

## IX. RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS IN OR FROM THE NETHERLANDS

### 1. Introduction

Until 1996 runic attestations from The Netherlands were known only from the *terp*-area of the provinces of Groningen en Friesland, and the runic Corpus was called the Frisian Corpus. In April 1996 an object with runes was found in the river estuary of the Rhine, on a site called Bergakker, in the Betuwe, the former *habitat* of the Batavi. This find, dated in the early fifth c., exhibits runes from the older *fupark* plus an anomalous rune. It has no typical Anglo-Frisian runic features. Finds from the *terp*-area exhibit runes from the older *fupark* plus, in some cases, the two additional runes that are common to the early English and Frisian inscriptions. This stock of runes is called the Anglo-Frisian *fupork*. Characteristic of this *fupork* are two new runes ƿ and ƿ̅ for *o* and *a* sounds, and a new value for the old *a* rune ƿ̅, which came to render the sound *æ*. This development is associated with Ingveonic sound-changes specifically concerning the Gmc phoneme *a* and the diphthongs beginning with *a* (see also Chapter VII, Early Runic Finds in England).

The Frisian runic corpus has been edited by several scholars in different compilations (for a brief survey of editors, see Nielsen 1996). The first edition, treating 9 inscriptions, was published in 1939 by Arntz & Zeiss. In 1951, Boeles included the then known runic objects in his major study of Frisian archaeology *Friesland tot de elfde eeuw*. W.J. Buma published about several objects with inscriptions; his inaugural speech (1957) at the Groningen university was devoted to the Frisian runic corpus. W. Krogmann discussed the authenticity of some Frisian inscriptions in his 1953 pamphlet *Zur Frage der friesischen Runeninschriften*. Sipma (1960) published a survey of 16 Frisian runic inscriptions, including items that later on appeared to be falsifications or which exhibit no runes; these are the so-called ‘hila-modu’ and ‘agu’ items, Westeremden C, and Jouswier. Düwel & Tempel (1968/70) were able to extend the number of the Frisian Corpus by their discovery of four inscriptions on combs (Kantens, Hoogetintum, Oostum and Toornwerd). Moreover, they (Düwel/Tempel 1968/70:376ff.) proved that two items were falsifications (‘Jouswier’ and ‘hila-modu’); one item (‘agu’) did not have any runes. It only shows some scratches on a bronze book-mounting, which, according to Buma (1957:29) were runes. The bone plate from Jouswier is kept in the *Oudheidkundige Kamer* at Dokkum. Westeremden C is in private possession, ‘hila-modu’ is missing; ‘agu’ is at the Fries Museum at Leeuwarden.

An elaborate survey and linguistic description of 16 Frisian inscriptions was edited by Miedema (1974). Gijsseling (1980) included 16 Frisian inscriptions (including the Uden stone and the bracteate of Hitsum) in his edition on the Middle Dutch texts. Quak (1990) compiled 20 Frisian inscriptions (including Eenum and Doijem, but without Wijnaldum B and Hamwic). Nielsen scrutinized the complicated linguistics of Runic Frisian in several articles (1984<sup>a&b</sup>, 1991<sup>a</sup>, 1993, 1994 and 1996). The present author has treated 20 Frisian inscriptions (without Eenum, Hitsum, Uden and Doijem) on the occasion of the First International Symposium on Frisian Runes at the Fries Museum, Leeuwarden 26-29 January 1994 (Looijenga 1996<sup>c</sup>). The present study contains 22 inscriptions (including the Midlum *sceat* and the Bergakker new-find).

Close examination has demonstrated that the scratches on a bone-piece of a horse's leg (Buma 1975), found near Eenum (Eenum), are no runes. The carvings may be slaughter-

marks. The marks on the Doijem piece of bone may have been cut recently (Pieper 1991<sup>a</sup>, Looijenga 1991<sup>b</sup>). The Uden stone was also recently provided with 'runes'. The examination of the stone was carried out by the present author in cooperation with the geologist G.J. Boekschoten on 5th November 1996, at the Streekarchiefdienst Brabant-Noordoost, Veghel. The incisions ('runes' reading 'wot') on the surface of the stone have not been weathered in the same degree as the rest of the surface, hence the scratches must have been made recently. Moreover, the carver used a modern tool. The find history of the stone is spurious; it is said to have been part of the foundation of the local church, but there are no traces of cement. On the contrary, the surface shows a veneer of humus, which cannot possibly have formed around a stone in a foundation. Therefore, both find history and 'runic' inscriptions are false.

About the runic text or runes (if any) of the inscription of Westeremden C, described in a publication only once (Kapteyn, 1934), nothing can be said. The object is not accessible for inspection. Non-Frisian, but authentic, is the Hitsum bracteate; the object may be related to the Sievern (North Germany) bracteates (see Bracteate Corpus).

The combs, coins and symbolic swords are clustered; three objects are listed according to material (yew wood); the remaining objects are listed as 'various objects, various material'. As in the Anglo-Saxon Corpus, this division is made to show the variety of objects and material. The order is in accordance with the numbers/quantity in which certain objects or materials occur, and within this order the date (starting with the oldest) is the determining factor.

Except for Amay and Hoogeteintum, which are gravefinds, the majority of the objects have been found in a *terp* or *wierde* during commercial digging of the soil at the end of the 19th century and at the first third of the 20th. Other objects were casual finds, such as Schweindorf (Page 1996:137). The other gold coins have no known findplaces and therefore have no find-context. Page (1996:139f.) suggests that all four gold coins could be either English or Frisian. Wijnaldum B was found with a metal detector in 1990 and Bergakker was also found with the help of a metal detector in 1996.

In general it can be said that 'Runic Frisian' cannot be analysed very well with the help of existing grammars and descriptions of Old Frisian, such as have been published by Steller, Markey and Ramat, since they merely describe 'Manuscript Old Frisian' of much later centuries. Reconstructing Runic Frisian is therefore a laborious task. Old English, which has been recorded from much earlier onwards is an indispensable help for the analysis of Runic Frisian, as is Old Saxon, and, to a lesser degree, Old High German.

Abbreviations: FM = Fries Museum; GM = Groninger Museum; BM = British Museum. When a findplace has delivered more runic objects, this is indicated here Wijnaldum A, or B; and Westeremden A, or B. The indication A, B, C, is the current practice for the Frisian inscriptions.

Map 9. Findspots of runic objects in The Netherlands.



## 2. CHECKLIST OF RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS IN THE NETHERLANDS

### Legible and interpretable inscriptions

#### THE COMBS

1. *Ferwerd* (Friesland), combcase, antler, found in 1916 in the *terp* Burmania I, during commercial digging. Seen at the FM, Leeuwarden. Date: 6th c. The runes run from right to left and read **me ura** or **me uræ**.

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There are no particular Anglo-Frisian runeforms in this inscription. The ultimate rune may be transcribed either **a** or **æ**, but as there is no  $\bar{a}c$  rune in the inscription, the sound value of ᚱ cannot be determined. The inscription starts with a bindrune **me** which has another ductus than the rest. OE *me*, OFris *mi* is a pers. pron. 1 sg. dat. 'to me'. **ura** may be a masculine PN, nsm. *n*-stem. **uræ** may be taken too as a woman's name, nsf.  $\bar{o}$ -stem. The text can be interpreted as: '(this comb belongs) to me, Ura, Uræ', an owner's formula.

2. *Amay* (Liège, Belgium), comb, bone, bought in 1892 from an antiquary at Liège, Belgium. Seen at the Museum Curtius, Liège. Date: ca. 575-625. Said to be found in a row-gravefield near Amay, which lies on the Meuse between Huy and Liège. The gravefield was in use from the end of the 6th c. till the beginning of the 7th c. The comb is broken; the runic inscription (or what is left of it) starts from the break and reads from right to left: **jeda**.

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The ultimate rune is  $\bar{a}c$ . **eda** is probably a PN nsm. *n*-stem, showing monophthongization of Gmc *\*ai* > OFris  $\bar{e}$ .  $\bar{e}da$  < *\*aid-* < *\*haið-* < *\*haiþi-* 'clear', cf. OE *hādor*, OS *hēdar*; or  $\bar{e}da$  < *\*haidu-*, cf. Go *haidus* 'way, manner' (Kaufmann 1965:200, 201). In OFris, normally Gmc *h* is retained in the *Anlaut*, but in some cases it disappeared, for instance before *a* or  $\bar{e}$  (Steller 1928:33). On the other hand, the fact that *h-* has dropped may point to Romance influence (Kaufmann 1965:196), which, in view of the findplace, will not surprise.

3. *Oostum* (Groningen), two halves of a comb, antler, found in 1908 in the *terp*. Seen at the GM, Groningen. Date: 8th c. On both sides are runes. Side A: **aib ka[m]bu**; side B: **deda habuku**.

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The runes have so-called ornamental forms: the **b** has three pockets, the **h** has three bars. These graphic variations are unique so far. A parallel may be the recently found inscription from *Fallward* (Continental Corpus, nr. 15), which shows an **a** with three side-strokes.

*Aib* is a PN, *i-* or *ja*-stem. The ending is lost, which occurs frequently in Runic West Gmc.,

certainly at this date. **ka[m]bu** asm. *a*-stem, Gmc *\*kambaz* 'comb'. The omission of a nasal (here *m*) before a homorganic consonant is a typical feature of runic writing (although not without exceptions, such as can be seen in **awimund**, *Weimar III*, Continental Corpus). Another instance that shows omission of the nasal is **umædit** = *u(n)mædit* (see below, *Rasquert*). The nom. and acc. ending *-u* of a masculine *a*-stem (*kambu*) can only be a reflex of Gmc *\*-az* (Düwel/Tempel 1968/70; Nielsen 1991<sup>a</sup>:300).

Side B: **deda** 3 sg. pret. ind. 'did, made' (Nielsen 1991<sup>a</sup>:299, Bammesberger 1991<sup>c</sup>:305ff.), OFris inf. *duā*. **habuku** < *\*habukaz*, PN nsm. *a*-stem. The text runs thus: 'Aib made the comb. Habuku'. However, a female PN *Habuke* is equally possible, here dsf. *ō*-stem (cf. Nielsen 1984<sup>b</sup>:13f., Düwel/Tempel 1969/70:366), hence we get the text 'Aib made the comb for Habuke'. Last but not least *Habuku* may be in the nominative, nsf. *ō*-stem, and is thus subject. 'Habuku made the comb (for) Aib' (cf. Düwel/Tempel, 1970:367). The syntax is then VSO. In the first interpretation the syntax is SOV. The ending *-u* < Gmc *\*-ō* is not restricted to Runic Frisian, but occurs also in the North and West Gmc languages, like for instance in **lapu** 'invitation', nsf. *ō*-stem (cf. Nielsen 1984b, 1991<sup>a</sup> and 1994). As regards the name *Habuku* 'hawk', cf. **haukopuz** on the VÅNGA stone (Östergötland), which has been interpreted by Krause (1966:148) as an agent noun of the verb *\*haukōn* < *\*habukōn* 'being like a hawk'.

4. *Toornwerd* (Groningen), comb, antler, found in 1900 in the *terp*, dated 8th c. Seen at the GM, Groningen. It bears four runes **ko[m]bu**.

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*ko(m)bu* nsm. *a*-stem, Gmc. *\*kambaz* 'comb', cf. above *Oostum kabu*. According to Steller (1928:9) Gmc *a* > *o* before nasal in Old East-Frisian and it became *a* or *o* in Old West-Frisian. Toornwerd lies east of Oostum, the places are separated by the river Hunze.

The interchanging of *a* and *o* in words with the same meaning may have led in earlier times, probably the 5th c., to the development of the *āc* and *ōs* runes (Looijenga 1996<sup>a</sup>:111).

An excavation of the Viking-age settlement near the *terp Elisenhof* at the Eider mouth in Schleswig-Holstein revealed a non-inscribed comb similar to the Toornwerd one. Another comb from *Elisenhof*, dated to the end of the 10th c., bears the inscription: **kabr** 'kam', which shows the North Gmc development *\*kambaz* > *kambr*.

## THE COINS

5. *Skanomodu* is the runic text on a struck gold solidus. Date 575 - 610. Findspot is unknown, the solidus belonged to the coin-collection of the English king George III (also Kurfürst of Hanover and Ost-Friesland). The runic solidus came in 1820 in the possession of the BM, London. The legend reads **skanomodu**, which might be taken as a dithematic PN (cf. Bammesberger 1990<sup>a</sup>, with ref.).

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The first element is Gmc *\*skaun-* 'fine, beautiful'; the second element may be derived from Gmc *\*-mōðaz* nsm. *a*-stem, or *\*-mōðō* nsf. *ō*-stem (cf. Nielsen 1993:81-88); OFris *mōd* m.

'mind'. Because of monophthongization of Gmc *\*au* > OFris *ā*: *\*skaun-* > *skān-* and the ending nsm. *-u* < Gmc *\*-az* the text is regarded OFris. If the name were a female PN nsf. *ō*-stem, the name need not be OFris, as *-u* < *-ō* is common to all West Gmc languages and to North Gmc as well. **skanomodu** probably was the name of the moneyer, therefore a woman's name is not likely. However, the coin might have been made to serve as a piece of jewellery and in that case a woman's name is appropriate. The **a** is represented by the *āc* rune, together with *Harlingen* and *Schweindorf* the earliest attestations of *āc* in the Frisian tradition.

6. *Harlingen* (Friesland), a cast gold solidus, in 1846 bought by the FM, Leeuwarden, from a Harlingen silversmith, who obtained the solidus from a terpdigger. Date 575 - 625. The runes read **hada**. The **h** is double-barred, both **a**'s are *āc* runes.

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Blackburn (1991:141-143) links the **hada** and **weladu** (see below, nr. 7) solidi together because they are cast pieces, not struck like the **skanomodu** one. Whether the three runic solidi are to be regarded as a coherent group and whether they are Frisian or represent different traditions are matters of speculation, according to Page (1994:187). But the iconography of the three rune-solidi agrees to such a degree that they may originate from the same source. Page (1995:160) wonders "whether the cast **hada** and **weladu** specimens should be defined as coins, or rather considered as cast ornaments". In any case the coins may have served as jewellery or precious gifts. The provenance of the coins is difficult to establish; from their runic legends they seem to be Frisian, but from their context they point to England. **hada** may be a PN, with the element *\*hapu-* 'battle', nsm. *n*-stem. Otherwise the base may be Gmc *\*hadaz* 'restraint, confinement', according to Beck (1981:75). A third possibility is to postulate a rare case of monophthongization of Gmc *\*ai* > OFris *ā*: *hāda* < *\*haið-*, cf. Go *haidus* 'way, manner' or *\*haiþi-* 'clear' (Kaufmann, 1965:17, 200). If this were so, it would be the only instance of monophthongization of Gmc *\*ai* > OFris *ā* in Runic OFris, represented by the *āc* rune. Therefore this rune may not necessarily have been imported by the Old Frisians, as is suggested by Nielsen (1994:121) and Seebold (1991:507f.) on the assumption that monophthongization of Gmc *\*ai* only partly took place in OFris and would not be found in Runic OFris.

7. *Schweindorf* (Ostfriesland, Germany), a cast gold solidus, found in Schweindorf near Aurich in 1948. Now in the Ostfriesisches Landesmuseum, Emden. Date 575 - 625. Runes run left: **weladu** or **peladu**.

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The initial rune has a large loop, from the top of the headstaff to the bottom, so either **w** or **p** may be read. As **peladu** does not render something meaningful, generally the reading **wela[n]du** is preferred. This is a PN *Wēla(n)du*, cf. OE *Wēland*, ON *Vǫlundr*, NG *Wieland* < *\*wēla-handuz*, nsm. *u*-stem, 'trickster'. (Düwel/Tempel 1968/70; Beck 1981:69ff. with references). The first part of the compound is *\*wēl-* 'trick, ruse' cf. ON *vél* 'artifice, craft, device' followed by the suffix *-and* < Gmc *\*handuz*. The name might refer to the well-known legendary smith *Weland*.

8. *Folkestone* (Kent, England), a gold *tremissis* or *shilling*, found in 1732. Date ca. 650. Unfortunately the object got lost in the BM. A few years ago a similar authentic specimen turned up in the coin collection of the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow. The coin came from the same die as the lost BM one and thus bears the same legend **æniwulufu**<sup>77</sup>.

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This may be taken as a PN nsm. *a*-stem. The language may be OFris: *āni* < *āni*- < *\*aun-i*-. The **æ** is in that case not a product of fronting, but of *i*-umlaut. One may assume that *i*-umlaut had taken place by 650 (Insley 1991:173). The etymology of Gmc *\*aun-* is obscure, according to De Vries (1962). Nielsen (1993:84) is of the opinion that **aniwulufu** should be read, without a sign of *i*-mutation. He may have come to this conclusion prompted by a wrong dating: 6th c., of the *tremissis*. Blackburn (1991:143f.) now dates the coin mid 7th c. **-wulufu** < *\*wulfaz* has an interconsonantal svarabhakti vowel.

The iconography is copied from a Merovingian *tremissis* from South West France. The iconographic history and the findplace in Kent would not exclude a Frisian origin, but one may consider a strong Frankish element.

9. *Midlum* (Friesland), a silver *sceat* of the Frisian, or Continental, type<sup>78</sup> was found at Midlum in 1988 and is now at the FM, Leeuwarden. Date ca. 750. The runic legend is **æpa**.

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Hundreds of this type of *sceat* are known, which has been defined as "at its best, a careful copy of the English primary C type, with runic 'Æpa' or 'Epa' in front of the head" (Op den Velde et al. 1984:136). These *sceattas* may not be purely 'Frisian' in the sense of 'originating from the *terp*-area', as they are rarely found north of the Rhine, but their find distribution suggests an origin along or south of the Lower Rhine (Grierson & Blackburn 1986:508). The runes are copied along with the rest of the iconography. **æpa** PN nsm. *n*-stem, *Æpa*, based on Celtic *Epo* 'horse' (Kaufmann 1965:14). Probably the name of the monetarius. (See also the *sceattas* of the English Corpus, Chapter VIII).



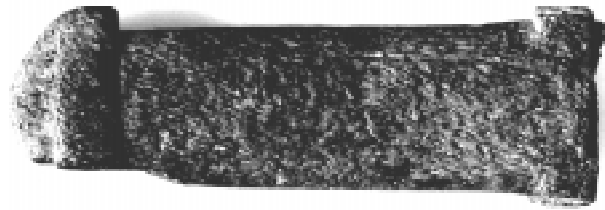
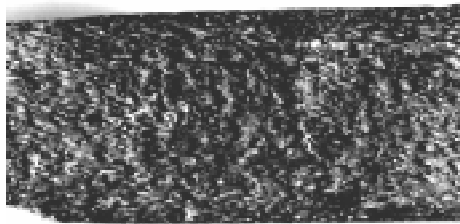
<sup>77</sup> The text may have some connection with the legendary *Wylfings* of East Anglia, since their ancestor was called *Aun(n)*, which, according to Ingveonic sound-changes would regularly develop to *ān-*, *ān-*, after *i*-umlaut took place, thus forming the first element of the compound *āniwulufu*. It is interesting that this specific development is considered a typically Old Frisian or Old Saxon feature. The name-element 'wolf' appears to have been particularly popular among Germanic leaders; cf. the Alamannian/Bavarian *Agilolfings*, a family of dukes, and the Franconian *Arnulfing* family of stewards. As to the pedigree of the *Wuffingas* from South Sweden, it is tempting to think of the *-wulf-* family from Blekinge: Haduwolf, Haeruwolf and Hariwulf, mentioned on the *Gummarp*, *Istaby* and *Stentoften* stones (see 'Danish' Corpus).

<sup>78</sup> Over 2000 *sceattas* were found in The Netherlands. In 1988 for instance, about 140 *sceattas* came to light, in what was called 'The Remmerden hoard'. These all had a runic legend, reading **epa**, **æpa** or **apæ**.

## THE SYMBOLIC SWORDS

10. Rasquert (Groningen), whalebone swordhandle, found in 1955. Seen at the Hoogelandster Museum, Warffum. Date late 8th c. The handle may have been part of a symbolic sword (Looijenga & Van Es 1991), as is probably also the Arum wooden sword. Both sides of the handle may have been inscribed. On one side what signs there were are erased. The runes on the other side are rather difficult to read; the whalebone surface has weathered badly. I propose to read **ekumæditoka**.

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The sequence may be divided thus: **ek u[n]mædit oka**.

**ek** 1 sg. pers. pron. 'I. **u[n]mædit**, adj., part. pret. of \**mædan*, cf. OE *mæded* 'mad'; OE \**mædan* < Gmc \**maiðjan*- 'to make mad'. *mædit* shows *i*-mutation preceded by *no*phthongization; *-t* instead of *-d* may reflect devoicing at the word's end. **oka** PN nsm. *n*-stem, *Oka*; OE *Oca*, 'mind, intelligence' (Kaufmann 1965:198,249ff.). Gijsseling (1980:18) reads **eku[n]mæditoka** too, but interprets otherwise: *ek u(n)mædi(d) tok a* 'I, the not mutilated one, took this sword'. My interpretation: 'I, Oka, not (made) mad', might have been Oka's device. (Cf. for instance with Gårdlösa **ek unwodz** of the Danish Corpus, Chapter V).

11. Arum (Friesland), a yew-wood miniature sword, found in 1895. Seen at the FM, Leeuwarden. Date late 8th c. In the blade some ornaments and runes are carved. The runic text shows Anglo-Fris. *æc* and *ōs* runes, hence the ᚦ rune is transliterated **æ**. The runes are clearly legible **edæ:boda**.

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Medial *æ* in **edæ-** may be product of fronting of unaccented *a* after a short syllable (Nielsen 1991<sup>a</sup>:300). In my opinion, this *æ* is a *Kompositionsfugenvokal*, as found in the earliest English glosses, e.g. *fulæ-trea*, etc. (cf. Nielsen 1984<sup>b</sup>:17; and Kluge 1913:201, Anm. 2: the composition vowel *æ* < *a*); *eda-* 'oath'. OFris *ēða-* < Gmc \**aīþa-* reflects OFris *ē* < Gmc \**ai*; the rune **d** is used to represent voiced *ð* < *þ*. Several interpretations are possible. Nielsen (1984) reads **edæboda** as one word, nsm. *n*-stem 'return-messenger'. I take **edæ:boda** as nsm. *n*-stem: 'oath-messenger', Du 'eed-bode', with reference to the object itself, which is a symbolic sword. A sword had a function in the practice of law: people swore their oaths on it.





> OFris  $\bar{a}$  >  $\bar{a}$  >  $\bar{e}$ , in which case we would have another attestation of monophthongization of Gmc  $*ai$  > OFris  $\bar{a}$ . The same rune also occurs in  $\bar{a}h$  and in  $\bar{a}mlu\bar{p}$ .


The **a** in **upduna (a)le** is the Anglo-Frisian  $\bar{a}c$ , written once but meant to be read twice in **upduna (a)le**. (This occurs more often; in *Fallward skamella (a)lguskapi*).

As has been said above, the inscription contains some mirrored runes, such as **p**  in **upduna** based on the form of single **p** in **ophæmu**.



*Yew-wooden stick of Westeremden.*



The rune  might be taken as a mirror-rune **b** in **jibada** (instead of Seebold's **givēda**; the *Sternrune* † should be transliterated **j**, see above, nr. 12). The middle rune † I transliterate **a**, rendered in a rune form known from the younger Danish futhark. Also in **pusa** it is transliterated **a**, although the sidetwig slants to the right, whereas it slants to the left in **jibada**. It might seem strange that we would have two different runeforms both transliterated **a** in one

word, **jibada**, but I suggest the runecarver wanted to differ between two *a*-like sounds. The ƿ̄ *āc* appears to represent a palatal *a*, whereas the † denotes a velar *a*. There is no opposition stressed - unstressed, or long - short.

**jibada** = *gibada* 'fate, luck', recorded twice in the OS Heliand: 3161 and 5828, meaning 'comfort, reassurance' or even 'new life in Christo' (Opitz 1978:21), cf. *Bad Ems* (Continental Corpus). The mirror-rune 𐌺, here transliterated **b**, occurs once again in the inscription; from its form it can both represent **b** or **d**; it represents **d** in **wimœd**.

My transliteration runs thus:

**op hæmu jibada æmluþ : iwi ok up duna (a)le wimœd æh þusa.**

**æmluþ** has been explained by Seebold (1990:421) as 3 sg. pres. ind. 'stays, remains', analogous to ON *amla* 'to strain oneself'.

**iwi** appears to mean 'yew', cf. Gmc \**ihwaz*, \**īwaz*, m., although it is difficult to explain its form; it might be a locative or instrumental, according to Seebold (1990:415).

**ok** = *āk* 'also'; **up** = *op* 'upon', **duna** asf. *n*-stem 'dune, hill, terp'.

**(a)le** is an optative to Gmc \**ala-* 'to grow' (Seebold 1990:415).

**wimœd** is probably a masculine PN, nsm. *a*-stem. The *æ* is the product of *i*-mutation of *o/ō*, represented by 𐌶.

**æh** 3 sg. pres. ind. 'to have', cf. OFris *āch* (Markey 1981:157).

**þusa** may be compared to the dem. pron. masc. acc. *þisse* 'this one' (Markey 1981:136).

The interpretation of the text is nearly the same as the one proposed by Seebold: 'at the homestead stays good fortune; may it also grow near the yew on the terp; Wimœd owns this'. The stick can be taken as a building offer.

Since the inscription exhibits *i*-mutation, bookhand *s* and runes from the younger *fupark*, the date must be later than, say, 750 AD.

14. *Britsum* (Friesland), a small yew-wooden stick, found in 1906. Seen at the FM, Leeuwarden. No date. Most of the runes are carved in three, four, five lines, which reminds of the inscriptions on the *Lindholm* amulet and the *Kragehul* spearshaft (Danish Corpus). On one side is carved LID in what looks like Roman lettering.

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One of the runes has the form of a younger-*fupark* **k**, or else the so-called English 'bookhand' **s**. Both transliterations meet with difficulties; one would get **pkniaberetdud** or **psniaberetdud** on one side; on the other side, running from right to left: **jn:bkkrkdmi** or **jn:bsrsdmi**.

Neither of these sequences allow for a meaningful interpretation. The rune ƿ̄ probably represents a vowel. For instance, Bugge (1908:176-177) took it as representing *i* or *e*. Odenstedt (1989:158) proposed to take it as a variety of the Anglo-Frisian *ōs*. Bugge (1908:177-179) read **pin i a beret dud LID** "Trage immer diese Eibe, darin liegt Tugend. LID". The second line would go thus:

**jn bered mi** or **jn birid mi**, which Bugge interprets: "N.N. trägt mich". Odenstedt (1989:158) read **pon i a beret dud //n borod mi liu**, "always bear this yewstave against paralysis (or drunkenness), NN perforated me. liu". Obviously Bugge read LID as Roman letters, whereas

Odenstedt took the signs for runes. **borod**, according to Odenstedt (1989:159), can only be the 3rd pers. sg. pres. of a verb like OE *borian* (< \**borōian*) ‘bore, perforate, make a hole in’. There is, however, no hole in the stick, therefore this reading must be rejected.



*The Britsum Yew-wooden stick.*

A solution may be, to take it to represent **æ**, a variant on the Danish **æ** †. I suggest to transliterate: **þæn i a beret dud ]n bæraed mi.**

**þæn** dem. pron. acc. sg. ‘this’.

**i** refers probably to the piece of yew wood, also in the acc. sg. masculine. This part of the text must be the object.

**beret** is plural imp. ‘bear’ of OFris inf. *bera*.

When interpreting **a** < \**aiwi* ‘always’, we find an instance of monophthongization of Gmc \**ai* > OFris *ā*, represented by the \**ansuz* rune, or the Anglo-Frisian *æsc* rune, which, accordingly, should be transliterated **æ**. If so, it should represent another sound value than *æ* in **bæraed**. To avoid confusion, I transliterate it **a**, although this might be misleading.

**dud** has several interpretations, such as a PN, according to Gijsseling (1980:7). Bugge (1908:179) interpreted **dud** as ‘virtue’, **dud** would be a contraction of *dugub*. Arntz (1939:1-67) proposes ‘Kraft’ or ‘Betäubung’. Buma (1951:316 ff.) connected **dud** with OE *duguð* ‘the warriors who sit near the king in the hall’, ‘the tried warriors’ (Beowulf 359), which means the king’s *comitatus*, see also Campbell (§ 345 and 588,5).

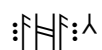
**bæraed** I read as *bæ-raed* 3 sg. pres. ind. of the inf. *bæ-rædan* ‘to prepare’ (Holthausen 1963:252 lists OFris *bi-rēda*), perhaps in the sense of carving the runes? It could otherwise be 3 sg. pret. ind. of the strong verb Gmc \**rēdan*, OFris *rædan* ‘to guess’.

**mi** is dat. sg. pers. pron. ‘me’.

LID is in Roman lettering and means ‘ship’ (Holthausen 1963:201), or ‘retinue’, according to De Vries (1962:354). The text may be interpreted as: ‘warriors: bear always this yew stick (on the) ship (or in the retinue, a metaphor for ‘on the warpath?’); ...]n prepares me, or ....]n guessed = read me’. Possibly the stick is a kind of amulet.

## VARIOUS OBJECTS, VARIOUS MATERIALS

15. *Hantum* (Friesland), a small decorated plate made of (sperm whale?) ivory. Found in 1914. Seen at the FM, Leeuwarden. No date. Any function of the object is unknown. Several sorts of decoration motives seem to be practised on it. One side bears runes. The other side has in Roman letters ABA. The runes read **?:aha:k[** or **?:æhæ:k[**



*æhæ* reminds of *eh(w)ē* dsm. *a*-stem 'to the horse', a legend found on the bracteates of *Āsum* and *Tirup Heide* (Bracteate Corpus). The **h** rune is double-barred. Since the edges of the object have been notched, and the decorations have partly been cut away, the object may have been much larger and so would have been the runic text. Maybe **aha** or **æhæ** is a PN, nsm. *n*-stem.

16. *Bernsterburen* (Friesland), a whalebone staff, found ca. 1880. Seen at the FM, Leeuwarden. Dated ca. 800. The staff is broken in seven pieces, two of them are lost. The T-formed handle ends on both sides in a stylized horse's head. The **a** is the Anglo-Frisian *āc*. The **k** is rendered by a rune known from the younger *fupark* and the Continental Corpus, e.g. in **kolo** (*Griesheim*), in **elk** (*Nordendorf II*).

About halfway on the staff are runic inscriptions in three separate places, **tuda æwudu** (or **æludu**) **kius þu tuda**.



The middle part has no division marks. The first part, **tuda**, is preceded by a slanting stroke, which I interpret as an "inscription-opening sign". **tuda** is a PN, nsm. *n*-stem, cf. Gmc *\*peuð-* 'people'. The first two runes of the second part, in **æludu** or **æwudu**, are nearly vanished as a result of weathering. **æwudu** appears to have a parasite vowel in the middle; *æwdu* may be derived from the past part. of OFris *āwa*, *auwa* 'to show, reveal, represent', declined as a strong neuter adj.; or *æwðu* is a feminine abstract noun (Mitchell & Robinson 1986:59), asf. 'representation, evidence', or asm/apm. 'oathhelper(s)', cf. OE *āwda* 'witness' (Knol & Looijenga 1990:236). Another interpretation of *æwudu* may be a PN nsm. < *\*æwudaz*. The second part *-wud-* occurs in many OE names: *Wudumann*, *Widia*, *Wudga*, *Wudia* (Insley, 1991<sup>b</sup>:320-322); cf. also OHG *Wüdiger*, *Woderich*, *Wituram*, *Widego* etc. However, the element *wud* etc. in these names is always attested as the first element of a dithematic PN, therefore a PN is not likely here.

When reading an **l** instead of **w**, we may get **æludu**, perhaps nsm. *a*-stem < *\*aluðaz*, or an *n*-stem *\*aluða*, with a weakened pronunciation of the last syllable. The element *alu-* is found more often in PNs, cf. **alugod** (*Værlose*, Danish Corpus) and **aluko** (FØRDE, Norway), cf. Seebold 1994:63. However, the part **-du** is difficult to explain as the second element of a PN, hence a PN **æludu** I do not think likely.

The part that follows, may exhibit a short-twig **k** and **s**, and would thus render the sequence **kius þu** 2 sg. pres. imp. 'you will choose'. The **u** in **kius** has an ambivalent form and may as well represent **r** (cf. Chapter IV.10.2). The short-twig **s** may be taken as a rather short-cut **i** (cf. Quak 1992:63f.) hence we would get **kiripu**, which may represent runic Swedish **kiripu** (cf. Peterson 1989:17f.), 3 sg. pret. ind. 'made', cf. Old Swedish *gærðu*, which would suit a preceding PN. This would render a well-known type of runic text: A. made (the inscription or the object or both) for T. Or, if **æwudu** indeed means 'witness', the text might mean 'Tuda, a witness (witnesses) he made, Tuda'.

A runic Swedish word in a 'Frisian' runic inscription is remarkable but not impossible.

17. Hamwic (England), knucklebone of a horse found in a medieval waste-pit in Hamwic near Southampton, England. Now in the God's House Tower Museum, Southampton. Dated between 650 and 1025 (Page 1973:171). The runic text is: **katæ**.

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*kātæ* is nsf. *ōn*-stem, 'knucklebone', Dutch: *koot* (id.), < Gmc \**kautōn*. *kātæ* has *ā* < Gmc \**au*. This would point to a Frisian provenance of the inscription (Hofmann 1976). According to Nielsen (1991<sup>a</sup>:301), ... "-æ(-) < Gmc \*-a(-), which crops up after short syllables (*edæboda*, *umæ*), or derives from IE \*-ā/-ō + nasal (*katæ*, *umæ*)".

18. Wijnaldum B (Friesland), a gold pendant, found with a metal detector in 1990. In the FM, Leeuwarden. Dated ca. 600. This type of pendant is known from 6th-century women's graves in Mittelfranken, Germany, and East-Gothic cemeteries in Lombardy; the origin may be (east) Mediterranean. On the back is a runic inscription, which can be read **hiwi**.

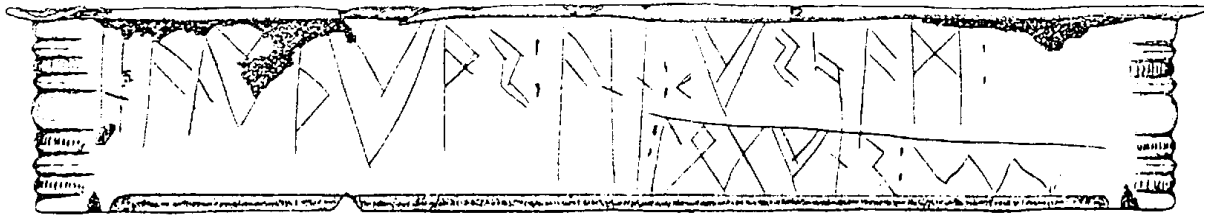
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The **h**-rune has one bar, which is unique in OFris inscriptions, so the inscription may have been added either outside Frisia or was made by a non-Frisian runic artist. The **w** rune is drawn in one stroke; the pocket is not closed. *hīwi* dsf. *i*-stem, 'to the mater familias', cf. OS and OHG *hīwa* f. *n*-stem, 'spouse'; cf. also OS *hīwiski* 'family', OS *hīwian* 'to marry'. The inscription on the MELDORF brooch (dated ca. 50 AD) can be read as *hiwi*, which, according to Düwel (1981<sup>c</sup>:12) is a "fairly well-known etymon, which occurs, for instance, in Gothic *heiwa-frauja* 'landlord, master of the house'". The ÅRSTAD (Norway) stone has an inscription **hiwigaz** nsm. *a*-stem 'one with strong familial ties' (Antonsen 1975:34f.).

19. Bergakker (Gelderland), a gilt-silver scabbard mount, found with a metal detector in 1996. It is dated early 5th c. In the Museum Kam, at Nijmegen.

The ornamentation is in provincial-Roman style and might be compared to objects from nearby Gennep (North Limburg), a 4th c.-settlement of Frankish immigrants into a region which was situated within the *limes* (Bosman & Looijenga 1996). In general, according to the type and ornamentation, the scabbard mouth belongs to a group of swords from North Gallia up to the lower Rhineland of Germany and the Netherlands. The runes could have been added anywhere, but I do not think it likely that that has happened outside the above mentioned area, and that the object subsequently has been brought back to its area of origin. Bergakker site probably was a settlement site, although there existed a shrine of the goddess Hurstrga on the same spot. The scabbard mount was part of a large find-complex, which may have belonged to a local smith, or, in view of the sanctuary, it may as well have been part of a votive deposit. The scabbard mount does not show traces of wear, hence it may never have been collected by the commissioner (personal communication from the finder, Mr. D. Jansen, Wychen). Among the many other finds from the same spot, is a stylus, a small silver votive sheet, showing three ladies, probably Matrones, and a bronze seal-box, typical for votive deposits.

In the first, preliminary publication (Bosman & Looijenga 1996) the inscription was transliterated as **habebewas:ann:kesjam:logens:**

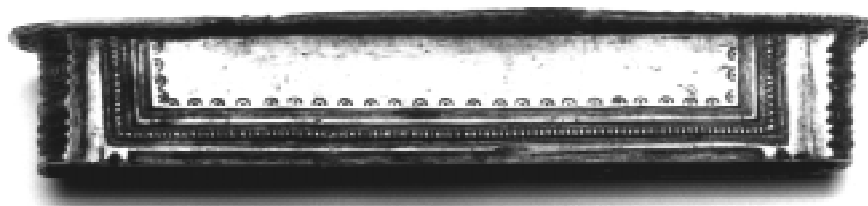


*Drawing by D. Jansen, Wychen, The Netherlands.*



*Photo by courtesy of the Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen, Holland.*

*Photo by courtesy of the Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen, Holland.*



One character is anomalous and hitherto unattested. It has the form of a double-lined Roman capital V and occurs four times in the inscription. One other character, **s**, appears twice in double lines, and once in single lines. The **s** is in three strokes. It is remarkably small, shorter than the other runes (apart from **k**, which is carved very small). There is one bindrune, forming **wa**, an unusual combination.

The runes run from left to right. The words are separated by division marks: three times composed of two dots and one time of four dots. The inscription contains four words. The last word is followed by a zig-zag line, filling up space. A similar technique can be found for instance on the *Pforzen* (Continental Corpus) silver belt buckle.

The first rune is a single-barred **h**. The second rune is **a**, the *\*ansuz* rune. The third rune has only one sidetwig to the right, at the middle of the headstaff. I think the rune has been inserted afterwards, since it is smaller and tucked in between the preceding and following runes. In that case it is most probably **l**. At first I took it for an incomplete *thorn*. The fourth character is anomalous, at first sight it resembles no known rune. I contemplated the possibility of a double **u** rune, executed upside-down. But, if it should be considered a writing sign, and part of the text, its value may be established by the context (i.e. the rest of the text). The fifth rune is clearly a *thorn*. The sixth character is similar to the fourth one, only rendered somewhat larger. The following character appears to me as a bind-rune of **w** and **a**. The **w** was cut first, since the lower sidetwig of the **a** cuts through the lower part of the hook of the **w**. The last rune is an **s**, rendered in double lines.

Thus we have **hal?þ?was**.

The sequence **þ?was** reminds of a well-known Germanic name-element, nominative *þewaz*, such as occurs in **owlþupewaz** of the Thorsberg (Schleswig-Holstein) bronze sword-chape. Therefore I take it that the mysterious sign that looks like a double V must represent **e**. When comparing its form to the well-known runic **ǀ**, both characters share the upper part. Normally the two hastas of the **e** rune run vertical, and here we find two slanting lines that touch at their ends. There is a parallel in the lost inscription of *Engers* (Continental Corpus), reading **leub** (see there, nr. 15). Here the hastas of the **e** rune slant towards each other, without touching, though.

**haleþewas** I take as a personal name in the genitive, masculine *a*-stem. The first part of this compound might be *hāle-*, < Gmc *\*hail-*, adj. 'whole, safe, unhurt', or, if *hale*, it may be connected with ON *hali* (and Middle Irish *cail* De Vries 1962:204), the meaning might be 'spear'. The second part is *-þewas*, gsm. *a*-stem, 'thane, retainer, warrior'.

After the division dots follow three runes **ann**. This is a verbform, 1 or 3 sg. pres. ind. 'grants', cf. Seebold 1970:79f., who lists ON *ann* 'grants', inf. *unna* 'to grant'.

The next part of the inscription has a remarkable lay-out, probably caused by lack of space. The upper part reads **kesjam**. The lower part reads **logens**.



De Vries (1962:307) lists ON *kesja* f. 'javelin'. This strikes as puzzling; the scabbard mount belonged to a sword, not a spear.

Fritzner (1891:279) lists ON *kesja* f. 'spjót' and gives examples of attestations: in Gammelnorsk bibelhistoria, Fornmanna sögur, Egils saga, Sturlunga saga and Flateyjarbók. These attestations are of a much later date than the Bergakker inscription. Since the meaning 'javelin' is recorded at least six centuries later, I wonder, (a) whether *kesja* had another meaning in the early fifth century, and (b) what could be the weapon's background. In the centuries that have elapsed, a change in the naming of weapon-types might have taken place.

I investigated the possibility whether **kesjam** might be a loanword. In that case it may have been the name of a certain kind of weapon that was adopted from Celts or Romans into Germanic society. If *kesja* initially were a designation of a sword, one may assume that much later a confusion in the naming of weapons might have taken place<sup>79</sup> somewhere in Germanic history. Much (1959:84ff.) observed in his description of the kind of weapons used by Germanic tribes that a sword was a rare type of armament. It seems plausible for Germanic warriors to have adopted a Celtic sword, since the Celts had a long and famous history of forging swords.

A confusion can be noticed in the meaning of the weapon that is recorded in Latin as GESA, CESA, GÆSUM (Du Cange 1954:62, 278), and which could be either a "hastas Galli, vel jaculum" (= javelin) and a "gladius" (= sword)<sup>80</sup>.

According to Schmidt (1983:761), *gaesum* is a loan from Celtic. Latin *gaesum*, Gallo-Greek *gaisos* or *gaison* 'light javelin' is, according to Walde-Hofmann (1930-1956:575f.), to be connected with Old Irish *gai*, *gae* 'spear; *gaide* = *pilatus*; in OHG, OS we have *gēr*, in OE *gār*, in ON *geirr* 'spear' < Gmc \**gaizaz*; cf. De Vries 1962:161f.: 'heavy iron javelin'<sup>81</sup>. Gmc \**gaizaz* m. *a*-stem, should be equalled with Latin \*GAESUS. Latin has GAESUM, so the Gmc word might have been borrowed directly from Gallo-Celtic. Together with the

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<sup>79</sup> There exists another instance of a confusion of sword and spear in a runic inscription. The *Liebenau* inscription (Continental Corpus, 4th c.) may be read **ra[u]zwi**. Gmc \**rauza-* means 'tube', 'hollow stem', cf. ON *reyr* 'reed', metaphorically 'spear', perhaps also meaning 'sword'. The inscription is on a silver disc that may have been part of a swordbelt (Düwel 1972).

<sup>80</sup> A well-known word for 'sword' in Latin is *gladius*. Schmidt (1967:159) states that Lat. *gladius* can be verified as a Gallic loan with help of the Island-Celtic languages. Island-Celtic words for 'sword' are Cymrsh *cleddyf*, Bret. *klézé*, Irish *claideb*; these may be united together with *gladius* under \**kladi-*. The fact that *gladius* is a loan and no inherited word, is proved by two data: a) the change of initial *k* > *g* occurs in Latin only with loanwords; b) Ennius (239-169 BC) already attests *gladius*, which by then has dispelled the old Latin hereditary *ēnsis*, Old Ind. *asiḥ*, which got used only in a poetic sense (Walde-Hofmann 1930-1956:406). The motive for the discarding was the adoption of the two-edged Celtic sword by the Romans. The *ēnsis* was short, more like a dagger. As to the time of the adoption one may think of the first invasions by Celts into Italy (fourth century BC), according to Schmidt (1967:163).

<sup>81</sup> According to De Vries (1962:161f.), the Germanic word has been considered a loan from Lat. Gall. GAESUM, but he states that it appears to be the other way round, since there existed a Germanic tribe, the *Gaesatae*. This, however, is disputed. Schwarz (1956:46f.) states that a people named GAESATEIS are recorded in 236 BC living in the Alps. They fought in the service of North-Italic Celts against the Romans in 225 BC. Their swords were of Celtic make. According to Schwarz (1956:46) *Gaesatae* is no tribal name, but a Celtic definition of soldiers, named after Celt. \**gaison* 'spear'. Schwarz presents arguments for and against the *Gaesatae* being some Germanic tribe. In the Alps in those times, one would rather expect Ligurian tribes who eventually became celticized. Schönfeld (1965) lists no *Gaesatae* in his book on Germanic personal and tribal names. As cognomina, *Gesatus* and *Gaisionis* are known from Celtic and Germanic mercenaries, resp. from Vindelica and lower Germany. In fact, these names point to the armament of the soldier (Alföldy 1968:106f.).

introduction of the Celtic sword into Germanic society, the name of the sword was adopted too. I suggest the form CESA, GESA etc. to be vulgar Latin, cf. vulgar Latin *carra*, *cerasa*, *pruna*, *pira*, *pisa* against classic Latin *carrum*, *cerasum*, *prunum*, *pirum*, *pisum* (Kluge 1913:28, b, Anm.). This would explain the co-existence of GESSUM and GESA. If we find in the early fifth c. a form *kesja* in a formerly occupied Roman area, this might indeed reflect a vulgar Latin word such as GESA or CESA. One way or another, **kesjam** seems to be connected or related to a root GAES- or perhaps better CAES-. In the latter case I suggest an early or secondary (and perhaps later lost) connection with Lat. *caesim* [caedō] adv. 'by cutting, with cuts', 'with the edge of the sword', as opposed to *punctim* 'with stabs, to prod, to pierce'. The basic meaning of the Latin verb *caedō*, *caedere*, *cecīdī*, *caesum* is 'to strike, beat, cut, kill'. The form *\*caesia-* might be a nomen agentis, with a root *caes-* + the suffix *-jan* (Meid 1967:97). If the word is borrowed from Latin, it should have been done so before the 6th c., when the *c* was still pronounced *k*. The meaning would then be 'cutter', e.g. a person fighting with a certain weapon, such as a *gladiator*, only here the weapon is not a *gladius*, but some different type of sword. One may also think of the tribe known as *Gaesatae*, who were called after their special weapon, the *gaison*.

After being borrowed into Gmc, *kesja* would have been declined after Germanic standards. The ending *-am* in *kesjam* indicates then a dative plural, and might thus be the indirect object of **ann** + dative, which would render '(he) grants the sword-fighters **logens**'.

**logens** appears enigmatic; its ending *-ens* as well as the ending *-am* of **kesjam** (acc. sg. of Lat. *a*-stem) makes (in the light of the foregoing deliberations) the impression of (vulgar) Latin influence. It might be the nominative of a part. pres. of *lūcere* 'to shine, to flame'; *logens* 'shining' is then an adj. in the nominative. However, **o** for *u* and **g** for *k* is remarkable.

In OS we find *logna* 'sword', f. *ō-* or *n*-stem. De Vries lists ON *log* n., or *logi* m. 'sword'. The weak declension has in Gothic the genitive singular and acc. plural ending in *-ns*. Hence, **logens** may be gen. sg. or acc. plural of *\*loge* 'sword'. I suggest we have here in the endings of both **kesjam** and **logens** a relic of an older stage of Gmc, which is attested in Gothic, but not in West Gmc. Anyway, when interpreting the text in this manner, we get a semantically perfect sentence: 'possession of H., he grants the sword-fighters a sword (swords)'. I can imagine that the weaponsmith wrote this text on the scabbard mouth as a sort of promotion for his work. Or the text refers to a leader, who bestows certain precious swords on his *comitatus*.

Summary: both *gaesum* and *gladius* end up in Latin as loanwords from Celtic. It stands to reason that at least one of these words could and did turn up in Germanic as well, borrowed either from Celtic or Latin. The borrowing went with the adoption of a certain sword.

### 3. Legible but uninterpretable inscriptions.

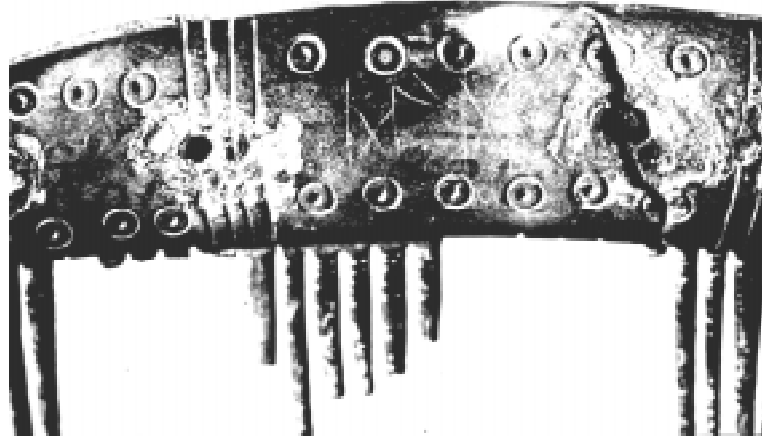
20. *Kantens* (Groningen), combcase, bone, found in 1903 in the terp. Seen at the GM, Groningen. The comb is dated in the early 5th c. which makes it the oldest rune find of the Frisian *terp*-area. Only two runes can be distinguished: **li**.

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The **i** has a dash at its foot, so a **w** might be read. No interpretation.

21. *Hoogebeintum* (Friesland), comb, antler, found in 1928 in an inhumation grave in the *terp*. Seen at the FM, Leeuwarden. Date ca. 700. The comb is broken and badly damaged. According to Düwel/Tempel (1968/70:368) some runes can be read on one half of the comb: **?nlu**.

††† MMM



*The Hoogebeintum comb.*

The other half of the comb shows a few lines which may be taken for a bindrune consisting of three runes. Two **d** runes are connected by a zig-zag line, perhaps rendering **ded**, possibly 1 or 3 sg. pret. ind. 'did, made', OFris pret. *dede*, inf. *duā* 'to do, make'. The regular form would be *dede*, cf. Bammesberger 1991<sup>a</sup>:305-308.

22. *Wijnaldum A*, piece of antler, found in 1914. Seen at the FM, Leeuwarden. No date. On two sides the antlerpiece is inscribed, on one side with ornaments such as crosses, squares and triangles; the other side has runes in a cartouche ending in some ornament. One end of the antlerpiece is badly weathered and so are the runes that were carved there. If some of the runes would be mirror-runes, a reading could be, from right to left, **zwfuwizw???**

Y ↓ ◊ // † | Y ↓

I have no interpretation for this sequence. At least two runes, **f** and **u**, are in double lines. At least one rune is upside-down. If taken as single runes, it is possible to read **z n g z u n g i z n g ???** which, when read from right to left may be interpreted as *?ngz inguz ngz*, which might be the name of the Germanic god *Inguz*, repeated thrice (Sipma 1960:70).

#### 4. Summary and Conclusions

The runic finds described in this Chapter concern 22 objects, of which 21 are considered to belong to the Frisian Corpus, although they are not all found in Frisia. One object turned up in the river-estuary of Rhine and Meuse. This object and its inscription apparently does not to

belong to the Frisian runic tradition. Five inscriptions have been found outside Friesland; in Belgium, Ostfriesland (Germany) and England.

Of the 22 listed inscriptions, 19 are legible and interpretable; 10 consist of one word, 2 have two words, 7 consist of more than two words. Totally I counted 17 personal names, of 13 men and 4 women. 6 times the object is mentioned. There are 9 verbforms. There are 9 sentences.

I did not differ between two runic Periods, although this might be possible. Period II would then include Westeremden B (no date), Britsum (no date), Bernsterburen, Rasquert (*circa* 800), Oostum, Toornwerd, Arum (all 8th c.).

Material: **metal**: gold: 5; silver: 2.

**other than metal**: antler: 5; bone: 3; yew wood: 3; whale bone: 2; whale ivory: 1.

Sixteen objects have been found in the provinces of Groningen and Friesland, all excavated from *terpen* and *wierden*. They are therefore difficult to date, due to a lack of context. Two Frisian runic objects have been found in a grave: the combs of Hoogeteintum and Amay. The symbolic swords, the coins, combs and the Bernsterburen staff can be dated approximately, on the basis of stylistic or iconographic characteristics. Although the corpus is small, there is quite some variety of texts and objects, in the use also of material.

The fact that one of the oldest inscriptions turned up in the Betuwe, is highly interesting. The object belongs to a provincial Roman context, that might be labelled Frankish, regarding the date: early 5th c. One may wonder, if ever a Frankish runic tradition was in existence, since the runic *sceattas* (7th c.) have a Frankish connotation, too. The provenance of the *sceattas* could fit into a Frankish numismatic context, since they were struck in the regions near the estuary of the Scheldt (Page 1996:136f.). In the 5th century, there were several connections between the Rhineland, the central and southern parts of the Netherlands, North Gallia and South England, which may indicate a Frankish sphere of influence. Runes may never have entered that sphere, but it does not seem unlikely, certainly not since the Bergakker find.

The beginning of runic writing in the Netherlands may be dated shortly after 400 AD. The runic tradition probably ended because of a political change: the definite conquest of the Central Netherlands and Frisia by the Franks in the course of the 8th century.

Twelve objects exhibit Anglo-Frisian runes and/or the double-barred **h**. The latter was common to the Anglo-Saxon, Frisian and Continental traditions. Two inscriptions exhibit single-barred **h** (Bergakker and Wijnaldum B). Generally, single-barred **h** points to Scandinavia, but both the Bergakker and Wijnaldum B objects have continental connotations rather than Scandinavian. Of course, one may consider whether both single and double-barred **h** have existed from the beginning of runic writing and therefore should be labelled Common Runic. Thus the diagnostic nature of single-barred **h** should be questioned.

Four inscriptions may show links with Scandinavia: multiple-line runes in Wijnaldum A and Britsum, the 'I so-and-so' formula in Rasquert, and the appearance of younger *fupark* runes in Westeremden B, Bernsterburen and perhaps Britsum. On the whole this may point to nothing more than that there were contacts between Scandinavia and the Low Countries in the early Middle Ages. But on the other hand, this may imply that at least around 800 (Bernsterburen and Rasquert; Britsum and Westeremden B have no date, but both may be 9th c.) there existed a substantial Scandinavian influence on Frisian rune-writing, possibly due to Viking-activities. A recently found Viking silver hoard from around 850 on the former island of Wieringen points to contacts. The Viking Rorik had obtained certain privileges in Holland and Dorestad from 840 onwards. If the rune-Swedish rd **kiripu** *gærðu* 'did, made', is indeed recorded on the Bernsterburen staff, this would indeed point to contacts between Frisian and Scandinavian runic writers, because the form **kiripu** is rune-Swedish, according to Lena Peterson's *Svenskt Runordsregister* (1989 and 1994<sup>a</sup>).

Oostum, Toornwerd, the silver and gold coins, Rasquert, Arum, Westeremden A and B, Bernsterburen and Hamwic exhibit Anglo-Frisian runes, or witness of Anglo-Frisian contacts. It has been assumed that the Frisian runic objects were not indigenous to Friesland, but were imported, for instance from England. This idea is based on linguistic ambiguities, and on the fact that occasionally the find-contexts of the objects are obscure and the dating is arbitrary. Some significant linguistic features are not only characteristic of Runic-Frisian but of Anglo-Saxon as well. It is possibly best to speak of a mixed tradition in the Low Countries, which, in view of the geographical position need not surprise. One may conclude that Frisia reflected its geographical position as an intermediary between England and Scandinavia in the nature of its runic inscriptions.

Finally, it may seem strange that my readings and interpretations differ in some ways from my earlier findings, such as published in Looijenga 1996<sup>c</sup>. The results such are presented here now, are based on the conclusions of this researchproject, which aimed at a comparison of runic traditions from North-West, West and Central Europe. This method of comparison has led to a greater understanding of the Frisian Corpus, and thus, I hope, to better interpretations.

## CONCORDANCE

- ⇐ = read from right to left, runes running left  
⇒ = read from left to right, runes running right  
\* = see other reading(s), c.q. other spellings, c.q. other interpretations  
→ = see there  
? = an illegible rune  
? = just a questionmark, to indicate that the reading or meaning is uncertain.

Most inscriptions run from left to right; when the inscription runs from right to left, this is marked ⇐. When both directions: left - right, right - left are mixed in one inscription either direction is marked. In case the inscription runs exclusively from left to right, or contains a single reverted rune, there is no marker.

- a** Britsum ⇒ *adv.* 'always'  
**aaaaaaaa** Lindholm ⇐ *assumably eight times a means eight times* \*ansuz  
**aala\*** Vimose II ⇐ *adj. asm.* 'all' → **ala**  
**aa[n]dag** Vimose III *PN? nsm.*  
**ado** Gammertingen *PN nsm.*  
**adon** Leṭcani *PN dsf.*  
**adons** Leṭcani *PN gsf.*  
**adujislu** Westeremden A *PN nsm.*  
**aebi** Schwangau *PN nsm.*  
**aeraalius** Fünen (I)-C = *Aurelius, nsm. Roman emperor*  
**aergu[n]þ** Weingarten I *PN nsf.*  
**Afatz** Istaby ⇒ *prep. aftar* 'in memory of'  
**afd\*** Oberflacht *prep.* 'after'? 'later'? → **aft**  
**aft\*** Bülach *prep.* 'after'? 'later'? → **afd**  
**agilaþrup** Griesheim *PN nsf.*  
**æh\*** Westeremden B *3 sg. pres. ind.* 'owns' → **aig**  
**aha\*** Hantum *PN? nsm.* → **æhæ**  
**æhæ\*** Hantum *PN? nsm.* → **aha, (e)he, eho**  
**ahti** Nydam II ⇐ *3 sg. pret. ind.* 'owned' or *nsf.* 'possession'  
**aib** Oostum *PN n/dsm.*  
**aig\*** Aquincum *3 sg. pres. ind.* 'owns' → **æh**  
**aigil** Pforzen *PN nsm.*  
**ailrun** Pforzen *PN nsf.*  
**aisgzh\*** Thorsberg II ⇐ *aisk-z h[agala-]?* 'seeker of hail'  
**aipalataz** Nydam I ⇐ *PN? or epithet nsm.*  
**Ak\*** Björketorp *1 sg. pers. pron.* 'I' → **ek, ik, ik, eka, ekA, ika**  
**akaz** Åsum-C ⇐ *PN nsm.*  
**æko** Chessel Down II *PN nsm.*  
**al\*** Børringe-C ⇐ = *alu* → **alu**  
**ala\*** Overhornbæk (III)-C ⇐ *adj. nsm.* 'all' → **aala**  
**alagu[n]þ** Schretzheim I *PN nsf.*  
**alawid** Skodborghus-B ⇐ *PN? voc./nsm.*

**alawin** Skodborghus-B ← *PN? voc./nsm.*  
**[a]lle** Westeremden stick 3 *sg. pres. opt.* 'may it grow'  
**[a]lguskapi** Fallward ← *dog's name nsm.*  
**alu\*** Spong Hill, Nydam I ←, Lindholm, Nydam III, Bjørnerud-A ←, Djupbrunns-C ←, Heide-B ⇒, Hjørlunde Mark-C ⇒, Kläggeröd-C ←, Ølst-C ←, Fünen (I)-C ⇒, Magle mose (III)-C ⇒, Kjellers Mose-C ⇒, Darum (V)-C ⇒, Lellinge Kohave-B ←, UFO-B ⇒, Schonen (I)-B ⇒, Skrydstrup-B ← *n/asn.* 'ale', 'hail', 'alum', 'luck'? 'offering'? 'battle-cry'? → **lua, al**  
**æludu\*** Bernsterburen *PN? nsf./m.*  
**alugod** Værløse *PN? nsm./f.*  
**aluwaludo/a** Whitby *adj. nsm.* 'almighty'  
**amiluk** Balingen *patronymic? nsm.?*  
**æmluþ** Westeremden B 3 *sg. pres. ind.* 'stays'  
**an** Tjurkö (I)-C ← *prep.* 'on'  
**andi** Pforzen *conj.* 'and'  
**æniwulufu** Folkestone tremissis *PN nsm.*  
**ann** Bergakker 1 or 3 *sg. pres. ind.* 'grant(s)'  
**a[n]su** Overhornbæk (III)-C ← *voc. sg. m.* 'one of the Æsir'  
**a[n]sugisalas** Kragehul I *PN gsm.*  
**a[n]sula\*** Vimose III *nsm.* 'ring, buckle', *cf. Latin ansula* → **a[n]sulo**  
**a[n]sulaas** Vimose III *epithet nsm.* 'godless'  
**a[n]sulo\*** Overhornbæk (III)-C ← *asm.* 'ring, bracteate', *cf. Latin ansula* → **a[n]sula**  
**æpa\*** Kent III and Midlum sceattas *PN nsm.* → **epa**  
**ArAgeu** Björketorp, Stentofte = *argeu, adj. dsf.* 'cowardly, unmanly'  
**arogisd** Schretzheim I *PN nsm.*  
**arsiboda** Bezenye II *PN gsf.*  
**arwi** Heibronn-Böckingen ← *PN nsm.*  
**æt** Boarley ⇒ *prep.* 'at, to, with'  
**auijab[i]rg\*** Oettingen *PN nsf.* → **auja, auwija**  
**auja\*** Raum Køge-C ←, Skodborghus-B ← *nsm.* 'hail, good luck'? → **aujabrg, auwija**  
**auwija\*** Vimose III = *auja n/asm.* 'good luck'? → **auja, aujabrg**  
**awa** Nordendorf I *PN nsf.*  
**awimund** Weimar III *PN nsm.*  
**awo** Leṭcani *nsf.* 'grandmother'  
**æwudu\*** Bernsterburen *asf.* 'presentation, evidence', or *asm/apm.* 'oathhel per(s)'  
  
**bada\*** Kirchheim Teck *PN nsf.* or *(gi)bada* 'consolation' → **jibada, u[m]bada**  
**bæræd** Britsum ← 3 *sg. pres. ind.* 'prepares', or 3 *sg. pret. ind.* 'guessed'  
**bAriutiþ\*** Stentofte 3 *sg. pres. ind.* 'breaks' → **bArutz**  
**bArutz\*** Björketorp 2 *sg. pres. ind.*, but intended is 3 *sg.* 'breaks' → **bAriutiþ**  
**bekka** Chessel Down I *PN nsm.*  
**bera** Kragehul II ← *PN? nsm.*  
**beret** Britsum ⇒ 2 *pl. pres. imp.* 'bear'  
**bidawarijaz** Nøvling *PN nsm.*  
**bi[r]gina** Weimar III *PN n/asf.*  
**birl[i]n** Nordendorf II *nsm.* 'little bear'  
**bliþgu[n]þ** Neudingen-Baar II *PN nsf.*

**boda\*** Arum *nsm.* 'messenger' → **edæ:boda**  
**boso** Freilaubersheim *PN nsm.*  
**bubo** Weimar II, *PN, nsm.*  
**buhui** Wakerley *nsm.* 'ring, piece of jewellery, brooch'  
**buirso** Beuchte *PN nsf./m.*  
**bu[r]sæ\*** Watchfield *asf.* 'purse' → **wusæ, þusæ**

**dado** Weingarten II *PN nsm.*  
**d[a]n[i]lo?** Balingen *PN? nsm.*  
**daþa** Soest *PN nsf.*  
**da?ina** Freilaubersheim *PN nsf.*  
**[dæ]us** Whitby *Lat. nsm.* 'God'  
**ded\*** Hoogeteintum 1, 3 *sg. pret. ind.* 'did, made' → **deda**  
**deda\*** Oostum 3 *sg. pret. ind.* 'did, made' → **ded**  
**de(d)un** Niederstotzingen, Schretzheim I 3 *pl. pret. ind.* 'did, made'  
**desaiona** Suffolk shillings *no interpretation*  
**di** Osthofen 2 *sg. pers. pron. dat./acc.* 'you'  
**d[o]mi[n]u[s]?** Kirchheim Teck *Lat. nsm.* 'Lord'  
**dorih** Wurmlingen *PN? nsm.*  
**du** Bülach 2 *sg. pers. pron.* 'you'  
**dud** Britsum ⇒ = *duguđnpm.* 'warriors, comitatus'  
**dulþ** Oberflacht *nsf.* 'religious feast'  
**duna** Westeremden B *asf.* 'dune, hill, terp'

**eda** Amay *PN nsm.*  
**edæ\*** Arum *gsm.* 'oath' → **edæ:boda**  
**edæ:boda\*** Arum *nsm.* 'return-messenger' → **edæ, boda**  
**(e)he\*** Åsum-C ⇐ = *ehēdsm.* 'to the horse' → **eho, æhæ**  
**eho\*** Donzdorf *PN nsf./m.* → **(e)he, æhæ**  
**ehwu** Tirup Heide-C *nsf.* 'mare'  
**ek\*** Kragehul I, Gårdlösa, Lindholm ⇐, Gallehus, Rasquert, Sønderby-C ⇐, Eskatorp-F, Väsby-F, 1 *sg. pers. pron.* 'I' → **ekA, Ak, ik, ik, eka, ika**  
**ekA\*** Stentofte 1 *sg. pers. pron.* 'I' → **eka, ika, ek, Ak, ik, ik**  
**elk** Nordendorf II *nsm.* 'elk'  
**em** Ash Gilton 1 *sg. pres. ind.* 'am'  
**epa\*** Kent III sceattas *PN nsm.* → **æpa**  
**erilaz** Kragehul I, Lindholm, Eskatorp-F, Väsby-F ⇐ *nsm.* a title, rank or tribal name?  
**f\*** Sønderby-C ⇐ = *fāhi* 1 *sg. pres. ind.* 'draw' → **fahi**  
**fahi\*** Åsum-C ⇐ = 1 *sg. pres. ind.* 'draw' → **f**  
**fahide** Halskov Overdrev-C 3 *sg. pret. ind.* 'drew'  
**f(a)hidu** Eskatorp-F, Väsby-F *fāhidō* 1 *sg. pret. ind.* 'drew'  
**fakaz** Sønderby-C ⇐ = *PN? nsm.* 'horse'  
**fAlAh\*** Björketorp 1 *sg. pret. ind.* 'buried' → **felAh**  
**farauisa** Raum Kjøge-C ⇐ = *fāra-uisa nsm.* 'knowing of danger' or *fara-uisa nsm.* 'knowing to travel'  
**feha** Weingarten I *PN nsf.*  
**felAh** Stentofte 1 *pret. sg. ind.* 'buried' → **fAlAh**



**fff** Gummarp *assumably three times f means three times* \*fehu = 'property, cattle'  
**fiaginþ** Eichstetten *PN nsf.*  
**[f]ilþa** Neudingen-Baar I *asm?* 'woolen garment, cloak'  
**fozo** Hitsum-A ← *tribal name nsm/f.*  
**frifridil** Bülach *nsm.* 'husband' or *PN nsm.*  
**frohila** Darum (I)-B ← *PN? nsm.* 'little young lord'  
**fura** Osthofen *prep.* 'before'  
**fupar** Gudme (II)-C *fupark-quotation*  
**fuparkgw** Aquincum *fupark-quotation*  
**fuparkgw** ← **hniþip??** ⇒ **tbeml(i)ngod** ←, Grumpan-C *complete fupark in three ættir*  
**fuparkgw:hniþbz:tbeml(i)ngo(d)** Vadstena-C ← *complete fupark in three ættir*  
**fuparkgwhn** Lindkær-C ← *fupark-quotation*  
**fuparkgwhniþzstbem(lrød)** Charnay *fupark*  
**fuparþj** Beuchte *fupark-quotation*  
**fupi/u** Schonen (II)-C ← *fupark-quotation*

**gabar** Schretzheim III, *PN nsm?*  
**gadu** Kent I *n/dsf.* 'companion, wife'  
**gAf** Stentoften *3 sg. pret. ind.* 'gave'  
**gagaga\*** Kragehul I *battle cry?* → **gægogæ**  
**gægogæ\*** Undley ← 'password'? → **gagaga**  
**gakaz** UFO-B ⇒, Schonen (I)-B ⇒ *ga(u)kaz? nsm.* a bird?  
**gasokun** Pforzen *3 pl. pret. ind.* 'quarreled', 'sought' or 'condemned'  
**gatano** Soest *PN? nsm.*  
**gaupþ** Illerup V *PN? nsm.* or 'someone dedicated to be offered' or *tribal name*  
**gibœtæ** Harford Farm *3 sg. pret. ind.* 'repaired'  
**gibu** Raum Køge-C ← *1 sg. pres. ind.* 'give'  
**gihiali\*** Kirchheim-Teck = *gihaili 2 sg. pres. imp.* 'make well' → **hiali**  
**ginA\*** Björketorp *adj.* 'broad, mighty, very' → **gino, ginu**  
**gino\*** Stentoften *adj.* 'broad, mighty, very' → **ginA, ginu**  
**ginu\*** Kragehul I *adj.* 'broad, mighty, very (many)' → **ginA, gino**  
**gisaiøj** Vimose IV *scribal error for PN Gisaijo?, nsm.*  
**gliaugiz** ← Nebenstedt (I)-B *PN? or epithet, nsm.*  
**god** Whitby *GN nsm.*  
**godahi[l]d** Bezenye I *PN dsf.*  
**godun** Arlon *PN dsf.*  
**golida** Freilaubersheim *3 sg. pret. ind.* 'greeted'  
**groba** Hitsum-A ← *n/asf.* 'groove, furrow', or 'belonging to a grave?'  
**gutani[s]** Pietroassa *adj. nsm.* 'Gothic'  
**g[e]ba** Oberflacht *nsf.* 'gift'

**h** Thorsberg II = *hagala, nsn.* 'hail' → **hag alu, hagela**  
**ha** Vimose II = \*ha[bē] *3 sg. pres. opt.* 'may have'  
**hAborumz** Stentoften *dpm.* 'with he-goats'  
**habuku** Oostum *PN dsf. or nsf./m.*  
**hada** Harlingen *PN nsm.*  
**hAerAmAlAusz\*** Björketorp *adj. nsm.* 'without rest' → **herAmAlAsAz**

**hAeruwulafiz** Istaby *patronymic nsm.*  
**hag alu\*** Ølst-C  $\Leftarrow$  *nfn.* 'hail'?  $\rightarrow$  **h, hagela, alu**  
**hagela\*** Overhornbæk (III)-C *nfn.* 'hail'  $\rightarrow$  **h, hag alu**  
**hagiradaz** Garbølle *PN nsm.*  
**hahwar** Weimar III and IV *PN nsm.*  
**hA[i]derA\*** Björketorp *adv.* 'here'  $\rightarrow$  **hederA, her**  
**hAidz\*** Björketorp *adj.* 'clear, shining, bright'  $\rightarrow$  **hidez**  
**hailag\*** Pietroassa *adj.* 'holy'  
**haite** Kragehul I 1 *sg. pres. ind. med.* 'I am called'  
**ha[i]teka\*** Lindholm  $\Leftarrow$  1 *sg. pres. ind. med.* + *enclitic eka* 'I am called'  $\rightarrow$  **haitika**  
**haitika\*** Raum Køge-C  $\Leftarrow$  1 *sg. pres. ind. med.* + *enclitic ika* 'I am called'  $\rightarrow$  **ha[i]teka**  
**halepewas\*** Bergakker *PN gsm.*  $\rightarrow$  **halepewas**  
**hamale** Neudingen-Baar II *PN dsm.*  
**hæmu** Westeremden stick *dsf.* 'homestead'  
**ha[n]gestumz** Stentofte *dpm.* '(with) steeds'  
**hari** Raum Køge-C  $\Leftarrow$  *nsm.* 'army', 'battle'  
**haribrig** Weimar I *PN nsf.*  
**hariso** Himlingøje II *PN nsm./f.*  
**hariuha\*** Raum Køge-C  $\Leftarrow$  *PN? nsm.* or 'the first among warriors'?  $\rightarrow$  **hari, uha**  
**hAriwolAfz** Stentofte *PN nsm.*  
**hAriwulafa** Istaby *PN asm.*  
**harja** Vimose V *PN, tribal name, nsm.*  
**harkilaz** Nydam II *PN nsm.*  
**halepewas\*** Bergakker *PN gsm.*  $\rightarrow$  **halepewas**  
**(h)ApuwolAfA** Gummarp *PN nsm. or asm.*  
**hApuwolafz\*** Stentofte *PN nsm.*  $\rightarrow$  **hApuwolafz**  
**hApuwolafz\*** Istaby *PN nsm.*  $\rightarrow$  **hApuwolafz**  
**hæriboki** Watchfield *PN g/dsn.*  
**hederA\*** Stentofte *adv.* 'here'  $\rightarrow$  **hA[i]derA, her**  
**heldaz** Tjurkö (I)-C  $\Leftarrow$  *PN? nsm.* 'free man, warrior'  
**helipæ** Whitby 3 *sg. pres. subj.* 'may help'  
**her\*** Letçani *adv.* 'here'  $\rightarrow$  **hA[i]derA, hederA**  
**herAmAlAsAz\*** Stentofte *adj.* 'without rest'  $\rightarrow$  **hAerAmAlAusz**  
**hiali\*** Kirchheim Teck = *haili nsf.* 'salvation'  $\rightarrow$  **gihiali**  
**hiba** Weimar II *PN nsf.*  
**hidez\*** Stentofte *adj.* 'clear, bright'  $\rightarrow$  **hAidz**  
**hiwi** Meldorf, Wijndaldum B *dsf.* 'mater familias = spouse'  
**hlaw** Loveden Hill *asm./n.* 'grave'  
**hleuno** Vimose IV *nsf.* 'protection'  
**hlewagastiz** Gallehus *PN nsm.*  
**holtijaz** Gallehus *nsm.* 'coming from the place Holt' or *patronymic* 'son of Holt'  
**horaz\*** Fünen (I)-C *adj. nsm.* 'beloved'  $\rightarrow$  **ho.z**  
**horna** Gallehus *asn.* 'horn' or *dualis acc.* 'the two horns'  
**ho.z\*** Maglemose (III)-C = *horaz adj. nsm.* 'beloved'  $\rightarrow$  **horaz**  
**huisi?ald** Steindorf *PN nsm.*

**i** Britsum ⇒ *asm.* 'yew'  
**ida** Weimar III and IV *PN nsf./m.*  
**iddan** Charnay *PN asm.*  
**iduni** Weimar III ⇐ *PN nsf.*  
**ihs** St. Cuthbert *Greek nomen sacrum Ie(so)s*  
**ik\*** Åsum-C ⇐, Sønder Rind-B ⇒, Kent I *1 sg. pers. pron.* 'I' → **ik, Ak, ekA, ek, eka, ika**  
**ik** Heilbronn-Böckingen ⇐ *1 sg. pers. pron.* 'I' → **ik, Ak, ek, ekA, eka, ika**  
**(i)ngo** Køng *PN? nsm.*  
**inguz (i)ngz** Wijnaldum A ⇐ *GN? Inguz? nsm.*  
**imuba** Neudingen-Baar II *PN nsf.*  
**iohann(i)s** St. Cuthbert *Greek PN nsm.*  
**isd** Weimar III *3 sg. pres. ind.* 'is'  
**iwi** Westeremden B *locative or instrumental sg. m.* 'yew'  
**io[h]** Nordendorf II *conj.* 'and'

**j** Pietroassa, Stentoft, Skodborghus-B = *jāra n/asn.* 'good year, harvest'  
**jibada\*** Westeremden B *nsf.* 'fate, luck, good fortune' → **u[m]bada, bada**  
**jisuhi[l]du** Westeremden A *PN dsf.*

**ka[m]bu** Oostum *asm.* 'comb'  
**kataæ** Hamwic *nsf.* 'knucklebone'  
**kesjam** Bergakker *dsm.* 'sword fighters'  
**kinga\*** Aquincum *asf.* 'brooch' → **kingia**  
**kingia\*** Aquincum *asf.* 'brooch' → **kinga**  
**kiripu\*** Bernsterburen *3 sg. pret. ind.* 'made' → **kiuspu**  
**kiuspu\*** Bernsterburen *2 sg. pres. imp.* 'you choose' → **kiripu**  
**klef** Neudingen-Baar I *1 or 3 sg. pret. ind.* 'fastened'  
**ko[m]bu** Toornwerd *nsm.* 'comb'  
**kolo** Griesheim *PN nsm.*  
**ksamella** Fallward ⇐ = *skamella, Lat. nsm.* 'footstool'  
**kunimu[n]diu** Tjurkö (I)-C ⇐ *dsm. PN? or epithet* 'protector of the gens'

**l\*** Svarteborg-M, Nebenstedt (I)-B = *laukaz* → **laukaz**  
**lagupewa** Illerup III *PN nsm.*  
**lakz\*** Lyngø Gyde-C = *laukaz* → **laukaz**  
**lamo** Udby ⇐ *PN nsm.*  
**laukaz\*** Skrydstrup-B ⇒, Börringe-C ⇐, Schonen-(I)-B, UFO-B *nsm.* 'leek, chives, garlic'  
 → **l, lakz, lauz, lkaz, luz**  
**laus\*** Vimose III *adj.* 'being without' → **a[n]sulaus**  
**lauz\*** Allesø-B ⇐, Bolbro (I)-B ⇐, Vedby-B ⇐ = *laukaz* → **laukaz**  
**lap\*** Welbeck Hill = *lapu nsf.* 'invitation' → **lapu, lapa, lpu**  
**lapa\*** Gurfiles (?) -C ⇐ *nsf.* 'invitation' → **lapu, lap, lpu**  
**lapo\*** Halskov-Overdrev-C ⇐ *asf.* 'invitation'  
**lapodu\*** Raum Trollhättan-A *lapōdu asm.* 'invitation' → **lapu**  
**lapu\*** Darum (I)-B ⇐, Højstrup Strand-C ⇐, Schonen (I)-B, UFO-B, Fünen (I) -C *nsf.*  
 'invitation, summons' or *1 sg. pres. ind.* 'I invite' → **lapa, lpu, lap**  
**lbi\*** Neudingen-Baar II *nsf.* 'love' or *adj. nsm./f./n.* 'dear, beloved' → **leob, leub, liub**

**leob\***, Weimar I, *PN? nsm.* → **leub, liub, lbi**  
**leub\*** Engers *nsm.* 'love' or *adj. nsm./f./n.* 'dear, beloved' → **leob, liub, lbi**  
**leuba** Schretzheim I *PN or petname, nsf.* 'love'  
**leubo** Schretzheim II *PN or petname, nsm.* 'love'  
**leubwini** Nordendorf I *PN n/asm.*  
**lepro** Strårup *PN nsm.*  
**liano** Charnay *PN nsm./f.*  
**LID** Britsum ⇒ *asn.* 'ship, retinue'  
**liub\*** Weimar I, Niederstotzingen *nsm.* 'love' or *adj. nsm./f./n.* 'dear, beloved' → **leub, leob, lbi**  
**lkaz\*** Danmark (I)(?) ⇐, Seeland (I) ⇐, Maglemose (II) ⇐, Hammenhög = *laukaz* → **laukaz**  
**logapore** Nordendorf I *npm.* 'intriguers' or *PN nsm.*  
**logens** Bergakker *apf./m. or gsm.* 'sword(s)?'  
**lori** Chessel Down II *dsn.* 'loss?'  
**lua\*** Nydam III = *alu* → **alu**  
**luda** Harford Farm *PN nsm.*  
**luwatuwa\*** Vadstena-C ⇐ *uninterpretable* → **tuwa**  
**luz\*** Hesselagergårds Skov-C, Hesselager-C, Südfünen-C = *laukaz* → **laukaz**  
**lpu\*** Skonager (III)-C ⇐ = *lapu* → **lapu, lapu**

**madali** Bad Ems *PN nsm./f.*  
**maga** Undley *gpm.* 'of the kinsmen'  
**makija** Vimose II ⇒ *asm.* 'sword'  
**marcus** St. Cuthbert *Greek PN nsm.*  
**mari** Vimose II ⇒ *nsm.* 'lake, water'  
**marings** Szabadbattyán *PN, tribal name nsm.*  
**mauo** Bopfingen *mawō dsf.* 'to the girl' or *PN nsm.*  
**ma(t)[h](eus)** St. Cuthbert *Greek PN nsm.*  
**mæus** Whitby *Lat. 1 sg. pers. pron.* 'my'  
**me** Ferwerd *pers. pron. d/as.* 'me'  
**medu\*** Undley *nsf.* 'reward' or *(ge)mēdu apn.* 'consent' → **midu**  
**me[b]** Westeremden A *prep.* 'with'  
**mi** Britsum ⇐ *pers. pron. d/as.* 'me'  
**midu\*** Neudingen-Baar I *nsf.* 'reward' or *adj. sf./m./n.* 'in the middle' → **medu**  
**mien** West Heselerton = *mene? nsm.* 'ornament, jewel'  
**muha** Kragehul I *PN? nsm. or (ga)mūha* 'retainer'  
**muni** Eichstetten 3 *sg. pres. opt.* 'may remember'  
  
**niu** Stentofte *numeral dpm.* 'nine'  
**niužil\*** Darum (V)-C *PN? nsm.* 'young, little newcomer' → **niuwila**  
**niuwila\*** Skonager (III)-C ⇒ *PN? nsm.* 'young, little newcomer' → **niužil**  
**niwajemariz** Thorsberg I *epithet nsm.*  
**nipijo** Illerup II ⇐ *PN, tribal name nsm.*  
**nnn** Lindholm ⇐ *three times n* assumingly means *three times naudt̥z* = 'need'  
**noru** Aalen *PN nsm.*

**ok** Westeremden B *adv.* 'also'  
**oka** Rasquert *PN nsm.*  
**op** Westeremden B *prep.* 'at, upon'  
**owlpupewaz** Thorsberg I = *Wolpupewaz PN nsm.*

**pada** Kent II coins *PN nsm.*

**r\*** Sievern-A  $\Leftarrow = r(\bar{u}n\bar{o}z)$ , *npf.* 'runes' → **rnz, ronoz, runAz, runa, runoz**  
**rada** Soest 3 *sg. pres. opt.* 'may guess'  
**rAginArunAz\*** Björketorp 'a fate-predicted message' → **rAginoronoz**  
**rAginoronoz\*** Stentoften 'a fate-predicted message' → **rAginArunAz**  
**raihan** Caistor-by-Norwich *g/d/asm.* 'roe, of a roe'  
**rango\*** Leţcani *nsm.* 'ring, spindle whorl'? → **rawo**  
**ranja** Dahmsdorf *nsm.* 'router'  
**rasuwa(m)u[n]d** Arlon *PN nsm.*  
**raunijaz** Øvre Stabu *nsm.* 'tester'  
**rawo\*** Leţcani *dsf.* 'for the restingplace'? → **rango**  
**ra[u]zwi?** Liebenau *PN? nsm.* 'consecrated to the spear'?  
**rnz\*** Nebenstedt (I)-B  $\Leftarrow = r(\bar{u}n(\bar{o})z)$ , *apf.* 'runes' → **r, ronoz, runAz, runa, runoz**  
**ronoz\*** Stentoften *apf.* 'runes' → **r, rnz, runAz, runa, runoz**  
**runa\*** Freilaubersheim, Neudingen-Baar II *apf.* 'runes' → **r, rnz, ronoz, runAz, runoz**  
**runAz\*** Björketorp, Istaby *apf.* 'runes' → **r, rnz, ronoz, runa, runoz**  
**runono\*** Stentoften *asf.* 'runerow' → **runoronu**  
**runoronu\*** Björketorp *asf.* 'runerow' → **runono**  
**runoz\*** Tjurkö (I)-C  $\Leftarrow = apf.$  'runes' → **r, rnz, ronoz, runa, runAz**

**sa\*** Lindholm *dem. pron. nsm.* 'who' → **sawilagaz, sA, sAz**  
**sA\*** Stentoften *dem. pron. nsm.* 'who, which' → **sAz, sa**  
**salusalu** Lellinge Kohave-B *edible alga? or salus alu? or twice alu?*  
**sAte** Gummarp 3 *sg. pret. ind.* 'put'  
**sawilagaz\*** Lindholm  $\Leftarrow = PN nsm.$  → **sa, wilagaz**  
**sAz\*** Björketorp *sa-ez, dem. pron. + relative particle nsm.* 'he who'  
**sbA** Björketorp 1 *sg. pres. ind.* 'foresee'  
**segalo** München-Aubing I *PN nsm.*  
**segun** Bezenye II *nsm.* 'bless'  
**sekka** Chessel Down I *PN nsm.*  
**sig[n]duz** Svarteborg-M *PN? nsm.*  
**sigib[a]ld** Weimar II *PN nsm.*  
**sigila\*** München-Aubing I *PN nsm./f., or nsf.* 'brooch' → **sigilæ, sil**  
**sigilæ\*** Harford Farm *asf.* 'brooch' → **sigila, sil**  
**sigimer** Ash Gilton *PN nsm.*  
**sikijaz** Nydam I  $\Leftarrow = nsm.$  'coming from a bog'  
**sil\*** Boarley  $\Rightarrow = sigil$  *asf.* 'brooch' → **sigilæ, sigila**  
**siþæbæd\*** Loveden Hill *PN nsf.* → **siþæb[a]ld**  
**siþæb[a]ld\*** Loveden Hill *PN nsm.* → **siþæbæd**  
**si[n]pwag[j]a[n]din** Schretzheim II *PN? nsf.* 'female travel companion'  
**skanomodu** solidus *PN nsm./f.*

**stAbA** Gummarp *apm.* 'staves'  
**sufhe** Leţcani *3 sg. pres. opt.* 'may she sleep?'  
**swarta** Illerup I *PN nsm.*

**tahu** Pforzen *adj.* 'tough?'  
**talgida** Udby ⇒ *3 sg. pret. ind.* 'carved' → **talgidai**  
**talgidai** Nøvling *3 sg. pret. ind.* 'carved', or *talgida i* 'carved in' → **talgida**  
**talijo** Vimose IV *nsf.* 'plane'  
**tanulu** Børringe-C ⇐ *nsf.* 'protection, thrive?'  
**tæpa** Kent III sceattas *PN nsm.*  
**tawide** Illerup II ⇐, Garbølle *3 sg. pret. ind.* 'made'  
**tawido** Gallehus *1 sg. pret. ind.* 'made'  
**tawo** Raum Trollhättan-A ⇒ *1 sg. pres. ind.* 'make'  
**tilarids** Kowel *nsm.* 'goal-pursuer'  
**ttt** Lindholm ⇐ *assumingly three times t means three times* '\*tīwaz = Tyr'  
**tuda** Bernsterburen *PN nsm.*  
**tuwa\*** Vadstena-C ⇐ *something spun, e.g. linnen and/or wool?* → **luwatuwa**

**þAiaz** Istaby *dem. pron. apf.* 'these'  
**þAt** Björketorp, Stentofen *dem. pron. asn.* 'this'  
**þicþ\*** Loveden Hill *3 sg. pres. ind.* 'gets, receives' → **þiuw**  
**þk** Freilaubersheim *pers. pron. asf.* 'you'  
**þæn** Britsum *dem. pron. asm.* 'this'  
**þiuw\*** Weimar IV, Loveden Hill *nsf.* 'maid, servant' → **þicþ**  
**þria** Gummarp *numeral apm.* 'three'  
**þrkgwh** Overhornbæk (III)-C ⇐ *fubark-quotation*  
**þu** Bernsterburen *pers. pron. nsm.* 'you'  
**þuruphild** Friedberg *PN nsf.*  
**þusa\*** Westeremden B *dem. pron. asm.* 'this one' → **þusæ**  
**þusæ\*** Watchfield *dem. pron. asm.* 'this one' → **þusa, wusæ, bu[r]sæ**

**uf** Leţcani *prep.* 'under'  
**uha\*** Raum Kølge-C ⇐, Kragehul I *u(n)ha* or *ūha?* 'young' or 'the first (among warriors = leader)?' → **hariuha**  
**ui\*** Kjellers Mose-C ⇐ *vī* 'sanctuary, temple' → **wi[h]**  
**uiniz** Sønder Rind-B *winiz nsm.* 'friend'  
**uū\*** Nebenstedt (I)-B ⇐ *1 sg. pres. ind.* 'consecrate' → **wihgu**  
**u[m]bada\*** Bad Ems *PN? nsf. or compound of umbi* 'around' + *(gi)bada* 'consolation'  
→ **jibada, bada**  
**u[n]mædit** Rasquert *adj. nsm.* 'not made mad'  
**unwodz** Gårdlösa *PN or epithet? nsm.* 'not raging'  
**up** Westeremden B *prep.* 'upon'  
**urait\*** Neudingen-Baar II = *wrait 3 sg. pret. ind.* 'wrote' → **warAit, wraet**  
**ura\*** Ferwerd *PN nsm.* → **uræ**  
**uræ\*** Ferwerd *PN nsf.* → **ura**  
**utiaz** Björketorp *adv.* 'farther away, to the south'  
**uuigaz** Eskatorp-F, Väsby-F = *wīgaz nsm.* 'warrior'

**uulald** Eskatorp-F, Väsby-F = *wīald* *asm.* 'work of art'  
**uþArAbA** Björketorp *asm.* 'something unwished for'  
**uþf[i]nþai** Charnay 3 *sg. pres. opt.* 'may find out, get to know'

**wagagastiz** Nydam I ⇒ *PN nsm.*  
**wagnijo** Illerup IV, Vimose I ⇐ *PN, tribal name, nsm.*  
**walhakurne** Tjurkö (I)-C ⇐ *dsn.* 'strange, imported granule of gold'  
**warAit\*** Istaby 3 *sg. pret. ind.* 'he wrote' → **wraet, urait**  
**wekka** Chessel Down I *PN nsm.*  
**welAdAude\*** Björketorp *dsm.* 'death by treachery' → **welAdud**  
**wela[n]du** Schweindorf ⇐ *PN nsm.*  
**welAdud\*** Stentofen *dsm.* 'death by treachery' → **welAdAude**  
**widuhu[n]daz** Himlingøje I *PN nsm.*  
**wigka\*** Dischingen I *PN nsf.* → **winka**  
**wiguponar** Nordendorf I *GN nsm.*  
**wi[h]\*** Pietroassa *wī[h], weih, nsn.* 'sanctuary' → **ui**  
**wihailag** Pietroassa 'sacrosanctum'  
**wihgu** Nydam I ⇐ *1 sg. pres. ind.* 'fight' or 'consecrate' → **uüu**  
**wilagaz\*** Lindholm *PN nsm.* → **sawilagaz**  
**wimœd** Westeremden B *PN nsm.*  
**winka\*** Dischingen I *PN nsf.* → **wigka**  
**witring\*** Slemminge *PN. nsm.* → **witro**  
**witro\*** Slemminge *PN. nsm.* → **witring**  
**wiwogan** Eichstetten *PN asm.*  
**wodan** Nordendorf I *GN nsm.*  
**wo(r)gt** Arlon = *worht(e), 3 sg. pret. ind.* 'worked, made'  
**wraet\*** Freilaubersheim 3 *sg. pret. ind.* 'wrote' → **warAit, urait**  
**wrilu** Sievern-A ⇐ = *wrītu 1 sg. pres. ind.* 'write'  
**writ** Weingarten I 3 *sg. pres. ind.* 'writes'  
**wurte** Tjurkö (I)-C ⇐ 3 *sg. pret. ind.* 'worked, made'  
**wusæ\*** Watchfield *PN g/dsf.* → **bu[r]sæ, þusæ**  
**wæfar?** Kent I *PN? nsm.*

**xps** St. Cuthbert *partly Romanized Greek nomen sacrum* 'Christos'

**zzz** Lindholm ⇐ *assumingly three times z means three times \*algiz* 'elk'

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