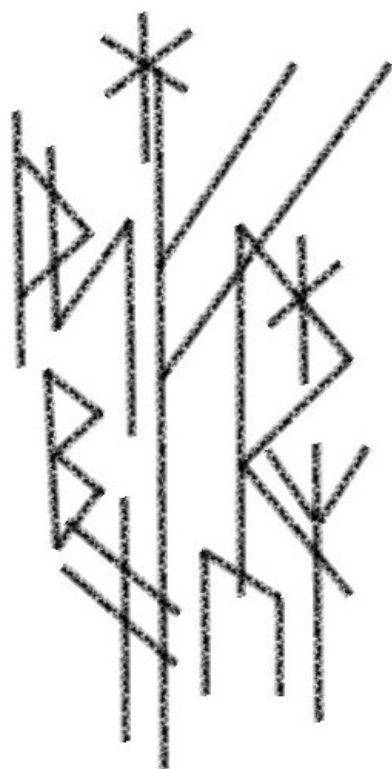


# Anonymous artefacts and revealing runes

Scandinavian runic artefacts from a  
gender perspective



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## **ABSTRACT**

### **Anonymous artefacts and revealing runes – Scandinavian runic artefacts from a gender perspective**

The aim of this paper is to examine a group of runic artefacts dated to the Viking Age (800-1050 AD) from a gender perspective. The analysed material consists of 59 runic artefacts from Scandinavia, which differ in regards to base material, context and content. In the analysis, the material is separated, described and classified into different manageable groups of texts and artefacts. Several case studies are presented in the paper, based on information gathered from the inscriptions as well as the archaeological material. The main issue is whether it is possible to attribute runic artefacts to a specific gender by means of a combination of archaeological and philological methods.

Keywords: gender, Viking Age, Scandinavia, runic inscriptions, grave goods

### **Anonyma artefakter och avslöjande runor – Runristade föremål från Skandinavien ur ett genusperspektiv**

Syftet med uppsatsen är att analysera en grupp runristade föremål, daterade till vikingatid (800-1050) ur ett genusperspektiv. Den empiriska studien baseras på en studie av 59 runristade föremål av skiftande karaktär gällande material, kontext samt innehåll. Föremålen separeras och klassificeras enligt ett system uppbyggt av författaren för att belysa de olika förhållanden som existerar mellan inskription och artefakt. En kvantifiering av inskriptionerna samt de arkeologiska föremålen genomförs för att utröna huruvida det är möjligt att attribuera föremålen till ett specifikt vikingatida genus.

Sökord: genus, vikingatid, Skandinavien, runristade föremål, gravgoods

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The runic alphabet, frequently referred to as the *futhark*, was used in pre-historic Scandinavia since the Early Iron Age. The earliest finds with runic inscriptions are dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (Snædal 1994:9, Sawyer 1992:5, Jesch 1991:43). Rune stones were raised in Scandinavia during a brief period, 1000-1100 AD (Ljungkvist 2008:187f). From the Viking period there are around 3000 runic inscriptions in existence, occasionally commemorating fallen champions or addressing questions of inheritance (Williams 2008:284ff). The majority of inscriptions on rune stones follow a uniform formula with slight variations: "X raised this stone in memory of Y" (Sawyer 2000:10) or "X (and Y) raised this stone in memory of Z, their relative" (Williams 2008:283). However, there are also non-monumental artefacts that carry inscriptions like amulets, kitchen utensils or jewellery made of precious metals. These inscriptions do not necessarily follow the same formulas as displayed on rune stones. Instead they contain poetry, writing exercises or names (Imer 2007a:240). Inscribed artefacts from the Viking Age are few and are found in a wide geographical area (Imer 2007:84). The majority are stray finds. The lack of context contributes to the complexity of the material with regards to chronology since it can be difficult to estimate when the artefacts were used (Imer 2007a:36).

In this paper, Scandinavian runic artefacts dated to the Viking Age will be examined, evaluated and classified. In this essay it is also suggested that runic artefacts studied as a whole can provide clues to *who* used them, *how* they were used and on the reasons *why* certain artefacts carry inscriptions. Finally, the study investigates if any gender can be associated with the use of runic inscriptions displayed on Viking Age artefacts.

## **1.1 Purpose and problems**

The main purpose of the paper is to analyse Viking Age runic artefacts and to classify artefacts and inscriptions by means of applying a gender perspective. Runic artefacts are both textual sources and archaeological artefacts. Because of this it will be important to order and classify runic artefacts, firstly with regards to the functional use of an artefact and secondly with regards to the inscriptions. This will be necessary to understand the multiple ways in which relationships between artefact and inscription can manifest. It is also important from an archaeological point of view to investigate in which contexts runic artefacts appear. The analysis will address the following questions:

- Can runic artefacts be attributed to a specific gender during the Viking Age?
- In which archaeological contexts do runic artefacts appear?
- Did different types of artefacts serve different purposes?

## **1.2 Material and method**

The archaeological material presented in this paper consists of 59 runic artefacts dated to the Viking Age by means of archaeological and/or philological methods. The majority of the artefacts have been previously examined by Lisbeth M. Imer (2007). Imer's study focused on establishing chronology and to examine expressions of social status during the entire Iron Age. In contrast to Imer's study this paper aims at classifying and describing artefacts from a gender perspective. A lesser amount of the artefacts examined in the analysis was found through archival research, literary sources and the Scandinavian Runic-Text Data Base (2012). The artefacts differ in type, material and degree of preservation. (For a more thorough presentation of the material, see chapter 3).

Categorising artefacts and texts into different groups is necessary to describe, classify and subsequently interpret runic artefacts. The material displays a high degree of complexity, considering the composition of several types of artefacts found in different geographical and archaeological contexts. It is therefore important to divide the runic artefacts into manageable categories. Several case

studies are presented in the paper, using the categories established in the classification system. Comparative literature studies regarding interpretations of inscriptions and artefacts will also be important in understanding how earlier research has been conducted on similar material. The classification system was created by the author and is presented in chapter 3. All diagrams and charts were also created by the author.

### 1.2.1 Delimitation

The geographical and chronological demarcation of the source material is to examine artefacts found in Scandinavia dated to the Viking Age. Medieval towns like Lund have produced a number of runic artefacts, dated to the Middle Ages (Snædal 1994:18). To circumvent issues regarding chronology, artefacts from medieval urban centres have been excluded with one exception. Further chronological uncertainty has led to an omission regarding a number of encountered artefacts. Rune stones will not be studied in the analysis. Coins will not be analysed, since it is difficult to determine markings that might be a result of the artefact being in circulation for an extensive period of time. The archaeological material presented in this thesis is not extensive although this paper will concern all known runic artefacts to the author's knowledge.

### 1.2.2 Source critique

Runic artefacts can appear in a wide variety of types and materials, in contrast to rune stones where letters are carved onto naturally resistant material. Only a few of the artefacts examined in the analysis are of stone and none in the size of rune stones. It is important to acknowledge and examine conditions for preservation when evaluating archaeological material and submitting it to source critique. State of preservation has been named the most important factor to why there are very few runic artefacts in existence, except the monumental rune stones (Sawyer 1992:5). Artefacts made of metal are also subject to several preservation difficulties, particularly corrosion. Gold and silver artefacts are less prone to corrosion than other metals while bronze artefacts can be heavily corroded (Bohm et al 2005:8ff). Preservation conditions of letters on gold are superior to those on alloys. Runic artefacts can appear to be limited to



the upper social classes, merely because letters are better preserved on gold than on other materials (Imer 2007a:34).

Any attempt to ascribe an artefact to a gender should be preceded by and subjected to continuous consideration and evaluation to form a scientific basis for reached conclusions. Certain archaeologists specialized in gender theory have questioned the scientific base of using grave goods as indicators of either sex/gender at all (Arwill-Nordbladh 2003:10). Bearing this in mind, several factors have been taken into consideration before attributing artefacts to either gender in this paper. The graves, one of the contexts discussed in the paper, have not been examined by the author and the information gained is based on earlier research and gender attributions. Philological interpretations of the inscriptions are not a focus point of this essay, considering the author's limited philological experience. The inscriptions will nevertheless be discussed briefly, using the transliterations available via the Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base (2012).

## **1.2 Definitions**

The Viking Age or the Late Iron Age is a rudimentary appellation for the period between 800-1050 AD in Scandinavia. Philologists specialized in runes use a slightly broader spectrum for the Viking Age period, locating the era between 800-1100 AD (Williams 2008:285). In the present thesis, the former chronological definition of the Viking Age will be used. Female contexts will be defined and analysed, ranging from graves (biological determinations of sex and/or grave goods), hoards containing jewellery associated with females followed by an evaluation of artefacts that can be tentatively attributed to the feminine gender. The presence of names on runic artefacts will be examined. The results of the examination will be compared to artefacts that can be attributed to the male gender, following the same principles and variables as previous classifications, in the final discussion and analysis.

### **1.3 Theory**

The theoretical aim of this essay is to apply a gender perspective to a group of artefacts. Generalized and stereotypical views on male and female artefacts are discussed and evaluated throughout the essay. The term “gender” is formulated by Arwill-Nordbladh:

*Today gender is often understood as the social and cultural interpretations of biological differences between women and men (Arwill-Nordbladh 2003:30, translation by the author of this work).*

The central aspect of gender theory is the acknowledgement that ideas regarding the construction of gender roles in pre-history are inevitably tied to the historical period in which they were produced (Arwill-Nordbladh 2003:32, 1991:53). Gender theory strives to nuance the archaic notion that gender and gender roles are permanent or stagnant over time (Arwill-Nordbladh 2003:10). Instead, gender is perceived as dynamic and continuing processes that are subject to transformations, transgressions and renewals within norms collectively dictated by a community (Arwill-Nordbladh 2003:32f).

## **2. EARLIER RESEARCH**

### **2.1 Gender theory in archaeology**

Gender theory in archaeology has developed in two stages. Alison Wylie in *Gender Theory and the Archaeological Record: Why is There No Archaeology of Gender?* (1991) questioned the non-existence of gender studies in archaeology, referring to the fact that while other sciences embraced the perspective, archaeology remained uninfluenced (Wylie 1991:31). Wylie criticised the archaeological disinterest in gender, highlighting the fact that while few had studied gender, numerous archaeologists nevertheless made biased assumptions about gender and particularly about women (Wylie 1991:33f).

In 1996, Cathy Lynne Costin published her article *Exploring the Relationship Between Gender and Craft*. Costin argues that in order to gender attribute

specific crafts, several factors should be taken into consideration before drawing conclusion regarding pre-historic conditions of craft division (Costin 1996:112). The initial stage also consisted of an effort into bringing feminist ideas and ideals to the field of archaeology. Joan M Gero and Margaret Conkey proposed in their article *Programme to Practice: Gender and Feminism in Archaeology* (1997) that feminist theory should be part of how archaeology as a science is practised (Conkey & Gero 1997:41), considering that feminist theory has been questioning authority and social structures during a long time (Conkey & Gero 1997:426). In feminist theory there is the fundamental perception that politics and research are intertwined (Conkey & Gero 1997:427).

Elisabeth Arwill-Nordbladh represents the second stage of gender theory in archaeology. In 2003 she wrote a compendium of gender theory in archaeology titled *Genusforskningen inom arkeologin*, where she argues that archaeology is androcentric in numerous ways (Arwill-Nordbladh 2003:22ff). Arwill-Nordbladh presents feminist ideals in a moderated form when compared to the earlier stage of gender theory. Instead Arwill-Nordbladh regards gender as social constructs that are subject to change (Arwill-Nordbladh 2003:30ff). Arwill-Nordbladh mentions female scholars that have contributed throughout the history of archaeology (Arwill-Nordbladh 2003:13ff). The second stage of gender theory has also highlighted the fact that there may be more genders than just the dichotomy between feminine and masculine gender (e.g. Ljungkvist 2008:186, Andersson 1998:23ff).

## **2.2 Runic artefacts**

Lisbeth M Imer has in *Runer og runeindskrifter: kronologi, kontekst og funktion i Skandinaviens jernalder og vikingetid* (2007) assembled the most comprehensive archaeological survey of smaller runic artefacts in Scandinavia. Imer analyses different archaeological material with runic inscriptions dated to the entire Iron Age, 160-1050 AD (Imer 2007a:31). While Imer's focus is on smaller runic artefacts, a brief discussion on rune stones is also included in the study (Imer 2007a:31). The aim of her doctoral thesis is to analyse the material with regards to social status and what function the runic inscriptions might have served (Imer 2007a:241ff). New runic finds, often with interpretations of both

artefact and inscription, are published each year in the Swedish journal *Fornvännen*, which is also accessible on the internet.

### **3. PRESENTATION OF THE MATERIAL**

#### **3.1 Artefacts**

The initial stage of the classification system in this paper is based in an interpretation of the practical use of artefacts in a Viking Age environment. The majority of the artefacts can be classified as practical equipment of different types. In order to present the assembled artefacts in clearer way further subdivisions have been required. The artefacts have been divided into six categories, covering weapons, tools, amulets, jewellery, functional artefacts and artefacts with unclear use. Tools and jewellery, while fulfilling functional purposes, are specific in nature and have been subjected to separate analysis. The remaining artefacts classified as functional display a high degree of variation and have been difficult to define any closer.

##### **3.1.1 Jewellery and brooches**

The majority of the runic inscriptions are found on artefacts that probably have served as different types of personal adornment (fig. 1). In total, there are 14 brooches of different types associated with Viking Age dress. One brooch is pennanular, three are oval, nine are box-shaped and one is animal head-shaped. The box-shaped- and animal head-shaped brooches originate from the island of Gotland (Carlsson 2003:116, Petré 1993:152). A pennanular brooch needle was found in a hoard on Gotland (Gustavson & Snædal 1984:251ff). One bronze buckle with an inscription that mentions either the owner or the maker was recovered from the top of the mound in Viborg (Imer 2007a:217). Finally pendants of silver and gold, transformed into jewellery from coins and book mounts, are analysed together with another silver pendant found in a Birka grave (Imer 2007a:225, Nyström 1992:68ff).

No.	Object	Classification	Context	Inscription	Transliteration	Inscription ID	Location
1	Silver pendant	Jewellery	Grave (F)	Unintelligible	...	U ANF1937;163	Birka
44	Silver pendant	Jewellery	Hoard	Name (F+M?)	"Þórs" + "Þorfríðr/Þorfríðr"	NA210/NA211	Slæmmedal 1
45	Silver pendant	Jewellery	Hoard	Name (M)	"Slóði"	NA212	Slæmmedal 2
23	Coin pendant	Jewellery	Hoard (F)	Unintelligible	...	N127	Hon
11	Oval brooch	Brooch	Grave (F)	Unintelligible	...	G389	Bottarve
48	Oval brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Name (F)	"Botvi owns me"	G58	Sverige IV
57	Oval brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Name (M+M)	"Þorkell/Þorhildr, <fuþork>, Ulfkell(?)"	G388	Västerbjärs
13	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Unintelligible	...	G160	Busarve
15	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Uninterpreted	...	-	Eksta
20	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Unintelligible	...	G387	Halla
29	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Unintelligible	...	-	Krokstade
30	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Unintelligible	...	-	Kvinnegårda
47	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Name (M)	"Otrygg carved"	G356	Sverige I
49	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Uninterpreted	...	-	Sverige V
59	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Unintelligible	...	-	Ostergårda
52	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Grave?	Name (F+M)	"Auði carved the runes on... Bæðný"	G390	Tyrvalds
26	Pennanular brooch needle	Brooch	Hoard	Functional	"Glove-needle"	G273	Karls
46	Pennanular brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Profane	"...Interpret..."	G10	Sundre
50	Animal-head shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Name (M)	"Ingil is chieftain"	G355	Sverige VI
55	Bronze buckle	Buckle	Grave?	Unintelligible	"Lukislua"	DR 100B	Viborg

Figure 1. Artefacts used as personal adornment. "No." stands for the artefact ID in the catalogue (Appendix 4).

### 3.1.2 Functional artefacts

Artefacts submitted to analysis in this category are composed of different types of functional artefacts that were used in daily life (fig. 2). Whetstones were used for sharpening things like knives or scissors (Graham-Campbell & Kidd 1980:134). Combs were personal items for everyday use, represented here by the Århus comb and a fragment from Lilla Köpinge. The bronze fitting from a weight house, perhaps for containing the Viking Age lead- or bronze weights used in trade (Skre 2008:92), was found in Vå. Another copper case for weights was excavated in the Swedish town of Sigtuna (von Friesen 1912:12). A Celtic copper box from Irske probably functioned as a jewellery box (Imer 2007a:226). Originally the box was used as a reliquary (Jesch 1991:46). Another foreign artefact is a bronze bowl from a grave in Kaupang that originally served as a liturgical bowl (Price 2010:129, Imer 2007a:225). Three different utensils of wood were found in the Oseberg ship-burial: an oar, a bucket and a sleigh. An imported bronze dipper was found in Trå, Norway. The Gokstad burial contained a copper kettle. In the Lindholm mound, a knife shaft with one of the oldest maker-owner inscriptions was found. Knives were used for several different purposes during the Viking Age (Jesch 1991:14, Graham-Campbell &

Kidd 1980:102, Rabben 2002:38), making its original function hard to decipher when omitting the inscription. The fishing sinker from Reve is also classified as a functional artefact.

No.	Object	Classification	Context	Inscription	Transliteration	Inscription ID	Location
5	Whetstone	Functional	Settlement	Unintelligible	...	U Fv1913;276	Birka
10	Whetstone	Functional	Unknown	Ritual	"From evil(?) (protect)..."	OI Fv1918(2);15	Borgholm 1
27	Bowl	Functional	Grave (F+F+M)	Functional	"In the handbasin"	N579	Kaupang
51	Bronze dipper	Functional	Grave (F)	Unintelligible	...	N282	Trå
37	Bucket	Functional	Grave (F)	Name (F)	"Sigríðr owns"	N138	Oseberg 2
18	Copper kettle	Functional	Grave (M)	Name (M)	"Ubbi made"	N139	Gokstad
41	Copper box	Functional	Settlement	Profane	"Diarfr got from a man from Samland / Semgallen..."	U Fv1912;8	Sigtuna 2
25	Copper box	Functional	Unknown	Name (F)	"Ranveig owns this box"	N541	Irske
56	Bronze fitting	Functional	Unknown	Name (M+F)	"Gautvid gave this weight house to Gudfrid"	DR 348 §	Vå
32	Knife shaft	Functional	Grave	Name (M+F)	"Sinkasvein(?) polished for Þorfríðr"	DR EM85;348	Lindholm
36	Oar	Functional	Grave (F)	Unintelligible	...	N137	Oseberg 1
38	Sleigh	Functional	Grave (F)	Unintelligible	...	N578	Oseberg 3
39	Fishing sinker	Functional	Unknown	Name (M)	"Amketill Pike / Tabby-cat wrote runes"	N230	Reve
58	Comb	Functional	Settlement	Name	"Hegvin"	DR EM85;348	Århus
31	Comb fragment	Functional	Settlement	Name (F)	"Ormhildr said this/that..."	DR MLUHM1983-84;131	Lilla Köpinge

Figure 2. Artefacts with different functional uses.

### 3.1.3 Tools

Tools have functional uses like the artefacts presented in 3.2.1. However, all seven tools in the analysis are connected to the production of fabrics and textile handiwork which motivates the creation of a subgroup exclusively devoted to tools. The category consists of three spindle-whorls, one weaving tablet, one bone needle, one weaving sword and one spinning wheel (fig. 3). The spindle-whorls were used as weights for spinning wool together with a rod (Andersson 2003:22ff). Weaving tablets are small semi-quadratic items used in the making of woven bands. The wooden tablets, which have holes in each corner, served to keep the vertical warp threads separated (Andersson 2003:30f). Bone needles may have been used for different types of stitching or pattern weaving (Andersson 2003:33). Weaving swords were used for beating the threads in the weft (the horizontal thread system) to make the fabric tighter (Andersson 2003:28). The spinning wheel was used for gathering the spun yarn (Andersson 2003:24).



No.	Object	Classification	Context	Inscription	Transliteration	Inscription ID	Location
9	Spindle-whorl	Tool	Settlement	Unintelligible ...	-	-	Birka
14	Spindle-whorl	Tool	Unknown	Profane	"Handshakes"	N 246 †	Byberg
22	Spindle-whorl	Tool	Unknown	Name (F)	"Gunnhildr made the spindle-whorl"	N188	Hoftuft
2	Bone needle	Tool	Settlement	Name (F)	"Þora is scorned because... fastener?"	U ANF1937;172	Birka
17	Weaving sword	Tool	Grave (F)	Ritual	"Farm-sprite(?)"	N537	Engstad
19	Spinning wheel	Tool	Grave (F)	Profane	"choice/good"	N458	Gravråk
34	Weaving tablet	Tool	Unknown	Name (F)	"Sigrvôr's Ingimarr will have my weeping / unhappiness ..."	DR311	Lund

Figure 3. Artefacts categorized as tools.

### 3.1.4 Amulets

This category consists of artefacts that previous research has interpreted as amulets or ritual artefacts (fig. 4). Runic copper plates (or of copper alloys like bronze) are frequently interpreted as protective amulets against sickness or magic (Imer 2007a:222). The manner of the inscriptions on the artefacts in this category has produced interpretations that the plates were a practical form of magical exorcism (McLeod & Mees 2006:118). The difference between Viking Age runic plates and similar plates dated to the Middle ages is that the latter ones are often made of lead instead of copper and bronze (Steenholt Olesen 2010:162). Eight plates and one staff are examined in the analysis. The wooden stick from Hemdrup is not a conventional amulet but the artefact has been connected to the magical art of *sejd* (Back-Andersson 2001:73ff).

No.	Object	Classification	Context	Inscription	Transliteration	Inscription ID	Location
7	Bronze plate	Ritual	Settlement	Unintelligible ...	-	U NOR2002;26	Birka
8	Bronze plate	Ritual	Settlement	Unintelligible ...	-	U NOR2002;28	Birka
53	Bronze plate	Ritual	Grave	Ritual	"Do not be(?) over-lively abroad (= out of the grave), ghost!"	U AST1;150	Ullsunda
28	Copper plate	Ritual	Grave (F)	Unintelligible ...	-	OI BN83	Klinta
33	Copper plate	Ritual	Settlement	Unintelligible ...	-	DR NOR2003;20	Lockarp
54	Copper plate	Ritual	Grave	Ritual	"Illfúss. Uni/Unni prays for (you) woe.?"	U Fv1969;210	Veddesta
42	Copper plate	Ritual	Settlement	Ritual	"Boil/Spectre of the wound-fever, lord of the giants!"	-	Sigtuna 3
43	Copper plate	Ritual	Settlement	Name (M)	"Björn"	-	Sigtuna 4
21	Wooden stick	Ritual	Unknown	Name (F)	"The storming one never won you over, Asa(?) .."	DR EM85;350	Hemdrup

Figure 4. Items interpreted as ritual artefacts.

### 3.1.5 Weapons

The only weapon in the material is a spearhead from Endre on Gotland (fig. 5). The spearhead carries an early inscription naming the maker and the owner of the spear (Imer 2007a:217f). The wealthy warrior grave at Långtora contained a silver mount thought to belong to a sword (Imer 2007b:251).

No.	Object	Classification	Context	Inscription	Transliteration	Inscription ID	Location
16	Spear	Weapon	Unknown	Name (M)	"Rane owns... Botfus made"	G225	Endre
35	Silver mount	Weapon	Grave (M)	Unintelligible	...	U ANF1937;180	Långtora

Figure 5. Weapon and weapon mounts.

### 3.1.6 Artefacts with unknown function

Several artefacts, like 4 fragments of bone, a whale bone tablet and a silver disc, are difficult to interpret since little is known about their use. The inscriptions on the artefacts are cryptic and an archaeological assessment of their uses has proven too obscure to make out within the limitations of this paper (fig. 6).

No.	Object	Classification	Context	Inscription	Transliteration	Inscription ID	Location
3	Fragment of bone	Unknown	Settlement	Profane	"Made?.."	U ANF1937;178B	Birka
4	Fragment of bone	Unknown	Settlement	Unintelligible	...	U ANF1937;179	Birka
6	Fragment of bone	Unknown	Settlement	Profane	"Was(?) and(?) also(?)"	U NOR2001;24	Birka
12	Fragment of bone	Unknown	Unknown	Profane	"Its good to interpret, if one knows, what..."	G393	Bottarve
24	Silver disc	Unknown	Grave	Unintelligible	...	U MK1998;49	Igelbäcken
40	Tablet of whalebone	Unknown	Unknown	Unintelligible	...	DR AUD1993;261	Ribe

Figure 6. Artefacts with unknown function.

## 3.2 Inscriptions

The inscriptions on the artefacts are described and presented in this chapter. Inscriptions are complex to decipher and classify but a general division of inscriptions has been attempted by the use of transliterations. Inscriptions referring to magic or ritual events have been classified as "ritual". Inscriptions that carry fragmentary sentences have been classified as "profane". Names are frequent and can be found in appendix 2. Inscriptions that refer to the artefact are not common. There are only two runic artefacts that display this relationship between artefact and text in the material. The five categories are: *ritual*



*inscriptions, profane inscriptions, inscriptions referring to the artefact, the presence of names and unintelligible inscriptions.*

### 3.2.1 Ritual inscriptions

Six runic artefacts are possible to consider “ritual” when referring to the contents of the inscriptions (fig. 7). The weaving sword from Engstad has a form of “ritual” inscription, interpreted to signify “Farm-sprite (?)” (Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base accessed 120515). One copper plate from Sigtuna (no.42) is transliterated in its entirety to 2 different interpretations with similar result:

*Boil/Spectre of the wound-fever, lord of the giants! Flee now! You are found.  
§B Have for yourself three pangs, Wolf! Have for yourself nine needs, Wolf!  
<iii isiR þis isiR auk is uniR>, Wolf. Make good use of the healing(-charm)!  
(Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base accessed 120515).*

MacLeod & Mees offers the second transliteration:

*Ogre of wound-fever, lord of the ogres! Flee now! (You) are found. Have for  
yourself three pangs, wolf! Have for yourself nine needs, wolf! iii ice (runes).  
These ice (runes) may grant that you be satisfied (?), wolf. Make good use of  
the healing-charms! (McCloud & Mees 2006:118).*

No.	Object	Classification	Context	Inscription	Transliteration	Inscription ID	Location
53	Bronze plate	Ritual	Grave	Ritual	"Do not be(?) over-lively abroad (= out of the grave), ghost!"	U AST1;150	Ulvunda
54	Copperplate	Ritual	Grave	Ritual	"Illfúss. Uni/Unni prays for (you) woe.?"	U Fv1969;210	Veddesta
42	Copperplate	Ritual	Settlement	Ritual	"Boil/Spectre of the wound-fever, lord of the giants! "	-	Sigtuna 3
17	Weaving sword	Tool	Grave (F)	Ritual	"Farm-sprite(?)"	N537	Engstad
10	Whetstone	Functional	Unknown	Ritual	"From evil(?) (protect)..."	OI Fv1918(2);15	Borgholm
21	Wooden stick	Ritual	Bog	Name (F)	"The storming one never won you over, Asa(?) .."	DR EM85;350	Hemdrup

*Figure 7. Suggested ritual inscriptions.*

### 3.2.2 Names in inscriptions

Names appear as makers, rune-carvers or possible owners in the material, but also as gift-givers or receivers. Seven names are mentioned as makers or

carvers (six male and one female name). In total there are 28 names in the inscriptions. Further descriptions can be found in appendix 2.

### 3.2.3 Profane inscriptions

Inscriptions described as “profane” consists of poetry, single words and cryptic writings (fig. 8)

No.	Object	Classification	Context	Inscription	Transliteration	Inscription ID	Location
46	Pennanular brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Profane	"...Interpret..."	G10	Sundre
14	Spindle-whorl	Tool	Unknown	Profane	"Handshakes"	N 246 †	Byberg
19	Spinning wheel	Tool	Grave (F)	Profane	"choice/good"	N458	Gravräk
3	Fragment of bone	Unknown	Settlement	Profane	"Made?..."	U ANF1937;178B	Birka
6	Fragment of bone	Unknown	Settlement	Profane	"Was(?) and(?) also(?)"	U NOR2001;24	Birka
12	Fragment of bone	Unknown	Unknown	Profane	"Its good to interpret, if one knows, what..."	G393	Bottarve

Figure 8. Inscriptions categorized as “profane”.

### 3.2.4 Inscriptions referring to the artefact

This category consists of inscriptions that display a clear connection to the artefact it is placed on (fig. 9). The needle from Karls states that it is a “glove-needle”.

No.	Object	Classification	Context	Inscription	Transliteration	Inscription ID	Location
27	Bowl	Functional	Grave (F+F+M)	Functional	"In the handbasin"	N579	Kaupang
26	Pennanular brooch needle	Brooch	Hoard	Functional	"Glove-needle"	G273	Karls

Figure 9. Inscriptions referring to the artefact.

### 3.2.5 Unintelligible inscriptions

The inscriptions are described in appendix 3.

## 4. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

### 4.1 Engendering archaeological material

The use of grave goods as an indicator whether the interred individual was male or female has long been the standard in archaeological research. The “masculine” and “feminine” aspects have been stated in relation to the biological

sex of the deceased, not necessarily the role the person had in life. Yet grave goods are present in Scandinavian pre-Christian graves, whether they are a reflection of the dead individual in life or the people who performed the burial. However, the use of grave goods when determining sex or gender can be complicated. Two of the most common groups of items, like jewellery for women and weapons for men, can present substantial challenges if the boundaries are rigid (Hjørungdal 1998:88). Despite reservations regarding the use of grave goods as significant in determining gender, someone placed or deposited grave goods in the tomb of the deceased *with purpose* (Moen 2010:6). Costin elaborates on this point of view:

*Some have argued that mortuary analysis can be problematic because mortuary practices sometimes mask organizational structures and aspects of practice actually operating in a society. Yet the grave goods displayed and then deposited with an individual clearly must reflect someone's version of reality: there must be an underlying ideological, ritual, sociological, or political, if not operative, reason why the dead and/or those who have buried them would choose to mark a person in death in a particular way (Costin 1996:119).*

Following Costin's statement, grave goods and other artefacts that have been linked to gender roles cannot easily be dismissed solely on a theoretical basis. The material should rather be evaluated and reflected upon before drawing any conclusions with regards to gender attributions. In addition, several studies of Viking Age grave goods display a high degree of correlation between the biological sex of the deceased and gender attributed grave goods (Jesch 1991:14). Stray finds are more complex to analyse because a "closed" context is not present, especially while studying questions of social status (Imer 2007a:35). The classification system must be evaluated in order to reach any conclusions of gender attributed items. The presence of runic script is of great importance in regards to stray finds, as runes occasionally contribute a narrative quality to an artefact by providing clues to its maker or user.

#### 4.1.1 Social gender and biological sex

While social gender is considered to be a cultural product including categories like “feminine” and “masculine”, biological sex is determined in relation to genetic and physical differences between males and females. While biological sex is limited to two categories, gender can present itself in numerous ones, depending on the cultural and sociological context (Costin 1996:133). The term “gender” and its definition implies that the biological sex is not considered important in what makes a person “feminine” or “masculine”, other than the physical similarities/differences. The notion of two biological sexes, with pre-determined specific traits, is a form of essentialism (Arwill-Nordbladh 2003:30f). In archaeological practice, human remains are still often determined on the basis of biology even when the aim is to study gender of deceased individuals. The gender might not correspond with the “essential traits of the sex” (Arwill-Nordbladh 2003:31f). Osteology also has methodological limitations when determining the biological sex of an individual (Arwill-Nordbladh 2003:7f). Due to state of preservation there is not always skeletal material present in a grave that can play a decisive role in determining biological sex, like the pelvis or skull (Jesch 1991:13).

Nevertheless, the effect of disregarding the biological sex in determining gender of deceased individuals eventually leads to evaluating grave goods, which have been questioned as suitable for gender determinations (Arwill-Nordbladh 2003:10). This obviously creates a dilemma for researchers interested in how prehistoric gender roles were constructed. Kulick has a pragmatic solution: that human behaviour can have both social as well as biological factors (Kulick 1997:230f). Proposing a middle-way, Hjørungdal explains:

*The use of 'gendering' instead of 'sexing' in the archaeological classification of prehistoric burials help to make the point explicit that we should not look upon humankind and its genders as determined by biology (alone) (Hjørungdal 1994:143).*

Hjørungdal clearly explains why gender is a more adequate term to use than sex when discussing how prehistoric society might have constructed gender roles. She stresses the fact that while there might be two biological sexes,

gender has no such limitation and consequently offers further possibilities for interpretation.

## **4.2 Artefacts as gender indicators**

This chapter examines specific types of artefacts commonly used in archaeological practice when identifying individuals as females or males. The discussion constitutes the base of comparison with types of artefacts analysed in this paper and the possibilities regarding a theoretical gender approach to the material.

### **4.2.1 Clothing**

Scandinavian Viking Age dress fashion has been considered conservative and unvaried geographically, particularly the female dress (Arbman 1939:100ff). Jansson called it “standardized”, suggesting that a small material is representative for most of Scandinavia when it comes to dress fashion (Jansson 1985:9). The presence of oval brooches is one of the most significant details of Viking Age female dress (Larsson 2008:182, Dommasnes 2001:106, Jesch 1991:14f, Jansson 1985, Graham-Campbell 1980:102, Arbman 1939:102). Of all the assorted types of Viking Age brooches, the oval type is the most common (Jansson 1985:12). In Birka, oval brooches were found in most burials belonging to biological females (Gräslund 1980:81). Other types of brooches like trefoil- box- and disc brooches are also frequent in female graves and in some cases, hoards (Kilger 2008:325ff, Jesch 1991:14, Jansson 1985:11).

The island of Gotland in the Baltic Sea has box- and animal head-shaped brooches complementing the Viking Age female dress (Carlsson 2003:116, Petré 1993:152). It has been proposed to symbolize the Gotlanders aim to distinguish themselves from other people in the trading world (Carlsson 2003:116). In the material there are 13 brooches connected to the feminine gender. There is also 1 pennanular brooch (no. 46), considered being part of Viking Age male dress fashion (Jesch 1991:14, Jansson 1985:11). A silver needle found in a hoard, (no. 26), has been interpreted as being part of a pennanular brooch (Gustavson & Snædal 1984:251ff). In contrast to previous opinions, Petré has gathered together all brooches as belonging to women,

including pennanular brooches (Petré 1993:151). Pennanular brooches can however occur in both male and female graves (Liljeholm 1999:147ff). Acknowledging this fact, some have interpreted the presence of pennanular brooches in female graves as a sign that women were sometimes buried with their cloak in the tomb. Generally however, the brooch type is considered a part of male attire (Jansson 1985:11). In this thesis the single pennanular brooch and the pin have been labelled as belonging to the masculine gender, despite reservations since little is known about which context the single pennanular brooch belonged to originally.

#### 4.2.2 Jewellery

There are four pendants in the material. Three are finds from hoards and one silver pendant was found in a female grave in Birka (Bj. 552). As an indicator for gender, jewellery like pendants have been interpreted to belong to the female gender (Kilger 2008:323ff, Petré 1993:151, Jesch 1991:14, 45, Gräslund 1980:82, Arbman 1939:104). Claims have also been made that one of the pendants belong to a “female hoard”, which is one of the contexts examined in this thesis. Kilger brought forth the notion of the importance of intentional hoard composition with regards to hoards containing standardized female jewellery (Kilger 2008:323ff). The artefact in question, no. 23, is a coin transformed into a pendant. This type of coin pendant is significant when identifying female hoards (Kilger 2008:331).

#### 4.2.3 Tools

Viking Age craftsmen and women used a number of materials, like textiles, leather, stone or wood (Ljungkvist 2008:187). In the Old Norse sagas, Ljungkvist argues that the handicrafts are clearly divided between feminine and masculine gender (Ljungkvist 2008:186). Blacksmithing and smith's tools were considered “masculine” while work connected with textiles, like weaving and spinning, were attributed to the feminine gender (Ljungkvist 2008:186, Jesch 1991:21f). The same division of work tools can be seen in graves belonging to biological males and females (Ljungkvist 2008:186, Jesch 1991:21f). In the rich burial of two women at Oseberg, artefacts belonging to textile work have been found, including four looms and other tools for spinning and weaving (Jesch

1991:33). Before the skeletal remains in the Oseberg ship were analysed, excavators had already reached the conclusion that the buried individuals were female because of the grave goods (Arwill-Nordbladh 1998:32f). Most scholars agree that textile work were connected to the feminine gender in the Viking Age (Larsson 2008:184, Ljungkvist 2008:186, Dommasnes 1991:71, Jesch 1991:19;22, Hjørungdal 1991:98, Graham-Campbell & Kidd 1980:82). Nevertheless, it has been suggested that gender attributed crafts and tools might have been more flexible and open to transgressions of different sorts (Ljungkvist 2008:184).

Seven tools for textile work are present in the material. The tools served different purposes connected to weaving and spinning. The three spindle-whorls come from different geographical contexts. One was found Birka and two were found in Norway. The spindle-whorls have mainly been associated with textile work in the countryside, while other tools like thin needles and scissors have been found in richer contexts (Larsson 2008:184). Evidence suggests that smaller spindle-whorls might have been used in urban centres as well (Larsson 2008:183). The Birka spindle-whorls for example differ in size from those found outside the trading centre (Andersson 2003:135). The difficulty with several types of Viking Age tools is that a majority of them belong to exceptionally rich burials, where there is an abundance of most things connected to craft and production (Ljungkvist 2008:187, Dommasnes 2001:107). A survey of textile tools and cooking utensils in graves containing weapons, done by Anders M Rabben (2002), showed that attributing artefacts related to crafts can be more complicated than previously believed.

#### 4.2.4 Functional artefacts

Utensils and vessels appear in different shapes, types and sizes in the studied material (see fig. 2). There are dishes, like a dipper and a kettle, but also a copper box that originates from Ireland (Jesch 1991:46). Boxes like the Celtic one from Irske (no. 25) were originally used as reliquaries in their native country but were probably transformed into a jewellery box after its arrival in Norway (Imer 2007a:226). The bronze bowl from Kaupang is another “domesticated” liturgical item that has been reused as a hand basin (Price 2010:129, Imer



2007a:225). Vessels are represented by a kettle from the Gokstad burial belonging to a man and a bronze dipper from Trå, found in a grave belonging to a woman. In the Oseberg mound, a bucket was excavated. This shows that cooking supplies can appear in graves belonging to both males and females, despite some scholars taking it for granted that women handled the food (e.g. Graham-Campbell 1980:82). Others have highlighted the fact that while the Vikings were travelling, they had to be able to cook for themselves without the assistance of women (Jesch 1991:27).

#### 4.2.5 Weapons

If tools for textile production have been associated with women, the presence of weapons has almost exclusively been interpreted as belonging to male individuals. Weapons of various kinds are by far the most common artefacts associated with males, often considered being “typically” male (or masculine) (Price 2002:149, Petré 1993:150, Jesch 1991:13f). This normative interpretation is often taken for granted:

*Old Norse sagas and poetry on the other hand praise the art of the warrior and not least his weapons...” (Pedersen 2008:204).*

Graves with an absence of weapons have on occasion been interpreted as female graves (Hjørungdal 1994:144). However, there are several instances where weapons have been found in female burials. In Klinta, Sweden, excavators found a sword that probably belonged to the female in a double-burial, not the male. Price has interpreted this as the possible grave of a *völva* (Price 2002:149). Furthermore, a female burial in Gerdrup contained a spear. Axes have also been found in female graves in Kaupang. It is however unclear whether they were intended for practical use or not (Jesch 1991:21f).

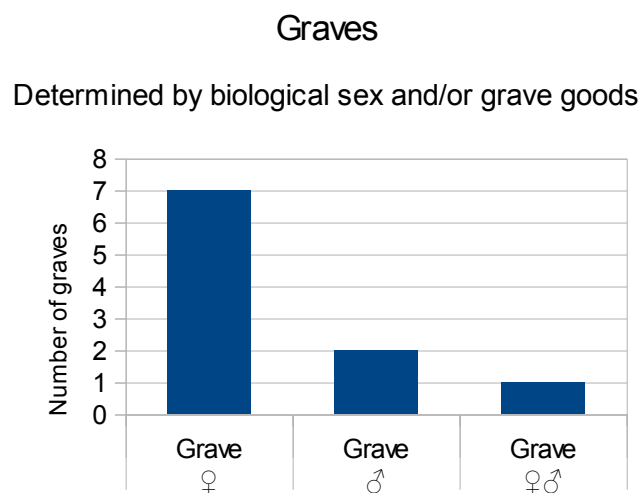
### 4.3 Contextualising runic artefacts

Runic artefacts can appear in different archaeological contexts. Determining context is important in order to interpret the artefact. In this chapter, artefacts found in gender attributed graves, female hoards and settlements are discussed and presented.



#### 4.3.1 Graves

Graves, on the condition that they are intact, can be considered “closed contexts” until excavated. In contrast to grave finds, stray finds are taken out of context. Consequently, closed contexts like hoards and burials are ideal when examining runic artefacts since it has been suggested that there is a chronological correlation between inscriptions on artefacts and time of deposition (Imer 2007a:36f). 12 artefacts have been deposited as grave goods in 10 graves belonging to biological females and males (fig. 10). The Oseberg ship burial of two females contained three different rune-inscribed items: a bucket, an oar and a sleigh or wagon. A total of seven graves have been determined to belong to females, while two graves, the Gokstad ship-burial and the Långtora chamber grave (fig. 11), have been attributed to biological males (Jesch 1991:34, Arbman 1936:89ff). In Kaupang, a burial of multiple individuals containing a runic artefact has been found (Price 2010:129f). In addition, there are four graves containing four artefacts where no gender attributions have been made to the author's knowledge. There is also a possibility of two more graves, based on lists of additional grave goods supplied in Lisbeth M. Imer's catalogue (Imer 2007b:420; 447).



*Figure 10. No. of grave contexts containing runic artefacts.*

Several artefacts examined in this paper are made of fragile material. Organic materials, for example wood or textiles, are usually not preserved well except in bogs or in burial mounds (Imer 2007a:33f). This makes the runic artefacts from

the Oseberg burial exceptional with regards to preservation of the material as well as the runic inscription (Imer 2007a:34).

No.	Object	Classification	Context	Location
1	Silver pendant	Jewellery	Grave (F)	Birka
11	Oval brooch	Brooch	Grave (F)	Bottarve
17	Weaving sword	Tool	Grave (F)	Engstad
19	Spinning wheel	Tool	Grave (F)	Gravräk
28	Copper plate	Ritual	Grave (F)	Klinta
36	Oar	Functional	Grave (F)	Oseberg 1
37	Bucket	Functional	Grave (F)	Oseberg 2
38	Sleigh	Functional	Grave (F)	Oseberg 3
51	Bronze dipper	Functional	Grave (F)	Trä
18	Copper kettle	Functional	Grave (M)	Gokstad
35	Silver mount	Weapon	Grave (M)	Långtors
27	Bowl	Functional	Grave (F+F+M)	Kaupang

*Figure 11. Runic artefacts found in graves.*

#### 4.3.2 Hoards

It has been proposed that certain hoards, like the gold hoard found in Hon, can be tied to females through the standardized jewellery they contain (Kilger 2008:326). Similar composition of jewellery and types of brooches can appear in both female graves and hoards; hence is it likely that this conclusion is accurate (Kilger 2008:333). However, there is only 1 item, no. 23, from a female hoard in this study. To examine this pendant on the basis of a context connected to females can produce a distorted result since any corresponding material linked to the male gender is lacking. Irrespective of this reservation, the fact remains that artefact no. 23 is a pendant. The connection between women and jewellery like pendants was discussed in chapter 4.2.2. No. 23 is therefore suggested to have a twofold relationship to the feminine gender, contextualized by means of a “female hoard” and by being considered a typical female artefact.

#### 4.3.3 Settlements

14 artefacts are from different types of settlements (fig. 12). Eight were found in the Viking Age trading centre of Birka. Birka, and the adjoining island of Adelsö which probably housed the king, was founded around the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Birka served as both a place for trade as well as a royal seat (Magnus

& Gustin 2009:14ff;22f). The alkaline soil in Birka has preserved a large number of artefacts made of bone and other fragile materials in the Black Earth (Hyenstrand 1992:42), like a bone needle (artefact no. 2). All artefacts from Birka, except artefact no. 1, are stray finds. The types of artefacts and inscriptions do not have many features in common. While runic artefacts appear in settlements, closed contexts are more suitable when performing gender studies, since stray finds are difficult to interpret (Imer 2007a:35).

No.	Object	Classification	Context	Inscription	Transliteration	Inscription ID	Dating	Location	Type
2	Bone needle	Tool	Settlement	Name (F)	"Dora is scorned because... fastener?"	U ANF1937;172	V (900)	Birka	Stray find
3	Fragment of bone	Unknown	Settlement	Profane	"Made?..."	U ANF1937;178B	V	Birka	Stray find
4	Fragment of bone	Unknown	Settlement	Unintelligible...		U ANF1937;179	V	Birka	Stray find
5	Whetstone	Functional	Settlement	Unintelligible...		U Fv1913;276	V	Birka	Stray find
6	Fragment of bone	Unknown	Settlement	Profane	"Was(?) and(?) also(?)	U NOR2001;24	V (900)	Birka	Stray find
7	Bronze plate	Ritual	Settlement	Unintelligible...		U NOR2002;26	V	Birka	Stray find
8	Bronze plate	Ritual	Settlement	Unintelligible...		U NOR2002;28	V	Birka	Stray find
9	Spindle-whorl	Tool	Settlement	Unintelligible...		-	V	Birka	Stray find
31	Comb fragment	Functional	Settlement	Name (F)	"Ormhlidr said this/that..."	DR MLUHM1983-84;131	V (800)	Lilla Köpinge	Stray find
33	Copper plate	Ritual	Settlement	Unintelligible...		DR NOR2003;20	V (1000-1050)	Lockarp	Stray find
41	Copper box	Functional	Settlement	Profane	"Diarfr got from a man from Samland / Semgallen..."	U Fv1912;8	V (900-1000)	Sigtuna 2	Stray find
42	Copper plate	Ritual	Settlement	Ritual	"Boil/Spectre of the wound-fever, lord of the giants! "	U Fv1933;134 \$	V (1000)	Sigtuna 3	Stray find
43	Copper plate	Ritual	Settlement	Name (M)	"Björn"	U NOR1996;17A	V	Sigtuna 4	Stray find
58	Comb	Functional	Settlement	Name	"Hegvin"	DR EM85;348	V (900-1000)	Århus	Stray find

Figure 12. Artefacts from settlements.

#### 4.4 Analysing runic artefacts using a gender perspective

In the final chapter of the analysis, inscriptions and artefacts are jointly discussed with regards to context, content and frequency. The chapter focuses on how the material can be interpreted when using a gender perspective. An important part of the discussion is also to attempt to distinguish patterns with regards to both artefacts and inscriptions.

##### 4.4.1 Inscriptions

In total, 28 names appear in the material. 13 can be categorized as male names and 12 are probably female names (fig. 13). Two combinations of transliterated names can belong to either gender, since the names are similar (Jesch 1991:45). *Hegvin* is an unfamiliar name and has therefore been excluded from any gender attribution. Figure 14 shows how gender attributed names manifest in the material as either maker or non-maker.

It is likely that seven of the male names belongs to a potential owner of an artefact, since six out of 13 inscriptions mentions a male as the maker, rune-carver or gift-giver. A number of male names appear as crafter on artefacts that can be attributed to the female gender.

♀	♂	♀/♂
Åsa	Björn	Þorfríðr/Þorfreðr
Sigríðr	Ubbi	Hegvin
Ranveig	Gautvid	Þorkell/Þorhildr
Gudfrid	Sinkasvein	
Þorfríðr	Amketill Pike	
Ormhildr	Slóði	
Þóra	Ulfkell	
Þøðný	Ötryggr	
Botvi	Auði	
Gunnhildr	Ingi	
Þora	Ingimarr	
Sigvôr	Rane	
	Botfus	

Figure 13. Gender attributed personal names.

Names mentioned as makers/carvers  
(in relation to non-makers)

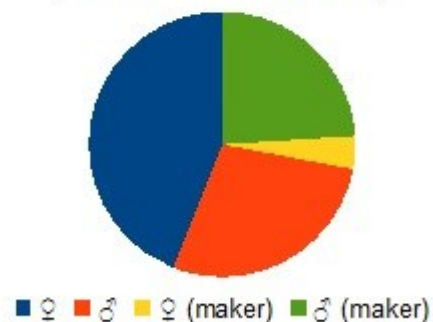


Figure 14. Gender division of makers.

There is also a female name mentioned as a crafter: "Gunnhildr made the spindle-whorl" (no. 22). Females mentioned as makers of artefacts is not surprising, but it has been unnoticed in the past (e.g. Jesch 1991:46). The name *Bøðný* on artefact no. 52, a box-shaped brooch, can be interpreted as a female name due to a similar female name mentioned in an Old Norse Saga (Snaedal 1986:81f). Figure 15 shows an estimation of the presence and manifestation of names in percent.

Gendered names	No. of names	%	Total
Male owner	6	21.00%	46.00%
Male maker	7	25.00%	
Female owner	11	39.00%	43.00%
Female maker	1	4.00%	
Undetermined	3	11.00%	

Figure 15. Gendered names in %.

The inscription on artefact 32, a knife shaft, reads: "Sinkasvein(?) polished for Þorfriðr". While *Sinkasvein* is probably a male name, the female *Þorfriðr* can also be misinterpreted as *Þorfreðr*, a male name (Jesch 1991:45). Knives are not gender specific and can be used for many things, further complicating gender attribution (Jesch 1991:14, Graham-Campbell & Kidd 1980:102, Rabben 2002:38). A similar issue regarding *Þorfriðr*/*Þorfreðr* manifests on artefact 41, a pendant from Hon (Jesch 1991:45). Misinterpreted personal names are problematic since it can produce misleading results in the long run (Williams 2008:287).

In some cases two or more names are present, albeit not in a customer-maker relationship. In similar situations, both names have been taken into consideration for the analysis. One example is a cryptic inscription on a weaving tablet from Lund (no. 34), indirectly naming a man: "Sigvôr's Ingimarr will have my weeping / unhappiness ..." (?) (Scandinavian Runic-Text Data Base accessed 120516). The combination of an artefact associated with female work and the presence of a female name as the active part, suggests that the weaving tablet belonged to a representative of the feminine gender (Snædal 1994:18).

Artefact no. 56, a bronze fitting, carries the inscription: "Gautvid gave this weight house to Gudfrid" (Imer 2007b:458, translation from Danish by the author of this work). Viking Age gift-giving between men and women expressed through runic inscriptions is not uncommon (Jesch 1991:46). While no. 56 contains two names, it is evident that the owner of the artefact was Gudfrid (female), not Gautvid (male). No. 37, the bucket from the Oseberg burial, bears the female name *Sigríðr*. Since the ship burial contained two biological females, it is not unlikely that the bucket belonged to either of the women. The presence of personal names on graves goods is rare (two inscriptions). The copper kettle from the Gokstad burial has an inscription saying "Ubbi made" and the runes on the Oseberg bucket says "Sigríðr owns" (Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 120520).

Attempting to interpret profane inscriptions brings another level of difficulty to the material, because there is limited philological value in the inscriptions with regards to gender (fig. 8). One of the ritual inscriptions contains a reference to woman named *Ása*. It is the only case where a personal name appears on an artefact categorized as ritual.

A substantial number of the runic artefacts are categorized as "functional" (15 posts, see fig. 2), but only one inscription on a functional artefact refer to the actual use of the artefact (no. 27). Instead functional artefacts sometimes carry names: 20 % single female names and 13 % single male names. Another 13 % is composed of both male and female names. 27 % of the inscriptions are unintelligible. There is also one undetermined name, one ritual inscription and one classified as profane. This suggests that there is not a high correlation between the functional use of an artefact and inscriptions that describe the use or function of an artefact.

Inscriptions containing two names can be analysed on a higher level. For example, the inscription on no. 32 reads: "Sinkasvein(?) polished for Þorfríðr". *Sinkasvein* is the crafter so he can be said to assume the role of the passive part while *Þorfríðr* plays the active part as an owner. If similar sentences are analysed with regards to passive and active roles in the runic material, the

active female names amount to 33 % while the percent of active male names remains at 13 % (M *gave to* → F, M *polished for* → F).

Several artefacts have been categorized as items of personal adornment, like jewellery and different kinds of brooches (fig.1). The number of names present in the material of this type is 10. Two names refer to the owner of the brooch and two male names are mentioned as makers or carvers. Brooches are typical to find in graves (Gräslund 1980:81) and it is not surprising that crafters carved runes on someone else's brooch. The owner inscriptions on brooches differ from the inscriptions on the jewellery. While it is written that "Botvi owns me" on one brooch (no.48), two of the pendants carry only personal names, not sentences. Lisbeth M Imer has proposed that the use of runes on brooches might be a Gotlandic speciality and this is supported by her analysis (Imer 2007a:120; 220). This study confirms that Gotlandic brooches carry more inscriptions than any other type of brooch in the material and that Imer's suggestion is credible.

#### 4.4.2 Graves

In Kaupang, a burial of two women, one man and one infant contained a copper bowl (Price 2010:127). In the analysis the burial shows up as the unique grave for multiple individuals containing a runic artefact (fig. 12). However, the bowl's placement was in close proximity to one of the females (Price 2010:129). It stands to argue whether this artefact should have been analysed as belonging to the female individual rather to the quadruple -burial in itself. In total, 12 runic artefacts have been found in grave contexts as discussed in chapter 4.3.1. 50 % of these artefacts are functional in some way. This assessment correlates with the general opinion in archaeological research that everyday items were interred with the deceased, like in the Oseberg burial (Jesch 1991:32f). On the other hand, both the Oseberg and Gokstad ship-burials are exceptionally rich (Graham-Campbell & Kidd 1980:25ff), which raises doubt whether these artefacts can be seen as representative for all runic artefacts from grave contexts. The Kaupang grave, housing the runic bowl, was also rich in various ways (Price 2010:127ff, Imer 2007a:119). The presence of "domestic items" in burials belonging to both female and male individuals raises doubts regarding



the opinion that women exclusively handled the preparation and production of food (e.g. Graham-Campbell 1980:82).

#### 4.4.3 Hoards

Two hoard finds have personal names. The inscriptions on these pendants differ from those on brooches, since they only contain names without being part of a sentence or referring to a maker. On artefact no. 44 it says "Þóra" + "Þorfríðr/Þorfreðr" and on artefact no. 45 it says "Slóði". The Hon pendant has been interpreted as belonging to a woman of distinguished social status (Imer 2007a:118), not least since the Hon hoard is composed of different items of high value and material (Kilger 2008:326f). The presence of runic script on artefacts in hoards has sometimes been interpreted as having a "magical" dimension since runic artefacts have also been found in extraordinary female graves (Kilger 2008:333f).

## 5. RESULT

The main problem of studying inscriptions and their relationship to the artefact is the possibility that the result might have been different if scholars had been able to interpret the unintelligible inscriptions. An estimation of how much the absence of them distorts the end result is difficult, since inscriptions are only part of what makes a runic artefact. Eight of the unintelligible inscriptions were found in graves; seven belong to biological females and one to a biological male. While a runologist might be unable to interpret the inscription, an archaeologist can study the context and the artefact itself. The use of grave goods as gender indicators have been questioned (Arwill-Nordbladh 2003:10) but when taking into account several variables, like a female name paired with a deceased biological female, it is difficult *not* to arrive to the conclusion that the individual is a representative of the feminine gender as well as a being a biological female. One must keep in mind, as evidenced by the different interpretations of the inscription on artefact no.42, that inscriptions can be understood in a number of ways. In an attempt to limit such problems, the names that could not be attributed to either gender were excluded from the analysis in chapter 4.4.1. Interestingly enough, runic artefacts can have a



narrative quality without following the rune stone-formula. The system of using more than one variable when gender attributing artefacts have proven successful, although it produced an unexpected result that will be discussed in the following paragraph:

Textile tools have been linked to feminine work during a long time, by several authors (e.g. Magnus & Gustin 2009:20f;48, Larsson 2008:184, Ljungkvist 2008:186, Dommasnes 1991:71, Jesch 1991:19;22, Hjørungdal 1991:98, Graham-Campbell & Kidd 1980:82). Throughout the examination it became evident that three inscriptions (out of seven) on textile tools contain female names (57 %) (fig.4). In addition, two out of seven artefacts were grave goods belonging to biological females (29 %). By combining these two variables the analysis suggests that context and names connect five out of seven artefacts to the feminine gender, without resorting to traditional typological methods of gender attributed items (71 %). To arrive at this number while disregarding traditional opinions of pre-historic work division in archaeology is staggering. Nevertheless, textile tools are not only found in female graves (Jesch 1991:19) and neither does all runic textile tools have female names on them.

Names are frequent in the inscriptions. The analysis showed that 39 % of the female names were mentioned as a probable owner, while the male owners amounted to 21 %. More men were mentioned as makers (25 %) as opposed to female makers (4 %). The total sum was that 43 % of names in the inscriptions belonged to the female gender, while 46 % belonged to the male gender.

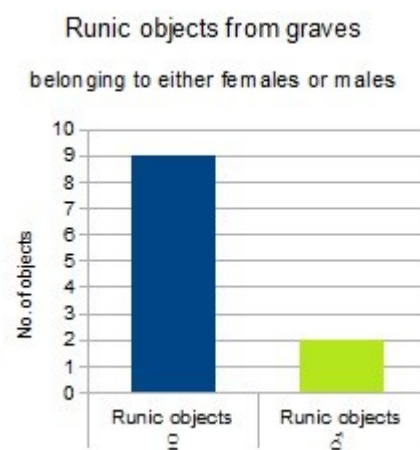


Figure 16. Artefacts from graves.

With regards to the grave goods, there were nine items from seven female graves and two items from two male graves. The result of the analysis suggests that runic artefacts are more common in female graves than in male graves ( $F = 75\%$ ,  $M = 17\%$ ,  $M/F = 8\%$ ) (fig.16)

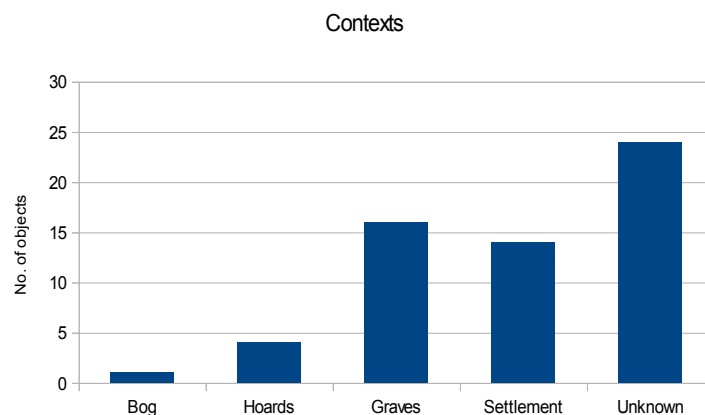
Neil Price has criticised the fact that archaeologists tend to regard grave goods as a true testament to how the Viking Age society really functioned (Price 2010:131). Instead he proposed to acknowledge that Viking Age burials are dramas acted out in material ways (Price 2010:147f). Judith Jesch has also discussed a similar topic, that what archaeologists excavate and label as “grave goods” perhaps should be interpreted as symbolic and not actual fact (1991:21f). Regarding textile tools, Hjørungdal has come to the conclusion that the presence of spindle-whorls might allude to *Urd*, one of the deities who spun the life thread (Hjørungdal 1991:105). Domeij proposes that the presence of weaving swords in graves, like artefact no.17 from Engstad, might have been a metaphor for warfare (Domeij 2007:40).

The word “rune” can among other things mean “secret” (Ellergård & Peterson accessed 120517). This has induced a number of scholars to propose a magical dimension in the use of runic script, not least because of the connection to Odin and his experiences in *Hávamál* (Snaedal 1994:12). Others have argued that interpreting runes as magical scripture has more to do with modern ideas that runes are often considered magical (Imer 2007a:250). The weaving tablet from Lund (artefact no. 34) has been interpreted as a curse (Imer 2007a:234, Jesch 1991:46). The connection between women and the magical use of runes has been made by a number of authors (e.g. Kilger 2008:333f, Price 2002:144, Sawyer 1992:73).

Older inscriptions from the Iron Age sometimes allude to magical use of runes, containing words like “protection” or “luck” (Snædal 1994:11), Viking Age inscriptions can be interpreted to be less exuberant since a majority of the inscriptions expresses profane opinions or names rather than invoking magic (with some exceptions, see chapters 3.1.4 and 3.2.1). This shift in use has lead Imer to believe that runic script became common knowledge during the Viking Age (Imer 2007a:121; 250). While literacy in the Viking Age is beyond the scope of this paper, the sheer number of inscriptions on everyday items suggests that it might have been a shift in mentality regarding the use of runes and the ability to interpret them sometime during the span of the Viking Age.

Imer suggests that the erecting of rune stones is the source of the decline of runic inscriptions during the Viking Age in comparison with previous eras (Imer 2007a:35). While this might have some truth to it, the fact remains that most runic artefacts dated to the Viking Age are utility items for everyday use (Imer 2007a:239). Earlier runic inscriptions are most common on bracteates or weapons (Snædal 1994:9ff). Imer states that runes last better on gold and other metals (Imer 2007a:34) which coincidentally is the material bracteates are made of (Snædal 1994:11). Just because there is an apparent decline in runic artefacts does not mean that there has not been more, since conditions for preservation of runes on organic material is poor in comparison to gold (Imer 2007a:34). Runic artefacts from the Middle Ages are plenty, preserved in stratigraphical layers in cities (Snædal 1994:18, Spurkland 1994:77ff), indicating that the use of runes did not decline as greatly as Imer suggests.

During the Viking Age runic artefacts originate from different contexts (fig. 17). In “closed” contexts they appear most frequently in graves of different gender attributions. The majority of the artefacts are stray finds, once more confirming the detrimental effect it has on artefacts to be removed from its context (Imer 2007a:35). 17 % of all artefacts examined in the analysis come from closed contexts attributed to the female gender, while only 3 % can be said about closed contexts attributed to the male gender. While these two figures are modest in comparison to the corpus, the gender distribution is nonetheless significant in relation to the problems stipulated for this paper.

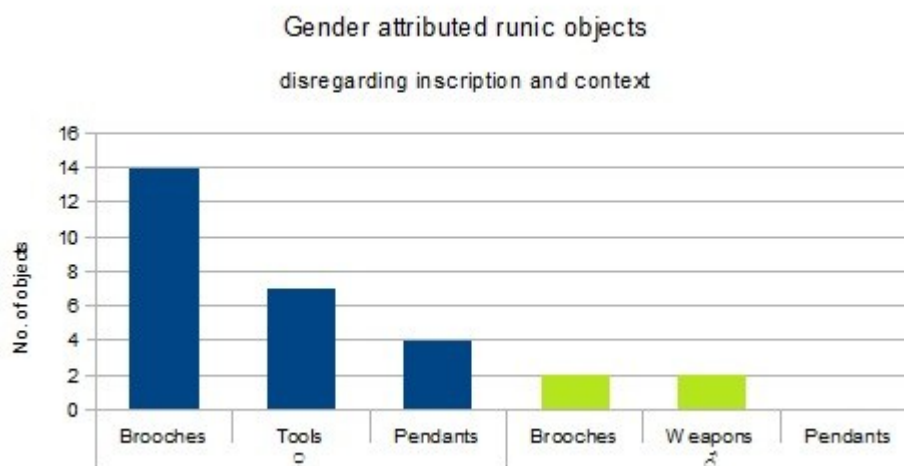


*Figure 17. Contexts containing runic artefacts.*

It has proven difficult to attribute specific items to either gender while staying true to the theoretical standpoint formulated in the introduction. Because of this fact, the end result is clearly just a suggestion of how similar examinations can be performed. Masculine and feminine gender has formed the base of this discussion but it is important to remember that gender is not necessarily limited to these two variables. Masculinity and femininity are however the least difficult types of gender that can be studied by an archaeologist focusing on Viking Age material, even though generalized views on the relationships between gender groups tend to be cemented rather than questioned.

Since there is a high correlation between biological sex and stereotypical gender attributed items (Gräslund 1980:81, Jesch 1991:14), figure 18 shows how the runic material manifests when using the most common types of gendered artefacts (weapons and pennanular brooches in green for males, pendants, other types of brooches and textile tools in blue for females), without regards to context.

While the result produced in figure 18 is not contradicting previous results of the analysis, it lacks the dynamic structures and nuanced relationships that manifest on the runic artefacts. Studying these artefacts as part text and part artefact can benefit in the study of actual human relationships behind the artefacts, something that archaeology can only hope of doing, since archaeological material sometimes appear silent (Jesch 1991:42). Based on this



conclusion, an archaeologist should not simply overlook the fact that there is actual contemporary evidence that can tell scholars about the people behind the artefacts, who used them and made them, on the basis that the information happens to be transmitted in text. With hopes for the future regarding similar research, I leave the word to Cathy Lynne Costin:

*Yet we should not read cautions about the limitations of gender attribution as justification to shun gender attribution altogether. Gender is a major structuring principle in social life, and our engendered past must make use of this concept to understand social process and social change in ways analogous to ways we use class and social status. Thus, while we might successfully explore gender theory and gender relations without associating specific genders with particular features in some contexts, I suggest it is more critical to make specific gender attributions in others. In fact, there are important anthropological questions that likely can only be addressed if one is able to ascribe gender with a relatively high degree of explicitness and confidence. Studies of the division of labor and social relations of production constitute one such domain of inquiry.*

(Costin 1996:112)

## **6. FURTHER WORK**

This study should preferably be perceived as the humble beginning of future examinations of material of similar character. What remains to be done is plenty, especially in producing results to form a base for comparison with the artefacts discussed here. An idea would be to study and quantify runic artefacts from the Middle Ages or the early Iron Age and compare it to the material described and analysed in this paper.

## **7. SUMMARY**

The aim of this paper is to examine a group of 59 Scandinavian artefacts carrying runic inscriptions dated to the Viking Age (800-1050). The analysis strives to determine which, if any, gender can be connected to the use of runes. The material is systematically divided into collections of inscriptions and types of artefacts, and then further subdivided into different types of text and artefacts. A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods are used and discussed throughout the analysis and in the result. Furthermore, contexts where runic artefacts appear are evaluated and examined. In addition, the paper treats how gender attributions have been performed in the field of archaeology. The analysis shows that runic artefacts are more common in female graves than in male graves during the Viking Age. It also shows that while there is little difference in the quantity of names, male names appear frequent as makers or carvers of artefacts while female names are more common as owners. It is proposed that a majority of tools for textile production with runic inscriptions can be ascribed to the female gender through presence of names or contexts.

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## **9. APPENDIX**

- 1. List of analysed material**
- 2. Artefacts with names in the inscription**
- 3. Unintelligible or uninterpreted inscriptions**
- 4. Catalogue**

No.	Object	Classification	Context	Inscription	Transliteration	Description ID	Dating	Location	Type	References
1	Silver pendant	Jewellery	Grave (F)	Unintelligible		LANF1937.103	V (800-900)	Birka	Grave find	Immer 2007:20, Nyström 1952:69ff, Aronson 1940, pl. 103, i.e. Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
2	Bone needle	Tool	Settlement	Name (F)	"bora is scorned because... faster?"	LANF1937.172	V (800)	Birka	Stray find	Immer 2007:21, Nyström 1952:69ff, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
3	Fragment of bone	Unknown	Settlement	Profane	"Mæd?"	LANF1937.178B	V	Birka	Stray find	Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, Nyström 1952:69f
4	Fragment of bone	Unknown	Settlement	Unintelligible		LANF1937.179	V	Birka	Stray find	Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, Nyström 1952:69f
5	Wheatstone	Functional	Unknown	Profane	"Was(?) and(?) also?"	UF1913.276	V (800)	Birka	Stray find	Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, PV 1913:276
6	Fragment of bone	Unknown	Settlement	Profane		UNOR001.24	V	Birka	Stray find	Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
7	Bronze plate	Ritual	Settlement	Unintelligible		UNOR002.26	V	Birka	Stray find	Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
8	Bronze plate	Ritual	Settlement	Unintelligible		UNOR002.28	V	Birka	Stray find	Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
9	Springle w/ horn	Tool	Settlement	Unintelligible		-	V	Birka	Stray find	SHM 15190
10	Wheatstone	Functional	Unknown	Ritual	"Frome(?) (præst)..."	DF1918(2).15	V (800-1000)	Borgholm	Stray find	Immer 2007:27, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, PV 1917:15
11	Oval brooch	Brooch	Grave (F)	Unintelligible		5359	V (800)	Edsarna	Grave find	Immer 2007:30, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
12	Fragment of bone	Unknown	Unknown	Profane	"Is good to interpret, if one know s. w/ hat..."	5353	V (1000)	Edsarna	Stray find	Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
13	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Unintelligible	"Handshakes"	5100	V (1000)	Busavare	Stray find	Immer 2007:37, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, Thunmark-Nylen 1983
14	Springle w/ horn	Tool	Unknown	Profane	"Handshakes"	N246 1	V	Byking	Stray find	Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
15	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Unintelligible		-	V (1000)	Bista	Stray find	Immer 2007:79, Thunmark-Nylen 1988:73ff
16	Spear	Weapon	Unknown	Unintelligible	"Rins on na... Bortus made"	5225	V (8-1000)	Endre	Stray find	Immer 2007:81, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
17	Weaving sword	Tool	Grave (F)	Ritual	"Furn sprille?"	N137	V (8-900)	Edsarna	Grave find	Immer 2007:81, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
18	Copper rattle	Functional	Grave (M)	Name (M)	"Lubi made"	N139	V (825-925)	Golstad	Grave find	Immer 2007:135, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
19	Springle w/ heel	Tool	Grave (F)	Profane	"chocegood"	N456	V	Gravvik	Grave find	Gustavson & Snaedal 1994:253
20	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Unintelligible		5357	V	Halla	Stray find	Immer 2007:171, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, Black-Andersson 2001:73ff
21	Wooden stick	Ritual	Bog	Name (F)	"The storming one never w on you over, Åsa(?)..."	DRB195.350	V (800-1000)	Hendup	Stray find	Immer 2007:171, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
22	Springle w/ horn	Tool	Unknown	Unintelligible	"Gunhlidr made the spindle-w/ horn"	N188	V	Ischult	Stray find	Immer 2007:178, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, Kiger 2006:334
23	Con pendant	Jewellery	Heard (F)	Unintelligible		N172	V	Ischult	Heard find	Immer 2007:190, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
24	Silver disc	Unknown	Grave	Unintelligible		UM1988.49	V	Ischult	Grave find	Immer 2007:200
25	Copper box	Functional	Unknown	Name (F)	"Renvel on is this box"	N441	V (850-950)	Isle	Stray find	Immer 2007:207, Gustavson & Snaedal 1994:251ff
26	Pennular brooch needle	Brooch	Heard	Functional	"Glove-needle"	5273	V (1000-1050)	Karis	Heard find	Immer 2007:208, Pilo 2010:125ff
27	Bowl	Functional	Grave (F+FM)	Unintelligible	"In the handbasin"	N769	V (875-925)	Kaupang	Grave find	Immer 2007:217, Pilo 2010:125ff, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
28	Copper plate	Ritual	Grave (F)	Unintelligible		DN63	V (900-1000)	Kista	Grave find	Immer 2007:222, Thunmark-Nylen 1980:74
29	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Unintelligible		-	V	Krosta	Stray find	Immer 2007:224, Thunmark-Nylen 1980:74
30	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Unintelligible		DR1911.983.24.131	V (1000-1050)	Kvimegårds	Stray find	Immer 2007:238, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
31	Comb fragment	Functional	Settlement	Name (F)	"Ormhild said this hat..."	DR1911.348	V (800-900)	Lilla Kyringe	Grave find	Immer 2007:240, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
32	Knife shaft	Functional	Grave	Name (M+H)	"Sinsvent(?) polished for borkir"	DR1920.20.20	V (1000-1050)	Lindholm	Grave find	Immer 2007:242, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
33	Copper plate	Ritual	Settlement	Unintelligible		DR1911	V (800-900)	Lund	Stray find	Immer 2007:248, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, Jacobson & Möller 1942:356f, Jersch 1991:46, Snaedal 1994:18
34	Weaving tablet	Tool	Unknown	Name (F+M)	"Sjögö's loquax will have my weaving / unapeliness..."	LANF1937.180	V (850-925)	Långbura	Grave find	Immer 2007:251, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, Ahneman 1938
35	Silver mount	Weapon	Grave (M)	Unintelligible		N137	V (825-850)	Ölsberg 1	Grave find	Immer 2007:250, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
36	Car	Functional	Grave (F)	Name (F)	"Sjögö's ow is"	N138	V (825-850)	Ölsberg 2	Grave find	Immer 2007:251, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
37	Budet	Functional	Grave (F)	Name (F)		N78	V (825-850)	Ölsberg 3	Grave find	Immer 2007:251, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
38	Siegh	Functional	Grave (F)	Name (M)	"Arise! Pile / Taby-cat w role runes"	N78	V (850-1000)	Rave	Stray find	Immer 2007:251, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
39	Fishing sniker	Functional	Unknown	Unintelligible		DR1911.983.201	V (800-850)	Ribe	Stray find	Immer 2007:251, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
40	Tablet of w/ halibone	Functional	Unknown	Profane	"Darri got from a man from Seland / Sempalen..."	UF1912.8	V (900-1000)	Sjögö 2	Stray find	Immer 2007:319, v. Fresen 1912:6ff
41	Copper box	Functional	Settlement	Profane	"Bells Spectra of the w and- fever: lord of the giant"	UF1913.134.5	V (1000)	Sjögö 3	Stray find	Immer 2007:320, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, Eriksson & Zetterholm 1933:125ff
42	Copper plate	Ritual	Settlement	Ritual	"Björn"	UNOR199.17A	V	Sjögö 4	Stray find	Immer 2007:320, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
43	Copper plate	Ritual	Settlement	Name (M)	"Bora + "borkir/borkir"	UNOR199.17A	V (850)	Sjögö 4	Stray find	Immer 2007:320, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, Jersch 1991:46
44	Silver pendant	Jewellery	Heard	Name (F+M)	"Södr"	N410N4211	V (850)	Sjögö 4	Stray find	Immer 2007:320, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, Jersch 1991:46
45	Pennular brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Name (M)	"...interpret..."	510	V	Sjögö 4	Stray find	Immer 2007:320, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, Jersch 1991:46
46	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Profane	"Örbygr carved"	5356	V	Sjögö 4	Stray find	Immer 2007:384
47	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Name (M)	"Börvi on me"	5356	V (800-1000)	Sjögö 4	Stray find	Immer 2007:388, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, Thunmark-Nylen 1988:75
48	Oval brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Name (F)	"Hj is chieftan"	AM 1908.14	V	Sjögö 4	Stray find	Immer 2007:389
49	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Unintelligible		5355	V	Sjögö 4	Stray find	Immer 2007:390
50	A ring-head shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Name (M)		N322	V (800-950)	Trä	Grave find	Immer 2007:414, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
51	Bronze dipper	Functional	Grave (F)	Unintelligible	"Ald carved the runes on... Baky?"	5350	V (1000)	Tynarids	Grave find	Immer 2007:420, Thunmark-Nylen 1988:73ff, Snaedal 1996:60ff
52	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Grave?	Name (F+M)	"Do not be(?) over-awed abroad (= out of the grave), ghost!"	JASt1.150	V (800)	Uvanda	Stray find	Immer 2007:425, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
53	Bronze plate	Ritual	Grave	Name (F)	"Lilias, Unlun prays for (you) w os?"	UF1989.210	V (1000)	Vedösta	Grave find	Immer 2007:439, Gustavson 1989:209ff
54	Copper plate	Ritual	Grave	Unintelligible	"Lulialu"	DR 100B	V (800-900)	Vborg	Stray find	Immer 2007:447, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012
55	Bronze buckle	Brooch	Grave?	Unintelligible		DR 100B	V (800-900)	Vborg	Stray find	Immer 2007:458
56	Bronze fitting	Functional	Unknown	Name (M+H)	"Gautid gave this w eight house to Gudrid..."	DR 148 \$	V (800-1050)	Vä	Stray find	Immer 2007:463
57	Oval brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Name (M+H)	"borkir/borkir, <sup>or</sup> Unlial(?)"	5388	V	Västergård	Stray find	Immer 2007:478
58	Comb	Functional	Settlement	Name	"Hugin"	DRB195.348	V (900-1000)	Ähus	Stray find	Immer 2007:472
59	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Unintelligible		-	V	Ölsberg 4	Stray find	

Appendix 1. List of analysed material



No.	Object	Classification	Context	Inscription	Transliteration	Transliteration ID	Location
43	Copper plate	Ritual	Settlement	Name (M)	"Björn"	U NOR1996;17A	Sigtuna 4
21	Wooden stick	Ritual	Unknown	Name (F)	"The storming one never won you over, Ása(?) .."	DR EM85;350	Hemdrup
37	Bucket	Functional	Grave (F)	Name (F)	"Sigríðr owns"	N138	Oseberg 2
18	Copper kettle	Functional	Grave (M)	Name (M)	"Ubbi made"	N139	Gokstad
25	Copper box	Functional	Unknown	Name (F)	"Ranveig owns this box"	N541	Irske
56	Bronze fitting	Functional	Unknown	Name (M+F)	"Gautvid gave this weight house to Gudfrid."	DR 348 S	Vå
32	Knife shaft	Functional	Grave	Name (M+F)	"Sinkasvein(?) polished for Þorfríðr"	DR EM85;348	Lindholm
39	Fishing sinker	Functional	Unknown	Name (M)	"Arnkettill Pike / Tabby-cat wrote runes"	N230	Reve
58	Comb	Functional	Settlement	Name	"Hegvin"	DR EM85;348	Århus
31	Comb fragment	Functional	Settlement	Name (F)	"Ornhildr said this/that..."	DR MLUHM1983-84;131	Lilla Köpinge
44	Silver pendant	Jewellery	Hoard	Name (F+M/F?)	"Þóra" + "Þorfríðr/Þorfreðr"	NA210/NA211	Slemmedal 1
45	Silver pendant	Jewellery	Hoard	Name (M)	"Slóðr"	NA212	Slemmedal 2
48	Oval brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Name (F)	"Botvi owns me"	G58	Sverige IV
57	Oval brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Name (M+M)	"Þorkell/Þorhildr, <fuþork>, Ulfkell(?)"	G388	Västerbjärs
47	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Name (M)	"Ötryggv carved"	G356	Sverige I
52	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Grave?	Name (F+M)	"Auði carved the runes on ... Bæðný"	G390	Tyrvalds
50	Animal-head shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Name (M)	"Ingi is chieftan"	G355	Sverige VI
22	Spindle-whorl	Tool	Unknown	Name (F)	"Gunnhildr made the spindle-whorl"	N188	Hofufts
2	Bone needle	Tool	Settlement	Name (F)	"Þora is scorned because... fastener?"	U ANF1937;172	Birka
34	Weaving tablet	Tool	Unknown	Name (F)	"Sigríðr's Ingimarr will have my weeping / unhappiness. ..."	DR311	Lund
16	Spear	Weapon	Unknown	Name (M)	"Rane owns... Botfus made"	G225	Endre

## Appendix 2. Objects with names in the inscription.

No.	Object	Classification	Context	Inscription	Transliteration	Inscription ID	Location
7	Bronze plate	Ritual	Settlement	Unintelligible	...	U NOR2002:26	Birka
8	Bronze plate	Ritual	Settlement	Unintelligible	...	U NOR2002:28	Birka
28	Copper plate	Ritual	Grave (F)	Unintelligible	...	OI BN83	Klinta
33	Copper plate	Ritual	Settlement	Unintelligible	...	DR NOR2003:20	Lockarp
5	Whetstone	Functional	Settlement	Unintelligible	...	U Fv1913:276	Birka
51	Bronze dipper	Functional	Grave (F)	Unintelligible	...	N282	Trä
36	Oar	Functional	Grave (F)	Unintelligible	...	N137	Oseberg 1
38	Sleigh	Functional	Grave (F)	Unintelligible	...	N578	Oseberg 3
1	Silver pendant	Jewellery	Grave (F)	Unintelligible	...	U ANF1937:163	Birka
23	Coin pendant	Jewellery	Hoard (F)	Unintelligible	...	N127	Hon
11	Oval brooch	Brooch	Grave (F)	Unintelligible	...	G389	Bottarve
13	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Unintelligible	...	G160	Busarve
15	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Uninterpreted	...	-	Eksta
20	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Unintelligible	...	G387	Halls
29	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Unintelligible	...	-	Krokslöde
30	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Unintelligible	...	-	Kvinnegårda
49	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Uninterpreted	...	-	Sverige V
59	Box-shaped brooch	Brooch	Unknown	Unintelligible	...	-	Ostergårda
9	Spindle-whorl	Tool	Settlement	Unintelligible	...	-	Birka
4	Fragment of bone	Unknown	Settlement	Unintelligible	...	U ANF1937:179	Birka
24	Silver disc	Unknown	Grave	Unintelligible	...	U MK1998:49	Igelböcken
40	Tablet of whalebone	Unknown	Unknown	Unintelligible	...	DR AUD1993:261	Ribe
35	Silver mount	Weapon	Grave	Unintelligible	...	U ANF1937:180	Långtora

### Appendix 3. Unintelligible or uninterpreted inscriptions.

## Appendix 4. Catalogue

Artefact no. 1			
<b>Location</b>	Birka	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Pendant	<b>Inscription ID</b>	U ANF1937;163
<b>Classification</b>	Jewellery	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Grave (F)	<b>Type</b>	Grave find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:20, Nyström 1992:66ff, Arbman 1940, pl. 103, 1 c, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 2			
<b>Location</b>	Birka	<b>Inscription</b>	Name (F)
<b>Artefact</b>	Bone needle	<b>Inscription ID</b>	U ANF1937;172
<b>Classification</b>	Tool	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Settlement	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:21, Nyström 1992:68ff, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 3			
<b>Location</b>	Birka	<b>Inscription</b>	Profane
<b>Artefact</b>	Fragment of bone	<b>Inscription ID</b>	U ANF1937;178B
<b>Classification</b>	Unknown	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Settlement	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, Nyström 1992:69f			

Artefact no. 4			
<b>Location</b>	Birka	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Fragment of bone	<b>Inscription ID</b>	U ANF1937;179
<b>Classification</b>	Unknown	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Settlement	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base, Nyström 1992:69f			

Artefact no. 5			
<b>Location</b>	Birka	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Whetstone	<b>Inscription ID</b>	U Fv1913;276
<b>Classification</b>	Functional	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Settlement	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, FV 1913:276			

Artefact no. 6			
<b>Location</b>	Birka	<b>Inscription</b>	Profane
<b>Artefact</b>	Fragment of bone	<b>Inscription ID</b>	U NOR2001;24
<b>Classification</b>	Unknown	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Settlement	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base, Nyström 1992:69f			
Artefact no. 7			
<b>Location</b>	Birka	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Bronze plate	<b>Inscription ID</b>	U NOR2002;26
<b>Classification</b>	Ritual	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Settlement	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 8			
<b>Location</b>	Birka	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Bronze plate	<b>Inscription ID</b>	U NOR2002;28
<b>Classification</b>	Ritual	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Settlement	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 9			
<b>Location</b>	Birka	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Spindle-whorl	<b>Inscription ID</b>	-
<b>Classification</b>	Tool	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Settlement	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> SHM 15190			

Artefact no. 10			
<b>Location</b>	Borgholm	<b>Inscription</b>	Ritual
<b>Artefact</b>	Whetstone	<b>Inscription ID</b>	ÖI Fv1918(2);15
<b>Classification</b>	Functional	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:27, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, FV 1917:15			

Artefact no. 11			
<b>Location</b>	Bottarve	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Oval brooch	<b>Inscription ID</b>	G389
<b>Classification</b>	Brooch	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Grave (F)	<b>Type</b>	Grave find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:30, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 12			
<b>Location</b>	Bottarve	<b>Inscription</b>	Profane
<b>Artefact</b>	Fragment of bone	<b>Inscription ID</b>	G393
<b>Classification</b>	Unknown	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 13			
<b>Location</b>	Busarve	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Box-shaped brooch	<b>Inscription ID</b>	G160
<b>Classification</b>	Brooch	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:37, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 14			
<b>Location</b>	Byberg	<b>Inscription</b>	Profane
<b>Artefact</b>	Spindle-whorl	<b>Inscription ID</b>	N 246 †
<b>Classification</b>	Tool	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 15			
<b>Location</b>	Eksta	<b>Inscription</b>	Uninterpreted
<b>Artefact</b>	Box-shaped brooch	<b>Inscription ID</b>	-
<b>Classification</b>	Brooch	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:74, Thunmark-Nylén 1986:73ff			

Artefact no. 16			
<b>Location</b>	Endre	<b>Inscription</b>	Name (M)
<b>Artefact</b>	Spear	<b>Inscription ID</b>	G225
<b>Classification</b>	Weapon	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:79			

Artefact no. 17			
<b>Location</b>	Engstad	<b>Inscription</b>	Ritual
<b>Artefact</b>	Weaving sword	<b>Inscription ID</b>	N537
<b>Classification</b>	Tool	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Grave (F)	<b>Type</b>	Grave find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:81, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 18			
<b>Location</b>	Gokstad	<b>Inscription</b>	Name (M)
<b>Artefact</b>	Copper kettle	<b>Inscription ID</b>	N137
<b>Classification</b>	Functional	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Grave (M)	<b>Type</b>	Grave find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 19			
<b>Location</b>	Gravværk	<b>Inscription</b>	Profane
<b>Artefact</b>	Spinning wheel	<b>Inscription ID</b>	N458
<b>Classification</b>	Tool	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Grave (F)	<b>Type</b>	Grave find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:135, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 20			
<b>Location</b>	Halla	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Box-shaped brooch	<b>Inscription ID</b>	G387
<b>Classification</b>	Brooch	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Gustavson & Snædal Brink 1984:253			

Artefact no. 21			
<b>Location</b>	Hemdrup	<b>Inscription</b>	Name (F)
<b>Artefact</b>	Wooden stick	<b>Inscription ID</b>	DR EM85;350
<b>Classification</b>	Ritual	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Bog	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:171, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, Back-Andersson 2001:73ff			

Artefact no. 22			
<b>Location</b>	Hoftuft	<b>Inscription</b>	Name (F)
<b>Artefact</b>	Spindle-whorl	<b>Inscription ID</b>	N188
<b>Classification</b>	Tool	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 23			
<b>Location</b>	Hon	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Coin pendant	<b>Inscription ID</b>	N127
<b>Classification</b>	Jewellery	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Hoard (F)	<b>Type</b>	Hoard find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:178, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, Kilger 2008:334			

Artefact no. 24			
<b>Location</b>	Igelbäcken	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Silver disc	<b>Inscription ID</b>	U MK1998;49
<b>Classification</b>	Unknown	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Grave	<b>Type</b>	Grave find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:190, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 25			
<b>Location</b>	Irske	<b>Inscription</b>	Name (F)
<b>Artefact</b>	Copper box	<b>Inscription ID</b>	N541
<b>Classification</b>	Functional	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:200			

Artefact no. 26			
<b>Location</b>	Karls	<b>Inscription</b>	Functional
<b>Artefact</b>	Pennanular brooch needle	<b>Inscription ID</b>	G273
<b>Classification</b>	Brooch	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Hoard	<b>Type</b>	Hoard find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:207, Gustavson & Snædal 1984:251ff			

Artefact no. 27			
<b>Location</b>	Kaupang	<b>Inscription</b>	Functional
<b>Artefact</b>	Bowl	<b>Inscription ID</b>	N579
<b>Classification</b>	Functional	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Grave (F+F+M)	<b>Type</b>	Grave find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:208, Price 2010:129ff			

Artefact no. 28			
<b>Location</b>	Klinta	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Copper plate	<b>Inscription ID</b>	ÖL BN83
<b>Classification</b>	Ritual	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Grave (F)	<b>Type</b>	Grave find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:217, Price 2002:142ff, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 29			
<b>Location</b>	Krokståde	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Box-shaped brooch	<b>Inscription ID</b>	-
<b>Classification</b>	Brooch	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:222, Thunmark-Nylén 1986:74			



Artefact no. 30			
<b>Location</b>	Kvinnegårda	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Box-shaped brooch	<b>Inscription ID</b>	-
<b>Classification</b>	Brooch	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:224, Thunmark-Nylén 1986:74			

Artefact no. 31			
<b>Location</b>	Lilla Köpinge	<b>Inscription</b>	Name (F)
<b>Artefact</b>	Comb fragment	<b>Inscription ID</b>	DR MLUHM1983-84;131
<b>Classification</b>	Functional	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Settlement	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:238, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 32			
<b>Location</b>	Lindholm	<b>Inscription</b>	Name (M+F)
<b>Artefact</b>	Knife shaft	<b>Inscription ID</b>	DR EM85;348
<b>Classification</b>	Functional	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Grave	<b>Type</b>	Grave find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:240, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 33			
<b>Location</b>	Lockarp	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Copper plate	<b>Inscription ID</b>	DR NOR2003;20
<b>Classification</b>	Ritual	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Settlement	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:242, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 34			
<b>Location</b>	Lund	<b>Inscription</b>	Name (F+M)
<b>Artefact</b>	Weaving tablet	<b>Inscription ID</b>	DR311
<b>Classification</b>	Tool	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:248, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, Jacobsen & Moltke 1942:358f, Jesch 1991:46, Snædal 1994:18			

Artefact no. 35			
<b>Location</b>	Långtora	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Weapon mount	<b>Inscription ID</b>	U ANF1937;180
<b>Classification</b>	Weapon	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Grave (M)	<b>Type</b>	Grave find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:251, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, Arbman 1936			

Artefact no. 36			
<b>Location</b>	Oseberg 1	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Oar	<b>Inscription ID</b>	N137
<b>Classification</b>	Functional	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Grave (F)	<b>Type</b>	Grave find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007:290, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 37			
<b>Location</b>	Oseberg 2	<b>Inscription</b>	Name (F)
<b>Artefact</b>	Bucket	<b>Inscription ID</b>	N138
<b>Classification</b>	Functional	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Grave (F)	<b>Type</b>	Grave find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:291, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 38			
<b>Location</b>	Oseberg 3	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Sleigh	<b>Inscription ID</b>	N578
<b>Classification</b>	Functional	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Grave (F)	<b>Type</b>	Grave find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:292, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 39			
<b>Location</b>	Reve	<b>Inscription</b>	Name (M)
<b>Artefact</b>	Fishing sinker	<b>Inscription ID</b>	N230
<b>Classification</b>	Functional	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:299, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 40			
<b>Location</b>	Ribe	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Tablet of whalebone	<b>Inscription ID</b>	DR AUD1993;261
<b>Classification</b>	Unknown	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 41			
<b>Location</b>	Sigtuna 2	<b>Inscription</b>	Profane
<b>Artefact</b>	Copper box	<b>Inscription ID</b>	U Fv1912;8
<b>Classification</b>	Functional	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Settlement	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:319, v. Friesen 1912:6ff			

Artefact no. 42			
<b>Location</b>	Sigtuna 3	<b>Inscription</b>	Ritual
<b>Artefact</b>	Copper plate	<b>Inscription ID</b>	U Fv1933;134 \$
<b>Classification</b>	Ritual	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Settlement	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:320, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, Eriksson & Zetterholm 1933:129ff)			

Artefact no. 43			
<b>Location</b>	Sigtuna 4	<b>Inscription</b>	Name (M)
<b>Artefact</b>	Copper plate	<b>Inscription ID</b>	U NOR1996;17A
<b>Classification</b>	Ritual	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Settlement	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 44			
<b>Location</b>	Slemmedal 1	<b>Inscription</b>	Name (F+M?)
<b>Artefact</b>	Silver pendant	<b>Inscription ID</b>	NA210/NA211
<b>Classification</b>	Jewellery	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Hoard	<b>Type</b>	Hoard find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:355, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, Jesch 1991:45			

Artefact no. 45			
<b>Location</b>	Slemmedal 2	<b>Inscription</b>	Name (M)
<b>Artefact</b>	Silver pendant	<b>Inscription ID</b>	NA212
<b>Classification</b>	Jewellery	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Hoard	<b>Type</b>	Hoard find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:356, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, Jesch 1991:46			

Artefact no. 46			
<b>Location</b>	Sundre	<b>Inscription</b>	Profane
<b>Artefact</b>	Pennanular brooch	<b>Inscription ID</b>	G10
<b>Classification</b>	Brooch	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 47			
<b>Location</b>	Sverige I	<b>Inscription</b>	Name (M)
<b>Artefact</b>	Box-shaped brooch	<b>Inscription ID</b>	G356
<b>Classification</b>	Brooch	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:384			

Artefact no. 48			
<b>Location</b>	Sverige IV	<b>Inscription</b>	Name (F)
<b>Artefact</b>	Oval brooch	<b>Inscription ID</b>	G58
<b>Classification</b>	Brooch	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:388, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012, Thunmark-Nylén 1986:75			

Artefact no. 49			
<b>Location</b>	Sverige V	<b>Inscription</b>	Uninterpreted
<b>Artefact</b>	Box-shaped brooch	<b>Inscription ID</b>	AM 1909:14
<b>Classification</b>	Brooch	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:389			

Artefact no. 50			
<b>Location</b>	Sverige VI	<b>Inscription</b>	Name (M)
<b>Artefact</b>	Animal head shaped-brooch	<b>Inscription ID</b>	G355
<b>Classification</b>	Brooch	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:390			

Artefact no. 51			
<b>Location</b>	Trå	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Bronze dipper	<b>Inscription ID</b>	N282
<b>Classification</b>	Functional	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Grave (F)	<b>Type</b>	Grave find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:414, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 52			
<b>Location</b>	Tyrvalds	<b>Inscription</b>	Name (F+M)
<b>Artefact</b>	Box-shaped brooch	<b>Inscription ID</b>	G390
<b>Classification</b>	Brooch	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Grave?	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007:420, Thunmark-Nylén 1986:73ff, Snaedal 1986:80ff			

Artefact no. 53			
<b>Location</b>	Ulvsunda	<b>Inscription</b>	Ritual
<b>Artefact</b>	Bronze plate	<b>Inscription ID</b>	U AST1;150
<b>Classification</b>	Ritual	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Grave	<b>Type</b>	Grave find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:429, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 54			
<b>Location</b>	Veddesta	<b>Inscription</b>	Ritual
<b>Artefact</b>	Copper plate	<b>Inscription ID</b>	U Fv1969;210
<b>Classification</b>	Ritual	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Grave	<b>Type</b>	Grave find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:459, Gustavson 1969:209ff			

Artefact no. 55			
<b>Location</b>	Viborg	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Bronze buckle	<b>Inscription ID</b>	DR100B
<b>Classification</b>	Brooch	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Grave?	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:447, Scandinavian Rune-Text Data Base 2012			

Artefact no. 56			
<b>Location</b>	Vå	<b>Inscription</b>	Name (M+F)
<b>Artefact</b>	Bronze fitting	<b>Inscription ID</b>	DR 348 §
<b>Classification</b>	Functional	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:458			

Artefact no. 57			
<b>Location</b>	Västerbjärs	<b>Inscription</b>	Name (M?+M)
<b>Artefact</b>	Oval brooch	<b>Inscription ID</b>	G388
<b>Classification</b>	Brooch	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:463			

Artefact no. 58			
<b>Location</b>	Århus	<b>Inscription</b>	Name
<b>Artefact</b>	Comb	<b>Inscription ID</b>	DR EM85;348
<b>Classification</b>	Functional	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Settlement	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:478			

Artefact no. 59			
<b>Location</b>	Östergårda	<b>Inscription</b>	Unintelligible
<b>Artefact</b>	Box-shaped brooch	<b>Inscription ID</b>	-
<b>Classification</b>	Brooch	<b>Dating</b>	V
<b>Context</b>	Unknown	<b>Type</b>	Stray find
<b>References:</b> Imer 2007b:472			

