist’s point of view, Celtic languages are a clear cut category, but a problem arises as soon as one attempts to define the Celts as an ethnic group and associate them with specific material cultures, such as the Hallstatt or La Tène culture (e.g. Cunliffe 1997: 39–132. It is little easier for the Roman and post-Roman period. We have few historical sources on the self-identification of the speakers of Celtic languages, we cannot say for sure whether they viewed themselves as a unified Celtic or Gaulish ethnic group, or whether tribal or local identities prevailed. In fact it is sometimes even hard to determine what language people spoke based on the historical sources (Blom 2009).

The question of ethnic interpretations has also been discussed in depth in the archaeology of early medieval row grave fields (cf. section 2.2.4). These have traditionally been ascribed to specific Germanic tribes known from historical records and attempts have been made to reconstruct tribal material cultures or match up settlement areas from historical sources with the archaeological finds. This practice has been strongly criticised and even outright rejected. According to Pohl (2008: 26), it does not account for the complexity of ethnic identity, which includes a continuum of local, regional and intraregional similarities and differences that implicate the social practice of communicating both distinction and integration. Brather (2004: 7) goes further and completely rejects ethnic interpretations, because a mere regional distribution of specific features does not have to imply anything about the contemporary perception of this feature with regards to ethnic identity. Brather (*ibid.*) also argues that attempting to find ethnic distribution patterns of features is a single-minded approach, which misses interesting aspects such as economic, cultural and political developments, which have more explanatory potential than a purely descriptive ethnic interpretation, which first and foremost confirms historical sources. Relying on written sources for the ethnic interpretation may also distort the archaeological findings, obscuring continuity and dynamic change (Theune 2008).

### 3.5 Contact Linguistics

This study does not focus on contact induced language change, but it seems necessary to define essential terminology, as the language contact situation is nevertheless essential to the research question. Language contact takes place whenever more than one language is used “in the same place at the same time” and can be considered non-trivial when “at least some people use more than one language” (Thomason 2001: 1). Thomason (ibid.) emphasises that this does not require “fluent bilingualism or multilingualism”, but then fluency is no longer considered essential to bilingualism, as Romaine (1989: 18) states: “The notion of balanced bilingualism is an ideal one, which is largely an artefact of a theoretical perspective which takes the monolingual as its point of reference”. Interaction between the speakers of different languages may cause one or both of the languages to influence the other one, for example by a transfer of words; it may lead to the emergence of pidgins and creoles through language mixture or it can cause language death (Thomason 2001: 10).

Speaking of language mixture in a specific, rather than a generic sense, has largely fallen out of favour in more recent research and has instead been superseded by the terminology of codeswitching. Codeswitching means using two languages or language varieties in the same conversation (Myers-Scotton 2005: 239), or in case of our written sources, the same text. This can occur in the form of inter-sentential switching, intra-sentential switching or intra-clause switching. In classic codeswitching, one language, the *matrix language*, supplies the morphosyntactic frame, i.e. word order, morpheme order and inflectional morphemes (Myers-Scotton 2005: 241). In composite codeswitching, the other language may also contribute to the underlying structure (Myers-Scotton 2005: 242). This can be applied to Gaulish, which was written in a bilingual environment and often features codeswitching.

The use of historical linguistic material further complicates the matter. Mullen (2012: 12) concisely summarises the problem that we face when analysing historical contact situations: The linguistic evidence is not only written rather than spoken, it may also have been corrupted through transmission processes we cannot adequately reconstruct, and that is not even addressing the evidence that was not transmitted at all. Even identifying the authors can be impossible and the production of inscriptions especially may have involved not a single author but a team of people. An inscription may also go through several stages such as commission, draft, initial and final carving (Mullen 2012: 12) and even if the text was composed by a single person taking care of all of those stages, the text may not be a creative effort of any of these people but a formulaic convention (Adams 2003: 84). Additionally, there is the “epigraphic bias” (Bodel 2001: 46f.), i.e. the restriction of authorship to a specific subset of society. However, Mullen (2012: 13) also identifies advantages to the written evidence, such as the increased likelihood that interference errors reflect a common cultural background in a collaboratively composed inscription, or the increase in intentionality in written text compared to spontaneous spoken utterances. While historical materials in general and epigraphical sources specifically offer additional challenges, they also have unique features that make them suitable sources for the study of a language contact situation.

# Classifications

## 4.1 The Language of Epigraphy

As mentioned in section 3.2 on literacy, the ability to read and understand epigraphy goes beyond the mere ability to decipher writing. With epigraphic literacy comes epigraphic culture with its own social and societal context and specialised vocabulary and conventions. An example for this is the omnipresence of abbreviations in Latin epigraphy. These conventionalised formulas required a cultural knowledge to be understood. This is the kind of epigraphy the Gaulish and Germanic people who were about to start writing themselves encountered. They were faced with the choice of learning the codes and conventions of Latin epigraphy and/or creating their own. In Gaul, from a long term point of view, the use of the Latin epigraphic culture dominated, whereas in Germania the Early Runic writers created their own “technolect”, to use Fischer’s (2005) terminology.

Fischer (2005: 20) describes a technolect as “a new set of interrelated words and meanings [which] begins to assemble around the speech community”. It creates a sense of pride in their new practice and a sense of community that applies even when not engaged in their practice. They may have initially used Latin terminology to distinguish themselves from illiterate Germans but eventually used Early Runic literacy to distinguish themselves from both Germanic illiterates and Roman literates (Fischer 2005: 24). This is not to say that Runic inscriptions were removed from Latin influence due to this separation. Fischer (2005: 66) suggests that Latin remained a dominant influence and served as a model for the Subject-Object-Verb structure that was introduced to Runic in the late 4th century, which requires Runic to have been attractive enough to be developed but under competition by Latin literacy. This technolect was not able to influence spoken language, however, being limited to the few literates, and therefore did not significantly change Germanic culture (Fischer 2005: 58). It took a renewed encounter with literacy and a literate culture in the middle ages for it to impact the greater cultural landscape.

Runic texts are of course not a homogeneous entity over the course of several centuries. Fischer identifies an innovation in Early Runic texts during the late 4th and early 5th centuries concerning “narrative, space and media” (Fischer 2005: 65), which is a shift from objects worn on the body to inscriptions positioned boldly in public space:

[T]he spatial positioning of text moves from the female body or male arms via the bracteate towards the cultural landscape. Here, the new media is the clearly visible stone surface.

He presumes that Roman epitaphs along the limes could have been a model for Germanic inscriptions on stone and that innovation was primarily driven forward in the Nordic periphery, namely Western Norway, Bohuslän, Västergötland and Blekinge. Along with this shift comes a tendency away from simple naming and maker’s marks to more complete sentences, assertions of authorship and generally more complex inscriptions.

The earliest formulaic elements found in Runic inscriptions are identified by Mees (2016: 23) as “very simple, possessive and labelling expressions of a kind that suggests deictic, oral language of a form reasonably to be expected in an only marginally literate culture”. Graf (2011: 234) describes the older inscriptions as “self referential”. Fischer (2005) observes a development from simple to more complex phrases in the language employed by Runic epigraphy, evolving from simple single word inscriptions and largely self-referential naming, to subject-verb constructions to a subject-object-verb level and the use of the I-formula and appositions, such as **erilar**, with which the author qualifies themselves. Within the Elder Futhark this development culminates in the emergence of tripartite narratives, such as on the Tune stone, and tripartite alliteration, such as on the Gallehus horn. As discussed in section 3.2, this development in formulas comes hand in hand with a change in the inscribed objects. This represents a change in the use of literacy and the cultural meaning of the inscribed objects.

## 4.2 Types of Classification

Inscriptions can be divided into categories based on function (e.g. funerary, religious), type of monument (e.g. tomb, altar), material (e.g. stone, metal), writing method (e.g. carved, stamped) or social context (public, private, sacred) (Cooley 2012: 127). The Oxford Handbook (Bruun and Edmondson 2015), for example, first divides inscriptions into public, private and domestic inscriptions and then has subdivisions according to object for the private and domestic categories. The domestic inscriptions are further divided into mosaics and wall paintings, graffiti, texts on *instrumenta domestica*, writing tablets and curse tablets. The public inscriptions are further divided by function, such as honorific, funerary, religious content, and official inscriptions issued by state or local authorities. These methods of classification may result in different size categories and their usefulness depends on the purpose of categorisation:



[A]re we trying to arrive at categories that do not perhaps map onto anything that would have been recognized in the Roman world in order to facilitate our own historical studies? Or are we aiming to understand the nature of epigraphic culture, in the realization that unless the character of ‘source material’ is fully appreciated, there is a danger of being misled in our historical studies? (Cooley 2012: 127).

The aim of this study is clearly to understand the nature of epigraphic culture and this should guide the choice of categories.

Unlike Latin inscriptions, which cover a vast number of domains, Gaulish and Runic inscriptions are a lot more limited in their use. Inscriptions in public space are rare, especially in comparison with their importance in Latin epigraphy, and the vast majority of inscriptions are on *instrumenta domestica* and personal items such as jewellery and weapons. Graf (2011: 214ff.) specifically mentions the lack of business and casual every day literacy as an example of what is missing from Runic literacy to constitute a functionally literate culture. However, he does not think we can necessarily presume to have a complete record of all existing Runic text types. Nevertheless, we can conclude with some certainty that we are not dealing with fully fledged literacy, that literacy may have been subordinate to visual communication, and writing was perceived as an addition to or part of the object rather than the primary communicative medium (Graf *ibid*). This can be seen especially in the case of bracteates, which predominantly rely on images to communicate their ideological content, whereas writing is an addition that only occurs on a minority of bracteates.

While classical inscriptions are often categorised according to their function or social context, Gaulish and Runic inscriptions, which tend to be short and enigmatic, are most frequently categorised by properties that do not require an interpretation, such as type of object, script or location. The RIG is sorted into volumes according to the script of the inscriptions and then ordered geographically. Krause and Jankuhn’s 1966 edition of Runic inscription for example divides its chapters according to objects, such as picture stones or bracteates, then geographically, by separating South Germanic inscriptions. Some categories combine several criteria, such as that of nordic inscribed fibulas. Other categories are based on the inscription content, such as the Futhark row or writing formulas. Odenstedt (1990: 171f.) approaches the question of the purpose of the Runic script by classifying the inscriptions in Krause’s edition by formula or content. This classification was used as evidence for Bæksted’s idea that “the Runic script was created as an artificial, playful, not really needed imitation of the Roman script” (Bæksted 1952: 137, English translation by Odenstedt 1990: 171):

- 1 *Futhark* inscriptions
  - 2 a A single personal name (e.g. rohoaltr̥)
  - b A nomen agentis (e.g. rauniar)
- 3 Two personal names (e.g. saligastir fina)
- 4 *ek* + a personal name or a noun; *ek* + a adjective; *ek* (+ a personal name)

- 5 Simple manufacturer's formulae ("I/X manufactured (this object), inscribed the runes"; "I raised the stone", etc.)
- 6 Simple memorial inscriptions on stones ("X's/sc. grave/", "X's grave", "X was buried here", "I buried my son")
- 7 Inscriptions containing good wishes ("X wishes good luck", etc.)
- 8 Other short inscriptions
- 9 Longer, more complicated inscriptions, all more or less disputed (Tune, Rö, Gummarp, Eggja, Stentofte, Björketorp)
- 10
  - a Magical inscriptions containing only the words **alu**, **laþu**, **ehw**, **laukar** (**lina laukar**) or combinations of them with other words
  - b Other magical inscriptions
- 11 Obscure, disputed or uninterpretable inscriptions

A different way of categorising based on content is to identify types rather than formulas. Arntz and Zeiss (1939: 468) distinguish two areas: pre-Christian inscriptions, which include amulets and sacred objects, and Christian inscriptions, which they consider to be dedications. Just as Arntz and Zeiss, Krause (1937) referenced Henning's *Dedicationen* and interpret naming inscriptions as personal dedications or well-wishes rather than owner's marks. Krause and Jankuhn (1966) distinguish one-sided, two-sided and three-sided inscriptions. Naming inscriptions in the nominative as well as well-wishes or magical formulas are one-sided. Two-sided inscriptions involve two parties, e.g. if two people are named or if there is a person and a personal dedication or wish. Three-sided inscriptions name a giver, a positive wish and a recipient. Opitz (1977) distinguishes religious and non-religious inscriptions and within religious inscriptions he distinguishes explicitly and implicitly two-partite inscriptions. He argues that they are all two-partite in the sense that there is a mythical-religious and a private content. Implicitly two-partite inscriptions do not have an explicit naming function, and are private only through being inscribed on a private object. Explicitly two-partite inscriptions name the private individual involved.

The primary focus of this study is the function of the inscriptions. This is what will determine their categorisation. In order to explore this function, i.e. how and to what ends writing was used it seems most helpful to focus on the concrete contents and formulas, rather than abstract ideas contained in each inscription. The main functions identified for both Runic and Gaulish inscriptions, though they are not necessarily equally frequent in both epigraphic cultures, are:

- *naming inscriptions*, discussed in chapter 5, are concerned with the naming of individuals and occasionally objects, though the reasons for the naming may vary.
- *utility inscriptions*, discussed in chapter 6, are meant to fulfil basic communicational needs in everyday interactions, either in business or in the private sphere.

- *ritual inscriptions*, discussed in chapter 7, support, document or *are* rituals of various kinds.

Within these categories I will attempt to discuss the (re)-occurring formulas and components of inscriptions.

## Part II

# Analysis

## Naming Inscriptions

This section discusses inscriptions that entirely focus on a name or other designation of a person or thing. Non-semantic components of inscriptions, such as fragments of the Futhork row or additional signs and symbols may be included in this type of inscription without, as far as we can tell, changing the semantic message. As naming inscriptions are the quintessential inscription type, their geographical and chronological distribution is unremarkable and largely corresponds to the distribution of Runic and Gaulish inscriptions in general.

Naming inscriptions are the second largest group of inscriptions in the corpus after magical and religious inscriptions, though if we had a complete record of the category, they would surely be the largest by far. In the corpus of the Gaulish inscriptions, these pose a certain problem, as they are hard to distinguish from Latin inscriptions with names of Celtic origin and are rarely included in editions (cf. RIG-II: 351, which excludes all inscriptions on fibulas). It is not surprising therefore, that the relevance of names in genres of inscriptions and even more so as its own genre of inscription has, to my knowledge, not been discussed for Gaulish. When they are discussed, this is done with a focus on their morphology, such as Marichal's (1988: 71ff.) overview on Gaulish and Latin names in Graufesenque inscriptions, rather than with a focus on their function and use.

In the case of Runic inscriptions, the category of inscriptions consisting of isolated personal names has been discussed by various scholars. Fischer (2005: 59) suggests a chronological development, with the first linguistic level being the subject level. It is not clear whether he considers the, admittedly smaller yet existent subcategory of isolated personal names in oblique cases to be operating on the subject level as well. Fischer (*ibid.*) suggests the purpose of a naming inscription is "to enable an atemporal presence of the personal names". Graf (2011: 219) identifies three traditional interpretations for these inscriptions: the name denotes the owner of the object (Type A), the maker (Type B) or the person who gifted or dedicated the object to the owner (Type C). Through the placement of a donor's name on an object, the donor's name can be reactivated even in the donor's absence, giving the narrative atemporality (Fischer 2005: 65). Graf (2011: 220) warns, however, against making

anachronistic assumptions about the purpose of these inscriptions, such as immediately identifying male names on female-coded objects as Type C and explaining them as a memento.

Traditionally (e.g. Arntz and Zeiss 1939: 468), Runic name inscriptions have indeed most often been interpreted as Type C, as personal dedications or well-wishes, which express a relationship between two people. Krause (1937) uses the term “Zueignunginschrift” for this purpose, specifically when describing the South Germanic inscriptions. He characterises them as inscriptions containing personal names that cannot be taken to refer to the item’s owner with any certainty (Krause 1937: 622). In his 1966 edition, faced with significantly more material, he identified four types of naming inscriptions: Those with a single name in the nominative, those with a well-wish, “two sided” inscriptions encompassing more than one person or a person with a well-wish, and finally “three sided” inscriptions with a giver, a receiver and a well-wish (ibid.: 277–278). The idea of an implied relationship between two people when only a single name is expressed is especially invoked when dealing with women’s items inscribed with male names. Especially in earlier scholarship, naming inscriptions were frequently considered to contain implied words of well-wishing, but recent scholarship is more careful to make such assumptions and often rejects them altogether (e.g. Opitz, not even all that recently, 1977: 165ff.).

Frequently, archaeological context is taken as an indicator of function. In Latin inscriptions, for example, if an inscription is applied by means of a stamp, it is considered a maker’s mark. In the case of dipinti and graffiti, the function is more difficult to determine but presumably related to use, distribution or ownership (Cooley 2012: 84). Cooley (ibid.) warns of an overly simplistic analysis of the function of those inscriptions. They may have a commemorative or promotional function, or even fulfil more than a single function by recording ownership, guaranteeing the quality, dimensions or capacity of a product, or they may be applied for the benefit of the producer or the consumer of the item in question.

## 5.1 The Runic Naming Tradition

Initially, we mostly find male names on male objects, presumably a reflection of a largely patriarchal society. This is in stark contrast to the situation found in the later Southern Germanic inscriptions, where several writer’s signatures can be attributed to women, and the one writer’s signature by a man is found on a woman’s brooch. Runic literacy in the South therefore included men and women, a change that implies a different role of runes in society, rather than merely a different societal structure and archaeological record (cf. section 2.2.4). Runic literacy does expand into the feminine sphere in the North as well, through women’s fibulas inscribed with male personal names. The inscription keeps the names present on a meaningful personal object in an act of personal communication (Zimmermann 2010). While writer’s and maker’s signatures may communicate status within a social group (cf. section 3.3), this kind of name inscription expresses a more personal kind of social interaction.

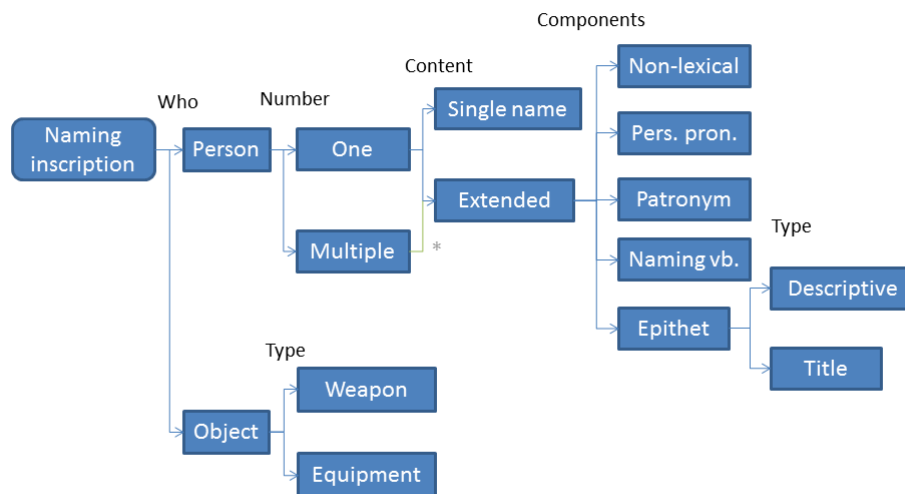


Figure 5.1: The Runic Naming Tradition

In his attempt to classify all inscriptions found in Krause and Jankuhn (1966) Odenstedt (1990: 171) divides naming inscriptions into three classifications, one of which is divided in two subclassifications<sup>1</sup>:

- 2 a A single personal name
  - b A nomen agentis
- 3 Two personal names
- 4 ek + personal name or a noun; ek + an adjective; ek erilar (+ a personal name)

It seems sensible to me to treat all of these types as a single group based on the function of “naming” that they all fulfil, though my subsets resemble those identified by Odenstedt. I will be discussing single personal names, multiple personal names, extended naming inscriptions, which consist of additional components but retain the function of naming and correspond to Odenstedt’s category 4, and object names (cf. figure 5.1).

The term “extended naming inscriptions” is also used by Opitz (1977: 178ff.), though he also includes inscriptions with wish-words in this category. In those cases, I would argue that the main function of the inscription moves from naming to well-wishing, or that the inscription has two functions, that of naming and that of well-wishing, which is why I do not include it in the category

<sup>1</sup>The complete list can be found in section 4.2.

of naming inscriptions. These, in my opinion, are defined by their exclusive focus on naming an individual person or item.

### 5.1.1 Single personal names

Germanic personal names can either be monothematic or dithematic, i.e. consist of one or two parts. It has been assumed that dithematic names convey a higher status than monothematic names, but according to Nedoma such a distinction cannot be proven for the names in South Germanic fibulas (Nedoma 2011). Monothematic names are sometimes considered nicknames or shortened forms of dithematic names, sometimes distinguished on the basis of whether a hypokoristic suffix is used (Schmitt 1995). Bynames or epithets can denote origin or family ties (e.g. patronyms), be a pet name or a pejorative nickname and with the lack of context provided by inscriptions it is not always clear, which option applies. Sometimes it is not even possible to determine whether a name is a given name or a byname. The gender too cannot always be determined with certainty, especially for names in *-o* (cf. section 2.2.3).

Single word naming inscriptions appear during the entire period of Elder Futhark writing. The Runic corpus contains 41 inscriptions of this type, which are listed in Table 5.1. 11 of the Runic single word name inscriptions are on stone, which is nearly a fifth of all stone inscriptions in the corpus. Inscriptions on stone are often considered memorials by default<sup>2</sup>, and the name on the stone is taken to be the name of the commemorated person, especially if found near a grave site. However, one should avoid jumping to conclusions: the Eidsvåg stone for example has a male name **HARARAR** inscribed, but has a female burial nearby, which suggests the name on the stone may be that of the person who erected the memorial or made the inscription, rather than of the person buried nearby.

A further 11 are fibulas, of both northern and southern origin. 7 are weapons of various kinds, including the Gudme shield buckle fitting, the lance blades and heads of Illerup, Mos, Vimose and Øvre Stabu and the Illerup shield handle fitting. The last named is the only South Germanic object in that list. The remaining objects include both practical objects, such as knives and sinkers, but also a bracteate. Most of the Runic single word name inscriptions are in the nominative and most of those are male, with a few inscriptions featuring names of indeterminate gender or female names. Only three names are in oblique cases, all of them male names in the genitive singular. Two of such names are found on runestones, namely **Keþan** on Belland and **Wa(nd)a(r)adas** or **Wa(j)a(r)adas** on the Saude stone. One, **...Ualis**, is found on a fibula from Kalmergården. All of these are Scandinavian inscriptions. A special case is the Meldorf fibula. It appears to be a single word inscription, presumably of a name, provided it is not a semantically meaningless row of symbols, but even the identification of the inscription as Runic is not certain. Mees (2012) would like to read *irile* and interpret it as a dative of *erilar*, but that would make it the only inscription consisting of nothing but the word *erilar* and the only instance of *erilar* in an oblique case.

<sup>2</sup>This topic will be discussed in *Reference to stone or memorial*, in section 5.1.4.



Table 5.1: Runic Single Word Name Inscriptions

Object	Origin	Name	Gender and Case	Date
Meldorf fibula	Germany	<b>I(d)i(n)</b> or <b>Hiwi</b>	?	mid 2nd c
Vimose comb	Denmark	<b>Harja</b>	mn	ca 150
Illerup firesteel handle	Denmark	<b>Gauþr</b>	mn	deposited after 205
Illerup lance blade 1 and 2	Denmark	<b>Wagnijo</b>	?n	deposited after 205
Illerup shield handle fitting 3	Denmark	<b>Laguþewa[ʀ]</b>	mn	deposited after 205
Illerup shield handle fitting 1	Denmark	<b>Sw(a)r(ta)</b>	mns	deposited after 205
Illerup horn fitting	Denmark	<b>(Funir) ...</b>	mn	deposited after 205
Mos lance blade	Sweden	<b>Ga(o)is</b> or <b>Ga(ŋ)is</b>	?	late 2nd to early 3rd c
Næsbyerg fibula	Denmark	<b>(W)ara(flu)s(ǣ)</b> or <b>(W)ara(fni)s(a)</b> or <b>(W)ara(win)s</b>	mn	early 3rd c
Vimose lancehead	Denmark	<b>Wagnijo</b>	mn	early to mid 3rd c
Øvre Stabu lancehead	Norway	<b>Raunija(ʀ)</b>	mn	early to mid 3rd c
Gudme shield buckle fitting	Denmark	<b>[L](e)þro</b>	?n	probably 3rd c
Bratsberg runestone	Norway	<b>þalir</b>	mn	2nd–4th c
Tanem stone	Norway	<b>(M)aril[i](ngu)</b>	fn	2–4th, possibly 6th c?
Himlingøje I fibula	Denmark	<b>Hariso</b>	?n	3rd–4th c
Fälleseje knife	Denmark	<b>Witr(ing)</b> or <b>Witr(o)</b>	mn	4th c
Nydam belt plate	Denmark	<b>Rawsijo</b>	mn	400
Tveito runestone	Norway	<b>Taitr</b>	mn	early 4th to mid 5th c
Strårup ring/torque	Denmark	<b>Leþro</b>	?n	5th c
Aalen torque	Germany	<b>Noru</b>	mn	540–610
Eidsvåg runestone	Norway	<b>Hararar</b>	mn	4th–7th c
Tørvika A stone	Norway	<b>Landawarija(ʀ)</b>	mn	late 5th c
Unknown/Eastern Europe	Eastern Europe	<b>Wa(ig)a</b>	mn	mid 5th to mid 6th c
C-Bracteate	Europe			
Norway B-Bracteate	Norway	<b>Anoanā</b>	?n	mid 5th to mid 6th c
Donzdorf fibula	Germany	<b>Eho</b>	?n	early 6th c
Sunde runestone	Norway	<b>Widugastir</b>	mn	6th c?
Weingarten fibula II	Germany	<b>Dado</b>	mn	early 6th c
Oettingen fibula	Germany	<b>Auisab[i]rg</b>	fn	mid to late 6th c
Borgharen belt buckle	Netherlands	<b>Bobo</b>	mn	late 6th c
Aschheim S-fibula III	Germany	<b>Da[n]do</b>	mn	550–570
Kirchheim/Teck fibula I	Germany	<b>Arugis</b>	mn	late 6th c
Friedberg fibula	Germany	<b>þuruphild</b>	fn	late 6th c
Bopfingen fibula	Germany	<b>Mauo</b>	mn	6th to 7th c
Kalmergården fibula	Denmark	<b>...Ualis</b>	mg	650–700
Belland runestone	Norway	<b>Keþan</b>	mg	no arch. date
Møgedal runestone	Norway	<b>Laiþigar</b>	mn	no arch. date
Saude runestone	Norway	<b>Wa(nd)a(r)adas</b> or <b>Wa(j)a(r)adas</b>	mg	no arch. date
Skärkind runestone	Sweden	<b>Skinþa-Lcu(b)ar</b> or <b>Skinþaleu(b)ar</b>	mn	no arch. date
Vånga stone	Sweden	<b>Haukoþur</b>	mn	no arch. date
Førde sinker	Norway	<b>Alu(k)o</b>	?n	no arch. date
Himmelstalund cliff	Sweden	<b>Brando</b>	?n	no arch. date

Single word naming inscriptions do not give us any information about their function within the inscription text itself. Instead we have to rely on the context, usually on the type of object and where possible the archaeological context to determine the function. As Graf (2011: 220) points out, this approach is susceptible to anachronistic assumptions that lack cultural context. The most important context is thus a comparison to comparable objects inscribed with longer inscriptions, which contain more information.

### 5.1.2 Extended naming formulas

#### *Personal pronoun*

The use of the first person pronoun in Runic inscriptions is not a grammatical necessity, as evidenced by inscription **runo fahi raginakundo. tojeka unaþu ...hwatin Ha[u]koþu** on the Noleby runestone, which contains a first person singular verb *fahi* ‘paint’ without the accompanying pronoun. Instead it is a stylistic choice and can be considered emphatic (Hultgård 1998: 787). It occurs on items of attire such as fibulas and belt plates, on bracteates and remarkably frequently on stone.

In the Kårstad inscription **ek Aljamark(i)R | baij(i/o)R** it appears together with a name and epithet, which presumably describes the named person or his social position. Similarly, on the Nordhuglo stone it precedes a title, a name and potentially further identifying information: **ek gudija Ungandir ... possibly: i H[ugulu]**. On the Rosseland stone inscription **ek W(a)gigar (I)rilar Agilamundon** the pronoun occurs with a name, the title *erilar* and a further name in the genitive, i.e. ‘I WagigaR, IrilaR of Agilamundo’. The Veblungsnes stone **ek (I)rilar Wiwila(n)** is similarly composed but ambiguous: the name could be in the genitive or nominative and refer either to the *erilar* or their superior. On the Årstad runestone it follows a male and female name and precedes a further male name or epithet: **H(iw)i(g)ar | S(a)ral(u) | (ek) Winna(R)**. While it could technically describe the man named in the first line of the inscription, the layout of the stone, with a large gap between the first two names and the third line, indicate that it is more likely to be a maker’s mark, while the first two names refer to the people being commemorated.

As for mobile items, the Bratsberg fibula inscription **ek erilar** has a further case of the pronoun being combined with the title *erilar* but without a name. On the Gårdlösa fibula **ek Unwod(ir)**, it is not clear whether the name following the pronoun is a name, or an epithet. The pronoun also occurs in the Kragehul spear shaft inscription’s naming formula, which is discussed in section 5.1.3. The Sønder Rind bracteate contains the epithet *winir* ‘friend’ followed, rather than preceded by a pronoun and preceded by a divider. Düwel (2008: 50) suggests *Fakar*, which occurs on the Sønderby/Femø C-Bracteate inscription **ek Fakar f[ahi]** together with a pronoun, may in fact be a poetical word for a horse used as a name for Odin, but it may also just be a personal name.

The Himlingøje II fibula inscription **[ek] (W)iduhundar** and the Heilbronn-Böckingen belt plate inscription **[i](k) Arwi** are sometimes cited as examples of personal pronouns. However, the



Figure 5.2: Naming inscriptions with an I-formula

pronoun, though read by some (Looijenga 2003: 243, Opitz 1977: 26), is not clearly legible in either of those inscriptions. Düwel and Pieper (2003) suggest that [e]k Ahi... may have been what the writer of the Aschheim fibula attempted to write, but if that is indeed what they were going for, their success was limited. As it is written, the inscription is not semantically meaningful.

Just like the runestones on which they frequently appear, inscriptions with the emphasising pronoun are a solidly Scandinavian phenomenon. More than that, the I-emphasis is an Elder Futhark phenomenon, according to Marold (2015) it does not occur in this form in Younger Futhark inscriptions. The only examples on South Germanic objects are not clearly legible and this makes it even more likely that those inscriptions do not, in fact, feature a first person pronoun. Just over half of the inscriptions that feature a pronoun are naming inscriptions, while the remaining examples can be identified as maker's inscriptions. They are the Barmen, By, Ellestad, Järsberg, Kjølevik, Reistad and Rö runestones, the Eikeland and Etelhem fibulas and the Eskatorp bracteate. The emphatic pronoun occurs at the beginning of a phrase or the inscription. On the Björketorp and the Noleby stone we find an enclitic use of the personal pronoun, rather than the emphatic and initial usage of the classic I-formula. These are not classic maker's inscriptions and do not put the focus on the writing or acting person.

### *Epithets and patronyms*

Epithets, including bynames, nicknames, patronyms and titles, are frequent in Runic naming inscriptions, though bynames and nicknames especially are not always distinguishable from names.

The inscription **Harija (1Z) Leugar (1Z)** on the Skääng stone is ambiguous. According to Looijenga's (2003: 335) interpretation the names could denote separate people or a single person, whereas Antonsen (2002: 221) prefers to read the first name as an oblique case rather than a nominative, **harjan leugaz**<sup>3</sup> '[monument of] Harja, Leugaz [made it]'. It seems worth noting that this stone was later re-used for a Younger Futhark inscription. Antonsen (2002: 221) prefers to read what others consider a divider as a corrected *n*. The first name is thus interpreted as a genitive of the name of the commemorated and the second name as that of the commemorator. However, Looijenga (2003: 335) suggests this stone may only contain one name with an epithet, possibly referring to a tribal name.

The Nordendorf fibula may contain an epithet referring to the gods that are named in the inscription. The clue to the interpretation of the mysterious word *logapore* lies in *logðor* a word attested in Old English glosses that is usually translated as 'deceitful' (Düwel 1982: 80f.) or 'trickster' (Derolez and Schwab 1980–1981). The difficulty is the final *-e*, for which Düwel (1982: 84) suggested an interpretation as an *a*-stem plural ending, which enables an interpretation of *logapore* as an epithet referring to Wodan and Wigijonar.

The Schretzheim fibula is inscribed **sinþwag[j]andin | Leubo**. Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 297ff.) suggested interpreting the first word as a dative 'to the traveller', which would indicate a personal dedication from a man named *Leubo* to a travelling friend. Most of the criticism of this interpretation has been based on the problem that the fibula was found in a woman's grave, whereas the inscription is not addressed to a woman. This issue was already addressed by Krause, who suggested the gender neutral type of fibula might have changed owner after being inscribed. Nevertheless, Düwel and Nedoma (2004) prefer an interpretation of *sinþwaggandin* as an instrumental, rather than a simple dative, and translate 'because of the travels'. Thus the word denotes the cause for the gift rather than its recipient.

The Sønder Rind bracteate inscription (1Z) **(w)inir ik** does not contain a personal name, only the epithet 'friend', followed by the personal pronoun. While this appears to be a fairly sensible assertion 'I am a friend', it is a rather unusual choice of epithet for a rune writer.

The only clearly legible part of the Bülach fibula is the sequence **Frifridil**, a male personal name preceded by an iterative sequence (Nedoma 2004: 300). Waldispühl (2013: 144f.) prefers to interpret this sequence as 'beautiful' but considers it potentially problematic that there is no precedent for adjectives on Runic inscriptions. In my opinion, such an adjective could then be considered an epithet, maybe referring to the owner of the fibula; one could imagine a gift giving context.

The Thorsberg sword chape inscription **o W[u]lþuþewar | Niwajemārir** consists of a name and a descriptive epithet on two separate lines. The name itself could be regarded as an epithet rather than a personal name, as it suggests a religious function with its meaning of 'servant of Ullr'. In which function, epithet or private name, it is used here, remains ambiguous. The descriptive epithet has

<sup>3</sup>Antonsen transcribes the ʝ rune, which is more commonly transcribed as **ᚱ** as **z**. This does not denote a difference in the reading of the inscription. Here and in future instances I have decided to retain Antonsen's reading as it is printed in his publications, rather than adapting it in any way.

been translated as ‘of immaculate repute’ (Antonsen 1975: 30) or ‘not through woe famous’ (Antonsen 2002: 144). It seems unusual for a byname to include a negation.

If one follows Antonsen’s (2002: 273) interpretation of the inscription **Andagas(t) | Laasauwija** on the Vimose buckle rather than Marstrander’s (1952: 62) and Krause’s (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 60) **Andag ans(u) | la ansau wi[h]ija**, which requires a significant amount of emendation, it consists of a male personal name followed by an epithet with the meaning ‘without luck’.

The most elaborate example of an extended naming inscription may be the inscription on the Lindholmen amulet: **ek erilar Sa(wil)agar ha[i]teka ' | ...' alu'**. It contains the pronoun, an epithet, a name, a naming verb, additional signs and a charm word. This decorated piece of bone has no obvious function.

Identifying individuals by their father is rare in the runic record. One example is in the Istaby maker’s inscription **AfATR Hariwulafa | HAþuwulafir HAeruwulafir | (wa)rait runAR þaiAR**, where this is expressed by the father’s name in the genitive. A patronym may be found in the case of *Holtijar* in the Gallehus inscription **ek Hlewagastir ' Holtijar ' horna ' tawido '**. The only example of filiation expressed in a naming inscription is in the dedicatory inscription **Godu(n) ' [L]ul[l]o ' þes ' Rasuwa(mu)nd Wo(þr)o...** on the Arlon capsule, where the relative pronoun implies a presumably paternal relationship of the first to the second and third dedicator.

The only title to be attested repeatedly is *erilar*, which always occurs together with an emphatic first person singular pronoun (Mees 2003:51; Düwel 2008b:71, Graf 2011: 230f.). Amongst the naming inscriptions, it appears on the Bratsberg fibula inscription, together with the personal pronoun, and on the Veblungsnes stone, with a pronoun and a name that could be in the nominative or genitive. Additionally, it appears in maker’s inscriptions on the runestones of By, Ellestad, Järsberg, Reistad and Rö as well as on the fibulas of Etelhem and Eskatorp, in all of them together with a personal pronoun.

Further titles are *gudija* ‘priest’, which is attested on the Nordhuglo stone with a pronoun, name and, speculatively, location ((Olsen 1912: 19) and *þewar* ‘follower, servant’, which is attested on the Valsfjord stone with a pronoun, name and an additional name in the genitive, and on the Sorte Muld handle fragment, which unfortunately cannot be read completely. It appears to consist of a fragment of a name, the epithet or name-component *þewar* and a diminutive of an additional name.

In a recent article, Mees (2012) has suggested to read the Meldorf inscription as *irile* ‘to the *erilar*’, instead of as a name (cf. section 5.1.1). The Meldorf fibula is the oldest known Runic inscription, but as the other *erilar* inscriptions are significantly later and the title appears only in the nominative and with a pronoun, Mees’ reading has to be considered speculative and unlikely.

What this title means is debated and so far etymology has been of little help to gain clarity in this issue. Attempts have been made to connect the term to either *Jarl/Earl* or the tribal name of the *Eruli* or *Heruli*. After a review of the quite extensive, though mostly dated previous research, in

his article on the etymology of *Eruli*, Taylor (1990: 110–115) convincingly concludes that the word is related, but cannot be equated to both *jarl* and *erilar*. Establishing a connection of *erilar* to *jarl* has the advantage that we are dealing with a title, a social function, which is also how *erilar* is used in inscriptions. Mees (2003) interprets it as a term of “clearly military-hierarchical origin”, ill suited to the “poetical, educational, or even magio-religious function” suggested by other scholars, such as Düwel (1992) who defines *erilar* as “einen Titel, dessen Träger, die Runenmeister, schriftmächtig sind, in priesterliche Funktion ‘weihen’ können und wohl einen hohen wenn auch nicht den höchsten sozialen Rang einnehmen.” (Düwel 1992: 62). This conclusion is based on the observations that

- the term is used alongside names, therefore must be a title rather than a name
- the *erilar* explicitly declares their ability to write
- the small number of inscriptions implicate a rare, and therefore most likely a high rank but that it cannot be the highest rank, based on the Rosseland inscription **ek W(a)gigar (I)rilar Agilamundon**, which mentions “the *erilar* of Agilamund” and finally that
- in the Lindholmen inscription, the *erilar* appears to be involved in a ritual action – an example taken by Mees (2003: 55) to be an exception.

Fischer (2005: 128ff.)<sup>4</sup> considers *erilar* an affinity, i.e. a chosen association (Fischer 2005: 11, 16ff.), defined by a common background of perhaps military nature, that required literacy. Mees prefers a more hierarchical interpretation, and visualises a Germanic society where the Runic terms *gudja*, *erilar* and *þewar* are distinct and clearly defined societal functions. However, none of the other terms are as well attested as *erilar*, making assertions about the societal functions of a *gudija*, for example, little more than guesswork.

While a title like *erilar*, or *gudija* or *þewar*, is not strictly speaking a name, it is treated in this category because it fulfils the same function in the inscription. The naming of a person or object, whether through a name or a descriptor of some sort, serves to situate that person or object in its societal and social context. The act of naming receives a permanence through being put into writing. Further communicative functions can be expressed by adding additional information to an inscription, e.g. a name in a different case, a verb or other further words or symbols that expand on the meaning of the inscription. Additional meaning can be added non-verbally by a specific cultural context – e.g. if a name is stamped into an object – our knowledge of Roman culture tells us this is likely to be a maker’s stamp, which other than naming the maker and defining them as the maker, serves to advertise the maker’s work. Alternatively, when written on a large stone, especially in a grave context, the additional function of the naming is to commemorate a person’s life and death, as well as their standing in society. Runic inscriptions like to add the first person singular pronoun ahead of a name,

<sup>4</sup>Düwel (2015: 284) prophesies that Fischer’s contribution to this topic will remain “isolated and without consequence” (my translation); I am inclined to disagree with Düwel on this account, but only time will tell.



Figure 5.3: Titles in runic inscriptions: ◆ *erilar* ● *þewar* ■ *gudija*

a step up in complexity from inscriptions consisting of names only. In terms of function, it suggests a self-identification of the writer or carver of the inscription. While a scenario of a commissioned first person inscription can be envisaged, it creates the impression of an immediate identification of the writer, rather than an independent third person. This especially applies when used not in combination with a name, but with a title suggesting a societal function, such as *erilar*. As the I-emphasis is so unique to the Runic record, its function should not be underestimated.

We can conclude that the Runic writers like to define themselves more through their societal function or a name-giving idiosyncrasy rather than by a patronymic or some other familial association. Both the I-emphasis and the title *erilar*, which are frequently found together, are predominantly found on stone inscriptions. These are publicly displayed monuments which serve to broadcast the identity of the writers. The Runic extended naming formula, especially in its variant with the title *erilar*, is considered a magical formula by some (e.g. Flowers 1986). This is however largely based on assumptions about the religious or magical functions of the title *erilar*; the mere formulaic nature of extended naming inscriptions does not prove any association with religious or magical ideas.

#### *Additional signs*

There is a difficulty inherent in this category to distinguish additional signs that represent non-lexical elements from those that did represent lexical elements that can no longer be reconstructed. An example for this is the Nordhuglo stone inscription, which ends in two signs, at which point the stone is damaged. We can speculate that the inscription was longer and may have contained a geographical localisation, as suggested by Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 146f.), but while the material evidence that

the inscription was damaged is present, there is no way to reconstruct what was lost. Additionally, this would be the earliest attestation of a place name in a Runic inscription, which makes it an unlikely reconstruction. An even more interesting case is that of Valsfjord, where the inscription was set up in a way that made sure it would eventually become illegible by the water that flows across it. Despite this, the reading and interpretation of the inscription is fairly straightforward and causes little disagreement. While there appears to be a part of the inscription that is no longer legible, what remains is an extended naming inscription, which includes a pronoun, a name, a title and a name in the genitive: **ek Hagustald(a)R þewar Godagas | ...** ‘I Hagustaldar, follower/servant of Godagas’. But despite this apparent completeness, it seems likely that the additional illegible signs were lexical and may have added to the content of the inscription. In the case of the Sorte Muld handle fragment it is unclear to me whether we are dealing with additional signs or with indecipherable fragments of meaningful elements. The Rickeby die is fragmented and the inscription damaged; it seems hard to assess whether our reading of the inscription **(HlA)hahaukr ...| ...** is correct and whether uninterpretable parts were lexical or not. Looijenga (2003: 337) reads an additional *albu* after the interpretable name and localises additional, completely illegible signs. It thus appears plausible that there could have been an intention to write a semantically meaningful inscription, but that the state of the object makes it impossible to reconstruct.

Some signs are more obviously non-lexical and appear to indicate the beginning or end of an inscription or be used as a word divider between parts of the inscription. The Skääng stone inscription contains either one or two additional signs. The inscription is concluded by a sign similar to a 7, and appears to feature a word-divider † between the two names or name components. Antonsen (2002: 221) has suggested that the word-divider is in fact no such thing, but a corrected attempt to write an †, enabling him to interpret the first name as a genitive. On the Nordendorf I inscription, the name *Leubwini* is followed by a rune-like sign that has been occasionally interpreted as Runic (cf. Nedoma 2004: 361 for a summary) but as Nedoma (ibid.) elaborates it is most likely a marker of the end of the text that additionally serves to separate the “private” part of the inscription from the “public” or “religious” part. Depending on whether the name on the Szababattyán inscription **Mar[i]ng | s ...** is considered to end in **ŋ** or **s**, the text is closed with a non-Runic sign or with a Runic and a non-Runic sign. The non-Runic sign defies easy comparisons to known symbols, runes or bind-runes and it may be used to indicate the end of the inscription (Nedoma 2004: 377). The Steindorf sax inscription is preceded by a symbol which may serve to indicate the beginning of the text. Traditionally (e.g. Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 300ff.), the inscription is interpreted as a name, but Waldispühl (2013: 310) argues that the inscription is too corroded at this point to confirm whether it was ever lexical or whether it represents a non-lexical rune sequence. The semantic component of the Sønder Rind inscription, the word ‘friend’ and the personal pronoun (see above), may be not interpretable with certainty, but they do seem to be preceded by a non-Runic symbol, also a type of divider.

Other signs and symbols appear to be decorative, especially if they resemble drawing more than writing, such as on the Ichtratzheim spoon. In addition to being inscribed with a Latin word, which is preceded by a cross, a name in runes and an object name in runes, the Ichtratzheim spoon is engraved



with a seriffed cross and a vine leaf. The Krogsta inscription is accompanied by a drawing of a person with raised hands.

Some decorative symbols still resemble writing more than drawing. The Svarteborg medallion imitation (IK 181) is inscribed with a name in the front, which appears to be preceded by two Latin capital letter **S**, most likely decorative. It could be taken to indicate the beginning of the inscription, but that would require it to be more distinct from it in nature. On the back of the medallion there are additional non-lexical signs similar or identical to runes and Latin capitals. This shows that non-lexical use of runes or Latin letters is not exclusive to illiterate artists, but can also occur side by side with lexical inscriptions. The needle holder of the Værløse fibula was initially decorated with a frame and a swastika, the runes were added at a later stage with a different tool, partly overlapping with the frame and squashed in before the swastika (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 33f.). Accordingly, the swastika was not originally adjacent to the writing and is only put in relation to the inscription after the fact.

The method of execution may give an indication of the decorative purpose of certain elements. The Wurmlingen lancehead has two inscriptions, as it were, both inlaid in silver. The one above is made up of non-Runic signs, imitating the appearance of script. Whereas the one below **(1Z) Dorih** starts with a Y-like sign and is followed by a name in Runic characters. Both script and script-imitation are clearly decorative; this is indicated by the use of silver and the manufacturing technique of the inscription. The weapon name **Ra[n]nja** on the Dahmsdorf lance blade is similarly accompanied by non-lexical, non-Runic signs, including circles and swastikas, but unlike on the Kowel lance blade both the non-Runic signs and the Runic inscription were applied in the same silver inlay.

Some non-lexical elements are still actually Runic, but appear not to belong to the lexical part of the inscription. The Beuchte inscription(s) consist of three separate parts in different qualities, which may have been made by different people at different times (Waldispühl 2013: 260): a Futhark-inscription<sup>5</sup>, a name inscription and an hourglass-shaped ornament whose lines partly overlap with the name inscription. The Futhark-inscription is finished by two signs which are not part of the sequence, **ᚱ** and **ᚓ**, which have been taken as ideographs (German “Begriffsrunen”) (Düwel 1975)<sup>6</sup>. The Kowel lance blade is decorated on both sides with non-Runic, non-lexical signs, such as circles with central dots, swastikas and rune-like signs, and additionally on one side with a Runic inscription **Tilari(d)s**, which presumably denotes the weapon’s name (cf. section 5.1.4). A cross like symbol on the side without inscription has sometimes been considered a variant of an **ᚦ** rune, to be interpreted as an ideograph, but it is not silver inlaid, as the runes on the other side are. This means that even if it is Runic, which is doubtful, it is not visually part of the inscription, but of the non-lexical decoration. Both fibulas A and B of Dischingen are inscribed, but only B contains a lexical component: a female

<sup>5</sup>This is the only Futhark inscription discussed in detail, as all others do not contain any lexical elements. A list can be found in Table 9.3.

<sup>6</sup>Individual runes may be read as ideographs in certain cases. Düwel (1975) identifies various criteria that may indicate such a use. These include the syntactical embedding of the rune into the rest of the inscription as well as various ways of visually highlighting and separating individual runes. However, cases where ideographs can be convincingly interpreted in the context of the entire inscription are rare and attempts to read any difficult inscription by turning to ideographs need to be viewed with scepticism.

nickname **Winka**. Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 297) mention additional lines on fibula A, which he does not consider Runic. It is not clear from his description whether he considers them intentionally drawn at all. The fibula B is also inscribed with individual runes, which do not appear to be lexical, namely a reverse **f**, an **e** and in a different spot a sign similar to a **d**. Krause and Jankuhn (ibid.) consider the possibility of treating it as a single inscription. As the fibula is lost now (Opitz 1977: 16), it is not possible to examine it closer to determine the likelihood of this possibility. The Soest fibula is inscribed with several, presumably separate inscriptions. One appears to consist of two short names, **Rada** and **Daba**, separated by a divider consisting of short lines. The second too has often been interpreted as a lexical inscription. It is arranged in a rune cross and may represent an encoded name. The remaining Runic and non-Runic signs are undeniably non-lexical: Waldispühl (2014, 153ff.) identifies three, **t**, **i**, and **d** and two non-Runic signs or symbols and suggests that they may have been copied as imitations of writing. The Thorsberg sword chape inscription starts with an **o** that has sometimes (e.g. by Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 53) been interpreted as an ideograph. Antonsen (2002: 144) prefers to see it as part of the inscription itself, as the first rune of the name. Imer (2015: 114) considers Krause and Jankuhn's interpretation of *niwajemari* as a byname the most reasonable.

Finally, there are longer sequences of inscriptions that appear nonsensical and thus not lexical. There are several of these that do not contain any lexical elements at all, they are not listed in the corpus but can be found in Table 9.2. I only discuss those that appear in combination with lexical elements. At its core, the Bülach inscription consists of a name (Nedoma 2004: 297ff.) or epithet 'beautiful' (Waldispühl 2013: 265). The initial syllable of the name is repeated, possibly reflecting a nickname. The rest of the inscription consists of Runic and a non-Runic, comb-like symbol that cannot be fully read or interpreted. It does not seem structured enough to be purely decorative (by admittedly modern standards), so one must assume either a non-lexical imitation of writing or a no longer legible lexical sequence. Waldispühl (2014: 140f.) suggests the non-lexical parts may have been inscribed by a different person than the writer of the lexical component, possibly at a later stage, in a different environment where only a reduced knowledge of Runic literacy was available. The non-lexical part of the Elgg inscription **Domo | (k)in(d)ini(k)** (Graf et al. 2016) differs from the lexical component in its technical execution. It is difficult to establish whether both were made at manufacture, or whether the non-lexical parts were added at a later stage, perhaps by the owner of the piece. Equally unclear is the relation of the lexical part to the non-lexical part, which Graf et al. (2016: 388) consider to be script-imitation. The question is whether it has to be considered a separate inscription or whether it was intended as an addition to the existing one. A special case are the identical bracteates Darum II and Skonager I. Axboe et al. (IK41,1 and IK41,2) that suggest it could possibly be a copy of a formula consisting of a name and a verb *haitika* 'I am called', which is attested on the Køge II C-Bracteate (IK98). It may also simply be an imitation of Roman capital letters with no semantic interpretation.

All of the inscriptions discussed above were naming inscriptions that contain additional signs and symbols. These also appear with maker's marks on the Ellestad stone, the Freilaubersheim fibula, the Pforzen ring, the Weingarten fibula, the Wapno C-Bracteate, the Eskatorp F-Bracteate, the Halsskov Overdrev C-Bracteate and the Sønder Rind B-Bracteate. Indeed, they are a frequently found decora-

tive element on bracteates and also appear on the following charm word bracteates (cf. also section 7.3): Allesø B-Bracteate, Denmark I C-Bracteate, Djupbrunns II C-Bracteate, Funen I C-Bracteate, Gudme II C-Bracteate, Hammenhög C-Bracteate, Heide B-Bracteate, Hesselager C-Bracteate, Hjør-lunde Mark/Slangerup late C-Bracteate, Lellinge Kohave B-Bracteate, Lyngø Gyde C-Bracteate, MaglemoseII/Gummersmark C-Bracteate, MaglemoseIII/Gummersmark C-Bracteate, Nebenstedt I B-Bracteate, Køge II C-Bracteate, Sønderby/Femø C-Bracteate, Skåne I B-Bracteate, Sjælland I C-Bracteate, Skonager III C-Bracteate, Tirup Heide/Skåne V, Ølst C-Bracteate, Fjärestad/Gantofta C-Bracteate, Tjurkö II/Målen C-Bracteate, Skåne III C-Bracteate and Gadegård C-Bracteate.

### *Naming verbs*

A number of naming inscription contain a verb as well as a name. One of them is found on the Järsberg stone and is an example for how challenging the reading order can be on a runestone and how cryptic to our modern eyes. The inscription consists of

I (U)bar h[a]ite 'H̄araban̄ar in large runes, left to right

II h̄ait[e] in smaller runes, right to left

III ek̄erilar again in larger runes, though slightly smaller than I., left to right

IV runorwaritu in smaller runes, left to right until the w, then right to left, in boustrophedon style

Due to the runes being larger, Antonsen (2002: 121f.) identifies lines I and III as the main text, and the other lines as supplementary. We can easily identify a naming formula with an *erilar* formula and a maker's formula with the word *waritu* 'write' and a mention of the runes. Whether the two instances of *hait*, which is spelled *bite* once, indicate two named persons or one partly depends on how the main text relates to the supplementary text.

Another example is the Kalleby stone inscription **Þrawijan ' haitinar was ....** It is difficult to determine it consists of one or two instances of naming, i.e. whether the inscription as we read it today consists of one or two parts. There is the name in the genitive, which attracts attention in itself, as it appears to be the stone or monument that is being named as belonging to/being made for *Þrawija*, while the object itself is not specified by means of an appellative. The section that follows could either be part of that first naming component, or be a fragment of a second one, where the name is missing. Finally it is found on four mobile items: the Lindholmen amulet **ek erilar Sa(wil)agar ha [i]teka ' | ...' alu'**, possibly the Darum II A-Bracteate and the Skonager I A-Bracteate **Ara [ng] ... [hai]ti[k]a ...**, the Køge II C-Bracteate **Hariuha ' haitika ' Fa(r)auisa gibu auja ...**, and the Trollhättan II C-Bracteate **' eekrilar ' Mariþeubar haite ' wrait alapo**, which also features a maker's formula. Interestingly, these inscriptions have little in common aside from using a naming verb: only three of them contain the *ek erilar* formula and some use an enclitic form of the personal pronoun rather than the emphatic initial

*ek*. They occur on different types of objects, including bracteates. They also use different forms of the verb, which again indicates it was not part of the standard naming formula.

### 5.1.3 Runic Maker's signatures

It may be argued that these are not strictly speaking naming inscriptions. Unlike all other inscriptions discussed in this chapter, they convey additional information concerning an action. However, a closer look reveals that the vast majority of Runic maker's signatures have more in common with the Runic extended naming formula than with the maker's marks found in the Latin or Gallo-Latin pragmatic writing culture. In maker's signatures, the naming formula is extended further by either an object, a rune reference or a verb of making. The making verbs rarely refer to manufacture of an item, but largely centre on the writing, carving or painting of runes, that is, the application of the inscription. The focus still remains on the same symbolic presence of the individual, while further expanding the naming formula with information about that person's role in the creation of the inscription – something that can be presumably considered implicit in other extended naming formulas as well.

#### *Making verbs*

There is no single verb or formula that is used in the Runic corpus to refer to the making of objects, the writing of Runic inscriptions or the erecting of a monument. Instead there is a large number of different verbs and expressions, some of which are ambiguous in their reference. While one might expect a shift of focus from the named individual to the action in the maker's inscriptions in comparison with the naming inscriptions, Runic maker's inscriptions still closely resemble expanded naming formulas.

Quite unambiguous, but surprising, when compared to Classical and Gaulish maker's inscriptions is *\*wrait* - 'wrote'. It is surprising because it is the most frequent and near exclusive choice of maker's verb in the South Germanic Runic inscriptions. But it does not, as one might expect, refer to the manufacture of an item, but to the writing of the inscription, as it is used in combination with the word *runar* 'runes'. The Istaby inscription **Afatr Hariwulafa | Haþuwulafir HAeruwulafir | (wa)rait runar þaiar** "Haþuwulafir, son of Heruwulafir, wrote these runes" is one example and it is interesting to see that despite the clear monumental funerary memorial context, the act of writing rather than the act of making or erecting the monument is emphasised. The inscription is slightly unusual in that it does not include a first person pronoun but is entirely written in the third person. Additionally, the named writer of the runes is identified by a patronym.

The verb is also used on the Eikeland fibula inscription **ek Wir Wi(w)io writu i runor asni**. Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 47f.) translated the Eikeland inscription as 'I, Wir, write the runes for Wiwia now'. The last word was parsed as a *s(i)n(n)i*, a precursor of Old Icelandic *í sinni* 'now'. This is rather awkward and has no parallels in other inscriptions and the solution was deemed unsatisfactory

even then. Grønvik (1987: 50–60) instead would like to read **asni** as \**āsni* ‘dearest, beloved’. This plausibly refers to the addressee of the inscription: ‘I, Wir, write the runes for Wiwia, the beloved’, but the distance between the name and the epithet is conspicuous and indicates that this is not an accurate translation. Instead, Grønvik (ibid.) believes that the phrase *ek Wir Wiwio* refers to the subject: ‘I, Wiwio’s Wir/Wir belong to Wiwio/Wir of Wiwio wrote the runes for the beloved’. Grønvik (1987: 57) suggests this phrase expresses association, and that while it is possible that the inscription was engraved as a personal dedication in connection with a gift, he considers it more likely that this was given to the deceased who was buried with the fibula as a last goodbye. Antonsen (2002: 70f.), who’s reading and interpretation differs from Grønvik’s, interprets this word as a patronymic. This is an attractive interpretation, as it would make it an extended naming formula similar to that on the Gallehus inscription **ek Hlewagastir ' Holtijar ' horna ' tawido ' .**

According to Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 270ff.), the Sievern bracteate inscription (**rwrl**)**ilu** could have been copied from a model inscribed with *r[unor] writu* ‘I wrote the runes’. The inscription on the Sievern bracteate itself is not interpretable however. Another example on a bracteate is the Trollhättan II C-Bracteate inscription **' eēkrilar ' Mariþeubar haite ' wrait alapo**. The writer’s formula follows an extended naming formula, the object of the writing action is difficult to interpret (Axboe and Kallström: 165–167).

The Reistad inscription has traditionally (e.g. Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 170ff.) been interpreted as **(Idr)ingar | (e)k Wakrar ' unnam | wraita** ‘Iþingar – I, Wakrar, understand writing’. To get to this interpretation, *unnam* is interpreted as a preterite-present verb with the meaning ‘I have learned’, i.e. ‘I know’ and *wraita* is considered a noun. This verb has no attested parallels in Germanic languages and the use of *wraita* as a noun is not otherwise found in Runic inscriptions (Antonsen 2002: 6–7). For this reason, Antonsen (ibid.), who reads the inscription as **(Idr)ingar | (e)k Wakrar ' Unnam(z) | wraita** suggests the interpretation ‘I dringaz – I Wakraz Untakeable wrote [this]’. An inscription consisting of an *ek*-formula with an epithet and a verb of writing is indeed more consistent with the rest of the corpus, as discussed above, and thus more plausible.

In the case of the Järsberg stone, the difficult reading of which is discussed in the previous section, the maker’s inscription **runorwaritu** and a second naming verb **hait[e]** are engraved in smaller runes than other parts of the inscription. I would like to agree with Antonsen (2002: 148) who concludes that it is impossible to read the inscription as one integrated text and that the smaller runes were most likely a later addition to an otherwise complete text. It seems possible they were meant to clarify aspects of the original runes, despite having done the opposite for scholars trying to read the inscription.

A South Germanic attestation can be found on the Freilaubersheim fibula inscription **Boso ' wraet runa ' | þ[i]k ' Da(þ)ina ' go(lida)**, where a maker’s formula consisting of a name, the verb *wrait* ‘wrote’ and the word *runa* ‘runes’ makes up the first half of the inscription, the second part is a personal dedication. A further example is found on the Pforzen ring inscription **... ' Aodlinþ ' urait ' runa ' | ... ' Gisali**, where the verb appears in the form *wrait*, albeit with an unusual spelling, and

the same formula as on Freilaubersheim is followed by a further name, presumably also intended as a personal dedication. The same formula is found on the Neudingen wood fragment, where **Bliþ-gunþ ' (w)rait runa** 'Bliþgunþ wrote the runes' appears after a personal dedication (cf. 7.3.1). The Weingarten fibula I inscription **A(e)rgunþ (')| Feha ' writ...** may contain the same formula, except the subject is expanded to include an epithet describing the same person or an additional name identifying a second subject.

*\*faiþian* 'to paint' is used in Runic writing as late as the 12th century (Fischer 2005: 62). Fischer speculates on a continuity in the periphery where this word was retained in its Runic use, suggesting it may have involved the same tools. As the oldest attestations for this verb are found on stones, it seems plausible to connect the choice of words with the paint that was applied to carved runestones (Ebel 1963: 35). This verb appears on the Einang runestone in combination with a name and the object 'runes': [...] **daga(sti)R runo faihido**. It also appears on the Vettelund stone, a memorial and the Rö stone. Aside from additional, undecipherable text (Antonsen 2002: 125), the Rö stone inscription consists of four lines, which are partly destroyed or indecipherable:

I **ek Hra(R)AR satido [s](t)ain[a] |**

II **(S)wabaharjar | ana...|**

III **S(a)irawidar |**

IV **...Stainawarijar (f)ahido |**

Line I and presumably also line IV, though the initial signs are illegible, consist of *ek*-formulas. While the first one deals with the setting of the stone, with the verb *satido*, the last line uses the verb *faihido* to denote the painting of the runes. This is a rare example of these things being mentioned separately on the same stone. The centre lines may deal with the person who is being commemorated. The verb *faihi* was probably also found on the Vatn runestone, which is inscribed with a name and a fragmentary verbal form **R(ho)al(d)R f(ai)....** The name is carved more clearly and deeply than the verb and Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 152f.) believe that the verb may have been added later. Their idea that the reference to rune writing would have served as protective magic for the grave mound on which the stone was placed is entirely speculation, however. The verb is also used in the first part of the Noleby stone inscription **runo faihi raginakundo** in reference to the expression **runo ...raginakundo** 'suitable divinely-derived rune'. It also appears on the Eskatorp bracteate and the Väsby? bracteate made from the same model, which seems to be inscribed with all the usual components: verb, possibly an object, a name, a pronoun and the title *erilar*, except they appear in a rather unusual order. It also appears on another bracteate, Halsskov Overdrev, which is otherwise largely illegible or uninterpretable and appear to be partly non-lexical, though it may include a name. The only other word that can be made out with any certainty is the charm word *laþu* 'citation, invitation' (cf. section 6.3.3), which indicates that the *laþu*, rather than the bracteate itself, may be the object of the making verb. The verb may also be attested on the Sønderby/Femø Bracteate inscription **ek Fakar f[ahi]**, if one considers the final

*f* of the inscription to be an abbreviation. Syntactically this is plausible, as it follows a pronoun and a name, but there are no other examples of this practice, even though it is commonly used in Latin inscriptions, where *f* may stand for *fecit*. This reading is additionally supported by the Åsum bracteate, which shows an inscription (**e**h*e*) **i**k **A**k*a*r (**f**)**a**hi that is very similar to that of Sønderby/Femø and has the verb written out in full. Another example where this abbreviation might be used is on the Stetten fragment inscription **A**m*e*l*k*u*n*d | **f**. However, this is considered uninterpretable by Looijenga (2003: 22f.) and script-imitation by Waldispühl (2013: 311), and thus cannot be considered solid evidence for the existence of this practice. Similarly, the Lauchheim inscription **A**o*n*o **f**a[ihi]**d**a could be an example of an abbreviated *fabi*-. Mees (2016: 16) suggests that the three **f**-runes that follow the words (**H**)**A**pu*w*o*l*a*f*A[**R**] | **s**a*t*e | (**s**)**t**A(**b**)**A** **p**r(i)**a** inscribed on the Gummarp stone could be a threefold repetition of this abbreviation. He compares it with the inscription CIL XIII: 2016 from Lyon, which ends with the tripled abbreviation PPP CCC SSS AAA DDD of the common Latin formula formula *p*(*onendum*) *c*(*uraverunt*) *s*(*ub*) *a*(*scia*) *d*(*edicaverunt*) ‘(all three) caused (this) to be placed (and) dedicated while it was under construction’.

The Proto Germanic verb *\*taujan* is usually translated as ‘to prepare’, though it is ambiguous in its reference – it could mean the object or the writing. According to Fischer (2005: 59ff.), who points out the semantic parallel to the Latin maker’s mark verb *fecit*, it is the earliest verb attested in Runic inscriptions, first found in the Garbølle inscription **H**agira*d*a*r* **t**awide ‘, but goes out of use in the 4th or 5th century AD and it does not appear in the continental Runic corpus. The same formula as on the Garbølle casket is also found on the Illerup shield handle fitting inscription, **N**iþi*j*o **t**awide, consisting only of a name and the verb. The famous Gallehus inscription **e**k **H**lewaga*s*tir ‘ **H**oltija*r* ‘ **h**orna ‘ **t**awido ‘, where it occurs with a final *-o*, he considers a late attestation, though what places it in the late phase isn’t clear to me, since the Gallehus horn cannot be dated more precisely than to the 3rd to 5th century AD. On the Gallehus horn the verb *tawido* is used to presumably indicate the manufacture of the horn, which in this case includes the manufacture of the runes. The verb is at the end of a complete maker’s formula, which further includes the pronoun, a name, patronym and an object.

The word *\*wurkian* ‘to work’ presumably had a more narrow meaning than *\*taujan* (Fischer 2005: 62). It is used on the Etelhem fibula inscription (**e**)**k** (**e**)**r**(i)**l**a*r* **w**[o]rt(a) (1?) , in combination with the pronoun and the title *erilar*. No object is named. The interpretation of the inscription is not entirely straightforward, as the signs appear to spell *m* instead of *e*, along with some other difficulties. This word also appears without reference to an *erilar* on the metrical Tjurkö I bracteate inscription **w**urte **r**un*o*r **a**n **w**alhaka*r*ne ‘ **H**eld*a*r **K**unimundiu ‘ referring to the making of runes. Marold (2015: 146f.) claims this unusual word was chosen for the alliteration, which would also be supported by its use in line A of the Tune inscription A: **e**k **W**iwa*r* a*f*ter ‘ **W**oduri | **d**e **w**itandaha*l*aiban ‘ **w**oraht(o). With reference to Tjurkö, Gustavson (2002) suggests the reconstruction ...[wurt/ort]e ru[nor] for the Tomteboda runestone fragments. However, only the ending *-e* remains of the verb, so this is only one of many options.

The Björketorp stone is largely a ritual inscription (6.2.4) that does not conform to the usual conventions of Runic maker's inscriptions, despite a focus on the act of engraving the runes at the beginning of the inscription: **haidruno ronu | fAlahak haidera g | inarunAR** 'the sequence of bright runes I hide here, mighty runes'. The process of making is expressed by the verb *falah-* 'hide, bury, transfer, commit' (Antonsen 1975: 86). Furthermore, the subject, rather than standing at the beginning and being the focus of the inscription, as would be expected, is reduced to an enclitic pronoun.

The verb *raisidoka* 'raised' is used self-referentially on the Ellestad runestone: **eka Sigimar(i)R afs | [A]ka raisidoka | staina(1-2?) | [...]**. It emphasises the erection rather than the making or inscribing of the stone.

The sparsely attested *\*taljan* – it appears as **talgida** and **talgidai** and the noun **talijo** – referred to the act of carving (Zimmermann 2015a: 416f.). It is thus similar to *\*writan*, which was the preferred term in the South Germanic Runic inscriptions. According to Zimmermann (2015a: 417) ON *telgja* is used predominantly when referring to wood, whereas fibulas are made from metal, but a semantic change is likely, i.e. a narrowing of a generic term that could also include metal in the early period. Aside from verbs relating to manufacture or writing, inscriptions can comment on the making of an item or inscription by referencing the setting or raising of a stone or monument, or by mentioning the runes or writing itself. The form *talgide* is found on the Nøvling fibula inscription **Bidawarijar talgid(e)** and on the Skovgårde fibula **Lamo ' talgida**, in a brief formula consisting only of a name and a verb. The ending, found in the form **talgidai** on the Nøvling fibula, requires explanation. Moltke (1963/1964: 39f.) believed it was a copying error **ƿ** for **ᛞ** made by an illiterate smith, who was working with a model provided by a rune writer. Stoklund (1995: 323f.) disagrees both with Moltke's assertion that *\*talgijan* could only refer to a wooden model and his assumption that the odd digraph is a copying error. Whether we are dealing with a variant, analogy or archaic spelling has not yet been ascertained.

The Schretzheim bronze capsule is inscribed with two brief sentences, each consisting of one or two names and the verb *ded-* 'did'. What it is they did is not specified, the idea that this is a blessing, as suggested by Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 299), is not favoured by Nedoma (2004: 172). It could possibly be interpreted as a maker's mark referring to the manufacture of the capsule, as Looijenga (2003: 255) suggests, but it is not clear why it is expressed through two sentences and with that verb. The same verb 'did' also appears on the inscription **Ulu ' hari | dede** on the Unterweser bone 3, where it is separated from the name by a word divider.

As Runic monuments are often inscribed with a maker's formula, it follows that a stone inscribed with a name only may also refer to the maker of the stone. Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 201) suggest this might be the case for the Eidsvåg runestone, just as for any stone inscribed with a personal name in the nominative. There are nine more runestones inscribed with an isolated personal name in the nominative, namely those of Bratsberg, Møgedal, Skärkind, Tanem, Tørvika, Tveito, Vånga, Östergötland and Sunde. If the Sunde stone indeed belongs to a woman's grave, the male name **Widugastir** found on it would likely be that of the person who either erected the stone, carved the runes or had them carved. Another case of this may be the Skåäng stone, which is inscribed with two



names; if they are both in the nominative the second could likely be an epithet, referring to the same person, as Looijenga (2003: 335) presumes. Antonsen (2002: 221), however, would like to read the symbol in the middle not as a divider but as a corrected *n*, making the first name a genitive, indicating for whom the monument was erected, and by implication the second name the maker or dedicator of the monument.

As discussed in section 5.2.1, a number of Runic inscriptions contain the title *erilar*. As it appears in apposition to names it must be a title (cf. for a discussion of the term). This title has been interpreted as ‘runemaster’ in the past, which would make *erilar*-inscriptions a specific type of maker’s inscription, in which the inscription does not refer to the action of making or inscribing, or the result of the action, but on the social function of the acting person. However, the interpretation of *erilar* as ‘runemaster’, as Krause and Jankuhn (1966) consistently translate it, is purely based on its use as a recurring title used by makers of Runic inscriptions; there is no evidence that the making of Runic inscriptions is the defining feature of people with this title. Accordingly, its use cannot be taken to indicate a focus on the act of writing or making; instead the focus seems to be on the naming. This means that the title *erilar* alone is not an indication of a maker’s inscription.

### *Runes*

There seems to have been an option in Runic maker’s inscriptions to omit the making verb, but include the object of the phrase, ‘runes’, such as on the Barmen stone, which reads (e)k þir(b)ij(a)r ru[nor] ‘I, þirbijaR ru[nes]’. Runes do not have to be called by that name, instead the Gummarp runestone inscription (H)AþuwolafA[R] | sate | (s)tA(b)A þr(i)a | fff refers to ‘three staves’, which were ‘set’. The subject in this inscription is referred to by name only, without a pronoun or epithet, though it has been argued Jacobsen and Moltke (1942: 406) that the name might be in the accusative and denote the commemorated rather than the writer. This is further backed up by comparing this inscription to that of Istaby, which also identifies a man named *Hapuwolafar* as its carver, but is written in a different set of runes (Looijenga 2003: 180). The runes can be additionally highlighted, such as on the Istaby inscription where they are mentioned together with the verb ‘write’ and emphasised by the demonstrative pronoun, or in the Noleby inscription where they are further specified by two adjectives: ‘suitable’ and ‘divinely-derived’. On the Eikeland fibula the word ‘runes’ is preceded by an *i*, presumably an article. Neither Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 47f.) nor Grønvik (1987: 50–60) comment on this, but it appears to be the only example for this usage. The runes are also mentioned in the South Germanic writer’s inscriptions from Freilaubersheim, Pforzen and Neudingen in the form *runa*.

It is not clear whether the ‘rune’ word can appear in abbreviated form. Antonsen (1975) suggests the Wapno bracteate inscription **Sabar** could contain an example of the word in an abbreviated form, and reads the final *-r* as separate, rather than as part of the name ending.

Other terms are used, Nedoma (2004: 204f.) suggests the inscription on the Bezenye fibula B (1Z)Arsi(b)oda **segun** is to be read as a maker’s inscription. The word *segun* has traditionally (e.g. by

Arntz and Zeiss 1939: 333) been interpreted as ‘blessing’, but while the word corresponds to present day German *Segen*, this meaning is secondary. The word is derived from lat. *signum* ‘sign, mark, symbol’, which is the meaning that presumably applies in this inscription as well. It is equivalent to the use of the word ‘runes’ in a maker’s mark rather than indicating a personal dedication, as is found on fibula A: **Godahi[l]d | unja** (cf. section 7.3.1).

### *Object reference*

The focus is not exclusively on runes. Stones are mentioned as objects in various inscriptions, such as on the Ellestad runestone, at the end of an inscription that includes the personal pronoun, a name, an epithet and the verb *raisidoka* ‘raised’ and on the previously discussed Rö stone. The By maker’s formula **ek erilar Hrorar Hrore wo(r)te þat arina [...] rmp** has all conventional components, starting with the pronoun, the title *erilar*, the name and the verb *worte* – whether the symbols that follow it were a part of the formula or a separate syntactic and semantic entity can not be determined. It is atypical that the same name is written twice, once as subject in the nominative and once as dative object. But equally unusual is the accusative object, described by a demonstrative and the word *arina*, which may refer to the stone, but only appears once in Runic corpus. Additionally, the famous Gallehus inscription mentions the horn in relation to the verb *tawido*.

#### 5.1.4 Multiple personal names

A small number of inscriptions contain several names rather than one, but no additional content. In some of these, one of the names is in an oblique case, evoking a relationship, both syntactic and social, between the two named persons. In others, all names appear in the nominative. The Berga runestone has two names inscribed: **Saligastir Finno**, a male name and one of indeterminate gender, both in the nominative. The relationship between these two people is not clear from context, so it has been suggested that they are both commemorated with this stone, potentially as a couple (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 193f.), or that one of them made the monument commemorating the other one (Antonsen 2002: 224). No more enlightening is the Griesheim fibula, inscribed with a male and a female name **Kolo ' | Agilaprup**, both most likely in the nominative. Another example is the Nydam strap holder inscription **Harkilar ' ahti | Anul(a)**. While Grünzweig (2004: 84) has suggested reading the second word **ahti** as a verb ‘attack’, it seems more plausible to presume the inscription consists of three names (Ilkjær in personal correspondence to Antonsen, cf. Antonsen 2002: 114). The first part of the Soest inscription **Rada Daba** consists of two female names in the nominative. According to Waldspühl (2013: 306ff.) the different parts of the Soest fibula inscription were inscribed separately, so the second part of the inscription, the rune cross, if it indeed represents an additional male name **At[t]ano** in the nominative, should perhaps be treated as a separate single word name inscription. The München-Aubing fibula, found in a woman’s grave together with a second fibula that features a semantically meaningless sequence of runes, is inscribed with a man’s and a woman’s name. The names *Segalo* and *Sigila* resemble each other but according to Nedoma (2004: 400) this is no reason

to suspect it of being mere play on words, as Lüthi does (2004: 327). There is no indication as to the relationship between the two named people. In the case of Weimar B inscription **Sig...| Bubo ' | Hiba '** it is unclear whether the inscriptions are related, or whether they are essentially three separate single word name inscriptions. All names, a male name, a male short form and a female name, are in the nominative, so there is no apparent syntactical relation between the three. A high level of literacy can be presumed for the area: a further inscribed fibula was found in the same grave and the same grave site also has an inscribed amber pearl and a Latin inscription (Nedoma and Düwel 2006). A slightly different case is the Gammertingen casket, which is not technically inscribed with two names, but with the same name twice: **Ad(o) A(d)o**.

Whereas the inscriptions discussed above give little to no information about the relation between the named persons, others give us a tantalising glimpse, though we can only speculate on the specific context. The Arlon capsule inscription **Godu(n) ' [L]ul[I]o ' þes ' Rasuwa(mu)nd Wo(þr)o...** consists of four identifiable names while the remaining sequence of signs cannot be interpreted. It starts off with a female name in the dative and male name in the nominative. This name is then followed by a relative pronoun that presumably communicates a filial relationship to the two men named afterwards, thus we can translate 'for Goda – Lullo [and] his [sons?] Rasuwamund, Woþro ...'.

The Kragehul spear shaft inscription **ek Erilar A[n]sugisal(a)s muha haite ga ga ga ...hagal(a) wiju** is fairly long, but the entire decipherable part of it consists of a naming formula: The writer, referring to himself with the first person singular pronoun, identifies himself as the *erilar* of Ansgisala and states by means of a naming verb that he is called Muha. This is an example of an inscription with several names conveying an idea of the social relationship between the people in question. As mentioned in the previous section, this inscription has been used to discuss the function expressed by the title *erilar*, as the inscription text establishes a hierarchical ladder where the *erilar* fulfils a function that is often expressed in inscriptions but that is also subordinate to other people or associated with someone of potentially higher authority. It seems slightly odd that this person of higher authority is not named with a title, but only with a name, although there is a parallel to this in the Valsfjord inscription **ek Hagustald(a)r þewar Godagas | ...** (cf. the subsection *Epithets and patronyms* in section 5.1.2), which names the *þewar* of Godagas, Hagustaldar. Instead, the focus of the inscription is the writer of the inscription, who identifies himself and broadcasts his identity and his status in the hierarchy by means of writing. What makes the comparison between these two structurally so similar inscriptions problematic, is the difference in medium. Whereas the Kragehul spear shaft is a mobile item, the Valsfjord inscription is carved into a cliff face. Though the message is similar, we do not know if they could have been intended for a comparable audience. Certainly the context in which they could have been read must have differed. The second part of the inscription consists partly of additional repetitive signs, but may still include additional semantic components, which will be discussed further in section 7.2.2.

Thanks to the mythological content<sup>7</sup>, the Nordendorf I inscription **Loga(p)ore | Wodan | Wig(i)ponar | (A)wa (L)eubwini** has attracted a lot of scholarly attention. Despite consisting exclusively of names or epithets, it conjures a vivid imagination of social and religious interactions. The first part of the inscription consist of two names of deities *Wōdan* and *Wīg(i)ponar*, preceded by *logapore*. On the interpretation of this word hinges the interpretation of the entire inscription, as that determines whether it is a religious inscription meant to honour the gods, or a christian inscription meant to denounce them: Düwel (1982) has suggested *logapore* could be taken to mean ‘deceitful’ or ‘tricksters’, rather than denoting another deity, such as Loki or Lóðurr (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 293f.). The second part of the inscription consists of a female and a male name in the nominative singular. Nedoma (2004: 226) presumes it could be a giver or love inscription, but there is no evidence in the inscription itself to support a specific interpretation. This second part of the inscription, which features personal names rather than deities, was written by a different hand to the first part.

Many of these inscriptions occur on small, personal, mobile items. These largely belong to the group of personal dedications (cf. section 7.3). Those on stone, on the other hand, are largely funerary monuments and similar memorials (cf. the following section). What they have in common, is that they serve to commemorate a relationship between people and usually involve the effort of one person (i.e. a gift giver or memorial placer) towards another (such as the recipient or the commemorated).

### 5.1.5 Object names

Not all names in Runic inscriptions denote people, some of them appear to refer to the inscribed object itself. Named objects can be divided into two further categories: weapons and other objects.

#### *Weapon names*

Weapon names contain additional information, rather than simply emphasising the nature of the object. Graf (2011: 216) considers them to be “strictly speaking appellatives”, perhaps appositions to an implied reference of the object itself. They are usually *nomina agentis* (Graf 2011: 217) and in Fischer’s opinion (2005: 66) denote a “persona or personification of an anima, with wishful characteristics”, he goes as far as to call them “the first literary personae in Early Runic”. Others may simply be imitations of Roman maker’s marks (Grünzweig 2004: 106), this is especially likely for the three **Wagnijo** inscriptions (Stoklund 1994: 106).

On two lance heads from Illerup and one from Vimose (Grünzweig 2004: 47ff.) the inscription **Wagnijo** was found. It is stamped on one of the Illerup lance heads and inscribed on the other two objects. It appears to be derived from *\*wegan* ‘to move, travel’ with an individualising suffix *-ijō* (Grünzweig 2004: 48f.), meaning something along the lines of ‘traveller’. It cannot be taken as an individual weapon name though, considering it has been found on three separate items. Instead it

<sup>7</sup>Setre, cf. sections 7.2.2 and 7.3.1, is the only other Runic inscription which may include a theonym.

may be a manufacturer's mark, something quite unique in the older Runic corpus. There may be a comparable case in the inscription on the Gudme shield buckle fitting (Imer 2010: 58ff.) which reads  $\text{textbf{[L]}(e)þro}$  and can be connected to the inscription **Leþro** 'the leathery' on the Strarup torque. According to Imer (ibid.) the runes are similarly shaped on the inscription, so they could have been manufactured and labelled by the same person. These manufacturer's marks differ from the weapon names found on other items and could have been inspired by Latin maker's marks.

Latin maker's marks can also be found further north. Imer (2010: 40–44) lists 49 known Latin fabrication stamps on imported items in Scandinavia for the Early Roman Iron Age, predominantly on bronze items. The stamps mostly feature a name, occasionally a Gaulish one, and an *f* for *fecit*. Some items also have weight designations. There is also one case of a bilingual Greek and Latin maker's inscription. In the Late Roman Iron Age (Imer 2010: 44–53) there are over twice as many known Latin inscriptions in Scandinavia – and also twice as many as there are Runic inscriptions in that same period. The majority of these Latin inscriptions are on swords, a new category in this period. The inscriptions on swords are usually placed in such a way that they would have been invisible once the handle was attached. This implies that they were relevant for the purchase, rather than intended to be read while the weapon was in use, but it does not necessarily imply a magical purpose (Imer 2010: 53; 61) Not included in this count are the approximately 12'000 Roman coins, which tend to date from the Early Roman Iron Age but show up in Late Roman Iron Age contexts in Scandinavia.

Inscriptions on weapons have been discussed in detail by Grünzweig in his 2004 monograph. He categorises them based on chronology, method of inscription and type of object. The following are silver inlaid lance- and spearheads from the second and third centuries<sup>8</sup>.

To this group belongs the Dahmsdorf lance blade (Grünzweig 2004: 33ff.), which is inscribed with the word **Rannja** 'runner', usually interpreted as a *nomen agentis* 'that which causes [enemies] to run'. A further example is Kowel (Grünzweig 2004: 28ff.), which is inscribed **Tilari(d)s**, a composite *nomen agentis* 'goal-rider'. Another is the Mos lance blade (Grünzweig 2004: 36ff.), where the runes appear to be oriented right to left based on their shapes, but can only be interpreted from left to right: **Ga(o)is** 'barker' (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 80) or **Ga(ŋ)is** 'goer' (Seebold 1991, tentatively) – neither of these interpretations are universally accepted, but it seems plausible that the inscription could have been intended as a weapon name like the ones on Dahmsdorf and Kowel.

From the same period, but inscribed rather than silver inlaid, are the lance head inscriptions of Øvre Stabu, Illerup and Vimose. The Øvre Stabu inscription (Grünzweig 2004: 45ff.) consists of embossed horizontal lines arranged into runes. It reads **Raunija(ᚱ)** and is also a weapon name of the *nomen agentis* type meaning 'tester'. Imer (2010: 56) considers the interpretations of the Mos and Øvre Stabu speculative and driven by the desire to read them as weapon names.

<sup>8</sup>Grünzweig's list further includes the spearhead of Rozwadów (Grünzweig 2004: 32), which is not included in my corpus because it is not interpretable. In general it bears noting that there are quite a few pieces of weapons and armour that are inscribed with uninterpretable or illegible Runic inscriptions or indeed with imitations of runes or non-Runic signs, that are not included here for that reason.

A slightly different case is the Vimose sword chape inscription **mari(h)a | (i)ala | maki(j)a** or **ala | marihai | maki(j)a**, which appears to use the word *makija* ‘sword’ in combination with the **mariha** ‘famous’ (Grünzweig 2004: 62, Imer 2015: 114). Whether the function is to label, like in the case of the equipment discussed below, or whether we are dealing with a more elaborate inscription, cannot be determined, as we are unable to interpret the rest of the inscription. There is one inscription with a potential parallel for the Vimose sword chape, namely the Kragehul knife shaft, which may be labelled with the word ‘shaft’, however that word is otherwise only attested in an Old English gloss, where it denotes shafts in a context of weaving. As the inscription is fragmentary, the word may very well be incomplete and the interpretation cannot be considered certain.

As can be seen from this list, the method of inscription varies, with some of them being labour intensive and decorative. The less decorative examples are more likely to be maker’s marks than weapon names. All of these are North Germanic, and while South Germanic inscriptions on weapons exist, they tend to mention the owner’s or maker’s names rather than that of the weapon, such as in the case of Wurmlingen or Schretzheim.

#### *Labelled equipment*

Objects that are not weapons may also be labelled (cf. Düwel 2002 for a discussion of the genre that includes younger inscriptions as well). Düwel accurately states that they are not to be compared with the weapon names, which emphasise the character of the object, instead they are ‘explanations’ of the object (Steuer 2015), though their actual function seems impossible to determine without knowing their cultural context (Düwel 2002: 355). Page (1996: 144) jokingly suggests that objects were identified “in case the literate user did not know what it was”; Page’s sense of humour is not appreciated by Fischer (2005: 63), who calls Page’s comment “facetious” and prefers the explanation that the inscription serves to separate the owner of the object and the object itself from the ordinary, uninscribed and illiterate.

The Ichtratzheim spoon was only found in 2011, and is thus not included in the Kiel database. Its inscription reads A: **+MATTEVS** B: **lapela** C: **Abuda**. It is thus engraved with – among other things like the Latin name of the evangelist Matthew and decorative elements – a personal name *Abuda* and the word *lapela* ‘spoon’, i.e. the name of the inscribed object. The co-occurrence of a personal name and appellative has the potential of bringing the inscription beyond the sphere of pure naming. Fischer et al. (2014: 21) ask whether “the existence of two nomina (a *nomen proprium* C, and a *nomen instrumenti* B) even imply a genitive phrase expressing a possessive relation where C owns B?”. The question has to remain unanswered, as we have no further information to shed light on the “relationship” between the object and the person other than their immortalisation on the spoon itself. Neither do we know, whether the writer of the runes intended to create a contextualisation with the previously present Latin inscription, which is christian in nature.

The Frienstedt comb is another find which is too recent to be included in the Kiel database. It is an extraordinarily early find, dating to around 300 AD. It was found in a chute with a presumably cultic function (Schmidt et al. 2011: 127) together with shards of ceramics, bones and other objects. This is an unusual find context for a Runic object; it is likely to have been deposited rather than lost, accordingly. The item is damaged, but this can be explained by the fragile material, bone, and is not due to the cultic context. The inscription was not added during manufacture, but after, though how close to the deposition cannot be ascertained (Schmidt et al. 2010/2011: 136ff.). As interesting as the object may be, it is merely inscribed with **ka[m]ba** ‘comb’, denoting the object itself. This is not the only case of a comb inscribed with this word: several centuries later and in completely different places, Toornwerd, Groningen in the 8th century and Elisenhof, Schleswig-Holstein in the 9th, combs were inscribed with **kabu** and **kabr**, respectively (Looijenga 2003: 305).

The Letcani spindle whorl inscription may also belong to this category. While Seebold’s (1994: 75f.) interpretation would make it a wish inscription, Krause’s (1969) interpretation:

‘Ido’s fabric is [this] here – Ragno’

which is regarded very critically by Seebold (1994: 76), and both of Looijenga’s (1996) interpretations:

A: ‘Ado’s ring (= spindle whorl) (is) down here’

or B: ‘grandmother of Ado (is) under here’<sup>9</sup>

consist of personal names and references to the inscribed item. The reference to the item is made by the adverb ‘here’, and in Looijenga’s interpretation A by the term ‘ring’, which is taken to mean ‘spindle whorl’. Krause’s (1969) interpretation on the other hand makes a more complex connection not only to the object itself but to the fabric that is produced on the spindle whorl. These interpretations, however, are resting on rather thin evidence and seem to be motivated partly by the object itself. No firm conclusion can be drawn from this inscription, and it may be safest to consider it uninterpretable rather than adding it to this category.

At this point I would also like to mention the Wremen stool inscription **[sk]amella | [a]lguskapi**. The first word of the inscription appears to be **skamella**, a Latin loan word meaning ‘stool’. While it does not exclusively name the inscribed item, the inscription is still entirely self-referential and tautological, as the second word of the inscription **[a]lguskapi** ‘stag scathing’ appears to refer to the hunting scene depicted on the front of the object, thereby further describing the item in question (Düwel 1994). Despite this, I hesitate to categorise it entirely as a naming inscription, as the ‘stag scathing’ is evocative of not only the item, but presumably a cultural practice.

A similar case is the Vimose plane inscription **talijo | ...wilir ...| ...hl(e)uno ....** Here as well the first word of the inscription appears to name the inscribed object itself, whereas the rest of the

<sup>9</sup>Cf. the subsection *Reference to stone or memorial* in section 5.1.5 for a discussion of this interpretation.

inscription may express a positive wish, though it cannot be fully read and interpreted (cf. section 7.4).

All of these objects are things that would have been suited to regular use, though some of them, like the spoon and the decorated stool were certainly considered out of the ordinary even before being decorated with a Runic inscription. Even the more elaborate Wremen stool and Vimose plane do not show the sophistication presumed for the Letcani spindle whorl inscription, the interpretation of which seems atypical and entirely unlikely. Script may have been used to elevate these objects above the mundane – it is ironic that this is done by repeating the item's most basic function in the inscription.

#### *Reference to stone or memorial*

Monumental inscriptions are the focal point of epigraphy, if not synonymous with it. At least this is the case for classical epigraphy, but as previously discussed, the situation in the periphery, in Gaulish and Runic inscriptions, is quite different. Most inscriptions are small and unobtrusive, on private objects rather than on monuments in a public space. Whereas such inscriptions address an individual reader who has to be in close proximity to the item in question, monumental inscriptions address anyone who moves into the space adjacent to the monument, i.e. the visitor of a grave site or the passer-by at a wayside memorial. Monumental inscriptions, according to Cooley (2012: 222), “were primarily concerned with memorialization”. The focus could be public, with an intention to glorify a city or more private, for the individual prestige of a person or family. The former appear to be rare or even non-existent in both Runic and Gaulish, so within inscriptions in the public sphere of a monument of some sort, it appears to be the concerns of individuals that dominate.

Memorials are inherently defined by the inscribed object, the monument, whether this is an elaborately decorated piece or a simple standing or lying stone. It is not strictly the content of the inscription that defines them, instead the text cannot be separated from its material context; Cooley (2012: 220) says “text and monument may complement each other”. This influence goes both ways: a monument influences how an inscription is read and interpreted, an isolated name carries different connotations on a personal item such as a fibula as it does on a funerary monument or a standing stone, and the inscription changes how the monument is perceived. Where in some cases an inscribed object can be a simple carrier of the message, a monument in the public space is an integral part of the message conveyed; the text cannot be read in isolation.

This is especially the case for funerary inscriptions, a subsection of memorials that commemorate a deceased person at their grave site. These can only be identified by the preserved grave or burial context, or a specific mention in the inscription text. Unfortunately, insufficient archaeological information, the destruction of evidence and the removal of monuments from their original location mean that it is not possible in all cases to identify a funerary inscription as such.



Runic memorial inscriptions are seldom elaborate. They do not usually contain much more information on the deceased than their name and possibly patronym. There is no set formulaic repertoire for memorial inscriptions or epitaphs. Memorials appear to be an individual rather than communal effort, one individual's attempt to commemorate a loved one, rather than a frequent part of the society's burial and memorial rites. This is especially expressed by the *after*-formula, found on the Tune and the Istaby stones. On the Istaby stone we find the inscription **AfATR Hariwulafa | HApuwulafR HAeruwulafIR | (wa)RAit runAR þAIAR**, “after Hariwulafa”, presumably meaning “in memory of Hariwulafa”. It seems likely, based on the shared second component of the names, that the commemorated person is also related to the writer and his father. The “after” formula also appears on the A-text **ek Wīwar after Wōduridē witandahalaiban worahto ...** (cf. section 6.1 for the B-text) on the Tune stone however, it is embedded differently. The Tune inscription starts as a classic *ek*-formula: after the writer's name, which is not accompanied by any additional naming elements, followed by the *after*-section, which is expanded with an epithet to describe the commemorated person. In those cases where no deceased person is mentioned, or if the name occurs in isolation, the interpretation as memorial inscription relies on the context. Longer inscriptions may allude to the memorial object itself, the grave, burial rites or contain a magical or religious inscription, such as a dedication to a deity or a curse on anyone who might disturb the memorial (cf. section 7.2). Often they are combined with, or even consist of, maker's inscriptions identifying the builder, carver, artist or simply the person erecting the memorial. Mees (2016) describes the Early Runic memorial texts as “rhetorical expansions”, which add a comment to the memorialising context by naming the additional information mentioned above. He admits that while they seem emotionally “minimalistic”, they are evidently hard to interpret from today's perspective.

The Rävsaal stone **Hari(w)ulfs ' stainAR** is inscribed with a male personal name in the genitive followed by the word ‘stone’ in the nominative plural. Indeed, when the stone was first mentioned in 1746, it was said to be surrounded by five additional stones without inscriptions, though already in 1844 it was only surrounded by three slabs of stone and in 1883 by two (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 183f.). It seems likely that the placement with other stones was original and that they, including presumably the inscribed stone itself, are being referenced in the inscription. Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 185) presume this was a grave monument and that the name in the inscription refers to the commemorated, rather than the maker or owner of the monument, which could also be seen as a plausible interpretation of the inscription.

Unlike the Rävsaal stone, the Krogsta stone inscription **...stainAR** does not appear to contain a personal name, instead where we might expect one based on comparison with Rävsaal, a non-lexical sequence of runes precedes the word ‘stone’, which is misspelled with  $\mathfrak{J}$  for  $\mathfrak{A}$ . Is it possible that this stone is a copy of an inscription with the formula *name's stone*, by a person whose knowledge of runes was enough to understand the formula, but not enough to replace one name with another. It seems prudent to add here that the above cited Krogsta stone cannot be cited as a model, as it uses e.g. a younger form of the *a* than is used on the Rävsaal stone. Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 186, 227) date the two stones about two centuries apart, though this is entirely based on graphological considerations, as

archeological dating is not possible. The misspelling may be taken as an indication of a low degree of literacy, a suspicion also raised by Looijenga (2003: 332) and indeed already by Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 227).

The Stenstad stone inscription **Ingijon hallar** is again similar to the Rävsaal stone in that its inscription consists of a personal name in the genitive, the gender of which is difficult to ascertain (Antonsen 2002: 272), followed by a word for ‘stone’. Unlike Rävsaal and Krogsta, which has the word *stain*, the Stenstad inscription has a word that is presumably the equivalent of ON *hallr* ‘(flat or round) stone’ (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 186). Krause and Jankuhn argue that the use of this word can be explained by the unusual size and shape of the small and round inscribed stone. It was found on top of a grave chamber which has been considered that of a woman due to the weaving equipment and jewellery found inside. It is therefore plausible that the inscription was a memorial for the buried person.

Another variation of this theme can be found on the Tomstad runestone. This stone is damaged, so that the beginning of the inscription ...**an ' warur** cannot be read any longer, but what remains is clear enough: a masculine genitive ending of a personal name and again a different name to refer to the stone: *waruR* ‘stone monument’. There is no context, grave or otherwise, preserved to shed light on whether this was indeed a memorial, as the comparison with Stenstad suggests.

There is a section of Runic funerary memorials that specifically mention a burial, grave or something related. These show parallels to maker’s inscriptions in that they consist of a naming inscription expanded by a verb relating to the burying, similarly to the act of writing or making, or they reference the object, such as the grave or burial, similar to inscriptions referencing the runes or the inscribed object.

The Amla runestone inscription is fragmentary: [...]**ir h(l)aiwidar þar**. Only the last two letters of the name, which is presumably the beginning of the inscription, are preserved. It is followed by the verb ‘buried’ and an adverb ‘there’. The Kjølevik inscription **Hadu(l)aikar | ek Hagusta[l]dar | h(l)aiwido magu minino** also uses that same verb, but this inscription includes both the name of the commemorator, identified with an *ek*-formula and the buried person, identified as the son of the commemorator: “Hadulaikar – I Hagustaldar buried my son”. The expression ‘my son’ gives the inscription a personal touch not otherwise found in these memorial inscriptions. We cannot know for sure, but it seems plausible that this inscription aims not to enhance prestige or power, but simply to express the grief of a father. The expression “my son” also occurs on the Vettelund stone, as **magor minas staina** “my son’s stone”, where it is part of a curse inscription and appears with a maker’s mark. The Bø inscription has a semantically equivalent nominal version of the Alma inscription. It consists of a name in the genitive and a word meaning ‘grave’: **Hnabdas hlaiwa**. Grønvik (1996: 81ff.) reads the Opedal inscription as **birgingu B(o)r(o) swestar minu | l(i)ubu mer wage** ‘burial Boro - my dear sister, spare me!’. He takes this as a marker of a burial for Boro (1996: 96). This interpretation is not certain, as the word Grønvik takes to mean ‘burial’ is frequently also interpreted as a personal name, with a quite different meaning for the whole inscription (cf. section 7.3.1). Looijenga’s (1996)

interpretation of the Letcani spindle whorl inscription B: **a(w)o | (A)dons uf (he)r** 'grandmother of Ado (is) under here' would make this the only non-monumental inscription to reference a burial. This interpretation has no recorded parallels and seems speculative. While there are no other spindle whorl inscriptions in Runic, as there are in Gaulish, comparison to other personal items indicate that a personal dedication is more likely than a funerary inscription, though as previously discussed, no interpretation of this inscription so far is very satisfactory. The Möjbro monument is unique among Runic stones as it seems to commemorate the violent death of the person named in the inscription by mentioning not only the name, but the cause of death of the slain warrior as well: **Frawaradar | ana hahai sla(g)inar** "Frawarada - struck on [his] steed".

## 5.2 Gaulish Naming Inscriptions

### 5.2.1 Single personal names

The number of Gaulish inscriptions can only be guessed for reasons previously explained (cf. section 2.1), as it is, the corpus only contains 14 examples, which have to stand in for this specific type of inscription. They are the small stele of Genouilly, which is found in proximity to other inscribed stones, including one with a Gallo-Greek inscription, the Venuses of Rextugenos – Type B and C, the Gergovie ring and the graffiti of Mont Beuvray, dated largely to the Augustan period, and Roanne. As is evident from this list, they appear on all types of objects represented in Gallo-Roman epigraphy, such as stone monuments, equipment and jewellery. The names appear mostly in the nominative, if the case can be determined with any certainty, and the gender varies. That the vast majority of inscriptions on this list come from a single location indicate that they are to be treated as a small list of examples rather than a complete account.

### 5.2.2 Multiple names

The inscriptions on the Reims ring **VIXVVIONI VEDZVI DIVVOGNA** and on the Thiaucourt ring **ADIA | NTVN | NENI | EXVE | RTIN | INAP | PISET | V** «*Adiantvnneni Exvertini Nappisetv* consist of two names, one in the dative and one in the nominative, the name in the dative is accompanied by a genitival patronym. While the people in the Reims inscription are of indeterminate gender, the recipient of the Thiaucourt ring is female. The likely interpretation is that the person named in the dative was the recipient and the person named in the nominative the giver. Neither the giving nor the gift are referenced explicitly in the inscription text, the act of gift giving is purely implied by the personal dedication (cf. section 7.3.2) on the inscription and the nature of the item. By including the patronym of the recipient as an additional piece of identification, a focus is placed on the presumed recipient of the item, who is presumably the target audience of the inscription. The person who gave the item and either wrote the inscription or had it commissioned, is only identified by their given name. The

Table 5.2: Gaulish single personal names

Object	Origin	Inscription	Gender and case	Date
Small stèle of Genouilly	Genouilly, Cher	...RVONDV	?	no date given
Gergovie ring	Gergovie, Puy-de-Dôme	VIRIOV	?	no date given
Mont Beuvray graffiti a	Mont Beuvray, Nièvre	...]AVFA[... or ...]VNHA[...	f?	no date given
Mont Beuvray graffiti b	Mont Beuvray, Nièvre	...]BHO	mn	late 1st c BC
Mont Beuvray graffiti c	Mont Beuvray, Nièvre	BITVCOS	mn	late 1st c BC
Mont Beuvray graffiti d	Mont Beuvray, Nièvre	DANO[?]	?	late 1st c BC
Mont Beuvray graffiti e	Mont Beuvray, Nièvre	DRVENTIA	?n	early 1st c BC
Mont Beuvray graffiti f	Mont Beuvray, Nièvre	IIPPA	fn	late 1st c BC
Mont Beuvray graffiti g	Mont Beuvray, Nièvre	IOVENTA or IQVENTA <sup>a</sup>	fn	late 1st c BC
Mont Beuvray graffiti h	Mont Beuvray, Nièvre	SENAOS	mn	late 1st c BC
Mont Beuvray graffiti i	Mont Beuvray, Nièvre	SIINO	mn	late 1st c BC
Roanne graffiti	Roanne, Loire	n/A	n/A	no date given
Venuses of Rextugenos, Type B	Unknown	IULOS	mn	1st and 2nd c AD
Venuses of Rextugenos, Type C	Unknown	PESTIKA	mn	1st and 2nd c AD

<sup>a</sup>Not Gaulish, but Gallicised Latin.

Reims II ring may be a similar type of inscription, but it is largely uninterpretable except for the initial nickname.

The three Saint-Marcel inscriptions **a VIINIIRIAN | VS SIINOS CLISOC | NO b TAVR IIIRE c DOMII | TIAN | VS** may be entirely separate or have some sort of connection, we do not know. All of them are naming inscriptions. Inscriptions b and c are kept entirely in Latin. They contain abbreviated and partly illegible elements but appear to be name inscriptions. Part a consists of two unabbreviated male names in the nominative, the first of which is Latin, whereas the second one is Gaulish and is followed by a patronym formed by the suffix *-ocno-*.

Some inscriptions with several names can be identified as maker's inscriptions due to their material context, such as the Graufesenque 7 inscription **Ian mod xeron[ or hippa[** consisting of three abbreviated potter's names.

### 5.2.3 Other components

A name inscription, even if it only refers to a single person, may still consist of several words or components, i.e. by including a patronym, title or epithet, either in full or abbreviated. Only six of these are included in my corpus of Gaulish inscriptions. Two of them, the Roanne graffiti b and the jug of Pîtres, do not actually contain an additional word, instead they contain additional non-semantic signs. In one case, the additional signs are arranged in a cross, in the other they frame the name. Three of them contain a patronym, two of which, the stele of Ventabren inscription and the cippus of Coudoux, are on stone. while the third, Roanne d, is a graffiti. One contains an adjective that serves as an epithet to describe the named person: *daga* on Graufesenque 4. It appears then, that including additional information on the named person in name only inscriptions is rare in Gaulish, as far as the limited information we have on Gaulish naming inscriptions can reveal.

#### *Patronym*

Patronyms are a frequent occurrence in Gaulish naming inscriptions. They occur in inscriptions which name a single individual, e.g. on the stele of Ventabren inscription **VECTIT[.?. | BIRACI[.?.** and the cippus of Coudoux inscription **BOVDIL | ATIS · ĽEMI | ŞVÑIA** and on the Roanne graffiti **d ardu moniocno**. They are also found on inscriptions that name more than one person, but no further content. One of them is Saint-Marcel 1, a list of partly abbreviated names with no obvious context. The two others, Reims and Thiaucourt (cf. section 5.2.2), are personal dedications indicating a gift; the patronym is applied to the recipient, not the giver.

*Epithets*

Epithets are rare in Gaulish naming inscriptions but appear occasionally in relation to women in personal dedications (cf. section 7.3.1). Adjectives are used as epithets on the Autun spindle whorl II · **TAVRINA · VIMPI** ///, which names or addresses a ‘beautiful Taurina’ and on Graufesenque 4 [**Aemi**]llia **dag[a]** ‘good Aemillia’. It is possible that the Autun spindle whorl 3 also belongs in this category, provided one follows Lambert’s (RIG-L-114) interpretation as ‘girl Viscara’ rather than reading *vis cara* as a Latin phrase and translating ‘girl, be gentle’.

The epithets found in Gaulish inscription are thus quite different to those found in Runic inscriptions. A major factor is that the Runic ones are usually applied to male runecarvers by themselves and are part of their self-presentation in naming inscriptions, whereas in Gaulish inscriptions, epithets appear in the context of personal dedications and are applied to female recipients of gifts and inscriptions by the writers and gift givers.

*Additional signs*

The Gallo-Roman corpus contains two naming inscriptions with additional signs, Pîtres and the Roanne graffiti b. The Pîtres inscription is, however, ambiguous and could be either Latin or Gaulish. It consists of two attempts to write a name in the genitive, potentially the owner’s. The one that is complete is framed by additional A-like signs, “the meaning of which escapes us completely” (RIG, L-84, my translation). Similar shapes also appear in the Roanne graffiti, only following, not preceding the inscription in this case. Additionally, there is a combination of letters and a single of those A-like signs on the other side of the cross in which the inscription is arranged. While the Roanne graffiti is Tiberian, the Pîtres inscription is later, from around the 2nd c BC.

**5.2.4 A Gaulish memorial tradition?**

The concept of the epigraphic habit (MacMullen 1982, Meyer 1990, cf. section 3.3) was largely discussed based on the evidence of epitaphs (specifically Meyer 1990). The changes in the epigraphic habit can be explained by the cultural context and the social function epitaphs hold in the urban society (Woolf 1996: 39). Hope (1997: 245) describes the tombstone as “an item of display the value and suitability of which could fluctuate”. We largely lack this context for Runic stone inscriptions, where we have little information about their value, the role they fulfilled in the society, rites – funerary or otherwise – and even what they were intended to communicate. On a very basic level the act of erecting a monument with an inscribed name or the like expresses a desire to be remembered (Chioffi 2015: 627). Woolf (1996: 39) argues that epigraphy, and he’s referring to monumental epigraphy, “provided a device by which individuals could write their public identities into history, by fixing in permanent form their achievements and their relations with gods, with men, with the Empire, and with the city”. It seems likely that, independently of whether the practice of epigraphy was directly

derived from the Roman one, the function would be identical. An inscription in a public space was legible by anyone with the ability to read and surely understood by more people than that, as the meaning of an inscription could be transmitted by other channels as well. As such, it was able to communicate something about the person named or the person associated with the monument.

The epigraphic habit is also seen as a measure of romanisation though this is too generic to be considered accurate. Hope (1997: 258) presents the argument that the number of tombstones relates to the usefulness of tombstones for specific sections of society as a medium for communication, rather than a direct expression of romanisation. Even though the number of tombstones cannot be directly correlated to the degree of romanisation, the appearance of epigraphy is a direct consequence of romanisation and usually serves to express Roman identity by Roman means of communication. This, of course, does not apply as such to epigraphy in languages other than Latin. So the question that arises is what tombstones and other memorial inscriptions communicate if written in other languages and to what degree they are derivative of Roman epigraphy, other external sources (such as Greek) or independent in nature.

Gaulish inscriptions may be viewed as a marginal form of Classical memorial inscriptions, as they first appear within a Greek context and later within a Latin one. They do not represent a distinct memorial tradition but a celticised offshoot of the Greek and Latin traditions.

The identification of memorials is largely based on context, e.g. the stele of Ventabren and the cippus of Coudoux were found in the context of burial sites. Similarly, there is no indication within the Vannes inscription that this may be a memorial, but if the vase is interpreted as an urn, that would make it likely. If the additional signs in the inscription SLR are interpreted as representing the Latin formula (*uotum*)*susceptum libens reddidit*, that would indicate that the inscription is a religious dedication, and the object less likely to be an urn, but the missing *uotum* makes this the less likely interpretation.

### 5.2.5 Named objects in Gaulish inscriptions

Neither named weapons nor labelled objects appear in the Gaulish corpus at all. The only inscription consisting of a description of an item is Limoges 2 (RIG-L-75), which is reconstructed as *canisro*[(*n*)...*diuui*]*o*(*n*) *Durotincio*(*n*) ‘divine basket of Durotincon’ or ‘little basket of the gods of Durotincon’. The word *canisro*[(*n*)] ‘basket’ appears to be a loan of the Latin *canistrum*, as this is inscribed on a piece of ceramics. It seems like the item referenced in the inscription may not necessarily be the one inscribed, so while there seems to be a religious, perhaps dedicatory function to the inscription, the choice of object – or the choice of word – remains mysterious. All other examples occur in a manufacturing context, where we can find vase names or labelled models (cf. section 7.1.1). They can accordingly be classified as utility inscriptions, rather than naming inscriptions, since there is a clear practical purpose to the mention of the object.

## Ritual Inscriptions

It has often been discussed in the literature that the distinction between magical and religious practices is at best arbitrary and at worst useless. It has been used in an “evaluative” rather than “interpretative” and largely negative manner (Mirecki and Meyer 2001: 16). Additionally, the distinction between magic, religion and medicine is one that applies to our modern culture more so than to ancient ones (Meyer and Smith 1994: 79) and transposing the term can insert artificial boundaries. Instead, I will follow the lead of other scholars in abandoning these terms and using the more neutral term “ritual” (Meyer and Smith 1994: 4). Rituals are separate from normal activities through formalities such as rules and repetitions and often serve to manipulate power or force in some way (ibid. 4–5). The inscriptions included in this category are those that either name or address gods explicitly, e.g. dedications to a deity and other inscriptions that can be viewed as performative (Austin 1962) or operative (Skorupski 1976: 93ff.) acts.

Faraone (1991: 5) defines four types of formulas in Greek binding spells:

- a direct binding formula, i.e. “a form of performative utterance that is accompanied by a ritually significant act” where the utterance is something like “I bind NN”
- a prayer formula “restrain N”
- a wish formula “may NN be unsuccessful”
- a similia similibus formula “As this corpse is cold and lifeless, in the same way may NN become cold and lifeless.”

The early formulas were simpler and the later more complex (Flowers 2006: 71). It is clear that from Runic material especially we can only expect simple type of formulas, as the majority of them hesitate to even use verbal forms and therefore don’t usually convey complex contents unambiguously.



Religious and magical acts can employ the use of a sacred language, a technical register which is marked and considered especially suitable for the ritual in question. The following information is provided by Blom (2012). It is characterised by borrowed, tabooed or formulaic elements. This sacred language can also be embedded in other language, e.g. if it is only used for parts of the ritual, thus leading to ritual code switching or in the case of larger passages ritual code-alternation. An extreme case of code-switching can be the use of non-lexical elements, *uoces magicae*, and in the case of written language the use of a different script, encoded writing or magical signs. The line between fossilised phrases, tags and unintelligible sequences is fluid.

This does not mean that any unintelligible sequence is automatically a magical or religious inscription. In the field of runology the tendency of certain scholars to take this approach led to Page coining the terms “imaginative” and “sceptical runologists” (e.g. 1999: 12f.). Imaginative runologists tend to presume that runes had a predominantly religious purpose or origin and that the act of writing runes is a magical or religious one. Page suggests that this idea is linked to the Old English word *run* which means ‘mystery’ or ‘secret’ (cf. Flowers 1986: 144ff.), a meaning which is secondary (Fell 1992, Mees 2014b). If this is accepted as a fact, the jump to interpret every mystifying inscription as magical is a short one. Mees (2016: 9) has suggested that these sensationalist interpretations indicates a certain “Northern exceptionalism”, as they make Runic inscriptions seem much more remarkable than Latin inscriptions. The other extreme is the sceptical runologists who deny any magical use of runes. Of course most runologists cannot be placed at either end of this scale, but somewhere in between. It is prudent to consider runes a writing system like any other, which could be used for entirely secular purposes, but also for magical or religious practices.

In Runic inscriptions we find personal and religious dedications, mentions of deities, and positive and negative/maledictory wishes or curses, which evoke a punishment for a digression. The positive wishes specifically often come in the form of “Formelwörter”, charm words that are especially frequent, with some of them found exclusively on bracteates.

Gaulish inscriptions also feature religious and personal dedications, which may or may not specify an object or a deity and are largely but not exclusively made with the verb *ieuru*.

While neither Runic nor Gaulish inscriptions know a genre of legal texts, they do occasionally reference legal topics or procedures. Even though inscriptions referencing legal matters tend to be on the longer side for Runic and Gaulish inscriptions, their brevity already indicates that they are not a medium that was used for treaties or law texts (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 8–9). Initially I considered these to be utility inscriptions, as I thought their function was practical, to communicate legal status or make a legal procedure public. A closer look however reveals that they share more in common with ritual inscriptions, as they relate to ritualised actions and appear to be commemorating these actions through the use of marked language, just as religious or magical ritual inscriptions would do.

## 6.1 References to Legal Practices

### 6.1.1 Heirs, inheritance and acquittal in Runic inscriptions

While writing was not commonly used as part of legal procedures, as far as we can tell from the remaining record, a few individuals decided to put down references to legal status into writing. We can only presume why this is, but it seems likely that the permanence, and in the case of stone inscriptions, their public nature, fulfilled a need in these cases. One such memorial is the Ellestad stone inscription *eka Sigimar(i)R Afs | [A]ka raisidoka | staina(1-2?) | [...]*. The epithet used on the stone to describe the person, who claims to have erected the stone, has been translated as ‘free of guilt’ or ‘the acquitted’ (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 134f.). It has therefore been suggested (ibid.: 136) that the memorial may serve to commemorate the acquittal of the person in question. Unfortunately, unless we find another stone with additional information, we will never know whether this was just the name used to identify this person, or whether it referred to something specific that he wished to be known to the public. Formally and functionally, this epithet is part of an extended naming and making inscription and bears no further resemblance to the inscriptions discussed below.

There are a few Runic inscriptions that refer to inheritance or heirs. These are not common enough for the emergence of consistent formulas, but can be identified by the reference to the ‘inheritance’. An example is the phrase *arbij[a] a(r)joster arbijano* found in part B of the Tune inscription: *(me)R Woduride ' staina | þ(r)ijor dohtrir dalidun | arbij[a] a(r)joster arbijano*. While the first part is a maker’s inscription (cf. section 5.1.3), the second half of the Tune inscription references a funeral feast, which was arranged by three daughters. The phrase describes them and has been interpreted as either the ‘dearest of the heirs’ (Grønvik 1981: 183), ‘the most divine of the heirs’ (Høst 1976: 115), the ‘inheritance-formost of the heirs’ (Antonsen 2002: 126ff.) or ‘inheritance of the inheritors’ (Mees 2015). The word *arbe* on the Fonnås fibula may be a second example, if one follows Grønvik’s (1987: 30–49) reading and interpretation. He reads it as *iar aa arbe (u)h(u) wid [H](y)lt(i) (u)k h(y) allk(æ)R* and suggests the following translation: ‘grandmother gives the inheritance to the young woman who (i.e. the grandmother) is very caring for the owner of [the farm] Holt and her household’. The problem with this interpretation is that it is based on the assumption that the inscription is abbreviated, and thus must be amended. An interpretation based on such an assumption without parallels to back up the process of emendations must be considered arbitrary and the Fonnås thus uninterpretable.

### 6.1.2 Rites of passage in Gaulish inscriptions

Legal status is not mentioned in Gaulish inscriptions. Presumably any legal matters would have been dealt with entirely through the medium of Latin. Instead it is rites of passage, such as marriage and the transition into adulthood, that appear in Gaulish texts. Unfortunately, as some of the longest Gaulish

texts, the inscriptions discussed below are also some of the most cryptic, posing more questions than they answer.

There is one Gaulish inscription which may refer to a legal practice, namely the Châteaubleau tile (RIG-L-93). While there are several Gaulish inscriptions from Châteaubleau, this is by far the longest and most elaborate. It is difficult to date, archaeologically it might be from anywhere within the late second throughout the entire third century AD (RIG-II/2: 238). Linguistically, it shows clear signs of Late Gaulish (Stifter 2009, Schrijver 2001). Texts of this length are often defixiones, but these are typically not found on tiles but on metal tablets (cf. section 6.2.5). The tile is coloured, which again implies that it might have been displayed publicly rather than deposited as a curse tablet (Mees 2011b: 87). While Gaulish inscriptions can usually be compared to Latin inscriptions in terms of genre, this one is puzzling. Mees (2011b: 89) cites a few, rather isolated cases of longer Latin inscriptions on tiles, including a line of hexameter from Bewcastle, Co. Durham and a legal text with similarities to a letter from Villafranca (Mallon 1982). Despite stating that, just like the Bewcastle and Villafranca examples, the Châteaubleau tile is a first-person text and an atypical epigraph, Mees (2011) argues it is nevertheless typologically a defixio, for which he cites a parallel of a defixio on a tile from Trier (ibid. 89f.). Deciding factors are the sequence *coro bouido*, which he translates as ‘cattle contract’. Mees translates the text on the Châteaubleau tile as follows:

O Powers, I denounce the woman  
 (who is) desiring the cattle contract!  
 By the names (which are) knowing  
 may you (sic) not desire ownership!  
 May you curse the one from the family (that is) purchasing.  
 The worst suffering it (i.e. the curse) shall ensure for.  
 The worst torment I curse  
 For wanting I desire,  
 perdition for Papissona.  
 ‘O (or So) may you fix (or curse?) her (by means of) a cursing!  
 By the names I curse her.  
 Let her not be seeking (my) punishment!  
 I stipulate my rebinding  
 into the bulling contract.  
 O names(or Powers?) I curse her!  
 May you be punishing!  
 May hearing this best companion,  
 true (and) just be your desire!  
 May you be punishing!  
 O Straighteners (or Fixers etc.) I have cursed this:  
 for me, this binding, for Papissona,  
 may you be punishing;

for me, a binding, this binding,  
 may you be punishing.  
 O Straighteners, before this (binding), I have cursed this.

Lambert (2001) however has no doubt that the text is associated with marriage, but the details are unclear. We do not know to what most of the names refer, nor do we know the purpose of the text, which could have been a marriage formula, an epithalamium or something else entirely. He prefers the following translation:

‘I celebrate a woman who is married with a dowry or: who is led (to marriage) at Coro Boudo though I do not know the name and a woman who is of age (whose pubic organs are dark) or who is consenting and I am a more noble woman, you have to say, you the family or what she says, her family name, I ask that she is married for me or I pray to the son of Kypris, who strikes for me, I say, by my will I marry, we pray to you, o Papissonos.’

The stark difference in these two interpretations give an indication of how little we really understand this inscription. The disagreement begins with the very first word, “one of the more difficult in the inscription” (Mees 2011: 92). While Lambert believes this to be connected to OIr. *naidm* ‘bond, contract’, *snaidm* ‘betrothal’ and *airnaidm* ‘bond, betrothal, marriage’, Mees (2011: 92f.) connects it to OIr. *nem* ‘heaven’ and suggests a syncopated form of *\*neme(s)na* with a collective meaning ‘the divine’ or alternatively a Gallification of *numina* ‘powers, gods’. The interpretation of this initial word then colours the interpretation of the following references to a woman and a family and ultimately the context of the entire inscription.

For the purpose of this study I have decided to list it in this section, rather than in section 6.2.5 with the curse tablets, though this is largely based on the fact that it is a tile, rather than a tablet.

Another possible reference to marriage is found on the fragments from Lezoux, Annecy and Beugnâtre. They are from different find spots, but were cast from the same mould, making it possible to piece together the inscription: *calia ueio-biu sau niti-io berte Mouno*. A tentative translation is provided by Lambert (RIG-L-70): ‘with Cala, I will marry, the daughter of Saunos, who birthed Mouno-’. The element *ueio-*, found in the Châteaubleau inscription as *ueionna*, *ueiommi*, *ueiobiie* appears here in a compound *ueio-biu*, interpreted by Lambert as ‘will be married’.

The Lezoux plate (RIG-L-66) is inscribed with eleven lines of text, damaged on one side and at the bottom. There is no indication as to whether the text once covered the entire plate, so we do not know how much of the text was lost. Aside from the very first publication of this text, which Lambert (RIG: 174) calls “fantaisiste”, interpretations have been offered by Fleuriot (1980: 127–144), Meid (e.g. 1994) and McCone (1996). Fleuriot, perhaps influenced by the inscribed item, interprets the text to deal with food, but this seems difficult to reconcile with the moralising phrases that he identifies. Meid (1994: 50) criticises Fleuriot’s inability to “free himself from the impression that this text had something to do with eating” and describes it as a “quasi-philosophical” (ibid.) text giving

advice to a young person. With this as a starting point, McCone (1996: 110) identifies indications for a military context and attempts a translation of lines 1-10:

1-2: May I ...not give this new [plate?] to the parsimonious 3: each person's injustice, may the troupe ...[eliminate it?] 4:(like Meid) praise by the worst [is] self-damaging to the righteous or: the worst ...[like?] praise, to the fair however ...5-6 may the virtue of each *makarnos* ...each ...not? exceed. ...7: Now, boy, [may] the followers not [cede?] to the power (of the enemies?) ...8: truly do not go ...to each not ...9: each person's ambition ...each person's virtue not ...10: protection of the warriors [is] the self-armed ...

He concludes (1996: 111) that the plate may have been given from a father to a son to celebrate the son's entry into the army or a similar association.

Lambert (RIG-II/2: 233) characterises inscriptions on tiles as spontaneous and opportunistic writing, such as a writing exercise, an account or an entertaining drawing. Once the tile is in use, its inscription is no longer visible. This seems to be an unusual choice of medium for an inscription that according to Lambert (2001) appears to be a piece of advice, like the Lezoux plate discussed above. The Châteaubleau tile ("tile quadrilinaire", L-90, as opposed to the longer inscription on the tile L-93), appears to be addressed to the visitor of a sanctuary.

[[ba]] bidṣe uenerianum adebriureco.[ |  
r.....cūm · suaeloslan[ |  
slanossiētum · suagid · coñtil..ossi[ |  
īe sittem · mongnatixsouim

The sanctuary is named in the first line: "This is the threshold to the sanctuary of Venus at Eabriurecon". Note that *uenerianum*, which according to this interpretation refers to the sanctuary, appears in the Saint-Marcel 1 inscription as an element of a personal name. The visitor is addressed as *mongnatixsouim* or *[em]*, 'my daughter' or 'my son', the gender is unclear. In comparison, the Lezoux plate addresses a *gnate* 'son'. A literal translation of this address is possible in the case of Lezoux, but less likely in the case of the Châteaubleau tile.

The style of these inscriptions is reminiscent of that of the Runic protection formulas/public curses (cf. section 6.2.4), in that they address a person entering a specific space, though their intention is benevolent. Note as well that the inscriptions have little in common with Gaulish curses, which are not public documents, but private messages to deities and supernatural forces. It seems unlikely however, that this particular inscription could have functioned as such, considering its position on a tile.

## 6.2 Cult Inscriptions

### 6.2.1 Gaulish dedications

Gaulish dedications are largely expressed through the verb *ieuru* and can be found both in monumental stone inscriptions and to a lesser extent on smaller, mobile items.

#### *Monumental dedications*

The Menhir of Naintré is inscribed with a dedicatory inscription **RATIN BRIVATIOM | FRONTV · TARBETIS[O]NIOS or TARBETIS[TEXTBOTTOMTIEBARCO]NOS | IEIVRV**. The inscription begins with the object *ratis*. The word is obscure but appears to be related to OIr. *ráith* ‘fortification’. It is followed by the gen. pl. *brivatiom* which refers to the inhabitants of a place named *Briva*. The purpose of the monument is not only to dedicate the *ratis*, but to make this dedication public and to add to the prestige of the Brivates, the dedicator, who is named as *Frontu Terbetisonios*, and the unknown *ratis*.

The Stone of Nérís-les-Bains inscription **BRATRONOS | NANTONTICN | ÉPAÐATEXTO | RICĪ · LEVCVTIO | SVIOREBE LOGI | TOI** is another memorial containing a dedication. The dedication in this case is expressed by a dative of a name, which may denote a person or a deity. The verbal action additionally expressed is that of the foundation or establishing. Just as in the Naintré inscription, the dedicated thing is obscure; in this case it may be a sacred grove.

The inscription **SACER PEROCŌ | IEVRV DVORI | CO V·S·I·M** on the Stone of Sazeirat is interesting for its Latin elements alongside the typical Gaulish dedication with *ieuru*. The subject is identified by a Latin cognomen, the object, *duorico*, is a Gaulish calque on Latin *porticus* and the inscription closes with the Latin formula *VSLM*. This shows that composite codeswitching is not exclusive to the casual registers of accounts and personal dedications (cf. sections 7.2.1 and 7.3.1) but may also occur in more formal inscriptions.

The Mercury of Lezoux is also inscribed multilingually, but in contrast to the inscription of Sazeirat, the different languages apparently belong to separate inscriptions, added at different points in time. The existence of Text C **APROTASGI** [...] is doubtful, but Text A **MERCVRIO | ET AVGVSTO | SACRVM** is a Latin dedicatory text, while Text B A [...] **IE** [...] **ESO** [...] is a Gaulish dedicatory text with a different content. It is heavily eroded, so the reading is uncertain, but it appears to consist of a name, the subject, the dedicatory verb *ieuru* and a further name or possibly the object of dedication, the statue. The Stone of Auxey is also inscribed with a dedicatory inscription **ICCAVOS · OP | PIANICNOS · IEV | RV · BRIGINDONI | CANTALON**, though again the term that could possibly describe the monument is obscure. Otherwise it consists of a name and patronym, the dedicatory verb *ieuru* and the dative of a theonym. Interestingly, the dedicator has a Gaulish name while his father had a Latin name. There may have been a conscious return to a Gaulish identity in the family.

Another example for an unidentifiable object is the Stone of Autun. The inscription **LICNOS CON | TEXTOS · IEVRV | ANVALONNACV | CANECOSIDLON** consists of a name, which is followed by an epithet of some kind and the dedicatory verb *ieuru*. This is then followed by a few largely obscure words, the first of which may denote the temple of the god Anualo, and the second some kind of seat, going by the second part *-sed-lo-*.

The Stone of Nevers is inscribed with a very simple dedicatory formula **ANDECAMVLOS · TŌVTISSICNOS IEVRV** consisting only of a name, a patronymic and the dedicatory verb *ieuru*; there is no object or deity mentioned. Both of the names are of Gaulish stock.

Another dedicatory inscription can be found on the Stele of Sources de la Seine **A|R̥I̥I̥OS | I̥OVR̥VS | LVCI̥I̥O NIIR̥TI̥ICOMA ΔΑΓΟΑΙΤΟΥΣ · ΑΥΟΩΥΤ**. The last part of the inscription is a straightforward maker's formula. Whereas the dedicatory inscription in Latin script is more complicated, partly because the name is abbreviated, meaning the case has to be assumed, and partly because the function of *ariios* in the inscription is not clear. Lambert (2003: 99) rejects the interpretation 'Those who reside near the Seine and Ariios have offered [the statue of] Lucios, son of Nertecomaros', as *Lucios Nertecomarios* is clearly a person rather than a deity and thus an unlikely person to be addressed in such a fashion. He instead suggests reading a dative in *Aresequani*: 'Lucios son of Nertecomaros has dedicated an *arriios* to Aresequana' or, his favoured interpretation, taking *Aresequani* as a genitive singular: 'the head of the Aresequanos, Lucios, son of Nerteocmaros, has offered', both of which are more likely interpretations.

The Stone of Alise is inscribed with one of the most complex dedicatory inscriptions **MARTIALIS · DANNOTALI | IEVRV · VCVETE · SOSIN | CELICNON ☉ ETIC | GOBEDBI . DUGI̥ONTI̥I̥O | ☉ V̥CVETIN | IN[ ]ALISI̥IA ☉**

. It starts off with a subject, followed by *ieuru*, a theonym in the dative, an object, in form of a demonstrative pronoun and a word that possibly denotes some sort of building. This in itself would be a complete dedicatory formula. On the Alise inscription this is further followed by a dative or instrumental plural denoting a group of people associated with the dedicating subject. They are additionally said to worship another deity, and a location is added. The inscription can thus be translated as 'Martialis son of Dannotali offered this building to Ucuētis and to/with the smiths who worship Ucētis in Alisia'

The Stone of Plumergat appears to be another dedicatory inscription: **VABROS | [...]AT or [...]ANT or [...]AVT | ATREBO | AGANNTO | BODVRN or BODVRIV | EOGIAPO**, but the verb is not entirely legible, which complicates the interpretation. The subject is named in the first line, while the object of the phrase, to whom something is being dedicated, appears to be the 'fathers', described more closely by the epithet *agantobo*, which may relate to borders. The rest of the inscription seems to name two more men but how they relate to the rest of the inscription is not clear.

The Pillars of Paris, stone cubes rediscovered in the choir of Notre Dame in Paris, are labelled in Latin and partly in Gaulish. Of the ones that appear to be labelled in Gaulish most seem to be

Table 6.1: *ieuru* inscriptions according to Lambert (2003: 104)

Number of elements	Order of elements	Inscriptions
Two elements	subject – verb	Stone Nevers, maybe Mercury of Lezoux and <b>Stele of Sources de la Seine</b>
Three elements	subject – verb – object object – subject – verb subject – verb – addressee addressee – verb – subject	<b>Stone of Sazeirat</b> Menhir of Naintré Couchey, Lezoux graffiti <b>Large stele of Genouilly</b>
OR: alternatively	subject – verb – object	<b>Stone of Sazeirat, Stele of Sources de la Seine</b> , maybe <b>Large stele of Genouilly</b>
Four elements	subject – verb – addressee – object subject? – object – verb – addressee	G-152, Stone of Auxey, Stone of Autun, Stone of Alise G-528

theonyms. An exception are inscriptions e. **EVRISES** and f. **SENANT V[-]ETLON**. Inscription e. may be related to the dedicatory verb *ieuru*, but it does not correspond to the usual formulas, therefore the interpretation is not certain. Inscription f. has the depicted figures as its implicit subject and has been translated as ‘they will accomplish the sacrifice’ by Lejeune (RIG-II/1: 176), which again does not correspond to more common dedicatory formulas. It is clear that these inscriptions do not fulfil the same function as the formulaic *ieuru* inscriptions.

There is one dedicatory monumental inscription that is written on bronze rather than on stone, the Bronze of Vieil-Évreux. The inscription]§ · **CRISPOBOV[- | ]RAMEDON · [ | ] AXTAC BITI EV · [ | ]DO CARADIIONV [ | ]N IASELANISEBODDV · [ | ] REMI FILIA · [ | ]DRVTAGISACICIVIS-SV[- is unfortunately only fragmentarily preserved, and the core of the dedicatory formula is reconstructed based on the previously cited dedications. Preserved is the final -s of the subject’s name, the gaulicised Latin cognomen *Crispos* and the first three letters of a genitival patronym. Lejeune (RIG-L-16) then reconstructs the dedicatory verb and a demonstrative pronoun. Attested again is the accusative object *ramedon*. The next line is partly in Latin, or it could already be part of the catalogue of names that follows the inscriptions and consists of female names in the nominative with genitival patronyms and indications of origin.**



The dedicatory formula with *ieuru* has already been analysed by Lambert (2003: 103ff.), see Table 7.1<sup>1</sup>. He identifies the core components subject, verb, object and addressee. The subject and the verb are usually grouped together in that order and stand at the beginning or the end of the phrase, while other components are less standardised and attached to it beforehand or after. In some cases there are difficulties that arise from the ambiguity of the forms in Gallo-Latin, namely concerning the Large stele of Genouilly, the Stone of Sazeirat and the Stele of Sources de la Seine. This indicates that the

<sup>1</sup>The bolded inscriptions are ambiguous.



fixed point of the Gaulish dedicatory inscription is *ieuru* and the subject whose personal involvement with the cult is being highlighted, while the other components are being used as desired by the writers.

#### *Non-monumental religious dedications*

A few of inscriptions conform to the pattern for the monumental inscriptions described above, except that they are found on mobile items. The Couchey casserole is inscribed with a classic dedicatory formula **DOIROS · SEGOMARI | IEVRV · ALISANV** . The inscription consists of the subject's name and genitival patronym, the dedicatory verb *ieuru* and a theonym in the dative. There is a similar Latin inscription on a comparable item dedicated to the same god, with the same leaf decoration at the end of the inscription: **DEO · ALISANO · PAVLLINVS | PRO · CONTEDOIO · FIL · SVO**  **V · S · L · M**. The Lezoux 8 inscription **Serullius eure Nomnu adgne duci an[** is quite interesting because it begins as a classic dedicatory inscription with the subject's name, an – admittedly unusual – form of the verb *ieuru*, *eure*, and a theonym in the dative. This is followed however by a coordinating conjunction and we do not know what might have followed at this point, as the inscription is incomplete. A less typical example is the Lezoux bowl inscription **e[.]o iouri rigani rosmertiac**, which does not name a subject. Instead there is a self-referential object that is dedicated, expressed by the demonstrative *eso*. Otherwise the inscription consists of an atypical form *ieuri* of the dedicatory verb *ieuru*, and the dative object *Rigani Rosmertiac* ‘the Queen and Rosmerta’.

Furthermore, there are a few inscriptions that do not use *ieuru* to express a religious dedication. The Limoges 2 inscription **canisro[n ...diuii]o[n] Durotincio[n]** is marked as religious by the word *diuii* ‘divine’ or possibly a genitive ‘of the gods’. It labels an item, a *canisro* ‘basket’ that is related to a place Durotinco found on the Tabula Peutingeriana. It does not contain a dedicatory verb, neither in Latin nor in Gaulish, so only the divine mention marks it as a dedicatory inscription. Similarly, Saint-Marcel 2 **LABRIOS NIIAI VXOVNE** is marked as a potential dedication because of a theonym in the dative. This follows the subject's name and an unknown verbal theme, which may mean ‘pour’ or ‘entrust’. The Saint-Marcel 3 inscription **]VIIRCOBRIITOS RIADDAS** may be incomplete, it consists only of the subject's name and a verb meaning ‘offered’. The Séraucourt Vase inscription **BVSCILLA SOSIO LEGASIT IN ALIXIE MAGALV** ‘Buscilla placed for Magalos in Alisia’ has another example of an unusual verb, namely *legasit*, which is translated by Lambert (2003: 139) as ‘placed’. Apart from that there is a subject, a demonstrative or relative pronoun (the function of which is not clear) and after the verb a location and a name in the dative. Though whether this name is a theonym is also not known and would – in addition to the unusual verb – determine whether this is a religious or a personal dedication. The Vertault inscription **es[ | ]tautiú curmíso auitiado s[** ‘to the chief of the city this beer ...’ may also be either a religious or a personal dedication. It does not contain a dedicatory verb, instead the dedication is expressed by a dative of *tooutios* ‘belonging to the city’, which could mean a leader or even a god of a city. To this person or deity is dedicated the *curmíso*, ‘beer’ specified by an enclitic demonstrative. The semantics of the following adjective are unknown; the inscription is fragmentary, so we cannot know what may have followed.

Similarly to the codeswitching in maker's marks (cf. section 7.1.1) and spindle whorls (cf. section 7.3.2) there are Latin dedicatory inscriptions with Gaulish components. The Limoges 1 inscription **TASCOS BRISTAS | ]L V S | GARTOS** combines Gaulish names with a Latin abbreviated dedicatory formula *LVS libens uotum soluit* or possibly *libentes uotum soluerunt* 'fulfilled their vow willingly' if you consider both individuals to be the dedicators. The inscription on the Walheim ring, **DIVIXTA | ARGINTIAS | LITTA . CILO | RI DDLLM** *Divixta Argentias, Litta Celori[i] ddllm* 'Diuxta, daughter of Argenta [and] Litta son of Celorus have offered willingly', is decidedly Latin overall, but the matronym following the first name has a Gaulish ending. In the case of the Vannes inscription **STIISMERTI S R L** the dedication appears to be expressed twice, once through a dative of the theonym and further through the Latin formula *SRL [uotum] susceptum libens reddidit*. An alternative reading of this inscription sees it as a naming inscription with the function of an owner's mark or a memorial inscription on an urn. The reading, and therefore the interpretation of this inscription is uncertain. The Bern zinc tablet may be mentioned here as well. It is listed among the curse tablets in the RIG, but the material, which was otherwise not used for epigraphic purposes, the script, which appears to be a mixture of Latin and Greek capital letters and the method of writing, through individual dots on the surface, are all atypical for that genre. The inscription reads: **ΑΟΒΝΟΡΗΑΟ ΓΟΒΑΝΟ ΒΡΕΝΟΔΩΡ ΝΑΝΤΑΡΩΡ**. The main problem with interpreting the inscription is that the syntactical context between the names that make up this inscription is impossible to determine with certainty, thanks to ambiguous or missing word endings. It has been suggested this inscription may be a dedication to the smith-deity attested at Vézelay and Besançon as *Cobannos*, Zimmer (2014: 390) considers this typologically unlikely and believes this is merely the genitive singular of the word 'smith', and the inscription therefore essentially an elaborate naming inscription: 'Dumnoredos the smith, son of Brennoduros, in the valley of the Aare'. This would not look out of place in a Runic inscription, but seems just as unusual in a Gaulish context as everything else about this inscription. As **ΑΟΒΝΟΡΗΑΟ ΓΟΒΑΝΟ** can be plausibly interpreted as Gaulish datives (Stüber 2009: 39) and the metal tablet would be a fitting object for a religious inscription, interpreting it as a dedication seems like the safest option.

Beard (1991: 46ff.) discusses that the majority of surviving votive texts are not the elaborate narrative type that often especially interest scholars, but those consisting of the name of the dedicator and the deity combined with a brief formula to assure the fulfilment of the vow: **VSLM**. This habit of explicit naming records the presence of the worshipper at the shrine. She insists this habit is not equivalent to modern graffiti, because while these also fulfil the purpose of signalling one's identity in a publicly visible space, a religious space is not the same as a bus shelter. Instead she suggests that these inscriptions specifically communicate belonging of the individual to the religious community and their personal relationship to the deity. In bilingual inscriptions it would appear that the Latin dedicatory formula serves to express the belonging to the religious community, whereas the Gaulish part may communicate the personal relationship to the deity.

### 6.2.2 Runic dedications

There are no dedications to deities found in the Runic corpus and no ritual equivalent to the personal dedications, neither by means of a verb nor by means of a dative. This is not surprising, as there are hardly any inscriptions referencing deities at all, the only exceptions being the Nordendorf fibula inscription (cf. section 5.1.4) and possibly the Setre inscription, if *Nanna* is to be interpreted as the name of Baldr's wife rather than an epithet 'maiden' (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 90).

There have been suggestions to interpret certain Runic inscriptions as dedications using the verb *\*wihgu* 'dedicate, consecrate', for example on the Nydam axe handle – though the form reconstructed for that inscription is problematic – (Stoklund 1994: 104), which is otherwise inscribed with names or epithets and the charm word *alu* (6.3.1). Further evidence for this word in the corpus may be found on the Kragehul spear shaft inscription **ek Erilar A[n]sugis(a)s muha haite ga ga ga ...hagal(a) wiju** (cf. section 5.1.4), where Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 67) wanted to read 'I consecrate hail [i.e. doom] to the spear', an interpretation undoubtedly influenced by the inscribed object. While the words *hagal* 'hail' and *wiju* 'consecrate' may be plausibly identified, we cannot go as far as to reconstruct a ritual to consecrate a weapon. The word *wihju* has also been identified on the Nebenstedt I B-Bracteate inscription **Gliaugir (w) | i[hj]u r[u]n[o]r (1)**. The name or epithet is followed by additional runes, which have been interpreted as the verb *wihju* and an abbreviated form of the word 'runes', i.e. 'I consecrate the runes'. Axboe et al. (IK128) consider this interpretation possible, but speculative, it does not therefore strengthen the evidence in favour of a consecrating formula.

The root appears to be part of one of the theonyms featured on the Nordendorf I inscription (cf. above and below), **Wigiponar**, unless it actually means 'fight-ponar'. Waldspühl (2013: 294) has suggested that there may be a word-divider, indicating that we are dealing with a sentence 'consecrate Þonar' or 'they [sg] consecrate Þonar'. While this is technically possible, it seems disjointed from the rest of the inscription, a trinity of names or two names and an epithet seem more likely to me, which requires reading **Wigiponar** as a single unit. The root may also be attested on the East Germanic Pietroassa ring inscription **(g)ut(anio wi)h h(a)i(l)ag**. In this inscription, **wih** may be an abstract noun, equivalent to ON *vé* and referring to something that is sacred or consecrated. The expression *wih heilag* would have an equivalent in the Old Norse phrase 'til vé's heilags', which is found in the Hyndluljóð (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 94). Alternatively it could be part of an asyndetic adjectival construction *wih hailag* 'sacrosanctum' (ibid.). While Krause and Jankuhn proposed to read the **o**-rune as an ideograph meaning *opal* 'inherited property', in context 'inherited property of the Goths', Antonsen (2002: 280) insists it that the term cannot refer to movable objects. He suggests instead reading *Gutanio* 'of the Gothic women/matres' for the section before the 'sacrosanctum'. The best evidence for a use of this root in older Runic inscriptions is therefore East Germanic and in the form of an adjective or noun. This attestation cannot be used to back up the idea of the use of *\*wihgu* as a verb 'to consecrate' in other inscriptions, which remain speculative.

### 6.2.3 Christian Runic inscriptions?

A small number of South Germanic Runic inscriptions could possibly reference christian beliefs. That the Nordendorf I fibula inscription **Loga(b)ore | Wodan | Wig(i)ponar | (A)wa (L)eubwini** (cf. section 5.1.4) has a religious side is indisputable, but whether it is pagan or christian has been cause for debate. Düwel (1982) first suggested it may be an abjuration against pagan gods by a christian, rather than a dedication to pagan gods. Another potential abjuration this time against evil, may be found on the Osthofen fibula. Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 285) suggest reading the worn and only partially legible runes as **go[d] ' fura d[i](h) d(e)(f)ile (1)** ‘god before you, devil’, whereas a later interpretation by Jungandreas (1972) suggested a christian affirmation ‘god for/in front of you, Teofilus’. Düwel (2008: 65) considers neither of these interpretations tenable on linguistic grounds and even the reading itself cannot be confirmed due to damage on the item (Waldspühl 2013: 297).

The Kirchheim/Teck II fibula is not easily legible, nevertheless Looijenga (2003: 245) reads **badagihialali d[o]mi[n]u[s]** and attempts a christian interpretation ‘[my] hail [and] salvation [is the] Lord’, wherein ‘Lord’ is supposedly expressed by a contraction of the Latin word *dominus*. This interpretation is clearly speculative. By contrast, Nedoma (2004: 370) considers everything past the sequence **bada** “entirely unclear”. It has been suggested that *bada* means ‘solace’ and expresses positive christian sentiment. This is further supported by the cross found in the grave where the Kirchheim/Teck fibula was found, which suggests that the owner of the inscribed item was probably a christian. The word *bada* also appears on the Bad Ems fibula inscription **Madali | ubada**, together with a name and various cross like symbols, which again may indicate a christian faith. Based on this limited amount of evidence, the interpretation of (*u*)*bada* is only a possibility; more and better evidence would be needed to establish the existence of a christian charm word (*u*)*bada* ‘solace’.

Opitz (1977: 112ff.) attempts to identify a christian Daniel motif in south Germanic Runic inscriptions. A supposed example for this is the Hailfingen fibula, which though not fully interpretable, could include a name component *dan-*. He also counts the Balingen inscription towards this category, where he attempts to expand **dnlo** to *Danilo*, followed by **amilluk** *Amilunk*, which he believes refers to Theoderic, and preceded by *A[n]sur*. A person named Danilo is thus placed under the protection of a famous king and a pagan god. Though the inscription may contain personal names, most of it is considered uninterpretable and perhaps partly not Runic (e.g. Nedoma 2004: 186). A third example for a related name may be found on the Charnay fibula, **dan ' (L)iano**, which he believes represents Daniel and the lion. Opitz also references Klingenberg’s (1973: 267ff.) imaginative interpretation of the Charnay fibula (cf. section 7.3.1) as ‘may [the reader] find out Daniel/lion’. Opitz (1977: 116ff.) draws a parallel between these Runic inscriptions and the Daniel beltbuckles, which show iconographical depictions of the biblical motif of Daniel in the lion’s den, which can also be found in Germanic graves. Thus, inscriptions including Daniel are supposed to be an early christian use of Runic script, with the function to reference the power of victory and salvation through the christian god. However, unlike on bracteate inscriptions, where we have iconographic evidence to connect the inscriptions with religious ideas, this is completely lacking in the case of Opitz’s Daniel inscriptions. There is no actual

evidence to suggest that religious ideas are being invoked. Additionally, the inscriptions he cites as evidence for this motif require some assumptions to be read the way Opitz suggests; they are more easily explained as imitations of script (Waldispühl 2013: 259 and 275f.) than as complex religious allusions.

While christian interpretations of Runic inscriptions have repeatedly been considered, so far there is no confirmed case of one. While we know that christian inscriptions were made in the South Germanic Runic period and can even be found on the same objects, such as on the Ichtratzheim spoon (cf. section 5.1.5), they are commonly made in Latin letters. This does not mean that runes were considered inherently pagan, as there is little evidence of a tradition of explicitly religious inscriptions in Runic script at all. Instead it looks like it was predominantly humans, not gods who were considered readers of runes.

#### 6.2.4 Runestone protection formulas

The Blekinge region in Sweden is home to four runestones originating from the 6th–7th century, namely those of Gummarp, Istaby, Stentofthen and Björketorp. They clearly belong to the same Runic tradition and were presumably erected by members of the same local elite, as can be seen from the names on *-wulaf-* or *-wolaf-* that are found on all of them but the Björketorp stone (Sundqvist and Hultgård 2004). Despite the Björketorp inscription not containing any name, there can be no doubt about it being part of the Blekinge runestone culture, as it is partly inscribed with text also found on the Stentofthen stone. The repeated text appears to be a formula intended to warn and threaten a person who may want to destroy the monument or the associated site. They resemble public curses (Thomas 1992: 81) by authorities against a public danger.

Considering the length and complexity of the inscription, there is a surprising amount of consensus on the interpretation of the Björketorp stone inscription. The inscription consists of two separate sections, on two sides of the stone. The shorter one, on the north-west side of the stone, consists of one word, **uparabasba**, translated as ‘harmful prophecy’ by Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 215). This accurately describes the content of the the longer part of the inscription, on the south-side. The south-facing part of the Björketorp inscription is nearly identical to the second half of the inscription found on the Stentofthen stone.

Stentofthen

**hiderruno no fel(Ah)eka hedera ginoronor | heramalAs AR ARageu we(lA)dud sa þat  
bAriutiþ**

‘The sequence of bright runes I hid here, mighty runes. Protectionless because of base-ness, an insidious death to the one who breaks this.’

Björketorp:

**haidruno ronu | fAlAhak haidera g | inARunAR ArAgeu | hAcERAmAlAusr | uti AR welAdAude  
| sAR þAt bARutr**

‘The sequence of bright runes I hide here, mighty runes. Because of baseness protection-less outside an insidious death to the one who breaks this.’

Krause and Jahnkuhn (1966: 215) believed that both stones used the same curse formula, and that while the language of the Björketorp stone was younger, it was more faithful to the original formula, compared to the shoddily copied Stentofthen. According to Grønvik (1996: 157) Krause claims Stentofthen is a corrupt copy of Björketorp – I cannot find any evidence for this in Krause and Jahnkuhn’s (1966: 209–217) discussion of the inscriptions, instead they seem to operate under the assumption that they represent examples of the same formulaic elements and that copying errors may have contributed to the discrepancies found in Stentofthen, but they do not suggest a direct line from Björketorp to Stentofthen. Schulte (2006 and 2008) suggests that there is no need to presume transmission errors, but that the variations between Stentofthen and Björketorp can be explained by Sandhi phenomena, elisions and ellipses. The reason for the differences between the two inscriptions are thus to be found in oral transmission and stylistic differences between the “elliptical and almost fragmentary” Stentofthen compared with the “modernised, fuller version of Björketorp” (Schulte 2008: 17).

The first part of the inscription shared by both Stentofthen and Björketorp is a maker’s inscription, albeit an unusual one, compared to the formulas that are otherwise found in the Runic record (cf. section 5.1.3). It uses an unusual verb *falab-* meaning ‘hide, bury, transfer, commit’ and the runes are said to be ‘bright runes’ or ‘brightness runes’. The ‘bright runes’ are in initial position; they are the focus rather than the typical first person – the usually so prominent pronoun does not feature as an independent word in this inscription.

A comparable construction can be found on the Noleby stone inscription **runo fahi raginakundo toje(k)a | unapu ' ... (hw)atin | Ha[u]koþu** ‘I paint the suitable divinely derived rune ...’. While this inscription does not include any interpretable content aside from the maker’s inscription, the fact is that the first word is *runo* rather than the first person pronoun and that the rune (in the singular, oddly enough) is described as *raginakundo* ‘suitable’ and ‘divinely derived’, implies the function of this inscription may be different to that of an inscription with the I-formula. What the function may have been on the Noleby stone will remain unknown, since we do not understand the rest of the inscription with the exception of the personal name at the end.

The second shared part of the Björketorp and Stentofthen inscriptions justifies and outlines a punishment that is to befall any person who might harm the monument, or perhaps a sacred space that was associated with it. Presumably, inscribing the orally transmitted and ritually spoken curse formula into a stone served to make the protection of the site more permanent. Not only accessible to those who originally partook in the ritual that was most likely associated with the curse, but made visible for anyone to see for generations.

The first part of the Stentofthen inscription, which is not reproduced on the Björketorp stone, hints at a further ritual, with a different purpose, which was commemorated on that same stone and perhaps took place at the same time or at least at the same place. Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 212), named here as one example for previous interpretations, translated this part of the inscription as “to the new farmers, to the new foreigners, Haduwolf gave a good year. Hariwolf...[...]”. Santesson (1989) was able to provide a new and by now commonly accepted interpretation as “with nine bucks, with nine stallions, Haþuwolfr gave a good year. Hariwolafkr ...”, referring to an animal sacrifice.

Only fragments remain of the Vetteland stone, but its inscription **...flagdafaikinar ist | ...magor minas staina | ...dar faihido** appears to have been similar to the Stentofthen and Björketorp curse. The second line of the inscription reads like a funerary inscription (cf. subsection *Reference to stone or memorial* in section 5.1.5) **magor minas staina** ‘my son’s stone’ and the third is a maker’s mark **...dar faihido** ‘...dar drew’. However, the first line **flagdafaikinar ist** ‘is threatened by fiends’ (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 139) or ‘subject to deceitful attack is’ (Antonsen 2002: 174) appears to name a punishment. This means the second line should probably be read in connection with the first one, “subject to deceitful attack/threatened by fiends is [the one who disturbs] my son’s stone”, rather than as a separate funerary inscription.

The Eggja stone, which combines words and pictures on its surface, is the only one that Bæksted (1951) considers to have been hidden from the public, as it was placed in a grave chamber rather than erected on top of it. Just like the other stone inscriptions discussed in this section, its language and runes point towards the late period, heralding the innovations of Old Norse and the Younger Futhark. Archaeology however dates the stone to 650–700, 200 years before the language indicates (Spurkland 2005: 70). The inscription was found on a stone that served as the roof of a grave and is partly illegible due to its bad condition. This is one of the reasons why the interpretation of the stone diverge strongly. This applies especially for section II (Krause and Jankuhn 1966) or A (Grønvik 1985, 1988, 2000, 2002) *min warb naseu wilr made þaim kaiba i bormoþa huni huwar ob kam harie q hit lat gotna fiskr oR firnauim suwimqade foki af [f]q[niun]ga lande*. It is not possible to delve into all of the interpretations of section II that have been published; they range from tales of murder or execution (summarised by Spurkland 2005: 65) to descriptions of ship wrecks (Grønvik 1985, who reviews the previous approaches on pages 96–118). Instead I will discuss section C **ni s solu sot uk ni sakse stain skorin ni [witi] maR nakdān is n[i]þ rinr ni wiltir maRnR lagi[s]** only, which contains a protection formula. While the second half varies, partly dependent on the interpretation of section A, there is consensus over the repetitive negations employed in section C to protect the grave site or the stone:

- Olsen (cited in Spurkland 2005: 60) translates: ‘Never touched by the sun [the sun did not shine when the stone was transported] and the stone was not cut with a knife. Never shall man lay [the stone] bare, never shall sharp-eyed men or men prone to hallucinations lay [it].’
- Jacobsen (1931: 84, English translation taken from Spurkland 2005: 63) translates: ‘Never is the stone touched by the sun and never cut with an iron knife. Nor shall sorcerers expose it, nor ensnared or bewildered men.’

- Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 232) translate: ‘It is not touched by the sun and the stone is not cut with a knife. It shall not be laid bare, when the waning moon wanders (over the sky).’
- Grønvik (1985, 1988, 2000, 2002, English translation taken from Spurkland 2005: 69) translates: ‘Not in sunshine and not with sword on incised stone; that man shall not seek out, he who is crying out over a naked kinsman, nor bewildered men, this lair.’

These repeated negations presumably have a reinforcing effect. Interestingly, no negative consequence for the breaking of the rules is laid out, unlike in the Stentofthen and Björketorp inscriptions.

While the Björketorp and Stentofthen stones are both from Blekinge and thus clearly related, the Eggja and Vetteland stones are geographically and – as far as we can tell, stone inscriptions being notoriously hard to date – chronologically separate from the Blekinge stones, a group which also includes the Gummarp and Istaby stones.

Two inscriptions found on smaller items, rather than monumental stones have been interpreted by some as containing grave protection formulas. These items were found in graves and thus could have been laid into the graves to provide protection to the dead rather than to the overall site, however neither of these two inscriptions can be identified as a protective formula as clearly as the stones discussed above can.

The Strand fibula features a very condensed inscription – possibly due to the limited space on the fibula – **siklis na hli**. The inscription names the object *siglis* ‘fibula’ and invokes protection *hli* < \**bleu* ‘glory, protection’ from (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 48) or, as the fibula was given to a person to take into their grave, of (Grønvik 1987: 161ff.) **na** ‘the dead’. The intention is potentially a similar one to that of the Björketorp, Stentofthen and especially Vetteland stone, to provide protection to a sacred space or burial. Unlike the stones, which broadcast their message into public space and thus might have acted as a deterrent, the Strand fibula’s comparably private inscription could only have been seen by those present at the burial rites, if at all.

The Strøm whetstone is an inscribed sharpener for knives, or maybe, considering the inscription, scythes and may once have been attached to a shaft (Spurkland 2005: 31). Despite a few unusual Runic forms and bindrunes it is easily legible as

**wate hali hino hor(na) |**  
**haha skapi haþu ligi**

Grønvik considers it a warning against disturbing the grave in which it was found: ‘he awakened the man, the drinking-brother of the dead, the shameful injurer of the high one (i.e. chieftain)’ (Grønvik 1996: 151, translation into English provided in Spurkland 2005: 34). It bears noting that unlike the other inscriptions, which are found on memorial stones, if one follows Grønvik’s interpretation, this inscription describes the act of disturbing the grave as something that happened in the past, using the preterite. It also focuses on the buried man rather than the site or stone itself, as the previously



discussed inscriptions do, which would of course be suited to an inscribed item placed into the burial rather than on top of it. However, this interpretation can only be considered speculative. Most scholars believe the inscription to be related to the item itself and translate it as ‘May the horn wet this stone. May the hay be cut! May the mown hay lie!’ (eg. Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 110f.) and there is no reason not to follow this established translation. This refers to the act of wetting the whetstone, using a horn as a water container, to then cut the hay with the sharpened scythe. While the verse does not correspond to the classic alliterative long line (Marold 2011: 82f.), it is clearly a metric text and appears to provide evidence of the earliest Germanic work song (Antonsen 2002: 156)<sup>2</sup>, a genre not otherwise attested in Runic inscriptions.

These are the only certain examples of Runic curses. While others have been suggested, they are not convincing. The inscription on the Roes stone, a rare instance of an older fupark stone with both runes and drawings, was considered to be a curse by Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 236). They read the inscription **iu þinn ' (Uddr rak) '** and translate it literally as ‘Udd drove this stallion’, but believe the implied meaning is ‘Udd sent this curse’. Not only is this interpretation, which is based on comparative evidence from Egils saga, rather speculative, but the reading<sup>3</sup> and even the inscription itself<sup>4</sup> has been cast into doubt. Various small, mobile items are inscribed with words that reference harm or injury. One example is the Kragehul spear shaft inscription **ek Erilar A[n]sugisal(a)s muha haite ga ga ga ...hagal(a) wiju**, which may be inscribed with the word *hagal* ‘hail’ (the meteorological phenomenon, rather than the positive exclamation, that is).

### 6.2.5 Gaulish curse tablets

A tablet of lead or some other metal inscribed with a text addressing a deity and requesting help to the writer and punishment to the writer’s enemies was a magico-religious procedure the Gauls copied from the Romans. Lambert (2003: 151) suggests that the use of Gaulish in this otherwise Roman medium served to address Gaulish deities at Gaulish sites. Very few of the *defixiones* found in Gaul contain legible and interpretable Gaulish texts (cf. the ones marked with an \* below), the only examples for this are the Larzac and the Chamalieres inscriptions. Due to this wealth of information about the Gaulish language which these inscriptions provide, they have been the focus of intense scholarly interest. This previous scholarship cannot be reviewed here in full, but luckily the function of these texts is generally agreed on.

The Larzac tablet was found in a necropolis on top of an urn, bent and broken into two pieces (1 and 2), inscribed on both sides (a and b) (Lambert 2003: 162). The urn contained human ashes, presumed those of a woman. Two hands were involved in the writing of the inscription. They can be

<sup>2</sup>Marold (2011: 83) points out that Antonsen’s interpretation ‘scythe, scathe! hay, lie!’, which deviates slightly from the communis opinio cited above, causes metrical problems.

<sup>3</sup>Magnus Kallström is sceptical of both the reading and interpretation of *rak* according to correspondence with Roland Schuhmann cited on social media.

<sup>4</sup>Looijenga (2003: 336) cites personal correspondence with Anne Haavaldsen, who believes “the inscription might be recently made, or that it is a falsification”.

distinguished by differing graphical choices, such as the use of the  $\mathfrak{d}$  and final  $-n$  by the second hand (designated N), as opposed to final  $-m$  used by the first hand (designated M), which De Bernardo-Stempel (1987: 37–39) considers Latin influence. This text is the longest known coherent Gaulish text, comprised of 160 words and over 1000 letters (Schmidt 1996: 29), and much is still unclear and confusing, though we can get an idea of what it may be about.

The inscription itself is *bnanom brictom* ‘women’s magic’, as it says in the first line of 1a. Lambert summarises the contents (2003: 174): Writer M addresses the goddess Adsagsona, using a tomb on which the inscription is deposited as an intermediary. M believes themselves to be the victim of the women, who are listed in the inscription. Interestingly, these women are named in relation to their mothers and daughters, rather than fathers, as it would have been customary. It has been suggested that the relationships listed may not be biological, but refer to the relationships between members of a magical association (Lejeune 1985b: 133), Lambert prefers to consider Severa Tertionica as the only user of magic and the named women merely as her customers and their relationships therefore as biological (Lambert 2003: 171). These women have called upon a sorceress Severa Tertionica to influence the judges in a trial. M wants the damage that was done to them to be reflected back on the originators and to be protected against magic. It is not clear whether Severa Tertionica is still alive, or whether she is the one buried in the tomb that is being used as some sort of “supernatural letterbox”. The text by N is supposedly added several years later and also references different types of magic, but seems to be in no relation to the text by M otherwise.

The Chamalières tablet was found in a sanctuary associated with a sacred source, which was active in the first half of the first century AD. Lambert calls the text “perfect: it is complete, the writing is regular and legible. Only a few letters are ambiguous” (2003: 153, my translation). The first two lines of the text are spaced out and appear to be slightly separated from the rest. The text can be divided into three sections (Lambert 2003: 154ff., RIG-L-100: 273ff.). The first one, consisting of those first two lines, is an invocation of supernatural powers. The second is a request for punishment, including a list of people to be targeted. The third is the part that is hardest to translate, but it appears to be a curse formula, possibly threatening a punishment on the accursed.

Lambert (2003: 153) translates: “I invoke Maponos *arueriatis* by the force of the gods below; you shall ...and you shall torture them, through the magic of the infernal [gods]: [list of names] and all those who would swear this false oath. When they swear it, their straight bones will be deformed. Blind I see ....”

The crucial part of the inscription appears to be the first line of the second section, after the invocation of the god and before the list of names. This is the part that Lambert, in opposition to certain earlier interpretations (e.g. Koch 1983: 198), considers to be a request for punishment, as he translates *lopites* and *sníeθθic* as two connected 2.sg. pres. subjunctives meaning ‘torment’. Then, parallel to the *bnanom brictom*, the women’s magic that is referenced in the Larzac inscription, the Chamalières inscription too makes explicit reference to magic in the phrase *brixtia anderon*, found in the first line of the second section. Who *ande-* ‘below’ refers to is ambiguous. It has been suggested

that this might refer to the names listed subsequently on the tablet, but it could also refer to the *diiuion andedion*, ‘the gods below’ invoked in the previous section of the inscription, which is the solution Lambert prefers (2003: 156–157). Here, again, the comparison to Larzac suggests itself: *anuana anderna* ‘the names below’ is unambiguous, but the comparison shows that the first option cannot be discounted. There is no need to invoke the *diiuion andedion* again, but directing the magic towards the listed names has a parallel in Larzac.

In the catalogue of names, an epithet *adgarion* ‘accuser’ follows the first name. Lambert (2003: 158) deduces that the writer of the tablet considered himself wronged in court and was hoping for higher powers to bring justice to his accuser. Seven more people are named, all but the last one, who has a genitival patronym, with a Latin name formula. We can only speculate what their relation was to the ‘accuser’ and to the writer of the tablet, but there is no evidence of a connection to a Gaulish rebellion against the Romans (Lambert 2003: 157f.).

Even the parts of the last section that we do understand remain mysterious. This could well have been part of how the magic was supposed to work. It is interesting to note, nonetheless, that the very end is repeated three times and then finished off with a variation: *luge dessummiis luge dessummiis luge dessummiis luxe*. *luge* is most likely an imperative present and *luxe* an imperative aorist (Lambert 2003: 160). The repetition may be part of the ritual. Unfortunately we do not know the meaning of *dessummiis*, which is perhaps related to OIr *dessum* ‘on my right, to right of me’, interestingly, but maybe coincidentally, considering the corpus of Old Irish was written by monks, attested in religious contexts, referring to Christ or God in Old Irish (eDIL s.v. *dess*).

While there are more Gaulish curse tablets, none of them are interpretable to an extent where we could comment on their content. They are thus excluded from the corpus found in the appendix. Lezoux appears to be a third Gaulish curse tablet, but crucial words remain obscure, and Lambert (RIG-\*L-101) considers a linguistic interpretation impossible. The Rom tablet (RIG-\*L-103) is especially interesting because it is from the late third or even 4th century, a remarkably late date to find Gaulish, yet it seems undeniable that at least some of the elements found in the text are indeed Gaulish (Blom 2009). Meid (1996) goes as far as to suggest an interpretation: he reads the language as a mixture of Latin and Gaulish with Greek elements and tries to identify a prayer to a goddess written by a slave whose lover is to be taken away from him, including references to copulation. This may well be wishful thinking, after all Meid has a self-confessed appreciation for “leicht frivole Texte aus dem alten Gallien” (1980: 26). In this case, his approach to language mixture is arbitrary and as Blom (2009: 68, footnote 105) says, “methodically unsatisfactory”. The Le-Mans tablet (RIG-L-\*104) from the 1st c AD is inscribed with three separate texts from different hands, A1, A2 and B. While B and A1 are Latin, A2 is mostly Gaulish. The exception is the Latin funerary formula *DM, Dis Manibus*, which appears repeated on the end of the first line and elements that resemble Greek and may be corrupted Greek words. Little of the Gaulish elements can be interpreted, but Lambert tentatively suggests this may be a protection charm for a grave, based on the *DM* and the pseudo-Greek.

It is not surprising that a cultural practice introduced to Gaul by the Romans and then apparently embraced by Gauls produced fewer Gaulish inscriptions than inscriptions in Latin with Gaulish elements or of unidentifiable language. There are several fragments of tablets from Amelie-les-Bains (RIG \*L-97) which are largely but not exclusively written in Latin, as far as they can be deciphered, but contain recognisable Gaulish onomastic elements, including names or epithets referring to deities. The tablets have been lost, so the readings cannot be confirmed. Celtic onomastic elements can also be found on the Mas-Marcou tablet (L-\*99), the first word may actually be an epithet ‘sorceress’ – the protection charm appears to be directed against this named person.

The following two inscriptions have to be addressed as Celtic rather than specifically Gaulish, as it cannot be determined with certainty whether they are examples of early Brythonic or whether they represent attestations of Gaulish away from the continent (Mullen 2007: 42). Bath and Ulay are the source for the majority of the approximately 250 Latin curse tablets found in Britain so far (Mullen 2007: 32). The first of the two Celtic inscriptions, which is unfortunately fragmentary, is on a classic tablet (Tab. Sulis 14, RIG \*L-108).

The tablet is inscribed by five different hands, which is fairly unusual since all other Bath tablets show a maximum of two. Line 1 consists of capitals, lines 2–6 of smaller capitals, and lines 7–9 of three different hands of cursive. The lines labelled “a” are interlinear additions, 2a in a further cursive and 5a and 6a in fine capitals. Though the last five lines defy interpretation and the last three can hardly be read, Mullen (2007: 33) is convinced they were originally meant to be linguistically meaningful, rather than deliberately incomprehensible, as the repetitions and reversions typical for magical script use are remarkably absent.

Mullen (2007) interprets the first few lines as a curse or prayer formula beginning with a verb *luciumi* that may mean ‘I swear’ or ‘I pray, request, beseech’, both of which would be plausible in this context. It may be directed at the goddess Sulis Minerva, if that is who *sulara* in line 5a refers to. If so, this would give added plausibility to the interpretation of the first word as a verb of prayer. The inscription appears to address a theft, as indicated by *tittl-*, which is most likely related to OIr. *tlen-* ‘steal’. Asking for the punishment of a thief is frequent in curse tablets and has Latin parallels at Bath, for example on Tab. Sulis 10: *devoveo eum [q]ui caracallam meam involaverit* (Mullen 2007: 35). Mullen suggests the stolen item may be a sword, denoted in the inscription by the word *catacim*, which could be related to OIr. *cath* ‘battle’. Mees prefers to interpret this word as a binding term with reference to OIr. *caithid* ‘throw’, and the whole expression *tittlemma catacim* as ‘we have taken away the binding’, a counter curse. This serves to show that trying to reconstruct a context from such limited information can lead to wildly different conclusions, both consistent with the initial assumption that we are dealing with a curse tablet.

The second Celtic inscription of Bath is found on a pendant (Tab. Sulis. 18, RIG \*L-107).

Unlike the tablet, the pendant offers a complete text to analyse, but the unusual medium means we do not necessarily expect to find a *defixio*. Indeed, while Mullen (2007: 41) suggests ‘Vindiorix,

O divine Deieda / Deveda, shall fix an evil [fate?] on Cuamiina', Schrijver (2004, 2005) translates 'I have dedicated a bath? ointment? to the divine Deveda/Deieda for the sake of my Sweetheart'. The disagreement between reading it as a curse versus a dedication centres on the initial verb *adixoui*. Schrijver (2005: 58) considers this a Celtic and Latin hybrid form consisting of a Latin stem *addix-* 'dedicate' and a Celtic first person singular ending. Mullen (2007: 38f.) on the other hand thinks it may be a Celtic word related to Latin *defigo*. She considers the proposed morphology of the verb unusual for a curse formula, but as we do not have to expect a Gaulish curse formula to correspond fully to Latin conventions, she does not consider this problematic. It seems crucial to me that no other tablet is in form of a pendant (Tomlin 1988: Tab. Sulis 18). A personal item such as a pendant found in the sacred spring seems more appropriate as a dedication than as a *defixio*.

### 6.3 Runic charm words

Beck (2001: 59) considers bracteate inscriptions a distinct type of text. This distinction can be seen primarily through the use of charm words, which occur predominantly, though not exclusively, on bracteates. The leading authority on the iconography of bracteates is Hauck (e.g. IK: Axboe et al. 1985–1989), who from 1971 on published on the mythological contents that appear on bracteates instead of the emperors found on the Roman medallions (for criticism of Hauck's work, cf. Wicker and Williams 2013). However, there is rarely a clear connection between iconography and inscription. Bracteate texts, according to Mees (2014: 284) belong to "three Weberian ideal types: (1) those that bear (mostly) regular syntactic phrases; (2) those that feature single terms or jumbles of syntactically isolated expressions of the kind designated by Krause (1937: 446) as *magische Formelwörter* and (3) those that are mostly unreadable — i.e. that are often styled 'gibberish' or 'nonsense' texts". Mees' three types of bracteate inscriptions, while accurate, could also be applied to regular Runic inscriptions. Odensted's classifications can all be sorted into those three categories.

The idea that bracteates are religious amulets is backed up by Hauck's iconological studies (e.g. Axboe et al. 1985–1989), which identify various deities – predominantly Odin – and references to myths. This does not necessarily indicate that the inscriptions on the bracteates are automatically magical texts. Nowak (2003: 667) considers the following options: a bracteate inscription can be completely independent from the image (1) or it can be connected. If it is connected it can name what is depicted (2), replace a depiction (3) or represent an utterance of a depicted figure (4). A magical text is possible, but not necessary in cases (1) and (4). However, if we accept that the images on bracteates have a religious meaning, surely an inscription contributing to that meaning (3) or reinforcing it (2) can be regarded as magical. This still leaves several examples of non-magical bracteate inscriptions, such as maker's inscriptions and naming inscriptions, though some of those may actually be examples of (2) by referring to the depicted. Even though this categorisation of bracteate inscriptions is broad, it is difficult to ascribe individual bracteate inscriptions to these categories. The difference in contexts and placements implies that the same word, such as the charm words discussed below, may actually serve different purposes on different bracteates (Nowak 2003: 668f.).

The Roman models for bracteates, the emperor's medallions, were often inscribed with names or formulaic isolated words such as *salus*, *pietas/pius*, *iustitia*, *felicitas/felix*, *gloria*, *spes*, *virtus*, *gaudium*, *victoria*, *securitas* etc (Heizmann 2011: 527), which resemble the charm words found on bracteates. Charm words are defined as appellatives that appear isolated or in groups, often without any additional syntactic contexts, and usually in the nominative singular. Due to their proximity to what is believed to be religious iconography on bracteates, they are often considered to be magical, as a concise formula that should cause or force an effect (Heizmann *ibid.*). Nowak (2003: 205) is critical of this definition, which can immediately be amended by exceptions. *auja* occurs in various syntactic contexts, while others, such as various casus forms of *ebwar*, have only one good attestation (IK352). He considers it unnecessary and methodically questionable to use this term, as the relevance and meaning of the words should be ascertainable from the composition and iconography of the bracteates, without the addition of the mystical note that is implied by a term like *Formelwörter*. He suggests instead using a purely descriptive term for words that repeatedly occur in isolation and suggests *Einzelwörter*, following Lundeby and Williams (1992: 21f.) term *enkeltord*. While this neutral, purely descriptive term is certainly accurate, I see no harm in using the term charm word. Their repeated use, especially on bracteates with religious iconography, seems to indicate that these words were intended to have a specific effect, even if we cannot know the particular cultic use of these items or the writing on them.

### 6.3.1 *alu*

There is no doubt that the charm word *alu* is formally equivalent to English *ale* and other Germanic words meaning 'beer'. What is up for debate is whether they are indeed the same word, two different derivations from the same root or a different word entirely despite being identical (Nowak 2003: 214). There have been attempts to make "magical" etymological connections. These theories are undoubtedly favoured because of the use of the word as a Runic charm word, which seems incompatible with a word as trivial as 'beer'. Bugge (1891–1901: 163–166) considered it to be related to goth. *albs*, oe. *ealh*, *alb* 'temple', oe. *ealgian* 'to protect' and gr. *alké* 'strength' and *alkas* 'protection' and translated it as 'protection'. Polomé (1995: 248) compared it to heth. *alwanza-* 'affected by magic', and gr. *ἀλλύω* 'be beside oneself' and considered it an "apotropaic and protective formula" (*ibid.*). This idea of protection is fairly well accepted (cf. Düwel 2008: 53), even though the evidence for this, other than tentative etymologies that are not generally accepted, is hardly there (for a more thorough discussion of the etymologies for *alu* cf. Nowak 2003: 214ff.). Macleod and Mees object to the equation of the charm word with the 'beer' word because they would expect sacral *veig* rather than secular *ǫ*. However, Zimmermann (2015: 50) points out that these two words are used interchangeably in eddic and scaldic literature, which means that there is no clear indication that *alu* could not have referred to 'beer' even in a cult context. Zimmermann (2015) prefers to see a political context, again making the connection via the bracteates and the emperor's cult – they could have been used as gifts to subordinates and allies to exercise power. The suggested connection to 'beer' would be a feast at which it was consumed.

If one accepts the equation of *alu* and ‘beer’, the next question is what its significance may be in this context. Lundebj and Williams (1992: 21f.) suggest that it may fit into a pattern of nourishing and healing products, together with other products like *laukar*, that appear as charm words. Nowak (2003: 220) considers that its intoxicating effect may have had cultic significance. Grønvik (1987: 135–144) suggests that in a grave context *alu* may refer to the beer that would have been awaiting the deceased person in the afterlife. There are about as many ideas to explain *alu* as there are scholars who have written about it, which just goes to show that we do not know what it was meant to communicate.

While some charm words are found exclusively or near exclusively on bracteates, **alu** is also attested on several other types of object.

These include one stone, the Elgesem runestone, which is inscribed with nothing else and was found face down on a grave mound, though according to (Bæksted 1951: 76–77) the shape of the stone indicates that it was meant to be erected, not placed flat on the ground. Also on stone, though not on a monumental standing stone, is the Kinneve inscription ...**(s)ir alu** ..., found on the fragment of a stone and not preserved in its entirety, broken off at the edges of the fragment. The first few signs can plausibly be interpreted as the end of a name, then follows the word *alu* and an additional *b*. This sequence however could also be the beginning of the next name rather than the charm word *alu*, since *alu-* is an attested name component. Høst (1980: 49) claims the word *alu* occurs only in initial position unless used in names, which leads Antonsen (2002: 196) to prefer this interpretation over that of *alu* as a charm word in this case. Even if we ignore the evidence provided by bracteates (discussed below), where component order is often hard to determine due to the writing being embedded in the overall design of the piece, this seems a bold statement based on very little data and thus unsuited to the basis of an interpretation. The Lindholmen amulet inscription **ek erilar Sa(wil)agar ha[i]teka ' | ...' alu'** however, where *alu* appears at the end of the second row after a sequence of repetitive signs that do not appear to be semantically meaningful, seems to offer a counterpoint to this assertion by Høst.

Furthermore, two combs contain the word *alu*. One of them is the Horvnes comb, a 6th century find from a woman's grave. The comb is fragmented and the runes read **a(a)llu[u]**, and while the inscription breaks off, it presumably finishes in a second **u**. The inscription appears to represent a doubling of the charm word. The other *alu*-inscribed comb is the Setre comb. Antonsen's interpretation of the Setre comb inscription (2002: 299f.) is attractive for its simplicity. According to him it consists of two names, referring either to the owner of the item or as epithets to the comb itself, and then *alu* and a third name, repeated twice: A: **HALMAR | MAUNA** B: **A(l)u Na[nn]A [A]lu Nanna**. If *mauna* is to be read as an epithet to the comb it may refer to its function as a lice comb and mean ‘the one who wards off, gets rid [of lice]’. The traditional interpretation (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 90) places this inscription more firmly into the area of ritual inscriptions: A: **hal mar | mauna** B: **A(l)u Na[nn]A [A]lu Nanna** ‘hail [to you] maid of maids, alu Nanna alu Nanna’. The formula maid of maids has a parallel in the Norse record as *mær meþja*, while the name Nanna may refer to Baldr's wife or a different mythological figure of the same name (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 90). However, the forms found in this inscription differ from the expected *\*hailu mawir maunō* in several places (Antonsen

2002: 299). It seems worth noting that the runes on side A and side B differ in style, with A being smaller and more carefully carved than B. This may indicate that the runes were inscribed at different times and there is no reason why they necessarily have to be connected in content. There is thus no reason why side A cannot be a simple naming inscription with side B as a religious inscription.

*alu* is also found on jewellery. The Körlin ring is inscribed with an encoded version of the word *alu*, a ligature of the first two runes of the word, which simultaneously represents the third, and a written out version of that same word. On the Værløse fibula (**Alugod**), the Årstad stone (**S(a)ral(u)**) and the Førde sinker (**Alu(k)o**), *-alu-* is attested as a name component. In the cases of Førde and Værløse, the names appear in isolation, whereas on the Årstad stone it is accompanied by another name as well as third name or epithet in an I-formula, which may be a maker's mark (cf. section 5.1.2).

Finally, we find *alu* on weapons. The Nydam arrow shafts 1, 5 and 6 are each inscribed with what could be interpreted as rearranged or modified versions of the word *alu*, but of course whether the inscriptions are really meant to represent *alu* can not be proven. On the Fosse fitting **alu** does not appear in isolation but follows a sequence of barely legible signs. The Nydam axe handle inscription (**(Wa)gagastir | alu ' [wi]h(gu) (S)ikijar ' Aipalatar**) seems to consist mostly of names and while it is possible that they are interspersed with an *alu* and an additional word or sequence of signs of some sort, it is also plausible that this may actually be an additional name (Antonsen 2002: 234). The Kragehul knife shaft has been partly destroyed, but within the otherwise uninterpretable inscription it is possible to make out a possible object designation: the ending of a male name in the nominative in the first line and possibly the word *a(l)u* in the second line (Antonsen 1975: 37).

One further attestation of *alu* on items other than bracteates is not listed in the Kiel database, as it originates from the UK. The word is stamped on several 5th century urns found at the Spong Hill cemetery (Pieper 2005).

As for bracteates, Zimmermann (2015: 12) considers 12 models and 19 objects based on these models to contain certain attestations of *alu*. Straightforward attestations of isolated *alu* can be found on the Djupbrunns II C-Bracteate, the Heide B-Bracteate, the Hjørnlunde Mark/Slangerup late C-Bracteate, the Kläggeröd C-Bracteate and the Bjørnerud A-Bracteate. Additionally, it is also found on the smaller Hüfingen bracteate I. There is also a rather large group of bracteates on which the charm word *alu* appears in combination with other words or components. On the Kjellers Mose C-Bracteate *al(u)* is accompanied by other signs, which cannot be interpreted semantically. On the Allesø B-Bracteate, the Bolbro I B-Bracteate and the Vedby B-Bracteate, all imprints of the same model, Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 250) would like to read a row of several charm words, starting with *laukar*, and including *opal*, *alu* and *laþu*, interspersed with several individual ideographs. This reading is not generally accepted however; the only word that can be made out with certainty is the initial *laukar*. The Börringe C-Bracteate is inscribed with a name **Ta(n)ulu**, followed by an abbreviated **al**, which presumably stands for *alu*, and the charm word *laukar*. The Funen I C-Bracteate is inscribed with a word that is considered to be a name for Odin **Ho(u)ar** 'the high one' (Nowak 2003: 279, the



etymology was already suggested by Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 255, but they considered it a personal name), or a pet name for Balder's horse *borar* 'dear' by Heizmann (2001: 329). This is followed by a sequence of signs that seems to begin with *lapu* and end with *alu*.

The Skåne I B-Bracteate is inscribed with three charm words: *lapu*, *laukar* and *alu*. The *alu* is preceded by one additional word, **ga[u]kaR**, the meaning of which is unknown. Another item made from the same model is listed as Unknown B-Bracteate. It has been a subject of debate whether the inscription on the Ølst C-Bracteate (**hag**) | **alu** consists of two separate segments or a single word. The two parts are interrupted by the legs of the horse, which is depicted on the bracteate, but interruptions of the inscription are not unusual on bracteates and do not necessarily indicate it is to be read separately. If read together, it may form a single word, which Antonsen (2002: 212) interprets as nom.pl. 'hailstones'. If read separately, the second part is the charm word *alu*, and the first part could possibly be a male name (Looijenga 2003: 212). The Uppåkra C-Bracteate inscription **sima(w)ina** or **sima(p)ina** | **alu** consists of *alu* and another segment, which may or may not be semantically meaningful. The difficulty with the reading results from the location of the rune, squeezed in between the depicted figure and the edge of the bracteate. Whether it is a ᚱ **w** or a ᚱ **p** remains unclear. Axboe and Stoklund (2003; the publication contains photos and a drawing of the item) attempt to interpret the second half of that other segment *wina* as a Latin loanword meaning 'wine', which would be an interesting combination with *alu* 'beer', but alas this has to remain speculation. The Skrydstrup B-Bracteate is inscribed with the two words *laukar* and *alu*. The C Bracteate of unknown origin, of which there are at least six versions, is also inscribed with *alu*, however the second word, if it is a distorted charm word rather than a non-semantic sequence of signs, cannot be identified with certainty. *lapu* or *laukar* are plausible interpretations, but this has to remain speculation. The Darum V C-Bracteate is inscribed with a male name and the word *alu*: **Niujil[a] alu**.

A number of bracteates have uncertain attestations of the word *alu*<sup>5</sup>. The MaglemoseI/Gummersmark A-Bracteate is inscribed with a sequence of signs that seem largely non-semantic, but may contain the word *alu* according to Düwel (1988). Similarly, Axboe et al. (IK394) believe the word may be found in the otherwise uninterpretable inscription on the Slipshavn B-Bracteate fragment. Neither of these can be considered a definite attestation of the word. The MaglemoseIII/Gummersmark C-Bracteate contains the same name as is attested on the Funen I C-Bracteate, **Houar**, which may refer to Odin. McKinnell et al. (2004: 77) want to read the same charm words as on the Funen bracteate and identify an abbreviated *lapu* close to the beginning and *alu* at the end. Axboe et al. (IK300) do not recognise the *lapu* on MaglemoseIII, however. The Tønder B-Bracteate may feature an abbreviated *lapu* and manipulated forms of *alu*, but this reading is speculative. The Lellinge Kohave B-Bracteate is inscribed with *salu* twice. It is not clear whether this is a separate word or connected to *alu*. If it were to be interpreted as a separate word, there could possibly be a connection to Latin *salus*, which was one of the words frequently used on emperor medallions, the models for bracteates (Düwel 2008: 52). There is one more case where we may see the word *salu*, the Kongsvad Å A-Bracteate, which is

<sup>5</sup>The following section is not meant to be a comprehensive account of bracteates where a reading of *alu* has been suggested, but an overview of more or less plausible candidates. For a more comprehensive list cf. Nowak 2003: 211.

inscribed with **foslau**. This could represent a Fupark-citation, by citing the first and last letter followed by either *salu* or *alu*, preceded by an isolated *s*, the interpretation is of course not certain.

### 6.3.2 **laukar**

Unlike the connection between the charm word *alu* and the most obvious potential meaning ‘beer’, the charm word *laukar* ‘leek’ has attracted little controversy (Nowak 2003: 223). Nevertheless, here too, metaphorical explanations for the usage of ‘leek’ as a charm word have been suggested (Nowak 2003: 236), ranging from protection (just as in the case of *alu*) to prosperity and fertility. Heizmann (1987: 145), however, has suggested a literal translation based on the plant’s medicinal uses, specifically for horses, which seems especially plausible when put together with the horses depicted on the bracteates themselves. Nowak (2003: 668) believes that the word *laukar* on a bracteate may serve as a stand in for a depiction, especially if the word is placed close to the feet of a horse, such as on IK26.

Düwel (1988: 106) suggests that there is a schema of reduction to be seen in *laukar* inscriptions and that a range of inscriptions with successively shorter abbreviations may all represent the word *laukar*: *laukar* – *lakR* – *lkaR* – *lauR* – *luR* – *lR* – *l*. While some of these can plausibly be read as abbreviations, Nowak (2003 235f.) argues that identifying a scheme seems implausible with no further similarities between the bracteates in question as there is no reason to associate them with each other. Additionally, while an isolated †-rune on a bracteate can plausibly represent an abbreviated charm word, there is no knowing whether it is to represent *laukar* or *lapu* or whether it may even be used to ambiguously invoke either or both of these words (Nowak 2003: 233). The Denmark I C-Bracteate is inscribed with an abbreviated form of *laukar*, *lkaR*. The same abbreviation is found on the Denmark I and the Hammenhög C-Bracteate, where it occurs in conjunction with an additional non-Runic sign. Other plausible abbreviations are *lakr* found on the Lynge Gyde C-Bracteate and *lkar* on the MaglemoseII/Gummersmark A-Bracteate and on the Sjælland I C-Bracteate. Another potential abbreviation of *laukar*, *luR*, can be found on the Hesselager C-Bracteate and Hesselagergårds Skov C-Bracteate, both pressed from the same model as well as on the Visby Kungsladugård C-Bracteate and the South Funen C-Bracteate. This reduced form does not allow for a definite identification of the word, especially not in the case of the South Funen C-Bracteate, where the letters appear in a sequence of uninterpretable runes.

On the Fløksand knife inscription **lin(a) (l)aukar f**, the only non-bracteate to be inscribed with the charm word *laukar*, it occurs in combination with the word *lina* ‘linen’ and an isolated rune *ƿ*, sometimes interpreted as an ideograph.

A few bracteates have already been mentioned in the previous section, as they also contain or may contain the word *alu* in their inscription. These include the Allesø B-Bracteate/Bolbro B-Bracteate/Vedby B-Bracteate, the Skrydstrup B-Bracteate, the Børringe C-Bracteate and the Skåne I B-Bracteate/Unknown B-Bracteate. The only example for an unabbreviated *laukar* in isolation, without other charm words, is the Års II C-Bracteate inscription. This may indeed indicate that they have

something in common, that meant *laukar* occurred predominantly with *alu*. Unfortunately we can only speculate whether this communality was due to their culinary or medicinal use, or some entirely different reason.

### 6.3.3 *laþu*

The word *laþu* corresponds to the ON word *lǫð* ‘invitation’. It is thought to represent a ritual summoning or call for help, presumably referring to the deity depicted on the bracteate. Isolated *laþu* without other inscription components can be read on the Gurfiles? C-Bracteate and on the Højstrup Strand C-Bracteate.

*laþu* also occurs in combination with other inscription components. The Lundeborg A-Bracteate is inscribed with a sequence of Runic and non-Runic signs, which may include an intentional mangling of the word *laþu*, though this cannot be considered a certain attestation. Two models with three pressings each are inscribed with a diminutive name and the word *laþu*: the Darum I B-Bracteate, with the name **Frodila** ‘little wise one’ or **Frohila** ‘little lord’ (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 254), and the Skonager III C-Bracteate, with the name **Niuwila** ‘little newcomer’ (Antonsen 1975: 76). Two bracteates, the Halsskov Overdrev C-Bracteate and Trollhättan A-Bracteate, contain *laþu* embedded in a syntactic context with a verb of making (cf. Nowak’s discussion of these inscriptions, 2003: 240f.). In the case of Halsskov Overdrev the sentence is **fahide laþoþ**, surrounded by additional signs that are most likely not part of a lexical component. The Trollhättan bracteate is inscribed with **tawo I | aþodu**. The two sentences are distinctly different, as *tawo* is a first singular present form but *fahide* a third singular preterite. Previously (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 261), these inscriptions have been taken as evidence for services provided by a so called “rune master” (Runenmeister), but read with an eye on the iconography, these inscriptions can be read as assertions by Odin, who is pictured on the bracteates as he summons helpers in animal shapes to heal Balder’s horse (Nowak 2003: 241), specifically in this case a snake (IK189). *laþu* occurs together with other charm words on the Funen I C-Bracteate, where it appears with a name and *alu* as well as with a sequence of other signs **...I[a]þ[u] | ...Hō[ua]r | al(u)**, and on the Skåne I B-Bracteate/Unknown B-Bracteate (discussed above, in the section about *alu*).

Possible, but uncertain or speculative attestations of *laþu* are found on the Allesø B-Bracteate/Bolbro B-Bracteate/Vedby B-Bracteate, the MaglemoseIII/Gummersmark A-Bracteate, Tønder B-Bracteate and the Unknown C-Bracteate; all of these are discussed above, in the section about *alu*

### 6.3.4 *ehwe*

Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 244) read the inscription on the Tirup Heide/Skåne V C-bracteate as **ēhw(u)**, the first three signs are represented by a bind-rune. He interpreted it a a charm word ‘horse’ in a dedicatory dative *ehwe* ‘to the horse’ and suggested a connection to the magical animals of Odin.

Nowak (2003: 274; drawings of the relevant inscriptions can be found on this and the following pages) is sceptical of this interpretation: While a written representation of the depicted horse on the bracteate can plausibly be a reference to Baldr, a dedication ‘to the horse’ does not go well with the generally accepted bracteate iconography. Additionally, the interpretation is linguistically problematic – why would the final *-e* be graphically represented with a *u*? Düwel (2008: 55) suggests it may instead represent a vocative of a personal name, addressing Odin by a horse-name.

An **eh**-bindrune resembling the **ehw**-bindrune from Tirup Heide/Skåne V is found on the Al-mungs C-Bracteate, which is the same model as Burge, Skåne IV, Slitebacka, Sutarve, two unknown locations, Broa – though the runes are no longer visible on the latter –, the Tirup Heide/Skåne V C-Bracteate, the Djupbrunns I C-Bracteate and the Fride C-Bracteate, which is the same model as Öster Ryftes and Riksarve. Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 242f.) see this group of inscriptions as evidence for a charm word ‘horse’, and prefer it to the solution previously suggested by Bugge (1891–1901: 100), which Krause and Jankuhn (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 243, no source given) claim he later rejected, a mangled form of the *ek erilar* formula. Nowak (2003: 276) considers this the more satisfying solution. The similarities in these inscriptions make it clear that they are derived of a common source, which presumably was meaningful. What remains is too far removed from both *ek erilar* (cf. Nowak 2003: 258) and *ehwe* to be confidently reconstructed as either of those and a third, unknown solution cannot be excluded as an option. There have been attempts to identify this sequence on other bracteates, such as on the Denmark X B-Bracteate and the beginning of the Åsum C-Bracteate, but these interpretations are even more speculative. Claims have been made (e.g. by Opitz 1977: 169) that the inscription on the Donzdorf fibula represents an example of this word, but it is more likely to be a name (Peterson 1994) with the function of a maker’s mark (Düwel and Roth 1977), and should not be taken as evidence for the existence of this charm word.

### 6.3.5 ota

A similar case is **ota** *otti* ‘fear’ (Fingerlin, Fischer and Düwel 1998), which according to Grønvik is a byname for Odin (Grønvik 1987: 155f.). It is found on four bracteates IK55 Fjärestad-C / Gantofta, IK152 Schonen III-C, IK185 Tjurkö II-C / Målen and IK578 Gadegård-C, which also show iconographic similarities (Nowak 2003: 250), as well as on the Hüfingen bracteate II. Nowak (2003: 252) considers the fact that this word is found on the Hüfingen bracteate problematic for Grønvik’s interpretation of *ota* as a byname for Odin, as this relies on the parallel to the ON name *Yggr* for Odin, which would imply a so far unproven connection between traditions. Hauck (1988: 35f.) considers an interpretation as ‘fear’ plausible, since it appears in connection with a demonic creature on the bracteate – the charm word may serve to ward from this creature. This would be the sole clearly negative charm word in the bracteate corpus, and thus unusual, but we know too little about the meaning of bracteate inscriptions to automatically consider it unlikely for that reason.

### 6.3.6 Other potential charm words

A few more words appear more than once in the bracteate inscription corpus, and may therefore belong to the category of charm words.

Two models, one of which has two pressings, are inscribed with the word *auja* ‘luck’. The inscription on the Skodborghus/Skodborg B-Bracteate stands out through its use of repetition and a rare example of a plausible ideograph, it reads **auja alawin auja alawin auja alawin j alawid**. The components other than *auja* and the individual **j** appear to be names. The inscription on the Køge II C-Bracteate reads **hariuha haitika farauisa gibu auja ?**. It consists of a naming inscription (cf. subsection *Naming verbs* in section 5.1.2) followed by a sentence ‘give luck’ – another rare instance of a verb used with a charm word, the other one occurs with *lapu*.

The Gudme II C-Bracteate and the Killerup I B-Bracteate are inscribed with the word *undR*. This can be read as ‘wonder’, which Hauck connects to the Baldr myth (1998: 337f). Nowak suggests it could alternatively be connected to the Old Norse name of Odin *Unnr* or *Uðr*. Neither of these two explanations are entirely satisfactory from a linguistic point of view.

Beck (2009) has identified one more word that occurs at least twice in the corpus. Previously, the inscription was thought to be a Futhork inscription, but Beck suggested it may read **fupiz** ‘vulva’. This reading is supported by a newly found and more easily legible bracteate, inscribed with the same word, the yet unpublished IK 678-C<sup>6</sup>.

McKinnell et al. (2004: 85) discuss Futhork inscriptions<sup>7</sup> in the same section as charm words. They reject the idea that Futhork inscriptions serve to invoke the individual meanings of runes as ideographs or that there is a numerological magic at play (a theory discussed predominantly by Klingenberg, which did not catch on in the long run and is no longer supported or cited in current literature). Instead they claim that the Futhork is used to “[lend] the quality of (natural) order to the communicative channel” (Flowers 1986: 371)<sup>8</sup>. By comparing it with alphabet magic of late antiquity, they claim it may be a symbol for a divine utterance when used on bracteates and have served as a protective magic when employed on gravestones, such as in the case of the Kylver inscription. It is problematic to presume a different purpose for the same type of inscription, depending on the object on which it is found. It seems more likely that Futhork inscriptions serve a similar purpose to other non-lexical sequences. Both non-sequential inscriptions and Futhork inscriptions occur on bracteates as well as other objects. Their use implies that being understood was less important for a Runic inscription than merely being there, something that may come as solace to runologists in times of frustration.

<sup>6</sup>Personal communication from Roland Schuhmann.

<sup>7</sup>A complete list can be found in Table 9.3 in the appendix.

<sup>8</sup>Whereas the non-sequential inscriptions “impart and element of disorder” (ibid.), the argument thus appears to be rather arbitrary.

Uninterpretable sequences of signs have also been compared to *ephesiae litterae* (Braunmüller 2004: 36), also known as *ephesia grammata*, more often referred to as *vores mysticae* or *vores magicae* nowadays (Gager 1992: 284). It is worth noting that rather than being just random gibberish, some *vores magicae* appear repeatedly and were established formulaic components. They were partly borrowed from other languages (Gager 1992: 27) and could contain elements of foreign deities (Gager 1992: 13). This does not mean that they were understood by those who used them – more important is that it was believed that they would be understood by the spirits who were being invoked. The mere existence of *vores magicae* in ancient ritual language is not enough evidence to interpret a Runic inscription with no recognisable semantic components as ritual language. *vores magicae* are frequently embedded in a wider context of a ritual text that helps identify the *vores* as such. Clear examples of Runic ritual texts, such as the public curses discussed in section 6.2.4, do not include such sequences. The use of letter repetition is sometimes cited as a possible indication of ritual language, however this is not a given. As discussed in section 5.1.3, Mees (2016: 16) draws a comparison between the Roman use of doubling and tripling for repetition purposes, indicating plurality, and the Gummarp inscription: (s)tA(b)A þr(i)a | fff.

#### 6.4 Other Ritual Inscriptions

There are a few difficult to interpret inscriptions that may belong to the ritual sphere in some way, but as of yet have no known parallels.

The Skramles Udde stone was only found in 1993 in the foundations of a building. Odenstedt presumes that while its use in the building was secondary, its position flat on the ground was original (1997: 186). He suggests translating the inscription, which he transcribes as **oþaainri · farkanio**, though Gustavson has **jþaahari farkaio** (unpublished, cited in Odenstedt 1997: 171) and translates as as ‘Øþa alone (or: Øþawin) carved, I know the danger’. According to Odenstedt, this serves to ascribe a magical ability or quality to the inscriber, to whom people might have turned for protection. This is a lot to extrapolate from a fairly cryptic inscription that cannot even be read with certainty. Düwel (2008: 38) considers the inscription “not yet convincingly interpreted”.

The Pforzen belt buckle’s inscription is on the front, rather than the back of the object, unlike most personal items, which tend to be inscribed on the back. This means the inscription was visible to the public while the item was worn. The grave in which it was found contained some of the most elaborate grave goods of that burial site, including a number of weapons found in only one other grave (Babucke 1999: 20).

The inscription reads **ai·gil·andi·aïl·run·' | Itahu·gasokun**. A previously suggested reading of **elahu** for the first word in the second line has been confirmed as less likely (Düwel 2008: 20, Waldispühl 2013: 299), which makes Düwel’s (1999) and Schwab’s (1999) interpretation unlikely. An added difficulty is that the punctuation was only identified as such by Pieper and its purpose remains unclear (1999). Düwel (1999 and 2008: 19f.) suggested an interpretation ‘Aigil and Ailrun condemned the

stags' and believed it could be a christian inscription rebuking pagan rites. Schwab prefers to understand elahu as 'eel-water', the eels are not necessarily to be taken literally, but could here mean snakes or demonic water creatures. While she admits that this would be an odd choice of words, she offers explanation by means of the poetic requirements and interprets the inscription as 'Aigila and Ailrun exorcise the eel-water'.

Based on the more likely reading of **It** are the following interpretations: Wagner (1999) reads a third name *Angiltah* in the second line of the inscription and translates 'Aigil and Ailrun chastised Angiltah' – he does this by interpreting the sign considered decorative by most other scholars as a ligature. He believes that the inscription references heroic myths and that the antagonist's name may have been encoded by the ligature due to a sense of taboo. The problem with this interpretation is mainly the assumption of a bindrune, which seems completely arbitrary. There is no reason to expand that decorative element into those specific runes.<sup>9</sup> Seebold (1999) explains the problematic **Itahu** as two ideographs and a word *abu* 'care, diligence' in the instrumental and translates 'Aigil and Hailrun rejected the god of the lake with diligence'. The choice to interpret those two runes as ideographs in that manner is ultimately arbitrary and methodically questionable. Nedoma (1999) and Eichner (1999) interpret the inscription as a reference to heroic myth. By interpreting the **I**-rune as a bindrune **il**, he expands the difficult **Itahu** to a river name *Itahu* and translates 'Aigil and Ailrun fought at the Ilzach'. Fischer (2005: 178) considers this reading plausible but is sceptical about the necessity to presume a connection to myth and considers it more probable "that Aigil and Ailrun are perfectly normal personal names of non-fictitious persons". He criticises that "[p]ositivist notions such as deduction and probability are avoided to complete the rather fantastic narratives".

Three factors influence the desire to read something more than an everyday communication into the Pforzen buckle: the name Aigil, the alliterative line and the inscription's unusual position on the front of the item. Perhaps there is a fourth factor, the desire of scholars to find something special and extraordinary in an inscription. A comparison with other poetic inscriptions known to us, such as the Gallehus inscription **ek Hlewagastir ' Holtijar ' horna ' tawido '**, which contains a maker's inscription, or the Strøm whetstone work song, shows that an unusual item does not need to refer to anything out of the ordinary. The Gallehus inscription also proves that a metric inscription may even follow the same formulas as other inscriptions.

The Weser or Unterweser rune bones were long considered forgeries, but Pieper's examination revealed that the Runic inscriptions appear to be genuine (Pieper 1989). Though inscribed on separate bones, the inscriptions can be read as an entity. While the third bone is inscribed with the maker's signature **Ulu ' hari | dede** (cf. section 5.1.3), the first two bones tell a story – and it is illustrated. There is a sail boat carved into the first bone and the inscription on that boat reads **lokom her** 'I see here'. The image supplements the text, so that the entire carving on the bone means 'I see a boat here'. Such a connection between words and image is rare in older Runic inscriptions, but there are other

<sup>9</sup>Note that there was a tendency in imaginative runology of ascribing special meaning to bindrunes, an idea that no longer finds much support. MacLeod (2006) convincingly shows that the use of bindrunes is largely arbitrary, practical and down to the whim of each individual carver.

examples, such as the image description provided on the Wremen stool or the interlinking between iconography and charm words on the bracteates. The interpretation of the inscription **latam(1-3?)hari | kunn(1-3? w)e | hagal** on the third bone is made difficult by atypical rune forms. Pieper translates ‘Let us, Inghari, kin of Ingwe, [unleash] hail’, while Antonsen has ‘see here [a Roman vessel]. Let us, fighting-kin, unleash woe-hail [i.e., battle]. Uluhari did (this) [i.e. executed this message]’. While Pieper interprets the whole set as a curse against an Roman ship, intended to unleash bad weather and doom on the enemy, Antonsen sees no reason to consider it anything more than an entirely secular call to arms. Pieper cites the use of the word *hagal*, possibly also attested on the Kragehul spear shaft (cf. section 6.2.2), and the invocation of Ingwe as an indication of a magical intention (Pieper 1989: 210f.), and considers it certain that a profane use of these artefacts can be excluded (Pieper 1989: 219), something vehemently countered by Antonsen (1993). Indeed, Antonsen’s argument is convincing: Pieper’s interpretation relies on shaky parallels from other, difficult inscriptions and the reading of the *ing*-rune, which does not have valid parallels in other inscriptions. This does not necessarily mean that Antonsen is correct in assuming the use of runes as a messaging tool, something otherwise not attested for older Runic inscriptions (though the evidence from medieval inscriptions suggests this may be due to the decay of organic materials). There are other possible interpretations, such as the commemoration of an event (i.e. a battle involving a Roman ship).

The Vimose plane inscription may feature a charm word *wiliR* in the second singular ‘you want’ and the same word that is featured in reduced form on the Strand fibula, *bleuno* ‘glory, protection’ (Antonsen 2002: 153), after the object’s name. As the majority of the inscription is not interpretable, we can only speculate about the function of the inscription.



## Pragmatic Inscriptions

This section serves to summarise more practical and functional uses of script, largely relating to the manufacturing and advertising of products. Pragmatic inscriptions are a significant part of the Gaulish corpus and the components of specific subsets, such as the Graufesenque accounts (RIG-II/2: 103ff.) have been analysed in previous research. In contrast, barely any pragmatic inscriptions exist in Runic. The only example are maker's marks that may be inspired by Latin models. Other Runic maker's inscriptions exist, but they resemble naming inscriptions and may not be as utilitarian as they appear at the first glance.

This section has a large overlap with others, as this information may be included on any type of object and as an addition to any other type of inscription. As mentioned in the previous section, a maker's mark may just be an isolated signature, virtually indistinguishable from a naming inscription. In many cases, however, the action of making is made explicit by the use of a verb. The action referred to is usually that of producing the object that carries the inscription. These often occur in an "industrial" context, such as in the manufacture of pottery or weapons. In that function, the maker's mark may even resemble a brand name, which is used repeatedly and may have had a specific reputation with potential customers.

Maker's inscriptions can, however, also refer to the act of writing or inscribing or, in a more general sense, to that of erecting a monument. In those cases, the intent resembles that of a naming inscription more closely, instead of having an economic function, the inscription serves a cultural and social need to communicate the ability to write and the identity of the writer. These can only be identified through a verb referring to writing or making, otherwise they are largely indistinguishable from naming inscriptions, though in a writing culture such as the Runic one, where we have attested uses of writing verbs, we can presume that this is an intended function of part of the naming inscriptions.

## 7.1 Makers

### 7.1.1 Gaulish makers signatures

In Gaulish inscriptions the verb of making is consistently *avot* (Lambert 2003: 120ff.). It is used parallel to Latin *fecit* or its abbreviations with the nominative of a name. The name does not have to be Gaulish or even with a Gaulish declension. There appear to be no Gaulish constructions equivalent to the Latin genitive + OFFICINA or genitive + MANV. Code switching seems to be the norm rather than the exception in maker's marks. Indeed we find Gaulish inscriptions combined with Latin maker's marks or even Greek maker's marks, despite the Gaulish inscription being written in Latin script (Lambert 2003: 122). The Gaulish essentially expands the pool of available formulas in the multilingual environment of Roman Gaulish industry. There are cases of name-only maker's marks in Gaul, which can usually be identified when they are clearly applied as a part of production, appear in repeated instances and/or appear on mass manufactured items.

There have been attempts to identify other Gaulish making verbs, such as on the \*CINTVIERV stamp found in Saint-Bonnet and Autun, on the VRITVES | CINCOS stamp from Boulogne, Bavai and Andernach, on the Holt brick inscription c[enturia] rufi sabi[ni] gnat lv, and on the Graufesenque Account 2 *sioxti* · Albanos | panna · extra tuθ CCC. The first two cases are more likely interpreted as potter's name inscriptions. The Holt brick inscription is most likely Latin, and the word in question in the Graufesenque 8 inscription, *sioxti*, is most likely an adverb. Thus, no other Gaulish verbs of making have been identified so far.

#### *avot*

Simple maker's inscriptions featuring a form of the verb *avot* occur most frequently, with 97 examples listed in the RIG under the entry L-20, but not listed individually in my corpus. The verb is most often preceded by a name, which is usually male and in the nominative, rarely in the genitive, most likely due to the influence of other formulas such as Latin MANV or OFFICINA. A few of the more unusual objects with inscriptions that follow this pattern are listed separately, such as the Clermont-Ferrand fire dogs and the Région de Châteauroux fire dog. In rare cases these inscriptions include a patronym, for example the Type A inscription on the Venuses of Rextugenos or some inscriptions on the Models of Sacrillos. Some of the latter inscriptions also contain the word 'model'.

#### *No verb or other Gaulish verbs*

Some maker's mark inscriptions lack the verb entirely and consist only of names, such as type B and C on the Venuses of Rextugenos or the Graufesenque 7 inscription or various other examples, e.g. the Banassac Aricani inscription *verecundi* | *aricani*. These are not completely listed in the RIG. Maker's

marks and signatures are intended to communicate the object's maker to a person interacting with the object, but there are inscriptions indicating the manufacture of objects that serve an internal purpose in the manufacturing process or business, such as many of the Graufesenque inscriptions (cf. section 7.2.1), or the Vayres inscription.

The Jublains graffito II **MAAMSOETOS | SAMTRESMA | STSTSREBI | CABVI** contains a name *Mansoetos* and an object *matres*, but as the verb is illegible the interpretation as a maker's signature cannot be verified. It is not clear to me which type Graufesenque 5 belongs to: it consists of several names in fragment a: **...apus sibus et ur ...** and what may be a date, followed by *avot* and a suffixed pronoun in fragment b: **...nuara auoti nupia ....** Graufesenque 6 appears to contain another verb relating to the work of the potter, though the semantics are unclear. The inscription consists of a name in an oblique case, presumably identifying the owner, perhaps even by means of a word 'property'. It may also be a religious dedication, if the name identified a deity rather than an owner. Additionally it contains a formula identifying the maker by means of the verb *lliauto*. Banassac 3 **billicotas rebellias | tioinuoru siluanos** 'the beautiful Billicatos, Silvanos made them' or 'the Billicatos, destroy them, Silcanos invented them' appears to consist partly (cf. 7.3.2) of a maker's inscription. Lambert (RIG-L-52) interprets the verb as one meaning 'find, invent', which could possibly be stretched to mean 'produce', though the reason for this choice of verb and its precise meaning remain obscure.

To conclude, Gaulish maker's inscriptions are largely maker's marks applied in an economic context and consist of a name and in some cases a maker's verb. The only well attested making verb is *avot*. In this kind of inscription, objects are rarely specified and very little additional information is given. Further context can only be determined where a maker's inscription occurs in conjunction with another type of inscription on the same object, such as on memorials. The economic sphere is clearly multilingual. This shows its mark in the maker's inscriptions, which may mix components from different languages (cf. section 7.1.1).

### *Bilingual maker's inscriptions*

The large stele of Genouilly is also inscribed with a name and patronymic, but additionally also with a Greek maker's inscription in part A: **τ]ΟΣ · VIRILIOS | ]τος ουριλλιο[ς]-ανεουνοσεπτοι** |. Part B: **ELVONTIV | IEVRV · ANEVNO | OCLICNO · LVGVRIX | ANEVNICNO** consists of a dedication and additional names, presumably the dedicators, one of whom seems to be the son of the person who is being commemorated. The additional information conveyed in this inscription reinforces the conclusion that this is a memorial, despite not explicitly stating the purpose of the inscription or directly relating to the memorial function. Similarly, the stele of Sources de la Seine also consists of a dedicatory inscription in Gaulish and a Greek maker's inscription. While the dedication follows a different pattern, the maker's inscription does not deviate.

There is one example of a multilingual inscription with a maker's mark on equipment, namely in the case of the fragments of Lezoux, Annecy and Beugnâtre. These fragments are of different items

made from the same mold such that the inscription can be reconstructed. The Gaulish part of the inscription is difficult to interpret and Lambert (RIG-L-70) tentatively suggests it might deal with a marriage. The maker's mark on the other hand is in Latin and uses the *oficina* formula.

The Arc d'Orange is a special case, since it appears to be a quote of a Gaulish word in a Latin context, rather than a Gaulish inscription. It is a piece of art that includes maker's labels, some of which appear to include the word *avot*. While most names on the monument are of Gaulish stock, the endings are all Latin.

## 7.2 Gaulish Business Inscriptions

### 7.2.1 Graufesenque accounts

La Graufesenque is the site of a pottery that produced wares mainly between 20 and 120 AD. While the style of pottery produced indicates it was produced by potters from Arretium, in Northern Italy, local potters were also employed (Adams 2003: 689). This led to a multicultural environment that produced texts that are sometimes in Latin, sometimes in Gaulish, and sometimes also featuring codeswitching, including composite, rather than classical codeswitching, meaning it is not possible to identify a matrix language. Mullen (2013: 98f.) criticises Adams (2003: 705f.) for his description of the linguistic situation at La Graufesenque as diglossic, since she believes that the compartmentalisation inherent to diglossia to be incompatible with codeswitching. This is not necessarily so. In narrow diglossia everyone has the Low variety as their mother tongue and the High variety is rarely used informally (Myers-Scotton 1986: 409). This is clearly not the case in the multicultural environment at La Graufesenque. Instead we are dealing with extended, or broad diglossia, in which the High variety may also be used informally, both by native and non-native speakers. Not only is it possible for codeswitching to be used as a marked or exploratory choice in both narrow and broad diglossic communities, but in narrow diglossia, codeswitching itself can be an unmarked choice in an interaction between bilingual peers (Myers-Scotton 1986: 406, 410). I would like to suggest that this is the case at La Graufesenque.

Flobert (1992: 113) suggests La Graufesenque provides evidence of creolisation. The texts we find were scratched onto the base of plates before firing and served to account for the number of items fired and the names of the potters responsible, since one firing could contain work by several potters. Graufesenque 3, for example, uses Latin vocabulary in a Gaulish inscription: **Cuñtūi ].[ | lupiaca trasilatís | uertamaca**. While it uses the same vocabulary as found on the advertisement inscriptions, this inscription seems to be functional inscription – part of the manufacturing process, indicating the position of pottery in the oven: ‘the lupiaca [plates] of Quintius/Quintio on top of the transferred [vases]’ (RIG-L-41).

Approximately 200 of these texts are preserved, the majority of which were edited and published by Marichal (1988). Within the domain of pottery, says Adams (2003: 719), Latin and Gaulish

were functionally interchangeable. As the texts are fairly formulaic and repetitive and have been thoroughly studied and discussed, they are not listed completely in the appendix, instead it should suffice to summarise the results as they are presented by Marichal (1988) and the RIG-II/2, and provide individual examples.

The formulas are interpreted based on their Latin parallels. They usually consist of the word *tuθθos* ‘oven, firing’ followed by an ordinal number and finally the word *luxtos* or *luxtodos* ‘charge’. Examples for inscriptions containing these words are the Graufesenque Account 3 **prinas sibu**[...[[**ta**]] **tuddus** [... and 4 **Lenos | lustas**, 1 **Elenos | lilous** may also contain a word related to *luxtos*. The RIG (RIG-II/2: 103) contains a complete list of inscriptions containing each of those patterns, *tuθθos* + ordinal is the most frequent (in one case *tuθos* is abbreviated to *t*) then there are a few examples of those with *luxtos* and *luxtodos*. Other epithets are applied to *tuθθos*, before or after, but remain obscure: *axio* and *oθθa*, *suon-*, which may be part of a proper name. Latin *furnus* is found once with the epithet *Vogebrico* or *Vogibrico*, which may be related to *gabro-* ‘goat’ and in this composite form may represent a personal or place name.

There are certain potters who are referred to as *cassiodanno*, however the function of that title is debated. Marichal (1988: 98) sees a functional parallel in the Latin *flamen*, and suggests a priest class. De Bernardo Stempel (1998: 605) suggests a function related to metal or possibly monetary matters, and Lambert (RIG-II/2: 112) suggests they exercise an annual tax. Whatever their function was, it must have seemed relevant enough to include it in these accounts.

There is one occurrence of the formula **autagis cintux**<sup>1</sup> **XXI** (Mar 1); this word is obscure and may denote a unit above *tuθθos* (Vendryes 1924: 36) or perhaps a time interval (Marichal 1988: 96ff.), unless Autagis and Cintuxmos are personal names, which is certainly possible (all possibilities discussed in the RIG-II/2: 112f.).

The RIG (RIG-II/2: 113) also provides a list of names of vases that occur in these accounts. They are not to be considered necessarily entirely Celtic, instead Greek and Latin names were often “gallicised” phonetically or remodelled by popular etymology. Lambert (2003: 132) considers them essentially Latin. Other repeatedly used terms are epithets that describe types of vases. The accounts also provide conjunctions (RIG-II/2: 120f.), including *eti*, which can connect two or three items (i.e. A *eti* B or A *eti* B *eti* C), *duci*, which appears between two or three potter’s names to indicate they have produced together and *toni* appears a single time before a third potter’s name (i.e. **Tritos duci Deprosagi toni Felix**). Potter’s names are sometimes preceded by *a* which may be a coordinating conjunction.

<sup>1</sup>or perhaps cintuxmi

### 7.2.2 Advertisements

Not all inscriptions applied in the context of manufacture are meant for internal administrative use, instead, a subset of inscriptions appears to be addressing potential buyers and referring to the contents of the containers rather than the containers themselves.

The Graufesenque 1 inscription **lubi | caunonnas | sincera** and its incomplete copy represent an invitation to enjoy good wine. The inscription consists of an imperative of the verb *lubi* ‘love’, a toponym ‘Caunnonian’ and a Latin wine epithet *sincerum* ‘pure wine’. The imperative of the verb *lubi* ‘love’ is also found on Banassac 2, which appears to instruct **lubi rutenica onobíia | tíedi ulano celicnu** ‘Love the drinks? cups? of Rutenus, red (decoration) for the banquet hall’. The word *lubi* is again used in connection with a beverage. A parallel construction is found on Graufesenque 2, which in reference to Banassac 2 can be reconstructed as *lubi] mandutica ono]bia*: ‘love the mandutican drinks (or: cups)’. Lambert (RIG-L-52) suggests two possible translations for Banassac 3: **billicotas rebellias | tioinuoru siluanos** ‘the beautiful Billicatos, Silvanos made them’ or ‘the Billicatos, destroy them, Silcanos invented them’. While both of these may be linguistically possible, it seems more plausible to interpret it as an advertisement complimenting a potter, paired with a maker’s inscription, albeit with an unusual verb (cf. section 7.1.1). The Banassac 4 inscription **citan ate solos** or **citmi ate solds | lubi tarcot esoes** also includes the word love, however the rest of the inscription is fragmented, hard to read and harder to interpret, so that it cannot be drawn upon to shed light on this type of inscription. A parallel for the mention of a toponym and possibly a vase or container can be found on the Banassac 5 inscription **Camriaca | ]ridru | ]roca**, which is unfortunately otherwise obscure. Banassac 6 **]ea tribi talantobi** or **triantobi | ]us gabas senaucos** references ‘three thirds’, an expression found on the Graufesenque Aricani graffito 1 (cf. section 7.2.4) as well. Lambert (2003: 144) suggests it may contain the verb *gabas* ‘take’, where the subject of the sentence would be *Senaucos*.

It is unclear what the precise function of the Banassac 1 (L-50) inscription **neddamon delgu linda** is. It appears to reference a custom of passing a drink around a group and says ‘I contain the next one’s drink’. The first person verb in initial position suggests it is the container itself that is commenting on this custom. While there are other inscriptions, which reference social drinking rituals, such as \*G-279 *ουενικοι μεδου* ‘pour l’hydromel de l’amitié’, they do not directly mirror this speaking object inscription. Vendryes’ (1955–1956) interpretation references a situation where a cup is passed from one person to the next and he cites a Latin parallel, a vase found at Mayence inscribed *accipe m[e si]tie(n)s et trade sodali* ‘take me when thirsty and [then] pass [me] to a friend’ (CIL XIII, 10.016.4).

### 7.2.3 Wine epithets

Another set of inscriptions also appear to refer to the contents of containers, but they are more descriptive and less elaborate than the advertisements discussed above. This type of inscription includes Lezoux 1 *andamica* ‘inferior, lower position’, the bilingual Lezoux 2 *mediotama sincera* ‘medium qual-

ity, pure [Latin]’ and Lezoux 3 *mixta* | *mediotamica* | *tiotamica* ‘mixed [Latin], medium quality, first choice’ and an abbreviation of that last word is found in Lezoux 6 *tíota*], Lezoux 7 *bodiaca* ‘virtuous, advantageous’. The antonym to *andamica* is found in Lezoux 4 *uertamaca* and in Lezoux 5 *uertamica* ‘superior quality or higher position’, While it is plausible that these may have served internal business purposes, essentially notes on the stock, the existence of advertising inscriptions as discussed above makes it possible that they were also directed at consumers.

#### 7.2.4 Aricani

The word *aricani* has had various interpretations, most often it has been regarded as a name in the nominative plural or genitive singular or even a verb (RIG-II/2: 125). It is a series of graffiti that indicate it is most likely to be a potter’s name or possibly a name referring to a potter’s workshop. The graffiti containing it are found at La Graufesenque and Banassac, and while one of them is decidedly Gaulish, the others may be Latin or are ambiguous. The longer inscriptions (L-35.1, L-35.7 and L-36) are included in the appendix and discussed below. The shorter ones I will list here; all but the first are most likely Latin, rather than Gaulish:

- **aricaní lubitías | ris tecuandoedo | tidres triánis** (L-35.1) this is the only one that is certainly Gaulish
- **arica | lu**[... (\*L-35.2), *lu* may be *lubi* ‘love’; this is too fragmentary to be certain
- **..]amo eso aricani margo** (\*L-35.3) is entirely Latin, may be translated as ‘products of the Aricani for the Margus of Mésie’ or similarly
- **aricani pandu** (\*L-35.4), *pandu* may be an abbreviation of a name or of several names
- **aricani parab(sides) V** (L\*-35.5), *parabsides* is a type of vase – in combination with the numeral this is a typical account inscription
- **bassini aric**[... (\*L-35.6), *Bassinus* is a potter’s name

The first word of the Graufesenque Aricani graffito 1 (L-35.1), *aricani*, is also found in other Gaulish and Latin inscriptions and is presumably the genitive of a potter’s name. This inscription is difficult to understand and Lejeune suggests translating it as ‘the loved ones of Aricanos, for a nice household, the three thirds’. The inscription is interpreted as an advertisement. The expression ‘three thirds’ also appears in a slightly different version, *treis triant*, on Banassac 6 (L-55, cf. section 7.2.2), where again, the context to fully interpret the inscription is missing.

Similarly, the second Graufesenque Aricani graffito . ...]cani lubiás san[...| ...]illias santi[... also includes that same name, a derivation of the root ‘love’ and possibly ‘half’ – rather than the ‘thirds’ mentioned in the first graffito. Lambert (RIG-L-36)suggests translating ‘you will love them, half by

Aricani, half by Aemillia’ or ‘of Aricani, you will use half, you will watch the other’, depending how the missing parts of the inscription are reconstructed.

The name is also found at Banassac (RIG-L-35.7) in the simpler inscription **Verecundi | aricani**, equivalent to a maker’s mark, consisting only of two names and translated by Lambert as “(Production) of Verecundus – and of Aricanos” and similarly **bassini aric[** from Graufesenque (RIG-L-35.6).

### 7.3 Personal Dedications

Unlike the previously discussed maker’s marks, which do not seem to have a specific intended audience, personal dedications are directed at a specific individual, who in some, but not all, cases may be named in the inscription. Personal dedications can be expressed through a dedicatory dative, addressing the recipient of the message and presumably of the inscribed object as well, or they can consist of terms of affection. It is presumed that some naming inscriptions are personal dedications as well, if the material context indicates it, e.g. if the personal name on the object appears to be of the wrong gender for the owner of the object, such as the Aschheim S-fibula III, which was found in a woman’s grave inscribed with a male name.

#### 7.3.1 Runic personal dedications

The word *leob-/liub-/leub-* is frequently attested in Runic inscriptions, especially continental ones. The word does not pose any problems from an etymological perspective – it clearly belongs to Gmc. \**leubaz*. Aside from occurring as a simplex, it occurs as a part of compound names. What is not clear is whether the simplex occurrences are to be treated as a personal name as well, or whether they have a different meaning, e.g. representing an adjective expressing love, a greeting, some other personal message or even just a positive charm word (Nedoma 2006b: 354ff., Graf 2009: 125ff., MacLeod and Mees 2006: 44ff.). The frequency in which this word occurs in the small corpus of Runic inscriptions strongly implies to me that we are dealing with a formula for a personal dedication or an expression of, or wish for, love or affection – as Mees (2011: 488) puts it, an “elliptical expressions of a discourse of friendship and love” rather than a surge of people nicknamed ‘lovely’. This “statistical” argument, which was already brought forward by Marstrander (1939: 297f.), is not considered valid by Nedoma (2004: 255) because of the small number of definitive attestations.

Sonderegger (1969: 56) attempted to explain *leub* as referring to a specifically christian concept, comparable to the use of *bonum* or *gratia*, but the evidence for this is lacking, as even Opitz (1977: 209) admits, despite being otherwise quick to interpret South Germanic inscriptions as christian. He also considered *þiup* on the Weimar amber pearl **þiup ' Ida ' (l)e(ob) [Id]a ' Hahwar**, which is also a personal dedication, *segun*, most likely a maker’s mark, *unja* on the Bezenye fibulas, again a personal dedication, and *umbada* on the Bad Ems fibula (cf. section 6.2.3) to be Christian charm words.



Among the inscriptions featuring the word *leub* in some form, Opedal is the odd one out on several counts: It is an inscription on stone, rather than on a mobile item, and it is a Scandinavian inscription, from Norway. These two points are of course partly connected, as runestones do not exist on the continent but it bears mentioning that all other inscriptions including that word are from the continent and also later<sup>2</sup>. The commonly accepted order of components is A: **birgingu B(o)r(o)** or **birg Inguboro swestar minu** B: **l(i)ubu mer wage**, but the initial words have caused confusion and disagreement. Depending which reading one wishes to follow, the interpretation is ‘Burial – Bora, my sister, dear to me, Wag’ or ‘Help, Ingubora, dear sister, me, Wag’ (cf. subsection *Reference to stone or memorial* in section 5.1.5). Antonsen (2002: 134ff) suggests to read one line, instead of two, and reads **l(e)ubu mer | Wage | Birnggu B(o)r(o) swestar minu** and translates ‘Dear to me | Wage | Birgingu [is] Boro sister mine’. Marstrander (1929: 192) expressed doubt about this use of the word *leub* here, as this expression of sentiment is atypical for older inscriptions, but on linguistic grounds there is no reason to doubt that which ever way this inscription is to be read, the word serves to express a positive relationship between two people, perhaps as a wish.

I mentioned above that inscriptions on stone are exclusive to Scandinavia, but in precisely this subcategory of inscriptions, there may be an exception. The inscription **Birg · leub · Selbrade** at Kleines Schulerloch is inscribed on a cave wall and its authenticity has been cast into doubt ever since its discovery<sup>3</sup>. From a linguistic point of view there is no problem with this inscription, it seems to be constructed parallel to the Bad Krozingen inscription, which was however discovered after the Schulerloch inscription (Düwel 2006). It consists of a name *Birg* (another parallel to Opedal that caused the inscription’s authenticity to be doubted), the name or word *leub* and the name *Selbrad* in the dative (Nedoma 2006b: 347).

The Bad Krozingen inscription **Boba ' leub | Agirike** has this same model of construction. It consists of two names, a female one in the nominative and a male one in the dative, with the word *leub* inbetween. The fibula is one of a pair found in a woman’s grave, the other of which is inscribed with a single Ƶ-rune. This means that even though the inscription implies a dedication from a woman to a man, the inscription appears to be inscribed on a woman’s object and was finally deposited in a woman’s grave. This could perhaps indicate that the act of inscribing such a message was not to express affection to the named man, but a wish. The contrast to the public site of a cave wall in the case of the Schulerloch inscription is obvious, the back of an object worn on one’s body seems a more suitable place to express such a wish than the wall of a cave.

While the second part of the inscription on the Neudingen wood fragment is a simple writer’s formula (cf. section 5.1.3), the first part **l[iu]bi ' Imuba ' Hamale** appears to consist of a personal dedication from *Imuba* to *Hamal*, which begins with the letters **lbi** – presumably short for *liubi*, an expression of love or affection. It is interesting that the person identified as the writer of the inscription, a woman called *Bliþgunþ*, is not involved in the actual message expressed in the first part;

<sup>2</sup>Rune stones are notoriously difficult to date, Antonsen (2002) discusses Opedal’s age on linguistic grounds and considers it an early example of a Norwegian runestone, which range from 200–450 AD.

<sup>3</sup>For an overview on the matter cf. Bammesberger and Waxenberger 2006. As it is generally considered inauthentic, it is not listed in my appendix.

no relationship between her and *Imuba* or *Hamal* is established in the inscription. Was she asked or commissioned to inscribe this for *Imuba*? It should also be noted that the inscribed object, despite being described occasionally in the literature as part of a loom (Opitz 1982: 486) or otherwise related to textiles (Fingerlin to Nedoma in a letter, cited by Nedoma 2004: 241), is not in fact an identifiable component of a loom, but was merely found adjacent to it. The actual function of the object, whether it was meant to be used and read for a long time or served as a quick notice, and why it ended up in the burial is unknown and will most likely remain unknown.

*leub* can appear isolated with no other semantic content, such as on the Mayen fibula<sup>4</sup>. This item was also found in a woman's grave, though the object was later stolen and destroyed. It was inscribed on the back with a single word, **leub**. The Niederstotzingen strap end inscription is a difficult piece of evidence for this word, as it appears to be largely non-lexical – in fact the sequence **liub** is the only reading that finds some consensus (Düwel 2002b). It is additionally unusual by being inscribed on a man's object, rather than a woman's object like most other inscriptions which include this word.

The Schretzheim capsule inscription **Alagunþ ' Leuba ' de(d)un | Arog(i)s d[eda]** is a clear argument in favour of interpreting *leub* as a name, since in the case of this inscription, the context does not allow for another interpretation, as made evident by Nedoma (2004: 358). As the verb *dedun* is in the plural, two subjects are required to proceed this verb, and two subjects do: the two named women, Alagunþ and Leuba. Whether this is an odd version of a maker's inscription or whether it serves to commemorate some other deed remains a mystery, but it is unlikely to be an expression of affection in this case. The capsule was found in a woman's grave that also contained a bow fibula inscribed with two individual runes ƿ and ʀ.

*Leub-* appears to have been a popular name component in the Schretzheim rune writing community, as evidenced from the Schretzheim disk fibula inscription (cf. section 5.1.2). The fibula was also found in a woman's grave, a different one to that containing the above described capsule and bow fibula. The second word of the inscription is the male name *Leubo*. The syntactic context again implies a name rather than an expression of affection, though it is not as strong an indicator as in the case of the Schretzheim capsule. The first word might describe Leubo as a 'traveller' – though the use of the dative would remain unexplained, unless the 'traveller' is a second, unnamed person. Alternatively, the word explains the reason for the gift, if it is interpreted as a causative instrumental 'for the travelling', as Nedoma (2004: 359) suggests. The latter interpretation also removes the problem with the placement of the inscription on a woman's item deposited in a woman's grave – one can imagine a gift from Leubo to an unnamed woman.

Just like Schretzheim, Weimar has a local cluster of Runic inscriptions, several of which appear to feature this name or word. Nedoma (2004: 355) considers the Weimar A fibula inscription **Haribrig | Hi(b)a ' | Liubi ' | leob '** one of the few certain attestations of *leob* as a positive charm word rather than a name. In fact, it appears directly after a word that could be taken as an abstract noun derived

<sup>4</sup>titled Engers in Krause and Jankuhn (1966) and Kaltenengers in Nedoma (2004), I follow the Runenprojekt Kiel's nomenclature.

from the same root meaning ‘affection, love’, but that is most likely a name. The inscription consists of three names in the nominative followed by the adjective ‘dear’, so the syntactic context does not permit any conclusions about the relationship between those three people, as they are all named in the nominative and placed in a sequence before the adjective. We also do not know whether they are all well-wishers or recipients of the wish, or whether one of them is the maker, as is more clearly expressed in the Neudingen inscription. As mentioned in section 5.1.4, the possibility that we are dealing with individual one word inscriptions carved onto the same item instead of a single syntactical entity has to be considered. It seems worth mentioning that the Weimar fibula B, which was found in the same woman’s grave and is inscribed with several names, also features the name *Hiba*, just as the fibula A. This is pure speculation of course, but could *Hiba* be the name of the owner of these fibulas and perhaps even the writer of the runes?

The second attestation of the word *leob* at Weimar is unfortunately based on a tentative reconstruction of barely legible runes by Arntz and Zeiss (1939: 377f.) that Nedoma (2004: 314, my translation) considers “not much more than an entirely non-binding possibility”. The reading **þiup** ‘*Ida*’ (l)e(ob) [Id]a ‘*Hahwar*’ allows an interpretation as two adjectives ‘good’ and ‘dear’ followed by the female name *Ida* and at the end of the inscription the male name *Hahwar*. This inscription was found on an amber pearl deposited in a woman’s grave adjacent and contemporary to that containing the fibulas A and B.

*Ida* and *Hahwar* also feature in the second inscription found in that same grave, on a buckle frame. This encourages speculation along the same lines as the case of the Weimar fibulas A and B: could *Ida* be the woman buried in that grave, the owner of the object and the writer of the inscriptions? Nedoma (2004, reading also confirmed by Waldispühl 2013) reads the inscription as follows: **Ida** ‘*Bigina*’ **Hahwar** | ‘*Awimund*’ **isd** ‘(l)e(o)b | **Idun**’. The inscription starts off by naming two women and two men, followed by ‘is dear to *Ida*’. This is the only time *leob* is used with a verb. As it is in the singular, it cannot refer to all previously named people, but presumably only to the person named last, *Awimund*. *Hahwar*’s relationship to *Ida* is not entirely clear from the inscription on the amber pearl and is not clarified in the inscription on the buckle frame either, nor do we know how *Bigina* relates to *Ida* or anyone else. The second part of the buckle frame inscription, however, establishes that ‘*Awimund* is dear to *Ida*’, which may be an assertion or a wish.

It is interesting to note that the same root also appears frequently in Gaulish inscriptions, though for a completely different purpose, namely advertisements rather than personal dedications (cf. section 7.2.2).

There are a few more inscriptions that can be interpreted as a personal dedication, where this is not expressed through the word *leub*. In the case of the Erpfting fibula it is instead done through the word *gabū* ‘gift’ in combination with a personal name: **Ida gabu**. On the semantically meaningful lines Charnay fibula inscription **fuparkgwhnijiprstbem** | ‘**upf[i]npai**’ **Id | dan** ‘(L)iano, a *fupark-*inscription is followed by a word *unþfinþai*, interpreted as a verbal form ‘find out, recognise’ by Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 20ff.), and two names. The first *Iddan* is a male name in an oblique case, most

likely the dative. The interpretation of the second name, *Liano* (cf. section 2.2.3), depends on whether the inscription is considered to be written in an East or West Germanic variety. Krause and Jankuhn (ibid.) consider it East Germanic and interpret *Liano* as a woman's name. They translate the part of the inscription after the *fuþark* as 'May *Liano* find out *Idda*'. Antonsen (2002: 152f.) proposes an alternative interpretation 'to my husband *Idda* – *Liano*'. Findell (2010: 93, 364) criticises this interpretation as it relies on the assumption of archaic spelling, for which there are no parallels in Continental Runic inscriptions. The traditional interpretation thus seems like the safer option, though what 'find out' actually means in this context remains unclear. Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 22) suggest the unusual choice of words 'find out' may indicate a playful challenge to decipher the writing, i.e. 'may *Liano* find out [the name of] *Idda* [with the help of the *fuþark*]'. In the case of the Arlon capsule inscription **Godu(n) ' [L]ul[l]o ' þes ' Rasuwa(mu)nd Wo(þr)o...** (cf. sections 5.1.2 and 5.1.4), the dedication is expressed through a plain dative. The first named person, *Goda*, is addressed in the dative, the inscription is then "signed" by the givers, *Lullo* and his sons, *Rasuwamund* and *Woro*. The inscription on fibula A of the Bezenye fibulas expresses a positive sentiment to a named person through the word *unja* 'luck'. The interpretation is fairly plausible, but as the reading is unfortunately not certain (Nedoma 2004: 203f.), it must remain tentative as well. The only other case of a plain dative signifying a personal dedication in Runic inscriptions, and the only North Germanic example, is found on the Årstad runestone **H(iw)i(g)ar | S(a)ral(u) | (ek) Winna(r)**, which is inscribed with a male name in the nominative, a female name in the dative and an I-formula consisting of the personal pronoun and either a second male name or an epithet describing the first named person.

All of the previously discussed inscriptions in this section are of South Germanic provenance (cf. section 2.2.4). While it is possible that this is due to the higher number of personal items, such as fibulas, in this rune complex, the close association to female personal objects and the frequency of female names do indicate that this may be a distinctly South Germanic innovation. Despite being formulaic in nature, due to the elliptic use of *leub*, the use of this formula in combination with names and other signs to express affection may be seen as a first step towards a pragmatic writing culture, in which writing can be used to transmit personalised messages to the recipient.

### 7.3.2 Gaulish non-monumental personal dedications and positive wishes

Gaulish monumental dedications tend to be of a religious nature and expressed through *ieuru*, though ambiguous ones that may address people rather than deities exist, for example the Stone of Nérises-Bains inscription **NAÑTON̄TICN EPADATEXTORICI · LEVCVTIO SVIOREBE LOGITOI** (cf. section 6.2.1). Personal dedications and wishes are largely found on small, personal objects such as jewellery and spindle whorls. Spindle whorls were easy to manufacture and inscribe and it is presumed that they were inscribed and given as gifts, especially from men to women. It bears repeating again that short inscriptions consisting predominantly of names can often not be identified as Gaulish due to the lack of material and are therefore unlikely to end up in a Gaulish corpus. We have to presume that the inscriptions dealt with here are not a complete account of Gaulish personal dedications.

*Rings*

There are two rings with Gaulish personal dedications, and each inscription follows the same formula NAME(Dat.Sg.) + PATRONYMIC + NAME (Nom.Sg.). The Thiaucourt ring is sized for a woman's hand and the inscription reads **ADIA | NTVN | NENI | EXVE | RTIN | INAP | PISET | V** «*Adiantvnneni Exvertini Nappisetv* 'to Adiatunnena, daughter of Exvertinos, Nappisetu'. The Reims ring reads **VIXVIONI VEDZVI DIVVOGNA** 'to Vixuvio, son or daughter of Vedzvos, Divvogna'. Presumably the inscribed rings were given as gifts. It is interesting to note that a patronym is given for the recipient, who is thus made the focus of the inscription, rather than the giver as we might expect.

*Spindle whorls*

Spindle whorls occupy a special place in the Gaulish corpus. Just like the utility inscriptions of Graufesenque and similar places, which are otherwise very utilitarian and different in nature, they appear to have been written in a multilingual environment that encouraged code switching not only in oral but also written communication. Cited here are those in Gaulish or containing Gaulish elements, but there are also fully Latin examples from Roman Gaul that appear much the same, for example one from Autun **AVE VALE / BELLA TU** 'hello goodbye / you are beautiful' (Dondin-Payre 2004: 199). There are several with Gaulish elements or fully in Gaulish from Autun

I **NATA VIMPI CURMI DA** 'pretty girl, give beer'

II • **TAVRINA • | VIMPI ///** 'beautiful Taurina'

III • **GENETA • VISCARA •** either '[my] girl Viscara' (Gaulish, Lambert, RIG-L-114) or 'girl, be gentle' (Latin, e.g. Meid 1980).

IV **MATTA DAGOM°TA BALINE E NATA•** 'good girl (...?)'

V **VEADIA TVA +ENET** '[this] holds your wrappings'

VI **MARCOSIOR • | MATERNIA** 'would/could/may I ride Maternia'

VII **NATA • VIMPI BSV | ✎TOTVNCI •** 'pretty girl b[ene] s[alve] v[ale] Totunucia'

V stands out, as it appears to refer to the spindle whorl itself and its use, whereas the others are flirty messages addressed to the recipients of the spindle whorls, which were presumably meant to flatter the recipients of the gift, or in the case of VI even suggest sexual innuendo. IV is largely obscure, but begins with a hypocoristic word meaning 'girl', which implies it belongs to the flirtatious group of spindle whorl inscriptions.

Other spindle whorl inscriptions with Gaulish elements of the flirtatious type are:

Gièvres	<b>TIONOVIMPI X   MORVCIN X</b> ‘divine and pretty girl’,
Sens	<b>GENĒTTA IMI•   DAGA VIMPI X</b> ‘my good and pretty girl’
Nyon	<b>AVE   VIMPI</b> ‘hello pretty one’
Auxerre	<b>NATA VIMPI   POTA V • I M</b> ‘pretty girl, drink wine’
Saint-Révérien	<b>MONI GNATHA GABI   BUDDVTON IMON</b> ‘come girl, take my <i>buđđvton</i> ’, whereby <i>buđđvton</i> has been interpreted as ‘little kiss’ or even ‘little penis’ (Lambert 2003: 125).

The Gaulish word *uimpi* ‘pretty’ appears to be a popular component of these inscriptions, even if the inscription appears to be Latin otherwise, such as in the case of Nyon, possibly Auxerre and Autun II and VI. The casual tone of the inscriptions evokes comparisons with modern day catcalling, though engraving a message onto a useful everyday item is certainly more productive and less hostile than shouting it out of a driving car. Meid (1980: 25) believes the object itself, a ring into which a shaft is inserted, is suggestive and was chosen for this reason as a gift to a love interest.

#### *Other*

An inscription that is similar to the flirtatious spindle whorls discussed above, but found on a fragment of pottery, is Graufesenque 4, which reads **Ilia•dag**[. The first word is almost certainly the ending of a name such as *Aemillia* or *Illios* and the second word begins with *dago-* ‘good’. We lack context to be able to fully ascertain the content and intention of the inscription, but it seems a plausible assumption that this too was inscribed on an item intended as a gift to somebody.

A similar gift context may be presumed for the Vertault inscription **es...tautiú curmíso auitiados ...**(cf religious dedications), also found on pottery. Just like the Graufesenque 4 inscription, it is a fragment only. Lambert (RIG-L-85) translates this as ‘to the chief of the city this beer...’, wherein the dedication is expressed through a pure dative. The word *tautiú* ‘to the one belonging to the city’ does not make it clear whether we are dealing with a ruler or a deity, but the inscribed item, which could have possibly contained the beer mentioned in the inscription, suggests it may have served as a gift to a person and have been inscribed for that purpose.

Interesting is the Lezoux 9 (RIG-L-68) inscription **c]omíos | eu]ru | clebīli | canísro**. It appears to contain a classic dedicatory formula consisting of the name of a subject, the dedicatory verb *ieuru* in the form *euru*, a name in the dative and a dedicated object, which may be some kind of pot. However, nothing in the inscription other than the verb, commonly used in religious dedications, suggest a religious context, and it thus is more plausibly a personal dedication – a message referring to the offering of a gift.

#### 7.4 A Personal Message?

A unique example of what may be a personal message or private correspondence, can be found on the Cajarc shard. It differs from the personal dedications discussed above by not having the recipient or the relationship between sender and recipient as its topic. Lambert (RIG-L-49) reads the inscription as **...in uertamon nantou** and translates ‘may he climb to the summit of the valley’. The context of this fragment is not known, but it does not have any parallels that we know of within Gaulish inscription, which would allow it to be counted towards another text type.

## Summary and Conclusions

It has become clear from the discussion of the material in the previous chapters, that all too often the lack of context obscures the function of the inscription. Writing may have been a part of various cultural practices, but those practices did not center on the writing, which was just one of many aspects. The meaning of an inscription is thus tied to the cultural practice it is associated with more than to the actual contents, which are frequently elliptic and reduced. As we have lost the context of the inscription, we have lost the ability to fully interpret it. Any interpretations must therefore remain careful and cautious.

Gaulish and Runic writing have limited ranges of use compared to Latin, which serves as an influence and source of inspiration for both. This is evident not only from the historical context, but also from the record of inscriptions. While it is likely that runes were adapted for Germanic use based on the Latin alphabet, our attestations are geographically and chronologically removed from the point of this adaptation. The two writing cultures remain in contact, but the influence is superficial. Uses of writing, such as maker's marks or bracteate inscriptions, are borrowed - in some cases, like that of the bracteates, as part of a bigger cultural complex. But Latin and Runic inscriptions appear separately even where they appear in the same location, both in the northern bog deposits and in the southern row grave fields. The limited reach of Latin literacy into the North allowed the local Runic writing culture to evolve independently, Runic literacy remains relevant for the period of the younger Futhark and even into the Middle Ages. In the South, however, Latin literacy replaces the use of runes, which became irrelevant and lost their appeal. In comparison, Gallo-Latin writing emerged out of the Latin writing culture, remained tied to it, and ultimately got replaced by it again. While writing was not unknown in Gaul previous to the Roman conquest, Gallo-Latin writing only continued Gallo-Greek writing culture to a (geographically) limited extent. Gallo-Latin and Latin writing do not show up side by side but as two parts of the same writing culture, that are in some contexts, such as at La Graufesenque, nearly interchangeable.



The significant Gaulish text types are utility inscriptions and ritual inscriptions. The former include personal dedications and inscriptions pertaining to the manufacture of products, such as maker's marks, accounts. The latter include religious dedications, curse tablets and other texts for special occasions, pertaining predominantly to rites of passage. We can presume that naming inscriptions are also a significant group, though they are hardly distinguishable from Latin naming inscriptions. Considering the interwoven nature of Latin and Gallo-Latin writing, it could be argued, that they should not be distinguished either, since it seems likely that Gaulish and Latin naming was virtually interchangeable for the Gaulish speaking users of Latin script, based on the evidence from maker's marks and potter's accounts. Gaulish naming inscriptions, as far as they can be analysed, appear to largely be utilitarian in nature. There is nothing comparable to the I-emphasis or object names found in Runic inscriptions. We also find memorial inscriptions, though their number is limited. There are only a few funerary memorials in Gaulish in Latin script (Coudoux, Ventabren, Genouilly). This is in contrast to the great number of Gallo-Greek memorial inscriptions (RIG I). Clearly, Gaulish was rarely used for this purpose after the introduction of Latin literacy to Gaul, instead it was swiftly replaced by Latin. This is presumably due to the social function of funerary memorials. If memorials served as a means to signal standing in society and community inclusion, they served to communicate a belonging to a Gallo-Roman community, which was done through Latin more than through Gaulish. The few examples that we find lack signs of an independent funerary tradition – there is no Gaulish equivalent to the Latin formula *DM*.

Gaulish writing is at its most pragmatic use where codeswitching is at its most intense, such as in the potter's accounts or in the personal dedications on spindle whorls. Both of these text types show composite codeswitching. This indicates that pragmatic language use is strongly tied to the very active and well established Latin writing tradition. Gallo-Latin writing is the result of Gaulish speakers participating in the Latin writing culture, rather than the attempt of Gaulish speakers to establish their own writing tradition. Due to the bilingual or multilingual environment that seems to produce most of Gaulish writing, we can presume that most writers of Gaulish would have also been able to write in Latin. Therefore the choice of language is still significant and may be an attempt to broadcast a distinct identity, which should probably be addressed as Gallo-Roman rather than as exclusively Gaulish.

Although the limited range of Runic writing has led to speculative theories about the inherently magical nature of runes, it seems safer to say that their use is largely symbolic. Symbolic inscriptions, according to Beard (1991), may serve to define relationships, constitute identities and represent presence. While Beard uses this term predominantly in the context of religious and votive texts as well as naming inscriptions found in religious contexts, it can be argued, that the term also applies outside of religious contexts. Instead of communicating the belonging to a cultic or religious community or establishing a relationship with the gods, Runic inscriptions are used to establish the belonging to a script-using in-group, which may be part of the military elite (Mees 2003). It has of course been argued that Runic inscriptions are associated with a religious group, mostly based on interpretations of the title *erilar*, and that the Runic extended naming formula, especially when containing *erilar*, is

a religious practice intended to have a magical effect. However, considering that barely any religious use of runes can be ascertained at all, there is little evidence for this assumption.

The most significant text type in Runic inscriptions is the category of naming inscriptions, which includes the extended naming inscriptions. It can be argued that maker's inscriptions, which do occur with some frequency, are part of this group rather than being utility inscriptions, as they do not appear to be part of a pragmatic writing culture but fulfil the same symbolic purpose as naming inscriptions. An indication for this is the shared use of the initial emphatic I. Memorial inscriptions do not appear as distinct category. While there are monumental inscriptions, they tend to belong to different text types even if they are associated with a grave they are not necessarily inscribed with a memorial for the buried person. Only very few inscriptions, Rävsaal, Krogsta and Stenstad identify themselves clearly as a memorial inscription. The only example of inscriptions that may indeed be a step towards a pragmatic writing culture in Runic are the South Germanic personal dedications. Additionally, we find ritual inscriptions, including those referring to legal status, charm word inscriptions, predominantly found on bracteates, and the unique set of public curses or protection formulas.

The most obvious symbolic use of runes can be found in naming inscriptions. Unless one would like to ascribe every inexplicable Runic inscription to ritual purposes, there is no obvious purpose for Runic naming inscriptions. Only rarely can a pragmatic use be found, where they are clearly intended to communicate something, like the manufacturer of an object. While some of them appear on publicly visible stone monuments, which can be said to have a prestige enhancing effect on the rune writer's social environment, others appear on smaller, personal objects. These have frequently been interpreted as personal dedications, but unlike in the case of South Germanic personal dedications, there is no message attached – not even a reduced and formulaic one like *leub*. It is imaginable, that to the writer and the carrier of the object, who in some cases may be the same person but in others not, as the gendered nature of the objects reveals, the act of writing enhanced and personalised the object. While Beard's (1991: 46) assertion that "*presence* is fully defined only by *naming*" refers to the recording of names at sanctuaries in a religious context, this can also be applied to interpersonal relationships, where the name of one person on an object may symbolise that person's presence with the owner of the inscribed item. While we do not know whether the objects found in graves were inscribed especially for that purpose, and in some cases indeed know this was not the case, it still seems meaningful that these pieces were chosen to accompany the deceased person in their grave. The *wagnijo*-maker's marks, with their repeated appearance and unique use of a stamp, and the South Germanic personal dedications, with their apparent function as messages of affection, appear to be the only excursions of Runic literacy into something resembling pragmatic writing. The former is apparently an isolated example amongst inscriptions on weapons of a more symbolic nature, which personify the weapons. The other remains – as is typical for Runic inscriptions – reduced, elliptic and formulaic despite the occasional touches of personalisation. Both of these examples occur in close proximity to Latin literacy. In one case we find the spoils of war marked with Latin inscriptions, while in the other more peaceful coexistence of Latin writing in the same graveyards as the Runic inscriptions were found. While the scarcity of data requires cautious conclusions, we may postulate

that it is this proximity to Latin writing that inspires a more pragmatic approach to the use of runes than what is otherwise known.

While our record of Runic writing is flawed and fragmentary, thanks to the limited preservation of organic materials such as wood, there is no reason to believe that these lost records contained a trove of pragmatic literacy as Moltke (1985: 69) liked to imagine. What remains of Runic writing may be limited, but it is largely consistent in itself. The few traces of pragmatic literacy we find in the early Runic record are a logical progression from what we have, rather than a hint of something unknown. The few wood items that survived contain the same formulas found in inscriptions on other materials. The exceptional inscriptions we find do not fill the gaps we might expect, such as Moltke's ordinary bills and letters, instead they show glimpses of an even more extraordinary use of writing, such as the fragments of song and poetry on the Pforzen buckle and the Strøm whetstone. Runic writing was not inherently magical, but it was inherently, through its limited use, exceptional. Runic writing was not adapted to fulfil a practical, but an ideological need.

## Part III

# Appendix

# Chapter 9

## Corpus

### 9.1 Lexical Inscriptions

This appendix aims to list all the inscriptions that were considered for this study and referenced in the main text. It does not aim to provide a comprehensive overview of their research history, as that would exceed the scope. The reading offered for the listed inscriptions is often only one of many possible readings and not meant to be taken as a definitive record. Similarly, the listed references are the key sources for the appendix entry. The summary provides context for the reading and discusses key attempts at interpreting the inscription. Dates and the method of dating are provided where possible, but unfortunately many inscribed objects and monuments cannot be accurately dated, which makes chronological comparisons difficult. Whether a date is AD or BC is only specified if it is ambiguous, i.e. only for first century dates – all others can be assumed to be AD. In the case of the Runic inscriptions, the Runenprojekt Kiel database offers a more comprehensive overview of possible readings and literature for each inscription. The inscriptions are listed in alphabetical order based on the designation of each object, with special characters placed at the end of the alphabet.

## 9.1.1 Runic Inscriptions

## ● Object Aalen Torque

Findspot Aalen, Baden-Württemberg

Country Germany

Dating 540–610

Method Similar finds, refers to item rather than inscription. Manufactured in the 5th century but decorated in the 6th

Reading **Noru**

Summary Male name in the nom. sg.

References Looijenga 2003

## ● Object Allesø B-Bracteate

Findspot Allesø, Funen

Country Denmark

Dating Mid 5th to mid 5th c

Method Typology

Reading **lau[ka]ᚱ (1Z) o(p)a | [l] alu t e laþ[u]**

Summary The first word in this inscribed bracteate can be read as ‘leek’, but there is no consensus on whether abbreviations of further charm words such as *alu* or *laþu* should be assumed. The bracteate shows kneeling person with the right hand at the chin and the left hand over the pubic area, and additional signs. It is the same model as Bolbro I (IK13,2) and Vedby (IK13,3).

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 113, IK13,1

## ● Object Almungs C-Bracteate

Findspot Almungs, Gotland

Country Sweden

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **e(eli)l**

Summary This bracteate, which is decorated with a large head above a quadriped, is counted towards the bracteates which may contain the charm word *ebw-*. It is the same model as Unknown (IK265,1), Burge (IK265,3), Skåne IV (IK265,4), Slitebacka (IK265,5), Sutarve (IK265,6), Unknown (IK365,7) and Broa (IK365,8), though the runes are no longer visible on the latter.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 107, IK365,2

## ● Object Amla Runestone

Findspot Amla, Sogndal kommune, Sogn og Fjordane

Country Norway

Dating No archaeological dating

Reading [...]iR h(l)aiwidar þar

Summary The fragmentary word at the beginning is most likely a male name in the nom. sg. It is followed by the past participle of a verb *hlaiw*-meaning ‘to bury’ and the adverb *þar* ‘there’.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 84

## ● Object Arlon Capsule

Findspot Arlon

Country Belgium

Dating Buried in the first third of the 7th c

Method Typology of grave goods

Reading Godu(n) ' [L]ul[l]o ' þes ' Rasuwa(mu)nd Wo(þr)o...

Summary The 7th c capsule was found in a woman's grave and was presumably worn as decoration to a belt based on the position in the grave. The inscription is damaged by corrosion. The first word is a female name in the dat. The first letter of the second word cannot be determined, but Nedoma (2004: 366ff.) sees no reason to assume anything else than a male name in the nom. sg. This is followed by a relative pronoun in the gen., probably to imply a filial relationship. Unlike the previous words, the following ones are not divided with any symbols. Two more male names in the nom. sg. can be made out, but the remaining runes cannot be interpreted.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 146, Nedoma 2004

## ● Object Aschheim S-Fibula III

Findspot Aschheim, Bayern

Country Germany

Dating 550–570

Method Refers to grave

Reading Da(n)do

Summary The inscription on a fibula found in a woman's grave consists of a male personal name in the nom. sg., which may be *Dado* or *Dando*.

References Düwel and Pieper 2003

## ● Object Aschheim Disk Fibula

Findspot Aschheim, Bayern

Country Germany

Dating 550–600

Method Refers to grave

Reading [e]k Ahi [...]

Summary The signs are not semantically meaningful as it is, but Düwel and Pieper (2003: 11) speculate that someone may have intended to write the 1st pers. personal pronoun in the nom. sg. and a name.

References Düwel and Pieper 2003

## ● Object Bad Ems Fibula

Findspot Bad Ems, Rheinland-Pfalz

Country Germany

Dating 540–590

Method Typology of the fibula

Reading **Madali | ubada**

Summary The inscription begins and ends with a cross like sign and there is an additional, different cross like symbol between the two words, which are arranged on either side of the needle holder of the damaged fibula. The first word is a male personal name in the nom. sg., the second is enigmatic but has been interpreted in various ways as a positive wish, e.g. as a single word with reference to OS *gibada* ‘solace’ (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 282) or as two words *u[m]ba [ba]da* (Meli 1988) ‘for the sake of bada’, in which *bada* is interpreted as a specifically christian idea of solace. **bada** is attested in Kirchheim/Teck I as well, but that is insufficient evidence to declare it a Southern Runic charm word (Nedoma 2004: 370).

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 142, Meli 1988, Nedoma 2004

## ● Object Bad Krozingen Fibula

Findspot Bad Krozingen, Baden-Württemberg

Country Germany

Dating 560–610

Method Typology of the fibula

Reading **Boba ' leub | Agirike**

Summary This is one of two identical fibulas from the same woman’s grave. While the other fibula only has a single  $\mathfrak{V}$ -rune inscribed, the inscription on this one consists of the short form of a female name in the nom., a word divider, the nom. sg. of the adjective ‘dear, beloved’ and a male name in the dat. The inscription can be translated as ‘Boba is dear to/wishes love to Agirik’.

References Nedoma 2004, Fingerlin, Düwel et al 2004



## ● Object Balingen Fibula

Findspot Balingen, Baden-Württemberg

Country Germany

Dating 590-640

Method Typology of the fibula

Reading **a(suz)dnloam(1?)lu(k)**

Summary Opitz sees this inscription as part of a recurring Daniel motif and expands the inscription to **An(suz) D[a]n[i]lo Am(i)lunk**. A person named *Danilo* is thus placed under protection of the god Wodan and the Gothic king Theoderic. This is considered a highly unlikely reading and interpretation by Nedoma (2004: 186), who believes the inscription represents two uninterpretable personal names and Waldispühl (2013: 259) who believes the inscription is more likely to be non-lexical.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 160, Opitz 1977, Nedoma 2004, Waldispühl 2013

## ● Object Barmen Runestone

Findspot Barmen, Selje kommune, Sogn og Fjordane

Country Norway

Dating No archaeological dating

Reading **(e)k Þir(b)ij(a)R ru[nOR]**

Summary The inscription consists of a 1st pers. personal pronoun and a name in the nom. sg. and the beginning of the word ‘rune’. Despite the apparent incompleteness of the inscription, one would expect an oblique ending and possibly a verb, the inscription appears to be complete.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 64

## ● Object Belland Runestone

Findspot Belland, Lyngdal kommune, Vest-Agder

Country Norway

Dating No archaeological dating

Reading **Keþan**

Summary Male personal name in the gen. sg., probably a memorial stone.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 83

## ● Object Berga Runestone

Findspot Berga, Trosa sn, today Trosa-Vagnhärad, Södermanland

Country Sweden

Dating No archaeological dating

Reading **Saligastir Finno**

Summary Two personal names, one male and one of indeterminate gender (Antonsen 2002: 262) in the nom. sg. While Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 193f.) assume it is a memorial for two possibly related or married people, Antonsen (2002: 224) thinks it is a memorial for Saligastir, executed by Finno.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 86, Antonsen 2002

## ● Object Beuchte Fibula

Findspot Beuchte, Niedersachsen

Country Germany

Dating 510–560

Method Animal style decoration

Reading **fupar (ᚱ) j | Buriso | (1Z)**

Summary Found in a woman's grave, futhark inscription and a name of indeterminate gender (Antonsen 2002: 262ff.) in the nom. (Antonsen 1975: 78) or perhaps also dat. (Looijenga 2003: 231) sg.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 8, Antonsen 1975 and 2002, Looijenga 2003

## ● Object Bezenye Fibulas A and B

Findspot Bezenye

Country Hungary

Dating 540–560

Method Refers to fibulas

Reading A: **Godahi[l]d | unja** B: **(1Z)Arsi(b)oda segun**

Summary The two silver fibulas were found in the same woman's grave. They appear to be engraved by the same hand, which is why they're treated as a single text. The first word on A is a female personal name, though the l is missing. The second word may be 'joy, luck', though the lack of initial w complicates the matter. The first word of the inscription on B is a female personal name in the gen. It is preceded by a sign that sometimes is taken as a < and part of a personal pronoun, but it is probably a non-Runic sign. The last word has often been interpreted as 'blessing' (Arntz and Zeiss 1939: 333), but more likely it means 'sign' here and constitutes a maker's inscription (2004: 204f.).

References Arntz and Zeiss 1939, Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 166, Looijenga 2003, Nedoma 2004

● Object Björketorp Runestone

Findspot Björketorp, Blekinge

Country Sweden

Dating 6th to 7th c

Method Unknown

Reading A: **hAidruno ronu |**

**fAlAhak hAiderA g |**

**inArunAR ArAgeu |**

**hAerAMAlAUSR |**

**uti AR welAdAude |**

**SAR þat bArutr |**

B: **uþArAbasba**

Summary This inscription has unusual characters. † is used for ƒ, transcribed as A and a rune that resembles a capital Y is used for <. The order in which this inscription is read varies, but the meaning is not significantly altered. One line is inscribed into the north-west side, labelled A by Krause and Jankuhn (but B by Antonsen, whose order I have followed above). It consists of a single word, a compound meaning ‘harmful prophecy’. The remainder of the inscription is on the two south sides, which has a large overlap with the Stentoften inscription. It consists of a maker’s inscription and a curse. The making is expressed by the 1st pers. sg. pres. form *falab-* ‘commit’ with only an enclitic pronoun *-ak* to denote the subject. The writing is referred to as *hAidruno ronu* ‘sequence of bright-runes’ at the beginning of the sentence and *ginArunAR* ‘mighty runes’ at the end and is located *hAiderA* ‘hither, here’. The curse defines the victim based on their nature and actions and the punishment inflicted upon them: *ArAgeu*, dat. sg., ‘baseness’ *hAerAMAlAUSR* ‘protection-less, i.e. without protection’, *uti* ‘out’, *AR* 3rd pers. sg. pres. ‘is’, *welARdARude*, dat. sg. ‘insidious death’, *SAR* demonstrative pronoun, nom. sg., *þat* demonstrative pronoun, acc. sg., 3rd pers. sg. pres. ‘break, destroy’. Antonsen translates: ‘The sequence of bright-runes I commit here [i.e. to this stone], mighty runes. Because of baseness, protectionless abroad is, (condemned) to an insidious death, he who breaks this. Harmful prophecy’.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 97, Antonsen 1975 and 2002

- Object Bjørnerud A-Bracteate  
 Findspot Bjørnerud, Vestfold  
 Country Norway  
 Dating 6th c  
 Method Typology  
 Reading **alu**  
 Summary This Norwegian A-Bracteate is decorated with a human bust and two boars and the charm word *alu*.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966, IK24
  
- Object Bolbro I B-Bracteate  
 Findspot Bolbro, Funen  
 Country Denmark  
 See Allesø
  
- Object Bopfingen fibula  
 Findspot Bopfingen, Baden-Württemberg  
 Country Germany  
 Dating 6th to 7th c  
 Method No information given  
 Reading **Mauo**  
 Summary Male personal name in the nom. sg.  
 References Looijenga 2003, Nedoma 2004
  
- Object Borgharen Belt Buckle  
 Findspot Borgharen  
 Country Netherlands  
 Dating Late 6th c  
 Method Typology, the burial is dated to ca 600  
 Reading **Bobo**  
 Summary Found in a man's grave. The inscription is located on the visible side of the object and consists of a well attested male personal name in the nom. sg.  
 References Looijenga 2003

- Object Bratsberg Runestone  
 Findspot Bratsberg, Trondheim kommune, Sør-Trøndelag,  
 Country Norway  
 Dating 2nd to 4th c  
 Method Based on grave  
 Reading **Þalir**  
 Summary Male personal name in the nom. sg. on a stone which was found on or in front of a grave mound, but has since been lost.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 93
  
- Object Bratsberg Fibula  
 Findspot Bratsberg, Telemark  
 Country Norway  
 Dating 490–540  
 Method Animal style  
 Reading **ek erilar**  
 Summary 1st pers. pronoun and the title *erilar* in the nom. sg.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966
  
- Object Burge C-Bracteate  
 Findspot Burge, Gotland  
 Country Sweden  
 See Almungs
  
- Object By Runestone  
 Findspot By, Sigdal kommune, Buskerud  
 Country Norway  
 Dating No archaeological dating possible  
 Reading **ek erilar Hrorar Hrore wo(r)te þat arina [...] rmp**  
 Summary The inscription starts with a personal pronoun, the title *erilar* and a male personal name all in the nom. sg. It is followed by a name that may be in the dat. (Antonsen 1975: 80) or may be a patronymic adjective (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 160). The verb *orte* or, following Antonsen's reading, *worte*, means 'wrought'. What precisely is meant by the object *þat arina* is debated but it most likely refers to the inscribed stone. The signs that follow are largely illegible.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 71, Antonsen 1975 and 2002

## ● Object Böringe C-Bracteate

Findspot Böringe, Skåne

Country Sweden

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **Ta(n)ulu al[u] | laukar**

Summary The bracteate shows a human head above a quadruped and a bird. The inscription consists of a female name (IK26) in the nom. sg., a shortened form of the charm word *alu* and another charm word *laukar* ‘leek’. Antonsen attempts to read a bind-rune *n̄t* and thus an epithet *Tantulu* ‘little enchantress’ (Antonsen 2002: 211), but Axboe et al. (IK26) consider this reading unlikely.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 110, IK26, Antonsen 2002

## ● Object Bø Runestone

Findspot Bø (Kirkebø), Sokndal kommune, Rogaland

Country Norway

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading **Hnabdas hlaiwa**

Summary The inscription consists of a male name in the gen. sg. and the word ‘grave’ in the nom. sg.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 78

## ● Object Bülach Fibula

Findspot Bülach, Zürich

Country Switzerland

Dating 610–640

Method Typology of the fibula

Reading **Frifridil (0-1?) | d(u) | fīm(ik 0-1?) | (0-2?)**

Summary This inscription is traditionally interpreted as a love inscription but already Krause and Jankuhn (1966: no. 165) admit the translation ‘Fri-Fridil. Hold/Take me!’ followed by an ideograph I. can only be admitted “with great reservations” (my translation). Nedoma considers the initial three runes to have an “iterative character” and interprets Fridil as a name in the nom. sg. The gender is technically ambiguous, but as ohg. *Fritil* is attested as a male name, it is most likely male (Nedoma 2004: 297ff.). The rest of the inscription, which also includes a non-Runic, comb-like symbol, he considers illegible and/or uninterpretable. Waldspühl (2013: 265) prefers to interpret *frifridil* as ‘beautiful’.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 165, Nedoma 2004, Waldspühl 2013

- Object Charnay Fibula
- Findspot Charnay
- Country France
- Dating Second half of the 6th c
- Method Typology of the decoration
- Reading **fuparkgwhnijiprstbem | ' uþf[i]nþai ' Id | dan ' (L)iano | iia | (2Z)**
- Summary The inscription starts with a Fupark, containing the double barred ñ, which is typical for South Germanic inscriptions, but shows potential East Germanic features in the language of the rest of the inscription. The last two words are personal names. *Liano* has usually been interpreted as a female name in the nom. and Iddan as an East Germanic male name in an oblique case (e.g. Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 6). The controversy centers around the first word after the Futhark, *unfinþai* Krause and Jankuhn consider it an East Germanic 3rd pers. sg. pres. opt. verbal form, and translates the entire inscription as ‘may Liano discover Idda [meaning his name, in the inscription]’. Antonsen proposes a reading as a male dat. sg. of a word meaning ‘husband’, and translates ‘To (my) husband, Iddo. Liano’ but García Losquiño (2015: 105) considers his reading and therefore his interpretation untenable. The last two lines are generally assumed to be ornamental. The object was found in a row grave field, the precise context is unfortunately not known.
- References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 6, Antonsen 2002, Garcia Losquiño 2015
  
- Object Dahmsdorf Lance Blade
- Findspot Dahmsdorf, Brandenburg
- Country Germany
- Dating Late to mid 3rd c
- Method Typology
- Reading **Rannja**
- Summary Name of the weapon, ‘runner, router’, nom. sg., accompanied by decorative symbols.
- References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 32

## ● Object Darum I B-Bracteate

Findspot Darum, Jylland

Country Denmark

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **F(r)ohila** or **Frodila** | **laþu**

Summary This entry refers to three identical bracteates from the same findspot. They show a dismembered human figure and an animal. The inscription contains a personal name, which is read as either Frohila (IK42) or Frodila (Antonsen 2002: 56) and the charm word *laþu* ‘invocation’.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 117, IK42, Antonsen 2002

## ● Object Darum II A-Bracteate

Findspot Darum, Jylland

Country Denmark

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **Ara[ng]** ...**[hai]** | **ti[k]a** ...

Summary This entry refers to five identical bracteates, which depict an emperor’s bust with a raised right hand. The inscription contains two words in runes or runelike signs followed by imitations of Latin capital letters. Axboe et al. (IK41,2) suggest it may have been a copy/imitation of an inscription featuring the formula that consists of a name in the nom. sg. and a 1st pers. sg. verb with an enclitic pronoun *haitika* ‘I am called’. It’s also possible that the entire inscription consists of imitations of Latin capital letters. A second bracteate of the same model is Skonager (IK41,2).

References IK41,1

## ● Object Darum V C-Bracteate

Findspot Darum, Jylland

Country Denmark

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **Niujil[a]** | **alu**

Summary The bracteate depicts a human head above a quadruped and a bird. The inscription consists of a male name in the nom. sg., the final *-a* appears to be missing due to the lack of space, and the charm word *alu*. A connection between **Niuwila** on the Skonager I bracteate and **Niujil** has been suggested, but Antonsen (2002: 274f.) considers it unlikely.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 104, Antonsen 1975 and 2002: 274f., IK43



- Object Denmark I C-Bracteate  
 Findspot Unknown  
 Country Denmark  
 Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c  
 Method Typology  
 Reading **l[au]ka**  
 Summary The bracteate depicts a human head above a quadruped and additional signs.  
 The inscription is a shortened form of the charm word *laukar* 'leek'.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 111, IK229
  
- Object Denmark X B-Bracteate  
 Findspot Unknown  
 Country Denmark  
 Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c  
 Method  
 Reading **īl[2?] | (1?) | ...**  
 Summary The bracteate depicts three human figures and several animals. The inscription is not clearly legible but has been counted towards the evidence for the charm word *ebw-*.  
 References IK39
  
- Object Dischingen A Fibula  
 Findspot Dischingen, Baden-Württemberg  
 Country Germany  
 Dating Mid to late 6th c  
 Method Type of fibula  
 Reading **Wi(n)ka**  
 Summary Female name or nickname in the nom. sg. formed by a diminutive suffix *-ka*.  
 The fibula is part of a pair and has gone missing. The fibula B is also inscribed, but only with non-lexical signs.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 155
  
- Object Djupbrunns I C-Bracteate  
 Findspot Djupbrunns, Gotland  
 Country Sweden  
 Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c  
 Method Typology  
 Reading **eelil**  
 Summary The bracteate depicts a human bust with an oversized head above a quadruped.  
 The inscription consists of the charm word *ebw-*. This model is related to the bracteates IK365 (see Almungs) and the uninscribed IK150.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966, IK233

## ● Object Djupbrunns II C-Bracteate

Findspot Djupbrunns, Gotland

Country Sweden

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **alu**

Summary The bracteate depicts a human bust with an oversized head above a quadruped and additional signs. The inscription consists of the charm word *alu*.

References IK44

## ● Object Donzdorf Fibula

Findspot Donzdorf, Baden-Württemberg

Country Germany

Dating Early 6th c

Method None given

Reading **Eho**

Summary The inscription, carved in zigzag technique, is part of the ornamentation of the back of the fibula, which was found in a woman's grave (Looijenga 2003: 237). While some scholars (e.g. Opitz 1977: 169) have attempted to connect it with the formulaic word *ehw-* typically found on bracteates, it is more likely to be a personal name of indeterminate gender in the nom. sg. (Peterson 1994, Looijenga 2003: 237). Düwel and Roth (1977) reject Krause and Jankuhn's interpretation as an owner's mark and considers it a maker's mark.

References Opitz 1977, Düwel and Roth 1977, Peterson 1994, Looijenga 2003, Nedoma 2004

## ● Object Eggja Runestone

Findspot Eggja, Sogndal kommune, Sogn og Fjordane

Country Norway

Dating 7th c

Method Grave context

Reading A: **min warb naseu wilr made þaim kaiba i bormoþa huni huwar ob kam harie a hit lat gotna fiskr or firnauim suwimade foki af [f]a[niun]ga lande B: a[i] [a]u is urki C: ni s solu sot uk ni sakse stain skorin ni [witi] mar nakdan is n[i]þ rinr ni wiltir mar lagi[s]**

Summary The inscription, which was inscribed on the roof slab of a grave together with an image of a horse, is not in good condition. This, in addition to the length and complexity, have led to a number of widely diverging interpretations. The only consensus is that one section, called C by Grønvik (1985) and I by Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 227f.), contains a protection formula referring to the stone or the burial, which stands out by a series of negations.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 101, Grønvik 1985, 1988, 2000 and 2002; the reading cited above is Spurkland's (2004: 68) interpretation of Grønvik's research, who does not provide a reading in this form.

## ● Object Eidsvåg Runestone

Findspot Eidsvåg, Åsane kommune, Hordaland

Country Norway

Dating 4th to 7th c

Method Typology of grave goods

Reading **Hararar**

Summary Male personal name in the nom. sg., found face down near a burial site.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 92, Looijenga 2003

- Object Eikeland Fibula  
 Findspot Eikeland, Rogaland  
 Country Norway  
 Dating Late 6th c  
 Method Animal style decorations  
 Reading **ek WīR Wi(w)io writu i runOR asni**  
 Summary This fibula was found in a woman's grave. The k-rune is a late form and the s-rune is a form unique to the 6th century (Spurkland 2005: 25–26). The rune writer identifies himself by means of a pronoun *ek*, a name and a second name in the gen. This is followed by a maker's verb *writu* and the object of the phrase, *i runOR* 'the runes'. The final word *asni* most likely means 'beloved' and may (Grønvik 1987: 50–60) or may not (Antonsen 2002: 70f.) refer back to the previously named *Wiwio*.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 17a, Grønvik 1987, Antonsen 2002, Spurkland 2005
  
- Object Einang Runestone  
 Findspot Einang, Vestre Slidre kommune, Oppland  
 Country Norway  
 Dating 2nd to 5th c  
 Method Weapons in nearby graves  
 Reading [...] **daga(sti)R runo faihido**  
 Summary The inscription consists of a fragmentary male personal name in the nom. sg., which may have been preceded by a pronoun, the word *runo* 'rune' in the acc. sg. and a verb *faihido* 'painted' in the 1st pers. sg. pret.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 63
  
- Object Elgesem Runestone  
 Findspot Elgesem, Sandefjord kommune, Vestfold  
 Country Norway  
 Dating No archaeological dating possible  
 Reading **alu**  
 Summary This stone was found face down on or possibly beneath the ground, but Bæksted (1951: 76f.) determined the position was secondary. The inscription consists of a single word, the charm word *alu*.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 57, Bæksted 1951

## ● Object Elgg Needle

Findspot Elgg, ZH

Country Switzerland

Dating 6th to 7th c

Method Typological

Reading **Domo | (k)in(d)ini(k)**

Summary The needle has two inscriptions, only one of which appears to be lexically meaningful. It consists of a male personal name in the nom. sg. and was most likely made by the manufacturer of the fibula, unlike the non-lexical inscription.

References Graf et al. 2016

## ● Object Ellestad Runestone

Findspot Ellestad, Drothems sn., near Söderköping, Östergötland

Country Sweden

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading **eka Sigimar(i)R afs | [A]ka raisidoka | staina(1-2?) | [...]**

Summary 1st pers. personal pronoun and male personal name in the nom. sg., followed by an epithet 'the acquitted', a verb 'raised' and object 'stone'. It is unclear whether this is a memorial raised by 'Sigimar the Acquitted' or whether it is a legal inscription to bear witness of the acquittal of Sigimar. Repetitive additional signs follow the text.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 59

## ● Object Erpfting Fibula

Findspot Erpfting, Bayern

Country Germany

Dating Late 6th c

Method Typology of the fibula

Reading **Ida gabu**

Summary The fibula is one of a pair and was found in a woman's grave, the most elaborate of the graves on the site. The inscription consists of a female personal name in the nom. sg. and the word 'gift' in the dat. sg. (Düwel and Pieper 2003). Close to the inscription a symbol is engraved with a different tool to the inscription.

References Düwel and Pieper 2003

## ● Object Eskatorp F-Bracteate

Findspot Eskatorp, Halland

Country Sweden

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **f(a)hid(o) wilald (W)igar e[k] erilar**

Summary It is decorated with a quadriped and additional signs. Axboe suggests reading a 1st pers. sg. pret. ‘made, painted’, an acc. object ‘artefact’, here supposedly referring to the inscription rather than the bracteate, followed by an extended subject consisting of a male name, personal pronoun and the title *erilar* all in the nom. sg.: ‘I wrote the inscription, I Wigar the erilar’. Axboe admits to some of the readings being dubious and according to Antonsen only the beginning of the verb, the ending of the name and the title can be read with certainty. The bracteate is identical to Väsby (IK241,2).

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 128, Antonsen 2002, IK241,1

## ● Object Etelhem Fibula

Findspot Etelhem, Gotland

Country Sweden

Dating Early migration period (450–520)

Method Decorations

Reading **(e)k (e)r(i)lar w[o]rt(a) (1?)**

Summary Most likely this inscription consists of a 1st pers. nom. sg. pronoun *ek*, the title *erilar* and the 3rd pers. sg. pret. verb *worto* ‘made’ (Antonsen 2002: 187f.). Krause and Jankuhn (1966) prefer to have an acc. pronoun and a male name *Merila* in the nom. sg., reading ‘Merila made me’.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 14, Antonsen 2002

## ● Object Fjärestad/Gantofta C-Bracteate

Findspot Fjärestad, Skåne

Country Sweden

Dating 440–560

Method Typology

Reading **ota**

Summary This bracteate shows a human head above a quadriped with additional signs and is inscribed with a charm word that may be *otta* ‘fear’.

References IK55

## ● Object Fløksand Knife

Findspot Fløksand, Meland kommune, Hordaland

Country Norway

Dating 4th c

Method Various archaeological contextual factors

Reading **lin(a) (l)aukar f**

Summary The knife was found in an urn from a woman's grave. The inscription runs from right to left and consists of the words *lina* 'linen' and *laukar* 'leek' in the nom. sg. The *-ar* ending is written as a bindrune. The two words are followed by an additional *Ƿ*-rune, which may be interpreted as an ideograph 'wealth'.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 37

## ● Object Fonnås Fibula

Findspot Fonnås, Hedmark

Country Norway

Dating Early 6th c

Method Decorations

Reading **iar aa arbe (u)h(u) wid [H](y)lt(i) (u)k h(y) allk(æ)lr**

Summary While the majority of scholars consider this inscription largely uninterpretable (e.g. Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 47), Grønvik, based on Marstrander's work, offers an alternative reading and an interpretation: The subject of the first sentence is *āa* 'grandmother', the verb is *iār*, a 3rd pers. sg. pres. form 'gives'. The acc. object of this action is *arbe* 'inheritance' and the dat. object is *uha* 'the young (woman)'. *wid* is a preposition and *uk* a conjunction. *Hylti* refers to a person and is formally an acc. sg. of a male noun, but Grønvik argues that if the term refers to a social role or function, it could refer to a person of any gender. He presumes it denotes the owner of the farm Holt, who is identical to the previously mentioned young woman. *hy* refers to the inhabitants/household of the homestead. The last word of the inscription is an adjective 'very caring' in the nom. sg., which serves as an apposition to the last word in the nom. in the text, that is the grandmother. He translates the inscription as follows: 'grandmother gives the inheritance to the young woman who (i.e. the grandmother) is very caring for the owner of Holt and her household'.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 17, Grønvik 1987

## ● Object Fosse Fitting

Findspot Fosse, Time kommune, Rogaland

Country Norway

Dating Possibly early 5th c

Method Nydam style in neighbouring grave

Reading ...**alu**

Summary The bronze fitting is split into several parts. The first few runes cannot be read or interpreted with any certainty. The second part of the inscription consists of the charm word *alu*.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 48

## ● Object Freilaubersheim Fibula

Findspot Freilaubersheim, Rheinland-Pfalz

Country Germany

Dating Mid to late 6th c

Method Decorations

Reading **Boso 'wraet runa' | þ[i]k 'Da(þ)īna' go(lida)**

Summary Male name in the nom. sg., 3rd pers. sg. pret. verb *wraet* 'wrote' and acc. object *runa* 'runes' and after a divider an acc. pronoun in the 2nd pers. sg., a female name in the nom. pl. and a 3rd pers. sg. pret. *golida* 'greeted': 'Boso wrote the runes, Daþina greeted you'.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 144

## ● Object Fride C-Bracteate

Findspot Fride, Gotland

Country Sweden

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **eēlil**

Summary The bracteate depicts a human bust with an oversized head above a quadruped. The inscription may contain the charm word *ehw-*. The bracteate has the same model as Öster Ryftes (IK57,2) and Riksarve (IK57,3).

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966, IK57,1



## ● Object Friedberg Fibula

Findspot Friedberg, Hessen

Country Germany

Dating Late 6th c

Method Type of fibula

Reading **Þuruphild**

Summary The fibula was found in a woman's grave but lost in 1944. It consists of a female name in the nom. sg.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 141

## ● Object Frienstedt Comb

Findspot Frienstedt, Erfurt, Thüringen

Country Germany

Dating 300

Method Date of site

Reading **ka[m]ba**

Summary The comb may be the oldest Runic find in the area, as it dates to 300. The inscription consists of the single word 'comb'.

References Schmidt, Düwel and Nedoma 2010/2011

## ● Object Funen I C-Bracteate

Findspot Funen

Country Denmark

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **Ho(u)ar | la(þ)u ...al(u)**

Summary The bracteate depicts a human bust with a hand and a foot above a quadruped and a bird. The inscription contains a male name in the nom. sg. and the charm words *laþu* and *alu* along with additional signs. Krause and Jankuhn also identify the charm word *lina*.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 119, IK58

## ● Object Fælleseje Knife

Findspot Fælleseje, Slemminge sn., Maribo amt, Lolland

Country Denmark

Dating 4th c

Method Typology of find/type of deposit

Reading **witr(ing)** or **witr(o)**

Summary The last sign of this inscription is unusual, it resembles the rarely attested “lantern rune” and is either interpreted as *[i]ng* or *o*. Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 89) read *witring* ‘pronouncement, revelation or inscription’, which is a strange inscription to find on a knife. Looijenga suggests reading it as a personal name in the nom. sg., either *witring* ‘wise wizard’ or *witro* ‘wise one’ (Looijenga 2003: 167).

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966, Looijenga 2003

## ● Object Førde Sinker

Findspot Førde, Førde kommune, Sogn og Fjordane

Country Norway

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading **Alu(k)o**

Summary Name of indeterminate gender (Antonsen 202: 262) in the nom. sg. The *-ko* suffix forms nicknames, so it must be derived from a name on *Alu-*.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 49, Antonsen 2002

## ● Object Gadegård C-Bracteate

Findspot Gadegård, Bodilsker, Bornholm

Country Denmark

Dating 440–560

Method Typology

Reading **ota**

Summary This bracteate shows a human head above a quadriped with additional signs and is inscribed with a charm word that may be *otta* ‘fear’. There are two identical pressings of the same model.

References IK578

## ● Object Gallehus Horn

Findspot Gallehus, Møgeltøndern sn., Lø herred, Tønder amt

Country Denmark

Dating 400–450

Method Based on the decoration

Reading **ek Hlewagastir ' Holtijar ' horna ' tawido '**

Summary This famous inscription on one of the now lost gold horns of Gallehus consists of a personal pronoun *ek*, a male personal name and a patronym *Hlewagastir Holtijar* in the nom. sg., the object *horna* 'horn' in the acc. sg. and the verb *tawido* 'made' in the 1st pers. sg. pret. There are word dividers between all words except the pronoun and the personal name.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 43

## ● Object Gammertingen Casket

Findspot Gammertingen, Sigmaringen, Baden-Württemberg

Country Germany

Dating Late 6th c

Method Grave goods

Reading **Ad(o) A(d)o**

Summary The little casket that was found in the grave of an 8 to 10 year old girl has the name Ado engraved twice, the short form of a male personal name on Ado-, in the nom. sg.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 161

## ● Object Garbølle Casket

Findspot Garbølle, Stenmagle sn., Alsted hd., Sorø amt

Country Denmark

Dating Before the end of the 4th c

Method Type of deposit

Reading **Hagiradar tawide '**

Summary The wooden casket was an isolated find from a bog. The inscription consists of a male personal name in the nom. sg. and the verb *tawide* 'made' in the 3rd pers. sg. pret.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 30

- Object Griesheim Fibula  
 Findspot Griesheim, Hessen  
 Country Germany  
 Dating Mid 6th c  
 Method Type of fibula  
 Reading **Kolo ' | Agilaprup**  
 Summary The fibula was found in a woman's grave and the inscription consists of a male name in the nom. sg. and a female name in the nom. or acc. sg.  
 References Looijenga 2003
  
- Object Gudme II C-Bracteate  
 Findspot Gudme, Funen  
 Country Denmark  
 Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c  
 Method Typology  
 Reading **undr**  
 Summary The bracteate depicts three figures, a bird, a quadruped and additional signs, surrounded by a decorated edge. The inscription consists of a single word, also attested on the Killerup I bracteate, that according to Hauck (1998) may be read 'wonder'. This bracteate is from the same model as the Killerup bracteate fragment (IK51,2).  
 References Hauck 1998, IK51,3
  
- Object Gudme Shield Buckle Fitting  
 Findspot Gudme, Funen  
 Country Denmark  
 Dating Probably 3rd c  
 Method Typology  
 Reading **[L](e)pro**  
 Summary Name of indeterminate gender in the nom. sg. It can be reconstructed as *Lethro* in comparison to the Strårup necklace inscription.  
 References Imer 2010

## ● Object Gummarp Runestone

Findspot Gummarp, Blekinge

Country Sweden

Dating 6th to 7th c

Method Unknown

Reading **(H)AþuwolafA[R] | sate | (s)ta(b)A þr(i)a | fff**

Summary The stone has unfortunately been lost, but the inscription consisted of a male personal name in the nom. sg., a 3rd pers. sg. pret. ‘set’ and ‘three staves’ in the acc. pl. This is followed by said “three staves”, in the form of three  $\mathfrak{F}$ . Jacobsen and Moltke (1942: 406) argued that the name, which appears without a final  $\mathfrak{R}$  is to be interpreted as an acc., in which case we would lack a subject but have an indication on who was commemorated with the stone. Looijenga (2003: 180) argues that Hapuwolaf is indeed unlikely to have been the rune carver of this inscription, since he is clearly identified as the carver of the Istaby inscription, which uses a different set of runes.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 95, Looijenga 2003, Jacobsen and Moltke 1942

## ● Object Gurfiles? C-Bracteate

Findspot Gurfiles?, Gotland

Country Sweden

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **(la)þ(a)**

Summary The bracteate depicts a human bust above a quadruped. The inscription consists of the East Germanic form of the charm word *laþu*.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 116, IK264

## ● Object Gårdlösa Fibula

Findspot Gårdlösa, Skåne

Country Sweden

Dating Early 3rd c

Method Type of fibula

Reading **ek Unwod(ir)**

Summary The fibula was found in a woman’s grave. The inscription consists of the 1st pers. pronoun and a male name or epithet in the nom. sg., though the ending is not clearly legible.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 12

## ● Object Halsskov Overdrev C-Bracteate

Findspot Halsskov Overdrev, Sjælland

Country Denmark

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading ...**fahide laþaþ** ...

Summary The bracteate is damaged around the edges and loop. It shows a crowned head, a biped and additional signs. Only the verb *fahide* ‘made’ in the 3rd pers. sg. pret. and the acc. object *laþaþ* ‘summons, invitation’ are legible. While the previous, partly illegible signs may make up a name, the following signs do not seem to be of lexical nature.

References Antonsen 1975, IK70

## ● Object Hammenhög C-Bracteate

Findspot Hammenhög, Skåne

Country Sweden

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading ...**l[au]kaR**

Summary The bracteate depicts a human bust above a quadruped and additional signs. The first sign of the inscription is probably not a rune. It is followed by an abbreviation of the charm word *laukar*.

References IK267

## ● Object Heide B-Bracteate

Findspot Heide, Schleswig-Holstein

Country Germany

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **alu**

Summary The bracteate depicts a male figure with an oversized head and his left hand on his mouth and his right hand on his pubic area, as well as two animals and additional signs. The inscription consists of the charm word *alu*.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966, IK74

- Object Heilbronn-Böckingen Belt Plate  
 Findspot Heilbronn-Böckingen, Baden-Württemberg  
 Country Germany  
 Dating Late 6th c  
 Method Typology  
 Reading **[i](k) Arwi**  
 Summary Whether the initial sign is a rune at all, and if so, which one, is controversial. It may represent a 1st pers. sg. nom. pronoun. It is followed by a male name in the nom. sg.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 153, Looijenga 2003
- Object Hesselager C-Bracteate  
 Findspot Hesselager, Funen  
 Country Denmark  
 Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c  
 Method Typology  
 Reading **...l[a]u[ka]r ...**  
 Summary This bracteate is from the same model as Hesselagergårds (IK75,1) and South Funen (IK75,3). It depicts a disassembled human figure, a quadruped, a bird and additional signs. The inscription contains three runes towards the end that could be short for the charm word *laukar*.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 114, IK75,2
- Object Hesselagergårds Skov C-Bracteate  
 Findspot Hesselagergårds Skov, Hesselager, Funen  
 Country Denmark  
 See Hesselager
- Object Himlingøje I Fibula  
 Findspot Himlingøje, Sjælland  
 Country Denmark  
 Dating 3rd–4th c  
 Method Type of fibula  
 Reading **Hariso**  
 Summary The fibula was found in a woman's grave. It consists of a name of indeterminate gender (Antonsen 2002: 262) in the nom. sg.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 9, Antonsen 2002

## ● Object Himlingøje II Fibula

Findspot Himlingøje, Sjælland

Country Denmark

Dating Early 3rd c

Method Type of fibula

Reading **[ek] (W)iduhundar**

Summary The fibula was found in a woman's grave and is damaged so that part of the Runic inscription was lost. The remaining part can be translated as 'wood hound', which may in this case be a male name (Looijenga 2003: 162) or epithet (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 33). Whether the missing signs may have been the 1st pers. sg. nom. pronoun, as Krause and Jankuhn suggest, can only be speculated.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 10, Looijenga 2003

## ● Object Himmelstalund Cliff

Findspot Östergötland

Country Sweden

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading **B(r)a(n)d(o)**

Summary Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 121) hesitate to endorse a specific reading, Looijenga (2003: 337) considers the inscription illegible. Antonsen (2002: 220, 262) suggests reading a personal name of indeterminate gender in the nom. sg.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 54, Antonsen 2002, Looijenga 2003

## ● Object Hjørlande Mark/Slangerup Late C-Bracteate

Findspot Hjørlande Mark/Slangerup, Sjælland

Country Denmark

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **alu**

Summary The bracteate depicts two human heads of different sizes as well as a quadruped and several additional signs. The inscription consists of the charm word *alu*.

References IK78



## ●Object Horvnes Comb

Findspot Horvnes, Alsten, Alstahaug kommune, Nordland

Country Norway

Dating 6th c

Method Typology of grave and gravegoods

Reading **a(a)llu[u]**

Summary The comb was found during the excavation of a burial mound presumably containing a woman's grave dated to about 500. The inscription appears to be a doubling of the charm word *alu*.

References Knirk 2004

## ●Object Højstrup Strand C-Bracteate

Findspot Højstrup Strand, Sjælland

Country Denmark

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **laþu**

Summary The bracteate depicts a human head above a quadruped and the inscription consists of the charm word *laþu*.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 116, No. IK83

## ●Object Hüfingen Bracteate I

Findspot Hüfingen, Baden-Württemberg

Country Germany

Dating 550–570

Method Refers to the grave

Reading **...alu**

Summary This is one of two small bracteates found in Hüfingen, it is inscribed with a series of signs as well as the charm word *alu*, which runs from right to left. There are two bracteates of this same model.

References Düwel 1997

## ●Object Hüfingen Bracteate II

Findspot Hüfingen, Baden-Württemberg

Country Germany

Dating 550–570

Method Refers to the grave

Reading **...ota**

Summary This is one of two small bracteates found in Hüfingen, it is inscribed with a word that Düwel (Fingerlin, Fischer and Düwel 1998) consider a charm word that may be *otta* 'fear'. It runs from left to right but the a-rune is mirrored.

References Düwel 1997, Fingerlin, Fischer and Düwel 1998

## ●Object Ichtratzheim Spoon

Findspot Ichtratzheim, Bas-Rhin, Alsace

Country France

Dating Ca. 570–590/600

Method Typology of the brooches from the grave

Reading A: **+MATTEVS** B: **lapela** C: **abuda**

Summary The spoon is inscribed in Latin with the name of the Evangelist Matthew, this was presumably done at the time of manufacture. Additionally it is inscribed with two words in Runic, the word *lapela* ‘spoon’ and what presumably is a female personal name, though the name is not otherwise attested and hard to interpret. The connection between the two Runic inscriptions is unclear. There are additional, non-Runic and presumably decorative engravings of a vine leaf and a seriffed cross.

References Fischer et al. 2014

## ●Object Illerup Firesteel Handle

Findspot Illerup

Country Denmark

Dating Deposited after 205

Method Dendrochronology

Reading **GauþR**

Summary Probably a male personal name or epithet in the nom. sg. It is usually brought in connection to *gauð* ‘barking, mocking’ and *geyja* ‘to bark, mock’ (e.g. Stoklund 1994: 101, Seebold 1994: 71 and Antonsen 2002: 278). Looijenga (2003: 156) suggests a connection to the name of Odin Gautr or the tribal name Gautar.

References Stoklund 1994, Seebold 1994, Antonsen 2002, Looijenga 2003

## ● Object Illerup horn fitting

Findspot Illerup

Country Denmark

Dating Deposited 205 or later

Method Dendrochronology for deposit A

Reading **(Funir)** ...

Summary The inscription cannot be read with absolute certainty, but the interpretation as a male personal name in the nom. sg. seems fairly likely. Stoklund (1993: 4) suggests it may be the owner’s name.

References Stoklund 1993

## ● Object Illerup Lance Blade 1 and 2

Findspot Illerup

Country Denmark

Dating Deposited after 205

Method Dendrochronology

Reading **Wagnijo**

Summary Personal name of indeterminate gender or a weapon's name in the nom. sg. As the name is found on three weapons it seems more likely to consider it the name of the manufacturer rather than the name of the item. This identification is also why the name is considered male, as the name itself is ambiguous (Antonsen 2002: 267f).

References Antonsen 2002

## ● Object Illerup Shield Handle Fitting 1

Findspot Illerup

Country Denmark

Dating Deposited after 205

Method Dendrochronology

Reading **Sw(a)r(ta)**

Summary Male personal name or nickname in the nom. sg., though it could also have referred to the shield itself, if it was painted black.

References Grünzweig 2004

## ● Object Illerup Shield Handle Fitting 2

Findspot Illerup

Country Denmark

Dating Deposited after 205

Method Dendrochronology

Reading **Niþijo tawide**

Summary A name of indeterminate gender in the nom. sg. followed by a verb *tawide* 'made' in the 3rd pers. sg. pret.

References Antonsen 2002

## ● Object Illerup shield Handle Fitting 3

Findspot Illerup

Country Denmark

Dating Deposited after 205

Method Dendrochronology

Reading **Lagupewa[r]**

Summary A male personal name, most likely in the nom. sg. The lack of final -r seems to be a West Germanic innovation.

References Looijenga 2003

## ●Object Istaby Runestone

Findspot Istaby

Country Sweden

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading **AfATR Hariwulafa | HAþuwulafR HAeruwulafIR | (wa)RAIT runAR þAIAR**

Summary Preposition ‘after’ and a male personal name in the acc. sg., two male names in the nom. sg., the second one probably a patronym, the verb ‘write’ and an object ‘these runes’. It can thus be translated as ‘After Hariwulf Haþuwulf [son of] Heruwulf wrote these runes’.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 98

## ●Object Järsberg Runestone

Findspot Järsberg

Country Sweden

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading I (left to right): **(U)baR h[a]ite ' HArabanaR** II (right to left): **hait[e]** III (left to right): **ekERILAR** IV: (left to right) **runOR w** (right to left) | **aritu**

Summary The inscription consists of various male names in the nom., two instances *hait[e]* and *h[a]ite*, one apparently missing an *a*, the other an *e*, of the naming verb ‘be called’, a mention of rune writing *runOR waritu* and the *ek erilar* formula. Depending on the order in which the components are read, a name may be considered that of a commemorated person, separate from the other syntactical context (Antonsen 2002), otherwise all names and naming actions can be read as referring to the *erilar*.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 70, Antonsen 2002

## ●Object Kalleby Runestone

Findspot Kalleby, Bohuslän

Country Sweden

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading **Þrawijan ' haitinar was ...**

Summary *Þrawijan* is most likely a male personal name in the gen. sg. (Antonsen 1975). Looijenga’s (2003: 331) interpretation as an adjective in the nom. seems problematic, though not as problematic as Krause and Jankuhn’s imaginative interpretation (1966: 140). *haitinar* is a past participle ‘called’ and followed by *was*, a form of the substantive verb that cannot be identified with complete certainty, as the inscription breaks off at this point.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 61, Antonsen 1975, Looijenga 2003

- Object Kalmergården Fibula  
 Findspot Kalmergården, Sjælland  
 Country Denmark  
 Dating 650–700  
 Method Type of fibula  
 Reading ...**U**alis  
 Summary Possibly a male name in the gen. sg. *Valis* ‘of Valir’.  
 References Stoklund 1996
- Object Killerup I B-Bracteate  
 Findspot Killerup, Funen  
 Country Denmark  
 See Gudme II
- Object Kinneve Stone Fragment  
 Findspot Kinneve, Kinneve sn., Västergötland  
 Country Sweden  
 Dating No archaeological dating possible  
 Reading ...**(s)ir alu h...**  
 Summary The inscription on this stone fragment runs from right to left. Following Høst’s (1980: 49) assertion that *alu* is always at the beginning of an inscription unless it’s part of a name, Antonsen suggests reading it as the beginning of a personal name rather than the charm word *alu* (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 114), and the preceding signs as the end of a male personal name in the nom. sg.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 52, Antonsen 2002
- Object Kirchheim/Teck Fibula I  
 Findspot Kirchheim/Teck, Baden-Württemberg  
 Country Germany  
 Dating Late 6th c  
 Method Type of fibula  
 Reading **A**rugis  
 Summary The inscription consists of a male name in the nom. sg. on a fibula found in a woman’s grave. The same name can be found in the form **A**rogis on the Schretzheim bronze capsule.  
 References Düwel 1996

- Object Kirchheim/Teck Fibula II
- Findspot Kirchheim/Teck, Baden-Württemberg
- Country Germany
- Dating Mid 6th c
- Method None given
- Reading **badagihialali d[o]mi[n]u[s]**
- Summary The inscription is hard to read (e.g. Nedoma 2004: No. 62) and Nedoma considers everything unclear but the word *bada*, which is also found on the Bad Ems inscription. Looijenga (2003: 245) translates this inscription as '[my] hail [and] salvation [is the] Lord'. To arrive at her reading **badagihialali d[o]mi[n]u[s]** requires expanding the last few runes to Latin *dominus* and the swastika as a rune cross representing *gi*. Finding a christian interpretation would be plausible enough, as a cross found in the same woman's grave confirms the deceased was christian, but due to the wear on the inscription any interpretation has to be considered speculative, even more so if it relies on expanding assumed abbreviations.
- References Looijenga 2003, Nedoma 2004
  
- Object Kjellers Mose C-Bracteate
- Findspot Kjellers Mose, Jylland
- Country Denmark
- Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c
- Method Typology
- Reading **...al(u)**
- Summary The bracteate depicts a human head above a quadruped. The inscription consists of a row in signs of which only the charm word *alu* can be identified for sure.
- References IK289
  
- Object Kjøllevik Runestone
- Findspot Kjøllevik, Strand kommune, Rogaland
- Country Norway
- Dating No archaeological dating possible
- Reading **Hadu(l)aikaṛ | ek Hagusta[l]dar | h(l)aiwido magu minino**
- Summary A male personal name in the nom. sg., a 1st pers. personal pronoun and a second male personal name, both in the nom. sg., the verb *blaiw-* 'bury' in the 1st pers. sg. pret., 'son' and a possessive pronoun in the acc. sg.: 'Hadulaikaṛ. I Hagustaldar buried my son'. The runes run from right to left. There is a double ʃ in the verb, which according to Looijenga (2003: 344) might indicate the length of the vowel. The **l** in **Hagusta[l]dar** is missing.
- References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 75, Looijenga 2003

- Object Kläggeröd C-Bracteate
- Findspot Kläggeröd, Skåne
- Country Sweden
- Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c
- Method Typology
- Reading **alu**
- Summary The bracteate depicts a human head above a quadruped. The inscription consists of the charm word *alu*.
- References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 103, IK97

- Object Kongsvad Å A-Bracteate
- Findspot Kongsvad Å, jælland
- Country Denmark
- Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c
- Method Typology
- Reading **foslau**
- Summary This entry refers to three identical faces and back sides of three double bracteates. They depict a large bust and a small human figure. The inscription may be a fuþark-citation, involving the first and last letter and the charm word *salu*.
- References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 122, IK101

- Object Kowel Lance Blade
- Findspot Suszyczno, Kovel
- Country Ukraine
- Dating Early to mid 3rd c
- Method Typology
- Reading **Tilari(d)s**
- Summary An East Germanic inscription, this seems to be a weapon's name in the nom. sg. with the meaning 'goal-pursuer'. The item is decorated with various signs and symbols.
- References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 33

- Object Kragehul Knife Shaft
- Findspot Kragehul
- Country Denmark
- Dating 440–490
- Method Animal style decorations
- Reading **...uma ' Bera a(l)u ...**
- Summary The object is partly destroyed. *uma* may be related to a word *uma* 'shaft' attested in the Old English glosses. Additionally we find a male personal name in the nom. sg. and possibly the charm word *alu*.
- References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 28, Antonsen 1975

## ● Object Kragehul Spear Shaft

Findspot Kragehul

Country Denmark

Dating 450–475

Method Based on other finds from same deposit

Reading **ek Erilar A[n]sugisal(a)s muha haite ga ga ga ...hagal(a) wiju**

Summary The inscription begins with a 1st pers. sg. personal pronoun, the title *erilar* in the nom. sg. and a male personal name in the gen. sg. It is then followed either by a male name *Muha* or a 1st pers. sg. form of the substantive verb and a male name *Uha*, the name in any case being in the nom. sg. The repeated *ga* bind runes that follow are usually interpreted as *gibu auja*, a sequence known from the Sjølland bracteate, Antonsen (2002: 216) suggests it may be a logogram for the name *Ansugisala*. Grünzweig (2004: 92) points out that all attempts to treat the sequence as an abbreviation have to be considered arbitrary, and therefore unlikely. Most interpretations of the following part of the inscription are highly speculative, if an interpretation is attempted at all. *bagala* ‘hail’ and *wiju* ‘I consecrate’ may be identified (Grünzweig 2004: 93), but attempts to fashion this part of the inscription into a coherent sentence are not certain and largely influenced by context, such as the reconstruction of *gaira* ‘spear’ by Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 64ff.).

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 27, Antonsen 2002, Grünzweig 2004

## ● Object Krogsta Runestone

Findspot Krogsta, Tuna sn., Uppland

Country Sweden

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading **...stainar**

Summary The inscription consists of a row of semantically meaningless runes followed by a misspelled *stainar* ‘stone’ in the nom. sg., with ↓ for ↑.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 100



## ●Object Kårstad Cliff

Findspot Kårstadt, Sogn og Fjordane

Country Sweden

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Method Typological dating based on the other carvings has been attempted, but did not lead to convincing conclusions

Reading **ek Aljamark(i)R | bajj(i/o)R**

Summary 1st pers. sg. personal pronoun and two male personal names in the nom. sg., the second of which is probably an epithet referring to the 1st pers. or an indication of that person's social position ('warrior').

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 53

## ●Object Körlin Ring

Findspot Karlino

Country Poland

Dating Unknown

Reading **alu al[u]**Summary The inscription on the ring consists of an encoded and explicit version of the charm word *alu*. The encoded version is a ligature of the runes ᚱ and ᚦ, which at the same time represents the rune ᚱ as the second rune of the first division by having two branches on one side of the staff and one branch on the other.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 46

## ●Object Køge II C-Bracteate

Findspot Køge, Sjælland

Country Denmark

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **Hariuha ' haitika ' Fa(r)auisa gibu auja ...**Summary This entry refers to two identical bracteates which depict a human head above a quadruped, additional signs, and an unusually long inscription for a bracteate. The inscription consists of *hariuha*, a male personal name in the nom. sg., *haitika*, a 1st pers. sg. pres. med. with a 1st pers. sg. nom. enclitic pronoun 'I am called', *farauisa*, an epithet, m. nom. sg. 'travel-wise', *gibu*, a 1st pers. sg. pres. 'give' and *auja*, an acc. sg. 'luck'. The inscription is followed by a divider made out of several dots and then by a sign that has been interpreted by some as a triple ᚦ, but there is no reason to do so. The inscription can be translated as 'Hariuha I am called, travelwise, give luck'.

References IK98, Antonsen 1975 and 2002

## ●Object Lauchheim Fibula

Findspot Lauchheim, Baden-Württemberg

Country Germany

Dating Late 6th c

Method Type of fibula

Reading **Aono fa[ihi]da**

Summary The fibula is one of a pair found in a woman's grave. The inscription consists of a male name in the nom. sg. and what may be a shortened verb form with the meaning 'decorated'.

References Schwab 1998, Nedoma 2004

## ●Object Lellinge Kohave B-Bracteate

Findspot Lellinge Kohave, Sjælland

Country Denmark

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **salu salu**

Summary The bracteate depicts a human figure, a bird and a quadruped as well as additional signs. The inscription repeats the charm word *salu* twice.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 121, IK105

## ●Object Letcani Spindle Whorl

Findspot Letcani

Country Romania

Dating 4th c

Method Grave goods

Reading **ra(ng)o | (A)dons uf (he)[r] or ra(w)o | (A)dons suf(he) or a(w)o | (A)dons uf (he)r '**

Summary Krause's interpretation 'Ido's fabric is [this] here – Rangno' has to be considered outdated, as it is based on a misleading drawing (e.g. Seebold 1994 and Looijenga 2003), according to Looijenga, who examined the item. Seebold's reading and interpretation ('for Ido may the spindle accelerate') is equally unlikely. She suggests two possible readings and interpretations: **rango: adons uf her** 'Ado's ring (= spindle whorl) (is) down here' or **awo : adons uf her** 'grandmother of Ado (is) under here'. Both interpretations read a female personal name in the gen., a preposition 'down, under' and the adverb 'here', but differ in the interpretation of the initial word as either 'grandmother' or 'ring', though why a spindle whorl should be referred to as ring is unclear. One would be a rather unusual memorial inscription, the other the naming of an object and its owner, according to Looijenga possibly referencing a grave gift.

References Krause 1969, Seebold 1994, Looijenga 2003

## ●Object Lindholmen Amulet

Findspot Lindholmen, Svedala sn., Skåne

Country Sweden

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading **ek erilar Sa(wil)agar ha[i]teka ' | ...' alu'**

Summary The object is a leaf shaped bone. It is inscribed with a 1st pers. sg. pronoun *ek*, the title *erilar*, a male personal name in the nom. sg., and a 1st pers. sg. pres. med. verb with 1st pers. sg. nom. enclitic pronoun *haiteka* 'I am called'. It is additionally inscribed with a row of apparently meaningless runes and the charm word *alu*. Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 70) prefer to read *sa wilagar* as an adjective with local deixis 'here cunning'.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 29, Antonsen 2002

## ●Object Lundeberg A-Bracteate

Findspot Lundeberg, Funen

Country Denmark

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **...(l)a(b)i ...**

Summary The bracteate depicts a human bust. The inscription consists of imitations of Latin capital letters, rune-like signs, runes and unidentifiable signs. Hauck et al (IK295) consider it possible, though not at all certain, that the inscription contains a deliberate mangling of the charm word *lapu*.

References IK295

## ●Object Lyngø Gyde C-Bracteate

Findspot Lyngø Gyde, Sjælland

Country Denmark

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **l[au]kaṛ**

Summary The bracteate depicts a human bust and a quadruped as well as additional signs. The inscription appears to be a short form of the charm word *laukar*.

References IK298

- Object Maglemose I/Gummersmark A-Bracteate  
 Findspot Maglemose/Gummersmark, Sjælland  
 Country Denmark  
 Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c  
 Method Typology  
 Reading ...| ...| **a(u)alhr**  
 Summary This entry refers to four bracteates of the same model. They depict a human bust with a diadem, a raised arm and a ornate breast plate and shield. Düwel (1988) thinks the inscription may contain the charm word *alu*.  
 References IK299, Düwel 1988
- Object Maglemose II/Gummersmark C-Bracteate  
 Findspot Maglemose /Gummersmark, Sjælland  
 Country Denmark  
 Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c  
 Method Typology  
 Reading **l[au]kar**  
 Summary The bracteate depicts a human head above a quadruped and additional signs. The inscription consists of a short form of the charm word *laukar*.  
 References IK301
- Object Maglemose III/Gummersmark C-Bracteate  
 Findspot Maglemose/Gummersmark, Sjælland  
 Country Denmark  
 Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c  
 Method Typology  
 Reading ...**l[a]p[u]** | ...**Hō[ua]r** | **al(u)**  
 Summary The bracteate depicts a human bust with a hand and a foot as well as a quadruped and a bird and additional signs. The inscription consists of three sections. The first is uninterpretable. The second is an abbreviation of a male personal name in the nom. sg. attested fully on Fünen I – the dot in the middle may indicate the abbreviation. The last section was presumably meant to represent the charm word *alu*.  
 References IK300

## ●Object Mayen Fibula

Findspot Mayen, Rheinland-Pfalz

Country Germany

Dating 560–590

Method Typology of the fibula

Reading **leub**

Summary The fibula was found in a woman's grave, but the find was badly documented and the fibula was stolen and destroyed. The inscription consists of either a personal name of indeterminate gender in the nom. in the nom. sg. or the adjective 'dear' (Nedoma 2004: 354).

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: n. 143, Nedoma 2004

## ●Object Meldorf Fibula

Findspot Meldorf, Schleswig-Holstein

Country Germany

Dating Mid 2nd c

Method The fibula was probably produced in the early 1st c, but the signs of use indicate it may have been used as late as the 2nd c

Reading **I(d)i(n)** or **Hiwi**

Summary The fibula is considered "the oldest archaeologically-datable Runic inscription yet found" (Antonsen 2002: 95, cf. also for a review of the most important readings of this inscription), at least by those who consider the signs to be Runic. It has been suggested they may be Latin instead. Either way it has usually been read as a personal name, but not with any certainty. Mees (2012) has presented a reading of the inscription **irile**, a dat. of *erilar*, meaning 'to the runemaster', but this is highly speculative.

References Antonsen 2002, Mees 2012

## ●Object Mos Lance Blade

Findspot Mos, Gotland

Country Sweden

Dating Late 2nd to early 3rd c

Method Typology

Reading **Ga(o)is** or **Ga(ŋ)is**

Summary This inscription is generally interpreted to be the name of the weapon, however the etymological interpretation of the name is still uncertain, so that it cannot be known for sure.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 34, Seebold 1991

●Object Möjbro Runestone

Findspot Möjbro, Hagby sn., Uppland

Country Sweden

Dating Migration or vendel period

Method Typology of the art on the stone

Reading **Frawaradar | ana hahai sla(g)inar**

Summary Male name in the nom. sg., preposition 'on', dat. sg. 'steed', male nom. sg. 'slain'; possibly a monument for a fallen warrior: "Frawaradar - struck on his steed"

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 99

●Object Møgedal Runestone

Findspot Møgedal, Egersund kommune, Rogaland

Country Norway

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading **Laipigar**

Summary The stone was standing at the side of a path and is inscribed with a male personal name in the nom. sg.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 88

●Object München-Aubing Fibula

Findspot München

Country Germany

Dating 510–560

Method Typology of grave goods

Reading **Segalo Sigila**

Summary The fibula is inscribed with two personal names in the nom., a female and a male one. Its pair is inscribed with two additional runes, it is not clear whether that inscription is related to this one.

References Nedoma 2004

●Object Nebenstedt I B-Bracteate

Findspot Nebenstedt, Niedersachsen

Country Germany

Dating 5th

Method Typology, deposited in the 6th c

Reading **Gliaugir (w) | i[hj]u r[u]n[o]r (1)**

Summary The bracteate shows a person with the right hand at the chin and the left hand over the pubic area. The inscription consists of a male personal name or epithet in the nom. sg. and additional signs that could be expanded to mean 'I consecrate the runes'. The vowel signs for the word 'runes' are missing completely and the interpretation is considered possible but speculative by Axboe et al. (IK128). One further rune follows.

References IK128

●Object Neudingen Wood Fragment

Findspot Neudingen, Stadt Donaueschingen, Schwarzwald-Baar-Kreis, Gewann Löbern, Baden-Württemberg

Country Germany

Dating 532/535

Method Dendrochronology of the grave

Reading **l[iu]bi ' Imuba ' Hamale ' Bliþgunþ ' (w)rait runa**

Summary The inscribed piece of wood that was found in a woman's grave is often described as being part of a loom (Opitz 1982: 486) or connected with textile work (Fingerlin to Nedoma in a letter, cited by Nedoma 2004: 241), but there seems to be no further evidence for this other than its location by the loom. The inscription starts off with an abbreviated *liubi* 'love' in the acc. sg. This is followed by three personal names: a feminine one in the nom. sg., a male in the dat. sg. and another female in the nom. sg. as the subject of the following verb *wrait* in the 3rd pers. sg. pret. 'wrote' with the object of the action, *runa* 'runes' in the acc. pl. That the verb appears with an initial **u** instead of **w** is odd, but as the reading is in no way controversial there can be no doubt that it corresponds to a *w* (Findell 2012: 127f.).

References Opitz 1982, Nedoma 2004, Looijenga 2003, Findell 2012

## ●Object Niederstotzingen Strap End

Findspot Niederstotzingen, Baden-Württemberg

Country Germany

Dating Late 6th/early 7th c

Method Type of decoration

Reading ...**liub** ...**d[e]du[n]** ...

Summary Most of the inscription on this strap end is illegible and/or uninterpretable. What can be made out is the word *liub* ‘dear’ and possibly, though less likely, the 3rd pers. pl. pret. form ‘did’, indicating a maker’s inscription (Looijenga 2003: 249). It seems likely that most of the inscription is non-lexical and it was probably executed by an inexperienced carver.

References Looijenga 2003, Waldispühl 2013

## ●Object Noleby Runestone

Findspot Noleby, Fyrunga sn., Västergötland

Country Sweden

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading **runo fahi raginakundo toje(k)a | unaþu ' ... (hw)atin | Ha[u]koþu**

Summary The inscription begins with the word ‘rune’ and two adjectives ‘suitable’ and ‘divinely-derived’ in the acc. sg., a 1st pers. sg. pret. form ‘paint’ and a 1st pers. sg. personal pronoun. This is followed by an unintelligible series of runes, for which Krause and Jankuhn attempt to provide a speculative interpretation, and finished off by a male name or byname in the nom. sg. The inscription can be translated as ‘I paint the suitable, divinely-derived rune ...Haukoþu’.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 67, Antonsen 1975 and 2002

## ●Object Nordendorf Fibula I

Findspot Nordendorf, Bayern

Country Germany

Dating Mid to late 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **Loga(b)ore | Wodan | Wig(i)þonar | (A)wa (L)eubwini**

Summary The inscription has two parts: the second one is unproblematic, it consists of a female and male personal name, both in the nom. sg. The first one clearly features two deities in the nom. sg. It is however unclear whether the first word is a descriptor relating to those two deities or whether it refers to a deity itself. Which one it is also determines whether this is a christian or a pagan inscription, as it may be a dedication to pagan gods or an abjuration from them. The inscription is followed by a non-runic sign.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 151, Düwel 1982, Derolez and Schwab 1980–1981



- Object Nordhuglo Runestone  
 Findspot Nordhuglo, Huglo, Stord kommune, Hordaland  
 Country Norway  
 Dating No archaeological dating possible  
 Reading **ek gudija Ungandir ... possibly: i H[ugulu]**  
 Summary Undoubtedly the inscription starts with a 1st pers. sg. pronoun and the title *gudija* ‘priest’. The following word has been interpreted as ‘without magic, not bewitched’ (Krause and Jankuhn 1966, 147) but Antonsen (1975: 47; 2002: 225) argues convincingly that it is to be interpreted as a male personal name, that of the priest’s overlord, parallel to the construction with *erilar* found in Kragehul, Veblungsnes, Rosseland and Valsfjord. The stone is damaged so the inscription may have been longer than what remains today and a reading *i Hugulu* has been suggested (Olsen 1912: 19). However, this would be the earliest attested occurrence of a place name in a Runic inscription (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 147) and has not been generally accepted.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 65, Antonsen 1975 and 2002

- Object Norway B-Bracteate  
 Findspot Unknown  
 Country Norway  
 Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c  
 Method Typology  
 Reading **anoaṅa**  
 Summary The inscription is not clearly legible. Attempts have been made to interpret it as a male personal name *Anawana* in the nom. sg., a personal name of indeterminate gender in the nom. sg. or a magic formula *ano ana*.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 124, IK131

- Object Nydam Arrow Shaft 1 and 6  
 Findspot Nydam, Jylland  
 Country Denmark  
 Dating Around 300  
 Method Refers to sacrifice  
 Reading **lua**  
 Summary Several of the arrow shafts from the Nydam bog find show inscribed signs. Most of them appear to be non-Runic, non-linguistic owner’s marks – only few of them show identifiable Runic inscriptions. They appear to be rearranged versions of the charm word *alu* (Grünzweig 2004: 88). Düwel (1981: 140) prefers to read it as a personal name, an owner’s mark.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 19, Grünzweig 2004, Düwel 1981

## ● Object Nydam Arrow Shaft 5

Findspot Nydam, Jylland

Country Denmark

Dating Around 350

Method Refers to sacrifice

Reading **(o)la**

Summary Several of the arrow shafts from the Nydam bog find show inscribed signs. Most of them appear to be non-Runic, non-linguistic owner's marks – only few of them show identifiable Runic inscriptions. They appear to be rearranged versions of the charm word *alu*.

References Grünzweig

## ● Object Nydam Axe Handle

Findspot Nydam

Country Denmark

Dating 350

Method Refers to the date of the sacrifice

Reading **(Wa)gagastir | alu ' [wi]h(gu) (S)ikijar ' Aipalatar**

Summary The inscription starts off with a male personal name in the nom. sg. What follows is less certain. Stoklund (1994:104) identifies the charm word *alu*, which Antonsen (2002: 234) doubts based on Høst's (1980: 49) assertion that the word *alu* occurs in final position only, and suggests the *alu* may be the beginning of another name. While this is possible, there does not seem to be anything in the second set of runes to indicate this. Stoklund suggests reconstructing a 1st pers. sg. 'I consecrate/fight', but as Antonsen points out, the cited parallel is far from certain either. The following two words appear to be epithets, the latter denoting the social function 'oath-sayer'.

References Høst 1980, Stoklund 1994, Antonsen 2002

## ● Object Nydam Belt Plate

Findspot Nydam, Jylland

Country Denmark

Dating 390-410

Method Type of object

Reading **Rawsijo**

Summary The item was found deposited in a bog. The inscription consists of a male name in the nom. sg.

References Antonsen 2002

## ● Object Nydam Strap Holder

Findspot Nydam, Jylland

Country Denmark

Dating Around 300

Method Refers to sacrifice

Reading **Harkilar ' ahti | Anul(a)**

Summary The inscription consists of two male names or epithets in the nom. sg., and between them presumably a verb *abti* ‘follow, attack’, most likely an imperative (Grünzweig 2004: 84). The relation between the two names remains unclear, if they are both in the nom. the inscription does not form a coherent sentence, but two separate utterances: ‘Harkilar attack! Anula’. Alternatively Ilkjaer (cited as p.c. by Antonsen 2002: 114) has suggested interpreting *Abti* as well as *Harkilar* as Finnish/Estonian personal names, which seems more likely.

References Grünzweig 2004: 84, Antonsen 2002

## ● Object Næsbjerg Fibula

Findspot Næsbjerg, Jylland

Country Denmark

Dating Early 3rd c

Method Typology

Reading **(W)ara(flu)s(ǣ) or (W)ara(fni)s(a) or (W)ara(win)s**

Summary The fibula was found in a grave, whether it was a woman’s or a man’s grave cannot be said with any certainty. The runes are hardly legible and there are as many readings as scholars who published about it (cf. Antonsen 2002 for a review of the interpretations). They mostly seem to agree though that it is a male name or epithet in the nom. sg.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 13, Antonsen 2002

## ● Object Nøvling Fibula

Findspot Nøvling, Jylland

Country Denmark

Dating Early 3rd c

Method Typology

Reading **Bidawarijar talgid(e)**

Summary The inscription consists of a male name in the nom. sg. and a verb *talgide* ‘made’ in the 3rd pers. sg. pret.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 13a

●Object Oettingen Fibula

Findspot Oettingen, Bayern

Country Germany

Dating Mid to late 6th c

Method Type of fibula

Reading **Auisab[i]rg**

Summary Nedoma considers it a female personal name with illegible and thus uninterpretable first segment. However, Waldispühl has since provided a new reading of the initial letters of the inscription.

References Nedoma 2004, Waldispühl 2013

●Object Opedal Runestone

Findspot Opedal, Ullensvang kommune, Hordaland

Country Norway

Dating Antonsen: 350AD

Method Dating of the grave

Reading **l(e)ubu mer | Wage | Birgingu B(o)r(o) swestar minu**

Summary The inscription on the Opedal stone is sometimes described as consisting of two lines (e.g. Krause and Jankuhn 1966, Looijenga 2003) or one (Antonsen 2002). More importantly the opinions differ on whether the inscription begins in the middle of the stone, running from right to left, with the second line beginning on the right side of the stone and then continuing below the first line (e.g. Krause and Jankuhn 1966), or whether the inscription begins on the right side, running to the left with *wage* being added below at the end (Looijenga 2003 and Antonsen 2002) as a “an interpolation into the original text, as if our Wagar made a belated claim to being mentioned also.” (Antonsen 2002: 140). *leubu*: f. nom. sg. ‘dear’ *mer*: 1st. p. sg. dat. personal pronoun *wage*: m. personal name, dat. *birnggu*: not all of the runes are clearly legible, f. personal name, dat. *boro*: f. personal name, dat. *swestar*: f. nom. sg. ‘sister’ *minu*: f. nom. sg. ‘my’. One possible translation is ‘Dear to me, Birgingu (and to Wagar), [is] Boro my sister’

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 76, Antonsen 2002, Looijenga 2003

●Object Osthofen Fibula

Findspot Osthofen, Rheinland-Pfalz

Country Germany

Dating Ca 600

Method Typology

Reading **go[d] ' fura d[i](h) d(e)o(f)ile (1)**

Summary There is wear on the runes, so that they can only be partly read. Krause and Jankuhn (1966: no 145) suggested reading the inscription as printed above and translating as 'god before you, devil', a christian text. This requires taking *deofile* as a hybrid form with a Germanic stem and a Latin ending. Jungandreas (1972) agrees with Krause and Jankuhn's reading, but not interpretation, and instead took *Deofile* as a germanicised male personal name in the (Latin) voc. Neither of these interpretations convince Waldispühl (2013: 297) who considers the inscription illegible and uninterpretable.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 145, Jungandreas 1972, Waldispühl 2013

●Object Pforzen Belt Buckle

Findspot Pforzen, Bayern

Country Germany

Dating Grave: late 6th c; item: mid 6th c

Method Based on gravegoods; based on typology

Reading **ai·gil·andi·aīl·run· ' | Itahu·gasokun**

Summary The inscription is arranged in two lines with ornaments filling the end of each line. The inscription also uses different kinds of dividers, which have been represented in the reading above with · and '. The inscription begins with a male and a female personal name in the nom. sg. connected by a conjunction 'and', and ends on a verb in the 3rd pers. pl. pret. The interpretation of the section in between is highly contested however. A range of interpretations and translations by various scholars can be found in Bammesberger (1999).

References Bammesberger 1999

## ● Object Pforzen Ring

Findspot Pforzen, Bayern

Country Germany

Dating Ca 600

Method Gravegoods

Reading ...' **Aodlinþ** ' **urait** ' **runa** ' | ...' **Gisali**

Summary The inscriptions are found on a ring which belonged to a girdle hanging and was found in a woman's grave. The inscription consists of a female personal name in the nom. sg., verb *wrait* in the 3rd pers. sg. pret. 'wrote' and the object of the action *runa* 'runes' in the acc. pl. Just like in the Neudingen inscription the verb appears with an initial **u** instead of the expected **w**. A second inscription, which may or may not relate to the maker's mark, consists of a male personal name in the nom. sg., preceded by additional signs.

References Düwel 1997, Nedoma 2004

## ● Object Pietroassa Ring

Findspot Pietroasele

Country Romania

Dating Early 5th c

Method Typology

Reading **(g)ut(anio wi)h h(a)i(l)ag**

Summary A range of interpretations have been offered for the inscription on this ring, which is presumed to be East Germanic or Gothic. Antonsen (2002: 280) considers it most likely to interpret *gutanio* as a female gen. pl. form 'of Gothic women/matres' and *wih hailag* as 'sacrosanctum'. He considers Krause and Jankuhn's suggestion to separate the  $\text{⚡}$  and read it as ideograph representing 'property' as unlikely, since that does not usually refer to mobile items. Krause and Jankuhn on the other hand criticise the interpretation as 'matres' because mother goddesses are only attested in the Rhine area. This, however, still leaves the interpretation 'Gothic women', which Krause and Jankuhn do not address.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 41, Antonsen 2002

## ●Object Reistad Runestone

Findspot Reistad, Hidra, Flekkefjord kommune, Vest-Agder

Country Norway

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading **(Idr)ingar | (e)k Wakrar ' Unnam(ᚱ) | wraitha**

Summary Male name in the nom. sg., 1st pers. personal pronoun and additional male name and epithet, all in the nom. sg., 1st pers. sg. pret. 'wrote': Idringar - I, Wakrar, the untakeable, wrote.

References Antonsen 1975, see Krause and Jankuhn 1966 and Looijenga 2003 for alternative interpretation

## ●Object Rickeby Die

Findspot Rickeby, Vallentuna sn., Uppland

Country Sweden

Dating About 650

Method Refers to grave

Reading **(HlA)hahaukr ...| ...**

Summary The die is in pieces, several of which are inscribed, but not all of which can be read and/or interpreted. This may be a male personal name in the nom. sg. made up of two elements, the first element **(hlA)hA** is related to *hlæja* 'to laugh', the second element **haukr** to 'hawk', a well attested name element. Looijenga (2003: 337) suspects it could be a nickname. The name is followed by an uninterpretable element.

References Looijenga 2003

## ●Object Riksarve C-Bracteate

Findspot Riksarve, Gotland

Country Sweden

See Fride

## ●Object Roes Runestone

Findspot Roes, Grötlingbo sn., Gotland

Country Sweden

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading **iu þinn ' (Uddr rak) '**

Summary This stone is one of the few of the Elder Futhark period to show both words and images. It shows a figure on a horse with lines drawn from the horse. Krause and Jankuhn read this inscription as a poetic word for 'horse' *iu*, a demonstrative pronoun *þinn* and a 3rd sg. pret. *rak* 'drive' and translate it as 'Udd drives this horse'. They consider it a harmful spell, with reference to an occurrence in Egil's saga. This interpretation is rather speculative and linguistically unpalatable. The lexical and even Runic nature of the inscription have been questioned and it has been suggested the inscription could be a falsification (Looijenga 2003: 336, with reference to an unpublished opinion by Anne Haavaldsen).

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 102, Looijenga 2003

## ●Object Rosseland Runestone

Findspot Rosseland, Kvam kommune, Hordaland, in Steinsdalen

Country Norway

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading **ek W(a)gigar (I)rilar Agilamundon**

Summary The inscription consists of a 1st pers. personal pronoun, a male name and the etymologically and functionally obscure title **erilar** in the nom. sg. and a name of indeterminate gender (Antonsen 2002: 272) in the gen. Krause and Jankuhn also suggest the idea of a matronym or a dedicatory dat. (1966: 155), preferring the idea of a matronym, as they are common in the north Germanic area.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 69, Antonsen 2002

## ●Object Rävsaal Runestone

Findspot Rävsaal, Valla sn., Tjörn, Bohuslän

Country Sweden

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading **Hari(w)ulfs ' stAinar**

Summary Male personal name in the gen. sg. and 'stones' in the nom. pl.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 80



## ●Object Rö Runestone

Findspot Rö, Tanum sn., Bohuslän

Country Sweden

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading I **ek Hra(ᚱ)ar satido [s](t)ain[a] |**  
 II **(S)wabaharjar | ana...|**  
 III **S(a)irawidar |**  
 IV **...Stainawarjar (f)ahido |**

Summary Whereas Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 167ff.) reads the first line last, Antonsen (2002: 124, departing from his 1975 publication) sees no reason to do so. On a semantic level the order in which those lines are read hardly makes a difference, above I have followed Antonsen's order. The first line consists of a 1st pers. personal pronoun and a male personal name in the nom. sg., the verb *sat-* 'set' in the 1st pers. sg. pret. and the object *stain-* 'stone' in the acc. sg. The second line consists of a further male personal name in the nom. sg. and an illegible word starting with ana.... The third line consists of a third male personal name in the nom. sg. Krause and Jankuhn and Looijenga (2003: 334) prefer to read this as an adjective "with a gaping wound" and it may indeed be an epithet. Who it describes depends on the order in which the lines are read, I would attach it to the following male personal name in the nom. sg., who is denoted as the maker of the inscription by the following verb *fabi-* in the 1st pers. sg. pret. 'drew'. As the verb is in the 1st pers. sg., the illegible signs that precede the name may be a 1st pers. sg. pronoun *ek*. The entire inscription can thus be translated as 'I Hrarar set the stone, Swabaharjar ...Sairawidar [I?] Stainawarjar painted'.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 73, Antonsen 2002, Looijenga 2003

## ●Object Saude Runestone

Findspot Saude, Sauherad kommune, Telemark

Country Norway

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading **Wa(nd)a(r)adas or Wa(j)a(r)adas**

Summary This inscription is only attested through a reproduction in Latin letters by someone unfamiliar with Runic script, which is why there cannot be any certainty about the reading. It nevertheless appears to consist of a male personal name in the gen. sg.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 82, Antonsen 2002

●Object Schretzheim Bronze Capsule

Findspot Schretzheim, Landkreis Dillingen/Donau, Bayern

Country Germany

Dating Second half of the 6th c

Method Type of capsule; grave dated to 555–580

Reading **Alagunþ ' Leuba ' de(d)un | Arog(i)s d[eda]**

Summary This amulet box was found in a woman's grave. It is inscribed on the bottom and on the lid. The inscription on the bottom consists of two female personal names in the nom. sg. and the verb *dedun* 'did' in the 3rd pers. pl. pret. What it is that Alagunth and Leuba did is not clear from the inscription. Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 299) assumed an implied blessing that is given, but there is no evidence for this and Nedoma (2004: 172) considers it unlikely. Looijenga (2003: 255) suggests it may refer to the making of the box. The inscription on the lid consists of a male personal name in the nom. sg., which is read *Arogis* by Nedoma (2004: 199ff.) but *Arogist*, with a spelling of final **d**, this final rune could however also be an abbreviation of *deda* 'did', rather than part of the name.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 157, Looijenga 2003, Nedoma 2004

● Object Schretzheim Fibula

Findspot Schretzheim, Bayern

Country Germany

Dating Mid 6th c

Method Based on gravegoods

Reading **sinþwag[j]andin | Leubo**

Summary One of several rune finds from Schretzheim, this fibula was found in a woman's grave. The inscription, arranged in two lines with the top of each line facing the other, consists of two words: a dat. sg. 'traveller' and either the nom. of a male name or the adjective 'dear' (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 298). As the dat. suggests a personal dedication it seems more likely that the second word is the name of the gift giver. Nedoma (2004: 359) prefers to interpret the first word as a causative instrumental 'for the travelling', because they consider it problematic that a dedication to a man was found in a woman's grave.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 156, Nedoma 2004

## ●Object Setre Comb

Findspot Setre, Bømlo kommune, Hordaland

Country Norway

Dating Difficult to date, but rather late, probably

Method Attempts have been made based on stratigraphy and typology of the item

Reading A: **HAlMAR | MAuna** B: **A(l)u Na[nn]A [A]lu Nanna**

Summary The comb is inscribed on sides A and B, the runes on side A are smaller and more careful than on side B, but could still have been carved by the same individual according to Krause and Jankuhn (1966: no. 40). Krause and Jankuhn follow Olsen (cited *ibid.*) in reading it as a love spell: ‘Hail, girl of girls, Mauna! Alu, Nanna, Alu, Nanna’, whereby Mauna is the female name of the beloved, and Nanna a person or mythological figure, possibly the wife of Baldr, to whom the writer appeals. Antonsen (2002: 299) criticises this reading as linguistically implausible and proposes a sequence of two nouns in the male nom. sg., which may refer to the owner or maker of the object, or the object, in which case he translates them as ‘the one who gets rid of [lice]’.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 40, Antonsen 2002

## ●Object Sievern A-Bracteate

Findspot Sievern, Niedersachsen

Country Germany

Dating Late 5th c

Method Typology

Reading **(rwr)ilu**

Summary As the inscription appears on this bracteate, which depicts a head wearing a stylised helmet and snakelike creatures, it cannot be interpreted linguistically. However, Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 270ff.) suggests it may have been copied from a Vorlage *r[unor] writu* ‘I wrote the runes’.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 134, IK156

## ●Object Sjølland I C-Bracteate

Findspot Sjølland

Country Denmark

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **I[au]kar**

Summary The bracteate depicts a human bust above a quadruped and additional signs. The inscription appears to be a short form of the charm word *laukar*.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 112, IK330

- Object Skodborghus/Skodborg B-Bracteate  
 Findspot Skodborghus/Skodborg, Jylland  
 Country Denmark  
 Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c  
 Reading **auja Alawin auja Alawin auja Alawin j Alawid**  
 Summary The bracteate depicts a human figure, a quadruped with an open mouth, two additional animals and signs. The inscription is a repetition of the charm word *auja* 'luck' and two male names in the nom. sg. Additionally, it contains one of the rare examples where it seems likely that a single rune is intended as ideograph, a  $\mathfrak{S}$  which presumably represents 'a good year' (Antonsen 2002: 277).  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 105, IK161, Antonsen 2002
- Object Skonager I A-Bracteate  
 Findspot Skonager, Jylland  
 Country Denmark  
 See Darum II
- Object Skonager III C-Bracteate  
 Findspot Skonager, Jylland  
 Country Denmark  
 Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c  
 Method Typology  
 Reading **Niuwila | l[a]p(u)**  
 Summary This bracteate shows a disassembled human figure consisting of a head, upper arm and leg as well as a quadruped, a bird and additional signs. The inscription consists of a male personal name in the nom. sg. and a short form of the charm word *lapu*. A connection between **Niuwila** and **Niuwil** on the Darum V bracteate has been suggested, but Antonsen (2001: 274f.) considers it unlikely.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 118, Antonsen 1975: 76 and 2001: 274ff., IK163
- Object Skovgårde Fibula  
 Findspot Skovgårde, Sjælland  
 Country Denmark  
 Dating Early 3rd c  
 Method Typology  
 Reading **Lamo ' talgida**  
 Summary The personal name of indeterminate gender (Antonsen 2002: 268f.) in the nom. sg. is written from right to left, whereas the 3rd pers. sg. pret. verb 'made' is written from left to right. Antonsen (2002: 142) argues that it must therefore have been copied from an inscription in boustrophedon style.  
 References Antonsen 2002

- Object Skramles Udde Runestone
- Findspot Skramles Udde, Värmland
- Country Sweden
- Dating No archaeological dating possible
- Reading **Øþa ainn or Øþa[w]in ri[sti] | far kannio**
- Summary The location of the stone in a cowshed, where it was used as a foundation stone, was secondary but it is unlikely that the stone was moved very far due to its weight. Odensted believes it was never raised but was laid down originally. According to Odensted, the inscription consists of a male personal name in the nom., or a shorter name modified by the adjective *ainn* ‘alone’. It is followed by an abbreviated verb *risti* ‘wrote’. The second line of the inscription is magical according to Odensted and consists of a noun *fār* ‘danger’, or ‘fear’ in the acc. sg. and the verb *kannio*, a 1st pers. sg. pres. ‘I know’. There are several non-Runic signs or dividers. This interpretation is fairly speculative and not universally accepted (cf. Düwel 2008: 38).

References Odenstedt 1997, Düwel 2008

- Object Skrydstrup B-Bracteate
- Findspot Skrydstrup, Jylland
- Country Denmark
- Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c
- Method Typology
- Reading **laukar | alu**
- Summary The bracteate depicts a human figure with a stag and an additional animal, a bird and two snakes. The inscription consists of the two charm words *laukar* and *alu*.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 109, IK166

- Object Skärkind Runestone
- Findspot Skärkind, Skärkind sn., Östergötland
- Country Sweden
- Dating No archaeological dating possible
- Reading **Skinþa-Leu(b)ar or Skinþaleu(b)ar**
- Summary Male name in the nom. sg., possibly a nickname (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 195) that could be based on a profession.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 87, Antonsen 2002

## ●Object Skåne I B-Bracteate

Findspot Skåne

Country Sweden

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **laþu laukar ' ga[u]kar alu**

Summary The bracteate depicts a kneeling or jumping human figure, a bird, a lying quadruped and additional signs. The inscription consists of four words, three of which are the frequently attested charm words *laþu*, *laukar* and *laukar*. The third word *gakar* however is unclear. It may be a male personal name but an additional charm word is more likely. Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 256f.) suggested inserting a *u* for an interpretation *ga[u]kar* ‘cuckoo’, which is not very plausible from a graphical point of view, however (IK149,1). This bracteate is identical to the Unknown B bracteate (IK149,2).

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 120, Düwel 1984, IK149,1

## ● Object Skåne III C-Bracteate

Findspot Skåne

Country Sweden

Dating 440-560

Method Typology

Reading **ota**

Summary This bracteate shows a human head above a quadruped with additional signs and is inscribed with a charm word that may be *otta* ‘fear’.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 125, IK152

## ● Object Skåne IV C-Bracteate

Findspot Skåne

Country Sweden

See Almungs

●Object Skääng Runestone

Findspot Skääng, Vagnhärads sn. (today Trosa-Vagnhärad, Södermanland)

Country Sweden

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading **Harija (1Z) Leugar (1Z)**

Summary Initially, this stone was only known for the younger Futhark inscription along the edge of the stone, only later was the elder Futhark inscription in the centre discovered (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 191). It is most likely composed of two male names in the nom. sg., which may denote a single person with a name and an epithet, referring to a tribal name (Looijenga 2003). Alternatively, Antonsen (2002: 221) suggests reading the divider between the two names as a corrected **n**, therefore reading the first name as a gen., denoting the person to whom the monument was dedicated with the second name referring to the person who erected it.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 85, Antonsen 2002, Looijenga 2003

●Object Slipshavn B-Bracteate fragment

Findspot Slipshavn, Funen

Country Denmark

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading ...[a](l)u ...

Summary This bracteate fragment depicts a human figure. The inscription consists of several signs, some of which can be clearly identified or reconstructed as runes. The inscription may have contained the charm word *alu*.

References IK394

●Object Slitebacka C-Bracteate

Findspot Slitebacka, Gotland

Country Sweden

See Almungs

## ●Object Soest Fibula

Findspot Soest, Nordrhein-Westfalen

Country Germany

Dating Ca. 600

Method Terminus post quem through coins: 565 AD; grave from around 600

Reading **Rada ' Dapa | Attano**

Summary The fibula was found in a woman's grave. The inscription has at least two if not more parts: a sequence of signs, a rune cross and several individual signs which may have been copied and only intended to imitate script. Looijenga (2003: 257f.) puts the two sequences in a cohesive context, but Waldispühl's autopsy (2013: 306ff.) reveals this is unlikely, as they were inscribed separately. The first part consists of two female personal names *Rada* and *Dapa* in the nom. sg. The rune cross may be a name as well, a male name *Attano* in the nom. sg. (Nedoma 2004: 214).

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 140, Looijenga 2003, Nedoma 2004, Waldispühl 2013

## ●Object Sorte Muld Handle Fragment

Findspot Sorte Muld, Ibsker sn., Bornh. Øster hd., Bornholm amt

Country Denmark

Dating 3rd to 6th c

Method Date of the site

Reading **...þewar | Balika ...**

Summary The only word that can be identified with certainty is *þewar* 'servant' in the nom. sg., though it may be part of a name as well. It seems more likely however that it describes a person named in the directly preceding male name in the nom. sg. that is only partly preserved. *Balika* appears to be a diminutive of a personal name in the nom. of indeterminate gender.

References Stoklund 2004

## ●Object South Funen C-Bracteate

Findspot South Funen

Country Denmark

See Hesselager



●Object Steindorf Sax

Findspot Steindorf, Bayern

Country Germany

Dating Mid 6th to early 7th c

Method Typology

Reading **(1Z) Husibald ...**

Summary The inscription is generally interpreted as a male personal name in the nom. sg., but the heavy corrosion on the item means the reading remains doubtful.

Looijenga (2003: 258) assumed there had been silver inlay in the inscription, which would have meant that it was definitely added when the item was manufactured, but according to Waldispühl (2013: 310) there are no traces of an inlay to be found. The name is preceded by a non-Runic symbol and may be followed by additional runes.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 158, Looijenga 2003, Waldispühl 2013

●Object Stenstad Runestone

Findspot Stenstad, Nome kommune, Telemark

Country Norway

Dating Early 5th c

Method Typology of the grave goods

Reading **Ingijon hallar**

Summary Name of indeterminate gender (Antonsen 2002: 262) in the gen. sg., 'rock, stone' in the nom. sg.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 81, Antonsen 2002

●Object Stentofthen Runestone

Findspot Stentofthen, Blekinge

Country Sweden

Dating 6th to 7th c

Method Unknown

Reading **niu**h**aborumR** | **niu** h**agestumR** | **h**h**uwolafR** **gAf** j | **h**h**ariwolafR** (**m**)**A**(**gi**)**u**  
**snuh**(1?)**e** | **hiderruno no fel**(**Ah**)**eka hederA ginoronOR** | **herAmAlAs AR**  
**ArAgeu we**(**lA**)**dud SA þat bariutiþ**

Summary This inscription has several unusual rune shapes, including the star rune, which is transcribed here as A. The inscription consists of a reference to a sacrifice, a maker's inscription and a curse. The second and third part of the inscription are nearly identical to the Björketorp inscription, with the exception of a few spelling variants, a copying error in the word for 'sequence' and the omission of the 'out'. Santesson identified *niu* as the numeral 'nine' and *borumR* and *gestumR* as dat. pl. forms of 'goats' and 'stallions'. The following part had already previously been interpreted (e.g. by Krause and Jankuhn 1966) as a male personal name in the nom. sg., a 3rd pers. pret. form *gAf* 'gave' and a single  $\mathfrak{s}$  rune to signify 'a good year'. This is followed by another male personal name in the nom. sg. The runes after the name have proven problematic, Antonsen, whose reading I mostly followed above, identifies the word 'son' in the dat. sg. for the first few, whereas Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 211) preferred the reading 'protection now' for the latter few. The whole inscription may thus be translated as follows: With nine bucks, with nine stallions Haþuwolaf gave a good year. HaeriwulafR (to?) his son. The sequence of bright-runes I commit here [i.e. to this stone], mighty-runes. Protectionless through [because of] baseness, (in possession) of an insidiousdeath is he (who) breaks this'.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 96, Santesson 1989, Antonsen 1975

●Object Stetten Fragment

Findspot Stetten, Baden-Württemberg

Country Germany

Dating Early 7th c

Method Refers to grave

Reading **Amelkūnd** | **f**

Summary Pieper (1990) suggests reading the name Amelkund on this metal capsule that might have been a needle or an earring. The isolated **f** that follows could either be read as ideograph or as an abbreviation for *fāhi* 'paint', which would make it a maker's inscription. However, Looijenga (2003: 22) and Waldispühl (2013: 311) consider the inscription uninterpretable and possibly not even Runic, but rune-like signs.

References Pieper 1990, Looijenga, Waldispühl

## ● Object Strand Fibula

Findspot Strand, Sør-Trøndelag

Country Norway

Dating 650–700

Method Typology

Reading **siklis na hli**

Summary The first word *siklis* of this inscription means ‘brooch’ and refers to the object itself. The second part *na hli* has been interpreted as either ‘protection of the dead’ (Grønvik 1987: 161ff.) or ‘protection from the dead’ (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 48). This is a late inscription, which belongs to the transition phase to the younger fuþark.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 18, Grønvik 1987

## ● Strårupject Strårup Necklace

Findspot Strårup, Jylland

Country Denmark

Dating 5th c

Method Very hard to date, barely any comparable finds

Reading **Leþro**

Summary The find is ascribed to a burial mound but may actually have been found in a nearby field. The inscription consists of a name of indeterminate gender (Antonsen 2002: 262) in the nom. sg.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 42, Antonsen 2002

## ● Object Strøm whetstone

Findspot Strøm, Hitra, Hitra kommune, Sør-Trøndelag

Country Norway

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading **wate hali hino hor(na) | haha skapi haþu ligi**

Summary The inscription consists of two lines on two sides of the stone. The text looks like a work song, each side containing an alliterative long line. The text shows several bind runes, but is clearly legible. Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 110ff.) presume the two lines were written by the same person but in separate sittings. The interpretation they propose is still widely accepted (for a criticism cf. Grønvik 1996: 144ff.): He considers *wate*, *skapi* and *liggi* as 3rd pers. sg. opt. forms. The subject of the first sentence is *horna* ‘the horn’ and the acc. object *balli hino* ‘this stone’. The objects of the second wish are *haha* ‘aftermath, second crop of hay’ and *haþu* ‘swathe, mown hay’. The inscription can accordingly be translated: ‘May the horn wet this stone, may the hay be cut, may the mown hay lie’.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 50, Grønvik 1996

- Object Sunde Runestone  
 Findspot Sunde, Askrova, Flora kommune, Sogn und Fjordane  
 Country Norway  
 Dating Possibly 6th c  
 Method Based on a spindlewhorl, the only gravegood  
 Reading **Widugastir**  
 Summary Male name in the nom. sg. The grave in which the inscription was found is interpreted as a woman's grave due to the spindle whorl found in it.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 90
- Object Sutarve C-Bracteate  
 Findspot Sutarve, Gotland  
 Country Sweden  
 See Almungs
- Object Svarteberg Medallion Imitation  
 Findspot Svarteberg, Svarteberg sn., Tunge hd., Boshuslän  
 Country Sweden  
 Dating Late roman iron age or early migration period  
 Method Grave context  
 Reading **(S)igadur** or **(S)[i](s)igandur** or **(1Z)Ingadur**  
 Summary The two first characters look like reverse Latin capital **S** and have been interpreted as both Runic or Latin capitals; they should presumably be considered decorative. There are further decorative non-script signs that resemble Runic and Latin script. The inscription consists of a male name in the nom. sg.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 47, Antonsen 1975
- Object Szabadbattyán Belt Buckle  
 Findspot Szabadbattyán  
 Country Hungary  
 Dating Mid 5th c  
 Method Based on fibulas from the same group of graves  
 Reading **Mar[i]ng | s ...**  
 Summary The inscription consists of a male name in the nom. sg. and an additional sign which may be another rune, rune-imitation or perhaps a malformed swastika.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 167

## ●Object Sønder Rind B-Bracteate

Findspot Sønder Rind, Jylland

Country Denmark

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **(1Z) (w)inir ik**

Summary The word *winir* 'friend' followed by a 1st pers. pronoun *ik*, both in the nom. sg. The runes are preceded by another symbol that is probably a divider rather than an additional rune.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 135, IK341

## ● Object Sønderby/Femø C-Bracteate

Findspot Sønderby/Femø, Lolland

Country Denmark

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **ek Fakar f[ahi]**

Summary The bracteate shows a head above a quadriped and additional signs. The inscription consists of a 1st pers. sg. pronoun, a male name *Fakar* with the meaning 'horse' in the nom. sg. and an **f**, which may be short for some form of the verb *fabi*- 'painted'. The text is similar to that of the Åsum bracteate inscription, where we find *fabi*, and Antonsen (2002: 181) presumes they are both copies of the same original.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 132, IK340, Antonsen 2002

## ●Object Tanem Runestone

Findspot Tanem, Klæbu kommune, Sør-Trøndelag

Country Norway

Dating 2-4th, possibly 6th c

Method Based on weapons given as gravegoods

Reading **(M)aril[i](ngu)**

Summary Female name in the nom. sg.; the suffix suggests it is a patronym (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 197, Antonsen 1975: 69) or derived from an ethnonym (Looijenga 2003: 348). The precise archaeological context is unknown, but it appears to have belonged to a grave (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 196f.).

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 89, Antonsen 1975, Looijenga 2003

●Object Thorsberg Sword Chape

Findspot Thorsberg, Schleswig-Holstein

Country Germany

Dating Mid 2nd to mid 3rd c

Method Various contextual indicators

Reading **o W[u]lþuþewar | Niwajemarir**

Summary The object is of Roman provenance and was deposited in a bog. The inscription consists of a male personal name in the nom. sg. and an epithet with the meaning ‘of immaculate repute’ (Antonsen 1975: 30), ‘not through woe famous’ (Antonsen 2002: 144) or ‘the not badly famous’ (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 54).

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 20, Antonsen 1975 and 2002

●Object Tirup Heide/Skåne V C-Bracteate

Findspot Tirup, Skåne

Country Sweden

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **ehw(u)**

Summary The bracteate depicts a human head above a quadruped and additional signs. The inscription consists of the charm word *ehw-*.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 106, IK352

●Object Tjurkö I/Målen C-Bracteate

Findspot Tjurkö/Målen, Blekinge

Country Sweden

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **wurte runor an walhakurne ' Hheldar Kunimundiu '**

Summary The bracteate displays a head above a quadruped and another animal. The inscription is metrical and consists of *wurte*, a 3rd pers. sg. pret. ‘made’, *runor*, an acc. pl. ‘runes’, *an*, a preposition ‘on’, *walbakurne*, a dat. sg. ‘foreign grain’. The latter refers to the bracteate or possibly to foreign money, with *walb* meaning Gallo-Roman and *kurne* denoting the smallest Latin coin, referred to as *granus* (Fischer 2005: 68). *Hheldar* is a male name in the nom. sg., *Kunimundiu*, a male name in the dat. sg. The inscription can be translated as ‘He made the runes on the foreign grain, Hheldar for Kunimund’.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 136, IK184, Fischer 2005

- Object Tjurkö II/Målen C-Bracteate  
 Findspot Tjurkö, Augerum, Blekinge  
 Country Sweden  
 Dating 440–560  
 Method Typology  
 Reading **ota**  
 Summary This bracteate shows a human head above a quadriped with additional signs and is inscribed with a charm word that may be *otta* ‘fear’.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 125, IK185
  
- Object Tomstad Runestone  
 Findspot Tomstad, Vest-Agder  
 Country Norway  
 Dating No archaeological dating possible  
 Reading **...an ' warur**  
 Summary Part of the stone is broken off, so all that remains is the ending of a male name in the gen. sg. and a word ‘monument’ in the nom. sg.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 79
  
- Object Tomteboda Runestone  
 Findspot Tomteboda, Uppland  
 Country Sweden  
 Dating No archaeological dating possible  
 Reading **...[wurt/ort]e ru[nor]**  
 Summary Eight fragments belonging to three stones were found at this location. The signs found on this fragment suggest a maker’s inscription featuring a verb of writing in the 3rd pers. sg. pret. followed by the word ‘runes’.  
 References Gustavson 2002
  
- Object Trollhättan A-Bracteate  
 Findspot Trollhättan, Västergötland  
 Country Sweden  
 Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c  
 Method Typology  
 Reading **tawo l | aþodu.**  
 Summary The bracteate depicts a figure with a diadem and a raised arm as well as a snake. The inscription consists of two sections, which cannot be interpreted unless the segmentation is ignored and the last rune of the first complex is assigned to the second one, which for runes is not necessarily problematic. Thus the first word is a 1st pers. sg. pres. form *tawo* ‘I make’ and the second word *laþodu* is an abstract formation related to the charm word *laþu* in the acc. sg.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 130, IK189

● Object Trollhättan II C-Bracteate

Findspot Trollhättan, Västergötland

Country Sweden

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading ' **eēkrilar** ' **Marīþeubar haite** ' **wrait alabo**.

Summary This bracteate was only found in 2009 and published in 2013, its interpretation is thus not included in the Runenprojekt Uni Kiel. The bracteate depicts a human head over a quadruped. It is inscribed with the personal pronoun *ek*, the title *erilar*, a personal name and a naming verb *haite*. This is followed by a second verb *wrait* 'wrote', but the object of the writing action *alabo* is unclear. It is tempting to seek a connection to the charm word *lapu*, but Axboe and Kallström (2013: 165–167) prefer to not settle on an interpretation.

References IK639



●Object Tune Runestone

Findspot Tune, Frederikstad kommune, Østfold

Country Norway

Dating About 400

Method Dating of the graveyard

Reading A: **ek Wiwar** after ' Woduri | de witandahalaiban ' woraht(o) |... B: (me)**R**  
**Woduride ' staina | þ(r)ijor dohtrir dalidun | arbij[a] a(r)joster arbijano**

Summary According to Looijenga (2003: 350) the two inscriptions on the stone were written by different people. While they deal with the same person, Woduridar, they are of two or even three different genres.

Inscription A is a memorial inscription, which includes a maker's inscription, and consists of a 1st pers. personal pronoun *ek* and male personal name in the nom. sg., the preposition *after* 'after', a second male personal name and epithet in the dat. sg. and a verb *worahto* 'wrought' in the 1st pers. pret.: 'I, Wiwar, wrought [the runes/stone] after Woduridar, Breadward'.

The second part B likewise begins with a 1st pers. sg. personal pronoun and male personal name in the dat. *mer Woduride*, though Grønvik prefers to read *falb* 'assign, entrust' for the first word of the sentence. The acc. object is *staina* 'stone'. The 'three daughters' *thrijor dohtrir* are the subject of the sentence in the nom. pl. The verb *dalidun* 'treat, work' is in the 3rd pers. pl., *arbijano* is a gen. pl. of 'heir'. Antonsen (2002: 127) explains *arbijarjoster* as a bahuvrihi compound 'inheritance-formost' in the male pl., while Grønvik (1981: 183) suggests 'dearest of the heirs'. The male form here can be explained by the generic use of the male pl. for groups of people (i.e. the heirs) consisting of both male and female persons. This part may be translated as 'for me Woduridar three daughters worked the stone, inheritance-foermost of the heirs' (largely following Antonsen 2002: 127). This is of course only one of many interpretations that have been suggested.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 72, Antonsen 2002, Grønvik 1981

●Object Tveito Runestone

Findspot Tveito, Tinn kommune, Telemark

Country Norway

Dating Early 4th to mid 5th c

Method Gravegoods

Reading **Taitr**

Summary The Tveito runestone was found script down on a stone covered grave. It consists of a male name in the nom. sg. The second rune poses some difficulty, as it appears to date the inscription two centuries later than the burial (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 203, Looijenga 2003: 350f.)

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 94, Looijenga 2003

●Object Tønder B-Bracteate

Findspot Tønder, Jylland

Country Denmark

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **l[a]þ[u]dli(u) | uldau**

Summary This bracteate depicts a human figure and a smaller figure surrounded by “demonic” beings. There are two inscription segments, starting with what may be an abbreviation of the charm word *laþu*. The remaining signs may relate to *alu*.

References IK353

●Object Tørvika A Runestone

Findspot Tørvika, Kvam Kommune, Hordaland

Country Norway

Dating Late 5th c

Method Ceramics from the grave

Reading **Landawarija(ᚱ)**

Summary The two stones Tørvika A and B were used as construction material in the same grave. They were cut to fit, destroying a rune in the process. The two stones were not carved by the same person. The inscription on stone A is a male name in the nom. sg. The inscription on B cannot be easily interpreted, if it was intended to be a semantically meaningful inscription at all (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 140ff. and 199f., Looijenga 2003: 348f), and is listed in Table 9.2.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 91, Looijenga 2003

●Object Unknown B-Bracteate

Findspot Unknown

See Skåne I (IK149,1)

●Object Unknown/Eastern Europe C-Bracteate

Findspot Unknown, Eastern Europe

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **Wa(ig)a**

Summary Male personal name in the nom. sg.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 137, IK367

● Object Unknown/Sweden C-Bracteate

Findspot Unknown

Country Sweden

See Almungs

## ●Object Unterweser Bone 1

Findspot Unterweser, Niedersachsen

Country Germany

Dating First half of the 5th c (Pieper 1989: 244), no later than 400 (Antonsen 2002: 317)

Method Philological considerations, bones are radio carbon dated to the 4th to 5th c

Reading **latam ' Ing ' hari | kunni ' Ing' we | hagal** or **latam(1-3?)hari | kunni(1-3? w)e | hagal**

Summary The inscription is the longest found on the Unterweser bones, additionally the bone is decorated with drawings. *latam* is a 1st pers. pl. pres. opt. or imp. ‘may we/let us unleash’, the subject is the *barikunni*, a nom. sg. ‘fighting kin’ and the object *wehagal*, an acc. sg. ‘woe-hail’. Pieper (1989: 166ff.) considers a disputed character that appears twice in the inscription to be a version of the **ing**-rune and thus translates (ibid., 184): ‘I see here [a Roman vessel], let us, Inghari, kin of Ingwe, (let loose) hail (=ruin). Uluhari did.’ Antonsen (2002: 320ff) criticises this as “linguistically at best dubious and at worst impossible” and objects to both the assumptions in terms of content and cultural background as well as the interpretation of the disputed character as an **ing**-rune. He thus translates: ‘Let us, fighting kin, unleash woe-hail’

References Pieper 1989, Antonsen 2002

## ● Object Unterweser Bone 2

Findspot Unterweser, Niedersachsen

Country Germany

Dating First half of the 5th c (Pieper 1989: 244), no later than 400 (Antonsen 2002: 317)

Method Philological considerations, bones are radio carbon dated to the 4th to 5th c

Reading **lokom her**

Summary The bone is decorated with two grooves, a zigzag band around one end, an additional sign and a sailing ship. The inscription consists of a 1st pers. pl. pres. verb *lokom* ‘We see’, cf. OHG *luogēm* and the adverb *her* ‘here’. Despite the plural verb form, Pieper 1989: 184–187) prefers to translate it as a sg., as he considers it a royal we.

References Pieper 1989, Antonsen 2002

- Object Unterweser Bone 3
  - Findspot Unterweser, Niedersachsen
  - Country Germany
  - Dating First half of the 5th c (Pieper 1989: 244), no later than 400 (Antonsen 2002: 317)
  - Method Philological considerations, bones are radio carbon dated to the 4th to 5th c
  - Reading **Ulu ' hari | dede**
  - Summary Male personal name in the nom. sg., divided into two parts by a word divider, and a 3rd pers. sg. pret. form of 'did'.
  - References Pieper 1989, Antonsen 2002
  
- Object Uppåkra C-Bracteate
  - Findspot Uppåkra, Skåne
  - Country Sweden
  - Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c
  - Method Typology
  - Reading **sima(w)ina** or: **sima(p)ina | alu**
  - Summary This entry refers to three identical bracteates. They depict a human head above a quadruped. The inscription consists of two segments running from right to left. One of them is the charm word *alu*. The other may be read **simawina** or **simapina**. Whether this section is semantically meaningful is unclear.
  - References IK591, Axboe and Stoklund 2003
  
- Object Valsfjord Cliff
  - Findspot Valsfjord/Oksvoll, Bjugn kommune, Sør-Trøndelag
  - Country Norway
  - Dating No archaeological dating possible
  - Reading **ek Hagustald(a)R þewar Godagas | ...**
  - Summary Water flows across the inscribed cliff and has partly damaged the inscription. The inscription consists of a 1st pers. sg. personal pronoun *ek*, male personal name and title *þewar* 'servant' in the nom. sg. and a second male personal name in the gen. sg. The ↑ resembles a Latin T.
  - References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 55

## ●Object Vatn Runestone

Findspot Vatn, Agdenes kommune, Sør-Trøndelag

Country Norway

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading **R(ho)al(d)R f(ai)...**

Summary The stone, which Krause and Jankuhn assume was placed inside a burial mound, is inscribed with a male personal name in the nom. sg. and an only fragmentarily legible verb 'painted', which was probably added at a later stage.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 68

## ●Object Veblungsnes Cliff

Findspot Veblungsnes, near Åndalsnes, Rauma kommune, Møre og Romsdal

Country Norway

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading **ek (I)rilax Wiwila(n)**

Summary Part of the inscribed cliff broke off into the ocean in 1935. The inscription consists of a personal pronoun, the title *erilax* in the nom. sg. and a name. The reading of the last sign varies; Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 127) describe it as a line to denote the end of the inscription, whereas Antonsen (1975: 58) reads it as an †. Accordingly the name is either the gen. or nom. sg. of a diminutive of *WiwāR* and refers either to the *erilax* or the person with whom they are associated.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 56, Antonsen 1975

## ● Object Vedby B-Bracteate

Findspot Vedby, Funen

Country Denmark

See Allesø

●Object Vetteland Runestone

Findspot Vetteland, Hå kommune, Rogaland

Country Norway

Dating No archaeological dating possible

Reading ...**flagdafaikinār ist** | ...**magor minas staina** | ...**dar faihido**

Summary Only two of at least three fragments remain of this stone. The inscription begins with the slightly cryptic *flagdafaikinār ist*. The first word means something like ‘subject to deceitful attack’ (Antonsen 2002: 174) or ‘threatened by fiends’ (Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 139) and the second word has been interpreted as a 3rd pers. sg. of the substantive verb by both Krause and Jankuhn and Antonsen. Looijenga (2003: 352) on the other hand has suggested that as the stone breaks off right before the *ist*, we may be missing signs and *ist* could be emended to *raist* ‘raised, erected’. In that case, the preceding word would probably be an epithet or even the name of the person who raised the stone. While this is typologically plausible for a stone inscription, I do not know whether this is in keeping with the evidence from the area of fracture. The second part of the inscription consists of the word *magor* ‘son’, a personal pronoun *minas* in the gen. sg. and the word *staina* ‘stone’ in the acc. sg. The final part of the inscription consists of the fragment of a personal name in the nom. sg. and a 1st pers. sg. pret. form *faihido* ‘drew’. The inscription can be translated as ‘...subject to deceitful attack ...my son’s stone [name] painted’.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 60, Antonsen 2002, Looijenga 2003

●Object Vimose Buckle

Findspot Vimose, Funen

Country Denmark

Dating 210–260

Method Refers to sacrifice

Reading **Andag ans(u) | la ansau wi[h]ija** or **Andagas(t) | Laasauwija**

Summary Based on Marstrander’s (1952: 63) interpretation of the second line as a religious dedication ‘to the god I dedicate’, Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 60) interprets the inscription as an alliterating line ‘Andag I, Ansula, dedicate to the god’, whereas Antonsen (2002: 273f.) interprets it as a male personal name *Andagast* followed by an epithet *Lasauwija* ‘lack-luck’.

References Marstrander 1952, Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 24, Antonsen 2002

## ● Object Vimose Comb

Findspot Vimose

Country Denmark

Dating Ca 150

Method Based on a comparable piece, which in turn is dated by its depository context

Reading **Harja**

Summary Male name in the nom. sg. The lack of final *-R* seems to be a West Germanic innovation (Looijenga 2003: 98). The comb was found deposited in a bog.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 26, Looijenga 2003

## ● Object Vimose Lancehead

Findspot Vimose, Funen

Country Denmark

Dating Early to mid 3rd c

Method Typology

Reading **(W)agni(j)o**

Summary Personal name of indeterminate gender or a weapon's name in the nom. sg. As the name is found on three weapons (cf. Illerup lance blade 1 and 2) it seems more likely to consider it the name of the manufacturer rather than the item.

References Antonsen 2002

## ● Object Vimose Plane

Findspot Vimose

Country Denmark

Dating 210–260

Method Time of the sacrifice 3, to which the plane probably belongs

Reading **talijo | ...wilir ...| ...hl(e)uno ...**

Summary This inscription is only partly interpretable. The first legible word *talijo* is traditionally emended to *tal[g]ijo* to mean ‘plane’, i.e. the inscribed object (e.g. Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 61ff.). Antonsen (1975: 33), however, prefers not to do this and reads *talijo* ‘(re)counting’. The second section, though it is “highly dubious” (Krause and Jankuhn *ibid.*) can possibly be read as a male personal name *Gisar* in the dat. sg., followed by ideographs ⚔ ‘possession, wealth’ and ⚔ ‘(good) year’. Looijenga (2003: 160) entertains the possibility of reading the entire section as a misspelled personal name, whereas Antonsen (*ibid.*) considers it uninterpretable. The only other interpretable sections are *wilir*, 2nd pers. sg. opt. pres. form ‘you want’ and *hleuno* ‘protection’ (Antonsen, Krause and Jankuhn) but the function it serves in this inscription is unclear. While there are interpretations that read complete coherent sentences referring to ritual practices, these interpretations seem closer to wishful thinking than to the attested linguistic material.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 25, Antonsen 1975, Looijenga 2003,

## ● Object Vimose Sword Chape

Findspot Vimose, Funen

Country Denmark

Dating Early to mid 3rd c

Method Refers to sacrifice

Reading **mari(h)a | (i)ala | maki(j)a or ala | marihai | maki(j)a**

Summary Most interpretations of this inscription are fairly speculative and problematic, Grünzweig (2004: 62) tentatively reads **makija** ‘sword’, which appears in the acc. sg. and is called *mariba* ‘famous’. Imer (2014: 113f.) goes one step further and reads **ala marihai makija** ‘Alli [owns] the famous sword’, where by ‘owns’ is expressed through an abbreviated *o*. Ultimately, the function of the inscription cannot be determined.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 22, Grünzweig 2004, Imer 2015



- Object Visby Kungsladugård C-Bracteate  
 Findspot Visby Kungsladugård, Gotland  
 Country Sweden  
 Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c  
 Method Typology  
 Reading ...**(l)[a]u[ka]R**  
 Summary The bracteate depicts a human bust above a quadruped. The inscription, which runs from right to left, appears to consist of an abbreviation of the charm word *laukar*.  
 References IK385
- Object Väsby? F-Bracteate  
 Findspot Väsby?, Skåne  
 Country Sweden  
 See Eskatorp
- Object Vånga Runestone  
 Findspot Norra Vånga, Norra Vånga sn., Västergötland  
 Country Sweden  
 Dating No archaeological dating possible  
 Reading **Haukoþur**  
 Summary This inscription consists of a male name in the nom. sg. on an isolated standing stone with no known archaeological context.  
 References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 66
- Object Værløse Fibula  
 Findspot Værløse, Sjælland  
 Country Denmark  
 Dating Early 3rd c  
 Method Typology  
 Reading **Alugod (1Z) or Alugod[o]**  
 Summary There is little doubt that the inscription consists of a personal name, but the lack of an ending has puzzled scholars: Some think it may be a male name in the voc. (e.g. Krause and Jankuhn 1966: 34), others consider it an endingless female (Bæksted 1945: 89) or male (Antonsen 1975: 75f.) name in the nom.  
 References Bæksted 1945, Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 11, Antonsen 1975

●Object Wapno C-Bracteate

Findspot Wapno

Country Poland

Dating Mid 5th to late 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **Sabar**

Summary The bracteate depicts a head with elaborate hair and a diadem, and a running quadruped as well as additional signs. The inscription may be interpreted as an abbreviated male name in the nom. sg., though Antonsen (1975: 64) interprets the final *r* as an abbreviation for *runor* ‘runes’ rather than part of the ending.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 138, IK386, Antonsen 1975

●Object Weimar Amber Pearl

Findspot Weimar, Thüringen

Country Germany

Dating Early 6th c

Method Grave goods

Reading **þiuþ** or **þiu[w]** ' **Ida** ' **(l)e(ob)** [**Id**]a ' **Hahwar**

Summary The item was found in the same woman's grave as the buckle frame and is from the same period as the grave with the two inscribed fibulas. The same grave field also has a grave with a Latin inscription. Most of the inscription cannot be deciphered, but it contains a female and a male name in the nom. sg. and an additional word that has been read *þiuþ* ‘good’ (Nedoma 2004) or *þiuw* ‘maid, servant’ (Looijenga 2003) as well as the adjective *leob* ‘dear’. The pearl went missing after the second world war and has since apparently re-emerged in Russia.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 149, Nedoma 2004, Looijenga 2003

● Object Weimar Buckle Frame

Findspot Weimar, Thüringen

Country Germany

Dating Early 6th c

Method Grave goods

Reading **Ida** ' **Bigina** ' **Hahwar** ' | ' **Awimund** ' **isd** ' **(le)o(b)** | **Idun** '

Summary The item was found in the same woman's grave as the amber pearl and is from the same period as the grave with the two inscribed fibulas. The same grave field also has a grave with a Latin inscription. *Ida* and *Bigina* are female and *Hahwar* and *Awimund* male personal names in the nom. sg. *Idun* is the dat. sg. of *Ida*. *leob* is the adjective ‘dear’ and *isd* is interpreted as a 3.sg. verbal form ‘is’ (Nedoma 2004: 228). *Ida* and *Hahwar* are also mentioned on the amber pearl.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 148, Nedoma 2004

## ● Object Weimar Fibula A

Findspot Weimar, Thüringen

Country Germany

Dating Early to mid 6th c

Method Grave goods

Reading **Haribrig | Hi(b)a ' | Liubi ' | leob '**

Summary The fibula was found in the same woman's grave as the other inscribed fibula.

The same grave field also has the inscribed amber pearl and buckle frame as well as a Latin inscription. The inscription consists of two female names and a male name in the nom. sg. and the adjective *leob* 'dear'.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 147, Nedoma 2004

## ● Object Weimar Fibula B

Findspot Weimar, Thüringen

Country Germany

Dating Early to mid 6th c

Method Grave goods

Reading **Sig...| Bubo ' | Hiba '**

Summary The fibula was found in the same women's grave as the other inscribed fibula.

The same grave field also has the inscribed amber pearl and buckle frame as well as a Latin inscription. The inscriptions on this fibula are very hard to read and it is unclear whether or not they are related. They seem to consist of names: two male names, one of them a short form, and a female name, all in the nom. sg.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 147, Nedoma 2004

## ● Object Weingarten Fibula II

Findspot Weingarten, Baden-Württemberg

Country Germany

Dating Early 6th c

Method Type of fibula

Reading **Dado**

Summary The fibula was found in a woman's grave. The inscription consists of a male name in the nom. sg.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 164

- Object Weingarten Fibula I
  - Findspot Weingarten, Baden-Württemberg
  - Country Germany
  - Dating Early 6th c
  - Method Typology
  - Reading **A(e)rgunþ (')| Feha ' writ...**
- Summary According to Waldispühl (2013: 321f.) and Looijenga (2003: 262), older readings with *li* as the second and third sign can be considered obsolete. The first word is a female personal name in the nom. sg. It is followed by additional signs, a female persona name or an appellative in the nom. sg. (cf. discussion in Nedoma 2004: 292ff.) and a form of the verb *writ-* 'write' that cannot be determined with certainty.
- References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 163, Looijenga 2003, Nedoma 2004, Waldispühl 2013
  
- Object Wremen Stool
  - Findspot Wremen, Landkreis Cuxhaven, Niedersachsen
  - Country Germany
  - Dating Shortly after 421
  - Method Dendrochronology, refers to grave
  - Reading **[sk]amella | [a]lguskapi**
- Summary The inscription on the back of the wooden object consists of two words. *skamella* appears to be an early Latin loan from *scamellum*, *scamellus* 'footstool'. The second word is a compound *alguskapi* which has been interpreted as 'stag scathing' and may be descriptive of the hunting scene depicted on the front side.
- References Düwel 1994
  
- Object Wurmlingen Lancehead
  - Findspot Wurmlingen, Baden-Württemberg
  - Country Germany
  - Dating Late 6th c, early 7th
  - Method Typology, refers to manufacture of object
  - Reading **(1Z) Dorih**
- Summary Initial, non-Runic sign, a divider and a male personal name in the nom. sg. The silver inlay of the ornaments and runes suggests that they were added to the item at the time of manufacture.
- References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 162

## ●Object Års II C-Bracteate

Findspot Års, Jylland

Country Denmark

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **laukar**

Summary The bracteate depicts a human head above a quadruped. The inscription consists of the charm word *laukar*.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 108, IK8

## ●Object Årstad Runestone

Findspot Årstad, Sokndal kommune, Rogaland

Country Norway

Dating 4th to 6th c

Method Based on associated grave goods

Reading **H(iw)i(g)ar | S(a)ral(u) | (ek) Winna(r)**

Summary This inscription, which belongs to a burial mound containing two burials, consists of a male name in the nom. sg., a female name in the nom. or dat. sg. (Antonsen 1975: 34) and a personal pronoun followed by another male name or epithet in the nom. sg. The second male name may describe the same person as the first one. Antonsen (2002: 5) considers the inscription a maker's formula based on comparison with e.g. the Reistad stone. *alu*, though interpreted as a charm word by Krause and Jankuhn (1966: 131) is most likely a name-component in this inscription.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 58, Grønvik 1996, Antonsen 1975, Antonsen 2002

## ●Object Åsum C-Bracteate

Findspot Åsum, Skåne

Country Sweden

Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c

Method Typology

Reading **(e)ik Akar (f)ahi**

Summary The inscription is presumably copied from the same model as the Sønderby/Femø C-Bracteate. The first word has been connected with the charm word *ebw-*. The charm word is followed by a maker's formula consisting of the 1st pers. sg. personal pronoun *ik*, a name which may be misspelled, going by the Sønderby/Femø bracteate, and the 1st pers. sg. pres. form of the verb *fahi* 'paint'.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 131, IK11

●Object Öster Ryftes C-Bracteate  
 Findspot Öster Ryftes, Gotland  
 Country Sweden  
 See Fride

●Object Ølst C-Bracteate  
 Findspot Ølst, Jylland  
 Country Denmark  
 Dating Mid 5th to mid 6th c  
 Method Typology  
 Reading **(hag) | alu**

Summary The bracteate depicts a human bust above a quadruped, a bird and additional signs. The inscription consists of two sections, which may be read as one or separately. If read separately they can be interpreted as a male personal name in the nom. sg. *Hag* and the charm word *alu* (Looijenga 2003: 212). If read together the inscription is a nom. pl. ‘hailstones’ (Antonsen 2002: 212).

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 123, IK135, Antonsen 2002, Looijenga 2003

●Object Øvre Stabu Lancehead  
 Findspot Øvre Stabu, Oppland  
 Country Norway  
 Dating Early to mid 3rd c  
 Method Typology of grave goods  
 Reading **Raunija(ᚱ)**

Summary Name of the weapon ‘tester’ in the nom. sg. carved in zigzag style.

References Krause and Jankuhn 1966: no. 31

## 9.1.2 Gaulish Inscriptions

●Object Stone of Alise

Findspot Alise-Sainte-Reine, Côte-d'Or

Country France

Dating Late 1st c AD

Method Relative chronology with other local epigraphy

Reading **MARTIALIS · DANNOTALI |**

**IEVRV · VCVETE · SOSIN |**

**CELICNON ☞ ETIC |**

**GOBEDBI · DUGIONTIIO |**

**☞ VCVETIN |**

**IN[ ]ALISIA ☞**

Summary The first line consists of a male personal name in the nom. sg. and a genitival patronym (Latin endings), the second line of the dedicatory verb *ieuru* and a theonym in the dat. sg., followed by a demonstrative pronoun *sosin*. The first word *celicnon* in the third line presumably denotes a building; it is followed by *etic* 'and'. In the fourth line, *gobedbi* is a dat. or sociative-instrumental pl. of the word for 'smith' and *dugiontio* a relative verbal form 'who worship'. The fifth line consists of a theonym in the acc. The last line features a preposition 'in' and the place name *Alisia* in the loc. The inscription can be translated "Martialis son of Dannotali offered this building to Ucuets and to/with the smiths who worship Ucets in Alisia'. There are dots and decorative elements as word dividers.

References RIG-L-13, Stifter 2011

●Object Arc d'Orange

Findspot Arc d'Orange, Vaucluse

Country France

Dating Early 1st c AD

Method Primary argument: mention of the name Sarcouir, leader of the Gaulish rebellion in 21 AD

Reading North-eastern panel: ]OSPE[ | CATVS or CAIVS | BENE South-eastern panel:

SARCOVIR[ | MARIO | S[..]FE | DACVRDVS | AV[OT] | ..]RDIX A]VDILLVS | AVOT

North-eastern panel: BODVACVS | VAVNE

Summary This is not strictly speaking a Gallo-Latin inscription but a Gaulish word quoted in Roman art on the Arc d'Orange. Amongst several labels, mostly inscribed with names of Gaulish stock with Latin endings, two of them appears to feature the word *avot*.

References RIG-L-18

## ●Object Autun Spindle Whorl II

Findspot Autun et sa région, Saône-et-Loire

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading · TAVRINA · | VIMPI ///

Summary Most likely a female personal name and epithet in the nom. or voc. The two words are on separate lines on the spindle whorl: the top line uses dots to denote the beginning and end of the word, and the lower three lines.

References RIG-L-113

## ● Object Autun Spindle Whorl III

Findspot Autun et sa région, Saône-et-Loire

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading · GENETA · | · VISCARA ·

Summary Though some scholars (e.g. Meid 1980), suggest reading *vis cara* as a Latin phrase ‘girl, be gentle’, Lambert (RIG-L-114) argues in favour of reading it as a name, translating ‘(my) girl, Viscara’, with Viscara being a female name. The two words are on separate lines and the beginning and end of each word is marked by a dot.

References RIG-L-114, Meid 1980

## ● Object Autun Spindle Whorl VII

Findspot Autun et sa région, Saône-et-Loire

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading NATA · VIMPI BSV | ⚡TOTVNVC I ·

Summary The expression *nata uimpi* is also attested in other spindle whorl inscriptions. *nata* ‘girl’ is ambiguous and could be either Latin or Gaulish, while *uimpi* ‘pretty’ is clearly Gaulish. *BSV* is probably a Latin formula of good wishes *bene, salve, vale* and has a *tabula ansata* drawn around it. *Totunuci* appears to be a female personal name in the dat. or the voc.

References RIG-L-118



## ● Object Autun Spindle Whorl VI

Findspot Autun et sa région, Saône-et-Loire

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **MARCOSIOR · | MATERNIA**

Summary *marcosior* is a verb ‘ride’ in the 1st pers. sg., formed with a desiderative suffix. It seems likely that the context here is sexual rather than equestrian. The second word is most likely a female Latin personal name, though Meid, inspired by the sexual innuendo of the verb, speculates it could be a term for female genitalia due to its relation to *mater*.

References RIG-L-117, Meid 1980

## ● Object Autun Spindle Whorl V

Findspot Autun et sa région, Saône-et-Loire

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **VEADIA TVA | + ENET**

Summary The initial *t* resembles a cross and Whatmough (1970: 495) tentatively identifies a final *v* at the end of the inscription, which is not read by Lambert (RIG-L-116). As Meid points out, the word *tua* identifies the matrix language of this inscription as Latin. If the second line, which appears to contain a verb, may indeed be read as Latin *tenet*, one would have to assume that *veadia tua* is the neuter pl. object of the sentence. Loth (1916: 174f.) has interpreted this word as Gaulish ‘wrappings’, a derivation from *vegio-* ‘wrapping, spinning, weaving’. If this is the case it would be the only spindle whorl inscription to actually refer to the action performed with it.

References RIG-L-116, Meid 1980, Loth 1916

## ● Object Stone of Autun

Findspot Autun, Saône-et-Loire

Country France

Dating First half of the 1st c AD

Method No archaeological context available

Reading **LICNOS CON | TEXTOS · IEVRV | ANVALONNACV | CANECOSÉDLON**

Summary The inscription consists of a male personal name in the nom. sg. followed by an unidentified apposition, the dedicatory verb *ieuru* and a designation of a temple or sanctuary of a god *Anualo* in the dat. The object of the dedication *canecosedlon* is again difficult to interpret, see Lejeune (RIG-L-10) for a detailed discussion of the possibilities.

References RIG-L-10, Lambert 1995

●Object Auxerre Spindle Whorl

Findspot Auxerre, Yonne

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **NATA VIMPI | POTA V · I(NV)M**

Summary The second part of the inscription is clearly Latin, whereas *nata* ‘girl’ is ambiguous. As *uimpi* is the only clearly Gaulish word, this inscription appears to be an example of code switching. The inscription is most commonly translated as ‘pretty girl, drink wine’, which requires assuming an abbreviation **v · i m** for *vinum*. Lambert (RIG-L-121) suggests various alternative interpretations based on a reading *vim*. He compares it to the formula *geneta vis cara* on the Autun spindle whorl II or the theme *uimpo-* and also considers the possibility for *potavim* to be an abbreviation of latin *potauimus* (perf.), a vulgar form of *potabimus* (fut.) or *potau(er)im* (subj. perf.), ‘I would have liked to drink’.

References RIG-L-121

●Object Stone of Auxey

Findspot Auxey, Côte-d’Or

Country France

Dating 1st c AD

Method No archaeological dating possible, date based on writing

Reading **ICCAVOS · OP | PIANICNOS · IEV | RV · BRIGINDONI | CANTALON**

Summary The inscription consists of a male personal name and patronym on *-icno-* in the nom. sg. Interestingly, it is the father in this case who has the Latin name, whereas the son has a Gaulish name. *ieuru* is the dedicatory verb and the theonym in the dat. that follows is a hapax. The last word of the inscription cannot be etymologised with certainty; Lejeune supports the theory that it may denote an architectural element.

References RIG-L-9

●Object Avot Inscriptions

Findspot Cf. RIG 40 ff.

Country France

Dating N/A

Reading **AVOT/AVVOT/AVOTE/AVOTI/AVOTTI/AVOTIS/AVO/AVI/AV/AO/A**

Summary Maker's marks in the form of stamps or graffiti containing the word *avot* are summarised in the RIG under the entry L-20. They are found on various types of ceramics, figurines, firedogs and glass and amount to a total of 97 individual examples. Names are only missing on a few occasions and usually occur in the nom. sg., with rare cases of gen. sg., but may be abbreviated, as may *avot*, which occurs in various forms.

References RIG-L-20, Lambert 1995: 120ff.

●Object Banassac 1

Findspot Banassac, Lozère

Country France

Dating Mid 1st to mid 2nd c

Method Refers to the site

Reading **neddamon | delgu linda**

Summary *delgu* is a 1st pers. sg. pres. of 'contain', *neddamon*, where the **dd** represents a fricative *ḏḏ*, is < \**ned-samo* 'next'. *linda* appears to be an acc. pl. neuter of 'liquid, drink'. The inscription can be translated as 'I contain the drink of the next one' and Vendryes suggests this refers to the passing on of a drink to the next person at a table, which is also referenced in Latin inscriptions: *accipe m[e si]tie(n)s et trade sodali* 'take men when thirsty and [then] pass [me] to a friend' (CIL XII, 10 016.4).

References RIG-L-50, Vendryes 1955

## ● Object Banassac 2

Findspot Banassac, Lozère

Country France

Dating Mid 1st to mid 2nd c

Method Refers to the site

Reading **lubi rutenica onobiía | tíedi ulano celicnu**

Summary *lubi* is an imp. ‘love’; *onobia*, an acc. pl. may either denote a type of vessel, or cup, or a type of drink. The adjective *rutenica* is derived from an ethnonym or possibly a personal name derived from the ethnonym (it should be noted that this was not found in a Rutenian area). The first line can then be translated as ‘love the Rutenian drinks? cups?’. The second line is more difficult. If **tíedi** can be read as *\*tiesti*, it may be a verb, but the interpretation remains unclear. *ulano* appears to be connected to Old Irish *flann* ‘red’. *celicnon* appears to denote a building in the Alisia inscription but this meaning does not appear to fit here. Instead it has been suggested that the term may refer to the cup, though Lambert (RIG-L-51) instead suggests the translation ‘banquet (hall)’, keeping the meaning closer to ‘building’. He suggests ‘red’ may refer to the colour of the pottery, and translates ‘Love the cups of Rutenus, red (decoration) for the banquet hall’.

References RIG-L-51

## ● Object Banassac 3

Findspot Banassac, Lozère

Country France

Dating Mid 1st to mid 2nd c

Method Refers to the site

Reading **billicotas rebellias | tioinuoru siluanos**

Summary This advertisement inscription contains two potters’ names *Billicotas*, probably a feminised version of *Billicatos/us*, and *Siluanos*. Lambert suggests *tioinuoru* could be a verb in the 3rd pers. sg. pret. with a meaning ‘find, invent’ possibly even stretching it to ‘produce’. *rebellias* remains unclear, it could be derived from Latin *rebellis*, which is ultimately also the source for Welsh *rhyfel* ‘war’, and mean destroy, though it has also been suggested it may be connected to Latin *bellus* ‘elegant’. Lambert (RIG-L-52) therefore suggests two translations: ‘the beautiful Billicatos, Silvanos made them’ or ‘the Billicatos, destroy them, Silcanos invented them’.

References RIG-L-52

## ● Object Banassac 4

Findspot Banassac, Lozère

Country France

Dating Mid 1st to mid 2nd c

Method Refers to the site

Reading **citan ate solos or: citmi ate solds | lubi tarcot esoes**

Summary This inscription is fragmentary and was carved after firing. The only word that can be identified without hesitation is *lubi* ‘love’, which immediately connects it to the group of advertising inscriptions. The RIG discusses various attempts to interpret this inscription, but it cannot be read or interpreted with certainty.

References L-53

## ● Object Banassac 5

Findspot Banassac, Lozère

Country France

Dating Mid 1st to mid 2nd c

Method Refers to the site

Reading **Camriaca | ]ridru | ]roca**

Summary *camriaca* appears to be a toponymic adjective derived from a personal name. It may agree with the final word in *-roca*, which could possibly be a name of a vase, but over all the inscription remains obscure.

References RIG-L-54

## ● Object Banassac 6

Findspot Banassac, Lozère

Country France

Dating Mid 1st to mid 2nd c

Method Refers to the site

Reading **]ea tribi talantobi or triantobi | ].us gabas senaucos**

Summary *Senaucos* is a well attested name and the only clearly identifiable part of this hard to read inscription. If a reading *triantobi* for the last word of the first line is accepted, it refers to the capacity of the vase, as it is known from the Graufesenque Aricani graffito. *gabas* appears to be a verb form derived from the verb *gab-* ‘take’. A possible interpretation is therefore to take the preceding words as the object and *Senaucos* as the subject.

References RIG-L-55

● Object Banassac Aricani

Findspot Banassac, Lozère

Country France

Dating Mid 1st to mid 2nd c

Method Refers to the site

Reading **Verecundi | aricani**

Summary This is another example of the inscriptions containing the name *Aricani*, it was written in cursive on the wet clay and is functionally equivalent to a maker's stamp: '(Production) of Verecundus - and of Aricanos', unlike other inscriptions that contain more elaborate advertisements of their contents.

References L-35.7, Lambert 2003

●Object Tab. Sulis 14

Findspot Bath

Country England

Dating Unknown

Reading First fragment:

1 LVCIVMIO[ |

2 CITTIMEDIV.XŞ[ |

2a uibęc[. .]traceoş[ |

3 ESTAIDIMAVI[. .]. . .[|

4 TITTEMMACATACIMLVCI[ |

5 LENDIIERANDANT.[. .]NNOA[ |

5A [.]VC[2-3]MIOTOVESVLARA.[C..].IRANDO.[ |

6 [....].MNOTTANOV.MDII[ |

6A [.....]Çİİ. .ELEUBARRAV.[..]. .[ |

7 ]staginemse[.]. .[ |

8 ]. .fer[ |

9 ].r.[ |

Second fragment:

]luio |

]aiqtit |

]rii |

Summary The dots indicate the approximate number of missing letters, as posited by Tomlin (Tab. Sulis 14). Whether the Celtic inscriptions of Bath are British or Gaulish is not clear. This tablet is unique in showing more than two hands (Mullen 2007: 33): Line 1 is in capitals, 2-6 in smaller capitals, 2a is an interlinear addition in cursive, 5a and 6a are interlinear additions in capitals, 7 is in a cursive of one hand and 8-9 in the cursive of an other hand. Mullen makes a convincing case for interpreting the first word *luciumio* as a verb 'ask' or 'swear' in the 1st pers. sg., parallel to several Latin tablets of Bath, rather than as a name as suggested by Tomlin. Line 2a appears to be in Latin but - judging from what little can be read - does not seem to be a gloss or translation. *tittlemim* is, according to Schrijver, a 3rd pers. sg. verb 'stole'. *catacim* is obscure, but the most likely interpretation for the complete sentence in line 4 seems to be 'he who stole my sword'. Based on the comparison with line 1 Tomlin suggests restoring the first word of line 5a to *luciumio*. *toue* appears to be a possessive pronoun. *Sulara* is a personal name derived from the goddess Sulis. The remaining text is partly illegible and incomprehensible.

References Tab. Sulis 14, RIG-L-108, Schrijver 2004 and 2005, Mullen 2007

## ● Object Tab. Sulis 18

Findspot Bath

Country England

Dating Unknown

Reading **ADIXOVI |****DEIANA or DEVINA****DEIEDA or DEVEDA |****ANDAGIN |****VINDIORIX |****CVAMIIN |****AI |**

**Summary** Whether the Celtic inscriptions of Bath are British or Gaulish is not clear. Despite being referred to as a tablet, this item is technically a pendant. The interpretation of this inscription rests on the meaning of *adixoui*. Whereas Schrijver (2004, 2005) suggests a hybrid form composed of a Latin stem and a Celtic 1st pers. sg. ending ‘dedicate’. Mullen (2007) suggests an interpretation ‘fix’, parallel to Latin *defigo*, fully based on Celtic. *deuina* is the voc. of the Latin *divina* ‘divine’ and Deueda appears to be a Celtic theonym in the voc. According to Schrijver *andagin* is the equivalent of Middle Welsh *ennein(t)* ‘bath, washing-place; ointment’, but Mullen prefers interpreting it as a compound containing a privative *an-* ‘bad-’, fitting with the reading as a curse tablet. *Uindiorix* is a male personal name in the nom. sg. Schrijver identifies *cuamiinai* as a dat. of either a personal name or a noun meaning ‘sweet heart’. While Schrijver translates this inscription as ‘I have dedicated a bath (?) / ointment (?) to the divine Deveda; (I)Vindiorix for the sake of (my) Sweetheart’, Mullen prefers ‘I, Vindiorix, O divine Deieda / Deveda, shall fix an evil’.

**References** RIG-L-107, Tab. Sulis 18, Schrijver 2004, Schrijver 2005 Mullen 2007

## ● Object VRITVESCINCOS Stamp

Findspot Boulogne, Bavai and Andernach

Country France, Germany

Dating Unknown

Reading **VRITVES | CINCOS**

**Summary** There have been attempts to read this as *virtu Escingos*, interpreting *virtu* as a Gaulish verb, but Lambert (RIG 25) argues the stamp instead names two potter’s names, *Vritvtes* and *Cincos*.

**References** RIG-L-25



●Object Cajarc

Findspot Cajarc, Lot

Country France

Dating Late 1st c

Reading ]...redresta | in uertamon nantou

Summary Lambert interprets this inscription as a personal message. he identifies *uert-* as the equivalent of Welsh *gwerth* ‘price, value’ and *nantou* as the gen. of ‘valley’, For *redestra* he proposes the interpretation as a verbal form with the prefix *ro-* and an *s*-subjunctive of a verb ‘climb’. The entire phrase can then be translated as ‘he may climb to the summit of the valley’.

References RIG-L-49

●Object Chalon-sur-Saône Fibula

Findspot Chalon-sur-Saône, Saône-et-Loire

Country France

Dating Last quarter of the 1st c BC

Method Type of fibula

Reading **IVLIOS AVO**

Summary Male name in the nom. sg. and *avot*.

References L-19

●Object Chamalières Tablet

Findspot Chamalières, Puy-de-Dôme

Country France

Dating First half of the 1st c AD

Method Refers to the activity at the sanctuary

Reading **andedíon uediíumi díiuion risun |**  
**artiu mapon arueriáatin |**  
**lopites sniéđic sos brixtia anderon |**  
**c lucion floron nigínon adgarion aemilí |**  
**on paterin claudíon legitumon caelion |**  
**pelign claudío pelign marcion uictorin asiatí |**  
**con adedillí etic secoui toncnaman |**  
**toncsiíontío meíon poncse sit bue |**  
**tid olln reguccambion exsops |**  
**pissíiumí tsoc cantírtssu ison son |**  
**bissíet luge dssummiís luge |**  
**dssumíis luge dssumíis luxe**

Summary This inscription is a curse tablet. The first two lines consist of an invocation of a source deity and infernal powers, the third line contains an initial demand, lines four to seven are a list of targets, named in the indigenous way with name and genitival patronym only in one case, and lines 7 and 8 close the list. Lines 9 and 10 contain the actual curses. Line 11 is unfortunately obscure, but 11 and 12 appear to contain a final repetitive formula. Lambert, in opposition to certain earlier interpretations (e.g. Koch 1983: 198), translates *lopites* and *snieθθic* as two connected 2.sg. pres. subjunctives meaning ‘torment’. The phrase *brixtia anderon*, which evokes comparisons to Larzac, contains a reference to magic. Who *ande-* ‘below’ refers to is however ambiguous. Lambert (2003: 153) translates: I invoke Maponos *arueriatis* by the force of the gods below; you shall ...and you shall torture them, through the magic of the infernal [gods]: [list of names] and all those who would swear this false oath. When they swear it, their straight bones will be deformed. Blind I see ...

References RIG-L-100, Lambert 2003

●Object Châteaubleau Tuile Quadriliéaire

Findspot Châteaubleau, Seine-et-Marne

Country France

Dating First half of the 2nd c

Method Refers to the sanctuary to which it belongs

Reading **[[ba]] bidse uenerianum adebriureco.[ |**  
**r.....cūm · suaueloslan[ |**  
**slanossiētum · suagid · çoñtil..ossi[ |**  
**ie sittem · mongnatixsouim**

Summary The reading of this inscription is difficult, this is the version provided by the RIG. The first line, partly Latin, reads ‘this is the threshold of the *fanum* of Venus, at *Ebriureconsu-auelo*: ‘who has good wind’

*mongnatixsouim*: ‘my daughter/son’

*bidse*: threshold + demonstrative; ?

*slanossiētum-mi*: that he would fight me?

*su-agido-*: who has a good face/mood?

This is a tile inscribed before being fired and appears to contain both Gaulish and Latin. The meaning of the inscription cannot be established for sure, but Lambert (2001: 123) suggests a general sense of a pious person addressing a visitor to a sanctuary.

References RIG-L-90; Marichal has a different reading, Lambert 2001

● Object Châteaubleau complete tile

Findspot Châteaubleau, Seine-et-Marne

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **Nemnaliūmi beni. ueionna incorobouido |**  
**neíanmanbe gniīou apenitemeuelle íexsetesi |**  
**sueregeniatu o quprinnopetamebissi íeteta. |**  
**míií íegumi. suante ueíommi petamassi Papissonne |**  
**suir̥exetesi íegíiinna anmanbe íeguisinisi |**  
**axsiou beíassunebiti moí upíimmiateri |**  
**xsi índore core. Nuana íegumisini · beíiassusete |**  
**sue cluio u sedagisamo cele uiro íonoue |**

**íiobiie beíiassusete Rega íexstumisendi |**  
**m̥ · setingi Papissonnebeíiassusetemetingise |**  
**tingibeíiassuseteregarise íexstumisendi**

Summary This tile, found in a “modest” residential area (RIG) is an example of late Gaulish from about the late third to fourth century (Schrijver).

The following words can be identified: *-liūmi*: possibly ‘accuse’ or ‘nemnaliūmi ‘celebrate’, 1st p.sg., *beni*: acc. sg. ‘woman’ ueio- : ‘bind’?, *anmanbe*: instr.pl. ‘name’, *gniūou*: ‘know’, *ieg-*: probably ‘say’, *regeni* or *regenia*: ‘family’ or ‘parents’, *suante*: ‘desire’, *siaxsiou*: reduplication future of ‘search’, *uiro*: may be the noun ‘man’ or, if the i is long, the adjective ‘true’, *ater-ixsi*: the first part must be ‘father’, *dagisamo-*: contains *dago-* ‘good’.

Further, unidentified verbs: *beīassu*, *suirexetesi*, *petamel/petamassithe*.

The following forms of the verb ‘to be’ appear: *bissiet-eta* (future), maybe *-sete*, or *etesi*, *bīie* (imp. 2.sg.), *biti* (verbal noun?)

A few proper names can be identified: *Papissone* in the voc., *Guprinno*, and the toponym *Coro Bouedo*.

While the text as a whole remains hard to interpret, it has been suggested that it was a celebratory text composed for a wedding celebration. Lambert (2001) attempts the following translation: ‘I celebrate a woman who is married with a dowry or: who is led (to marriage) at Coro Bouido though I do not know the name and a woman who is of age (whose pubic organs are dark) or who is consenting and I am a more noble woman, you have to say, you the family or what she says, her family name, I ask that she is married for me or I pray to the son of Kypris, who strikes for me, I say, by my will I marry, we pray to you, o Papissonos.’

References RIG-L-93, Lambert 2001

●Object \*CINTVIERV Stamp

Findspot Saint-Bonnet and Autun

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading \*CINTVIERV

Summary The stamp is reconstructed from two separate finds and there have been various attempts (cf. RIG-L-24) to identify a Gaulish verb in this inscription. However, Lambert considers it more likely to be a potter’s name.

References RIG-L-24

●Object Région de Châteauroux fire dog

Findspot Région de Châteauroux, Indre

Country France

Dating No date given

Reading **artos | avo[t]**

Summary Male personal name in the nom. sg. and form of *avot*.

References L-21.3

- Object Cippus of Coudoux  
 Findspot Coudoux, Bouches-du-Rhône  
 Country France  
 Dating Before the mid 1st c BC  
 Method The necropoleis were abandoned around that time  
 Reading **BOVDIL | ATIS · LEMI | SṼNIA**  
 Summary Female personal name and patronym in the nom.  
 References RIG-L-2, CIL XII 3809
- Object Clermont-Ferrand fire dog 1  
 Findspot Clermont-Ferrand, Puy-de-Dôme  
 Country France  
 Dating No date given  
 Reading **P]auīdus | a]uoti**  
 Summary Latin male personal name in the nom. sg. and form of *avot*.  
 References L-21.1
- Object Clermont-Ferrand fire dog 2  
 Findspot Clermont-Ferrand, Puy-de-Dôme  
 Country France  
 Dating No date given  
 Reading **Iulos avot**  
 Summary Male personal name in the nom. sg. and form of *avot*.  
 References L-21.2
- Object Couchey Casserole  
 Findspot Couchey, Côte-d'Or  
 Country France  
 Dating Unknown  
 Reading **DOIROS · SEGOMARI | IEVRV · ALISANV** ☞  
 Summary Male personal name in the nom. sg., genitival patronym, dedicatory verb and theonym in the dat. This inscription on a bronze pan has a parallel on a similar item from Visignot that reads: **DEO · ALISANO · PAVLLINVS | PRO · CONTEDOIO · FIL · SVO** ☞ **V · S · L · M**. Both the Gaulish and the Latin inscription end with the image of a leaf.  
 References RIG-L-133

● Object Fragments of LezouxLezoux, Annecy and Beugnâtre

Findspot Lezoux, Puy-de-Dôme

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **CALIA UEIO | BIV SAV NITI | IO BERTE. M | OVNO | CALENI | OFICINA**

Summary These fragments from different find spots were all cast from the same mould, so that they can be used to piece together the original inscription. The final part is the simplest, a Latin maker's mark of a *Calenus/Galenus*. *calia* may be connected to *ueio(s/n)* and *mouno(s/n)* which are either n./a.sg. or gen.pl. The former may mean marriage or union and is found here in a compound with *biu*, the verb 'to be'; the latter is a theonym. *sauni* is a genitival patronym, *ti-io berte* appears to be a verbal form containing a preverbal *to-* followed and a relative particle *-io-* (Thurneysen 1923, RIG-L-70). Lambert suggests translating the inscription as follows: 'with Cala I will be married, the daughter of Saunos, who birthed Mouno-' but considers it tentative.

References L-70

●Object Gergovie Ring

Findspot Gergovie, Puy-de-Dôme

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **VIRIOV**

Summary Abbreviated personal name of indeterminate case and gender.

References RIG-L-123

●Object Gièvres Spindle Whorl

Findspot Gièvres, Loir-et-Cher

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **TIONOVIMPI X | MORVCIN X**

Summary *morucin* may be compared to Welsh *morwyn* 'girl', though it does not seem to be a perfect equivalent. The form is interpreted by Meid (1980) as an endingless nom. It is preceded by a compounded adjective made up of 'divine' and 'pretty'. The words appear on separate lines and their beginning and end is marked by X-shaped crosses.

References RIG-L-111, Meid 1980

## ● Object Graufesenque 1

Findspot La Graufesenque

Country France

Dating Late 1st c

Reading First item: **lubi | caunonnas | sincera**, Second item, incomplete copy of the first: **...]lu[b]i[ | ]non[**

Summary This entry summarises two similar graffiti, one of which represents an incomplete copy of the first one. The complete version consists of a 2nd pers. sg. imp. form of 'love' *lubi*. *Caunonnas* is presumably a toponym while *sincera* is Latin (*sincerum* 'pure wine'). We are therefore dealing with an invitation to enjoy Caunonnan wine.

References L-37

## ● Object Graufesenque 2

Findspot La Graufesenque

Country France

Dating 1st–2nd c

Reading **]mandutica | ]bia**

Summary This inscription can be reconstructed with reference to Banassac 2: *lubi rutenica onobiatiedi ulano celicnu* 'love the Rutenian drinks? cups? ...' to *lubi] mandutica on]bia* While no ethnonym *\*Mandutii* or place *\*Mandutum* is known, the element *mandu-* is attested in toponyms.

References RIG-L-39

## ● Object Graufesenque 3

Findspot La Graufesenque

Country France

Dating 1st–2nd c

Reading **Cúntii ].[ | lupiaca trasilatis | uertamaca** and a stamp: **GERMANI • F**

Summary This inscription uses Latin vocabulary in a Gaulish matrix. The first, incomplete word is probably the gen. of a personal name. Presumably we are missing one or two words at the end of the first line, possibly names of vases. The first word of the second line appears to be based on Latin, either on a compound *tra(n)s-il(l)atus* 'transferred in', or *tra(n)slatis* with an epenthetic vowel. *Lupiaca* is a dat. pl. derived from either a toponym *Lupia* or a name *Lupus* and may refer to a type of pottery. *Vertamaca* is also attested in Lezoux and derived from *uertamo-* 'highest, peak', possibly referring to the position of the pottery in the oven. Lambert suggests translating 'the *lupiaca* [plates] of *Quintius/Quintio* on top of the transferred [vases]'

References RIG-L-41

## ● Object Graufesenque 4

Findspot La Graufesenque

Country France

Dating Late 1st c AD

Reading ]llia dag[

Summary Female name and adjective in the nom. sg.: *Aemillia daga*

References L-42

## ● Object Graufesenque 5

Findspot La Graufesenque

Country France

Dating Late 1st c

Reading Fragment a: ]apus sibus et ur[, Fragment b: ]nuara auoti nupia[

Summary These are two non-contiguous fragments of a vase. The text on fragment a can be reconstructed to potters' names, such as *Vapus*, *Vrappus* or *Priapus*, *Sibus* and finally *Vurbanus* for the first fragment. Fragment b may contain parts of a date, if it is to be reconstructed as [*ad Kl. Ia]nuar[ia[s]*]. This is followed by the verb of making *avot*; the affixed *-i* can possibly be interpreted as a suffixed pronoun. The reading and interpretation of the last word are unclear.

References L-43

## ● Object Graufesenque 6

Findspot La Graufesenque

Country France

Dating Late 1st c

Reading **peculiaro siruni afronico lliauto**

Summary Lambert suggests identifying two personal names in the inscription: *Siruni*, either a gen. of an otherwise unattested \**Sirunos* or a dat. sg. of a theonym *Sirona*, and a name either Afronico (2003: 144) or Fronico (RIG-L-44). They are linked by a conjunction *a(c)*. *peculiaro*, which he suggests, may be a gallicised form of *peculiaris*, to indicate property. Finally *lliauto* is a 3rd pers. sg. verb form of a past tense that semantically most likely relates to the work of the potter. Lambert's tentative translation is 'property of *Sirunos* and *Fronicos* made it', or if *peculiaro* is to be read as the object of the sentence: 'the peculiarum, *Fronicos* made it with *Siruna*'

References RIG-L-44, Lambert 2003



● Object Graufesenque 7  
 Findspot La Graufesenque  
 Country France  
 Dating Late 1st c  
 Reading **Ian mod xeron** [ or **hippa** ]  
 Summary Lambert (RIG-L-47.1) prefers the reading *xeron* and interprets the inscription as the names of three potters, possibly by three different hands. Abbreviated, and thus of indeterminate case and gender.  
 References RIG-L-47.1

● Object Graufesenque Account 1  
 Findspot La Graufesenque  
 Country France  
 Dating Unknown  
 Reading **Elenos | lilous**  
 Summary Lambert in the RIG supposes that this and the Graufesenque Account 4 (RIG-L-33) may be of the same type, they are written in the same hand and the verb may be of the same root and related to *luxtos* ‘charge’.  
 References RIG-L-34

● Object Graufesenque Account 2  
 Findspot La Graufesenque  
 Country France  
 Dating Unknown  
 Reading **sioxti · Albanos | panna · extra tuθ CCC**  
 Summary This is an account attesting that ‘Albanos [fired] 1 300 pannas sextales’, the reason for it to be listed separately in the RIG is the word that precedes this account, *sioxti*. This was hesitantly identified by Thurneysen as a verb form meaning ‘he seeks to attain’, though what it actually means in this context is not clear. Lambert suggests interpreting it as an adverb instead (Lambert 1997: 106ff.).  
 References RIG-L-31

● Object Graufesenque Account 3  
 Findspot La Graufesenque  
 Country France  
 Dating Unknown  
 Reading **prinas sibu**[...[[**ta**]] **tuddus** [...  
 Summary *Sibu* appears to be part of a name, *tuddus* is the accusative plural of the ‘firing’ or maybe a related verb ‘fired’. The initial word has been previously read as a verb by Thurneysen, but is probably a type of vase *brinas*.  
 References RIG-L-32

## ● Object Graufesenque Account 4

Findspot La Graufesenque

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **Lenos | iustas**

Summary Lambert in the RIG supposes that this and the Graufesenque Account 1 (RIG-L-34) may be of the same type, they are written in the same hand and the verb may be of the same root and related to *luxtos* ‘charge’.

References RIG-L-33

## ● Object Graufesenque Accounts

Findspot La Graufesenque

Country France

Dating 1st–2nd c

Summary These accounts from a bilingual production site (Adams 2003: 687–723) are full of code switching between Latin and Gaulish. They have been edited by Marichal (1988) and their formulaic repertoire has been discussed there as well as in the RIG (RIG-II/2: 104–121) and will not be listed in full here.

References RIG-L-29-34, Marichal 1988, Adams 2003

## ● Object Graufesenque: Aricani Graffito

Findspot La Graufesenque

Country France

Dating Late 1st c BC

Reading **aricaní lubitías | ris tecuandoedo | tidres trianís** and the stamp **GERMANI OF**

Summary The first word of the inscription, *aricani*, appears in a number of other inscriptions, both Latin and Gaulish. It has been interpreted as a nom. pl. or gen. sg. of an ethnonym or a personal name or even a verb (cf. RIG-L-35.1 for a comprehensive overview). The interpretation presented here is that of Lambert (2003: 145): He interprets *Aricani* as the gen. sg. of a potter’s name, *lubitias* as the gen. sg. or nom/acc pl. of a passive participle of ‘love’, *ris* is a preposition ‘for’, *tecuandoedo* is an obscure composite containing *tecu-* ‘nice’ and possibly a formation *\*ando-sedon* ‘furnishings’ comparable to Welsh *annedd* ‘dwelling’. Finally, *tidres trianis* can be translated as ‘three thirds’. He translates the entire inscription with hesitation as ‘the loved ones of Aricanos, for a nice household, the three thirds’. Presumably this is an advertisement.

References RIG-L-35.1, Lambert 2003

## ● Object Graufesenque: Aricani Graffito 2

Findspot La Graufesenque

Country France

Dating Late 1st c

Reading . ...]cani lubiías san[...| ...]illias santi[...

Summary This appears to be an other advertisement inscription containing the name *Aricani*. *lubiías* appears to be from the same root as *lubitías*, which appears in the other *Aricani*-inscription. It could be a 2nd pers. sg. subjunctive or an imp. with an added anaphoric *-ias*, comparable to the suffixed pronouns of Old Irish. Unfortunately, this inscription is incomplete. Lambert proposes reconstructing \**santeron* ‘half’ for the fragmentary word at the end of both lines. For the beginning of the second line he proposes two possible reconstructions: either a further name such as *Aemillia*, which would lead to a translation ‘You will love them (the vases), half of Aricani, half of Aemillia’ or if it is another verabl form instead, parallel to *lubiías*, and perhaps to a verb *silli* ‘watch’, comparable to Welsh *syllu*, the inscription could denote two actions ‘of Aricani, you will use half and watch the other’.

References RIG-L-36

## ● Object Large Stele of Genouilly

Findspot Genouilly, Cher

Country France

Dating Late 1st c AD

Method Comparison with related inscriptions

Reading A: Τ]ΟΣ · VIRILIOS | ]τος ουριλλιο[ς]-ανευνοσεπει | B: ELVONTIV | IEVRV ·

ANEVNO | OCLICNO · LVGVRIX | ANEVNICNO

Summary Bilingual Greek/Gaulish inscription consisting of a fragmentary male name of the deceased in the nom. sg. with a patronym on *-ios* in both Latin and Greek script, a maker’s inscription in Greek, though with Gaulish name stock, and unclear reference for the verb, a name (possibly of a deity) in the dat., the verb ‘dedicate’ and the names and patronyms of two male dedicators in the nom. The maker of text B appears to be the person also named in text A.

References RIG-L-4

## ● Object Small Stele of Genouilly

Findspot Genouilly, Cher

Country France

Dating No date given

Reading ...**[ ]RVONDV**

Summary Fragment of a name, indeterminate case and gender, could well be nom. or dat. If it is a nom. it could reasonably be addressed as a memorial inscription, based on the comparison with the large stele of Genouilly.

References RIG-L-5, CIL XIII 1325

## ● Object Holt Brick

Findspot Holt, Wrexham

Country Wales

Dating Unknown

Reading **c(ENTURIA) RUFİ SABI(NI) GNAT LV**

Summary Fleuriot saw a Gaulish making verb \**gnat* in this inscription, but Lambert argues it can better be interpreted as a Latin inscription, and offers several plausible interpretations.

References RIG-L-26

## ● Object Jublains Graffito II

Findspot Jublains, Mayenne

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **MAAMSOETOS | SAMTRESMA | STSTSREBI | CABVI**

Summary The inscription may be a maker's signature with the subject Mansoetos and the object matres, but as part of the verb cannot be read with certainty, this interpretation remains speculative.

References RIG L\*-139

## ● Object Larzac Tablet

Findspot L'Hospitalet-du-Larzac, Aveyron

Country France

Dating Late 1st c AD

Method Grave goods

## Reading 1a

insinde · se · bnanom bricto[m i- |  
 -n eianom · anuana sanander[ |  
 -na · brictom · uidluias uidlu[ |  
 tigontias · so · adsags·ona seue[r]im |  
 tertioncnim · idssatim liciatim |  
 eianom · uoduiuoderce · lunget |  
 ..utonid ponc · nitixsintor si[es |  
 duscelinatia ineianon anuan[a |  
 esi · andernados brictom · bano[na |  
 flatucias · paulla dona potiti[us |  
 iaia · duxtir · adiegas poti[ta m- |  
 atir paullias · seuera du[xtir |  
 ualentos dona paullius |  
 adiega · natir · aiias |  
 potita dona prim[ius |  
 abesias |

## 2a

]a · senit conectos[ |  
 ]onda bocca nene·[ |  
 ]rionti onda boca ne[ |  
 ·on barnaunom ponc nit- |  
 xsintor sies eianepian |  
 digis ne lisatim ne licia- |  
 tim anandognam acolut[ |  
 utanit andognam[ |  
 da bocca[ |  
 diom...[ne[

## 2b

Second hand  
 aia ...cicena[ |

## 1b

etic eiotinios co · et[ic |  
 ruficna casta dona[ |  
 nonus coetic diligentir · soc[ |  
 ulationicnom aucitionim[ |  
 aterem potiti ulatucia mat[ |  
 banonias ne · incitas · biontutu in- |  
 das mnas ueronadas brictas lissina ·  
 [ue |  
 seuerim licinaue · tertioni[cnim |  
 eiabi tiopritom biētutu semit[ |  
 ratet seuera tertioncna |  
 ne incitas biontutus ...du[ |  
 anatia nepi anda ...|  
 ]incors onda ...[ |  
 ]donicon[ |  
 ]incarata

## nitianncobuedlidat[ |

iasuolsonponne |  
 antumnos · nepon |  
 nesliciatia neosuode |  
 neiaudorecos · nepon  
 First hand  
 su · biiontutu semn- |  
 anom adsaxs nadoc[ |  
 suet petdsiont sies |  
 peti sagitiontias seu- |  
 [er]im tertio lissatim[ |  
 ...]s anandogna [...|  
 ...]icontias·[

**Summary** The reading above is that of Lambert (2003: 162ff.), it is included here instead of the version from the RIG, as it is based on combined findings of Lambert, Lejeune and Fleuriot. It departs from the reading in the RIG in a few instances and does not include markings to indicate uncertain readings. The Larzac tablet was found in a Gallo-Roman necropolis on top of an urn and had been bent and separated into two pieces, with both sides inscribed. It appears to be a counter curse against a group of women, however the precise analysis of the text is difficult.

**References** RIG-L-98, Lambert 1996, Lambert 2003

## ● Object Lezoux 1

Findspot Lezoux, Puy-de-Dôme

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **andamica**

Summary This inscription is one of a series of inscriptions consisting of epithets for wine or possibly source water. *andamica* is a neuter pl. adjective meaning ‘inferior’ or perhaps ‘lower position’, if referring to the position in the vineyard or of a source.

References RIG-L-56, Lambert 1994: 144–145

## ● Object Lezoux 2

Findspot Lezoux, Puy-de-Dôme

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **mediotama sincera**

Summary This inscription is one of a series of inscriptions consisting of epithets for wine or possibly source water. *mediotama* is a neuter pl. adjective ‘of medium quality’ and *sincera* is Latin ‘pure’.

References RIG-L-57, Lambert 2003: 146–147

## ● Object Lezoux 3

Findspot Lezoux, Puy-de-Dôme

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **mixta | mediitamica | tiotamica**

Summary This inscription is one of a series of inscriptions consisting of epithets for wine or possibly source water. *mixta* is a Latin term ‘mixed’. *mediitamica* and *tiotamica* are neuter or female pl. adjectives meaning ‘medium quality’ and ‘first choice’.

References RIG-L-58, Lambert 2003: 146–147

## ● Object Lezoux 4

Findspot Lezoux, Puy-de-Dôme

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **uertamaca**

Summary This inscription is one of a series of inscriptions consisting of epithets for wine or possibly source water. *uertamaca* is a neuter or female pl. adjective ‘superior quality’ or perhaps ‘higher position’, if referring to the position in the vineyard or of a source.

References RIG-L-59, Lambert 2003: 146–147

## ● Object Lezoux 5

Findspot Lezoux, Puy-de-Dôme

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **uertamica**

Summary This inscription is one of a series of inscriptions consisting of epithets for wine or possibly source water. *uertamica* is a neuter or female pl. adjective ‘superior quality’ or perhaps ‘higher position’, if referring to the position in the vineyard or of a source.

References RIG-L-60, Lambert 2003: 146–147

## ● Object Lezoux 6

Findspot Lezoux, Puy-de-Dôme

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **tíota**[

Summary This inscription is one of a series of inscriptions consisting of epithets for wine or possibly source water. *tíota* appears to be short for *tiotamica* ‘superior quality’.

References RIG-L-61, Lambert 2003: 146–147

## ● Object Lezoux 7

Findspot Lezoux, Puy-de-Dôme

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **bodiaca**

Summary If this inscription is one of the series of inscriptions consisting of epithets for wine or possibly source water, it could be a neuter or female pl. adjective derived from *boudi-* ‘virtue, advantage’.

References RIG-L-62, Lambert 2003: 146–147

## ● Object Lezoux 8

Findspot Lezoux, Puy-de-Dôme

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **serullius eurenomnu adgne duci an**[

Summary The initial male personal name is in Latin. It is followed by a form of the dedicatory verb *ieuru* and a theonym in the dat. *duci* is probably a coordinating conjunction, cf. La Graufesenque. *adgne* is obscure and the inscription is incomplete.

References RIG-L-65

## ● Object Lezoux 9

Findspot Lezoux, Puy-de-Dôme

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **c]omíos | eu]ru | clebíli | caniísro**

Summary The inscription consists of a male personal name in the nom. sg., a dedicatory verb **eu]ru** *ieuru*, a female name in the dat. sg. and an object (cf. Limoges, RIG-L-75). This appears to be a personal rather than a religious dedication, i.e. the object is given from one person to the other.

References RIG-L-68

## ● Object Lezoux bowl

Findspot Lezoux, Puy-de-Dôme

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **e[.]o i euri rigani rosmertiac**

Summary While the first word of the inscription is fragmentary, it can be reconstructed as the demonstrative *eso*. The following word belongs to the paradigm of the dedicatory verb *ieuru*, it may be a 1st pers. sg. pret. *rigani* ‘queen’, is morphologically ambiguous and could be a nom. or dat. The same applies to *rosmerti-ac*, provided the *-ac* is an enclitic ‘and’. The inscription can therefore be translated as ‘I have offered this to the queen and Rosmerta’.

References RIG-L-67, Lambert



## ● Object Lezoux plate

Findspot Lezoux, Puy-de-Dôme

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading A: ne [[re]] regu · na [ |  
 gandobe in-ii nouio .[ |  
 extincon papi coriiosed exa.co[ |  
 mesamobi molatus cerdo.gnu<u>con[ |  
 <sueti>  
 pape boudi ...magarni papon mam[ |  
 nane . deuorbuetid lonc.ate e[ |  
 nu gnate ne dama gussou n[ |  
 uero ne curri ne papu co ts.<u>[ |  
 pape ambito boudi ne tetu[ |  
 <papi>  
 batoron ueia suebreto su[ |  
 git bio ledgo moberci[ |  
 B: nane deu[ |  
 buetid .on[

Summary The plate is incomplete, which makes it likely that the text is incomplete as well.

The two last lines in the reading above, which is from the RIG, are found on side B of the plate. It is most likely advice to a young boy, but the interpretations vary considerably between scholars including Meid (1994), Fleuriot (1980: 127–144) and McCone (1996). McCone (1996: 110) identifies indications for a military context and attempts a translation of lines 1-10:  
 1–2: May I ...not give this new [plate?] to the parsimonious 3: each person's injustice, may the troupe ...[eliminate it?] 4:(like Meid) praise by the worst [is] self-damaging to the righteous or: the worst ...[like?] praise, to the fair however ...5–6 may the virtue of each *makarnos* ...each ...not? exceed. ...7: Now, boy, [may] the followers not (cede?) to the power (of the enemies?) ...8: truly do not go ...to each not ...9: each person's ambition ...each person's virtue not ...10: protection of the warriors [is] the self-armed ...

He concludes (1996: 111) that the plate may have been given from a father to a son to celebrate the son's entry into the army or a similar association.

References L-66, Fleuriot 1980, Meid 1994, McCone 1996

## ● Object Mercury of Lezoux

Findspot Lezoux, Puy-de-Dôme

Country France

Dating 1st to 2nd c

Method Based on regional activity, no date given for the object or inscription

Reading A: **MERCVRIO | ET AVGVSTO | SACRVM** B: **A[...| IE[ ...| ESO[ ...** C: **APROTASGI[**  
...

Summary This statue was inscribed three times, though it cannot be said for sure in what order. All inscriptions are in the Latin alphabet, A is also in the Latin language. Text B is heavily eroded and cannot be read with certainty. The transcription provided are the only letters that can still be made out today. The first line presumably contained the name of the dedicant, but the reconstructions of the name vary. The second line would have consisted of the dedicatory verb *ieuru*. The last line, according to Rhys, said *esomaro*, but Lejeune suggests reading *esomaron* ‘hunc colossum’ rather than a personal name *Esomaro*, as the location of the inscription on a statue implies that the statue must be the object of the dedication in question.

Text C could not be found by anyone but Plicque, who suggests there was a maker’s mark *aprotasgi*, but this cannot be confirmed. If it ever existed, it is no longer legible.

References RIG-L-8, Rhys cited in RIG

## ● Object Limoges 1

Findspot Limoges, Haute-Vienne

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **TASCOS BRISTAS | ]L V S | GARTOS**

Summary The inscription consists of a male name in the nom. sg. and a genitival patronym, a Latin dedicatory formula **L v s** and another male name in the nom. sg. The plate is fragmentary and breaks off at the **L** of the dedicatory formula, but there is nothing to indicate that the inscription is incomplete.

References RIG-L-74

## ● Object Limoges 2

Findspot Limoges, Haute-Vienne

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **CANISRO[ ]O DVROTINCIO**

Summary Lambert (RIG) suggests the first word in this inscription may be a loanword in Gaulish from Latin *canistrum* ‘basket’. According to Lejeune, the missing word between the remaining fragments may be the name of a deity. A hesitant reconstruction of the inscription, when also accounting for a likely loss of the final nasals, is thus *canisro[(n) ... diiii]o(n) Durotincio(n)*. The second and third words could either be adjectives relating to *canisron* or independent male pl. gen., making the inscription either ‘divine basket of Durotincon’ or ‘little basket of the gods of Durotincon’. Durotinco appears to be connected with the Durotinco of the Tabula Peutingeriana. Either option identifies the object as a religious offering.

References RIG-L-75

## ● Object Mont Beuvray Graffiti a

Findspot Mont Beuvray, Nièvre

Country France

Dating Late 1st c BC

Reading **...]AVFA[... or ...]VNIIA[...**

Summary This could be a female name on *-unia*, of which there are several attested in Gallo-Greek inscriptions. Indeterminate case.

References RIG-L-82a

## ● Object Mont Beuvray Graffiti b

Findspot Mont Beuvray, Nièvre

Country France

Dating Late 1st c BC

Reading **...]BIIO**

Summary Probably a composite male name in the nom. sg. on *-bios*, such as *Latubios* or *Vindobios* or an abbreviated form of a name such as *Ambiiorix* or *Biocnos*.

References RIG-L-82b

## ● Object Mont Beuvray Graffiti c

Findspot Mont Beuvray, Nièvre

Country France

Dating Late 1st c BC

Reading **BITVCOS**

Summary Well attested diminutive male personal name in the nom. sg.

References RIG-L-82c

- Object Mont Beuvray Graffiti d  
 Findspot Mont Beuvray, Nièvre  
 Country France  
 Dating Late 1st c BC  
 Reading **DANO**[?]  
 Summary Probably onomastic element *dano-*, cf. e.g. *Dannotalos*.  
 References RIG-L-82d
  
- Object Mont Beuvray Graffiti e  
 Findspot Mont Beuvray, Nièvre  
 Country France  
 Dating Early 1st c AD  
 Reading **DRVENTIA**  
 Summary *Druentia* is known as a river name, which indicates it may also be a theonym.  
 Lambert supposes that in the case of this inscription we're most likely dealing  
 with a personal name based on the theonym.  
 References RIG-L-82e
  
- Object Mont Beuvray Graffiti f  
 Findspot Mont Beuvray, Nièvre  
 Country France  
 Dating Late 1st c BC  
 Reading **IIPPA**  
 Summary Hypocoristic female name *Eppa* in the nom. sg. based on the first element *epo-*  
 'horse', which is elsewhere attested as onomastic element, however not in this  
 formation.  
 References RIG-L-82f
  
- Object Mont Beuvray Graffiti g  
 Findspot Mont Beuvray, Nièvre  
 Country France  
 Dating Late 1st c BC  
 Reading **IOVENTA** or **IQVENTA**  
 Summary A female name in the nom. sg., probably Latin, however with the gallicism of  
*-ou-* for *-uu-*.  
 References RIG-L-82g

## ● Object Mont Beuvray Graffiti h

Findspot Mont Beuvray, Nièvre

Country France

Dating Late 1st c BC

Reading **SENAOS**Summary A male personal name in the nom. sg. based on *seno-* ‘old’.

References RIG-L-82h

## ● Object Mont Beuvray Graffiti i

Findspot Mont Beuvray, Nièvre

Country France

Dating Late 1st c BC

Reading **SIINO**Summary A male personal name in the nom. sg. based on *seno-* ‘old’.

References RIG-L-82i

## ● Object Menhir of Naintré

Findspot Naintré, Vieux-Poitiers

Country France

Dating End of 1st until mid 2nd c

Method Tentative, based on settlement activity

Reading **RATIN BRIVATIOM | FRONTV · TARBETIS[O]NIOS or TARBETIS[CO]NOS | IEIVRV**

Summary The unusual word order Object-Subject-Verb stands out in this inscription (Lambert 1995: 93.). The inscription begins with the object in the acc. *ratin* that seems to be etymologically related to Old Irish *ráith* ‘fortification’ but what it may refer to here is unclear. The gen. pl. *brivatiom* refers to the inhabitants of a place named *Briva*. The subject of the text is a male personal name in the nom. sg., a gallicised form *Frontu* based on Latin *Fronto*, followed by a patronymic formed with the suffix *-io-*. The last word of the inscription is the dedicatory verb.

References RIG-L-3, Lambert 1995

●Object Stone of Nérís-les-Bains

Findspot Nérís-les-Bains, Allier

Country France

Dating Ca. 1st c AD

Method No archaeological context known, based on the writing

Reading **BRATRONOS | NANTONTICN | EPADATEXTO | RICI · LEVCVTIO | SVIOREBE LOGI | TOI**

Summary The inscription consists of the following: *bratronos*: male personal name derived from the word for brother in the nom. sg. *naontonticn*, presumably short for *nantoniconos*, a patronym derived from an attested name Nantonios. *Epadatextorix*, a name in the dat. sg. *leucutio*, an object in the acc. sg., possibly refers to a sacred grove, but this is not certain. *suiorebe*, an inst. soc. pl. of *suior* ‘sister’. *logitoi*: 3rd pers. sg. pret., presumably meaning ‘established, founded’. The whole inscription translates to: ‘Bratronos, son of Nantonos, established a leucution (sacred grove?) for Epadatextorix, with his sisters’

References RIG-L-6, Lambert 1995

●Object Stone of Nevers

Findspot Nevers, Nièvre

Country France

Dating 1st c AD

Method Based on drawings of the writing, no archaeological context known

Reading **ANDE | CAMV | LOS · TOVTI | SSICNOS | IEVRV**

Summary A male personal name and patronym on *-icno-* in the nom. sg. followed by the dedicatory verb. The original stone has disappeared, only drawings and documentation remains.

References RIG-L-11

●Object Nyon Spindle Whorl

Findspot Nyon, Vaud

Country Switzerland

Dating Unknown

Reading **AVE | VIMPI**

Summary An example of Latin/Gaulish codeswitching, this brief inscription can be translated as ‘hello, pretty one’.

References RIG-L-122

●Object Pillars of Paris

Findspot Paris

Country France

Dating Early 1st c AD

Method Refers to the erection of the monuments

Reading a: **ESVS** b: **TARVOS · TRIGARANVS** c: **[C]ERNVNNOŞ** d: **ŞMER[** e: **EVRISES** f:  
**SENANT V[.]ETLON**

Summary These inscriptions are found on a range of stone cubes rediscovered in the choir of Notre Dame in Paris. Some of them are labelled in Latin, e.g. *Castor*, *Iouis*, *Volcanus*, *Fortuna*, and with a dedication that dates the monument to the Tiberian era (14–37 AD): *Tib(erio) Caesare Aug(usto) Ioui Optum[o] Maxsumo . s(acrum) nautae Parisiaci publice posierun[t]*, which translates as ‘Tiberus being Caesar Augustus (i.e. emperor), the sailors of the land of the Parisii have erected this monument sacred to Jupiter, good and great, paid by the public’. Inscription a is a theonym with a direct Venetian parallel *aisu-*. Inscription b may be translated as ‘bull of three cranes’. Inscription c and possibly d, if it can be reconstructed as *Smertrios*, are theonyms. One possible interpretation of inscription e is to connect *eurises* with the dedicatory verb *ieuru* and take it for a perfect participle in the nom. pl., ‘dedicators’. For other interpretations, see RIG-L-14. The implicit subject of inscription f are the depicted figures, 3rd pers. pl. verb and an acc. sg. object ‘they will accomplish the sacrifice’

References RIG-L-14, Lambert 1995

●Object Pîtres Jug

Findspot Pîtres, Eure

Country France

Dating 2nd c

Reading a: **AA VERCOBRET IAI** b: **VERCOBR**

Summary The jug belongs to a grave and shows two graffiti. The gen. *vercobreti* is ambiguous and could be Latin as well as Gaulish. While it could denote the office, Lambert supposes that since we do not know whether the office of the *vergobret* still existed in the 2nd century, it may be safer to assume it was used as a male personal name at that time.

References RIG-L-84

- Object Stone of Plumergat  
 Findspot Plumergat, Morbihan  
 Country France  
 Dating No date given  
 Reading **VABROS | [...]AT or [...]ANT or [...]AVT | ATREBO | AGANNTO | BODVRN or BODVRIV | EOGIAPPO**  
 Summary The subject is a male personal name in the nom. sg. The second line presumably contains the dedicatory verb, however, the reading is very uncertain. The dedication is directed at the *atrebo* ‘fathers’ named in the dat. who are further described with the epithet *aganntobo*, which may denote ‘belonging to the borders’ (Lambert 1995: 107).  
 References RIG-L-15, Lambert 1995
- Object Reims Ring  
 Findspot La Maladrerie, Reims, Marne  
 Country France  
 Dating Unknown  
 Reading **VIXVVIONI VEDZVI DIVVOGNA**  
 Summary Name of indeterminate gender in the dat., genitival patronym, additional name of indeterminate gender in the nom.: ‘to Vixuvio, son/daughter of Vedzvos, [from] Divoggna.’  
 References RIG-L-125
- Object Reims Ring II  
 Findspot Faubourg de Laon, Reims, Marne  
 Country France  
 Dating Unknown  
 Reading **ADEPICCADEFACNVAVMAYMVIXIO**  
 Summary Based on comparison with the male nickname *Atepiccus* (CIL VIII, 1325), which is based on a name *Atepo-marus*, though this too may be a nickname or epithet, the rest of the inscription is not interpretable.  
 References RIG-L-126
- Object Venuses of Rextugenos, Type B  
 Findspot Unknown origin, housed at the musée des Antiquités nationales, 9745  
 Country France  
 Dating 2nd c  
 Method Unknown  
 Reading **IULOS**  
 Summary Male name in the nom. sg., identified as a manufacturer’s mark in RIG, unique item.  
 References RIG-L-22, CIL XIII 10 015.78



- Object Venuses of Rextugenos, Type C  
 Findspot Unknown origin, housed at the musée des Antiquités nationales, 6897  
 Country France  
 Dating 2nd c  
 Method Unknown  
 Reading **PESTIKA**  
 Summary Male personal name in the nom. sg. of uncertain etymology. There are several other figures with the same signature, as well as others signed *Postika*.  
 References RIG-L-22, CIL XIII 10 015.83f
  
- Object Venuses of Rextugenos  
 Findspot Various findspots  
 Country France  
 Dating 2nd c  
 Method Unknown  
 Reading **REXTVGENOS SVLLIAS AVVOT**  
 Summary Male personal name in the nom. sg., genitival patronym and form of *avot*. In some cases the signature is reduced or abbreviated.  
 References RIG-L-22
  
- Object Roanne Graffiti  
 Findspot Roanne, Loire  
 Country France  
 Dating Unknown  
 Reading Abbreviated names such as **Cone, Orci, Veri, Inn, Sca, Ven, Cra, Vxs**  
 Summary A range of owner's marks in the form of abbreviated names; not comprehensively listed, as their Celticity cannot be verified.  
 References CIL XIII 1649, RIG-II/2: 212-213
  
- Object Roanne Graffiti b  
 Findspot Roanne, Loire  
 Country France  
 Dating Early 1st c AD  
 Reading **Bitlias AA BA P**  
 Summary This inscription is found on the bottom of a plate, which is divided into four parts by a cross. The theme *Bitla-* is not previously attested in Gaulish. The inscription may be an owner's mark, like most Roanne graffiti, and be a personal name of indeterminate gender in the gen. sg.  
 References RIG-L-81b

## ● Object Roanne Graffiti d

Findspot Roanne, Loire

Country France

Dating Late 1st c BC

Reading **ardu moniocno**

Summary A male personal name and patronym on *-kno-* in the nom., probably an owner's mark, like other Roanne graffiti.

References RIG-L-81d

## ● Object Models of Sacrillos

Findspot Concentrated around Toulon-sur-Allier and Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre, Allier

Country France

Dating 1st to 2nd c

Method Type of object, no specific range given for these

Reading Various permutations of **Sacrillos carati | auot formi**

Summary The models are inscribed with various combinations of a male name in the nom. sg., a genitival patronym, a form of *avot* and *formi* 'models'.

References RIG-L-23

## ● Object Saint-Marcel 1

Findspot Saint-Marcel près d'Argenton-sur-Creuse, Indre

Country France

Dating Ca. 1st c AD

Method No date given for these objects, but for a different item from the same site

Reading **a VIINIIRIAN | VS SIINOS CLISOC | NO b TAVR IIIRE C DOMII | TIAN | VS**

Summary The three inscriptions on the stone blocks may be unrelated. *Venerianus* and *Dometianus* are Latin names with Latin endings. *Taur-* is a Latin onomastic element which appears to be abbreviated. The following word cannot be read with any certainty. *Senos Clisocnos*, however, is a Gaulish personal name and patronym formed by means of the suffix *-ocno-*.

References L-137

## ● Object Saint-Marcel 2

Findspot Saint-Marcel près d'Argenton-sur-Creuse, Indre

Country France

Dating Early 1st c AD

Reading **LABRIOSNIIAIVXOVNE**

Summary The inscription consists of a male name *Labrios* in the nom. sg., what appears to be an unattested verb *neai*, possibly with a meaning 'pour' or 'entrust', and a female deity name *Uxoune* in the dat. This suggests the inscription may be a dedication, however it cannot be considered certain.

References RIG-L-77

## ● Object Saint-Marcel 3

Findspot Saint-Marcel près d'Argenton-sur-Creuse, Indre

Country France

Dating Early 1st c AD

Reading ]VIIRCOBRIITOS RIADDAS

Summary We do not know whether the inscription is complete, or whether there may have been a personal name on the missing piece of the pot. As it is attested, the inscription consists of an ethnonym *Vercobretos* in the nom. sg. and a verbal form *readdas* in the pret. 'offered' (cf. the form *rodatim* attested in L-98).

References RIG-L-78

## ● Object Saint-Révérien Spindle Whorl

Findspot Autun et sa région, Saône-et-Loire

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading MONI GNATHA GABI | BUDDVTON IMON

Summary Most of this inscription is very clear: *moni* and *imon* are 1st pers. possessive pronouns, though curiously they appear to have a different form depending on their syntactic location. *gnatha* is an older form of *nata* 'girl', which is well attested on spindle whorls. *gabi* is an imp. of 'take' (cf. Old Irish *gaibid*). The object the girl is supposed to take, however, is very debated; the suggestions for *budduton* range from 'kiss' to 'penis' (cf. Old Irish *bod*).

References RIG-L-119

## ● Object Stone of Sazeirat

Findspot Arrènes, Creuse

Country France

Dating 1st to 2nd c

Method No known archaeological context, based on writing

Reading SACER PEROCQ | IEVRV DVORI | CO V·S·I·M

Summary The subject of the sentence is the Latin *sacer*. *peroco* could be an atypical patronym or possibly an abbreviated ethnonym *Petrocorios* relating to the city of Périgord. *ievrv* is the verb 'dedicate'. *duorico* is a calque on Latin *porticus*. The Gaulish part of the inscription translates as 'The sacer of Périgord has offered this porticus'. This is followed by the abbreviated formula *votum soluit libens merito* that is conventional for Latin votive inscriptions.

References RIG \*L-7, Lambert 1995

●Object Sens Spindle Whorl

Findspot Sens, Yonne

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading GENĒTTA IMI· | DAGA VIMPI X

Summary This spindle whorl inscription consists of the words *genetta* ‘girl’ and the adjectives *daga* ‘good’ and *uimpi* ‘pretty’, all in the voc. The difficulty in interpretation is the second word *imi*. It has been interpreted either as a possessive or a 1st pers. sg. of ‘to be’. Meid considers the parallel for the verbal form too doubtful to be of great importance, points out that all other spindle whorl inscriptions appear to address women rather than express their voice, and therefore prefers the interpretation ‘my good and pretty girl’ over ‘I am a good and pretty girl’. The beginning and end of the lines are marked with a · on top and a cross on the bottom.

References RIG-L-120, Meid 1980

●Object Séraucourt Vase

Findspot Bourges, Cher

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading BVSCILLA SOSIO LEGASIT IN ALIXIE MAGALV

Summary *Buscilla* is a female hypocoristic personal name in the nom. sg. *sosio* is uncertain but may be a demonstrative, either doubled or with an affixed particle, or a relative pronoun referring back to *Buscilla*. *legasit* appears to be a pret. form from the root *\*legb-* ‘put, place’; it is unclear why this verb is used in the inscription rather than *ieuru* or *dede*. *in Alixie* is a locative and *Magalu* is a name in the dat., though whether it refers to a person or a deity is unclear. Despite the uncertainties in the analysis, it can be easily translated as ‘Buscilla placed for Magalos in Alisia’.

References RIG-L-79, Lambert 2003

- Object Stele of Sources de la Seine  
 Findspot Saint-Germain-Source-Seine, Côte-D'Or  
 Country France  
 Dating Mid 1st c  
 Method Style of the sculpture  
 Reading A|RIISI|IQVANI A|RIIOS IOVRVS | LVCIIO NIIRTIICOMA ΔΑΓΟΛΙΤΟΥΣ · ΑΥΟΩΥΤ  
 Summary The traditional reading of this inscription is to take the ethnonym *Aresequani* and the male personal name *Ariios* in the nom. as the subjects who are dedicating an image of *Lucio(n) Nertecoma(ri)*, i.e. Lucios, son of Nertecomaros, the male personal name and patronym in the acc.: ‘Those who reside near the Seine and Ariios have offered [the statue of] Lucios, son of Nertecomaros’. This would however be the only evidence for a personal name in the acc. used in such a way, which has caused Lambert to suggest an alternative translation: either reading a dat. in *Aresequani*: ‘Lucios son of Nertecomaros has dedicated an *arriios* to Aresequana’ or, his favoured interpretation, taking *Aresequani* as a gen. sg.: ‘the head of the Aresequanos, Lucios, son of Nertecomaros, has offered’. The Greek part of the inscription is a makers inscription consisting of a name in the nom. sg. and a verb of making.  
 References RIG-L-12, Lambert 1995

- Object Thiaucourt ring  
 Findspot Thiaucourt, Meurthe-et-Moselle  
 Country France  
 Dating Unknown  
 Reading ADIA | NTVN | NENI | EXVE | RTIN | INAP | PISET | V ««  
 Summary A female name *Adiatunnena* in the dat., genitival patronym *Exuertini* and an additional name *Nappisetu* of indeterminate gender in the dat., followed by a decorative element. Koch (1983: 200) reads a wish/command instead, but this is considered “risky” by Lambert (RIG-L-127). The ring is sized for a woman.  
 References RIG-L-127

●Object Vannes

Findspot Vannes, Morbihan

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **ATIISMERTI S R L**

Summary Depending on the reading of the name this could be a Latin owner's mark or memorial, if we are dealing with an urn, or alternatively it could be a Gaulish religious dedication to a goddess \**Atesmerta*, named here in the dat., followed by the Latin formula [*uotum*] *susceptum libens reddidit*. As the crucial word *uotum* is missing, this interpretation has to be considered speculative.

References RIG-L-83

●Object Vayres

Findspot Vayres, Gironde

Country France

Dating Mid 2nd c

Method Type of pottery

Reading	a.	<b>cesido</b>	<b>urciu</b>	<b>CXXI</b>
			<b>congialidi</b>	<b>XXV</b>
			<b>melauso</b>	<b>urciu LVI</b>
			<b>souxtu</b>	<b>CC</b>
	b.		<b>scutra</b>	<b>V</b>
		<b>attico</b>	<b>trisextia</b>	<b>LXX</b>
			<b>congialidi</b>	<b>XIII</b>
			<b>souxtu</b>	<b>CXXV</b>
		<b>ueriduco</b>	<b>congialidi</b>	<b>XIII</b>
	b1.		<b>trisextia</b>	<b>XXX</b>
			<b>suxtu</b>	<b>C</b>
	c.	<b>cintumo</b>	<b>souxtu</b>	<b>CXXX</b>

Summary This potter's accounting inscription is organised in three columns a, b and c with an addition b1 to column b, situated between b and c. It consists of male names of potters in the nom. sg., followed by names of vases in the acc. pl. and numbers.

References RIG-L-27

## ●Object Stele of Ventabren

Findspot Ventabren, Bouches-du-Rhône

Country France

Dating Before the mid 1st c BC

Method The necropoleis were abandoned around that time

Reading **VECTIT[.?. | BIRACI[.?.**

Summary The inscription is often interpreted as Latin, but due to the context Lejeune (RIG-L-1) disagrees with this and posits a Gaulish reading. Personal name and patronym of indeterminate case and gender. The suggested reconstructions assume the inscription denotes a man, but Lejeune (ibid.) points out it could just as well refer to a woman.

References RIG-L-1

## ●Object Vertault

Findspot Vertault, Côte-d'Or

Country France

Dating Unknown

Reading **es[ | ]tautiú curmíso auitiado s[**

Summary This is a fragment of an inscription – there is at least one line above the legible line. Lambert (RIG-L-85) proposes to read it as a mixture of Latin and Gaulish. *tautiú* could be a dat. sg. of the word *tooutios* ‘belonging to the city’ attested in a Gallo-Greek inscription, which could be taken to mean either a leader or even a god of a city. *curmi* ‘beer’ is also attested on spindle whorls. *-so* is a neuter enclitic demonstrative. The last legible word *auitiado* or *auitirdo* appears to be an adjective formed by *-do-*, as attested elsewhere, but the function and meaning of the adjective in the sentence cannot be established. The beginning of the inscription is accordingly translated by Lambert as ‘to the chief of the city this beer ...’.

References RIG-L-85

●Object Bronze of Vieil-Évreux

Findspot Vieil-Évreux, Eure

Country France

Dating 1st c AD

Method Based on the date of the building, to which it presumably belonged

Reading ]§ · CRISPOBOV[- |

]RAMEDON · [ |

] AX̄TAC BITI EV · [ |

]D̄O CARAD̄IIONV [ |

]N̄ IASELANISEBOÐDV · [ |

] REMI FILIA · [ |

]DRVTAGISACICIVIS·SV[-

Summary This fragment of a bronze plaque is unique in Gallo-Latin. The text consists of seven lines written in decreasing size and contains code switching into Latin for *filia* and *ciuis*. The inscription presumably starts with a male personal name in the nom. sg. in *-ios*, of which only the *-s* remains. A Latin cognomen with a Gaulish ending and a genitival patronym follow. Not attested, but expected, are the dedicatory verb *ieuru* and a demonstrative *sosin*, but we do find an object of the dedication in the acc.: *ramedon*. It is unclear whether that is the entire word or whether the beginning is cut off. Whether the third line belongs to the main body of the inscription or the catalogue cannot be established. The catalogue consists of female personal names in the nom. with genitival patronyms and indications of origin: *ciuis S* ...

References RIG-L-16

●Object Walheim ring

Findspot Walheim am Neckar, Baden-Württemberg

Country Germany

Dating Unknown

Reading DIVIXTA | ARGINTIAS | LITTA . CIILO | RI DDLLM

Summary This bronze ring is inscribed with a Latin dedication, but Gaulish names with Gaulish inflectional endings, it reads as follows: *Divixta Argentias, Litta Celori[i] ddllm. Argenta* or possibly *Argentia* is a name of indeterminate gender which appears in the genitive as *Argentias* in this inscription (Stüber 2007: 84). The inscription ends with an abbreviated Latin dedicatory formula *dederunt libentes merito*. The inscription translates as: ‘Diuxta daughter of Argenta [and] Litta son of Celorus [or Celorius] have offered willingly’.

References RIG-L-130, Stüber 2007



## 9.2 Non-lexical inscriptions

### 9.2.1 Runic Inscriptions

Inscriptions containing the Futhark row are listed separately in Table 9.3, similarly bracteate inscriptions are listed in Table 9.4, except for those found in Table 9.3.

**Table 9.3: Short Inscriptions**

Findspot	Object type	Reason for exclusion
Nydam	Arrowshaft 2	Single rune
Nydam	Arrowshaft 3	Single rune
Nydam	Arrowshaft 4	Only a few rune-like signs
Hailfingen	Beschlägstück	Only a few runes
Nordstrand	Bone fragment	Only a few signs, doubtful Runicity
Lauchheim	Comb	Only a few runes
Aschheim	Fibula	Only a few runes
Bad Krotzingen	Fibula	Single rune
Herbrechtingen	Fibula	Only a few runes
Krefeld-Gellep	Fibula	Single sign, doubtful Runicity
München-Aubing	Fibula	Only a few runes
Saint-Brice	Fibula	Single sign, doubtful Runicity
Schretzheim	Fibula	Only a couple of signs
Trossingen	Fibula A	Only two signs
Trossingen	Fibula B	Single sign, doubtful Runicity
Norra Gärdet	Loom weight	Only a few signs, doubtful Runicity
München-Aubing	Pair of Fibulas	Only a few runes
Asch	Pebble	Only a few signs, doubtful Runicity
Bopfingen	Ring	Single rune
Vörstetten-Schupfholz	Ring	Only a few signs
Osterrönfeld	Shard	Only a few signs, doubtful Runicity
Køng	Statue	Illegible, only a few runes or signs
Utgård	Stone piece	Only two signs
Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel	Urn	Only a few runes
Schretzheim	Ring sword	Runecross, uninterpretable

Table 9.4: Longer Inscriptions

Findspot	Object type	Reason for exclusion
Sorcy-Bauthemont	Belt buckle	Uninterpretable, doubtful Runicity
Älvesta	Bone fragments	Items lost/uninterpretable
Tannheim	Bronzescharnier	Illegible, damaged
Hammeren A	Cliff	Uninterpretable
Hammeren B	Cliff	Fragmentary, uninterpretable
Dischingen	Fibula	Uninterpretable
Dittigheim	Fibula	Uninterpretable
Gomadingen	Fibula	Uninterpretable
Hailfingen	Fibula	Illegible
Hohenstadt	Fibula	Illegible, doubtful Runicity
Igling(Unterigling)	fibula	Probably uninterpretable
Kirchheim/Teck	Fibula	Uninterpretable
Mertingen	Fibula	Uninterpretable
Neudingen	Fibula	Uninterpretable
Nordendorf II	Fibula	Uninterpretable
Peigen	Fibula	Doubtful Runicity, no reading available
Pleidelsheim	Fibula	Doubtful Runicity, no reading available
Schwangau	Fibula	Uninterpretable
Sirnau	Fibula	Doubtful Runicity, no reading available
Tu	Fibula	Uninterpretable, damaged
Weissenburg	Fibula	Runicity and even existence doubtful, not published
Illerup	Plane	Uninterpretable
Gjersvik	Knife	Uninterpretable
Nedre Hov	Knife	Fragmentary, uninterpretable
Møllegårdsmarken	Knifeblade	Illegible
Nydam	Lance/Spearshaft	Uninterpretable
Nydam	Lance/Spearshaft 2	Rune-like signs
Nydam	Lance/Spearshaft 3	Rune-like signs
Mauland	Medallion-Imitation	Uninterpretable, not entirely Runic
Findspot	Object	Reason for exclusion
Illerup	Ortband	Uninterpretable

Vimose	Ortband	Uninterpretable, doubtful Runicity
Lousgård	Pearl	Illegible/Uninterpretable
Weingarten	Pearl	Illegible, Runicity doubtful
Fuglset	Pebble	Damaged by finder, not legible
Valby	Pebble	Not clear whether it's actually Elder Futhark
Dragby	Pot	Uninterpretable
Kaltbrunn	Strap end	Doubtful Runicity, no reading available
Maisach	Strap end	Uninterpretable
Trossingen	Strap end	Illegible, damaged
Gräufelfing	Sax	Illegible
Hailfingen	Sax	Uninterpretable, not entirely Runic
Vimose	Scabbard fitting	Uninterpretable
Eichstetten	Scabbard slide	Uninterpretable
Bergakker	Scabbard slide	Uninterpretable
Sedschütz	Shard	Uninterpretable, doubtful Runicity
Thorsberg	Shield buckle	Uninterpretable
Stetten	Silver hair pin head	Runicity doubtful
Bopfingen	Spatha scabbard slide	Runicity unclear
Rozwadów	Spearblade	Uninterpretable
Oberflacht	Spoon	Uninterpretable, doubtful Runicity
Frøyhov	Statue	Illegible, doubtful Runicity
Martebo	Stone	Uninterpretable
Myklebostad	Stone	The initial name can be read and identified, the rest remains obscure, the various interpretations are not satisfactory
Tørvika B	Stone	Probably uninterpretable
Eketorp	Stone fragment	Probably Viking age
Utgård	Stone piece	Only two signs
Nydam	Sword pearl	Uninterpretable
Thorsberg	Sword plate	Uninterpretable, doubtful Runicity
Liebenau	Tweezers	Illegible, doubtful Runicity
Wehden	Urn	Runicity doubtful

Wehden	Urn	Runicity doubtful
Chehery	Fibula	Uninterpretable, applied at a different time than the Latin inscription
Frøslev	Wooden staff	Uninterpretable

Table 9.5: Futhark Inscriptions

Object type	Findspot	Content of inscription
A Bracteate	Uppåkra, Skåne, S	Run.+Futhark
A Bracteate	Vendsyssel	Uninterpretable, possibly containing a Futhark
C Bracteate	Skåne, S	Futhark
C Bracteate	Overhornbæk III, Jylland, DK	Futhark
C Bracteate	Lindkær, Jylland, DK	Futhark
C Bracteate	Sct. Ibs Vej, Roskilde, Sjælland, DK	Scripta mixta+Futhark
C Bracteate	Gudme II, Funen, DK	Futhark
C Bracteate	Raum Mariedam, Närke, S	Futhark+run.
C Bracteate	Raum Vadstena, Östergötland, S	Futhark+run.
C Bracteate	Grumpan, Västergötland, S	Futhark
C Bracteate	Suchań, Osteuropa, PL	Futhark
Bow fibula	Charnay, F	Futhark+run. <sup>1</sup>
Bow fibula	Beuchte, Niedersachsen, D	Futhark+run.
Bow fibula	Aquincum (Budapest), H	Futhark+run.
Semicolumn	Breza, BIH	Futhark
Stone slab	Kylver, Gotland, S	Futhark+run.
Strap end	Hedenstorp	Futhark only

Table 9.6: Bracteate Inscriptions

Findspot	Reason for exclusion
Ågedal	Uninterpretable, partly non Runic
Års	Only one or two signs
Austad	Only a few runes
Aversi	Only a few runes
Bjornsholm	Uninterpretable, doubtful Runicity
Bolbro II	Uninterpretable
Broholm I/Oure	Uninterpretable

<sup>1</sup>The inscriptions of Beuchte and Charnay are included in the catalogue above, they are listed here as well for the sake of having a complete list of Futhark inscriptions.

Broholm/Oure	Repeat of the same rune as rim decoration
Dalum/Daleim nedre	Uninterpretable
Darum III	Uninterpretable
Darum IV	Uninterpretable
Debrecen and Szatmár (IK182,1 und IK182,2).	Uninterpretable
Denmark/Unknown	Uninterpretable
Eckernförde	Uninterpretable
Ejby	Only a few signs, doubtful Runicity
Elstertrebnitz	Only a few runes
Fedje	Only a few runes
Fredrikstad	Illegible
Funen II	Only a few runes
Gammel Stenderup	Uninterpretable
Geltorf	Uninterpretable
Gudme B II	Uninterpretable
Hjørlande Mark/Slangerup 2	Illegible
Killerup C	Only a few runes
Kitnæs	Only a few runes
Kjøllergård	Uninterpretable
Lekkende Have	Only a few runes
Liebenau	Illegible
Nebenstedt II	Uninterpretable
Overhornbæk	Uninterpretable
Randers	Uninterpretable
Revsgård/Allerslev A-Bracteate	Not in fact identical to Darum II and Skonager, illegible
Rynkebygård	Uninterpretable
Sædding/Slotsgården	Uninterpretable, partly non-Runic
Sct. Ibs Vej, Roskilde	Uninterpretable, possibly Futhark, partly non-Runic
Selvik	Uninterpretable
Sigerslev	Uninterpretable
Sjælland	Uninterpretable, partly non-Runic
Sjælland III	Uninterpretable, partly non-Runic
Skåne VI	Doubtful Runicity, no reading available
Skåne III	Uninterpretable
Skåne	Uninterpretable, partly non-Runic
Skovsborg	Uninterpretable, doubtful Runicity
Småland (two different ones from this location)	Uninterpretable, partly non-Runic
Søtvæt	Uninterpretable
Stedje	Only a few signs, doubtful Runicity

Store Salte	Uninterpretable, partly non-Runic or doubtful Runicity
Szatmár (two, same model)	Uninterpretable
Ullerup Mark	Uninterpretable
Unknown (several of unknown location, one of them no reading available)	Only a few signs, uninterpretable
Unknown/Denmark II	Only a few signs
Unknown/Denmark III	Only a few signs
Unknown/Denmark VI	Single sign, doubtful Runicity
Unknown/Denmark IV	Uninterpretable
Unknown/Denmark VII	Uninterpretable, partly non Runic
Uppåkra (fragment)	Single rune
Vindum Stenhuse	Uninterpretable, partly non Runic
Wurt Hitsum	Uninterpretable
Zagórzyn	One or two signs only

### 9.2.2 Gaulish Inscriptions

**Table 9.7: Gaulish Inscriptions**

RIG Number	Object type	Reason for exclusion
L-35.3-7	Pottery	Latin
L-38	Pottery	Doubtful Celticity
L-40	Pottery	Uninterpretable aside from one word
L-45	Pottery	Latin
L-46	Pottery	Uninterpretable aside from one word
L-47.2	Pottery	Fragment
L-47.3	Pottery	Latin/Greek
L-48	Pottery	Uninterpretable
L-63	Pottery	Uninterpretable
L-64	Pottery	Uninterpretable
L-69	Pottery	Partly illegible, largely uninterpretable
L-71	Pottery	Latin
L-72	Pottery	Greek
L-73	Pottery	Doubtful authenticity
L-76	Pottery	Latin
L-80	Pottery	Latin
L-81a	Pottery	Illegible
L-81c	Pottery	Mix of Greek and Latin characters, difficult to read and interpret

L-86	Pottery	Fragmentary, uninterpretable
L-87	Pottery	Doubtful Celticity
L-88	Pottery	Latin
L-89	Pottery	Fragmentary, uninterpretable
L-91	Pottery	Fragmentary, uninterpretable
L-92	Pottery	Latin
L-94	Pottery	Latin
L-95	Pottery	Fragmentary, uninterpretable
L-96	Pottery	Latin
L-97	Lead tablet	Latin with other linguistic elements, very little celtic
L-98	Lead tablet	Latin, though with some celtic elements
L-101	Lead tablet	Partly illegible, largely uninterpretable
L-102	Lead tablet	Partly illegible, largely uninterpretable
L-103	Lead tablet	Largely uninterpretable, doubtful Celticity
L-104	Lead tablet	Uninterpretable
L-105	Lead tablet	Unverifiable reading, uninterpretable
L-109	Metal tablet	Latin/Greek
L-110	Metal tablet	Latin/Greek
L-124	Ring	Partly illegible, uninterpretable
L-128	Ring	Doubtful Celticity
L-129	Ring	Latin
L-131	Ring	Uninterpretable, perhaps Latin
L-132	Glass vase	Latin
L-134	Bronze pan	Uncertain reading, largely uninterpretable, partly doubtful celticity
L-135	Graffiti	Latin
L-136	Graffiti	Fragmentary, what remains is interpretable but lacks obvious text type markers
L-138	Graffiti	Possibly Latin, uninterpretable

---

## Part IV

# Works Cited



## Works Cited

- Adams, James Noel. 2003. *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Adams, James Noel. 2007. *The Regional Diversification of Latin, 200 BC–AD 600*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Antonsen, Elmer H. 1975. *A Concise Grammar of the Older Runic Inscriptions*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Antonsen, Elmer H. 1993. “The Weser Runes: Magic or Message?”. *NOWELE* 21–22. 1–20.
- Antonsen, Elmer H. 1999. “Die ältesten Runeninschriften in heutiger Sicht”. In *Germanenprobleme in heutiger Sicht*, edited by Heinrich Beck. 2nd ed. Berlin: De Gruyter. 321–343.
- Antonsen, Elmer H. 2002. *Runes and Germanic Linguistics*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Arntz, Helmut, and Hans Zeiss. 1939. *Die Einheimischen Runendenkmäler des Festlandes: Mit 44 Tafeln und 1 Karte. Gesamtausgabe der älteren Runendenkmäler*. Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz.
- Axboe, Morten. 2011. “Die Chronologie der Inschriften-Brakteaten”. In *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit - Auswertung und Neufunde* edited by Wilhelm Heizmann and Morten Axboe. Berlin: De Gruyter. 279–296.
- Axboe, Morten, Charlotte Behr and Klaus Düwel. 2011. “Katalog der Neufunde”. In *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit - Auswertung und Neufunde* edited by Wilhelm Heizmann and Morten Axboe. Berlin: De Gruyter. 893–999.
- Axboe, Morten et al. 1985–1989. *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit. Ikonographischer Katalog*. 1.1–3.2. München: Wilhelm Fink.
- Axboe, Morten and Marie Stoklund. 2003. “En runebrakteat fra Uppåkra”. In *Fler fynd i centrum. Materialstudier i och kring Uppåkra*, edited by Birgitta Hårdh. Stockholm. 81–87.
- Axboe, Martin and Magnus Kallström. 2013. “Guldbrakteater fra Trollhättan – 1844 og 2009”. *Fornvännen*. 153–171.
- Alderik H. Blom. 2009. “*lingua gallica, lingua celtica*: Gaulish, Gallo-Latin, or Gallo-Romance?”. *Keltische Forschungen* 4. 7–54.
- Austin, John Langshaw. 1962. *How To Do Things With Words: The William James Lectures, delivered at Harvard Univ. in 1955*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Babucke, Volker. 1999. “Die Runeninschrift auf dem Elfenbeinring von Pforzen (Allgäu)”. In *Pforzen und Bergakker. Neue Untersuchungen zu Runeninschriften*, edited by Alfred Bammesberger. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 121–26.

- Bammesberger, Alfred. 1999. *Pforzen Und Bergakker. Neue Untersuchungen Zu Runeninschriften*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Bammesberger, Alfred and Gabriele Waxenberger. 2006. *Das fuþark und seine einzelsprachlichen Weiterentwicklungen*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Beard, Mary. 1991. "Ancient Literacy and the Function of the Written Word in Roman Religion". In *Literacy in the Roman World*, edited by Mary Beard et al. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan. 35–58.
- Beck, Heinrich. 2001. "Zur Götter-Anrufung nach altnordischen Quellen (in Sonderheit der Brakteaten)". In *Kontinuitäten und Brüche in der Religionsgeschichte. Festschrift für Anders Hultgård zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 23.12.2001*, Reprint 2012. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Beck, Heinrich. 2006. "Das fuþark und Probleme der Verschriftung/Verschriftlichung". In *Das fuþark und seine einzelsprachlichen Weiterentwicklungen*, edited by Alfred Bammesberger and Gabriele Waxenberger. Berlin: De Gruyter. 61–79.
- Beck, Wolfgang. 2009. "Neues zur Runeninschrift auf dem Goldbrakteaten Schonen II-C". *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 65 (2009), 11–25.
- Behrens, Frank and Stefanie Thews. 2009. "Theorien zu merowingerzeitlichen Runeninschriften: Ritual und Mode". In *Dunkle Jahrhunderte in Mitteleuropa?*, edited by Orsolya Heinrich-Tamaska, Niklot Krohn and Sebastian Ristow. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač. 117–134.
- Blom, Alderik H. 2009. "The Inscription of Rom (Deux-Sèvres)". *Studia Celtica* 43 (1). 53–71.
- Blom, Alderik H. 2012. "Linguae Sacrae in Ancient and Medieval Sources. An Anthropological Approach to Ritual Language". In *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, edited by Alex Mullen and Patrick James. Cambridge University Press. 124–140.
- Bodel, John P. 2001. *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions*. Approaching the Ancient World. London: Routledge.
- Bowman, Alan K. 1991. "Literacy in the Roman Empire: Mass and Mode". In *Literacy in the Roman World*, edited by Mary Beard et al. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan. 119–131.
- Brather, Sebastian. 2004. *Ethnische Interpretationen in der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie Geschichte, Grundlagen und Alternativen*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Brather, Sebastian. 2008. "Zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter Zusammenfassung". In *Zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter. Archäologie des 4. bis 7. Jahrhunderts im Westen*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Braunmüller, Kurt. 2004. "Zum Einfluss des Lateinischen auf die ältesten Runeninschriften". In *Verschränkung der Kulturen: der Sprach- und Literaturtausch zwischen Skandinavien und den deutschsprachigen Ländern*, edited by Oskar Bandle, Jürg Glauser, and Stefanie Würth. Tübingen and Basel: A. Francke. 23–50.
- Bruun, Christer, and Jonathan Edmondson. 2015. *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*. Oxford: University Press.
- Bugge, Sophus. 1891–1901. *Norges indskrifter med de aeldre runer*. Christiania: A.W. Broggers
- Chioffi, Laura. 2015. "Death and Burial". In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, edited by Christer Bruun and Jonathan Edmondson. Oxford: University Press.
- Bæksted, Anders. 1945. "Værløse runefibula". In: *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*. 84–91.
- Bæksted, Anders. 1951. "Begravede Runestene". *Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie*. 63–95.
- Bæksted, Anders. 1952. *Målruner og trolldruner. Runemagiske studier*. Copenhagen: Nordisk Forlag.

- CIL XIII: Bohn, Oscar, Otto Hirschfeld and Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Zangemeister. 1899–1974. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Vol. XIII: Inscriptiones trium Galliarum et Germaniarum Latinae*. Berolini: apud Georgium Reimerum.
- Clackson, James. 2012. “Language maintenance and language shift in the Mediterranean world during the Roman Empire”. In *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds* edited by Alex Mullen and Patrick James. Cambridge: University Press. 36–57.
- Cooley, Alison E. 2012. *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Cunliffe, Barry W. 1997. *The Ancient Celts*. Oxford: University Press.
- De Bernardo Stempel, Patrizia. 1987. *Die Vertretung der indogermanischen liquiden und nasalen Sonanten im Keltischen*. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft.
- De Bernardo Stempel, Patrizia. 1998. “Minima Celtica zwischen Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte”. In *Man and the Animal World. Studies in Archaeozoology, Archaeology, Anthropology and Palaeolinguistics in memoriam Sándor Bökönyi*, edited by Peter Anreiter, László Bartosiewicz, Erzsébet Jerem and Wolfgang Meid. Budapest: Archaeolingua. 601–610.
- Derks, Ton and Nico Roymans. 2002. “Seal-boxes and the spread of Latin literacy in the Rhine delta”. In *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin?: Literacy and Epigraphy in the Roman West.*, edited by Alison E. Cooley. Portsmouth (R.I.): Journal of Roman Archaeology. 87–134.
- Derolez, René. 1981. “The Runic System and Its Cultural Context”. *Michigan Germanic Studies* 7. 19–26.
- Derolez, René and Ute Schwab. 1980–1981. “Logðor, ein altenglisches Glossenwort”. *Studia Germanica Gandensia* XXI. 95–125.
- Dondin-Payre, Monique. 2004. “Les pesons de fuseaux inscrits en Gaule Romaine”. In *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (2000). 198–205.
- Düwel, Klaus. 1975. “Begriffsrunen”. *Germanische Altertumskunde Online*. Berlin: De Gruyter. Retrieved 2018, from [https://www.degruyter.com/view/GAO/RGA\\_486](https://www.degruyter.com/view/GAO/RGA_486).
- Düwel, Klaus. 1981. “Runeninschriften auf Waffen”. In *Wörter und Sachen im Lichte der Bezeichnungsforschung*, edited by Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand. Berlin: De Gruyter. 128–167.
- Düwel, Klaus. 1982. “Runen und interpretatio christiana”. In *Tradition als historische Kraft: Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zur Geschichte des früheren Mittelalters*, edited by Norbert Kamp and Joachim Wollasch. Berlin: De Gruyter. 78–86.
- Düwel, Klaus. 1988. “Buchstabenmagie und Alphabetzauber. Zu den Inschriften der Goldbrakteaten und ihrer Funktion als Amulette”. *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 22. 70–110.
- Düwel, Klaus. 1992. “Zur Auswertung der Brakteateninschriften. Runenkenntnis und Runeninschriften als Oberschichten-Merkmale”. In *Der historische Horizont der Götterbild-Amulette aus der Übergangsepoche von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter*, edited by Karl Hauck. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 32–90.
- Düwel, Klaus. 1994. “Runeninschrift auf einem ‘Schemel’ aus einem Bootsgrab bei Wremen”. *Nytt om Runer* 9. 14–16.
- Düwel, Klaus. 1996 [published 1997]. “Die Runenarbeit am Seminar für deutsche Philologie (Arbeitsstelle: Germanische Altertumskunde), Göttingen: Neufunde 1995”. *Nytt om Runer* 11. 13.
- Düwel, Klaus. 1997 [published 1998]. “Die Runenarbeit am Seminar für deutsche Philologie (Arbeitsstelle: Germanische Altertumskunde), Göttingen: Neufunde 1996”. *Nytt om Runer* 12. 18–19.
- Düwel, Klaus. 1999. “Die Runenschnalle von Pforzen (Allgäu) – Aspekte der Deutung: 3. Lesung und Deutung”. In *Pforzen Und Bergakker. Neue Untersuchungen Zu Runeninschriften*, edited by Alfred Bammesberger. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 36–54.

- Düwel, Klaus. 2002. "Zu einem merkwürdigen Inschriftentyp: Funktions-, Gegenstands- oder Materialbezeichnung?". First published in *Forschungen zur Archäologie und Geschichte in Norddeutschland. Festschrift für Wolf-Dieter Tempel zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Ullrich Wasemann. Wümmen: Archäologische Gesellschaft im Landkreis Rotenburg. 279–288. Republished in *Runica minora. Ausgewählte kleine Schriften zur Runenkunde*, edited by Rudolf Simek, 2015. 345–358.
- Düwel, Klaus. 2002b. "Niederstotzingen". In *Germanische Altertumskunde Online*. Berlin: De Gruyter. Retrieved 2018, from [https://www.degruyter.com/view/GAO/RGA\\_3961](https://www.degruyter.com/view/GAO/RGA_3961).
- Düwel, Klaus. 2006. "Zur Runeninschrift im Kleinen Schulerloch bei Kelheim/Donau (Bayern)". In *Das Futhark und seine einzelsprachlichen Weiterentwicklungen*, edited by Alfred Bammesberger and Gabriele Waxenberger. Berlin: De Gruyter. 317–346.
- Düwel, Klaus. 2008. *Runenkunde*. 4th revised and expanded edition. Stuttgart: Verlag J.B. Metzler.
- Düwel, Klaus. 2015. "Runenkenntnis als Oberschichtenmerkmal (mit besonderer Berücksichtigung methodischer Aspekte)". In *Archäologie und Runen: Fallstudien zu Inschriften im älteren Futhark*. edited by Oliver Grimm. Kiel: Wachholtz. 265–290.
- Düwel, Klaus, and Helmut Roth. 1977. "Die Runenfibel von Donzdorf". *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 11. 409–413.
- Düwel, Klaus and Robert Nedoma. 2004. "Schretzheim, §4 Runologisch". In *Germanische Altertumskunde Online*. Berlin: De Gruyter. Retrieved 2018, from [https://www.degruyter.com/view/GAO/RGA\\_5036](https://www.degruyter.com/view/GAO/RGA_5036)
- Düwel, Klaus and Peter Pieper. 2003. "Neufunde 2002". In *Nytt om Runer*, 18, 11–16.
- Ebel, Else. 1963. *Die Terminologie der Runentechnik*. Göttingen.
- eDIL: *Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language* s.v. "dess", retrieved 2018 from <http://www.dil.ie/15783>.
- Eichner, Heiner. "Addendum zu Nedoma". In *Pforzen Und Bergakker. Neue Untersuchungen Zu Runeninschriften*, edited by Alfred Bammesberger. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 110–113.
- Eska, Joseph Francis. 1998. "The Linguistic Position of Lepontic". In *Proceedings of the Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society. Special Session on Indo-European Subgrouping and Internal Relations*, edited by Benjamin K. Bergin, Madelaine C. Plauché and Ashlee C. Bailey. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society. 2–11.
- Faraone, Christopher A. 1991. "The Agonistic Context of Early Greek Binding Spells". In *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, edited by Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink. Oxford: University Press. 3–32.
- Fehr, Hubert. 2008. "Germanische Einwanderung oder kulturelle Neuorientierung? Zu den Anfängen des Reihengräberhorizontes". In *Zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter: Archäologie des 4. bis 7. Jahrhunderts im Westen*, edited by Sebastian Brather. Berlin: De Gruyter. 67–102.
- Fell, Christine E. 1991. "Runes and Semantics". In *Old English Runes and their Continental Background*, edited by Alfred Bammesberger. Heidelberg: Winter. 195–229.
- Findell, Martin. 2010. *Vocalism in the Continental Runic Inscriptions*. University of Nottingham. Retrieved 2018 from <http://eprints.nottingham.ac.uk/11233/>.
- Findell, Martin. 2012. *Vocalism in the Continental Runic Inscriptions*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter.
- Flowers, Stephen E. 1986. *Runes and Magic – Magical Formulaic Elements in the Older Runic Tradition*. New York, Bern: Peter Lang.
- Flowers, Stephen E. 2006. "How To Do Things With Runes: A Semiotic Approach to Operative Communication." In *Runes and their Secrets - Studies in Runology*, edited by Marie Stoklund, Michael Lerche Nielsen, Bente Holmberg and Gillian Fellows-Jensen. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press. 65–81.

- Fingerlin, Gerhard, Josef F. Fischer and Klaus Düwel. 1998. “Alu und ota – Runenbeschriftete Münznachahmungen der Merowingerzeit aus Hüfingen”. *Germania* 76. 789–822.
- Fischer, Svante. 2005. *Roman Imperialism and Runic Literacy – The Westernization of Northern Europe (150-800 AD)*. Uppsala: Department of Archaeology and Ancient History.
- Fischer, Svante, Martin Graf, Carole Fossurier, Madeleine Châtelet, and Jean Soulat. 2014. “An Inscribed Silver Spoon from Ichtratzheim (Bas-Rhin)”. *Journal of Archaeology and Ancient History* 11. 1–25.
- Fleuriot, Léon. 1980. “Inscriptions gauloises sur céramique”. *Études Celtiques* XVII. 111–144.
- Flobert, Pierre. 1992. “Les Graffites de La Graufesenque: un témoignage sur le gallo-latin sous Néron”. In *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif III*, edited by Maria Iliescu and Werner Marxgut. Tübingen: Niemeyer. 103–114.
- Flowers, Stephen E. 1986. *Runes and Magic: Magical Formulaic Elements in the Older Runic Tradition*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Flowers, Stephen E. 2006. “How to Do Things with Runes: A Semiotic Approach to Operative Communication”. In *Runes and Their Secrets – Studies in Runology*, edited by Marie Stoklund, Michael Lerche Nielsen, Bente Holmberg, and Gillian Fellows-Jensen. 65–81.
- García Losquiño, Irene. 2015. *The Early Runic Inscriptions: Their Western Features. Berkeley Insights in Linguistics and Semiotics*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Gager, John G. 1992. *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*. Oxford: University Press.
- Graf, Martin. 2009. “Die Runeninschriften von Weimar im Lichte der neueren Thüringerforschung”. In *Die Frühzeit der Thüringer. Archäologie, Sprache, Geschichte*, edited by Helmut Castritius, Dieter Geuenich and Matthias Werner. Berlin: De Gruyter. 119–133.
- Graf, Martin. 2010. *Paraschriftliche Zeichen in südgermanischen Runeninschriften. Sutiden zur Schriftkultur des kontinentalgermanischen Runenhorizonts*. Zürich: Chronos.
- Graf, Martin. 2011. “Schrift, Sprache Und Was Dazwischen Liegt. Zur Materialität Epigraphischer Schriftlichkeit Der Ältesten Runeninschriften”. *NOWELE* 62/63. 213–247.
- Graf, Martin, Adina Wicki and Renata Windler. 2016. “Eine Adlerkopfnadel mit Runeninschrift(en) aus Elgg (Kt. Zürich/CH)”. *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 46 (3). 379–397.
- Grünzweig, Friedrich E. 2004. *Runeninschriften auf Waffen: Inschriften vom 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. bis ins Hochmittelalter*. Wien: Ed. Praesens.
- Grønvik, Ottar. 1981. *Runene på Tunesteinen: Alfabet, Språkform, Budskap*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Grønvik, Ottar. 1985. *Runene på Eggjasteinen: En bedensk gravinnskrift fra slutten av 600-tallet*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Grønvik, Ottar. 1987. *Fra Ågedal til Setre: Sentrale runeinnskrifter fra det 6. århundre*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Grønvik, Ottar. 1988. “Om Eggjainnskriften”. *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi* 103. 36–47.
- Grønvik, Ottar. 1996. *Fra Vimose til Ødemotland: Nye studier over runeinnskrifter fra førkristen tid i Norden*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Grønvik, Ottar. 2000. “Om Eggjainnskriften enda en gang”. *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi* 115. 5–22.
- Grønvik, Ottar. 2002. “Om Eggjainnskriften - Epilog”. *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi* 117. 29–34.
- Gustavson, Helmer. 2002 [published 2004]. “Verksamheten vid Runverket i Stockholm. Nyfynd och nyregistreringar 2001”. *Nytt om Runer* 17. 25–39.

- Jacobsen, Lis. 1931. *Eggjum-Stenen. Forsøk paa en filologisk tolkning*. Copenhagen: Levin & Munks-gaards Forlag.
- Hall, Jonathan M. 1997. *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Harris, William V. 1993. *The Inscribed Economy: Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of "Instrumentum Domesticum"*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
- Hauck, Karl. 1988. "Zwanzig Jahre Brakteatenforschung in Münster/Westfalen". *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 22. 17–52.
- Hauck, Karl. 1998. "Zur religionsgeschichtlichen Auswertung von Bildchiffren und Runen der völkerwanderungszeitlichen Goldbrakteaten". In *Runeninschriften als Quellen Interdisziplinärer Forschung*, edited by Klaus Düwel. Berlin: De Gruyter. 298–353.
- Häussler, Ralph. 2002. "Writing Latin – From Resistance to Assimilation: Language, Culture and Society in N. Italy and S. Gaul". In *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin?: Literacy and Epigraphy in the Roman West.*, edited by Alison E. Cooley, Journal of Roman Archaeology. Supplementary Series. Portsmouth (R.I.): Journal of Roman Archaeology. 61–76.
- Haverfield, Francis. 1905. *The Romanization of Roman Britain*. London: Published for the British Academy by H. Frowde.
- Haverfield, Francis. 1915. *The Romanization of Roman Britain*. 3rd Edition. Oxford: Clarendon press.
- Heizmann, Wilhelm. 1987. "Bildformel und Formelwort. Zu den Laukar-Inschriften auf Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit". In *Runor och runinskrifter – Föredrag vid Riksantikvarieämbetets och Vitterhetsakademiens symposium 8–11 september 1985*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.
- Heizmann, Wilhelm. 2010. "Zur Entstehung der Runenschrift". In *Zentrale Probleme bei der Erforschung der älteren Runen: Akten einer internationalen Tagung an der norwegischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Edited by Askedal, John Ole. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. 9–32.
- Heizmann, Wilhelm. 2011. "Die Formelwörter der Goldbrakteaten". In *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit - Auswertung und Neufunde*. Berlin: De Gruyter. 525–601.
- Herring, Edward. 2009. "Ethnicity and Culture". In *A Companion to Ancient History*, edited by Andrew Erskine. Wiley-Blackwell. 123–33
- Hope, Valerie M. 1997. "Words and Pictures: The Interpretation of Romano-British Tombstones". *Britannia* 28. 245–58.
- Hultgard, Anders. 1998. "Runeninschriften und Runendenkmäler als Quellen der Religionsgeschichte". In *Runeninschriften als Quellen interdisziplinärer Forschung*, edited by Klaus Düwel. Berlin: De Gruyter. 715–737.
- Høst, Gerd. 1976. *Runer. Våre eldste norske runeinnskrifter*. Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co.
- Høst, Gerd. 1980. "'Trylleordet' Alu". *Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademis Årbok*, 35–49.
- IK: see Axboe et al. 1985–1989 and Axboe et al 2011.
- Ilkjær, Jørgen. 2000. "Illerup Ådal, §2 Archäologisches" In *Germanische Altertumskunde Online*. Berlin: De Gruyter. Retrieved 2018. [https://www.degruyter.com/view/GAO/RGA\\_2679](https://www.degruyter.com/view/GAO/RGA_2679).
- Imer, Lisbeth. 2007. "Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Northern Barbaricum". In *Beyond the Roman Frontier: Roman Influences on the Northern Barbaricum*, edited by Thomas Grane. Rome: Qasar. 31–60.
- Imer, Lisbeth. 2010. "Runes and the Romans in the North". *Futhark: International Journal of Runic Studies* 1 (2010). 41–64.

- Imer, Lisbeth. 2015. "The Inscriptions from Thorsberg – Germanic Inscriptionmaking as a Reflection of Roman Writing". In *Archäologie und Runen: Fallstudien zu Inschriften im älteren Futhark*. edited by Oliver Grimm. Kiel: Wachholtz. 109–115.
- Jacobsen, Lis and Erik Moltke. *Danmarks Runeindskrifter. Text*. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaards Forlag.
- Jungandreas, Wolfgang. 1972. "God fura dih, deofile". *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 101 (1). 84–85.
- Klingenberg, Heinz. *Runenschrift – Schriftdenken – Runeninschriften*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Knirk, James E. 2004 [published 2006]. "Arbeidet ved Runearkivet, Oslo: Nyfunn og nyregistrering 2003". *Nytt om runer* 19. 16–18.
- Koch, John T. 1983. "The Sentence in Gaulish". *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 3. 169–215.
- Krause, Wolfgang. 1937. *Runeninschriften im älteren Futhark*. Halle: Niemeyer
- Krause, Wolfgang. 1969. "Die Gotische Runeninschrift von Leṭcani". *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 83 (1). 153–161.
- Krause, Wolfgang, and Herbert Jankuhn. 1966. *Die Runeninschriften im älteren Futhark*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht.
- Lambert, Pierre-Yves. 1995. *La langue gauloise*. Paris: Editions Errance.
- Lambert, Pierre-Yves. 1996. "Grands textes magiques: Chamalières, Larzac". In *Die grösseren altkeltischen Sprachdenkmäler*, edited by Wolfgang Meid and Peter Anreiter. Innsbruck: Verlag des Instituts für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck. 51–85.
- Lambert, Pierre-Yves. 1997. "Notes de linguistique gauloise". *Études Celtiques* XXXIII. 103–108.
- Lambert, Pierre-Yves. 2001. "La tuile gauloise de Châteaubateau (Seine-et-Marne)". *Études Celtiques* XXXIV (1998–2000). 57–115.
- Lambert, Pierre-Yves. 2002. *Textes Gallo-Latins Sur Instrumentum. Recueil des Inscriptions Gauloises, Vol. 2, Fasc. 2*. Paris: CNRS éditions.
- Lambert, Pierre-Yves. 2003. *La langue gauloise: description linguistique, commentaire d'inscriptions choisies*. Paris: Ed. Errance.
- Lejeune, Michel. 1971. *Lepontica*. Paris: Société d'édition Les Belles lettres.
- Lejeune, Michel. 1985. *Textes Gallo-Grecs. Recueil des Inscriptions Gauloises, Vol. 1*. Paris: Editions du C.N.R.S.
- Lejeune, Michel. 1985b. "Le plomb du Larzac". *Études Celtiques* 22. 95–177.
- Lejeune, Michel. 1988. *Textes Gallo-Étrusques, Textes Gallo-Latins Sur Pierre. Recueil des Inscriptions Gauloises. Paris, Vol. 2, Fasc. 1*. Paris: Editions du C.N.R.S.
- Loth Joseph. 1916. "Remarques aux inscriptions latines sur pesons de fuseau trouvés en territoire gaulois et, en particulier, à l'inscription celtique de Saint-Révérien (Nièvre)". *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 60 (2). 168–186.
- Looijenga, Tineke. 1996. "The Runic Inscription of the Letcani Spindle Whorl". *Skandinavistik* 26 (1). 133–137.
- Looijenga, Tineke. 2003. *Texts and Contexts of the Oldest Runic Inscriptions*. Leiden: Brill.
- Lundeby, Einar and Henrik Williams. 1992. "Om Vadstenabrakteatens *tuwa* med et tillegg om Lellingebrakteatens *sahu*". *Maal og Minne*. 11–26.

- Lüthi, Katrin. 2004. "Von Þrúphil und Hariso: Alemannische und ältere skandinavische Runenkultur im Vergleich". In *Alemannien und der Norden*, edited by Hans-Peter Naumann. Berlin: De Gruyter. 318–339.
- MacLeod, Mindy. 2006. "Ligatures in Early Runic and Roman Inscriptions." In *Runes and their Secrets - Studies in Runology*, edited by Marie Stoklund, Michael Lerche Nielsen, Bente Holmberg and Gillian Fellows-Jensen. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press. 183–199.
- MacLeod, Mindy and Bernard Mees. 2006. *Runic Amulets and Magic Objects*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.
- MacMullen, Ramsay. 1982. "The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire". *The American Journal of Philology* 103 (3). 233–46.
- Mallon, Jean. 1982. "Une tuile écrite avant cuisson au troisième siècle de notre ère (ou environ), conservée au Musée Archéologique National de Madrid, dans B.S.N.A.F. 1973, séance du 4 juillet, p. 86-92". In *De L'Écriture. Recueil d'études publiées de 1937 à 1981*. Paris: Éditions du CNRS. 322–325.
- Marichal, Robert. 1988. *Les Graffites de La Graufesenque*. Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique.
- Marold, Edith. 2011. "Vers Oder Nicht Vers?: Zum metrischen Charakter von Runeninschriften im älteren Futhark". *Futhark* 2. 63–102.
- Marold, Edith. 2015. "Die Inschrift von Tune als religionsgeschichtliches Zeugnis". In *Archäologie und Runen: Fallstudien zu Inschriften im älteren Futhark*, edited by Oliver Grimm. Kiel: Wachholtz. 145–164.
- Martin, Max. 1977. "Die Runenfibel aus Bülach Grab 249. Gedanken zur Verbreitung der Runendenkmäler bei den Westgermanen". In *Festschrift Walter Drack zu seinem 60. Geburtstag: Beiträge zur Archäologie und Denkmalpflege*, edited by Walter Drack and Karl Stüber. Stäfa: Th. Gut. 120–128.
- Marstrander, Carl Johan Sverdrup. 1929. "Opedalstenen". *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 3. 158–196.
- Marstrander, Carl Johan Sverdrup. 1939. Review of Arntz and Zeiss 1939. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 11. 280–339.
- Marstrander, Carl Johan Sverdrup. 1952. *De nordiske runeinnskrifter i eldre alfabet: skrift og språk i folkevandringstiden. I. Danske og svenske innskrifter*. Oslo: Norsk Arkeologisk Selskap.
- McCone, Kim. 1996. "Der Teller von Lezoux". In *Die grösseren altkeltischen Sprachdenkmäler*, edited by Wolfgang Meid and Peter Anreiter. Innsbruck: Verlag des Instituts für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck. 107–117.
- McKinnell, John and Rudolf Simek with Klaus Düwel. 2004. *Runes, Magic and Religion. A Sourcebook*. Vienna: Fassbaender.
- Mees, Bernard. 1997. "A New Interpretation of the Meldorf Fibula Inscription". *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 126 (2). 131–39.
- Mees, Bernard. 1999. "The Celts and the Origin of the Runic Script". *Studia Neophilologica* 71 (2). 143–155.
- Mees, Bernard. 2000. "The North Etruscan Thesis of the Origin of the Runes". *Arkiv För Nordisk Filologi* 115. 33–82.
- Mees, Bernard. 2003. "Runic **erilar**". *NOWELE* 42. 41–68.
- Mees, Bernard. 2011. "Sociocultural Theory and the Leub Inscriptions". *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 110 (4). 474–88.



- Mees, B. 2011b. “Words from the Well at Gallo-Roman Châteaubleau”. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 58. 87–108.
- Mees, B. 2012. “The Meldorf Fibula Inscription and Epigraphic Typology”. *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 47 (3). 259–284.
- Mees, Bernard. 2014. “On the Typology of the Texts That Appear on Migration-Era Bracteates”. *Early Medieval Europe* 22 (3): 280–303.
- Mees, Bernard. 2014b. “The Etymology of Rune”. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 136 (4). 527–537.
- Mees, Bernard. 2015. “Further Thoughts on the Tune Memorial”. *Norsk lingvistisk tidsskrift* 33. 49–62.
- Mees, Bernard. 2016. “The Hogganvik Inscription and Early Nordic Memorialisation”. *Futhark: International Journal of Runic Studies* 7 (2016). 7–28.
- Meid, Wolfgang. 1980. *Gallisch oder Lateinisch?: Soziolinguistische und andere Bemerkungen zu populären gallo-lateinischen Inschriften*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft.
- Meid, Wolfgang. 1994. *Gaulish Inscriptions. Their Interpretation in the Light of Archaeological Evidence and Their Value as a Source of Linguistic and Sociological Information*. Budapest: Archaeolingua.
- Meid, Wolfgang. 1996. “Zur Interpretation der Inschrift von Larzac”. In *Die grösseren altkeltischen Sprachdenkmäler*, edited by Wolfgang Meid and Peter Anreiter. Innsbruck: Verlag des Instituts für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck. 41–50.
- Meissner, Torsten. 2010. “Bratonio Gratias: Bemerkungen zur festlandkeltischen Onomastik und Phraseologie”. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 57. 97–106.
- Meli, Marcello. 1988. *Alamannia runica, rune e cultura nell’alto medioevo*. Verona: Libreria univertitaria editrice.
- Meyer, Elizabeth A. 1990. “Explaining the Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire: The Evidence of Epitaphs.” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 80 (January). 74–96.
- Meyer, Marvin W., Richard Smith and Neal Kelsey. 1994. *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*. San Francisco: Harper.
- Millett, Martin. 1990. *The Romanization of Britain: An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Mirecki, Paul Allan and Marvin W. Meyer. 2002. *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*. Leiden: Brill.
- Mócsy, A. 1966. “Die Unkenntnis des Lebensalters im Römischen Reich”. *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* Tom. XIV. 387–421.
- Moltke, Erik. 1963/1964. “Runeindskriften på rosetfibulen fra Nøvling”. In *Kuml* 13 (1963). 37–41.
- Moltke, Erik. 1985. *Runes and Their Origin, Denmark and Elsewhere*. Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark.
- Mommsen, Theodor. 1909. *The Provinces of the Roman Empire from Caesar to Diocletian*. Translation and additions by William P. Dickson. London: Macmillan and co., limited.
- Mullen, Alex. 2007. “Evidence for Written Celtic from Roman Britain: A Linguistic Analysis of *Tabellae Sulis* 14 and 18”. *Studia Celtica* XLI (2007). 31–45.
- Mullen, Alex. 2011. “Reflets Du Multiculturalisme: La Création et Le Développement Du Gallo-Grec”. In *Contacts Linguistiques Dans l’Occident Méditerranéen Antique*, edited by C. Ruiz Darasse and E. Lújan. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez. 227–239.

- Mullen, Alex. 2012. "Introduction: Multiple Languages, Multiple Identities" in *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds* edited by Alex Mullen and Patrick James. Cambridge: University Press. 1–32.
- Mullen, Alex. 2013. "The Language of the Potteries: Communication in the Production and Trade of Gallo-Roman Terra Sigillata". In *Seeing Red. New Economic and Social Perspectives on Gallo-Roman 'terra sigillata'*, edited by Michael Fulford and Emma Durham. London: Institute of Classical Studies School of Advanced Study University of London. 97–110.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol. 1986. "Diglossia and Code Switching". In *The Fergusonian Impact. In Honor of Charles A. Ferguson on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday. Volume 2. Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of Language*, edited by Joshua A. Fishman et al. Berlin: De Gruyter. 403–415.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol. 2005. *Multiple Voices: An Introduction to Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Nedoma, Robert. 1999. "Die Runeninschrift auf der Gürtelschnalle von Pforzen – ein Zeugnis der germanischen Heldensage". In *Pforzen und Bergakker. Neue Untersuchungen zu Runeninschriften*, edited by Alfred Bammesberger. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 98–109.
- Nedoma, Robert. 2004. *Personennamen in südgermanischen Runeninschriften*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Nedoma, Robert. 2006a. "Schrift und Sprache in den südgermanischen Runeninschriften". In *Das fuhark und seine einzelsprachlichen Weiterentwicklungen*. Berlin: De Gruyter. 109–156.
- Nedoma, Robert. 2006b. "Zu den Personennamen in der Runeninschrift vom Kleinen Schulerloch". In *Das fuhark und seine einzelsprachlichen Weiterentwicklungen*. Berlin: De Gruyter. 347–355.
- Nedoma, Robert. 2011. "Personennamen in älteren Runeninschriften auf Fibeln". *NOWELE: North-Western European Language Evolution* 62/63. 31–89.
- Nedoma, Robert and Klaus Düwel. 2006. "Weimar, §4 Runologisch". *Germanische Altertumskunde Online*. Berlin: De Gruyter. Retrieved 2018, from [https://www.degruyter.com/view/GAO/RGA\\_6409](https://www.degruyter.com/view/GAO/RGA_6409)
- Nielsen, Hans Frede. 2000. *The Early Runic Language of Scandinavia: Studies in Germanic Dialect Geography*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Nowak, Sean. 2003. *Schrift auf den Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit. Untersuchungen zu den Formen der Schriftzeichen und zu formalen und inhaltlichen Aspekten der Inschriften*. Universität Göttingen.
- Odenstedt, Bengt. 1990. *On the Origin and Early History of the Runic Script: Typology and Graphic Variation in the Older Futhark*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Odenstedt, Bengt. 1997. "The Skramle Inscription - An Important Find. With Some Notes on the Older Runic Inscriptions". In *From Runes to Romance. Festschrift for Gunnar Persson on his Sixtieth Birthday, November 9, 1997*, edited by Mats Rydén et al. Umeå: Swedish Science Press. 165–180.
- Olsen, M. 1912. "Über den Inhalt einiger Gruppen von urnordischen Runeninschriften". In *Festschrift: Vilhelm Thomsen zur Vollendung des siebenzigsten Lebensjahres am 25. Januar 1912*. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz. 15–20.
- Opitz, Stephan. 1977. *Südgermanische Runeninschriften im älteren Futhark aus der Merowingerzeit*. . Kirchzarten: Burg-Verlag.
- Opitz, Stephan. 1982. "Neue Runeninschriften". *Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg* 7. 483–490.
- Page, Raymond Ian. 1996. "On the Baffling Nature of the Frisian Inscriptions". In *Frisian Runes and Neighbouring Traditions*, edited by Tineke Looijenga and Arend Quak. Amsterdam: Rodopi. 130–149.
- Page, Raymond Ian. 1999. *An Introduction to English Runes*. 2nd ed. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.

- Page, Raymond Ian. 2006. "Anglo-Saxon Runes: Some Statistical Problems". In *Runes and their Secrets - Studies in Runology*, edited by Marie Stoklund, Michael Lerche Nielsen, Bente Holmberg and Gillian Fellows-Jensen. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press. 271–282.
- Parkes, Malcolm Beckwith. 1991. *Scribes, Scripts and Readers. Studies in the Communication Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts*. London: The Hambleton Press.
- Peterson, Lena. 1994. "On the Relationship Between Proto-Scandinavian and Continental Germanic Personal Names". In *Runische Schriftkultur in kontinental-skandinavischer und -angelsächsischer Wechselbeziehung*. Berlin: De Gruyter. 128–175.
- Pieper, Peter. 1989. *Die Weser-Runenknochen: Neue Untersuchungen zur Problematik: Original oder Fälschung*. Oldenburg: Verlag Isensee.
- Pieper, Peter. 1990 [published 1991]. "A New Runic Inscription from Stetten on the Danube, Germany". *Nytt om Runer* 5. 6–7.
- Pieper, Peter. 1999. "Die Runenschnalle von Pforzen (Allgäu). Aspekte der Deutung. 2: Technologische Beobachtungen und runographische Überlegungen". In *Pforzen und Bergakker. Neue Untersuchungen zu Runeninschriften*, edited by Alfred Bammesberger. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 25–35.
- Pieper, Peter. 2005. "Spong Hill, §2 Spiegelrunen". *Germanische Altertumskunde Online*. Berlin: De Gruyter. Retrieved 2018, from [https://www.degruyter.com/view/GAO/RGA\\_5399](https://www.degruyter.com/view/GAO/RGA_5399).
- Pohl, Walter. 2008. "Spuren, Texte, Identitäten Methodische Überlegungen Zur Interdisziplinären Erforschung Frühmittelalterlicher Identitätsbildung". In *Zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter. Archäologie des 4. bis 7. Jahrhunderts im Westen*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Polomé, Edgar C. 1995. "Diachronic Stratification of the Germanic Vocabulary". In *Insights in Germanic Linguistics I: Methodology in Transition*, edited by Werner Winter. Berlin: De Gruyter. 243–264.
- Prag, Jonathan R. W. 2002. "Epigraphy by Numbers: Latin and the Epigraphic Culture in Sicily". in *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin?: Literacy and Epigraphy in the Roman West.*, edited by Alison E. Cooley, *Journal of Roman Archaeology. Supplementary Series*. Portsmouth (R.I.): *Journal of Roman Archaeology*. 15–31.
- RIG-G or RIG-I: see Lejeune, Michel. 1985.
- RIG-L-1-17 or RIG-II/1: see Lejeune, Michel. 1988.
- RIG-L-18-139/RIG-II/2: see Lambert, Pierre-Yves. 2002.
- Romaine, Suzanne. 1989. *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Romaine, Suzanne. 2009. *Socio-Historical Linguistics: Its Status and Methodology*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Runenprojekt Kiel. Sprachwissenschaftliche Datenbank der Runeninschriften im älteren Futhark*. Last updated 04.03.2012. Retrieved between 2015–2018. <http://www.runenprojekt.uni-kiel.de>
- Rüger, Christoph Bernhard. 1998. "Lateinische Schriftlichkeit im Römischen Grenzgebiet gegen die Germanen". In *Runeninschriften als Quellen Interdisziplinärer Forschung*, edited by Klaus Düwel. Berlin: De Gruyter. 357–375.
- Santesson, Lillemor. 1989. "En blekingsk blotinskript: en nytolkning av inledningsraderna på Stentofstenstenen". *Fornvännen* 84. 221–229.
- Schmidt, Christoph G., Robert Nedoma, and Klaus Düwel. 2010/2011. "Die Runeninschrift auf dem Kamm von Frienstedt". *Die Sprache* 49 (2). 123–186.

- Schmidt, Karl Horst. "Larzac". In *Die grösseren altkeltischen Sprachdenkmäler*, edited by Wolfgang Meid and Peter Anreiter. Innsbruck: Verlag des Instituts für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck. 23–36.
- Schmitt, Rüdiger. 1995. "Morphologie der Namen: Vollnamen und Kurznamen bzw. Kosenamen im Indogermanischen". In *Namenforschung: Ein internationales Handbuch zur Onomastik*. Berlin: De Gruyter. 419–427.
- Schrijver, Peter. 2001. "The Châteaubleau Tile as a Link Between Latin and French and Between Gaulish and Brittonic". *Études Celtiques* XXXIV (1998–2000). 135–142.
- Schrijver, Peter. 2004. "Der Tod des Festlandkeltischen und die Geburt des Französischen, Niederländischen und Hochdeutschen". In *Sprachtod und Sprachgeburt*, edited by Peter Schrijver and Peter-Arnold Mumm. Bremen: Hempen. 1–20.
- Schrijver, Peter. 2005. "Early Celtic Diphthongization and the Celtic-Latin Interface". In *New Approaches to Celtic Place Names in Ptolemy's Geography*, edited by Javier de Hoz, Eugenio R. Luján and Patrick Sims-Williams. Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas. 55–67.
- Schulte, Michael. 2005. "Die lateinisch-altrunische Kontakthypothese im Lichte der sprachhistorischen Evidenz". *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 127 (2). 161–82.
- Schulte, Michael. 2006. "Oral Traces in Runic Epigraphy: Evidence from Older and Younger Inscriptions". *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* (02). 117–151.
- Schulte, Michael. 2008. "Stylistic Variation in Runic Inscriptions? A Test Case and Preliminary Assessment". *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*. 5–22.
- Schulte, Michael. 2015. "Runology and Historical Sociolinguistics: On Runic Writing and Its Social History in the First Millennium". *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics* 1 (1). 87–110.
- Schwab, Ute. 1998. "Runen der Merowingerzeit als Quelle für das Weiterleben der spätantiken christlichen und nichtchristlichen Schriftmagie?". In *Runeninschriften als Quellen interdisziplinärer Forschung*, edited by Klaus Düwel. Berlin: De Gruyter. 376–433.
- Schwab, Ute. 1999. "Die Runenschnalle von Pforzen (Allgäu) – Aspekte der Deutung: 4. Diskussion". In *Pforzen und Bergakker. Neue Untersuchungen zu Runeninschriften*, edited by Alfred Bammesberger. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 55–79.
- Seebold, Elmar. 1991. "Die Stellung der englischen Runen im Rahmen der Überlieferung des älteren Futhork". In *Old English Runes and their Continental Background*, edited by Alfred Bammesberger. Heidelberg: Winter. 439–569.
- Seebold, Elmar. 1994. "Die sprachliche Deutung und Einordnung der archaischen Runeninschriften". In *Runische Schriftkultur in kontinental-skandinavischer und -angelsächsischer Wechselbeziehung*. Berlin: De Gruyter. 56–94.
- Seebold, Elmar. 1999. "Bemerkungen zur Runeninschrift von Pforzen". In *Pforzen Und Bergakker. Neue Untersuchungen Zu Runeninschriften*, edited by Alfred Bammesberger. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 88–90.
- Siegmund, Frank. 2004. "Die Alemannia Aus Archäologischer Sicht Und Ihre Kontakte Zum Norden". In *Alemannien Und Der Norden*, edited by Hans-Peter Naumann. Berlin: De Gruyter. 142–164.
- Skorupski, John. 1976. *Symbol and Theory: A Philosophical Study of Theories of Religion in Social Anthropology*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Sonderegger, Stefan. 1969. "Frühe Erscheinungsformen dichterischer Sprache im Althochdeutschen". In *Typologia Litterarum. Festschrift für Max Wehrli*, edited by Stefan Sonderegger, Alois M. Haas and Harald Burger. Zürich: Atlantis-Verlag. 53–82.
- Spurkland, Terje. 2005. *Norwegian Runes and Runic Inscriptions*. Suffolk: Boydell Press.

- Steuer, Heiko. 2015. "Ränge, Runen und Rituale – Zusammenfassungen und generelle Gedanken zum Stand der Runenforschung aus Sicht des Archäologen". In *Archäologie und Runen: Fallstudien zu Inschriften im älteren Futhark*, edited by Oliver Grimm. Kiel: Wachholtz. 247–264.
- Stifter, David. 2009. "Notes on Châteaubleau (L-93)". *Keltische Forschungen* 4. 229–244.
- Stifter, David. 2011. "The Textual Arrangement of Alise-Sainte-Reine [L-13]". *Zeitschrift für Keltische Philologie* 58. 165–181.
- Stoklund, Marie. 1994. "Von Thorsberg nach Haithabu. Ein Überblick über die dänischen Inschriften unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der möglichen Spuren von kulturellen und sprachlichen Kontakten nach außen". In *Runische Schriftkultur in kontinental-skandinavischer und -angelsächsischer Wechselbeziehung* Berlin: De Gruyter. 95–116.
- Stoklund, Marie. 1996 [published 1997]. "Arbejdet ved Runologisk Laboratorium, København: Nyfund fra Danmark i 1995 (og 1994)". *Nytt om Runer* 11. 4–12.
- Stoklund, Marie. 1995. "Die Runen der römischen Kaiserzeit". In *Himlingøje – Seeland – Europa*, edited by Lund Hansen. København: Det Kongelige nordiske oldskriftselskab. 317–346.
- Stoklund, Marie. 2004. "Navnestoffet fra Nydam-indskrifterne og et fragment fra Sorte Muld". In *Namenwelten. Orts- und Personennamen in historischer Sicht*, edited by Astrid van Nahl et al. Berlin: De Gruyter. 722–729.
- Stüber, Karin. 2005. *Schmied und Frau. Studien zur gallischen Epigraphik und Onomastik*. Budapest: Archaeolingua.
- Stüber, Karin. 2007. "Effects of Language Contact on Roman and Gaulish Personal Names". In *The Celtic Languages in Contact: Papers from the Workshop Within the Framework of the XIII International Congress of Celtic Studies, Bonn, 26-27 July 2007*. Potsdam: Universitätsverlag.
- Stüber, Karin. 2009. "Effects of Language Contact on Roman and Gaulish Personal Names". In *Kelten am Rhein. Akten des dreizehnten Internationalen Keltologiekongresses. Zweiter Teil: Philologie*. edited by Stefan Zimmer. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern. 291–297.
- Sundqvist, Olof and Anders Hultgård. 2004. "The Lycophoric Names of the 6th to 7th Century Blekinge Rune Stones and the Problem of Their Ideological Background". In *Namenwelten. Orts- und Personennamen in historischer Sicht*, edited by Astrid van Nahl et al. Berlin: De Gruyter. 583–602.
- Taavitsainen, Irma, and Andreas H. Jucker. 2015. "Twenty Years of Historical Pragmatics: Origins, Developments and Changing Thought Styles". *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 16 (1). 1–24.
- Taavitsainen, Irma, and Fitzmaurice, Susan M. 2007. *Methods in Historical Pragmatics. Topics in English Linguistics*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Tab. Sulis: see Tomlin 1988.
- Taylor, Marvin. 1990. "The Etymology of the Germanic Tribal Name 'Eruli'". *General Linguistics* 30 (2). 108–125.
- Theune, Claudia. 2008. "Methodik Der Ethnischen Deutung Überlegungen Zur Interpretation Der Grabfunde Aus Dem Thüringischen Siedlungsgebiet". In *Zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter. Archäologie des 4. bis 7. Jahrhunderts im Westen*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Thomas, Rosalind. 1992. *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Thomason, Sarah G. 2001. *Language Contact: An Introduction*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Tomlin, R. S. O. 1988. "The Curse Tablets". In *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath Vol. 2. The Finds from the Sacred Spring*, edited by Barry Cunliffe. Oxford: University Committee for Archaeology. 59–280.

- Vendryes, Joseph. 1924. “Remarques sur les graffites de La Graufesenque”. *Numéro Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris* XXV. 34–43.
- Vendryes, Joseph. 1955–1956. “Neddamon delgu linda”. *Études Celtiques* VII. 9–17.
- Wagner, Norbert. 1999. “Zur Runeninschrift von Pforzen”. In *Pforzen und Bergakker. Neue Untersuchungen zu Runeninschriften*, edited by Alfred Bammesberger. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 91–97.
- Waldispühl, Michelle. 2013. *Schreibpraktiken und Schriftwissen in südgermanischen Runeninschriften: Zur Funktionalität epigraphischer Schriftverwendung*. Zürich: Chronos.
- Webster, Jane. 2001. “Creolizing the Roman Provinces”. *American Journal of Archaeology* 105 (2). 209–25.
- Whatmough, Joshua. 1970. *The Dialects of Ancient Gaul*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Wicker, Nancy L. 2010. “Situating Scandinavian Migration Period Bracteates: From Typology and Iconography to Gender, Agency and Visual Culture”. In *Situating Gender in European Archaeologies*, edited by Liv Helga Dommasnes, Tove Hjørungdal, Sandra Montón-Subías, Margarita Sánchez Romero and Nancy L. Wicker. Budapest: Archaeolingua. 67–81.
- Wicker, Nancy L., and Henrik Williams. 2013. “Bracteates and Runes”. *Futhark: International Journal of Runic Studies* 3. 151–213.
- Williams, Henrik. 1997. “The Romans and the Runes - Uses of Writing in Germania”. In *Runor och ABC*, edited by Staffan Nyström. Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia.
- Williams, Henrik. 2004. “Reasons for Runes”. In *The First Writing: Script Invention as History and Process* edited by Stephen D. Houston. Cambridge: University Press. 262–394.
- Woolf, Greg. 1996. “Monumental Writing and the Expansion of Roman Society in the Early Empire”. *The Journal of Roman Studies* 86 (January). 22–39.
- Woolf, Greg. 1998. *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Zimmer, Stefan. 2014. “Dobnoredo Gobano Brenodör Nantarör”. In *Munus amicitiae Norbert Oettinger a collegis et amicis dicatum*, edited by H. Craig Melchert, Elisabeth Rieken and Thomas Steer. Ann Arbor, New York: Beech Stave Press. 385–395.
- Zimmermann, Christiane. 2006. “Runeninschriften als Sprechakte? Vorüberlegungen zu einer pragmalinguistischen Untersuchung der Runeninschriften im Älteren Futhark”. In *Das Futhark und seine einzelsprachlichen Weiterentwicklungen*, edited by Alfred Bammesberger and Gabriele Waxenberger. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Zimmermann, Christiane. 2010. “‘How to Do Things with Runes’: Illocutionary Forces and Communicative Purposes behind the Runic Inscriptions in the Older Futhark”. *Futhark: International Journal of Runic Studies* 1. 85–107.
- Zimmermann, Christiane. 2015a. “Runeninschriften auf nordeuropäischen Fibeln der Kaiser- und Völkerwanderungszeit – Eine sprachlich-runologische Betrachtung unter sozialgeschichtlichen Aspekten” In *Archäologie und Runen. Fallstudien zu Inschriften im älteren Futhark*, edited by Oliver Grimm and Alexandra Pesch. Kiel: Wachholtz. 403–426.
- Zimmermann, Ute. 2015b. “Bier, Runen und Macht: Ein Formelwort im Kontext.” *Futhark: International Journal of Runic Studies* 5. 45–64.

# Index

- Aalen, 35, 120  
Alise, 73, 74, 201  
Allesø, 45, 90, 92, 93, 120, 126, 191  
Alma, 60  
Almungs, 94, 120, 127, 131, 176, 177, 182, 188  
Amla, 60, 121  
Annecy, 70, 101, 216  
Arc d'Orange, 102, 201  
Arlon, 39, 53, 110, 121  
Aschheim, 35, 37, 106, 121, 122, 243  
Autun, 64, 73, 74, 100, 111, 112, 202, 203, 214  
Auxerre, 112, 204  
Auxey, 72, 74, 204
- Bad Ems, 78, 106, 122, 152  
Bad Krozingen, 107, 122  
Balingen, 78, 123  
Banassac, 100, 101, 104–106, 205–208, 217  
Barmen, 37, 51, 123  
Bath, 16, 86, 209, 210  
Belland, 34, 35, 123  
Berga, 52, 124  
Beuchte, 43, 124, 246  
Bezenye, 51, 106, 110, 124  
Björketorp, 28, 37, 50, 79–82, 125, 180  
Bjørnerud, 90, 126  
Bolbro, 90, 92, 93, 120, 126, 246  
Bopfingen, 35, 126, 243, 245  
Borgharen, 35, 126  
Boulogne, Bavai and Andernach, 100, 210  
Bratsberg, 35, 36, 39, 50, 127  
Burge, 94, 120, 127  
By, 37, 39, 52, 127  
Börringe, 90, 92, 128  
Bø, 60, 128  
Bülach, 38, 44, 128
- Cajarc, 113, 211  
Chalon-sur-Saône, 211  
Chamalières, 84, 212  
Charnay, 78, 109, 129, 246  
Châteaubleau, 69–71, 213  
Châteauroux, 100, 214  
Clermont-Ferrand, 100, 215  
Couchey, 74, 75, 215  
Coudoux, 63, 65, 115, 215
- Dahmsdorf, 43, 55, 129  
Darum, 44, 45, 91, 93, 130, 174, 247  
Denmark, 45, 92, 131, 247, 248  
Dischingen, 43, 131, 244  
Djupbrunns, 45, 90, 94, 131, 132  
Donzdorf, 35, 94, 132
- Eggja, 28, 81, 82, 133  
Eidsvåg, 34, 35, 50, 133  
Eikeland, 37, 46, 51, 134  
Einang, 48, 134  
Elgesem, 89, 134  
Elgg, 44, 135  
Ellestad, 37, 39, 44, 50, 52, 68, 135  
Erpfting, 109, 135  
Eskatorp, 37, 39, 44, 48, 136, 195  
Etelhem, 37, 39, 49, 136
- Fjärestad, 45, 94, 136

- Fløksand, 92, 137  
 Fonnås, 68, 137  
 Fosse, 90, 138  
 Freilaubersheim, 44, 47, 48, 51, 138  
 Fride, 94, 138, 169, 200  
 Friedberg, 35, 139  
 Frienstedt, 57, 139  
 Funen, 45, 90, 91, 93, 139, 158  
 Følleseje, 35, 140  
 Førde, 35, 90, 140
- Gadegård, 45, 94, 140  
 Gallehus, 26, 39, 47, 49, 52, 97, 141  
 Gammertingen, 53, 141  
 Garbølle, 11, 49, 141  
 Genouilly, 61, 62, 74, 101, 115, 221, 222  
 Gergovie, 61, 62, 216  
 Gièvres, 112, 216  
 Graufesenque, 63, 64, 99–106, 111, 112  
 Griesheim, 14, 15, 52, 142  
 Gudme, 34, 35, 45, 55, 95, 142, 151, 246  
 Gummarp, 28, 49, 51, 79, 82, 96, 143  
 Gurfiles, 93, 143  
 Gårdlösa, 36, 143
- Halsskov Overdrev, 44, 48, 93, 144  
 Hammenhög, 45, 92, 144  
 Heide, 45, 144  
 Heilbronn-Böckingen, 36, 145  
 Hesselager, 45, 92, 145, 178  
 Hesselagergårds Skov, 92, 145  
 Himlingøje, 35, 36, 145, 146  
 Himmelstalund, 35, 146  
 Hjørlande Mark, 45, 90, 146, 247  
 Holt, 100, 222  
 Horvnes, 89, 147  
 Højstrup Strand, 93, 147  
 Hüfingen, 90, 94, 147
- Ichtratzheim, 42, 56, 79, 148  
 Illerup, 10, 11, 34, 35, 49, 54, 55, 116, 148, 149, 193, 244
- Istaby, 39, 46, 51, 59, 79, 82, 143, 150
- Jublains, 101  
 Järsberg, 37, 39, 45, 47, 150
- Kalleby, 45, 150  
 Kalmergården, 34, 35, 151  
 Killerup, 95, 142, 151, 247  
 Kinneve, 89, 151  
 Kirchheim/Teck, 35, 78, 122, 151, 152, 244  
 Kjellers Mose, 90, 152  
 Kjøløvik, 37, 60, 152  
 Kläggeröd, 90, 153  
 Kongsvad Å, 91, 153  
 Kowel, 43, 55, 153  
 Kragehul, 11, 36, 53, 56, 77, 83, 90, 98, 153, 154, 163  
 Krogsta, 43, 59, 60, 116, 154  
 Kårstad, 36, 155  
 Körlin, 90, 155  
 Køge, 44, 45, 95, 155
- La Graufesenque, 31, 114, 207, 217–221, 225  
 Larzac, 83–85, 222, 223  
 Lauchheim, 49, 156, 243  
 Lellinge Kohave, 45, 91, 156  
 Letcani, 57, 58, 61, 156  
 Lezoux, 70–72, 74, 75, 85, 101, 104, 105, 112, 216, 217, 224–228  
 Limoges, 65, 75, 76, 226, 228, 229  
 Lindholmen, 39, 40, 45, 89, 157  
 Lundeborg, 93, 157  
 Lynge Gyde, 45, 92, 157
- Maglelose/Gummersmark, 45, 91–93, 158  
 Mayen, 108, 159  
 Meldorf, 34, 35, 39, 159  
 Mont Beuvray, 61, 62, 229–231  
 Mos, 34, 35, 55, 159  
 Möjbro, 61, 160  
 Møgedal, 35, 50, 160  
 München-Aubing, 52, 160, 243



- Naintré, 72, 74, 231  
 Nebenstedt, 45, 77, 161, 247  
 Neudingen, 11, 48, 51, 107, 109, 161, 168, 244  
 Nevers, 73, 74, 232  
 Niederstotzingen, 108, 162  
 Noleby, 36, 37, 48, 51, 80, 162  
 Nordendorf, 15, 38, 42, 54, 77, 78, 162, 244  
 Nordhuglo, 36, 39, 41, 163  
 Norway, 35, 163  
 Nydam, 11, 35, 52, 77, 90, 163–165, 243–245  
 Nyon, 112, 232  
 Næsbjerg, 35, 165  
 Nérís-les-Bains, 72, 110, 232  
 Nøvling, 50, 165  
  
 Oettingen, 35, 166  
 Opedal, 166  
 Osthofen, 78, 167  
  
 Paris, 73, 233  
 Pforzen, 44, 47, 51, 96, 97, 117, 167, 168  
 Pietroassa, 77, 168  
 Plumergat, 73, 234  
 Pîtres, 63, 64, 233  
  
 Reims, 61, 63, 111, 234  
 Reistad, 37, 39, 47, 169, 199  
 Rextugenos, 61, 62, 100  
 Rickeby, 42, 169  
 Riksarve, 94, 138, 169  
 Roanne, 61–64, 235, 236  
 Roes, 83, 170  
 Rosseland, 36, 40, 163, 170  
 Rävsaal, 59, 60, 116, 170  
 Rö, 28, 37, 39, 48, 52, 171  
  
 Sacrillos, 100  
 Saint-Bonnet, 100, 214  
 Saint-Marcel, 63, 71, 75, 236, 237  
 Saint-Révérien, 112, 237  
 Saude, 34, 35, 171  
 Sazeirat, 72, 74, 237  
 Schretzheim, 38, 50, 56, 108, 151, 172, 243  
  
 Sens, 112, 238  
 Setre, 54, 77, 89, 173  
 Sievern, 47, 173  
 Sjælland, 45, 92, 173, 247  
 Skodborghus/Skodborg, 95, 174  
 Skonager, 44, 45, 93, 130, 174, 247  
 Skovgårde, 50, 174  
 Skramles Udde, 96, 175  
 Skrydstrup, 91, 92, 175  
 Skärkind, 35, 50, 175  
 Skåne, 45, 91–94, 120, 176, 188, 246, 247  
 Skääng, 38, 42, 50, 177  
 Slipshavn, 91, 177  
 Slitebacka, 94, 120, 177  
 Soest, 44, 52, 178  
 Sorte Muld, 39, 42, 178  
 Sources de la Seine, 73, 74, 101, 239  
 South Funen, 92, 145, 178  
 Steindorf, 42, 179  
 Stenstad, 60, 116, 179  
 Stentofte, 28, 79–82, 125, 180  
 Stetten, 49, 180, 245  
 Strand, 82, 98, 181  
 Strårup, 35, 142, 181  
 Strøm, 82, 97, 117, 181  
 Sunde, 35, 50, 182  
 Sutarve, 120, 182  
 Svarteberg, 43, 182  
 Szabadbattyán, 42, 182  
 Séraucourt, 75, 238  
 Sønder Rind, 36, 38, 42, 44, 183  
 Sønderby/Femø, 36, 45, 48, 49, 183, 199  
  
 Tanem, 35, 50, 183  
 Thiaucourt, 61, 63, 111, 239  
 Thorsberg, 38, 44, 184, 245  
 Tirup Heide, 45, 93, 94, 184  
 Tjurkö/Målen, 45, 49, 94, 184, 185  
 Tomstad, 60, 185  
 Tomteboda, 49, 185  
 Trollhättan, 45, 47, 93, 185, 186

Tune, 26, 28, 49, 59, 68, 187  
 Tveito, 35, 50, 187  
 Tønder, 91, 93, 188  
 Tørvika, 35, 50, 188, 245  
  
 Unknown, 91, 120, 188, 248  
 Unknown/Eastern Europe, 35, 188  
 Unknown/Sweden, 188  
 Unterweser, 50, 97, 189, 190  
 Uppåkra, 91, 190, 246, 248  
  
 Valsfjord, 39, 42, 53, 163, 190  
 Vannes, 65, 76, 240  
 Vatn, 48, 191  
 Vayres, 101, 240  
 Veblungsnes, 36, 39, 163, 191  
 Vedby, 90, 92, 93, 120, 191  
 Ventabren, 63, 65, 115, 241  
 Vertault, 75, 112, 241  
 Vetteland, 48, 60, 81, 82, 192  
 Vieil-Évreux, 74, 242  
 Vimose, 10, 34, 35, 39, 54–58, 98, 116, 192–194,  
     245  
 Visby Kungsladugård, 92, 195  
 Väsby?, 48, 195  
 Vånga, 35, 50, 195  
 Værløse, 43, 90, 195  
  
 Walheim, 76, 242  
 Wapno, 44, 51, 196  
 Weimar, 14, 53, 106, 108, 109, 196, 197  
 Weingarten, 35, 44, 48, 197, 198, 245  
 Wremen, 11, 57, 58, 98, 198  
 Würmlingen, 43, 56, 198  
  
 Års, 92, 199, 246  
 Årstad, 36, 90, 110, 199  
 Åsum, 49, 94, 183, 199  
 Öster Ryftes, 94, 138, 200  
 Ølst, 45, 91, 200  
 Øvre Stabu, 34, 35, 55, 200