

The Provenance of Proto-Norse Personal Names II

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IN THE FOLLOWING we shall take a closer look at the runic personal names on which von Friesen built his remarkable views. In his above mentioned work (pp. 83–116) he undertakes a thorough investigation of the Proto Norse runic personal names as he deciphered and interpreted them as to their etymology and provenance. We shall attempt to find out to what extent this material furnishes evident proofs of his statements, and we shall judge the names in the same order as von Friesen.¹⁰

? **akaR**, brachteate from Åsum, southern Sweden (*DR*, col. 538 f., 647f.). This is probably the name of the same rune-cutter who carved the Femø brachteate (see below), on which it clearly reads **ek fakaR f[ahido]** 'I, FakaR, made (it).' There is no evidence of a name **akaR**. Friesen himself indicated his hesitation by a question-mark before the name.

alawid, brachteate from Skodborg, Denmark (*DR*, col. 497 f., 628, 807). This name occurs in an inscription about which there has been much discussion. According to several interpreters, including von Friesen, the recorded form, without nominative ending, is the vocative. Usually it has been identified with Franconian *Alawit*, *Aloit*. The inscription, which is a magic formula, reads **auja alawin**, repeated three times, plus **jalawid**, which probably is Goth. *ja(h) alawid* 'and Alawid.' It is, according to Marstrander, very possible that the whole inscription is Gothic and that the brachteate was brought from southern Europe to Denmark. This seems to me to be the most plausible alternative. If we assume that the inscription is Gothic, it becomes fully understandable and linguistically in good order. This is not the case if it should happen to be Scandinavian. This inscription can therefore hardly be used as evidence for the existence of a Scandinavian **alawiðuR*.

alawin, brachteate from Skodborg, Denmark (*DR*, col. 497 f., 628, 807); in the same inscription as the previous name, thus possibly of Gothic origin.

aluko, sinking-weight from Förde, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 314 f., 3, pp. 246f.). According to Sophus Bugge, *l.c.*, with the concurrence of von Friesen, this form is a feminine name related to the masculine OHG *Aluco*, OE *Aluca*. This *aluko* then would be a name of endearment, derived from *alu-* with the Prim. Germanic diminutive suffix *-kon-*. If this interpretation is correct, it may still be native Scandinavian. The stem *alu-* belonged to the Prim. Scand. vocabulary, and the suffix *-kon-* was in full use as a formative element. It is still productive in Modern Icelandic, e.g. *Valka*, pet form to *Valgerður*, *Ranka* to *Ragnhildur* and *Ragnheiður*, *Jóka* to *Jóhanna*, etc. If the inscription refers to a personal name, this must belong to the owner of the sinker. But it seems highly improbable that women took part in fishing and owned fishing tools. It is quite possible that the carving is an incantation containing *alu*, often used in magic formulas, plus an abbreviation of some kind. I dare not take this inscription as evidence of the existence of a Prim. Scan. personal name *aluko*.

? **anoana**, brachteate from unknown place, Norway (*NI*, 1, pp. 456 ff., 3, pp. 259f.). According to Sophus Bugge and Magnus Olsen, *l.c.*, this is a Prim. Scand. **Ana-wāna*, identical with OHG *Anawan*. This is, also in von Friesen's opinion, most uncertain. The inscription rather looks like a mystic magic formula. It cannot be included among undisputedly evidenced Prim. Scand. names.

? **a[n]sugasdi . . .**, stone from Mykleby, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 327 ff., 3, pp. 249). There seems to be no doubt that the stone has been broken in two and that there were more runes on the part that has disappeared. It is quite possible that the full inscription showed **a[n]sugasdiR** nominative of a name, which in ON would be **Ásgestr*. It is of great significance to von Friesen that most of the recorded continental names on *-gast* are Franconian. This may be a seeming truth. At any rate, the same element is well known from Scandinavia, e.g. ON *Niðgestr*, *Ulfgestr*, *Végestr*, *Þorgestr*, OSwed. *Vigæst*, all of them names of historical persons; see also under **dagaR** below. The first element *ansu-*, ON *Ás-*, was an extremely popular element in Scandinavian names in pre-Christian times; cf. the following name. There is no imperative reason for the assump-

tion that a possible **ansugastiR* should have been borrowed from the continent, especially since no instance of it has been found among the many Old German names on *-gast*. On the contrary, it looks like a good Scandinavian name, and it seems almost surprising that there is no evidence of it.

a[n]sugisalas, spearshaft from Kragehul, Denmark (*DR*, col. 232 ff., 633). Gen. of *a[n]sugisalaR, ON **Ásgisl*, otherwise not evidenced in Scandinavia but known from several places on the Continent. Both elements of the compound were often used in Prim. and Old Scand. names. In regard to the few Prim. Scand. names we know, it may very well be, and probably is, a pure accident that it has not been recorded. Perhaps it was rather early attracted by and merged into the common ON *Áskell* < *Ásketill*. The initial *g* of the second element naturally developed into *k* after the final *s* of the first component. It is true that *-gisl* in ON, as well as in OE, normally resulted in *-gils*, but in **Áskils* (< **Ásgisl*) the final *s* may have disappeared on account of dissimilative influence from the first *s*. It seems safe to say that this name must not be included among those that definitely show continental influence upon the Scandinavian nomenclature.

asmū[n]t, acc., stone from Sölvesborg, Sweden (*DR*, col. 399 f., 633). The stone belongs to the earliest part of the Viking Age and should not be included in the material. This name was spread all over the Germanic territory and was especially popular in Scandinavia.

? auþ a, brachteate from Over-Hornbæk, Denmark (*DR*, col. 509). The inscription is almost unreadable and several suggestions or guesses have been made. Nothing can be built on this inscription.

? bor[g]o, stone from Opedal, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 295 ff. 3, pp. 246 f.). The form given is most uncertain, and von Friesen seems to regard it more or less as a guess. Other decipherings, equally uncertain, have been presented. The word has no value as evidence in our discussion.

dagaR, stone from Einang, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 72 ff., 3, pp. 28). The deciphering has later been changed, quite convincingly, by Erik Moltke to [go]dagastiR, the Prim. Scand. form of ON *Goðgestr*.²¹ Even if the first two runes are uncertain, this reading eliminates the name *dagaR* from the discussion. Since this word was used much more in continental than Scandinavian name

giving, it played a rather important part in von Friesen's demonstration. Whatever the first element may be, it is obvious that we have to do with a Scandinavian name with *-gastiR* as the second component. It is little plausible that the first element is the adj. ON *góðr* 'good,' since this word does not seem to have been used in Scandinavian compound names during the time we deal with.

? *fakaR*, bracteate from Femø, Denmark (*DR*, col. 538 f., 647 ff.). It seems quite certain that the form is *fakaR*. If the stem vowel is short, the name would probably be related to OHG *Faco*, *Fachilo*, *Facco*, Lombard *Facho*. But it may equally well be long, in which case the name probably would be identical with ON *fákr*, masc., 'a kind of horse.' Since the quantity of the stem vowel cannot be established, the name has no value as evidence pro or contra von Friesen's theory.

fino, stone from Berga, Sweden (*SR* 3, p. 17). This is a feminine name, the same as ON *Finna*. The stem *finn-* occurs very often as first and last element in Old Scand. names, but seems to have been used rather infrequently on the Continent. Undoubtedly a Scandinavian name.

frawaradaR, stone from Möjbro, Sweden (*Nordisk kultur* 6, pp. 27 ff.). This name is otherwise unknown in Scandinavia, but could be connected with OHG (Bavar.) *Fraorat*. But this isolated form can hardly prove that the Scandinavian name was imported from the Continent. The runic name is in all probability Scandinavian, since the two elements belong to the native Scandinavian nomenclature.

frohila, bracteate from Darum, Denmark (*DR*, col. 500, 651). The deciphering is evident, but the interpretation gives room for several alternatives. The scholars who have dealt with this inscription agree that *h* is hiatus-bridging, and the name, thus, actually *froila*. This form has been explained as a diminutive formed with the suffix *-ila-* to compound names with the first element *Frauja-* or *Frawi-*. According to von Friesen it is related to OHG *Frawilo* and OFrancon. *Froilo*. He even believes that *froila* could show Franconian vocalism. But the name has also been identified with got. *Froila*, in which case the vocalism would be Gothic. Perhaps the bracteate itself came from the Goths; cf. under *alawid* above. Possible collocations with extra-Scandinavian names are too uncertain to prove anything as to the provenance of the name on the bracteate.

goda[da]gas, rock-face at Valsfjorden, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 340 ff., 2, pp. 714 ff., Harry Andersen in *Namn och bygd* 1949, pp. 95 ff.). It is usually assumed that the actual form is a haplological or haplographical reduction of ***godadagas**, gen. of a Proto Norse compound ***GōðadagaR** (identical with OE *Godæg*) or ***GōðadagaR**, but it is perhaps more likely that it is an adj. formed with the suffix *-aga-* to *gōða-* 'good'; cf. ON *heilagr* 'holy' < **hailagaR*, derived from **haila-*. Whatever the etymology may be, there are no continental names to be found that could be identical with or related to this name. It cannot support von Friesen's theory.

hadulaikaR, stone at Kjølevik, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 268 ff.). Most interpreters suppose that *hadu-* is due to a mistake in carving, and that we should read *hapu-*, a well known element in Prim. Scand. names. According to von Friesen there is no counterpart in later Scand. sources to a Prim. Scand. ***hapulaikaR**, but he found, like Bugge before him, the same name in OE *Heaðolác* (Beda *hadulac*) and OHG (Alem.) *Hadaleih*. But it is quite possible that the Old Norw. *haleikr* in a late runic inscription on a hinge from Røindal in southern Norway was developed from ***hapulaikaR** although other origins of the first elements are possible;¹² cf. ON *Hárekr*, possibly < ***hapuríkiR** (or *-ríkiar*), and *Hálfr*, probably < ***Hāulfr** (run. Swed. *haulf*) < ***hapu-wulfaR** (OHG *Haduwolf*, *Hathowulf*). It is however, at least theoretically, possible that *hadu-* represents *ha(n)du-*. This element is not known from Scand. names, but on the Continent we find OHG *Hantbert*, *Hantker*, *Handegis*, *Handolf*, etc., mainly from the Bavarian territory. The etymology of this name is not established well enough to be used as an argument for or against von Friesen's loan-theory. The most plausible interpretation, **hapulaikaR**, speaks in favor of native Scandinavian origin.

hAeruwulafiR, stone at Istaby, Sweden (*DR*, col. 359, 665). The last element could perhaps be a wrong carving for **-wulafaR** (that is *-wul^afaR*) but is more likely a patronymic, meaning 'hAeruwul^afaR's son'; cf. **hagustaldiR** below. This name **hAeruwul^afaR** is identical with ON *Hjǫrulfr*, name of a legendary sea-king and one of the characters in Half's Saga. The only extra-Scandinavian evidence of this name known to von Friesen was the OE place-name *Heorulfestun*. To-day we know a few more from OE sources. It has not been found on the Continent, although both elements belong to

the continental Germanic naming system. This name can certainly not serve as evidence of loan from the Continent.

hagusta[I]daR, stone of Kjøllevik, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 268 ff., 563, 3, pp. 242). The recorded form *-stadaR* is no doubt wrong for *-staldaR*. See the following name.

hagustaldiR, rock-face at Valsfjorden (*NI* 1, pp. 340 ff., 3, pp. 250). The recorded form is probably not a wrong cutting for *-staldaR* but a patronymic, meaning 'hagustaldaR's son'; cf. **hæruwulafi**R above. The primary name *hagustaldaR* is the same as OHG *Hagustalt*, known from several places, and the OE place-name *Hægstealdeshám*, the present-day *Hexham*. As appellative denoting a man in various (social) positions this word is widely distributed all over the Germanic world: OE *hagusteald*, OHG *hagustalt*, ON *haukstaldr* (by folketymological transformation). It still exists in many modern Scand. dialects, often in more or less distorted forms. This word belonged, both as appellative and as personal name, to the whole Germanic territory. But it is possible that it originated on the Continent. So von Friesen believes. If this is true it could have spread as an appellative before it came to be used as a personal name. But in my opinion the wide geographical distribution of the appellative in modern Scand. dialects speaks, to some extent, against the assumption that it is a loan-word. Even if I admit that the appellative possibly is an early intruder in the Scand. languages, I am not equally willing to take its function as a personal name as indisputable evidence of continental influence upon the nomenclature of Scandinavia. However, let us say, that we here find the first runic name that can be used realistically as support for von Friesen's opinion.

halaR, stone at Stenstad, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 174 ff., 536, 3, pp. 232). The recorded form could be identical with ON *hallr* 'stone' or with the ON adjective *hallr* 'stooping.' In the latter case the original form would be **halþaR*. *Hallr*, of one or the other origin, was used as byname and baptismal name in medieval Scandinavia. There seem to be no continental counterparts.

h̄arabanaR̄, rock-face at Järsberg, Sweden (*Nordisk kultur* 6, pp. 30). The carved form, which has two prop vowels (*h^arab^anaR*), is the same as ON *Hrafn*. This name was popular in Scandinavia as well as on the Continent. Certainly not borrowed into Scandinavia.

haraRaR, stone at Eidsvaag, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 449 ff., 3, pp. 259).

Several alternative interpretations are possible. The correct reading may be *harafaR*, that is *h^arafar*. Therefore this name can hardly be used as evidence in our discussion.

hariso, clasp from Himlingøje, Denmark (*DR*, col. 285 ff., 662). Any attempt to interpret this inscription operates against difficulties of phonetic and formative nature. According to one opinion, first expressed by Hugo Pipping and adopted by von Friesen, the name is identical with a Herulian king *Hariso*. Marstrander has combined it with Celtic *Coriso*. Several other suggestions have been made. Regardless of the etymology of the word, it has no obvious continental connections.

? *hariuha*, bracteate from Zealand, Denmark (*DR*, col. 335 f., 663). The name lends itself to manifold interpretations, and no evident connections with other names in or outside of Scandinavia have been found.

hariwolafR, stone at Stentofen, Sweden (*DR*, col. 400 ff., 665).

hariwulfs, stone at Råfsal, Sweden (*Nordisk kultur* 6, p. 31).

hariwulafa, stone at Istaby, Sweden (*DR*, col. 407 ff., 663). The three identical names represent a Proto Norse *Hari-wulfaR* in the nom., gen., and acc. respectively, which is the ground-form of the Scand. *Herjulf*. The same name is well evidenced elsewhere among the Germanic peoples: OHG *Hariulf*, *Heriwolf*, OE *Herewulf*, etc. A typical common-Germanic name.

harja, comb from Vimose Denmark (*DR*, col. 246, 662). This name is not known from other Scand. sources until the latter half of the 14th century. Then it appears as the name of a couple of persons in southern Jutland. No doubt it came from Germany, where it seems to have been used ever since OHG times: OHG *Hari*, *Herio*, MHG *Hero*, Frisian *Here*. But loans of such late date are of no interest for our problem. *Harja* is probably a short name for compounds containing *Harja-* as the first element or *-harjaR* as the second. Such ellipses could be formed in any Germanic language, and the lack of evidence in earlier ON might be only accidental, an assumption that even von Friesen makes. The value of this name as evidence for von Friesen's theory is infinitesimal.

harijan, stone at Skåäng, Sweden (*SR* 3, p. 22 ff.). This form, which in the opinion of some runologists should be deciphered as *haringan*, may be interpreted as the dative of **hārya* or **hāringa* or **hāringa*, being the name of the person in honor of whom the stone

was erected. But since the exact form cannot be established and evident connections are difficult to find, this name can hardly be used as an argument in our discussion.

harkoþuR, stone at Vånga, Sweden. The deciphering of the inscription has later been established as **haukoþuR**. This reading was accepted by von Friesen in *Nordisk kultur* 6, p. 30, and interpreted as **haugoþuR** 'burial.' Even if it should be understood as an otherwise unknown personal name **haukoþuR**, the suffix *-oþuR* is a Scandinavian characteristic.

hAþuwulafR, stone at Istaby, Sweden (*DR*, col. 407 ff., 663).

hAþuwolafR, stone at Stentofte, Sweden (*DR*, col. 400 ff., 663).

hAþuwolafa, stone at Gummarp, Sweden (*DR*, col. 405, ff., 663).

These stones have been found on a small peninsula in southern Sweden. Obviously they refer to members of the same family. The first two forms are the nom., the last acc. or possibly, if the carver forgot to cut a final *-R*, also the nom. This name is known from the Continent and the British Isles: OHG *Hathowulf*, OE *Heaðu-wulf*. It is also certainly the ground-form, or one of the possible ground-forms, of ON *Hálfr*, see under **hAþulaikaR** above. Obviously this name belongs to the common-Germanic group.

heldaR, brachteate from Tjurkö, Sweden (*DR*, col. 547 ff., 664). The same name as ON *Hjaldr*. Since no continental counterparts are known, von Friesen was inclined to believe that the form had been carved wrong for *helmaR*. Even if he were right, the name shows no continental influence, since *Hjálmr* was an often used and certainly native name in Scandinavia.

hlewagastiR, golden horn from Gallehus, Denmark (*DR*, col. 24 ff., 667). A unique name. The first element is known from OHG and OE as *Hleo-*, from ON as *Hlé-* (in legendary names). It is possible that *hlewa-* came from the Celtic language, but this must have happened so early—before the Germanic sound-shift—that it may be regarded as Germanic. The latter element belongs to the same Germanic languages as the first one; cf. **a[n]sugasdiR**, **dagaR** above, **saligastiR** below. I fail to see any reason to regard this name as a continental loan.

houaR, brachteate from Fyn, Denmark (*DR*, col. 522 f., 669).

ho.R, brachteate from Maglemose, Denmark (*DR*, col. 529 ff., 669). The inscription on the second brachteate is completely confused and nonsensical. The whole piece is probably a poor

imitation of the first one. But the interpretation of *houaR* faces phonetical and other difficulties. If it is a personal name at all, which is not fully clear, it must, in want of a convincing etymology, be excluded from the material relevant for our discussion.

hroRaR and **hroReR**, stone at By, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 89 ff., 629). The latter name is a patronymic, meaning 'hroRaR's son.' The name *hroRaR* is otherwise unknown and does therefore not prove anything for or against continental origin.

? **igijon**, stone at Stenstad, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 174 ff., 536 f., 3, pp. 232). This word is no doubt an oblique form of a feminine name, but no definite interpretation or connection with other names seems possible. It is irrelevant to the problem here discussed.

iupingaR, stone at Reistad, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 216 ff., 539, 3, p. 235). This name has by Sophus Bugge been compared with the old Germanic folk-name *Iuthungi*, denoting a tribe that inhabited a certain region on the upper Danube, and identified, with the concurrence of von Friesen, with the Old Bavarian personal name *Eodunc*, MHG *Iedunc*, *Jodunc(h)*. All these continental forms show the weak ablaut grade in the suffix. From Franconian territory we know a feminine name *Iudinga*, and von Friesen found it therefore possible that there also existed a masculine **Iuding*, **Iudung*. Elof Hellquist compared the runic name with a South-Swedish place-name *Ydhinge* (1501), which he interpreted as a patronymic. But that is only one of the possible interpretations. In von Friesen's opinion *iupingaR* is definitely a continental name. I am somewhat reluctant to accept this as a fact, but since it would carry me too far to motivate my objections and give another explanation, I am willing to give von Friesen a score at this point.

? **keþan**, stone at Belland, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 209 ff., 538, 3, p. 234). Possibly an oblique form of a masculine name **keþa*, ON **Kjaði*, which seems to occur in some Scand. place-names, e.g. *Kjaberg* (*j Kiadabærghi* 1394). This combination is at least phonetically acceptable. Hesitatingly von Friesen suggested relationship with Old Francon. *Kedo* and *Keto*, Aleman. *Ketto*, which may be taken only as a guess. The hitherto presented combinations indicate Scandinavian origin.

kunimu[n]diu, bracteate from Tjurkö, Sweden (*DR*, col. 547 ff.). Dative of **kunimunduR*, a common Migration name: OHG *Cunimunt*, used by several old continental peoples, OE *Cynemund*.

Since no indisputable evidence of **kuni(a)-* as the first element in compound Scand. names has been produced, it seems hard to deny the foreign provenance of this name. It is possible that the same name is to be found on the Swedish Viking Age rune-stone from Rök in the plural form *KonmundR*. But this, too, could be due to West-Germanic influence.

laiþigaR, stone at Møgedal, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 711 ff.). By Magnus Olsen interpreted as an adjective (cf. OHG *leideg*, *leidig* 'unpleasant, annoying'), used as byname or nickname. No other evidence of such a name has been found. A guess by von Friesen that the form could be interpreted as **laiþi[n]gaR** gives no lead as to the provenance.

la[n]dauwarijaR, stone at Tørviken, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 278 ff.). The runic symbol resembling that of a *u* is placed over the other runes and perhaps does not belong to the inscription, which then would read *ladawarijaR* or *la(n)da-*. If the *n* should be there, the name is identical with OHG *Lantwar(i), -weri* (quite frequently used by Franconians and Bavarians), Lombard *Landoari*. The first component **landa-* does not belong to the Scandinavian name stock. The only possible Scand. example seems to be the Danish place-name *Landerslev*, which contains an Old Danish name **Landær*, but this may equally well be equivalent to OHG *Lanthar* (**landa-harjaz*). If the inscription represents a Prim. Scand. *ladawarijaR*, without *n*, it would be a unique name. Thus it seems most likely that this name was imported from the Continent, although weighty objections may be raised against this assumption.

laukaR, brachteate from Böringe, Sweden (*DR*, col. 542 f., 681). This is not a personal name but the ON appellative *laukr* 'onion,' which was often used in magic formulas; von Friesen himself hesitated to regard it as a name.

leugaR, stone at Skääng, Sweden (*SR* 3, pp. 22 ff.). Rather uncertain. Even if it really is a name, it seems to have no counterparts in or outside of Scandinavia.

leþro, metal collar from Straarup, Denmark (*DI*, col. 43 f., 682). Probably a feminine or secondary masculine short-name without obvious relations in the Old Germanic nomenclature.

m[a]r[i]la, clasp from Etelhem, Norway (*NI* I, pp. 148 ff., 534, 3, pp. 231). The inscription in which this form occurs is difficult to

decipher and seems to make no sense. Irrelevant for this discussion.

muha, spear from Kragehul, Denmark (*DR*, col. 196 ff., 688). If this really is a personal name, which is far from certain, the possible connections are too doubtful to give it any value for this argument.

niuha, stone at Stentofte, Sweden (*DR*, col. 400 ff., 690). By von Friesen interpreted as an ON **Nýia*, which he assumed to be a short-form to feminine names in *-nǫ* (*Signǫ*, *Þornǫ*, etc.). But later investigations show that these runes in all probability do not represent a personal name.

niuþil[a], bracteate from Darum, Denmark (*DR*, col. 503, 691, 807).

niuwila, bracteate from Skonager, Denmark (*DR*, col. 504 f., 691, 807). According to von Friesen and several others the last form may be a wrong carving, and the first should be regarded as correct. It seems likely that both bracteates are copies of an unknown prototype. If *niuþil(a)* is a reliable form, it could be an ellipsis of compound names containing the first element *Niuþa-* (almost unknown in Scandinavian names; cf. the next name). *Niuwila* could correspond with OHG (Bavar.) *Niwilo*, *Nevelo*, Visigothic *Neufila*. According to Marstrander both bracteates are Gothic. If this is true, the inscriptions may be interpreted in their recorded form. If they were Scandinavian, we would have to operate with grammatical errors or distorted forms. I cannot accept these controversial forms as relevant material in the discussion about continental influence upon the Scand. naming system.

niwajmariR, ferrule from Torsbjerg, Denmark (*DR*, col. 19 ff.). This is about half of a highly disputed inscription. All interpretations have to work with wrong cuttings; cf. *owluþewaR* below, which is the rest of the inscription. Later interpretations usually do not regard *niwajmariR* as a personal name but as an adjective meaning 'famous.' It cannot be accepted as material contributing to the elucidation of the problem of continental loans.

rhøAltR, stone at Vatn, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 353 ff., 564, 3, pp. 250). This inscription belongs to a transitional period between the Migration Era and the Viking Age, probably the 8th century. There are three uncertain runes. The name represents no doubt ON *Hroaldr*. This name was common-Germanic and very popular in Scandinavia. It offers no proof of von Friesen's theory.

? **sa[i]wila[u]gaR**, amulet from Linholmen, Sweden (*DR*, col. 315

ff., Harry Andersen in *Namn och bygd* 1947, pp. 166 ff., 1949, pp. 95 ff.). If this interpretation is correct, the name would in ON have the form **Sælaugr*. No such word is evidenced in the Germanic languages. But both components were common in Scand. personal names. On the Continent *-lauga* was not used in masculine names. Another often seen interpretation is *sa wilagaR* 'the cunning one'. The justification of this has been disputed for syntactical reasons. Any interpretation deals with too many uncertain factors to make this name usable as an argument in our discussion.

saligastiR, stone at Berga, Sweden (*SR* 3, pp. 17). The first element was frequently used on the Continent and in England, but less often in Scandinavia, where it appears in masculines such as *Sal-* and *Søl-*, e.g. *Sølmundr*, *Sølver* (*Sølvi*, *Salve*), and in some feminine names. About *-gastiR* see under *a[n]sugasdiR*, *dagaR* above. To this name von Friesen gives considerable emphasis as a link in his demonstration. He says that it "certainly is no accident that the name *saligastiR* except on the Berga stone, has not been found elsewhere than on Franconian ground, that is, as the name of the Franconians' law-maker *Saligast*." To this I want to say that von Friesen, in my opinion, gives too much value to isolated instances. Both *sali-* and *-gastiR* belonged to the Scandinavian naming system, and at a time when the name-giving principle of variation was in full use, *SaligastiR* was a natural product. It may rather be purely accidental that we have no further knowledge of its existence in Scandinavia. I cannot see how this name can be used objectively as a testimony in favor of von Friesen's idea.

ssigaduR, medallion from Svarteborg (*Nordisk kultur* 7, pp. 98). The initial double *s* is difficult to understand, and has been given several explanations. Sophus Bugge assumed that the recorded form reflects an older **sigihaduR*, and he found identical names in Old Franconian and Alemannic. This interpretation has been accepted by most runologists. If it is correct, there is, however, no obstacle to regarding the name as native Scandinavian. Both elements were often used in Prim. Scand. name-giving, and the OSw. *Sighadher* is no doubt the same name. Again I cannot accede to von Friesen's opinion. It is, by the way, doubtful if **Sigi-haþuR* would have been contracted to *SigaþuR* at the time when this inscription was carved, around 400 A.D.; cf. *SaligastiR* and other names from the 6th century without syncope.

ski[n]þaleubaR, stone at Skärkind, Sweden (*SR* 2, pp. 160 ff.). The usual interpretation of this name was given by von Friesen, who held that the second element *leubaR* is the real name and *ski[n]þa-* a prefixed byname. He found on the Continent and the British Isles identical counterparts to *leubaR*: O Francon. *Liuf*, *Lyuf*, OE *Léof*. It is, however, not unknown in Scandinavia either. The ODan. place-name *Liufstorp* contains most certainly ODan. **Liufær* < **leubaR*. The feminine *Ljúfa* is known from Iceland and Sweden (in the OSw. place-name *Liuwubro*). Since *leubaR*, like the other forms mentioned, probably is a short-name, it could be formed upon occasion in any language. The interpretation given by von Friesen is far from evident, and even if it happens to be correct, there is no reason for labeling *leubaR* as a continental name.

stainawarijaR, stone at Rö, Sweden (*Nordisk kultur* 7, pp. 101, 114). This form is one of the possible ground-forms for the popular OScand. *Steinarr*, which has not been evidenced on the Continent.

swabaharjaR, stone at Rö, Sweden (*Nord. kultur* 7, pp. 100 and cited literature). This is probably the same name we found in the Danish place-name *Svogerslev* above. It was in earlier times widely distributed among the Germanic peoples: OHG *Suabheri*, OE *Suāfhere*, *Swáfhere*, ON *Svǫvarr*, OSw. *Swavar*, ODan. *Swaver*. Runologists and onomatologists agree unanimously that this word means 'Swabian warrior,' and that it is an original continental name. In my opinion it is equally possible that it is a so-called 'bahuvrihi' compound, meaning 'he who has a Swabian army,' which, however, does not change its provenance. But why did this name sweep over all Germanic lands? It is hard to see why a Swabian warrior should be more popular than soldiers from other tribes. This gives me the suspicion that the first element is the same word as ON *sváf*, fem. 'sword,' to which the tribe-name probably is related, and that *swabaharjaR* originally meant 'sword-warrior' or 'he who has a sword-army.' Later, of course, it was everywhere associated with the tribal name. If my suspicion is justified, the name would rather be common-Germanic. But I am willing to disregard my suggestion and count it as a continental loan in Scandinavia.

taitR, stone at Tveito, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 430 ff.). This inscription belongs to the same transition period as **rhoAl̥tR** above. The name is an original adjective, ON *teitr* 'glad, happy,' and identical

with OHG *Zeiz*. In Iceland it was frequently used in the Middle Ages. It is without any doubt a native Scandinavian name.

? *talijo*, plane from Vimose, Denmark (*DR*, col. 244 ff., 723). The inscription in which this word appears is almost undecipherable. If the form given is correct and if it really is a name, which is rather improbable, no connections have been found on the Continent.

..]ubaR, rock-face at Järsberg, Sweden (*Nordisk kultur* 6, p. 30). The stone has been broken in two, and only one half has been found. How many runes once preceded the remaining rune sequence *ubaR* we do not know. Usually the interpreters guess at an original (*le*)ubar, about which see above. Naturally, this has no validity in the discussion of the loan problem.

wage, stone at Opedal, Norway (*NI*, 1, pp. 295 ff., 538, 3, pp. 245 f.). Usually regarded as dat. sing. of **Wāgar* or **WāgaR*. Since we do not know the quantity of the stem vowel all interpretations will be uncertain, and the question about the provenance of the name cannot be answered.

wakraR, stone at Reistad, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 216 ff.). The same word as ON *vakr*, OHG *wacchar*, OE *wacor* 'pretty.' As personal name it was widely distributed and must be regarded as common-Germanic.

wa[n]daradas, stone from Saude, Norway (*NI* 1, s. 183 ff. 537, 3, pp. 233). Our only knowledge of this inscription comes from a book of 1636, in which it was very poorly reproduced in a kind of majuscule characters. Sophus Bugge read *wadaradas*, which he interpreted as *wa(n)daradas*, gen. of the same name as ON *Vandrǫðr*, known only from Scandinavia. Even if we trust the 17th century scholar, which it takes a good deal of self-conquest to do, the name does not support von Friesen's theory.

? waþ[i], stone at Sölvesborg (*DR*, col. 399 f., 735). We do not know exactly how many runes are missing. If von Friesen's form is correct, it represents ON *Vaði*, ODan. *Vathi*, OE *Wada*, OHG *Wado*, *Wato*, a common-Germanic name.

wiwaR, stone at Tune, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 1 ff., 511, 3, pp. 220 ff.). It is difficult to find related names. It could, according to von Friesen, be one of the possible ground-forms of *-vér*, *-vir* in such ON names as *Randvér*, *Olvir*. One could also think of relationship to the second element of Goth. *Alavivus*, name of an army-leader, and

to OHG *Vivo*, masc., *Viua*, fem. We can say nothing certain about the provenance of this name; cf. the following name.

wiwila, rock-face at Veblungsnes, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 316 ff. 562, 3, pp. 248). Generally regarded as a diminutive to names containing *wiwaR* just above and corresponding to continental Germanic *Vivila*, *Vivilo*, masc., *Wiwila*, fem. These names have been combined with ON *Vili*, *Vilir*. But the etymologies of these two names are somewhat unclear. In the inscription there seems to be a vertical staff after the final *-a*. This could be part of an *R*. In that case we would have the same name as the well known ON *Vifill*, Saxo *Wiwillo* (ablative), name of a Swede. Possibly connected with this name is ON *Vifli*, OE *Wife*. At any rate, this name is not a criterion for continental influence upon Scandinavian name giving.

woduride, stone at Tune, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 1 ff., 511 ffl., 3, pp. 220 ff.). This name occurs twice in the same inscription. It must be the dative of **woduridaR*, of which no evidence has been found in the Germanic languages. The first element appears in several continental names, but no occurrence has been found in Scandinavia except as simplex: ON *Óðr*, a theophorous name denoting Freja's husband, probably identical with *óðr* 'raging, furious.' The second element seems to exist only in two names of Odin, *Atríðr*, *Frárríðr*, but it is to be found in several continental names. Although no counterpart to **woduridaR* has been noted, it seems to bear an extra-Scandinavian stamp and could be regarded as a possible invader from the Continent.

owlþuþewaR, ferrule from Torsbjerg, Denmark (*DR*, col. 19 ff., 739). This name is one half of the inscription that has the obscure **niwajmariR** above. The second element *-þewaR* belonged to both the Scand. and the continental nomenclature, but the instances are rather few. The first component is generally considered a wrong carving for *wulþu-*, which in Scandinavia is known only as simplex in the theophorous name *Ullr*. In West-Germanic it does exist in baptismal names, but infrequently. Since *wulþu-* is a reconstruction and the second element was used in Scand. names, **wulþuþewaR* can hardly be taken as a proof of foreign origin.

? **þaliR**, slab of stone at Bratsberg, Norway (*NI* 1, pp. 363 ff., 564, 3, pp. 251). Since the inscription begins just at the left edge of the slab it is possible that some runes on another part have been lost. But even if *þaliR* comprises the whole inscription, it may represent

one of the following stems: *pāli-*, *pāli-*, *þalli-*, *þālija-*, *þallija-*. Naturally, no exact conclusion can be made as to the etymology of this word and subsequently nothing can be said about its provenance.

Conclusion

This is the material von Friesen used and upon which he built his sensational theory about the influx of continental names into Scandinavia during the Era of the Germanic Migrations. Since then a good deal has been published on the runic inscriptions, new decipherings and interpretations have been made, and even a couple of runic inscriptions have been discovered. Hence, some new names have come to light, a few of which had been suggested even before von Friesen published his treatise, but were disregarded by him. Probable or possible Proto Norse names that have thus been brought to light are at least the following:

Uncompounded names: *BusingaR*, *HiwigaR*, *Irmila*, *Irmingu* (fem.), *Lua*, *LuingaR*, *StainaR*, *Uha*, *UllungaR*, *WaigaR*, *WiniR*, *ÞirbijaR*.

Compounded names: *AljamarkiR*, *AlugodaR* (or *-godu*, fem.), *GlēaugiR*, *Hagiradar*, *Ingualbi* (fem.), *SigimaraR*, *WorumalaiþaR*.

It would take too much space to give an account of the arguments and motivations that have led to the assumptions of these names. But I want to lay particular stress on the fact that among these new names there is none that is likely to have been imported into Scandinavia.

Our examination of von Friesen's material showed very few names, no more than half a dozen, about which it could be said that they possibly might have been borrowed from the Continent: *hagustaldaR*, *iuþingaR*, *kunimunduR*, *la(n)dawariþaR*, *swabahaþaR*, *woduridaR*.

The vast majority of the runic Proto Norse names was undisputably, or within reasonable probability, either common-Germanic or purely Scandinavian. This picture of the Primitive Scandinavian name stock is in complete harmony with the results of our investigations of place-names in *-stad* and *-lev*.

If we look at the Norwegian name stock just at the beginning of the Viking Age, we shall find not a single trace of foreign import. One excellent source of the Norwegian nomenclature of the 9th century is the Icelandic *Landnámabók*, in which the names of all

the pioneer settlers in Iceland and their Norwegian ancestors as well as their nearest descendants on Iceland are recorded. The majority of the settlers came from prominent Norwegian families. Finnur Jónsson describes them in the following words:³³ "The principal immigrant families or settlers were almost all of high birth, belonging to the Norwegian "hersir" families. They descended from earls or even royal families. They were, in short, chieftains." Considering the conservative attitude of the old aristocratic families toward the principles of name-giving, we have the right to expect that the names we find in the 9th century, at least to a certain extent, should reflect the nomenclature of one or two hundred years before. If we count only the names of the pioneer settlers in Iceland and their Norwegian forefathers but disregard the names of their children we get acquainted with close to 1000 names used in Norway during the 9th century and the latter half of the 8th century. Of these more than 100 are female. We find a handful of Celtic names, and a couple of Old English ones, which is only to be expected on account of the lively communication between Norway and the British Isles. Among these thousand names there are only two that had come from the Continent. They are *Heðinn* (OHG *Hetan*, OE *Heoden*), and *Hogni* (OHG *Haguno*, OE *Haguna*). But they belonged to the legendary saga names, in this particular case to those of the *Hjadninga Saga*. These sagas swept over Europe during the Migration Period, and the names of their heroes were often adopted in the various countries. Such names show the dissemination and wanderings of the sagas rather than of the real name stock. We may safely say that the principles of name-giving among Norwegian chieftains of the time mentioned do not show the slightest influence from the Continent.

Of the six names in von Friesen's material that looked continental, four were from Norway. It is difficult to believe that they had come from the Continent. Their absence in other extremely scarce sources could be purely accidental.

If we examine the Danish runic inscriptions from the 9th and 10th centuries, we find in them about 60 personal names. All of them are of typically Scandinavian or common-Germanic nature. Not in a single case is there indication of continental provenance. These names, too, belonged to prominent families.

After our investigation of von Friesen's material we saw very few names that could support his theory. Most of them were found to be rather inconclusive on various grounds. What was it then that induced the great scholar to draw wrong conclusions? I can see several sources of error.

First and foremost we must bear in mind that the runological names are extremely few, and those that are firmly established in irrefutable forms are still fewer. Naturally we can use only names which have been reliably deciphered and interpreted. We also need to know their etymon or foreign relations. In my opinion, von Friesen, being a runologist, was too optimistic as to the correctness and value of his readings and interpretations of the runic inscriptions.

Another source of misjudgment on von Friesen's part lies in his continental material, which he took mainly from Schönfeld's and Förstemann's name books.¹⁴ It is not possible to draw any reliable conclusions about the geographical distribution of separate names from the incomplete and defective material recorded in these books. The intimate connection between the name stock of the Franconians and the aristocratic Scandinavians that von Friesen vindicated, may very well be due to the nature and provenance of the sources used by Schönfeld and Förstemann. Another scholar, Belsheim, found, as we saw, an equally striking resemblance between the Prim. Scand. names and those of Old Germanic tribes on the Danube.

We can hardly say more than that there obviously existed a profound affinity between the names used among the Scandinavian nobility and the West-Germanic peoples during the Migration Period. This conformity is, in my view, not a proof of any invasion of continental names into Scandinavia—in von Friesen's opinion an invasion so strong that it almost revolutionized the native nomenclature. Instead it implies a common Germanic naming system, which still prevailed in Scandinavia during the Migrations, but chiefly in aristocratic families, to whom the names had a deeper significance as symbols of the family itself. By means of the so-called variation, characteristic elements in the names of the family members were maintained through generations. A splendid example of this principle may be taken from the *Landnámabók*. There we hear about a man whose name was *Geirr*. But he was called *Végeirr* because he payed magnificent sacrifices to his gods.

ON *vé* means '(heathen) sacred place.' He must have been proud of his reputation for he gave his children the following names: *Vébjorn*, *Vésteinn*, *Véþormr*, *Vémundr*, *Végestr*, *Véþorn*, and *Védis*, a girl. The first element *Vé-* was the name symbol of this family, but we do not know to what extent the sons kept the tradition going.

It is easy to see that such combinations of name elements could result in unusual or unique names. The name *Véþorn* of one of *Végeirr's* sons just mentioned is the only known instance of that name, and *Végestr* is evidenced only from one other family. In many cases these products survived, because another principle among the early Teutons was founded on the transfer of names. A man called his children by the names of his living or dead relatives. But often such products of variation disappeared sooner or later. This is what we may watch during the Migration Era as well as later. It is no wonder, then, that a certain name is known to us in only one or in very few instances. Such products of variation could also be formed independently in various regions that possessed the same name stock and the same principles of name giving. Therefore it is quite possible that a name like *SaligastiR* could appear both on the Continent and in Scandinavia, since *sali-* as well as *gasti-* belonged to the nomenclature of both regions. Consequently it is hardly advisable to build too far-reaching conclusions on unique or extremely rare instances of separate names.

An important link in von Friesen's argumentation is his attempt to show that it was the *Heruli* who transmitted both the knowledge of the magic art of carving runes and the continental personal names to Scandinavia. He goes into a lengthy investigation to show that the *Heruli* for some centuries before 500 A.D. inhabited at least the Danish island of Funen and southern Jutland and that they carried on the trade between the Rhine and the Scandinavian North. Part of his demonstration is built on the interpretation of the word *e(i)riLaR*, which occurs in several runic inscriptions from the Migration Period. He maintains that this word means 'Herul.' Another opinion, espoused by many philologists, is that *erilaR* is closely related to ON *jarl* 'earl, (military) chieftain.' It has, however, in later years become more and more probable that *erilaR* denotes a person of a specific social or military function without regard to his extraction.

It is true that von Friesen's argument is very seductive, but a closer analysis of his criteria shows that he regards as more or less evident some nebulous statements in classical literature, ambiguous archeological finds, etc., about the veracity of which we actually know very little. His identification of the *Heruli* with *erilaR* has, on various grounds, been strongly criticized by some modern scholars. Again, I think, von Friesen looked too one-sidedly and optimistically upon the value of uncertain phenomena and statements of obscure nature.

In conclusion, I want to state my conviction that the Prim. Scand. nomenclature, as we now know it, partly reflects an old common-Germanic naming system, and partly shows a gradual development towards a specific Scandinavian type of name-giving, which appears as fully developed during the Viking Age.

Personal names disappear and new ones take their place. So it has always been. Now, if some of the names we find in the oldest runic inscriptions were already obsolete archaisms, retained by the conservative aristocracy, and some were occasional results of variation, it is not at all surprising that we do not find all or even the majority of them in the later sources.

A sweeping continental influence upon the Scandinavian practice in regard to naming did take place, but not until the Middle Ages. At that time the influx of German names was so tremendous that we may speak of a revolution in the Scandinavian naming system. But that is another story.

NOTES

¹⁰ In parentheses after the names and their locations are given references to the standard works on the Scandinavian runic inscriptions, where exhaustive bibliographies are given: Lis Jacobsen and Erik Moltke, *Danmarks runeindskrifter* (København, 1942; abbreviated *DR*), Sophus Bugge og Magnus Olsen, *Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer* (Oslo 1891-1924; = *NI*), *Sveriges runinskrifter*, (Stockholm, 1900-; = *SR*). See also *Nordisk kultur*, Vol. 6 (Stockholm, 1933). About later contributions to the runological discussions see the bibliographies listed under note 4 above.—From considerations of space it was impossible to give more than extremely brief accounts of the more significant interpretations of the various names, usually without mentioning the authors.

¹¹ See Harry Andersen in *Namn och bygd*, Vol. 37 (1949), pp. 95 ff. and cited literature.

¹² See *Nordisk kultur*, Vol. 7, p. 75, Magnus Olsen, *Norges innskrifter med de yngre runer*, Vol. 2 (Oslo, 1951), pp. 335 f. and cited literature.

¹³ Finnur Jónsson, *Den islandske litteraturs historie tilligemed den oldnorske* (København, 1907), p. 203.

¹⁴ M. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* (Heidelberg, 1911), and E. Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, 1, *Personennamen*. 2. Aufl. (Bonn, 1900).