

# The Well Spring of the Goths

*About the Gothic peoples in the  
Nordic Countries and on the Continent*



Ingemar Nordgren

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*Ingemar Nordgren*

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**I dedicate this work to my wife**

**Margareta**

**With thanks for support and understanding  
during many long years.**



## Democracy

“Laws”, writes S:t Isidorus of Sevilla  
who was busy in the 7<sup>th</sup> century in the realm of the Goths,  
“are valid first when they are confirmed by the people”  
Here we now are sitting after thirteenhundred years,  
we, the cousins of the civilised Goths,  
and can not recall that the thief-and misdeed-balc,  
the shop-closing law, the bank law, the wood-care law,  
Kepler’s laws and Gresham’s law and Parkinson’s law  
have ever been confirmed by us

Alf Henriksson in *Snickarglädje*, 1974.





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# PROLOGUE

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Strolling in the nature on a sunny spring-day, listening to the humming of a well spring, is an amazing experience. All sources are, however, not sources in the sense of a well spring, and they accordingly also not represent such an overwhelming beauty.

Still those other sources also exhibit qualities able to attract you and to lure you on an enchanting quest. Apart of strictly literary sources we also have the by Jordanes mentioned maternal womb on the harsh and distant island of Scandza. I often wondered out of which well spring the lore-reputed Goths may have sprung forward—this people laying the Roman empire for their feet but later being regarded as preservers and saviours of the Roman culture. Do we deal with a usual source/well tied to a certain geographical area or is the telling of their emigration from Scandinavia, as Curt Weibull claims, just a literary construction in a fiction story source. Are there perhaps other kind of sources? Poets and artists often get their inspiration out of philosophy and religion. Maybe the well spring is the religion—a holy well? Something tells me that idea might be worth following up.

I invite the reader to join the quest for the well spring of the Goths, like the knights in the Arthurian lore riding out on the quest for the holy Graal, which, apart from a bucket, also could be interpreted as the holy well of origin of the Celts as hinted in Mabinogion. Hopingly the well spring of the Goths will in time turn visible.

This book is mainly based on my doctoral dissertation *The Well Spring of the Goths. The Goths-Religion, Organization, Structure—On the problem of Gothic ethnicity. (Goterkällan. Goterna—Religion, organisation, struktur—Om den gotiska etniciteten)*, Odense university 1998, but it is later revised and partly also completed with new material which was not known when the dissertation was finished.

I want to express my deep gratitude to the following persons having helped me in different ways. First and most important my tutor, associated professor Tore Nyberg, Odense university and also professor Jose Luis Avello Alvarez, university of Léon, archeoastronomer and archaeologist Lars Bägerfeldt, Falköping, professor Torsten Capelle of Westfälische Wilhelms-universität in Münster, professor

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This edition is updated with the last relevant news in comparison to the Swedish edition. Quotations of Scandinavian texts are translated into English by myself in order to make the book more accessible, even if it means some of the finer nuances in the texts might be less easy to comprehend, but major languages like e.g. German and French I quote in original since they are more commonly understood.

Källby in November 2004

**Ingemar Nordgren**

# INTRODUCTION

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This work builds on an hypothesis that the original connection between the different Gothic tribes in fact is the common cult. According to this thesis a specific Gothic people does not exist, but instead there are a number of peoples or tribes connected by a common religion. I define this by claiming they are part of a common cultic league. The term cultic league has in the scientific debate been used in different ways. Some writers refer to a limited, local cultic community of secret nature within the frame of the more general religion. This definition is used also by me as an equivalent to secret men's leagues et.c. parallel with the the above mentioned broader definition. Some use the term to designate the religion of a single tribe or a specific sacral kingdom. I use in such cases sacral chiefdoms or sacral kingdoms. In mine general definition of a cultic league I do not include the necessity for organized cultic or political cooperation. Such an organization comes into being only when a cultic league is beginning to transform into some kind of political unit, and accordingly is in the process of gradually declining as a cultic league. Such a process of decline, however, is a slow and time-consuming process, during which the political power gradually grows stronger and stronger and at last is crystallized in a number of more or less independent units.

I accordingly also state that it is this religious foundation which decides the construction of the political power and the social organization in most ancient times, and also that these circumstances principally are valid even during the Christian Arian period of the Goths. In other words I state that the Ethnicity of the Goths basically is similar with their common cult/common divine ancestry.

In order to verify my hypothesis I undertake the following examination.

A number of concrete problems must be solved to reach a result at least close to be convincing. This means I must, beside my own disciplin history, move between a number of disciplines where I am not a specialist. This is something that goes with all multidisciplinary studies, and it will of course create problems when I e.g. must make comparisons between results from different disciplines that are not really compatible. Also in history of religion for example you often must use sources of quite different age, and normally all of them also younger than the period with whom you are working. There simply are no contemporary



Nordic sources. This means the results allways must be considered more or less inexact, which must be rembered when interpreting the total result of the examination. The same kind of not quite reliable results occur when comparing archaeological finds of different age and also trying to connect them with a written source. These factors should accordingly be remembered when confronted with the result.

In ordet to have a solid foundation for a work of this character, a minute survey of Germanic religion in pre-Christian times is absolutely essential. If not there is no chance to try to penetrate the religion of the Goths of which extremely little is known. Since different schools of research are divided already concerning the basic facts of Germanic religion in Scandinavia and on the Continent I have to ask myself some critical questions.

I question among else the function that is ascribed during different epochs to Asir and Vanir, who both by Dumézil are regarded as original, while other researchers mean they have been introduced in different epochs. This part of the examination concerns possible differences and similarities between possibly older fertility cult and cult of Odinistic character, as well as the possibility for conflicts between rulers founding their power on older fertility cult towards rulers claiming genealogical ancestry from Gaut or Óðinn-gaut. The god Oðinn is compared with the supposed god Gaut with whom he later possibly merges, and the question wether Gaut might have been a Nordic predecessor to—variant of—Óðinn is discussed and made probable. These circumstances are meant to tie the name Goths and variants of this to the god, and hence these names can be regarded as teophoric.

In the part specially treating the presumed cult of Gaut and the later cult of Óðinn-gaut, and the with these connected political power, I undertake a survey of the archaeological results from Scandinavia and the Vistula area, after which I make a thorough examination of earlier research about cultic leagues inclusive classical literary sources and archaeological and historical results. In this field it has not been specially intense activity since the 1960's when among else Reinhardt Wenskus treated the problem. Thereafter follows a section where I try, with the help of place-names, to find power structures and sacral organization within specially the Scandinavian area. Also this section partly concerns the problem of cultic leagues but essentially it deals with sacral chiefdoms. I try to connect to as actual research as possible but I still have to use also the Saga literature and other older literary sources.

After having in this fashion tried to offer a general background of the different peoples I will characterize as Gothic, I take a closer look on those Goths who are referred to around the Vistula about the beginning of our time reckoning. I follow their migrations primarily to the Pontian Basin and the Black Sea, and later finally via Italy all the way till the dissolution of the Visigothic realm in Spain in 711. Of special interest here is the question how, and with what means, the different tribe groups were united, and particularly the organization of the Tervingian realm in Dacia, and the factors who constituted the ethnicity of the Goths during the Arian and Catholic epochs.

When I have so presented more or less known facts about the Goths, I move to the question about their origin. Are they, as claimed by Cassiodorus/Ablabius/Jordanes coming from Scandinavia in a mass-emigration or do they have a continental origin? Maybe they are a heterogenous mixture gradually melting into a common ethnicity? I start with examining the classical sources and so I go ahead for a closer look on the earlier research discussion about this topic. The discussion consists of three separate parts focusing on respectively archaeology, historiography and linguistics.

In the final part then I conclude the outcome I have reached concerning the ethnical origin of the Goths, based on the results of the examination.



# ABOUT THE RELIGION IN SCANDINAVIA AND NORTHERN EUROPE DURING PRE-ROMAN AND ROMAN IRON AGE

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Since written sources for knowledge about Germanic religion, in the time that interests us, are almost non-existent, researchers in history of religion normally have turned towards the generously flowing Icelandic literature and its testimonies about the world of the Germanic gods. The great systembuilders having achieved to build a structure, like for example Grønbech, de Vries, Ellis Davidson, Eliade and Dumézil have each presented their own individual schemes who are hard to prove or to counterprove.

In the following I will try to find what there is in these schemes, and in details in their works, being possible to apply to the Goths and possibly better enlighten their cultic system of which we know very little. Of course I will also look closer on the sources they use to make my own interpretations.

In this connection, of course, also archaeological finds and contexts are of major importance. It deals primarily with Óðinn and the matter that he also appears with the double name Óðinn-gaut. Between Óðinn and Gaut there seems to be many similarities and these problems will be treated with respect also to the fact that the occurrence of the name of Óðinn is very frequent while the references to Gaut are scarce and mostly occurring in genealogies. Structural conditions in a society worshipping Gaut and/or Óðinn is here positioned relative to conditions who have supported the development of a traditional fertility cult.

The discussion goes about shamanistic elements and fertility cult. By this means you might, hopefully, better enlighten the background of the double name Óðinn-gaut and hence see differences and similarities between the two names.

## Theories about the origin of the gods

The first problem that appears in this context is to decide whether the whole world of Germanic gods is Indo-European and besides also identical within all geographical areas, whether it is Indo-European but differs between different

areas, or if it is not at all Indo-European. The last alternative might rather be regarded as rhetorical, of course, and so remains the choice between the two first options. Let us for a start look on a spokesman for for the first alternative—identical Indo-European.

Georges Dumézil has in “De Nordiska Gudarna”(The Nordic Gods) performed an epochmaking achievement in showing the connection between the Nordic and also the general Germanic religion and the Indo-Iranian, vedic religion, and stated that most European religions generally fall back on the Proto-Indo-Europeans. His opinion can be demonstrated through the scheme of the world of the gods below. An Indo-European divine pantheon consists according to him of three levels:

- 1 Two ruling gods with complimentary functions  
or  
One ruling god
2. A second level god—maybe several
3. Third level gods—fertility gods being twins, and some times also a goddess

The two upper levels stick together against the third level which has a much lower position.

The pantheon which, according to Dumézil, is actual for the Nordic and general Germanic divine world is the one you find in e.g. the Mittanni realm during the 14 c. BC. It consists of two ruling gods—Mitra and Varuna. They dwell on the uppermost level and their equivalents in human society are the Brahmins, but this has no direct connection with the gods, being of mythic origin.

Mitra cares of this world, things that are visible, the daylight, juridics, law enforcement, contracts, agreements et.c. His name means just contract, agreement. In this administrative task is included the responsibility to control that wars are carried out in a correct and orderly way—he is accordingly also a military god—a god of war.

Varuna takes care of the other world including the invisible, the night, the magic (*mâyâ*), the violently killed and specially the hanged. He has a snare with which he can fetter and kill enemies. He also has an army of natur- and death-demons, the Maruts, with whose help de evil chaos-forces can be controlled and which can be used schamanistically to enforce the fertility of the fields.

(Other researchers, for example von Schröder, Wikander, Höfler place this army under the Indian god Rudra. The entities of the army are called the Maruts after its leader Marut, who in Indian mythology is the son of Rudra. Rudra is

storm god, god of the nature forces, the wrath of Brahma, god of healing, of peace and of animals. He later becomes part of Brahma under name of Vishnu—the destroyer.)

In post Vedic time the Maruts are transferred to the god of war, Indra, who takes care of both of the two former high gods responsibilities as single high god of the uppermost level.

The second level, comparable in human society with kshatriya, the warriors, is ruled by the god of war, Indra, who also has the thunderbolt as a symbol and is said to have red hair. Indra has a son called Arjuna. Dumézil thinks Arjuna reminds of the Óðinn-heroes.

The third and lowest level, in human society equivalent to Vaïçya, peasants, is occupied by Nâsatyas—the fertility gods consisting of twin gods, who in India and Persia also are connected with a goddess. Dumézil refers to an Iranian legend from fifth Veda treating warfare between the gods of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> levels against those of the 3<sup>rd</sup>. Nâsatyas, or Açvins, demanded to get their share of the sacrifices given to the gods by the humans, but the higher ranked gods denied them this because they meant the Açvins were to close to the humans. The war that followed was won by the Açvins thanks to an ascet who helped them create a being, Mada, who was intoxication personified. He was that hughe and strong that even Indra was helpless. After peace was made Mada was chopped in four pieces by the ascet and those remains were distributed to four special areas—drinking, gambling, hunting and women. (Mahabharatta 123-25)

He also gives parallels with the religion of the Italics. Here he finds divine triads comparable with the Indo-Iranian:

Rom—Divided ruling:	Iupiter, Dius Fidius (fidelity, promise) (and the goddess Fidia)
Pre-Capitolian triad:	Iupiter, Mars, Quirinius
Umbria—Triad	Inn, Mart, Vofiono
Germania (Tacitus)	Mercurius (Wodan) Mars (Týr) Hercules (Þórr) (two levels)
Germania (Caesar)	Sun(Wodan), Vulcanus (Þórr), Moon (Frejr/Freja)

The mentioned three levels Dumézil also finds in the Nordic pantheon with the triad Óðinn, Þórr and Frejr (he also mentions Óðinn, Vile, Vé) where Óðinn is the ruler god, god-king, and closest under him, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> level, comes his son Þórr as god of war. He possesses the thunderbolt and the hammer as symbols, and he has red hair. Þórr leads the other gods on this level. The gods of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> levels are all called Asir.

On the lowest level are the Vanir, who he defines as Njorðr, Frejr and Freja. He remarks that even Nerthus must be seen as a name-variant of Njorðr. (Dumezil, *De Nordiske Guder*, 1969, p. 9-39)

In opposition to the structuralistic approach above stands the older historical school, that originally goes back to Snorri Sturluson and *Ynglingasaga*. The person who can be referred to as the modern founder of this “school” is the Swedish researcher Bernhard Salin who 1903, in *Studier tillägnade Oscar Montelius*, put forth a theory which literally is very close to *Ynglingasaga*. It describes the cult of Óðinn and the Asir as invading and superposing the old Vanir cult. In this spirit he also published his famous work of the Nordic animal ornaments, *Die altgermanische Tierornamentik*, which he tried to connect to this approach. H. Schück, E. Mogk and several others have thought of a regular war of religions, but most think of an ethnical, political war. Concerning to Salin and others the penetrating by the Asir cult happened during the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD while others relate the happenings to the time of the Indo-European immigration in the North. They support their opinion with archaeological finds indicating a transition from the Megalithic culture to the Corded Ware Culture. This is claimed by e.g. E.A. Philippon in *Die Genealogie der Götter*. (Philippon 1953, p.19) According to this approach the myth should relate a factual warfare.

According to my opinion neither of these “schools” stand above objections. On the contrary both of them from time to another have failed in taking notice of all relevant sources or, alternatively, failed to see the connection between different types of sources. The reasoning is many times logically inconsistent. The structuralistic school has great trouble to show the existence of a cult of Óðinn in an early stage. You just have to remind of the tribal saga of the Goths which, overhanded already in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, by Jordanes/Cassiodorus/Ablabius in *Getica*, where explicitly is told that the Goths converted to the cult of Óðinn in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.AD under Filimer, and that halirunnæ were chased out into the wilderness. A similar ethnogenesis between fertility cult and cult of Óðinn can be derived from the tribal saga of the Langobards, when the Vinnilii convert to Óðinn and the religious power of the women disappear (*Origo Gentis Langobardorum*; Paulus Diaconus Hist. langob., 8<sup>th</sup>c.AD) and the Vandilii are mentioned at the same occasion. (Wolfram, *Origo et Religio*)

Let us briefly regard both stories and compare them to each other: Before the decisive battle the two Vandilic twins ask Óðinn, leader of the Asir, to give them victory. Óðinn seems inclined to want to help them and not least because the Vandilii are more numerous than the opposers. In the

meantime the priestess of the Vinnilii gets support by her Vanic goddess Freja. The witch introduces her as the mate of Óðinn in spite of the fact that this position normally is held by the asynja Frigg. It has however been pointed out that Frigg and many other Scandinavian goddesses probably should be regarded as variants of Freja. It is accordingly the Vanic Freja who makes the Asir wargod fulfill his own oracle towards the Vandilii, who originally are supported by him. One of many divine names of Óðinn was Longbeard. Under the leadership of the wise mother the Winnilic women and their Vanic goddess outmaneuver the wargod; unintentionally he happens to call the threatened tribal group “longbeards-longobards” after himself and, accordingly, he has to grant them the victory. Both peoples were prepared—it is the Vandilii who at first invoke the wargod—to constitute a progressive military organization in form of a wandering army.

This means in the language of myth that they are prepared to forsake their Vanic origin and accept the Asir god Óðinn as leader of their army. It is the Vinnilic women, the goddess Freja and her priestess who not only prepare and ease the happening, but also forces this change of cult and name and through this produces victory for their men. As representatives of the Vanic tradition they sacrifice their whole past, and their cult, to secure the rescue and survival of the tribe, legitimating a new ethnogenesis. It is not astonishing that they make to their first governing king the son of the younger Vinnilic dioscur, which creates a legal constitution till well into historical time.

This is nothing you can dismiss with a shoulder-shrug referring to Middle Age monk-chronicles. The divine pictures of the rock-carvings, who partly might be more ancient than the IE immigration, are also uncomfortable and Dumézil admits there might be older remains from the defeated proto-population. (Dumézil 1969, p.30) There are also e.g. references to later archaeological evidence of an “old” extra-Nordic divine triad from the christening of the Saxons by Charlemagne. Dumézil means this is a sign the religion was old and original up North. (Dumézil 1969, p.31). This one is however late—9<sup>th</sup> c.—and he also means that Saxnót = Seaxnet is a fertility god since he finds the meaning ‘fellow of the Saxon’s, ‘Genoße’ and compares with Frejr as veraldar goð, folkvaldi goða ‘the god of the human herd’. Other researchers see in Seaxnot the god Týr as ‘follower of the sword’, ‘fellow’ armed with the short, single-egged Saxon sword—seax—which was his attribute in late time. The name can be derived from \*Sahsginot. (Ellis Davidson 1984, p. 59).



The traditional “historical” school on the other hand must face the fact that there are great similarities with Vedic and Iranian myth, even if they are not total. That our system accordingly is connected with the general Indo-European divine world is undeniable and not to discuss. Hence Óðinn might have been here all the time without us being able to confirm it. In the following I shall try to find evidence, or at least in any case indices, that can give a more understandable view of the origin and spread of Odinistic cults and the relations with fertility cult.

To be able to work systematically with the mythological material, and to get kind of hold of it initially, I start with a mythological overview where I indicate more detailed those components who later should be examined more thoroughly.

This presentation builds on old and accepted, popular estimations of the divine world, and every god/goddess of importance will later be examined in detail in order to judge the reasonableness of the role this entity is regarded to play within the divine pantheon. The question is whether the world of the gods is as systematically and simply built as Dumézil indicates, and for that sake generally also is assumed by tradition.

## Mythological overview

The traditional perception of the Nordic divine pantheon is, according to mainly Middle Age sources, that Óðinn was the king of gods and that Þórr and Baldr were his sons. Óðinn learnt *sejdr* by Freja and shared the *val*—those in fight fallen—with her. He sang *galder* and he is the father of poetry and runes. He is also the god of the hanged—*hangagoð*—and *wargod*. He has a great number of *hamrs*—pseudonyms, aliasis. His weapon is the spear *Gungner*. He sacrificed his one eye in the well of Mimer and hang in nine days in *Yggdrasil*. Þórr was god of thunder and has the thunderbolt as a symbol. He is responsible for the rain fertilizing the fields. He swings the hammer *Mjǫlnir*, originally a double axe, and he travels in a chariot drawn by bucks. The buck is his special sacrifice animal. He has a powerbelt called *Megingjörð* and his mainly occupation is to battle with the giants—the *resar*—in *Utgarðr* and the mean *rímtursar* in the outskirts of *Miðgarðr*. Still important gods of heaven—*ásir*—are *Týr/Ti*, *Loki*, *Heimdallr*, *Høðr*, *Høhner* and *Bragi*.

*Týr* is the sky and is regarded to have his origin in the IE god *Diauz*. He is also seen as the god of justice and the military leader of the army. His symbol is, at least in later times, the short one-egged sword—*sax/seax*. Originally he probably had a spear since the rune *Tiwaz* pictures a spear. *Heimdallr* is the guardian of the heavenly bridge *Bifrost* and at *Ragnarøk* he blows the *Gjallarhorn*. He is born by nine goddesses of fate—*nornor*—who are also referred to as nine waves on the sea, and he guards the light and the fire for the humans. It is also he who taught the art of writing and of agriculture to the humans, and also the different social levels—*aristocrats*, *farmers* and *thralls*—have been instituted by him. *Loki* is disputed and some, e.g. *Dumézil*, *Görman*, mean he is a trickster who is needed to keep the other gods alert. He can, however, also be interpreted as the night, the darkness. *Anna B. Roth* (1961) sees his origin as a spider which also explains why he is said to have invented the net. *Høðr* is the brother of *Balðr*, son of Óðinn, but not of *Frigg*, the legal spouse of Óðinn. His real task is to be responsible for the death of *Balðr* in different variants. *Høhner* is one of the gods of creation but does not play a major roll in other ways. *Bragi* is the god of scalds and poetry. The wives of the heavenly gods—the heavenly goddesses—are called *asynjas* and the most important are, except of *Frigg*, the mate of Þórr, *Sif*, of *Balðr*, *Nanna* and of *Bragi*, *Idun*. The *ásir* live in *Ásgarðr* lying in *Miðgarðr*.

In connection with a war between the *ásir* and the gods of fertility—*vanir*—both parts delivered *gisle*. From the *ásir* were handed over *Mimer* and *Høhner* (*Mimer* however is often also mentioned as giant) and the *vanir* sent their most

important deities who moved from Vanaheim to Ásgarðr. After that Njorðr, Frejr/Frö and Freja/Fröja permanently stayed with the ásir.

Vanir are fertility- and vegetation-gods but there are also a number of lower, but related, deities like elfven, dwarfs and giants (resar). Also other lower deities/nature spirits are vättar, huldror, rån and troll. Of the vanir only few are known by name, namely Njorðr/Njārðr/Nerthus/Freja/Frejr, Ingr/Ingun. The so called dises (diser) are the less known vanir, and of these there is possible to distinct different functional groups like fylgias (fylgjor)- personal protective goddesses—and valkyries (sköldmör) collecting the val (the fallen) in the battlefield bringing half of it to the hall of Freja to include them into the Hadjinga host—frejas army of dead fighters who fight against the forces of chaos and eases the seasonal changes and the fertility.

Giants and dwarfs live in mountains and caves but not all giants. Some of them live like well being landowners. Many interpret the word jätte (giant) as referring just to a well being landowner (farmer) from a pre-IE culture having been superposed by the IE folks. It is then supposed to mean 'stranger'. The real name of the underground chaos-forces is a rese, a very hughe entity. Dwarfs and resar may both be regarded as earth deities and the resar also as chaos-forces. Certain giantesses are also regarded as earth- and moon-goddesses. This goes for e.g. Gerðr/Gefion who in fact is beleived to be just another hamr(guise) of Freja, the Vanadis who is leader of the dises. In Denmark is mentioned by Tacitus the goddess Nerthus, and she is normally associated with Njārðr, and hence also with Freja. Ingr and Ingun is an earlier variant/nameform of Frejr and Freja. Balðr is now married to Nanna but is also sometimes associated with Njārðr. As we can see it is very hard to differ between heavenly gods and fertility gods since they many times seem to have similar functions.

Certain gods have come into an exceptional diffuse position between the two categories. This goes specially for Úllr but also his fosterbrother Sviþdagr. Both are in the younger myth called elfven but when their mother/stepmother Sif in her second marriage weds Þórr and Sviþdagr himself weds Freja they are both accepted among the ásir. Besides, it may also be mentioned that Úllr, in connection with the war between the ásir and vanir, is put as ruler over Ásgarðr by Óðinn himself when the ásir are forced to temporarily flee from Ásgarðr. Úllr took part in the war on the vanir side, and he was the only one of them Óðinn trusted. One may notice that this position as ruler of Ásgarðr after Óðinn legally should be held by his only legal son within his marriage—Balðr.

The worlds of both the humans, the giants/resar/rimtursar and of the gods lie on different levels on the branches in the tree of life, and under its roots lie both the land of the dead, the home of the norns—the goddesses of fate—and the home of Mimer and his folks. Here are the well of Mimer and Vergelmer from

where the water in the oceans spring. The world is bordered by the realm of fire—Muspelheim—and the realm of cold—Nifelheim. Around the world lies a lindorm (a dragon)—the Miðgarðrorm (literally a snake but in fact a dragon). The tree of life—Yggdrasil—is an international shamanistic symbol which is found in a number of religions.

Outside the Nordic area—Manheim—there is a general Germanic tradition mentioning the earthborne god Tuisto—the two-hand god—who got the son Mannus, whos three sons founded the peoples Herminones, Ingaevones and Istaevones. (Tacitus, *Wenskus* p.234) (Cf. The proto-human of Rigveda, Manu—the law of Manu) (Ohlmarks sees Tuisto as Týr before he lost his sword-hand.)

There is reason to look a little closer on several of the above mentioned interpretations, since certain appearances may be interpreted in different ways depending upon if you have a structuralistic or historical wiew. Even if you stick to one of these wiews there is still a wide range of possibilities to make different interpretations. Accordingly we find, already at such a schematic listing as above, that certain gods seem to hang in the air being impossible to grip. Their function seems to have been changed. The reason of this might either be superposing by another cult or changes within the system depending on natural developement during a longer period of time. Among else may be noted Loki, ÚllR, Heimdallr and Týrwho all expose splintered traits. Also the function of the vanir is in no way clarified since several of them in a hasty overview seem to compete in exactly the same function. The difference between the ásir contra ÚllR and Svipdagr as elfven is unclear. In the same manner also Balðr hangs in the air between the heavenly gods and the fertility/vegetational gods. In all there is need for a more careful examination of every single deity of importance to be able to reach a more definite standpoint.

This very elementary survey has been intended to form a preliminar platform, from which I can make deeper analyzes in order to reach a more reasonable estimation of the possible early cult of the supposed god Gaut. Only the known Nordic mythology is available. The estimation will of course also consider possible outer influences from the surrounding milieu—trading, politics, economy et c.

## Detailed analysis of the functions of certain gods

### Týr:

The opinions about this god differ strongly between researchers. Dumézil primarily regards him as a god of justice and a pale sky-god. Dyauh/Dyauz, from which he is thought to have his ancestry, is the clear sky, sky god and creator god. He got with the earthgoddess Prithin the son Indra. His name is the same word as 'Zeus' and 'day'. Týr's mother was a giantess with nine greathundreds (1 greathundred is 120) heads—the starry sky. Týr could in Trymskvíða not lift the kettle, i.e. himself, since it actually was the whole sky. Because Týr in his capacity of sky-god holds both the spear-attribute (the Tí rune is a spear or an arrow) and the thunderbolt-attribute, and his IE predecessor Dyauh/Dyauz also loses his hand and as his symbols have both the thunderbolt and a set of arrows-sunrays—Ohlmarks means that it is natural that these attributes later are transferred to the enlarged hands of the two hand god Tuisto, which he compares to Tiwaz/Týr. The thunderbolt goes to Þórr and Úllr gets the arrows-the sun, the sunrays. Úllr later retards from sun-god to archer, skier, scater and elfven in younger mythology. Even Bodil Heide Jensen claims that the Tí-rune is a sign of martial power. (Bodil Heide Jensen, p. 28) Also de Vries (de Vries II, p. 21) and in *Sígrdrífumal* (v. 6) and *Kulturhistoriskt Lexikon for Nordisk Middelalder*.

In connection with the civil war between ásir and vanir Úllr in fact is installed in his righteous place as ruler of Ásgarðr in the absence of Óðinn—that position which Balðr according to later myth should have had as the only legitimate son of Óðinn. According to this view Óðinn has usurped Týr's place as the highest god and then it is also natural that Týr's son (hand) Úllr occupies the high seat. Týr is, at least later, connected with the short, one-egged sword—sax/seax. Týr=Sachsnot=Seaxnet from orig.Sahsginot 'Follower of the sword'. (Davidson 1984,p.59) Many researchers regard Úllr as the same god as Týr. (Åke V. Ström, Turville-Petré and Bodil Heide Jensen) but de Vries is satisfied with placing them on the same level. (De Vries §242-46) Bodil Heide Jensen regards Úllr as a Swedish-Norwegian and Týr as a Danish variant of the same god. (Bodil Heide Jensen 1991,p.28)

Concerning Týr's function as god of justice Bodil Heide Jensen also means, in a discussion about the mutilation-myth in Nordic mythology, that Týr sacrificed his hand to redeem the betrayal towards the Fenrisulv, and that he represents a family society where the important thing is not to support peace and lawobedience, but rather to reach a decision in the controversies. She claims that the prin-

cup of justice is the same either you choose the thing-place, the holmgang or the wars and so Týr's divine function belongs to a society of families and not a society of lawenforcing and lawobedient citizens. Týr hence, according to her, expresses the sentence of the kindred-society in the same time that he sacrifices himself in order to remove what is wrong with society. (Bodil Heide Jensen 1991, p.30.) I feel in this analyze something of a Christian influence on behalf of her reasoning.

Týr is for the Romans and some continental Germanics equivalent with Mars. The Hermunduri defeat the Chatti 58 AD with the help of Mercurius (Wodan) but they also sacrifice to Mars (Tiwaz). Possibly they then took Wodan to their leading god but that is not possible to confirm. Týr/Tiwaz is worshipped with human sacrifice by the Goths. (de Vries I, 171; Getica 41; Prokop. II, 15, 25.) Týr is mainly worshipped in Germania Superior as Mars. Dumézil remarks that he is also compared with Hercules by Tacitus, and this is still another degradation from the comparison with Mars, who already is of definitely less importance than Mercurius. The spear of Týr is considered a sign of his judicial power. (de Vries, p.14, 10 ff.; H. Meyer I). Davidson means that Týr was the original war-god, and the one-armed god is represented in rock-carvings. It indicates that his cult is ancient. Óðinn took his place. (Davidson 1984, p. 56 ff.)

## Síf:

In the pre-IE period it was not necessary that the solar deity should be male and a remnant of this, Åke Ohlmarks means, could be the later *asynja Síf*, spoken of as the woman with the golden hair, who got her hair cut by Loki (the night or the dark) in a scen that reminds me personally of a total solar eclipse—the hair being the corona. It also was Síf who initiated the rescue expedition by Úllr and Sviþdagr to save Frejr and Freja—an act worthy a solar goddess. Besides she is, in later myth, married to at first the archer Ivalde (sunrays) and later to Þórr—according to the “historical” school the former son of Týr—and she has in her marriage with Ivalde the son Úllr and the stepson Sviþdagr, son of Ivaldes former mate Groa. They both hence become stepsons of Þórr even if there is a distinct possibility that Úllr and Þórr once were brothers. Sviþdagr later marries the moon-goddess Freja in the younger myth. Síf remains partly a mystery but definitely closely connected with the sun.

## Fertility gods:

During IE time the deities normally occur in pairs in form of twins/brothers as sun-gods matching a moon/earth goddess. They are possibly represented in human shape by so called dioscurs, also acting as twins. It is known with the

Vinnilii before they became Langobards but also with the Lugii/Vandili, the Goths and the Jutes. Those deities are normally married to each other but in the same time they are sister and brother—indeed the same deity in a dualistic connection.

The most frequent couples are Ingr-Ingun, later turning into Frejr (Ingunar Frejr)—Freja and also Balðr-Nanna. The name of the god can all the time be translated ‘the lord’, ‘the ruler’ which indicates it may be the same deity having changed name during the passing of time. Also the giantess Gerðr most probably is a variant of these earth- and moon-goddesses. Freja sometimes is called Hǫrn and this is normally connected with her occupation of spinning, since linen can be called hǫrn. There is however a certain possibility that Hǫrn might originally have been connected with ‘horn’ in the meaning ‘the horned goddess’, which in the general divine IE world signifies the moon crescent—accordingly a moon-goddess which she also is.

Balðr occupies here a position both as asir and fertility god, and he is at least as asir firmly tied to the sun and so are also both Frejr and Úllr and they are all three also ring-gods (Steinsland) and so is probably also Ingr. Ring-gods will be treated more thoroughly later. Njorðr gives more problem since he rules over both land and water, and with his ship *Skiðbladner* decidedly has a connection with the solar ship. He is also god of the seafarers. Some have hinted he is in reality a goddess (Steinsland, Dumézil).

## Heimdallr:

Another god I regard as an old sungod/heavenly god, in later times tied to the fire and regarded as protector of the humans, the one who taught mankind to read and how to practice agriculture and who guards Bifrost- the bridge between *Miðgárðr* and the domains of the humans, is Heimdallr. Heimdallr’s old functions are revealed when he all the time is occupied with guarding Loki that this evil god (night, darkness) not shall succeed to steal the sun, which is guarded by the moon-goddess Freja. His fight in disguise of a seal against Loki when he tried to grab the *Brisingamen* (the sun) from Freja is revealing. In *Ragnarøk* his opposer is just Loki. Also de Vries has understood Heimdallr as an important and old god, and he interprets him alternatively as the worldaxis—a tree—or as the caretaker and watergiver of the worldtree *Yggdrasil*. This last function Bodil Heide Jensen instead dedicates to Mimer. (Bodil Heide Jensen 1991, p.73 ff.) He also suggests that he could be the heavenly dome, the sky—Chronos—a predecessor of Týr. He is also understood as a ram and in that case he could be connected with ram-horn equipped figurines in the rock-carvings. (de Vries 2, p.199)

The Gjallarhorn is according to this interpretation a ram-horn and hence Heimdallr is an old shepherd.

## Loki:

Loki is a complicated and mysterious nature, and he is no doubt one of the old and high gods. In Lokasenna is told how Óðinn could not have beer with Ægir without including also Loki. It is explained in the poem by them being foster-brothers. There are also suggestions that Loki and Óðinn have engaged in sexual perversities with each other. The explanation might be that there is a dualistic connection between them where Loki is the evil side of Óðinn. Originally this connection can have been with the sky-god Týr/Heimdallr/Úllr (depending on different interpreters) which can have been divided into day and night. Either Týr/Heimdallr/Úllr was the day and Loki the night, but it is as well possible that any of these gods as sky-god has been part of a triad with the aspects 'sky-god, day, night' where Loki was the night. Many contradictory traits would then be explained with Loki. The connection to Óðinn in any case seems to be of a later date, since the skyboat of the sun (Úllr as sun-or/and sky-god?) and the net of Loki already are pictured in the rock-carvings of the Bronze Age, where a recognizable personification of Óðinn is lacking with one exception where an older carving has been overwritten.

There is a very interesting story about the wall around Ásgárðr, built on Lokis advice. The giant who built the wall was promised by Loki to have Freja as salary if it was built ready within the decided time. The other gods grew mad and forced Loki to stall the work that the wall should not be ready in time and so Freja should be saved. To arrange this Loki must lure away the giant's stallion. He then turned himself into a mare and lured the stallion out into the wood. Within due time Loki gave birth to a foal with eight legs—Óðinn's horse Sleipner. Accordingly Loki was a hermaphrodite which immediately gives associations to the fertility gods being both god and goddess and often married to each other. The sexual perversities in Lokasenna, hence, are hereby more enlightened. The eight legs are already earlier known within shamanistic tradition but together with the information that the parents of Loki was the giant Farbaute and his wife Laufey (or Nál), and that he has two brothers by name Byleist and Helblinde we get a partly new perspective. He marries Sigyn and becomes the sons Narfe (or Nare) and Vale. These names associate to spiders and their activities. Also outside the marriage he has produced children—and remarkable children too—namely the Miðgárðrorm, the Fenrisulv and the death goddess Hel. Their mother is the giantess Angerboda, whos name mean's the one that forecasts anger'.



Ohlmarks connects this with the fact that you in the rock-carvings can see the ship of the sun be caught in a net—the fight between day and night—and that Loki, after the gods grew tired of him, tried to escape in salmon-guise. He was however caught in a net that he himself had invented. Anna B. Roth concludes that Loki or Loke is simply a spider spinning his net and a spider is still in modern times often called 'locke' (with hearable 'é'). Earlier also the pronunciation of Loke/Loki was short. (Anna B. Roth 1961) Loki has, conclusively, been there since oldest times as the dark side of the ruler god, whoever he was.

### **Nerthus:**

Around BC the cult of Nerthus pops up in historical sources. Tacitus mentions it in his *Germania* in present Northern Germany and Southern Denmark. It is supposed to be connected with a second immigration-wave of IE gods but it can of course be much older but just not mentioned in an earlier source. Nerthus is in fact the same goddess as Freja and with the name-form *Njārðr* she could be the wife of *Úllr* (but he is also connected with the goddess *Skaði* which leaves that question open). Under the name of *Gerðr* she becomes a giantess but still they are all in the bottom the same goddess. At about the same time also the name of *Frigg* appears, and so specially in *Västergötland* (Jungner). *Frigg* is also a fertility goddess but with a more dignified approach what concerns physical love-making, and rumour says she is wise and moralic. Intuitively one thinks of *Demeter* but the origin of *Frigg*, at least concerning to older research, is said to be somewhere in the former Russia or shortly Eastern Europe. She is likewise an *asynja* since she is married to *Óðinn* and mother of *Balðr* who, as earlier discussed, also shows fertility traits like in fact also *Óðinn* does.

### **Idun:**

There are other goddesses who might have an external origin like e.g. *Idun* with her golden apples. In this case there are clear Celtic parallels if you look to apples as a youth- and wisdom symbol. That symbolism continues into Christian times in the garden of Eden. *Idun* is reckoned an *asynja*.

### **Úllr:**

The opinions about this god are strongly contrary and multiple. Everybody, however, agree that he has been an important god. *De Vries* claims he was a vegetation god who was worshipped during the wintertime. May be connected with *juleritten* 'the yule-ride', *Staffansritten* 'staffan's ride'. *Wulpus* means according to *de Vries* not 'shining wintersky' but 'most honoured god'. He was replaced by *Óðinn* at the yule-

celebration. His connection with Týr de Vries holds for uncertain but he grants they are on the same level. ÚllR is called *ǫnduráss, bóǫáss*. He is a ring-god, single-combat god, war-god. *𐌿𐌺𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌿𐌹𐌸* “owlþuþewaR” in the Torsbergsinscription means ÚllR's warrior. The distribution of his cult is confirmed above all in Uppland, Östergötland, Gudbrandsdalen and South Western Norway.

Ancient cult with cultic place names with close lying sites also of Njord, Frejr, Freja, Hørn, Dises and a few Óðinn (in Götaland) (de Vries). Connection with fertility, land and water. Of asir descent but closely tied to the vanir. He is connected with martial sports, horse-sacrifices, stallion fights. Is connected with Hringir by Magnus Olsen. (8, 220 ff.) Possible connection with Skaði (*ǫndurgoð, ǫndurdís*). (de Vries 242-46) H.Schück means he was a Swedish god. De Vries sees the connection ÚllR-Njordr-Skaði in Sweden and ÚllR-Freja in Norway. (de Vries 2, s. 295) To above may be added that just the single combat was a means to get divine justice in disputes (cf. duels) and the Germanic sword-fighters used to swear to the sword to the thing-goð Týr—the god of justice. ÚllR was, as mentioned above, also the natural replacer for Óðinn during his exile from Ásgárðr. The meaning of being ring-god will be treated later. H.R. Ellis Davidson implies he is closer connected with the vanir. Connection with both land and water like Ingr, Sun god, fertility god. (Ellis Davidson) Åke V. Ström, Turville-Petré and Bodil Heide Jensen claim that ÚllR and Týr are the same god, but de Vries is just satisfied with placing both on the same level. (De Vries §242-46) (Bodil Heide Jensen 1991, p. 28.)

## **Forsete/Balðr/Nanna:**

Forsete, the son of Balðr and Nanna, is believed to have arrived with the Frisians in the 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> cc.AD (de Vries 2) and the Balðr-myth in whole gives a strange impression to be of foreign origin what Scandinavia concerns. The similarities in both names and motive more remind of Asia Minor. The god Baal and the god/goddess Nanna/Inanna both occur in this area. De Vries regards the cult as original and not imported during historical time. He admits, however, both ÚllR and Ingr as predecessors what the name concerns, and he means there are inputs of Christian thoughts in the late myth. It has been adjusted. The motive essentially is the promotion of the vegetation, the fertility of the fields. (de Vries 2) Balðr is a ring-god which subject I treat more thorough later on.

## **Óðinn:**

Óðinn is an interesting and complicated god. On the Continent he is called Wodan/Wotan of protoGmc\**Wodanaz* ‘the raging’, ‘the mad’, ‘the inspired’. Wod is

the rage that penetrates all the body and inspires to as well warlike deeds and scaldic arts. It is the whining storm and the raging berserk. In the beginning he is a wanderer but later he becomes a rider. His aliases are innumerable and only a few of these can be mentioned here. He is called *Skiðbladner* (masked), *úgg* (frightening), *Fjölner* (the one who hides his face), *Hjálmbäre* (he who carries a helmet), *Bivlinde* (carrying a shield), *The One-eyed*, *Frarid* (rapid rider), *Arnhövde* (the eagle-headed), *Hravnáss* (the raven asir), the *Speargod* et c. His real name is seldom mentioned since he was feared as death-god and regarded as generally unreliable. Dumézil emphasizes that he also is called *Herlenk* (the army chain), *Herfjotr* (the army fetter) which he translates with the magic fettering the enemy.

A discussion concerning one-eyeness has been started, where there is a dispute about the meaning of *Bilýgr* in the sense of diminished sight, blindness in opposition to *Bálýgr*—burning look. (Dumézil, de Vries) Wessen understands *Gestumblindi* as *Gest-in-blindi* = uninvited guest. His eye is in this interpretation allseeing and can penetrate everywhere. (Festschrift Pipping p. 537-48) Concerning to Dumézil and de Vries and also Otto Höfler the cult of *Óðinn* is original and not imported. He always was the highest god king. On the opposite Harlan Ellis Davidson claims that *Óðinn* took the place of *Týr*. (Davidson 1984, p. 56 ff.) *Óðinn* is a ring-god which is, as earlier mentioned, dealt with later. (Cf. *Balðr*, *Frejr*, *Úllr*).

As a death-god and hangagoð- god of the hanged—he may be traced, concerning to L.von Schröder in *Mysterium und Mimus*, to the Indo-Iranian *Indra*, the fertility god leading the so called *Maruts*, a kind of army of dead souls scaring demons away from the farmland to make it fertile. There is accordingly a shamanistic connection. Stig Wikander claims that von Schröders later connection with the death-god *Rudra*, who shall have inherited the *Maruks* as his own army, is correct. *Arbmann* however criticizes this. Via *Rudra* and his army of dead souls the development continues to *Hermes* in Greece and *Mercurius* in Rome, both having a death- army. The army of *Rudra* primarily was tied to the idea of secret men's—or warrior—leagues and originates in an Aryan secret men's league but it has also inherited the fertility-function of *Indra*. (S. Wikander 1938, p. 67 ff. ; O.Höfler 1934, p. 257, 261, note 337a.). In all those cases these gods are also, like *Óðinn*, the god of thieves and merchants. *Óðinn* leads the “Wild Hunt” or the “Death-army”, in the sources called the “*Einhärjar*/*Einharjar*” in the same way as *Freja* her “*Hadjings*”. These forces are meant to use at *Ragnarök* to fight the destructive *Chaosforces*.

He is a shamanistic god, which should differ him from the fertility gods. I am not convinced that this generally accepted opinion is correct, since also the cult of *Freja* has clearly shamanistic traits. It rather are other qualities parting *Óðinn* from the other gods. There are indeed also a lot of similarities. Sometimes it is hard to decide

what are his original traits and what attributes he later might have borrowed from others. It is however quite evident that such transfer has taken place. It seems in any case not probable that the original vanic fertility cult should have been inspired by the late Óðinn. It is too well known, that many of the familiar tribes of the Germanic migrations originally had women managing the religious functions like e.g. the Gothic witches and the priestesses of the Vinnilii. At the ethnogenesis of the Goths the halirunnae, according to Jordanes/Cassiodorus *Getica*, were driven out in the wilderness and were blamed for having created the detestable Huns.

Totally shamanistic he is evidently not. In the story of the Scaldic Mead tradition tells that asir and vanir, when they made peace after the civil war, spit into the same bowl. Of this there was a fermentation and hence Kvasir was created. He had the wisdom of both god families. (*Skáldskaparmál*) (Dumezil) He was killed by the dwarfs Fjalar and Galar and his blood was poured into three barrels. Out of this came as well the simple kvassöl (kvasbeer) as the more sophisticated brew in Odrörer, the scaldic mead. In one myth-variant Balðr is borne out of this mead and from there Óðinn got his wisdom, his galders and his scaldic ability after having stolen it from the giant Suttung and his daughter Gunlöd, slipped out in snake-hamr and flown away with it in eagle-hamr. This mead answers to an Eastern European alcoholic beverage “kvas”. (Simroch 1864, Henzel 1889, Mogk 1923). Crushed vegetables and fruit made to mash is in Norwegian and Danish called “kvas”. This connects to the Iranian myth about Mada. In this way Kvasir becomes a representation of Dionysos and Bacchus and through this his connection with fertility deities is strengthened. From this mead Óðinn got his wisdom and scaldic ability. Also the galdr—the magic singing, the spell—originate here. The priestesses of Freja also are known to sing galders and it is dubious which myth having influenced the other. The intoxication effect of the mead might enforce the shamanistic theory but the old antique vegetation- and fertility gods still make themselves very visible in this connection. Dumézil even goes that far that he claims Óðinn is a fertility god. You might also say that there is reasonable doubt about his gender regarding the remarks in *Lokasenna*, and his ability to change hamr-guise—also reinforces the suspicions he might have several gender aspects, of which the female maybe normally is represented by Frigg. Loki is in any case doubtless twin gendered when he with Svadilfare begets Sleipner. Maybe there is a closer relationship between vanir and sky-gods than normally considered? The Celtic legend talks about a protobowl where everything ends and starts and it is also the well spring of wisdom. In Christian myth there is the Graal’s legend. Many signs point towards the possibility that these are just variants of Odrörer—the initiator of extas.

With us is in the Viking Age Óðinn heavenly god and Allfather and specially god of war. In connection with this he is called Hårfader (Army father), Sigfader,

Sigmund and Sigtrygg. Sig- means victory. He then lives in Sigtuna. Normally he is supposed to live in Valhall sitting in Hlidskjalf. He is married to the goddess Frigg and father of the weak Baldr. He rides the eight-legged horse Sleipner and swings the spear Gungner. The spear symbol was earlier also tied to Týr but he carried in later times a short, one-egged sword—sax/seax. Óðinn is followed by two ravens, Hugin and Munin, being his messengers and allseeing eyes. He himself has got only one eye since the other was sacrificed in the well of Mimer. Those in battle fallen, the val, are fetched by his valkyries, shield-maidens, and brought to Valhall where they devour the boar Särimner, who is resurrected every morning and slaughtered every night. The boar is also used as a symbol of the to Óðinn initiated fighters, and it might among else have provided the name to Haraldr hilditönn, since many helmets were decorated with what reminded of boar's teeth. (Gustaf Schwantes, *Sögubrot*, Kurt Thiele, Höfler 1952 n.42, n.43 and n.44; Marina Mundt 1993, p.95 ff.) Simultaneously it also appears in the cult of Frejr and Freja. Which one being the original is hard to decide. The uncle of Óðinn, Mimer, has a well of wisdom under the roots of the worldtree Ýggdrasil called the Well of Mimer. Here too Óðinn searched for wisdom sacrificing his one eye and hanging himself for a duration of nine days in Ýggdrasil. In this way he learnt of runes which he later gave to humankind. Maybe the Well of Mimer is also a variant of the proto-bowl?

Óðinn often appears in the battle-field and in e.g. the battle of the mythic Fyrisvallarna he is said to have helped the army of Erik Segersäll (the victorious) to a total victory over Styrbjörn and his Danes. In spite of this Erik's son, Olof Skötkonung, converts to Christianity and is said to have been baptized in the well of St. Brigida in Husaby. The battle formation called svinfylking (appr. boar-formation) is told to be the invention of Óðinn and revealed for Erik by Óðinn himself. Óðinn is said to be the only asir god demanding human sacrifice at the great sacrifice every eight year in Uppsala, but this information only comes from Adamus Bremensis who is not very reliable in this case. We know indeed that human sacrifice is mentioned in the sources for both Frejr and Týr. When Óðinn shows himself in human shape he is described as an old bearded man with a broadrimmed hat and tall stature. He is dressed in a blue or grey coat and the hat partly shadows his face with its single eye. The Þiðrek's saga tells that these colours are sign of a "cold heart and a grim nature". There are certain signs hinting that his ravens also served as replacement for his lost eye, since there is found on the backside of certain brooches from Vendel time (Merovingian time) masks with two eyes. Later Óðinn becomes a rider and is in time gifted with the eight-legged horse Sleipner—an obvious shamanistic horse.

## Conclusion

The above standing concludes that the traditional division in asir and vanir does not seem quite convincing, since many gods and goddesses display a splintered picture. The gods of heaven are connected both with celestial bodies, like the sun and the moon, and to natural forces like lightning, thunder and rain but through this indirectly also to fertility functions. The traditional view of the heavenly god/the sun god impregnating the earth-goddess. The vanir have their function more directly concentrated till direct fertilizing and to the vegetation and are tied as well to land as to water. In the same time it is obvious that the vanir gods and goddesses are connected with/personify as well the sun as the moon, filling the same fertility functions as the sun- and moondeities of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean area; it is to say the same functions as the asir. They are besides functioning as earth deities—giants and giantesses—in the same time like e.g. Freja-Gerðr. Several gods are sometimes tied to the vanir and sometimes they are regarded as asir—for example Úllr, Svipdagr. You get the feeling that it might be two separate systems having grown together. This synthesis may of course be ancient in its original construction, even proto-Indo-European, but the change of certain divine names and functions does not need to be as old. Klavs Randsborg finds, besides, a third category beside the heavenly gods and those encompassing land and water. He adds “only water” meaning that it is perhaps Mercurius/Óðinn being in charge of that function. He then refers to all kind of water like oceans, lakes, moors, rain, hail, snow et c.(Randsborg 1995, p. 208)

# CULT

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In this section I intend to carry out an analysis of cultic circumstances in order to create a better foundation for my view of Germanic religion and its practicing. Maybe it may shed a better light on much of what at a first look seems inconsequent in the above related. Hopingly it could give new clues for the the agenda of those gods, whose position still is unclear.

When it concerns the practising of fertility-rituals it is sometimes difficult to decide wether a certain action shall be related to the pure fertility cult or, eg., to the shamanistic activities of the cult of Óðinn while other cultic acts are easier to classify within respective kind of cult. As hinted above there is a mix of functions between the different groups of deities to that degree that it often is impossible to decide which deity being primarily responsible for the specific fertility act. There are, as remarked, even people counting Óðinn as a fertility god—so Dumézil. To get a correct picture of possible differences between the cult of Óðinn and the cult of the traditional fertility gods—the vanir—it would be desirable with a distinction as sharp as possible. With the present state of knowledge, however, it is not possible, according to my opinion, to securely decide if different kind of shamanistic activities are primarily connected with Óðinn or e.g. Freja, since he is said to have learnt *sejdr* and *galdr* from her, but still he is reckoned to be the great shaman and king of gods. That circumstance is definitely controversial. For practical reasons I have therefore choosen to present rituals having a primary object to promote fertility in a common section. The cult of Óðinn and, depending on accessible indices, the cult of the presumed god Gaut are separatetly treated. The same rituals, earlier presented as fertility rituals, might be included again in these other schemes if they seem to be relevant also there.

Cultic acts can rudely be divided in different types, namely:

1. Adoration—worshipping
2. Sacrificing
  - a. Food and beverage sacrifice
  - b. Objects like weapons, jewellery et c.
  - c. Animals
  - d. Humans
3. Ritual performances of antropomorph or teriomorph character
4. Exstatic personification and initiation of antropomorph or teriomorph character

Fertility cults can refer to:

1. Vegetational deities and closely related divinities also including human fertility. Sun- and moon-deities. Earth-goddesses.
2. Shamanistic divinities

(In divinities above are included also beings like dises, elfvens, dwarfs, giants, elementary spirits like gnomes et c.)

Exstatic warriors cults:

Exstatic cults aiming to initiation of young men to warriors of kind and personification with teriomorph or antropomorph beings.

This is verified in a number of technically primitive cultures all over the world.

In Germanic religion initiations of this kind are mostly suggested in connection with the cult of Óðinn and it is said also to be special initiations of single individuals of high rank. There is much that suggests that the cult of Gaut might include similar actions.

The above mentioned specific types of cultic actions may of course be combined in connection with the cult of certain gods, that both e.g. antropomorph performances and sacrifices are undertaken.

Certain fertility rites and shamanistic rites, as well as a warrior cult, may be connected with secret men's leauges who, at least originally, might have been cultic leauges.



## Fertility cult

In Antiquity a basic form of sacrifice within fertility cult, primarily concerning the vegetation deities, is feeding them food and beverage. In the so called libation you simply poured wine, milk or water on the ground and added a piece of food as well. Alternatively the food could be thrown into the fire. Everything was, of course, in time getting surrounded with complicated rites and often combined with fasting and trying endurances in order to arrange the return of the dead god/goddess—mainly the sun. (cf. e.g. Frazer *The Golden Bough*) To succeed with this also crying was necessary, the tears symbolizing the life-enforcing rain. In the cult of Demeter the initiands received white bands that they tied around feet and hands as symbolic fetters. I will later return to these fetters.

In Germanic religion the cult of fertility deities seems originally to be connected with water—rivers, creeks, wells, moors et c.- judging by popular traditions (among else Hyltén—Cavallius, “*Wärend och Wirdarna*”) and this tradition is continued by the church through Holy Wells. Those cultic acts we know of from written sources concerns a.e. to drink sacrifice at banquets, and this very special habit has been mentioned as an indicium, confirming that the newly discovered long-house foundation at Gamla Uppsala in Uppland should have been a temple where special sacrificial meals were eaten. To this it may be remarked that the typical trait of Germanic religion is the absence of temples, and that the sacrificing takes place at hargs, wells and groves under the open sky. Sometimes gods-houses are mentioned but in those cases it merely deals with a small shed, meant to shelter and preserve the idols of a local farm.

We can anyhow presuppose that sacrificing of food and beverages also occurred in ordinary dwelling-houses or banquet-halls in connection with smaller or greater meals. According to Paul Bauschats the occasion of ritual drinking is called *sumbl* (Icl.) or *symbol* (Eng.). The parttakers, toasting, hail old deeds and promise that they themselves shall add new deeds to those of the glorious ancestors. In this there are also components both of promises to the gods and ancestral adoration. (P.Bauschats 1982).

Other cultic acts which may occur in single households include e.g. the in Norway from Vølsaþattr known habit to adore a dried horse-phallus by the name of Vølse. It was circulated among the members of the household who called for the mǫrnir—traditionally understood as the giantesses but that means in fact the earth-goddess. Åke V. Ström means that Vølse is Frejr as a sacrifice and mǫrnir Frejr as receiver of the sacrifice.(Ström, p.147) I will soon give another and, I think, more convincing explanation but in essence he is on the right track. The horse-cult is tied to Freja but Freja is also moon-goddess, mother earth and she

rules over minor fertility-goddesses—vegetational deities. The giants accordingly also have connection with the vanir cult—sometimes as fertility divinities and sometimes as chaos-forces. You may set out food and drink to the *gårdsvätte*—the farm-gnome—an elementary land spirit. This practice is still performed by many at Yule and the *vätte* now is called the *tomte* or the *nisse* and one of the same kind, but bigger, is *jultomten*, father Christmas. You can sacrifice an animal to a deity, but you of course devour the flesh except of a small symbolic piece given to the deity. In the cult of Frejr it is said the blood was symbolically spread over the part-takers by means of a whisk—*blautteinn*. (Bodil Heide Jensen 1991, p.51) (Cf. holy water aspergillum)

More collectively we can regard the habit of celebrating the mid-summer. In Sweden with a maypole which does not leave any doubt whatsoever that it is in fact a phallus, which shall fertilize the earth-goddess that the earth becomes green and fertile. It may be noted that the word *majstång* has a component *maj/may*. This does not primarily apply to the month of may but means the habit of harvesting to the cattle. *Maj* stands for a leafed pole. Still it goes, of course, back to the old beginning of summer in the beginning of may, which I will treat further down, and so also is connected with the month. The present celebration however is in June. This custom with leafed poles is said to be imported from Germany in later time, but still the cultic tree, and the dance around it, is preserved in our rock-carvings (Almgren) so quite new it obviously is not. Maybe you can talk about a return in a little different shape. According to Hyltén-Cavallius mid-summer was celebrated in the 18<sup>th</sup> c. with great fires and, he means, probably earlier in close connection to the graves of the ancestors. (Hyltén-Cavallius, “Wärend och Wirdarna”)

In popular habits all over the Germanic Europe by celebrating Whitsun, Eastern, the spring solstice and mid-summer it is confirmed that one ties straw-puppets to wheels, sets them afire and rolls or throws them into the water. Cf. also the Danish mid-summer, S:t Hans, when a straw-puppet is burned on the fire. The modern idea this is a witch-burning is not very convincing. The Continental puppets are among else called Hansi and Gretchen in Chridiglade (Schweiz), but are supposed to be the equivalent of the May Count and the May-Countess that we have e.g. in Sweden. This is in reality the couple of the Holy Wedding, Hieros-Gamos, where the most known couple is Frejr and Gerðr/Freja. (Cf. Steinsland) The burning wheel of course personifies the sun and the old fertility deities were from the beginning closely connected with water. The combination of fire and water accordingly can be found all over the Germanic cultic area. (O. Höfler 1934, p. 117 ff.)

The Holy Wedding most likely can be tied to the rural hamlet Klevastaden on mount Kinnekulle in Västergötland, where the tradition still during the 19<sup>th</sup> c. talks of two paved roads—King's street and Queen's street.(Mellin 1847) Where they meet lies an earlier standing stone with an artificial, round hole in it, through which the sun could shine at the winter-or summer solstice or any other important day. Since the stone lies the time point is not possible to control, but another, still standing, stone in Västerplana close nearby is measured by the archeo-astronomers and archaeologists Göran Henriksson and Lars Bägerfeldt. They found it marks the same day as the first full moon of summer- the summer sacrifice, Celtic Beltain.(Henriksson, 1995, p.345; Henriksson 1993, Husaby Hemb.fören. årsskrift,p.13-16; Englund, d:o, p.7-12.) In Klevastaden was in late time—19<sup>th</sup> c.- an old habit still practiced, letting youngsters roll in pairs down a hill—the Bride Hill/Brudarekullen—and if they came down face to face they were meant for each other.(Mellin 1847). Close by lies a rock-carving area, Flyhov, with clear signs of fertility-cult. Also the name component—*hov* tells it has a cultic background.

Mellin writes among else:

“Midt framför prestgården, nere vid kyrkan, synes den forna stadens gamla torg, som många hundrade år varit förvandladt till ett stort för hela byn inhägnadt planteland, der en god och djup jord på skiffer- och kalkstenshällen frambringar de bästa kål- och rotplantor i orten. Gräfningen af detta planteland skedde till och med år 1846 hvarje år den 5:te Maj, om ock snö och is först måste bortföras. Precist kl. 12 på dagen voro då alla, både gamla och unga, med spade i hand på stället församlade, med foten på spaden, afvaktande 12-slaget, då de efter urgammal sed upphäfde ett sådant hurrande att det skallade i de aflägsnaste bergen. I ögonblicket begyntes med oafbruten häftighet gräfningen. Räfsning och vidare hyfsning samt fröns utsåning skedde omedelbart derefter. Allt skulle vara färdigt inom halftimman.-Om aftonen samma dag skulle all ungdomen vara församlad och dansa omkring plantlandet, som kallades att sträcka eller räcka plantorna. De som då föllo omkull, hade ej annat att vänta än krokiga plantor för året, men annars tvärtom.

I gårdet vester om prestgården, finnes en vacker och klotrund kulle, kallad Friarekullen, inuti konkav såsom ett saltkar och både innan och utanför starkt beväxt med gräs. Frieriet inom samhället tillgick här på följande sätt : Bonddrängen nedlade sig på ena sidan af kullens höga jemna kant och flickan på samma sätt på andra kanten midtemot. Föräldrar och andra vänner lågo på alla öfriga kullens kanter, såsom

glada eller enquiätta åskådare. På gifven signal började sedan det unga paret att, som det kallades, »tumla kiste» emot hvarandra på kullens inre sida, ända ner till botten. Kommo de med ansigtet emot hvarandra då de stannade, så skulle de blifva lyckliga makar, och hade lof att tumla om med hvarandra utanför kullen, och dans på kullens öfversta kanter med spel, sång och drickande fortsattes sedan i flera dagar;—men den som icke vände ansigtet till den andra, då de stannade på botten, blef bortkörd med påkar och stenar och fick aldrig fria mer.”

Translation:

“Just in front of the vicarage, down by the church, the old square of the ancient town is seen, now since hundreds of years turned into a great fenced common planting land for all the hamlet, where a good and deep soil on the halls of shale and lime-stone gives the best cabbage- and rootplants in the area. The digging of this planting land took place till the year 1846 every year the 5<sup>th</sup> of May, even if snow and ice must be removed at first. Exactly at noon, 12 o'clock in the day, were then all, both old and young, shovels in hand, gathered in location with the foot on the shovel, waiting for the twelve struck, when they, according to ancient habit, burst out in such hurrying that it echoed in the most distant mountains. Momentarily began with uninterrupted intensity the digging. Raking and further preparations and the sowing of the seeds was executed immediately afterwards. Everything should be finished within half an hour...In the evening the same day all the youth should be gathered, dancing around the planting land, which was called to stretch or to reach the plants. Those who then stumbled had nothing to expect but crooked plants this year, but else the opposite.

On the field to the west of the vicarage there is a nice and ball-round hill, called The Proposers Hill. Inside concave like a salt bowl and both inside and outside strongly grown over with grass. The proposing within the village community took place here in the following way: The farmhand laid himself down on one side of the high, even edge of the hill and the girl in similar way on the opposite side of the edge. Parents and other friends were lying along all other parts of the edge as merry or calm spectators. On a signal then, the young couple started to, as it was called, “tumla kiste”—i.e. roll chest—towards each other down the inside of the hill all the way down to the bottom. If they faced each other when they stopped they should be happily married and were allowed to “roll around” with each other outside the hill, and the dancing on the upper edges of the hill with fiddling, singing and drinking then was continued

for several days;—but the one who did not face the other when they stopped on the bottom, was driven away with cudgels and stones and was never again allowed to propose” (The manuscript is only available in excerpt in :*Historiskt, Geografiskt och Statistiskt Lexikon öfver Sverige*, Stockholm 1863, pp. 186-187)

Here may accordingly be noted that the planting land was dug at noon the 5<sup>th</sup> of May, the day of the first full moon of the summer/the summer sacrifice—also celtic Beltain.

The same tradition to “tumla kiste” also was practiced on the old cult place Lunnelid in Kållands Råda where there are three well springs by tradition named as Holy Wells. One of these was in Christian time named the well of S:t Urban. The local population every year gathered for a celebration of Urban on the Holy Trinity Day (25<sup>th</sup> of May), and on the day after Whitsun, above the Lunnelid Hill. One had among else a tradition demanding that a boy and a girl should roll down the slope, which here is called to “trilla kistor”(same meaning as earlier), which was supposed to improve the harwest the coming year. There was also sold so called “Lunnelidkäppar”—Lunnelid sticks—who were reddened with alder-bark. (It could be remarked that sw. *al* =alder also is interpreted as a name of cult-places and the alder hence is closely connected with the ideas of fertility cult.) This was still in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century a living tradition. (Rudolf Söderberg, “*Ett fridlyst naturminne och dess offerkälla*”, article in SkLT 26/5 1928.)

The Cultic Wedding—Hieros Gamos—is an example of antropomorph cultic performances like also the dance around the May pole can be regarded as. It is in fact an integrated part of the Holy Wedding even if we have lost the other components. In my childhood it was allways complemented with the fight between the May Count and the Winter count and they both compete for the May Countess, i.e. the fight between Balðr and Høðr about Freja/Nanna. In certain cases it can also be regarded as an initiation or a sacrifice to the gods since there are strong indices for the factual sacrificing of these persons. So is e.g. the case with the cultic headpersons in the story of the great sacrifice by the Semnonnes in their rumoured “Hain” (Tacitus). The telling from the Semnonenhain might also, possibly, contain elements of the cult of Óðinn why I return to this later on. Also the straw-puppets are indeed sacrificed in later time—still today straw-puppets are burnt at the celebration of S:t Hans/Mid-summer in Denmark.

From the personifications by German Carnival-follows in later time, having preserved the old cultic symbols and performances, we also notice that the supposition of human sacrifice is in no way unrealistic.

K. von Amira is, according to Höfler, convinced that:

das Rädern und das Aufs-Rad-Flechten uralte Opferriten seien. Allerdings lag dabei das Rad mit dem aufgebundenen oder eingeflochtenen Leib des Gerichteten in der Regel wagrecht auf der Spitze eines Pflockes...Doch, die sakralen Räder der Sonnenroiten hatten auch die Bewegung des Gestirns zu symbolisieren—und magisch zu fördern. Zu diesem Zweck wurden Räder in aufrechter Stellung fortbewegt: gerollt, getragen oder geführt...Hierher gehören die Riten des Abwärtsrollens brennender Räder, das Tragen der symbolischen Sonnen, das sich schon auf den bronzezeitlichen Felszeichnungen nachwiesen läßt, und endlich das Umführen des Sonnenbildes auf einem Wagen oder einem Rädergestell. Diese Art von Sonnenradumzügen, stark an den berühmten Sonnenwagen von Trundholm gemahnend, läßt sich auf den Felsbildern mit Deutlichkeit nachwiesen. (O. Höfler 1934, s. 117)

In the rock-carvings, and in fact also on bracteates, we indeed find examples of theriomorph ritual performances. We find e.g. men with bird-heads dancing, sometimes also flying, around a raised pole hanging in ropes, and dogs sitting in a ship with hornblowers and a lying tree. Höfler refers to Almgren's interpretation of the ships of the rock-carvings as cultic sleighs and also to the fact that the Jul/Yule-folk and the Jul/Yule-folk in Scandinavia come through the air. He points also on the habit in carnivals to burn small ships as a sacrifice and refers to Nordic ship-burnings. Also the Saami should have imported this habit to burn ship's sacrifices. On a sleigh on a rock-carving you besides can see "dogs" instead of humans. Almgren explains this as sacrifice animals but Höfler means:

Da es nun aber Almgren gelungen ist, fast alle die traditionelle Figuren und Gegenstände, die sich in historischer Zeit auf den Schifsschlitten zu befinden pflegen (Sonnenrad [Glücksrad], Tänzer, Voltigeure, Pflüge, Bäume u. s. w.), schon auf den alten Steinbildern nachzuweisen, so scheint mir die Annahme nicht ungereimt, daß die Hunde auf jenem Schlitten Vorläufer der (mehr oder minder) theriomorphen Insaßen seien, die wir später fast immer an dieser Stelle finden. Nur daß der alte Bildkünstler sie nicht als verkleidete Menschen zeichnete, sondern als das, was sie darstellen und sein wollten, als tiergestaltige Dämonen. So erzählt denn auch die Sage nicht selten, daß

bellende Hunde auf dem Wagen des Wilden Heeres führen...Die Hornbläser der Bronzezeit sind offenbar kultische Gestalten: Das zeigt einmal ihre teilweise Tierverkleidung (Hörner und Schweif), dann aber auch ihre Verbindung mit dem Schiff, das schon durch den typischen Baum als Kultboot gekennzeichnet ist. Auch die Tänzer auf dem Kultschiff von Lycke scheinen Luren oder ähnliche Instrumente in den Händen zu tragen. (Höfler 1934, p. 94 f.)

The hint of travelling through the air can be connected with the occurrence in North German tradition of cultic follows using ship-similar sleighs with a plow below. The sleighs were drawn by young, unmarried women.

...von Frau Gauden zu erinnern, die mit ihrem Hundeschlitten durch die Luft fährt (Man denkt an Frejas Katzenwagen) und die Erde befruchtet, in dem sie darüber hin "tobt". Frau Gaudens Hunde könnten ja von Wodan entlehnt sein; der Wagenkult der Fruchtbarkeitsgöttin und die Ekstase, die wir dem Wodankult zuschreiben möchten, dürften auch hier miteinander in Berührung getreten sein...(Höfler 1934, p. 90) (Cf. below p.127 ff)

...In Mittelstedt fährt der Wagen des Mutesheeres besonder zur Weihnachtszeit. In Bayern kommen nebeneinander die Ausdrücke "Wilde Fuhrleute und "Wilde Schiffsleute" als Bezeichnungen der Wilden Jagd vor. Der gemeinsame Ursprung dieser beiden Namen wird möglicherweise eben in den ekstatischen ("wilden") Umzügen mit dem kultischen Schiffswagen zu suchen sein. Und hier mag auch die Erklärung einer seltsamen altnordischen Bezeichnung liegen, die Egill in seinem "Sonatorrek" für Óðinn gebraucht: *vagna rúni*, "Freund der Wagen"—eine Umschreibung, die bisher unerklärt war...(Höfler 1934, p. 94 f.)

About the connection between sun-wheel and ship Höfler says:

...Oscar Almgren hat gezeigt, daß die Verbindung des Schiffswagenkultes mit der Umführung des symbolischen Sonnenbildes einer religiösen Schichte angehört, die wir bis nach Ägypten und Babylon verfolgen können und die im Norden schon die Felsbilder der Bronzezeit beherrscht. Hier finden wir die Verbindung des Sonnenrades mit den Schiffswagen wiederholt festgehalten, und wenn sich diese kultische Gruppe modernen Karnevalsbrauch fortlebt, so ist dies nur ein Einzelbeispiel für die staunenswerte Treue, mit der solch uraltes Brauchtum

bewahrt werden konnte, wie dies Oscar Almgren am eindrucksvollsten erwiesen hat. (Höfler 1934 p.115)

In this connection I also want to remind of the modern father Christmas who is supposed to drive his sleigh in the sky!

The connection between ship and cultic wagon/sleigh is interesting also from a linguistic point of view. Petrus Envall claims that *Skepp* (ship)= *Skep* = *Skap* (shape)= Phallus, which should explain place names with the element *Skepp* not situated in connection with water. They should be understood as cultic and related with the fertility cult.(Envall 1969)

## Werewolves-Teriomorph hamrs-Shamanistic activities

Examples of antropomorph and teriomorph shamanistic rites to drive away demons from the fields in order to secure a good harvest are in modern time found in e.g. the Swiss *Hornergericht* and in the *Haberfeldtreiben* in Bavaria, der *Glückler* in Austria, which is part of the *Perchten-* and *Hutterlaufens*, and in the celebration of the Swiss *Butzer*, *Bögggen* and *Roichtschäggeten* and similar popular spiritual beings. These characteristics also appear in e.g. the *Nürnberger Schembartläufer*. It deals primarily in all cases with going out into the fields, and with terrible masks and frightening sounds scare away demons stopping the crops from growing. In later time such traditions have been transformed into carnival-pranks in cities along with the gradual disappearance of cultivated fields. These occurrences might also be interpreted as secret men's leagues with more functions than just only fertility-magical. I will return later to that aspect.(Höfler 1934, p.9 ff.)

The *lussegubbar* in Västergötland, Sweden, are also part of a similar tradition. They pop up, of course, in the time when it according to the Julian calendar was the longest night of the year.

When you hear the word werewolf most people automatically associate to count Dracula, Frankenstein's castle and similar horror stories. Reality, however, is something else. In connection with the shamanistic fertility-cult there were organized units of humans who dressed themselves in wolfhamrs (guises) certain nights during the year, in connection with the great hollows and the solstices. Their given task was to frighten the demons from the fields to promote growth, but also to reconquer already stolen fertility of the crops from these demons. Such an organization existed in Latvia still 1691, and we have preserved complete documents



from a court trial against a werewolf who had retired from active duty. (Höfler, 1934, p.345 ff.)

On Iceland and on the Färö Islands there exist a teriomorph fertility being, the *Gryl*, who at the fasting time dances and sings over the fields and with a long wooden phallus walks around to the farms lifting the skirts of the women. This *Gryl* probably is depicted on a runic stone at Källby in Västergötland, Sweden, but earlier researchers want to interpret this figure as Sigurðr fafnisbani. The *Gryl* nowadays is regarded as kind of father Christmas on Iceland.

## Nerthus

Tacitus tells 98 AD in *Germania* about the cult of the goddess Nerthus, being specially adored in the Southern part of present Denmark but also in Eastern Frisia and the East-Frisian Islands. She begets in Sweden the name Njārðr and in direct relation to her stands the god Njorðr. This gives a slight trouble time-fasting the appearance of the cult, since Njorðr is regarded father of Frejr and Freja and the cult of Njārðr by many is linked to the older god Úllr. The name of Nerthus in this comparison seems to be a newer name-form, only in later time having been adored in the way Tacitus reports, if you shall believe those researchers claiming Nerthus arrives in the second immigration-wave of IE gods. There is however also that possibility that the cult is very old, but that nobody happened to write about it before. The cultic habits might also with time have developed in a more extreme direction in just this area, but you should notice that this is the natural, closest situated area for Tacitus to get in contact with. Nothing says it was restricted only to this area. The meaning of the *Åsaka* place names has been discussed in this connection and some want to translate it *Asåka*, an *áss* (asir-god) being driven in a chart. This is a good description of the asir god Þórr driving a chart drawn by two bucks and throwing lightning and thunder from the sky. Nerthus was the invisible goddess, driven around on a wagon and completely hidden under a tent. The wagon was towed by cows. In this way she blessed the fields and gave rich crops. After the round trip she and the wagon were cleaned by thralls, who later were sacrificed in the lake surrounding the holy island on which she lived. Here are discussed both the lesser Danish islands and Helgoland. In the Swedish cult of Njārðr she can have lived on any local island. A problem with Nerthus in connection with *Asåka* is also that she is a vanir and not asir, but indeed *áss* may also shortly be interpreted as 'god'. In the cult of Freja we anyhow find that she also travels in a wagon or chart towed by cats. Evidently Freja and Nerthus, as well as Njārðr, basically are all the same goddess.

## The Myth of Balðr

An important heritage from the fertility-cult, the cultic fight, having continued into later time, is the fight between the May-count and the Winter-count, mythologically answering to the death of Balðr through the arrow of his brother Høðr. With Saxo both of them fight for the same queen (the moon-goddess keeping the sun alive during its officially dead period). One of them governs in Sweden and the other in Denmark in this version. The real meaning is that the dualistic half of Balðr fight against himself, because his death is necessary to get new crops growing. Balðr and Høðr accordingly are just two halves of the same deity in the same way as you could suspect the relationship to be between Loki versus Óðinn or possibly an earlier partner. This is illustrated particularly well in e.g. the *Helgikviðae*, when the both brothers sometimes are called by names and sometimes called *Heðinn*, i.e. ‘hamr, guise’. Specially the *mistilteinn* performs an important role in the myth of Balðr. The goddess Frigg, his legal mother, has asked all plants not to harm Balðr, whose death has been foretold, but forgot to make the mistil give a promise. Loki lures the blind Høðr to aim at his brother and gives him a mistilteinn as an arrow. The blindness of Høðr is here symbolical and hints to the unrestrainable power of nature. Loki seems to have been added in the context at a later stage, perhaps by Snorri. Saxo’s version with the open fight between the two brothers—nobody of them being blind—seems a lot more convincing as a cultic play. His presentation does also harmonize well with the *Helgikviðae*, where exactly this fight is the leading motif. *Teinn* also associates to *Hlautteinn* and *Gambanteinn* and the common mark is that it deals with a branch, recently taken from a growing tree having magical qualities—it is a sorcerer’s wand by which you can cast spells and practice other magics. (Bodil Heide Jensen 1991, p.48) Accordingly we are not talking about a little innocent branch quite generally. An argument against regarding the myth of Balðr as a classical Mediterranean fertility-cult allways has been that the god dies indeed, but he is never resurrected. This among else because Tǫck (Loki) refuses to cry. In stead Balðr dwells with his Nanna in the realm of the dead like Osiris with his Isis, but he is not sliced into pieces like Osiris, and he shall be reborn after Ragnarǫk to rule over the new world.

In connection with the examination of the cult of Frejr I believe I shall be able to plant some serious doubts on the correctness of this interpretation. Balðr is indeed reborn considering all facts.

## Freja- the Disting

The cult of Frejr/Freja—Frö/Fröja is the only one where formalized sacrifice-priests and priestesses, called a *goðe/gyðja*, exist. The king is höggoðe, the highest priest-Pontifex Maximus. To Freja specially pigs and horses are sacrificed. *Sejdr*-women singing *galdrs* and reading the future is also typical for her cult. These deities give good crops to the fields as well as good fertility for the humans. In the Icelandic republic the *goðe* also headed the Althing. Freja has a special function as Vanadis—ruler over the *disir* being minor fertility spirits ruling parts of the nature. They also functioned as *fylgias*—personal protection spirits—following a human, e.g. a warrior. If he at some occasion caught sight of his *fylgia* he knew for sure that he soon should be fetched to Freja and her *Hadjings*, her army of dead fighters opposing the chaos and fighting to keep the plant cycle going.

The *disting* was in Sweden held varying between the middle of january till middle of february and was ruled by the moon. It was organized like a general fair and at the same time there was a sacrifice to the *disir*. In South-Eastern Norway a great, yearly *disablot*-*disir* sacrifice—was held earlier during the winter and besides *disablot* was also held in the local farmyards during the winter. (Folke Ström, *Nordisk Hedendom*, p.194) Göran Henriksson has studied this question more thoroughly, and he states that John Granlund writes in i *Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid* that:

The time of the *disting* was mobile and has varied between 21/1-19/2. It was fixed every year according to the so called *distingsrule* tied to the full moon following the first newmoon after the Holy King's day. It was suitable to use the moonlight both for travelling to the *disting* and when performing the different ceremonies and businesses. The *distings*-market dured one week concerning to *Heimskringla* chap.77: 'Där var också marknad och köpestämna'...The visitors of the market constituted primarily hence a pagan sacrifice convent and secondary a thing-gathering for a "ting allra svia". E. Hjärne has made it probable that this thing has been a 'common thing' for the lawcommunity of all the three folklands (Attundaland, Fjädrundaland and Tiundaland) in it's full older extent. (*Svethiud*, en kommentar till Snorres skildring av Sverige: Hjärne 1952) (Henriksson 1995).

According to the law of Uppland, Tingmale XIV, the thingdays should be protected. From this law you can also conclude that the intentions with the *disting* were three: A major sacrifice should take place in Uppsala in the month of *Goe*.

You should then sacrifice for peace and for victory for your king. Also the thing of all Svear should be held. After that the fair is mentioned. (Granlund 1958)

Henriksson has after careful calculations confirmed an eight-year cycle between 21/1-19/2 Julian time reckoning. After that you started again the 21/1. At the time for Snorres information 1220 we should add seven days to reach the Gregorian time reckoning. The whole procedure was dependent of the moon.(Henriksson 1995, p.337)

The disting started the cultivation of the year with the first, symbolic plough lines. You placed a bread or similar in the first plough line as a sacrifice to the earth goddess, who was Freja or one of her dises because Freja was both Earth- and Moon-goddess, and maybe the sacrifice also included the elementary spirits. Gefion also has a place in this story in connection with the myth of how Zealand was ploughed out and moved. It may also be noted that Þórr had an evident fertility-function. P.V. Glob tells in connection with the rock-carving at Litsleby in Bohuslän, where he sees a man with a hughe phallus holding a hammer or an ax in one hand and a tree in the other, just starting to plough the third line, and he means that he is restoring the fertility of the soil after the winter and quotes a say-word from Bornholm, Denmark, saying “tre färör åt Þórr ger en grön vår”(three lines for Þórr give a green spring). (Glob 1969, p.150)

In places including the element *Áker-* in the name there has with great probability been performed ritual intercourse in connection with the cult of Freja or any of the earlier fertility deities. Such ritual intercourse has also been reported in modern time at so called “*älvkvarnar*” (elfven grinding holes) or “*skålgropar*”, i.e. a hollow carved dot in the stone in connection with rock-carvings or single stone slabs. It has traditionally been regarded customary to place fat or similar in these hollows as a sacrifice still till the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> c.

## **The cult of Frejr and the sacral kingdom—The cult of Balðr**

In connection with the cult of Frejr there is reason to mention the sacral kingdom. The Ynglinga-family claims, as is well known, heritage from Frejr and every single king was in old myth regarded to be a reincarnation of Yngve-Frejr at the same time as he was a human. He was, hence, a living god. Later on Frejr is replaced in the first line with Óðinn who so becomes the predecessor of Yngve-Frejr via Njordr. Svíakonungr is primarily the *höggöde* (Pontifex Maximus) for the cult of Frejr and he has no real power-functions during time of peace. This problem-complex has newly been examined in connection with the Norwegian branch of the Ynglingar and certain Norwegian *jarls* ‘earl’s by Gro Steinsland, who has reached a number of extremely interesting results.(Gro Steinsland 1991)

She starts with an analysis of *Skírnismál*, which is regarded to be medieval and hence can be dubious as a primary source. However she makes comparisons with *Hyndluljóð*, *Háleygjatal* and *Ynglingatal* and this combination makes the best foundation that we can find today concerning the content of the cult—at least during the last stage of the Nordic religion, *fornsiðr*.

The story deals with Frejr sitting in the presumed high-seat *Hliðskíalf*—traditionally seen as the seat of Óðinn—and from there he sees everything that happens in all worlds. (Cf. *hjalfr* under shamanism below!) He catches sight of a giant's daughter, Gerðr, down in Jotunheim and becomes filled with desire for her. He sends a proposer, Skírnir, to speak for him. He is equipped with both the horse of Frejr, his sword and also proposal gifts. These gifts are not regular stuff indeed. They consist of the ring Draupnir, which Óðinn placed on the funeral pyre of Balðr but later got back from the underworld, and of 11 golden apples—presumably those of Idun. During the trip down to Jotunheim the sword is lost in a mysterious way, but Skírnir gets instead hold of a fresh branch with magical powers, *Gambanteinn*, regarded as the wand of Óðinn. At first Gerðr refuses to respond to Frejr's love, but after having been threatened with ghastly consequences through the magic of Gambanteinn she agrees to see Frejr in the grove of *Barre* after nine days. A marriage in a juridical sense is not intended but rather a love-meeting simultaneously being a wedding. This is presumably also enacted as a cultic performance. The actors are, then, the new king and a peasant girl who originally may have had actual intercourse with each other. This is not possible to interpret from the text. Steinsland writes about this:

The important thing is that the introduction of the prince is connected with a hieros gamos, a holy wedding, between the god and a Jotun-woman (giantess). The analysis has concluded that the female partner in the wedding alliance may be interpreted as a personification of the land area the prince incorporates under his domain. The god's erotic conquering of the Jotun-woman is simultaneously a symbol for his acceptance of political power and for his intimate unification with the land area.. This myth model is recognizable in scaldic poetry which in different contexts mention the earth as the the god's bride.

She underlines that:

...The strange thing with the Nordic myth is however that the partner of the god/the prince is a Jotun-woman and not a goddess. Typical for the Nordic hierogamic myth is the strong dimension of polarity.

She continues:

...the life and shape of the prince has been mythologically anchored in the creation-myth...A wedding alliance between a deity and a Jotun-woman will result in an offspring who will not have the right of heritage—neither in the divine world nor in the Jotun-world. The hieros gamos will create a strange, new type—the prince.

(Note: Steinsland all the time uses the abstract word prince, fyrste, German Fürst, Italian principe et.c. which must not always be understood as royal. My remark.)

Let us return to Frejr in his high-seat. He is, as mentioned, sitting in the presumed seat of Óðinn (Cf. *hjalfr* below) and has access to apple, ring and wand/staff (Gambanteinn). In some mysterious way the sword is turned into Gambanteinn, but in the same time Frejr maybe loses part of his manhood, since the sword may be regarded as an expression for his phallus. (Bodil Heide Jensen 1991). The ring Draupnir has the ability to multiply itself eight times during as many days. It is handed over to Gerðr with the remark, that this was the ring Óðinn gave to his dead son. When the time of waiting for the meeting in the Barre grove has expired there are nine rings—nine days. The apples are according to Steinsland's interpretation 11—one for each of the remaining, still living gods. The twelfth is Balðr who dwells in the realm of the dead—the underworld—and by all signs to judge I mean that even Gerðr should be there. The apples represent among else youth, life and resurrection. The ring is symbolically given back to Balðr but he is not reborn according to Steinsland. This is a consequence of his father's Óðinn heritage from the giant Bor. (*Hýnduljóð*). The cooperation with the chaos-forces leads to this tragical result. In same manner every new king and all the gods suffer from this failure at last resulting in Ragnarök. You can't balance the chaos-forces. I regard it short-sightedly slightly different but what the total structure concerns I have no objections.

The ring:

A ring can symbolize many things. In connection with Draupnir it is claimed that it is mainly a magic ring. A religion of mystery, which the cult of Frejr according to *Skirnismál* in fact is, is characterized through working with circumlocutions and symbols gradually bringing the adept to a clearer insight. Exactly like that this poem is constructed. One of the most important symbols is the ring Draupnir. A ring may be three-dimensional—a real object—but when it is reproduced in drawn or carved form it becomes two-dimensional, but still it has

exactly the same symbolic value. A drawn ring is identical with the geometric figure called circle. Nobody could deny that the circle in a number of different contexts has been interpreted as eternity, divine symbol, symbol for gold and for the sun. The carved circles we find in the rock-carvings equipped with four spokes are generally called sun-crosses. Gold was in all times a metal compared with the sun—not least within alchemy. A ring also may be interpreted as an oath-ring—a sign you have pledged fealty to somebody or at least are bound by duties towards somebody. The ring, accordingly, quite well may symbolize that its owner disposes of the sun—alternatively personifies the sun. That Draupnir in our known sources normally is connected with Óðinn does not mean it always was, since its name ‘the dripper’ primarily depends on its ability to reproduce, drip, eight as massive rings during as many nights. What, then, is it in fact reproducing if not eight days with sunlight, and in the night this is mirrored by the moon. This symbol fits excellently to any sun-god. Göran Henriksson has, however, pointed out that the Germanics all the time count the new day from sunset the evening before, and hence count the number of nights in stead of days, as people do in the Mediterranean area. (Henriksson 1995) If you look at it in that way it could be possible the ring might be the moon, regarding the fact that the moon mirrors the light of the sun and keeps it alive during winter time. The meaning so becomes the same. Still I prefer to regard it as the sun since this is the only way it fits into the scheme.

#### Skírnir:

The meaning of the name *Skírnir* is disputed. There is an agreement it is a nominal form of *Skírr* and it has been interpreted as a circumlocution for Frejr himself in the sense of ‘radiating’, ‘shining’. It also may mean ‘pure’, ‘clear’, ‘ethereal’, ‘light’. The ending *-nir* represent a young form. (Sahlgren 1927; Tegnér, 1922) *Skírnir* might be a nomen agentis to *skírn*, f. ‘cleaning’, ‘purification’, ‘baptizing’. If so it means ‘the one who purifies’, ‘the one who baptizes’. (Ebenbauer, 1973) (Steinsland 1991, p. 49) I have personally no restrictions to understand it as a circumlocution for a sun-ray—‘the bringer of light’—and more so since *Skírnir* himself states that he is neither of the tribe of gods, nor of elfvens and giants.

#### Apples:

Apples are recognizedly a symbol of youth, life-force and reincarnation and, of course, of knowledge.

Gambanteinn:

A branch cut from a living tree and which has magical properties. It is taken from a tree in *Barri lundr* and used to enforce Gerðr. Other branches also called *teinn* showing extraordinary areas of use are *mistilteinn* and *hlautteinn*. *Mistilteinn* is the weapon with which Balðr is killed by his brother Høðr, and *hlautteinn* is the tool used to sprinkle sacrifice-blood on the parttakers in the sacrifice.

If we consider that this actual sacrifice to Frejr takes place during the autumn, somewhere around November, and that the old winter started the 21th October Gregorian time reckoning it is then not so very long time left to the wintersolstice, occuring the 20<sup>th</sup> December Gregorian time. It answers to the 13<sup>th</sup> December Iulian time reckoning at the time of Snorri. You must add seven days to get Gregorian time. (Henriksson 1995, p.345) The winter stands on the edge to begin. What actually happens, I mean, is that Frejr sends a sun-ray down into the underworld, bringing along the sun in shape of the ring Draupnir. The ray-*Skírnir*—besides also brings life-force in the shape of apples, and the sword of Frejr he carries disappears in a strange way during the trip. Instead he breaks in *Barri lundr* a fresh, growing branch, *Gambanteinn*. Where then did the sword, the phallus, go? It is indeed still there in the shape of *Gambanteinn*. How to find a living branch in the realm of the dead unless there has been a fertilization of the crops? *Gambanteinn* now all the time delivers new force to the coming new vegetation and to the presently almost dead sun, which in time will be reborn into full power. You experience here, indeed, something faintly reminding of the cult of Osiris with the disappeared phallus—Harpocrates was born in spite of all. The sun-ray delivering Draupnir gave light to the magical plant and to the underworld, and by means of the life-force of the apples both the vegetation and Balðr—the sun-god himself—will get nourishment and continue spreading still more light in the realm of the dead. This namely happens to be a symbolical burial of Balðr, the sun-god. He is confined in the shape of Draupnir in the care of Gerðr. Here she really becomes the one mirroring the light of the sun and keeping it alive during winter time—she now reveals herself as a Moon-goddess, as Njārðr, as Freja. Eight days later, then, Hieros-Gamos occurs and later, after the end of winter, is born not only the new king, the prince and son of the god, but also Balðr—the sun-god— is reborn in his shape together with the vegetation having been preserved through the light- and nourishment addition of the bridal gift. This king can righteous name himself *svía konungr*—sun-king. He is in fact both god and human.

For long there has been discussed the meaning of Gerðrs fears about who the stranger seeking her really is. Shet utter in this strophe: *pó ek hitt óumk at hér úti sé minn bróðurbani*. Steinsland means that Gerðr expresses fears that it is an



enemy of her family who stands outside the door. She also means that the alternative to manslaughter is alliance and peace, and that marriage was the strongest alliance at this time. (Steinsland 1991, p.89) As I regard it, however, there is a clearly more convincing interpretation of the sense of this phrase. I want you to recall that according to both the version of Saxo and the one of Snorri concerning the death of Balðr, he is killed by Høðr—in Snorri's version besides with a *mistilteinn*. I have above claimed that Balðr and Høðr in fact are two dualistic halves of the same deity. In the *Helgikviðae* they are addressed alternatively with their own alias, i.e. Helgi and Hunding, and alternatively as *Heðinn-hamr*, 'guise' (*Helgikviða Hjörvarðssonar*, *Helgikviða Hundingsbana I and II*). I suppose Dumézil wants to call them twin-gods, but I mean they are just two halves or aspects of the same god representing summer and winter.

When Gerðr reveals her fears she thinks of one of two possible things. Maybe she means that outside the door stands Höðr, he who rules during the winter, but who at the same time is his brother Balðr's (i.e. his own) slaughterer. This is however not the most probable alternative. I am convinced she here refers to the weapon, *Mistilteinn*, by which Höðr killed his brother Balðr. This name is also possible to interpret as a sword and *Bróðurbani*—'Brotherslayer' is indeed a fitting name of a sword, which in Saxo's version was used against Balðr. I have already shown that the sword of Frejr seems to have been replaced with *Gambanteinn*. These two accordingly must be identical. It also is this *teinn*—under name of *Gambanteinn*—that crushes her resistance, since she knows that she has no other option but being impregnated by her brother Frejr (also herself). Fertility deities namely have the quality that they may be married to their sister, who merely is just another aspect of the same deity.

Since, however, Gerðr in fact mentions *minn bróðurbani* 'my brothers slayer', and we do not know of a sister of Balðr, she evidently in this version refers to Frejr in the guise of Skírnir. The symbolic death of Balðr in the cult saga means that the sun dies and the winter takes over the rule, and this shows definitely that also Frejr personifies the sun- *Draupnir* is as much a symbol for Frejr as for Balðr and earlier surely even for Ingr. Since all of them essentially also are vegetational gods you can accordingly interpret their death also as the death of the growing crops, the vegetation. That's why Frejr must travel down to Freja/Gerðr to solve the problem with the dead crops—there is need for fertilization. This presentation with a double meaning is indeed typical for religions of mystery, and similar double messages occur even in modern times within secret societies resting on old traditions.

Bodil Heide Jensen has treated the lost phallus in her work about the mutilation-motif in Nordic mythology, and she regards it as an sacrifice of Frejr in the same manner as Åke V. Ström sees the *Vølsesacrifice* in *Vølseþattr*. (Ström 1975,

p.147; Bodil Heide Jensen 1991, p. 51) Frejr accordingly sacrifices all attributes to which he has access to secure the return of the sun and the vegetation.

In the light of the above results, however, I can sense some possible implications. As we saw above Skírnir has been interpreted as an circumlocution for Frejr himself, and Frejr evidently has disposition of the sun/Draupnir or personifies the same. It could possibly mean, as I presumed above, that he himself could possibly be the sun and before him also Ingr, who supposedly has fulfilled the same function earlier. In any way he seems to be that during the winter when the sun-god, Balðr, is indisposed. Frejr fulfills the sun's fertilizing task of the crops. Balðr, besides, is just a name meaning exactly the same thing as Frejr—the lord. Already here we have an identity in the same mysterious way as the earlier remark about 'my brother'. Before Frejr was Ingr, also meaning 'the lord', performing the same task. You should consider that the Ynglinga-family in fact claims heritage from Ingr (*Langfeðgatal* from *Íslendingabók; Historia Norwegia*) and that every new Yngling-king traditionally has been regarded as the reincarnated Yngve-Frejr, i.e. Ingr and later Frejr. First Snorri in an early 13<sup>th</sup> c. manuscript tells Óðinn as the first ancestor. (Steinsland 1995, p.180) Höfler establishes that both Ingr/Frejr and Úllr are dualistic. (Höfler: *Das Opfer im Semnonenhain und die Edda in Edda, Skalden, Saga*, Heidelberg 1952, p.1-67.) This can also be confirmed in e.g. the *Haddingssaga*. That Balðr is dualistic I have already forcefully demonstrated. This makes also Úllr an interesting candidate as sun-god, and Gerðr, hence, could be Njārðr at an earlier stage. You could think that Gambanteinn definitely shows towards Balðr, but a magical teinn quite sure can be connected with all sun- and vegetational gods. Also the Balðr-myth exist in different versions with and without a mistilteinn.

If Frejr(Ingr) himself also is the sun/the ring it should be still more evident an explanation why his phallus—his fertilization-power—rests in the underworld during the winter time, in the same place as he himself. It is indeed where it is best needed to secure the new crops. Besides, Balðr probably is a later adding as a sun-god. Grønbech, interestingly enough, means Skírnir is a circumlocution for Frejr—interpreted as 'the radiating'—as a noa-name (guise). He means that the keeper of the name is embodied in the person who (occasionally) carries his name. (Grønbech 1968, p.18; Bodil Heide Jensen 1991, p.41) It also fits with the interpretation of Skírnir as carrier of Frejr down to Gerðr. You must also consider that a sacrifice to Frejr does not occur during winter time, and that the Disting-sacrifice in Uppsala in January/February is dedicated to Freja. Since Ingr/Frejr in the sense of sun-god of course must be considered "dead" at this time it is only natural that the moon-goddess Freja, who essentially also is Frejr, is the active part during the winter.

Skírnir, however, means as already stated ‘the radiating’ and the god Úllr is translated with *wulpus*, ‘the radiating’. Here is maybe the reason why the poem is called Skírnismál. Was it maybe earlier the sun-god Úllr—the ring-god—who was buried together with Draupnir with Ingr personifying this god with the noa-name Skírnir in exactly the same manner, being himself a sun- and fertility god.

When Balðr possibly instead was introduced as a sun-god he maybe got a name that directly associated to the deputy sun-god Frejr, who evidently kept the old noa-name—at least in the poem. Óðinn then no longer has got any evident personal right to the relics we are talking about here or to the high-seat Hlíðskjálf. This also can shed a certain light on the association by de Vries between the cult of Úllr and the Yule-tide.

We already know the opinion of the other gods about the wedding plans of Frejr, namely: :”*Mær er mér tíðari en mann hveim ungdóm í árdaga; ‘ása ok ‘álfa þat vill engi maðr at vit samt sém*” It is known that the other kindreds never morally could accept the marital habits of the vanir, i.e. incest. That’s why the other gods oppose Frejr’s wedding plans.

Interestingly enough the cycle of the ring in days answers to a sacrifice cycle in years, and that is why you could suspect a connection with the lunar phases also here, so that Hieros-Gamos occurs at full moon. It is in fact the moon-goddess that shall be enforced. Göran Henriksson also has observed that the ring drips eight rings every ninth night, and he concludes we at this time might have had an eight-days week within a lunar year of 13 months, answering to a solar year of 45 weeks plus an adding of five days after unknown rules. Parenthetically might be mentioned that the eight rings plus the eleven apples makes nineteen, i.e. in years a complete metoncycle of 19 years. Earlier such a cycle was used in Scandinavia and it could have included also this cult then. It is typical for the religions of mystery to add such concealed information, but you could of course never be sure this really is intentionally made. In any way this could suggest the old age of the ritual, since the change to the eight year cycle may have happened around the 6<sup>th</sup> century (the law of Aun c:a 476 AD)(Henriksson 1995, p.368 f.) He mentions a little earlier in the text that the Romans had a day called Nonis which responded to the first half-moon in the month and the day Idinus that was responding to the full-moon. Between these it was allways eight days naturally enough(Henriksson 1995, p.40). This should accordingly mean, that if Skírnir arrives to Gerðr at the first half-moon it remains a week—eight days—until Hieros-Gamos, which of course should be celebrated at full-moon. The first full-moon of winter occurs around 4<sup>th</sup> of November(Gregorian time) being the official start of the winter(Henriksson 1995, p.10) and the sun, accordingly, already then should have been brought into safety with the moon-goddess. On the evening or night of the 28<sup>th</sup> of november, one week before full-moon, the messenger must have been sent

to the moon-goddess that everything should be prepared for the fertilizing of the earth by the king, and simultaneously Frejr's fertilizing of Gerðr/Freja. This was secured through the sending of Frejr with his phallus and the ring, and his work had then already started through activating Gambanteinn.

This raises the question of the grove Barri. Is it an expression for an imaginary meeting place in the underworld or is it the cultic grove in the real world? This really is worth considering. When Frejr is informed that the meeting is settled he becomes impatient and utters the disputed phrase *sia þolf hýnótt*. According to Steinsland and many others, primarily however P.Groth, the first element hý is formed from hjú—married couple. *Hýnótt* then should be a marital night and *þolf* should indicate that it was of less good quality—just half a night. (Groth 1928, p.240-43; Steinsland 1991, p.84) Hjalmar Falk is of another opinion and interprets it as 'the winter time', and connects it with the earlier mentioned nine nights which he regards as a symbolic expression for the winter.(Falk 1928) He understands accordingly Draupnir itself as the ninth night, and he does not consider that the whole first night by the Germanics is included in the following eight in the same way as we say 'in eight day's instead of 'a week'—which is seven days.

I decidedly mean that Falk is on the right track, but there is no reason to include all the winter. Here it deals with a strong love-desire that must be satisfied very soon. If not the whole development of nature comes to a stop. Suppose according to above that new-moon occurs in the evening the 20<sup>th</sup> of October and the full-moon the 4<sup>th</sup> of November. During this time-period the moon is only partially visible—or it is with other words partly covered or hidden. Both the word *hölja* and *hy* has the basic meaning 'skin', 'to hide', 'to cover'(Hellquist, Etym. Ordb.) and it is exactly the same meaning as in English *hide*, meaning both 'skin', 'hide' and 'to cover'. I understand *Hýnótt* as the nights lying between new-moon and full-moon who are named with a common name in the same way as the English *fortnight*. Accordingly it indicates a period of two eight-days weeks= 16 nights. One eight-days week then should be a half *hýnótt*. This is exactly the time Frejr has to abide until his scheduled love-meeting.

We should also in Sweden at this time—the 4<sup>th</sup> of November—have had a similar sacrifice and at the sacrifice by full-moon around the 5<sup>th</sup> of May the reincarnation should have occurred. This also explains why only Freja is adored at the Disting sacrifice in January/February. The sun then is dead or almost dead.

This might perhaps be a suitable occasion to take a closer look on the *Barri lundr*. It has by Magnus Olsen been interpreted as a field of barley. He interprets Barri as dat.of *barr*, n.= 'bygg', 'barley'. (Olsen 1909, p. 24 ff.) Other researchers have preferred to regard it as a grove consisting of real trees. Again we have two schools. Johan Fritzner claims in *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog* I-IV that *barr* can have the meaning of 'de yderste Skud af Naaetræets Grene, Bar'(Steinsland,

1991, p.93). *Lexicon Poeticum* translates with ‘náletræts blade’. (Sveinbjörn Egilsson/Finnur Jónsson 1966). All those translations mean basically pine-trees. Jöran Sahlgren also he talks about a groove of pine-trees but refers to *Skáldskaparmál* 43, where *barr* occur as a *kenning* for gold. *Hví er gull kallat eða lauf Glasis?* Sahlgren claims this is the only one occasion that gold is called *lauf Glasis*, else it allways is *barr Glasis*. (Sahlgren 1927-28, p.256 ff.; 1928, p.16; 1926, p.200 f.) F.L.Läffler means that *barr* and *lauf* signifies different types of blades, and that they cannot be mixed with each other. (Läffler 1911, p. 672 f.; 1914, p. 112 f.) Hjalmar Lindroth on the contrary means that Snorri’s writing *baR* is confirmed when he in *Gylfaginning* 8 lets 4 stags graze *baR* in the foliage of the ash-tree. Lindroth suggests the meaning leaf-shot, young shot, newly leafed branch, and suggests it easily can be misunderstood as pine-tree bars.(Lindroth 1914,p.218-226). Steinsland comments Lindroth by referring to *Helgakviða Hjörvarðssonar* 16 : *vaxa barr á baðmi*. She means it supports his interpretation as ‘leaf-shot’. She also says that the poet uses the thistle as a threat against Gerðr being the opposite to bar in the sense of a fresh shot. (Steinsland, 1991, p.95). Thereafter she starts a longer examination of the concept of groves and she ends up without taking a firm position. She hints however towards an erotic connection to the words *lundr*(grove) and *hult* (glade) being mentioned in different myths and sagas. (Steinsland 1991, p.95 ff.)

I regard it rather as an imaginary object—a place in the underworld. Gerðr tells Skírnir: *Barri heitir, er vit baði vitom, lundr lognfara*. Frejr accordingly is well aware of the location and evidently has an established habit of going there, and this also goes for Gerðr.

Since Gerðr is a moon-goddess, but also a representative for the underworld, the earth, in the classical connection between moon-goddess and mother earth, it is obvious that *Barri lundr* must be her bosom, which was well known and explored by Frejr. From there also Skírnir/Frejr has taken the Gambanteinn, which contains the life-force needed when the sun shall rest in Gerðr’s care, and that is essential also to secure a sucessfull continued fertilization. From where shoots namely the bursting branches of spring, if not from the bosom of the mother-goddess, mother-earth? In the classical culture there is a connection between the female bosom and the Tree of Life. Some have interpreted the Tau-cross, which is the Tree of Life, as a formation of the womb. Also the bosom of mother-earth contains a Tree of Life. From this tree Gambanteinn is taken. Skírnir threatens Gerðr with the most terrible consequences to her womanliness due to the fact, that in Gambanteinn is included not only the impregnator of the god, the phallus, but also essential parts of Gerðr’s female qualities and specially so the fertility. Gerðr knows that her grove now is barren- i.e. infertile—and that the

only one who can cure that is Frejr. You could suspect that the author of *Skírnismál* had a great interest in word plays since the presumptive meaning in this case of *Barri lundr* should be 'the infertile' or 'unfertilized' grove, since English *barren* just means 'infertile'. In old Scandinavian there are traces of the same meaning too. This must, of course, merely be considered as a speculation but still it seems convincing. It is however quite in line with the spirit of the mystery religions.

According to *Hellquist Etymologisk Ordbok* there is still another meaning of *barr*, *bar*, namely 'beam', 'pole' and also 'gin-beam'. *NE* defines gin-beam as an within heraldics used name of a so called heralds picture, in the shape of a from the heraldic upper, left corner diagonally placed field, consisting of two parallel straight lines of the same tincture. A beam goes from the opposite, upper corner of the shield. (*NE* p.476) About "bastard-string" *NE* says: "Heraldic term to indicate illegitim ancestry. The bastard-string is formed as a line (narrow gin-beam) diagonally over the content in a weapon shield and is extant specially within French heraldics. For e.g. an illegitimate son of a royal person the bastard-string was a status symbol. (*NE* p. 328)

The above awakes some interesting associations. The meaning 'pole' can mayhap be tied to "the grove", i.e. the bosom, as receiver of the phallus of the god. The possible meaning of bastard beam/string indeed supports Steinslands opinion about the illegitimacy of the offspring of the Hieros-Gamos what concerns the worldly prince, while the heralds picture goes excellently well together with the presentation of Skírnir as a messenger-herald. If these connections are intentional they must be regarded as relatively late, and must not necessarily have existed within the original mythpresentation. I am not prepared to claim that there is a conscious intention to stress the heraldic importance of the name *Barri*, but this possibility can indeed not be excluded.

After having published the Swedish edition I came across the works of Einar Pálsson, and especially his *Allegories in Njáls saga*. By this means I have got a decisive confirmation that most Icelandic sagas are built on an allegoric base and that they gradually and cryptic reveals information. My observations about *Skírnismál*, hence, seem to imply that the associations I made depend on pure intention of the writer.

Magnus Olsen (1909) has earlier claimed, that the basic meaning is a classical Hieros-Gamos, where the unification between heaven and earth is the essential part of it. So also Turville-Petré (Turville-Petré 1977, p.174) and Åke V Ström. (p.143 f.) I totally agree with this, but I also mean that Steinsland's emphasizing

of the importance of the genealogy of the prince for his claim of land, sealed through Hieros-Gamos, sheds still more light on the Nordic kingdom and must be regarded as a definite break-through.

Ring gods:

Above I have treated the ring Draupnir. The ringsymbol occurs in the sources connected with certain gods—Óðinn, Balðr, Frejr and ÚllR. Concerning Óðinn Draupnir usually is mentioned as his ring, and also when he places it on the pyre of Balðr it is regarded as his. Balðr's ship is called *Ringhorne*, which applies the ring-symbol also to him. The *höggode*—Pontifex Maximus—of Frejr, *svía konungr*, carries the ring *Svíá gris* 'svía pig' and claims himself ancestry from Frejr. Frejr himself in *Skírnismál* is pictured as disposing the ring Draupnir, and the reasoning above ties it still firmer to him. Also ÚllR is named as ring-god. (Turville-Petré 1977, p.183; *Grímnismál* v.5) As mentioned above the ring may be interpreted as well as the sun, an oath-ring and a magical ring. Ohlmarks interprets it also as the sun. (Ohlmarks, *Fornnordiskt lexikon*, p. 368) The ring of the god-king, the magician and the shaman Óðinn naturally has been interpreted mostly as a magical ring, but since he is god-king—with the same rank as the god of the celestial dome—he of course also exercises power over the sun. He is seen as a creator god. Balðr, the official sun-god, must of course be tied to the sun and Ringhorne hence is the sun-boat of that time. Concerning Frejr I have stated above why his ring must be associated with the sun, and this most surely also goes for his predecessor Ingr. ÚllR at last is since long time back regarded as a sun-god, or, as has been shown in the section about him, as a sky-god of the same rank, or identical with, Týr and/or Heimdallr, but with a close connection to the vanir. Accordingly also here a close connection with the sun. Ohlmarks and many other regard the sun-boat of the rock-carvings as ÚllR's ship.

Further we know that warriors have been sworn and initiated to Óðinn, and as a token of this they carried a golden ring—a bracelet—on their arms. Also what ÚllR concerns we can see indications of initiated warriors in the Torsbergsinscription, and in *Grímnismál*, v.5 he is connected with the oath-ring. (Turville-Petré 1977, p.183) The cult of Balðr is of course connected with Draupnir and Ringhorne but if his warriors wore a ring is not specifically known. (Cf. however later in the *Helgikviðae*) In the case of Frejr we know he is connected with Draupnir and that the king as Pontifex Maximus carries a bracelet but we know nothing about induced warriors and nor do we of Ingr. The name Ingemar is by Hellquist interpreted as 'the rumoured Ingr' alternatively 'the famous spear-or lancethrower' and somebody seems to have made the connection

‘the warrior of Ingr’ out of this. This could possibly imply that both those gods had sworn warriors but on the other hand the spear is originally the attribute of Týr and later Óðinn, and so there is nothing saying they had rings as symbols in this capacity. Frejr might have had a share of Freja’s Hadjings. In any case we can comfortably settle the fact that the symbolism with oath-rings occur in connection with Óðinn and most probably also with ÚllR and Týr-the god of the thing.

On the Continent Tacitus mentions induced warriors with the Chatti carrying rings of iron, which is more thoroughly treated by Höfler. (Höfler 1934, p.193 ff.)

Concerning the problem with oath-rings Stefan Brink newly demonstrated a considerably older origin of the Forsa ring, earlier dated as medieval. (Brink 1996, p.27-52) He fixes it in the period 800-1000 AD and interprets the inscription as an early law paragraph.

The runic inscription sounds, according to Liestøls newer interpretation, as follows:

: uksatuiskilanaukauratuastafatfurstalaki :  
 uksatuaaukaurafiurataþrulaki :  
 : inatþriþialakiuksafiuraukauratastaf :  
 aukaltaikuiuarRifanhafskakiritfuriR  
 : suaþliuþiRakuatliuþritisuauasintfuraukhalkat :  
 inþaRkirþusikþitanunratarstaþum :  
 : aukufakaahiurtstaþum :  
 inuibiurnfaþi :

Brink translates literally:

Oxa at vis gil[d]an ok aura tva staf at fyrsta lagi,  
 oxa tva ok aura fiura at aðru lagi,  
 en at þriðia lagi oxa fiura ok aura atta staf;  
 ok allt æigu i værr, ef hann hafsk ækki rett fyriR,  
 svað liuðiR æigu at liuðretti, sva vas innt fyrr ok hælgaþ.  
 En þæirR gærðu sik þetta Anundr a Tarstaðum  
 ok OfagR a Hiortstaðum. En VibioRn faði.

In modern shape he interprets it:

One oxen and two *öre* (in fines) to “the staff” to restore  
 the *vi* (the cult place)in legal order the first time;  
 Two oxen and four *öre* for the second time;



but for the third time four oxen and eight *öre*;  
 and all property in sequestration, if he does not fulfill his obligations.  
 What the people owns to demand according to the law of the land,  
 this was earlier prescribed and confirmed.  
 But they made this to themselves, Anund in Tåsta and Ofeg in Hjortsta.  
 But Vibjörn carved(wrote).

Alternatively he might accept Ruthströms (1990 p.54) introduction:” One oxen and two *örar* (in fines) for restoring of (fence around) the *vi* into legal order for each pole the first time it has fallen.” (Brink 1996, p.39)

It deals accordingly in his interpretation with an oath-ring tied to a *vi*, and also with a confirmed decision referring to the law of the people. Hence we have a clear connection between sacral and secular power, which is one of the leading topics in this book. (Brink 1996, p.39) He understands further the two persons mentioned in the inscription as “two law-men (judges), *minnunga mæn*, i.e. two law-knowing men in the Viking Period Hälsingland.” These persons might for sure also be chieftains or maybe *goði*. To what god the ring might possibly be tied is not possible to confirm, but Týr might be as good a guess as any other since he was thing-god. That the staff, however, belongs to the sacral function, as is also indicated by Steinsland who as well has connected it with the initiation of the king, seems quite evident. Gambanteinn lies here as tempting close as the tubestalk of the Odinic initiations. You might also recall the *guldgubbar* (tiny gold-plates with figures) found on e.g. the island of Bornholm and in Slöinge, Halland, who also were equipped with staffs. The staff, hence, might have been the power symbol of the *goðe*.

Finally it is suitable to mention, that the author of *Skírnismál* has made a very subtle and clever esoteric literary work showing a deep understanding of mystery-religions, and how they tend to express the content of the cult with a formulation demanding a careful analysis and skilled knowledge of the myst to reach final understanding. This suggests that the poem in it's present shape may be relatively young, but still it might, as indeed it seems, build on genuinely old traditional stuff. The cult of Frejr evidently deals with a real classical Hieros-Gamos, but the question about the actual name of the sun-god during different time epochs is with this material impossible to decide. In the present shape, however, the cult of Balðr is doubtlessly included. Besides Steinsland has meritoriously indicated that the prince is born as son of a earth-deity—if giantess or earth-goddess might be disputed—and of a god. The prince claims in this way, within the human cult, the land for his kindred and besides he is a hero—a human child of gods. He is

however also, according to my own analysis, the reborn Ingr/Frejr and Úllir/Balðr. The classical opinion of the Ingling/Yngling-kings, in Sweden or Norway, as reincarnated gods who all, at least in Sweden, carried the Noa-name Yngve, is actually confirmed in this way by *Skírnísmál*. *Svíakonungr* was indeed in a literal sense ‘the sun-king’, the reborn sun-god!

## Cult-places

To localize cultic places in an area, to find out if a certain cult was practiced there once, can be difficult. There are however certain name groups indicating possible earlier fertility-cult. I have already mentioned the element *åker*. *Uppsala/Uppsala* is a name generally distributed within the supposed spread-area of the Swedish and Norwegian Ynglings. Since this kin is connected with the cult of Ingr/Frejr there is handy to assume that many of these names are primary cult-place names while other again are secondary names indicating later royal property. This does however not exclude that former cult-places with Christianity might have been confiscated by the crown. There are approximately 200 Uppsala-names in Sweden, Norway, Great Britain and the North-Atlantic Isles. (A.Högmer 1990) Names on Frejr/Freja and Frö/Fröja like *Fröslunda*, *Frölunda* et.c. are easy to grab but also *-lund-*, *-ví-*, *-eke-*, *-skepp* (in certain cases only), *-lek* or *-leik* and *-sal* are names that can suggest fertility-cult. Names containing the element *hage* can as well be cultic after the fenced area—*kulthagen*—where the cult was practised. There is a known song-text about “flickorna i hagen“, the girls within the fence, hinting at the *Frithiofs saga*. What the girls do in the *hage* is exactly what was made in the cultic field—the *kultåker*. *Torp* (thorp) can also suggest a sacrifice-place, unless it belongs to the younger group which is tied to Germ. Dorf. Other names of cultic character are *Rad*, *Rod*, *Röd*, *Råd* but in those cases we can not decide the kind of cult. (Envall 1969) Tuna is another name supposed to have cultic connection. Hyenstrand; Brink 1996, p.27-52). *Sel-*, *Säl-* can often be tied to cult since it might indicate places where rest hostels for travellers to and from a cult-place were situated. They can be along the way, but also at the cult-place proper. Also more neutral is *harg*. Later on all these matters will be more thoroughly discussed in actual contexts.

## Conclusion of fertility-cult

The examination of the fertility-cult has quite evident confirmed the original postulate, that the gods can not be divided purely into high- or sky-gods, fertility-gods and shamanistic gods, but on the contrary indicated that these functions occur mixed with each other. It has been shown that both Óðinn and Freja have

an antropomorph, as well as teriomorf, mythological army fighting cultic battles against the chaos-forces. Freja's fighters, the Hadjings, and the cultic fighters of the Balðr cult are hard to distinguish from each other and often appear to be the very same characters. In those cases these follows, teriomorph or antropomorph, are represented by human actors, the evidence appear to point to as well Óðinn as Freja. Specially it has been demonstrated that Ingr and Frejr might be identified with the sun and it's functions in as high degree as Balðr, whose younger character appears evident. Also ÚllR appears with aspirations of being a sun-god. Besides it has been made probable that the sun-god, regardless what name he is ascribed, accordingly also Balðr, indeed is ressurected and that *sviakonungr* in that case in fact is the sun-king—the reborn sun-god—in the same time as he is son of, besides the human king, also Ingr/Frejr and of the earth-goddess/the moon-goddess. In this way he may claim the right of the land and legalize his power position. Considering the family name Inglings/Ynglings the sun-god at the time for the beginning of the name-tradition ought to have been just Ingr—or maybe rather the couple Ingr and ÚllR. The king did indeed claim that he was the reborn Yngve-Frejr. The ring Draupnir has been identified as among else the sun and hence it's connection only with Óðinn might strongly be questioned. After having established correct dates for the sacrifices to Frejr, and having indicated that the old Northeners had applied a moon-year with 13 months, the connection between ÚllR, the sun and the celebration of Jul/Yule-tide (i.e. later Christmas) has been exposed in a more understandable manner. Týr and Heimdallr have come closer to each other. A certain amount of the Uppsala-names have been suggested to have connection with the cult of Frejr in the capacity of a cult-place—regardless of geographical position. The cult of Óðinn has, through the Balðr-cult, an intimate connection with the cult of Frejr according to the relatively young *Skírnismál*, but Balðr might have had a predecessor. The question about the the arrivals of the cults of Óðinn and Balðr is still open, but the Law of Aun indicates a change in cultic habits for the Mälär valley area, being probably the last area to convert to the Óðinn cult, around the transition from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. The Cultic Wedding, i.e. Hieros-Gamos, and rural fertility-rituals in relatively modern time have been demonstrated.

## **Secret men's—and warrior's—leagues (cultic leagues)**

We arrive now in a field of religions who primarily can be regarded as shamanistic according to traditional estimations. That the cult of Óðinn belongs to these is considered a general truth. I believe there is reason also to regard the cult of the presumed god Gaut to this group. It is however an assumption founded on only very few indications. There is no real confirmation of shamanism in the cult of Gaut since the cult in fact is only presumed, but the Gothic halirunnae remind of the seeresses within the fertility cult, who rather dealt with the religion of the common people in contrary to the cults of the chieftains and warriors. The reason to treat this presumed cult under this rubrication is rather because of the fact, that there are reasons to assume the existence of cultic men's leagues and warrior's leagues of shamanistic character due to the known fact that later Óðinn appears with the double name Óðinn-gaut, and hence the two gods seem to have merged with each other into one god.

According to experiences from all over the world from so called primitive cultures, the male members of the tribe, after trials to prove their manhood, are initiated in different kind of men's or warrior's leagues, and in this way getting a social position strongly differing them from women and children. The strongest aim for this behaviour is normally an ancestral cult. The initiation often includes some kind of ritual symbolic killing of the initiand and a resurrection into a state of a living dead, and so the young warrior may have a close and living contact with the ancestral spirits carrying their work further. In critical situations those spirits also may give him valuable help. Such a league rests on a cultic community and therefore it is in reality a cultic league.

Also there are possibilities that such leagues can be connected with a strong chieftain in a later stage of the development of a realm, or later a state, which is shown e.g. during the Middle Ages when Knights Orders of a more profane nature were erected. Even then one claimed religious motivations for the establishment of the orders.

In different ways people try to embody spiritual beings and already dead persons. It might be done through disguising as an animal—teriomorph masking—or as kind of humanoid personifying a deity, an ancestor or another dead person—antropomorph masking. Initially there is no physical difference between 'the other side' and this one—between the world of the dead and of the living—but the dead are supposed to walk around among the living in the same world. Through their masking, their guise or hamre, they indeed really believe they are the person whose features they have applied, disposing this persons or deities

properties and strenght. They are indeed dead even if they live—they belong to the living dead—and so they can not in reality be killed even if their bodies should be destroyed.(Cf. Einhärjar and Hadjings who are resurrected all the time after having fallen in a battle.) Because not differing on the world of the dead and of the living—life continued mainly in the same way as before after death—those initiated naturally were part of their society, but later, when these worlds were regarded as different, they were seen as a more genuine death-army. This is the way they are regarded in later carnival follows. The understanding of the realm of the death was, besides, depending of the belonging to a social group. In the warrior's cult, where you were initiated to Óðinn, you ended up in Valhall—but only the bravest and only men. The other unceremoniously landed in the realm of the dead and its geography is very vague.

The permanent settled farmers had another wiew. In *Eyrbyggjasaga* is told that Þorolf settled at Þórnsnéss and had a temple built beside his farm. Close by was a mountain that he called the Holy Mountain, and that Þorolf regarded as so holy that nobody, not having washed oneself, was even allowed to watch it, and it was strictly forbidden to slay somebody there. Into this mountain he and his family were bound to go after death. He is later followed by his son Þorstein into the mountain where they are greeted by dead relatives. There fires are burning and horns are blown. Þorstein is allowed to sit in the high-seat right opposite his father. This is evidently a private realm of the dead just for the family, and it includes both men and women.

Accordingly there is a clear contrast between the cult and beliefs of the warriors and of the farmers.

A parallel to these cultic leagues during Roman time is the cult of Mithras, which within the Roman army exhibits similar traits as the men's leagues. There are seven degrees: The Ravens, the Veiled or Masced, the Soldiers, the Lions, the Persians, the Sun-runners and the Fathers. The Ravens is the lowest grade and they are regarded as the messengers of Mithras.(Cf. The ravens of Óðinn as messengers.) It can be no coincidence that ravens and crows often appear as brands within (secret) men's leagues. These birds are death- and carcass- birds and they live in great swarms. The Veiled have a position reminding of the Spartan Krypteia, closer commented in *Mysterier* by Johanssons. The most aged members, at last, compose the Fathers.(Johanssons 1986)

The aims with such a league may be various:

1. In a shamanistic religion it is important to fight the destructive chaos-forces. This calls for a strong army of heroes from all ages of time, helping the good gods to fight the destructive forces at occasions like Ragnarøk. Here both the Einhärjar of Óðinn and the Hadrings of Freja fit very well.
2. It is, however, not only on the divine level these forces are needed. Mean demonic forces make everything possible to destroy the growing power of the fields. If the tribe shall survive, these must be chased away and the growing power must be reconquered. (Cf. e.g. the werewolves in Livonia above)
3. The tribe, besides, needs protection also against human enemies. Also for this aim it is very useful to have ancestral and spiritual help.
4. Such a league might with time gradually change its function and eventually getting tied to kings or chieftains claiming a divine ancestry, or in another way representing the god of the league. These conditions are idealic for a ruler of a wandering tribe in the Migration Period Europe and a good precondition for the establishment of the later, more permanent Gefolgschaft-kingdoms.

(See further concerning these matters e.g. Höfler 1934, p.247; Johanssons 1986, p.10 ff.)

Below I will closer scrutinize different shapes of such men's leagues or cultic leagues in connection with the cult of Óðinn. I presume, as earlier stated, that they also might be actual in connection with the Goths. As already mentioned there is a difficulty to define a borderline between Óðinn and Freja in a shamanistic sense, but since the cult of Óðin seemingly also uses teriomorph characters these occurrences probably should be connected with Óðinn more directly. In those cases I am hesitating I will state that in the commentaries. I start with a general survey of the cult of Óðinn in a broad sense. Later I look closer on the different stories about teriomorph warrior's leagues and hero-sagas. The *Helgikviðae* will be examined and also the magical shamanism—the one aiming for contact

with the divine level. I will also examine the cult as documented on runic stones and in the iconographic representations of the gold-bracteates et c. Everything from cultic organizations and initiations—personally to a god or collectively to a league—to possible confirmation of cultic rituals.

## The cult of Óðinn

Compilation of different types of sacrifices and initiations to Óðinn:

- I. Curses (of enemies)
- II. Sacrifices through hanging
  - hanging + scratching-piercing with a spear
  - a) Sacrifices for good wind, growing power et.c. E.g. king's sacrifices.
  - b) Initiations of runic masters (symbolic sacrifice)
  - c) Warrior's initiations—initiations
    - 1. Initiations in men's- and warrior's leagues (symbolic sacrifice)
    - 2. Personal initiations to the god (where the initiand finally is supposed to be fetched home to Valhall by Óðinn himself through a violent and honourable death.)(symbolic sacrifice)

(Simplified compilation from Höfler 1934, p.246)

I have used the work of Otto Höfler as a basic book about the cult of Óðinn, since he focuses on the aspects specially interesting to myself in this examination. These are the men's- and warrior's- leagues and the relations between the Óðinn-king/the chieftain—and the god. What is the connection between a leading role within the cult of Óðinn with political power and the from this resulting moulding of the structure of society? What are the external prepositions for the cult of Gaut in comparison with the circumstances characteristic for areas dominated by the cult of Óðinn? In the background lingers of course the still unanswered question whether the cult of Óðinn is original or imported later to certain areas. Before it is possible to answer this also the archaeological evidence must be examined. Depending on accessible material I will also treat newer literature, but in spite of the fact that Höfler's works—and his sources—are old the new material is relatively sparse, since later researchers have regarded the question of cultic leagues as uninteresting. This depends, according to my view, on how you define the term cultic league, and to me this topic is vital to be able to try to verify my hypothesis. Because of these circumstances I am in this respect forced to use older sources to a large extent. I will not treat all parts of the cult, but confine myself to those elements being vital for the continued reasoning. The other parts are clear enough already in the compilation tableau, and references and remarks appear continuously in the text.



Höfler treats the question whether there is a difference between heroes and criminals, since also the hanged thieves and other malefactors come to Óðinn. He also mentions king Víkarr, who was hanged in public as a sacrifice to Óðinn, and also was pierced by a spear in the saga of Haddingr. (Höfler 1934, p.231) (Saxo) Höfler refers to H. de Boor, who has shown that this combination of hanging and piercing or molesting with a lance is typical for the old Germanic sacrifice ritual. Cf. the place in the Edda where Óðinn sacrifices himself through hanging, wounding himself with a spear. For nine days he hanged and when he fell down he found the knowledge of runes. This parallels the antique mystery-religions where the god himself always is the first myst. The ritually hanged do not form a unified ethnic group but what is important and decisive is the sacrifice ritual—they are committed to the god and he can dispose of them at will. A hero voluntarily sacrificing himself to Óðinn got a very favourable position.

It is important to differ between real sacrifices and symbolical sacrifices—especially so initiations within leagues and personal initiations to the god. The hanging-death then was only symbolic, even if probably a real string was used but not strong enough to hold for a real hanging. Also the scratching was real but only in shape of a harmless surface wound. It dealt with a manhood trial. Snorri tells (*Ynglingasaga* chap. 9) about a man who on his sick-bed was wounded with the spear in order to be committed to Óðinn and hence be allowed to come to Valhall in spite of dying in his bed.

## Why are death- and thief-gods linked in the same god?

For example Óðinn, Hermes/Mercurius, Rudra (India). The answer is that the cultic anti-demon armies were allowed to steal at certain times of the year in connection with cultic feast-seasons. They were dependent of this for their furnishing (Cf. Christmas gifts). In Northern Germany and Denmark Axel Olrik has demonstrated that people at the time of Jul/Yule/Christmas also during later times sacrificed hams et c., and also calfs being let loose for “herremanden“, i.e. Óðinn. The ham was said to disappear into the air and the calf never was found. The only explanation these “gifts” never were refound is due to human collectors of the gifts. (Höfler 1934, p.121 f).

That ordinary thieves have been included is a later idea. The Langobardic law has got special rules about the so called Walapaus, meaning an organization has the right to steal at certain times and also to apply physical violence. In Sweden the Öjabusar had a similar right et c.

Oldnordic men's names on—*þjófr* 'thief' are not uncommon. Most of all they appear as *Valþjófr*, but later variants are e.g. *Eyþjófr* and *Geirþjófr*. These are honourable names of warriors and they most probably were cultic warriors. (The

‘Val-thief’, ‘stealer of the val’ who consists of the fallen fighters, indeed is magnificent!) (Höfler 1934, p.257 ff.) To this might be added that the Spartan wolf-units could survive only in this way. (Johanssons 1986) Certain interpreters prefer to relate—*þjófr* with the Ogmcs *theów* ‘soldier’ and mean this was imported from OE. Höfler argues that this is less probable. Names meaning ‘soldier’ anyhow might have a cultic meaning, because with the Heruls the young, newly initiated, were called just ‘soldiers’—it was the first degree of their cultic league. Procopius tells about this. (Höfler 1934, p. 267)

The above gives the conclusion, that the initiation to Óðin means a symbolic, ritual hanging while a sacrifice is a real hanging. In both cases scratches are made also with a spear—Gungner—or a substitute being to weak to inflict harm. There are especially three narrower areas where it is interesting to take a closer look on what happens and what the meaning is with the acts performed. It deals about:

1. King’s sacrifice for good wind or good harvest
2. Personal initiation of a warrior to Óðinn and to other deities
3. Cult- and warrior’s—leagues in general and what they are dealing with.

In this connection there is reason to approach the Helgikviðae and their connection with as well Fjötrlund as the Semnonenhain.

Let us start with some practically documented examples from later time. A medieval description of “Todesheer” gives an insight in the degree of organization and awareness in this cult. It should be noted that it in no way primarily is a real cultic rite being depicted here, but that it deals with later interpretations of the original cultic community of the “immortal” initiated, who in the minds of those non-initiated indeed were living dead. It goes about the death army of Rudra or Mercurius, about the Einhärjar of Óðinn and maybe the Hadjings of Freja. At their more official performances they of course already then in cultic plays used antropomorph and teriomorph masks, and so they also are reported to have done in fighting, as shall be demonstrated later on.

A telling by Agricola:

Ich habe neben andern gehört/vom dem Wirdigen herrn Johann Kennerer Pfarrherr zu Mansfeld/seines alters vber achzig jar/das zu Eisleben/vnd in gantzen land zu Mansfeld/das wütend heere (also haben sie es genennet) fürüber gezogen sey/alle jar auff den Fasnacht Donnerstag/und die Leut sind zugelauffen/und haben darauff gewartet/nit anders/als solt ein grosser mechtiger Keyser oder König fürüber ziehen. Vor dem hauffen ist

ein alter Mann hergegangen/mit einem weissen Stabe/der hat sich selbs den trewen Eckhart geheissen/Dieser alter Mann hat die Leute heissen aus dem wege weichen/hat auch etliche leute heissen gar heim gehen/sie würden sonst schaden nehmen/Nach diesem man haben etliche geritten/etliche gegangen/und sind Leute gesehen worden/die newlich an den orten gestorben waren/auch der eins teils noch lebten. Einer hat geritten auff einem Pferde mit zweien füßen. Der ander ist auff einem Rade gebunden gelegen/vnd das radt ist von jm selbs vmbgelauffen. Der dritte hat einen schenkel vber die achsel genommen/vnd hat gleich sehr gelauffen. Ein ander hat kein Kopff gehabt/vnd der stück on massen. In Franken ist noch newlich gesehen/Zu Heidelberg am Nekar/hat mans offt im jar gesehen/wie man mich berichtet hat. (Höfler 1934, p.38 f.)

Here you should specially note “master Eckhart” preceding the procession as herald and warner wearing a staff, as we earlier attributed to the *goðe*, to scare away curious people. This is probably an original function since the cult was secret and had an interest in keeping the secrecy in front of ordinary people. All young boys were by no means initiated to Odinistic warriors but rather quite few. In the cult aiming for fertility more people were involved as parttakers, of course. The here described occurrence was by all probability meant for a broader publicum, since it was a carnival, but how many that originally were allowed to watch everything is an open question. There is also probably another function of this master Eckhart, trying to keep the activities away from clerical observers since this was essentially something the church, and hence the officials, indeed disliked, and of course youngsters could suffer mental harm of seeing this and so were chased for home.

Two kind of follows are reported with slightly different character:

1. The wild army—the death-army
2. The wild hunt

Concerning teriomorph hamrs may be told that Óðinn also is called *Hrosshársgrani* and *Jalkr*, which indicate that he can have had a horse-hamr, says Höfler, but on the other hand I think it could just refer to his horse. The horses in the army/hunt can have everything from two to eight legs (also one leg is indeed reported). (Höfler 1934, p.38 ff.) The eight-legged horse is much older than Óðinn. (Cf. Søren Nancke-Krogh, *Schamanens best*) The Nordic *Helhest* is described as a three-legged horse. (Grimm, DM, p.704; Fr. Meyer *Schleswig-Holsteiner Sagen*, p.78 f) *Palnajaegeren* on Funen, i.e. Óðinn, could appear at blacksmiths during the twelve days from Christmas and everybody must have

forged three hoof-seems, lying ready on the steed—if not so the blacksmith could reckon with a less agreeable future. This refers of course to the three-legged *Helhest*. This tradition is however older than the cult of Óðinn and parallels exist in Celtic England and among the Basques. Besides also in all Germany.

The dog is old in the death-cult and occurs already in Egypt (Anubis). In a description from Kerpen in Rheinland it is spoken of: “One tied on a wheel, one with a dog’s head barking and one with a cat’s head hissing.” (Höfler 1934, p.42) This associates automatically to Óðinn and Freja and solar cult. We have no cat-pictures in the rock-carvings and so we can not trace the cat symbol in that way. Dogs and wolves in mimical presentation however are found on e.g. the Torsöbleck, showing wolf-warriors (antropomorph representation) and also on the Gallehus horn whose pictures, according to Höfler, represent Óðinn and his hunting follow. Concerning the Gallehus horn I have quite another opinion. I mean that it tells of the divine myths in general, and that the figures primarily are teriomorph and antropomorph cultic representations describing a living cult, and not the death-army of later times reconstruction of this cult. Höfler says himself that they in those days not were understood as a death-army in the same manner as nowadays.

In this connection Höfler has got en interesting thought concerning the problem dog and cat:

Specially important in this connection is a conception that you can understand from a libellous poem by the Icelander Hjalti Skeggjason from the year 999 AD. There Óðinn is called a dog and Freja a bitch. Here you see the ancient dogshaped death-ruleress become visible, who, comparable with the Greek Hekabe-Hekate, barks in front of the ghastly death-march like also the male death-god Óðinn. (Höfler 1934, p.90)

Harlequin is a later Óðinn-representation. The wild hunt allways draws forward to the sound of bells (or other strike instruments or similar equipment like pots et c.). Confirmation exists from the 13<sup>th</sup> c. in *mesnie Herlequin*. Also the word *Herlequin* is of Germanic origin. (M.Rühlemann: Etymologie des Wortes Harlequin und verwandter Wörter, Halle 1912; B.O. Driesen: Der Ursprung des Harlequin in *Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte*, published by Fr.Muncker, Band XXV, Berlin 1904) More references in Höfler 1934, p.8, for example to *Zimmersche Chronik* about “Wuotesheer”. A French novel from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> c. describes a Harlequin-follow—*Roman de Fauvel*—under the name of *Charivari*. The story takes place during the night of the heroes marriage—the Brautnacht—in front of his castle, and it is his friends who are the actors. The nightly herd is described as follows. “Der eine trug Kuhglocken unter

seinen Schenkeln und Hinterbacken angenäht und darüber umfangliche Schellen, hochtonig beim Klingen und Schwingen, der andere Trommeln und Zimbeln.” (Höfler 1934, p.7 ff.)

Ordericus Vitalis tells 1091 of black riders and other “Ethiopians” in the *Herlechini familia*. Black is the colour of death. The oldest pictured Harlequin-figure in theatre-milieu (1600) had a black face. This goes also for *Roman de Fauvel*, Haberfeldtrennen et.c. (Höfler 1934, p.39 ff.)

In the acts of Finska kyrkohistoriska samfundet VI 1637-1666 there is told, in connection with a visitation in Finström on Åland, of Óðinnsriders in 1639. They are riding around guesting people by force, cooking food in the homes of the unvoluntarily hosts and of the food belonging to the hosts. In this case also the mother of the accused Óðinnsrider was herself accused of handling all the cooking for the follow. Her son is said to have told the other he was a changeling, but was taken back by his mother through her cooking of a living ram, and then through smearing him with it's fat.:

Effter ransakningen framkom Hindrich Isakson i Westanträsk och klagade på Jacob Pällson i Tiude att han hafuer kommit honom i ett ondt rychte och förhindrat ett ährligit echtenskaps tillbodh, n. att Jacob hafuer sagt Hindrich rider medh odens männer och hans moder kokar fhår till samma odens männer. Jacob refererar på Madz Jörensso in Oster Getha, som intet war tillstädes. Bleff sagt att pastor skall tingföra och weta beskedh” (s. 13).

1640, 8-9 mars, Visitation i Finström (Ål.):16.

Om odens männer och kokningen, såsom then 18 puncten i förra visitation förmåler, består Måges Jörensso in Östergeta, Hindrich sielff hafua berättat för honom, at han war en bytingh, och bleff igen bytt genom thetta medell, att hans modher kokade en leffuandes gumse och smorde honom medh samma fetma

In this connection I want to recall the earlier section where Óðinn's function as god of thieves is treated. Similarities also occur with several documented cases of werewolf-activities, as well as with examples from Southern Germany concerning the wild hunt in rural lore. Olaus Magnus writes for instance of werewolves in *Balticum*. Those being enrolled into this secret league were forced to act as wolves every year during twelve days from Christmas—i.e. to the Holy Kings' Day. Cattle were slain but not humans, and they broke into the farms and ate and drank of their supply. They had to sustain special tests of manhood like jumping over a wall, swim in a river during wintertime et c. A man with a scourge super-

vised that everything was correctly done or else they were whipped. (Höfler 1934, p.22) Cf. also the former mentioned werewolf-trial in Riga.

The occurrence of the wild hunt under various names can in modern lore be connected with specially two time-points of the year. In e.g. Elsass and Schwaben and in the whole of Northern Germany, yes in fact in whole Germany and in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland (not to forget the Faroe islands, not mentioned by Höfler) it is specially around Christmas till 12 days after Christmas and besides at the time of fasting.

With us in the Nordic countries we have got *julfolk*, *jultåg*, *jolaskreid* (Iceland), *jolasveinar* (Norway), not to forget those children in modern time in Anglo-Saxon countries singing carols and being paid with sweets. Óðinn also is called *Jólnir*. (Höfler 1934, p.22)

At the old Jul/Yule, now *Lusse*, we have *lussegubbar* (lussemen) still going around frightening people with demonic masks in Västergötland. Also these get sweets in payment. Christianity has tried to import Santa Lucia at this time but that trial was not completely successful as it seems. Our Swedish fasting is now mostly related with the witches going around at Eastern collecting sweets, equipped with brooms and smearing-pots. In fireworks during Easter there remains a memory of dangerous demons traveling around in the night. They must be scared away. Earlier it was always necessary with living fire during such nights. A good idea of older times lore you can get from Hylthén-Cavallius *Värend och Virdarna*. On Iceland and the Faroe islands the *Gryl* still remains as connected with the fasting, but on Iceland also to Christmas as kind of father Christmas. The *Gryl* is a fertility-entity with evident demonic traits which seems to have a primarily shamanistic function in chasing demons from the fields and so preserving the crops, but he also runs around between the farms lifting the womens skirts with his huge pole being red-painted in the tip. (Cf. the *Gryl* of the rune-stone Vg.56 later!)

A parallel of the *lussegubbar* of Västergötland, but now in fasting time, from Prüm. Boys walk around from house to house representing the army of the dead. The leader demands, in his capacity as a frozen dog, to get meat as a gift. If they receive what they demand they promise to walk away from the door. They sing:

“He komt en jrusen Hont/en ös net recht jezont/jet am a stök spek/da je het van dar düar aweg“.

Höfler understands in this habit remembrances of a very old sacrifice ceremony. I would rather say a typical furnishing of a cultic, shamanistic league and not a sacrificial rite, even if it in later lore may have been

connected with the real sacrifice. In any case it is indeed a very old cultic remnant.

## Conclusion

To summarize this section we can settle that the shamanistic cultic leagues hunting demons were secret in the real sense of that word. It was not known, at least generally, who were engaged in their activities. They were initiated with a fixed ritual and had to suffer trials of different kind to be approved. Their maintenance via food supply et c. was a duty of everybody in the community since all had benefit of the defense against the demons. Since the league however was secret, there was no way to issue official laws concerning payment of tributes. This is the real reason that these groups were allowed to, within certain limits, dispose over the property of other humans, unless they did not voluntarily donate food and other equipment. Even according to the laws of certain countries it is allowed for such leagues to steal. In later time when the humans did not live so close to these happenings, it was remembered as the wild hunt or similar, and as time went by it was transferred into carnival follows in connection with the fasting. Also the Harlequin-figure is a representative of the death army of Óðinn. In the countryside, however, the fertility-rites and the demon-hunt lingered up to modern times—often in shape of ecclesiastical processions over the fields lead by Catholic priests and saint-figures. I have also demonstrated the possible variants of sacrifice to Óðinn—meaning hanging and piercing with a spear either this was real or symbolic in connection with an initiation. Not just warriors, werewolves et c. were initiated but of course also those runic masters going to handle the by Óðinn invented runes.

## Warrior's leagues in saga and reality

Höfler claims that cultic leagues and warrior's leagues are two sides of the same thing. Usual single combat may be intended to call on magic inference in that sense, that it indicates which one of two opposing armies who will win the battle, but this does not mean the fight in itself is cultic. Fighting by no means need to be cultic but it can indeed be. It is specially the young warriors being initiated in a league through testing their courage. This test can be placed in a cultic milieu. Almgren means he has indicated cultic fighting in rock-carvings (It is in this case teriomorph examples if not pure mythic stories.). Höfler also is of the opinion, that within the young men's leagues were allways at least two groups all the time fighting each other. (Höfler 1934, p.152 ff) To the above might be added that the single combat, later duels, in fact were beleived to be decided by Týr, or just divine powers later on, who gave the victory to the righteous. A divine sentence.

### Harii (Lugii/Vandili)

Tacitus Germania, chap. 43, describes the nightly rides of the Harii-warriors:

Their from birth original wildness and the use of the most suitable time help them. Black are their shields, painted their bodies, dark nights they draw to battle and induce terror already through the frightening greyish obscurity of their death-army. No enemy can stand against this unfamiliar and hellish sight. Because for all fighters the eyes are the first to be defeated.

Here a concrete example that these masks also could be used during fight in a warrior's league.

### Berserks/Bärsärkar

Berserks have the tradition to dress themselves in animal guise. It here deals with human warriors in teriomorph masks, who aided by herbal brews, among else of henbane, drug themselves in order to reach a terrible rage before a battle. They are rumoured as fighters. The name derives from *bär*= 'bear' and *serkr*= 'guise, hamr' (Cf. skirt, tunic=*särk*; *Särkland*= Arabia)



## Einherjar/Enhärjar

The einherjar, those in battle fallen, spend the eternity fighting. Every day they are killed in battle but are resurrected in the evening in Valhall, when the boar Särimner is eaten, only to be reborn again. The following morning they again fight. This is exactly the same theme as the Todesheer. *Härjar* has the same linguistic origin as the Harii of the Lugii (Vandili), of which Tacitus writes. It derives from the word for army, Sw. *här*, Germ. *Heer*. (Cf. Goth. *harji*.)

## Hjadnings, Ulvhednings

A parallel to the einherjar within the frames of the fertility cult—the cult of Freja—are the so called Hjadnings, who by the valkyrie Hild every morning are awakened to new fighting. Höfler proves convincingly that the word derives from the word *heðinn*. It is a ON. appellativum meaning ‘animalshape’, ‘shape’, ‘hamr’, ‘guise’ and ‘coat’ or ‘fur-coat’. Accordingly it is synonymous with *serkr*, *berserkr*, *hamr*, *ulphamr*, and the last word can be interpreted either as ‘in wolf-shape’ or as ‘dressed out to a wolf’. People in those days made no difference between the two in connection with cult. Later we know the expression *ulvhedningar* ‘wolfheathens’, meaning the same thing. Höfler regards the Hjadnings as an army of living warriors dressed out in teriomorph masks—they look like wolves with wolf-furs over themselves—fighting cultic battles reflecting the beliefs in the death-army. This should be done within the frames of a warrior’s league of secret character. As a further proof he presents the poem *Widsith* in *Beowulf*, where Heoden (He[n]den) is mentioned ruler of *weold Glommum*, by Much interpreted as ‘master of the bellers’—‘bellers’ he understands as wolves. *Heðinn* is also used as by-name of, according to Höfler, “one of the rulers in the Oldnordic spiritual realm”, Guðmundr Ulfheðinn. (Höfler 1934, p.163 ff.)

If Höfler is correct in this matter it explains several question-signs about teriomorph and antropomorph bellicious cultic leagues, and it gives a certain distinction to the death-army of Freja, having a decidedly teriomorph character in difference of the death-army of Óðinn. Both performed by human actors in the same time as they are supposed to exist in the spiritual world. The connection with Hekate is interesting. Freja should not have a connection with wolves or dogs but for Hekate it is quite possible. The Hjadnings, hence, might very well be primary, and specially since their basic function seems to be to represent the fight between summer and winter. It seems evident here that there is a connection with the *Helgikviðae*, where Hǫgner and Heðinn in reality are Hǫðr and his dualistic brother—his hamr—Balðr, incessantly fighting each other cared by the moon-goddess Nanna/Freja—i.e. Hild. Both Hǫðr (Hadhu) and Hild means ‘fight’.

The question of cultic belonging is a little tricky. The Hadjings ought to be included in the shamanistic part of the fertility-cult under the domains of Freja, but teriomorph wolf-masks on living warriors evidently also can involve Óðinn-warriors. Concerning the myth of Baldr being the lead motife of the *Helgikviðae*, the question is wether it is specially connected with Óðinn and possibly earlier included other actors in the same fight, almost surely being a fight between the seasons of the year. There is indeed also a possibility that some elements may hint on fight between day and night also, which does not contradict the over all solution, since Baldr was a sun god and his presence being nessecary both every year and every day of the summer. As far as Baldr and Höðr are involved it should be regarded as also connected with Óðinn, but it does not mean that it could not have had a long tradition earlier, and Hild is doubtless the one leading the Hadjing-army.

## Guðmundr

*Porsteinssaga Bæjarmagnar* mentions Guðmundr (Goðmund) as the ruler of *Glæsisvellir*, the warrior's paradise. In Norweigan mythology he is called Guðmundr. The father of Guðmundr Ulfheðinn, who was king there before his son, also carried the name Guðmundr, and hence Ulfheðinn was meant to differentiate them from each other. It should be interpreted as 'the one in wolf's fur' or 'wolf-shape'. The son of Guðmundr Ulfheðinn is called Heiðrekr Ulfhamr—accordingly the same meaning. Saxo knows a giant called Guthmundus. Guðmundr sometimes is given the epithet *faxe*, i.e. 'the one with a mane' meaning a horse. This ties it to the idea of the death-army drawing around in Norway in the Christmas night under name of *Oskoreiden*—it is in this follow the *jolasveinar*, 'the yule youngsters', ride. Nils Lid has the opinion that it is the fertility symbol, the sheaf, which stands in the center of the Yule-celebration and ties it to Guðmundr. Guðmundr is, according to Höfler, master of the realm of the dead, the death-horse, which in the later shape of Sleipner carries the dead on the Gotlandic picture-stones. He is master of dogs and wolves (Cf. Anubis). Also Faxe is the name of a death demon—the horse of the dead. (Höfler 1934, p.172)

The picture of Guðmundr is from my point of wiew a little splintered. One could calmly settle that Guðmundr was a cult-god, while Guðmundr Ulfheðinn and his successors were personifying this god in teriomorph (animal-) masks—they were dressed out as wolves. The *Heiðreks saga* indicates that Guðmundr was a cult-god receiving sacrifice. He might be an original fertility-god later more or less identified with the Óðinn-figure, and at the same time the original *Glæsisvellir* might have been influenced by the Valhall myth. He could however

also be a local variant of the early predecessor of Óðinn. It should be observed that the Hadjing-army, as already remarked, is consequently teriomorph, which in this case indicates a possible connection with fertility-cult. On the other hand there is also a teriomorph shamanistic Óðinn-tradition making it difficult to take a firm standpoint. The original function of the Hadjings, however, is clearly associated with furthering the growth and connected with the fight between summer and winter. Part of this growth furthering function must be to chase away the chaos-forces and the evil demons that the crops and the green foliage may return. The possible human actors in this case ought to be parttakers in a cultic play and not a genuine warrior's league.

### Völsungs, Werewolves, Ylfings, Hundings, Myrgings

Höfler means that the Völsungs might have been warriors in a cultic league (Weihekriger). In this connection it is also nessecary to take position to the problem with *Sigmund*, *Sinfjötli* and *Helgi Hundingsbane*—the *Niebelungs* och the *Burgundersaga* and *Rolf Krake* and related stories:

The different parties in the fight told of are characterised by animal labels. As Ylfings (wolves) are mentioned Helgi and Sinfjötli, and they stand in *Hödbrodd* against Guðmundr and his party the Langobards. The Langobards are by Paulus Diaconus connected with mares whose legs are equipped with white bands (feters-fesseln), and they also use to wind white bands around the lower part of their own legs. Because of this Much identifies the *Myrgings* of *Widsith* with the Langobards. These are, according to Höfler, the same as the *Hundings* of the *Edda*. This time not as an insult but indicating that they fought as raving dogs and with a cultic connection. *Cynocephali* in the Langobardic family-tree are closely related to berserks. (Höfler 1934, p. 185-219, ff.)

He also claims that animal names evidently have been firmly tied to different tribes which he means can be seen in the *Helgikviðae*.(ibid)

In this respect I mean that Höfler has gone too far, since the *Helgikviðae* have nothing to do with the real world, but relate the fight between summer and winter with gods as actors. They are called Ylfings and Hundings. If name-similar warrior's leagues exist they do not represent different folks but different characters in a cultic play, or they have in other ways been sworn to a certain god, e.g. Óðinn.

He states that Guðmundr, who among else have been seen as a demon horse, has been made spokesman for the Myrging-party in a libellious poem of type *Lokasenna*, where the characters of the old gods could be refined by the poet. Interestingly enough Óðinn is described in the *Völsungasaga* as a stranger in

Siggeirs hall with soiled coat, barefoot with linen trousers and he *hafði knýtt línbrókum at beini*—he had wrapped linen bands around his legs. A. Birlinger adduces a parallel in the Schwäbian *Schlapphut*. He says: “In der Seelenwoche kommt er gerne nächtlicherweile. Seine Füße bedeckt eine Art Schuhe, worauf etwas Schneeweißes kommt, wie Tüchlein, und dann Hosen.” (ibid)

To the above may be remarked that the Langobards at the decisive tribal battle, when they ceased to be Vinnili and became Langobards, in their tribal saga are said to have won this battle because of the protection of Óðinn during the fight. That’s why they took name after Óðinn—“the long bearded”!(Wolfram 1992) Guðmundr, the leader of the death-army and the demon horse may easily, at least in later time, be identified with Óðinn—and then the connection of Guðmundr with the Langobards is logical, if not necessarily true.

There are also other interesting aspects in above related parties. The Langobards are identified with mares with white bands—symbolic fetters—around their legs and they are hounds—Hundings, Cynecophali—and their enemies are Ylfings and Werewolves—wolves. In the description of the cult of the fertility-goddess Demeter in Greece the adepts carried white bands around wrists and ankle joints to symbolise a fettering to the deity. (Johanssons, 1986) In Tacitus’s description of the Semnonenhain the adept and everybody else as well are fettered and the same goes for *Fjotrland*. (*Helgikviða*) With the Semnones you could possibly via the *Helgikviðae* discover the Holy Wedding and also the spear-ritual of Óðinn. Týr however had also earlier the spear symbol and was worshipped as well in these areas. It all gives kind of syncretistic impression. That Óðinn here sometimes appears with white linen bands does not contradict an earlier state of opposition, but is a natural consequence of the ethnogenesis of the Vinnili when they changed their name to Langobards. Hundings and Ylfings will be more thoroughly treated in the *Helgikviðae*, but it might be remarked that the Hundings there fight on the side of winter (and night?)—the side of Høðr, while the Ylfings—the wolves—try to protect the summer (and day?). The word *Hund* consequently has been misinterpreted as a synonym for the animal—hund, hound, Hund—while it in reality is a noa-name for Høðr.

## Conclusion

In short you can summarize the above stating there are three possible types of secret men’s leagues, as well cultic leagues. On one hand the actors in shamanistic activities for furthering the crops of the fields and the fertility in general—like for instance the Gryl. There are also warrior’s leagues who either can be parts of cultic plays personifying divine beings—mirroring the actions of the gods themselves—or also can be fighting groups like e.g. berserks and be initiated to Óðinn.

As a sign of this they may carry arm-rings—Kolbenrings. (Cf. the oath-ring problem in e.g. Brink 1996, p.27-52) You must presuppose that the local leader in practice represents the deity and in that way he gets a total loyalty from the warriors. In a warrior's league being tied to a certain tribe, not acting in special guise, rings should not necessarily be actual to carry, but the rites of initiation ought to be generally the same. They have in common an initiation through symbolic death and hence they are living deads. In this case it mostly deals with descriptions of the myth of Baldr with the fight between the Ylfings on the side of summer and the Hundings fighting for winter—accordingly stories about gods and possibly cultic fighting. The same goes for the Einherjar and the Hjadnings. These are, at least later, personified in antropomorph cultic plays and carnevals. The Harii and berserks are more decidedly confirmed as real warriors, and the Ulfheðinns could be the wolf-warriors pictured on e.g. the Torsöbleck.

## The different sagas about the Völsungs

### Völsungasaga

Sínfjötli is most famous in *Völsungasaga*. He is begotten by a twin couple—brother and sister—in order to revenge the slaughter of their father, carried out by Signý's husband Siggeir. Signý copulates with Sigmund, without him knowing her identity, and she gives birth to Sínfjötli. Sigmund brings him with himself out into the wood, and there he raises him in wolf-hamr (guise) and they live in earthen dens. When Sínfjötli has grown to a warrior Sigmund bites him to death, and then wakes him up again by means of a magical herb. Höfler regards this as if they are awakened from a spell and this, indeed, is what the text literally says. (Höfler 1952, p.193) I would rather say that Sínfjötli is initiated to warrior in the wolf league after having passed the prescribed time of preparation, and it may be noted that it deals with a wholly teriomorph description, since they both are assumed to have a real wolf-guise and not an antropomorph mask as an animal—which they might have had in any way. Here you may find parallels with Krypteia in Sparta! Later both of them burn their wolf-guises and leave to carry out the revenge. They kill Siggeir through setting fire on his hall. Now Signý comes out and tells Sigmund she is the mother of his son, and so she returns in the house to be burnt together with her husband to redeem the incest with her brother Sigmund. (Cf. Óðinn begot Vidar to take revenge on Høðr for having killed Balðr.) Sínfjötli is also confirmed at another occasion as “wolf with yellow fetters”. (Hoops comment to Beowulf 1932, p.108 ff) It is also noteable that the initiated cultic warriors of the Chatti carried rings of iron to show that their lives were dedicated to the deity. Similar habits were applied by other leagues. Golden fetter accordingly is a golden ring carried by an initiated warrior. Even in the *Þidrekssaga*, Vildiver, a wildman in bear-guise (berserk) with a thick gold ring around his arm, is mentioned. (Höfler 1952, p.193 ff) (Cf. the problem of oath-rings in among else Brink 1996, p.27-52.) Sínfjötli is called the son of Sigmund already in the 8<sup>th</sup> c. in an Anglo-Saxon elegi, according to Höfler. En woman talks there of a “wolf” she has strong ties to and who has brought her two sons, “hvelps”, to the wood. He is called Sínfjötli. The final death of the two heroes is also enlightning. Sigmund falls since Óðinn himself destroys the sword he earlier gave him as a gift. (*Völsungasaga*, *Eiríksmál*) Sínfjötli is according to the Edda poisoned by his stepmother (*Frá dauða Sínfjötla*) but in spite of this he comes to Valhall. He is even personally fetched by Óðinn and ferried to the realm of the dead.

Höfler finds that the contradiction shown here between his death and his reception in Valhall is best understood if realising that Óðinn is ruler over the realm of dead and hence the natural ferryman for the dead. He says that other have seen Celtic parallels but that he regards it as a purely Germanic tradition. In spite of all he still finds Sinfjötles way of dying peculiar and blames it on the fact that these old stories sometimes are a little chaotic. It is in any case an old tradition since Bragi already in the 9<sup>th</sup> c. calls poison for “the drink of the Volsungs”. (Höfler 1934, p.193 ff.)

The twins having a child with each other have clear traits of the Holy Wedding between sun-god/fertility god and earth/moon-goddess who also were brother and sister. Sigmund and Sínfjötli appear as Ylfings in the first verse in *Helgi Hundingsbane*—i.e. as fighters for Balðr and the summer. Sinfjötli's teriomorph hamr is speaking and his death still more so. The young Attis being killed by Cybele but transferred into a pine bursting into green foliage each spring is an interesting parallel, but also the death of Balðr—treacheously through the betrayal by Høðr with the mistle. Balðr have a special position even in the realm of the dead and so has Sinfjötli, since Óðinn himself is his ferry-man in spite of the fact that he has not fallen in battle. Sinfjötli indeed is Balðr, who in Saxo's version in fact dies of something close to poisoning, since Høðr succeeds in changing his nourishment elixir and makes him die by weakness. Another observation- the fire consuming Siggeir is both a funeral pyre and a resurrection/burst out/rising of the sun to a new period of summer. Balðr was burned and mourned by Nanna, but after being cared by the moon-godess he again shines bright in may. The flaming fire indicates the rise of the sun both to a new day and a new growth period. Siggeir is both Balðr and Høðr since they are dualistic twins/halves of the same deity. The killed father also is Balðr in a earlier season, as well as Sínfjötli is Balðr in the present season. This reasoning is better understood after I have treated the *Helgikviðae* and their use of aliases. I think we have here in the above a parallel to the already stated example in *Skírnismál* concerning the use of allegories and gradual revealing of information being usual among the Icelandic authors in the time of Snorri. In this case e.g. the author may have used several manuscript fragments from different oral traditions and merged them into one. All storytellers had their own tailored versions to catch the listeners.

Höfler directs Sigmund, Sínfjötli and Helgi (meaning ‘initiated’ or ‘consecrated’, see: *Helgi Hundingsbane II*, verse 39) to the Óðinn-warriors—the demonic warriors sworn to the god. (Höfler1952, p.193 ff.) I mean instead that the real action indeed is the fight between winter and summer (possibly also including day and night)—between Hundings and Ylfings. Such fights may of course also be performed as cultic plays and with teriomorph masks. It is confirmed through e.g. the Torsöbleck that teriomorph warriors indeed have existed.

Such initiated teriomorph warriors seem to have a basically shamanistic function to frighten demons from the fields like the earlier mentioned Werewolves or otherwise help Freja within the fertility sector in the Hadingj-army, but they also sometimes might have functioned as pure warrior's leagues. Berserks might be such an example. The Chatti, described by Tacitus, after the initiation let their hair and beard grow freely until they had slain their first enemy. It is also here the habit of showing ones status with holy rings is mentioned for the first time. There is also a possible indication of this habit in a runic inscription from Torsbjærg (Noreen, Aisl.Gr 4 p.389) around 300 AD through the name *owlþupewaR-ÚllR*'s warrior'. It should accordingly be stressed that the initiated warriors not allways must belong to Óðinn.

Birgit Arrhenius treats these "Kolbenrings" in her article *Connections between Scandinavia and the East Roman Empire in the Migration Period* (in *From the Baltic to the Black Sea*, ed. David Austin and Leslie Alcock, London). There she says:

...I am inclined to think, therefore, that the use of the Kolben rings in Germanic contexts originated from late Roman practises which were taken over, more or less directly, by Germanic...It seems to me that the function of the Kolben rings was the same as described by for ring swords (1987, pp. 225), which might themselves be a Frankish development from these late Roman armlets. Steuer describes *trustis domonica*, a group of warriors specially attached to the king through an oath, known from the *Lex Salica*(for Austrasia).The oath which tied the men to the king, meant that they had to take parts in his wars even though they did not live with him but in their own villages. The *trustis domonica*, who according to Steuer (1987, p. 226), showed their loyalty to their leader (the iudex of the trustis) by wearing the sword ring, may have had their precursors among the men wearing Kolben rings. In the earliest graves in Scandinavia in which these armlets are found, such as Himlingeøje (Fig. 6. 11), grave goods also consisted of Roman vessels of glass and bronze, but there were no weapons. Loyalty in such cases may have been to a special family or group, without direct connection with warfare. There is therefore a marked difference between the Kolben armlets and the true Roman *dona militaria*, which were rewards given in connection with military duty only to Roman citizens. The Kolben armlet, on the other hand, was a sign of showing membership of a special group of attendants...In my opinion these items had a special function within a ranking system and are evidence for connections either directly with the



Byzantine empire or with chieftains outside the empire who used the same kind of ranking symbols.

She connects here the Kolbenring-tradition with the rewards given to successful officers in the Roman army, *Dona Militaria*, and with the ring-sword tradition of the Franks as expressed in the *Trustis Domenica*. In Germanic society she means they signaled membership in a group and different ranking, showing connections with the Byzantine empire or with chieftains outside the empire using the same rank-symbols. In the earliest Scandinavian graves with ring-finds she remarks that there are no weapons, e.g. in Himlingeøje.

Here I note specially the weaponless graves who lead the thought to the Gothic habit.

## Burgundersaga and Skjöldungasaga

These are just variants of the *Völsungasaga*. In connection with the *Skjöldungasaga* may be mentioned that Saxo Grammaticus in the beginning of *Hrólfsaga Kraka* tells about a murder king Froði committed on his superior brother Halfdan. His young sons were brought into safety by a protector before the deed was committed. The children were raised in solitude and named with dog-names. (*Saxonis Gesta Danorum*, ed. J. Olrik et H. Ræder I, 1931, p.182) Later the two boys leave for the court of their sister Signý who, together with her husband, supports her brethrens plans of blood-revenge. Strangely enough it is said that the brethren were staying a long time at the court without being recognized by their sister, This depended on her all the time wearing a hooded coat stopping her to see them. It becomes a bit clearer if you regard the names the brethren used at the court. They were called Hamr and Hrani. *Hamr* is 'guise' and *Hrani* a by-name of Óðinn—also a hamr. She did not recognize them since they appeared as somebody else. Their dog names were Hoppr and Hó. The youngsters finally killed their father's murderer Froði through an nightly act of incendiarism.

In an older version of *Skjöldungasaga* Rolf Krake figures, begotten through incest and revenging his grandfather Halfdan's death through the murder committed by his brother Froði. The one saving and raising the both sons of Halfdan, Helgi Hundingsbane, is himself accused to have got a son by incest with his own daughter Yrsa (meaning she-bear). This son is the hero king Rolf Krake. (Höfler, 1934 p.193 ff)

Also here accordingly both Balðr-myth and teriomorph warrior's leagues initiated to a deity with golden cuffs (rings).

## The name of the Vǫlsungs

*Vǫlsung* is connected with *vǫlse* meaning 'phallus'. (*Vǫlsapattr*) Horse-cult with adoration of stallion phalluses, *vǫlsar*, are general in all Scandinavia. Phallic cult was common among the Germanics. It can be tied to Frejr/Freja and earlier Ingr/Ingun. If the Vǫlsungs should have existed in real world they should have claimed the same heritage as the so called Ynglings.

## Conclusion of the Vǫlsungasagas

A gathered analyzis of the till now treated sagas indicates that a cultic play, or purely fertility-cultic divine myths, is the base for everything. This does however not contradict the existence of teriomorph warrior's leagues as Werewolves, Berserks and Hundings having both a shamanistic and a martial, power-political function. There are besides by the Chatti initiated warriors not wearing guises but just iron rings. The god they serve is in this connection presumably mostly Óðinn, but also Ingr/Frej/Freja and ÚllR are thinkable.

Through archaeology has been confirmed the existence of an international group of chieftains having graves and habits of similar character, not being bound to certain regions. These could possibly belong just to initiated warriors, but the usual interpretation is that they belong to the Suebian league, which by these researchers not is regarded as a cultic league but rather a political union. I shall later treat the question of cultic leagues in a broader secular sense.

## Individual initiation

In the introduction to the manuscript of the unpublished part II of “Germanisches Sakralkönigtum“, p.83 ff. writes Otto Höfler about the available sources, where you can find reports who can relate to personal initiations to a god. It is as you can see a really mixed collection.

Die Altnordische Überlieferung berichtet in einer Anzahl von sagenhaft gefärbten Erzählungen, daß es Menschen gegeben habe—und dies zumal unter den Edlen und Mächtigen-, die durch ein besonderes Gelübde für Leben und Tod göttlichen Mächten unterstellt und dargebracht worden seien.

Solche Gottesweihe, eine ganz persönliche, individuelle Bindung von Menschen an heiligen Mächte, begegnet im altskandinavischen Schrifttum so häufig und war an so berühmte Namen geknüpft, daß wir sie als eine der bedeutsamsten Eigentümlichkeiten der nordischen Religion kennzeichnen dürfen...Und auch die deutsche Überlieferung weist Gegenstücke zur nordischen auf...

Erzählungen von solchen Weihegelöbnissen und von gottgeweihten Einzelmenschen ziehen sich durch die verschiedensten literarischen Schichten und Gattungen: sie begegnen, wie schon angedeutet, in Märchen und Volkslied, Volkssage und Heldensage, Epos und geschichtsnahen Wirklichkeitsschilderungen. Und sie durchlaufen eine sehr weitgespannte Skala von Wertungen:

Die individuelle Bindung eines Menschen an eine bestimmte Gottheit kann als hohes Heil empfunden werden, das dem Gott nicht nur Macht und Ruhm, Sieg und Reichtum gewährt, sondern ein erhöhtes Leben über den Tod hinaus. Aber solche Erwählung kann auch ins Unheimliche hinüber schillern. Der Auserwählte ist nicht frei wie andere Menschen, sein Tun ist mehr ein Müssen als eine willkürliche Wahl, sein Leben ein Getriebensein, sein Tod ein Heimfall an die Mächte.

...Um die vielfältige Fülle der Traditionen von Anfang an auf ihre Ursprünge hin zu sichten, seien sogleich zwei Grundmotive der Überlieferung geschieden, in denen ich getrennte Quellen von später vielfach vermischten Vorstellungen vermute:

Auf der einen Seite erzählen Sagen, Märchen und Epen von Menschen, die von Geburt an oder doch seit ihrer Jugend geweiht waren

und dadurch für ihr ganzes Leben und noch für ihr Hinscheiden an “Mächte” gebunden gewesen seien.

Und andererseits läßt sich beobachten, daß man besonders bedeutende, schöpferische, aus tiefen Seelengründen lebende Menschen und solche, die Goethe dämonisch “genannt haben würde, für gottverbunden hielt und Ihnen eine geheimnisvolle Beziehung zu höheren Wesen zuschrieb.

...Die alte Buchliteratur des Nordens erzählt von mehreren Helden, die dem Gott Óðinn geweiht waren. Daß es sich dabei nicht um einen freien Einfall der Literatur handelt, sondern um den Reflex einer wirklichen Institution, dafür spricht schon den Tacitus Mitteilung über die Weihekrieger der Chatten oder die Thorsberger Zwinge mit der Runenabschrift *owlþuþewaR*, d.h. Ulls diener, die einer sehr alten Kulturschicht des Germanentums angehört.

It is self-assured words but they contain a lot worth reflecting of. A tradition does not come out of an empty nothing and even the sagas may contain whort-while information. There are a number of rumoured fighters in the Nordic tradition, remarkably often kings or men of royal heritage, being referred to as initiated to Óðinn. In some cases, like the heroes in the poetic Edda carrying the name Helgi, you might from the circumstances and the name suspect an initiation to a deity. Often it deals with Óðinn but there are indeed also other possibilities. Here I shall treat a limited number of very known names in some few sagas in order to examine whether there is a real background of historical reality, or if they are just mythological constructions. I will also scrutinize the closer characteristics connected with such an initiation—those rights and duties the adept has, his final destiny, the symbols indicating that he is initiated and the social context of the initiated, other initiateds and the common people. Is it possible to confirm such personal initiations within the known cult. Everything very summarily. In this connection there occur also certain possibilities to look closer on the state of the military strategi at different occasions, which might be of some interest when trying to estimate the degree of cultic and/or military confrontations of importance for the examination of the Goths.

## Hero-sagas

There are a number of fornaldarsögur who are interesting in connection with presumed individual initiations, namely the sagas about *Vikarr*, *Haraldr hilditönn*, *Ívarr viðfamði* and *Haddingr*. I will shortly recapitulate the content and give comments where suitable.

### Haraldr Hílditönn

For example Saxo (Saxo Grammaticus, 13<sup>th</sup> c.) tells of a Danish king called Harald hyldetan, who by us is known as Haraldr hilditönn. Haraldr's parents were in Saxo's version Haldanus (Halfdan) and the Danish princess Guritha. Since Guritha seemed to be infertile Halfdan went to "Uppsala" and called for Óðinn's help against this. When Halfdan died in young age Óðinn himself took care of the son and made him invulnerable, and he became a mighty king who won many battles and restored the unity of Denmark. In return Haraldr promised that all men he killed should belong to Óðinn. When Haraldr was old and rich of victories there was enmity between him and his nephew Sigurðr hringr, who was his petty king in Sweden. A grand battle was fought at a place called Brávalla. Haraldr's second in command was called Bruno but he was in fact Óðinn himself. *Sögubrot* tells among else about Haraldr's preparations before this battle:

Haraldr konungr dregr nú saman her um allt Danaveldi, ok mikill her kom ór Austrríki ok allt ór Kænugarði ok af Saxlandi—á Selund, ok yfir til Skáneyrar af Landeyri. . .” (Mundt, Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda, 1993, p.94)

In the battle Bruno was driver of the king's battle-chariot. Before the battle had started for real the king asked Bruno about the formation of the enemy forces. Bruno answered that they stood in *svinfylking* (a triangular boar-formation where the leader goes first and acts like the leading boar in the attack). Since Haraldr himself had learnt this formation from Óðinn, and beleived he was the only one having this knowledge, he realized who Bruno were and asked for victory. Bruno did not answer but instead he pushed Haraldr out of the chariot chruishing his head with a club. In this way he secured himself a fighter for his Einherjar in Valhall, because Haraldr was already from the beginning initiated and promised to Óðinn by his father Halfdan.

What Haraldr concerns might be remarked that it is still not clear if he really was a Óðinn-warrior. The story indicates indeed he is initiated to Óðinn but the name of *hilditönn* still gives troble in Swedish. Hild is the valkyrie leading the Hadjings-the

fighters of Freja—and in the same time the name is also interpreted as ‘fight, battle’. This gives a hint that Haraldr might have connections to fertility and cultic fighting. In that case it is a parallel to among else the Hundings above. The Hundings, however, are connected with Hǫðr and hence the myth of Balðr. Since Balðr is regarded as the son of Óðinn it is maybe still feasible to suppose he is a Óðinn-warrior. To the inclination of fertility cult contributes also the fact it deals with a teriomorph mask and, as remarked, the name Hild—the valkyrie commanding the Hadrings under Freja. She appears however also in the *Helgikviðae* dealing with the cultic battles between Ylfings and Hundings within the cult of Balðr. The name of Halfdan also hints that the father of Haraldr is the god Hǫðr (of *Hadhu*=Hild=fight,battle) and so naturally connected with the myth of Balðr, which impression is reinforced by Óðinn's behaviour as kind of *fostra* ‘foster-father’. The Eddic poem *Hymndljúð* also says of Haraldr and his kin that: *þeir vóro gumnar goðom signaðir* (they were blessed by the high gods). The fight between Haraldr and his nephew hringr reminds in a way of the cultic fight between the Ylfings and the Hundings and the name by-name hringr also points towards the ring Draupnir, i.e. the sun. The saga may contain a deep lying base from the myth of Balðr having been embroidered and adjusted to the aims of the storyteller.

In the description of the Brávalla-battle, one of the leading motives of the saga, there is a detail significantly deviating from what you expect. Haraldr and the god, Bruno, are riding a battle-chariot with the god as driver. Some researchers have assumed a Celtic influence (e.g. Bugge) but Höfler connects to *Mahabharata* and *Bhagavadgita*, where Krishna fills the same function and later also Hermes, the predecessor of Óðinn, acts a chariot driver—not an owner. He presumes a wander-myth but if learned or original is not resolved by him. Also Stig Wikander means (Wikander 1960, p.183 ff) that there are great similarities between the version of Saxo and *Mahabharata* concerning the battle of Kurukshetra. Magnus Wistrand attacks Wikander claiming there is no direct transfer of IE-myths since the similarities are too sparse, but labels the motive-area as “usual” within folk-lore. (Wistrand 1970, p.208 ff.) The problem is even treated by Marina Mundt (Mundt 1993, p.93 f.) who in polemics with Wikander claims a common origin of both Saxos version and *Sögubrot* in a Norwegian poem from, not the 12<sup>th</sup> c. as proposed by Wistrand, but from the 11<sup>th</sup> c. that with regard to the motive might have been brought home with the Varjags (the Varangs). It is however not possible to exclude the possibility that this story falls back on Indo-European mythic material having been planted in a Nordic milieu. You may recall the earlier suspicions that the Icelandic authors, and specially Snorre, used allegories and also that they were well aware of classical literature and the Continental scholars. This is excellently demonstrated by Einar Pálsson. The historical reliability of the saga about *Haralðr hilditǫnn* accordingly must be regarded as very dubious.

## Haddingr

A saga in many ways connected with the saga of *Haraldr hilditǫnn* is the story about the Danish king *Haddingr*. It is so similar that there often has been suspected it could be just another variant of the same saga, which however it hardly is, but there are indeed elements from the *Haddingr-saga* in the saga of *Haraldr hilditǫnn* like it is also in the story of Ívarr víðfamði. It means the raw material of these doubtless is the same as in the *Haddingr-saga*. It is dubious if it at all can be called a saga considering the criteria normally set for sagas demanding any kind of historical autencity at least what goes for the persons and their agenda in general. It is specially Saxo who tells about Haddingr. (Saxo Grammaticus)

In the saga Haddingr escapes to Sweden after his father has been slain by king Sviþdagr in Norway, and he is taken care of by a pair of giants, Vagnhøyde and Havle, and marries their daughter. The giants represent the fertility-cult and chaos-forces. Haddingr is hailed aboard his ship by an old man in a cloak. He demands to be allowed to come aboard. They are heading for a battle and the old man is allowed to join. He teaches Haddingr about fighting technics and specially he learns of the *svinfylking*—the battle plough. He is also told he shall not die in fight and his death shall be voluntary. He gains great honour and governs after his father Gram on Zealand. Before this he has among else killed Sviþdagr. Sviþdagr's son Ásmundr and one of his sons die trying to revenge him, and another son, Uffe, defeats Haddingr who escapes to Helsingland (a landscape in Sweden), marries a king's daughter and returns to Denmark. He finally slays Uffe but buries him with great splendour and makes his brother Hunding petty-king of Sweden. His son in law later spreads a rumour that Haddingr is dead and Hunding holds sumble over him but happens during the feast to drown in the meadbowl. Haddingr is moved by the sorrow of this fidel friend and means he shall not have hold sumble in vain, and so he hangs himself in front of his *hird* (his military personal guard). Before this he is said to have ridden the horse of Óðinn through the air, and he has also with help of Óðinn been able to visit the underworld. In a Icelandic poem discovered 1644 by Stephanus J. Stephanus his passing is described and also *Gúðrunarkviða* II from the 10<sup>th</sup> c., verse 22 suggests that Haddingr may be connected with the underworld:

Vóro i horni  
ristnir ok roðnir  
lyngfiskr langr,  
ax óskorit,

hvers kyn stafir  
ráða ek ne máttak-  
lanz Haddingia  
innleið dýra.

The story of Haddingr is interesting but leaves a very mixed impression. This is not about a viking king from the 10<sup>th</sup> c., but has deeper roots than that. For a start it can be settled that the death-army of Freja is called the Hadjing-army which already from the beginning opens a cultic connection. The first Haddings were those Vandilic dioskurs from whom the Vandilic royal family, the Hasdings, claim their heritage and this also explains the connection of Haddingr with Denmark, from where the Vandili claimed to origin—whether Zealand or Skåne (Scania) is here less interesting. (Ohlmarks, *Fornnordiskt lexikon*). The Hasdings are also known to have had long hair as a sign of their divine heritage and with time the habit spread so that all noble warriors carried long hair—within the Suebian league it was arranged in a knot. Such long-haired warriors sometimes can be called Haddings. The long hair in itself must not necessarily always indicate an initiation to Óðinn but just simply to a deity.

I do indeed go that far that I claim that Haddingr with all probability is an original fertility-god. Haddingr's father Gram is killed by Svipdagr, who is a god who through his name-form and his marriage with Freja is clearly connected with fertility-cult and the vanir. In the younger myth he starts as an elfven but his origin is very ancient and high. His mother is Groa and his stepmother Sif—both sun-, earth-, moon- and vegetation goddesses. Haddingr flees to the giants also related to elfvens and vanir. He fights Svipdagr and defeats and kills him finally. After he has slain also Uffe he celebrates, in spite of the enmity, his funeral with a great feast in honour of him and puts his brother Hunding as a petty-king over Sweden. The story is in fact a divine saga about gods, but it may also suggest the possibility of factual, military controversy between chieftains basing their power on different religious ideas. Here that hint, however, is rather weak.

Which god, then, may have inspired to Haddingr? If we regard the *Hjadningavig* (the Hjadnings' fight) it is Hǫgne, the father of Hild, who all the time fights Heðinn—meaning 'hamr,guise,mask', and as we already have settled is used about different teriomorph performances within the cult of Freja. Note however the similarity of the names Haddingr and Hǫgne. Still more interesting it will be looking to the brother of Balðr, Hǫðr, coming of *hadhu* meaning 'fight' like also the name Hild. Hǫgne, Hǫðr/Hadhu-Haddingr—all fathers of Hild, the valkyrie of battle. Hǫðr slays Balðr—in certain versions through the cunning of Loki. With Saxo they fight about the same woman. In this case Heðinn ought to be Balðr. Hǫðr accordingly fights himself, his own dualistic half, in the eternal fight between winter and summer and the moon-goddess/earth-goddess Nanna/Freja-Hild- takes care of the rebirth of sun every year to a new plantcycle. Hǫðr is the winter fighting the summer—the dualistic half of Balðr- but he can also be regarded as an intrigator and rebel. There is accordingly a strong connection between Hǫðr/Haddingr and Óðinn. In the version of Saxo Hǫðr succeeds to defeat Balðr, and to take his woman, through stealing his



power-food (and maybe using henbane as a variant of mistle?). Besides he had to undertake a journey to the underworld in order to get a sword from the troll Minning and also a magical ring that would help him to defeat Balðr. (Cf. Sviþdagr gets Tírfing and Óðinn's Draupnir is retrieved from the underworld!) During the time he was gone from Ásgárðr before his banning was ended and he found reconciliation, he lived with *rimtursar* and *resar*, i.e. giants. Through letting Hunding (Hǫðr) drown in the mead he also succeeded to get associations of both vanir and asir cult. You think of Kvasir, of whose body the gods made *kvasǫl* 'simple beer' after having drowned him in the mead-bowl, of Balðr (and through him Hǫðr) having been born from the bowl of the scaldic mead—Oðrǫrer—and of Óðinn who got his poetic ability and the ability to sing galders from the same source. In this story Balðr is represented also by the sun-god Sviþdagr being killed by Haddingr/Hǫðr. Uffe might well be Úllr, earlier replaced as sun-god by Balðr, since the dualistic relationship of Hǫðr and his brother ought to have included also the earlier sun-god, even if his name wasn't the same. The father of Haddingr, Gram, is the famous sword of Sigmund in the *Vǫlsungasaga*, and it is given by Óðinn. The shamanistic connection through the scaldic mead is an important detail in the story and it also connects to, except the vanir, the antique gods of fertility (Dionysos et c.). Since Balðr and Hǫðr are the same god and also brethren, and Hunding is the brother of a beaten enemy, so does this mean that Haddingr in fact also can be Balðr in part of the story. In that case the underground journey might be connected with the earlier related cult of Frejr in connection with his symbolic funeral. He is in any case either of these dualistic halves. Saxo accordingly has succeeded with the artistry to compose a relatively understandable, however fragmentaric and contradictionary story which both describes the old mythology, the cult of Óðinn and, possibly, the assumed conflict between the cults. The earlier related tendency to allegories continues to pop up also in this saga.

## Víkarr

*Hálfssaga* tells of king Víkarr: King Alrek in Hǫrðraland was engaged with a king's daughter by the name Sígny. There was however another beautiful woman, Geirhild, who he also found attractive when he arrived to fetch his bride. To Geirhild came a man called Hǫttr/Hotr—quite simply 'hat'. It was Óðinn himself in disguise. Hǫttr held out the prospect for her she could get Alrek for her husband if she was loyal to him. The king promised to choose the wife who could brew the best beer. Sígny then asked Freja for help while Óðinn put his spear into Geirhilds brew and asked as a price to get what was between herself and the beer cauldron. She found it reasonable that he got her dress, which was the only thing

there between. She was however a little confused. At this occasion Alrek uttered a word of warning:

*Geirbldr, gettu! gott er l þetta, ef þvi andmarkar ngvir fylgja; ek s hanga  hm glga son þinn, kona! seldan đni.*

She got the king, but soon afterwards she gave birth to a son she had carried already when đinn paid his visit, and he was the one he had asked to get for a price. This son accordingly was already initiated to đinn and he was called Vkarr. In due time king Vkarr should depart with his fleet, but the wind was lacking and they were in a hurry. Vkarr then let himself be symbolically hanged in honour of đinn in a snare that thin it should burst, and he was stung with a reed-shaft instead of a spear. đinn however saw to it that the snare held and the reed turned into an iron spear and Vkarr died and came to Valhall. The name Vkarr is of the same type as đinnkarr and means the one with the sacred hair. Hfler has made a thorough examination and has shown that the nameform is of Danish origin, not Norwegian as suggested by the milieu, and hence also the saga of Vkarr must be Danish. This fits well with the fact the Haruds lived in both Danish and Norwegian areas. (Hfler 1952, p.159 f.) Further may be remarked that the reed-shaft intended to symbolise a spear, but who turned into a real one, clearly reminds of Mistilteinn in the myth of Balđr, but together with the other details the story seems to contain a reliable description of a sacrifice and/or initiation to đinn. Here also the god himself fetches his initiated hero to Valhall in full compliance with the standard protocol.

## varr viđfamđi

*Sogubrot af fornkoningum*, traceable back to “*Skjoldungasaga*” tells about king varr viđfamđi. Also Snorri Strluson knows this saga.

The saga differs from the earlier above all in that respect, that here you maybe can sense a connection to a possible historical reality, even if it also here basically deals with the myth of Balđr.

In short the saga is about a Danish king, varr viđfađmi (Ivar the wide-grasping), conquering great land-areas and building a huge realm which is said to stretch from England to Finland and so include all Scandinavia. He is also said to be the one chasing away the family of Ynglings from Uppsala and taking over their power—with exception, I presume, of the Ynglings said to have founded a new realm around Kungsr in Norway. It is in connection with the expansion to Norway the stories of Olof Tretelja are supposed to have been created in Vrmland. Hfler wants to tie him to the expansion of the Harudian wealth since he is called king of Danes, but also through the name đinn wears in the saga,

which name he will connect with Hordaland in Norway being controlled by the Harudes.

At a high age he led a war-expedition against an area that usually is interpreted as Finland. Once, sleeping on his ship, he had a dream he could not interpret. He then called for his foster-father (*fóstra sinn*) Hǫrðr and asked him to explain it. Hǫrðr then answers that he has reached a so high age that he can not interpret the dream. While talking Hǫrðr stood on a mountain above the landing-stage and the king was lying on the aft-deck of the ship. The king several times demanded that Hǫrðr should come aboard the ship, but he refused. He foretold that Ívarr soon should die and that his realm would be inherited by his enemies. Now Ívarr asked who his ancestors among the gods were. Halfdan is Balðr, Hrǫrek is Hǫner and Ívarr himself is the Miðgárðrsorm. Here indeed a confirmation that the *Haddingr-saga* really deals with the myth of Balðr. Because of the insulting information about who he is Ívarr gets furious and wants to attack Hǫrðr, who flings himself down from the mountain dragging Ívarr along with him down into deep water so he drowns. Hence Óðinn has himself fetched Ívarr home to Ásgarðr, that he should not have to die in a sickbed.

The Óðinns-incursion is really not basic in this connection since it originally deals with an old cultic saga—the fight between winter and summer—being used as a building brick in the saga but it has of course been adjusted in order to support the claim of power of new ruling families. The gods have been humanized. Ívarr is said to have conquered all of the North and driven away the Ynglings. He then needs, if he is a king of real flesh and blood, an ancestry outshining their connection with Frejr—accordingly he becomes both the protégé of Óðinn and related to the sun god Balðr. Maybe it is from this time the “svía-kings” claim ancestry from Óðinn as a heritage from the Skjǫldungs. Ívarr is also considered the grandfather of Haraldr hilditǫnn, and his tax-king Sigurðr hringr who, according to the direct text of the saga of *Haraldr hilditǫnn*, ought to have been an Óðinn worshipper might have adopted this ancestry for his kin if it ever existed in the real world.

The sacral kingdom of original kind in “Swedish” areas ought to have been terminated with the disappearance of the Ynglings even if it nominally was claimed even by the Skilfings, but then with Óðinn as ancestral father. This is if we really can say those families existed as real families. Snorri in fact counts the Ynglings as descending from Óðinn but via Yngve-Frejr. This is however in the 13<sup>th</sup> c. and so the researchers for long time have been talking about the younger Ynglings but those were, as I see it, in reality Skilfings. In any case the new genealogy now seems firmly established, but we still do not know for sure when this happened. There is in any case a distinct possibility that the old divine myth consciously has

been used to support the claim of power of an historical family. It might be a saga-historical remembrance of a real war between families basing their demands of power on ancestry from Ingr/Frejr respectively Óðinn. In other words it can be expressed as fights between two cultic leagues ruled by the respective families. The cult, of course, all the time being just the instrument to legalize the the family in question. This is quite independently of the question whether the cult of Óðinn possibly had been established already earlier under another name or not up in the North. What is important is in what extent he has been used as a genealogical instrument for demanding secular power and when the cult accordingly by this means gains a wide spread

Höfler reasons in a similar way:

Trotzdem könnte—wenngleich es sehr umstritten ist, ob Ívar Viðfaðmi überhaupt eine historische Person war—eine alte Überlieferung bestanden haben, die diesen Sagenkönig an Óðinn knüpfte.

...Ein wesentliches Argument für eine alte Verbindung der Ívar-Sage mit Óðinn dürfte darin liegen, daß es nach dieser Geschichtssage gerade ein von Südsandinavien vordringender Erobererkönig ist, der das alte fruchtbarkeitsmagische Yngvi-Königsgeschlecht der Ynglingar aus Uppsala verdrängt haben soll.

...Wenn im 7. Jh. eine von Südschweden (Schonen?) ausgehende kriegerisch-politische Unternehmung das mittelschwedische Vegetationskönigtum bedrohte, so ist es historisch in der Tat innerlich höchst wahrscheinlich, daß dieser Vorstoß von einem kriegerischen "wodanistischen" Gefolgschaftskönigtum aus geschah....

Ein weiterer Anhalt ist die Tatsache, daß die Überlieferung Ívar Viðfaðmi zum Großvater Harald Kampfzahns gemacht hat, und dies wohl nicht nur weil beide sagenhafte Großreichbegründer waren, sondern vielleicht auch, weil die Sage von beiden eine Bindung an Óðinn auf Leben und Tod erzählt hat. (Höfler 1952, p. 136 f.)

Here is stressed another interesting information of religious-historical character. The fertility kings are repelled from a place called Uppsala. The Uppsala name hence may be still firmer tied to the fertility-cult of Ingr/Frejr and Ingun/Freja!

Höfler claims decidedly the possibility that Ívarr might be an historical person or that he in any case might be tied to a historical development, and that he via the name Hǫrðr is linked to the Harudes.

Die erste scheidet wohl aus. Hǫrðr kann als Óðinnsname kaum junge Erfindung sein, denn er entstammt alten historischen Voraussetzungen: Er gehört nämlich zum Stammnamen des Hǫrðar, wie der Óðinnsname Gautr zu dem Stamm der Gautar gehört oder der Óðinnsname Langbarðr zu dem Namen der Langobarden.

Denn die Hǫrðar, ehemals \*Harudoz, waren offenbar hervorragende Óðinnsverehrer. Schon die Harudes, die 58 v. Chr. unter Ariovist gegen Caesar kämpften, werden nicht an erster Stelle Vegetationsgötter verehrt haben, sondern ihren kriegerischen Zug im Zeichen des Kriegsgottes angetreten haben.

Und solche kriegerische Expansion ist für die Haruden charakteristisch geblieben. Von Jütland aus, wo Ptolemaios sie als Caroudez und das "Monumentum Ancryanum" als Charydes kennt und wo ihr Name in Har(d)sysse (früher Harthæsysæl) weiterlebt, haben sie nach Westnorwegen ausgegriffen, wo das Hǫrðraland, jetzt Hordland, ihren Namen bewahrt. (Höfler 1952, s. 141 ff.)

He then discusses a number of places on Jutland and Funen being part of a strategical system with connection to Odinistic cult, constructed to be able to control the the seafarers. These, he means, can be tied to a relatively late expansion—a second wave—of the cult since the initial W/V in Wodan to a large extent have been preserved. On Jutland it specially concerns Harsysse, which gives a direct connection with the Harudes. About these places he refers among else the following:

Während lautgesetzlich das alte Woðan im Nordischen etwa zwischen 650 und 800 das anlautende w- verloren hat und zu \*Oðan-, Óðinn geworden ist, existieren in diesen Ortsnamen, neben regulären Formen mit anlautendem O-, bis heute Ausspracheformen mit anlautendem W-, und zwar—höchst auffallend—bei allen 4 Vonsild-Orten, und außerdem auch bei Odens (Oddense) n. Salling. Folgende Belege zeigen das:

1. Für Vonsild nordöstlich der Lovns-Förde (Gislum Herred): c:a 1186 Othenshyll, aber 1142 Wonssøld
2. Für Nørre-Onsild (Onsild Herred am Mariager-Fjord): jetzt Onsild aber 1440 Nørwonsildh
3. Für Sønder-Onsild (Onsild Herred, südlich vom vorigen): 13. Jh. Synder Othenshillæ, aber 1421 Synder Wonsild

4. Für Vonsild bei Kolding (Nørre Tyrstrup Herred):  
jetzt Vonsild, aber 1463 Odinschulde, 1523 Odinschylde

Und dazu kommt die Tatsache, daß

5. Odens (Oddense) in Salling, schon 410 als Otens-sogn belegt, heute an Ort und Stelle als Wojens, mit anlautendem W-, gesprochen wird.

Es ist vermutet worden, daß es sich dabei um ein lautgesetzliches Schwanken des Anlauts handle. Angesichts der Zusammendrängung dieser auffallenden Lautform gerade in Óðinnkultnamen und ihrer Seltenheit im übrigen—nämlich in unbezweifelbar skandinavischen Belegen—vermag ich hier an eine nur grammatische Entwicklung von *o-* > *wo-* nicht recht zu glauben.... Eher möchte ich hier eine sekundäre südliche Beeinflussung sehen. Das aber setzt voraus, daß nach dem lautgesetzlichen Schwund des *w-*, also etwa nach dem 8. Jahrhundert, noch westgermanische Mit-Siedler in diesen Orten nicht unbedeutende Rolle spielten, und daß ihre Wortform mit *W-* im Namen *Woðan* gebraucht und statt des dänischen *Othen* gesetzt worden wäre. Dies aber war nur möglich, wenn diese Ortsnamen damals noch nicht erstarrt waren, sondern noch mit dem lebendigen Namen des Gottes assoziiert wurden...Das nun würde einen lebenden Óðinn-Woðan-Kult für diese Ort mindestens noch im 9. Jahrhundert voraussetzen. Außerdem aber zeugt es für die starken Auslandsverbindungen dieser Seefahrer. (Höfler 1952, s. 145 ff.)

These places form, as stated above, according to Höfler a system of military character:

Odens und Vonsild flankieren den Südteil der Mitte des Limfjords und stellen eine ideale Basis dar, von welcher aus der Fjord als Ausgangspunkt für die Schifffahrt in die Nord- und Ostsee gesichert werden konnte, Nørre Onsild von jenem namensgleichen Vonsild in der Luftlinie nur 27 km entfernt und mit ihm ohne Zweifel in Zusammenhang, und der Schwesterort Sønder-Onsild liegen beim innersten Ende des Mariager—Fjords in einem gut geschützten Ausfallstor nach der Ostsee. Das südlichste Vonsild endlich, das am Koldingfjord, sperrt einerseits einen der wichtigsten Schifffahrtswege von Nordeuropa, den kleinen Belt, und sichert andererseits den Übergang von

Jütland, wo die andern Óðinn-Orte liegen, nach Fünen, dessen Hauptort Odense in seiner Bildung z. T. zusammenfiel mit dem nördlichsten Ort dieses "Systems", Oddense-Odens, auf Salling.

Bekanntlich sagt Snorri Stúrluson, daß Óðinn aus "Saxland" nach dem Norden gekommen sei und daß er seinen Sitz in Odense auf Fünen genommen habe. Es ist ganz wohl begreiflich, daß Snorri von einem solchen kulturgeographischen Zusammenhang noch Kenntnis hatte, wenn hier noch nach 800 ein Mit-Einfluß südlicher Seefahrer gewirkt hat, die Träger des Wodankultes waren.

... Schon vor 650 bestand in Jütland eine ziemlich scharf umgrenzte Gruppe von Wodan-verehrenden Seefahrern die am Limfjord und besonders geeigneten Stützpunkten an der jütischen Ostküste eine Reihe von Niederlassungen gründeten, welche miteinander in enger Verbindung waren. Diese Gruppe von Siedlungen bestand dann über die Zeit von 650—800 als "System" weiter und erhielt noch nach der Zeit jenes Lautwandels einen wesentlichen Zuzug von westgermanischen Mitsiedlern, die einen recht maßgebenden Einfluß übten, aber schließlich skandinavisiert worden sind.

... Hier, wo die Frage nach der Geschichtlichkeit des "Óðinn-Königs" Ívar Viðfaðmi und seiner Beziehung zu den Haruden zur Erörterung steht, sei vorläufig bloß dies festgestellt: Dieses jütische Stützpunkt-System—dessen nördliche Teile in die Gegend fallen, in der wir die Ausgangspforte der jütischen Haruden zu ihren norwegischen Stammesbrüdern vermuten müssen, und dessen Ostteil auf die Beherrschung nicht bloß Fünens, sondern wohl auch der Ostsee-Wege zielt—dieses System von Niederlassungen war in der Tat wie geschaffen für eine Ausgriffsbasis einer Herrschaft, wie sie die Tradition dem König Ívar Viðfaðmi, d. h. "Weitspanner", zuschreibt. Denn er soll Schweden und Dänemark und ein großes Stück von Sachsen, das "Ostreich", und ein Fünftel von England beherrscht haben. Zeitlich würde der Ansatz ins 7. Jh. recht wohl zu unseren sprachlichen Feststellungen passen. Der starke Anteil westgermanischer Genossen vertrüge sich gut mit den Herrschaftsbeziehungen Ívars nach Sachsen und England.

Wenn es aber in Jütland eine solche weitauszielende Seefahrerherrschaft von Wodankriegern gegeben hat, so ist es höchst wahrscheinlich, daß auch die seit Jahrhunderten so äußerst beweglichen Haruden daran beteiligt waren. Dafür wird es ein Symptom sein, wenn Óðinn als Schutzgott Ívars gerade den Namen Hǫrðr trägt. (Höfler 1952, p.145 ff.)

Höfler consequently regards the above mentioned places who, after W has been replaced by O, still get names beginning with W/V as an indication that West-Germanic colonisers have immigrated from the 8<sup>th</sup> c. and that the place-names already then were connected with an active cult of Óðinn, by the immigrants called Woden, and that this cult was alive still in the 11<sup>th</sup> c. The preposition is, he means, that they had lively foreign contacts through the shipping.

Alltogether he means that Odens and Vonsild flank the southern part of Middle Limfjord and thereby they control the shipping from both the North-Sea and Skagerack (and conclusively also traffic from and to the Baltic coming this way). Norre and Søndre Onsild control Mariagerfjord and so also have control of a stretch of the eastern coast and the trafik to and from the Baltic. The southern Vonsild at Koldingfjord controls the traffic in Little Belt and the crossing to Funen, where Odense controls Great Belt.

He accordingly makes it probable that the strategical position of these Óðinn-places may point towards a Harudic stronghold for both the contacts with the Norwegian branch and with England via northern Jutland and farther southwards as well to control the seaways in the southern parts of the realm.

He also sees the god *\*Haruþ* as an earlier synonym of Óðinn and motivates it with a similar connection between the name of the god and the people as the connection between Gaut and Óðinn and the Gothic folks:

...In dem Hørðaländischen Häuptling Hørða-Kári werden wir, wie in Vikinga-Kári, einen Óðinnsverehrer und Óðinn-Geweihten zu sehen haben, von anderen Spuren eines Hørðaländischen Óðinnskultes hier zu schweigen.... Dies aber sei erwähnt, daß wir vielleicht ein uraltes Zeugnis für Wóðan-*\*Haruþ* als Heros Eponymos und Stammgott der Haruden in der folgenden langobardischen Tradition sehen dürfen: Pauöus Diaconus sagt von König Rothari (= 650), daß er genere Arodus gewesen sei.

Ich glaube nicht, daß damit einfach gemeint war, der Langobardenkönig sei harudischer Herkunft gewesen, denn deswegen wäre er schwerlich anerkannt worden. Wir wissen aber, daß von dem Langobardenkönig Audoin und seinem Sohn Alboin gerühmt wurde, sie stammten ex genere Gausus. Und dieser Name wird, wie der name des sagenhaften Ahnherrn der gotischen Amaler, Gapt, d. i. Gaut, und der des mytischen Vorfahren verschiedener englischer Königshäuser, Geat (< Gaut), auf den Namen des alten Gautengottes *\*Gautaz* zurückgehen.. ein typischer Gott-Stammbaum. Der Ruhm des Königs Rothari genere Arodus läge also nicht in einer Stammfremdheit, sondern in einer Gottabstammung wie bei Theoderikh und den Amalern, bei Audoin



und Alboin, bei jenen englischen Königen, bei den Ynglingen und vielen anderen altgermanischen Herrscherhäusern. In diesem Falle aber müßte der Gottname \*Haruþ- uralt sein. (Höfler 1952, p.145 ff.)

Here Höfler stresses the story of the Langobardic king Audoin and his son Alboin claiming ancestry from Gausus, who is Gapt/Gaut and also the fact that several English royal houses claim ancestry from him in the form Geat. When the Langobardic Rothari claims kinship with the Harudi, Höfler means it deals with divine ancestry from Haruþ who, according to Höfler, is Óðinn who later becomes Óðinn-gaut. Even the claim of the Ynglings of a divine ancestry is mentioned, but in this case Höfler has failed to see the difference between these resurrected gods and the other families just claiming genealogical ancestry.

Otto von Friesen has demonstrated that the rune-stone in Lister and in Listerby mentions a king Hálf, who is said to have been king of the Hǫrðar, and so they confirm the fornaldarsaga telling of him. According to Höfler this strengthens the cultic connection to Óðinn as told by the tradition. It also demonstrates a successful expansion by the Haruds from western Norway towards South-Sweden. The Haruds accordingly should have been included in the alliance under a possible historical Ívarr. (Höfler 1952, p.145 ff.)

About all this I can conclude that I in no way find it improbable to connect the invasion by the Haruds to the saga of Ívarr—even if Ívarr himself possibly might be a mythological construction—and through the saga we indeed also can be able to make probable a military conflict between different chieftains basing their power on the connection to a certain cult—a certain divine genealogy—or in other words fights between cultic leagues consisting of followers of these families/groups.

## The battle-plough and boar-decorated helmets

The *svinfylking* (the battle-plough) is in the Haraldr-saga connected with Óðinn, and this is consequently repeated in a number of tellings, among else when Erik Segersäll (Erik the victorious) won the reputed battle at the Fyrisvallarna against Styrbjörn and his Danes. He promised himself to Óðinn after 10 years and was so allowed to learn of the battle-plough, which gave him the victory. Enemies slain by an initiated belong to the god he is sworn to, so Óðinn seems to have had a good profit of his investment. In spite of his promise Erik still died in bed of age and disease, and he even for a period was Christian. Erik accordingly hardly can be regarded as an individually initiated Óðinn-warrior, but rather as kind of real-politician of his time using all means to reach his goal.

That this battle formation, in reality originating within the Roman army, is tied to Óðinn is quite logical, since the knowledge has been spread by Goths and other tribes having been in direct contact with Roman legions in an early stage and we know that at least the Goths were Óðinn-worshippers in the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

The name of “hílditönn” gives still another interesting information able to put into a wider cultic perspective. Saxo for his part tells us that the king, like through a wonder, got new molars since having lost the old in battle.

It is however so that the reason of the name svinfylking, mening ‘swine-plough’, normally in English called battle-plough, is that it is said to remind of the head of a boar storming forward. (Harbitz 1939, p.139-55; G.Herold 1941, p.189 f.) The chieftain himself, standing in the head of the formation, saw himself as a *jófur*, i.e. a boar. (Bugge, *Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer* I, p.248; Stjerna 1913, p.99 ff.) One mean that the leader of the battle-plough experiences himself turned into a boar during the ongoing fight. Kind of exstatic fight-intoxication or, if you want, a teriomorph transformation. The name of the warrior and decorations like the boar tusks are outer signs of his state. (Höfler 1952, p.96; Bugge, *Festschrift Fehrle*, p.124 ff)

The helmets with boar-decorations probably are connected with a teriomorph transformation cult for warriors since they in this occasion represent the onrushing, fighting boar and not the impregnating fertilizing one. It is considered that the by-name of Óðinn, *Þró*, implies a hint towards the boar. (*Ynglingatal*, v.35; H.Falk, *Odensheite* p.30 f., n. 146.) Waltraud Hunke means of a in the Danish National Museum preserved cheek-plate or cheek-protection, considered to be a broken helmet-support, that it instead is a face-mask proposing the tusks of the boar. It is described by Gustaf Schwantes as partly covered with gold and as having two horn-similar indications. (Höfler 1952, p.96 n.42) According to *Sögubrot* Haraldr is distinguished through big, yellowish teeth.

Kurt Thiele has in an ethnological examination shown that similar cheek-protections were characteristic for the decoration of the helmets of the chieftains. (Thiele 1923) Warriors with tusks are also pictured on the helmet in grave XIV in Vendel. Marina Mundt (Mundt 1993, p.95 ff.) on the contrary means, referring to *Sögubrot*, p.349-50, that:

Haraldr übernimmt im Alter von 15 Jahren die Herrschaft, und wir erfahren bei der Gelegenheit : engi maðr var sá í ætt hans, at þvílkanher-skap hafi haft með ríki sem hann, ok þá var hann kallaðr Haraldr hílditönn.

Diese Kampfzähne haben jedoch, wie wir gleich sehen werden, nichts mit dem herkömmlichen Schmuck eines Wikingerhelms zu tun. Haralds

Beiname wird im einleitenden Teil unseres Sagafragments erklärt— Schon gleich nach der Mitteilung über seine Geburt heisst es da von ihm (S. 341-42):

Þat mark var á honum, at tenn í öndverðu höfði, ok váru miklar ok gullslitr

...

Da in dem gleichen einleitenden Teil auch davon die Rede ist, daß Auðr 'austr í Garðaríki' reist, um einen König Raðbarðr aufzusuchen, und an anderer Stelle daß 'Ívarr kom liðinn austr í Karjálabotna', bestand Grund sich in der Kultursphäre der osteuropäischen Länder nach einem Bild umzusehen, das der im Sögubrot gegebenen Beschreibung entsprach. Bei einem so ungewöhnlichen Detail liegt schließlich allemal der Verdacht nahe—wenn es nicht bereits aus einer älteren Erzählung bekannt ist—daß der erste Erzähler der betreffenden Episode etwas gesehen hat oder beschrieben bekommen hat, das ihn bewegte, gerade die Worte zu wählen, die wir im überlieferten Text vorfinden. Hier wird man denn auch nicht enttäuscht. Bilder gerade dieser Art gibt es praktisch mehrere. Und zumindest einen dieser Köpfe könnten die Waräger an mehreren Stellen Gesehen haben da er ein in der frühen byzantinischen Kunst mehrfach wiederkehrendes Motiv darstellt. Man vergleiche die umseitige Abbildung einer silbernen Platte aus dem 6. Jhd., die heute im Archäologischen Museum Istanbul aufbewahrt wird, und den Kommentar von Talbot Rice zu diesem Kunstwerk: 'The seated figure is a personification of India. The head dress with two horn-like protuberances is always associated with that country in early Byzantine art.'

Das Motiv 'Magic horns (grow on person's forehead)' kommt in der volkstümlichen Erzählkunst Indiens vor und ist insofern als traditionelles orientalisches Bild ausgewiesen. Daß diese 'Kampzfähne', die nicht als Teil einer Kopfbedeckung aufzufassen sind und ursprünglich doch wohl Hörner waren, außerdem im Nahen Osten schon lange vor der Zeit der Byzantiner als Abzeichen von Größe und/oder göttlicher Abstammung benutzt worden sind.

I conclude that the name of Haraldr hilditǫnn comes of the boar tusks, which seems feasible. Mundt's theory about long horns on the helmets, being originally Byzantine symbols for India, is interesting and no doubt influence from Rome and later Byzantium have been present all the time. The problem is however, that these proposed helmets might have been very good status symbols but hardly suitable to use during battle-conditions. A connection to helmets with boar-symbols also fits better to the name *svinfylking*. Those by Mundt proposed style influ-

ences are traceable in Migration Period Celtic culture and there are also suggestions on Nordic rock-carvings from the time there was a direct influence from the Mediterranean world via the amber-trade, but in both these connections it should be regarded as an indication of sacral power.

## Summary of characteristics in the hero-sagas.

1. A human may be initiated to a deity in young age or already as unborn, but of course also as old. The deity disposes of the initiated and makes him invulnerable but always in some way or another personally fetches him to himself by actively causing his death. The persons being killed in fight by the initiated usually are collected by the deity to use as he/she finds good. Normally he is placed among the deities fighters in a death-army against the chaos-forces or to secure the fertility. Sacrifices and initiations are made, at least in Odinistic cults, through hanging and scratching with a spear/reedshaft. An initiated warrior is not meant to die of old age or sickness. Reedshaft may be interpreted as a synonym of Mistillteinn. It may also be associated to a king's staff-Gambanteinn (Steinsland), but remember also the goði, representing the deity, had staffs.
2. The boar is used as a symbol of the battle-plough/*svinfylking* originating from Óðinn. The boar may also be connected with Freja. Haraldr hilditǫnn might have had his name after the boar tusks on his helmet and such helmets were generally used by chieftains. The word Hild you can understand to stand either for battle in general or as a name of the valkyrie Hild leading the Hadjings. So the boar's tusks are indeed also the teeth of Hild.
3. The acting heroes often are possible to interpret as Balðr and/or Høðr. In the bottom are divine myths overlayed by more secular material. The battle of Brávalla and characters like Haraldr hilditǫnn, Sigurðr hringr, Haddingr et c. are most probably mythological but can have been included in a saga with the intention to reinforce the claims of power of a governing family. This might also suggest the possibility of cultic fights
4. Long hair is worn by initiated warriors. The name-form Kár, Kárr can mean the carrier has long consecrated hair—is initiated. So also the female form Kara.

5. Henbane, and mead often are used as source of shamanistic extas and search for wisdom. Also Toad-stool is used in this connection but not treated above.

## Conclusion of the hero-sagas

The saga of *Ívarr víðfamði* is primarily a story of ancestry intended to strengthen the legitimacy of the new, with the cult of Óðinn connected, royal family of Sköldungs in regard to the earlier fertility-magic sacral kings regarding themselves as the reborn Ingr/Frejr. The foundation is even in this case a fertility-myth—the myth of Balðr—being intimately connected with the cult of Óðinn. The saga suggests a possible fight between families/chieftains founding their power on being reborn gods contra having ancestry from Óðinn. It seems as the saga confirms that the old family of Ynglings, i.e. the fertility-magical sacral kingdom, is driven away from power in the area that constitutes the later Sweden. It survives however evidently in Norway in the kingdom of Solør, from where the Norwegian branch is counted. It is replaced by an Odinistic kingdom (whose rulers, as we know, continue to use the old title *sviakonungr*.) The new ruling family, the Skilfings, count ancestry from Óðinn. The explanation for keeping the old ruling title may depend on the connection with Balðr within the cult of Frejr. (Cf. the section of fertility-cult.) You may note that the name of Uppsala in *víðfamði* definitely is linked to the fertility-cult, and it continues also later to be connected with the king, and then primarily in his capacity of *höggöðe*, Pontifex Maximus, in the cult of Frejr. With regard to the late timepoint the saga is written down Uppsala probably must be understood as the present Gamla Uppsala in the landscape being formed and given the name of Uppland in 1296. This was well known to the 13<sup>th</sup> c. writers of Iceland. There are however more than 200 places called Uppsala in the Nordic countries and on the British and North Atlantic Isles within the spreading area of the Swedish and Norwegian Ynglings. (A. Högmer 1990) This distribution suggests that a considerable number of these might be understood as cult-places connected with the cult of Frejr/Freja and earlier Ingr/Ingun.

Archaeologically as well as philologically the spread of the cult of Óðinn—it is the open cult of Óðinn being politically used by ruling families/groups of chieftains. (If he possibly was known in beforehand under another name is right now neglected and will be treated later.) The spread evidently comes from the south via Denmark, and what the saga of *Ívarr víðfamði* concerns Höfler has convincingly shown this through demonstrating the strategical system of cultic places situated on Jutland and Funen. In Sweden is traditionally (Jungner 1922) the first

cultic places connected with Óðinn regarded to be situated in Västergötland, which is quite logical.

The connection Höfler makes with Ívarr to the Harudes through the Óðinn-name Hǫrðr, and through references to historical sources and general geographic prepositions, seems convincing even if Ívarr in no way must be historical himself. The saga might anyhow tell the story. The impression is reinforced by the interpretations of von Friesen of the Lister and Listerby stones. One of the old no-names of Óðinn might be Haruþ, but it is however possible that this god first later have been associated with him. The same goes for the connection between Óðinn and Gaut. Here, I mean, both possibilities still stand open like it does for Gúðmundr visavi Óðinn.

You can settle, that of the expected individual initiations of the heroes of the sagas, not a single one remains securely confirmed. They all seem to be humanized gods or fictive persons. Ívarr víðfamði is in this respect as dubious, but the saga in itself absolutely can have been used to confirm a certain family's—the Skǫldungs-claim of divine ancestry from Óðinn. This saga also suggests, as already noted, the possibility of fighting between ruling families or groups of ruling families founding their power on being reborn gods contra being genealogically descended from gods. Such a group with followers also may be defined as a cultic league. A shift of religion, or rather a shift in the motivation of power, is also suggested in Uppsala what the Ynglings concerns. Other characteristics, having been revealed in the material connected with these claimed initiations, must be judged as being related to the praxis used in initiations within leagues. The hero-sagas, presumably, were primarily meant to establish models for such initiations within the leagues—to be examples—and most important to connect the ruler and his family with the cult-saga in the overall mythological structure.

## About the cult of Óðinn on rune-stones

There are four rune-stones in Denmark where a name 𐀓𐀚𐀚𐀚𐀚𐀚 or 𐀓𐀚𐀚𐀚𐀚𐀚 is mentioned. The name reads in translation letter for letter *Opinkar* or *Opinkaur*. Translated into modern language the name sounds Odinkar. The biggest concentration is confirmed on rune-stones in Denmark but there is also a Swedish and a Norwegian stone, however from the Middle Ages. Later appears also the form Odinkarl or Odenkarl which becomes quite usual in Sweden. About the later form Höfler says:

Der in späteren Mittelalter häufig belegte Namen Odinkarl ist wohl kaum, wie dies meist geschieht, als bloße Umdeutung aus Odinkaur aufzufassen. Denn erstens decken sich die Formen auf-karl geographisch nicht mit der Ausbreitung des (dänischen) Odinka(u)r, sondern sie waren auch in Schweden verbreitet, und zwar sogar im Plural, wie der Ortsname Onskarsby in Uppland zeigt, der einem Torkarby, aschwed. Thorkarlaby ‘Dorf der Thormänner’ (‘Thor-Verehrer’) entspricht. Hier handelt es sich offenbar um einen Typus von Óðinns-Verehrern, die in geschlossenen sozialen Gruppen auftraten. Wir kommen auf diesen Typus noch zu sprechen. (Höfler 1952, p. 134)

The remark about special swedish villages called Odenkarlsby and Torkarlsby, connected with the cult of the actual deity, is indeed interesting. I will have reason to return to this and similar occurrences below.

Men’s names or women’s names in combination with divine names is rather common except what concerns Óðinn. This makes it still more interesting to try to understand the possible meaning of these names. If you look to what persons who usually wear such names, they are either of royal ancestry or keep a high social position.

Höfler, as well as Wolfram, mentions two Danish bishops in the 10<sup>th</sup> c. with the name Oðinkar, being uncle and nephew, and who were considered to be of royal blood. The oldest is referred to from 943 AD in connection with the Christianization of Denmark. This information is with Adamus Bremensis. (Wolfram 1992; Höfler 1952, p. 134 ff.) Adam has stressed the fact that their known ancestor, the father of Ásfrid, Oðinkaur, was of royal blood and besides of Danish royal ancestry (nobilis de semine regio Danorum). An over-zealous ecclesiastical dignitary later tried to better the name and called the nephew “Deo carus”, but that translation has noth-

ing to do with reality. That *Opin-* is Óðinn is beyond discussion but what does then—*kaur* or—*kar* mean?

About the etymology of the word-*kaur/kar/kárr* Höfler writes:

Von den runischen Belegen aus Dänemark zeigen mindestens drei, wahrscheinlich aber alle vier, im zweiten Glied die Lautform-*kaur*. Später herrscht dann die Form-*kar*, nicht nur in dänischen Belegen, sondern auch den nicht wenigen englischen und dem einen schwedischen und einen norwegischen, den wir für den Namen besitzen.

Der Name, den man nach seiner Ausbreitung allgemein für eine dänische Prägung hält, wurde von Hans Naumann mit dem Adjektiv-*kárr* ‘krause Locken habend’ zusammengestellt Von diesem Wortstamm aber hatte Evald Lidén gezeigt, daß er im Nordischen in den beiden Formvarianten *kár* und *kaur* belegt ist Wenn es sich bei der Doppelheit der Formen *Odinkaur* und *Odinkar* also um eine alte Dublette handelt, nicht um einen sekundären Übergang von-*au-* >-*a-* so zeigt dies, das hier nicht eine alte Form *Odinkaur* mechanisch-gedankenlos fortgeerbt wurde, sondern daß man sich ihres Sinne bewußt war und deshalb die bedeutungsgleichen Formdubletten seines Grundwortes gleichwertig in ihm verwendete. Voraussetzung dabei aber war, daß der Wortsinn damals noch lebendig war, wenigstens bei manchen. Dieser Sinn aber war ein bahuvrihisches ‘der mit dem Óðinns-Haar’, ‘der mit den (langen?) Óðinns-Locken’. (Höfler 1952, p.134 ff.)

The word *kaur/kar* accordingly means ‘lock of hair’, ‘curly hair’and generally may be translated as ‘the person with the long, curly hair being initiated/consecrated to the god’.If you combine that with the name of the god you get the meaning ‘the man with the Óðinn-hair’.

I have from the central rune-data registry in Uppsala got the last interpretations of the four Danish stones where the name is mentioned.The Swedish is still not registered and the Norwegian one only contains the name without any further information. They are both, as already mentioned, younger than the Danish. In numerical order follows direct transcription of the runes and West-Nordic translation:

DR 4 V §A ÷ osfriþr ÷ karþi kubl ÷ þausi ÷ tutiR ÷ upinkaur ÷ oft ÷ siktriuk ÷ kunuk ÷ §B ÷ sun ÷ sin ÷ ÷ auk ÷ knubu ÷ §C kurmR (÷) raist (÷) run (a) (R) (÷)

DR4 V §A “Ásfríðr gerði kuml þessi, dóttir “Óðinkárs, ept “Sigtrygg konung,



§B son sinn ok “Gnúpu.  
The stone stands in Hedeby

DR 81V §A soskiriþr : risþi : stin : finulfs : tutiR : at : uþinkaur : usbiarnaR : sun : þoh : tura : uk : hin : turutin:fasta : §B siþi : sa : monr : is : þusi : kubl : ub : biruti

DR 81V §A “Sasgerðr reisti stein, “Finnulfs dóttir, at “Óðinkár “Ásbjarnar son, þann dýra ok hinn dróttinfasta. §B Síði sá maðr er þessi kuml of brjóti.  
The stone stands in Skern.

DR 133V : þau : muþ (r)kin : þurui : auk (: ) uþinkau (r) : a (u)k : kuþmuntr : þri- (:)—is (þ)- (: ) kumbl : þausi : aift : ki—: (h)in : huþska hon : uas : l (o)nt:mono : baistr : i : tonmarku : auk : furstr :

DR 133V Þau mððrgin “Þorvé ok “Óðinkárr ok “Guðmundr þrj[ú] [r]eist[u] kuml þessi ept “...hinn..., hann var landmanna beztr í “Danmôrku ok fyrstr.  
The stone stands in Skivum on Jutland

DR 239V §A þiaupui ÷ risþi ÷ stin þonsi ÷ aft uþinkaur ÷ fuþorkhniastbmlR ÷ niut ual kums : §B þmkiisssttiiiilll (: ) iak sata ru—r| |ri (t) kuni armutR kru (b)——

DR 239V §A Þjóðvé reisti stein þenna ept “Óðinkár <fuþorkhniastbmlR> njót vel kumls! §B þistill/mistill/kistill, ek setta rúnar rétt. “Gunni, “Arnmundr...  
The stone stands in Helnæs-Gørlev on Sjælland/Zealand.

From these texts you can read that Ásfrid was the daughter of Odinkaur, which is mentioned as a start. That she also was a queen and married to the Swedish king Gnupa of the Swedish royal family in Hedeby is not as important. Accordingly, Höfler means, she was of Danish royal ancestry and this is shown by the name Odinkaur. Gnupa did not have such a noble family.

From the stone in Skern we learn that Óðinkár Ásbjarnarson was loyal to his drott (dróttinfasta). The text is ended with a cultic protection-formula. On the stone there is also a man's head centrally carved. The drott referred to in this connection Höfler means probably is Óðinn himself. This may however be a too hasty conclusion by him, since both a king and a jarl could have been addressed with this title. It is still not at all improbable.

The stone in Skivum informs that a man, who is the best landman and first in Denmark has risen the stone for his son Óðinnkár. Höfler interprets as the best and the first landman in Denmark. He regards landman as ‘a squire, a rich

farmer'. Personally I could as well associate to a royal administrator since the stone in fact says "He was the best landman in Denmark and first". *First* could as well be interpreted 'prince, principe, fürst, fyrste, furste' and *landman* could mean he controlled part of Denmark on behalf of the king. This means he was in any case a noble, maybe even a local king or jarl.

The stone from Gørlev is from early Viking Period, and it belongs to the oldest group with the shorter, 16-type, futhark and it has decidedly cultic characteristics. Except of the usual type of text saying that Þjóðvé rose the stone after Óðínkár there also appears a magical protection-formula. This is generally connected with the cult of Óðinn. More about that theme below. The last name-element—*vé* in the name of the person who rose the stone is interesting, since this may be connected with cultic localities—*ví, vé*. (Cf. below!)

There is in Källby parish, Källbyås, in Götene commune below the foot of mount Kinnekulle in Västergötland, Sweden a rune-stone, VG 56. It was in the 17<sup>th</sup> c. reported by the National Antiquarian Hadorph as moved by count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie from Skälvum's parish, Skälvum village at Kinnekulle, where it was supposed to have been standing close to the church. At the occasion it was moved it was however used as a bridge over a local creek. It is inscribed with a huge picture of a teriomorph representation—a man dressed in animal hides, having an animal mask over his head and branches as horns on his head. Around his belly he has a big belt hanging down in front in the same manner as the equipment used by modern standard-bearers. From his hands, placed in location where the belt hangs down, you see the beginning of a pole of kind. Whom he performs has all the time since the 17<sup>th</sup> c. been a great mystery. Hadorph means 1673 that it is a "Kiempe eller Rese"—'a fighter or a giant'. N.R. Brocman finds it improbable that "man welat afrita en Munk, cum cucullo, fastän figuren icke är ibland de mäst behagelige" meaning he saw a not very pleasant monk with hooded cloak. N.H. Sjöborg on the contrary found it be similar to "beelsebub sjelf eller något annat djefvulskap"- 'the devil himself or another devilish thing'. (Jungner; Västergötlands runinskrifter) Jungner means that there is no point in guesswork. He says that the pictured figure maybe can be thought to function as a kind of apotropaion, who, bound there by the runemaster, shall take care of that the dead stays in the mound and not worries the living, and also to keep the living away that the grave-peace not will be disturbed. In modern time Evert Sahlberger has interpreted the figure as Sigurðr fafnesbani. (Sahlberger, pers.com.)

I believe that the son of the dead would have been very sorry of Sjöborg's opinion of his father, because he is it who is pictured on the stone. It is very evident when combining picture and text.

Text according to the Nordic Rune-Data Registry in Uppsala with OWNord.translation:

VG 56 stur (i)aki + sati + stin + þasi + iftiR + (k)aur + faþur + sin  
 VG 56 “Stýrjaki (?) setti stein þenna eptir “<kaur>, fôður sinn.

Stýrjaki put this stone after Kaur, his father.

I mentioned earlier in the section of fertility-cult that on Iceland and the Faroe islands there is a teriomorph figure called the *Gryl*. He nowadays also on Iceland is looked upon as a kind of father Christmas. According to descriptions from the Faroes he used to occur in fasting time and murmuring and singing monotonously dance or run over the fields and often make complaining noises. A certain person allways enacted the Gryl and first after his death a new one was picked. He was dressed in a sheep-skin and had a mask shaped as a muzzle. Inside the mask he had a lantern making the eyes shine and he himself looked through the nostrils of the mask. On his head he had antlers or other horns made by wooden branches, and in front he carried a long pole, fastened in a supporting belt. The pole was painted red on the tip and was very long and heavy. He danced all the night and he also paid visits to the farm-yards lifting the womens' skirts with his pole to secure the fertility.(W.Heinesen 1957)

This is as exact a description as ever possible of the carving on VG 56 in Kállby. If you accept that Kaur, the father, means the one with the consecrated hair, the one being initiated to a deity, hence it is just exactly what this Kaur was. He was the local Gryl and the son simply has pictured his father on an honourable memory-mark. Kaur, accordingly, must not nessecarily indicate an initiated warrior but also another initiated person like a cultic officiant, a shamanistic demon-hunting dancer in a secret men's league whose task was to care of the return of crops on the fields and to promote female fertility. This was exactly the task of Kaur. What deity he belonged to I dare however not say for sure since also Freja had shamanistic actors, but still Óðinn is a distinct possibility.



Fig. 1 The Gylf. (*Götiska minnen* 113, 1992)

There is another rune-stone, VG 73, in Synnerby parish, Skara commune in Västergötland, just a short way from Källby. There, in the cemetery of Synnerby church, a stone is standing after having been found plastered into the wall of a section of the church. This part of the church was built in the 17<sup>th</sup> c. It is supposed that the stone has been situated close to the church. It is equipped with a Greek cross and some runes are stung.

According to the Nordic Rune-Data Registry text and OWNord.translation is:

VG 73 × karR × auk × kali × reistu × stin × þensi × eftiR × ueurþ : faþur ×  
sin \* muk \* uþan \* þekn \*

VG 73 “Kárr ok “Kali reistu stein þenna eptir “Véurð, fôður sinn, mjôk góðan þegn.  
Karr and Kali rose this stone after Véurð, their father, a very good tegn.

In the commentary of Västergötlands runinskrifter it is said:

The male name KarR is not as usual as the corresponding weak form Kari. It seems to have had the greatest spread on Iceland. Originally it is a by-name coming of Oicl. *Kárr*, adj. ‘curly-haired’...

The name *Véurðr* is not earlier known, but both the first and the second part are known name-elements. *Vé*-...and *urðr*; the name might originally be an appellative ‘guardian of the holy place’, Icl. *vévǫrðr* m.

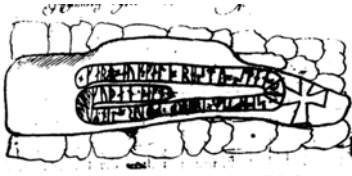


Fig. 104. Vg 73. Synnerby an, kyrkan. Efter teckning av Christoffersson.

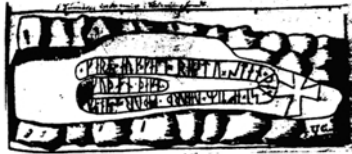


Fig. 105. Vg 73. Synnerby an, kyrkan. Efter teckning i *Peringskällas Monumenta* (B 959).  
10. Fästergårdens runinskrifter.

Fig. 2 The rune-stone in Synnerby (Vg:s runinskrifter)

Here the sons in late Viking Period are Christian, but their names were given them by the father. If he himself was a guardian of the holy place, the *ví*, i.e. blotgoði, priest, and/or maybe a cultic dancer—Gryl—is not possible to comprehend from the context. The name may have been inherited within the family from an earlier goði. It is in any case far from improbable that KarR was

meant to inherit the holy work if not the church had come between, unless the father himself had been baptized and guarded the church with this title?! (Cf. the Bishops Oðinkaur!) Véurðr in any case was an important man— he was a *tegn* (Engl. thane). It is discussed whether *tegn* was just a rich farmer or if he served as a warrior or administrator by the king. In the last case the family appears as initiated warriors as well as sacral functionaries. I would like you to recall the Gørlev-stone above with the name Þjóðvé—he who rose the stone. It can be interpreted as ‘the peoples holy man’-priest—or ‘the one who who cares the *ví* of the people’, i.e. the cult-place. Also this indicates he is a priest, a goði. The stone and the inscription also generally tells a lot of the local and cultic importance of the man called Óðinkaur.

I beleive the evidence presented above confirms that the name Kaur and variants may be connected with consecration/initiation to a deity, probably mostly Óðinn, however not at all allways. Evidently it was not nessecary to be a warrior but you could as well be priest, shamanistic dancer and member in a secret shamanistic fertility-promoting league.

Höfler writes:

Wir sind damit wieder bei dem sakralen germanischen Königshaar, dessen sichtbares Merkmal ja offenbar seine Länge gewesen ist. Belege für die Wichtigkeit dieses königlichen Würdezeichens besitzen wir ja in beträchtliches Anzahl. Aber hier ist nun ausdrücklich durch den Namen bezeugt, was wir im übrigen durch kulturgeschichtliche Kombination erschließen konnten: Dies königliche Haar bekundete und bedeutete eine Bindung an den Gott, eine Weihung an Óðinnn.

and concludes:

Die Sagen von den Óðinn-geweihten Dänenkönigen sind also nicht junge literarische Erfindung, sondern alte religiöse Erinnerung—Kulterinnerungen an ein urdänisches Wodankönigtum.

It looks like he has indicated a royal Danish tradition with consecration to Óðinn within the frames of a warrior-cult—definitely not individually in the sense of myth. Still it is a little overambiguous to name it proto-Danish, since the cult of Óðinn is not surely confirmed in Denmark before close to the Migration period, and the first indications are among the Jutes, not the Danes who were later settlers in the land and whose pre-history is obscured by the historical mist. I will return to that issue. In this light, however, it appears quite evident why a number of old European royal families—for instance the long-haired Merovings—and the warriors within the Suebian league and the Gothic warriors in the Black Sea region wore long hair. Still, as has been stressed, also other persons could be initiated/consecrated to a deity and as a sign of this wear long hair.

## Runic magic:

Let us return to Þjoðvé and the Gørlev-stone with it's magical inscription:

fuporkhniastbmlR ÷ niut ual kums : §B þmkiiissttiiiilll (: ) iak sata ru—  
r| |ri (t) kuni armutR kru (b)-

OWNord.translation:

:<fuporkhniastbmlR> njót vel kumls! §B þistill/mistill/kistill, ek setta  
rúnar rétt. “Gunni, “Arnmundr...

This formula is closely related to a stone of rubber from Västergötland, VG 63, in Fyrunga parish, Noleby village with 24-type futhark. Now in SHM. Inv. nr.10.136. It was found in a decayed stonewall-fence. On the stone is inscribed a debated magical spell, and it is supposed to have from the beginning been situated within a grave mound. Official interpretation: “Runes I carve, those from the gods inherited. I cause calm...

Alternative interpretations:

Bugge I (forsaken):

“Runo and Raginagudo, (we) two (Women), have let make the memory-mark consecrated to peace, the one(after) Horar, the other after Hnabir(?), the good Child.”

Bugge abandoned himself this interpretation. Bugge II agrees mainly with Brate. Brate:

“Runes I carve, descending from the gods; I Una does (and) Suhura and Susi carvings for Hwata.”

Sander:

“Runes he knows known by gods, taken, united, with enchanting eagerness: a kind of victory-band for the brave.”

von Friesen:

(I) carve a secret writing descending from the powers. I bring peace(in the grave). This formula (OWnord. *hurr*, m. Pnord. *\*hurruR*, f.) and this sight may indicate (that this is) a grave (which accordingly not may be harmed); (Cf. Vånga *haukopuR*, Opedal *birginggu*)”

Jungner I:

“Runes I write, having come from the rulers/the ruling; I distribute disgrace. The spell (‘the buzzing’), the dirge/funeral song (the ‘soughing’) inspire to hawk-rapid revenge”

Jungner II:

“Runes I write, having come from the rulers/the ruling. I ask for calmness. Consecration I have got. Sleep-walking I can manage. I direct the hawk-rapid attacker back home.”

Nordén:

“Runes I carve, come from the powers. I create comfort through magical: Suhurah! Susih! I confine the wraith-woman”

Krause:

“Runen male ich, von den Ratern (den Schicksalsmächten) stammende. Ich bereite(?)(dem Toten) Zufriedenheit (in seiner Grabeswohnung), suhurah. Es möge sausen (?). Mögen sie (die Runen?) scharf machen (?) den Habichtartigen (den Runenmeister mit dem habichtschaffen Blick) (!)”

Brate got the idéa to combine the three first words in the inscription(1-18) “*runo fahi raginakudo*” with the following stroph in Hávamal (80):

at er þá reynt, er þú at  
 rúnum spyrr  
 inum reginkunnum,  
 þeim er gørðu ginnregin  
 ok fáði fimbulþulr,  
 þá hefr bazt, ef þegir.

Among else the word “*haukøpuR*” and “*hakuþo*” and a number of other words are by certain researchers regarded to be of Gothic stem. Specially von Friesen and Nordén.(Vg:s runinskrifter)

As you see the disagreement about the interpretation is rather massive. This is however quite natural since runic magic is involved. The spell anyhow seems to have approximately the same spiritual sense as the Danish one since both are aimed to keep the wraith within the howe and to stop the living from disturbing the peace of the tomb.

VG 56 Norra Vånga parish, the church. Now placed at the vicar’s yard after earlier having been plastered into the wall of the tower. When the church was demolished it was placed by an hedge, but was moved in 1936 to the present location in the vicar’s garden. The inscription *hakøpur* seems to have the same kind of magical connectionas for instance VG 63. It is made of red rubber. The runes are left-turned and read from above and downwards. These runes evidently are that strong that mere suggestions is enough to reach the same magical effect as in Fyrunga. The stone is dated to the 6-7<sup>th</sup> cc. With the 24-type futhark. (Vg:s runinskrifter)

VG 5 Flistad parish, Magatan. Now in SHM. (inv. 11491). The interpretation is discussed, but what the dating concerns most experts tend to accept a position in the borderline between older and younger futhark. Also the order of reading is disputed. The text does not give an understandable meaning. I. Lindquist finds in *i Sparlösa-stenen* p.128, note, that the inscription of the Flistad stone is a spell: *gaeRnaR, GaiRR naeR glata* ‘a spear will reach the molestor’. Material rubber. (Vg:s runinskrifter)

VG 12 Leksberg parish, Hindsberg, Storegården. In the garden of Storegården, 18 m V of the NW corner of the mainbuilding. Discovered at the farm Hindsberg 1869 and used as a bridge. Fragmentaric stone of ligh-gray gneiss-rubber.(Vg:s runinskrifter; Höfler) May be a curse-spell connected with Odinic cult. Among else Gaut is mentioned.



Text according to the Nordic Rune-Data Base:

VG 12 §A ol (a)f (r) : hnaki :-.....ra : famtan : (b)o : kan-þis.....n  
 (m).....(i)rþi : s—...§B × alir : kaut : siar (þ).....  
 VG 12 §A “Ólafr “Hnakki.....fimtán bú.....§B Allir “Gaut  
 sjarð[i] (?)

VG 14 Lyrestad parish, Rogstorp. Probably in original location on a field c:a 1,5 km NW the church of Lyrestad, 15 m NE the Friaån creek, 700 m SW the high-way bridge over the Göta Kanal at Rogstorp. Dark-grey gneiss. Picture: Two ornamental four-foot animals. It reminds of the picture in St. Paul's cemetery in London. The word *hatikr* in the inscription may possibly be interpreted as *HaddingR.* Also *Hervarðr* occurs here but not in any other Nordic rune-inscription. (Vg:s runinskrifter) A possible connection with Odinistic cult.

Text according to the Nordic Rune-Data Base:

VG 14 (þ) (a) (i)r hat (i)kr [:] (h)a (r) (u)arþr : raistu \* stain : i (f)t[ir :  
 kunar : fa]þ[ur : sin  
 VG 14 Þeir “Hættingr (?), “Hervarðr reistu stein eptir “Gunnar, fðður sinn

More known stones with a cultic connection are, of course, the Westgaucic Sparlösa-stone and the Rök-stone in Östergötland but here Óðinn is not directly involved but rather maybe Christianity. Specially the Rök-stone is connected via it's inscription with the Gothic king Teoderik and the Hreiðgotaland in spite of the fact it is regarded to belong to early Viking Period. I would perhaps suggest an earlier dating of both, but more of that on another place. I will not go very deep in those two since it should take several books and more than mine remaining lifespan even to try solving that problem. I will however shortly return to these stones later on, in connection with the late, Christian Goths.

The Björketorp-stones in Småland, however, have been tied to Óðinn.(The Runesymposion in Stockholm 1995)

The most outstanding examples of confirmation through stones hence are in Götaland. Bente Magnus has relatively recently published a lecture from a symposion in Fredriksstad in Norway entitled *A matter of literacy or magic*, where he claims that the runes originally and up to the Marcomannic wars basically were magical signs. Not until the trade with the Romans increased, people started writing personal names and more secular inscriptions. The normal use however, still for a long time, very often was magical. It may deal with inscriptions on spear-tips, sacrificial knives et c. It is specially demonstrated that e.g. brooches had runes on the back-side only meant for protection of the bearer. He also claims

that the word *erilar* on rune-stones shall be interpreted as the shaman making the runes for a chieftain or other noble. (Magnus 1991, p.133 ff.) This last contradicts the more general opinion that *erilar* means 'jarl' (earl) and 'Herul' and as far as I can understand I find Magnus interpretation least said dubious.

In any case it can be settled that the runic master was initiated into his occupation and most likely carried his knowledge and skill on to new prentices', which I have already partly treated in connection with Odinistic initiations, and hence it is also natural that the runic language generally, during the time of the old futhark, is ritual and that it does not necessarily demonstrate the actually spoken language or dialect. Accordingly there may exist a co-European runic koiné having its roots, maybe, already in the 1<sup>st</sup> c.AD, since Tacitus mentions the carving of signs in wooden staffs when attending to magics. (Tacitus 10) In any case such a koiné seems to exist later as shown by Makaev. I will return to that in the linguistic section.

## Conclusion

Above I have shown there is a positive connection between names on Kárr, Kaur and persons who can be supposed to function in cultic contexts and, accordingly, can be expected to be initiated/consecrated to a deity. The meaning of consecrated hair can therefore be considered to be confirmed. I have also demonstrated the relatively large concentration of rune-magical stone-inscriptions with the elder futhark in specially Västergötland and also in the rest of Götaland. These stones generally are considered connected to the cult of Óðinn. It means this cult ought to have had its earliest activity in this area and it ties the expansion into the Scandinavian peninsula to as latest the Migration Period and the Merovingian period (Swedish Vendeltid), but as we shall see later there are indications pointing towards a still earlier time.

## The Helgikvíðae

In the so called *Poetic Edda* there are three poems dealing with persons by the name Helgi. These are *Helgakvíða Hjörvarðssónar*, *Helgakvíða Hundingsbana I* and *Helgakvíða Hundingsbana II*. The name Helgi means roughly the consecrated, the holy, the initiated. The story in these three stories is mainly the same. There are just minor variations and some persons have other names, so I reckon they are just variants of the same story having been overlaid in times passing. None of them treat historical topics but it is pure divine myth, where the gods have been humanized and it quite sure deals with a fertility-cultic motif. Still it is, in the present shape, related also to Óðinn since it deals with the myth of Baldr. Those tries having been undertaken to confirm the places mentioned there in the real geography can be considered as futile. The place names of the kvíðae only occur in the mythological world. The basic motif is the fight between summer and winter (and possibly also between night and day)—between Baldr and Høðr.

### Helgakvíða Hjörvarðssónar

This is what the content regards closest to the original myth. King Hjörvarðr has four women. Alfhild with the son Heðinn, Saereið with the son Humlung, Sinjod with the son Hymling and the one who is the main-character in the beginning, Segerlin, the daughter of king Svafner, who became the mother of Helgi Hjörvarðssónar. More interesting than Segerlin, however, I regard Alfhild and her son Heðinn to be. Her name indicates a clear vanic connection and her son is called Hamr, Guise. Alfhild could be the original mother, or possibly guised like her son, since she carries a valkyrie-name closest connected with the cult of Freja. To get Segerlin Hjörvarðr is forced to save her and the daughter of her “fostra”, the jarl Franmar, after king Svafner, the father of Segerlin, has been slain by Rodmar- the king who had tried to get Segerlin’s hand and who is now devastating and spreading havoc all over the country. He finds the women hidden in a house, on the roof of which a great eagle is sitting. It is Franmar having taken this hamr when keeping watch for enemies. Hjörvarðr kills the eagle and marries Segerlin. The eagle has clear similarities with Tjatse and in that case Segerlin might be Freja who was captured by the resar (giants) of Jotunheim before ÚllR and Svipdagr and Njorðr assisted and rescued her during the fimbulwinter, which logically means Hjörvarðr is Svipdagr or his alias, since these are considered married in the younger myth. Alternatively we can think of Frejr wedding the giantess Gerðr in the holy wedding. The one who killed Tjatse in the saga was however Þórr so everything does not fit together. Since Óðinn has the by-name Svafn the scald might have meant him as the father of Segerlin. This is outside the action of

the saga and just hinted through the names Svafner and Svava. These names of gods and goddesses are joyously mixed but the basic meaning is evident, even if the scald himself does not seem to be too well educated about all complications, or he has used his poetical freedom to create a good story. Also the section treating the fight against the giant's daughter, Ringerðr, contains hints towards both Frejr and Þórr. Franmar's daughter Alof is Skaði and she marries Atle and hence he should be Njorðr whom she marries in the myth. Hjörvarðr sends a proposer at the first attempt to marry Segerlin. This points more towards Hjörvarðr being Frejr whose messenger was himself in guise. The messenger is Atle and since Frejr and Njorðr are kin this could be a poetic suggestion towards a noa-person type Skírnir. Atle returns without having accomplished the mission, but on the road homewards he meets a bird who addresses him: (The translation into English is my own from the Swedish version of *Thall*)

The bird:	Did you see Segerlin	-	daughter of Svafner,
	The loveliest maiden	-	in her father's realm,
	The heroes still find	-	Hjörvarðr's women
	Smiling and joyous	-	in the Glasis-grove
Atle:	Mybe for Atle	-	son of Idmund,
	the wise bird	-	more things announces?
The bird:	Only if the budlung	-	sacrifice me gives
	And treasure I may choose-	-	in the king's yard.
Atle:	Do not choose Hjörvarðr-	-	nor his sons,
	not the prince's	-	fair maiden,
	the brides not	-	owned by the budlung;
	honestly we act	-	it is the way of friends!
The bird:	A court I choose	-	and sacrifice-places many,
	cows with golden horns	-	of the king's domain,
	if Segerlin goes	-	to sleep in his arms
	and him weds	-	by her own will.

This Höfler compares with the eagle guarding on the roof of the house from where Hjörvarðr and Atle rescued Segerlin and Alof. He means it is in both cases Óðinn and not at all the jarl Franmar. Besides, he means, that the bird here does not demand cows but human sacrifice. Atle is supposed to beg that he shall take

none of the counted, but instead he takes Helgi, the son of Segerlin, as a sacrifice and initiand to him. (Höfler 1952, p.167 f.)

This might very well be correct, since an old fertility-myth may have been adapted to a more genuine Odinistic cult—kind of political adaption. Still it is dubious if it is an eagle and not e.g. a raven. In any case it should not be the guarding eagle, since it is hard to imagine that Atle should kill Óðinn. What Tjatse regards we however know this was the way it happened. He had indeed cows and oxen that he liked very much as is told in the episode when Óðinn, Høhner and Loki were out walking and grew hungry. At that occasion Tjatse was sitting as an eagle taking care of that his slain oxen never got enough roasted.

Rodmar, the rivalling king, Höfler claims to be the same as Ramund, in popular lore a Óðinn-hamr. This is also not impossible, but in that case it becomes still more absurd that Óðinn as an eagle should guard Segerlin against himself. The story is clearly contradictory, and Höfler does not make it less complicated. It may in any case be settled that there are possible references to Óðinn in the related episode. (Höfler 1952, p.168 ff.)

Helgi achieves many a brave deed and finds his own beloved, a valkyrie, Svava, daughter of king Eylime (Óðinn?). Helgi fights in the southern countries but the consecrated hero receives message of misfortune via his brother Heðinn, upholding the kingdom in Norway.

Heðinn meets a yule-evening a woman and the saga tells:

On the wolf a woman	- in the evening darkness road
wanting him	- as a follower have;
she well knew	- that defeated will be
the son of Segerlin	- on the Sígars-fields

Helgi got bane-wound in the battle of Frekasten against king Alf, the son of Rodmar, demanding penalty for his father. At that time he has received a visit from his brother Heðinn, who has confessed that he on yule-evening:

I have misdeeds	- many to redeem
I have choosen	- the royal-borne,
your bride	- at the Bragi-goblet

Helgi sends Heðinn to fetch Svava and before them both he recites:

I pray thee Svava	- do not cry, o bride,
hear the wish	- I still have;

on Heðinns bed	- you may lie
and the young prince	- your love-making give.

Svava then recites:

A promise I gave	- in my father's land
when Helgi me red	- rings elected,
never to grasp	- since my prince has fallen
willingly in love-making	- an unfamoused man

The both lovers are said to have been reborn.

Svava here plays a double role as the Haddinga-valkyrie Hild and the moon-goddess Nanna while Helgi is Balðr. The red rings are the sun and associates also to the ship Ringhorne. Since the rescue-scene from Jotunheim figurates Úllr at this time evidently is an elven and no longer sun/heaven-god, and so Balðr is the natural choice. Heðinn, meaning hamr, guise, is also Balðr in the shape of his dualistic half and brother Hqðr. Here you should remember Saxo's telling of the death of Balðr when the both brothers as kings in Sweden and Denmark fight about the same queen. The story we are served is simply the Hjadnings fight between summer and winter and the Balðr-drama resulting in the reborn growth and the Holy Wedding. Through the rescue theme in the Helgakviðae it is also understandable you sometimes see tendencies it might be a fight between day and night with the rays of the rising sun, illustrated later. Frejr and Freja were saved and hence the dark fimbul winter was broken by the shining sun. Neither of these drapes say nothing essential of the cult of Óðinn. On the contrary it all suggests the possibility to be consecrated to Freja and other deities as well as to Óðinn. It also points towards the possibility of warrior's leagues acting the divine myth. In Hundingsbana II there is such an example. In comparison with the Haddingr-saga Balðr/Hqðr ought to be father of Svava since Sigrun's father in the two following kviðae is called Högne, standing for Hqðr/Balðr in that saga. There is also a distinct possibility to interpret Svafner and Svava as solar deities as is demonstrated in the section treating the Suebs!

## Helgakviða Hundingsbana I

The story is in many ways the same. The king, Helgi's father, is here called Sigmundr and the mother Borghild. There is a possibility the scald understands Sigmundr as Óðinn and Borghild as Frigg. The family here is called Ylfings. The kviða tells of the birth of Helgi and that the Norns:

His strings of fate	- strong they twined
while Borgar broke	- in Bralunda land;
the golden links	- easily they forged
and fastened them right	- below the hall of moon

Here we see how Balðr, the sun-god, is placed directly under the protection of the moon-goddess Nanna/Freja (Cf. The cult of Frejr above!)

Later is written:

Soon the young	- drew out for fight,
the prince was only	- fifteen winters;
he slew the hard	- Hunding in battle,
who had long ruled	- over land and people.

Not did he send	- the sons penalty,
not the prince gave fines	- for death of father,
but sang for fight	- and stormy wheater hard,
about whining spears	- and the wrath of Óðinn.

Under the Eagle-cliff	- the noble sat,
then beaten Alf	- and Eyolf were,
Hjörvarðr och Havarðr	- the sons of Hunding;
Geirmimes kin	- terminated was.

Here accordingly is demonstrated how Balðr, the spring and summer, defeats Høðr (Hunding), the winter, possibly also included the fimbul-winter, long time having ruled “over land and people”. Suddenly valkyries appear spreading a shine with blood-stained spears as of rays from the rising sun. The valkyrie Sigrun, Høgne’s daughter sings:

My father his maiden	- betroth has
with promise to Granmar’s	- cruel son,
but, Helgi!	- I said that Høðbrodd
is king so deedless	- as cat in the cranny.

Sigrun of course can be interpreted as ‘victory rune’ hinting on Óðinn and so indicating Helgi was consecrated to him. In the commentary of Thalls translation is said that valkyrie is a shield-maiden of Óðinn who in Valhall brings beer to the Einherjar and who takes part in battle and chooses brave warriors. This of course

is true, but I would remind of that half of the valkyries cared the business of Freja and half of the whale—the fallen—was her's. Sigrun here shows more likeness with the valkyrie Hild leading the Hadjings—in any case that must be the original meaning. At the same time is above spoken of whining spears (Gungner?) and the wrath of Óðinn, but, as remarked, those spears may as well be sunrays. There is anyhow a theoretical possibility Sigrun in this passage might be connected with Óðinn but I find it less convincing.

In due time Helgi will fight for his beloved Sigrun at the Gnipa-grove. Then a conversation takes place between Sinfjötle, who here is a Ylfing (we do recognise Sigmundr and Sínfjötle from the *Völsungasaga*), and Guðmundr, representative for Hǫðbrodd's Hundings.

Guðmundr:

Little you remember prince	- of ancient fates,
Since the nobleman you burdens	- with lies;
you have eaten	- the delicacy of the wolf
and own brothers'	- bane have been,
often wound sucked	- with cool lips
and hidden in mounds of stone	- hated by all.

Sinfjötle:

You were a vala	- on Varin's island,
insidious old woman	- who produced lies;
no man	- you wanted to own
in mail-coat grasped	- but Sinfjötle.
You were a valkyrie	- despicable troll-maiden,
cruel and detestable	- with Allfather;
you made all	- Einherjar fighting for you,
for your case	- treacherous woman!
Wolf-kids nine	- on Saga's ness
we gave birth to	- but alone am I father.

Guðmundr:

Not were you father	- of the Fenrir-wolf,
the oldest of all	- that I remember,



because gelded you lay	- at the Gnipa-grove
by tursa-maidens	- on Tower ness.
You Síggeir's step-child	- used to be under earth,
Used to wolves howling	- out in the woods,
over you	- all disaster came,
since your brother's breast	- you pierced.
You rumoured were	- for heinous deed,
You bride of Grane	- on Brávellir
where gild-bridled you were	- and keen to run/be on heat;
tired I have ridden you	- many a trip
tired under the saddle	- you troll! Down the hills!

Here the scald has mixed up Loki and Hǫðr. *Sinfjǫtle* primarily should be connected with Balðr/Hǫðr. *Guðmundr*—the old death-god of *Glasivællir*—here is Óðinn and his dualistic connection with Loki appears clearly. Loki is twin gendered and hence also Óðinn. He is here said to have been both Sígyn and Angerboda, and from where his horse Sleipner comes is also suggested in “where gild-bridled you were and keen to run/be on heat” In Scandinavian languages ‘run’ also can mean “be on heat” about animals, and hence there is a double message in that strophe. Also ‘ride’ may be interpreted in two ways. (Cf. *Lókasenna*)

During the battle Sígrun gets Helgi to Valhall or to the Hadinga-army with Freja.

Here appears quite evident the division of the Hadingings in two parts—the Ylfings (the Vǫlsungs) fighting on the side of day and summer, while the Hundings represent the night and winter—the time the sun is dead. This goes quite well along with all reports of werewolves fighting to save and reconquer the force of growth for the fields. That Hundings later have been connected with hounds could be because of a sound-similarity, and during the Migration Period it could well have existed teriomorph cultic leagues (e.g. the Langobards) wearing dog-guises having represented the divine Hundings in the eternal and necessary cycle in cultic plays. The hounds of Óðinn are also regarded as death-hounds, and evidently this also might have influenced the scald. Death is absolutely necessary for the new crop to spire.

## Helgikvíða Hundingsbana II

The story and the persons are generally the same.

“King Sigmund, son of Vǫlsung, had as his wife Borghild of Bralunda. They called their son Helgi after Helgi Hjǫrvarðssonar. Hagal brought up Helgi.

Hunding a powerful king was called, and after him Hundaland is named.... Between the kings Sigmund and Hunding was always feud and they slain eachother's kinsmen. King Sigmund and his heirs are called Vølsungs and Ylfings.”

Helgi slew Hunding and was called Hundingsbane. When he law with his fleet at Brunavåg a valkyrie, Sígrun, appeared, daughter of king Høgne. She was the reborn Svava.

In due time there is fight with the sons of Granmar and the same conversation between Guðmundr and Sínfjötle Guðmundarson takes place before the battle, like in the last kviða. Helgi wins the battle and all the Hundings are slain except of Dag Høgneesson, the brother of Sígrun, who gave his oath to the Ylfings. A little later he sacrificed to Óðinn for father-revenge and was allowed to borrow Óðinn's own spear, Gungner, and stabbed Helgi at Fjotrland. This place might be associated with the real world if you compare the telling of Tacitus about the Semnonenhain. Also Sígrun clearly indicates relationship with Óðinn when it is said in a strophe:

Do not mourn, Sígrun	-	you brought us victory;
not change Sköldung's fate.		

The inconsolable Sígrun, who, like Nanna looks for death, has placed her house-maid to wait at the mound if Helgi returns, like he made a night earlier. In the morning she approaches the howe:

Sígrun:

Arrived now were	-	if so he intended,
Sígmund's son	-	from the halls of Óðinn;
now the hope grows faint	-	to meet the chief,
when in the branches of the		
Ash-tree	-	the eagles already have sat
		down,
and the peoples are drawing	-	towards the thing of dreams.

The maid:

Not doest thou be that bewildered	-	that alone thou walket,
Sköldungadis	-	to the house of the dead:
stronger are	-	allways in night
the wraiths of the dead	-	than in the light of day.

“Sigrun had a short life in sorrow and complaint. Once upon a time it was believed that humans were reborn, but this is now called old wives’ tale. Helgi and Sigrun were said to be reborn; he then was called Helgi Haddingaskate and she Kara Halvdanardughter, as is told in the old Kara-songs, and she was a valkyrie.”

Here expressly Óðinn is mentioned, and besides Sigrun is twice called a Skoldung, which is the name of the Danish royal family—the one regarding themselves as ancestors of Óðinn.

## Helgi haddingjaskati

About Helgi Haddingjaskati Höfler comments:

Den Helgi, der bis dahin ‘durch Zauber’ (með fjölkyngi) unüberwindlich gewesen war, tötet Hrómundr mit einem Zauberschwert Mistilteinn “Mistelzweig”—also dasselbe (seltene) Wort, das, als Appellativ, die berühmte Zauberwaffe bezeichnet hatte, mit der Balðr getötet wurde. Das kann unmöglich Zufall sein. Helgi Haddingjaskatis Tötung ist irgendwie ein gegenstück von Balðrs Tod. Aber sie ist nicht einfach ein Abklatsch der Mythenform von Lokis Verrat und der unbewußten Tat des blinden Höðr. Vielmehr scheint hier die sehr altertümliche Form anzuklingen, nach der Óðinn selbst Balðrs Tod veranlaßte ähnlich wie sich bei Víkars Tod der scheinbar harmlose Rohrstengel durch sein Eingreifen in einen Speer verwandelt—und so, wie Helgi Hundingsbani mit dem Óðinnsspeer getötet wird, wozu die merkwürdigen Worte überliefert sind: ‘Allein Óðinn trägt alle Schuld’ (*Einn veldr Óðinn ollo bolvi*) dann aber ist der Tod der Helgi Haddingjaskati keine späte literarische Nachahmung älterer Mythen, sondern ein durch lange Überlieferung verdunkelter Rest urtümlich alter Sage—ein nahes Gegenstück zu Helgi Hundingsbanis Tod durch Óðinns Speer—aber von dieser sage nicht literarisch abgeleitet, und deshalb ein Beweis für die Ursprünglichkeit beider religiöser Vorstellungen: Der Geweihte fällt durch den Gott. (Höfler 1952, s. 167 ff.

Here evidently Roðmund is Óðinn and Höfler has also finally understood there are pieces of the Balðr-myth in these sagas. I can agree there are clear connections with the death of Víkarr and that both of them represent a layer of the Óðinn-tradition having overlaid the original myth. Accordingly it is believable that sacrifices to Óðinn are made in this way. In the bottom however it is all

pure Balðr myth and probably earlier it was tied to Úllr and Svipdagr. Helgi in this case more looks like Hǫðr.

A thought being introduced by Höfler is that Helgi is a sacral title in a cultic milieu since this Helgi all the time is reborn. This concerns also Svava/Sígrun. He means that:

Sollte der Name Helgi ursprünglich eine Art Bei- oder Übername gewesen sein, mit einer bestimmten sakralen Funktion verknüpft, dann verstünde man, weshalb der neue Träger des Namens als “Wiedergeburt” des früheren Helgi gelten konnte, auch ohne daß sie als blutsverwandt angesehen worden wären, so wie etwa das Königsamt weiterlebt, während die Könige wechseln. Wir werden bei der Besprechung des altschwedischen Königtums einen solchen Fall kennenlernen.

Sollte im Hintergrund der Helgi-Überlieferungen ein solches Weihe-Königtum stehen und die Tötung mit Óðinns Speer im Fesselhain ein ähnliches Königsopfer bedeuten wie die Hängung Haddings und die Hängung und Speerdurchbohrung Víkars (mit Óðinns Zauberspeer)—dann erwartete man auch bei Helgi, daß dieser Opferung eine Einweihung an mytische Mächte vorangegangen wäre. (Höfler 1952, p.167 ff.)

This is a reasonable, not to say convincing, thought. We know from the telling of Tacitus of the cultic feast of the Semnones that the Holy Wedding evidently is celebrated there and also that Óðinn probably is worshipped there (Týr is however also a possibility). Helgi and Svava can accordingly in later cultic myth be personified at regularly repeated cultic feasts. Whether it deals with real or symbolical sacrifices is another question. In this case about the Semnones Tacitus claims it is undertaken real human sacrifice. Maybe the initiated couple only live a predecided time like the classical sacral kings? You may even note that Svava’s later name—Kara—means long cultic hair, consecrated hair. This also points towards a living cult containing fertility elements as well elements of Odinic cult. It might however also be added that here we seem to have indications that the sun-god not, as the Balðr-myth claims, just is killed and then remains in the underworld. The divine Helgi is always reborn and hence the myth probably originally goes back to Úllr and Svipdagr and their connection with Ingr before he was Frejr.

## Summary of the Helgikvíðae

1. All three kvíðae are basically tellings about the gods and the eternal fight of the Haddjings between summer and winter (and between day and night with original connection with the long night of the fimbul-winter.) The leading motive is in the actual version the myth of Balðr. They might, besides, be understood also as factual cultic plays by human actors.
2. There are certain secondary elements of Óðinn-cult, namely
  - a. The hero Helgi may be understood as initiated to Óðinn but he might earlier as well have been consecrated to Ingun/Freja. In all occasions he is fetched home to Valhall—twice by a valkyrie and once by Óðinn himself through borrowing his spear to Dag Hjörvardrson. Besides Helgi Haddjingaskati is killed with a sword called “Mistilteinn” by Roðmund/Óðinn.
  - b. The name *Fjotrland* gives associations to the cult of the Semnonnes, where Óðinn probably is included and also the Holy Wedding may be part of it. Also in the cult of Demeter is fettering part of the cultic ceremoniel. In both cases the adept must be fettered—at least symbolically—before he is allowed to enter the cult-place. This also goes for the other parttakers. *Fjotr* means ‘to fetter’.
  - c. Óðinn appears possibly as a bird asking for sacrifice if Hjörvarðr shall get Segerlin. It is among else demanded to choose sacrifice in the king’s yard. This may mean that Helgi shall be consecrated to him.
  - d. Helgi and Svava/Sígrun/Kara may be cultic functional names in connection with the Holy Wedding. Fertility-rite. Possibly Helgi might be initiated to Óðinn but I find this dubious.
  - e. The Kara-name means also long cultic hair for the one being consecrated to the deity. Might be as well to Óðinn as to Freja.
3. Völsungs/Ylfings are the fighters of summer—the army of Balðr—while the Hundings are the hords of winter—the army of Høðr. Both are necessary for the plant-cycle. The fimbul-winter may also be referred to regarding the seemingly daybreakscene with the red spears and the long time of waiting under the Eagle cliff.

## Conclusion

The *Helgikvíðae* show, like the hero-sagas, a uniform muster. It deals with divine myths and the activities take place in the world of gods. It is the cult of Baldr with the fight between summer and winter and it also alludes to the rescue of Frejr and Freja from the Jotun-giants and so the ending of the *fimbulwinter*. That Óðinn is interpreted here and there is quite natural regarding the close connection between the cult of Baldr, the name of Freja and Óðinn. It is quite possible, not to say probable, that this fight also was enacted as an antropomorph cultic play and that Helgi in connection with this could have been consecrated to a deity as kind of sacral king or participant of a Holy Wedding with someone acting as Svava/Kara/Sígrun. You could however also not exclude a factual sacrifice to Óðinn in connection with the grand cultic feast in the *Semnonenhain* and similar central cult-places. In this case Tacitus is very clear. Possibly functioned a certain Helgi between two such great cultic feasts. There between the play may have been enacted yearly in several cult-places but without sacrifices. There is a clear similarity between the sacrifice of the *Semnones* and what is hinted at about *Fjōtrlundr* in the *kvíðae* and you are also struck by the similarity with the symbolically fettered mysts at the initiation in the cult of Demeter, and of the information that Óðinn appears with white linen-bands around his legs in connection with the *Langobards*, and that Paulus Diaconus identifies mares with white band around their legs—fettters—with the *Langobards*. (Höfler 1952, p.185 ff.). Óðinn is indeed known for fettering people but this evidently is a habit also connected with the pure vegetational cult of Greece. This points still more on a origin of Baldr and Nanna in the Mediterranean area.

## The cult of Óðinn and shamanism in iconographical representation and the ways of distribution of the cult

1907 a book was published by Justus Cederquists förlag in Stockholm containing an edited version of two lectures newly given at the Samfund för Nordisk Språkforskning in Stockholm. The author was Sune Ambrosiani. This booklet started a debate still going on, and still in a direction based on certain basic elements then introduced by Ambrosiani. Certain of his theories however are now definitely obsolete. The issue deals with the goldbracteates of the Migration Period and the arrival of the cult of Óðinn.

Already in the introduction he formulates his position:

Odin is, contrary to the many obscure divine figures in the Nordic mythology, a decided personality. This and much else indicates, that he does not belong to the older gods of the Germanic peoples, but is a relatively late arrived foreign god. When such a god shall be assimilated with the old mythological perception by a people, he is understood—according to the opinion of several researchers of history of religion—regularly as father of one or several of the former more important gods. If this religio-historical thesis is valid, there is no doubt whatsoever, that Odin is a late projektion in Germanic mythology. He is not only allfather, but also father of more than one of the more important gods, who undoubtedly have older franchise in the old faith of the Germanic peoples.

One has approximately fixed the point of time for his appearance among the Germanics to the centuries after Christ and it is of course hazardous to fix it closer, since the material used for this means originates from a so late time as the one, when the Catholic Christianity started to gain supremacy among the Scandinavian peoples. It is namely not improbable that at least half a millenium must lie between the first appearance of the odin-religion and it's defeat by the Christianity, and during a so long period even forms of religion are affected of many changes and of a general developement. The religion we know through the Viking Period sources are accordingly without doubt of quite another character than during the juvenile period of the similarly named religion. (Ambrosiani 1907, p.5f.)

Two important statements are made in this section. Here he uses everything that Dumézil claims as proofs for the ancient age of the cult of Óðinn and that it always was here—the allfather position, the fatherhood of several important gods et c.—as proofs for that it is a relatively newly immigrated cult having overlaid the old religion. This might possibly, in today's debate-climate, seem absurd but if you look to the Third Reich of Hitler, Sovjet of Stalin and e.g. Rumania of Ceaucescu and presuppose there was no outer pressure from other countries to achieve changes. If no other impressions from outside could reach the people in greater scale, or if the outside influences supported the established order, you have a similar situation as the one created by these potentates. The history was re-written, the youth was fostered to blind obedience—Hitlerjugend, Kinderbornhäuser children later raised in SS Order Burgs, Komsomol, Ceaucescu's orphan boys—and grew accustomed of worshipping these leader-figures as more important than all other models. The world started from and centered around these. Had they, and their followers, been allowed to sit undisturbed for more than a thousand years few would have challenged the established order and questioned the righteousness of the situation. Seen in this way Ambrosiani's thesis is in no way obsolete. Rightly used you can gain a lot of information with this tool. Ambrosiani here talks about the Germanics in general—not only of Northern Europe. It is the old thesis that the cult originates from Asia and arrived with the Scyths and that part is indeed dubious in modern light.

The second important statement he makes is that a religion is always developing within itself and also takes impressions from outside and so changes during 1000 years. That, like now, be forced to work with Viking Period and Middle Age sources as complementary to the very sparse Antique ones might give a totally wrong picture of the religion in the beginning of the period. How much of the original religion remains in a newer overlaying variant of the same religion, or how much is overlaid with another religion? It is problems of this kind as I and everybody else is forced to meet when working within this field. This awareness is a good travel companion along the road for greater clarity.

Ambrosiani indicates still a number of points of principally interesting character. He notes that the rectory in Sättersta parish in Södermanland is called Odensberga and draws from this a general conclusion—namely that “...at the exchange of the religious forms the property of the temple or the land that should sustain the temple-servant, which one it might have been, was transferred as a living stead to the priest of the new religion.” (Ambrosiani 1907, p.7) That churches often been built on or at old cult-places, who also often were situated close to old population centra, is today a generally accepted truth but the transferring of the ground to the priest is not that generally accepted, but it is of course



quite logical. If you regard the institution of “Uppsala öd” there are however many claiming the land was transferred to the state—it is the king. Closer it implies that the governing royal family took hold of them as royal common land (Billingson), while other regard Uppsala öd just as part of the kings sustaining and spread over the country depending of the old claim the king sat in Uppsala in Uppland but this claim is more and more questioned. No king seem to have been sitting in Uppsala since at least the Vendel period and by the time Sweden really was Christian there were no kings there. Uppsala I rather see as a cultic name and hence the theory of Billingson is more durable then and there are more than 200 Uppsala places within the spread-area of the old mythological Ingling-kings.(Högmer 1990) I do not think they were named after one single place but rather that Uppsala refers to a cult-place to Frejr but many names, of course are secondary, later names connected with the royal öd. The cult of Frejr was important for the Inglings claiming to be the reborn Frejr and the king was höggoðe—Pontifex Maximus- just in this cult. The concentration of Uppsala names in Sweden show similarities with the distribution of the real estate belonging to the Erikska and Sverkerska royal families with a concentration among else around the Vätter lake.(Högmer 1990) Generally may however be said that where an old Middle Age-church lies there is a great probability there was earlier practiced pre-Christian cult.

He also notes that Óðinn very rarely is mentioned in the sources.(Ambrosiani 1907, p.7):

Saxo mentions Odin confusingly seldom, specially if you consider the position Odin is regarded to have had in Nordic ancient belief. It is only in a few places, cf Holder’s Index nominum, that Óðinn is presented under his own name. Similar are the circumstances in e.g. *Heimskringla* and other historical sources from the Middle Ages, and still the cult of this god must have been widespread.

If you study those places with Saxo closer, where Odin (Othinus) appear you will find, that the two most important are composed of references from one and the same occasion, but however in so different forms that not even Saxo, who evidently have got the story from two very dissimilar sources, did recognize the telling—so circumstancially he reports it in both places. Nor meets us the, beside Odin, most significant person under same or similar name.

He accordingly meets the same problem with different names on the same person,that we find both in the *Völsunga-sagas*, the hero-sagas and the

*Helgikviðae* above. Also more modern researchers have noted that Odin very seldom is mentioned by his own name but with circumscribings. They mean this depends on the fact he was feared as death-god—as I indicated in the beginning of the book—and that one because of this considered it safer not to mention his name. The question is however if this is a correct interpretation. Ambrosiani evidently means the reason is he was not so generally known earlier, and hence one have redefined other old names to stand for Óðinn. It might of course also have been so, that a god with similar functions has been established within a certain geographical area as god of a local population—a god basically being the same as Óðinn, but who had more character of a tribal god. In that case the cult of the god bearing the name Wodan/Óðinn really might have immigrated from the south according to Salin, on whom Ambrosiani supports himself. When the similarities have been evident these names could have been assimilated into the name of Óðinn. These possibilities should be left open for a further evaluation.

In his work about the Nordic animal-ornaments Salin proposes that those bracteates containing an emperor's head combined with a bird symbolize Óðinn and if combined with a buck it deals with Þórr. (Sahlin 1903/1935) Ambrosiani agrees but continues the reasoning.

He means that the origin of the bracteates is the memory medallions of the Roman emperors since the oldest bracteates are minute copies of these. This is in no way controversial and is also accepted by nowadays researchers. He continues, however, with claiming that the Roman emperor cult, practiced within the Roman legions, would have been introduced and gained spread also in the free Germania, that consequently all Germanics should have adored the Roman emperor as a god. With other words the cult of Óðinn should have been nothing but just this emperor cult in Germanic shape. Tacitus information about the adoring of Mercurius already before 98 AD he does not deny, but he means that Mercurius must have represented another, not specified, older Germanic god, and possibly the same who later came to be synchronised with the emperor. (Ambrosiani 1907, p. 42.)

Both the here appointed circumstances—on the one hand the spread of the emperor cult to the Barbarian peoples in the 300's, on the other the Scandinavian tradition about the transfer of a mighty cult from the countries around the Black Sea to the North just at the same point of time—are facts you hardly can avoid to combine with each other. It hardly could be questioned that it deals with one and the same occurrence being learnt about in two different ways. The matter itself accordingly ought to be enough proven. (Ambrosiani 1907, p.42)

Salin has confirmed that the Roman emperor's heads who occur fall within the period 325-425 AD. This is exactly the period comprising the last non-Christian emperors and the earliest Christian. It is also the period when the most intensive contacts with the Germanics took place and the army to a great part consisted of Germanics. Sahlin, accordingly, means he can archaeologically prove the by tradition (*Heimskringla* et c.) suggested cultural stream from South-East and also date it. It started during the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.AD and continued till the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c.(Sahlin 1903/1935; Ambrosiani 1907, p.41)

The archaeological materiel carries witness of, that the Roman culture in the Orient via Southern Russia, Svitjod, initially influenced the material culture of the Germanics, and later, when the influences continued some hundred years, the cultural influence has also reached the spiritual sphere influencing the religious habits of the Northeners. (Ambrosiani 1907, p.41)

For the sake of completeness it also should be told something about Ambrosiani's analysis of Saxo Grammaticus. He states that Othinus (Óðinn) just is mentioned in only two stories. In the one case

...was adored in all Europe a certain Othinus under a false suggestion that he was a divinity. This one however during long time used to live at Uppsala. He honoured the place through living there. Either because the inhabitants were more stupid than others, or because it was a so pleasant place. The kings in the North (the Black Sea area), who eagerly wanted to adore his divinity(or imperial highness), portrayed him in shape of an idol in gold and sent this statue, as a proof of their respect for him, to Bizantium. Beforehand they had also loaded the arms of the figure very, very thight with armlets.Othinus grew happy of such a rumour and showed his graze towards the senders. His console Frigga did however send for craftsmen and let remove the gold from the picture, because she would be able to appear still more elegant. Since these craftsmen had been punished through hanging, Othinus placed the statue on a pedestal and arranged with great skill so it could speak. Frigga however gave priority to her toilet-interests before the signs of her husband's divinity. Because of this she associated intimately with one of the court in order to, through his ingenuity, get the picture removed. Hence she succeeded

to get hold of the gold, meant for general divine service, to be used for her personal luxury... (Ambrosiani 1907, p.12)

Since Othinus was publicly disgraced through the actions of Frigga, his pontifex maximi (dii) thought that he had disgraced both himself and the religion and he was sent in exile. In his place a certain Mithotyn was installed and he even took over "his name". This Mithotyn is in the other story called Ollerus (i.e. Úllr). The preposition for the translation by Ambrosiani is that Saxo founds his information on a latin author, using ranking-designations about Othinus and Mithotyn/Ollerus when he mentions them. Instead of deus the word *numen* is used, which according to Ambrosiani was used during Late Antiquity for 'imperial highness'. Accordingly it should refer to a dethroned emperor being replaced with a high official having received his title but not his name. When Othinus returned Ollerus escaped to Denmark or Sweden but in both cases he was slain in Denmark. Ambrosiani remarks that Saxo himself believed he was writing history and not mythology, and he also means this episode should not be improbable in reality. In short, hence, these two gods should be the emperor and a high court-official and their living place shall be read as Byzantium and not as Ásgårðr.

Saxo could, of course, have produced these titles himself as a learned clergy-man and well educated in the nomenclature of the Antique, but apart of that you can settle that it is an interesting story which might possibly give some insight into the Byzantine court-policy of that time. It has, however, not very much to do with the cult of Óðinn. The civil-war between asir and vanir is in any case suggested.

Concerning the bracteates there is a firmer foundation to stand on.

A. von Domaszewski published in 1895 an article based on an examination of the practice of religions within the Roman army—*Die Religion des römischen Heeres*—where a large number of preserved inscriptions systematically been examined, and to whom Ambrosiani refers. (Ambrosiani 1907, p.32 ff)

Domaszewski divides the material in three divisions, namely 1. *Dii militares* and the gods of the permanent camp. 2. The Roman "immortal" gods Iupiter, Juno, Minerva, Mars and Victoria—the personification of the commander's personal power to win. 3. *Dii peregrini*—all those cults the different peoples of the army brought along from their homes—including the Nordic religion—and to these is added a 4<sup>th</sup> category—the genius of the emperor and the emperor as a god.

Concerning the Nordic religion Ambrosiani comments:

In certain Germanic and Gallic provinces Hercules already early was introduced among *dii militares*. There are e.g. altars being consecrated to him and to the genius of the emperor. In the great find made in Rome within the lodgement of the riding guard- which cavallery (*eqvites singulares*) to a great extent consisted of Germanics—votivstones with the name of Hercules have an important position. Hence it is evident that under this name a Germanic god is hidden. The same god also seems to be the most regularly returning male god on Viergöttersteine. It deserves to be observed, that these stones have been found only within a very confined area, Southern Germany and Western France. This god is *Donar*, Thor.

Jean Réville writes in *Die Religion zu Rom* :

Ist die Anerkennung des Donar in der Gestalt des Hercules so alt im römischen Heere und die Geltung dieses Cultes schon im dritten Jahrhundert auch bei dem Grenzheere des Westens anerkannt, so fällt auf dem Namen Herculus, den Maximianus angenommen, ein neues Licht. Denn dann ist die eigentliche Ursache dieser Namengebung die Verehrung des Donar im Westheere, denn die Krieger germanischer Herkunft seit Jahrhunderten in Hercules wiedererkannten, und die ganze Zukunft des Westreiches prägt sich daran aus, daß der Herrscher des Westens nach dem deutschen Gotte heißt. (Ambrosiani 1907, p.33; Lamprid. Coomod. 8, 9.)

The Roman emperor accordingly accepts the by-name Hercules to be identified with the religion to which a great part of the Germanics of the army confessed themselves. The emperor is the highest commander of the administration and the army, and he is besides a living god who also as dead is worshipped as a god. To this comes his genius (Ambrosiani 1907, p.34) who also has an own, independent position disregarded of who is the emperor. In this way he might be iconographically represented all over the realm. Everywhere his picture is he himself is also present. (Dr.Philos Bente Küelrich, København, at a lecture of iconographical representation in connection with a symposion I attended at the Swedish Institute in Istanbul 1992, pers. com.)

It is accordingly not confusing that both the emperors and the goddess Victoria are found on the early bracteates. Ambrosiani means this is a means to tie the Germanics to the emperor cult and they can also be assumed to serve as amulettes. Also he claims returning warriors automatically spread the cult in their

home area, since the locals became deeply impressed by this beautiful medallion and by the high master and god their friend had served. In this way the emperor cult was swiftly spread all over Europe.

The last mentioned I however doubt. The emperor cult indeed has inspired the early bracteates but they later follow an own development as a part of Germanic religion.

I can in the light of the above said think of still another possible explanation, namely that the single soldat through the iconographic representation had the impression the emperor was allways present guarding him and controlling his loyalty. So the emperor could rest assured the soldier would be loyal. This idea of representation was probaly later transferred on the Germanic gods and so the wearer of the amulette could expect help of the god when being in distress.

What concerns the dating of the bracteates Salin and Ambrosiani have reduced the interval of time considerably in relation to C.J. Thomsen who in *Annaler for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie* 1855 in an article, *Om Guldbracteaterne og bracteaternes tidligste brug som mynt* have placed them in the period from Constantine the great (4<sup>th</sup> c.) to Basilius II and Constantine XI, who governed 975-1025. He then has started from comparisons between coins and bracteates. The comparison starts with bracteate nr.36 and 39 in Thomsen's catalogue. Thomsen made a pioneering work through creating the first catalogue of goldbracteates systematically arranging them after the motive. Nr.36 is characterised by two counterpositioned heads and a Jerusalem-cross and is made of silver. It has an inscription with bind-runes. It can be settled that it quite clearly is a later bracteate that is not actual when looking for god bracteates- it rahter deals with a vanishing tradition to copy Roman coins and medallions than about an evident cult. The presence of bind-runes however still suggests that people saw a magical connection in this kind of relics. The work of Thomsen is later continued by Mackeprang *De nordiske Guldbrakteater* 1952 and finally by Karl Hauck with his catalogue *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit I-III* 1984. The number of finds have steadily grown and the present dating confines them broadly to the Migration Period but the earliest datings still remain in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. and, as we saw with Thomsen, there are also later examples.

Inger-Lise Kolstrup treats the bracteates in her lecture *Ikongrafi og religion* at the symposium *Nordisk Hedendom (Nordic Paganism)* in Odense.(Kolstrup 1991) She begins with:

To enlight the subject pre-Christian Nordic Paganism from pictoral witnesses the choice naturally falls on two big main-groups, namely the goldbracteates from Germanic Iron Age (fig.1) and the picture-stones

from late Migration Period and early Viking Period. The bracteates because they are so numerous represented all over Scandinavia—the stone-monuments because they are so rich of pictures and so complex when combining several single scenes in one and the same picture-surface (fig.2). The bracteate pictures might almost be compared with the stereotype repetition of the basic elements of the art of drawing comic-strips, where diminutive details deviating from the basic components get an immensely great significance for the interpretation. The picture-stones on the other hand have got built in a typical “reader’s instruction” in the division of the picture-surface in horizontal bands or strips between the single picturezones, like on the Late Antique triumphal arcs or in the lime-painted decorations of the churches in Southern Europe, which might have been possible sources of inspiration for the Gotlandic pictorial artists in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> cc.(Kolstrup 1991, p.181)

What the picture-stones concerns she here refers to the late stones with Óðinn-motives and not the older stones, that rather are influenced by Celtic contacts with e.g. the Vadeniensian culture in Asturia on the Iberic peninsula—possibly distributed via Gothic contacts or via the La Tène-culture. I have treated this problem in an earlier article, *Gotlands kelto-romerska arv (The Celto-Roman heritage of Gotland)*.(Nordgren, 1992)

She continues with a definition of the prepositions to be able to interpret an iconographical motive, giving a valuable base when trying to interpret the bracteates:

...for both the media goes that the pictures are not possible to interpret immediately when you regard them from a pre-iconographic plane and are able just to identify visually figures like e.g. “man”, “horse” or “house”. The extremely small meaning-bearing details, that closer identify the persons or their acts, are very important (fig.3). That the man on an eight-legged horse is not just another rider, but Odin, you do not understand out of a common sense everyday experience, but from literary sources, where the connection between man and eight-legged horse means Odin on the demon-horse Sleipnir. When you see a male figure nailed to a cross or just standing before it we easily and immediately identify it as a representation of the crucifixion of Jesus, if it is lime-painting from the Middle Ages or the C-side of the Jelling-stone. That our safe identification not causes dubious feelings depends of the fact, that the iconographic models are constructed from a conventional per-

ception of the meaning-bearing iconographic signs, being based upon its functions in a greater cultural context, and this context is based upon a generally known form—mostly a literary one. (Panofsky 1955, p.26 ff). For Scandinavian spectators of the Iron Age it was different. Here the oral myth has been the source of the convention. The actual picture is part of an iconological context depending on the time and of the intention to use this picture-convention to this special aim: The crucifixion in a lime-painting in immediate closeness to the Christian altar signifies the Holy Communion—Christ's unbloody sacrifice—while a similar picture on an amulet maybe means the confession to and the protection of the Christian allmighty god as a guarantor for immortality. The iconography in connexion with the context therefore is important also for pictures in pre-Christian time. The intended aim is an important factor for the understanding of the picture's content. (Kolstrup 1991, p.181-82)

Already above it has been suggested that the emperor cult might have been the origin of the use of bracteates, and that the emperor later is replaced with e.g. ravens/birds and bucks. Another very usual image is e.g. horses or horse-similar four-legged animals, but also antropomorph figures are pictured, often equipped with tools or weapons that should have an iconographic meaning. It hence is natural, as Kolstrup writes, that their perception of what a picture symbolises maybe radically differs from our perception. All tries of interpretation suffer from this uncertainty—you just only can do your very best to look upon it with the eyes of the ancients.

The picture below gives an idea of the problems of interpretation that can meet in a bracteate:



*Fig. 3 Detail of bracteate (Kolstrup 1991)*



The picture is taken from Kolstrup's article and shows what you could believe is a more or less ordinary face. You should however observe the slightly unusual mouth. It does not depend of him having abnormally great lips, but has been interpreted that he in the ways of shamans blows out a life-giving force able e.g. to heal sick persons.(e.g.Hauck, Höfler) It may suggest the figure is a god. The Roman imperial diadem from the late emperors is also included in a strongly distorted shape. The motif of this bracteate quite evidently points towards shamanism, and since such a figure often is riding an horselike-animal and complemented with a bird he has been understood as Óðinn. You accordingly can confirm a positive connection between bracteates, shamanism and the cult of Óðinn, but also other gods have, as earlier told, been suggested and a bird must not necessarily mean the birds of Óðinn. One of the more unusual finds—a bracteate having a runic inscription—which was made at the farm-yard Grumpan, Säware parish, Lidköping commune in Västergötland (Hauck nr.260) is shown below. Here we find the god-the shaman on a horse but still an important detail should be noted. The horse is horned. This iconography has an utterly double meaning. If you regard the shape of the horns they might as well be understood as a Celtic torques of the type being placed on idols but also were carried by warriors. Accordingly a symbol for a god or a hero. If you regard it as horns, which it probably is, it does not simplify the interpretation. The horns namely can stand for the horned goddess- the moon- and earth-goddess—and hence be a sign of fertility-cult—in this case presumably a shamanistic such—but still a little malplaced on a supposed Óðinn-horse.



*Fig. 4 The Grumpanbracteate (Hauck IK, nr.260)*

One have in burial finds come upon horns, evidently meant to be strapped to horses (Ellmers 1970, the finds in Richborough and Bromath below) and there is also on the Höggeby-stone in Uppland pictured what is understood as a stallion-baiting, where the horses are equipped with horns. Stallion-baitings are often connected with Freja but also with Úllr. In this case it can even suggest an Celtic influence since the Celts, specially the Vadenienses, were extremely good riders and lived for and with the horse all the time, to that extent the horse often got a more costly funeral than it's owner. Within their territory in Asturia horned symbols are common on stealae both before and during Roman time, and they may as well be interpreted as lunar symbols. Still in modern time the steer have a special position in this area. The old cultic rituals nowmore are simplified to bull-fightings, but basically it deals with the same aims you can see inside the Gundestrup-cauldron. The Cimbri evidently got their cauldron via the Celts and in this connection should be noted that the pre-Christian stelae of the Vadenienses are characterised by two special items—namely pictures of horses and branches of ivory. The Gundestrup-cauldron is dotted with ivory-leafs definitely tying it to the Celts. The question, hence, is if the bull's horns also by us signify the lunar crescent and that the bull accordingly is a male fertility-symbol also representing the moon-goddess Ingun/Freja. It should suit well with my interpretation of Hørn for Freja meaning the horned goddess but I admit this is a linguistically dubious one. Still the horned horses on the Höggebystone suggest the same thing and I reckon horses or bulls could both be used, but the original idea ought to come from bull-riding/jumping habits.



*Fig. 5 The pictures of the Höggebysten (Ellmers) and the horse-grave gifts from Richborough and Bromath, 4<sup>th</sup> c. (Ellmers) from Kolstrup.*

The horse is understood by Hauck, Höfler and others as one of the carriers of the shamans soul during his astral journeys. So also by Hedeager.(Hedeager 1996)

The question has also been discussed by many other researchers. Hauck and Höfler have accordingly associated horse and rider normally with Óðinn while, when it concerns horned horses, Sahlin (Sahlin, 1870, p.413 ff.;Kolstrup 1991,p.191) interpreted them as bucks and Ellmers (Ellmers 1970, p.201ff)

means that it deals with horse-sacrifices with ritually adorned horses within the frames of a cult of Óðinn, and he connects them with the Herules.



*Fig. 6 Bracteates found in Faxe and Trollhättan (Kolstrup 1991)*

Above I have included still a couple of informative pictures. The right picture, found in Trollhättan, is easily identifiable if you have read the myth of the lost hand of Týr while helping to fetter the Fenris-wolfe. Besides you can see if looking carefully two circles or rings above each of his arms. It may show him as sky-god with the sun and the moon under his wide hair—the heavenly dome. He is a ring-god. From the hair hang two objects—possibly stars or comets. This is a reasonably good picture of the sky-god. The bitten-off hand Ohlmarks calls the moon-hand and the other the sun-hand. This bracteate does not contradict his suggestion. The object in his hand might be a balance-instrument—principally a scale—to, according to Roman influence, indicate his function as god of justice.

The left one from Faxe is far more complicated. You see three figures of which the middle one seems to hold a hammerlike tool and so we think aha, Þórr alternatively Hercules- the Germanic main god of the legions. According to his rank he should however not be standing in the middle, but if he is compared to Hercules it becomes more logical. To the right stands a man with a spear. It might be Óðinn, of course, but at this early point of time it might as well be Týr—he also has the spear symbol and he is a wargod as much as a god of justice-thing-god. Taking a second look, however, you get confused- what is it really that the middle figure has in his hand—is it a hammer indeed? If you scrutince the picture still more you discover the feet of a bird above his head, or possibly above the person to the right. In the lowest part two birds are lying—one on each side—

and the middle figure other hand is formed as a ring. He stands on a kind of podium and from his side extends what looks like a leafed branch. To the left a figure stands having a globe for feet and beside him seemingly another leafed branch. His one hand is ringshaped. The figure to the right has beside himself a spear but outside this there is a human or animal bone. He holds in his other hand something looking like a pair of crossed bones. Also his hand is shaped as a ring.

Before we continue the interpretation it is advisable to share what Lotte Hedeager writes in her manuscript to her intended article *Myths, magic and Material* 1996:

The actual process of seidr was to pass into a state of ecstasy, the body becoming lifeless, releasing the soul to travel freely in time and space. It then being possible for the free soul to become 'wild' and cause harm, and travel to the realm of the dead to obtain insight and knowledge about the past or the future. This state of transcendence (i.e. the shape-changing) was brought about through chanting and recitation carried out by a group of assistants gathered around the one enacting the seidr, above them on a kind of platform or podium (hjallr).

A little further down she writes:

The free soul was also zoomorphic. The three chief types are that of the bird, the reindeer (stag), and the bear—but especially the bird (Eliade 1989:156, cf. Hultkrantz 1987). In his journey to the other world the shaman is usually presented as riding on some bird or four-legged animal. (Hedeager 1996)

You now could believe it is indeed Óðinn standing on a hjallr in the middle practising seidr. The bird legs above his head is the spirit—the soul—travelling the esoteric world seeing everything. Below he has his eyes—Hugin and Munin—and his ring-god symbol is indicated in his hand. Might the branch in his side be Gambanteinn? To the left the green branch of life and to the right the bones of death, because he is lord of life and death. On the side of death is also his death-bringing spear Gungner. In his hand he holds a symbol showing his power over sun and moon or it maybe indicates his co-regent the sky-god Týr. If this is real the left figure must be the sun-god Baldr. The right one is more insecure but could possibly be Þórr with his killing hammer symbolised by the bones that also together form a square representing the primary forces controlled by the gods. In that connection Þórr is the god's representative when fighting the chaos-forces—rimturses and resar(giants). The three globes in an upwards and downwards

directed tri-angle then could be the triad Óðinn, Þórr and Frejr concerning to Dumézil.

The problem, however, is that this interpretation is contradicted by Hauck and Kolstrup. According to Kolstrup it is interpreted as follows:

...the Faxe-bracteate shows directly, that Balðr really is rammed by this (*Mistilteinn*, author's remark'): it is sitting in his side. The figure on the other side with the spear is seen as Odin, symbolized by his follow-animal, the bird, above his head, as representative for whole the divine parnass. It is characteristical, that these three-god bracteates show Balðr standing on a kind of podium: Maybe a pictorial witness of the contemporary really existing constructions for cult-sacrifice-acts. (Hauck 1984: 266 ff. ; ibid 1987: 164 ff.) The bracteates in this small but important group speak very visible about sacrificial death, and possibly with the Allfather Odin as sacrificial master.

What then to say about this? I still insist that the bird above the head is a shamanistic symbol for the free flight of the soul. It may however be discussed whether it is above the head of the middle or the right figure. Both alternatives are plausible. The bird indicates a shaman god and the object I interpret as a *hjalr* (the podium) tells that *sejdr* is going on. If the figure in the middle is Balðr, which is now quite evident, we can spot two sun-gods since the ring, as shown before, is the sun. It all deals with the death of Balðr through the *Mistilteinn* and the left figure then is *Ingr/Frejr* who by means of the *Skirnir*-shape carries the sun-god—*Draupnir*—and himself to *Freja* and fertilizes her indicated by the leafed branch *Gambanteinn* to the left finally causing *Ingr/Frejr* and Balðr to be reborn. In that case the object Balðr holds should be a symbol of himself and the moon-goddess *Ingun/Freja/Nanna* guaranteeing his return. It accordingly should be a symbol for sun and moon. You may note that the figure with the spear at least with one foot stands on the *hjalr* and definitely on the same level, and it should possibly be able to interpret so, that he has established contact with the realm of the dead through *sejdr*. The bone symbols then should suggest his function as death-god and ruler of the primary forces. The two pyramids of each three rings indicate in this, probably more correct, interpretation the three ring-gods involved in the funeral and resurrection of the sun—Óðinn, Balðr and Frejr—and suggest the journey to the underworld via the downwards pointing tri-angle and the resurrection via the upwards directed one. This is an interesting interpretation indeed, since it confirms the earlier analysis indicating that *Ingr/Frejr* as *Skirnir* is indeed also the sun and hence maybe older than Balðr. We

accordingly can see the cult of Frejr, as described in *Skírnismál*, as an iconographic picture. The crossing bones Óðinn holds in his hand could also be regarded as a combination of his own death-symbol with the scale of Týr. If so Týr is suggested as his real co-regent (like Varuna and Mithra).

Accordingly it is very easy to make a wrong interpretation and nobody could say exactly what is right, but I rest with the last one and specially since it is confirmed in *Skírnismál*.

Lotte Hedeager writes in her introduction among else:

By confronting the written evidence, the mythical stories and the archaeological material it is possible to show a religious universe built up around a strong shamanic tradition as the ideological anchoring of a new warrior elite in the 5th and 6th century.

Hedeager accordingly places the distribution of the cult in Scandinavia in the Migration Period. About the sources she states with references to Strömbäck and Davidson:

The classical descriptions of *seidr* are found in *Eiríks Saga rauða* (chap. 4), in which Greenland is seen to be the last pagan outpost, dated to the 10th century. *Eiríks Saga rauða* is, as with most Norse literature and Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*, composed in a Christian environment, during the 13th century. However, it is evident that the Icelandic sagas to a great extent reflected a pagan lifestyle, in spite of the fact that recollections of specific pagan institutions at that time were beginning to disappear—or as far as some were concerned, the evidence was being played down and covered up...

...Folklore, however, continued to exist as an undercurrent in the saga universe, independent of Christian beliefs and church propaganda. The Norse literature tells of dreams and visions, predictions, curses, shape-changing, supernatural forces and ghosts, as well as rituals, the swearing of oaths, at burials and *on entering brotherhoods* (my italicizing!) etc. Together they give good insight into pagan belief and everyday life, even if they don't say anything explicitly about the religion. The Edda poetry, the skaldic verse, the sagas of the kings and the family sagas, the sagas of the heroic age and Saxo Grammaticus, all include, whether merely suggested or more directly named, the 'operational' Nordic magic 'seidr'. The many different stories together create a picture of the course of events in Nordic magic and the mystical meaning of *seidr*. (Strömbäck 1935:143 f; Hedeager 1996).

With exception accordingly of *Eiriks Saga rauða*, which is more concrete, the same kind of sources I myself in the earlier reasoning have found very useful for making mythological interpretations. Shamanism is, I have claimed above, so generally spread that it with great probability must have been used not only within the cult of Óðinn. Hedeager agrees to this:

Schamanism is welldocumented in many of the so-called primitive religions and the shaman is the dominant central character—diviner and medicine-man. Shamanism is not in itself a welldefined religion but rather a religious complex which, in a variety of forms, has existed in most parts of the world (Campbell 1968: 156-269), most prevalent in the circumpolar regions of North America, Northern Europe (the Saami up until the end of the 19th century), North and Central Asia (Scythian-Sarmatian form and the Siberian). Covering such large areas must imply variation, but there are some central ideas that recur: by passing into a state of ecstasy, attained by a professional medium—the shaman—contact with the spiritual, supernatural world is created (Eliade 1989:4). (Hedeager 1996)

H.R.Ellis Davidson mentions that there is no direct connection between ability to tell fortunes and to heal and both are fundamental parts of shamanism. (Davidson 1988, p. 162)

The theme of underworld-journeys to bring somebody back to life or to follow a deceased are not primary elements in a sejd-seance, even if this theme occur in Nordic mythology. Instead seidr seemingly concentrates on divination meaning a lower or simpler form of magics.(Eliade 1989, p.387)

Also the runes were part of magics and this is concluded by Hedeager as below:

The myth illustrates in a archetypal way shamanism's nature with ecstasy as the means for attaining sacred insight (Buchholz 1971:19) and it confirms and explains seidr as a central magical practice in Nordic pagan life. Seen through the lenses of the myth the runes become something other than a primitive alphabet—they represent magic, being the key to Odin's feared power because they could force dead men's tongues to talk. The word run/runar then means, even 'secrecy, secret knowledge, knowledge of writing in verse' (Dumézil 1969:52). The 24 runes in the oldest futhark was divided into three families, each consisting of eight letters: Frøy's family, Hagal's family and Tyr's family (Düwel 1968). Over and above the phonetic importance each rune also had a symbolical value, being synonymous with a name or term connected to the mythol-

ogy. Thus, every rune had its own magical meaning and the runic inscriptions contained a twofold message. Magic, i. e. rune art was lethal to society and had to be monopolised and controlled. Odin was the possessor and the true owner of this feared power that the secret knowledge created (Dumézil 1969:52)

Conclusively, hence, we find that Óðinn in sources and tradition appears as the total ruler of everything connected with magics and sejdr and shamanistic ecstacy, and that he rules over life and death—specially as death-god—and over the rage of war, and in the same time over cunningness and slyness, poetry and runes. In spite of this both Frejr and Týr are ascribed to certain parts of the runic alphabet, and Heimdallr is regarded as the one learning the humans to read, even if it is claimed that Óðinn gave the runes to the humans. I can not see how this goes together with the claim that the cult of Óðinn as official religion should be original in Scandinavia. Nor does Hedeager obviously (see above). Davidson's negative opinion in this matter I have already earlier referred to.

The above-standing examination about the connection between bracteates and cult might be completed with an analysis of their distribution, which among else could be expected to have a connection with trade and trading-routes. Of this reason I intend to look closer on the connection between trading-centers—and trading-routes, suspected cult-places and finds of bracteates and in this way try to indicate the spread of the cult of Óðinn. Other aspects, however interesting, are in this connection less important.

Karl Hauck treats in an article, *Völkerwanderungszeitlicher Seeverkehr, erhellt mit Schiffsresten und Fundorten von Goldbrakteaten—Zur Ikonologie der Goldbrakteaten XXXIX 1* in *Trade and Exchange in Prehistory—Studies in Honour of Berta Stjernquist*, Lund, 1988, pp.197-211 the shipping in the Northern waters between Northern Germany, Denmark and Scandinavia proper. He starts from possible harbour-places along a number of different routes and then searches for indications of their factual use for this aim in the form of wrecks, object-finds, habitation-rests et c. The finds of bracteates he regards as a basic part of the chain of indices.

Jankuhn wrote 1968:

Es ist eine merkwürdige Tatsache, daß das an Funden aus fast allen Perioden der Vorzeit so ungewöhnlich reiche Dänemark gerade aus der...besonders interessierenden Epoche des 5—8. Jahrhunderts nur wenige Funde geliefert hat (Jankuhn 1986 40).



About this statement Hauck remarks:

Diese Situation hat sich durch eindrucksvolle Siedlungsgrabungen wie die in Worbasse, Nørre Snede und Sejlflod sowie im Südosten Fünens durch die Gudme-Untersuchungen seit 1982 beachtenswert gewandelt. Das gilt in verschiedenen Hinsichten. Von ihnen seien hier nur zwei genannt:

- a. einmal die Veränderung in der Einschätzung der Siedlungs-Indikatoren;
- b. zum anderen der Beginn der Suche von Naturhäfen der Völkerwanderungszeit mit archäologisch—topographischen Kriterien. (Hauck 1988, s. 197)

Thrane has in this connection called for closer examinations of the connection between habitation-place finds and gold-finds, since one very seldom have been able to indicate habitation on these places during Younger Iron Age. Among else he means that certain areas should be searched with metal detector to find traces after earlier unknown living-places from Migration Period and Merovingian Period. (Thrane 1987, n.65).

Crumlin-Pedersen means:

If you with 'Ort' mean a harbour there the ships at that time called to anchor for the night, you should look for natural harbours from this time according to topographic criteria. This also should include possibly artificial natural harbours in a systematic examination along our coasts. (Crumlin-Pedersen 1987: n.13)

The material which by Hauck is considered basic for this examination consists of the iconographical catalogue of Migration Period gold-bracteates. (I K 1—3, 1985 ff) In the pre-studies of the first evaluation band he means that he has got a more and more clear insight about, that one in the middle of the first millenium AD must reckon with a South-Scandinavian sacral-kingdom having it's center of power in the Southeastern Funen. (Hauck 1957, n.19; Hauck 1988, s.197)

John Kousgård Sørensen means about this:

Die einstige, villa regalis' trägt bis heute den Namen Gudme-Gudhem, Götterheim' als ein 'Ort, wo die Götter sich aufhalten, wo sie zu Hause sind und wo sie zum Gegenstand eines besonderen Kultes gemacht werden' (Kousgård Sørensen 1985, s. 136).

As a consequence of the new finds in this area the question of an examination of the support-points of coastal shipping in the Kattegat-area became extremely actual. In this connection he looked around for suitable areas and he found then among else that:

In Alcuins Willibrord-Vita werden bemerkenswerterweise von den Predigtreisen des Missionars gleich zwei Inselheiligtümer der älteren, polytheistischen Religion erwähnt: das eine auf Walchern im cap. 14 (Levison 1920: 128), das zweite in confinio Fresonum et Daenorum auf Fosites-land im cap. 10 f. (Levison 1920: 124 f. ; Ahrens 1966: 248 f.). Diese Zeugnisse legen es nahe, bei unserer Suche zugleich nach vorchristlichen Heiligtümern in den Brakteatenfundgebieten Ausschau zu halten, die wir jeweils als Indikatoren für Stützpunkte des küstengebundenen Seeverkehrs benützen. (Hauck, 1988, s. 198)

Except of Gudme, accordingly, there is in the nearby region the cult-places on Walchern and on Fosite's land being able to regard as support-points of the coast-bound shipping.

Still a criterium was, as mentioned, that there should be evidence in form of finds of bracteates, wreck-rests et c., and to that was added that it should not lie too close to Gudme because of the danger of sudden attacks. (Ellmers 1972, p.326 f; Hauck 1988, p.199) The earlier centuries in Southern Baltic show, as the reader surely knows, a great number of suspected cases of looting and other activities of pirate-similar character and with these connected pole-fences.

The search results in three possible natural harbours in the area around Gudme. The mouth of Tånge å north of Lundeborg, a in the south of this area connecting bay and at Elsehoved. (Crumlin-Pedersen 1985, p.84 ff)

In the first phase were found at Tånge å boat-rivets and from the diggings by Svendborg's museum in the area Thrane reports:

Das Fundmaterial aus der Kulturschicht...der jüngeren Kaiserzeit...umfaßt Fibeln aus Bronze und Eisen, mit hohem Nadelhalter sowie Niemberger Fibeln, Bernsteinperlen, ca. 50 Glasperlen, Scherben von Glasgefäßen mit geraden Leisten, Bronzenägel und-riemenzungen, Hackbronze, Silberdraht, Goldfingerring, Goldschmelztropf, Bruchgold, 13 Denare und viele Eisensachen, Nägel, Bootsnieten und Werkzeug sowie Hobeisen und viele Tierknochen (Thrane 1987: Anm. 107; Thomsen 1987). (Hauck 1988, s. 199)

Methodically the examination goes out from a limited number of bracteate-types, who either can be shown to be made in the same work-shop or are that

similar, that the one is copied from the other, and in the most possible extent is similar to other finds along the route. Thereafter the find-sites are put together to be able to see if they might constitute possible night-harbours. (Hauck 1988, p.199 ff) One compare with the travel description of Ottar from the 9<sup>th</sup> c and put a number of alternative interpretations against each other, and compare with the bracteate-finds and wreck-rests. Among else there were rests of a wreck at Gredstedsbro, which Ole Crumlin-Pedersen interpreted as coming from a ship similar to the royal ship from Sutton Hoo. They were dated with C<sup>14</sup> to 550+/-100 AD. This is contemporary with the gold-bracteates. (Crumlin-Pedersen 1968, p.262 ff)

A conclusion that was drawn is that:

Die Verkehrsverbindungen zwischen Westjütland und Fünen, die sich in der Formularverwandtschaft zwischen Brakteaten aus den Horten von Darum und Skonager einerseits und denen aus dem Gudme-Gebiet andererseits spiegeln, war vom Koldingfjord an, also von der jütländischen Ostküste an, auf den Landweg zum Hafengebiet im west-jütländischen Raum Ribe/Esbjerg angewiesen. Die Benützung dieses Landweges quer durch Südjütland wird veranschaulicht durch die Reihe der Fundorte von Brakteaten...Auf die Seewege, die vom Mündungsgebiet an der Kønge Å nach Norden und nach Süden benützt worden sind, fällt punktuell Licht (Hauck 1988, s. 201.)

Not unsuspected cause the bad harbours on Western Jutland that the goods to Funen had to be brought over land from Esbjerg, but there was also a possibility to go via the Limfjord.(Hauck 1988, p.202)

Another harbour-position of interest is on Bornholm at the mouth of Øle å at a grave-field from Roman Emperor-time at Slusegård. The oldest boat-grave series, and one of the biggest in the Scandinavian area, lies here. This harbour is understood as a knot-point for the trade. Bornholm has, in the opinion, been used as a springboard for a big part of the connections with the Scandinavian peninsula during the Roman Emperor-time and the Migration Period. (Hauck 1988, p.202) Via Slusegård went not only the traffic from Denmark but also from the Oder mouth and the Pommeranian coast.(Ellmers 1981, p.153 ff, 162 ff; Crumlin-Pedersen 1987, n.18; Hauck 1988, p.203)

In the harbour-area north of Frederikshavn on Northern Jutland a ship from the 13<sup>th</sup> c. was found.(Ellmers 1972, p.324, n.135; Hauck 1988, p.203) The ship had sunk when lying anchored in a natural harbour.(Crumlin-Pedersen 1987, n.15) In the same area have been found bracteates justifying the supposi-

tion that already at that time there must have been a similar harbour there. Similar D-bracteates as in Frederikshavn are only found in South-Sweden, of which 2 at Djurgårdsäng close to the central “Götentempel” at Götala (Cf. Grumpan), today part of the town of Skara (IK, 418 and 419; Mackeprang 16, 33 and 34; Hagberg 1986, p.91ff) and at Rolfsered in Bohuslän in three exemplars of the similar modell. (IK: 419;. Mackeprang 16, 33 and 34; Hagberg 1986, p.91ff.) (Hauck 1988, p. 203) This leads to the assumption that one went from Frederikshavn and in into shelter behind Orust. (Crumlin-Pedersen 1983 a, p.37) O.Crumlin-Pedersen means that there were at Orust a lot of protected anchor-places for lying in the night after a day-trip with a Viking Period ship. (Crumlin-Pedersen 1983 a, p.37)

The Norwegian merchant Ottar’s—Othere’s—journey in the 9<sup>th</sup> c. from Kaupang-Skiringsal to Haithabu, described as pre-word in the translation of Orosius ordered by Alfred the great, started in the morning in Kaupang. Since Dahlmann in 1822 there have been made a number of reconstructions of this journey, among else by Ekblom 1939, Stokoe 1957, Binns 1980, Schnall 1981, Pritsak 1981, Crumlin-Pedersen and Lundh 1983, Jørgensen 1985 and Müller-Boysen 1992. The journey lasted for five days to Hedeby in Denmark. All the time he had the Swedish West-Coast in sight. The reconstructions differ so that Binns and Schnall let him sail through Öresund and south of Zealand. Dahlman chooses the way through Store Belt. Crumlin-Pedersen and Lundh choose either Store or Lille Belt and lay the route north of Zealand. Jørgensen lets him sail through Store Belt and then between Langeland and Funen. Ekblom and Müller-Boysen choose Lille Belt.

An important reason of the different opinions is the localisation of the area called Sillende. Binns and Schnall see it as Zealand while the rest unisonely places it in the surroundings of Slesvig and the Cimbrian peninsula. They have, however, a little different opinions of the sailing-route. For my sake it is less interesting exactly what route Ottar took, but I regard these examinations primarily as a means to find possible indications of earlier trade-routes during Roman Iron Age and Migration Period, and I also look for a connection with possible cult-places via e.g. finds of bracteates. You will also get interesting indications on where the political power, at this time probably as well as before based on sacral power, was localised during different epochs. I accordingly do not present in detail those reconstructions, but only parts of those from which I might gain practical information for my continued interpretation. This also means that even routes not used by Ottar but possible to indicate by other means are as interesting.

Tore Nyberg (Nyberg 1993) has made an examination entitled *Saints and Place-names around Kattegat*. Even if it mainly deals with the Middle Ages and

with no special connection to Ottar it treats the origin of the names and traces the history of the mentioned places backwards and hence give still more indications of both trade-routs and possible cult-places.

In all of the reconstructions the coast is within sight and there is access to protected anchor-places but e.g. Jørgensen counts with that he sailed continuously. The aim of my examination is however, as mentioned, to indicate possible harbour-positions and to these connected possible cultic activities. Because of this harbour- and anchor-places are of utmost importance. With a travel time of 5 days and an average speed of 4,5 knots Crumlin-Pedersen estimates a daily travel-time of about 16 hours.(Crumlin-Pedersen 1983b, p.235) This answers to 72 nautical miles but in this ought to be a good margin, since the course over ground according to my estimations should answer to only c:a 50 nautical miles untill in height with Orust. I have sailed a lot in this area myself. If the Orust-area becomes the first night-harbour the next ought to be in Galtabäck in Halland, close to Varberg, where wreck-rests have been found and then to the next wreck-found in Skuldevig in the Isefjord at Zealand.(Ellmers 1972, p.317 f, n.109; Crumlin-Pedersen 1979, p.64 ff) I presuppose that Crumlin-Pedersen himself has sailed the stretch or at least accounted the estimated travel-time after tests with one of the Skuldelev-copies in Roskilde. The preposition to get the figures and distances to be correct is the occurrence of good wind around North. To row these distances with the small crew of a clumpy knarr is not to think of.

I have the advantage to be a member of the crew of Sigrid Storråda of Blomberg in Lake Vänern, just below Husaby on the Kinnekulle mountain. It is a ship of Gokstad-type—a 16-sessa—capable to make, even in considerably light winds, double the speed mentioned and theoretically she can match the Whitbread-boats and the 12-yachts of America's cup at higher wind forces. The ship cruises in 45 degrees toward the wind with relatively small loss of height. With half of the 32 rowers it in calm weather easily reaches double speed in comparison to the reconstructed 4,5 knots. The ship is still under testing of the sailing capacity and with different riggtypes, and hence the values are not quite affirmed so far. From the comparison with Crumlin-Pedersen's proposal his figures indeed seem quite modest and convincing for a knarr. There is however a still better object to compare with.

The 10<sup>th</sup> c. knarr Vidfamne- a copy of the wreck in Äskekärr in Göta älv—also sails in modern time, but with home-port in Göteborg. The ship sailed from Borre to Hafstenssund and then continued to the Sotenäset where one took night harbour in the archipelago. The next day they continued to Göteborg. After hav-

ing consulted one of the chiefs of the ship it was revealed that certain technical means of aid had been used some time, i.e. an outboard-engine, and they were also towed once. So my original idea of comparison falls away but other interesting facts were gained. The distance Hällö-Göteborg took 8 hours with wind from aft in 15 m/s. According to information the ship is capable to sail close hauled by the wind in 1,5 knots when blowing 6-12 m/s. This means a leeway approaching to as much as 10 degrees and the heigt towards the wind accordingly is 60 degrees. This clearly indicates you do not cruise unless forced to do so, if you have a decided goal and want to reach it fast. With a wind of 5 m/s in half-wind one make 7 knots and by 10 m/s 8 knots. With the wind from aft they maximally reaches 10 knots. To row this knarr and get a realistic result is not possible since the oar-holes are excluded on the copy, and one use a little number of pins to keep some oars in place, but the original indeed had oar-holes. Accordingly the rowing works quite badly. The reconstruction of Crumlin-Pedersen in this light seems definitely acceptable—even a bit modest—since theoretically they had been able to reach Göteborg from Borre in 12 hours with aft-wind, but then they had not been that close to the coast as Ottar is suggested to have been. Still I mean they should have been able to see the coastline in the far distance.

Hauck means now:

Angesichts solcher ungeheurer Risiken galt aber schon in der Völkerwanderungszeit 'Not lehrt beten.' Infolgedessen spielen nicht nur Strandmärkte, sondern gleichfalls vorchristliche Heiligtümer sowie nicht nur das Senkblei als technisches Hilfsmittel zum Finden der richtigen Wassertiefe (Schnall 1975: 48 ff.), sondern auch die Ermutigung durch Götterbild- und Göttersymbolamulette wie es die Goldbrakteaten waren, eine wesentliche Rolle.

Die Bilder selbst und die Auftraggeber-Inschrift von Tjurkö-C, Blekinge (IK: 184; bzw. M:14, 14) bezeugen durchaus neben den häufigeren Bestattungen von Frauen mit Brakteaten auch Männer als Träger solcher Amulette (Hauck 1985b: 148 ff. ; Müller 1988: nach Anm. 74; Hauck 1988 b: nach Anm. 80). Unter günstigen Bedingungen bewähren sich daher Brakteaten-Fundorte als Indikatoren von Naturhafengebieten und Rastplätzen, in denen man, wie Ottar sagt, "nachts vor Anker lag". (Hauck 1988, s. 205)

Hauck means also there ought to be cult-places in even distances along the route, where the seafarers could sacrifice to the gods for happy journey and for getting support by the gods against the chaosforces of the sea and the wrath of

Ranr and Ægir. During the journey itself it was the bracteates preserving the benevolence of the gods—they served, hence, as amulets.

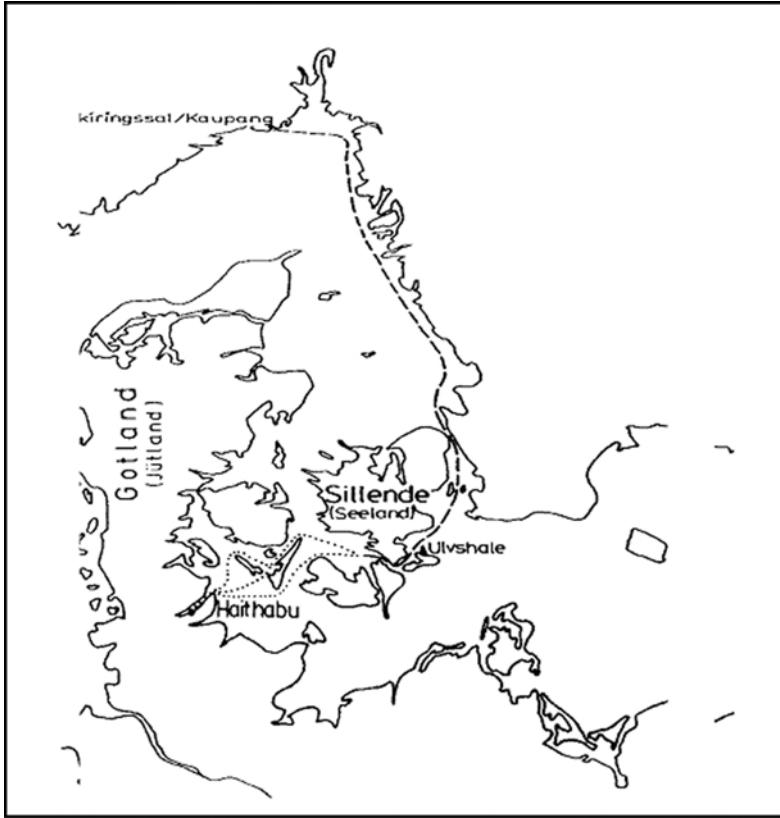
He considers himself to get support in his theory when he demonstrates, that the way Ottar goes from Kaupang in Vestfold, east of Larvik (Beck 1987, p.360) to Haithabuaet-Haethum (Hedeby) in Slesvig answers to the Migration Period traveling way between the cult-place areas in Gudum-Gudhem in Borne parish south of Holmestad in Vestfold (Kousgaard Sørensen 1985, p.131, nr.8) and the nowadays Gudme-Gudhem (God-home) on South-Eastern Funen. (Hauck 1988, p.205 ff)

Blindheim writes about (Kaupang-) Sciringcesheale that he at first was fascinated of the cult-place's name in which a high age is hiding. (Blindheim 1974, p.41) Hauck equates here Vestfold Gudhem and Gudhem on Funen who both are part of this tradition. He also says:

Hier interessieren diese Plätze aber auf Grund ihrer Fernbeziehungen, die sich völkerwanderungszeitlich an Brakteaten-Funden ablesen lassen.

He accordingly connects the cult-places with the found bracteates. Those bracteates found in the area are two pieces with god and boar as motif. Bjørnerud and Haugan.(IK: 23; Mackeprang 141, nr. 133, Picture 4, 17; IK: 120, 2; Mackeprang 141, nr.134, Picture 4, 23).

He also mentions that the finds of the Oseberg and Gokstad ships recall that Vestfold was the old kingdom of the Ynglingar. (Sjøvold 1952,p.6; Blindheim 1981, p.42, Fig.207)



*Fig. 7 Ottars journey from Sciringesheale-(Kaupang) to Haithabu reconstructed by Schnall 1981. Ulvshale onå Møen is an important knot-point in this reconstruction (Hauck 1988)*



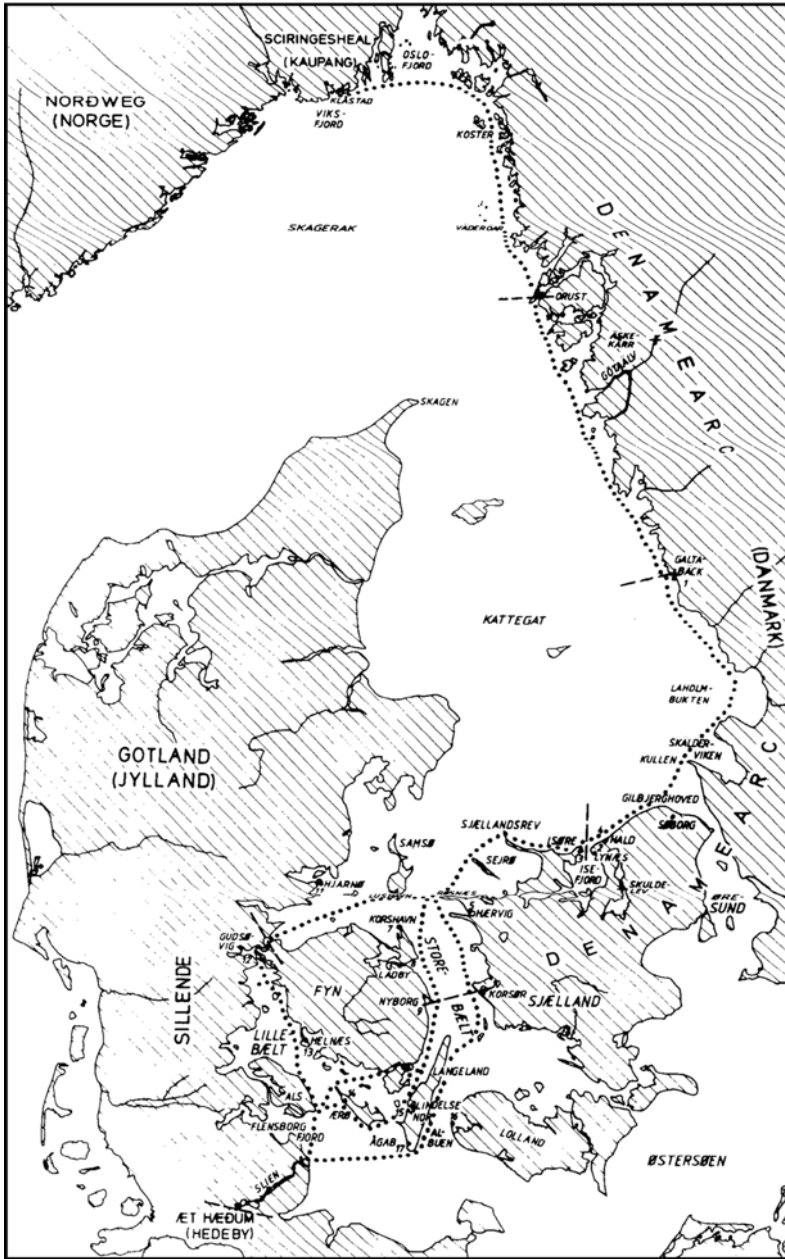


Fig. 8 Ottar's journey from Sciringesheale- (Kaupang) to Haithabu reconstructed by Crumlin-Pedersen 1983. Anchor-place (a): Orust; (b) Galtabäck; (c) The mouth of Isefjord; (d1) Kjertemind-fjord or (d2) Nyborgfjord or Korsør; (d3) Gudsovig (Hauck 1988)

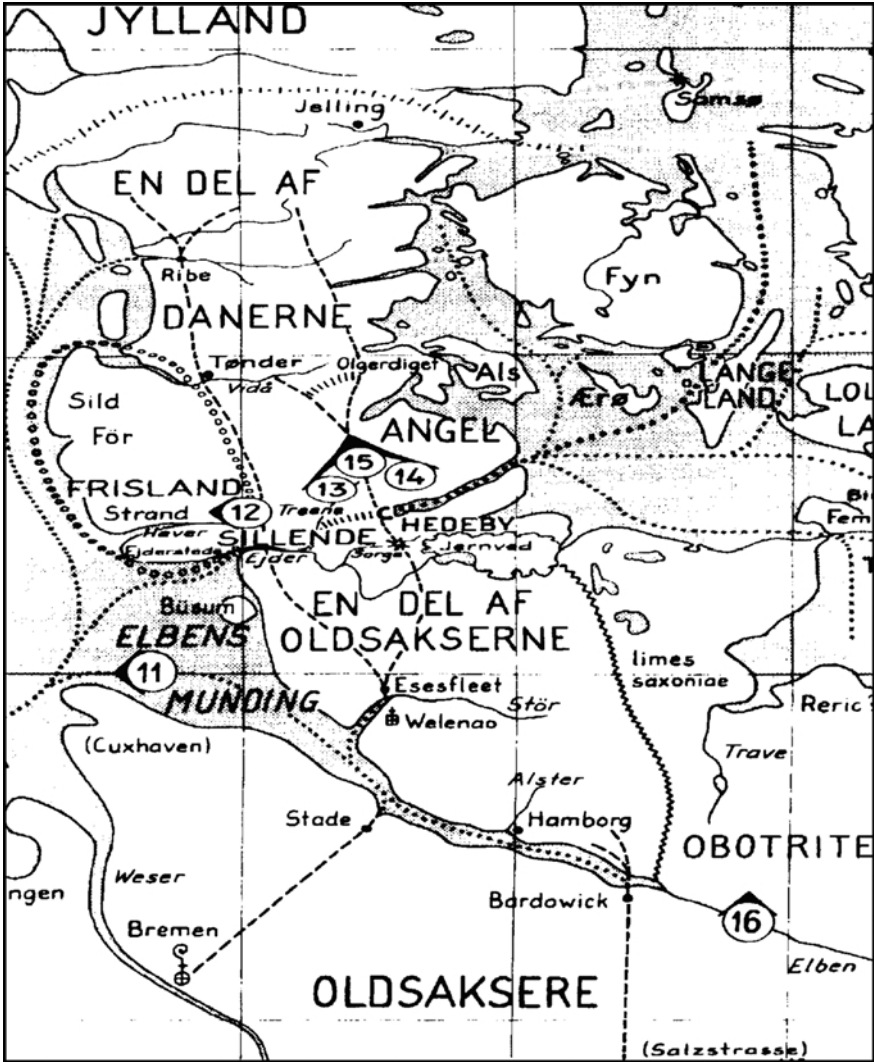
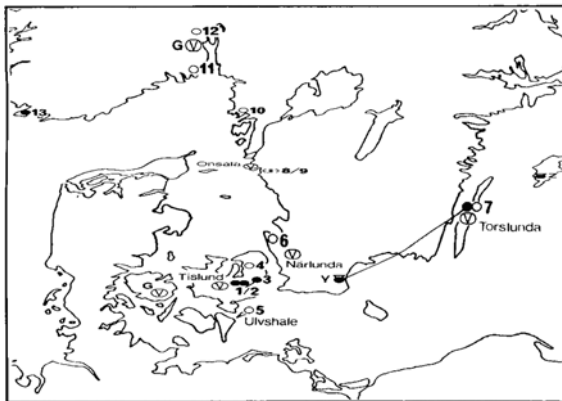


Fig. 9 Ove Jørgensen's reconstruction (Jørgensen 1985, p.63). Here Ottar sails north of Zealand and down via Store Bält and between Langeland and Funen. Silende is here the area outside Heideby and the old Vtmark from Valdemar's Jordebog, pres. Nordfriesland, here is identified as Frisland.

God-boar bracteates—with god and boar—are found, except in Gudme in Vestfold, also on the Swedish Westcoast with about the similar distances between the sites in Tossene (Tossene-A), Bohuslän (IK: 187; Mackeprang: 4, 22), in Maen (Maen-A), Halland (IK: 120, 1; Mackeprang: 4, 16) and in Skättekärr, Luggude county, Skåne (IK: 160; Mackeprang: 4, 21) To this comes another site south of Zealand in Præstø amt on the find-site Møen.(Møen/Nordfelt-A) (IK: 127; Mackeprang: 14,27) This place on the northern coast of the Island lies close to Ulvshale, ‘the Wolf’s tail’, one of the peninsulæ of Møen divided from Zealand by the Ulvsund—Ulva sund—(13<sup>th</sup> c.).(Weise 1975, p.271; Jørgensen 1981)

Ulvshale connects the route coming from Norway and western Sweden with the eastern route to Skåne and up along the Kalmarsund. (Schnall 1981, p.178)

The eastern route is indicated by Holmetorp-A in Algutsrum parish (IK 279; Mackeprang: 4,18), on Öland at Kalmarsund in Färjestad-Torslunda (Hagberg 1976, p. 334). Similarity is at hand with the craft-work of the amulet from Ravlunda-C, Albo county, Skåne.(IK: 144, 1; Mackeprang: 162 Nr.236; Axboe 1981, p.70, nr 236) The Ravlunda amulet is close to Gerete-C on Gotland. (IK: 62, 1; Mackeprang: 47, 157, nr.211,Picture 6, 12, Hauck 1985b, p.185ff)



*Fig. 10 The northern route (Hauck 1988)*

The northern route according to Hauck and his above map should be as follows:

1. Gudum—Gudhem at Oslofjord
2. Tossene
3. Onsala (not bracteate)

4. Maen
5. Skättekärr
6. Närlunda (not bracteate)
7. Møen (at Ulvshale)
8. Gudme—Gudhem on Funen

This is enlightening. Here we find a clear connection between the name of Gudhem and the cult of Óðinn. Certain of the names above are, however, not directly connected with Óðinn. This goes specially for Närlunda that should be connected to Nerthus/Njārðr/Njorðr/Freja. But all findplaces of bracteates are possible cult-places where this cult may have been practiced. (Cf. the cult of Frejr and Balðr above)

In the same time it should be pointed out that there is a Gudhem also in Västergötland between Falköping and Skara, where there are magnificent Bronze Age mounds, grave-fields from the Iron Age, a Middle Age monastery for nuns—donated by the kings of the Erikska's family earlier owning the land. It should also be recalled that bracteates have been found just outside the city-border of Skara in Sävare parish, Lidköping's commune—Grumpan—an early inscription-bracteate (treated above) which can be added to the two in Götala. The Grumpan-bracteate was found along the natural road from the landing-place in the mouth of Lidan-river, Råda ridge, with habitation and cult-place from the Migration Period and the Viking Period and an early Middle Age church, towards Gudhem. Gudhem lies on the road between the Megalithic culture and the Bronze Age culture in the Falbygden and the Bronze Age culture on Kålland and Kållandsö where, in Fröslunda, Lidköping, has newly been found a tremendous number of famous Herzsprungshields- 16-18 but some so in pieces that the total is insecure. (U.E.Hagberg) Later the religious Christian center of Sweden raises earliest in the old power center of Migration Period and Viking period around the mountain Kinnekulle and the bishop's church of Husaby, and still later centres in the bishopric in Skara. The river-system of river Lidan contains a rich and powerful group of chieftains and wealthy farmers already during the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period (Fabech)—among else one of the most famous goldtreasures of Sweden was recently found in Vittene in a chieftain's yard and also a suspected cultic centre. Dating via found objects to appr. 200 BC and up to 200-250 AD. (Viking 1997, pers. com.) Vittene lies at Norra Björke which interestingly enough according to the place-name register, was called Birke in 1527 and the respondent name for Södra Björke was Birka. A suspected trade-place hence.



*Fig. 11 The distribution of solidi and bracteates in Västergötland. The filled points are bracteates. The Saleby-area as well as the road to Skara-Gudhem from Lidan-river are easily recogniceable. In the extension from Saleby appears also the area where the Vittenefind has been made. You can see the old traderoute towards Norway and the Göta älv. (Map source: Quist)*

A closer examination of the Gudme problem through an archaeological excavation I would say is called for. There are very strong reasons to consider the name without any connection at all with the later nunnery and instead part of the Scandinavian Gudme-Gudhem chain. We should also remember Billingsson and other, claiming that the old cult-places were transferred to the king when changing from pre-Christian to Christian cult. It was the king donating the land to the nunnery, and on the cemetery of Hånger desert church close by, on a cape in the Hornborga lake, lies the grave of king Inge the elder according to the popular lore. In the Migration Period it was also possible to reach Gudhem by boat, but the general sea-trade route went via Lidan-river. On the road to Skara and Gudhem, just outside Lidköping, the grave-field at Eke, Brakelund, witnesses about this period with mighty ship's settings and stone circles very close to the Grumpan yard.

What then can the examination by Tore Nyberg of the the Middle Age travel routes add to the picture? He starts the imaginary travel which a contemporary canon might be supposed to have done in order to in one way or another reach Kongahälla in Thythæsysæl, the islands Thud (of *\*thiuth* 'people') and Morse (earlier Morsø) situated farthest in the west to Northern Jutland at the *Limafirðe*

(Limfjorden), and also the connections with Halland are discussed further down. Within this area early two local saints were produced—in the 11<sup>th</sup> c. St. Thøger in Vestervig and in the 12<sup>th</sup> c. St. Kjeld in Viberg. This fact, together with the remarkably great activity of monastic orders in the area, Nyberg refers as an indication of a great population-number in Thy-Mors and Vendel. He also means that if you add to this the Northern part of the bishopric of Ribe with the two nunneries in Gudum, not far from the Southern beach of Nissum Bredning and Stubber southwest of Viberg, and the cistercienses in Tvis, this will reinforce the impression of a culturally uniform milieu in North-Western Jutland. (Nyberg 1993, p.183 f) During these circumstances that is not unreasonable to assume there should be an old cultic tradition from old times in the area and the suspicion is accentuated by the name Gudum. Here, accordingly, we have another suspected cult-place for the cult of Frejr or Óðinn in a strategical harbour position. He then sails further through the *Limafirðe* and passes the harbour-mouth of Hjortdal (\* *Hiorthals*) in Hanherred and after having passed Aalborg (of \**aal* ‘waterpassage’) with the protective patron St. Bothulf and with nuns of the order of “The Holy Virgin” he arrives at the mouth of the Limfjord, Langerak, which Adam calls “the river” and mentions the monastery of the cistercienses in Vitskøl, earlier in West Nordic sources called *Hálsi*. The monks had been granted the right of gathering wreck-parts on the cape Hals at the firth-mouth. Nyberg suggests that both in this case and in other occasions it seems as if \**Hals* indicates a narrow passageway to a harbour or protected water. (Nyberg 1993, p.184 f)

Next part of the journey goes southwards along the Eastern coast of Jutland in direction towards Samsø—a distance answering to the trip through the Limfjord. Samsø evidently is a kind of knot-point for the coast-bound traffic. Next actual harbour-position is the Hadsund fjord in Ommersyssel where the river Ommer flows out into the sea. Here we are no ecclesiastical attractions but the area is mentioned as the royal district of Onsild, where the earlier mentioned cult-place of Óðinn, Othenshylle 1186, is situated. The bishops of Viberg and Aarhus are fighting about this area, and Nyberg points on the fact that this area is both now and before an boarder-area. Hier also the burg Fyrkat is situated and as well a concentration of thegn-stones. (Nyberg 1993, p.186 f) Here we are accordingly a combination of a royal tradition together with thegn-names supposed to stand for royal warriors or officials and an evident cult-place to Óðinn. The connection between political and religious power indeed is reinforced.

Next stop is Randers (Randrus of *rand* ‘steep slope’ and *os* ‘mouth of a river or creek’). The creek flowing out here is called Gudenå which, according to Nyberg, comes of *gude* ‘god’. (Nyberg 1993, p.187) Personally I could also see the possibility it is derived from *gude*, ‘gode, priest’, but the sacral character of the name is anyhow quite evident, and you could easily suppose a pre-Christian background.

The flowering, very early viking-time city and trade-center Randers hence seems to have a cultic past since far before Christianity.

The now treated area lies strategically opposite to Halland on the Swedish West-Coast, at that time belonging Denmark, between the mouths' of the Lagan and Viskan rivers. Nyberg suggests that the original mission and ecclesiastical organisation in Halland should have been controlled from Viberg on Northern Jutland before the bishopric of Lund took over. (Nyberg 1993, p.187 f) Here, hence, the important fact is demonstrated that Kattegat unites instead of divide and that there was, since old times, a close traffic between Jutland and the later Swedish West-Coast. The sail continues towards Odense and Aarhus via Djursland at Gjerrild where now are situated Stavshoved and Knudshoved. We pass the creek *\*Diursa* (Grenån) where Grenaa lies and arrive to in height with Helgenæs, where we can choose to go for either Aarhus and Odsense or Zealand and Skåne. The routes came together, as remarked, at Samsø. Samsø (*\*Sams*) has a Onsbjerg (Othensberg). (Nyberg 1993, p.188). The combination of Onsbjerg and Helgenæs, regardless if the later name originated before or after the arrival of Christianity since old pre-Christian cult-places very often are overlayed by Christian ones, here talks a clear language concerning the connection between naval trade-routes and cult-places. Not very far from there lies, as already remarked, Odense on Funen which was as important an harbour-town as Aarhus in those days. The ships then could access Odense firth via Gabet, a narrow passage between two capes. One of them now is called Enebærodde, but is on old maps mentioned as Hals—still a time it deals with a narrow passage to a harbour. In Odense the royal power indeed has made it's marks. Not the least through the old Óðinn-kings connected with the name of the city, being an original cult-place to Óðinn. The local saint is also a king, St.Knut, who was killed in 1086 and made a saint under the rule of Erik Ejegod. In difference from the Viberg- and Aarhus regions, where the royal power at least in Aarhus had a strong prescence, Odense had more contacts to the south, but through Knut as a national saint also Eastern Denmark could be influenced. (Nyberg 1993, p.190 f) In connection with the hero-sagas I have already treated the Óðinn-places of Funen and Jutland and demonstrated their strategical position out of naval-military point of sight. That the contacts went Southwards is quite natural both through the geographical position of Odense and because of tradition since this was the way from which the cult of Óðinn probably arrived into the Scandinavian area spreading North and Northeast from Funen and Southern Jutland.

Another possible route for a seafarer from the Samsø-area was heading for Zealands Odde in Eastern direction ending up in Roskilde in the inner part of the Roskilde-fjord. At passage into the Isefjord you pass Hornsherred with the Onsved-hill—still a name, hence, on *ví* in combination with Óðinn. (Nyberg

1993, p.191) In this area I have already indicated finds of bracteates. Besides it may be remarked, that Roskilde is strongly tied to the Lejre-kings and it also was one of the main seats for the cult of St. Knut.

From Zealand you sail further up the coast of Skåne via the cape of Kullen and across the Skälderviken bay to arrive at Halland and the bay of Laholm. If you take into the Lagan river you reach Lagæholm (1231) and Köpinge 1 km north of the river (Nyberg 1993, p. 193) Köpinge very well might have old traditions, since the trade from Finnveden traditionally used to go this way. Already in the Florence-list Finnveden is mentioned as a border-area controlled by the bishops of Gautland (Götaland). (Nyberg 1993, p.193) In the bay of Laholm also Nissan flows out. On an peninsula at the mouth lies Onsjö and Onsjöberg. Still an area with traces of the cult of Óðinn. Ljunggren (Ljunggren 1941, p.29 ff) and Sahlgren (Sahlgren 1948, p.152 f) mean, going out from the oldest confirmations of the name Oothensø 1377 and Odhinsyø 1399, that they contain the name-element *ø* (island) in the sense of a hill in the landscape or a *høgh*, i.e. 'hill' or 'howe' from the nameform *Odenshøgh* (Óðinn's howe). The connecting village Söndrum, *\*syndr-hem*, is explained as the Christian habitation south of Odenshög.

The trade of Finnveden possibly was in a still higher degree conducted along the Nissan which could explain the appearance of the city Halmstad right here and that the Dominicans choose to settle in Övraby just upstream the city. (Nyberg 1993, p.193)

River Ätran is the next river and it has at this time no royal domains at the coast but first at the inland herreds of Faurås and Årstad which churches from the 12<sup>th</sup> c. Nyberg remarks that this area and the connecting Tvååker in Himle constituted a border area like the Hadsundfjord, and being most interesting through their natural resources like wood and salt. Also the trade with iron is mentioned in a charter from 1177. (Nyberg 1993, p.194) These facts indicate that the area maybe during the Middle Ages was of this character, but since we in connection with Hadsund we find Onsilid and an old pre-Christian royal tradition, there is all reason to realise that Ätran is the water-system penetrating farthest into Västergötland, and it has during earlier periods, shown in the archaeological section, played a decisive role for spread of trade and culture. In the section treating the chiefdoms of Västergötland is also demonstrated that this area seems to have been an old borderland dividing Northern and Southern Halland politically. Not least Svennung builds his listing of Migration Period peoples/tribes among else on this border. The naming of places along the coast continues with Träslövsläge and Varberg with its predecessor Getakärr, but becomes more interesting when arriving at the Viskan-river. This river connects central parts of Västergötland



with Kattegat and was among else appreciated by the Cisternienses building a monastery at Ås. (Nyberg 1993, p.195) From here you may easily reach the monasteries in Gudhem and Varnhem. As earlier remarked it is remarkably probable that the nuns monastery in Gudhem seems, like other Gudhem-Gudme-Gudum-places, to be situated on an old cult-place with possible connection to the cults of Frejr/Baldr/Óðinn, and the road ought to have been as frequented also during pre-Christian time. North of the mouth of river Viskan you arrive at Onsala, where Óðinn appears still a time. The element-*sala* derives according to Ståhl from *albs* 'temple' or '*sal*,' 'yard' after Ståhl, but it is an debated ending. (Ståhl 1980,164) In the section treating chiefdoms and teophoric place-names I give some alternatives to this interpretation but we have quite evidently found a cult-place to Óðinn. Ståhl also claims that the name Runsås is a Óðinn-name derived from *\*Odhinsas*, later Onsås, and divided into Nørde and Syndre, which has been reduced to an 'R' (Ståhl 1980, p.162 ff) There are, hence, strong indications in all the examined area that there is a direct connection between the sea-trading routes and cult-places being able in one way or another to tie to Óðinn. These places are indicated through their names and lie strategically in a way that it really might suggest a spread of the cult from Southern Denmark and North- and North-Eastwards. Tore Nybergs ends his article through concluding "Evidently Halland and the mouth of the Göta älv were not only border areas of southern Danish diocesan centres, but also areas of cultural exchange with West Denmark. And Viberg seems to have been deeply involved in this field of contact." (Nyberg 1993, p. 198) This is, as is demonstrated in the archaeological section, true also for earlier periods of time. The Kattegat-area is a basic and important area for inter-Nordic exchange of culture.

## Conclusion

What then has this section added to the continuing analysis?

We earlier have learnt to know the cult of Óðinn in the shape of shamanistic warrior's or cultic leagues, who in antropomorph or teriomorph guises try to chase away evil demons from the fields, and to take back the fertility of the land. They also might have been consecrated warriors in the regular army or in the cultic league. In the same time the so called individual initiations of roumored heroes have been found to primarily be antropomorph divine myths with, in some cases, possibly certain historical events intermixed—Ívarr viðfamði. Here the basics of shamanism, like the free flight of the soul in the astral spheres- the ability to reach contact with the dead and behold the future when lying in cataleptic coma, achieved through suggestive song and music and central- stimulating means—has been lifted forward. That in shamanistic praxis a hjallr is used

as working-place is clearly demonstrated e.g. through the picture on the Faxe-bracteate with Baldr above. Kolstrup and Hauck also show that the rider, often pictured with a kind of talk-bubble in front of the mouth, is the shaman sending out his life-force, which can be both healing and destructive, and the animal carries the soul/spirit during its astral journey while the body rests in coma. The bird is another important carrier.

This with a hjallr as a working-place is interesting if you compare with the so called high-seat—Hlíðskíalf—which normally is ascribed to Óðinn, but in *Skírnismál* is used by Frejr. I claim that Hlíðskíalf—the place from where you look out over all the worlds—in reality is a hjallr, and that the schaman when he is in cataleptic coma indeed can see what else only the gods see. It accordingly seems as if also gods have to be put in trance to behold this vision, and consequently they place themselves in Hlíðskíalf, the hjallr! This also means that Hlíðskíalf is general property and not reserved for Óðinn, but that he as master of shamanism in a higher degree than other gods had reason to sit there.

Concerning horses with horn-similar head-gear is confirmed that these really are horns, since such objects are found in graves. If these should be tied to Óðinn, or instead to Freja as lunar symbols, is unclear, but since there is evidence also in carvings in Sweden in connection with supposed stallion-fighting, usually connected with Freja (and Úllr) I conclude that they symbolise the moon and the fertility—i.e. Freja or her predecessors. A connection may possibly be seen to Celtic cult.

Again you can confirm the connection between Ingr/Frejr and the myth of Baldr, and have a feeling that the name of Baldr is of a later date, since Frejr in the interpretation of the Faxe-bracteate above and of *Skírnismál* clearly is kind of sun-god, and by all probability connected with the former sun-god Úllr. Týr's connection with sun and moon as a sky-god, and with justice and order, appears clearly as well as his status of ring-god.

The suggestion of Ambrosiani about the connection between the emperor-cult in the Roman army and the early bracteates is valuable, but his tries to compare the emperor-cult with the cult of Óðinn seem less convincing. On the other hand the emperor within the Roman army has purposefully used the Germanic gods through calling himself e.g. Herculius, and probably fully aware tried to associate certain bracteates to a Germanic god. This indeed could be one of the explanations why the cult of Óðinn, in the shape we know him now, suddenly seems to explode. In spite of this you can not claim we become a new god, since this god-king figure seems really ancient, but perhaps we can say that we at least become a new, more official cult and in many areas also a new name of the god—Wodan/Óðinn—and a new and shorter sacrificial cycle influenced by Roman time-reckoning. Also some older gods in the North can be supposed to change

functions as a consequence of this new cultic variant. The question in general, however, still stands wide-open.

An important result is, that according to the Antique perception of iconographic pictures, statues et c., the portraided person is supposed to be physically present, and hence the bracteates can be thought to serve as an insurance, that you faithfully serve your master either he is a god or a human. This also leads to their ability to function as protective amulets since the god, the protector, is present all the time.

Through the result of the examination of the trade-routes from the Migration-Period and the Viking Age in the Baltic- and Kattegat-areas, and the finds of bracteates and cult-places connecting generally to cults related to Óðinn, we can now tie the name of Gudhem/Gudum/Gudme to bracteates and to Óðinn and hence also Gudhem in Västergötland is included in this picture. We can however not say whether this connection is primary or secondary since a specific name of a deity is not included in the name. The connection is made via the local finds of bracteates. Also two D-bracteates have been found close to Götala in Skara and through these we get a closer connection with just the cult of Óðinn. Also this site is on the road to Gudhem. Since Hauck in this connection claims the existence of a sacral kingdom on Funen during the Migration Period—i.e. in Gudme—you could suspect that the base of power originally was established on fertility-cult—like the one of the Ingling's—but with a possible later connection with the cult of Baldr and through him to Óðinn.

This circumstance might show itself to be of a greater relevance later on. Generally may be confirmed a connection between the important harbour- and trading-places and sanctuaries in one or another way possible to connect with Óðinn, and that these in many cases are purely strategically placed in a way, that you can suspect a connection with the secular power.

It is also suggested that through these confirmations of place-names it might be possible to follow the spread of the cult from Southern Denmark northwards and over to the Scandinavian peninsula. In great the connection between trading-places, cult and the secular power is according to my opinion convincingly demonstrated. This goes partly also for Christian time.

Opposing information about the origin of runes- the art of writing—suggests still a time that Óðinn maybe not was known under this name in the early Germanic, or at least North-Germanic, world. Salin claims that the archaeological confirmations do not indicate a cult of Óðinn before the Roman Iron Age, and this also is the opinion of e.g. Ambrosiani, Davidson and Hedeager. Besides Ambrosiani has made two important remarks. He uses everything that Dumézil presents as a proof of the anxiety of the cult of Óðinn and that it always was in the Scandinavian area—the position as allfather, the fatherhood of several important

gods et c.—as indications showing that the cult is newly established in the area and that it has overlayered the older cults. Besides he points out that a religion is changing and developing during a period of 1000 years. The sources might show a wrong picture of the religion in comparison with the the original construction.

This does however not mean the old religion could not be originally Indo-European, but it could be just another variant of the same basic religion.

## About skíalfs, hjallrs and Óðinn

I mentioned earlier that Frejr was sitting in the presumed high seat of Óðinn, Hliðskíalf, and I feel that it calls for a little deeper analysis in order to firmer establish my claims above. This material was originally introduced in a lecture I gave at the conference Saga & Societies in Borgarnes on Iceland in 2002. The question is accordingly what Hliðskíalf indeed is. I have stressed that both Óðinn and Frejr and possibly also other gods use a hjallr like the earthly shaman when looking out over the astral world. Frejr is said too see all worlds in *Skírnismál*. For example both Eliade (Eliade, M. 1989) and Hedeager (Hedeager, L 1996) have treated the function of hjallrs, and Sven Aakjær (Aakjaer, S. 1934, p.52) has convincingly shown that the Danish Hyllæ-names refer to kind of elevated seats for gods or idols. In *Sæmundar Edda* (Detter-Heinzel 1903) is spoken of “hatim-bruðum hǫrgi” among the gods meaning the gods used hjallrs.

The last one to seriously try to decide the meaning of skíalf and Hliðskíalf was, as far as I know, Eric Elgqvist. (Elgqvist, E 1944) He interprets it as a guard tower and means the Skíalf names should indicate the conquerings by the former Svíaveldi which evidently also should have incorporated Denmark, where there are a number of Skíalf names. I suggest as remarked above something quite else.

Elgqvist refers to *Fjolsvinsmál* in which poem there supposedly is mentioned a *liðskíalf*. He insists it is the Hall of Menglǫd and remarks that there is a peculiar expression saying that it long will shiver on the tip of the sword. He regards it as an in the air hovering tower. (Elgqvist, E 1944, p.61) In fact this is just another variant of *Skírnismál* and the sword is equivalent with Gambanteinn, on whose tip Gerðr's/Freja's bosom indeed will shiver during the winter, because Menglǫd is Freja. Svípdagr is also on his way to get the sword Tírfing back, meaning the lost sword of Frejr and Frejrs return in spring.

The assumption of a liðskíalf is based on verse 33 where Neckels Edda says:

Uni ok Íri, Óri ok Bari, Varr ok Vegdrasill, Darri ok Úri, Dellingr, Atvarðr, Liðskíalf, Loki.

The word Liðskíalf is not obvious. Two Mss. use *Lidskialfr*, but other have *liþski alfr*, *liðski alfur*, *liþþski alfur*, *leþski alfr*. Also the word *Loki* gives trouble. Bugge (Bugge, S *Tidskrift för Philologi*, nr.8), Brate (Brate E 1913), Sijmons-Gering (Sijmons-Gering 1927) and Elgqvist read Liðskíalf but make different interpretations. Gering sees a personname, Brate ‘the burg wall’ while Bugge and Elgqvist see ‘the tower’. Sijmons-Gering interprets *loke* as ‘finally’ of *at loki* ‘at last’ while Bugge sees fvn. *lok* ‘lock’. Celandier (Celandier, H 1911, p.119) however reads *at vas Par »liþski alfr» Loke*. He understands here the god Loke/Loki as an elven. Thall interprets *liþski* as ‘sly, cunning’ and writes “Delling, the elven, the cunning, guards the lock”.

I myself read here: “Delling on guard, the rapidly passing [i.e. shortlived] elven, at last.” Delling is the elven of dawn in early morning and he lives a very short time before the sun raises. The word *liða* can indeed stand for the passing of time. As an adjective it should be *lipski*, *liðski*. He is the last mentioned and hence all are accounted for—accordingly ‘at last’. Sviþdagr is informed by *Fjolsvin* (Odin) about the name of the wall and the gate. There is no reason to construct a fictitious Hliðskíalf here.

We know already that Frejr looks out over all worlds from the mythical Hliðskíalf. In *Gylfaginning* stands: *Þar er einn staðr, er Hliðskjálff heitir, ok Þa er Alfþöðr settisk Þar í háseti, Þa sá hann of alla heima...* Here accordingly in Ásgárðr where Óðinn is sitting in the high seat. It gives an impression of a high situated place with an excellent view which has lured researchers to associate with a guard tower.

Since long *Hliðskíalf* is understood as the of wooden planks constructed seat over *hlið* ‘the castlegate in Ásgárðr’. Björkman (Björkman 1920) sees *Hlið-* as the window or opening, through which Óðinn looks out from Hliðskíalf. Elgqvist focuses on OWN. *hlið*, ‘gate’ and regards *Hliðskíalf* a high watchtower over one of these gates. Björkman however also connects to Anglo-Saxon. *scylf* m., rock, height, shelf which he sees fitting for the Swedish placenames on Skíalf. This explanation is the most common for the place names.

Why not combine Hellquist (Sw. Etymol. Wordbook) ‘wooden construction’ with the meaning ‘gate’ or ‘window’? If Hliðskíalf is a hjallr, this is indeed an excellent description of its function as a gate or window towards the astral world. The question remains however if there were hjallrs among the gods. I have suggested it above but let us look a bit closer.

Codex regius version of *Völuspá* (verse 7 in Edda) says in connection with the meeting of the Asir on the Ida field that they *hørg ok hof hátimbruðu*. In *Grímnismál* (verse 16) is said about Njorðr in Noatun that he rules over *hátimbrudum hørgi*. These quotations have been used trying to prove cultic houses, temples. This clearly indicates the gods were regarded to have hørgs. A high timbered hørg is an excellent description of a hjallr, which knowingly was used in the cult of Óðinn..

There are 24 known Skíalfnames in Sweden. They are distributed with 1 in Bohuslän (Sialff), 1 in Närke, 6 in Sörmland, 6 in Uppland, 3 in Västmanland, 4 in Västergötland and 3 in Östergötland. In the three Westgautic names Skälvarås, Skälvum and Skölvene *\*skialf* is the first part. Bohuslän, Närke and Sörmland has each 1 plain *skälv*-name and Östergötland has 3. Other Skíalf-names have *-skialff-skälv* as last part. (Elgqvist, E 1944)

Elgqvist claims that the concentration in East Sweden means this was the origin of the royal dynasty Skilfingar, coming from a family farm named Skíalf. Or possibly by a guard tower in Uppsala. He claims that a tower would have been an impressive news that could give namn to a dynasty.

I have referred to the ring as a cultic symbol connected with wielding of political power. Here I sense another symbol being used in the same way approximately. There is a clear connection between Odinic cultplaces, Ring names and Skialf names in East Sweden and also in Denmark.

I have already elsewhere mentioned Agni Skialfarbondi as the supposed first king—real or mythic—who might have claimed a genealogical descent from Óðinn. OWN. *Skilfingar* is in OE. *Scylfingas* (*Guð-, Heaðo-scylfingas*), used in Beowulf as name of the Swedish royal dynasty. It was known in England already in the 6<sup>th</sup> century which fits to a change of the sacrificial cycle in Uppsala about 476 AD. The construction of skíalfs in Eastern Sweden seems to have been controlled by a central power and consciously been directed towards old cultic places, which have continued to exist independently. Hence it is not confusing that the dynasty could be told of as ‘those who build skíalfs’ or ‘the skíalf kings’ et c. Still they continued to claim the ancestry from Frejr but now via Óðinn and Njorðr. We get a religious syncretism.

In Snorris’ story of king Agni (Sturluson, *S Ynglingasaga*) I quote:

Pat telk undr,  
ef Agna her  
Skjalfar røð  
at skøpom þóttu

Elgqvist (Elgqvist 1944, p.69) reads, with Kock, notations norrœnæ §1012: “I reckon it a wonder if Skjalfar røð seemed to please Agnis people” He accordingly does not translate *Skjalfar røð*.

Petrus Envall has in “Gudastolpen” (Envall, P 1969) convincingly shown that many names on *rað*, *roð*, *rãð* and *röð* come out of the word *roð*, meaning ‘log, pole’ and that they are connected with many places where a cult place or a cultic function is confirmed. I have also directly consulted Raymond Page (Page, R pers.com.), who supports the connection between *roð* and *rað*. Also remember Ibn Fallahs description of a funeral of a Nordic chieftain at Volga river, where the Northmen raised poles who were idols. A *roð*, *röð* et.c. stands in this context for an idol.

From this starting point I read instead:

*‘This I reckon for a wonder if the Skíalfgod seemed to please Agni’s people’.*

*Skjalþar rǫð* may be translated with the ‘Skíalfgod’, which is similar to the ‘Hjallrgod’, but may also be understood as ‘The idol being (built as) a hjallr’. This all is of course another name for Óðinn, master of Hliðskíalf. Indirectly the meaning becomes also the ‘schaman god’, ‘sejdr god’ with regard to the actual use of hjallrs. The scald has been ironical and used a metaphor.

The hanging of Agni Skilþarbóndi in his oath neck ring as a sacrifice to Óðinn is further evidence that *Skjalþar rǫð* is Óðinn. This indicates the name Skilþingar also may be interpreted as the Óðinn kings or Óðinn worshippers. Brate has also suggested that Skilþingar is a patronymicon meaning the descendant of Skíalf which fits well in the picture if Skíalf is Óðinn.

Conclusively I do not find a watchtower a remarkable news but indeed a hjallr in the centre of the old fertility cult in Uppsala. This might indeed give rise of the name of Skilþingar. In other parts of Scandinavia this cult was well established and did not affect the name giving as much as in the Mälars Valley region. The skíalf/hjallr hence was used or understood as symbol of the royal power as was the ring.



## Conclusions of the examination of the fertility-cult and the cult of Óðinn

After having performed the above examination it seems as I can conclude, that most of the gods have fallen into their proper places. The fertility-cult exhibits just those classical traits also found in the Mediterranean area. It deals with the death of the sun when winter starts but the sun is partly kept alive by the moon-goddess reflecting the solar light. The opinion Balðr is not resurrected I mean to have proven to be false. He is reborn every year in may and buried in november according to my analysis of *Skírnismál*. There is much suggesting that Balðr- at least what the name concerns- is a younger amendment. Both his name and the one of his spouse—Baal and Nanna/Inanna are known in the orient. Forsete is often associated to Fosite's land, and is supposed to have come by sea with the Frisians. Concerning Nanna she is originally connected with Venus while Inanna is a moon-goddess. In this connection ÚllR is interesting. It is claimed by de Vries that his cult was actual around yule and was later replaced by the one of Óðinn. We know he is a ring-god. We also know that he is closely tied to the vanir in younger myth and in e.g. the *Haddingr-saga* he figures together with Sviþdagr, to whom he is also a foster-brother in Sif's marriage with Ivalde. Most indicies accordingly point in the direction he indeed is an old sun-god. According to Ohlmarks the connection with winter and scating is depending of a misinterpretation by Saxo.

Saxo Grammaticus has changed the sea-faring in a shield to a trip over the frozen sea with a rune-inscribed magical bone, in which one have beleived to see the Nordic scates. Ull however is travelling on one bone, not two... Ull's weapon is above all the bow with the sun-ray as an arrow; he is the asir of archery and an excellent archer, and so clever on skies that nobody can compete with him. (Ohlmarks, Fornnordiskt Lexikon).

Balðr leads his fighters in the battle between summer and winter against his brother Høðr—his own dualistic half/twin-brother and ÚllR and Sviþdagr do the same in the story of Haddingr. Høðr sure has a certain rumour concerning the shooting of arrows of mistle-toe, and he rules in winter. Besides it might be remembered, that north of the Polar circle the sun shines 24 hours a day in winter- also when the perma-ice covers the sea, and ÚllR is confirmed in Sweden and Norway-not in Denmark. Úllrs tree is the yew, being green all winter and is said to grow in the holy grove in Uppsala. The heaven-god ÚllR as the sun surely dies and is buried the 4/11 but still lives—of this the yew bears witness- and he also

rules in winter, like Balðr, through his dualistic half and bane Svipdagr. His name is translated as wulþus, the shining. ÚllR is tied to single combat and stallion-fighting and is regarded by some as a war-god. The stallions and the fighting fit well so good in the fertility-cult and with cultic fights. He simply has been replaced by Balðr when the cult of Óðinn arrived. This also explains why he takes the place of Óðinn during the civil war between asir and vanir. He is the predecessor of Balðr, being the son of the former sky-god, and so he is the only natural heir on the side of the vanir.

Some want to see ÚllR as the equivalent of Týr, but in this case I mean, in spite of also Týr being connected with single combat, that Heimdallr is a more probable predecessor of Týr. He uses all his time to guard and protect the other gods from both Bifrost—the rainbow—and Birçst—the Milky way, and specially he protects the sun—Brisingamén—which he saves back into the care of the moon-goddess when Loki has stolen it. He fights Loki in Ragnarøk—the day versus night. He is not identical with Týr fighting Garm as Óðinn Fenrir—and he also lacks the mutilation-characteristics of both Óðinn (one eye) and Týr (one hand). He is regarded as the one having taught the humans the art of writing, in spite of that the runes are ascribed to Óðinn, and runes were nessecary when writing. Dumézil claims that in certain cultures, like the Vedic, sometimes one single god included the functions of Mithra and Varuna. Why not so in the North before the arrival of the Continental cult of Óðinn? Most signs indicate that Heimdallr can have had these functions by us. Above eralier mentioned qualities he is also the creator of the three important groups of humans, he taught how to grow the land and he protects and keeps the hearth-fire. He cares and preserves according to some the tree of life- the world-tree, Yggdrasil, he is the world-axis. In short he is allmighty. It is interesting that he by many interpretors is recognized in the rock-carvings equipped with buck-horns—the sword of Heimdallr. The last however is disputed and hence not surely confirmed. and rests on subjective interpretations of the sword mentioned in old Nordic literature.

This leaves the place as sun-god—the predecessor of Balðr—free to be taken by ÚllR quite in harmony with older interpretations of wulþus, the shining. If you regard the Trollhätte-bracteate where Týr loses his hand to the Fenriswolf you clearly see his two arms/hands marked as the sun and the moon, where the sun is the one indicating his function as ring-god. To this comes, quite in the sheme Dumézil, the leading god of plane two-Pórr- naturally into the picture as the god of thunder and growth, the one leading the fight against the chaos-forces—reses and rimþurses. Those who have seen (e.g. Ohlmarks) ÚllR and Pórr as the extended arms of Týr, and as his sons, and compared him to Tuisto, the two-arm god, maybe have a point. Tuisto is said to be earth-born and father of Mannus,

father of three human tribes. Heimdallr is father of chiefs, free men and thralls. He is born by nine norms out of the depth of the earth and Vergelmer, in a similar way as Chronos was begotten by Uranos and Gaia. He definitely is a sky- and heavenly god. It is not claimed that he lost a hand or other part of his body, so even if there are many similarities with both Óðinn and Týr he is an own god comprising most of the functions of these both gods, and he is decidedly very old in the Scandinavian area.

If you disregard the probably in Scandinavia later name-forms Óðinn and Týr, and also the name Balðr, we can see a pantheon with Heimdallr as the leading heavenly god and god-king. Loki then should be the dark, dualistic side of Heimdallr. In the second plane we have Úllr and Þórr as sun- and thunder/rain god as the leading *asir* and in plane three we have the *vanir* with Njorðr/Njārðr, Ingr/Ingun/and later replaced by the names Frejr/Freja. Shall we connect Skaði with the later Nanna? She is often mentioned in connection with Úllr. Since the *vanir*-gods all the time also are sun- and moon-deities, as well as earth-deities, we have a complete Indo-European god's pantheon. We know, however, that Týr was worshipped in Denmark. Skaði occurs in connection with suspected cult-places—Skedevi, Skede mosse et c. but we know nothing of the cult but, as mentioned, we suspect a connection with Úllr. Concerning Nanna there is no cultic connection at all. Her only task seems to be to weep and to mourn Balðr which directly leads the thoughts to the mediterranean fertility-cultic milieu. There is however a clear parallel with the cult of Isis and Osiris, since Osiris was denied to return from the realm of the dead but had to stay down there with Isis, the earth- and moon-goddess—at his side. Since there already existed a sun god being re-borned every year the new cult of Balðr had problems to live up to the cult-saga, which is shown by the content of the cult of Ingr/Frejr. Balðr, as well as Frejr, is re-born every year no matter the myth of Balðr says the opposite. Balðr decidedly is a foreign bird, having happened to fly a little too far north. What then about the presumed cult of Gaut? He might originally have been seen as a creator-god and shaman-god in connection with the cult of Úllr and Ingr and been one of the high old gods, but first later more actively been lifted forward by Gautic chiefs, claiming genealogy directly from him and not just for their people in general. He and Týr might, of course, also have been aspects in a triad of Heimdallr/Loki. There is a distinct possibility, however, that Gaut might have arrived in the period between Heimdallr and Óðinn—i.e. during the later half of the Bronze Age. This will be treated more thoroughly in a later section

The conclusion in this stage is accordingly, that there is strong evidence the cult of Óðinn under this specific name is relatively new in the Scandinavian area, and that the cult, accompanied by a sacrificial cycle of eight years, replaces an old cycle of nineteen years during the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period,

and that the old name of Gaut is associated with the new name of Óðinn resulting in the double name Óðinn-Gaut. Under this name he replaces together with Týr the functions of Heimdallr and possibly Gaut. This leaves Heimdallr hanging in the air pictorally spoken. Balðr most surely also arrives during this time. The fertility-cult is however not changed in its functions but some names of gods are exchanged. The division into two high gods instead of one makes the figure of Óðinn more visible and frightening. It might, as have been suggested, have been more tribal-connected, local gods of Odinistic character and been regarded as god-kings and fathers of the people. This is one of the possibilities for Gaut who possibly was a predecessor of Óðinn. The decisive for these possibilities is the general openness, or more generally how opportune it was for a ruling group to claim this god as genealogical ancestor in order to base political power on this claim. Only when this happens it is possible to find hard evidence of a cult, since it affects the organization and the political development of society.



*Fig. 12 The picture-stone from Ardre, Gotland shows clear patterns of cult of Óðinn. The dead travels with a ship to Miðgarðr. Since the farms of defensive reasons are situated far from harbours Óðinn offers the dead to ride on Sleipner to Valhall, the house above to the left, and you then pass the Valgate on the Idavallen. (Nylén 1978, p. 68 ff.) (Picture: David M. Wilson, 1995)*

Aun indicates a change of cultic habits in connection with the celebration of the disthing in Gamla Uppsala being the regional, or claimed “national”, sacrifice for the peoples of the later areas Attundaland, Fjärdrundaland och Tiundaland some time around 476 AD. This fits well with the later part of the presumed period, when the cult of the god bearing the specific name Óðinn ought to have spread in all Scandinavia.

I shall however in the continuation of the book execute a closer archaeological examination in order to confirm the results above, and hence see if this preliminary result will stand scrutiny.

Available archaeological confirmations seem to be unison in their judgement, that it is not until during the Roman Iron Age you can percept traces of this cult of Óðinn. Also the rule of

The results above do however not contradict the possibility Óðinn might have been worshipped under the name of Gaut and with another sacrificial cycle. This cult then has been quite hard to distinguish. The political power base of a ruling family generally has been that the ruler claimed to be child or ancestor of a god and also, as in the case of svía-konungr, the sun-king, as a re-born god. We now know that the cult of Ingr/Frejr, being base for the Inglings, in the present description has Balðr in the leading role but eralier, I mean, this role was ÚllR's. Around 4<sup>th</sup> of november the Nordic winter started after the moon-calender, and this day the sun-god was buried and turned over in the care of the moon-goddess. That is why the cult of ÚllR is mentioned around yule. The more official cult of Óðinn spread as a base of power for a warrior-hierarchy, as is remarked by Hedeager in her work of shamanism. This does not mean the fertility-gods were forsaken or abandoned, but it rather means a challenge towards those families traditionally basing their power claim on being reborn gods guaranteeing the fruitful earth, from families with an expansionistic power-politic and who, during the Migration Period, because of their mobility often did not dispose arable land. The fertility of the fields was however as important, but the methods to improve it might have been shifted in a shamanistic direction, even if probably shamanism all the time had been practised in one way or another. The shamanistic properties of Óðinn, however, are more clearly demonstrated than with other gods. In this connection it also may be considered probable that Hlíðskjálf-the high-seat- in reality is a hjallr for practising seidr.

The question of the status of Gaut still is unsolved, but the possibility remains distinctively that he can have been an earlier variant of Óðinn, connected with the cult of Ingr, and quite generally been regarded as the divine father of the people, and ancestor of the chiefs and who later has merged with the new name, like the theories of Höfler concerning Hqrðr, and with the new cycle.

## The cult of Gaut and the religion of the Goths—a cultic league? An hypothesis.

About the cult devoted to the presumptive god Gaut we know very little not to say nothing at all, and about the general religion of the Goths before they took the cult of Óðinn-Gaut as a main-god we know very little. The following, accordingly, must be regarded as more or less qualified guesswork and assumptions, based on an analysis as careful as possible of the general prepositions.

About the religion in general it is supposed that the god Ingr was worshipped, since there is a runic inscription having been interpreted as \**enguz*, which has been read Ingr. (Wolfram 1989, p.111) This god is a predecessor of Frejr and a known fertility-god, whos cult we well know, since it should be the same already described when treating fertility-cults in connection with the sacral kingdom and the cult of Frejr. At this time Wodan/Óðinn was already the main-god of the Goths after the ethnogenesis during the migration in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. described by Jordanes in *Getica*. That also Irmin was worshipped by the Goths has been made probable through a derivation of the name of Ermanaric. (Wolfram 1989, p.111) Wolfram describes Athanaric's persecutions of the Christian Goths in Gutþiuða—a wagon with an idol was driven around between the villages to make the people sacrifice to the idol. Ingr is connected with Ingun, later Freja. She travels in the myth with a wagon drawn by cats. Nerthus is drawn by cows and also in a wagon. If the idol of Ingun was travelling in this way we do not know but it is quite possible since she was basically the same goddess. Wolfram beleives it could be a Tervingi-ancestor, but it is contradicted by several factors. Primarily of the fact that Ingr is mentioned on the stone, but also by the cultic organization. That Irmin is supposed might be connected with the earlier close relationship with the Lugii/Vandili, and Wolfram beleives they had been part of the cultic league of the Lugii and this has been seen by some as a possible link to the in the genealogy of Mannus mentioned league of the Herminones. The Lugii/Vandili are by several connected with this league and we know the Vistula-Goths for a time were politically dependent of the Vandili. About Irmin we know very little but it must have been a fertility god. Of the cult of the sub-tribe Harier to judge the cult should have been shamanistic since they appear as pure demon warriors, but at the time of Tacitus they might already have worshipped Óðinn. The main tribe of the Lugii, the Naharnavales, worshipped a pair of dioscuric twin brothers, regarded as divine—Ambri and Assi—and they had priests with long consecrated hair who wore “women's” dresses. (Tacitus §43) The concept of dioscur is not unique, however. You find it with the Vinnili/Langobards as Agio and Ybor, with the Goths as Raos and Raptos and with the Anglo-Saxons (or rather the Jutes) as

Hengest and Horsa.(de Vries I, p.225-27) Women's dresses are however not mentioned in these examples and nor are long-haired priests.

Wolfram thinks the Goths were part of the cultic league of the Vandili during the early period but that they around 150 AD had developed an own cultural characteristic- they buried their dead men without weapons. Wolfram believes it depends on that they had no battles to fight after death.(Wolfram 1989, p.40 f) It is possible if you look to Irmin, but it is contradicted of their burial-custom with weaponless men's graves—also in connection with inhumation which is unique for the Goths. This very well may be connected with their religious belief and hence not only be a cultural habit, and so it can suggest they never ceased to worship Gaut. Later on I will dig deeper into this last assumption.

Every *Kuni* 'tribe' had at the time they settled in Trajanus Dacia a priest—*goðe*- and a priestess—*guðja*.(Wolfram 1989, p.106 ff) (He does not expressly say *Guðja* but that is my natural interpretation of priestess when the male priest is called *goðe*.) Earlier they had *Halirunnæ*-*vølv*as/*sejdr*women and priestesses—caring the cult, but these were driven away by Filimer during the migration to the Black Sea.(Jordanes XXIV §121-23). The priest and the priestess took care of the special holy objects of the tribe—different for every single *Kunja*. The only cult we know of having had a special *goðe* and *guðja* for officiating at sacrifices and other occasions is the cult of *Ingr*/*Frejr*, and this is still an indicium that the Gothic people adored known Nordic fertility-gods. Wolfram means that the cult was something exclusive for the tribe and that you did not talk to others about it. Outsiders, who were not Goths, could gladly be Christian since they could not break the laws of the tribe because they did not belong to it.(Wolfram 1989, p.106 ff)

We also know the Goths had symbols for the sun- a svastica—and for the moon—a crescent—on e.g. their speartips. This is accentuated through the try of *Wulfila* to forbid adoration of the moon through forbidding the people to define their holy days with startingpoint in the full moon. The only special cultic feast which is mentioned is the yule-sacrifice but there is no detailed information. (Wolfram 1989, p.112)

The great importance of the full moon by the Goths is also illustrated by the fact that *Wulfila* (310-383 AD) translated the Greek word *neomenia* (new moon) with 'full moon' in the Colosses-letter II:16. (Nilsson 1920, p.296) (*Wulfilas* translation is found in Codex Argenteus in the library Carolina Rediviva in Uppsala, Sweden.) Reuter explains this with the fact that the most important feasts of the Goths were celebrated at full moon in opposite to the Jews and the Greeks who celebrated at new moon.(Reuter 1934, p.501) Göran Henriksson recently published an article in *Tor* where he demonstrates the connection between the full moon and the Nordic cult. He presupposes that this also goes for

the Goths. “The Goths were Germanics from the Baltic area and their use of calendars most probably was the same as that of the Scandinavians.” (Henriksson 1995, p.346)

That they worshipped fertility-gods following a year-cycle, and sun-gods and moon-goddesses is consequently quite obvious. This attraction to moon/mother-goddesses survived even into Christian time. One may recall that in Spain and Southern France, very long after the fall of the Visigothic realm in 711, in connection with the abolishing of the Order of the Templars by the pope, information of secret knowledge, hidden since very long, began to circulate. Among this also an earlier for the public unknown connection between Virgin Mary and the moon began to spread. It was manifested in madonna-pictures where Mary stands on an horizontal moon-crescent. Now it is considered a quite normal thing but at that time this was very sensible and was counterworked by the Catholic church. The Madonna on the Crescent has a clear connection to the Arian Goths. During the period after the fall of the Gothic realm some Arian tradition might have survived with the Cathars or the Albigenses in Provence, being known for their tolerance.

The Gothic “witches”, Halirun(n)ae, occupied themselves with magics in connection with the dead. They should be regarded as kind of *vǫlvas*, alternatively priestesses within the cult of Ingr/Ingun/Frejr/Freja. They were driven away by Filimer, as said, but they might be compared with similar women with the Vinnili before their ethnogenesis to Langobards. (Wolfram 1992, p.54 ff) The Halirunnae were after the Gothic ethnogenesis accused of being troll-women having created the Huns.(Getica XXIV, 121-23)

Jerzy Okulicz-Kozaryn has at excavations of what he interprets as the old area of the Gepids at Elbing/Elblag found archeological confirmations for the high social position of women, and in certain cases he has found magnificent status graves with women who, after his opinion, had a very high social status and evidently had cultic functions. He thinks in terms of priestesses. (Okulicz 1992, p.83 ff) The broad layer of the Gothic people evidently in the same manner as other Germanic peoples have adored the by us known, older fertility- and sky-gods. Some have wanted to tie the name Tervingi to the cult of Týr which of course is a possibility, however not very easy to confirm. It is remarked that *Teiws* in Gothic is ‘Ares’. ‘Mars’. He is worshipped with human sacrifices by the Goths.(de Vries I, 171; Getica V, §41; Prokop.II, 15, 25) There are, however, better explanations of the name Tervingi as will be demonstrated later.

What about Gaut then? A number of Germanic royal families—Anglo-Saxon, Danish, Jutish, some Langobardic kings and the Goths claim ancestry from *Geat/Gaut*. The Gothic royal genealogy starts with *Gapt/Gaut* (Getica XIV §79)



and from him stem the oldest kings. The genealogy of the Amali includes, as formulated by Wolfram, three eponymous tribal founders related to each other on the male line. (Wolfram 1992)

Older than Ostrogotha, the king of the Black Sea Goths, is Amal with whom the history of the Amali starts. But older than Amal and the Amali is Gaut and the Scandinavian Gautar (Gauts). This scheme is supported by the mentioning of Humli, the son of Gaut and father of the Danes, which again shows towards Scandinavian ancestry. Besides they come of the Aesir-Ansis. Óðinn has been added but still they considered Gapt/Gaut the original ancestor. (Wolfram 1989, p.37; 1992) This was the very best the Amali could achieve since their family was so young. They had in spite of all a divine ancestry. The Tervingi hailed before the battle Getic gods and ancestral spirits. (Wolfram 1989, p.112)

Gaut evidently was an important god, but also as evidently a god primarily worshipped by chieftains and warriors. He should expose many traits common with those of Óðinn, since he in time melts together with him to a double-god, Óðinn-Gaut.

A remarkable characteristic with e.g. Gothic graves is that women can be buried luxuriously, and sometimes also with lighter weapons like knives. The men's graves always lack weapons and generally the grave goods is quite poor. Oxenstierna (Oxenstierna 1948, see special tables et c. p.196 ff) notes in his inventory of grave-fields in Västergötland only flat-ground graves of the types firepit-grave (Brandgrube-Bestattung), urn-firepit-grave (Urnenbrandgrube-Bestattung) and urn-grave (Urnen-Bestattung) but in all cases almost without exception with weaponless graves for men. Many of these grave-fields are terminated during the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC. In the Vistula (Weichsel)-area graves of similar types with the same characteristics appear during the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD. The ceramics in the grave goods show great similarity between these both areas. In Östergötland on the contrary he besides the former types also finds smaller number of weapon-graves with men, as well as markings above ground in the shape of stone-settings and similar indicating a more mixed funeral custom. In the Vistula-area later appear graves of some of these types like raised stones, standing stone circles et c. Inhumations later begin in the Vistula-area depending on continental influences and also in Östergötland there are single examples. In the Vistula area—both in cremation-graves and inhumation graves—and in the earlier cremation-graves in Västergötland, however, all men are buried without weapons. This must be an indication as good as any that the cult of Gaut might have included that men should not be buried with weapons. Also Wolfram has noted this characteristic

and connected to the cult. (Wolfram 1989, p.40 f) Since this type of graves are found specifically in areas where people wearing the names of Gautar(Gauts) and Gutones/Gudones live, it must mean something special. The mixed grave-custom in e.g. Östergötland hence could indicate a cultic difference between individuals or groups. A weakness in the material from Västergötland is that it exclusively deals with cremation-graves that often lack weapons and rich gifts, but on the other hand weapons like knives of different kinds and valuables have been found with buried females in the same grave-fields. It all deals with flat-ground graves and these are identical to the graves during the initial period in the Vistula-area during the 1<sup>st</sup> c.AD. It also deals with a similarity in the ceramics in the graves.(Oxenstierna 1948, p.189 ff) It should be noted that Peter Heather pays much attention to the existence of parallel inhumations and cremations, and to mens' graves without weapons or other iron-objects, in as well the Wielbark-culture as in the Cerniachov-Sintana-de Mûres-culture.(Heather 1996, p.18 ff)

I will later quite thoroughly treat the findings of a number of well known archaeologists having examined these matters. Right now I am just building a hypothesis later to be tested. Still another firm hypothesis is that I claim that the names of the Gothic peoples are teophoric.

What, then, does the name Gaut mean? The most usual explanation is 'the outpourer', 'he who pours out seminal fluid'—i.e. man, human. You could perhaps draw parallels with the Germanic proto-god Mannus deriving of an IE-god with allmost similar name-Manus, whose name means just 'human'. I think this interpretation is generally correct but it should, I think, be specified as 'the out-pourer of the humans', since seminal fluid probably is just one of the factors involved, even if it fits well in the picture.

Among else the following researchers support the meaning 'pour' and regard Goths and Gautar(Gauts) as 'the outpoured', 'the humans', namely Much 1915 in Hoops II, 306a and E. Wessén 1924, p. 91 f. Wessén stresses specially the connection to the writing Gapt in Getica (Wessén 1924, p.18 ff, 24, 81 f) Jan de Vries on the contrary is sceptical to this meaning for the Gautar(Gauts).(de Vries, p.159) Svennung has agreed to 'to pour out' but he associates to the river Gaut-Elfr (Göta älv), by Adam called Goth-Elba, which Svennung translates with the river of the Gautar(Gauts). (Svennung 1966, p.74) O. Rygh (1904), on whom Svennung supports himself, has made similar interpretations of Norwegian river names containing the element *gaut*. About this might be said we agree in the ground meaning of the word, but I mean the name Gaut's river can mean nothing else than the river of the god Gaut and hence it is the gods name being referred to in the element *Gaut*. If Jordanes, however, might have associated to the river name in order to localize the special *Gothi* he mentiones as *Gauti-Gothi*—Västgötar/West-Gautar(Gauts)—is another and later occurrence. The

name of the people and the name of the river ought to refer to the same object, namely Gaut's river and Gaut's people.

Th. Grienberger opposes a connection with Gautar(Gauts) and proposes a meaning of *\*gut* as 'Haff'(Sea) or the land South-East of the Baltic. He means that the island of Gotland was an island in this *\*gut*.(Grienberger1922, p.159) Lindroth connects Gotland with the place-name Gothem on Gotland. (Lindroth 1914, p.75 f)

Svennung also presents a statement being of the utmost importance for my hypothesis:

Eine ähnliche Entwicklung wie betreffs der Gotar und Gautar kann vielleicht bei der Name Ýtar vorliegen, über welche es in Widsith 26 heißt: Óswine wéold Éowum & Ýtum Gewulf 'Óswine herrschte über die Inselbewohner' (die Öländer[S. 203] oder die Aviones [S. 105]?), 'und Gewulf über die Jüten'. Hierzu Much (bei Hoops II 623a): "anord. ýtar m. pl., einem poetischen Wort für 'Männer, Menschen' das mit dem Volksnamen zusammengehört. "Im Awno. ist ýtar nur im Sinne von 'Männer'(seit ca. 950) belegt (Hásteinn Hrómundarson 8 usw.), nicht in den þulur. Vgl. 239 Chambers, Beowulf S. 286 f.... wenn Männer gotnar, ýtar genannt werden, hat man hier ein Indiz gesehen, daß die Dichtung zuerst in einem Milieu geformt wurde, wo Gote oder Jüte mit 'Mann' synonym war, weil alle es waren. (Svennung 1966, s. 237-43)

Similar thoughts also J. Otrebski has pondered.(Otrebski 1950, s. 79-98)

Th. Andersson states in a newly published article in *Namn och Bygd*:

The both tribes Götär(i.e.Gauts, Gautar) and Goths are early mentioned by the classical authors. The Gautar are also well confirmed in the Nordic literature: OSw. *Götär*, OWN. *Gautar*;the singularform, OSw. *Göter*, OWN. *Gautr*, is confirmed as by-name. In domestic Gothic overhanding is however not much to get. The form *gutani* in the inscription of the Pietroassa-ring, supposed to originate from the later half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c.AD, is nowmore generally understood as genitiv pl.of the tribal name, i.e. in classical Gothic *gutanē*. As Gothic form in nominative pl.accordingly might be written *gutans*. The tribal name OSw *gutar*, with the singular form *Guti* confirmed as by-name answers formally to Got. *gutans*. Consequently we have side by side PGm. *\*gautōz* (a-stem), 'Götär' and *\*gutaniz* (an-stem) 'Goths; Gutar(Gotlanders)'.

The last tribal name, *\*gautōz*, is included in the name of the landscapes Västergötland and Östergötland and also the from the Middle Ages known OSw. *Gotland*, OWN. *Gautland*, ‘the land of the Götar’; at least primarily used about those two landscapes. The later tribe name, *\*gutaniz*, referring to two different tribes, meet both in Got. *Gutpiuda* ‘the people of the Goths’, and in the name of the landscape and island of Gotland. In all three cases the first element has the form of stem (also for the *an*-stem in *a*-stem form). (Cf. Andersson 1996a p.33 ff, 38, 41)

The oldest home of the Goths surely is discussed, but since the first mentionings they should have lived South of the Baltic. The three peoples Götar, Goter and Gutar accordingly have been living around the southern part of the Baltic as far as we can follow them, and the sea must be presupposed to have played a uniting role. (Andersson 1996a. P.35 f with ref.)

Today there is general agreement that all three tribal names in one way or another are derived from the verb *gjuta*, OSw. *giuta*, OWN. *gjota*, and *götar* is formed to the ablaut-stadium extant in preteritum singularis, OWN. *gaut*, OSw. *got*, and *goter* and *gutar* to the ablaut-stadium extant in preteritum pluralis, OWN. and OSw. *gutum* (Andersson 1996a p.37, 45) (Th Andersson 1998, p. 5 f.)

Through the above you can consider that the names *Goter*, *Gutar*, *Gauter/Gautar* and *Jutar/Ýtar* steadily linked together and in practice tied to the god Gaut.

Gaut evidently is a high-god, a creator-god and heaven-god, and most evidently also a war-god. At the same time there are strong traits of a sacral kingdom with the Goths, and if you follow the name-giving principle of the Ynglings he ought to have been a fertility-god and sun-god. This also fits with the attributes in shape of svastikas and moon-crescents the warriors have on their weapons, and also with the earlier related cult of the moon-goddess, which Wulfila tries to ban. If you however note that the Gothic kings claim ancestry from Gaut (Getica XIV §79), and not to be reincarnated gods, there is an important principial difference towards the Ynglings. The Gothic royal family, hence, follows exactly the same muster as those families claiming ancestry from Óðinn. The first assumption about a creator- god and heaven-god accordingly could be supposed to be correct, but he still should have traits also of fertility aspects. This means he contributes in a way to the preservation of the crops, which with a god of Odinic character primarily must mean shamanistic demon-hunting via initiated members of secret cultic leagues. That he besides also was a war-god the history of the Goths can be said to confirm.

We already know after the examination of the cult of Frejr how Óðinn interacted there, and in the same way, principally, the cult of Gaut ought to have worked. The local ruler, the Gothic sacral king, should in a similar way as proposed by Steinsland have confirmed his demands of the land as long as the Goths were still remaining in their original habitations.

We have earlier seen there are consecrated groups of warriors who in the myth fight for summer respectively winter to sustain the plant-cycle. In shamanistic cults you can also use real, initiated humans to scare away demons from the fields et c. Above such leagues with consecrated humans have been treated, and I have tried to show that there are three possible types-actors in a cultic play, shamanistic demon hunters and warriors' leagues. If you adore a god whose name means 'man', 'fertilizer' 'out-pourer' the men naturally should have a more dominant and higher social position than if the leading deity were female. Why, then, the men instead have a disfavoured position concerning the funeral custom? Could this possibly be explained through the system of initiated warriors or is it more practical, material reasons? Why is this Gaut worshipped primarily by the leading levels—kings, chieftains and warriors? These are questions of vital significance to be able to find out more about the cult of Gaut.

Before we reach that far, however, we should look closer on some suggestions about Óðinn that possibly could produce a better picture also of Gaut, since his name later is combined with that of Óðinn. Already Dumézil regards Óðinn as among else also a fertility-god. In e.g. *Lokasenna* is suggested that Loki and Óðinn have had unfitting sexual contacts with each other, and what Loki concerns we know he was twin-gendered and gave birth to the foal Sleipner of which the stallion Svadilfare was father. Óðinn also is a masterly hamr-changer. His pure male gender consequently might be doubted. We already have confirmed the vanir are twin-gendered, or with other words that Frejr and Freja just are aspects of the same deity. In the archaeological section below is demonstrated, that during the middle of the Bronze Age indicies for the arrival of a cult of a goddess is possible to assume from the rock-carvings and other finds. Görman also claims the arrival of a male follower. The first reaction to this suggestion might be the idea of the vanir but maybe also the heaven-gods were part of the mix already then. Since Óðinn as well has a female part/wife—Frigga—of decided fertility character, it is not unreasonable to assume also Gaut might have had a consort. I will go deeper into this further down.

If you regard the word *gaut* out of an etymological point of view the ground-meaning of course is 'pour'. Pour, however, can be interpreted in several close-lying ways.

If you regard the normal Germanic and Nordic word *gud* (god) from '*gub, god*' and examine what Hellquist writes in his Etymological Wordbook you find refer-

ences to i.e. *\*ghu-tes* with the supposed meaning 'the one creating reverence, fear or 'adored'. (Hellquist, p.309) He also informs the word originally is neutrum.

About the word *göda* 'fertilize' (the fields) Hellquist says "OSw. *gōpa*, 'make good or better, specially *göda* (fertilize)= Icl. *gøða*, Da. *gøde* (about soil), answers to. MHG. *güeten*, 'make good, grant'; of Gm. *\*gōðian*, of *god*(good)."

About Gödecke Hellquist writes "familyname from LGerm= Christian name and shortname with dimin.suff.—*ke* to Christian names on *God-*; Cf. Gottfrid."

If you to the above mentioned add the earlier referred description of the North German carnival-traditions, where in connection with Óðinn is referred to "*Frau Gauden*" and the so called cultic sleds (Höfler 1934, p.90), and you also recall cultic place-names type *Gödakra* (fertilized field), the prepositions are at hand to paint an interesting hypothetical scenario.

Because evidently the stem in both *gaut*, *gaud*, *güet*, *gōþ*, *\*gōðian*, *god* is similar and the meanings overlap each other *Gaut* also could be interpreted as 'god'. As informed above the word *gud* 'god' is originally neutrum or gender-neutral. This opens up for those dubious tendencies that has been pointed out above about male and female with Óðinn, meaning they could suggest a built in twin-genderness after vanic model. The god has a male and a female aspect. When *Gaut* in time is tied up with the name of Óðinn, which according to all indicies is later than the Bronze Age up here, the suspicion is enforced that *Gaut* might have had a female aspect/mate—*Gauden*, who above has been suggested as a parallel to *Frigga*. That she in the North German tradition travels in a sleigh drawn by dogs also gives an interesting connection to the antique goddess *Hekate*, well fitting together with a god having a considerable power as a death-god.(a.a.) If you write the name as *Gaut* or *Gaud* is mostly a question of how to interpret runic writing since *þ* might be translated in both ways. Seen in this way *Gaut* still more decidedly becomes a fertility-god of a clearly shamanistic character, very similar to Óðinn, leading shamanistic demonhunters fertilizing the fields with good divine power to promote the vegetation, and he also appears as a creator-god since he, through his two aspects, also has begotten the humankind. This also gives a possible plausible explanation to why the old sacrificial meton-cycle of 19 years changes to an eight-year cycle only with the arrival of the Continental cult of Óðinn. The in the following section treated goddess with necklace-rings I still do not regard as an personification of *Gauden* but of a Vanic goddess with more direct connection to the year-cycle. *Gaut* and *Gauden* consequently could possibly originally have meant just 'the god' and 'the goddess' from which humankind was begotten, and when the Continental cult of Óðinn appears an explanation is attached to the name of Óðinn—he becomes Óðinn-the god, the outpourer and fertilizer, he who now is the highest god. In this is implicated that *Gaut* should have been an early Odinic god who possibly might have arrived together with

the goddess during the middle of the Bronze Age, but of course possibly also earlier. For a connection to a female aspect talk also the even during the Óðinn-epoch remaining matrilinear structures by the Gothic peoples. The woman long had a distinctly high social rank with the Goths and also in Scandinavia her position was well kept and this also goes for the hereditary circumstances. Some people claim that Gaut during such circumstances not could function properly as a war-god but against this can be said that also Frejr and Freja seem to have had an army of fighters—the Hadjings. The from Óðinn known shamanistic men's leagues, who also ought to have been extant under Gaut, also explains why he primarily was a god for chieftains and warriors. The other functions of fertility evidently was cared mostly by the Vanir with Ingr/Ingun as the most important deities. Later they are instead called Frejr/Frejabut still the same deities. The real true answer we most probably never will know, but I think in any case you could assume a very close connection between Gaut and Óðinn.

## The Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age

To approach the answer of above standing questions a little more concrete, it is nessecary with a little detour back to the Nordic Bronze Age. What is said in this connection also is a hypothesis later to be tried to confirm with examples from different disciplines, but which is unavoidable if I shall succeed in reaching further results.

The Nordic Bronze Age Society in many ways was a flourishing culture. There was a warm climate making it possible to havea relatively extensive agriculture and the nature was overwhelmingly rich. The houses did not need to be as heat-insulated as later on and the cattle could be out around the year. The trading contacts with the Mediterraneanan area were intensive and amber played an important role. The fertility deities and the sun was the power-base for the sacral kingdom. Characteristic for the earliest sacral kingdom is, as known from general IE background, that the king-konungr- is appointed for a period of maybe 6-7 years as fertilizer of the gyðja-the priestess- and after having served he is sacrificed for good growth. In due time, however, a konungr grips the factual power and the gyðja is dethronized. From this time on the king is both höggöðe-Pontifex Maximus- and leader in war-time but else he has no special power to command. In Sweden we know, as has been demonstrated above, that the so called Uppsala-king of the Ynglinga “family” claimed to represent the reborn Ingr—later Frejr—and hence he was regarded to be both god and human simultaneously. This is an important distinction for the continued reasoning. Many claim there is no factual confirmation for a sacral kingdom during the Bronze Age. Formally this is correct if you regard every single find in itself without placing it into a context, and nor

is it mentioned in literature. Still, if you consider e.g. finds like the Trundholm waggon and similar cultic waggons, the circular bronze disc with a diameter of 15 cm supposed to have been part of a harness of ceremonial art and exhibited in the museum of Linköping, the magnificent Herzsprung-shields of evident cultic character found at Fröslunda in Lidköping and treated by Ulf Erik Hagberg and all figures of solar character in the rock-carvings and, of course, the wheel-crosses it is quite evident the sun was the major deity. Add to this the torques-rings pictured in the Kivik-grave connected with religious processions and also real rings in among else Västergötland. You should also recall that later sources connect sacral kings and necklace-rings with each other, and hence there are lot of indications of sacral kingdoms during the Bronze Age. This above mentioned fertility-cult consequently had as it's primary symbol the sun, the life-giver, and the typical Nordic variant of the cult did evidently include the whole of the Scandinavian area and present Northern Germany in the vicinity of the present Danish border. This is among else suggested by the name 'svear', 'sviar' in which the element 'sví-' is included.

## Svear-Svíar

The modern name-form of the god Sviþdagr—Svipdag—is interesting in a purely linguistic way. Linguists seldom seem to agree or be able to decide themselves when þ should be transcribed with 'th' or 'ð', or in this case with 'p'. I have e.g. often seen the word *hæraþ* transcribed as either 'hærað' or 'hæraþ'. I now intend to take a closer look on the word *Svipdag*, and I assume a ground-form \**Sviþdagr* pronounced as *Sviðdagr*. This might offer certain pronunciation-problems meaning the rationalization of ð/th (þ also can be written th) to p (which could be a latinization) (Cf. below "Semnonenhain"). What, then, does *Sviþ/Svið* mean? It means among else 'burn, burn-beat, smart, sting, ache'. *Sve-/Sví* should derive from *sui* in Avest. *x<sup>v</sup>aéna* 'glowing, smarting, shining'. (Hellquist, *Etymol. Ordb.* p.1127 'svida') In this context it simply means 'the sun shining/burning/lighting in daytime'—a name of the sun-god who, quite consequently, happens to be married to the moon-goddess Freja. *Sviþ-* also occurs in other combinations.

An important example is the name *Svitiod* for Sweden being a literary word (in historical and poetical style) accepted from the Icel. *Sviþjod*= the native Sw. runeword *Sveþiuþ*. (Hellquist, *Etymol. Ordb.*)

The word *Sveþiuþ* is traditionally translated as *Svethioð* or *Svithioð*. I presuppose instead the ground-form \**Sviþþiuþ*, which through trouble of pronunciation has been simplified to *Sviþiuþ* and originally has been pronounced



*Sviðthioð* or *Sviththioð* after which *ð/th* has fallen away. (Cf. also Svennung 1966, p.97 f)

This leads us to the meaning ‘the sun people’, ‘the people of the sun’, ‘the people that adore the sun’. “*Sviakonungr*” then becomes ‘*the Sun-king*’, which is indeed a fitting name of the highest religious leader in a sacral sun-kingdom, and this has, as can be seen in all standard works of history of religion, parallels among else in Egypt and in the South American Indian cultures. The Inka was regarded, like Pharaoh, to be the son of the sun. That this fits with the real circumstances I consider myself to have demonstrated in the part above treating the cult of Frejr and the sacral kingdom. It may be added that people speaking gautic dialects still simplify the word ‘*svida*’ to ‘*svía*’.

*Sviakonungr* accordingly was the title of the highest religious leader, the god who embodied the sacral kingdom in Bronze Age Scandinavia and everybody attending the cult or living within the dominance area of the cult therefore can be called *sviár*. Originally there might have been several local kings filling this function, each one sitting at his own Upsala caring his own business, but it can be supposed to have existed a cultic commonship—a loose cultic league. *Sviár* therefore is a sacral or teophoric name and not a people’s name of traditional type, but comparable with other teophoric names as *gautar*, *goter*, *gutar* and *ýtar*.

## Climatic variations

As time went by the climatic conditions grew less favourable. The change was slow but inexorable. This does not however mean that it became extremely cold as many claim, but it brought variations between warm and dry contra wet and cool. The conditions for agriculture grew worse and accordingly the cattle-breeding got an steadily increased importance. It has been speculated about an overpopulation because of starvation as a follow of the shift in climate, which should have forced great groups to emigrate. This normally is claimed to be an explanation of the Gothic emigration. Hachmann (1988) has made a thorough examination of the circumstances in Scandinavia at this time, and has concluded it only might have been local emigration because of misgrowth and similar, but a greater number does not appear to have emigrated if you look to the continuity of grave-fields and from this calculated population-pressure in comparison with arable lands. Hachmann’s examination at a first look may seem convincing, but everything depends in the last end of the definition of overpopulation and what he means with “great” groups, and not least, which I will treat closer below, what demands you put on arable lands. I will return to Hachmann later. Oxenstierna, however, has indicated a number of terminated grave-fields in Västergötland as mentioned above. Heather remarks that there often not is needed radical changes

of the conditions to create a relative overpopulation with a resulting migration, and he means this is a relatively usual and often appearing phenomenon. (Heather 1996, p.11 ff)

More interesting is the continuing reorientation from agriculture, then confined to light sand-soils and similar where you could use a simple kind of plough (årder), to cattle-breeding meaning you effectively could use also clay-soils—e.g. the plains in Västergötland and Skåne and the Danish clay-soils. The grazing in the woodlands just gets more and more meagre along with the climatic change. This increases the value of access to good pasturelands and causes an increased tendency to think in terms of territorial preserves. The cattle also now must be kept indoors during winter, and as a consequence the habitation should lie in close proximity to the grazing-land. In due time the situation occurs when the grazing-land and the cattle get attractive for neighbouring folks and hence you must actively guard the herds walking freely outside the fenced fields. This demanded resources in people both for guard-keeping and for the undertaking of raids towards the neighbours to rob cattle and land. The circumstances of the Celtic tribes on Ireland are in this case informative. This leads to a need to base the execution of power for the chieftains in a lesser degree than earlier on pure fertility. The motivation of power is instead more based on the claim of a genealogical ancestry directly from the war-god and god-king who, as suggested, also is a fertility god of kind. We get a new cult-appearance of a more warrior-like and shamanistic kind—the more open cult of Gaut—the pourer and human-father. Ernst Schwarz claims in his book *Goten, Nordgermanen und Angelsachsen mit archäologisch-geschichtlichen und sprachwissenschaftlichen Argumenten verfolgt*, that there was a gathered habitation of tribes around the Southern Baltic, who had a largely common language. (E. Schwarz 1951) In this are included the Swedish Gautic dialects who by Wessén are regarded as related to Gothic. (Wessén 1972, p.120 ff) This could mean that this population-group had a partly different background than the Upswedish tribes, and also, since traditionally “Eastgermanic” areas are included here, have had more intensive continental contacts. Therefore they might have had the Óðinn-figure included in their pantheon as just Gaut. However, since they were living in the middle of the flourishing Bronze Age culture, he was earlier mostly regarded as the progenitor of the people, and there was no political reason to lift him forward specially as a more directly intervening god. It is here close-lying to direct the look towards the topographical conditions, since it is obvious that the woodland Tiveden as a watershed possibly also could have functioned as a cultural border. It is however important to underline that we are talking of a great number of local tribes—not about a united Gautic or Gothic people in a political sense.

As a consequence of the changed economic-geographical prepositions this picture however changes and the local chieftains start to demonstrate his military and magical importance.

The cultic warriors and part-takers in shamanistic followings honouring the god Gaut, having as their task to frighten away demons from the fields, are becoming a more and more increased importance also as defenders of the tribal territory against human enemies. Even the ordinary warriors, who do not perform in cultic plays, ought to consist of initiated warriors consecrated to Gaut. They have been symbolically killed and are according to the definition above now "living dead". The need for good pastureland also can raise an increased tendency to nomadic lifestyle since you in certain critical situations maybe must move to a new habitation. Another consequence is that younger sons with time get more and more difficulties to get the paternal heritage, since cattle-breeding demands a lot more land than does agriculture. There was indeed no lack of unbroken land in Sweden where new farms could be established but the central areas with favourable conditions soon should have been occupied. What remained was outland areas with meager earth and poorer grazing which could contribute to increased mobility. It should be clarified that agriculture indeed was extensive, but in terms of sustaining enough food it could only contribute with less than 50% of the need for an average family of 6-8 persons. As an addition to this it was necessary with cattle-holding, hunting and fishing already during the Bronze Age. (Hyenstrand 1988, p.117) The related development does not mean that they denounced agriculture since this continues to be the basic means to derive their livelihood. It does however mean that they in higher degree than before had to compete with animal-caring, and that the agriculture demanded more wholehearted contributions than before to yield enough harvest. It is characteristic that it is just in the fertile areas in the south that this new development starts. Here you have the best conditions for both agriculture and cattle-breeding, but also here you are confined to protected sites in river-valleys and comparable. This is clearly demonstrated of the fact that the wealthy chieftain-yards always lie along the river-systems or in close connection. (Fabeck 1991a, p.296) Latest a find of a presumed chieftain's yard and necklace-rings in Vittene, Älvsb.l., Västergötland 1995. (Viking 1996; pers.com.) This is of course also connected with the communication system which was waterborne what distant trading concerns, but it is as well a necessity for specially cattle-breeding for windshelter and watersupply. It might be remarked that Vittene lies at Norra Björke which 1527 was called Birke and accordingly could be a Birk-place for trading. In those areas where the soil was suitable we find during the Migration Period an intensive farming based on animal-caring. From the animals they took fertilizing to the fields and used the soil very effectively. This goes specially for the

island of Öland with its fertile but light limestone-soil. (Fallgren, 1992, p.114 ff) The further forward in time we come the animal-holding increases until it during the Viking Age is the biggest part. The Goths never reaches that far in their development and the Continental Goths in time find new areas during their migration with better conditions for agriculture, and still during the 4<sup>th</sup> c. in Dacia they are primarily agriculturalists but still have considerable herds of cattle. (Thompson 1966, p. 25 ff)

The best way to keep the loyalty of a warrior, and in the same time to frighten enemies, should be through letting him have obligations directly towards a god, represented locally by the prince or chieftain who is his direct commander. This also is the view of Otto Höfler. (Höfler 1934, p.247) It is out of such a relation between oath-sworn, initiated warriors with a cultic leader representing the god within the frames of the cultic community, represented in teriomorph or antropomorph hamr, not as a reborn sacral king, that the secular kingdom, the state and the nobility, most probably can be supposed to originate. This process should in time result in the stratified society with the strong reiks—pettykings—we find with the Goths in the Black Sea region. We have above settled that many ancient cultures, and also modern so called primitive, regard the dead as still living among themselves and they do not differ between this world and the other side. This means among else, that when a young man is initiated to warrior he is symbolically killed, in the cult of Óðinn through hanging in a too weak snare and a light scratching with a spear or a weedstraw (Cf. e.g. the *Víkarr-saga*) and then he is supposed to be resurrected as a living dead.

If we, as a hypothesis, assume that exactly this type of cultic initiations were practised within the cult of Gaut and that the king or the chieftain, in the moment he executes the cultic act or leads his troops in battle, represents the god he will have an unlimited authority. If a warrior is killed during battle or in another way he still remains in the army but as invisible dead, and a new young warrior takes his place. He then takes over the function of the earlier warrior but not his body. He simply becomes this warrior who already was dead and hence couldn't die—it was just the body that died. This might be the reason the body was buried in simplest possible way. When a woman dies she is supposed, according to the same hypothesis, to die for real which gives reason to more elaborate signs of appreciation and to more visible honouring. It should not in the above mentioned case be any reason to bury the old warriors weapons with his body, since these can be assumed to be needed in his continued service in shape of the new warrior. Besides iron-weapons at this time ought to have been luxury-goods highly appreciated by a poor people with meager living-circumstances. You do not destroy such a resource. Kristiansen has examined the re-use of bronze-artefacts like jewellery and swords, and he has found that during period III the earlier

widespread habit with weapon-graves has decreased considerably in many regions, and that the weapons were generally re-used for many generations. During period IV and V the use of bronze has diminished still more. He puts this in relation to the possibility to import the raw-material and to economical crisis'. (Kristiansen 1979, p.158ff) The same reasoning could be applied to iron-weapons during an early introductory period—specially before you learnt to use domestic raw-material and developed a suitable forging-technic. Because you have reason to move the tribe more often than before, these weapons are permanently needed. This specially goes for the Continental migrations. The Goths at the Vistula have a better starting point for trade, but can of tradition have continued even then weaponless funerals.

We have hence a hypothetical situation where an old cultic league—*Sviþiopl*—the sun people, consisting of a great number of tribes or peoples (*gentes*) with a similar cult, is confronted by a warrior-cult of shamanistic character under the god Gaut. The tribes worshipping Gaut call themselves, depending on where they live, Gautar, Jutar, Gutar, Gutones/Gudones/Gutoi—later the last mentioned are called Goths. What keeps them together culturally is the cult which claims a common ancestry from Gaut, and maybe partly also relatively related languages even if the recognized Goths when we know them speak an Eastgermanic dialect, but still not so dissimilar from South-Scandinavian dialects. In this respect they may be called a cultic league. This league, however, is not of a supernational character but it just deals with a common belief, with the consequence they have a feeling of cultural kinship, like between the earlier *Svíar*, and they naturally stay in close connection with each other but it does not necessarily lead to political union. The Gothic kings seem, as mentioned, to a beginning to have clear traits of sacral kings but of a more shamanistic type, and they are not reborn gods but children and grandchildren et c. to gods. The Goths have a common ethnicity in a sacral sense, a common ancestry. I claim that all fights between so called *Svear* and *Götár* in reality from the beginning are fights between ruler-families supporting their power with one of these two religious fundamentals—reborn gods or ancestors of gods. Later the cult of Gaut is assimilated into the cult of Óðinn-Gaut. The fights may take place in any location in the present Sweden and do not indicate an original difference between the present areas *Götaland* and *Svealand*—the later a Middle Age construction. The only thinkable difference could possibly be that only the *Gautar* might have had a high-god of Odinistic character. In the end, however, the followers of Óðinn-Gaut defeat the old sacral rulers even if this not always mean they win military victories since old rulers may change their base. So the figure of Óðinn under his new name is included in the old divine pantheon of the *Svíar*. He might already have been there under the name of Gaut, but probably he did not have the high

position he later gets. The last pockets of resistance of the old rulers might be those *Suehans/Suetidi/Swiones* who Jordanes, according to most interpreters, place in the Mälars Valley area. The question is however, if during the time of Jordanes this mostly was a schematic naming of tribes whose real names were not well known, and the name-giving based on continental tradition since the time of the old league of *Svipiöþ*. In any case no tribe of the name of *Svíar/Svear* is known but all peoples in that region are mentioned after their landscapes and the only mentioning of *Svear* in the Middle Age sources is the word ‘upsvear’ indicating they were just the Northern *Svear* and all other in Swedish areas also were *Svear*, including the *Gautar*. Maybe he should have written “upsvear”. We know the *Ynglings* are told to have moved to Norway founding a realm around *Solør*, and that the later kings, often also called *Ynglings* but their right name is *Skilfings*, who traditionally but not proven, are connected with the later Medieval areas *Tiundaland*, *Attundaland* and *Fjärdhundraland* in the late Middle Age landscape *Uppland*, claim heritage from *Óðinn* but via *Njorðr* and *Yngve-Frejr*. They accordingly accept the new power base but still try to keep the old one formally. Now the old title *sviakonungr* is fully transformed into a title used by *Odinistic* rulers after having begun with *sacral kings* being reborn gods.

# ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESULTS

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In the following I intend to test the above presented hypothesis. I start with making the question what the archaeologists say about my thoughts of cultic relations? I will look closer on some areas of central interest concerning the transformation from specially the Bronze- to the Iron Age in Scandinavia and the North, and who also can be supposed to have a natural connection to the assumed cult of Gaut. I must however stress that archaeological results strictly methodologically seldom are possible to use as direct proofs, but they must be complemented with ways of approach connected with other disciplines. This means that my results, seen out of every single disciplines methodological point of view, sometimes may seem dubious and discussable. That problem is not possible to escape with an interdisciplinary method of work. It accordingly mostly might result in indicies. I also will declare that the examination of the Stone- and Bronze-Ages, which will be undertaken as a start, not is intended to show an under all circumstances still not provable direct continuity for the Gothic religion all the way from Stone Age, but only to get an overall picture of cultic circumstances before the Goths and of the connection between different parts of the Scandinavian area in an early stage.

Through this hopefully better prepositions can be created to manage to take position to the probable shape of the Gothic cult during the Iron Age. Not least important is to learn how religious changes occur and their probable reasons, and to try to interpret the by the find-material suggested connection between religious and secular power in ancient times. I will also examine some finds of a general character showing possible connections between the Scandinavian area and the Continental Goths.

## **Stone- and Bronze Age in the Kattegat-area with focus on Västergötland**

In 1994 was published a doctoral dissertation at the university in Umeå, Sweden by Eva Weiler about West-Swedish archaeology, which also gives valuable overlooks and basic ground for comparisons with the whole Scandinavian area

and its surroundings, including e.g. the Danish area. She examines in her book *Innovationsmiljöer i bronsålderns samhälle och idévärld* among else whether e.g. technological import and trade-connections might affect the ideology in an area. In this case the Neolithic and Bronze Age Västergötland. This is the first bigger archaeological survey of the central West-Sweden during Stone- and Bronze Age published after the path-breaking examinations of K.E.Sahlström, and to me it is the natural starting point of my own examination. The Stone Age is the obvious starting point if you should be able to indicate a cultic development. A real continuity hardly might be able to show but certain single occurrences possibly might be traceable back in time. In any case such an examination hopefully can provide indications not only of cultic changes, but also of changes in population, economy and other factors. Not the least it can suggest how changes occur. I will, where so is possible, draw parallels with the Iron Age.

Weiler confirms among else that there was a change in the settlement structure and the ways of distribution in Västergötland during the older and middle Bronze Age, so that the distribution changed character. The ways of distribution started to go through other areas than earlier and land was broken for new fields, which made the dissolution of the net of contacts and family-structures in the older society proceed more rapidly. The result was that the old net of social protection was destroyed, and that prepositions were created for other ways of thinking and valuing. (Weiler 1994, p.147) This is an interesting statement, since it reminds of the process taking place in the Cambro-Silurian area and on the clay-plains during the Iron Age. You accordingly could expect among else a religious renewal also in this case. She further states that the archaeological material indicates two visible changes being able to connect with this type of ideological changes, namely that the Megalith-graves disappear and the inhumation is replaced by cremation. (Weiler 1994, p.147) She claims that a change is accepted when the right factors cooperate and are received simultaneously with the occurring of suitable lacks in the social security net, and that the integration of a totally new technology not was the only change during the Bronze Age. She defines ideology as “partly religion and world of conception, partly norms and evaluations in general, e.g. concerning leadership and legal rules”. She underlines that in many small-scale societies, i.e. life-forms ideologically still not belonging to the modern central state, there is normally no division between religion and leadership. The one who has the religious power also has the political measured with our evaluations. This goes also, she writes, for early stateformations in Egypt, Central America and the Andes and most probably also certain of the societies during the older Bronze Age in Europe. (Weiler 1994, p.147)

I note with interest that her ideas are quite in phase with my own and well fit with the theories I already earlier have suggested, who intimately connect secular



and religious power. Lotte Hedeager means in the same spirit, that it was the division between the religious and secular power that caused the occurrence of the state in Scandinavia, and that this development started already during the Roman Iron Age. Already then she sees signs that the religion was controlled by the secular power. (Hedeager 1990) (Cf. Brink 1996, p.27-52)

## Symbols

When treating the gradual personification of divine symbols in the imagination-world of humans Weiler thinks that she recognises a development from the stressing of male objects to female during the end of the Bronze Age, and, as she expresses it, from object to personification—i.e. that one starts picturing objects in antropomorph form. (Weiler 1994, p.147 f) She also discusses what you could read from the rock-carvings, suggesting ideological change contemporary with the replacement of the collective burial habit with monuments over single individuals, and interprets the fact it is usually men or male attribut pictured, in that way that it might be “tendencies to a more hierarchical way of thinking than earlier and a growing need to mark social positions”, among else with overdimensioned attributes like daggers and swords. (Weiler 1994, p.150 f) She mentions that the historians of religion admit that these rock-carving figures mirror an antropomorph divine understanding, but that these gods not are invented here but imported from the IE divine world. (Weiler 1994, p.151) In this connection specially Marianne Görman is noticeable, who wants to tie them to the Celtic divine world. Görman claims that the pictureworld mirrors a male god, Cernunnos, and the votive-finds a goddess, and she refers to contemporary Continental written sources, where the similarities between Celtic and Germanic religion is striking. She claims they are the same as Njordr and Nerthus. (Görman 1987, p.172).

Weiler concludes that two-dimensional pictures not do occur in the megalith-graves in Västergötland in opposite to the southernmost parts of present Sweden, while cup-pits are common and in one case a circular figure with a cup-pit. She claims there is nothing in the megalith burying habits still suggesting a personified perception-world. She also points out that concerning slab-coffins one starts to express oneself more in symbols than earlier, e.g. through placing a bit of an axe in the grave in stead of marking the presence of the axe with a whole object. Burenhult has found that abstract circular signs like circles and wheel-crosses might be presumably older than ship-pictures and similar figures on the rock-carvings. (Burenhult 1980, p.139) Weiler is of the same opinion. (Weiler 1994, p.151 f) I myself have found (Nordgren 1990, 1992) that just 4-spoked wheel-crosses without exception are situated in crossings of piezomagnetic fields

(Mörner 1995) and I see the possibility that the circle of the sun might be combined with the bosom of the earth-goddess.

Tore Artelius has examined a slab-coffin in Herrljunga (Artelius 1992) where a ship-grave with raised slabs has been erected inside the coffin. This Weiler connects with the ships on the carvings and razor-knives, and with the fact the ship form is known also earlier as grave-form during the Bronze Age. (Weiler 1994, p.153)

Conclusively we can note that the ship-form occurs on graves from the slab-coffin epoch and all the time into the younger Iron Age, and that the ship also is an important symbol on the rock-carvings. The same goes for circles, also possible to understand as rings, which I have discussed in connection with the cult of Frejr. The circles occur as among else wheel-crosses. Christer Westerdahl remarks in *Kinnekullebygden* that the slab-coffins from late stone-age, the time 1800-1500 BC, in the Kinnekulle area have circular gable-holes being too small to admit dead bodies to the grave. This is a primarily West-Swedish phenomenon (but certain similarities are seen e.g. in Normandy) in the area around Göta älv-river, Västergötland, Dalsland, Värmland and a little in Närke and Östergötland. They have a diameter of approximately 40-70 cm, and he interprets them as a new religious movement with maybe the belief of an afterlife connected with the fertility of the earth. Maybe sacrifices were offered the dead through the holes, he suggests. (C. Westerdahl 1976, p.121f) These holes also are ring-shaped and can, I mean, have a connection with the later, during the Bronze Age, appearing goddess-pictures and wheel-crosses. The distribution area is interesting with regard to a later demonstrated archaeological connection with a possible emigration-area in Östergötland and Småland. The significance of the ring, and its connection with this area, I will return to later in an examination of the Nordic and European Ring-names.

The attention devoted to grave constructions in ancient times is further demonstrated by Olaf Olsen, who in *Hørg, Hov og Kirke* remarks in connection with the excavation of the farmyard Hofstaðir on Iceland that the local population regards round, ring-formed sites with earthen walls as cult-places. He also writes that according to both of the old law codices *Grágás* and *Gulatingslov* the judges resided within what are called the *domskretsar*, that is within a circle, or in the form of a circle, and that they were sometimes “in hasslade med vébond”, meaning that they were surrounded with bands marking a cultic place, which in the Nordic tongue is called *ví*. Olsen suggests that our name *domarringar*, judge-rings, which means a circle of standing stones, must have been influenced by this. He assumes that our stone-circles would have been used, besides for burial, even for a kind of cult in connection with burial rites. (Olsen, 1966 p.193 ff)

Also during younger Iron Age we have round—ringformed—stonesettings in the grave-fields as a rule. During the Bronze- and Iron-Age we also have sacrificial gifts in the shape of rings and later during the Iron Age we know necklaces and amulett-rings of supposed sacral character and oath-rings. This could at least suggest that the circle and the ship might be regarded as important in the Nordic religion. I have in connection with the cult of Frejr demonstrated that the ring shall be regarded as the sun. Consequently there is a possibility that also other circular forms might appeal to the sun. This is suggested not least by the established term “solar cross” for wheel-crosses.

Razor-knives of younger Bronze Age type picture a bird-figure, e.g. in finds from Västerplana (SHM 16335) and Gökhem (SHM 18119: 1). Regardless of the interpretation of the figures Weiler claims they answer to objects having been placed on procession-staffs. She also remarks that there are two examples of horse-figures in bronze from the Falbygden (SHW1 7034, SHM 21403) and that one have found, in the Halland part of the Ätran river valley, a little bronze-figure in the shape of a hollow bird's head (SHM 10972), “probably meant to be placed on a staff”. (What staffs concern cf. Britt Steinsland 1991; Brink 1996, p.27-52; Watt 1991, p.373-384) At closer scrutiny it shows up to be the lower part of a human head with mouth and cheek while the upper part is formed as a powerful beak, just as on the rock-carvings. A similar find is also made on Gotland (SHM13199).(Weiler 1994, p.154) About the Kivik-grave she remarks: “Bird-humans occur there, but they walk in arranged processions and are dressed in long cloaks, not equipped with fluttering wings like on the rock-carvings.”(Weiler 1994, p.154)

The above indicate as I see it that there might have been arranged religious ceremonies of procession-character, also suggested by the pictures of the Kivik-grave, where also necklace-rings are pictured. This could very well indicate a sacral chiefdom.

## Statuettes with rings

Statuettes are another type of antropomorph figure-representations. Small bronze-figurines proposing naked women with necklace-rings are found from the Bronze-Age but also occur in the early Iron Age.They usually are connected with necklace-ring sacrifice finds. Seven such figurines have been found in South Sweden, but only one i Västergötland (SHM 13880), in Timmele in the Ätran river valley, hence being the northernmost find-site.



*Fig. 13 Goddess from the Bronze Age with necklace-ring. S:t Olof, Skåne. Source :Oldtidens ansigt, J yAS 1990, ps. 78, Mats P. Malmer.*

The Timmele-statuettes are special in that sense that they lack necklace-rings. Weiler suggests these might have been made by another material, because the necklace-rings of the Kymbo-amulet are of gold, not by silver mixed with gold and copper as the rest of the figurine. Another explanation however, she writes, could be that it deals with a local variant of figure-representation, where the women-figure itself was the primary as a fertility-symbol, and necklace-rings of

a quite subordinated importance. (Weiler 1994, p.154 f) Burenhult writes that the female rock-carving figures and statuettes prelude the later by Tacitus mentioned cult of Nerthus, and hence confirm that it deals with fertility-religion. The carved women he regards as priestesses and not as goddesses, while he sees the statuettes as representations of mother Earth. (Burenhult 1983, s. 189 ff.)

## The moon-goddess and the sun-god

Concerning connections between rings and statuettes I claim, in opposite to Weiler, that the rings are a vital part of the statuettes, even if I agree that she even without these rings might be a fertility-goddess—Mother Earth. If you regard the examination of the cult of Frejr the connection between the ring—Draupnir—and the moon-goddess/Mother Earth clearly is demonstrated. She is receiving the sun in the shape of a golden ring, like at the Kymbo-statuettes, to preserve and take care of during the winter. The ring is a natural indicator of her function. That she not gets a new ring every year might be a practical question since the sacrificial cycle at this time was 19 years, and besides the sun is reborn every year. If the ring sometimes is of a simpler material is of no importance since it is in any case a ring-symbol. Since figurines with two rings appear frequently a possible interpretation could be that they symbolise the sun respectively the moon, who is the one caring the sun during winter and reflecting its light. Another, and better, possibility is suggested by *Skírnismál* where there are two ring-gods involved in the subterranean activities—Frejr and Baldr—who seem to remain with the moon-goddess all the time during the winter. It also should be noted, that this habit of connecting rings with divine aspects evidently continues during the Iron Age with as well, as earlier treated, sacrificial- and oath-rings, but also

with the so called amulet-rings first appearing during the Roman Iron Age and, after a pause, returning during the Migration Period. (Martin Rundkvist 1996, p.13-25)

## Central or peripheral?

What has been shown till now of the confirmations by Weiler and other gives certain indications about the religious role of Västergötland compared with the coast-near areas in South and South-West. The transformation between collective burial habits and single monumental graves seems to have arrived later in Västergötland, and figure-representations and symbols are simpler designed. The statuettes also are less represented. This suggests that Västergötland might be a border-area in the outskirts of the rich Bronze Age territory, and that the center, at least during the late Bronze Age, rather lies in Skåne and Halland with connections up here via the river-valleys of Halland and the Göta älv river. Also Bohuslän appears to be more central through the great number of rock-carvings. Denmark is, of course, also included but shows a more fragmented archaeological picture-partly through it's close contacts with the Continent, meaning new impulses can rapidly come in into this area. Here Hedager, concerning the Roman Iron Age, has indicated a difference between Jutland and Zealand, where Zealand is more connected with a North-East European area while Jutland is influenced by North-West Europe. (Hedeager 1990) On the other hand there is a difference between Northern and Southern Jutland at the Olgerdiget. (Neumann 1982) I will return to this later. Kristian Kristiansen means:

The economical developement during the Bronze Age hence was centered around a westward axis during the early Bronze Age and an eastward during the late Bronze Age. Expressed in productivity of the total system this probably remained stable through the whole period, but it caused exploitation and destruction of the nourishing-production of the earth in different areas during the reproductive process, which caused a regional expansion and decline...this process lasted about a thousand years, almost two thousand if we include the late Neolithicum...(Kristiansen 1979, p. 178)

The trade routes for bronze, and consequently also power and wealth and new impulses, at first went via Schleswig-Holstein and the Elbe-mouth and up along the Western Denmark-Jutland (Kersten & La Baume 1958, p.47 ff; Randsborg 1968, fig. 69-70; Kersten 1952, p.14) but during the late Bronze Age more via

Mecklenburg and Oder and so more affecting Eastern Denmark and South-Scandinavia. (Oldeberg 1933, fig. 40 and 56; Randsborg 1968, picture 57-63)

This corresponds, as far as I can understand, quite well with the fact that the megalith-graves are situated mostly in Northern Jutland and in Västergötland—with uniting water—and partly also Bohuslän. These areas should originally have been the richest before the opening of the more Eastern trade routes, meaning that East-Denmark and South-Scandinavia more generally entered the picture. Västergötland in both cases constitute a border area.

That Västergötland still belongs to the rich central territory is clear, but this is more evident looking to secular wealth than in a religious connection. It seems as, in the transition between the Stone- and Bronze-Ages, the religious impulses come from the South and the West going North and East.

## **Burial customs and the religious representational world**

Another important indication of changes in cultic habits and the view of the afterlife is the transition from inhumation to cremation. According to Burenhult this transition is contemporary with the disappearance of the rock-carving tradition, starting in Southern Sweden—i.e. also here the muster is similar concerning the directions of new religious impulses. (Burenhult 1980). At the same time, says Görman, you meet a continental influence on the representational world. (Görman 1987, p.65 ff ; 1989, p.31 ff) She also suggests that a new war-god of Celtic origin enters the Nordic divine world during the centuries before AD and that he is worshipped till Roman Iron Age. I.e. she takes the war-sacrifice finds not as a sign of the cult of Óðinn in traditional interpretation but as sacrifices to this Celtic god. She remarks that weapon-funerals together with cremation, and often added with grave-gifts in the form of four-wheeled cult-waggons, were usual by the Celts, and she also refers to Celtic influence in the find-material from the Iron Age. (Görman 1987, p.130)

Görman's remarks about the finds can not be denied, but it could as well be seen as a cultural influence by the still politically and military relatively strong Celtic area, and it does not necessarily mean a taking over of their gods. It is rather so that the Celts, like the Germanics, have gods originating in the IE-pantheon, and because of this have similar properties. Weiler claims that the increased use of cremation is preceded by, or contemporary with, other changes in the society and that it should be explained from such points of view. (Weiler 1994, p.155 f)

The transition from inhumation to cremation has occurred during period II-IV of the Bronze Age, but there are variations. Either the burned bones were

cleaned or they were left as they were after the cremation. You then could choose between laying the bones in a urn—a urn-grave—or to put some of the bones also outside the urn with the ash—a urn-firepit grave—or, a bit into the Iron Age, just put the bones and the ash directly into the pit or in a box of birch-bark or similar without any cleaning—a firepit-grave.(Gräslund 1983, p.49)

It is flat-ground graves of this transitional character, firepit-graves or urn-firepit-graves, as Oxenstierna and other regard as characteristic for the early Gothic and Gautic graves.

Weiler points on three occasions during the period from the beginning of the Bronze Age to the beginning of the Middle Ages, a period of approximately 3000 years, when you can find evident changes of the inner grave-forms—namely around the middle of the Bronze Age, in the beginning of the Roman Iron Age and at the end of the Iron Age. It is a development not only tied to this region. The inhumation-tradition disappears during the Bronze Age, returns in the Roman Iron Age, occurs sporadically during the Iron Age even if cremation is the normal in this period, and returns permanently at the end of the Viking Period. What outer constructions concerns the use of megalithic graves ceases at the first occasion. The next time—beginning of Roman Iron Age—greater alone-lying grave-constructions disappear and are replaced with grave-fields, and finally, in connection with the Viking Period and the early Middle Ages, the grave-fields cease. (Weiler 1994, p.158 ff)

You should however not disregard from the remarkably great howes during both the Migration Period, the Merovingian Period (Vendel-time) and the Viking Period, who besides can be smaller grave-fields themselves or be part of such grave-fields. Here I claim it deals with a social signalling—an information about power-elitistic status, and hence a strong personal indication within the frames of a relatively anonymous funeral system..

The above referred change between individual and collective graves, does not necessarily have to be confined to a special time, or to a special region. Evert Badou and Klavs Randsborg both have demonstrated grave-howes being constructed upon houses. In Randsborg's case e.g. the dead persons first had been buried in the house, and after that a howe had been raised above the house. Some have proposed this could indicate an ancestral cult, i.e. an individual cult of a single forefather in difference of a collective ancestral cult. There are examples from the early Bronze Age in Denmark and Germany and from the middle Iron Age in proper Scandinavia. (Badou 1991, p.71 ff; Randsborg 1995, p.204)

Weiler stresses that all stone-settings or flat-ground graves with cleaned, burned bones not necessarily must be from the Bronze Age. The oldest C<sup>14</sup>-dated flat-ground grave in Västergötland presently known is not older than from 390-

110 BC (St 11479) and was found outside Trollhättan a number of years ago (Gårdhem 97). She adds that the concentration of megalithic graves in the Cambro-Silur area might in time have meant, that new evaluations not as easily were accepted as in areas not having that long tradition backwards. This explains, she means, that there are no rock-carvings or other pictorial representations of humans in the Falbygden-area. They appear instead along the Göta älv-river, the Vänern lake and the Ätran-river valley. The symbol-world is instead pictured on, or in the shape of, artefacts or on constructions in the graves, and they are more directed towards the single individual and her belief than towards collective religious manifestations. It is strongly connected with the nature or with means of communication. With exception of the horse domestic animals never are pictured. (Weiler 1994, p.166) Ulf Erik Hagberg claims the explanation of a less number of carvings in this area is due to the lack of suitable carving-localities with a fitting and good stone-material. (U.E. Hagberg, pers.com.) Göran Burenhult remarks, that certain of the figures having been found exhibit original clamping-constructions indicating they were intended to be fixed to organic material, e.g. wood. He means they built special sacrificial ships in style with the rock-carving pictures, and that those figures matched the scale of these ship's models. (Burenhult 1983, p.189 ff)

## **Conclusion**

This section confirms that the variations in Västergötland fit very well with the general changes in Scandinavia and on the Continent, and that changes all the time are initiated outside the area. This strengthens the impression that Västergötland, from during the megalithic time having been the periphery of this culture in the East, also what concerns the burial habits, lie in a peripheral area of the central Bronze Age territory, but that, during the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period, it seems to be a better and more rapid contact with other European areas. The above does however not contradict that Västergötland during the Bronze Age appears as central also in cultic meaning, if you consider finds like the Fröslunda-shields, evidently having been used in the cult. Religiously the preferences of cult seem to move from earlier male symbols towards female ones during the latter part of the Bronze Age, and the finds of goddesses might indicate cult of moon- and earth-goddesses. It is also possible that the hypothetical deity Gaut/Gauden might have entered the area at that time.

You also better understand the Hallandic river-valleys' and the Göta älv-area's importance for the distribution not only of technological innovations, but also for distribution of ideological and religious influences, hence demonstrating the connection between the interests of the secular power and the religious habits.



Accordingly already in this stage we have strong indicies that the ruling strata base their power on a religious foundation. Concerning this analysis however you should also pay attention to the information by Weiler (Weiler 1994, p.166) that the most material come from central Västergötland being overrepresented, while none of the great stone-mounds (and for that sake also howes) in the Viskan-river valley and along the beaches of lake Vänern are excavated, and hence it is not possible to test the teori that some of the great mounds along the old distribution routes might lie as a chronological link between the collective graves and the new grave-fields.

In any case it might be noted that after test-drillings in the Skalunda howe on Källand outside Lidköping it has been possible to date it with C<sup>14</sup> to some time in the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. Five soil tests have been dated and the distribution was between 420-890 AD but after having erased the extreme figures they settled in the Merovingian Period-Swedish Vendel-time. Also pollen-tests have been taken and the preliminary result shows on much heather. It indicates the area was cultivated at this time and that the population was established, says archaeologist Anders Berglund at the museum in Skara. He already now regards the dating as a piece of puzzle in the picture of the pre-historic area in the southwestern part of the former county of Skaraborg and surroundings having been more and more visible during the later years. He refers primarily to the Fröslunda-shields and the Vittene find of gold-necklace rings. It deals with different epochs of time but with very exclusive finds. You could see a track from the Göta älv- river valley straight down towards Källand, being rich of both Bronze Age and Iron Age finds, and so this dating from the Vendel Period appears. (NLT 18 april 1997)

The suggestions of Marianne Görman of a strong Celtic influence in the Bronze Age culture I am somewhat sceptical to, but I will definitely not exclude Celtic influences in a certain degree, but on the other hand, as already stated, it is also possible to claim that both Germanics and Celts have been influenced from a common IE source. This means Görman is arguing circularly. When she however sees Celtic influence on the Gotlandic picture-stones later in time (Görman 1989, p.31 ff) I am inclined to agree wholeheartedly with her, since her result matches the result of my own examination of this problem, indicating close to exact the same interpretation of the source-area, which must be the Celto-Roman Iberian peninsula. (Nordgren 1992, p.151 ff)

Besides it can be regarded as confirmed, that the ship shape occurs both as rock-carvings and as models for sacrificial use in the Bronze Age, and also as grave-form in different versions from the slab-coffin epoch and into the younger Iron Age. The circle-symbol also occurs in varying forms all the time from the rock-carvings up to the Viking Period.

Concerning the Gauter/Goths it is not possible to draw some sure conclusions of the treated materiel since the time-span generally is to great, but there are certain indications, however insecure. This concerns especially the goddess with the rings, who directly associates to the cult of Frejr and accordingly to the Nordic sacral kingdom. At least according to the relatively late *Skirnismal* Óðinn is involved here, and probably earlier Gaut. As a consequence this might indicate the possibility of a backward tradition of the cult of Ingr/Frejr. The fact that Västergötland shows more central tendencies also religiously, and that it seems to have better and faster contacts with other areas in Europe during the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period than before, could possibly be related to the growing cult of Gaut and later Óðinn-Gaut. Weiler notes a general transition to grave-fields around the Roman Iron Age and those by Sahlström et al. demonstrated terminated grave-fields in Västergötland in the period soon before AD contain graves of the same type as during the final stage of the Bronze Age. Västergötland appears, as mentioned, during the Roman Iron Age not only as receiver of external impulses but instead maybe also as an innovator and giver of outwards directed impulses. The connection between religious and secular power, which evidently is very old, is also here of interest and does not contradict the possibility of early sacral kingdoms. Weiler's remark about the importance of the change of the distribution-routes, the culturation of new land and the with this process related dissolution of the social protection net leading to religious renewal indeed are applicable also for the circumstances prevailing at the transition to the Iron Age.

## The transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age and the riddle of the women's graves.

At this point there is reason to look closer on the territorial distribution of settlements during the Bronze Age compared to the early Iron Age, and to put this in relation to both economical, power-political and social structures since, as stated above, the probability is very high that this has a direct relevance for religious and cultic conditions. An in certain areas remarkable occurring of rich women's graves also awakens questions. We still remain in Västergötland in order to get a relevant comparison, and later the result is compared to more distant territories. The areas primarily compared to each other are the Cambro-Silur area in the Falbygden and at Kinnekulle mountain that are compared with the clay-plains in the South-West.

K.E. Sahlström performed the first grand inventory of the landscape, and has excavated and commented a great number of gravefields of fire-pit—type from the early Iron Age. He claims that around 500 BC a find-empty period occurs meaning a break between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age. The deterioration of the climatic conditions at this time is only one of several and not all of them occur in phases characterised of poor finds. He however means that the earlier Bronze Age-culture was based on imported metal raw-wares, and when the productivity decreased because of the climatic deterioration also the import was cut down, which resulted in a decrease of the production of metal artefacts. The climatic change also enforced a migration leading to new settlements on the clay-plains with better supply of winter forage for the cattles. Earlier was, he claims, the Falköping-area a trade-centre and Åsle a centre for casting. This demands a well organized society.(Sahlström 1939, p.79; 1954, p. 32). Eva Bergström instead suggests that the seemingly poverty of finds depends upon his definition of the Iron Age according to Montelius' periods. She means that iron not necessarily needs to be introduced regionally at a decided point of time, but that the Iron Age should be counted from the time the iron actually has spread in the area. This means it still should be Bronze Age.(Bergström 1980, p.50) The fire-pit grave-fields Sahlström uses as a confirmation of a migration are not possible to trace longer back than to period II (Montelius), hence the find empty period, and they are geographically divided from the Bronze Age graves in the Cambro-Silur area.

Eva Bergström however agrees there are reasons to "discuss a movement of settlers from the Cambro-Silur area to the clay-plains."(Bergström 1980, p.51) The question is only when it took place and how great the migration was. Sahlström argues for his thesis that there is a general change from a warm and dry climate to

a wet and cold. Consequently a normal way of living, based on agri-culture, should then be impossible in the Cambro-Silur area. Instead it was nessecary to intensify the cattle-breeding, and the cattle also must be kept in stables during the winter. This leads to a greater need of pastureland with more grazing and better forage-land for the winter's need. The clay plains with hughe natural production of grass are exellent for this means. He notes that the oldest fire-pit grave-fields lie on gravel-ridges with sandy-soil, surrounded by clay-plains. In the graves iron-sickles are found, who can have been used for forage-harvest of leafs and grass. The grave-field construction besides is an innovation in itself compared to the earlier tradition.(Sahlström 1954)

The same tendency goes for Halland, where e.g. Gisela Ängeby about the excavations in Orred remarks that the localisation of the settlement is atypical, since the normal settlements during the younger Bronze Age and the early Iron Age there:"...mostly have been localised to in the landscape higher situated, sandy and well drained, and for the sun well exposed, ridge-backs."(Ängeby 1994, p.75)

An interesting archaeological project being in progress in Halland is the Skrea-projekt aiming to a total evaluation of a number of settlements, not only from the finds in the digging-shafts but also through landscape-topological studies, and trough a comparison with the echological milieü. It raises hopes of a greater total knowledge.

In this connection it is also interesting what Lars Lundqvist reports about a couple of the in the project included settlement-excavations:

The excavations within Skrea 177 among else have meant that we with combined phosphate-mapping and measuring of magnetic susceptibility (MS) confined the size of the assembled settlement (Linderholm's manuscript). The central part of the settlement occupiesa c:a 5 ha large area, where we have examined almost 30% of the ground with a close construction-picture. In total 1700 constructions have been documented in plane judged to be of archaeological interest. The dominating artefacts are pole-holes and they have in close to 20 cases been able to connect with different house-remainings during the period from the late neolithicum to the Migration Period. Till now made C<sup>14</sup>-analysis amount to 31, and fall within the interval of late Bronze Age to Migration Period. Pre Roman and early Roman datings dominate...The other find-material indicate habitational remains from circa 1200 BC to 500 AD, but there is one C<sup>14</sup>-dating and find-material from the neolithicum...

The examinations within Skrea 194 show another picture with a settlement area being remarkably more sporadically used. The three performed C<sup>14</sup>-datings indicate that the place might have been used among else during the late Bronze Age and the Pre Roman Iron Age. No doubt it is so, that this period is the scene for an extensive use of the landscape where people have searched themselves to a line of different zones. This picture is supported by the earlier examinations in Halland. Preliminary results from Skrea 194 suggest that the settlement has been situated on a heather-moor. This might mean that the use of the landscape during the Pre Roman Iron Age also have included some kind of use of heather-moors...

At the same time we have, via pollen-analysis of the soil-erosion-layers surrounding most of the settlements in Halland, been able to show that just during the Pre Roman Iron Age an extensive soil-erosion of the light soils takes place and in close proximity of the habitation. (Lundqvist 1996, p.49 ff)

Here we are, hence, both examples of continuous, over-layering settlements on self-draining height-ridges surrounded by better agricultural land with light soils, while the last mentioned, more sporadically used settlement, lies on a low sand-ridge in an earlier wet-land area. Just the Pre Roman Iron Age is confirmed to exhibit great changes in the landscape and the spread of heather-moors speaks a clear language of relative overpopulation and over-grazing. The "use of heather-moors" suggested by Lundqvist is nothing else but a natural consequence of over-exploiting destroying arable lands. It quite evidently seems there were clear reasons for a certain migration from Halland at this time.

Klavs Randsborg claims in this connection, that it during the late Bronze Age and during the transition to the Iron Age had occurred a population-expansion in Denmark with the consequence it was an intensified spread of new agricultural land as a complement to cattle-breeding, and also a transition to smaller households, which each one demanded more land. Randsborg also reminds of that humans and cattles now lived in the same premise (Randsborg 1995, p.210) which, as I regard it, indicates that the cattle had become more valuable parallel with the decline of the old chiefdoms with a collective household and extensive cattle-breeding. Randsborg understands in this process a more egalitarian society. (Randsborg 1995, p.210) He however makes a difference between e.g. the Middle and Southern Jutland where the population were spread in a larger area with light soils at the same time that a clustering occurred in that way, that moor-areas being destroyed by earlier use, were abandoned, while in the North-West

Jutland a clustering occurred within a smaller area with soil of better, but heavier quality. (Randsborg 1975)

Also Kristian Kristiansen sees this distribution and connects it with the destruction of the soil by the grazing cattle creating moors in the areas with light soil. These South- and Middle-Jutlandic soils were easier to cultivate but were more rapidly deprived of nourishment and hence demanded either fertilizing or new-cultivation and quite often lay-land. At a deterioration of the climate when cultivating light soils easily economic crisis occur, and as a consequence also poorer possibilities to get ones livelihood. (Kristiansen 1979, p.174 ff) Jankuhn notes for Anglia a move towards lighter soils during the late Bronze Age but around AD a move towards heavier soils also in surrounding areas—Mecklenburg, Schleswig Holstein and Jutland—and he supposes it might have a technological reason, so that they had got better tools to cultivate the soil. Jorden (Jankuhn 1976, p.85-86, 244)

Accordingly there is support for the theories of Sahlström both with Jankuhn, Randsborg and Kristiansen. In the same time Jankuhn also produces a certain support for the agricultural experiment claimed by Eva Bergström.

Also Horst has, on behalf of the Jastorf-culture, noted a move towards lighter soils in connection with water—rivers, creeks et c.- and associates to the more humid climate that makes it more difficult to cultivate heavy soil. (Horst 1978, p.65, 87-88, 118) There is an extensive literature in this field but I have been forced to confine myself to these examples to keep both the book and my own time consuming within a reasonable volume.

Eva Bergström claims that you could start with the supposal, that the distribution of archaeological artefacts mirrors locations of settlements chosen according to strictly economical principles, i.e. proximity of important sources benefitting the livelihood. She means that out of the geographical analysis, interesting points of sight may be reached concerning economical complexity. The Bronze Age graves within her area of examination are concentrated to a type of terrain characterised by great variation concerning soil-types, water-supply and other topographical circumstances. Hence, she claims, there are prepositions for an economy built on a great number of varied professions. The grave-fields from the Pre Roman Iron Age occur within a type of terrain generally characterised by less variation of soil-types, water-supply et c. She consequently concludes that the economy during this period has been centered around a less number of professions, and hence also a tendency towards specialisation is visible. (Bergström 1980, p.114 ff) With other words she agrees there has been a shift towards a more decided cattle-breeding as a complement to agri-culture, even if she does not formulate it that straight.

She also suggests that the old Cambro-Silur area might have had an inner consumption-area and an outer production-area, where later a more permanent habitation was established, and that this should indicate a continuity between the Cambro-Silurian society and the groups being behind the fire-pit grave-fields. She claims that a certain migration might have occurred but suggests the reason might have been social changes. She speculates that a supposed economical specialisation during the earliest Iron Age resulted in an increased importance of the role of agri-culture. The move then could be regarded as an expression for an agricultural experiment, where the change most markedly and quickly was visible in the marginal areas of the Bronze Age society. This, perhaps, with an ecological background. (Bergström 1980, p.114 ff)

In the remark "ecological back-ground" there is presumably implicated a recognition of the soil-devastating activities of the grazing animals of the moraine-clay in the Cambro-Silur area, needed for agri-culture which, even if also leaching, still not that fatal for the soil. I assume that she with marginal- or outer production-area in this case primarily refers to pastureland. Hence the agricultural experiment she suggests should mean cultivation of sand-soils on the gravel-ridges, which quite accords with earlier cultivation methods with the tools then available. Not until the plough has been introduced clay-soils are available for cultivation, and this can not have been the case at this early stage. The climate, however, contributes to a lower yield per acreageunit and therefore more soil per individual was demanded, and hence an absolute need for expansion. In other words there is no real need to assume a total overpopulation but possibly a relative one.

Carlsson remarks in this connection, that if more and more vast cultivation areas are used around every single settlement, prepositions must have been present for a more sparse distribution of settlement units. (Carlsson 1979, p.53 ff) To this might be added, that Randsborg and Kristiansen both mention, that on Jutland people primarily localised themselves to river- or other stream-valleys while on Zealand the most important was a beach-near localisation. There they are supposed to have applied fishing and similar occupations. (Randsborg 1975, Kristiansen 1979, p.174 ff) Bergström recognizes the same circumstances on North-Western Jutland in a densely populated area which she means also have occupied themselves with maritime activity. (Bergström 1980, p.35)

I regard it as quite obvious that the tendency noted by Sahlström with a shift towards the plains and an intensifying of cattle-breeding—but complemented with an expansion of the cultivation—is a consequence of the climatic deterioration. Of this also ought to follow a decreased influence of central chiefdoms or sacral kingdoms allowing establishing of a more local or regional chieftain-power. The egalitarian society of Randsborg probably is only partly true but he seems to

be right in that respect, that the single individual, both the farmer and the warrior, gets an increased value for the society and for possible rulers. The most important, however, is that it is created a kind of vacuum in the structure of the religious organisation, having been controlled by the earlier chieftains. A vacuum is always, as well known, filled up with something new.

In later time certain younger finds have occurred in the Cambro-Silur area. A pollen-analytical series has shown on uninterrupted cultivation in the area, partly contradicting the sparse finds in the beginning of the Iron Age, and graves in several layers being difficult to date have been found, and on the Pickagården in Valle graves have been found from the late Pre Roman- and the early Roman Iron Age of bone-layer-type. (Elfstrand 1979, p.208 f.; Selinge 1987, p.233)

## **Gudhem and the Kattegat-area**

During the Roman Iron Age inhumation appears alongside the cremations. Valle parish becomes a centre of the county, and besides one of the richest areas of Roman import on the Swedish mainland claims Per Arne Ryderup. (Ryderup 1996, p.5) K.E.Sahlström means that at this time there was a common culture in the present Danish isles, Västergötland, the Scandinavian West-Coast and the Norwegian Østfold (Sahlström 1939, p.105 f) and Oxenstierna agrees with Sahlström. (Oxenstierna 1948, p.181 ff) Later also Svennung claims this area as central. (Svennung 1966) It in other words deals with the so called "Kattegat-area". Valle parish at the lake Hornborgasjön, bordering directly to the Gudhem area, is interesting when considering the possible connection between the name Gudhem with the cult-places Gudhem in Norway and Gudme on Funen. A connection that possibly is indicated also by bracteate-finds. (See above about the cult of Óðinn!) The grave forms in the Varnhem area, lying close to Gudhem as remarked, are small mounds of stones and flat stone-settings or "secondary funerals" in Bronze Age mounds. The stone-settings are situated in grave-fields. (Hjohlman 1985) This, however, does not fully explain the period empty or relatively empty of archaeological finds. Agne Furingsten indicates that later, towards the middle of the Roman Iron Age, there is an expansion from one or two farm-steads to village-habitation and, according to him, the economy is changed from "relatively egalitarian to dynamic", with rapid growth and indications of specialisation in the production. (Furingsten 1985, p.109, 135)

Pollenanalyses show a general expansion of cultivation during the Roman Iron Age, and therefore Birgitta Hjohlman claims this should be true also concerning the Varnhem area.. (Hjohlman 1985, p.96) The comparison concerns the excavations of Furingsten in Tranemo. (Furingsten 1985) Just at Gudhem there is also a farm-yard which at least since the 15<sup>th</sup> c. has been called Uppsala, which above



has been connected with fertility and the cult of Frejr. This farm-yard lies a bit north of Tunhem. Just beside the monastery-area in Gudhem there is an Óðinn-well, and the mountain behind has name after ÚllR. All in all relatively strong indications of an ancient cultic centre.

## The women's graves in Varnhem

Around Varnhem among else have been found a number of richly equipped women's graves of inhumation-type dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> cc. AD. Going out from these finds Per Arne Ryderup (Ryderup 1966) treats them in a gender-perspective and also indicates partly similar graves in other places. In an analysis of the grave-goods he demonstrates there are connections to East-Denmark and Southeastern Norway and also to the Vistula-mouth. In Juellinge in Denmark occur as well rich women's graves, but these are flat-ground graves and in Østfold they are covered by howes. The Varnhem graves are in mounds of stones. The grave-fields in the area do not show any similarities in grave-goods, which reinforces the impression it deals with elitistic graves. (Ryderup 1996, p.21) In Vilske-Kleva a woman's grave was excavated containing a fibula suggesting an origin in the Oder-Vistula-area. (a.a.)

## Weklice

Jerzy Okulicz- Kozaryn has in Weklice excavated a considerable number of richly equipped women's graves, and specially one that he regards as a priestesse's grave, grave 150 in the find-site 7 in Weklice, and also grave 208 is of a rather remarkable character. Okulicz's article is translated into Swedish by the author and edited and published by the author in the symposium report *Götiska minnen* 113, 1992 p. 83-107. I was also the editor. Occuring cursivations are my own.

Going out from grave-goods it is possible to discover 5 chronological phases in the grave-field—syncrone with Eggers-Godlowski's chronological system. (K. Godlowski 1970, p.31—42; R. Wolagiewicz 1981 b, p.135-178)

The finds are classified according to the following scheme:

Fas I	B <sub>2a</sub>	c:a 70—100 AD
Fas II	B <sub>2b-c</sub>	c:a 100—160 AD
Fas III	B <sub>2</sub> -C <sub>1</sub>	c:a 160—220 AD
Fas IV	C <sub>1b</sub> -C <sub>2a</sub>	c:a 220—260 AD
Fas V	C <sub>2a</sub>	c:a 260—300 AD

Okulicz states that few graves from phase I are discovered till the present date. The most outstanding of these is the woman's grave nr 64 with the woman lying in a reed-boat, and which also contained an eye-fibula Almgren 50 and two bronze bracelets—one made of a ring of Wielbark-type and the second with a rounded, flat band with fish-tail formed endings, showing kinship with finds from the Sambian peninsula. (Okulicz 1992, p. 91 ff.)

He further demonstrates that graves from phase II were equipped with jewellery collections being typical for the Wielbark culture. While they in other grave-fields only appear in a complete sortiment in the richest graves they here are normal in all undestroyed graves. Such a collection includes three bronze-brooches, a couple of bracelets, an S-shaped fibula and a belt-buckle. Towards the end of this phase necklaces with glass beads and handmade amber beads start to appear. About 30% of the discovered graves belong to this phase. (Okulicz 1992, p. 91 ff.) In phase III the content of the women's graves becomes extremely wealthy in comparison with earlier. Silver-jewellery appear often together with bronze objects—all in the so called Wielbark-Baroque-style. These types have been classified by R. Wolagiewicz (Wolagiewicz 1974, p. 129-152) and it deals with bronze-fibulae and, exceptionally, exemplars of iron covered with a thin gilded silver-plate with pressed in decoration and S-shaped fibulae in gold or gilded silver. Graves containing girls or young women demonstrate elegantly elaborated necklaces made by amber-beads, polished/cut by hand, and single beads with flattened, shield-similar shape, octagonal beads of the same material and a great collection of glass beads. (Okulicz 1992, p. 91 ff.) Tempelmann-Maczynska has claimed that the average grave-goods lack similarities in other grave-fields. (M. Tempelmann-Maczynska 1989, p. 65-77) Several funerals attracted givers of unusually rich gifts and the graves contained 3-4 silver brooches, a couple of silver bracelets on each arm, and S-shaped fibulae with pendants. (J. Okulicz 1992, p. 91 ff.) This concerns mostly graves of older women and they normally did not contain beads.

Phase IV graves in Weklice differ from earlier graves through the fact that another funeral-rite must have been applied. The habit to bury dead in coffins hewn out of wooden stems at this time was almost abandoned, in favour of coffins of planks and platforms of similar material. The body was almost without exception placed on the right side with bowed legs—a position sporadically noted in the earlier period (grave 208). The woman's equipment did not longer include bracelets and S-shaped fibulae. The set of three, sometimes four, brooches was still applied; the belts grew more costly and elaborate and there were an extraordinary number of glass- and amber-necklaces and a great number of pendants and amulets. In the hands the dead women usually hold small

wooden boxes containing a distaff-pulley, needles and similar. Bow-formed brooches of silver, type Almgren VI, sometimes decorated with gold inlays and rings in twisted stringfiligran. (Okulicz 1992, p.93) The chronology, confirmed with group VI-forms of fibulae, belt-buckles and strap-end mountings, places this group of graves in phase C<sub>1b</sub> and early C<sub>1</sub>. (K. Godłowski 1970, p.38—39)

The last funeral phase, V, at Wekllice is characterised by a total disappearance of grave-finds with early Roman Iron Age-jewellery. The most outstanding types of this kind are bow-formed fibulae with thin foot and prolonged “dead” extending part, Almgren 168, and bow-fibulae with a narrow foot. Belt-buckles of type typ D 17, 20 29 (M. Madyda-Legutko 1986) being typical for phase C and the oldest horizon C<sub>2</sub> continued to be used, while oval belt-buckles, regarded to constitute the most characteristic feature for the last horizon C<sub>2</sub> (K. Godłowski 1970, p 38-39) not are discovered. In similar manner the last variants of strap-end mountings, combs and cubically formed tetraedric amber-beads. Phase V was consequently not specially long on the grave-field at Wekllice and it probably overlaps the preceding phase, and does not stretch further than to the early part of phase C<sub>2</sub>. In absolute chronology it does not stretch further than to the transition between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> c. At this time, indicated of the hitherto discovered graves, the grave-field was terminated.(Okulicz 1992, p.94)

After this survey of the different funeral forms during the development of the grave-field I find that, in spite of the already demonstrated unique qualities, specially two graves deserve a closer presentation. This was also the opinion of Jerzy Ockulicz who, like myself, sees a possibility of a social, as well as a religious/cultic, connection. It goes about grave 208 in period III and grave 150 in period IV.

Ockulicz informs that grave 208 contained rests of a female skeleton from a woman of approximately 55-60 years of age—fragments of the skull, teeth and hand-bones inside the bracelets. The body was placed on a platform of wooden planks and lying on the right side with the right hand under the head and the left one over the head. Jewellery in the Wielbark Baroque-style—S-shaped fibula in gold with filigran-work and granulation, two golden pearls, four silver-brooches, two of them Almgren 41 and one Almgren VII, and one shield-formed exemplar with gilded silver-plate, in which was pressed in a double portrait of the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus confined into a laurel garland. The portrait is made 164 or 165 AD before Verus’ campaign against the Parths. (Okulicz 1992, p.95) Ockulicz claims the brooch in question ought to have reached the find-site in the lower Vistula area not later than in the 170’s AD. On each arm the dead woman had two bracelets. The one type snake-headed and the other of meander-bowed silverstring, worked with granulation and equipped with a circular spirale-decorated buckle in shape of a box. The remaining jewellery he regards as typical

for the phases B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub>-C<sub>1a</sub> of the Wielbark-culture with characteristics of the early Roman “baroque” and late Roman Iron Age transition-styles (the group A VII-fibulae). The bronze-beltbuckle, which is of an unusual form, only has parallels in the Elbe-area. He refers to Madyda-Legutkos type 29. (Madyda-Legutkos 1986, p.51, fig.15) Besides three vessels were found being Roman import. Two of them he classifies as terra sigillata-works of Gaulic origin, while the third one—a bronze bowl with diagonal ornamentation, Eggers type 48, is of a type often found in Germania, and in specially great concentrations on the Danish isles and at the Vistula mouth. They have been treated by J. Werner, H J Eggers and S.Berke. (Werner 1936, p.395 ff; Eggers 1951, map 21-22; S.Berke 1990 p.46-50, map 5) The distribution of the single finds includes Scandinavia, lower Oder and the middle Vistula mouth. The content in the graves where they were found falls into the phases B<sub>1</sub>/C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>1</sub> and Okulicz refers also to grave 208, which he means has good indexartifacts that confirm a dating to the phases B<sub>1</sub>/C<sub>1</sub>, more precisely to the 170’s AD. (Okulicz 1992, p.95 ff)

Han writes:

The grave-goods in grave 208 reminds to the character about the furniture in the “Princess-grave”, which belongs to the same chronological horizon in the Pommeranian Wielbark-culture (R. Wolagiewicz 1977.p.76-77). Funerals in that area, however, usually are undertaken outside the funeral-place of the clan, and under imposing howes in a grave-chamber. Grave 208 in Weklice instead was situated in a line of other contemporary graves, and if you possibly could note any difference between this one and the other, it is through a slightly greater pit. (Okulicz 1992, p.95 ff)

Similar localisation of graves belonging to wealthy humans from the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c.AD, he claims, can be noted in “family grave-fields” in Denmark and on Bornholm, and he refers to Lund-Hansen. (Lund-Hansen 1976, p.76) Okulicz concludes that in the Elblag (Elbing) group no classical princely graves are found still, but remarks that similar costly furnishings as this one, inclusive imported grave goods—bronze- and glass-vessels, have been found in other grave-fields. (Okulicz 1992, p.95 ff) H.J. Eggers has treated such a grave-field in Polowite, Olsztyn vojvodship. (Eggers 1966, p.154-175) These graves differ from grave 208 in Wecklice through a considerably more modest sortiment of local Wielbark-types what jewellery concerns.

Okulicz suggest that the elderly woman having been buried here must have had an outstanding position in her social group, and she can as well have belonged to the tradesman-group as to the nobility. Another possibility that I can

see, and not directly mentioned by Ockulicz, is that she might have been connected with a function within the cult. This maybe is still more evident in the following example, but even here I can not disregard that possibility. An increase of the female status has been indicated during the late rock-carving epoch and into the Iron Age, and this could well be mirrored through wealthier graves for women.

Concerning funerals in phase IV it is the grave 150, which in this connection attracts a quite special interest. A wooden coffin contained the body of a woman somewhere around the age of 60 lying on the right side. Her hands, clasped over the breast, held a *bag with amulets*. Her dress was unusual—around her neck two necklaces with amber-pendants and still another with small glass-beads, on the breast 3 brooches, two of them of gilded silver of the “monster-type” (Monströse Fibeln) and one exemplar of silver decorated with gold. The remnants of two belts were found close to the hips- one simple with bronze-buckle and a pendant, the other 7 cm wide with big rectangular fastenings of hinge-type and an oval buckle (group E2-3 according to Madyda Legutko 1986, p.38); on the front-side the belt was closely covered with bronze-mountings and had four straps fixed to the belt in two fastenings of silver and two of bronze, and an iron knife, or rather a dagger, in a leather-sabbard fastened in a ring. (Okulicz 1992, p.95)

Ockulicz claims that this undoubtedly was an unusual type of ceremonial belt- a token that the deceased had kept a quite special position in the society. Such an interpretation, he means, is justified by the earlier mentioned amulet-bag containing four Kaurishell-pendants fastened at a bronze-band, a bearclaw mounted in bronze-mounting, three big shield-formed and flattened amber-beads, nicely worked and mounted in bronze- rings, who were ornated with so called magical rosettes, still more big amber-beads of a flattened shape, nice multicoloured glass-beads and a pearl of bronze. The bag was fastened with a bronze-fibula.

Specially noteable he finds the two silverfibulae with their high catch-plates and triangular bottomparts, decorated with ornamental elevations and gilded silver-plate. They are so called “Monströse Fibeln”. He points specially on an antropomorphic representation on the tounge of the catch-plate of both the fibulae. A stamped in male figure with distinctly hurt head with so called Celtic eyes, noses and hair or helmets, while the rest of the figure is schematical. It is shaped as an extended triangle decorated with pressed in concentric circles. This is, according to Ockulicz, the first antropomorph representation found in the Wielbark-culture, and in certain details reminding of the known Scandinavian figures and masks presented by Mårten Stenberger. He does however not find them quite similar but means that this motive could indicate a local origin of the fibulae, since a bow-formed fibula of silver with a similarly decorated triangular bottom-part was discovered in the Malbork-Wielbark-grave-field. The ornamentation on the upper

part of the fibula in question, having a tutulus-shaped tip of the bow and a semi-circular head with three finger-similar extensions, has close analogies to most monsterbrooches belonging to a later variant, specially examined by J. Werner. (J. Werner 1988 p. 246-253) Ockulicz mentions that monstrous fibulae appear in great numbers in grave-fields in the southern part of the Baltic area and in Scandinavia, with a distinct concentration on Funen, Bornholm and Gotland. A smaller concentration also occurs around the lower part of the river Oder. Two finds are known from lower Vistula and one in the Sambian peninsula. (Okulicz 1992, p.95 ff)

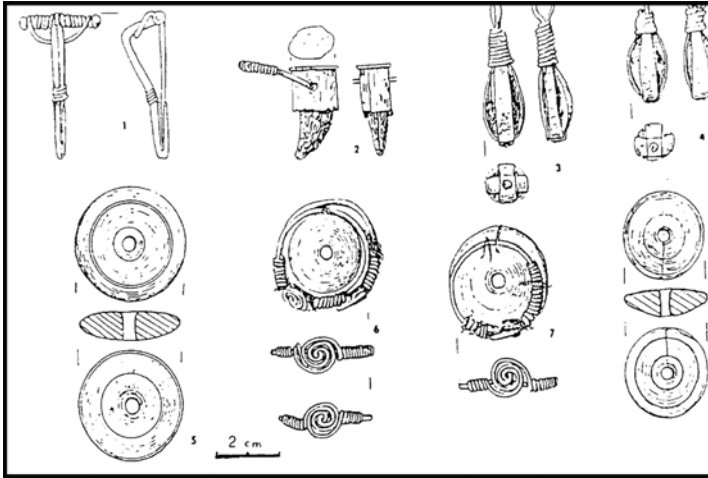
A separate concentration of monsterfibulae appears according to Werner et al. (Werner 1988; I.A. Rafakivicwt. p.17 f; T.A. Scherbakova 1989, p.81-84) also in 5 closely situated grave-fields in the Cerniachov-Sintana-de-Mures-culture in Moldavia and Bessarabia—between the middle part of the river Dnjestr and the river Prut. Werner notes certain traits being common for the exemplars of the late variant (the beginning of phase C<sub>2</sub>) and who are found in the grave-fields in Slusegaard on Bornholm, Grebieten in Sambia and Danceney and Budesti in Moldavia. They even could be made in the same work-shop, or at least in a goldsmith-milieu of Scandinavian origin. Ockulicz wants to include the brooch-couple from grave 150 in Wekllice in this Scandinavian goldsmith-milieu.

Ockulicz claims the content in grave 150 in Wekllice suggests the aged woman had been an oracle-priestess—a giver of amulets. He bases this on the three necklaces of amber and glass, having been part of her dressing, magnificent brooches and a ceremonial belt demonstrating her elevated and outstanding social status. As far as he knows no grave answering to this one still has been discovered in all of the European Barbaricum. On the other hand, he says, the existence of priestesses-oracles in Germanic tribal societies is well confirmed in the written sources, who show that they often played an deciding role for the tribe and were highly revered. He refers to the famous Veleda, the leaderess of the Bructs according to the telling by Tacitus (Hist. IV. 61, 65: Germ. 8) and the oracle Ganna who were with Masyos, “king” of the Semnones, when they visited the court of Domitianus. (Dio Cassius, 67, 5, 3; Okulicz 1992, p.97)

I totally agree with Ockulicz that there must be some kind of cultic connection between the woman and these objects.

I have paid a great attention to the women's graves of Ockulicz, since I here see several connections not only to the discussion about different cults, but also because that it here is demonstrated a clear connection between Scandinavia and the Goths. It should however be minded that Ockulicz does not mean this culture is the same as what traditionally are called Goths but he refers to the people as Gepids—the third Gothic tribe who, according to the tribal saga were the late-comers, the slow and arrived later than the rest to Gothiscandza with the third

ship. The two first waves of immigrants already were under way when this culture flourished. In the text here the Wielbark-culture is referred to, but it is just a more modern name of what earlier was called the Burgundian-and the Goto-Gepidic-culture, which by Ockulicz are used parallel with Wielbark. More about this later on. Now I primarily want to connect to the above related women's graves in Sweden, Denmark and Norway, and compare the finds from them with the ones in the Elbląg-area.



*Fig.14 Weklice, find-site 7, grave 150. Chosen amulets from a bag:  
1. Bronzfibula with which the bag was attached to the dress of the dead; 2. A  
bearclaw mounted in bronze; 3, 4. Four Kaurishells in bronze-mounting; 5, 8.  
Amber-beads with flattened shape; 6, 7 Amber-beads mounted in bronze rings.  
(Okulicz 1992, p. 100)*

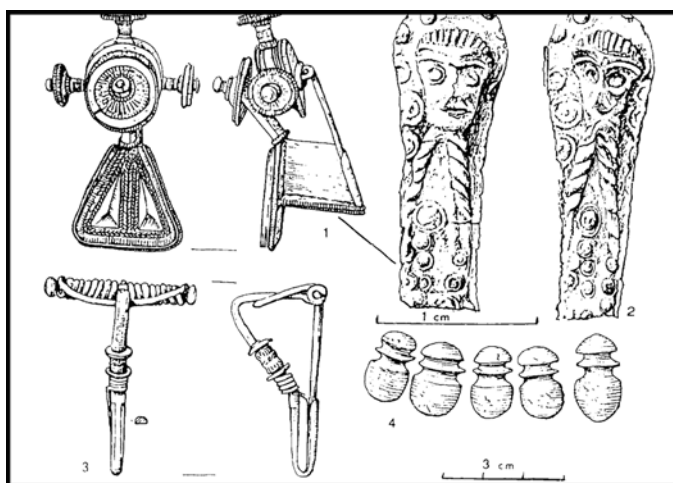


Fig. 15 Weklice, Find-site 7, grave 150 Chosen jewellery: 1. Monsterfibula in gilded silver with antropomorph representation on the tounge; 2. Monsterfibula of same kind with similar representation; 3. Bow-fibula of silver with goldpalliet; 4.

Five pendants in amber in shape of a figure eight from a necklace.

(Okulicz 1992, p. 97)

## Change of religion?

In connection with the rock-carving problem above it was suggested that there are signs, that the developement goes from male-dominated symbols towards female, which by the archaeologists Eva Weiler and Göran Burenhult and by Marianne Görman (see above) has been interpreted in that way, that the cult of a goddess spreads towards the end of the rock-carving epoch. Out of strict archaeological methodical angle this is however not possible to connect with the later rich women's graves during the Iron Age. In any case it is obvious that the Germanic tribe-sagas around AD, both what concerns the Goths as the Vinnili, mention the women as leading in the cult, and in Scandinavia women who practice *sejdr* are ascribed to Freja. Von Friesen's theory about *konungr* as the konas, the priestess', *unge* 'kid' works in the same direction however definitely not confirmed with evidence. The developement is in no way uniform since in certain areas—among else with the West-Germanics and on Jutland—the rich women's graves are lacking. It does however seem as if the women within the frames of the older fertility-cult, either it concerns Ingun, Njārðr, Freja or Nerthus or possibly still another goddess, have had a noticeably distinct position during the Pre Roman and the beginning of the Roman Iron Age, and hence the reliability of the tribal sagas of the Goths and the Vinnili tends to increase. Wealthy funerals of



women continue during the first 2-300 years of the Roman Iron Age in southern Scandinavia but then they cease. This strenghtens the assumption of a transition to a new kind of Odinistic cult—Gaut gets a new and double name an as Óðinn-Gaut he gets a stronger position through a partial refurbishing of an older divine pantheon. Hedeager suggests a new warrior-elite appeared taking over the power in society, and that it was notably established around the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.AD. She claims this meant they broke with the family-based structure. She refers to the social structure, based on exchange of gifts as a base for allianses and other social communication, and she consequently regards war and looting as a means to get these gifts. It deals with the growth of a co-European elite which in time manifests itself in a common, not regionally confined, great-grave habit with howes et c.(Hedeager 1992, p.280 ff)

### **Tuna in Badelunda and similar women's graves**

There is a kind of unique women's graves breaking the above relatec time-schedule, and who are hard to fit into the context. I am thinking of the boat-graves in Badelunda (Nylén & Schönbäck 1994) and a minor number of comparable graves in Tuna in Alsike(Arne 1934, Taf. XXVI, XXX)and Norsa in Köping (Hellberg 1984); in a certain degree also Augerum in Blekinge(Arrhenius 1960, p.167 ff) could be included in the picture.

The problem in reality is divided into two parts concerning these graves. Pro primo the boat-grave habit in itself and pro secundo to try to establish the position of women in this society and it's reasons.

Concerning the funeral habit we already are acquainted with ships-settings from the Bronze Age. On the rock-carvings boats/ships are pictured in ritual contexts, and I have above demonstrated that boat-shaped sleighs, sometimes equipped with a plough under the sleigh, were used in the late German carnival festivities in from the Middle ages and up to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> c. This sleigh/plough was ascribed to Frau Gauden, who I interpret as a fertility-goddess. (See above p.23, 133 ff) It, hence, is a clear connection between ships and fertility. As also suggested above Petrus Envall interprets the word *skepp* as 'skap', 'phallus'and so, he means, place-names on Skepp-, e.g. Skeppshult, which is not situated near any water, can be explained as cult-places for fertility cult.(Envall 1969) An early series of around 40 boat-graves has ben found at Slusegaard on Bornholm (Klindt-Jensen 1978; Rieck & Crumlin Pedersen 1988) and the oldest are dated to between 100-300 AD. The grave in Blekinge is from the 6<sup>th</sup> c.AD while the boat-grave-fields in Västmanland and Uppland are dated from the 7<sup>th</sup> c. and up to the Viking Period. (Schönbäck 1994, p.122 ff)

Schönbäck speculates that there may be many unknown cremation-boat-funerals, since it is not possible to confirm iron rivets before the 4<sup>th</sup> c.AD, meaning burned boats have left no traces. There is however a find of a cremation-grave from the 5<sup>th</sup> c.AD with numerous rivets in Västerby in Läby parish in Uppland. He suggests also, that the ships of the oldest Gotlandic picture-stones could be ritual funeral-ships referring to the baldachin-similar deck houses. (Schönbäck 1994, p.122) I have myself examined the background of these very stones through a research-journey to the Iberian peninsula, receiving valuable help with my research-schedule by prof. Avello Alvarez in León, and hence visited all important lapidaries both in Spain, Portugal and Southern France. I also had the occasion, when attending a symposium in Constantinople, to examine possible parallels in the ancient Greek area in Turkey. Earlier I have, in cooperation with professor Robin Hägg at the Swedish Archaeological Institute in Athens, had a closer survey on the Cretensic, Cycladic and Mycenaen cultures. My firm conviction is that these stones mirror Mediterranean influences. The ships are convincingly Cycladic and remembers immensely of the Therafrescoes, treated by Nanno Marinatos (Marinatos 1984) who I also had the privilege to meet in person. The major part of the other pictorial material is only extant on the Iberian peninsula and show a clear connection to the pre-Christian Celto-Roman population there. The contact surface towards Gotland could well be the Celtic Vadenienses of Asturia, possibly via La Tène. (Nordgren 1992, p.151 ff). With this reasoning I of course only refer to the oldest Gotlandic stones since the younger show clear evidence of the cult of Óðinn. I will however not exclude the possibility suggested by Schönbäck about ritual funeral-boats, but in that case the boats most surely had another appearance. I connect instead these boats of the older picture stones with a stylized picture of the moon-crescent, and consequently the boat- or ship-form can still more firmly be tied to Mother Earth, the moon- and fertility goddess. Those on the picture-stones occurring horns have, in my opinion, the same double meaning, as on the Iberian peninsula, of the moon-crescent. This theme is more thoroughly treated in *Gotlands kelto-romerska arv (The Celto-Roman heritage of Gotland)*. (Nordgren 1992, p.151 ff) It might however be mentioned that a similar whirl-circle as on the Gotlandic stones has been discovered also on a plank from the older Nydam-ship, nota bene a rowing-ship, dendrochronology-dated to appr. 250 AD. This might suggest a similar age of the Gotlandic stones, or at least indicate that this symbol has had a wider distribution at this time. (Marinarkeologisk Center, Nationalmuseum, København 1998) Schönbäck regards the connection between Tuna-places and the boat-grave-fields in Västmanland and Uppland as a suggestion to a connection with a presumed establishing of the Ynglinga-family in Gamla Uppsala in the area presently called Uppland in the 7<sup>th</sup> c.AD. He sees the connection between fertility-cult, boats

and the god Frejr and also with Njorðr and his Skiðblaðner. The Tuna-yards then should have been administrative centra in the hundare(hundreds) and evidently also have had a cultic function. Many have claimed it should instead point towards the cult of Óðinn, since it for the men deals with weapon-graves. (Schönbäck p.122 ff) Personally I see no contradiction between these different opinions of cults, since the so called Uppsala-kings are said to originally have claimed to be the reborn Ingr. Later, however, Óðinn is named their ancestral father and Ingr, now Frejr, now appears in the third generation after Njorðr. The old Inglinga-family is said to be the founders of the new realm in Solør in Norway after being chased out of Uppsala. True or not is another story. This however does not affect the fertility-cult in a disastrous way, and sviakonungr continues to claim his old motivation of power, but a little more modest, and at the same time the new, Odinic ancestry as shown above. What however is dubious, is which power it is establishing itself in Gamla Uppsala. All facts in this case are in favour for the new dynasty, having completed their motivation of power with a heritage from Óðinn, and simultaneously trying to keep the old fertility-functions to easier get grip of the common people through using the established institutions. It accords well with the apparent fact that the influence of the women seems to have been preserved in a higher degree than in areas where the new cult of Óðinn was firmly established.

Erik Nylén sees possible influences from England and Norway and believes there might be ships in many howes.(Schönbäck 1994, p.126)

I can, as suggested above, fancy it could be an intentional try to tie the dynasty to the fertility-tradition by the means of boat-graves when establishing the new dynasty. It also is no coincidence, I suppose, that just beside Tuna in Badelunda there is a Närlunda and an Ullvi.

How differ then the women's graves from those of the men in preferably Tuna at Badelunda? In short it can be concluded that common for all the fields in Västmanland and Uppland is that the woman is placed in the middle of the boat while the men are in the aft—maybe as helmsmen. The women have no weapons but instead domestic utensils in the bow. The wealth of the grave equipment shows no difference but it is rather the position of the graves suggesting the high status with women. The boats are positioned in SW-NE. In the case of Badelunda it is distinct that the women's graves group themselves around an original chamber-grave, grave X, where Schönback presumes an ancestral mother is buried, and in every following generation it looks like a high-ranked woman is inhumated (while the rest are cremated). No consideration is taken of older graves being overlaid by the new status-graves for women. The position in respect to the wealthy grave X seems to be the most important. Schönback also

indicates the obvious lack of weapons in the cremation-graves of the men and the lack of horses in the boat-graves, which on the other fields are common. He here understands a connection to an old cultic fertility-tradition cared by the women. (Schönbäck 1994, p.153 f)

I am inclined to agree with Schönbäck even if there also are signs these female power also could be an external tradition being imported from outside because of the overlaying of graves. (Cf. Ockulicz in Weklice, last phase.) Mainly however I agree with him. I regard these women as *gyðjas* in the original cult of Ingr and Njārðr where Úllr naturally fits. Later they might have executed the same function in the cult of Freja. The orientation of the graves is interesting. It is quite usual in pre-Christian grave-fields but the same orientation also many of the most ancient churches have, in many cases situated on old cult-places, including also the oldest basilicas in Turkey. Also the houses are of same reason remarkably often situated in a similar way. Incidentally there is a system of piezo-magnetic earth-fields oriented just in this direction being able to locate/feel by sensible humans, and that might have been associated with the forces of e.g. Mother Earth. (Mörner 1995) As an example I can refer to the oldest house in Orred near Fjärås Bräcka being C<sup>14</sup>-dated to 370-180 BC, i.e. the older Pre Roman Iron Age. The excavator Gisela Ängeby tells:

In difference of the both Iron-Age houses being strictly orientated in East-West this house was lying in NNE-SSW... The construction also was unusually broad, as much as 12 m, and the building has had a length of at least 25 m. The preserved gable was ended in a rounding. (Ängeby 1994, p.78)

The boat-grave-fields accordingly show a split muster with possible ingredients from as well fertility-cult as the cult of Óðinn, and I do not find this very strange. It rather confirms the impression that the cult of Óðinn originally appears in South-Scandinavia, and with time presses also into the North-East Scandinavian area being dominated by the older fertility-magical sacral kings. The contradicting tendencies of Badelunda in respect to the other fields suggest a syncretism, natural in connection with a change of power, since the ruling dynasty partly changes the foundation for its demand of power. No new dynasty must be absolutely presupposed, but is of course quite possible. The old dynasty could have made this change in their own interest. In that case it rather is the religion in itself, or rather its effect of the power base, causing the changes. Since the stories however talk about a new dynasty we might assume that alternative is in any case the most likely.

Conclusively might be said, that the women's graves often during the Pre Roman and the early Roman Iron Age, concerning inhumation-graves, have contained more grave-gifts than men's graves but in no way generally, since it also exist wealthy graves of men. The cremation graves on the contrary normally have very poor grave-gifts. Still it might be said that when the graves of men have lacked weapons, the ones of women often have had daggers or sickles. The rich graves for women cease generally after the 4<sup>th</sup> c. but, as is made probable by the Badelunda-example, the cultic importance of the woman does not cease as rapidly in all Scandinavia, but is evidently uphold locally to a certain extent in among else this area all the time up to Christianity. Since the period largely falls within the period from the late rock-carving epoch, i.e. the end of the Bronze Age, and up to the victory-march of the cult of Óðinn, I consider it justified to suspect a connection between primarily the fertility-cult—maybe the vanir-goddesses—and the position of the woman quite generally. I find it however less probable that it should deal with a matriarchy, but rather that matrilinear structures to a certain extent might have been part of the common society. This is also indicated by the Frejr-disir on Iceland. The leading scaldic families belonged to such families and lived in yards or districts called Saurbær, meaning dung-yards, fertilizer-yards, showing towards Freja and fertility. They normally are of East-Scandinavian origin. (Barði Guðmundsson *The Origin of Icelanders*) The children allways took their mothers name as family name. (Cf. the Sw. cultic name Gödåkra 'dung-field, fertilized field') Religiously the women in any case ought to have been closer to the gods and have been responsible for the cult in a very high degree. The sacral king maybe during this period developes from a sacrifice-object to a both sacral and secular king. (Cf.e.g. von Friesen, Frazer et c.)

Also the "ruleress" of the Sithones "(Tacitus § 45) could possibly fit within the frame of a religious, political dominance by women, even if a strictly herital matriarchy not must be presupposed. During at least the Bronze Age agriculture was noticeably collectively organised, and could to a great part be assumed to be a female task while the men cared of hunting, fishing and defense.

Klavs Randsborg convincingly has shown the efficiency and the elaborateness of the military organisation during the Bronze Age and the early Iron Age. (Randsborg 1995) It built on the classical phalanx and nothing points towards female domination in this respect. It is however quite obvious that strict regulations were applied to warfare in that high degree you almost could think in terms of a religiously founded template in connection with formation and carrying through of battles. Maybe the gods even appeared as arbitrators like later Týr in personal combats. It normally dealt with relatively small forces and the war-looting was sacrificed instead of being brought back with the victors. War seems primarily not have been intended for conquering, except of local raids, but was

rather a way to uphold a preserve. This should fit well into the structure of a society with permanently settled population and based upon agriculture and cattle-breeding, combined with a hunting- and fishing-economy during climatically favourable conditions.

In connection with the climatic deterioration Randsborg and many other consequently demonstrate an increased use of the soil for a lesser group—the family—and the earlier collective houses are replaced with one-family yards with stabled animals, often in the same house as the family, and a more egalitarian society is created, where local chieftains expand their power but also the individual gets an increased influence.

The same tendency towards increased acreage-use for single families and a common house for humans and cattle has been confirmed in among else Östergötland in the so called Pryssgård-examination.

The raids from neighbours seem to increase, indicating a more bellicious time around 300 BC. Still, however, the strategy seems to be the same as before—not only in the Nordic area but also in the Continental Germania. The mail-coat is now introduced as a probable Celtic influence. (Randsborg 1995, p.198 f) Arrow and bow do not occur as military weapons. Not until a bit into the Roman Iron Age the sword seems to play a more outstanding role as individual combat-weapon, and also this some people regard as Celtic influence. (Randsborg 1995) The more individual warriors connected with the cult of Óðinn should be more motivated to use the sword, being a decidedly more personal combat-weapon than spears and lances. It is, in my opinion, in no way nessecary to presume a Celtic influence in this very matter.

## Weapon-graves and weaponless graves

The basic question in this context is to establish the meaning of weapon-graves contra weaponless graves. Are weapons to be regarded as insignificant as religious symbols, are weapons not usual within a society in peacetime or are weapons only manifestations of power during periods of male dominance? Let us have a closer look on weaponless- and weapon-graves.

Ryderup concludes from his material that you, in the report by Tacitus, can see a structure where there is a difference between Eastern and Western Germanics. In the West there are weapon-graves and in the East richly adorned women's graves. He interprets it, hence, that the warrior-ideology is more dominant closer to the limes, but that it not has got the same impact in the North-East. He claims that the new weapon-graves being introduced in Scandinavia during the Roman Iron Age might be an indication that new ideas start appearing also here. (Ryderup 1996, p.14) Also Hedeager means it is a difference between the weapon-graves on Jutland with a connection towards north-west, and the women's graves in Eastern Denmark with a north-easterly connection. (Hedeager 1990, p.137 f) That far I can agree, but this does not explain the earlier weaponless graves. Why did they not contain weapons? It is a matter of fact that the fire-pit graves in the flat-ground grave-fields in Västergötland are as good as totally weaponless. The weapons found there might be a knife or a sickle in a woman's grave. For the sake of completeness, however, I must mention that in one grave was found rests of a Roman harness, but this is an unique exception. Normally the men's graves are completely lacking weapons and other objects of iron. Oxenstierna considered this circumstance as evidence of a Gothic migration from Västergötland, bringing this funeral habit along to the Vistula area. He writes:

Die schnell und vollständig auftretende Waffenlosigkeit in dem ganzen Raum zwischen Persante, Netze und Passarge deutet ebenfalls auf eine sich schnell durchsetzende neue Bevölkerung. Wir könnten in der Waffenlosigkeit eine militärische Massnahme sehen, die gut mit der vollständigen Abwanderung aus Västergötland und der starken Störung Hinterpommerns übereinstimmt, oder auch ein soziales oder religiöses Brauchtum. (Oxenstierna 1948, p.147 f)

He consequently suggests a direct continuation of terminated grave-fields in Västergötland with the same type of fire-pit- and urn-fire-pit- graves with similar pottery as in Västergötland, replacing a more qualitative ceramics and earlier weapon-graves in the Vistula area. A little later inhumation is introduced in the

Vistula-area via continental impulses, but also this type of graves are, within the area dominated by the Goths, weaponless. The question rises whether there is a deeper religious idea or just a practical concern behind this weaponlessness. Oxenstierna has not found this pattern in Östergötland where there are both weapon-graves and graves with monumental adorning above the earth beside the fire-pit-graves in flat-ground grave-fields during this period around AD. It also must be stressed that weaponless cremation-graves occur in many places in Europe and Oxenstierna is aware of this, but pairs the funeral habit with the pottery. As earlier mentioned also Peter Heather in his last book regards as utmost important the lack of weapons in the men's graves in the Goto-Gepidic area, i.e. the Wielbark culture, and in the Cernjachov-Sintana-de-Müres culture, and also as important the simultaneous use of cremation beside the inhumation. (Heather 1996, p.18 ff)

The Danish material from this time is not specially informative, but I have in any case tried to find possible habits brought from there to Great Britain in connection with the Anglo-Saxon immigration to be able, if possible, to confirm dissimilarities with the Danish original material. Interestingly enough Audrey Meany concludes that there is a general difference between on the one hand the the Angles and on the other hand Saxons and Jutes. The Angles have a clear preference for cremation during the whole pre-Christian epoch, and they bury their dead in flat-ground grave-fields, while the Saxons and the Jutes very soon change to inhumation. Cremation-graves in flat-ground grave-fields are however, as remarked above, not unusual quite generally. Both Meany and Härke besides claim, that the Jutes in Kent, Hampshire and on the Isle of Whigt are those who seriously start constructing primary grave-houes as a new method of marking the social position. Concerning weapon-graves Härke all the time finds it to be an manifestation of a certain family or a social group, where weapons may occur in as well children's graves as in warrior's graves and even with old and sick persons, not fit for handling weapons. All the time we talk about men. The weapon-graves there, accordingly, are not an indication of warrior's graves as a rule, but rather in many cases a manifestation/signal that it does not deal with domestic British graves, since the native population was politically dependent of the Anglo-Saxons. When the assimilation has got far enough during the 8<sup>th</sup> c. this funeral habit ceases by itself. There is, hence, no religious motivation to weaponless- or wepon-graves in England. (Härke 1992a, p.149-165;Härke 1992b, p.14-15; Meaney 1964, p.12-21) Meany notes in the same work an interesting parallel to a suspected cremation-grave inside a slab-coffin in Västergötland:

In the central area, Mid Anglia, northern Wessex, and the Hwiccean territory, a mixture of rites seems to predominate. Both inhumation and



cremation were used from an early period, and cremation continued to the end of the pagan era. In addition, a curious mixed rite seems to have been employed, in which the burial took place in a grave, but where a fire was lit either before or after the body was laid in. (Meaney 1964, p.15)

If you regard the burial customs in Denmark during the period from the later part of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD and to the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD it is claimed that weaponless- and weapon-graves alternate with each other, so that after an early period with weapon-graves more and more weaponless ones appear to later be replaced by weapon-graves. There is also a theory connecting the weaponless ones with the war-looting-sacrifices. If, however, you make a closer scrutiny of the weaponless graves in Illerup ådal, Himlingøje and several other, you can with Ilkjær establish that:

Aus dänischen Grabfunden der Periode C<sub>1</sub> liegt eine Reihe direkt vergleichbarer Elemente vor, die allerdings in Gräbern ohne Waffenbeigabe entdeckt wurden. In dem reichen seeländischen Grab Dk Valløby, in dem sich keine Waffen beigegeben wurden, befanden sich zwei gleichartige silberne(?) Beschläge (Engelhardt 1873 S. 307). Diese zeigen ein gewölbtes Oberteil und einen schmalen Rand; auf der Rückseite befindet sich jeweils ein Nietplattenbeschlag. Der Durchmesser der Stücke beträgt ca. 46 mm. Endbeschläge mit entsprechenden Charakteristika finden sich im Material aus Illerup bei Schwertgurten der Gruppe 1. Es erscheint daher wahrscheinlich, daß dem Toten in Dk Valløby ein Schwertgehänge beigegeben wurde. (Ilkjær 1996)

Regarding the circumstances it from this example, which I regard as representative, seems as if it not deals that much about like or dislike to manifest with weapons. It might instead indicate that a sword is a practical object meant to use. It is expensive and often difficult to get hold of a good sword. In periods you have performed a successful war-raid or a trade-journey you could afford to lay a sword in the grave, but during less happy circumstances it must do with a sword-belt, a baldric or similar. I principally can not differ between these two variants since in both cases it deals actually with weapon-graves. By all signs to judge it goes in this case about a social convention and not a religious conviction that rules the habits of grave gifts. Torsten Capelle remarks it also might be connected with *pia fraus*. Hedeager regards the problem much like myself. She means it is "reasonable to assume that variations in grave equipment reflect socially and economically determined variations in the ability to conform to the burial customs. "(Hedeager

1979, p.218) Agne Furingsten supposes that the weapon-graves during the younger Iron Age indicate an increasing insecurity in the society, i.e. the appearance of aggression, which he links to an accentuation of the outer religious manifestations concerning the size of graves et c. and also suggests that it should depend on a competition-situation with Christianity.(Furingsten 1985, p.179) In my view,however, such an outer insecurity instead should call for an increased need of weapons for the living, and hence reduce the inclination to put them into graves. Possibly, however, the replacement of swords with only sword-belts could fit with such a theory.

Since the Jutes even by their name are clearly tied to Gaut (later becoming Óðinn-Gaut), and also, according to the examinations around the Olgerdiget, periodically even earlier have applied inhumation (Neumann 1982, p.106 ff) it is also consequent that they in Kent accept inhumation as an expression for a warrior-ideological manifestation, and similarly that they are pioneers in building great howes, even if they evidently also have an immediate background of cremation and flat-ground grave-fields.(Champion 1994, p.298, 321;Renfrew 1993, p.244) There is, as I earlier remarked, a certain conservatism concerning the older burial customs during the Stone- and Bronze-Ages and the transition to the early Iron Age towards new ideas both in Jutland and in Västergötland. It however does not seem possible with the Danish and British material to find a connection to the weaponless graves of the Goths. This problem seemingly primarily concerns the Scandinavian peninsula and the southeastern Baltic area.

As already suggested I join the opinion that the occurrence or lacking of weapons might be a social convention, but I also claim it may be due to practical reasons that you during certain circumstances replaces a weapon with an object giving the same symbolical signals, e.g. a sword-belt, or alternatively decline from adding any fighting-equipment in the grave. In hard times the weapons are needed daily and are difficult to replace. Besides, as earlier suggested when treating secret men's leagues, the Goths might have been organised in such initiated warrior leagues/tribal leagues. When a warrior dies he really not dies, in this hypothetic case, since it is only his body which dies. He was at his initiation symbolically cilled and resurrected as a living dead.he might just be replaced with a new young warrior carying his name and rumour further and with the very same weapons. This habit might have had a broader application even if we lack evidence. The Danish and Norwegian graves with baldrics could be a gradual development from a such habit to a more extravagant as a consequence of increasing resources. The women instead could be supposed to have died "for real" since they were not generally initiated, and supposedly not as living dead in any case. In this case a wealthier burial might be motivated and also in simpler graves the inclination to bring grave-gifts increased. This might of course have been a social

convention, but it might also be due to the fact that the women in that time were primarily responsible for the common cult, and as we well know from the Viking Period, were responsible for the yard and the working people when the husband was gone. This means she had a social position equal to the men.

Alongside these wealthy funerals there are of course a great number of unspecified and undiscovered poorer graves. These are high-status graves and so can be assumed only to represent an elitistic top-stratum. Hedeager makes the same remark about the Danish grave material from the Iron Age.

1. The present distribution of grave finds reflect the original prehistoric distribution with few exceptions. 2. The number of graves will not increase significantly in the future, as most of them are already discovered. 3. The distribution of graves does not reflect the settlement pattern, and it does not reflect the general population. Thus the distribution and the composition of graves is due to social and political factors which we will now go on to analyse. (Hedeager 1979, p.218)

## Connection Scandinavia—South-Eastern Balticum

It appears to me to be quite obvious, that it exists a strong link between Scandinavia and the south-eastern Baltic area both concerning the women's graves and the similarities between Västergötland/West-Sweden and the Vistula-area with weaponless graves—regardless of cremation or inhumation. When the Continental cult of Óðinn becomes common the weapon-graves increase and the old habits disappear in time. From the Black Sea-area we know among else the princely graves of Apahida, alternatively ascribed to Ostro-Goths, Vesi-Goths and Gepids. These are weapon-graves and, after the ethnogenesis to Óðinn also the Goths, at least partially—if it really were Goths, of course—accept the weapon-custom. It might however have been “Hunnic” Goths influenced from outside. The Gothic graves within the frames of the to them ascribed Cerniachov-Sintana-de-Mûres-culture normally still are weaponless, and in time they are mixed up with Christian graves. Here they also are influenced by the local cultures. (Wolfram, Heather) In 376 AD the Vesi-Goths cross the limes and turn Arian Christian and about a hundred years later the Ostrogoths do the same. The origin of the old habit should be connected with Gaut before the merging with the figure of Óðinn, and also the strong position of women, as related in the tribal sagas, should have the same background. That the weapon-graves are a consequence of the newer cult of Óðinn also might be indicated by the great weapon-sacrifice finds in the Danish bogs during the first centuries of our time-reckoning, and it is also suggested by Tacitus, that Óðinn-worshipping

tribes systematically destroy and sacrifice the equipment of the defeated. They had before the battle promised the god the lot if he gave them the victory, he writes.

## Cultic-political topography and continental connections

### 1. Denmark

It may be noted, that in the Danish material there are very good analysis of grave-contents and social positions for both the early and the late Iron Age. This creates a possibility to perform an evaluation of the structure of society during different epochs of time and in different areas, and through comparisons get a picture of not only the social position of the dead, but also of the society this individual belonged to. It besides can indicate not only the political but also the cultic structure, since these as earlier demonstrated cooperate intimately. Hedeager has performed an examination, where she transfers the result into NAT-values. This means that for example a comb is counted as equal with three gold-rings, meaning the finds are classified as type of objects and one type of object is only counted once per grave regardless of how many exemplars there are. This is to prevent that suspected princely graves shall distort the general picture. She also examines the connection between high NAT-values and grave-gifts consisting of Roman import and luxury-goods and she gets a positive connection to high NAT-values:

It should be noticed, however, that there exist some remarkable differences between the Early and the Late Roman Iron Age with respect both to the quantity and the distribution of the Roman imports. In the Early Roman Period the imports are concentrated within a rather small segment of the social top. Thus 75% are found in graves with more than 9 NAT, the rest, 25%, drops down. In the Late Roman Period a bigger group of graves feature Roman imports, just as the quantity has increased considerably. Now only 35% is found in graves with more than 9 NAT, the rest sinks down.

She says further:

If we want to explain these changes it is necessary to analyse how the traded commodities were distributed, and what type of control this distribution was subject to. In other words: we are now going to focus attention on the political structure, and we begin with a geographical

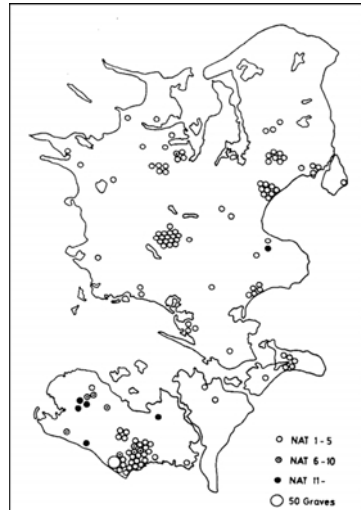
analysis of the distribution of graves and roman imports. (Hedeager 1979, p.219)

Here accordingly it is quite obvious it deals with an elite behind the richly adorned graves, and that this is based on a local concentration of political and economical power, but the later development points towards a more wide-reaching central power, which organises the distribution in such way that it gets a greater spread. This central power indeed is quite interesting for the reasoning above. She writes:

In the Early Roman Period (Fig. 5) most rich graves are concentrated on Lolland. On Zealand graves are scattered and normally rather poor. This is stressed when we look at the distribution of Roman imports (Fig. 6)... in the Late Roman Period, however, rich graves are totally absent on Lolland, whereas a heavy concentration can be seen on the eastern part of Zealand, especially on Stevns (Fig. 7). It is seen, however, that the distribution of graves and imports conform to a definite distributional pattern: the richest graves with most imports are concentrated on Stevns.



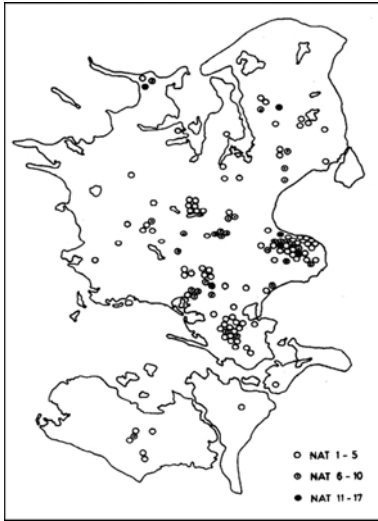
*Fig. 16. The distribution of closed grave-finds from the early Roman Iron Age. Lolland (Hedeager 1979)*



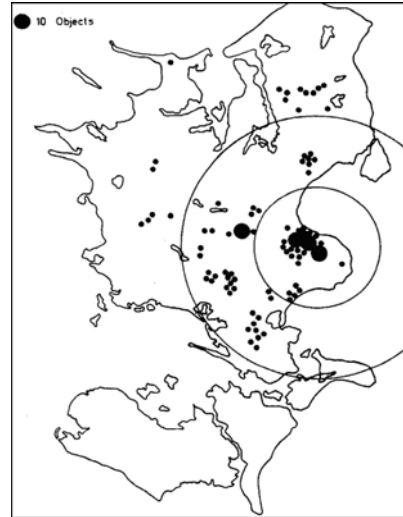
*Fig. 17 The distribution from Lolland of Roman imports (bronze, glass silver-cups)grave-finds. Early Roman Iron Age. (Hedeager 1979)*

This concentration is then surrounded by an empty area of about 20 km with no finds, and in its periphery 4 concentrations are situated in a halfcircle, all of them with lower NAT values than the Stevns graves. Outside these concentrations we only find few and rather poor graves. According to these observations it is now possible, by using Stevns as a center, to draw two halfcircles. By doing so Eastern Denmark is divided into 3 zones... Thus we may now conclude that Eastern Denmark was politically united in the Late Roman Iron Age, organized and controlled from Stevns (Zone 1) with the aid of dependant subcentres... which demonstrate an absolute control of the distribution of traded commodities, and which may be regarded as a reflection of a wider political and military control.

Before we can proceed to explain how this political organization originated and how it was maintained, it is necessary to analyse, in similar ways, the degree of social stratification and the distribution of Roman imports in the Early Roman Iron Age. This showed, that there exists no correlation between the number of imports and the degree of stratification. The center of rich graves on Lolland is distinctively different from the surrounding areas, Zone 2 and 3. Although stratification falls from Zone 1 to 3 the number of imports does not follow this pattern, as Zone 3, Zealand, has more imports than Zone 2. Thus there was no centrally controlled distribution of Roman imports in this area. This implies another political structure than in the Late Roman Iron Age. The great difference between Zone 1 and Zone 2—3 suggests a much simpler structure, where local chiefs were able to make impressive personal accumulations of Roman imports which, however, were not further distributed within the local political system. They remained within the social top where they circulated, giving rise to the so-called princely graves of Lübsow type (Eggers 1949/50). (Hedeager 1979, p.120 ff.).



*Fig. 18 The distribution from later Roman Iron Age in the Stevn-realm. (Hedeager 1979)*



*Fig. 19 The distribution of Roman imports (bronze, glass and silver-cups) from closed grave-finds. The Stevn-realm. Late Roman Iron Age. (Hedeager 1979)*

The above demonstrates clearly that there is a development towards local chiefdoms when the collective society of the Bronze Age changes to the individualistic Iron Age. The egalitarian society of Randsborg seems to be a society where a number of smaller local or regional chieftains control their respective territories, and it can be presupposed a both economical and military competition between them. With the progressing cult of Óðinn the possibilities can be assumed to increase to tie followers with oath and initiation. This strengthens the local chieftain, acting as the representative of the god when leading his men in battle. The basic fertility-cult is however not specially much influenced of this development. The deities are basically the same even if some of them change names and some also functions. The cult of Ingr/Frejr is used as a medium also for the cult of Óðinn via the myth of Baldr. Here the connection between Óðinn, warrior-ideology and wealthy graves appear in full sight. This is the period being the breaking-point between the old cult of Nerthus, mentioned by Tacitus in the actual area, and the new impulses pressing on from the Continent.



## The realm on Zealand and the problems around Gudme

On Zealand during the late Roman Iron Age we have a more systematical execution of power also controlling the distribution of import-goods—and, we could assume, the export—and in this way a realm of a more modern kind is developing. It is still too early to use the designation state. As base for this central wielding of power, a cultic control can be assumed as I have already implicated. It is then interesting to recall that Gudme on Funen constituted a central point for the distribution of bracteates towards the Scandinavian area—these bracteates so evidently Odinistic and reappearing at Gudhem in Norway and Gudhem in Västergötland. From Funen up towards Norway and Sweden the route goes via Bornholm and later on either side of Zealand. A possible route according to Schnall was through Öresund where, on the Zealand-side, bracteate-finds have been made in Tranegilde within the powerzone of Stevn. Crumlin-Pedersen sees a night-harbour along the Store belt-route and proposes the Isefjord close to Tislund/Ringsted, where also bracteates have been found. (Hauck 1988 p.204 ff) Maybe it would be possible to find, also in the Tranegilde-area, a Gudme place, or other kind of cult-place, filling the same function as Tislund did for the route of Crumlin-Pedersen. You could, I presume, presuppose that this new central power in Stevn goes hand in hand with the religion, and in this case most likely the cult of Óðinn-Gaut in combination with fertility-cultic media as treated above, because the old, by Tacitus mentioned, Nerthus-league now must be regarded as dissolved.

Lotte Hedeager comments Brøndsted's, on Procopius based, presentation, which suggests that the emigration of the Jutes should be due to aggression from the Danes, who are supposed to have arrived from the Swedish mainland and forced them to leave:

In *Danmarks Oldtid* Brøndsted connected the migration of the Jutes with a supposed invasion of the Danes from the east, based on a historical myth (Brøndsted 1966: 271 f). It may now seem that the core of historical truth in this myth was the formation of the first »Kingdom« or »State« which for a period of some generations unified Eastern Denmark. It would also seem reasonable if this East Danish Kingdom had attempted to extend its power further to the west, an attempt which failed. But this could hardly have any direct connection with the later migrations. Indirectly, however, a new development had been triggered off. A new military and political state of affairs had been established, which in several cases may have stimulated suppressed tribes to migrate.

Thus from the Roman Iron Age, it seems reasonable to add this factor along with overpopulation and ecological degradation, as a possible cause of migrations. (Hedeager 1979, p.123)

Hedeager here cleans away the opinion that the Danes came from Sweden, but the last word about this issue is probably not said for still a long time. She transforms it to an internal Danish affair but at the same time she indicates that the new warrior's ideology is one of the reasons to the emigration. If you presuppose that this warrior's ideology is based on the cult of Óðinn, we again get a confirmation that religion and building of realms go hand in hand, regardless if it concerns an existing realm in an area or, as in the case of the Jutes, an immigrated tribe forming a realm in Kent.

## **The Olgerdige—the Jutes, the Angles, the Herules**

In connection with a presumed East-Danish realm the question of the Olgerdige also becomes actual. There has been a discussion whether this border between Jutes and Angles depends of an Anglian invasion of old Jutish domains, or if it depends on a later division of these two groups. The archaeological examinations by the Nationalmuseum and Sønderjyllands Amt have confirmed there is a distinct border concerning among else the burial habits, since the Jutes have during long periods applied inhumation while the Angles have a tradition of cremation. This difference is also obvious in England. Procopius mentions a conflict between the Herules, who are said to have been expelled from Denmark, and the Danes. (Procopius VI, XV, 1-4) Neumann believes the Heruls lived on the Danish isles and were expelled by the Danes, of whom the Angles might have been part, and when part of the tribe returned and settled close to the Götter/Gauts in southern Sweden, they did not pass through Danish area, Neumann means, but around. He means the Angles should have established themselves along the Olgerdige in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.AD and by that created an artificial border towards the Jutes. Even the Angles have when living in East-Schleswig cultivated lighter soils, but during the 2<sup>nd</sup> c.AD they start to orientate towards heavier soil and they intensify the cattle-breeding. (Neumann 1982, p.106 ff) We hence get the same picture as in the other areas examined. The Angles are mentioned as one of the Nerthus-tribes by Tacitus, and the contrasting burial habits undoubtedly indicate that the Jutes at this time, or earlier, ought to have worshipped an old god answering to the supposed characteristics of the god Gaut, who later becomes Óðinn-Gaut. Also the theophoric name of the people clearly indicate this origin as far as I understand. In this connection there is an interesting detail. In the by Alfred the Great published translation of Orosius—in the

chapter on Ottar's travel added on demand by Alfred—Jutland is called "Gotland", i.e. 'Goth-land'. This name accordingly is applied to Jutland in the 9<sup>th</sup> c.

If you consider that, according to Hedeager, it is probable that the kingdom of Stevn attacked the Jutes and expelled the Heruls, this also means that Gudme on Funen and the island of Bornholm might have been within their sphere of influence during this period, and hence they have, in that case, had control of the Northern trade-routes. On the other hand Kattegat is supposed to have united the Jutes with Sweden-Norway, and for this also the earlier mentioned tendency of more conservative burial-habits clearly speaks.

It is noted, concerning the Jutes, that a great sanctuary to Freja was built at Kastrup on Jutland around 200 AD, on a site where already earlier a sanctuary had existed. (Neumann 1982, p.106) This lies right in time for an expansion of the cult of Óðinn, and gives a hint that maybe Frejr and Freja here replaces Ingr and Ingun, alt. Njārðr/Nerthus. In connection with the excavations of a chieftain's yard in Borg in Östergötland, having existed during both the early and the late Iron Age, have been found, at least from from the late Iron Age, indications of a possible cult-house showing traces of cult with sorted slaughter-rests from nine animal species. The signs suggest the cult of Frejr, but also to Óðinn nine species were sacrificed at the great sacrifice of Adam and Thietmar. It is in this examination expressly demonstrated the direct connection between secular and sacral power, supporting my already earlier expressed opinion in these matters. (Lindeblad et al. 1997) The sanctuary in Kastrup in that case should be a direct parallel to the later developement for the so called Yngling-kings. The connection to the possible Gothic area in South-Scandinavia without greater doubt hence can be supposed to include Jutland—the area Oxenstierna and Svennung call the Kattegat-area and that Schwarz wants to connect with the southern and south-eastern coast of the Baltic Sea.

## Bornholm

This actualizes the role of Bornholm—not only as a knot-point for the Baltic trade but also as a religious centre with a great scale production of so called *guldgubbar* 'golden men' and besides as a starting point for the Burgundians, who by many are assumed to at least have lived on *Borgundarholm*, the old name of Bornholm. During the years 1985-87 a great number of guldgubbar were excavated on Bornholm. The sum total is approximately 2300 guldgubbar. They are described by the chief-excavator, Margrete Watt, as:

...a till now rather small group of single-side coined or cut out and very minor figures of thin gold-plate. The figures belongs in the transition period between the early and late Germanic Iron Age (the Migration Period/Vendel Period-i.e. the Merovingian Period auth.remark) Gold-plate figures of this type, since they at first were described and interpreted by von Melle in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> c., have played a role for the discussion about the pre-Christian divine world(Melle 1725). (Watt 1991, p.373)

She mentions about the find-site that: "Sorte Muld (the black soil auth.remark) is the name of an elevated field-ridge from which you in clear weather have a wide view over the Baltic and an easy access to the coast, which offers several good ports for small ships." She informs that there have been a lot of finds of Migration Period coins and other gold. We know that this includes bracteates. Several earlier excavations have been performed and the last one by Klindt-Jensen. (Klindt-Jensen 1957, s. 184-85)

The new find comes from the central part of of a settlement area, whose extent, based on surface-finds, is estimated to 40—50 000 m<sup>2</sup>. The main body of the guldgubbar was situated relatively concentrated within some few hundred square-meters, evenly distributed. Partly in a thick but slightly entploughed cultural layer and partly, a little wider spread, in the modern plough-layer. (Watt 1991, s. 374)

If ever a temple or a harg 'cult-place' has been exactly localised it ought to be here in Sorte Muld on Bornholm. We have of course found guldgubbar in a relatively great number in Slöinge in Halland, where a similar cult-place might be assumed, but in an extremely minor scale. Single guldgubbar also have been found e.g. in the chieftain's yard Borg in Lofoten in Norway.(Stamsø-Munch 1991, p.325) What then do we know of the cult connected with these?

Watt concludes that the settlement stretches from AD to the Viking Period, however with a distinct dominance for the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> cc. Many of the figures are damaged or folded, and it has been undertaken an extensive restoration work. One believes it deals with approximately 350 different coinages. To this comes a number of individually made guldgubbar. The number in every coinage-series vary from 1 to c:a 160 pieces, but generally between 10-15 pieces. C:a 95% propose a single person, normally a man. To this come a lesser number of women and plates with two figures—man and woman—and some few animal-pictures. Concerning the details an individual can be standing distinctly dressed, in movement and also without evident signs of clothing. Most figures fall within these

categories, while other are that gender-neutral it is hard to decide if it is man or woman. The standing male figures are dressed in a semilong coat of kimontype and the dress is either armless or have narrow sleeves. A broad edging frames the dresses giving the impression of a parade-dress. In one hand, or in both, the figure holds a kind of staff and it is often as high as the figure. The staff either is evenly thick all the way or broader on the foot-side. It is interpreted as a symbol of dignity—a long sceptre. In one occasion a figure is pictured wearing a diadem on the forehead. Other can hold a cup or a glass in the hand. The women wear an ankle-long dress, an apron and a coat over the shoulder. Normally the women lack special attributes, but one woman is seen in profile while emptying a drinking-horn. In other ways the hands are not visible. The two status-groups above go under the working-name “the princely group”. The group appearing to move almost exclusively seems to consist of men. Clothing is hard to identify but you can see belts, ankle-rings and armrings and they can have closely fitting clothes. Gender-marking mostly is not possible to observe. These are referred to with the working-name “dancers”.

“The dancers” are pictured with unusually large hands with frontwards directed palms. The double-figures are a man and a woman embracing each other and mostly answer to those found in Sweden and Norway. Among the animal-figures you find wild-boar (possibly domestic pig), horse, stag and a bear.(Watt 1991, p.375 ff) The quality of the work was of less importance but it evidently was necessary to have a motive.(Watt 1991, p.379) Watt interprets it as *tempel-gifts*, sacrificial gifts to a deity in the local sanctuary or, as she expresses it, symbolical means of payment. If this establishment was a cult-place (*harg*) or a building is unclear, but in any case there is no archaeological evidence for any kind of house-construction. Still more indications of a cult-place, however, are intentionally bowed spears and lances, which normally not should be found within a settlement-area and hence parallel the weapon-sacrifices on Jutland.(Watt 1991, p.381)

Similar type of figures have been found as helmet-decorations in Vendel, Valsgårde and Sutton Hoo; in Torslunda on Öland is found, beside a gold-necklace, among else four bronze matrices meant for making just that type of helmet-decorations.

Watt reacts against the stylistic design of the figures compared with the Scandinavian background, and rightly so. (Watt 1991, p.382)

I myself get an association to Celtic art and specially when we talk about the dancing adorants. The Gundestrup cauldron exhibits indeed both similar figures and wild-boars and stags. The man with the sceptre decidedly points towards the emperor cult as a source of inspiration in a similar way as the bracteates of the early staves. The Cimbri, being connected with the Gundestrup cauldron, evi-

dently had contacts with the Celts—maybe via la Tène—and also in this case it might be presupposed Celtic influence. This raises accordingly the question of identification of the deity—was it a Celtic or Germanic deity?

Watt remarks about this:

Shall the obvious close Scandinavian distribution of the guldgubbar be understood as a special Scandinavian development within the form of religious practice, that the figures are assumed to represent? Are there between the gold-plate figures, or in their attributes, elements which allow a connection with the divine- and hero-poems of the Germanic tradition, which we meet in a far later Nordic shape? May a great number of lances and spears being collected within and around the find-site of the guldgubbar be taken as argument for a cult of Óðinn in this place? Do the well-dressed, sceptre-bearing “princely” figures and the naked “dancers” represent different aspects of a cultic act? Might there be a connection between the naked “dancers” and the not closer described persons we get a hint of in Adamus Bremensis almost 500 years younger mentioning of the obscene songs, and Saxo’s description of feminine dances to the sounds of klinging bells at the pagan temple in Uppsala?(Watt 1991, p.383)

For my part I indeed see certain similarities with the figures of the Gallehus horn, which is older, and also certain style-traits common with some bracteates, but this does not diminish the Celtic impression. If you, however, consider, that the cult of Óðinn in the continental shape most probably was influenced of the fact, that the Roman emperor within, or as a complement to, the emperor-cult tried to use Germanic religion as a means to get loyalty by the Germanic soldiers in the Roman army, the mixing of the figures of the emperor and Wotan/Wodan/Óðinn is as natural as on the bracteates. That you in a geographical position like Bornholm’s, a trade-centre for all the southern Baltic Sea, have a close contact with continental Celts is not strange. This influence might be old and have been going on since the first settlement around AD, and the Celts still were quite active during the first centuries of our time reckoning. Gundestrup is hardly a unique cultural connection. I accordingly believe it may deal with an originally Celto-Latin variant of Óðinn and Freja. Frigga I do not think is actual regarding the mentioned Jutish re-establishing of an old cult-place at Kastrup that now was dedicated to Freja, but it is of course not possible to exclude the possibility of Frigg/Frigga. This Bornholmian cult was with time Germanized. If this is correct we have added still another cult-place to the distribution-route of bracteates and the cult of Óðinn into Scandinavia.

## 2. West- and South-Scandinavia

Still a factor to consider concerning archaeological artefacts is the Migration-period and earlier Iron Age gold quite generally—not just guldgubbar. One of the basic characteristics of the Migration Period culture is that gold becomes the common value-metal, while in the Viking Period this position is taken over by silver—and so specially in the coin-hoards. The Roman solidi might generally be connected with Germanics having served in the Roman army or be regarded as conquered goods and ransomes et c. They can of course also have been used as payment within the regular trading but that is less probable. The money-economy was minimal within trading in Germania and the North, and also solidi were not a normal coin meant for selling and buying, but was specially made as sold to the Germanics. (Bohlin 1926; Hededager 1988) The most interesting golden items are in this connection jewellery and specially so necklaces and bracelets.

### Västergötland

The above mentioned takes us again back to Västergötland, where you find the undisputably greatest find-volume of Migration Period and earlier Iron Age gold in Sweden—both what concerns payment gold and raw-wares for goldsmiths as well as masterly worked necklaces and bracelets. The Ålleberg-collar and the other big golden neck-collars and necklaces—disregarded whether they are manufactured in Västergötland or imported from the Black Sea basin—show traits linking them to the contemporary Gothic milieu down in the Ukraine or Dacia, and they decidedly indicate regular connections with this area during the whole epoch. This is also the opinion of Ulf Erik Hagberg in *Västergötlands äldre historia*. Simpler, but still imposing golden necklaces from the same period are found in western Sweden in among else Bragnum, Naum, Tunhem, Hångsdala, Våring and Värmskog.

The last, in Vittene, found necklaces (Viking 1996) are among else of the torques-type, inspired by the Celts, which also is connected with the Goths at the Black Sea. The opinions however are divided whether they are locally made in Scandinavia or imported.



*Fig. 20 The Vittene find. One of the necklaces—upper left—is of torques-type with excellent goldfiligran and dated to c:a 200-100 BC, i.e. to the time for the presumed Gothic emigration. The complete find stretches between c:a 200 BC. To c:a 250 AD. (Picture: Vg. Fornminnesför. Tidskrift 1997-98, p.127)*

Whether the Vittene find is a gold-smith depot or just a treasure-hide has been discussed. Ulf Viking, after the excavations in 1997, excluded the possibility of a gold-smith depot. After the continued excavation in 1998, however, a great number of very big hearths and iron-slag rests have been revealed suggesting a great scale iron production which, in spite of all, indicate activities of smiths, and it also suggests a great scale trading. During 1999 a bigger grave-field has been examined, and continuous settlement in the area from at least the Pre-Roman Iron Age to the Vendel Period has been confirmed. Closer analysis is not extant still as far as I know. What is clear is that the golden objects are dated between the last centuries BC and up to 200-250 AD, and that the oldest part of the settlement, according to C<sup>14</sup>-dating, is from the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, i.e. the Pre-Roman Iron Age. How far up in time it stretches is still not clear, but finds of terra sigillata-goods suggests that it was inhabited during the Roman Iron Age. An interesting detail exposed during the diggings in 1997 is a find-poor layer above the lowest culture-layer where the oldest habitation is traced, and above this poor layer we have the later settlement from the Roman Iron Age. (Viking 1997, pers.com.) here we are direct confirmation of connections during both the Pre-Roman and the Roman Iron Age with the Continent what concerns the object finds. The possibly broken off habitation unhappily enough is not dated but if we regard the earlier mentioned, around AD terminated grave-fields and the possibility the oldest settlement might have been broken off at this time—specially since the layer above the find-empty one is considerably thicker than the lowest culture-layer according to my own visual inspection of the excavation, we might have indication of an emigration of the family in question. The pit where the provincial terra sigillata, probably from a work-shop in middle Germany, was found also seems at an visual inspection to be less deep than the one exposing the find-poor layer. It should reinforce the suspicion that the break lies between the Pre-Roman and the Roman Iron Age. Later excavators, however, claim an continuous settlement during all the period, but this is based



on other houses having been found and the break in the first house still remains. It is accordingly difficult to say something definite in this question but I still see a possibility of an early emigration of the first family. The place is now regarded as a chieftains yard and a trading-centre for iron. As remarked before it is close neighbour to a Birk-place.

The connection between the gold-finds of Västergötland and the Continental contacts has been treated more extensively by Ove Quist. (Quist 1983) He has a slightly different starting-point but his conclusions still point in the same direction. Analyzing the Ålleberg neck-collar he agrees with Stenberger that the human figures and the masks seen there have an almost asiatic physiognomy with staring eyes (Stenberger 1971, p.474) and he connects to the so called Ordu-figure being found in Turkey. He claims that both the figures propose orants, i.e. adorants, who belong in an Orientalic religious context. (Cf. Holmqvist 1980, p.43, 86) Picture-representations of orants with outwards bowed knees are extremely rare in Nordic Migration Period art. Also the dressing seems to be about similar. The coiffure or head-cover remind of each other. They both have moustaches and have staring eyes. This figure is by Mænchen-Helfen connected with the Huns. (Maenchen-Helfen 1973) Quist means the Ålleberg-collar is of Eastern or Asian origin. Märta Strömberg already 1963 indicated that part of the gold-material had come via the Huns and that objects with connection to Donau in Skåne should be an indicium of contacts with south-eastern Europe and probably via Vistula. (Strömberg 1963, p.95) Mats Malmer sees a connection between the solidi-coins and the official tributes the Romans paid to the Germanics (Malmer 1977, p.107 ff) and Kyhlberg has shown, that the peak of the frequency-curves cover the period 380-400 AD to c:a 440-460 AD, which is the Attila-epoch. (Quist 1983, p.36) If Herschends datings of the collars are correct, it means that great numbers of solidi-coins have reached Västergötland already at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> c.AD, since these are supposed to have been melted to make the collars. This ought to indicate an agreement with the Hunnic leadership, Quist suggests, not least by transport-technical security reasons.



*Fig. 21 The Alleberg-collars. Picture: Kent Andersson 1994*

Holmquist regards the collars as royal regalia and supports himself on three assumptions. 1) They are made of gold which was reserved for the most powerful. 2) They are technically and artistically on the highest level of that time. 3) They are constructed according to a predefined program. (Holmquist 1980, p.85f) Since Quist already earlier has indicated that the majority of the Swedish solidi-finds—according to Herschend 35%—are made on Öland while most of the massive gold instead is found in Västergötland, he means that the West-gautic and Ölandic “royal power” have had a close relation with the Huns. Holmquist connects the solidi-payments in the shape of tributes to the Greutungi during the period they were dominated by the Huns and were their allies. Also Kyhlberg and Herschend have this opinion. (Kyhlberg 1983, p.34; Herschend 1980, p.51) Besides Holmquist claims that the gold-collars have been “worn by the highest rulers of that time as symbols for rank and power in a grand-scale political and administrative system.” (Holmquist 1980, p.96 f) He also claims that the fact the collars are built by 3, 5 and 7 rings they may indicate rank or at least have different meanings. Hyenstrand notes that the obvious wealth of gold in Västergötland shows upon extensive economical activities and a developed organisation of society, and that Västergötland is a key-area...not least what concerns research around forms of society and grand-scale economical circumstances and state-formation. (Hyenstrand 1982, p.79) Holmquist means Västergötland meets the demands of a power-centre, and that the landscape occupies a unique position, both concerning the total volume of gold (gold-frequency) and gold-intensity. (Holmquist 1972) Quist draws the conclusion that Västergötland is a potential powerconcentration-area compared to e.g. Öland, and that Öland possibly

might be part of a political-administrative system dependent of Västergötland. (Quist 1983, p.32)

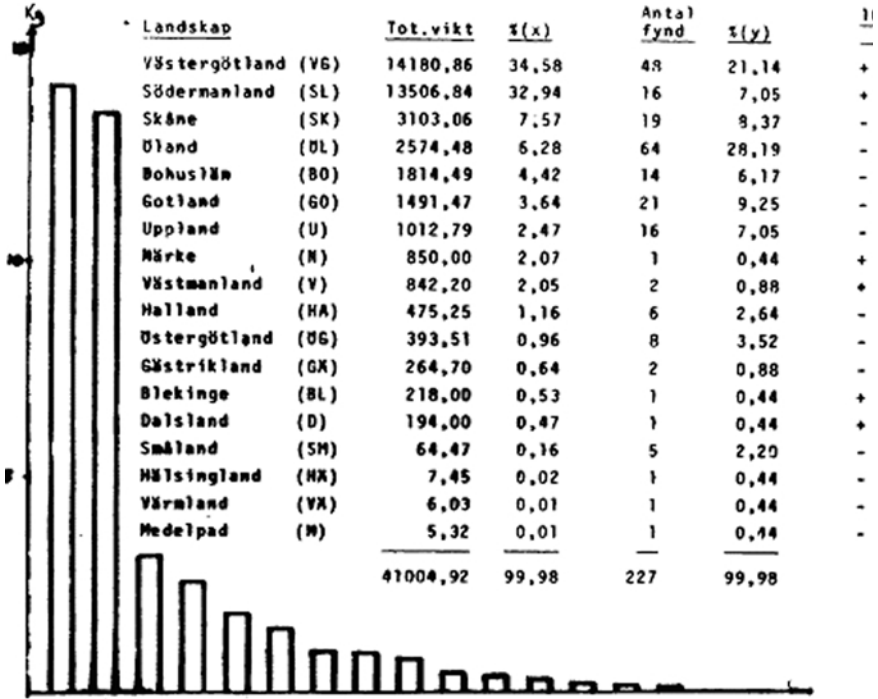


Fig. 22 Diagram over the not coined Migration Period gold exclusive bracteates and sword-buttons, divided on landscapes after total weight (grams).

(Source: Ove Quist 1983)



*Fig. 23 Distribution-map over Västergötland. All gold-finds shown after locations in parish. The distribution answers to the by me actualised cult- and powercentra. (Source: Ove Quist 1983)*

## Connection West-Gauts—Goths

A conclusion of the above related is that the connection between Västergötland and the Continental Goths becomes more touchable than before. Disregarded what has been said above about the domestic or foreign fabrication of the collars, the connection with Greutungj remains during this period, and earlier, as already stated, there are contemporary stylistic influences pointing towards regular contacts during the whole period. Quist contradicts himself a little when he on the one hand presupposes melted solidi for manufacturing of the collar, and on the other sees clear Asiatic traits in the figures, but this assumption is however also made by many other interpreters. The question is whether local gold-smiths really worked with this representational world which I understand as Orientalic or Celtic. There is a possibility, indeed, but I do not regard myself as competent enough to take a firm stand-point in this question.

There are however more indicies of intensive contacts between Scandinavians and Goths and other peoples in Eastern Europe. The Finnestorp- and Vennebo-finds in Västergötland and the examinations of Charlotte Fabech in e.g. Sösdala and Fulltofta in Skåne are all connected with Eastern Europe and also show Hunnic traits. Also in the mound in Högom in Hälsingland in Eastern Sweden similar finds have been made. She herself claims the finds are Herulic but

according to the dating it is too early for that considering Procopius information of their return in 512, but also Heruls indeed have a close connection with the Goths. More about the excavations by Fabech later in the book.

The Finnestorp-site was excavated for the first time in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> c. but later new excavations have been undertaken in the 1980's by Ulf Viking and lastly in 2000-2002 by Bengt Nordquist. (Bengt Nordquist, Excavation reports 2000, 2001 and 2002, RAÄ, UV-Väst, Kungsbacka) The excavations are still under way in 2003, and hopefully many more finds will appear. From a relatively small site it has now grown to an extent that the present excavator Ph.D. Bengt Nordquist of RAÄ considers it likely that it is one of the very largest war-boot—sacrifice places in Northern Europe, and the finds indeed compete with the Illerup-find with that difference that here it is a great amount of wealthy and rare finds and spread over a greater area. The dating lies approximately in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> cc. AD (Bengt Nordquist, pers.com.) The found objects relate to wealthy golden and gold-inlaid harnesses and Hunnic inspired saddle-equipments, but also swords with golden and gold-inlaid parts and elaborated scabbards. Even simpler weapons as well as sacrificed horses, wooden constructions et c. are included. All objects exhibit a distinct East-European character.

In the harness-equipment in Finnestorp is also a pendant, which the earlier excavator described as pelte-shaped. (Ulf Viking 1987, p.171) I however understand it as lunula-shaped. It is made by bronze covered with silverplate, and it is ornated with stamp-decor and gilded in the ornated parts. It is stamped with star-shaped pattern and a fringe-decoration of semi-circles. It strongly reminds of answering lunula-shaped pendants in the Sösdala-find.

In Brangstrup on Funen has been found a number of close to similar pendants in gold, some of them undecorated. They are regarded by Herbst, Alföldi, Forssander, Petersen and Werner as coming from the Cerniachov- Sintana-de-Mûres-culture. (Kent Andersson 1995, p.41) Finnestorp has traditionally earlier been seen as connected with the Heruls, and this probably caused by Fabech's theories in Skåne. I instead see these pendants as indications of Gothic connections and the present excavation-leader more and more leans towards an inclusion of both Goths and Heruls, since the find period covers that long time. (Bengt Nordqvist, pers.com.) In Västergötland is also a popular lore about the Hunahär, i.e. the Hunnic army, which could be an obscure oral tradition reminding of returning Ostrogoths.



*Fig. 24 Left: Lunulashaped harness-pendant from the Finnestorp-find. Source: Ulf Viking 1987, p. 171.*

*Right: Lunula-shaped pendants from Brangstrup on Funen. Cut out from picture in Kent Andersson 1995, p. 41.*

Other significant finds in both Finnestorp and Vännebo, which also is excavated by Bengt Nordqvist, are bridle-chains of matching types, and of a definitely Eastern European origin. In this connection I will also remind of a find of a fragment of such a bridle-chain in Skånings-Åsaka in Västergötland, which according to Ulf Erik Hagberg (U.E. Hagberg 1979, p. 295 ff) answers to objects in the Skedemosse sacrifice-find on Öland, Kassviken in the Örsunda-stream, Torsbjerg in Angeln and Ejsbøl in Denmark. In Sweden there were approximately 10 finds until the last diggings in Finnestorp and Vennebo where, as mentioned, still more have been found till now. In the rest of Scandinavia there are about as many as the old figure. They all have one thing in common, namely that they are considered to be sacrifice-finds, and it is to note that bracteates and solidi remarkably often have been found together with them.

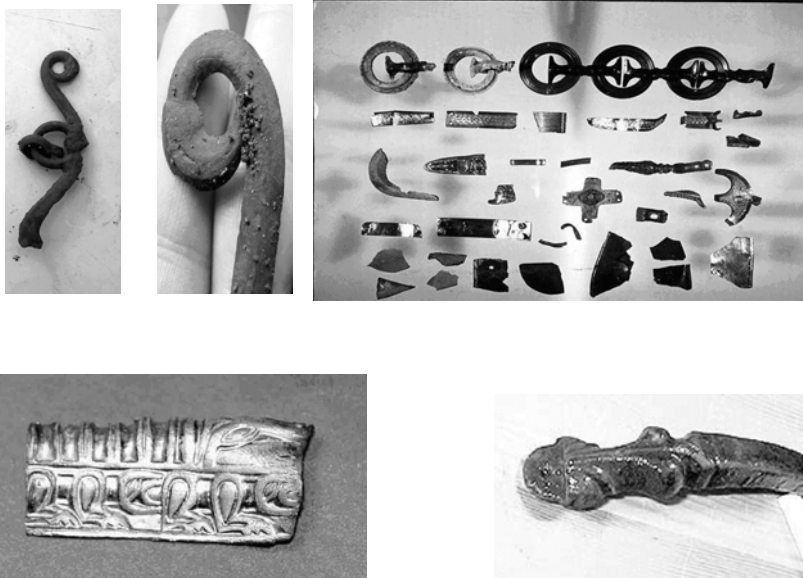


*Fig.25 Left: Bridle-chain excavated in Finnestorp Middle and right: Two of the harness-plates with ornated-pattern in gilded bronze found in Finnestorp and with an estimated dating to the 5<sup>th</sup> c.AD. Source: Bengt Nordqvist.*

As mentioned above the finds stretch approximately from 400-550 AD. These plates are with certainty judged to be from the 400's, and hence in my opinion most probably Gothic. Below some more examples of finds.



*Fig. 26 Animalhead-shaped saddle fittings. In the drawing to the left from Högom and in the middle from Finnestorp. The ring to the right is from Vännebo. Source: Bengt Nordqvist.*



*Fig. 27 Above left: full size and detail-enlarged parry-pin for horse-bridle. Below left: press-plate from sword scabbard, gilded. Above right: a sample of finds from Finnestorp. Below right: a horse-headed saddle-fitting from Vännebo. Source: Bengt Nordqvist.*

The finds referred to above definitely indicate a very strong connection between Västergötland and the Continental Germanics in South-Eastern Europe during the time the Goths were as most active both inside the Roman empire and also as Hunnic allies. The saddle-equipment found also indicate, that these warriors fought in a manner inspired by the Huns. This is also clearly demonstrated in Högom, where the dead chieftain had a complete Hunnic set of bow, arrows and various specialized spears meant for fighting on the horseback. The parry-pins are identical with those found in Högom. It is worth remarking that Högom is situated at the main-trade route from Norway to the Baltic showing that also the Norwegians easily could access the Baltic area without having to sail southwards, and that close connections were kept also this way between the two kin-folks. The Högom equipment accordingly as well could have a Norwegian connection.

The famous Timboholm gold-treasure hord in Västergötland, which weighs more than 7 kilograms, is by Ulf Erik Hagberg considered a royal treasure, even if it mostly consists of payment-gold. (U.E. Hagberg 1985, p.107) In this connection primarily a bracelet of gold is interesting, since similar links have been found in princely graves on the Continent.



*Fig. 28 The Forsbyring. Source: Kent Andersson 1986, p. 48.*



In Västergötland also another interesting find has been made, which has parallels on four other find-sites. At Skattegården, Högåsen in Forsby a golden ring from the 200-300's AD was found with a

plane-grinded carneol fastened in a soldered bottom-plate, and with filigran-thread and stamp-decor. It has caused an extensive discussion whether it is a Nordic, Gothic or Roman work. Kent Andersson lately has decided it is an East-Roman provincial work, and hence we have a natural contact-surface with the Goths. Similar finds have been made in Vrangstrup, Varpelev, Ravnkilde and Søndre Kjørstad. (Kent Andersson 1986, p.147 ff) The Forsby-ring has an unique decoration with stamped tri-peds, wick else do not appear in the North with exception of three Gotlandic snake-head-rings from Etelhem, Garda and Hejnum (Kent Andersson 1986, p.155) who however are native. This clearly demonstrates an eastern and southern contact, and an from outward coming style-influence. A rather similar and very magnificent ring at SHM has been



found at Fullerö in Gamla Uppsala parish. It is Provincial-Roman, and that it has been found in a grave from the 5<sup>th</sup> c.AD together with a gold-coin from the reign of Maximianus, which has been worn as an pendant. (Kent Andersson, 1994,p.32)

Still an interesting, above shortly mentioned, item connecting Västergötland with the Goths is the magnificent rune-stone in Sparlösa. It depicts what I consider to be a cathedral of rude making. Below is a ship in the shape of a moon-crescent and a square sail equipped with a cross. On top of the sail two birds are sitting. Below the boat is a rider and animals, one of which looks like a hunting leopard. The rider wears narrow slim trousers and a Phrygian cap and points with a sword. On one side a lion fighting with a ducknebbed snake and on still another side a row of crosses. To me all this tells the carver of the stone either must have visited the realm of Teoderik the Great himself, or have got a very minute description from there by an eyewitness. I you consider that the virgin Mary was by the Goths, and also in later Christian iconography is, linked to the moon and in fact has her roots in Isis and Harpokrates of the late Antique Serapion-cult and further back to Alma Mater et c. and by the Goths her fore-runner is Freja/Ingun, it is close lying to identify the ship with her. On the sail are the two imperial East-Roman peacocks. In addition may be remarked that a usual picture-symbol in Byzans is the Tree of Life flanked with the two imperial Peacocks. This is understood just as the virgin Mary. The crosses and the cathedral need no comments. In a mosaic in Ravenna there is a picture of the three wise men dressed in Phrygian caps, short coats and slim, narrow trousers in exactly the fashion being common among wealthy Ostrogoths in the time of Teoderik. The hunting leopard definitely not was used in Sweden at this time. The lion and the snake is a well known symbolism of the fight between Christ and the evil. Hence we have a Christian stone with clear Arian traits in Västergötland. It dates according to earlier estimations from the 9<sup>th</sup> c AD and this is based on that it has the younger futhark with 16 runes instead of 24. However, if you look to the pictures, it could not be younger than, as the latest, the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> c.AD. If the informant of the rune-master was old and had visited the Gothic realm in Italy in his youth, i.e. before the 550's, he could still have been alive in the beginning of the 600's. If the rune-master himself was in Italy the stone must be still older. The idea that the 16-type futhark does not come before the 9<sup>th</sup> c. is also not proven beyond doubt. In any case the Sparlösa stone is an impressive connection with the Arian Goths and it as well suggests there were Arians in Sweden at that time.



*Fig. 29 The Sparlösa rune-stone in Västergötland, Sweden. Source: B.F. Jansson, Runinskrifter i Sverige, 1963*

## The power is based on cult

The position of Västergötland as a power-political centre during this time is also obvious, but whether there stands any great-scale political and administrative organisation behind at this time is rather dubious. I find it more probable with a number of competing power-centra with varying alliances, who according to the habits at this time ought to be based on sacral and power. In any case does the secular power in the cases we have seen this far base itself on a sacral motivation of power. It is possible, but not probable, that this power might have embraced the whole plain- and Camro-Silurian areas in Västergötland, but it is still more probable that there has existed at least two-three power centres in the landscape. In connection with the Vittene-find the name Grönån unannounced pops up in the memory, since there in this area appear both a vast number of rock-carvings and chieftain's graves and signs of an extensive commercial activity from the Bronze Age and up into the early Viking Time. The ship-yard in Äskekärr lies close beside like also Skepplanda (landingsite of ships?). Also to Vittene you can go by boat via a small stream up to the presumed chieftain's yard. You once could travel all the way to lake Vänern on this waterway without having to take the boat on land at the waterfalls in Stora and Lilla Edet. Stora Edet is today Trollhättan. By everything to judge, evidently this area is connected with the Göta älv river and its communication-system. Maybe Grönån is the legendary Grönköping—the old trading-place later in folklore localised to Hjo. Gudhem appears in this connection as a very interesting place. It has by many been supposed that the golden necklace-collars not were meant for normal, human use utan were meant for decoration of idols or priests/priestesses, i.e. for sacral use. Since we already earlier have seen the relatively strong position of women, and I also see a connection between the cult of Frejr/Freja and the one of Óðinn via Balðr, and also have put the finds of bracteates in Lidköping and Skara in connection with Gudhem, it is hence not far to conclude that the distance between Gudhem and Älleberg not is very great. The Älleberg-collar was a single find in a provisorical treasure hide and nothing hints from where it has come. It accordingly very well might have come from Gudhem in connection with warfare, theft, Christian aggression or other

types of disorder. That it besides also has existed a cult-place in Götala which is presumed to be connected with the thing of all Gautar might be regarded as rather confirmed, but it is mentioned in the sources only from a later epoch. In spite of this it might of course be an alternative, but the name suggests a place more directly tied to Gaut or Óðinn-Gaut and does hardly associate directly to a golden necklace-collar. Also the find-site lies wrong for this alternative.

The talk of a united Gautic realm in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. or earlier can hardly be regarded as realistic, but instead alliances between a number of chiefdoms/petty-kingdoms from time to time might seem plausible. I here disregard the suggested realm of Ívarr viðfamði which in that case is later, and besides in no way reliably confirmed. What basically has united them should be the common legitimation of power from Óðinn-Gaut counter the earlier sacral connection with the sun-god. The fights that are mentioned between Svíar and Gautar accordingly should be based on the power-legitimation of the respective leader, but this can however not outrule the possibility also of internal fighting on each side in purely political matters. It however explains why these fights can be fought in varying places without special connection to the later geographical regions Svealand and Götaland. It also explains why the fertility-cult to its outer structure is not affected by these fights, since it is in both cases used as a medium for the cult of the rulers.

Furingsten concludes in his dissertation about changes in society in a long-time perspective the development within the examined parts of Västergötland as follows: "Through the whole analysed epoch of time, from c:a 1500 BC to 1000 AD, there is a continuous development from the more simple and uncomplicated to the more advanced and complicated. New elements all the time appear in the picture of the society's development. The contact-surfaces with the surrounding world get bigger and more complicated. New institutions seem to be introduced." He explains this with mostly economical reasons but he also remarks: "The intermittent changes however can not be generally indicated or explained by this continuous driving-force of changes. (*i.e. economical reasons. My remark.*) The rapid happenings at certain trend-breaks in the development have been suggested to depend on changes in the ideology or the religion of the society." (Furingsten 1985, p.180) In opposite to the Marxist theories which all the time see economical reasons as the foundation of changes Furingsten states that he has observed a "generally seen in time coinciding change-epoch within all the four sectors of society, economical, political, and religious/ideological circumstances." He concludes:

An ideological/religious change can get a very rapid spread also in societies lacking the masscommunication-system of modern society,

unless it meets resistance from groups in society who are interested in keeping the earlier ideology, to keep their power-position in society. If the ideological change is of such a character that the great majority of humans receive economical advantages, this however contributes to a rapid acceptance of the change. The consequence of an ideological change giving opportunities to a rapid economical development hence may rapidly get consequences for the development of all the society. (Furingsten 1985, p.178).

His example about the replacement of private property with the feudal-system, which change led to a rapid economical and social development, is however not quite correct. He forgets that the precondition for the feudal-system was the Roman law that introduced private property as a legal term. Till then the Germanics only knew the right to dispose the land where you actually lived, but you could not own land far away where you not also lived, and still less collect taxes and land-hire from people living there. Apart of this his theses indeed support the conclusions I myself have drawn of the material, where all greater changes seem to rest on political/economical/religious foundations, who are difficult to divide in regard to cause and consequence, and they seem to occur simultaneously. Also my assumption of fights between the earlier sacral-kings, basing their power on the fertile earth and the sun-god and newer rulers having replaced this with a genealogical motivation, is supported by his results. I still claim, however, that the most probable is that the religious/political change is a precondition of changed economical circumstances for the people. Say e.g. a Gefolgschaft-king promising rich looting must have easier to recruit followers than the old sacral king who is not interested in letting his people get rich and hence loose his free labour. The old sacral-king disposes a lot of land whose yield goes to him and his family to the greatest part, while the rest living on the farm only get meager food and have no power. Furingsten notes a transition around 150 AD when he means we get a more individually centred religious opinion, where it is important to mark divisions between different individuals, and where a more spiritual understanding of death has given way for a more bodily. (Furingsten 1985, p.179) This goes well along with the more individual achievements which the Odinic warriors were proud of, in opposite to the more falangistic systems of warfare.

## South-Sweden

Charlotte Fabech treats another religious aspect, namely sacrifice-finds in Sweden from the Migration Period in *Offerfundene fra Sösdala, Fulltofta og Vennebo. Eksempler på rytternomadiske riter og ceremonier udført i sydkandinaviske*

*jernaldersamfund*. She initially tells that the examination involves 38 South-Scandinavian finds with more than 30000 artefacts, from which material she has isolated those finds, that can not be regarded as war-boot-sacrifice finds. Among else the Sjörup-find she regards as a bride-silver depot comparable with a number of Danish finds. Concerning the finds in Sösdala and Fulltofta in Skåne and Vennebo in Västergötland (*treated above after the last excavations by Nordqvist*) she understands these as rests after a death cult which belonged to the burial-rituals within certain South-Swedish territories. The referred finds all contain harness- and saddle-equipments from the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. (Fabech 1987, p.256—276; 1991 b, p.104 f) Parallels are found in Eastern Europe like for example the finds in Cosoveni and Untersiebenbrunn. (Forssander 1937, p.205 ff) The Sösdala find consists of fittings belonging to head-harnesses and saddles to at least two head-harnesses and five saddles, sorted by function in five pits and covered with an earth-layer of a shovel-deep's thickness. Four of these pits were found within an area of c:a 12 m<sup>2</sup>, Sösdala I. The pits probably have been covered by a stonesetting, where a lance-tip from the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> c., which is part of the find, is supposed to have been lying. 60 meters from the other area the fifth pit, Sösdala II, was situated. The fittings are in many cases broken and ripped off but they have not been exposed to fire. Human and animal bones are lacking in the material. Fabech therefore considers that it can not deal with graves. This in spite of the fact that it is only 100 m to the great cremation-grave-field in Vätteryd. She remarks that characteristics for the finds in Sösdala, Fulltofta and Vennebo is that they are dug down in gravel-ridges close to lakes or bogs, and that the deposition all the time is in round pits close to the surface. Graves on the other hand are found generally within a distance of 100-150 m. The dating embraces c.a 400-450 AD. (Fabech 1991 b, p.104 ff) She comments afterwards that it does not deal with war-boot-sacrifice since it is not laid down in wetlands but on the dry land but the objects however still are consciously destroyed. It is not, as in the case of bride-silver depots, a question of jewellery being cut asunder to serve as means of payment or raw-ware, but it deals with objects meant for practical use having been made unusable in the same manner as the finds in the danish bogs. Nor can they be understood as horse-graves since there are no remains of horses. In such cases also the harnesses were still on the horses. (Fabech 1991 b, p.104 ff) Besides it may be noted that it does not appear saddle-equipment and weapons in European horse-graves during the period between the 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> cc. (Dabrowski 1975, p.179-197; Müller-Wille 1972, p.119-249)

About the above might be remarked concerning Vennebo that the new excavations have revealed, that it likely deals also with war-boot-sacrifice, and also bones of horses that are regarded as sacrificed have been found there. This however does not necessarily outrule the estimation of Fabech which could maybe explain parts

of the finds. It is now regarded as a cult-place for sacrifices and the lake is right now, 2003, being examined by marine-archaeologists of the Vänernmuseum in Lidköping to find possible artefacts on the bottom.

## **“Hunnic” burial-travel-sacrifices and a cultic centre in the Sösdala-area**

She says that similar finds not exist in other parts of Scandinavia but well in Eastern and Central Europe. New Hunnic finds in e.g. Pannonhalma and re-evaluation of earlier finds in Szeged-Nagyzéksós have given insight in the burial-travel-rituals of the Huns. (Bona 1979, p.297-342 ; Tomka 1986, p.423-488) It deals according to I.Bona about so called cremation-fire finds (Scheiterhaufenfunde) but Fabech calls them Burial-travel-sacrifices. These finds are characterised by a content consisting of richly adorned saddle- and harness-equipment, suits with attached golden decorations, weapons and possibly bronze vessels. Many of these items seem to be conciously destroyed and are both bowed and hurt from fire. They lie ground in one or several pits, and none of these show signs of a funeral.

Analogys to such ritual customs are known from later nomadic rider-peoples. It shows up that they, after the burial of an important man dressed in an expensive suit and with personal equipments, have eaten a funeral-meal which means that they ate one of his horses. The rests from this meal was thrown into or beside the fire where the horse had been prepared, together with parts of the horse-equipment and the extra weapons of the deceased. In this connection the objects often were hurt or burned. When the fire had burt down the remnants were gathered and placed in a ground pit, that the dead should have comfortable access to the equipment. (Fabech 1991 b, p.107 f)

Sösdala and the other finds can be dated to the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, and hence during the Hunnic epoch. The similarities are too great to disregard, and so you must assume that these finds are from humans, who in one way or another have been in close contact with the Huns during this period. Fabech claims it is connected with the horse as an indicator of power and prestige. She means that it through the Sösdala-group is possible to indicate connections between South-Sweden and Central Europe which also include religious rites and ceremonies. She suggests that the Heruls as a tribe which both in Skåne and in Västergötland might have had experience of such ceremonies. (Fabech 1991 b, p.108 f) She writes:

This tribe, whose origin both by Procopius and Jordanes is placed in Scandinavia, moved from the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. to the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century between several places in South- and Central Europe, where they among else earned their living as mercenaries with the Huns. Remarkable, however,

in this connection is that they, according to the sources, during all these years kept the contact with Scandinavia, where to some of them finally returned in the 6<sup>th</sup> c. (Lindqvist 1945; Coste & Ritthaler 1966; Wolfram 1980; Näsman 1984, p. 107 ff) Even if it is not possible to localise the home of the Heruls via archaeological finds, the stories show that Scandinavian peoples during long periods were present in several locations in Europe, and that they had close relations to the Huns. Relations which in time, like with the Goths, can have resulted in a partial nomadisation of their life-style. If this is the case it is natural that certain nomadic myths and rituals were taken over, even if this not necessarily must have included the religious ideological base of the Huns. That the overtaken habits specially are connected with horses is not confusing if you consider, that war was the base of the community of this people, and that specially the horse was the base for e.g. the successful expansion of the Huns. A success that rested on the unequalled capability of the nomadic cavallery to cover vast distances very rapidly combined with their discipline and organisation and the use of the most feared weapon in that time—the reflex-bow. (Fabech 1991 b, p. 109)

She accordingly regards the Sösdala group as an archaeological evidence of the great mobility of some Scandinavian peoples during the Migration Period. She means the finds point towards the Continent, and that they suggest that in the 5<sup>th</sup> century lived people in South-Sweden with deep relations to Eastern- and Central Europe. People who through their own or their relatives' service as mercenaries with Sarmatians and Huns had achieved some of the skills, customs and rites of the rider-nomads. These persons also belonged to the top stratum in society, which is demonstrated by the quality of the find-objects. The topography of Sweden—a net of woods, lakes, rivers—has not been inviting for a cavallery, and hence a nomadic life-style has not been able to keep when returning to South-Sweden, but the very fact they mastered the art of riding and the related discipline might have resulted in the introduction of the horse as an outstanding ideal among the ideals forming the base of the South-Swedish society. South-Sweden shows several contemporary finds of horse-equipments. Here she refers to the area between Ö.Ringsjön and Finjasjön in Skåne as a direction-mark. Within an area of c:a 30 x 15 km from this centre similar finds have been made in Sjörup, Tormestorp, Sösdala, Ankhuk, Göingeholm, Fulltofta and Vätteryd. The finds, who are unique in the Swedish archaeological material and who all can be dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. The connection to the continent is also demonstrated by the contemporary South-East-Swedish art of bracteates, equipped with broad fringe-bands and/or plastical face-masks as on the

Gratianus-medal in the Szilágy-Somlyó—treasure from Transsylvania. (Fabeci 1987, p.294; 1991 b, p.109 ff)

She concludes:

The concentrated localisation of all these places with Central-European influences point according to my opinion on the existence of a central place. An idea already T. J. Arne suggested in 1937 in his examination of the Göingeholm-find: "The occurrence of the rich finds in V.Göinge and Frosta härads, in the middle of Skåne, suggest in my opinion the existence of a Migration Period realm, whose closer size presently is not possible to decide." (Arne 1937: 94-95) Maybe here is a place of the same character as Gudme on Funen (Thrane 1985); but also with relations to the Continent of a kind which not only has put its traces in the material culture, but, regarding the burial-travel-sacrifice finds from among else Sösdala, also in the spiritual.

## **Sacral and political centra**

The above indeed is a fascinating suggestion. Still a possible cult-place, a Gudhem-place, and a presumed realm of the Migration Period which, like earlier given examples, rests on a sacral ground. In this example we also can sense that it is not only Óðinn being on march forwards in the Scandinavian milieu, but also cultic influences from the Huns are parts of the mixture. It undeniably gives a certain credibility to a possible connection of the decorations on the golden necklace-collars to among else the Hunnic art, but the Celtic influences remain alongside. There is evidently a rather spread syncretism within both cultic use and specially the art-craft during this period. Add to this all the excavations of Vifot in Uppåkra outside Lund in Skåne in 1934 and the very rich finds which have appeared in the excavations 1996-97. The cultural layers stretch from the birth of Christ to around 1000 AD. Berta Stjernquist connects directly to a power-political-centre based on sacral power. (Stjernquist 1996) After excavations during the spring and summer in 1997 it has been found approximately 2500 objects from the time around the beginning of our time-reckoning and up to the Viking Time. (Hårdh 1997, pers. com.)

## **Herules or Goths?**

What confuses me is the strong locking of Fabech on the Heruls, and the only and short mentioning of the Goths. This is indeed during the period the Greutungi with allied tribes are ruled by the Huns- the Gothic kings in the East



are petty-kings under the Huns. The Heruls, as allies of the Greutungj, are in the same situation. It is however still a stronger connection between the Greutungj as a unit and Scandinavia, and their old realm stretches all the way up to Balticum and the Finnish border, and that realm now formally is controlled by the Huns. The Heruls are stuck down in Ukraine east of the Greutungland close to the Black Sea up to the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The direct contacts between Scandinavia and Eastern Europe should naturally be with the Greutungj and their Hunnic superiors—earlier of course also with Vesi-Tervingi in Dacia. The Vittene-find on the contrary connects with the southward migration before the division. Both during the Hunnic period and after it's termination when the sons of Atilla were defeated by the Gepids there should have been intensive and close contacts between the Scandinavians and their Gothic kins, and it also is told in popular lore of the Hunahär, the Hunnic army, which might refer to East-Goths returning to Scandinavia. This should have happened around the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. or possibly already after 375 AD, since not all Greutungj/Eastgoths with allies submitted to the Huns but instead they fled. Timely such a context fits quite well. The finds in the latest excavations in Finnestorp and Vennebo indeed strengthens this connection since it is specifically in Västergötland the Hunahär is referred to.

## The demography of Västergötland

Carl Löfving estimates in an article in *Populär Arkeologi* 1988, which builds on his licentiate dissertation, *Befolkning, information och inflytande. Administrativa möjligheter öster om Skagerrak/Kattegatt före medeltiden* 1986, that for the time soon before year 1000 there is a population-density of 1-2 persons/km<sup>2</sup> and a total population in present West-Sweden of c:a 50 000 persons. He claims that the social structure at this time was founded on kinship, and that there were parallel systems. One consisting of local units with farmers being part of a continuously changing system of chieftains and over-chieftains, and a pirate-society which embraced great distances but did not control areas between their units. These were preferably situated in connection to oceans and greater waterways, and their members supported themselves on piracy and goods-exchange in richer parts of Northern Europe. He accordingly talks about the Vikings. The main-body of the population lived on cultivation and cattle-breeding complemented with hunting and fishing. Burn-beating occurred. The distance between the settlements was in average a couple of kilometers. The habitations were moved within the territory of the family/kin-unit after some generations. Ware-exchange existed over greater distances within the pirate-society. Information was conveyed orally and by means of the human memory. Runic writing was not used

for administrative aims. Constructed roads for long distances were missing. The religion was not uniform. In the farmers society gods promoting the crops and the fertility were adored while in the pirate-society they worshipped gods furthering luck in war and assured slain warriors a comfortable afterlife. The kingdom was not territorially fixed and the king did not have a permanent administration. The power of a king exclusively depended on his followers who he attracted through demonstrating bravery, military competence and generosity—the gift-society of Hedeager. The juridical system lacked executive organs who could execute decisions. Private property in our sense was lacking—i.e. the Roman law was still not applicated. West-Sweden was still around year 1000 a fragmented society. A roadless and wooded landscape with a population mainly consisting of pagan analphabets, whose habitations were spread with a couple of kilometer's distance. The archaeological material does not indicate any extensive contacts with the world around. These circumstances make that it is necessary to question if it even was possible to rule units in the size of landscapes with a population living under such conditions.

This hesitation becomes, still according to Löfving, still more motivated with the background, that culturally more developed countries as the Frankish realm and England during the Early Middle Ages lacked permanent hierarchical ruling-systems. He points out that such international contacts which he searches are found in the mouth of the Oslofjord and in Denmark, and that there exist well developed power-structures there. (Löfving 1988)

The above-standing is a characteristic of West-Sweden around year 1000, and the ruling-system Löfving calls for is a well developed medieval feudal system with responsible vassals and a strong central power. He here accordingly is speaking of a formation of a country which we all know first happened in Denmark and Norway. The conditions 5-600 years earlier were not the same, and, what the lack of international archaeological finds concerns, Löfving evidently has not read his home-work—in any case not the one about the Migration Period—but concerning the time around 1000 Löfving is correct in claiming there is no national unity. There are however heaps of contacts, also archaeologically indicated, with Denmark and Norway. He admits himself that the thegnar (thanes) might have been Danish vassals and mentions also Knut the Great, and in his later doctoral dissertation *Gothia-Dansk/engelskt skattland*, Göteborg 2001, he even claims that Västergötland was more or less totally controlled by the Danes and that the Swedish king was petty-king under the Danish. He also notes the fight between Irish/English and German mission. Rune-stones besides talk of voyages in both east and west and he does not at all mention the oldest rune-stones and specially not the Sparlösa-stone. He claims that the original units in West-Sweden, before the church and the

central kingdom, should have been “local inhabited territories—local units—of a couple of hundred km<sup>2</sup>”. Västergötland at this time was an area with strong Danish influence during certain periods, but the pagan alphabets in a roadless and wooden landscape is indeed much to exaggerated. Just at this time in fact the formation of the country started right in Västergötland. His reasoning in any case gives a certain plausibility to doubt a grand-scale political and administrative organisation in Västergötland in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. A number of more local power-centra however well fit into the frame of his theories, but his remark on pagans shows that he has no understanding of the importance of a sacral legitimation of power in such a local society, which indeed for the farmers is the decisive whether to obey this ruler or not, and it is as decisive in connection with the warrior-cult for the loyalty of the warriors. Whether Löfving considers the last mentioned stratum as belonging to the “pirate-society” or to “farmers included in a continuously changing system with chieftains and over-chieftains” is unclear. He does not seem to understand that these both “societies” are undissolvably integrated into each other and are one and the same. He consequently in his analysis takes no consideration to the connection between the sacral and the secular power before Christianity, but later he claims just this very connection but he disregards that the legal right of private property is a consequence of the Roman law, and that this par definition not could exist before the introduction by the church.

## Norway

Also in Norway there are clear indications connecting the area with the Continent. On a glass-vessel of Greek origin from Jæren from the Migration Period there is inscribed **ΠΙΕ ΖΗΣ ΑΙΖ ΚΑΛ ΟΣ**—Drink and live well—which fits quite well with the living conditions in South-West-Norway during the first five centuries of our time-reckoning. (Mykland 1976, p.335) Specially during the 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> cc the cultural development was flourishing in Agder, Rogaland Hordaland and Valdres according to Knut Mykland's *Norsk Historie*. (a.a., p.255) You must presuppose regular contacts with the Gothic areas on the Continent. Drinking-glasses from the Rhen-area and Alexandria, games of dice, gold-bracteates, medallions with grenades and filigran, finger-rings etc. belong to the import-goods. (a.a., p.320 ff) Concerning weapon-finds may be mentioned a sword with spear and shield from the 4<sup>th</sup> c. in Valdres. The sword wears a Latin inscription: RANVICI. In Østlandet three Roman swords with pictures of deities representing Mars or Victoria have been found. (a.a., p.323 ff, 245 ff) In this period new grave-fields were founded and also settlements which were remarkably great. One house was 90 m long and had a roof-surface estimated to 500 m<sup>2</sup>.

It is accordingly a parallel to the hall-buildings in Halland, which as we know lie comfortable for contacts with the Continent. One house is believed to have been built in two floors with a total living-surface of 250 m<sup>2</sup>. (a.a., p.245 ff) The farm Søstelid in Vest-Agder uses already in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. active fertilizing, as was made also on Öland, and has special stable-buildings with boxes for the cattle. (Anders Hagen 1953) The development in the Roxen-area, treated further below, also well can be compared to this. This flourishing ceases in specially Nordfjord, Sunnfjord, Sogn, Sør-Rogaland and Vest-Agder during the run of the period from the 450's to the end of the 500's AD when a great number of yards are forsaken during, as it looks, ordered conditions. On the remaining ones a decrease of the growing of barley occur. Many of these farms are during the rest of the Iron Age uninhabited and the cultivated ground is overgrown. (Mykland 1976, p.398 ff) In the connection it may be noted that Norwegian boats already during the Merovingian Period start being equipped with sails. (a.a. p.423 f) I put the decrease in habitations in connection with the colonisation of Brittany and also the connection between Hordaland and the Harudes, and at the same time the East-Gothic realm in Italy has ceased and the remaining Goths now stay more isolated down in Spain. Already in the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. the Eastern Goths indeed disappear into the Roman realm, and hence become less reachable along the old roads, and for the Norwegians now the Western Sea is more inviting.

An important influence from the Roman area is according to Mykland the Norwegian weight-system during this period, which seemingly goes well together with the Roman coin-reform 215 AD. Every weight-unit—öre—was divided into 7 units. The heaviest weight-plummet was a little more than 26 grams. The lesser plummets on 1/7 öre were as heavy as a silver coin from the time of Augustus—3,8 grams. (a.a. p.349)

### 3. Eastern Sweden and the islands in the Baltic—an archaeological survey

I will give a short overview also over eastern Sweden, even if it will not go as deep as the rest. It will have the shape of a general presentation of some archaeological indications that possibly could hint towards a connection between the Goths and Scandinavia.

Compareable with the gold-necklaces and gold-collars of Västergötland is for East-Sweden the Tureholm-collar. If its pattern shows foreign traits is dubious and hence it is not necessary to assume continental influence.



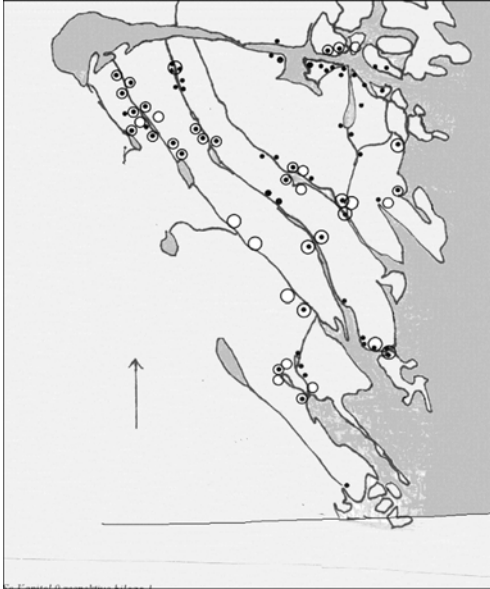
*Fig. 30 The goddess pendant. Source:  
Kent Andersson 1994, p.26*

More interesting is a pear-shaped pendant in late-hellenistic style, found in Lerkaka on Öland in Runsten's parish, who, like its smaller cousins, is manufactured on Öland, but the style is directly influenced by the art of the Pontic basin. It also demonstrates clear similarities with the art in the Vistula-area.. (Kent Andersson 1994, p.26)



*Fig. 31 Bracelet and Gotlandic gold-beads from Möklinta. (SHM)  
Cut out from Kent Andersson 1994, p. 27*

The same double connection is demonstrated also by the three Gotlandic gold-beads found together with a bracelet of Gotlandic manufacturing in Hede in Möklinta parish, Västmanland. There is a difference in age between the oldest and the youngest object in this find of approximately 150 years, indicating regular trade Gotland-Västmanland, and simultaneously you can confirm south-easterly stylistic influences. (Kent Andersson 1994, p. 27)



*Fig 32 Map over Tjust and Östergötland during the Pre-Roman and Roman Iron Age. The water-level is around AD and the firth in the upper part is the present lake Roxen. Source: Inger E Johansson 1993.*

The area from Tjust over Östergötland and up to the Nyköping-area in Södermanland has been treated by Inger E. Johansson in an academic C-paper at

the university of Linköping. (Inger E Johansson 1993) She demonstrates a number of interesting archaeological indications suggesting early contacts with the Continent and the Vistula area. Already during the transition between the Bronze- and the Iron-Age there are finds in the extensions of the waterways. In Hassle in Närke is found Etruscan vessels and 2 bent Greek bronze-swords and also an identical Grek sword in in Sjögesta, Vreta Kloster parish, Östergötland. From the early Roman Iron Age comes a silvermount from a sword-scabbard from the Rhen-area found in Eggeby in Skärkind parish. Six Roman bronze-coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> cc. have been found in Nygård, Lofta parish in Tjust. In the same parish also 9 Roman gold-coins from the early Roman Iron Age in Hässelsta and 3 in Solberga. From the late Roman Iron Age there is also a depot-find in Hässelsta with 6 East- and West-Roman solidi. All the coin-finds have been made within 800 meters from the contemporary main-waterway to Roxen. In Grebo a twin-edged sword from the late Roman Iron Age was found. It had ornated bronze-mount for the scabbard and was part of a grave-find also including a gold-ring with a round bead. Gold-necklaces occur in several places in the area. Among else in Tjust and in Kärrvik at Misterhult. In Stockebäck in Tryserum parish a gold-necklace with a snake head has been found. On Gotland are several finds. Most of the rings on the East-Swedish mainland are from the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> cc. In many cases import or stilistic influence can not be excluded and, according to Sture Bolin, also be made probable.

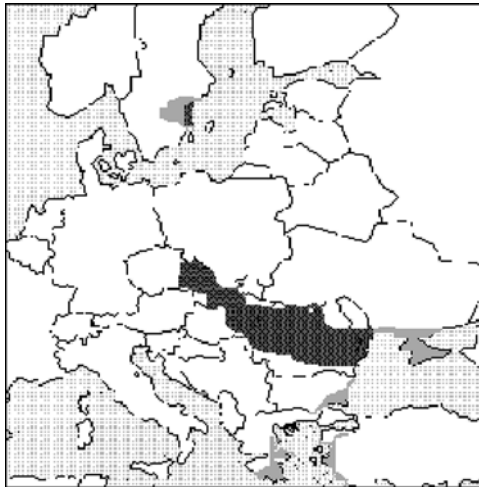
The conclusion of her total examination is that the finds along the different waterways in the area mostly come from areas along the Oder or the Vistula and over the Hungarian steppe towards Donau, and that they suggest regular contacts all the time since the Bronze Age. (Inger E. Johansson 1993) There are, besides, clear indications of terminated settlements and grave-fields, that possibly could indicate an emigration from the area. I return to this problem in a later part.

Ulf Erik Hagberg has—in close connection to the last treated area—namely at Gåtebo on Öland, excavated a grav with raised stones of exactly the same type as the stone-settings in among else Odry and Wesior in the Vistula-area.(U.E. Hagberg 1994; pers. com.) It is popularly called “The Polish grave”. Similarities in Sweden you only find at Sebberneby on Öland and Gullared in Västergötland. The finds of Skedemosse I have already referred to earlier.

Anders Kaliff demonstrates that the technique to build stone walls is changed during this period in both Östergötland and on Öland through the introduction of cold-mortar, i.e. to lay the stones in a way they keep themselves on place without plaster. (Anders Kaliff 1992)

In this area in Östergötland and Tjust occur, according to Kaliff and other, earlier than in other parts of Scandinavia, a transition to three-ship houses, and in the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. it appears a power-concentration in the Roxen-area at the mouths of the Stångån and Svartån streams into the Roxen lake, where burghs are constructed. (Anders Kaliff 1987, 1992; Harald Stale 1970) Simultaneously occur according to Johan Rönby big yards—chieftain-yards—in the inner part of the Gamlebyviken bay, the most used waterway towards Roxen at that time. (Rönby 1986) It evidently appears, hence, as if the Continental contacts have added as well resources as new ideas.

In connection with the here treated area there is a more unusual effect of the Continental influence. The agriculture changed according to pollen-analysis towards a new direction during the period 200 BC to 450 AD. This means that among else new crops were introduced.



*Fig. 33 Klibblim and Vejde. Source:  
Inger E Johansson 1993*

This extremely simplified map by Inger E. Johansson shows the distribution of two weeds, Klibblim and Vejde, only occurring wild in a greater extent in the coastal region of Östergötland and Småland and along the coast of the Baltic states in the South-East. Besides in Hungary, south-eastern Europe with the Crimea and Asia Minor. (Inger E Johansson 1993) Seeds to these weeds could



possibly have been contained in closed containers together with imported cereals in connection with the introduction of new crops. Zosimus indeed tells of how the Goths bought cereals in bushels. The area corresponds astonishingly well with the Gothic settlements and migration-routes. For the sake of completeness, however, it must be added, that a certain distribution with the sea-birds has occurred in the Finnish archipelago and at the coast of Skåne. Vejde also has turned wild in lesser extent in other parts of the country, since it was cultivated to produce plant-colour for textiles.

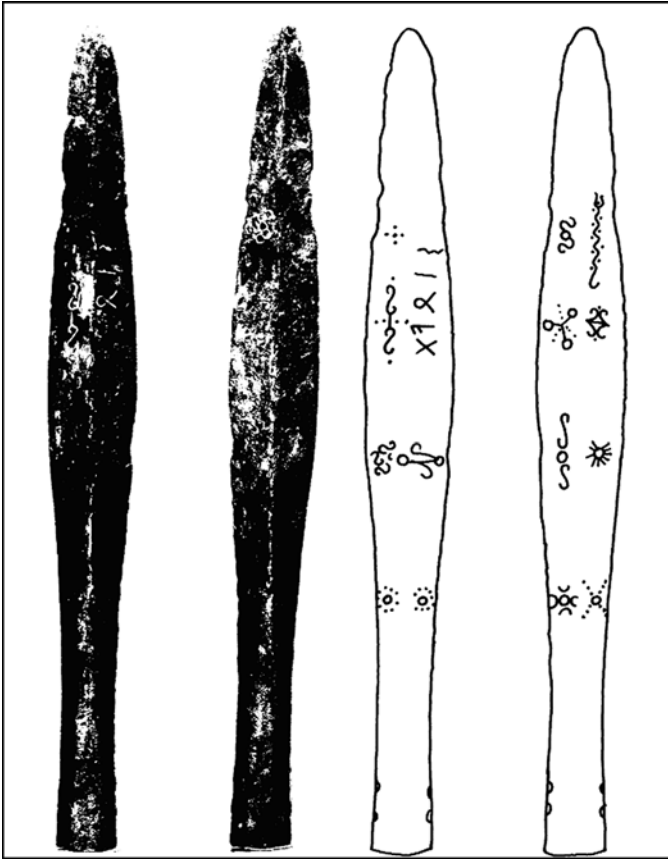
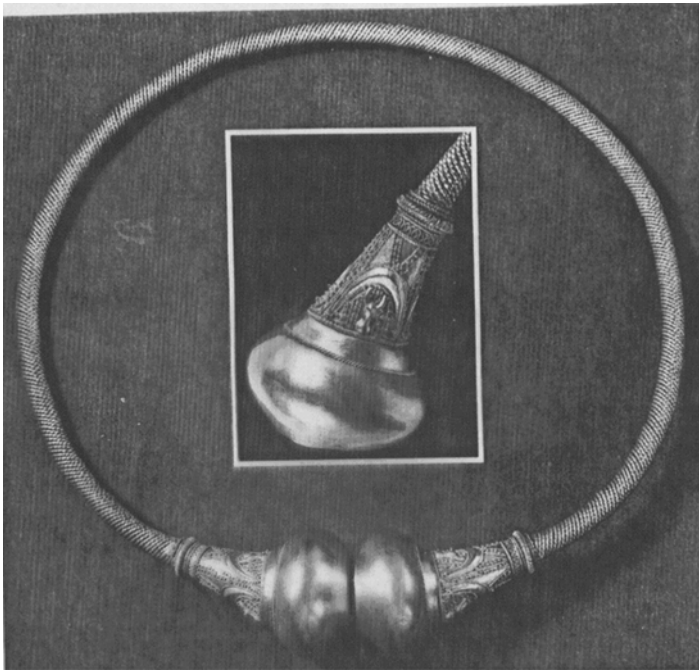


Fig. 34 The Mos-tip. Source: Martin Giertz, *Gotländskt arkiv* 1991.

Before we leave the Baltic Sea area still a couple of Gotlandic finds must be mentioned. In 1961 was found at Mos yard in Stenkyrkaa rune-carved spear-tip. It was dated by Stenberger to 200-250 AD. The inscription says “gaois” and is made in the elder futhark. Except of the runes it is decorated with a three-point (treudd), s-shaped and ring-shaped signs, a sun and a snake-similar figure. Below the sun is seen a ring surrounded by four angles. This might well be regarded as a kind of svastika suggesting the primary-forces, but also indicate a combination of the sun with the moon-crescent. This is typical for East-Germanic, not least Gothic, spear-tips. Below a ring-figure on the opposite side there also is a thinkable little moon-crescent. All decorations are inlaid with silver. Martin Giertz has 1991 in *Gotländskt Arkiv* interpreted the inscription as the person-name Gais from gair ‘spear’ occuring in many places just on Gotland, and convincingly tied the name to the Goths.(Giertz 1991, off print)



*Fig. 35 The necklace-ring from Havor. Source: Nylén 1996.*

In Havor on Gotland Erik Nylén found one of the great Swedish necklace-rings comparable with the rings from Dronninglund and Vittene and the Continental rings of Smjela and Olbia. Nylén regards them all as being of Nordic origin. (Nylén 1996)

## Conclusion of the archaeological results

The archaeological indications suggest that the transition between collective burial habits and individual monumental graves seems to be later in Västergötland than in the more southern areas in Halland and Skåne, and figure-representations and symbols seem to be simpler designed. This suggests that Västergötland is a border area both for the earlier Megalithic culture and for the central area of the rich Bronze Age culture, to which central area the landscape however still belongs. The change from inhumation to cremation is also later than in the mentioned areas. Maybe it depends of, as Weiler supposes, that the old Megalithic culture in the Falbygden-area with its powerful tradition is less inclined for changes than earlier sparsely populated areas. The impulses of change come from the South and South-West, and travel towards the North and East. The most important routes for both trade and ideas are the river valleys of Halland and the Göta älv river valley.

We also have confirmed a close connection between South- and West-Sweden, Jutland and South-West Norway- the Kattegat-area—but also noted that Hedeager sees a connection between Zealand and North-East Europe, while she claims that Jutland is more related to North-West Europe. This might seem contradictory towards earlier conclusions, but could be explained by the Olgerdige, where Neumann has demonstrated a borderline between Jutes and Angles, where the Angles respond to the North-West European influence while the Jutes naturally belong in the Kattegat-area.

In the Roman Iron Age Västergötland have a central position in quite another way than earlier. Politically it already before was a power-factor within the rich Bronze Age culture, but now also the religious adaptation seems to be more rapid, and the landscape plays, by all signs to judge, a central role during the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period showing massive continental contacts.

The gold-finds in Västergötland during this period are the richest in the land. Both via bracteate-finds, connected with the examination of Hauck, the Ålleberg-collared, rich women's graves and cultic names I have suggested a central cult-place in Gudhem in Västergötland, fitting into the pattern Gudme on Funen via Bornholm and the guldgubbar, the kingdom at Stevn on Zealand, Sösdala and Uppåkra in Skåne and northwards to Gudhem in Norway. These places and a number of other on the road—not the least Slöinge where the Hallandic guldgubbar have been found—are supposed to be part of a system of cult-places often devoted to Frejr/Freja where the Continental cult of Óðinn is involved via the cult of Balðr, but also to other deities like Njorðr/Njārðr, Týr and directly to Óðinn. The names of the gods following Óðinn are supposed to have overlaid

and partly refurbished the older divine pantheon. The former sun-god in at least Sweden and parts of Norway, *Úllr*, has been replaced by *Baldr*, who does not appear convincingly Nordic. *Ingr*/*Ingun* are replaced by *Frejr*/*Freja* and *Gaut* has been assimilated and changed name to *Óðinn*-*Gaut* and have got a more leading position. It is also noted that the Jutes, according to Neumann, have re-established an old fertility-sanctuary, now in honour of *Freja*, at *Kastrup* on *Jutland* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. In *Västergötland* a connection has been made between the gold-find and the presumed chieftain's yard in *Vittene* with the *Grönån* stream and the *Göta älv* river area, and I have suggested the possibility of a cult- and power-centre in this area.

An interesting observation also is, regarding the ancient intimate connection between *Västergötland*—*Bohuslän* and *Jutland* already in the Megalithic time and the similar names of the peoples—*götar*/*jutar*, that also the inertia with older burial habits seems to be connected within all the area. Hence the Jutes during long periods apply inhumation when the rest of Denmark and Sweden have cremation-burials. As I regard it, there is a possibility of an old connection between Megaliths and inhumation which, in combination with a peripheral position, results in a conservative funeral-tradition far more durable than the one in *Västergötland* where you much faster change to cremation. This possibly could affect the archaeological picture concerning the age of the cult of *Gaut* who hence is not always possible to connect with flat-ground fire-pit graves. Inhumation, however, periodically also returns in Sweden and in *Västergötland* sporadically during the early Iron Age, so this implies the grave habits do not always indicate the cult. The Jutes also were pioneers to build howes in Kent and to restore inhumation. At that time *Óðinn* was introduced indicating still more that *Gaut* was an early Odinistic god and that he can have been introduced at such an early stage that inhumations still were applied. The *Beowulf* *kviða* also suggests close connections between West- and South-Sweden and *Jutland*. It also has been pointed out that *Jutland* in the description of *Ottar's* journey is called *Gotland*. *Sahlström* and *Weiler* both support a close connection within the *Kattegat*-area, and this gives the ideas of *Oxenstierna* and *Svennung* a greater probability, when you also consider the by *Ryderup* established connection between the women's graves in *Varnhem* and *Juellinge* and the ones of *Ockulicz* at *Weklice* in *Elbląg*, and thereto the great number of artefact-finds supporting this connection.

The position of woman has been found to be stronger during the Pre-Roman and early Roman Iron Age than later, and this has been connected to her more leading position within the fertility-cult during the pre-Odinistic era, but the idea of matriarchy has been denounced. Matrilinear structures, however, do seem more than probable since we well know through *Barði Guðmundsson* that the

East-Scandinavian scaldic families living in the Saurbær-districts and the saurbær farms applied such structures, and the mother, whose name the children took, often was a priestess to Freja. Matrilinear structures also are confirmed with the Continental Goths and other Germanic tribes. The tribal sagas of the Goths, the Vinnili and the Lugi have reached a higher degree of probability. The women's graves in the boatgrave-fields in, specially, Badelunda at Tuna have been connected with a remaining fertility-tradition combined with an intruding and in time dominating continental cult of Óðinn, being part of the power-legitimation of the rulers, even if the old sacral kingdom's motivation also continuously was kept alive. The king hence both tried to claim he was the genealogical heir of Óðinn and at the same time the reborn Frejr, now grandson of Óðinn. This try to appeal to followers from both the new and the old cult gives the women a remaining relatively stronger position in certain regions. The boat-grave habit generally originates already in the Bronze Age.

In this connection I also regard as important that the symbolism in the rock-carvings during the early Bronze Age changes towards female symbols, and that a little goddess-figurine with normally two necklace-rings start growing more usual. The two rings are supposed to symbolise the sun and the moon, since the moon-goddess is the one taking care of the sun during wintertime, as we have seen when treating the cult of Frejr/Freja. This is supposed to have given the woman a more outstanding position. Archaeologically methodically, however, as earlier remarked, the distance in time is too vast to claim this as a proof during the Iron Age. It might, however, be seen as an indication, an indicium.

When the Continental cult of the god bearing the specific name of Óðinn starts expanding, also this picture is changed. The identification of the Forsa-ring as a to a cult-place tied oath-ring accentuates further the importance of the ring-symbol. (Brink 1996, p. 27-52) Earlier have in Västergötland and the Vistula area by Oxenstierna, Schindler and several been noted weaponless graves with close to identical pottery having replaced earlier weapon-graves and pottery of higher quality. Grave-fields, however not as many as claimed by Oxenstierna, have been terminated in Västergötland around AD and a generation later similar graves have appeared, partly on earlier family grave-fields, in the Vistula-area—in both cases flat-ground graves of fire-pit and urn-fire-pit types. Later inhumation arrives from the Continent, but still the original weaponlessness remains in men's graves. In e.g. Östergötland such uniform results have not been achieved. I will later return to a more thorough comparison between graves in Scandinavia and the Vistula-area.

A closer examination of the Danish weaponless graves has revealed that they substituted weapons with sword-scabbards, baldrics and other equipment complementing the weapon. Because of this I have concluded that they in reality are

weapon-graves, but that people at these occasions meant they could use the weapons better themselves. It accordingly does not deal with a religious conviction but rather with a social convention and an elitistic demonstration. This is also confirmed of the British weapon-graves marking Anglo-Saxons in opposite to the native British population. When the equality between the two groups later had been established this habit ceases.

Therefore I suggest, as treated above, that one of the reasons of weaponlessness in graves for men might be, that the dead has been a warrior in a tribal league having initiated him through a symbolic death, and hence he has then been regarded as a living dead. When he dies a new warrior is initiated to carry his task further on- he in practice becomes this warrior, and so he needs his weapons. Since he formally already was dead, the importance of the body is reduced. A similar organisation may have been common also elsewhere but in the case of the Goths and the West-Gauts it seems more touchable. It can, of course, also be that simple that weapons were expensive and hard to get, and so they were needed for the living, but since there is a lack of evidence in other areas of this specific habit it seems less convincing, but surely not impossible. When a woman dies, not being initiated in this model, it is definitely and hence might motivate more grave-gifts and rites. The wealthy burials of women however also could depend of religious preference as being priestesses and similar. Whether cremation or inhumation is a consequence of religious conviction has been discussed, but the general opinion seems to be that the dead earlier at inhumation was believed to live on the place also after the funeral, while he, when being cremated, dwells in a more abstract death-realm. In the latter case, when cremated, it is primarily the shape and size of the grave telling who is buried and later the grave-gifts contributed. In neither case depending of religious beliefs but rather on social convention.

It has been demonstrated that religious and secular power during older time are intimately connected, and that in Västergötland this power was established in the Cambro-Silur-area during the Stone- and Bronze Ages, but at the transition to the Iron Age, because of the migration, caused by the climatic deterioration, to areas with better pasture-land, more local chiefdoms establish themselves in the plains creating new power-centra for secular power, but still also based on a religious foundation. The development is similar in other North-European areas. Through an alternatively colder and more moistureous, alternatively warmer and drier weather, the yield of the agri-culture decreases and more soil is needed pro person. Simultaneously cattle-breeding becomes more vital for feeding the population. The light sand-soils possible to cultivate are destroyed by grazing animals, and hence one search for a combination of sand-soil for cultivation and clay-soil for grazing. In certain areas on the Continent and in Denmark they even try to cultivate heavier soils. Jankuhn presumes it depends on that they got better

tools, which I am inclined to doubt however. Maybe they were forced to develop better tools after having moved to these sounds more reasonable to me. Cattle and humans start living in the same houses or in close proximity in one-family farms. The warfare is continuously of a close to ritual character with a standard armament of lance and two spears and commanders with swords by model of the classical phalanx. Also fighting-dogs may have been used. (Randsborg 1995, p.197 ff) You rather get an impression of local raids and territorial markings and not of real warfare. A new custom, however, during the Roman Iron Age is the application of huge weapon-sacrifices in wet-lands. This habit has occurred already earlier but not to this extent and only with a lesser number of weapons in each find-site. Now it deals with equipment for whole armies, and it has been interpreted that it deals with the weapons of the defeated army. Before the battle the god was called for and was promised both the enemies and their weapons if the own army was victorious. It means no enemies were spared alive. The sacrificed weapons were intentionally destroyed that nobody should be able to use them. This habit is later connected with the expansion of the cult of Óðinn, and it fits well with the new type of individual fighting by warriors more frequently using swords in contrast to the earlier phalanx-style. When we however look on the Hjortspring-find from the 3<sup>rd</sup> c BC (Randsborg 1995, p.197 ff) and also other weapon-sacrifice finds in wet-lands during the preceding period we can discern a slightly different character not directly comparable with the later bog-sacrifices. In Hjortspring was found weapons and equipment from a whole little army nicely stored in an intact war canoe in a little swam. It, of course, can be regarded as a beginning of the later bog-sacrifices like in Illerup, but here the destruction was less tangible. In this special case a local place-name suggests it could be a sacrifice to Týr, which does not contradict the description by Tacitus. (Randsborg 1995, p.206)

Fabech indicates during the Roman Iron Age an import of Hunnic burial-habits to South-Sweden through the finds of Sösdala-type, and with that she also demonstrates the symbolic value of horses as status-objects. This tendency is also found in Västergötland in Finnestorp and Vennebo. These finds, comparable among else with the Brangstrup horse-pendants point towards South-East Europe and the Goths. The earlier assumption however this was Hunnic burial-habits also in Västergötland must be revised. The latest excavations have revealed that both Finnestorp and Vennebo are weapon-sacrifice finds of the same type as Illerup but with far more rich and rare objects. The finds there are of richly equipped and organised cavallery warriors loaded with golden equipment and advanced weapons and the total find-site-area, still not excavated, exceeds far Illerup. They have, as far as we know now, been in use at least during the 5<sup>th</sup> c. and to the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. At last it may also be noted that there are clear



indications of lively contacts also from eastern Sweden and south-western Norway with the Continent pointing at lasting and close connections with the Gothic continental area. It is notable as well that the defeated army in Illerup had combs made in Norway and armours of Roman origin.

Conclusively it can be regarded as confirmed, that the thesis about an from the Continent arriving cult of a god by the name Óðinn with a sacrificial cycle of eight years, replacing the original one of nineteen years and giving Gaut the name of Óðinn-Gaut, and who during the span of mainly the Roman Iron Age and the beginning of the Migration period, spreads in the Scandinavian area, evidently is supported by the archaeological indications. They seem to indicate a partly over-layering of an earlier cult-variant with a considerably stronger position for the women. Most of the old cultic habits, however, remained unchanged.

Factors have been revealed strongly suggesting an old cultic and material connection between the groups living in the Kattegat-area—South- and West-Sweden, South-West Norway and Jutland—with the Vistula-area. With other words the archaeological examination has improved the thesis about, that the peoples in all this area a certain period have worshipped the god Gaut, and this god is later being equalized with Óðinn. Hence there still are strong indications that he has been of an Odinistic character, and probably the same god but evidently he has not had the same, at least not outwards visible, strong position as he gets under the name of Óðinn-Gaut. Since the probability of the old tribal sagas concerning the strong cultic position of women contrary to the cult of Óðinn, has increased through the archaeological indications, this adds to the conclusion of the arrival of a new cultic variant. Västergötland appears more and more as a central area during the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period after having been close to peripheral in a religious sense, and you can now see the tendencies here which finally will result in the unification of Sweden. At this stage however there surely are several separate power-centra connected with religious centra and with a strong connection to the Gothic continental area. Maybe you could say it is kind of an entrepreneur-spirit within this society. Maybe Västergötland now is on the stage as the chiefdom on Lolland before the Stevn-kingdom appeared, but with the great difference that Västergötland later, like Zealand in Denmark, became the base of the formation of the modern Swedish kingdom. We know, however, that Danish influences during later times periodically have been strong in Västergötland, and this enforces the suspicions of rivalizing power-centra who could be played against each other by skilled entrepreneurs. Löfving has, as we have seen, no greater belief in the capability of western Sweden to rule itself, and he doubts that you even in year 1000 could rule even a landscape. His picture is in no way representative for the 5<sup>th</sup> c. in Västergötland, but still it gives a certain

support to doubt ideas of grand-scale politics and administrative unity in the landscape at this early time, as has been suggested by some archaeologists above, but instead it points towards the conclusion I have already drawn—namely that there were a number of regional rulers legitimating their power on a sacral base. Now it ought to have been the ancestry from Óðinn-Gaut, and perhaps completed with demands of the lands in a kind of cultic wedding, according to Steinsland above. Also Löfving's analysis indeed gives support for the connection between West-Sweden, Denmark and Norway—the Kategatt-area.

# THE PROBLEM OF CULTIC LEAGUES

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## The Helgikvidae and the Semnonenhain

If you regard the circumstances on the Continent, in a try to compare this area with the Nordic, the given starting point then is Tacitus.

He mentions a number of tribes or groups where a clear fertility-cult is traceable in Northern Germany and Denmark. They can rudimentarily be divided into *Ingaevones* and *Suebi*, but these also can be divided into lower units. He also mentions *Erminones*/*Herminones* with fertility-cult but this one has a slightly different character. Besides also *Istaevoines* are referred to, but of them we know nothing else but an assumption they may be connected with the early cult of Wodan/Wotan/Óðinn. There is no confirmation whatsoever except of the *Mannus-saga* that this league ever existed.

About the Suebes Tacitus tells in the translation of Manfred Fuhrmann (Tacitus, chapter 38 ff):

38. Jetzt habe ich von den Sueben zu berichten. Sie sind nicht, wie die Chatten oder Tenkterer, ein einheitlicher Stamm; sie bewohnen nämlich den größeren Teil Germaniens und gliedern sich wieder in besondere Stämme mit eigenen Namen, wenn sie auch insgesamt als Sueben bezeichnet werden. Ein Kennzeichen des Stammes ist es, das Haar seitwärts zu streichen und in einem Knoten hochzubinden. So unterscheiden sich die Sueben von den übrigen Germanen, so bei ihnen selbst die Freien von den Sklaven. Auch andere Stämme kennen den Brauch, sei es durch Verwandtschaft mit den Sueben oder, wie es häufig geschieht, durch Nachahmung; doch befolgt man ihn selten und nur in der Jugendzeit. Bei den Sueben hingegen kämten sie bis ins hohe Alter das widerstrebende Haar nach hinten und knüpfen es oft genau auf dem Scheitel zusammen; die Vornehmen tragen es noch kunstvoller. Das ist Schönheitspflege, aber von harmloser Art; denn nicht um zu lieben oder geliebt zu werden, richten sie sich her, sondern um recht groß und

furchtbar zu erscheinen, wenn sie in den Krieg ziehen: für das Auge des Feindes ist der Putz bestimmt.

39. Als die ältesten und vornehmsten Sueben betrachten sich die Semnonen. Den Glauben an ihr hohes Alter bestätigt ein religiöser Brauch. Zu bestimmter Zeit treffen sich sämtliche Stämme desselben Geblüts, durch Abgesandte vertreten, in einem Haine, der durch die von den Vätern geschauten Vorzeichen und durch uralte Scheu geheiligt ist. Dort leiten sie mit öffentlichem Menschenopfer die schauerhafte Feier ihres rohen Brauchesein. Dem Hain wird auch sonst Verehrung bezeigt: niemand betritt ihn, er sei denn gefesselt, um seine Unterwürfigkeit und die Macht der Gottheit zu bekunden. Fällt jemand hin, so darf er sich nicht aufheben lassen oder selbst aufstehen; auf dem Erdboden wälzt er sich hinaus. Insgesamt gründet sich der Kultbrauch auf den Glauben, daß von dort der Stamm sich herleite, dort die allbeherrschende Gottheit wohne, der alles andere unterworfen, gehorsam sei. Der Wohlstand der Semnonen erhöht ihr Ansehen: sie bewohnen hundert Gaue, und die Größe ihrer Gemeinschaft veranlaßt sie, sich für den Hauptstamm der Sueben zu halten.

40. Dagegen macht die Langobarden die geringe Zahl berühmt: inmitten zahlreicher sehr starker Stämme sind sie nicht durch Gefügigkeit, sondern durch Kampf und Wagemut geschützt. Dann folgen die Reudigner, Avionen, Anglier, Variner, Eudosen, Suardonen und Nuitonen; ihnen allen gewähren Flüsse oder Wälder Sicherheit. Im einzelnen haben sie nichts Bemerkenswertes, insgesamt aber verehren sie Nerthus, das heißt die Mutter Erde, und glauben, die Göttin nehme teil am Treiben der Menschen, sie fahre beiden Stämmen umher. Es gibt auf einer Insel des Weltmeeres einen heiligen Hain....

41. Dieser Teil von Suebien reicht bis in die entlegeneren Gebiete Germaniens. Näher um wie vorhin dem Rhein, so jetzt der Donau zu folgen wohnt der Stamm der Hermunduren, den Römern treu ergeben. Daher sind sie die einzigen Germanen, die nicht nur am Donauufer, sondern auch im Inneren des Landes und in der prächtigen Kolonie der Provinz Rätien Handel treiben dürfen. Sie kommen allerorten und ohne Beaufsichtigung über die Grenze. Und während wir den übrigen Stämmen nur unsere Waffen und Feldlager zeigen, haben wir den Hermunduren unsere Häuser und Gutshöfe geöffnet; sie sind ja frei von Begehrlichkeit. In ihrem Gebiet entspringt die Elbe, einst ein berühmter und wohlbekannter Fluß; jetzt weiß man von ihm nur durch Hörensagen.

42. Neben den Hermunduren wohnen die Narister und weiterhin die Markomannen und Quaden. Die Markomannen zeichnen sich durch Ruhm und Stärke aus, und sogar ihre jetzigen Wohnsitze, aus denen sie einst die Bojer vertrieben, sind ein Lohn der Tapferkeit. Auch die Narister und Quaden schlagen nicht aus der Art. Diese Gegend ist sozusagen die Stirnseite Germaniens, soweit sie von der Donau gebildet wird. Die Markomannen und Quaden hatten bis auf unsere Zeit Könige aus dem eigenen Stamme, aus dem edlen Geschlecht des Marbod und Tuder; jetzt lassen sie sich auch fremde gefallen. Doch ihre Stellung und Macht verdanken die Könige römischen Einfluß. Wir unterstützen sie selten mit Truppen, öfters mit Geld, und sie stehen sich dabei nicht schlechter.

43. An die Markomannen und Quaden schließen sich weiter rückwärts die Marsigner, Kotiner, Oser und Burer an. Von ihnen geben sich die Marsigner und Burer durch Sprache und Lebensweise als Sueben zu erkennen. Bei den Kotinern beweist die gallische, bei den Osern die pannonische Mundart, daß sie keine Germanen sind, und überdies ertragen sie Abgaben: sie müssen sie als landfremde Stämme teils an die Sarmaten, teils an die Quaden entrichten. Die Kotiner fördern sogar Eisen, was sie noch verächtlicher macht.

Alle diese Stämme haben nur wenig ebenes Gebiet; meist wohnen sie auf bewaldeten Höhen. Denn der Kamm einer fortlaufenden Gebirgskette teilt und durchschneidet das Suebenland.

Starting with the tribe claiming the superiority in the Suebian league, the Semnones, Tacitus recounts Langobards, Hermundurs, Narists, Markomans, Quades, Marsigni and Buriuntil he arrives at the dividing mountain-range. He besides refers to the group other normally call Ingaevones as Suebes, namely Reudignes, Aviones, Angles, Varines, Eudoses, Suardones och Nuitones who all are regarded as Nerthus-worshippers.

On the other side of the mountain-range he continues with Lugii being split into several subtribes, of which the most important are called Harii, Helveconi, Manimi, Helisii and Naharnavali. Later he goes on with Goths and Sueones. (Tacitus chap. 38-44)

He accordingly takes all tribes except a few which he is very well acquainted with, and bundles them together as Suebia. Why does he do so? His own motivation is that they have a way of living and a language suggesting they are Suebes. This with way of living is indeed interesting. There are several good reports of cultic habits. With the Semnones is described their great sacrifice-feast in the Semnonenhain (Tacitus chap.39), with the Naharnavali their cult of the

Dioscurian twins (Tacitus chap.43) and what the Ingaevones concern their cult of Nerthus.(Tacitus chap.40)

Has Tacitus used the cult as an identification or has he used contemporary information about Suebes? It is an undisputable fact that all recounted tribes have a fertility-cultic background, even if he mentions in chap.9 that there already is a cult of Wodan existing in Germania. It might indeed be doubted that the Lugii were included and after they turned into Vandili they have nothing with the Suebes to do. As foreign are the Goths, who are reported to have been dependent of the Vandili in the beginning. There is however, in my opinion, certain reasons to indirectly connect the Sueones with the Suebes. The mentioned, in any case might raise a suspicion that also the Goths can be included in a division based on cultic habits—i.e. they can have been regarded as a cultic league, even if Tacitus not directly suggests this. Anyhow there is a clear connection between the early Lugii/Vandili and the Goths, which at least Herwig Wolfram regarded as a cultic league. As earlier remarked I am, concerning that very point with the Vandili, a little dubious and I prefer to regard at least the Vistula-Goths as an own league. The circumstance many researchers mean the Vandili have a Nordic origin, however often disputed, possibly could in any case suggest an original common background and maybe also a cultic such. All peoples having a background in Gaut must not necessarily use theophoric names. There are indeed signs, as treated later in another section, that also the Burgundians might have such a background. The special Gothic burial-customs with weaponless graves for men, which could be a consequence of the second immigration-wave of a not necessarily very big group, however religious influential, in any case differs the Goths from the Vandili.

Otto Höfler writes about the sacrifice in the Semnonenhain in an article *Das Opfer im Semnonenhain und die Edda*.(Höfler1952 a, p.1-67) He means that *Helgikviða Hjörvarðrsónar* and *Helgikviða Hundingsbana* I and II are stories mirroring the cult-saga lying behind the sacrifice in the Semnonenhain. He also claims that several of the most important divine figures we find in these stories were in reality personified in cultic plays, and that the *Helgikviðae* are memories of this. Helgi himself then is the consecrated sacral king, who in the Holy Wedding is united with Svava/Sigrun, and after a nine-year period is sacrificed and later, in the shape of a new Helgi, is supposed to be resurrected. Whether the priestess, the gyðja, also is sacrificed or if it deals with the classical sacral kingdom (without political power), which von Friesen tried to confirm through his analysis of the word *konungr*, supposed to mean the kid (unge) of the priestess (kona is 'wife')—really an appealing thought—is not discernible in the context. What occurs in the cultic drama is the Baldr-myth, and the sacrificed of course represents Baldr but he is not sacrificed in reality every year. At this occasion, every

ninth year, it however deals with a real sacrifice and not a cultic fight. Those fights of course occur every year locally among the other tribes, I suppose. This far I totally agree with Höfler concerning the *Helgikviðae*, and I mean that he has made a brilliant analysis being far better than what he wrote in *Geheimbünde*. Quite another question, however, is whether the *Helgikviðae* might be translated directly into the Semnonenhain, since a similar cultic play, if it occurred there, maybe had other and older gods that the actors represented. The *Helgikviðae* are relatively late stuff.

I already earlier, in a series telling about the gods, in connection to the manufacturing of collectors-spoons with divine motives, and also above claimed that many of the old Nordic gods in fact are dualistic. This, of course, goes for Balðr and Høðr, Frejr and Freja et c., but also Týr/Óðinn contra Loki and maybe Heimdallr. Höfler now demonstrates that this also goes for Úllr and Sviþdagr. In his continued reasoning he however makes a number of claims that I mean are dubious. Höfler admits himself that the identity of the superior god of the cult-place is discussed. He was, according to Tacitus, himself present in the cult-place (through a “representative” I suppose). Höfler claims it is Óðinn and refers to the mentioning by Tacitus of the existence of a cult of Wodan, but I find it as probable it might be Týr. Óðinn is worshipped, as earlier suggested, already at this time and it is indeed hinted in the cult-drama being the Balðr-drama. This means however not, as remarked above, that these cultic fighters allways have represented the hords of Balðr and Høðr, but they may have been preceded by other actors, e.g. Úllr—at least in Scandinavia. On the Continent you might suppose that Týr has an old tradition as well as the god by us called Óðinn. Týr was worshipped, according to Tacitus, with human sacrifice and his old symbol is the spear, to which Óðinn not has the single right. Wolfram means among else that the Tervingi could be connected with a cult of Týr (Wolfram 1989, p.112) and the Goths do not emigrate to the Pontian Basin until the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. The Lugian cult they are supposed to have broken loose from also seems to be a distinct fertility-cult, and the Vandilian ethnogenesis leading to the cult of Óðinn has still not occurred during the time of Tacitus. Concerning the supposed dependance of the Goths towards the Vandili I beleive it was not primarily of cultic but mostly of political kind, since they already had different burial-habits. Höfler claims the fact the victim is killed by a spear confirms that it is the cult of Óðinn. This is however written in the far later *Helgikviðae*, and this can not be used as evidence in the time of Tacitus. In the *Helgikviðae* also are directly referred to Óðinn. I stress still a time that once the spear was the attribute of the sky-god Týr and it is also demonstrated by the Tí-rune (†) proposing just a spear. The spear, hence, in itself in no way proves an early cult of Óðinn. One of the reasons Höfler feels he might make a direct comparison with the Semnonenhain is that he means, that

*Fjotrlund* in *Helgi Hundingsbana* II is this very place. He namely claims to be able to identify Svava and Svavaland with Sueben-Schwaben and Sigrun “fra Sevafjollum” with the Semnones through PGmc. \**Sebmanez*, PInd. \**sabha* congregation, gathering-locality, hinting on the common cult of the tribes.

It is of course possible that it really deals with the cult of Óðinn around 100 AD, but as I have already stated, the interesting thing with the cult is primarily when it is used as a legitimation for power, and nothing in this description suggests that this should be the case. It rather appears, according to the *Helgikviðae*, as the, in connection with Steinsland, related cult of Frejr, via the drama leading to the death of Baldr or an earlier sun-god. In the case of Tacitus and the Semnonenhain we know the part-takers are fettered and that human sacrifice is applied. Fettering also occurred within the cult of Demeter and in the *Fjotrlund*. Also the story of the Langobards as oxen with white fetters et c. suggests that it indeed can mean that Óðinn is involved but sure not the primary divine object. Nothing is said about hanging either.

*Svava*, the valkyrie—who like all valkyries fetches the val, the fallen, to the hall of the gods—has an interesting name. There is a word, OIcl. *swæfa*, OE. *Swebba* meaning among else ‘to kill’. (Feist, Etymol.Wb.p.353, *swibls*) When the valkyrie fetches the dead to the realm of death, often actively through withdrawing her earlier personal protection, indeed in practice kills the hero, so might both Svava as a death-goddess and Svavaland as ‘land of the dead’ seem plausible. This however must not mean a dark death-land but instead might be the brilliant sun-realm, Vanaheim and the Hjadnings, parallel to Valhöll. Svava, accordingly, synonymously might be understood as a sun-divinity fetching the hero to the honourable death-land, Svavaland,—maybe an equivalent for *Glasisvellir*? Sevafjollum in that case should be the sun-mountain (fjell is ‘high, steep mountain’) or the heavenly mountain. This means there is no special connection with those names and the cult-place of the Semnones, but they in this case are part of the myth disregarded on what cult-place the play or the sacrifice is performed. They could be applied to any cult-place as a normal thing. This also reinforces the cultic part of the name of Svipdagr which in the shape of *Swæfdæg* becomes the brilliant, shining day killing the (fimbul)winter/the night/the darkness or sometimes acts precisely opposite since he, as has been demonstrated, is dualistic in connection with Úllr. The ground-meaning however still is ‘sun’ what *Svip-* concerns.

Höfler mentions the name Dagr appearing in *Hundingsbana* II, who commits family-revenge on Helgi at *Fjoturlund* by stabbing him with a sword he has borrowed from Óðinn. This Dagr Höfler identifies, probably quite correctly, as Svipdagr, who here fight against his brother/himself (the couples Úllr—Svipdagr and Baldr-Höðr are often mixed up with each other in these stories). Later he



refers to Grimm (Grimm DM III, p.379 ff), and mentions there are Old-Germanic sources containing a genealogical tree starting with Óðinn.

Ags. Quellen nennen uns einen sagenhaften Ur-König und Woden-Nachkommen namens Swæf-däg. Sollte das erste Glied dieses Namens den der Sueben (ags. Swæfas, Svæfe) enthalten, dann würde er bedeuten: der suebische Dag, der "Schwaben-Dag".

Sehen wir zu, ob Swæfdäg irgendeine nähere Verbindung mit den Sueben erkennen läßt. Zweierlei Quellen geben uns von Swæfdäg Nachricht: ags. Königsstammbäume bei englischen Historikern und der »Prologus« der Snorra-Edda. Die Stammbäume nennen ihn als Ahnen der Könige von Deira. Die ersten fünf Glieder dieser mythischen Genealogie lauten: Woden, Wägdäg, Sigegar, Swæfdäg, Sigegeat.

Unabhängig von diesem nordenglischen (anglischen) Königsstammbaum jedoch wie die Lautformen beweisen abhängig von ags. Quellen, sagt der »Prologus« der SnE: Óðinn habe früher in Deutschland (Saxland) geherrscht und habe das Land der Herrschaft seiner drei Söhne unterstellt. Ost-Deutschland (austr-Saxaland) habe er seinen Sohn Vegdeg eingesetzt, in Westfalen Beldeg, in Franken Sigi. Aber Vegdeg's Sohn Vitrgils habe zwei Söhne gehabt: Vitta, den Vater Heingests und Sigarr, den Vater Svebdeg's. Gemeinsam sind also der Vorlage des Prol. und dem Königsstammbaum von Deira: der Wodanssohn Vegdeg und unter seinen Nachkommen: Sigegar-Sigarr und Swæfdäg-Svebdeg, Vater und Sohn.

Was ist daran alte Tradition?

Dem Schema, daß die drei Hauptteile des Landes an drei Gottsöhne verteilt worden seien, entspricht die schon nach Tacitus "alte" Fabel, die die drei Hauptteile Gesamtgermaniens auf die drei göttlichen Söhne des Mannus verteilte: ganz andere Namen also, auch eine andere Umgrenzung, jedoch die selbe mytologische Struktur. Das spricht dafür, daß jener Dreiermythos des Prologs nicht Schreibenstubenspekulation, sondern eine Volksüberlieferung wiedergibt. Daß seine Füllung genau mit diesen Namen sehr alt gewesen sein, ist damit noch nicht gesagt. Aber einer von diesen »ostdeutschen« Namen wird uns durch den "Widsith" bedeutsam bestätigt welcher sagt, (V. 22): "Witta weold Swæfum"

Die »Schwaben«, die hier gemeint, sind, können nicht süddeutsche Sueben sein, denn die umliegenden Verse nennen nur norddeutsche Völkerschaften, besonders aus dem Ostseegebiet. Dieser Witta also muß als Herrscher über norddeutsche Sueben berühmt gewesen sein.

So weisen unabhängig voneinander der Oheim und der Neffe auf die Swæfas hin: dieser durch seinen Namen, jener durch das Zeugnis des

“Widsith”. Da der Prolog der SnE gewiß nicht aus den “Widsith” geschöpft hat, und nichts von Wittas Suebentum sagt, so wird dessen Kombinierung mit Swæfdæg wohl auf eine alte, u. zw. suebische Tradition zurückgehen.

Höfler accordingly here connects the name Swæfdæg to the above quotation of Widsith- “Witta weold Swæfum”, where Swæfum is interpreted as the land of the Suebes, which is Schwaben according to Höfler. Here is also shown, he means, that Suebes also were extant at the North-Sea. I will return to the problem of the Suebes further down.

As I have claimed above I understand *Svipdagr* as “The sun that shines in the day, the bright shining daylight” and, exactly as Höfler also means, he is an old sun-god. He is also mentioned in connection with *Menglod*, a by-name of Freja, as *Svipdag Solbjärtsson*. (Ohlmarks, Fornnordiskt lexikon) The name *Svipdagr* occur in connection with the Suebes in the form *Swæfdæg* in Middle Age sources. The form probably could be explained in that way, that *Svipdag*—*Svið/th/dag* (*þ* interpreted as *th*)—via latinization of *th* to *p* and from there germanized to *f* has become Swæfdæg. The form mentioned by Höfler as Anglo-Saxon (“ags. *Swæfas*, *Swæfe*”) ought to have been transliterated in older time since it evidently can get the form *svip-* in Scandinavia. This means it should come from a *þ > th > p > f* and not from a *futhark-f*. (Cf. however above!) The Suebes probably are “the sun people” in as high degree as the Sueones/*sviár*. At least the stem Sue/Sve/Svi ought to come from the Avestic *x<sup>n</sup> aéna* ‘glowing, hurting, shining’. (Hellquist, Etymol. Ordb.p.1127 *svida*) These peoples may have been parts of the same, above suggested, great and loose cultic league during the Bronze Age, and what we can see in the time of Tacitus might merely only be the sad remnants. At this time also an increased tendency to lift forward the cult of Óðinn as legitimation for ruling power has begun to be noticeable. Whether Óðinn comes from Southern Germany or if he already long under the name of Wodan have been present in this area is not possible to decide for sure, but “officially” however he seems to be a newcomer even here. He might have been there under different names and one of them maybe has become a collecting name. The old sacral kings, who founded their power on the connection to a sun-god and a moon-goddess have seemingly in this area been overruled earlier than in Scandinavia proper by the new kings/chieftains claiming genealogical ancestry from Óðinn.

In any case there is nothing saying that the *Helgikviðae* must deal specifically with the Semnonenhain, but a similar cult may have been spread all over the area. It shall however not be denied that this cult-place might have been known by the author, but it is as probable he only knew the cult-saga, that was general property. Höfler says in *Sakralkönigtum* II, that Tacitus refers to a divine ancestry of among else the Suebes, and he continue his reasoning as follows:

daß der Gesamtstamm der Germanen, und im besonderen die Ingaevonen, Herminonen und Istaevonen, aber auch Marsen, Gambriwier Sueben und Vandilier ihren Ursprung (originem gentis) auf Göttersöhne zurückgeführt haben. (Höfler, “*Sakral II*”, unpubl. Manuscript, p.32)

He means here with “Göttersöhne” that all individuals of these peoples have the substance of the god within themselves, and that they originally are begotten by the god. This is the same origin I claim the peoples worshipping Gaut meant themselves to have. They all originated from him, but the direct cult was directed towards the fertility-deities. This is generally a good definition of teophoric people-names.

It should be added, that the above mentioned tribal-saga indicate as ancestry both Wodan and Geat, and Geat there is the original piece. It is a matter of fact that tribes/peoples claiming ancestry from Gaut/Geat have a tradition of Scandinavian ancestry or have proveably been living in the neighbourhood of Southern Denmark. Evidently it is within the area covered by Southern Scandinavia and the Denmark-Kattegatt-area the cult of Gaut must have it's origin. Regarding the powerfull Gaut's älv-river and the people still called Gauter/Götar it is most probable the the cult originates just in Southern Scandinavia with it's good conditions for cattle-breeding combined with agri-culture on the clay-plains with sand-soil ridges and river valleys. Gaut might, as earlier suggested, be an Odinistic god but still not identical with the later Óðinn-figure, but basically still the same god. The peripheral areas the Mälärvalley and the late Folklands, now Uppland, (with Sithones in the Vendel-area?) for long resisted the cult of Óðinn. Suebes and Ingaveones ought to have been the opposite periphery, lying directly in the way of the approaching cult of Óðinn. Accordingly the Suebes were early with the cult of Óðinn, and in time also the Ingaevones-the Nerthus-tribes followed.

Still there was, as can be confirmed by the archaeological indications, a difference between the Angles, who worshipped Nerthus, and the Jutes. Also between Svear/Svíar and Göter/Gautar there are said to be conflicts during the Roman Iron Age. Among else E. Schwarz (E.Schwarz 1951) also presupposes a Gothic language-area in South-Scandinavia and parts of the southern and south-eastern coast of the Baltic Sea. Accordingly already before the Angles accept the Óðinn-cult there is a clear cultural difference, and this suggests that the cult of Gaut is considerably more ancient than the new cult of Wodan, later Óðinn, expanding from the South. It hence seems as if the Goths originally had started as a loose cultic league, which already before the transition to the cult of Óðinn had created such a strong cultic unity between the different peoples, that the migrating

Gothic tribes continued to function as a religiously founded ethnical unit also after the ethnogenesis to the Óðinn-cult, and that the old connections with the ethnically close standing Gothic peoples/tribes in at least Scandinavia remained unbroken. The *Beowulf-kviða* also suggests that even the related peoples/tribes in England might have been included in this commonship via preferably the Jutes. Also Jordanes indeed suggests connections with Britain.

## Tribal and cultic structure

A classic concerning tribes/peoples and the issue of cultic leagues is Reinhard Wenskus. What does he say about cultic leagues and teophoric people-names in his *Stammesbildung und Verfassung*?

At first an information from the National Encyclopedia. Under the word “Mannus” is given the explanation: “The proto-human of Rigveda. Manu—see the law of Manus. Mannus according to Tacitus Germania son of the earthborn Germanic god Tuisto, and himself father of three sons, who in their turn became ancestral fathers of the Germanic proto-peoples Herminones, Ingaevones and Istaevones.” The latin text by Tacitus is given below:

“Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriae et annalium genus est, Tuistonem deum terra editum, ei filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoremque, Manno tris filios assignant, e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingaevones medii Herminones ceteri Istaevones vocentur” (Tacitus).

Wenskus carries out a long reasoning, starting from the three groups indicated in the Mannus-story. (Wenskus 1961, p.234 ff) He settles that the tripartite shedule does not fit with what we really know about these peoples, and he means with Müllenhoff and Helm, that the description can not include all Germanics. Felix Genzmer will place the poem in the Hallstadt-time and hence include all Germanics. Against Genzmer Wenskus objects:

Felix Genzmer wollte das Gedicht in die Hallstattzeit datieren. Abgesehen davon, daß es höchst fraglich ist, ob man die Lautverschiebung und Akzentregelung bereits so früh ansetzen darf, benutzt er stillschweigend eine weitere Voraussetzung, die alles andere als sicher ist: Hinter seiner Auffassung steht die Ansicht, die Genealogie umfasse alle Stämme, die wir heute auf Grund sprachlicher Erwägungen als Germanen bezeichnen. Erst unter dieser Voraussetzung ist sein Schluß möglich, daß das Gedicht vor der Ausgliederung der Bastarnen und Ostgermanen anzusetzen sei, da es die neue Situation im Osten nicht mehr berücksichtige.

He also concludes that: “Man wird zugeben müssen, daß nach dem Wort- im Gegensatz zu \*Ingvaz und \*Erminaz—ist kein Göttername \*Istvaz überliefert.” Out of this he draws the conclusion, that the third league—the Istaevones—is invented by the author to reach a tripartite division.

He further writes:

...Daß Bastarnen und Skiren hier angeblich keinen Platz haben, ist kaum entscheidend, da sie nach Herkunft und Tracht Sueben gewesen sein dürften, die Plinius h. n. IV 99 den Erminonen zurechnet Wenn die Ostgermanen hier nicht erwähnt sind, so ist das auch leicht erklärlich, da diese seit dem 2. Jh. v. Chr. auf das Festland übersiedeln, ab das Gedicht erst seit dem bereits bestanden haben kann, K. Helm nahm an daß ein großer Teil der Nordgermanen mitgemeint war. Der Name des schwedischen Königsgeschlechts der Ynglinger, die Bezeichnung Ingwine für die Dänen und anderere Hinweise führten zur Annahme, daß sie den Ingaevonen zuzuzählen seien, ja, daß sie die eigentlichen Ingaevonen wären. Aber die Tatsache daß im Norden Ingvaz verehrt wurde, besagt noch nicht, daß er gemeinsam mit den bei Plinius h. n. IV 99 als Inguaeones bezeichneten verehrt wurde, daß die skandinavischen Völker mit ihnen einen Kultverband bildeten. Auch das Vorkommen des gleichen Stammbaumschemas im Norden kann bei seiner weiten Verbreitung nichts beweisen.

Wenskus here remarks that among else Plinius counts the Suiones to the Ingaevones, which Tacitus includes among the Suebes, and this is still an suggestion of the close connection between these terms. It is however, as is remarked by Wenskus, not possible to prove the existence of a common cultic league including Scandinavia and Northern Germany, but the probability I regard as rather high. Also Plinius sees the similarities in the fertility-cult. Two of the three Mannus-leagues in any case are obviously basically fertility-cultic—the Ingaevones and the Herminones/Erminones—since these two always are mixed up by different authors, and the Suebes as a gathering name is evidently also connected with fertility-cult. I must still a time recall that I with the connection between fertility-cult and Suebes primarily mean, that the local rulers within these territories originally, in the time the name of Suebes was created, motivated their wielding of power and their right of the land through the connection to a sun-god and a moon-goddess and not to an Odinistic god. The fertility-cult of course has continued to exist all the time, and after the arrival of Óðinn as a medium for the Balðr-cult in the same way as earlier for the cult of Úllr, at least in Scandinavia proper. This has already been thoroughly investigated above.

The archaeological find-groups are difficult to interpret, and they give no direct clue to possible cultic leagues, Wenskus means, but on the opposite they seem to contradict the by Plinius h.n.IV 99 indicated distribution in tribal groups. Plinius e.g. counts Cimbri, Teutones and the different peoples of the

Chauci to the Ingaevones. Neither in the Pre-Christian Iron Age or in the Roman Emperor Time the territory of the Cimbri on northern Jutland has shown similar find-groups as the area of the Chauki on the North-Sea coast between the Ems and the Elbe. This is clearly demonstrated on the maps of Moberg. While Plinius counts Chatti and Cherusci to the Herminones K. Tackenberg instead counts both those tribes to the Istaevones. Even if many linguists agree with him it must be expressly stated, Wenskus means, that the reliability of the archaeological material concerning ethnical traditions, in no way is better than the witness of a Roman having heard direct oral tellings and who has seen the actual circumstances himself. The linguists however have grown more cautious and use instead the term Anglo-Frisian or still more neutral North-Sea Germanics.

The incongruence between the archaeological find-groups and the genealogy in the shedule of Mannus might perhaps suggest a change of ethnical traditions through political over-layering and genealogical connections between the leading strata of the different peoples, even if this in no way affected the cultural traditions of the people as a whole—the traditions that we can find among else in the archaeological material.

While the god names 'Ingu-, \*Ingwia(n)- also in other contexts are well known (PGmc. Ing. ON. Yngwi, Got. runic alphabet Engus (\*Iggus et c.), a god with the name Irmin is quite controversial and \*Istwaz, behind which name Wodan is supposed to hide, is plainly not ever heard of. The Istaevones consequently never occur under this name. Detlefsen believed he recognised the Ingaevones in the writing of *Guionibus* (in Plinius XXXVII 35 from Pytheas), but the context contradicts this Wenskus means. He continues to state, that you allways must remember, that origin-sagas are political instruments or theories, supposed to include everybody within a tribe with no exceptions, even if this not was the case in reality. Herminones are mentioned also in other sources than Plinius and Tacitus. Since the Germanics mainly had grown together from different groups with different origins it was the political union giving them a common ethnicity. (Wenskus 1961 p. 239f)

There is a lot interesting information in this sector. A presumed connection between Óðinn and the Istaevones is suggested, and the Istaevones never in known history appear under this name. Nor do the Ingaevones, since this label is only used by Romans referring to a great number of for them mostly unknown tribes and is not used by the tribes themselves. This fits well with my assumption that the Suebes might be a rest of an original fertility-cult league with roots in the late Bronze Age and remotely by their name connected with the Sueones/Svíar, also worshipping Ingr.

Wenskus here partly rejects the archaeology as a source to knowledge about cultic leagues, and claims these are political alliances where a fitting cultic background is created, which not necessarily must reflect the daily life of the people concerning archaeological artefacts. Simultaneously he means, that the contemporary authors closeness to their informers and the events should give the linguists reason to take more considerations to what is said by the Antique writers. The statement about political alliances is continued by:

...Der Hinweis auf das Alter der Stammesnamen deutet darauf, daß wir hier einige derjenigen Gruppen fassen können, welche die einzelstammliche Überlieferung betonten. Bezeichnend ist dabei, daß die von Tacitus angeführten Namen anscheinend durchweg sogenannte Kultverbände bzw. die führenden Stämme solcher Kultverbände bezeichnen, die ihrerseits z.T. auf Konzentrationstendenzen zurückgehen können, jedoch eher Zerfallsprodukte früher enger verbundener Gruppen sein werden. (Wenskus 1961, s. 241)

Here he joins my basic viewpoint concerning the origin of the names of Suebes and Sueones as remnants of a greater, very old, cultic league that included all Scandinavia and a part of Northern Germany. They might have had slightly different names of their ruling gods and war-gods but the important is that the legitimation of power of the local ruler originally was based on the fertility-gods—namely the sun-god and the moon-goddess, and after the sun-god they have, I claim, their names.

A little later he says:

Als Vater der drei Ahnen der Stammesgruppen wird Mannus genannt, Mannus aber ist der Mensch schlechthin. Das entspricht sicher keiner zufälligen Laune des Dichters. Der altindische Mânus gilt ebenfalls als Stammvater der Menschen. Daher sahen F. Dahn und R. Much den Versen eine Anthropogonie und nicht bloß eine Ethnogonie. Ist doch auch das Wort Mensch vielleicht eine Ableitung von Man: maniska "Zugehöriger, Abkömmling des Mannus. Demgegenüber bemerkte bereits K.Helm, daß für den Primitiven die Entstehung des eigenen Stammes mit der Entstehung der Menschheit gleichgesetzt wird. Nur die eigenen Stammesgenossen betrachtet er als echte Menschen, wie sich das vielfach auch in Stammesnamen ausgedrückt finde. Es ist deshalb keine "Einengung" wenn Germanen Mannus nur als ihren eigenen Vorfahren angesehen haben wie die Phryger ihnen Manuz. Nur die eigenen Stammesgenossen tragen die von den göttlichen Ahn- die Stammtafel



bedeutet ja gleichzeitig eine Theogonie—vererbte göttliche Substanz in sich. (Wenskus 1961, p.241)

The ancestry from Mannus of course could be regarded in that way, that everybody originating from him were humans, but Wenskus remarks specially that certain tribes often could, in opposite to other Germanics, regard themselves as just humans originating from their own creator-god, whose name meant 'human' or 'man'. According to R.Much e.g. the name of the Jutes is connected with Ýtar or \*Eutioz or \*Eutianez homines meaning 'the poured', 'the men', 'the humans'. The names of the Goths and of the Herules mean as well 'humans' or 'men'. The Scandinavians later, after being divided from the South-Germanics, called their territory Manheimr, the home of the 'humans' or of the 'men'. (Wenskus 1961, p.245)

The above suggests that my earlier conclusion concerning the meaning of the name of the Goths, and the original connection of Gaut with Mannus, is correct and that it is indeed a teophoric name claiming origin from Gaut for the whole people. If you say, that those originating from the god Mannus are humans, they hence have name after their god. If the Goths/The Gautar originate from the creator/pourer of the humans, Gaut, they are accordingly 'the poured', 'humans' which is exactly what Much claims about the Jutes. This supports indeed my conclusion that this is nothing but a variant of the name of the Goths, and hence also may be connected with Gaut.

Concerning the question about the divine ancestry of different peoples Höfler writes in his *Sakralkönigtum II*:

Tacitus sagt uns ausdrücklich, daß der Gesamtstamm der Germanen, und im besonderen die Ingaevonen, Herminonen und Istaevonen, aber auch Marsen, Gambrivier, Sueben und Vandilier ihren Ursprung (originem gentis) auf Göttersöhne zurückgeführt haben. Und glänzender kann kein Geschichtszeugnis bestätigt werden, als es dieser Nachricht beschieden war, die mehr als ein Jahrtausend nach ihrer Aufzeichnung in Rom durch die nordischen Mythen von der Abkunft der schwedischen und norwegischen Könige vom göttlichen Yngvi-Frey bekräftigt wird. Wenn durch Tacitus den ganzen Völkern oder Völkergruppen göttlicher Ursprung zugeschrieben wird, dagegendurch die in Island aufgezeichnete Form der Ynglingentradition die Königshäuser von Gottsohn Yngvi hergeleitet werden, so ist das kein so wesentlicher Gegensatz, wie das zunächst scheinen könnte.

Es ist dieses Nebeneinander ein denkwürdiges Zeichen dafür, daß die freien Völker und ihre Könige nicht als artverschieden galten, wenn auch die Könige als die reinsten, unmittelbarsten und darum edelsten Abkömmlinge der gemeinsamen Ahnen gelten mochten.

Auch von den Goten erzählt ja Jordanes einmal Herkunft des ganzen Volkes von "Mars", einmal die Abstammung des Amalerhauses von Gapt. Man hat sich in den letzten Jahrzehnten (und natürlich nicht zufällig) meist wesentlich stärker für die etymologische, sprachspekulierende Seite der Eponymfabeln interessiert als für ihre religiöse. Das Suchen nach dem Ursprung und Zusammenhang von allerhand Wörtern, so auch von Eigennamen, ist, wie Esaias Tegnér d. J. einmal sehr hübsch gesagt hat, ein menschlicher Urtrieb. Mit dem Mythischen aber hat er an sich nicht das mindeste zu tun. Wenn man zu einem Wort, z. B. einem Völkernamen x, ein Etymon y erfindet oder konstruiert, so ist das ein Stück primitiver Sprachforschung, aber nicht Mythos oder Mythologie. Solche urtümliche Etymologie kann als Ursprung eines Volksnamens statt eines hypothetischen Ahnherrn ebensogut einen Flußnamen, eine Eigenschaftsbezeichnung o. dgl. annehmen.... Wenn hingegen die Ursprungspersonen, deren Namen so ergrübelt werden, nicht als Menschen gelten, sondern als Götter oder göttliche Wesen, so ist dies nicht ein "Ergebnis" sprachgeschichtlicher (verfehlter) Gedankengänge, sondern stammt aus einer völlig anderen geistigen Sphäre als der des etymologischen Interesses: nämlich aus dem Glauben, daß der Mensch göttlichen Ursprungs sei. (Höfler, Sakral II, unpubl. Manuscript, p.32 f)

Also Höfler accordingly supports my basic opinion about the teophoric origin of the peoples names.

Wenskus writes quite generally about cultic leagues, that it seems to be a name invented to explain connections between politics and religion who are difficult to explain, and that one did not know that much about. He means that this connection remained into Christian time when the state and the church went hand in hand. He accordingly claims the same connection as I do between the cult and the secular power. He further writes:

Im Gegensatz zu den Kultgemeinschaften des Hauses, der Sippe, der Stammes und anderer Gruppen verstand man unter Kultverbänden im alle gemeinen mehrere zu gemeinschaftlichem Kult vereinte Völkerschaften unterscheidet etwa K. Helm Stammeskulte und Kultverbände. Während auf dem Völkerschaftsding das Politische und

das Religiöse unmittelbar aufeinander bezogen und nicht voneinander zu scheiden sind, ist den Kultverbänden nach herrschender Meinung der Kult eindeutig das Primäre. Da es sich jedoch nicht leugnen ließ, daß einige wenigsten zeitweilig auch politische Bedeutung besessen haben, glaubte man, diese wäre nur sekundär hinzugewachsen. Nach H. Mitteis zeigt sich in den Kultverbänden das Wachstumsgesetz der germanischen Staatenwelt'.

Die seit K. Müllenhoff beliebte Gleichsetzung dieser germanische Verb mit den griechischen Amphiktyonien verführte anscheinend dazu sie als Vereinigungen ursprünglich völlig selbständiger Völkerschaften zu gemeinsamen Kult anzusehen. Es läßt sich nicht leugnen, daß solche Vereinigungen zuweilen eingegangen wurden, doch bleibt zweifelhaft ob Verbände vorwiegend kultischer Prägung, die durch Zusammenschluß ursprünglich fremder Gruppen entstanden, unmittelbar neue politische Funktionen an sich ziehen konnten. Die Erfahrungen der Ethnosozoologen scheinen—wie schon erwähnt—dagegen zu sprechen (Wenskus 1961, s. 246 f.)

...Wenn solche Kultverbände politisch bedeutsam werden, dienen sie als Mittel einzelner mächtiger Persönlichkeiten oder Staaten für ihre besonderen Zwecken. Sie sanktionieren bestenfalls faktisches politisches Geschehen. Nach W. M ü h l m a n n läßt sich nachweisen, daß die Kultbünde im Ziel der politischen Entwicklung nicht nur keinen Fortschritt bilden, sondern sogar einen Irrweg, eine Sackgasse darstellen. Wie es sich auch verhalten mögen im germanischen Bereich läßt sich nirgends eine sichere Entwicklung von einer anfangs vorwiegend kultisch bestimmten Vereinigung ursprünglich unabhängiger Völkerschaften zu einem politischen Verband feststellen. Aber auch umgekehrt haben sich die uns bezeugten kultisch gefestigten politischen Bündnisse nie in dauernden Kultgemeinschaften erhalt

Es erhebt sich die Frage, ob die uns überlieferten germanischen Kultverbände überhaupt durch freiwillige Zusammenschlüsse entstanden sind Schon 1899 hat R. L ö w e vermutet, daß die gewöhnlich als Kultverbände bezeichneten Ingävonen, Istävonen und Erminonen ursprünglich wirkliche Völker gewesen seien, die erst nach der politischen Abspaltung und Abwanderung von Tochterstämmen als bloße Kultverbände weiter bestanden hätten Während R. Much diese Möglichkeit u. a. erwähnt und K.Helm sie für wahrscheinlicher hält, erklärt Friedrich M a u r das alles für reine Phantasie ohne tatsächliche Grundlagen, und auch für die primäre Stammesbildung, bei der herrschaftlichen politische Strukturen noch keine

Rolle spielen, können Kultvereinigungen dabei besondere Bedeutung haben. In diesem Fall handelt es sich um die von verschiedenen Gruppen gemeinsam vorgenommene Knabenweihe; vgl. W. E. MANN, *Krieg u. Frieden*, S. 54. Zur Soziologie des archaischer und des primitiven Menschen, S. 138, bezeichnet solche bereits durch gemeinsam Jagd und exogame Partnerschaft geeinte territoriale Verbände, die sich auch einem gemeinsamen Kult zusammenfanden, als Amphiktyonien und sieht sie als Keimform eines Stammesverbandes an. Aber hier handelt es sich eben nicht um einen rein kultisch geeinten Zusammenschluß. (Wenskus 1961, s. 246 f.)

It here mainly deals about a general discussion of what the characteristics of a cultic league should be considered to be. Shall it be only a cultic league? Shall the state/the secular power have a function or not? Is a cultic league leading to a similarly great and strong political unit/realm, or is a cultic league just remaining splinters of a strong realm?

The formulation of the questions in themselves have blocked the development of research in this question. Of course a cultic league from the beginning has a sacral character. We are not talking about a state or a realm but of a cultic community tied to a certain person, group or another order. For the single individual exist a set of rules which in many aspects might be understood as a state, but the cult lacks authority to decide about things lying outside its competence—things of a more general political character like who settles where, what the individual generally may or may not do and to collect taxes, except what concerns the support to cultic officiants founded on common law. The sacral kingdom might in its most developed form be characterised as a realm under a ruler which people obey in cultic matters and in war, but not as a state or a real political realm. As time goes by a stratum of elite-soldiers is developed that the ruler controls, i.e. chieftains, but also they are depending of recruitment of personal followers. The area militarily or religiously controlled—i.e. where the inhabitants are willing to support the ruler, and hence the cult—is the extent of the “realm”. Fixed borders do not exist, but they are in reality incessably adjusted. It is either not a rule that there must exist only one sacral king or chieftain within such a cultic area, but those who are established can maintain loose relations, possibly visit common sacrifices but still have their own. They shortly can count themselves as kind of cultic kin, united by mutual interests versus new power-claimers/new legitimations. Even if they hence might unite against other cults even to the extent of warfare, it is not presupposed that they must have common detailed cult-practices. The most important is the realisation that the primary object of the cult, seen by the local ruler, is to legitimate his wielding of power and make the people obey. This indeed guarantees that the rulers within such cultic league-areas have clearly common interests, and if e.g.

Odinistic rulers threat the base for the old power-legitimation, the old rulers have a very good incentive to call their followers in arms. Finally it is quite natural, that this, in itself very fragile, league in time will start dissolving, when, gradually, more politically controlled realms start appearing locally within the different parts of the original cultic league's area. Up to then the cult has prescribed the general social rules within society by religious laws. When the proto-state enters the stage you instead can use the cult locally to develop an administrative apparatus in order to control the people. This is the last stage of a cultic league. The Semnones probably had arrived at this last stage at the time for Tacitus telling. It most probably never existed some direct formal agreements about a special kind of organisation for a cultic league and about the distribution of power according to a fixed pattern. It is the strenght of conviction in the cult, which depends, with a modern term, of the marketing of the message to the humans forming the factual base and organisation. This also means that a cultic league do not use a state-similar name, but just that the followers designate themselves as worshippers of a deity in one way or another.

T. E. Karsten glaubt nicht an "eigentliche Volksstämme". Grundsätzlich ist dazu zu sagen, daß sich aus den verschiedensten Räumen Beispiele dafür anführen lassen, daß ein Verband nach dem politischen Niedergang als kultische Gemeinschaft weiterlebte, ähnlich wie auch das Königtum einzelnen Staatswesen auf eine sakrale Rolle beschränkt wurde. Die hältnismäßig viel größere Konstanz der kultischen Ordnungen gegenüber den politischen mußte für kulturelle und wirtschaftliche Zusammenhänge außerordentlich bedeutsam bleiben, weshalb manche Prähistoriker nicht ganz ohne Grund archäologische Fundgruppen lieber mit Kultverbänden als mit politischen Gebilden verbinden. Es ist also durchaus denkbar, daß sich einzelne Kultverbände als solche erhielten, nachdem ihre politischen Funktionen auf ein Mindestmaß verringert wurden, weil die abgespaltenen Gruppen sich räumlich zu weit entfernt hatten und dadurch auch in andere äußere Verhältnisse versetzt wurden," (Wenskus 1961, p.248 f)

Generally I agree with Karsten, but the political functions that are said to earlier have existed within the cultic league in question I mean are very fragile. Originally of course the local cult was everything and directly forcing, but the more the followers increased in number the bigger playroom was created for "secular" politicians. When we have reached the number of followers nessecary to seriously use the term cultic league, we also have a political stratum with chieftains leading their own life within the league. This is the stratum from which the founders of the later local realms/states come. It in time causes that the sacral king

grips the political power by changing his legitimation, or is dethroned by a new ruler with an Odinistic legitimation. Hence we get a ruler being both sacral and secular. At that stage the cult is subordinated the state/realm and this means the dissolution of the league in practice has started. The cult of Óðinn is specially well fitted to enforce such an development, and it is also, consequently, out of the Odinistic warrior's leagues within the Gefolgschaftskönigtümer the state finally begins to take it's final shape, but not until Christianity, supplying administrators, and the Roman law, promoting the legal right to own land for the king and the nobles, the modern state can be born.

The Antique sources use the same language about cultic leagues as when they discuss a common ethnicity-common ancestry. Tacitus says of the Suebian cultic league that "omnes eiusdem sanguinis populi" took part in the festivities via messengers. He imposes that (chap.38) the Suebes in their time "non una, ut Chattorum Tencterorumve gens; maiorem enim Germaniae partem optinent, propriis ad hoc nationibus nominibusque discretio quamquam in commune Suebi vocentur." As G.Waitz quite correctly remarks, Wenskus writes, Tacitus here has a problem lacking words for what he wants to express. A comparison with Greece Amfytiones evidently was far from his associations. Still in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD this league, however, do not seem totally insignificant, since the Quadi after their defeat in the Marcomannic wars wanted to flee to the Semnones to seek shelter in the holy sanctuary, the Semnonenhain, in their old home-country. Still more notably during this war is that a group of Langobards from the lower Elbe, who at this time were labeled Suebes, appear just to vanish soon again. Everything points, Wenskus means, in the direction that this cultic league has grown out of an original dissolving political unit, which in this way tried to preserve it's old roots. The scarce degree of state-character imposed by K.Hauck concerning the Suebian league should have been developed during the process of the Suebian expansion Wenskus claims. He probably means, that the more tribes lining up with the league the more the ethnical remains were diminished. He continues:

Daß auch andere Kultverbände in der römischen Kaiserzeit noch politisch wirksam waren, zeige die schlagartige Reaktion der Brukerer, Usipier und Tubanten auf den Überfall, den Germanicus 14 n. Chr. auf die bei einer Kultfeier im Heiligtum der Tamfana im Marserland Versammelten ausübte. Dagegen ist uns über andere Kultverbände (z. B. den der Nerthus) in dieser Hinsicht nichts bekannt. Das gilt besonders für die seit Müllenhoff ebenfalls als Kultverbände angesprochenen Ingävonen, Istävonen und Erminonen. Sie sind in der Zeit, für die uns schriftliche Quellen vorliegen ohne politische Bedeutung...auch als

Kultverbände ist ihre Existenz in jener Zeit keineswegs bezeugt. Es ist sehr zweifelhaft, ob man mit Müllenhoff in den um das Tamfanaheiligtum gruppierten Stämmen die Istävonen erkennen darf. Genauso fraglich ist die Vermutung, der Verband der Nerthus habe in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit alle ingävönischen Stämme umfaßt... (Wenskus 1961, p.250 f) Dabei wird nicht bestritten, daß sie Kultverbände gewesen seien. Es wird nur gelegnet, daß sie ausschließlich oder vorwiegend Kultverbände gewesen seien. Der Stamm ist a u c h, aber nicht nur Kultverband.... erst die Unruhezeit um die Mitte des ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends hat vermutlich die soziologisch-politischen Voraussetzungen geschaffen, die zu einer größeren Ausbreitung herrschaftlicher Züge im Verfassungsleben der Germanen führte. Im Verlaufe dieses Vorgangs verloren dann die alten Autoritäten, die ihre Macht vor allem dem durch religiösen und sittlichen Brauch bewirkten Zwang der Gemeinschaft verdankten, ihren Einfluß an Herren, die durch machtverleihende Gefolgschaften Herrschaftsauszuüben begannen... (Wenskus 1961, p.250 f)

As remarked above I have my starting-point in the original rather loose league of tribes with fertility-cult and with rulers motivating their power with a relation to the sun and the moon. A supposed league covering all Scandinavia and part of Northern Germany during the Bronze Age. It was since very long time in the process of dissolution through natural decline. Allready around 500-400 BC, maybe even earlier, probably an own developement of the cult of Gaut begins as a result of a number of tribes falling away from the common league. This cult seems to have a more shamanistic and bellicious character and probably connected with initiated warrior's leagues—young boys, who at their trial of manhood are initiated as warriors under a chieftain representing the god Gaut. This cult expands within the former league in South-Scandinavia and surrounding areas around Kattegatt and the Baltic. It is closely related to the expansion of cattle-breeding and the need of close proximity between the cattle's pasture-lands and the cultivation and the possibility to keep the animals in stable during the winter. This means the clay-plains are used for cattle-breeding combined with farming on the sand-soil ridges. The old sacral kings can not resist the new developement, since the leading in the new cult probably sometimes also are former sacral-kings who have understood they must have a new legitimation, but many new rulers must have been added as a consequence of the new cultivation on the plain-ridges where the new yards were one-family farms caring their own cultivation, and hence independent of the old rulers offerings of supply for service. Also these new rulers act as sacral kings towards the people but towards their active fol-

lowers they apply a more Odinistic cult. Accordingly there is much talking in favour of Gaut being an early Óðinn-figure but he evidently never was that openly adored in a comparable manner, and he is not the same god but maybe a variant, even if he might have the same origin. We here must not forget the power of the women in the cult during this epoch. It accordingly not deals with a revolution of the people but of the chieftains against the representatives of the old power-legitimation. The people peacefully continued to worship the fertility-deities like before even if some of them changed rank and function while other gods had to share their power to the combined Óðinn-Gaut in due time. How far the Gaut-cult developed before the melting with Óðinn is hard to say, but it is however fairly probable it rose in South-Scandinavia and on Jutland where the conditions were favorable for such an development, and where good connections were at hand with both South-East Europe and the Vistula-area. For long it was of course weak and it is dubious when the general structure of the old league collapses. What remains at the time of Tacitus, however, is mainly on the one hand the Svíar in North- and Middle Sweden (and perhaps the mysterious Sithones?) and also in South Sweden a lot of pockets of the old rulers may have remained quite a time. In fact for a long time surely the old cult were dominating also in the south but gradually decreasing, and depending of a number of chieftains, later accepting the cult of Óðinn-Gaut. On the other hand we have the Ingaevones, primarily the Nerthus-tribes, and finally the Suebes who at the time of Tacitus begin to show signs of Wodan-cult.

During a number of centuries from Tacitus first Gaut and Óðinn integrate and this new cult slowly presses Northwards and then turns to the East over the Kattegat. In the 4<sup>th</sup> century at least it is confirmed in Västergötland and in the end of the century also in Uppsala in the East, where a king, motivating his power through ancestry of Óðinn-Gaut takes the power and so claims the old title of svíakonungr. This means the cult definitely ceases to be the primary power and the kings ruling from now on are secular rulers, but they still use the title of the highest priest to control the common people religiously, and the warriors are, of course, controlled by shamanistic leagues. Much of this happened of course gradually and the process, as I stated earlier, began a long time ago. The primary objective was, I repeat, the use of cult by the rulers to control the people. Also secular rulers used these means. About a united state in any sense we can not talk in Sweden before the 11<sup>th</sup> c. AD and for Denmark and Norway in the 10<sup>th</sup> c. AD.

Between these mentioned periheral parts a number of realms have been established who are ruled primarily political, but up to the power-shift when the title svíakonungr was taken over by a king claiming ancestry from Óðinn-Gaut, as suggested in the story of Haraldr Hilðitönn, fightings have taken place all over the



present Sweden between followers of chieftains motivating their rules on respective cult, and the new one of Gaut and Óðinn-Gaut proved to be victorious also as a cultic league. Gaut has kept together all peoples claiming origin from him as ethnical units and contributed to the formation of national cooperating kingdoms in the Mediterranean area, and also promoted the cooperation between Goths, Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons, not to speak of the Jutes, and hence also founded the Danish North-Sea realm. Connected with Óðinn the fight against remaining old power-claimers has been brought to victory. This also depended on the international cooperation which took place between chieftains and their families within all the area dominated by the cult of Wotan/Woden/Óðinn. The graves we see as great howes in several countries with a similar type of grave-gifts have been interpreted to belong to just these families and they have been treated above.

Concerning the character of the earlier sacral kings I have already treated this in the section about fertility-cult. Höfler, however, has in my opinion not really understood the full meaning, since he uses primarily the idea of name-giving as an explanation of the re-incarnated god. Höfler concurs:

So wird es seelisch zu werten sein, wenn nach Snorris Zeugnis jeder der Ynglingekönige von Upsala neben seinem Namen auch noch den Namen seines göttlichen Ahnherrn Yngvi trug. Da in alter Zeit Namensverleihung Wesensverleihung war: so bedeutet der göttliche Beiname Yngvi nicht nur die Verleihung der vom Ahnherrn überkommenen Erb-Würde (tignar-nafn) sondern das Teilhaben in seinem göttlichen Wesen, eine Repräsentation" im eigentlichen Sinn— ein Wieder-gegenwärtig-Machen.

...Unter den göttlichen Königsahnherrn war Wodan-Odin der wichtigste. Die Königshäuser aller angelsächsischen Königreiche leiten sich von ihm her. Und in Skandinavien hat, z. T. zweifellos in später Zeit die Tendenz geherrscht, an die Spitze der Genealogien auch gerade diesen gott zu setzen. Daß der Stammgott der Goten ihm (zumindest) nächstverwandt war, darf nach den Forschungen zumal E. Wesséns, wohl als erwiesen gelten.

Damit nun kommen wir zu einer verstehenden Deutung des zuerst so befremdlichen Entrückungsmythos: Der tote Dietrich galt als unverstorben, als Totenreiter, als Wilder Jäger im vorchristlichen Sinn wir dürfen sagen: als Wodan. Sein Haus aber leitete seinen Ursprung von Gaut her, der dem Wodan so wesensverwandt war, daß er Jahrhunderte hindurch mit ihm verselbigt würde. Und diese mythische Gestalt lebte bei den Ostgoten im echten Volksglauben bis in ihre letzte Zeit, bis zu Jordanes.

Ich ziehe den Schluß: es ist kein Zufall, daß der König aus mythischem Haus mythisiert worden ist. Man hat dem Nachkommen des wodanhaften Gaut wodanhafte Wesen zugeschrieben. Der Heldenkönig kehrte bei seinem Hinscheiden zu seinen Ursprüngen zurück—der Wodankönig wurde Wodan. Damit schließt sich der Ring des Mythos.—Wir wurden zu der Annahme gedrängt: Theoderikh galt als der wiedergeborene Gaut. Oder er trug das Wesen seines göttlichen Ahnherrn gleichsam als höheres Selbst in sich, das am Ende seiner Tage zu unsterblichem Dasein entrückt wurde, ihn aber schon im Leben als höheres Ich begleitete. Eine Parallele zu solcher Spannung zwischen dem menschlichen König und seinem göttlichen Wesenskern bietet m. E. die nordische Überlieferung, daß jeder der Ynglingenkönige von Upsala neben seinem persönlichen Namen auch den seines göttlichen Ahnherrn Yngvi trug. Wenn man die altergermanischen Personennamen nicht als “Schall und Rauch” betrachtet—was sie gewiß nicht waren sondern als Wesensteil, dann bedeutet das Mit-dabei-Sein des Namens des göttlichen Ahnen, daß auch seine Substanz anwesend und wirkend geglaubt worden ist. (Höfler, “*Sakral II*”, unpubl. manuscript p.34 ff)

Höfler here mixes the function of the old sacral kings with the one of an Óðinn-initiated, who merely claims ancestry from the god, but still is a human. The spiritual essence that in reality is the god is correctly understood, but a person who has a heritage from Óðinn but is human never can be regarded as a god, but a human and in the best case a hero, and that only in the first generation. In the time of Teoderik the Goths were Christian Arians, but his ancestry is related to the hero-king Ermanarich who where a Óðinn-worshipper, but he formally claimed ancestry from Gaut and so did Teoderik in this way. I will return to this later. Höfler has a tendency to equalise ancestry from gods with reborn gods. I do not agree with him in that point. The reborn gods are the Yngling-kings, as I have thoroughly demonstrated earlier. Both they who claim ancestry from Gaut and from Óðinn have no claims to be gods but well demi-gods. It is however important, that both Höfler and Wessén are of the opinion that these two gods are similar in essence giving a similar impression. Gaut probably was, in opposite of Óðinn, a more withdrawn and distant creator-god but of a shamanistic kind, and the warrior-cult seems to have been performed by the local chieftains. The king, who must be defined as mainly a sacral king, was the ethnically uniting power and had a fertility-magic power-position with limited military power during peace-time, and he had only defensive right of command when outside attacks were launched against the tribe/people. During the periods we hear of the Goths it is during the migration or at early defensive wars e.g. the break loose from the Lugii/Vandili or in Dacia. Then, of course, the kings

can be said to be strong. There was however no central administrative hierarchy to mention, if you look to Dacia in any case, and the power of the local chieftains all the time increases and simultaneously the power of the sacral king weakens. I will return to this problem later.

The place of the Suebes in this pattern starts with the Semnones. Suddenly they find themselves in the centre of a peripheral cultic area and still with a strong feeling for the old habits. They are a strong tribe and hence they become the natural gathering-point for the continued cult. They also understand to use this fact politically trying to build a stronger and bigger realm. All the time they try to expand by means of alliances and personal Gefolgschafts influencing bigger and bigger areas. Since the idea of private property in a legal sense what concerns land not existed by the Germanics this state could not expand more than it did. First the single Christianized tribes could manage to create durable states in a modern sense, but the cult then had no effect. The cultic league accordingly was dying during this process, and precisely as in the former nucleus-area in the North a number of independent realms appear. There is consequently no contradiction between an original, not political cultic league and the growth of a modern state. Rather all states have been through such a process in the beginning. The cult all-ways is the first stage of organised social community. It should be noted, that one of the reasons the Suebes could endure that long was the fact, that the old cult gradually was replaced with the cult of Wodan/Wotan/Óðinn. This was a decided preposition for the occurring of Gefolgschafts able to span over the tribal borders. The initiated warriors are the preposition both for the cult of Gaut and Óðinn. They it were giving the political and military strength enabling the secular power to expand and hence the creation of more modern realms was due to them. When Christianity was introduced the clerical organisation and the Roman law made it possible to turn those realms into states, but it should be noted that the old cooperation between secular and religious power continued even now. This old cultic tradition (Gaut) left also in Christian time a remaining ethnical unity with the Goths, that was reinforced with Arianism. Also this will be better treated later.

...Die Zeit, in der die Ingävonen als politisch-kultischer lebendige Wirklichkeit waren, scheint also vor der Zeit zu liegen, in der wir von Germanen sprechen dürfen. Fr Kauffmann hat unter ihnen die Germanen des alten Mutterlandes sehen wollen, und L. Schmidt ist ihm darin gefolgt. Da das Gebiet der als Ingävonen bezeichnete oder als Ingverhrer genannten Stämme sich ungefähr mit dem Raum des nordischen Bronzekultur deckt, ist es eine ansprechende—wenn auch nicht weiter beweisbare—Vermutung, diesen nordischen Bronzekreis mit ihnen zu verbinden. (Wenskus 1961, s. 252)

Plinius n. h. IV 96 berichtet anlässlich der Fahrt der augusteischen Flotte nach Jütland: *Incipit deinde clarior aperiri fama ab gente Ingvaeonum quae est prima in Germania.*

Vielleicht drückte sich darin ein gewisses Vorranggefühl der ingävönischen Stämme aus, die sich ähnlich wie bei den Sueben die Semnonen, als Muttervolk der anderen Völkerschaften ansahen. Die zahlreiche Traditionen germanischer Völker, die den Norden als ihre Heimat betrachteten weisen anscheinend in die gleiche Richtung, denn wenn auch sicher zuweilen unberechtigte Übertragungen vorgenommen wurden in den meisten Fällen dürfte ein echter Kern enthalten sein. (Wenskus 1961, p.253)

As earlier suggested both Ingaevones/the Nerthus-tribes and Semnones are remnants of the same presumed old cultic league. With the Ingaevones the old habits evidently continued but with a gradually decreasing intensity for a number of centuries. The Semnones however started to lay the foundations of a bigger realm with help of remaining pieces of the old league and a good help from the new cult of Wodan/Wotan/Óðinn. The Ingaevones were already from the beginning closer to the centre and this might explain their to a certain degree remaining influence.

Ganz unwahrscheinlich ist die Auffassung vieler Prähistoriker, die die Ingävöner—von der Begriffsbildung der Germanisten beeinflusst—mit einer nordsee germanischen Fundgruppe identifizieren, die sich erst im Laufe der älteren Eisenzeit herausgebildet hat. Abgesehen von den oben angeführten Erwägungen spricht dagegen ganz deutlich, daß die von Plinius n. h. IV 99 ausdrücklich als Ingävöner bezeichneten nordjütischen Kimbern und Teutonen außerhalb bleiben müßten, während umgekehrt die Friesen, von keiner Quelle zu den Ingävöner gerechnet, hinzugenommen werden. Auch diese Tatsache spräche, wenn wir überhaupt Fundgruppen in solchem Sinne interpretieren wollen, für ein höheres Alter des Ingävönerstammes und seine im Laufe der Eisenzeit sich vollziehende Auflösung. Dennoch ging die Bildung des Germanentums wohl kaum vom Kerngebiet der nordischen Bronzekultur aus, sondern von den südlichen Kontaktgebieten, wo sich in der Begegnung mit Nachbarstämmen gegenseitige Überschichtungen und dadurch auch Herrschaftsbildungen wenigstens seit der jüngeren Bronzezeit ergaben. Hier bildete sich um die Mitte der Jahrtausends die Jastorf-Kultur heraus, die dann nach allen Seiten ausstrahlte—was vielleicht auch sprachlich mit der Ausbreitung von Kennzeichen der germanischen Lautverschiebung

verbunden war. Die heutige herkömmliche Auffassung vom Nordgermanen als kontinuierlichsten Fortsetzern des einheitlichen Germanentums wäre in diesem Sinne zu berichtigen, Das, was wir als spezifisch germanisch empfinden, sprachlich wie geistig, ist ein Produkt der Umwälzungen der frühen Eisenzeit. ‘Gerade die feinsten Kenner des Germanentums haben immer wieder betont die nordische Bronzezeit noch keinen ausgesprochen germanischen Charakter habe, wenn auch manche kulturelle, politische und ethnische Überlieferung aus dieser Zeit in das Germanentum hineinragen mag. (Wenskus 1961, p.253 f)

Generally this analysis must be regarded as correct, since a cultic league of this high age during its very long period of dissolution must be influenced from surrounding cultures and, except maybe of a common burial-habit, it might well have had different types of pottery and other characteristics already from the beginning. We are not talking about an old state/realm. That the Jastorf-culture has influenced the Germanic area in a high degree nobody has doubted, and it starts expanding about simultaneously as the cultic league in Scandinavia and parts of Northern Germany begins to dissolve—a process continuing gradually up to the middle of the following millennium. At the time of Tacitus the dissolution is almost completed.

Ob die Tendenzen zu größerem Zusammenschluß die sich anscheinend in dem Namen der Erminonen ausdrücken, mit der Ausbreitung von Kulturgut der Jastorf-Zivilisation oder spezifisch germanischen Lautentwicklungen zusammenhängen oder ob sie etwas später anzusetzen sind bleibt unentscheidbar. Da Plinius n. h. IV 99 zu ihnen Cherusker, Chatten, Sueben und Hermunduren rechnet, die in ihrer Gesamtheit nie eine fest umgrenzte archäologische Fundgruppe bilden, versagen hier vorgeschichtliche Methoden. Auf keinen Fall geht es an, nach dem Vorgang mancher Germanisten die Erminonen mit den Sueben zu identifizieren, ihnen die elbgermanische Fundgruppe gleichzusetzen und auf Grund des so gewonnenen Kriteriums die Cherusker und Chatten zu eliminieren. Wenn Plinius—wie schon Strabon—Cherusker und Chatten von den Sueben trennt, dafür aber unter die Erminonen mit begreift, so können wir nur daraus schließen, daß Sueben und Erminonen nicht identische Größen sind.... (Wenskus 1961, p.254)

Wenskus hence does not dare to take a position about the status of the Herminones as part of the Suebian league or an independent league for their sub-

tribes. To this it might be added that there are no evidence whatsoever for a league called Istaveones with exception of the Mannus tribal tree.

F. Frahm: Die Bezeichnung Sueben ist kein Stammesname, sondern ein ethnographischer Sammelbegriff, der sich mit dem Bekanntwerden einzelner Stammesnamen verengt hat. Es ist kein Bodenständiger Name, sondern eine alte ethnographische Kategorie, die die Gesamtheit der Stämme im Rücken der Rheingermanen umfaßt.. (Wenskus 1961, p.256 ff)

Frahm of course is right in, that the name of Suebes periodically has been used by the Romans in this function, and the developement of the league from at least the 2<sup>nd</sup> c.AD in direction towards a realm originating from independent tribes sure gives a mixed impression, when peoples of different ethnical background are gathered within the same league. Basically, however, the name of the Suebes is ancient and most probably originating in solar-cult and fertility-religion.

F. Frahm: Er meint, der Schwabename konnte im frühen Mittelalter auf Grund literarischer Tradition wieder aufgelebt sein. Doch, das Gegenteil trifft jedoch zu. Der Name Schwaben hat sich gegen viel stärker literarisch verfestigten Namen der Alamannen im Heimat durchgesetzt während bezeichnenderweise in der Romania Alamannii gebräuchlich blieb, wo Gregor von Tours den Namen Suebi durch den der Alamanni erklären mußte. Zudem zeigen die frühmittelalterlichen Formen des Namens (ahd. Swaba, ags. Swæfe, an. Svafaland usw.), daß es in germanischem Munde stets lebendig war” (Wenskus 1961, p.257 f)

It is not that sure that this label *earlier* was specialised only for the Suebes but it might, as I have tried to demonstrate above, have been a label covering the whole old cultic area in the North and that originally might be connected with theophoric, mythical places and also with the worship of the sun.

Während in der frühen Eisenzeit die ostgermanischen, die elbgermanischen und die skandinavischen Funde stärkere Gemeinsamkeiten unter einander als mit den nordwestdeutschen Funden aufweisen sollen breiten sich elbgermanische Formen in der Spät-Lathnezeit und frühen Kaiserzeit über ganz Nordwestdeutschland aus, so daß ein einheitlicher Formenkreis steht. Diese Bewegung setzt vor den Römerkriegen ein und kann daher nicht mit ihnen zusammenhängen. Ganz mit Recht sagt R, von Uslar daß sich daraus kaum eine allgemeine Landnahme elbgermanische Gruppen

erschließen läßt. Doch ist die Anwesenheit suebischer Gruppen auch in Nordwestdeutschland vielfach in antiken Quellen bezeugt" (Wenskus 1961, p.260 ff)

Wenskus analysis of Antique sources leads to a result confirming my own arguments. That after the decrease of cultural influence from Scandinavia a Suebian expansion occurs also North-West-wards is in no way confusing, but just strengthens the picture of the ambitions of the Semnones to form a great realm. It leads, however, like in so many other cases, to a number of independent realms—so even in Spain for a short period.

Wenn Tacitus sagt, daß sich die Tracht durch Nachahmung auch unter anderen Stämme verbreitet hat, so werden wir darin die Tradenz ursprünglich nichtsuebischer Gruppen erblicken dürfen, sich der Suebentum zuzuordnen. Dieser Eindruck wird noch dadurch verständlich daß Tacitus ausdrücklich darauf hinweist, es sei die *J u g e n d*, bei der die Nachahmung suebischer Tracht verbreitet sei. Auch dieses Moment spricht dagegen, daß wir es mit einer alten, nur noch bei abgelegenen Stämme gebräuchlichen Sitte zu tun haben. In diesem Falle sollte man eher den alten Brauch bewahrt sehen. Wahrscheinlich hängt die Übernahme des Suebenknotens durch die Jungmannschaft irgendwie mit der Dienst in den Gefolgschaften derdamals besonders aktiven Suebenfürsten zusammen, die sicher auch Gefolgsleute aus ursprünglich nichtsuebische Stämmen um sich hatten... (Wenskus 1961, s. 263)

Man wird heute den Raum, der sich durch das Suebentum ethnisch verbunden wußte, nicht mehr genau umgrenzen können. Fraglich bleibt, ob die Skandinavien in ihrer Gesamtheit mit umfaßt wurden. Die Worte Plinius' n. h. IV 96: *est Scadinavia incomptae magnitudinis... quae alteram orbem terrarum eam appellat* können auf eine frühe Zweiteilung des germanischen Raumes im Bewußtsein der Seeanwohner deuten. Auch der Hinweis G. Schüttes, daß man bei den Setesdølern in Norwegen bis ins 19. Jahrhundert eine der suebischen ähnliche Haartracht fand, bringt uns kaum weiter. Doch haben sich Stämme, deren Traditionen auf eine nordische Herkunft deuten, wie etwa das Beispiel der Langobarden zeigt, zur Zeit der Expansion des Suebennamens dem Suebentum eingefügt, wenn sie in den Süden wanderten. Auf der jütischen Halbinsel zählten sich die Angeln nach angelsächsischer Tradition (Widsit 43) bereits vor der Auswanderung nicht mehr zu den Sueben, während sie sowohl bei Tacitus als auch Ptolemaios noch zu ihnen gerechnet werden und auch archäologisch und mytholo-

gisch suebische Beziehungen vorhanden sind. Der Glanz des suebischen Namens, der nordjütische Stämme wie Haruden und Eudosen in das Heer Ariovists führte, war hier also im vierten Jahrhundert schon verblaßt. Das hatte zur Ausgliederung einzelner Völkerschaften geführt".(Wenskus 1961, p.270)

The picture Wenskus paints here fits neatly together with what I have earlier stated, namely that the uniting force within the Suebian realm were the initiated cultic warriors, who were the elite within the different Gefolgschafts. The hair-knot was a sign of this initiation. It should be noted that it is an old custom by the Semnones being transferred to the warriors of different origins. It is not, as Höfler has claimed, primarily tied to Óðinn but it may earlier have been connected with another god, e.g. Týr or Ingr. It is besides demonstrated through the confirmations from Norway, combined with earlier mentioned international great-howe graves, that there existed a stratum of chieftains, or nobles, having personal relations all over Europe, who supported each other to gain power. A uniting glue in this case was the cult of Óðinn and, of course, the interest of profit connected with trade and property. It was this development finally leading to the modern states via regional realms. From having been the primary the cult became a secondary tool, but an important tool indeed.

Wenskus continues his reasoning about the Suebes:

Einige Forscher—wie R.Much—glauben an eine Übertragung des Suebennamens auf alle verwandt erscheinenden Völker außerhalb des römischen Einflußbereichs vor der Schlacht im Teutoburger Wald seitens der Römer. Damit stimmt räumlich die neuerdings von W. Steinhauser erschlossene Bedeutung des Namens der Sueben, 'die Freien', auf den ersten Blick gut überein. Diese Annahme würde allerdings voraussetzen, daß die betreffenden Stämme sich selbst als Sueben, als Freie, fühlten. Aber wir müssen den Höhepunkt der Ausweitung des Suebenbegriffs schon in die erste Hälfte des letzten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. ansetzen, ehe die römische Bedrohung einsetzte. Wenn die Etymologie richtig ist, liegt es näher, für die Entstehung des Namens Sueben als Selbstbezeichnung die Zeit des keltischen Vorstoßes nach Mitteleuropa in der Früh-Latènezeit anzunehmen, des Vorstoßes, der vor dem suebischen Kerngebiet zum Erliegen kam. Sueben würde dann jene Leute bezeichnen, die sich von der Keltenherrschaft frei halten konnten.... (Wenskus 1961, p.271)



This explanation of the name- the Free—sounds extremely artificial and even quite improbable if you compare with the old cultic traditions who exist and are practised for long time in the Semnonenhain. A tribe and a league with that old historical lineage do not give themselves a revolutionary, desperate name which rather fits for an upcomer-group. If it should be any kind of liberty-explanation it should rather be directed towards the old cultic league, if one or another sacral king had decided to change his legitimation of power, and hence the name should be young. It rather should suggest you had changed to the cult of Óðinn. The only competition, however, in late times should have been the those kings, that older research traditionally have applied to north-eastern Sweden, still calling themselves svíakonungr- the sun-king. They had indeed full work defending themselves against the followers of Gaut and Óðinn-Gaut in an effort to keep their old power-position. As mentioned they later were defeated and the new keeper of the title svíakonungr claimed ancestry from Óðinn-Gaut. The Ingaevonic tribes evidently were parts of the Suebes. The name is definitely connected with solar cult and comparable with that of the Svíar/Sueones.

## Conclusion of the problem of cultic leagues

The cult of Gaut probably originated in the Kattegat-area and South-Scandinavia as a consequence of the, of the climatic changes caused, worse prepositions for cultivation and the beginning to the more general transition to cattle-breeding among the Germanics. This demanded an increased mobility and territorial guarding. The Goths never got very long in this development before the arrival of the new continental cult-variant connected with the name of Óðinn. This implied a new, shorter sacrificial cycle and a new name and a new position for the former god Gaut, who since then was named Óðinn-Gaut. Agriculture all the time was the primary base for the Gautic society, but the cattle-breeding got an ever more increasing importance, and not least as producer of fertilizers. Also agri-culture demanded a greater readiness for mobility by long-lasting failure of the crops et c. This means a greater need of warriors prepared for immediate actions, and with high demands of their obedience. In the lead were chieftains in the old central area ruled by economical motives. Not until after the union with the new Óðinn-cult the changes started to become clear, and finally they resulted in the fall of the Gothic sacral kingdom and the appearance of Óðinn-kings. This is demonstrated later. An interesting indication of the cult of Gaut might be the Nordic place-names starting with the element *Ring-*, which is treated in the section concerning linguistics. The old sacral kingdom, however, still remained in many places by name, but the fertility-cult now was used as a medium of the Óðinn-Gaut-cult. The old loose great cultic league was in time replaced with a number of realms under strong rulers, who still used the cult as a base of wielding power but now claimed ancestry of Óðinn-Gaut. Some of these realms became with the Christianity later modern states, while the southern parts of the former league were divided in other, new states after the Suebes failed to form a major realm.

The peoples having name after Gaut are Goths, Jutes, Gutar/Guts and Gauter/Gauts, and the royal families claiming ancestry from Gaut are the Gothic, later the Ostrogothic, partly the Danish via Humli, the Anglo-Saxon royal families, the Jutic royal families and a number of Langobardic kings.

They all have, or claim to have, their origin in the Scandinavian area. In difference of the Inglings/Ynglings they only claim ancestry from Gaut and not that they are reborn gods, but only children, grand-children et c. to gods, and they are humans, indeed. The cult of Gaut seems to be confusingly similar to the cult of Óðinn, but if all signs are correctly interpreted Gaut is a more fertility-like god, but still an Odinistic god, and a war- and creator-god, whose name means approximately 'the outpurer', 'the creator of mankind', 'the human', and he can

hence be connected with the myth of Mannus. The consecrated warrior becomes supposedly in both the cultic variants symbolically killed, and is then part of an army where also the dead are supposed to be present giving power in the fights. With the Goths these ideas may have been pushed that far, that the new warrior gets the weapons of an former, dead warrior and continuously principally represents him. This might be a possible reason why the Goths did not place weapons in men's graves. From the beginning they had *guðjor* or *völvor*, by Jordanes called *halirunnæ*, who at the ethnogenesis to the cult of Óðinn were driven away out in the wilderness, to speak with the expressions of Jordanes. This is a clear parallel to the Origo of the Langobards. The common population worshipped Ingr and possibly Irmin and other fertility-deities. Since the Gothic kings were humans, being children and later ancestors of gods, and they like all other warriors were initiated by a symbolical death and resurrection to living deads, it is understandable why the Goths not only accepted the Arianism, but also faithfully continued as Arians in spite of the Catholic mainstream. This also explains why their mission among all other Germanic peoples, except the Franks, worshipping Óðinn-Gaut was that successful, since many of the families there had similar claims. The Franks had a political motives turning Catholics to get papal support for their founding of a realm. The peoples and families claiming divine origin according to this pattern are among else The Goths, including the Gautar/Götar and the Gutar, the Danes (Skjöldungar), the Jutes, the Vinnili/Langobards, the Luggii/Vandals, the Angles and the Saxons. The Svíar (the Inglings/Ynglings) are in stead primarily tied to the reincarnated god—the old sacral kingdom. In contrast to the old hero-families stand e.g. the Allemans, the Franks and the Bavarians representing a younger tribal-formation tradition.

They have an understandable meaning but they are discussable in their etymologies. They have no divine origin, but rather reflect an historical process. The union of all men, Alamanni, the Free or Brave, the Franks, the men from Bohemia (Böhmen), the Bavarians (who later came to Bavaria/Bayern). Neither the Alamanni or the Bavarians had kings being included in the hero-sagas or in the heroic poetry. They sang of foreign hero-kings, like the tragical Longobard Alboin. The same was applicable to the Franks. Clodvig had only the fourth place in the Merovingian genealogy, which in comparison with those of the Longobards, the Anglo-Saxons, the Goths or the Scandinavians was more than modest (Wolfram1992)

It evidently appears as if the earlier presented hypothesis is confirmed by the archaeological examination and those confirmations there are for the existence of

cultic leagues, if you define cultic leagues as the tribes or peoples whose rulers have the same legitimation for their wielding of power. This might be tied either to a relation to the sun-god and the moon-goddess or to a supposed ancestry from a god, e.g. Gaut/Óðinn. The fertility-cultic organisation is in both cases intact, but is used in slightly different and certain older gods/names have been replaced with new and other gods have got new functions. It in any case seems probable that the rulers founding their power on the old model, and who stand for a society of a more agrar structure, must experience the new kind of rulers as a threat and hence fight to preserve their influence. Consequently fights between followers of the different rulers, cultic fights, should be possible anywhere within the present regions of Svealand and Götaland. Quite clear is, I mean, that Svíar and Suebes, like Götar/Gauter, Goths, Gutar/Guts, Jutes are teophoric names. The old fertility-cultic Bronze Age-area needs, I must stress, not have been a united, organised cultic league, but it should, as suggested, have been ruled by chieftains/kings who had a common interest to preserve the present religious opinion. Politically they might have cooperated either within all the area or in more locally confined groups. The Suebes could have had an own cooperation not directly connected with the Svíar/Sueones, but the cult ought to have been generally similar.

# WHAT DO THE TEOPHORIC AND SACRAL PLACE-NAMES TELL?

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The thoughts I have presented above about the cultic circumstances in the Kattegat-area I now intend to test through an examination of the geographical distribution of teophoric place-names within the respective areas. This subject is generally treated in filological literature, but very seldom in connection with powerpolitical structures. There are some earlier examinations of limited areas by e.g. Th. Andersson, Hjärne, Löffler, Schlyter and other. I have however chosen to take my startingpoint in the newest, and also most specialised, examination looking at exactly the matters interesting me, but I will also refer to earlier actors when suitable. Thanks to the kindness of John Kraft I have had the opportunity to read his then unpublished manuscript (now however published) treating the question about the old chiefdoms and their cultic connection in all Scandinavia. Some of it were already published as stenciles under the name of *Hednagudar och hövdingadömen i det gamla Västergötland* (Kraft 1997). The later published book is called *Hednagudar och hövdingadömen i det gamla Skandinavien*, but the sections of Skåne, Blekinge and Denmark is based on the then unpublished material.

Kraft has made a thorough analysis of the teophoric names, and out of this he has constructed hypotheses of what he calls cultic leagues. This term cultic league risks to cause a lot of misunderstandings since he and I with this refer to different things. What I call a sacral chiefdom or a sacral kingdom—an area ruled by a ruler legitimating his position from a religious base—Krafts calls a cultic league. The supposition by Stefan Brink concerning the Forsa-ring suggests a possible similarity with this occurrence while he however there mentions law-men and/or goði which as well might have controlled also the secular power. (Brink 1996, p.27-52) My definition of a cultic league instead includes all rulers wielding power according to these criteria, and who consequently also have a common interest to preserve the cult in question. I also include their peoples claiming a common origin from a certain god. As an addition to this general definition I also use the expression cultic league in a more limited sense when I refer to secret men's leagues and warriors leagues within the frames of such a sacral kingdom. To avoid further misunderstanding I will consequently call Kraft's leagues for sacral

chiefdoms or sacral kingdoms. All the time it is implicated that the base of the ruler's power is religious.

Kraft says about the method has applied on the examination:

Snorre Sturlasson painted in the 13<sup>th</sup> c. a detailed picture of Norway during the Viking Period. Through building a jig-saw puzzle with his information you can easily draw a map of the petty-kingdoms of pagan time. The territorial division in Sweden and Denmark at this time however is hidden in obscurity... This presentation is a try to map the petty-kingdoms or chiefdoms of prehistoric times. It is primarily made through an analysis of the repetitive pattern of the pagan cult-places. The working-hypotheses is simply that it should not have been more than one cult-place of every type in a pre-historical community. In the same way you can get an idea of churches you also should be able to map pagan "congregations" through studying cult-places with identical names... The material consists mostly of teophoric place-names, i.e. names where gods are included. Such place-names may be presumed to indicate pre-historical cult-places. One type of historical artefacts is also included in the examination. It deals with *trojeborgar* or labyrinths, presumably used as arenas at fertility rites. The "repetition-method" makes it possible to sketch a number of maps of the division into cultic leagues (i.e. sacral king-/chiefdoms, my remark) in Scandinavia from the early Iron Age and up to the end of the pagan period. It is possible to perceive territorial changes, like partitions or mergings of areas. In many cases you also could guess the names of the cultic leagues (a.a., my remark). The reliability of the method is confirmed in among else Norway, where the repetitive hypothesis delivers a result almost totally corresponding with the division in petty-kingdoms, that can be traced in Snorre.

Kraft claims that you in all Scandinavia might understand closer to 70 early chiefdoms, which number in time has increased a bit through divisions. The size has varied from about ten farms to whole landscapes or bigger. The medieval folklands in present Uppland-. Tiundaland, Attundaland and Fjädrundaland, he claims, each answer to an originally cult-based chiefdom of similar size. Towards the end of the Iron Age he sees eleven chiefdoms in the area. The settlements along the coast of Norrland, Kraft means, seem to have been part of a vast chiefdom—Hälsingland.

The above sketched method is in many ways congenial, but still one might ask if not more local cults-places also could have had teophoric names, and have been used parallel with the more central one. Now these parallels are chopped away

out of the material as “modern doublets” when they do not fit into the picture. Besides there are, as known, other cultic names than the teophoric and some of these, at a closer scrutiny as I have shown elsewhere, besides also are teophoric. (Cf. my lecture *Kings-and Cult-Sagas as a Means to Control Society*...in the documentation of the conference *Saga & Societies in Borgarnes, Iceland* in September 2002.) According to this method names who primarily contain the name of an identifiable god are treated, but all general names of cultic places like *ví, vé, hult, harg, sal, åker, eke, rað, roð* et. c. are excluded. The method, consequently, is limited, but still it can evidently give good indications of the political and territorial conditions. Through the name of the gods they can in a certain extent also be tied to different epochs. In this connection is still a complication. Kraft divides them into older and younger gods. I mostly agree but not allways. When he specially counts Þórr as the lastly arrived god and much later than other, even later than Óðinn, I totally disagree. He means his cult caused still more divisions of the cultic units. Since Þórr by many reaserchers is considered confirmed already in the rock-carvings this dating is difficult to understand, and Kraft admits he has had trouble with interpreting the Þórr-names. Continously I will disregard the places named after this god in the argumentation.

## Västergötland (with parts of Halland and Dalsland)

The old Västergötland is in the written sources from the Middle Ages confirmed to have included also Dalsland. Mo county at the border to Småland is in certain aspects counted to Västergötland, but does not seem to have belonged to Västergötland proper. (Schlyter, p.8 f) There is much also indicating that Värmland seems to have been part of the jurisdiction of Västergötland during the early Middle Ages. Västergötland was divided into a number of small counties—*härad*—who where gathered to eight administrative districts—*bo*—with a kingsyard in each of these giving name to the bo.

Kraft demonstrates that the teophoric place-names in the landscapes around lake Vänern exhibit a partly different picture than in eastern Sweden. In Vadsbo härad, lying closest to Närke, you find teophoric place-names of the well known type Ullavi and Närlunda. Longer westwards however the traces of the goddess Njārðr disappears. In stead the goddess Frigg appears. Hence it is in his opinion reasonable to suspect that Frigg is a West-Swedish equivalent to Njārðr and Härn, (i.e. Hørn-Freja). (Kraft 1997) I announce in this respect another opinion since the name of Frigg/Frigga is intimately related to Óðinn, but basically I could admit they should be the same deity.

He generally considers the repitivie patterns more indistinct in Västergötland than in the landscapes around the lake Mälaren and in Östergötland. But

through considering the natural division of Västergötland in three old main-territories (Sahlström 1958, p.75) and specially looking on the Skövde-names it is till possible, he means, to reconstruct the pre-historical map. An important support for these guesses he gets by the clear concentrations of teophoric place-names appearing around the lake Östen and around Falköping. They give, he says, an evident hint to where you might seek the nucleus-areas for two pre-Christian chiefdoms. Another characteristic trait he notes, is that the lake Väner-area not is as rich on the older type of teophoric place-names as for example the Mälars-lake area. He suggests it depends primarily on the fact that the chiefdoms of Västergötland and Värmland have been rather vast. The younger teophoric place-names, he writes, are more numerous but the repetitions are few. Only in one case he has reason to suspect a division. (Kraft 1997)

## Vadsbo

One chiefdom he finds in the härad of Vadsbo and Kåkind.  
The older teophoric names here are:

Ullervad (ullerwi och wllerwi 1278, ullærwi? 1298), parish-name  
Närlunda (Nerlunde 1540, Närlunde 1551), Bällefors par.  
Närlunda (Nerlunde 1540), Undenäs par.  
Skövde (Sködwe, end of 13<sup>th</sup> c.) city-name.

He remarks besides, that on Kyrkbacken at the church of Horn earlier were a pair of labyrinths. (Kraft 1979, p.14 ff) He interprets Skövde as Sködve (i.e. Skedevi) and regards it as an equivalent of the East-Swedish Skävi-names. (Kraft 1979)

Ullervad (Ullervi) he interprets as the sanctuary of ÚllR. Here he follows the interpretation by Elgqvist, Nooren and Sahlgren. Lindroth and Lundahl mean it shall be read as *Ulla-ærv*, the heritage of Ulle. (Ortnamnen i Skaraborgs län, del XI:1, p.136 f) *När* stands for Njærðr and of the two Närlunda Kraft guesses on Närlunda in Bällefors parish as a quite probable cult-place in connection to the ancient nucleus-territory around the river Tidan. (Kraft 1977) With this method he is, hence, forced to eliminate doublets not fitting. I find this metodically dubious. What prevents the appearance of parallel cult-place names? I can see nothing preventing it.

Concerning the younger stratum he means there are no signs of division in new units and so he mentions a number of place-names—mostly with *Frö-* and *Oden-*. He writes that Fröåkra hardly can be interpreted as the field(åker) of the goddess Fröja/Frejabut it could indicate a holy place—the protected field. (Kraft 1997) I am not that sure that a god name not is involved. On the contrary the—



*åkra*-names are consequently cultic and hence the name most probably shall be understood as 'the holy field of Frö/Frejr'. He notes that a thing-howe is not known but that it most probably should have been a common thingr-place, where laws were made and important things were decided, at the hughe standing stones at Ranberga in Askeberga. He pleads the role of Ranstena as possible common thingr-place is enlightened by the information in the older law-code of Västergötland, that bishop Järpulf at a thingr-meeting in Askubäk at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> c succeeded in getting the Västgötar to pay tenth to the bishop. Natanael Beckman claims this Askubäk must be identical with Askeberga in Vads parish. (Beckman 1974, p.108) Kraft finds it most natural to name this chiefdom after the old king's yard Vad having given name to the later bo-district, Vads bo. He also supports himself on Sanfrid Welin, who considered that the old härad-name had been Vads härad.

Personally I regard it a little optimistic that at first decapitate one of two Närlunda in older time but in younger time accept a multitude of parallel cult-place names in an area where he claims no division has taken place. According to Kraft's own criteria it is the parallelity which indicates a division. The method, consequently, is inconsequently applied. In spite of this, however, the presence of a hughe ships-setting, probably from the late Bronze Age, in Askeberga and the Medieval source-information referred to, can make it seem inviting to place a local centre in this area. It is however quite clear that several cult-places functioned parallel in this territory, as well as it did in other areas I presume. Many of them were most probably of a more local character.

## Falbygden

In the Falbygden he finds the next chiefdom. It is based on the following names:

Ulunda (Vlund(h)a1564, Vllelunda 1566), Varnhems par.

Ullene (Ollenee 1330—34, vllene 1449), parish.

Friggeråker (de Frigiær aker 1311), parish.

Skövdesgården (Skiöfd(h)esgården 1630, 1641 and 1685), Luttra par.

Friggeråker usually is interpreted as 'the holy field of the goddess Frigg', but Kraft here refers to the suggestion by Lennart Elmevik that the name may derive of a "Frīðærð(ar)akr meaning 'field where controversies have been solved, agreements have been made. He supposes this might be a parallel to Fröåkra, 'the protected field' in Vadsbo (Elmevik 1995). Referring to the maps of the distribution

of archaeological artefacts he claims that this realm in great should have consisted of the counties of Valle, Gudhem, Vartofta, Vilske, Ås and Redväg.

To the younger stratum he counts a number of names mostly with the element *Oden-*, but also *Göt-*, *Dis-* and *Gud-*. He finds it remarkable that Frejr/Fröjr and Freja/Fröja being well represented in the Northern realm (Vad) here seem to be absent. Peculiarly enough, he writes, all younger teophoric names seem to have been preserved as nature- or parish-names. The only repetition occurring is the Disakällan-Diskällan (Dis-well), and that is not enough to presume a new realm, he means. He remarks the farm-name Odensberg is a late construction (1847) of the older Oden's hill in Gökhem parish. He also informs that on the Gudaberget (God-mountain) in Valstad par. has been lit Easter-fires to in the 1920's. A Helgestad (Holy-place) is mentioned in several royal letters from 1524 to 1610 as a market place. Its exact location is unknown. He presumes a cultic central place in Gudhem, which could have, he means, identical with the to Þórr consecrated Godheim, which in the saga of the Jomsvikings is indicated as the biggest divine court in Gautland with 100 idols (Wessén 1924, p.174). He stresses this by referring to the existence of an important medieval king's-yard, which was centre for the five parishes included in the administrative area of Gudhem's bo, and that in Friggeråker parish, close outside the old Falköping, there is a notably large natural height called the Tingshögen (Tinghögz Enghenn 1578, Tinngz Högen 1630). (Ting is thing.) This, he means, can have been the common thing-place of the cultic chiefdom. He says it is still more probable since in this area four parishes meet, and here the market place later being becoming Falköping was established. Falköping became one of the most important towns in Västergötland during the early Middle Ages. (Kraft 1997)

Referring to the early Medieval name of the area, the Falan, in which was included the härad (small counties) of Gudhem, Vilske, Frökind and Vartofta (Ortnamnen i Skaraborgs län, bd. XVII, p.138 f) and to the Icelandic Rimbegla (13<sup>th</sup> c.) stating the Falan as a great härad, he thinks Rimbegla must have in any case referred to a known area or district with this name. Since it is not mentioned in the Codex Westrogothorum it must instead indicate this chiefdom he means. (Kraft 1997)

In this section there is some really interesting information—not least regarding the earlier results in connection with the cultic topography in Västergötland. As a start, however, It must be said that Friggeråker must be counted to the younger stratum since she is the wife of Óðinn. Krafts notes a lack of Frejr- and Freja-names and places the cultic centre in the Gudhem-area, surrounded by several teophoric names and not least those of Óðinn. Above I have tried to make it probable that the cult of Frejr/Freja was tied to just Gudhem, and that this place

was part of a Scandinavian chain of Gudhem/Gudum/Gudme cult-places established during the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period.

I am not alone to regard Gudhem as an important place. Lars Lundqvist, the chief-archaeologist in Slöinge, regards Gudhem as a very hot future excavation-site. (Lars Lundqvist, pers.com.)

## The concept of Härad

In Rimbegla Falan is called a härad. In the 13<sup>th</sup> c. it might be, as Kraft presumes, a faulty writing, but I wonder if it possibly on Iceland at that time there could be memories of an old tradition about a “härad” in this area, which the writer might have heard of? If you regard the interpretation of Petrus Envall of the word *rad* or *rod* (Envall1969, p.24 ff) as a cult-place name indicating an wooden idol, and at the same time consider that one of the by-names of Óðinn was just ‘*här*’, ‘*härād*’ could possibly be translated as the cult-place of Óðinn. You should note, that in Danish form the word is written *herred*, *hærred*, *hær-reþ*, accordingly with two ‘*r*’. Since the interpretations by Envall are disputed by some Swedish researchers I have at a runic symposion in Stockholm discussed the matter with Raymond Page (Page, pers.com.), and he means that *rad*, *rap* very well could be the same word meaning ‘pole’ and similar. The traditional interpretation else is ‘the gathering place of the army (the här)’. (Hellquist, Etymol.ordb.) Of this should follow that the oldest so called ‘bygdehärad-names’, i.e. local härad-names not used in an administrative function but as names of villages, parishes or local farms, not with Thorsten Andersson and other from the beginning should indicate a local territory as described above, and neither with Stefan Söderlind a Roman centennium—a hundred. Instead it should indicate a local cultic commonship—the people living around a common cult-place and obeying a sacral ruler, founding his power on a genealogical connection with Óðinn. Andersson in this case should be close to the correct interpretation since the cult, as mentioned, also directs the political wielding of power. The old hundare-names however could well have the background Söderlind proposes, but these were in the early Middle Ages replaced with the from the South-West expanding administrative härad-organisation, which now had become an official institution. At this late stage an influence from the centennia very well might have influenced the härad-concept, specially since the official organisation began and grew only during Christian time. In the village of Härad, a bygdehärad, in northern Södermanland excavations have revealed interesting finds. There are discovered 17-18 house-foundations from the Iron Age and about 150 graveswith rich finds. Among the finds is a miniature sword of a length of 3-4 cm, a triangular pendang in shape of a demon-face which, according to the chieed of the excavation, Tomas

Ekman, indicates a possible Óðinn-cult. This name, accordingly, could show on an early local cult of Óðinn in the area, which in other respects is situated in close proximity of the nucleus-area of the old fertility-cult. (DIK—FORUM 20 1992) There is neither time nor place here for a more thorough treatment of the concept of *härad*, *hundare* and *kind*—another suspected administrative system. Still I will in any case suggest that *härad* might be a very old and cultic concept, and could possibly be tied to the expanding cult of Óðinn. That it later turns into an official administrative system during the transition to Christian time is quite consequent since the old cultic organisation gives a good ground to reach the local people. The churches, remember, mostly were built on or close to old cult-places. The official system was imported from Denmark that was earlier Christianised.

According to the theories of Ambrosiani, who links this cult with an aware try on behalf of the Roman emperors to be assured of the loyalty of the Germanic legionaries, an origin in an early centenna is not impossible, since former legionaries might have had experience of this organisation and applicated it in connection with the cult. Unfortunately this theory is not possible to confirm with the Danish material since recognizable *bygdehärad*s are lacking. It probably depends on the early start using the organisation for administrative means in Denmark but they doubtless must have existed once. In Denmark it is perhaps possible to see the rest of these in the later *syslor*, who Kraft with certain success has tied to just cultic organisations.

Concerning the origin of the *härad* Söderlind claims that the oldest known Germanic division into *härad*s appeared at the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> c.AD in the Merovingian states. Already then, he writes, “the judicial motive to improve the legal security is strongly accentuated. Later Karl Martell introduced the Zent-organisation in the areas around Main, and the character of thing-teams of the districts is at least in the 8<sup>th</sup> c. quite clear.”(Söderlind 1968, p.166) The thing in old time was intimately tied to the cult, and we know that in any case on Iceland it was the *goðe* leading the thing. Nothing accordingly prevents that an early organisation of an area is based on the cult, but it is rather quite natural to use this instrument to increase the control of the subjects. The thing-community was at the same time, at least in a considerable extent, the armed men—the sworn warriors—which results in a total cultic and political control. The original Germanic function and understanding of *härad* is, I mean, under all circumstances linked to the cultic organisation which at the same time, as already suggested, is the secular, political. Tunberg claims in his dissertation, that the word *härad* has had the meaning ‘settled country’, and that it only secondary has been used as a juridical-administrative term. He means it originally was used in southern Scandinavia and from there has spread successiv over Götaland to Svealand, to Norway and further to the islands in the North-Atlantic.(Tunberg 1911)

Thorsten Andersson remarks that in South-Scandinavia are factual examples of so called bygdehärad, i.e. settled country-härads. A village in Tryserum parish in the härad of N.T just in Småland (close to the border to the härad of Hammarkind in Östergötland) is called Härad (i hærede 1453 7/6 Ståkeholm in vid. 1488 29/1 Uppsala RAp, ij garde hærede 1470-t C 4 f. 12 r.). In Västergötland in Flundre härad the parish Upphärad is situated and in Vadsbo härad there is the parish Amnehärad, whose name contains an older name of the river Gullspångsälven, OSw.Amn. (SOV 12, p.58) Specially common, he claims, is in Sweden “härad” in this sense in Värmland and in Up-Swedish areas. He remarks that it has been proposed, that ‘-härad’ in certain names of this kind should have a more special meaning, but normally the meaning ‘a minor local area’, ‘settled country’ et.c has been assumed for the many parish-names—in general the same thing as parish. The question of the deeper meaning of härad in place-names in different regions in Scandinavia outside the South-Scandinavian area with its administrative division into härads, is according to Andersson, something that future research may answer. The most important is, he claims, that beside the South-Scandinavian härad in judicial, administrative meaning it occurs “härad” of another kind. (Th. Andersson, p.174) Otto von Friesen wants to apply a Proto-Nordic form *\*harja-raða-* (with a by-form *\*harja-raðia*, from which OSw. *hærepe*), whose later element he carries to OSw. *raþ*; the original meaning then becomes ‘welth over an army, power-sphere, including a horde of weapon-fit men’. Tunberg constructs a PNord. *\*harja-raiðo*, which he means later shall have changed gender and be identical with OHG *hariraida*, *harireita*, ‘army-horde’, literally ‘riding horde’, from which the meaning ‘settled horde’ and later ‘settled country’ might have come. Sahlgren follows it up from Tunberg and interprets it as ‘riding horde’, ‘a horde riding in the same direction’ and from this ‘area with a common meeting-place’ (cf. parish). Envall suggests: “In connection with bigger sacrifice-feasts also a thing was held, and the land was divided into thing-teams. In Götaland these got their names by the rað (wooden idol) at which the thing was held, the *häräd* (of *har* ‘sacrifice hearth’ and rað ‘wooden idol’). The younger form suggests they belong in the Iron Age. During the Middle Ages this term was transferred also to Svealand. When Christianity arrived it conncted to the old cultic organisation. The church was built on or near the place of the idol. The church also grasped the land having been reserved for the fertility-cult and to this belonging houses; the goðe’s yard became the priest-yard and the lodgings for the visiting worshippers became church-stables and ecclesiastical guest-houses.” (Envall 1969, p.264)

There is accordingly no general agreement about the origin of the word härad, but the above demonstrated parallelity in the interpretation of ‘settled country’ and ‘parish’ undoubtedly offers an opening for a connection to an originally cultic, judicial organisation including the weapon-fit men—the warriors.

## Fjäre

In connection with the presumed sacral kingdom/chiefdom of Falan/Gudhem Kraft also mentions the Fjäre-realm. He places this in the sparsely populated härad of Kind and Mark, and suggests they have constituted an own realm together with a number of härad in Halland. Geijer has demonstrated that the dialect of this territory differs from the central dialect of Västergötland, Kraft remarks. What Halland concerns Kraft claims, like earlier Svennung (Svennung 1966, p.57), that there is a natural geographic border in the vicinity of Varberg between rocky coast in the North and long-ground sand beaches in the South. These two parts of Halland exhibit already during the Bronze Age great differences, he notes, since you in the North have grave stone-mounds and in the South howes. There is also a dialect border straight through the parish of Tvååker just south of Varberg. Here also Thorsten Andersson, in an examination of the härad-names, has demonstrated that there is a dividing borderline, since in the northern part of Halland there are three härad, Fjäre, Viske and Himle, who seem to have been named after whole settled countries, while the five härad in the South have had names from places. (Andersson 1965 p 81. ff) Kraft agrees with the researchers that mean the five härad in southern Halland have been formed from an old tribal land, where the by Jordanes in the 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD mentioned tribe Hallin lived. (J. Svennung 1965 p.78 f; Th.Andersson 1984 p.6 ff; J.V.Svensson 1917, p.124 ff) Concerning the three northern härad both Svennung, Svensson and Andersson claim that also Fjäre and Himle have are old lands answering to Feruir and Alhemil of the tribes of Jordanes. Kraft supports this stand-point. Frits Löffler too claimed in 1894 that the people Feruir is identifiable in the härad of Fjäre. Löffler suggested a Fjäre-realm including northern Halland and southern Västergötland, and he remarked that the now living dialects support such an assumption. (Löffler 1894, p.8) Later Löffler gave a more exact statement meaning the Fjäre-realm should have consisted of the northern härad of Halland—Fjäre, Viske and Himle—and the härad Mark and Kind in Västergötland. They are kept together, he remarks, not only by the language, but also through lacking the word 'härad' as part of their names. (Löffler 1894, p.107) Kraft also refers to the try of Henrik Schück to prove that the Westgautar during the time of Beowulf was a seafaring people, and that they controlled the coast from Svinesund to Varberg. He supported himself on the mentioned dialect border. (Schück 1907, p.24) J.V. Svensson regarded the river Ätran as a border between Gautar and Danes (Svensson 1917, s. 124 ff.) while Sahlgren just saw a border-area in the name Mark, suggesting a very old border to Denmark. (Sahlgren 1925, p.144 ff) Gunnar Olsson points out that, according to Valdemar's Jordebog (Medieval land-registry), the three northern härad in

Halland paid a different tax in comparison to the southern ones. (Olsson 1981, col. 58)

The following cultic names Kraft regard as the older stratum of the Fjäre-realm:

Ullasjö (de wllæsio 1314), parishname.  
 Skene (Skädenäby 1394, Skädenne 1535), Örby par.  
 Fredsjö (Frigsjön 1654 och 1656), lake in Gunnarsjö par.

He notes that in connection with the places with ÚllR-name, it has in historical time existed central market-places for the härads—namely in Ullasjö, Ullene and Ullervi, which even is mentioned as *kiöpstad* 1530, and he means this can not be a mere coincidence that all those three important market-places have had name after ÚllR. He suggests that a better explanation is that the names witness of pre-Christian cult and that the markets are an inheritance from the pre-Christian cultic feasts which often were complemented with markets. (Kraft 1997) Linde means the community Skene, earlier *Skädenä*, may contain the same first element as the Skövde/Sködve-names and the last element *vini*, 'prairie, pasture'. (Linde 1982 p.44) Kraft hesitates about the localisation of the local thing-place between Tingskullen at Skene, who should have been central, and the denser populated coastal area. (Kraft 1997)

To the younger stratum he counts among else:

Onsala (de othænsæle 1231) parish-name  
 Östra Frölunda (Frölunda 1346), parish-name  
 Frölunda (Frölundä 1404), Gällstad par.

Kraft is confused by the double Frö-names, but he does not judge it gives reason to assume a division. (Kraft 1997)

About the above might be said that the existence of a Fjäre-realm seems linguistically and politically probable, but the cultic organisation is less evident if he intends it should be a central ruling. The market-place tradition rather, especially with several Frölunda, points towards an old pattern where every härad has constituted an own cultic unit and the overruling wielding of power in that case should rest on a federation of settled country-härads. The lonely Onsala-name at the coast maybe rather should be connected with the sea-trade route with connecting cult-places passing this way as I have treated above (Cf. Tore Nyberg, Hauck et al.) Also in this district Frigg has been placed in the wrong period of time.

## The river Lidan's stream-system and Dalsland

The biggest chiefdom of Västergötland Kraft places at the lake Vänern. It should have included the settled countries around the rivers/streams Lidan and Nossan and the plains of Dalsland. The teophoric place-names of the older type occur in the härad of Kålland, Skåning and Kulling, but through studying the nature-geographical prepositions and the distribution of ancient artefacts he dares with rather great security also include Åse, Viste, Barne, Laske, Kinne, Als and Gäsene härad to the same realm.

The following place-names he places in the older stratum:

Ullered (Vllaroff 1397, Vllarof 1413), Otterstad par.

Ullerholmen, Rackeby par.

Friggeråker (Ffriggeracker 1541, Friggeraker 1542, Friggeråker 1550), Saleby par.

Rydsjön (Fröggare Sion 1718, Frigga Siön 1762), lake, Hemsjö par.

Kullings—Skövde (Sködwe 1338), parish-name.

Ullered on Kållandsö island Kraft interprets as an original Ullarhof, hinting at relationship with Norway. Ullersund is plainly not mentioned. He notes that today there are two Friggeråker beside each other, and he means they both origin in the same pre-Christian cult-place. He rejects the theories of Hugo Jungner (Jungner 1922) that the name Friggeråker in Saleby should indicate an early emigration from the Falbygden, where the same name appears in Gudhem's härad.

The place-names, where he sees the younger gods appear contain repetitions of names like Frösjön, Odensberg, Odenshög and Torsjön. These repetitions, divided in two geographically divided groups, he regards as two younger cultic units.

One realm, hence, should include among else the härad of Åse and Kålland. The second ought to have consisted of the härad of Kulling, Laske and Skåning, where a similar repetition of names occur. He suggest that the western of the two chiefdoms consisted of Åse, Kålland, Viste and the härad on the opposite side of Lake Vänern in the plain-counties of Dalsland, namely Sundal, Nordal and Tössbo härad. He sees a pattern of repetitions that he means can not be accidental.

He guesses that the land around the Lidan and the Nossan has been divided into two chiefdoms in a younger period. Part of the border between them seems to have been the lower part of the Lidan. (Kraft 1997)

Concerning the location of the thing-places of the two younger realms he forwards Skalunda, west of Lidköping, as a probable thing- place for the western realm. He remarks that in Skalunda the very greatest howe of Västergötland, the Skalunda howe, is situated and in the vicinity is a little lesser howe, the howe of



Skjolm, being indicated as a thing-place in an old parish-chronicle (Welin, p.59). He refers to the antiquity-researcher Nils Henrik Sjöborg, who in 1815 mentioned that in Skalunda was a remarkable so called “Domshög”, i.e. a howe where the law was executed and decided, a thing-place.(Sjöborg 1815, p.28) In Skalunda also one of the great king’s yards of Västergötland was situated, central-place in the administrative district Skalunda bo, including the härad of Kålland and the major part of Dalsland.(Kraft 1997)

Another known thing-howe, Larv’s bäsing, he suggest lies perfectly to serve as a thing-place in the eastern realm. In the old Codex Iuris Westrogothorum is spoken of the ‘bäsing’. It is a common opinion among researchers this passus refers to Larv’s bäsing. It might have been thing-place for a chiefdom of the younger type, he means, and at the same time have served as thing-place for the whole landscape of Västergötland.(Kraft 1997)

Since the cultic centre of Dalsland, by the place-names Ullerön and Onsön and the farm-yard Tingvalla to judge, should have been situated around Dals-Ed, while the traces after cult-places in the plains are quite scarce, he connects the area at Dals-Ed with the lake-systems in western Dalsland and south-western Värmland and sees an area including the härad of Valbo, Vedbo and Nordmark with a primary connection to Ranriki in Bohuslän. The plains at Lake Vänern he instead connects to Västergötland.

He remarks, that at the beginning of the Middle Ages the whole of Dalsland constituted a part of Västergötland. Administratively Dalsland was divided on Skalunda bo and Ås bo and hence was governed via king’s yards on the other side of Lake Vänern. Still in the early Christian period during the 12<sup>th</sup> c. the tradition tells that the inhabitants of southern Dal rowed across the hughe lake to join the service in the church of Skalunda. (Welin, p.56 f) Kraft suggest that similar conditions might have been prevailing during the pre-Christian time that the cult-places of the plains of Dalsland should have been across the lake. He refers to the inhabitants of Möre on the mainland in Småland, which he claims had their cult-places on the island of Öland. This, he suggest, also should explain why there are that many important pre-historic gathering-places in Skalunda and on the Kållandsö island. It is not until, he writes, the coastal areas of Dalsland are considered, that you realise how centrally Skalunda and Kållandsö are situated. As an alternative he considers it possible that the plains of Dalsland have been connected with the settled countries along the valley of the Göta älv river. In that case you should not need to go by boat to Kålland but instead travel on land to meeting-places at the great river. Kraft refers to Schlyter 1835 when he described the old borders of Västergötland. He does not mention Valbo and Vedbo (Schlyter 1835, p.10 f) but Codex Iuris Westrogothorum mentions Vedbo in connection

with the regulation of the thing-allotment. This indicates, Kraft means, that Vedbo originally belonged to Ranriki. (Kraft 1997)

## Saleby

Here I feel it is urgent to inflict some commentaries about the material above before continuing the presentation. Kraft counts Friggeråker to the old names in spite of the fact this goddess is firmly tied to Óðinn, and hence the name should instead be included in the estimation of the two proposed younger chiefdoms. He never mentions Saleby as a thinkable centre for the eastern realm. The name is indeed not teophoric but it is in a high degree cultic, and the place could doubtless have been the cultic and secular centre in a chiefdom. Here we are as normal an early church on the presumed old cult-place, and the yard closest to the church still today is called Selagården. It is the same type of name as e.g. Sälen and it is among else understood as ‘the lodging where travellers visiting the cult-place was allowed to stay or’ or ‘the house at the cult-place’. *sal* is a cult-place word having given raise to many place-names and which has been interpreted in various ways. Hellquist (Ordbok, p.686) and A.Noreen (SO 7:1, p,147) interpret it from *salr* in it’s old meaning of ‘ground,land’, Jan de Vries (Wörterbuch, p.461) means that *salr* is ‘der eingehegte raum’ in gradation-connection to *sil* ‘pillar’. Sahlgren starts with OWNord. *sel* ‘house being built as a summer-house in the outskirt-lands, shack at the mountain-pasture’, Sw. dial, ‘sel’ n, ‘chalet’ and believes that from this has been developed the meaning of ‘a house with one room’, ‘room’. (NoB 1958, p.31)

“In the Gothic there is a verb *saljan* meaning “to sacrifice”. From the meaning ‘sacrifice-place’ is developed the meaning ‘ground,land’, Slaw.*selo*, OWNord.(the Edda) *salr*, like Lat. *ara* ‘sacrificial hearth’> OWNord. *ar* ‘hearth’> Sw.dial. *ar*, Da.,Norw. *are* ‘ground’. From the meaning ‘the house on/above the sacrifice-place’ is developed OSax. *seli* ‘temple’, OHG.*sal*, OWNord. *salr* ‘house consisting of one room’. To *sal* ‘sacrifice-place’ belongs the derivative Got. *salipwa* ‘lodging-place, night-shelter’ originally at the sacrifice-place, and the verb *saljan* means oldest ‘to find night-shelter’ there. The same origin has in the Nordic languages the derivative \**salia*->OWNord. *sel* n. ‘house being built as a summer-house in the outskirt-lands, shack at the mountain-pasture’, <Norw.and Sw.dial. *sel* ‘mountain-pasture’, ‘chalet’. “(Envall 1969, p.202 f) There is also confirmed a very rich Roman Iron Age and Migration Period grave-field in Saleby.

Lars Lundqvist, as earlier mentioned chief archaeologist at the excavation of the guldgubbar in Slöinge, also considers Saleby a highly interesting place and suspects there has been a chieftain’s yard being centre in a chiefdom. He interprets the name *sal* to indicate there has been a chieftains *sal*, i.e. hall, there and he

also presupposes a *hird*, a personal guard, and sees the beginning of an aristocracy from which kings were recruited. He also points at closely situated place-names like Lund, Åker and Hov indicating there have been permanently living warriors around the chieftain's yard. Lundqvist also remarks that Saleby is one of the richest solitary-find-areas of valuable artefacts in the whole Scandinavian area. It deals among else with swords, spear-tips and traces of metal-craft, but also with elaborate gold-finds—in short it deals with wealthy finds. Great howes and standing stone-circles are absent and he believes they have been removed by cultivation. Test-diggings have been performed in small test-surfaces around the church a couple of days by Västergötlands Museum. Lars Lundqvist took himself part in these and was aided by a class of high-school students. I was there myself, and just then a fibula from the Roman Iron Age was found exactly outside the church. On the opposite way of the road lies the Selagården. Except of Saleby he also mentions as supposed centra Gudhem, Skövde, Varnhem and the Skara-area. (Lundqvist 1977) Interestingly enough exactly those areas I have myself proposed as cult- and power-centra. From my point of view I regard the by Lundqvist mentioned names Lund, Åker and Hov to be cultic without a direct connection to the by him suggested *hird*. I also regard '*sal*' in Saleby as cultic. This is however no real contradiction since a cultic centre in this time also is a secular centre, and hence the place where the ruling chieftain/king lives. Larv's *bäsing* is also not impossible to presume as a thing-place, but as central cult-place and seat for the chieftom Saleby appears as a distinct possibility. Halfway between Skara and Lidköping there is also a cult-place, Eke or Brakelund just beside the Glasbacken—a veritable Migrational Period cultic centre—and here we are a greater number of magnificent standing stone-circles and ships-settings and also flat-ground-graves. A great number of graves seem however to have been destroyed through gravel-mining in modern time. The distance to Saleby is not very great. In the vicinity of this grave-field a bit closer to Skara the famous Grumpan-bracteate, an inscription bracteate, has been found. The place is strategically situated at the road between the stream-system of the river Lidån via Skara/Götala to Gudhem. This raises the question whether there were two competing chiefdoms in the area.

## Skalunda-Kållands Råda

Concerning the proposed western chiefdom the position of Skalunda is indeed strategical and timely the howe lies within the end of the correct period of time, namely in the Merovingian Period (the Vendel Period) according to C<sup>14</sup> datings 1997. (Skaraborgs länsmuseum/Västergötlands museum, Skara) There are however also here alternative possibilities. At the western side of the mouth of

the Lidan lies Råda ås (ridge) (Rodho oass 1457) with thing-place, Rätteplatz—that is execution-place, and a sacrificial grove, Lunnelid, with sacrificial wells. (Envall 1969, p.211) This 'råd' is the same word as 'rod' and 'rad', accordingly an wooden idol. (Envall 1969 p.23 ff) Newly performed excavations have shown on continuous settlement during both the Migration period and the Viking Period. The place must be considered to have fore-gone the town of Lidköping, and considering the possibility to control the river mouth it is not astonishing that the diggings indicate a flourishing society. (Vretemark 1989; Jacobzon 1992; Vretemark/Jacobsson 1996)

At the early Medieval church there is a rune-stone with a picture of Ringerike-style which is supposed to refer to the three-king-battle at the Helge å stream, and a unique collection of Viking Period grave-cists also in Ringerike-style. (Stig Lundberg 1997)

There are accordingly several candidates concerning the localisation of the political power at a cult-place without having to search for teophoric names. This creates trouble when trying to establish exact locations of different functions. The connection however between the western territory and Dalsland seems plausible. What is more discussable is, as I have already suggested, if there are one or several chiefdoms on the eastern side of the Lidan. I merely can confirm that the earlier presented connection between cultic and secular power appears in the surroundings of the river Lidan's stream system with utmost distinctiveness. It should be added, that when diving in the Kinnevikens bay the local marinearchaeologist Roland Peterson found a spear tip, preliminary dated by myself as possibly Migration Period and later C<sup>14</sup> dated to appr.285 AD, above suspected shipwrecks. Because of this the marinearchaeologist from RAÄ Johan Rönby made a further examination and he has found rows of logs and pole-holes who can be remains of pallisades and also a Bronze Age sword. He supposes on this basis that there might be a flooded settlement in the area, and that the land in the mouth of the river Lidan earlier have stretched longer out in the lake. (Rönby 1996)

## **Alfheimar-Elfarsyssla-Ranriki**

In the Göta älv river valley Kraft in the place-names finds traces of still a chiefdom. Even if these names are found on the Westgautic side of the river Kraft means it is reasonable to suppose, that the land-strip along the western side of the river—Inlands Torpe härad, Inlands Södre härad and Västra Hisings härad—once have been united with the land on the eastern side. He regards the settled countries around the river as an early natural unit, and means that the drawing of a border along the river may be regarded as a later construction initiated from above. He demonstrates that on the side of Västergötland you find closest to the

river mouth four härad—Vättle, Sävedal, Askim and Östra Hising—who earlier used to be called *Utlanden*—‘the outer lands’. Four härad in southern Bohuslän—Fräkne, Torpe, Nordre and Södre—in the same manner were called *Inland*—‘the inner land’. Also C.J.Schlyter drew 1835 the conclusion that *Inland* and *Utland* once had been together and had been a part of *Västergötland*. (Schlyter 1835, p 7,25) Erland Hjärne meant that the bigger settled countries called *Inland* and *Utland* once had been united, and that the names are remains of an old settled country-unit having included both sides of the river. Hjärne concluded that Bohuslän, being a relatively late construction, still during the early Middle Ages consisted of *Ranriki* in the North and *Elfarsysla/Elfarsyssla* in the South. Kraft finds *Ranriki* giving the impression to be a very old name while the last element of *Elfarsysla* makes a young impression. *Elfarsysla*, beginning right south of *Uddevalle*, consisted by those four härad being called *Inland* and the islands *Tjörn*, *Orust* and western *Hising* island. Hjärne connected these härad with the *Westgautic* in the *Göta älv* river valley and meant they once had constituted an own realm that probably was called *Alfheimar*. He supported himself on a dialectic border line through Bohuslän north of the *Inland*-area and another east of the *Göta älv*. Also Sahlgren noted this difference and interpreted it as a political border. (Hjärne 1979 p.331 ff; Sahlgren 1925, p.146)

Hjärne considered this area as the nucleus in the greater realm, that in the Icelandic saga-literature carried this name, but this is despised by Kraft, who means that Asagut Steinnes (1950, 1918) convincingly demonstrated that the centre of this realm should have been located at *Alvum* at *Sarpsborg* in *Vingulmark*, close to the place of the later *Borgartinget*, which became a central thing-place for the landscape *Viken*. Steinnes is according to Kraft generally critical to the appearance of a chiefdom in this part of the *Göta älv* river area. Thorsten Andersson as well is critical. (Th.Andersson 1984, p.21 f)

Andersson sees certain differences between *Ranriki* and southern Bohuslän concerning the division into härad and *skipsreidas* (ship-teams). In southern Bohuslän-*Elfarsysla* he finds an old härad-division answering to the one in *Västergötland* and *Halland*. This older division later is over-layered by a division into *skipsreidas*. (Th.Andersson 1984, p.12 ff) Kraft claims that the theories of Schlyter and Hjärne well fit with the witness of the teophoric place-names. He means *Ranriki* has the number of teophoric place-names you could expect in an old chiefdom, while *Elfarsysla*, appearing during the early Middle Ages, totally lacks names of the older type. If you add the area called *Utland* and the other *Westgautic* härad along the *Göta älv* you get a well equipped chiefdom, he remarks, and stresses besides that the distances to the pre-Christian meeting-places also become more reasonable if *Elfarsysla* is connected with the *Westgautic Göta älv* country.

In a hypothetical chiefdom consisting of southern Bohuslän and the Westgautic härad in the Göta älv river valley he refers to the following place-names which he considers to be of the elder stratum:

Ullsjön (Vlle Sjön 1695), lake, Hålanda par.  
 Friggas kulle, small height, Partille par.  
 Ale-Skövde (Sködve 1401), parish-name.  
 (Kraft 1984 p.163 f, 177 f)

The younger type he means is represented by names on *Frö-*, *Oden-* and *Helge-*. He writes that many of these names are hard to estimate and possibly not at all teophoric. To the relatively safe examples, however, he counts Odenshög (Óðinn's howe) and Odens damm (Óðinn's pond) in Vassända-Naglum parish. Västra Frölunda, he means, contains probably the goddess Fröja (i.e. Freja). The last element could be—lunda (i.e.grove) but is rather considered to be—landa, he writes. He asks himself where the thing-place of this realm could have been. (Kraft 1997) Erland Hjärne points on the early town Kongahälla/Kungahälla at the place where the river is divided into two branches close to the mouth, and claims it is an important centre. Hjärne also indicates the place-name Tingberg at Gamla Lödöse, close to which you also find the old village Alfhem or Alfvum with a king's yard, a "king's howe" and other artefacts. Here, Hjärne guesses, had the realm of Alfheimar its centre. (Hjärne 1979 p.338 f) Kraft remarks that at Äskekärr, just south of Gamla Lödöse, a *knarr* (trade-ship) from the Viking Period is excavated, and since newly has been indicated rests of still a Viking Period ship in this site there are now suspicions about the appearance of an old trading-place having preceded Lödöse. (Kraft 1997, Sv.D. 20 jan.1994) As a matter of fact I can confirm from the excavators that there are indications also of a third ship in this site. (Pers.com.) Another thinkable thing-place, Kraft means, is the natural height at Lilla Edet called the Tingskullen (Thing-hill). If you count the plains of Dalsland to to the chiefdom of the Göta älv river valley, the Tingskullen at Lilla Edet should be a very well situated meeting-place. If you on the other hand connect the plains of dalsland with with the thing-howe in Skalunda and its chiefdom, Kraft finds it more reasonable to search the centre of "Alfheimar" further south in the Göta älv river valley, e.g. at Tingberg at Lödöse or at Göteborg, where a mysterious Tingstad appears in Backa parish, and which evidently not has been used as thing-place of the härad. (Kraft 1997)

The conclusion by Kraft is that the conclusions of Hjärne have got increased weight through the place-name material. Kraft claims you now with a great probability can say, that it really has existed a chiefdom with the approximate extent Hjärne gives his Alfheimar, but that it should have had another name.

## Struggle of power

Kraft claims further that the late Medieval nation-border between Norway and Sweden along the Göta älv river evidently is a result of rather late decisions, who have divided an old pre-Christian petty-kingdom in two halves. Also in northern Halland an older realm seems to have been divided, he means. He feels a wish from powerful neighbours trying to control all the west-coast and block the Westgautar's access to the Ocean. He also refers to Gunnar Olsson (1953) who, through analysis of the historical sources, has been able to demonstrate that the narrow corridor of Västergötland to the Sea was opened only during the 13<sup>th</sup> c., and accordingly Askim's härad should have belonged to Denmark until then. (Here I can recommend a brand new book by Ingvar Leion called *Landkorridoren till Västerhavet*, Historieforum Västra Götaland, Skara 2002, that I have edited myself, that minutely reveals the political intrigue-play between Sweden, Norway and Denmark in connection with the agreement giving Sweden land all the way to the Sea.)

Olsson refers to Ottar in the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> c. (Cf.above): "During the five days long tour Ottar claims that he the first three days had Denmark on the port-side and on steer-board open sea. It must mean that he had followed the coast of present Bohuslän and Halland, who accordingly belonged to Denmark." He underlines that Ottar never mentions the Gautar/Götar in spite of the fact he must have passed the river mouth. It is also demonstrated that Adam mentions the river as a border between Gautland/Götaland and the Norwegians, but that he never mentions a Gautic or Swedish west-coast.(Olsson 1953) Kraft sees a power-struggle between Westgautar and Danes about the coast, and he claims that both concerning Elfarsysla and Northern Halland two evidently Westgautic chiefdoms have been cut in halves by the victors, and Västergötland has been cut off from the coast. Not until Denmark is weakened by inner struggles in the 13<sup>th</sup> c. it becomes possible for Sweden to open a corridor to the ocean at the mouth of the Göta älv river. (Kraft 1997)

## Population

Ola Christensson demonstrates in his licenciate-dissertation 1966, that the härad of Västergötland seem to be regularly constructed according to two models. In most of the härad there are groups of church-parishes based on the number twelve, i.e. 12, 24, 36 et c. In the Göta älv river valley this pattern is however not identifiable but instead groups of ten parishes. (Christensson 1966, p.60). Kraft has in a study (Kraft 1988) about the parish-division of Västergötland tried to demonstrate, that the groups with 12 parishes probably have their roots in the old *ledung*,

the old war- and tax-organisation. He means the pattern in the plain countries of Västergötland shows a clear kinship to the ledung-districts in eastern Sweden except in the Göta älv river valley. A possible explanation of this, he writes, could be that all of the Göta älv river valley could have been politically differed from the rest of Västergötland at the time this pattern was established.(Kraft 1977)

Conclusively Kraft claims, that it seems as if the nucleus area of Västergötland consisted of at first three, later four, chiefdoms in the plains. Close-lying chiefdoms like the “Fjäre-realm”, the “River-realm” and Värmland have, he means, in much led their own life but under dominance of the densely populated plain-countries of Västergötland. Ranrike in northern Bohuslän he considers, to judge from the place-names, have had more connections with the petty-kingdoms around the Oslofjord than with the Westgautar. The plain-countries of Dalsland might have had their meeting-places at the Kålland peninsula in Västergötland. The forest region of Dalsland, with centre at Dals-Ed, should have belonged to Ranriki for a long period.(Kraft 1997)

Considering the extensive decultivation of old artefacts in Västergötland Kraft instead refers to the examination of Christensson to be able to estimate the population-number relations between the different supposed chiefdoms. Krafts own (1993) on Christensson based examination, reveals that the remarkably small church-parishes of Västergötland as a rule have been formed from an older division in districts. He guesses that this division probably is a West-Swedish equivalent to the *hamnor* in the lake Mälär landscapes, who were the smallest units in the ledung-organisation. A reasonable assumption, he means, is that theses districts in Västergötland have included 2-4 farms at the end of the pre-Christian period. The church-parishes should accordingly in this interpretation have been about even-sized when they were established. (Kraft 1997) A similar division in districts he also claims he can reconstruct through an analysis of the rules in the older Codex Iuris Westrogothorum concerning the thing-allotment, i.e. the distribution-quotes for the fine-money which were collected by the *landsting*—the central thing of the land(scape), and later was distributed to the different härad. His accounts indicate that the districts who probably have been the base for this distribution are considerably fewer than the church-parishes in the forest regions, while they in the old agricultural settled countries rather well equals the number of church-parishes. The explanation, he means, is that the church-parishes and the distribution of the thing-allotment mirror different time-epochs in the district—organisation of the ledung. Those districts possible to reconstruct with the aid of the thing-allotment he considers to be a little older than the district organisation having decided the formation of the parishes. (Kraft 1993, 1997)



Han constructs the following table:

	Districts acc. to thing-allotment	Churh-parishes
The Northern Chiefdom	60	68
Falan	138	144
The Western Chiefdom		
A The eastern group	112	136
B. The western group	45	48
Dal	?	24
Kind-Mark	30	63

He notes that of the chiefdoms in the plains of Västergötland, the northernmost evidently has been quite small and probably been rather insignificant in comparison with the Falan chiefdom and the western realm. The western chiefdom with its a little more than 200 parishes ought to have been the most populous realm of Västergötland, he claims, and it also has the advantage of a central geographical position, surrounded by the other realms and with a natural dominating position at the Vänern lake. He concludes it is hardly occasional that you just in Skalunda find the greatest grave-howe of Västergötland. He thinks it is close at hands to compare this place with the centre of Tiundaland in Gamla Uppsala. (Kraft 1997)

## The thing

Concerning the question about a common thing for the landscape he conclusively mentions a number of possible places. The medieval sources place '*alla götars ting*'-the thing of all the Gautar-, i.e. the thing in which the *lagman*, lawman, of the Westgautar presided, in Skara. An usual but in no way uncontested opinion, Kraft writes, is that Skara might have replaced an older thing-place with a standing stone-circle at the close lying Götala, where the name of Tempelbacka (Temple-hill) early nourished speculations about an important cult-place. (Hagberg, p. 99) He remarks that close to this place there have been two tenancy-farms with the name Järnsyssla (Jersysla 1534). Ivar Modéer draws the conclusion that the name might originate already in pre-Christian time. The last element evidently is the word *sysla* 'occupation, service, mission, office of official servant', which also could be used of an area, a fiscal district or an administrative area. The first element is more difficult to interpret, but Modéer presumes it is the word *jarl* 'earl'. This farm, accordingly, might have been the seat of the royal jarl in Västergötland. (Modéer 1947) The farms Järnsyssla and Götala, who both were

considerably large (2 assessment units), ought to have bordered to each other in the Viking Period. (Kraft 1997) Kraft also mentions the in the older Codex Iuris Vestrogothorum mentioned *bäsing*, i.e. the thing-house, close to the church of Larv. One has suspected that it could have been a meeting-place for the Westgautic all-thing. Kraft instead explains Larv's *bäsing* as a local thing-place for a younger chiefdom, but he does not exclude it also can have been used as a meeting-place for the common land(scape)-thing, "alla götars ting".

He notes that both Skara-Götala and Larv's *bäsing* lie beside the probable border between the two biggest chiefdoms in Västergötland. This is exactly, he means, the type of location it is reasonable to estimate for a central meeting-place in a federation of settled countries. He adds that the mapping of the old sacral chiefdoms explains why just places as Götala-Skara and Larv might have been picked as thing-places for all the land(scape). (Here I might perhaps explain that the territories normally called landscapes in fact correctly should be called lands. Strictly formally the word landscape stands for the population in the land. For example Västergötland end in—*land*, meaning the land of the Westgautar/Västgötar, Södermanland means the land of the Södermän 'Southmen'.)

He also mentions Ullene (ÚllR's vini 'prarie, pasture') in the chiefdom of Falan, but close to Larv, which is mentioned in 1476 as the "right thing-place" in Vilske härad, and which also later have been known as a market-place. The place is not central why he supposes it may have been elected because it is situated close to the border of the two biggest realms. He speculates of whether it has earlier been used for the common thing of all Gautar, and that the härad of Vilske later has taken over this thing-place. He sees a thinkable explanation in the possibility that the common thing of all Gautar regularly has been moving between several thing-places, situated in connection to important border- passage ways between the both biggest chiefdoms.

Kraft means that Skara maybe still has had a pre-Christian cult-place and refers to Adam Bremensis's telling when he describes the "famous statue of Fricco", who bishop Egino from Dalby in Skåne shall have hewn into pieces. (Adamus Bremensis p.211) He notes that Adam does not give exact information about the place, but means that he could have referred to Skara. Birgit Sawyer has expressed doubts about the mere reality of this story, and she does not believe it is based on a real occurrence. (Wessén 1924 p.184 ; B Sawyer, p. 307 f)

## Värmland

Värmland naturally belongs to Västergötland. From Källandsö island the route went to Värmlandsnäs peninsula, and from there to Solør via the Byälven river and the Gläfsfjorden lake and further to Nidaros/Trondhjem after Olav

digre had been appointed a saint. This road has been extensively treated by my old history teacher Arvid Ernvik in “Olof den helige och Eskoleia”. (Ernvik 1955) According to Rolf Karlbom, Kraft remarks, Värmland ought to have been part of the law-jurisdiction of Västergötland still in the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> c. (Karlbom, p.93 ff) Kraft notes that Nordmark’s härad in the west, which from the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> c. was counted to Värmland, earlier belonged to Västgöta-Dal. Kraft wants to search for a “desertland” border longer eastwards than the border existing between Nordmark and Värmland during the Middle Ages. He means that the ancient desertlands, where the parishes of Sillerud and Emneskog were formed during the Middle Ages, should, considering the distances to the closest pre-historic grave-field, rather have been counted to Nordmark during pre-historic times. He sees a cultic central settled country at the mouth of the Norsälven river.

## Summary of chiefdoms in Västergötland

My own impression of Kraft’s survey over Västergötland is, that the result generally fits with my own picture of the territory, but that valuable points of sight have been added. An ancient and well established sacral kingdom in Falan, with a younger connection to Gudhem since the cult of Óðinn arrived, and a concentration of power in the stream-system of the river Lidan with two, or perhaps more, sacral petty-kingdoms. Skalunda and Larv’s bäsing seem to be possible as meeting-places for the respective kingdom, but, as I have stated, Saleby seems more convincing as a cultic centre compared to the bäsing, which primarily should have been a thing-place. A suspected cultic centre also is the constellation Eke-Brakelund-Glasbacken. Brakelund originally is Bragelund—the grove of Brage—but it rather seems to be a late name based on popular lore. Glasbacken however most probably originates in the old mythological Glasisvællir. Eke is connected with phallos-symbolism and also exhibit raised stones.

For the western realm also Råda ås outside Lidköping is a well so interesting place. Here the main road goes via the Glasbacken-complex to Götala and Gudhem with finds of bracteates both in Sävare (Grumpan) and Götala, and close to Gudhem one have, as treated above, found the Ålleberg collar. What confuses in this connection is that Kraft, when he searches for a cult-place in Skara, disregards from the possibility that this place could be just Götala, even if Frejr hardly can be tied directly to this one, since the name and the bracteate finds speak for a connection to Óðinn-Gaut. Instead, however. the story about Fricco could be assumed to have a connection to the presumed cult of Frejr in Gudhem, since the connection between the cult of Balðr, and hence Óðinn, is demonstrated above. Quite generally it should again be remarked that Frigga not can be

equalised with Njārðr under this name but must timely be tied to Óðinn, even if she basically is the same goddess. She must be counted to the younger stratum.

The question about the localisation of the “thing of all gautar” is still unsettled, but most facts, I mean, are in favour for the possibility the thing has been moving between different places in different periods of time.

The old “Älvriket”, ‘river-realm’, explains a number of unclear questions and the examination of Kraft seems convincing. It should indeed be interesting to connect this with the Beowulf kviða, but that should lead to a totally new dissertation, that is not possible to connect with this topic. I note with great interest the mentioning of the ship-yard at Äskekärr and the presumed old trading-place close by. I have above introduced the possibility of a cultic centre, i.e. a sacral kingdom, just in connection with this presumed trading-place, the Grönån stream- maybe the old Grönköping- and the rock-carvings and chieftain-graves being situated there. In this realm I also will include Vittene in Norra Björke outside Trollhättan, where has been found in 1996 one of the most outstanding gold-treasure hoards of Sweden extending between the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD and a presumed chieftain’s yard from about the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC. The oldest part is anyhow C<sup>14</sup>-dated to this time. (Viking 1997, pers.com.) From Roman Iron Age, with new buildings, the place is continuously populated during the whole Iron Age. The place has via a smaller stream connection with the Göta älv river. It now seems as the possible appearance of a realm in the Göta älv river valley, which at least preliminary has been named “Alfheimar” but whose real name is unknown, should verify my earlier assumption.

That northern Halland should be connected with Västergötland in older time has been claimed by several researchers, and I find no reason to raise doubts of that. That the Westgautar in ancient times have had access to the coast also in the Göta älv river area I am convinced of, but the remark by Olsson about the circumstances during the time of Ottar with power-struggles between primarily Danes and Norwegians with the Westgautar as a weaker part probably is quite correct for the Viking Period, since Denmark at that time was the Great Power in the Scandinavian area. During the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period, however, I assume that Västergötland had a coast both at the Sea and at the Väner-lake.

## Denmark and Skåne

That the name Elfarsysla occurs for the southern part of the old Norwegian part of the Älvriket/River-realm with answering district-division in Denmark is enlightening. Kraft has succeeded to connect a number of sacral chiefdoms with just the term *sysla*, and it accordingly seems as if it has been an administrative rule with the Danes

to transfer former chiefdoms into a *syssla* or several *sysslor*. The Danes also for long time have controlled parts of Norway, and periodically probably also parts of Västergötland, where the names of *syssla* also are extant. On Jutland there are, according to Kousgård-Sørensen, 14 *sysslor* during the Middle Ages, of which 11 on northern Jutland. (Kousgård Sørensen 1987) With the help of the examination by Bente Holmberg of Týr-names and the one of Hald concerning Óðinn-names Kraft finds, that if you combine the 11 *sysslor* in roughly 2 and 2 you get five suspected chiefdoms which all have a common centre in Viborg, which he suspects is a religious centre already before the arrival of the cult of Óðinn. Four of these areas are the same as those earlier suggested by Hald.

Vendsyssel (Vendle), Thyssyl (Thiuth) with the people \*thytir, Hardsyssel with the people \*harthar and Åbosyssel with the people \*aaboer. Hald also suggests that similar constructions can be seen in the names *Himmersyssel* and *Sallingsyssel*. The new, hence, that may be added to Hald et al. is that Kraft has paired the *sysslor* according to below: Vendsyssel/Himmersyssel, Thyssyl/Sallingsyssel, Hardsyssel/Vardesyssel and Åbosyssel/Ommersyssel. The three remaining *sysslor* he considers to be an own chiefdom. In Sønderjylland, Southern Jutland, he finds still two chiefdoms and it makes a total of seven for the whole Jutland. He tries to connect this with the seven tribes that Tacitus mentions as Nerthus-worshippers, and he means this could explain why the Njærðr-names not are repeated on Jutland. Regarding the geographical positions, however, the picture of the traditional localisation of the tribes does not fit. Among else the Varni are transferred from Northern Germany to Jutland. He also connects to the description by Ptolemaios of the Cimbrian peninsula, where he counts seven tribes: Sigulones (σιγυλωνες), Sabalingioi (σαβαλινγιοι), Kobandoi (κοβανδοι), Chaloi (χαλοι), Phunuioi (φουνυιοι), Charudes (χαρυδες) and Kimbroi (κιμβροι) (Lauritz Weibull 1934, p.108)

Sabalingioi has been connected with Sallingsyssel, Chaloi is tied to the both Hallæ-härads at Randers, Charudes has been meant to be the people in i Hardsyssel and Kimbroi have been tied to Himmersyssel. The other three, Sigulones, Kobandoi and Phunuioi Weibull has not succeeded to localise. (Lauritz Weibull 1934, p.108 f) Kraft prefers, like Hald, the tribal name \*Thythir, but he notes that according to Ptolemaios the people-name instead is visible in the place-name Salling. In Åbosyssel/Ommersyssel the name ought to be, he means, \*Aabo, but according to Ptolemaios instead Chaloi connecting to the Hallæ-härads at Randers. In Vendsyssel/Himmersyssel appears Vendle as early confirmed in e.g. Beowulf, but with Ptolemaios it is Kimbroi one has tried to connect with Himmerland. In Hardsyssel/Vardesyssel the terminology of Hald fits with \*Harthar, who are regarded as identical with the Charudes. Weibull is critical to the tries to localise the Cimbrian peninsula of Ptolemaios to Jutland, since he

means that among else Vendsyssel becomes too small then, since it only is a part of Himmerland. He wants to place the Cimbri at the Elbe river. (Lauritz Weibull 1934, p.110 ff)

The similarity with Tacitus is merely that both talk about seven tribes. The conclusion must be either that Ptolemaios severely has misunderstood the names on Jutland, or that the Nerthus-worshipping tribes of Tacitus have been living further south. My opinion is decidedly that the tribes of Tacitus mostly should be placed south of Jutland.

Kraft has succeeded in making probable a number of chiefdoms on Jutland, of which at least five show signs of an early federation with centre in Viborg. This strenghtens the teori about the early cultic unity in Scandinavia, under rulers being legitimated by the fertility of the earth.

With the cult of Óðinn the picture changes but Viborg still remains central. The independency of the cultic-petty-kingdoms may however be supposed to increase. As time goes by one leading people is replaced by another—e.g. Kimbroi by Vende. Kimbroi are mentioned around 150 AD while Vende not is mentioned until Beowulf—i.e. as earliest in the 8<sup>th</sup> c.AD. If you regard the development in the other chiefdoms in the same way I beleive the equation of Kraft may be correct. On Zealand he finds three chiefdoms answering approximately to three sysslor and on Funen just one. Skåne he regards as one chiefdom. The sysslor accordingly do not match the supposed chiefdoms exactly, but still it seems to be a connection between these entities. What Skåne concern Charlotte Fabech has suggested a cultic-political centre in Sösdala. Now there are extensive excavations in Uppåkra just outside Lund with extremely wealthy finds, and evidently this place is the predecessor of the town—accordingly also this a cultic and secular centre. Skåne, hence, might be supposed to have consisted of several chiefdoms during old times, but the unitation might also have been more rapid here.

What the Óðinn-cult concerns there are several interesting notations in the examination by Kristian Hald. Hald claims that the only real confirmation of ví-names in Denmark are those being tied to the god Óðinn. He evidently forgets Viborg, however, that definitely is a ví-name but an old such. The places he refers to are five—Odense on Funen, Onsved on Zealand, Vojens in Gram herred (the same as härad) on Sønderjylland (Southern Jutland), Oens in Hatting herred and Oddense in Hindborg herred—both on Northern Jutland. He regards this as an indication of the dominating position of the cult during the Migration Period and the Viking Period, and it's close connection with the royal power. He here

strongly accentuates the role of the king in the cult, and the notable character of a states-religion that the cult of Óðinn has got in Denmark. He even suggests that this state-cultical dominance, forcing the other gods and their worshippers out into simple hōrgs in the forest, should have been able to ease the transition to the monoteistic system of Christianity. (Hald 1963, p.99 ff, 107 ff) I can agree if we talk about the Arian variant of Christianity which indeed was making real progress among the Continental Germanics in an early stage. This I treat more thoroughly in connection with the known part of the Gothic history. The Roman-Catholic mission, however, might hardly have been eased by the cult of Óðinn. Hald however confirms my thesis about the importance of the cult for wielding the secular power, and the probability that the herred/härad-organisation, expanding from just Denmark, originally had a cultic connection increases markedly.

Still more Óðinn-names, however, exist on Jutland as I have mentioned already in connection with the hero-sagas. It is the group keeping the original W/V in Wodan as e.g. Vonsild. Hald remarks that it in the Aarhus-book from 1215-24 is written Othenshillæ, later Othenshyllæheret in Valdemar's Jordebog. (Hald 1963, p.103) The basic form *hille* is the same as the Sw. *hylla* and Norw. *hilla* ('shelf'), as was noted by Oluf Nielsen (Nielsen 1881-87, p.258) and later by Manne Eriksson. (Eriksson 1943, p.256) Svend Aakjær (Aakjær 1934, p.52) sees a similarity with a *hjalr* combined with the name of the god and means it must deal with a cult-place, which, as have earlier been demonstrated, also is the opinion of Otto Höfler. Hald takes no position concerning the translation with *hjalr* but agrees with Aakjær that it must be a cult-place. (Hald 1963, p.104 f) Aakjær understands the platform literally as the construction on which the god's idol was placed, but I mean instead that this very *hjalr* of Óðinn, which I have already treated thoroughly above in connection with the iconography, in reality was Hlíðskjálf which was considered his high-seat in Valhall. It should however, of course, be possible to see this as the place where Óðinn lived or stayed periodically, but I suggest it rather means the place where a shaman via a *hjalr* tried to reach contact with Óðinn, and let his soul fly free in the esoteric sphere, looking out over all worlds. The meaning of cult-place, hence, is quite obvious. K.G. Ljunggren however claims that *-hilla*, *-hyllæ* could be an incoherent name/a nature-name and mean hill or slope, which should be derived from adj. OSw. *huld*, ONw. *höllr*, which in the same way as *halr* could have a spatial meaning. *Hylla* in that case could be a variant of the ODa. form *hella* 'slope'. He wants to this group add also Gylle in Skåne. (Ljunggren 1946-48, p.3 ff) I still insist that *hjalr* is a better explanation in this connection, since Óðinn himself is part of the name. In connection with the earlier fertility-cult it however should be remarked, that Swedish names of *Halla* often can be related to nature-formations

or raised stones, who evidently have been used for calendar-functions to e.g. marking the rise and setting of the sun or the moon, or other celestial objects movements, to be able to settle times for sacrifices, planting et c.

Aakjær claims e.g. that the names *Nærild* and *Torrild* contain the word *hilla* and sees an original meaning *\*Niartharhilla* and *\*Thorhilla*. He understands the deities Njordr and Týr in these names. (Aakjær 1934, p.52) Hald objects against this that the absence of a genitive-ending in *\*Thorhilla* excludes such an interpretation. (Hald 1963, p.104) I could possibly also see the name of Thor/Pórr in the name, but I am not the one to settle that very dispute. The above interpretation, however, does not make me change my connection of the Vonsildname with a hjallr.

## Conclusion

Quite generally this examination has reinforced the hypothesis of the cult as being the base of the political wielding of power during the pre-Christian epoch. Also the immigrating, expanding continental cult of Óðinn, and the gods belonging to this, is clearly demonstrated. In the section about härad has been indicated the the so called 'settled country-härad' might have been connected originally with cult, and more decidedly with the cult of Óðinn. Accordingly the Germanic härad might originally have functioned as a local cultic and political unit. My earlier picture of the West-Swedish cultic topography has generally been verified, but valuable complements have been added through a greater number of possible chiefdoms in the more peripheral areas. The central role of Västergötland during the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period has been still more accentuated, and the connection with the Jutes has also been more firmly established. The connection between cult-places, trade-routes and power-centra has been made clear. The close connection to Óðinn concerning specially Jutland and Funen has been demonstrated and also the connection between the cult of Óðinn and the secular power



# DESCRIPTION OF THE KNOWN HISTORY OF THE GOTHs

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## Sources mentioning the Vistula-Goths

The oldest concrete information of the Goths appears around the beginning of our time-reckoning.

The first one who mentions them is considered to be Strabo, who writes about the ΒΟΥΤΟΝΕΣ (Boutones) who are said to be under the command of Marbod. (Strabo, Geogr. IV, 1, 3) Zeuss proposed the reading \*ΓΟΥΤΟΝΕΣ (\*Goutones). (Zeuss 1837, p.134) This reading later is generally accepted. The section about the Goths is written after Germanicus' victory year 16 AD but before Marbod was expelled, since this is not mentioned.

Plinius writes 79 AD of Guiones or Gutones and says he has got his information from Pytheas, who in the 330's BC wrote about a travel to Thyle, and he is supposed to have regarded the Goths as intermediates in the amber trade. Hachmann claims that Plinius never wrote this but most researchers accept the established interpretation. Plinius regarded the Goths as a part of the \*Vandili and mentioned them together with Burgundians, Varines and Charines. (Hist, Nat. XXXVII:35) He gives quite vague geographical positions in the eastern part of Middle Europe.

Tacitus, 98 AD, knows of the Goths. They are mentioned as allies of Catualda in his fight against Marbod in the Marcomannic wars. He calls them Gotones. About their settlements he writes: "Trans Lugio Gotones regnantur,... Protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii,.. "(Germania 44) According to him, hence, they live north or north-east of the Lugii and further into the mainland than Rugii, Lemovii, Aestii and Sithones who he expressly says live by the sea. Close to the Lugii were the Helvecones, who he regards as a part of the Lugii (who later became the Vandili). These Helvecones are by Ptolemaios called Αιλουαιωνες (Ailouaiones). It accordingly deals with the area around the lower part of the river Vistula and its mouth into the Baltic Sea. He does not mention the river, but sees a border between the Germanics, who he counts to the Suebes, in the east and the

Sarmatians in that area he calls Sarmatia. He is insecure whether he shall count Peucini, Venethi and Fenni as Germanics or Sarmatians. (Germania, 46)

Ptolemaios mentions c. 150 AD Γυδωνες (Gudones), but not in exactly the same location as Tacitus. On the further side of the Vistula he indicates Ουενεδιχος Κολπος (Ouenedichos Kolpos), and south of these, at the Vistula, Γυδωνες (Gudones). At the coast are mentioned Σειδινοι (Seidinoi) (Sithones), Ρουγιχλειοι (Rougichleioi) (Rugii), Ουενεδαι (Ouenedai) (Venedi), Αιλουαιωνες (Ailouaiones) and Βουργουντες (Bourgountes) (Burgundians). Further up in the mainland the Λουγοι (Lougoi) (Lugii) are mentioned. Ptolemaios also mentions Γουται (Goutai), being interpreted as either Gutar or Gautar, as living on the Scandinavian (pen)insula. (Ptolemaios II, 11, 16) Wolfram e.g. reads Goutai as Guti (Wolfram 1989, p.20)

If the above mentioned sources are reliable we can conclude that the name of the Goths has been known in this vicinity since approximately the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC.

The later mentioned Crimean Goths, whose origin is unclear, are not treated in this section, since they have not contributed something of vital importance for the estimation of the Gothic ethnicity during the migration, since they constituted an own group which was both politically and religiously divided from the rest, and with own direct contacts with Constantinople. We also do not know whether they originated in the Vistula area or elsewhere. Among else has Gotland in a linguistic sense been mentioned as a possibility. The remained permanently settled in Crimea from the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD and it possibly still might be distant descendants in the area even if the language is considered extinguished since the 18<sup>th</sup> c. Ottar Grønvik for example also claims that their language show West-Germanic traits. (Grønvik 1992, p.16 ff) They will be treated further in connection with the question of the origin of the Goths.

## The migration

During the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD the Goths seem to loose themselves from their earlier dependance of the Vandili as claimed by e.g. Herwig Wolfram. These Vandili were earlier called Lugii us and and were evidently regarded as a Celtic tribe. Before Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* the label Germani was not in use but all peoples in the North were regarded as Celtic. Wolfram claims the Goths were part of a cultic league together with the Vandili, but personally I rather consider it a political dependance, since at least in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD their burial customs differed from the Vandili. (Wolfram 1989, p.112) Peter Heather interestingly enough sees the whole Wielbark-culture as a cultic league, but within this league political groups and overlapping identities. He does not dare to decide whether the Goths formed an own, separate group or if they were several different groups. (Heather 1996, p.303)

The Goths, and the with them closely related peoples Rugii and Lemovii, were specially reputed for their, among the Germanic peoples, unusually powerful kingship. (Germania 44) This points at a hasty wiew towards the later, during the Migration Period, so characteristic "Gefolgschaftskönigtum" or "Heereskönigtum", but the picture is not uniform. We start appreciating a developement from something that closest seems to be a sacral kingdom, which slowly fades and in time is replaced by the unified Óðinn-Gaut cult with a stronger political ruling-function, and on the road towards this end also the Gothic priestesses, *halirunnae*, disappear-driven away by Filimer. (Getica XXIV, § 121) in connection with the merging between the cults of Gaut and Óðinn. This process most likely is finished as earliest during the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD down in the Ukraine.

From what has been treated earlier we can remember, that the peoples worshipping Gaut seem to have lived in the old sacral-king sphere, and that the king hence should have legitimated his ruling power on a union between the heaven-the sun and earth-the moon-goddess. The difference towards the *sviár* was that the king, by the migrating Goths called *piudans*, not was regarded as a reborn god, but instead as a descendant of Gaut- most probably together with the whole people, but the king was directly descending and had more divine substance in himself. Because of this he was regarded a hero-a demi-god. Still shamanism evidently does not appear with Óðinn but exists seemingly already within the cult of Gaut. Supposedly already early the tribal chieftains had great weight in the local Gaut-cult for their warriors, which gave a direct political influence, while the sacral king more looked to the fertility aspect. This position for the king should have remained at least to Filimer, if he was a real person, and maybe longer. As

most up to the division between Vesi and Greutungii/Ostro.(Cf.also *Gutþiūða* below)

Until the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD the form *Gutones*, the weak form, dominates among the classical authors, but in 262 AD the Persian king Shapur I lets carve an inscription in three languages, where the form *Gothi* appears in strong form. He had in 245 defeated a Roman troop where Goths were included. They were part of the troops of Gordian III, but already before this they had undertaken raids against the Romans from c:a 238 AD. The oldest Latin confirmation of the name of the Goths can be determined to 269 AD, when Claudius II lets himself be mentioned Gothicus in honour of his victory over a Gothic force. Simultaneously also Greek texts mention the Goths. (Wolfram 1992; 1989, appendix 2)

During the 1<sup>st</sup> c.AD, accordingly, the main body of the Goths gradually move to the areas north of the Black Sea- the area where Scythian tribes earlier had lived and had become known by the Greeks. Because of this the Goths are called Scyths in early Greek sources. Here, on the Ukranian plaines and the forested and rocky Rumania, the earlier Roman province of Trajanus Dacia, the culture which is called Cerniachov-Sintana-de—Mûres by the archaeologists starts growing. It is generally connected with the Gothic settlements. The people migrated, according to the tribal saga by Jordanes/Cassiodorus, in a close formation under the command of a king with the title *þiūdans* 'peoples leader'. The one heading the migration from the beginning was, according to the same source, called Filimer—the fifth king after the ancestral father Gaut.(Getica IV, § 26)

Jordanes/Cassiodorus mentions a Gothic king Ostrogotha who defeats the Gepids in a battle at "the city of Galtis, beside which flows the river Auha". He is said to rule over both Ostrogoths and Visigoths/Vesi-Tervingi. (Getica XVII, § 99 f) As his successor is mentioned a king Cniva. He defeats in 251 AD a Roman army, and at this occasion the emperor Decius and his son are killed.(Getica XVIII, § 101 ff) 268 AD the Goths reach the Aegean Sea but are stopped the following year by Claudius II who wins a great victory over them at Naissus-Nish. This victory is followed up by emperor Aurelianus, who again beats the Goths in 271 AD.

These set-backs halt the Gothic expansion, and they temporarily begin to take precautions for more permanent settlements.

## The division into Greutungi and Vesi

Already from the beginning of the migration from the Vistula-area the Gothic main-body might have consisted of a number of different tribes, who now partly start to get an own rumour and so their names become known for a wider group of people. The Goths now split into two main-bodies, where one group consists of Greuthungi and a number of smaller tribes who together become known as the Ostrogothi, and who settle in the Ukrainian plains and develop into a skilled horse-back people. The earlier þiuðans remains, at least according to the general opinion, with the Ostrogothi. The other group, Vesi-Tervingi, settle in Trajanus Dacia—present Romania.

According to an explanation-model in *Getica* the Ostrogothi are called by this name after their king Ostrogotha, but he is also referred to as the last king having ruled over both the Vesigoths and the Ostrogoths. There is a great confusion within the research about where and when this Ostrogotha has governed—it might just be an explanation-myth of the name of the people. The degree of insecurity in the evaluation of Ostrogotha, and the by this following confusion about when and how the Goths were divided into Vesigoths and Ostrogoths, may be demonstrated with some examples.

The partition might, according to Wenskus, have taken place far earlier, and it is also possible they never had a common leader even from the beginning, since only Jordanes claims that was the case without support of other controllable sources. The original of Ablabius unhappily is not preserved. (*Getica* XVII, §98) Ostrogotha might, Wenskus means, also be the first Amali-king who is known by his name but this does not necessarily mean he must have been a þiuðans. He claims the name in itself suggests he is a tribal king, i.e. a *kuningaz-reiks*. He also suggests the the Goths might have been divided into single tribes with separate leaders already from the start, and that they hence not were led by a common þiuðans during the migration. If Greutungi and Tervingi are tribal names, he means that this might reinforce this possibility. Ostrogotha can be an of the tribal name derived name, but in itself this name can not prove that a division took part under him. (Wenskus 1961, p.472 f) Heather claims that the Goths were split up in maybe a dozen or more kingdoms after having arrived to the Pontian Basin. He believes they from the beginning had a united kingdom in northern Poland, but, in connection with the migration, the people had splintered into a number of independent and rivalizing fractions. A common emigration under the command of a þiuðans he claims never took place. (Heather 1996, p.44 f, 303)

In Getica there is another passus, which explicitly is said to derive from Ablabius, where the original text says: “.. pars eorum, qui orientali plaga tenebat, eisque praeerat Ostrogotha, ...dicti sunt Ostrogothae.” (Getica XIV §82)

In the translation into Swedish by Andreas Nordin, and my translation into English, this passage sounds as follows.:

...Because the historian Ablabius tells that above the coast of the Black Sea, where I said that the Goths had their location in Scythia, there is an area stretching eastwards, and it was ruled by Ostrogotha, and either after his name or the extension of the territory towards east, the people is called Ostrogoths. The other are called Visigoths, i.e. those who live westwards. (Nordin 1996)

Mierow translates the same passage:

...Now Ablabius the historian relates that in Scythia, where we have said that they were dwelling above an arm of the Pontic Sea, part of them who held the eastern region and whose king was Ostrogotha, were called ostrogoths, that is, eastern Goths, either from his name or from the place. But the rest were called Visigoths, that is, the Goths of the western country.

In this lie two important implications. Primarily Cassiodorus might have interpreted the information of Ablabius concerning the names as East- and Westgoths—it is hard to say how he really understood it. Secondly Ostrogotha here is expressly related to the Ostrogoths and is said to rule over them. He decidedly is not pictured as a *þiudans*, but is here instead presented as the first Ostrogothic king whose name we know, and also the first who is said to be of Amalic descentance. (Getica XIV §79 ff) Also Wenskus keeps that possibility open. Ostrogotha is known also in other sources why Wenskus regards him as a historical person. (Wenskus 1961, p.472 f) Also Herwig Wolfram (Wolfram 1989, p.114 ff) and Rolf Hachmann (Hachmann 1970, p. 48 f) agree to this. It also should be noted that in the word by word translation by Nordin the title ‘king’ is not mentioned, but Ostrogotha is referred to as the one who ruled the area. Accordingly this passage does not indicate that Ostrogotha was neither king nor *þiudans*. The interpretation *reiks/kuningaz* however lie spatially closer than *þiudans*.

In Getica XVII §98 Cassiodorus/Ablabius writes:

He hence sent message to Ostrogotha, under whose dominion both the Eastgoths and the Westgoths were—both the peoples were of the same tribe—and complained he was closed in between rough mountains

and hindered by dense forests. He demanded that one of two terms should be met: Either Ostrogotha should prepare himself for war against him, or give place in his land for his people. (He= Fastida, king of the Gepids) (Nordin 1996)

After the battle which occurred between the forces of Ostrogotha and Fastida the division between the Visigoths and the Ostrogoths possibly could have taken place. The Visigoths did not appoint a new sacral king but instead a so called *kindins*, usually translated as a judge or lawman. I will return to him further down. Did the split depend on the refusal to recognise an Amalic, Ostrogothic dynasty? Was the old dynasty extinct? Wenskus suggests they refused to recognise a new dynasty. (Wenskus 1961, p.473)

The first time the division is mentioned in written sources is in *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* in connection with a description of a Gothic raid into Moesia, Thracia and Macedonia in the year 269 AD. At the same time the Romans leave the Trans-Danubian Dacia and allow the Goths and other tribes to take over the territory. In this connection Wenskus suggests a possible interpretation of the tribal names. He proposes that the split into Vesi-Tervingi and Greutungi might have occurred in connection with the settlement of the Visigoths in Dacia. He claims that Tervingi can mean the Forest People. (Wenskus 1961, p.473 f) I can agree that it is quite possible, even probable, that the division occurs now, but the name of Tervingi can be explained in several other ways. It remains, however, that the Forest People is a quite plausible interpretation.

The Taifali, who often are referred to in connection with the Visigoths, for their part settled in the Valachia. Their name is mentioned already in year 248 in connection with the ravages of Argaith and Guntherid. This causes Wenskus to assume that they had already earlier split from the main-body (Wenskus 1961, p.473 f) while Wolfram instead claims that it was a non-Germanic tribe being allied with the Vesi-Tervingi. (Wolfram 1989) Heather regards them as Germanics from the Wielbark-culture. (Heather 1996, p.43 ff)

Hachmann says that Cassiodorus' source, Ablabius, only mentions Ostrogotha as a Gothic king, and that Cassiodorus has embroidered the text of Ablabius to present him as an Ostrogothic king. Of this follows, he writes, no proof of a division during his time. Hachmann also asks himself why Cassiodorus, if he inflicted Ostrogotha among the Amali to give Teoderik a noble background, also mentions his insignificant son Hunuvin, who is not known for anything special. This, he means, gives a certain probability to him actually being an Amal. (Hachmann 1970, p.48 f)

Concerning to Hachmann the original text has been changed according to below:

Von den Namen, die in der Amalergenalogie vorkommen, kannte Ablabius nur Ostrogotha und Hermanarich. Ostrogotha erwähnte er Jordanes *Getica* XIV 82 und XVIII 98-100. Die erstgenannte Stelle ist von Cassiodor verändert und dürfte ursprünglich etwa so gelautet haben: Ablabius enim storicus refert, quia ibi super limbum Ponti, ubi.... commanere [d. h. commanerunt]...eisque praeerat Ostrogotha. Die Einfügung...ibi pars eorum, qui orientali plaga tenebat, sollte die von Cassiodor vertretene These stützen, Ostrogotha habe nur die Ostrogoten beherrscht. Davon ist sonst aber bei Ablabius nicht die Rede, insbesondere in Jordanes *limbum Ponti, ubi.... commanere* [d. h. commanerunt]...eisque praeerat Ostrogotha. *Getica* XVIII 98-100 nicht; dort wird Ostrogotha schlechthin als Gotenkönig bezeichnet.

Hachmann means that there is no reason at all to draw the conclusion that Ostrogotha because of his name has to be an Ostrogothic king, and that it also not is possible to claim that the division should have occurred already in the time of this king's government. He regards it as unsecure whether he was an Amal, but he does not exclude the possibility. (Hachmann 1970, p.48 f)

Relating to the above you can just realise, that this material does not provide enough facts to make it possible to exactly fix when the division of the Goths took place, and nor the status of Ostrogotha. Hachmann, however, has made it probable, that this Ostrogotha in fact may have been an Amal. This could possibly mean that the partition happened, as Wenskus have claimed, after a dynastic change, when some of the Goths refused to recognize the legitimacy of the new dynasty. The problem, however, is the point of time when this change took place. If it happened before the victory of Cniva in 251 and the ravages the Goths carried out during the 60's in the Greek territories on both sides of the Hellespont, and if we besides presuppose that, according to Jordanes, Ermanaric finally follows Geberik as leader of the Goths, and controls a realm in class with Alexander the great, the picture does not fit together. It is indeed mentioned by Jordanes, that when Ermanaric dies the Visigoths are no longer part of the community, but still it is a little hard to grasp. In *Getica* XVII,98 Jordanes writes:

He hence sent messengers to Ostrogotha under whose rule both the Eastgoths and the Westgoths were—both the peoples were of the same ancestry—and complained that he was confined between rough mountains



and hindered by dense forests...The Goths returned as victors, pleased with the defeat of the Gepids, and they lived happily in peace in their land, as long as their ruler Ostrogotha was alive.

Thereafter he writes:

XVIII §101. After his death Cniva divided the army in two parts and sent several to loot Moesia, since he knew the land was emptied of defenders because the emperors had deserted it. Himself he however went with 70 000 soldiers down to Euscia, i.e. Novae. From there he was driven away by Gallus, the commander, and departed for Nicopolis, a famous city built close to the river Iatrus...When emperor Decius arrived there, Cniva finally withdrew to the territory around Haemus, which lies not far from there. Thereupon he put his army on war-foot and hurried to Philippopolis with his army.

§103. But after a long siege Cniva went into the city of Philippopolis, gained looting and made an alliance with the commander Priscus, who stayed in the city, with the intention this one should fight together with him against Decius. When they arrived at the battle they pierced the son of Decius with an arrow, that he hurt by this died an agonising death...He attacked the enemy and was prepared to fall himself, unless he could not get revenge for the death of his son. He arrived in Abrittus, a city in Moesia, where he was fenced in by the Goths and was killed.

A little later he writes:

XX §107. Since this emperor [Gallienus 253-268] decayed to complete lack of restraint, the commanders of the Goths, Respa and Veduco and Tharuaro, travelled with ships over the Hellespont to Asia, and many cities in that area were looted and they put the famous temple of Diana in Efesos in flames, which as I have told above was founded long time ago by the Amazons. Expelled from the territory around Bithynia they devastated Chalcedon.

§108 Spurred by progress the Goths took, when they had entered Asia, loot and theft and then returned over the Hellespont. On the road they plundered and destroyed in the manner of enemies Troja and Ilium, which had only had time to recover very little after the war with Agamemnon. After this devastation in Asia Thracia experienced the wildness of the Goths. Because there, at the foot of the Haemus-moun-

tain and close to the sea, they immediately launched an attack towards the city Anchialos, a city which a long time ago was founded by Sardanapalus, king of the Parths, between a bay at the sea and the foot of the Haemus-mountain.

You decidedly not get the impression from this text, that the Goths have settled down in peace, and Cniva apparently continues the former pattern. The progress does not seem to have been halted. About division nothing is mentioned.

Immediately afterwards it is said:

XXI §110. Thereafter they returned to their homeland and were asked by emperor Maximianus[284-305] to aid the Romans against the Parths. The Goths fought totally fidel in capacity of foederati. Since emperor Maximianus, however, with almost only help by the Goths, had beaten the Persian king Narseus, grandson's son of Sapor the great, and made him retreat, and had taken as loot all his assets inclusive wives and sons, and after that Diocletianus had defeated Achilles in Alexandria and Maximianus Herculius had won over the Quinquegentians in Africa, and they had become peace in the realm, they began to hold the Goths in a kind of contempt.

§111. Without them it was for the Roman army since long difficult to fight any people, whoever that was. It often has been the case the Goths have been called for in this way. By emperor Constantin they were asked to take to arms against his relative Licinius, and since he was defeated and fenced into Thessalonica, robbed of his power, the Goths killed him with the sword of the victor, Constantin.

Quite suddenly it appears as if it is specially the Visigoths who are referred to, and in § 111 it quite obviously is so. The problem however is, that this contradicts the information in other sources. (Wolfram 1989, p.61) The Visigoths supported several times Licinius against Constantine, and a reconciliation did not occur until 324, since Constantine had let execute Licinius, who had tried to escape to the Visigoths. The hint of a foedus quite obviously refers to the Visigoths. There is however no interlude from the Gothic expansion via a possible settlement in Dacia.

Later is claimed:

§112. When the emperor in his name founded the very famous rival of Rome it was as well with the help of the Goths. They made a foedus

with the emperor, and offered him forty-thousand of their soldiers for help against various peoples. These foederati are still spoken of in the country because of their great number, and for the sake of their war-service. They then flourished under the rule of their kings Ariarik and Aorik. After their death the follower on the throne was Geberik, a brave man of the noblest ancestry.

XXII §113. Geberik's father, namely, was Hilderit, grandfather Ovida, grandfather's father Nidada and he rose to his family's honour and reputation through shining deeds. At once he wished, as a primary deed, extend the borders of his land through attacking the Vandilic people and their king Visimar, who was of the Asding (Hasding) tribe. The Asdings distinguish themselves among the Vandili, and exhibit a very bellicious origin, according to the history-writer Dexippus, who testify that they within hardly a year have come from the ocean to our country, in spite of the very great distance. At that time they lived in the area, which now is occupied by the Gepids, beside the rivers Marisia, Miliare, Gilpil and Grisia, who in size outranges all the other mentioned...

XXIII §116. When the king of the Goths, Geberik, had left the earthly he was followed after a time by Ermanarik, the noblest among Amali. This one subdued many very bellicious peoples in the North, and forced them to obey his laws. Many of our forefathers compared him rightly with Alexander the great. Because he had under him Golthescytha, Thiudos, Inaunxis, Vasinabroncae, Merens, Mordens, Imniscaris, Rogas, Tadzans, Athaul, Navego, Bubegenae and Coldae.

We here are served a beautiful painting of the cooperation between the Romans and the Vesigothic *kindins* Ariarik and Aorik, who are followed on their not extant throne by Geberik, who later is followed by Ermanarik. According to this version there is no division, but the Ostrogothic "*þiudans*" all the time rule over the united Goths. Aiarik and Aorik are as well Ostrogothic kings or alternatively they are all Vesigoths. He finally succeeds to create an ending, that in any case suggests there were indeed two groups, but that this was very late. It deals with the attack of the Huns on the Ostrogoths:

§129. When the Goths caught sight of this fighting-prepared people, which was enemy of many other peoples, they were frightened and conferred with their king about how to escape such an enemy. In spite of the fact Ermanarik, the king of the Goths, as I have told above, had achieved victory over many peoples, the treacherous Rosomons, who like other were in his service, used the occasion to betray the king while he was

occupied with the thoughts of the arrival of the Huns. Because the king had in anger ordered, that a woman by the name Sunilda from the mentioned people should be punished for the treacherous desertion of her husband. She should be tied to, and be ripped into pieces by, wild horses, who were urged to run in different directions. To revenge the death of their sister her brothers Sarus and Ammius with their swords attacked Ermanaric and wounded him in his side. Badly hurt and weak he fell ill.

§130. The king of the Huns, Balamber, took advantage of the illness of Ermanaric and progressed with an armed force into the territory of the Eastgoths. The Westgoths at this time already had been placed outside the alliance with them because of a dispute. While this took place Ermanaric was badly tormented by his wounds and suffered besides by the attack of the Huns. Aged and satisfied with years and days he died in his onehundred and tenth year of living. His death provided opportunity for the Huns to defeat those Goths who, which I have already told, live eastwards and are called Eastgoths.

It has, hence, occurred a dispute. What it dealt with and when it happened is not revealed, and it looks like it happened quite newly. This section is a brilliant example of how a king (Teoderik) can order a historical work meant to illuminate his Amalic ancestry. With reality this story has very little to do regarding specially the chronology. The story of Sunilda exists in a slightly different version among else in the stories about Clodvig in Fredegar, and must be regarded as a migration-saga. Wolfram has made a try to lift the veils woven by Cassiodorus/Jordanes:

In the spring of 291, almost two decades after the Goths' catastrophic defeat by Aurelian and the end of their first greater kingship, the Tervingi are attested for the first time. They were considered "another part of the Goths, "which indicates that they had split off from the main tribe. In the following century it was the Tervingi who were meant when the Romans spoke of Goths; the eastern group was entirely forgotten. The Tervingi, who probably preferred to call themselves Vesi, were as Goths the eponymous group of the polyethnic community north of the Danube. The statement that "now Taifali, Victu(f)ali, and Tervingi possess the former Roman province of Dacia" reflects the situation of 350 at the very latest. To be sure, the Goths must have been dominant in Transylvania—probably already before the middle of the fourth century—if Trajan's Dacia could become the Gothia of literary tradition. (Wolfram 1989, p.57-59)

Here accordingly is demonstrated that there was a Gothic dominance in Transsylvania already before the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> c., and that it must have had a certain age to be that recognised. It, hence, speaks in favour of an earlier division as already suggested.

In the spring of 291 it was for the Romans an actual news that the Tervingi united themselves with the Taifali to fight the Vandili and the Gepids. The Vandilic Hasdings had for a time shared the Tiza-plateau with the Sarmatians. Wolfram at least is of the opinion that at least one of the Vandilic tribes was called Victu(f)ali, and that this was the tribe that pressed up to the western Transsylvania when the Romans had abandoned Trajanus' Dacia. He means they probably reached the upper flow of the river Three Körös, as well as Maros-Múres up to the line between Oradea och Arad. The Vandilic expansion, which went in the opposite direction of the Goths, started in the last decade of the 200's and was stopped by the Tervingi in the 340's. Not only the Tervingi but also the Taifali are mentioned for the first time as fighting with "the western section of the Goths". Also the Gepids are mentioned for the first time. From where, then, do they come? *Origo Gothica* describes in detail, as related above, the battle between the Gepids under king Fastida and the still united Ostrogoths and Vesigoths. The Gepids newly had defeated the Burgundians and now they demanded land by the other Goths. King Ostrogotha rejected the demand and a battle was fought at the river Auha, close to a place called Galtis. The battle was won by the Goths. Both the victorious Goths and the defeated Gepids returned to their "own lands". Wolfram sees two major problems—namely the chronology, inclusive the location of the battle, and also what kind of Goths that actually were involved. According to *Origo Gothica* Ostrogotha is both the last king ruling all Goths and the first Ostrogothic ruler. (Getica XIV 82; XVIII 98-100) If he only governed over the Ostrogoths the battle ought to have been fought at for example the river Prut, but this does not fit with the geographical description "closed in by the roughness of the mountains and cramped by the thick forests". A panegyric issued the 1<sup>st</sup> of April 291 informes that Tervingi and Taifali have resisted a Vandilic-Gepidic coalition and this should place the occasion in northern Transsylvania. This causes Wolfram to suspect the river Maros-Múres in the valley of Szamos, since a generation later another battle between Vandili and Goths took place there. This should mean that the Gepids already lived in north-western Transsylvania, which is also supported by Romanian archaeologists. (Ionita 1972, p.95 ff) Wolfram's solution is elegantly simple. He places Ostrogotha to approximately 290 and assumes that the reports from 291 is a confirmation for the division. (Wolfram

1989, p. 57-59) That far it might seem acceptable but it still does not solve the problem of Cniva.

*Origo Gothica* mentions two other royal Gothic families, Wolfram writes, and he gives one of them the name of the Berig-clan after the very Berig who is supposed to have commanded the Goths during the emigration from Scandinavia. To this lineage he also counts Gadarik the great and Filimer who headed the emigration from the Vistula-area. The other royal family he names after Geberik. He is the last member of the family he means, but also the only one of which *Origo Gothica* has something to say. He is one of the heroes being praised in songs before the time of the Amali. The tribal tradition remembers Geberik as the defeater of the Vandili. His father was Hilderith, his grandfather Ovida and his grand grandfather Nidada. Wolfram mentions that there has been suspicions that the name Cniva could be hidden behind the last two names. Cniva defeated according to *Origo Gothica* emperor Decius in 251. Strictly biological, considering the time lap of eighty years, and of linguistic reasons he thinks Nidada is Cniva. On the other hand there has been tries to identify Cniva with Cannabas-Cannabaudes from *the Scriptores historiae Augustae*, which would suggest a considerable age of this old warrior. He accordingly admits that it goes about a solution with partly unknown equations. (Wolfram 1989, p.57-59)

He concludes:

Cniva, a succesfull Gothic commander and king of the army in the western tribal territory, is killed in battle as Cannabas against Aurelian. With him perish his people, supposedly five thousand men; the kingship is extinguished, the "western" Goths form themselves into the Tervingi in "Dacia" and do not recognize the "eastern" Amali when they take over he kingship. (Wolfram 1989, p.57-59)

So means Wolfram that the old kingship ceases, because the Tervingi refuse to recognise an Ostrogothic royal family. The old families among the Tervingi having been closely tied to the royal power were weakened, but they still preserved their social position. One of these families was the Geberik-family. It is not identical with the group surrounding Ariaric, Aoric and Athanaric, and it is also different from the Balthis. During the winter 269-270 Claudius II died, and after a short period under Quintillus finally Aurelius became emperor. In 271 the Goths were defeated by Aurelius in a devastating battle where their king Cannabas-Cannabaudes was slain. After, hence, having reinforced his positions, the emperor found it tactically advantageous to abandon Trajanus' Dacia, over which he up to then had executed a firm control Wolfram considers. (Wolfram 1989, p.57-59)

In this way he seems to convincingly have tied together the story and I believe that Cniva and Geberik have got their correct positions what concerns the chronology, and this makes it possible also to agree that Ostrogotha around 290 seems to be the first Amal king, and that he was only an Ostrogothic king, i.e. a *kuningaz-a reiks*. The division can depend of the circumstances following the death of Cniva and the destruction of his army. I however react to the expression “the eastern Amali when they take over the kingship”. It does not deal with a taking over of the royal power from Cniva. Wolfram says himself that Cniva was “king of the army in the western tribal territory”, i.e. he was a *reiks/kuningaz* executing the command over the western part of the army and by no means a *þiudans*. Besides he had relatives who could have replaced him if he had happened to be a *þiudans*. The reason of the splitting must be deeper than only the death of Cniva, which probably only is a contributive reason since it decreases the feeling of unity towards the different tribal groups among the Greutungi, and it creates a wish to settle in peace as agriculturalists. They simply are tired of warfare.

In connection with the ethogenesis to the cult of Wodan/Óðinn, which with Jordanes shall have taken place under Filimer, the old sacral kingdom with necessity started to decline. The *þiudans* tried as long as possible to uphold his position but in practice he in the end did not succeed, because of the permanently growing power of the local petty-kings, the tribal *kuningaz/reiks*. We also do not know who was the last of the Berig-family—the last who could claim an ancestry as *þiudans*.

When the Vesigoths settle permanently they still keep a person coordinating the tasks the earlier *þiudans* was responsible of, and he gets the same limitations as had the earlier sacral king before the emigration from the Vistula-area. Similar might have been expected among the Greutungi and their allies—now the Ostrogoths at their settling in Ukraina. There is however a difference since the Ostrogoths controlled an immensely greater area than the Vesigoths, meaning that a king, even if he had the same restrictions, had a much bigger territory to move inside but also here his power would have been diminished by strong tribal *reiks*. This specially since the cult of Óðinn seems to have spread more rapid among the Ostrogoths. Ermanarik e.g. has no similarities with a sacral king but well with an Óðinn-king—he rules on totally other premises than a *þiudans*. Ostrogotha, accordingly, does not take over the sacral kingdom but marks instead the beginning of the Ostrogothic tribal kingdom.

The already initially mentioned Vesi-Tervingi and their probably not Germanic allies, Taifali, conquer, as told, parts of Trajanus' Dacia, present Romania, and settle there. They call the land *Gutþiuda*—the land of the Gothic people. Their leader does not claim the kingship but is called *kindins*, which by the established research is interpreted as ‘law-man’, ‘judge’. Peter Heather, how-

ever, calls, of a for me totally uncomprehensive reason, the Tervingian Dacia a kingdom since he writes: "The Tervingi had a strong sense of their own territory, manifested in Athanaric's determination to make Valens recognize the boundaries of his kingdom...The Tervingi, of course, were gathered around a particular dynasty...fourth-century Gothic monarchs could not, as Athanaric's eventual fate shows, operate without support among their followers." (Heather 1996, p.303 f)

Athanaric was but a kindins in Gutþiudā and it was in no way his realm. It is quite clearly demonstrated that he ruled together with a council of *μεγιστῶνες*. Royal families or dynasties are of course mentioned, but the possible government-periods for them in that case lies before the appearance of Gutþiudā. The might however provide a base for recruiting a kindins, who still not because of this might claim the title monarch or king. Concerning the "royal" Balþi-family it does not raise to power seriously before the Visigothic kingdom of Alaric, who is a reiks/kuningaz. He claims however, like the Amali, an old and glorious past. These "royal" families also might refer to the tribal reiks (kuningaz) sitting in the ruling council, those who by the Greek were called *μεγιστῶνες*.

These above referred groups are mentioned at first in 291, at the same time that also the Gepids pop up in the sources when a graet battle between the Tervingi and their allies against the Gepids under king Fastida in alliance with the hasding Vandals is fought at a river called Auha, and that probably flows in northern Transsylvania. According to Jordanes it was fought, as we have already treated, between the united Gothic tribes under king Ostrogotha against Gepids and Vandals. In this version Ostrogotha was the last common king, þiudāns, while he according to the same source also is the first Ostrogothic king. The signs of question implemented in this I beleive have been put straight by Herwig Wolfram in the equalisation between Cniva and Cannabaudes. Ostrogotha hence must be regarded as an Ostrogothic king.

This opens an interesting possibility. Maybe the Vesi-Tervingi refused to recognise the Amali because they not, as earlier þiudāns, could claim ancestry from Gaut? They do indeed claim such an ancestry but only indirectly and this probably is not strong enough. This, if something, demonstrates the degree of oath-boundness to the representative of the god. A new þiudāns is unthinkable unless his ancestry comes straight down from the god, and that could be the reason a new þiudāns is not appointed, but it is delegated to a kindins to rule as his vicarius. This also is a clear indication that the Goths by no means were a tribe or a people, but they were rather a number of tribes and peoples united by a common cultic ancestry—a cultic league! This possibility definitely deserves to be recognised even if it is difficult to produce absolutely sure proofs. I mean that it is



quite possible, even probable and quite logical. At the merging with the Óðinn-cult the name Gaut also followed and we get Óðinn-Gaut. This should indicate the old and the new cult were rather similar—that similar that the ethnogenesis did not affect primarily the loyalty towards Gaut until considerably later. Not until Alarik kings of Visigothic origin appear, but then they are called Visigothic and are titled *reiks/rex*, not *þiudans*, and both the Visigoths and Alariks Visigoths then are Arian Christian. This also suggests that Ostrogotha, if the division happened in his time or earlier, should be regarded as a *reiks*, i.e. a tribal king according to earlier terminology and not as a *þiudans*, since he must have belonged to Greuthungi who naturally regarded him as the tribal leader. From the division, whenever it took place, we no longer can speak of a *þiudans* but rather of persons upholding his basic functions. Wolfram concludes (Wolfram 1989, p.59) that the war between the Romans and the Bastarni and their allies in 295 evidently ended with a formal Gothic foedus—an agreement of cooperation between Goths and Romans—where the Goths promised to provide armed forces when needed. This foedus was generally upheld to 323.

The earlier mentioned Gepids had left the Vistula-area later than the other Goths, and according to Hungarian archaeologists they settle in the 300's in north-western Transsylvania. (Wolfram 1989, p.59) At the same time also Vandilic tribes press forward and threaten Tervingi's territories. 323 the Visigoths join emperor Licinius (the Eastern emperor) in his civil war with Constantin who rules in the Western half of the realm. Licinius is defeated and is executed 324 and so Constantin the great becomes sole emperor, but the Goths still are formally in war with him. Constantin undertakes extensive strategical operations along the border towards the Gothic Dacia with as well fortresses as bridge-constructions, and in this manner he threatens the Gothic territory. The Gothic expansion towards the Donau-border—the *limes*—is now replaced by more spread settlements in Transsylvania—the archaeologists' expansion of the Cerniachov-Sintana-de-Mûres-Culture, which leads to a confrontation with the Tiza-Sarmatians. (Wolfram 1989, p.61) In 332 there finally is a foedus between Constantin and the Vesi-Tervingi. The Ostrogoths now rule over a vast realm whose influence reaches all the way up to the Baltic states in the North and towards the Ural mountains in the East and with centre in present Ukraine. They are united by their kings, but not *þiudans*, of which Ermanarik is the most reputed. He is the same as Jormundrek in the Nordic sagas. During the later half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. a rider-people presses forward from the East—the badly reputed Huns who later under their king Attila has gained world-wide reputation. They gradually occupy the territory of the Ostrogoths until these are forced to submit to the Huns around 375.

Already above the problem with Ostrogotha, Cniva and Geberik has been treated. Since however Geberik according to Jordanes is the predecessor of Ermanarik, I think the picture must be completed still more to fit into the pattern.

Getica XXIII §116. When the king of the Goths, Geberik, left the earthly, he was followed after a time by Ermanarik, the noblest of the Amali...(Nordin, 1996)

XXIII:116. Soon Geberich, king of the Goths, departed from human affairs and Hermanaric, noblest of the Amali, succeeded to the throne...(Mierow)

Note the difference where Nordin translates “he was followed after a time” while Mierow writes “Soon Geberich...departed...and Hermanaric...succeeded”. At least the translation of Nordin indicates a clear unsecurity about when Ermanarik was installed, and probably indicates a gap of knowledge concerning his predecessor on behalf of Cassiodorus/Jordanes. Geberik is a known Gothic hero from the old songs (Wolfram) and has most probable been added as a suitable replacement in this gap. Hachmann is in a similar manner dubious to the succession of Ermanarik from Geberik and he also sees a gap of knowledge by Cassiodorus/Jordanes or, alternatively, an interregnum when there was no king. (Hachmann 1970, p.50 f)

Ermanarik commits suicide when he realises that military resistance is in vain. There is, according to Wolfram, a possibility that this suicide might have been ritually motivated. (Wolfram 1989, p.115 ff) This is, nota bene, after the ethnogenesis to the cult of Óðinn—the *hángagóð!* (Cf. Kings-sacrifice to Óðinn by hanging and stabbing with a spear in the side!) According to Jordanes he is wounded instead by a sword-stab in his side because of blood-revenge by the brothers of Sunilda, Ammius and Sarus, and dies later satisfied of years at an age of 110 years. (Getica XXIV, §129-30)

Greutungi now elect a new king, who with Wolfram quite sure is related to Ermanarik but not his son. Ermanarik should have been the last Amali-king if you count the mythic Amal, a forefather of Ostrogotha, as the first. The new king, Vithimir, falls in battle with the Huns and is succeeded by his son, Videric, but the ruling power is, according to Ammianus Marcellinus Marcellinus (Ammianus Marcellinus XXXI 3, 3; 4, 12) issued by two guardians, Alatheus and Safrax, who are referred to as duces. Safrax was an Alan and hence allied with the Greutungi. They bring the young king into Roman territory and from there they try to rule the Ostrogoths, but the main-body now is submitted to the Huns. Hence we get a division of the Ostrogoths. You could indeed regard Vithimir

and Videric as a new dynasty leading the free Ostrogoths and which distances itself from the later formal king going into alliance with the Huns. Vithimir and Videric are to be regarded as kings in a Latin sense, i.e. reiks. This title now could be applicable to both petty-kings of type tribal kings and peoples' kings of the Latin type. This of course also goes for among else Ostrogotha and Ermanarik/Hermanarik. After the division between Vesi-Tervingi and Greutungi there are no þiudans. Teoderik later quite obviously is a reiks.

Still another factor of insecurity is that Cassiodorus/Jordanes indeed mentions quite other kings names than Vithimir and Videric as the successors of Ermanarik. The above mentioned however are confirmed by Ammianus Marcellinus and so can be counted as reliable. (Ammianus Marcellinus XXXI 3, 3;4, 12) Teoderik counts no ancestry from them, but to the listed Amalic kings said to have ruled instead of these. Cassiodorus however mentions Alatheus and Safrax, as duces governing in stead of the king: : "duces, qui regum vice illis praeerant." (Getica XXVI, §134, 140) He hence claims, according to among else the interpretation by Hachmann (Hachmann 1970, p.50 f), that there was no king at that time. Hachmann remarks that Ablabius mentions Ermanarik as Gothic king, not Ostrogothic, and brother of Vutvulf. His name is equipped with the epithet "nobilissimus Amalorum", which Hachmann believes is an amendment by Cassiodorus. (Hachmann 1970, p.50 f) according to Ablabius Ermanarik shall have succeeded Geberik (Getica XXIII, §116) which already has been commented. It can be noted that Cassiodorus/Jordanes places Geberik as successor to the two Vesigothic kindins Ariarik and Aorik, and he is the son of Hilderit, his grandfather is Ovida and his grand grandfather is Nidada (i.e. Cniva?). Also the foedus of the Vesigoths is suggested in the text. (Getica XXI-II, §112-13) Hence Geberik in practice is connected to the Vesigoths. With Cassiodorus Ermanarik is followed by his brother Vutvulf's grandson Vinithar, who continues the fight against the Huns. A son of Ermanarik's son Hunimund, Gesimund, allies himself with the Hunnic king Balamber, after Balamber having killed Vinithar in a battle, and so Balamber marries Vinithars niece Vadamerca. After this Hunnic kings rule the Ostrogoths, but all the time there is a Gothic petty-king who formally rules the Ostrogoths. Hunimund, the son of Ermanarik, is the first petty-king and he is followed by his son Thorismund. Cassiodorus then puts in Valamir, grandson of Thorismund and son of Vandalarius (who won his rumour by defeating the Vandals). He is said to have governed in good cooperation with his brothers Thiudmir and Vidimir, but these two were not formal kings however. During this whole period these rulers were submitted to Attila or his predecessors as Hunnic kings. Valamir's son Beremud instead distances himself from the Huns and joins the Vesigoths, and in that way creates a connection between the Vesigoths and the Amali. (Getica XLVIII) There is indeed no lack of

unclear circumstances concerning succession and chronology in this list of regents, but conclusively there are clear indices suggesting that it really deals with a split in two dynasties—one which will continue the fight against the Huns and another remaining as petty-kings under the Huns.

Wolfram writes: “The Goths won a long time ago, seventeen generations or around 440 years before Athalaric, a great victory through the good luck of their leaders.” The Goths then should have realised that these men not were ordinary humans but semi-divine heroes and “Ansis”, i.e. Asir. The bards of the Italian Goths and the songs that were sung in that time still told this history. It is from these that Cassiodorus builds his story of the origin of the Amali and their royal background with the Ostrogoths. All according to Wolfram. (*Getica* V, § 43; XIII, § 76 ff; XIV, § 79 ff; Wolfram 1989, p.115 f) Wolfram also remarks (*ibid*) that this space of time, strictly chronologically, goes back to the Gautic-Scandinavian period and not only to the Black Sea Goths. Cassiodorus mentions however Ostrogotha which whom probably the Ostrogothic kingship starts during the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c., Wolfram claims. He remarks that it rightly has been said that: “as soon as it [the kingship] becomes more clearly visible it bears all the traits of a kingship of the army”.

He continues:

Under its leadership the Scythization of the eastern Goths is completed: the armored lancer, who covered incredible distances and fought on horseback; the practice of hunting with falcons; shamanism; the adoption by the Amali of the Sassanian royal vestments; in short, the lifestyle of the Iranian—Turkish peoples of the steppe became part of the Gothic world. This world is ruled by Ermanaric, the great king of the Ostrogothic-Greutungian army.

As I have already suggested I claim that you can not talk of a þiudans after the division between Vesi-Tervingi and Greutung, and Ermanaric is by no means a real þiudans even if he possibly should be related to Ostrogotha, which is not confirmed, and Geberik seems to be very loosely placed in the scheme. As is seen above also Wolfram regards Ermanaric as a reiks. What Ostrogotha concerns everything indicates that he is not a þiudans. I interpret Wolfram’s “king of the Army” for Cniva in the same sense as the quotation above about the “kingship of the Army”. It is however quite possible that both Ostrogotha and Cniva might have commanded a part of the common army under a þiudans, which means they were reiks. The þiudans, as a sacral king, was not even allowed to take part in battle, and he had to issue commands to his subordinates while he must remain

within the borders of their own territory. Ermanarik of course might have fulfilled some functions of a þiuðans but I find this very improbable. All his characteristics point towards a decided Óðinn-king. (Cf. Gutþiuða below!)

After Ermanarik the Ostrogothic kings are divided in two dynasties, where the proposed Amalic branch (Ermanarik's) functions as petty-kings under the Huns, while Vithimir's branch, after Viderich has been brought by Safrax and Alateus into Roman territory, evidently tries to continue the fight against the Huns. Both these dynasties must be considered as reiks.

## Gutþiūða and Vesi-Tervingi

Now let us have a closer look on the Vesigothic realm, Gutþiūða, in the former Roman province of Dacia. Here the Vesi-Tervingi establish a realm which is not ruled by kings but consists of a number of rather independent tribes under a tribal king/kuningaz, reiks, who in all important aspects is the same as the old Scandinavian petty-kings, kings of settled countries. The tribe generally speaking consists of a people or a kin. The tribes are held together by means of a council consisting of the mentioned reiks and it is headed by a kindins. (Wolfram 1989, p.91 ff) Traditionally kindins is translated with 'law-man', 'judge', since Roman texts translate it with *iudex* 'judge' and the Greeks with δίκαστες (*dikastes*). The law-man also has a strong connection with the Nordic thing-tradition. I however claim that the word kindins must be connected with the Nordic *kind* 'family, kin' and that this person, whose function is to uphold a functioning cooperation between different local tribes-internally united via family/kin-ties and/or cult—most suitably should be understood as kinsman or kin-leader, leader of the different kins. If you consult Feist's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache* he says about kindins that it derives from *kind* 'family, kin' and the suffix *-ina* from IG.-*eno-* 'master, lord', 'dominus'. (Feist, p.233) Hence the meaning becomes 'kin-master', 'kin-lord', 'kin-leader'. Law-man means a too limited definition of his function and is contradicted by his factual tasks. His responsibility was, apart of leading the council, mainly to care about the preservation of Gutþiūða as a whole body both what concerned outer defence, when he had an absolute command within Gutþiūða, but not even during war outside it's borders, and what concerns the religious unity. In this capacity you might even claim he had the function of a sacral king. The old concept of the king as primarily a leader in war, but else most a sacral leader, generally fits.

Thompson demonstrates that all acts of war and support-forces to the Romans during a foedus were handled by individual chieftains—reiks, and the only time a common leader is referred to issuing command is after 364, when a "confederation" is formed under Athanarik. This is during the defense against the attacks of Valens 367-69 and at the attack by the Huns in 376, and in connection with the last mentioned most of the Vesigoths cross the limes, and Athanarik is left alone with mainly only his own tribe. Now the tribes also convert to the Arian Christianity and end the earlier chapter of their history. (Thompson 1966, p.43f.)

That earlier there was a common þiūðans, whose functions partly have been substituted, accordingly seems quite probable. Ammianus names the members of the council, the above mentioned reiks, as *optimates* and in *Passio S. Saba* they are

called *μεγιστανες* (megistanes). Eunapius uses the expression *φυλαι* (phylai), meaning tribe, when he describes the settlements of the Goths, and he talks of an organisation under tribal chiefs. Thompson, however, claims that the council as a unity pressed on in religious matters, and that the kindins just had to execute the decision of the council. I am not convinced by his arguments in this question. My starting position is instead that the tribal kings—the reiks—who were the ones who directly commanded their forces, in the religious aspect personified Gaut/Óðinn-Gaut in local cultic acts in the warrior-cult and in battle, while the kindins symbolised the common popular religious tradition, i.e. the fertility-cult, as a replacement for the no longer existing þiuðans—the direct descender of the god. In other words he guards the ethnicity of the people, rather than the direct politics. In any case the functions of the kindins show back towards a tradition, that suggests, that the origin of the cult is closely related to the old Nordic sacral kingdom. In one aspect, however, I agree with Thompson concerning the reiks—they represent indeed the factual secular power, and they grow all the time stronger while the kindins gets weaker. What concerns, however, common religious questions the kindins has the final right to decide until the Hunnic crisis occurs. This is exactly the same development as in other cultic leagues—when you start using the cult politically also the modern state begins to evolve. Thompson confirms that before the time of Athanarik there is confirmation of general meetings—I suppose he means *þing*—who could decide in common questions, but since Athanarik was appointed kindins all decisions are taken by the council, and it is only in the villages that local councils/local þings are allowed to decide in matters concerning the local village. (Thompson 1966, p.51 ff)

We accordingly get a central rule where the kindins dictates the cult, presumably the fertility-cult, for the people, and where the cult of Gaut/Óðinn-Gaut more is a tool for the reiks as a means of power. Religious feasts for all warriors are not known, and Thompson means the cult was locally administrated, which strenghtens the impression the reiks controlled that part. On the other hand it was important that the kindins demonstrated the factual connection with Gaut, the creator god, to all the people and with the fertility-cult that was used as a medium. The local warrior cult seemingly was, as I already earlier have assumed, of a secret character. We know, however, that a *gudē* and a priestess, I assume a *gudja*, officiated in the civilian cult in every village. The only greater religious feast we know of is the celebration of yule/iul but no details. (Wolfram 1989, p. 91 ff)

In this connection it is interesting to take a closer look on Ermanarik. With Jordanes he died satisfied of years at an age of 110 years. (Getica, XXIV, 130) According to Wolfram he commits suicide after having lost the war against the Huns, and this suicide is suggested to have a sacral character. (Wolfram 1989,

p.115) By the description of the Ostrogoths in this section you can clearly notice signs of shamanism and Óðinn-cult. It accordingly quite well can deal with a king's sacrifice to Óðinn-Gaut. If Ermanarik, besides, has the same character of replacement for the sacral functions of the þiuḏans as has a kindins, or if he rather functions as a reiks and a leader within the cult of Óðinn-Gaut in the same way as later kings initiated to Óðinn is not possible to decide. He in any case rather appears as a typical reiks/kuningaz and Óðinn-king.

The Vesigoths settle specially along the rivers where the agri-cultural conditions are most favourable, and where also transportation and trade is facilitated. The extent of their settlements approximately includes Bessarabia, Muntenia, Moldavia and central and eastern Transsylvania. The southern border is towards the Roman province of Moesia in present Bulgaria and northern Greece. A presumably non-Germanic people allied with the Vesigoths, the Taifali, lived as their neighbours in Oltenia.(Thompson 1966, p.3 ff; Wolfram 1989,p.91 ff)

When the Vesi-Tervingi arrive in Dacia, it is already populated by Romans and former natives. They live to a considerable part in cities and they are dependent of imported furnishing via shipping and road-transportation from other parts of the Roman empire.Now a drastic change of the prepositions occur. The great Roman country-estates having provided fresh meat and vegetables to the city-population now to a certain extent are transferred to Gothic reiks while other remain with the Roman owner. Most Gothic settlements for commoners are built on places not obstructing the former and present estates. The Goths, accordingly, accept the Roman tradition of great estates/mansions and the to these connected juridical principle of the Roman law concerning private property.(Thompson 1966, p.53 ff) This law contradicts the ancient Germanic tradition of "the right of possession", since you must no longer occupy the ground to claim your right to live there. Now you can move elsewhere but still own the land. The agricultural production, however, is not great enough to provide the cities. In stead foremer city-dwellers in increasing extent start working on the estates for food and shelter. Since the Roman population already earlier was used to the Roman law stating that the son shall inherit his father's occupation, the same succession continues to be natural also during the new circumstances. Here we see the beginning of the serfdom as a general medieval characteristics in Germanic Europe. Besides, of course, thralls are used as labour-force exactly as the Romans have for habit to do. Thompson reasons about the way of getting hold of thralls, because he considers it one of the major export wares of the Vesigoths and, he notes, remarkably often thralls of Vesigothic origin. (Thompson 1966, p.34 ff) he means it should have been for example Vandals, Gepids, Sarmatians et c. having been captured in war, and he claims these ought to be the mainbody of thralls in Gutþiuḏa proper. Personally I beleive that this is



a result of the Roman Law Codex since the old principle of 'common land' gradually is replaced with the idea of private property estate, and hence many stood without possibility to feed themselves in lack of land and also without a proper legal protection of their rights. This should lead to possible thralldom when not being able to pay allotment for the soil they cultivated et c. Children, besides, were automatically considered thralls if both the parents were thralls. I would say the normal in Germanic contries was that the thralls came from the own population. Anyhow Thompson confirms the existence of private property laws in Gutþiuða, and that the reiks started carrying out an own, personal power-politic. (Thompson 1966, p.53 f) Jens Ulrich demonstrates that every young or grown up man must prove himself to be able to take care of a house-hold through any kind of achievement.. He mentions that the youngsters of the Taifali were expected to kill an animal. When performing the demanded achievement the yongster becomes a free man, *\*freis*. I want you to recall the possibility I suggested above concerning initiation in a warrior league, which during the Gaut-epoch is assumed to be connected with the weaponless graves. You even could, as a thrall, follow your master in war and fight and loot. This loot you later could use to buy yourself free. This is told by Priscos but refers to the Huns. (Ulrich 1996, p.62)

Peter Heather remarks concerning the Gothic ethnicity that he considers it uphold by the free men, which he regards as a social elite including from a fifth to half of the male population—a group participating in counsils and political decisions. This trend is, according to him, valid until around the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. in the Visigothic Spain, but when the Roman threat has disappeared a gradual merging of Roman and Gothic ruling groups take place. Against these free men he puts, except of beaten and cowed peoples, also thralls and freed, i.e. so called *brytar* in the Nordic tounge. It means they are free, but they may not cultivate their own land until they have been accepted as members of a free man's family. He assumes that also with other Germanic folks were similar rules and hence he bangs through a number of already wide open gates. (Heather 1996, p.299 ff) What concerns at least the Scandinavian area these organisatoric patterns are confirmed in both literary sources and early medieval law-codices, even if we do not know exactly how long back in time they date before the Viking period.

It is interesting to note, that during the first thirty years after the Romans had abandoned Dacia, it does not occur any finds of Roman coins in the territory in spite of a lasting peace between Romans and Vesigoths. (Thompson 1966, p.3 ff, 34 ff) Similar examples are found during the same period in several other areas along the Roman limes. It is assumed that the Roman coin-system at this time occassionally had collapsed. During the 4<sup>th</sup> c. there are lot of finds during the whole period. It also is demonstrated, that in connection with a war 367-69 against emperor Valens, the Goths are forced to make peace since they can not

endure a trade-boycott by the Romans. This peace-agreement prescribes that the Goths only may trade with two border-cities, which is the normal restrictions the Romans use to apply, but before the war they had been granted unlimited trade along all the borderline as a result of a peace-agreement with emperor Constantin II in 349. The new terms are felt as a real obstacle. When the Huns finally attack Gutþiuða in 376 the crops is still not harvested (Thompson 1966, p.34 ff) and the Visigoths then in panic migrate over the Roman limes, leaving their last kindred, Athanaric, and a minor number of his followers in the former Gutþiuða. Athanaric and his people move Northwards and maintain for a considerable time a smaller realm well distanced from the Huns. The conclusion must necessarily be that the Goths have become dependent of import of trade-goods necessary for life-support and maintenance of the important activities in the society. They had to compensate the meager result of the agriculture, which also had responsibility for the city-dwellers since the Roman epoch. Beside the cultivation also the Gothic free-man had duties towards the army, and the agricultural technique was not that developed that it could provide enough for such complex a society. The cities are dying but certain functions all the time remain. The impression of a complex society is still more reinforced if you look to what they import, or receive as contributions not to attack the Romans. (Thompson 1966, p.25 ff, 34 ff)

It deals with grains, clothing, pottery and decoration wares et c. Specially grains and clothing are usual posts. It evidently not is purely a question of lack of food, but also of a decreasing rate of the own production of textiles, which clearly indicates that cattle-breeding not is the most distinguishing trait of the Visigothic society. It preproposes maybe also a more permanent settlement to get time to develop a totally own furnishing, which structure was difficult to uphold during the migration. Concerning the pottery also an extensive own production is established, but with use of the last technique—the potter's wheel—which they got from the Roman population-element. The shapes of the pottery on the other hand seem to be classic forms and principally the same as the Ostrogothic Kiev-forms. Accordingly it deals with a continuous adaptation to the comfortabilities of the Roman civilisation. This problem of living-support is noticeable at several occasions also later in the Gothic history—both when Visigoths and Ostrogoths were given land on Balkan, and later after the siege of Rome when they had gone into winter-quarters and so wasted all money on food. Similarly in Gaul and Spain when hunger-blockades efficiently break Gothic resistance. In spite of all this the Goths primarily are agriculturalists (Thompson 1966, p.25ff) and not like in many other places in the Germanic societies primarily cattle-breeder, even if they of course have a considerable number of cattle and other animals like sheep, goats and pigs. This might be one of the main-reasons they so easily were defeated by the Huns.

This dependance of agri-culture is a natural inheritance from a background in the centre of the old fertility-cult during the Bronze Age. We concluded already in that connection, that Gaut was basically an Odinic creator-god with a fertility-cultic approach, and that the broad majority worshipped the old fertility-gods. Evidently a transition to cattle-breeding occured in mass, but it began that early that there still were complementary possibilities for agri-culture and direct migrations only took place locally in extreme cases. In Scandinavia we later have got a more general transition to cattle-breeding within the whole area, but the Scandinavian Goths who possibly arrived at the Vistula-area in groups from some time before and to a couple of hundred years after the beginning of our time-reckoning—mostly relatively small groups I presume—there found a fertile river-delta giving better conditions for both agri-culture, cattle-breeding and trade. Specially the trade then should have incited further migrations.

These newcomers melt with the earlier population, and wether there already is spoken an East-Germanic language in the area, or if a Gothic language comes into being as a consequence of the merging, is unclear. Evidently however there is a clear relation between the Gautic dialects and Gothic, and specially with the Gutniska of Gotland. The continued developement towards cattle-breeding in Scandinavia is more directly related to the expansion of the Continental Óðinn-cult, which, by all signs to judge, is a direct continuation of the expansion of the earlier cult, where an almost identical god is called Gaut and where a sacrificial meton-cycle of nineteen years was applied, and of course with the accelerating deterioration of the climate. The example from Öland (Fallgren 1992, p. 114 ff) demonstrates that all possibilities of intensive cultivation were used in the Migration Period. Still, however, both territorial guarding of pastures as shamanistic exorsion of demons from the fields must have been important parts of farming. In the Vistuala-area a merging of peoples of different ethnicities might have occured, and where the uniting link was the very demand to accept the cult of Gaut, which, as earlier remarked, did not implicate the forsaking of the traditional fertility-gods. It took a considerable time before we can speak of a tribe or tribal groups in this area, and the Goths originally evidently were understood as just part of the Lugii. The Gothic origin from Scandinavia hence is mostly a cultic origin, and does probably not include a mass-emigration to the Vistula-mouth but rather a gradual migration of smaller groups from the whole Kattogat- and Baltic—area. The traditional opinion Gothic is an East-Germanic language is contradicted by among else Ernst Schwarz, who claims that this language was spoken at the time of the Gothic migration all over southern Scandinavia. He relates it's origin to a sub-group of North-Germanic which he calls Goto-Nordic.

(E. Schwarz 1951) Wessén means, as earlier referred to, that the Gautic dialects are clearly related to Gothic. (Wessén 1972, p.120 ff) This does however not exclude the possibility that a permanently settled population in time has been assimilated linguistically, and still it does not pre-suppose a common mass-immigration.

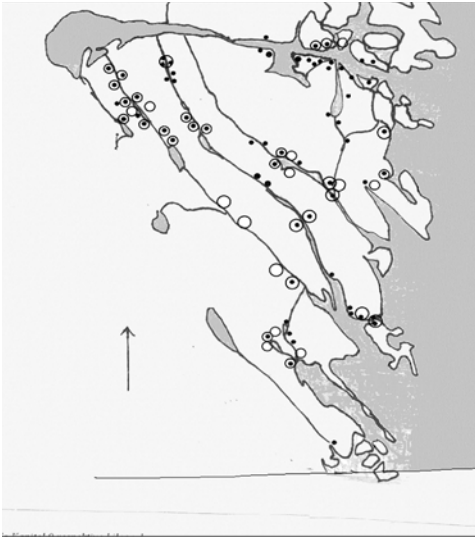


Fig. 36 Map over terminated settlements in Östergötland and Småland. Source: Inger E Johansson 1993.

Let us now again go back to the term *kindins*, and its relation to kin, family. It is remarkable that in Scandinavia exists an ancient administrative division, who is believed to be based just on the kin, the family and relatives in a wider range, and where the unit is called just *kind*. The division occurs exclusively in Västergötland, Östergötland and Småland. It is indeed, as demonstrated below, very much that talks for that the different tribes—*kuni*—from the beginning are based right on the family and relatives—kins—and with a common geographical origin.

This map from a C-paper by Inger E. Johansson at the university of Linköping 1993 shows Iron Age settlements in a territory stretching from south between Tjust in Småland, over Östergötland and up to the Nyköping-area in Södermanland in the north. The unfilled circles are those settlements being abandoned during the run of the Pre-Roman and Roman Iron Age. The water-level is the one being actual around the beginning of our time-reckoning, and consequently the firth in the north is the later lake Roxen. She remarks there are signs who could suggest an emigration from certain of the places in the examined area from the birth of Christ during the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period. This is indicated by the circumstance, that two close-lying territories seem to have had quite different development during the time from the birth of Christ and up to the beginning of the Viking Period.

There are relatively few known finds from the Migration period and the Viking period south of the line between Källsåker in Törnfalls par. and Locknevi. There also are a number of places within the rest of Tjust where no finds from this period have been made. A reservation however must be made for possibly later finds. (Inger E. Johansson 1993) The find-groups that appear in sections of Tjust, e.g. at the terminated grave-fields in Dalhem par. match generally, according to Lena Thålin-Bergman in her *Blacksmithing in prehistoric Sweden*, the finds close to the Teutoburgerwald, and several older researchers have interpreted Thiudos and Teutones as emigrants from Tjust. If that is the case also the Teutons, Svennung's Theutes, might be considered a Gothic people. The comparable find-groups of bronzes in any case indicate lively contacts between Tjust and the Continent.

Is it just a coincidence that precisely in this area, Småland and Östergötland, we have a centre for the Kind-names? I for one do not believe in such coincidences. Pollen-analyzis indicate a change of the agricultural methods during the period 200 BC—450 AD. The change lies timely well in line with the development in neighbouring areas during this period. (Inger E. Johansson 1993)

Anna Vesterberg has in her dissertation, *Utveckling av gammalt a framför ld och nd*, Uppsala 1991, demonstrated that the same dialect has been spoken within all the examination area including also Närke and those parts of Södermanland being above water around the birth of Christ. Here has been preserved the old pronunciation of 'a', 'ä' and 'å'. This fits with the communication-routes/waterways of that period.

Vida-Gursten was inhabited during both the Stone-Age and the Bronze-Age ,but later not until the medieval colonisation.

**Places only being inhabited during the Bronze-Age before the medieval colonisation**

Björnsholm,

Blackstad

Gruvdalen,

Hjorted

Härstad

Lilla Sandared

Målsenum

Olstorp,

Snötomta,

Storsjön

**Places only being inhabited during the Bronze-Age and the Pre-Roman and Roman Iron Age before the medieval colonisation:**

Blidstena,

Gladhammar,

Hackenäs,

Hammar,

Hellerö,

Häckenstad

Kasinge

Törnfall

**Places only being inhabited during the Pre-Roman and Roman Iron Age before the medieval colonisation:**

Bjärstad

Dalhem,

Hackenäs,

Rösten

Sturefors.

The Goths moved slowly. Their settlements in Ukraina and Dacia had a permanent character. A migrating people is in a higher degree than a permanently settled one depending of the army for their survival, and has not such a high number of farmers as during normal circumstances. This shows, that even if they had considerable herds of cattle they do not have a nomadic background, but agri-culturing is and remains the principal means for food-stuff production. The problem mainly is that they, in spite of the relatively slow migration, never had time to root themselves and create a durable agri-cultural economy with fields giving good yild—partly, of course, also depending of that many of the potential cultivators had to serve in the army for long periods.

The Vesigoths all the time remained on foot. The Ostrogoths instead became steppe-humans and riders and were probably in a higher degree depending on

bovine, pigs and other animals, but also for them the cultivation continuously was the most important.

There is, as earlier remarked, a difference between the attitude of the people and the chieftains. The chieftains needed a strong, oath-sworn army of elite warriors within the frames of the cults of Gaut and Óðinn-Gaut while the people preferred to remain with the old fertility-gods and their old tolerance towards any gods. This difference is clearly notable in connection with the religious persecution by Athanarik of the Christian Goths. The cult of the chieftains does not get active support among the people, and also the popular cult is not regarded as so vital in difference of the Christian cult, since tolerance towards other opinions is a mark of nobility within popular Germanic religion. Consequently the people actively protect the persecuted Christians, and this does not depend of that they should be Christians themselves. (*Passio S. Saba*) The persecutions must be regarded as a last desperate effort to preserve the on the cult based ethnicity. Besides these wandering Goths are extremely receptive concerning acceptance of foreign cultural influences and foreign life-style. The Goths remarkably rapidly are Romanized and this process clearly is notable in Dacia, and still more distinct in Italy and Spain when almost everything Gothic in the normal life disappear. What all the time is keeping them together as a ethnic unit primarily are the religion and the policy of marriage—in all other aspects they might be Romans. Of this reason the kings took care of, that it all the time existed two administrations with originally divided administrative languages in Greece, Italy and Spain/Southern France, and two different sets of law—one for the Roman population and one for the Goths.

It was nessecary to try to with all means isolate and preserve the Gothic ethnicity. In time, however, the Latin language and the Roman habits will dominate. Those Goths having been in Roman service already before the conversion of 376 had gained high positions in the imperial army, and had taken part of the court-intrigues in Constantinople, and they lived in all ways as Romans—when it suited them, it is. The most reknown of these is, a little later, Teoderik Strabo—main opposer of the Amalic Teoderik, who became Teoderik the Great. Both of them belonged to the permanently settled Balkan-Goths, but the Amals have indeed a background as petty-kings under the Huns.

The Vesigoths settle in villages in connection to the farm-population, which is a mixed Germanic and Roman population, but the Goths have their own villages ruled by a village-council and a number of villages are commanded by a reiks on top of the hierarchy. Most probably there are local chieftains under the reiks as an intermediary stage. There is however no explicit leader of the village. There is a so called *χομητες*, who normally is translated as village-elder who is supposed to lead the gathering of free Goths—the village council, maybe village-thing. Above

a number of villages a reiks stand within the frames of a *kunja*, tribe, as leader, but he in turn is *fauragaggja*, that is replacer, representative of the kindins, and he also sits in the council led by the kindins as *raginonds*. Below himself he has sub-commanders who carry out the tasks he decides, and it happens that these sub-commanders gather own armed forces of free men. These free men in turn may have employed warriors being part of their household. There also is a tribal council in every *kunja*, where these sub-commanders probably are seated as *μεγιστῶνες*, megistanes, of the reiks. (Ulrich 1996, p.88; Wolfram 1989, p.91 ff) In this connection Ulrich reasons out of the bible translation of Wulfila about the word *kuni*. It is normally translated 'tribe' and a *reiks* is the leader of a *kuni* or *kunja*. Ulrich suggests it may stand for the both the family of the chieftain in direct meaning 'family', but it also represents, he means, a greater range of relatives that the Germans call "eine Sippe". He adds that also within this term may be understood 'the members of the household' and 'those fighting in the army'. The term also might include a 'cultic community', he writes, that at least partly is based on ancestral worship. (Ulrich 1996, p.66-71)

By his associations you might get the impression we talk about a clan of Celtic type, as indeed Wolfram seems to have accepted, but it is complicated by the fact that outsiders might be accepted within this community all the time during the period of migration. The term, therefore, still is better understood as basically referring to a tribe having a common ethnicity and which, within the frames of a common cult, both may accept new members and maintain the ethnicity, based just on the cult. In the bottom, however, it seems to be an old common ancestry from a specific geographic territory and most likely also an old ancestral lineage from kinsmen in this territory. In any case it is quite evident that just the cult is the specific uniting glue, and it is carefully remarked, whenever the question occurs, that every *kunja* had their own holy attributes/objects as the *guðe* and the (*guðja*?) priestess were responsible of between the sacrifices. The cult was common, but every *kunja* besides had their own rituals, who helped to unite the group. Every single yard, *\*gards*, is led by a *frauja*—housefather—who for the family is *fadar*, father, which also has a cultic meaning, and *aba*—married husband. In the cult of the house the *fadrein*—the ancestral fathers—are evoked. An employed soldier is called *skalks* and a servant *andbatts* (Ulrich 1996, p.63)

From Wulfila's use of language you might, Ulrich means, draw certain conclusions about ranking order. First he refers to the already well known circumstance that "*þiudans*" (here in reality *kindins*) is superordinated *reiks* and that the expression *βασιλευς* answers to "*þiudans*" (here in reality *kindins*) while *αρχων* answers to *reiks*. In the larger Gothic households there was a person that you may perhaps regard as major domus, being responsible for the household under the housefather. This person was called *fauragaggja*. Wulfila uses this term to describe



the representative of a βασιλευς, which here accordingly refers to a reiks. (Ulrich 1996, p.71) When Ulrich out from *S.Saba* and the bible of Wulfila discusses these terms he often seems to use the word *þiuðans* when in fact *kindins* should be referred to. As I have already demonstrated there is no *þiuðans* in the Visigothic-Tervingian society. He besides claims that *kindins* was not a religious leader but only a *primus inter pares*—a council-chairman—who was totally depending of the other reiks and who only had military functions. This is also the opinion of Thompson as remarked above. He also denies the existence of real sacral kings among the Germanics, since he means they had to build their power on personal capabilities or a famous forefather, but he does not deny the stories existing about sacral kings. He means however that it was not enough power-legitimity in itself. He makes no difference between fertility-sacral kings and those claiming a genealogical ancestry from a god—they are in his terminology all sacral kings. Most of his examples are of Roman or Mediterranean kings and generals, and he directly denies it ever existed a Germanic king being worshipped as a god. I consider myself to have proven how wrong he is in that statement when it concerns the *sviakonungr* (the Frejr-cult above!) and Wolfram (Wolfram 1989, p.64 ff, 106 f.; 1992) has convincingly demonstrated the religious power of the *kindins*. The position of the old *þiuðans* in this matter is not even considered by Ulrich.(Ulrich 1996, p.98 ff) In my opinion *kindins* decidely is a replacer of the now not existant *þiuðans*, and he has as major functions to lead defensive wars and to care of the ethnic unity defined as the common cult. It is exactly the functions of the old sacral king of the fertility-cult, apart of him also being the high priest which the *kindins* is not. It is however also quite clear, which also Thompson suggests, that the reiks gradually get more and more power while the *kindins* loses power, but that is quite another question. In any case we agree that the followers in a higher and higher degree seem to be tied with an oath to the local chieftain/reiks as *Gutþiuða* goes towards it's dissolution, and the final power-period of the reiks occurs with the Visigothic and Ostrogothic kingdoms.

Religiously the changes by the transition of power to the Visigoths in Dacia are less extensive for non Goths. The Roman subjects, Christians as well as other, normally without harrasment are allowed to continue their worshipping side by side with the Gothic cult. (*Passio S. Saba*) The tolerance is remarkable and is a natural consequence of both the Germanic tradition as the pre-Christian antique one that you should respect the gods of other. It is not until Christianity appears that the rights of other worshippers is seriously questioned. Towards the Gothic population the tolerance, however, was definitely more restricted of the above demonstrated reason, namely that the cult was the glue keeping the Goths united—it indeed was their basic ethnicity—and without the cult they relatively rapidly should have been assimilated by the Roman civilisation and culture, and

hence the chieftains would have lost their influence. Jens Ulrich means in his analysis of *Passio S. Saba* that you there not can see whether you must give a military oath of fidelity to their leader, but well that the community in the village, at least religiously, was bound via an *\*aiþs*. He however finds such a military oath as probable. (Ulrich 1996, p.89) This reasonably should confirm my earlier assumption of sworn warrior leagues with a strong loyalty towards the chieftain. That you literally not can find described military oaths in a saintly vita is quite natural. The oath-bound condition in any case suggests the imperative importance of the cult for the Gothic ethnicity.

Peter Heather also sees certain cultic circumstances as specific for the Goths as symbols of the ethnicity, but he is a little diffuse, and wonders wheter it can be regarded as a permanent Gothic ethnicity since he means that these symbols differ. The weaponless graves, the funeral dresses of the women and jewellery from the Wielbark-culture he also finds in the Cerniachov-Sintana-de-Mûres-culture, and concerning the women's dresses that late as in the Visigothic Spain. The later introduced eagle-fibulae for men, carried in pairs, he connects with the double fibulae in the women's graves in the Wielbark-culture. The parallel occurance of inhumation and cremation he also regards as a Gothic trend. He mentions as well the habit to wear long hair and a rich occurance of combs in the grave-goods. In Birlad Valea-Seaca has been found sixteen houses who are regarded as having belonged to comb-makers, and therefore it is assumed that the fabrication of combs, like of the eagle-fibulae, have been controlled by the royal power. He accordingly must admit, that the cult might have been used for dividing the Goths from the Romans through all the time marking the dissimilarity and contribute to what he earlier has preferred to call their ethnicity—namely that they were inferior to the Romans and the Huns and hence had to produce aggression and will to fight for their freedom. This is the attitude, he means, that is upheld by the free men. (Heather 1996, p.304 ff) With that definition, however, the Goths hardly differ from any small oppressed people having to fight for their survival. This is, as far as I understand, a bad definition of ethnicity. If on the contrary the cult factually is dedicated to the specific god and the other deities a people think originally have created them, and with which power they are blood-kins—the Goths, the Gautar, the Gutar, the Jutes/Ýtas as 'the humans', 'the out-poured'—you really can talk about ethnicity.

## The Arian Goths

When the Hunnic onslaught had reached too far the Visigoths fled, as mentioned, over the limes after having promised to convert to Christianity—in this case in its Arian form—and they were directed to settlements in northern Balkan, where they however did not stay specially long. About this says Jordanes:

XXV §131. The Westgoths, it is the other allies who cultivate the western territories, got scared by the danger threatening their kinsmen, and disputed of which actions they should undertake for their own part because of the Huns. After having thought for long, they at last sent messengers to present their mutual wish to emperor Valens in Romania, brother of the older emperor Valentinianus, that he might give them part of Thracia or Moesia to cultivate. They should submit to his laws and regiment. And that they should be held to be more believable, they promised to become Christian if he sent them some persons who could teach them his language.

§132. When Valens had been informed about this, he at once granted their request and congratulated them, since he had himself wanted to ask the Westgoths for this. He received the Goths in Moesia and placed them like a wall around his realm against other folks. Because emperor Valens at that time had been infested by the heresy of the Arians, he closed all churches in our territories, and the ones that supported him he sent to preach for the Westgoths. When these preachers had arrived they spread in situ their poisonous heresy to the uneducated and ignorant. In this way also the Westgoths were converted by emperor Valens rather to Arians than to Christians.

§133. To gain the emperor's benevolence they also preached and taught this heresy with both the Eastgoths and their relatives the Gepids. They asked everywhere all peoples speaking their language to confess to this their faith. As have been mentioned they also crossed the Donau and settled with the emperor's admittance in Dacia Ripensis, Moesia and Thracia (Nordin 1996)

It is Jordanes himself who has written the last section. Cassiodorus also never would have dared to write in this way about Arianism in the presence of Teoderik the Great, and also as far as there was a Gothic kingdom in Italy. This specially

since it was just the Arianism which continuously had to substitute the earlier cult as the ethnic glue of the Goths, even if they not were alone in this faith—almost all Germanic tribes have received it from the Goths. In the Mediterranean area, however, it was distinctly dividing the Goths from the religion of the earlier Roman population. It has been claimed that the conversion depended on political reasons, and that the content of the Christian faith at this occasion did not matter. This is among else the opinion of Peter Heather, and he claims that, if the conversion had taken place under a Catholic emperor, they would have invented another way to divide themselves from the Romans in the long run. He accordingly also here sees an occasional symbol being used as a means to differ between Goths and Romans, and hence keep the feeling of unity between the free men. He means that the content of the faith in fact meant nothing for the Goths, and hence it did not matter whether they took the Arian confession instead of the Niceanenan, since also the Arian had a long tradition within Christianity. The only reason they stayed with it was to divide themselves from the Romans he claims. (Heather 1996, p.313 ff) In that point I, as treated below, forcefully disagree with Heather, but we definitely agree that the cult in fact was used as an ethnic glue. Thompson remarks that the conversion to Christianity for most of them took place after they long had been settled inside the limes—probably during the period 382 to 395 when they lived in Moesia. It accordingly, he suggests, did matter less that Valens was Arian, since at his death 378 most of them still had the old faith. (Thompson 1962, p.505, 517 ff) Wulfila was in an early stage exiled from Gutþiudā, and accordingly has not affected the picture in a greater extent. Socrates means that they did not see any difference between Arianism and Catholicism, and that they simply accepted the faith that seemed least complicated and easy to understand. (Socrates IV, 33, 9) Thompson mostly leans towards that the leaders took the Arianism to get an own ecclesiastical organisation where the Roman church not should be in command, and in this way they should have a more independent position towards the empire. (Thompson 1962, p. 517 ff) He accordingly also sees the question of preservation of the ethnicity, and I agree whole-heartedly that this most probable is one of the reasons, but still not the only. The theories of J. Zeiller about the Arian trinity he thinks meaningless to discuss. In my opinion however they are rather interesting. Zeiller means that the line of command—God, the father, commanding the Son, who commands the Holy Spirit—should be attractive for Gothic chieftains, who then could get a similar position towards their own people—as a demi-god—and this, he means, easily could be accepted by the people who were accustomed to such conditions. (Zeiller 1918, p. 517) Zeiller is in my opinion on the right track. The Arianism is, as I regard it, the natural form of Christianity for a people being used to initiations, where the warriors are symbolically killed and then resurrected as

living dead, but still humans, and who's kings claim ancestry from gods, but in spite of this are human. God and Christ/Jesus are of a different nature. God is original, Jesus is created and is the son of God, he is human, is sacrificed and is resurrected. This is quite natural for a people with this background. It is also proven by the fact they so stubbornly stick to this faith, and also that they succeed to spread it almost all over the Germanic world all the time to the 7<sup>th</sup> c. For the Goths also, like for other Germanics, who were not accustomed to theological finesses, this faith seemed more truly monotheistic than the confession supported by the Niceanians. Here we are an evident God, who together with the mother, Mary, within an eastern triad may be merged with the father, resulting in the Son—in the Gnostic tradition the one having the properties of both the spiritual, male part and the material growing power of the earth, the female part. In other words the son, hence, has all properties and is almighty. The Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost on the contrary appear as three separate deities. Besides God has in the interpretation of the *teodicé* of Augustinus only the property goodness. In this definition hence the deity is not almighty but is balanced by the devil as keeper of the evil. The Goths were taught it was but one God, and that he was almighty, which should mean he has all properties from good to evil, and this is, I believe, the way the Arianism was understood at least by educated preachers transferring their insight to the Goths.

In the Visigothic society were, as has been remarked above, also Christians. Mostly non-Goths but also some Goths. Several different types of Christian faith were represented. Most reputed is the congregation led by the Arian bishop Wulfila, who were active already during the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. In his congregation both Goths and other groups are found. Wulfila is most known for having translated parts of the bible into Gothic and simultaneously having invented a Gothic writing-language with an own alphabet. Except of Arians we have also Audians and "Catholics" (The Catholic church was not officially extant before Teodosius proclaimed a common church and soon afterwards outlawed the Arianism within the empire. See below!) To the latter the martyr S. Saba belonged. (Thompson 1962, p.506 ff)

Wulfila was probably born 311 somewhere in Romania. The ancestry of his family goes back two generations, on the fathers or mothers side, to Romans being captured from the village Sadagolthina close to the city of Parnassus in Cappadocia in Asia Minor. His parents were Arians and raised him in this faith. At the age of 30 he was lector in the Gothic church. He was consecrated to bishop by the Arian bishop Eusebius. Whether this happened before the death of Constantin the Great in 337, when Eusebius was sitting in Nicomedia, or later, 341, at a consilium in Anthiochia after Eusebius had become bishop of Constantinople, is disputed. Most researchers mean that 341 is the correct year.

This also means there was a Christian congregation in Gutþiuða far before this time. 341-348 Wulfila worked in Gutþiuða, but then was exiled with his congregation and he continuously stayed in Moesia with his Gothi Minores. He ought to have started the translation of the bible already during the first years, since the services of the Goths were held in Gothic. (Thompson 1966, p. XIII-XXIII; Wolfram 1969, p.81)

Wulfila evidently grew dangerous for the Gothic ethnicity and hence was banished with his followers. With imperial permission they later lived permanently in Moesia. They did not take part in the later Gothic migrations but attended to peaceful farming. Wulfila worked all his life with the bible-translation and took lively part in the ecclesiastical political debate.

He appears on a consilium in Constantinople in 360 when the Arian bishops confirm the earlier decision of the Rimini-consilium, namely to change the basic concept that 'the father is not of the same nature as the son', which shall be changed to say that 'the son is similar with the father'—this means that the son is *ἡμοιοσ* (*homoios*) (similar to) the father—not of the same essence, which was claimed in Nicea. The word essence *ουσια* (*ousia*) should not be used since it caused trouble for the people. In a similar way the word substance *ἡψοστασις* (*hypostasis*) was forbidden. (Thompson 1966, p.XIII-XXIII) This means a partly acceptance of the demands of the Niceanean bishops, but still an clear Arian borderline is marked.

Wulfila dies some time during the period 381-83 in connection with a consilium in Constantinople 381, where Teodosius in 380 issued his law against heresy in advantage of the Niceanean creed. Also the consilium in Aquileia has displaced a number of Arian bishops in 381 and transferred their churches to the Greek-Catholic. Before he dies Wulfila issues a creed in 381 clearly distancing himself from Nicea. It is found in a letter from his disciple bishop Auxentius:

He believes in the not created and invisible God, in his only created Son, who created all, and in the Holy Spirit, who is neither god or lord, but the fidel servant of Christ, not equal with him, but subordinated and obedient to the Son in all things, like also the Son is subordinated and obedient to his Father in all things.

(Thompson 1966, s. XIII-XXIII)

Wulfila's attitude here is quite clear—the fight for Arianism shall continue. He has not given up.

Since Wulfila only worked for a short period in Gutþiuða, and made the greater part of his bible translation with his Gothi Minores in Moesia, he has not influenced the Visigothic society in a higher degree, but his work gets more

importance for the future Gothic loyalty to the Arianism but not for their primary conversion. It is here very clearly stated that the Arians have but one god, and that Christ is his son and the Holy Ghost is merely a servant. The construction fits the Germanic thinking as a hand in a glove. If besides you get the bible introduced in your own language it is also easier to keep a similar religious track, since deviation from this presupposes you understand latin or Greek and besides have the ability to interpret the bible by yourself. The knowledge of writing and reading probably was not very great among the Goths. That is why Arianism survived all attacks from the Catholic church, and what became it's fall was a personally powerclaiming Visigothic king in the Spanish realm, Reccared, who in 586 was persuaded by the pope to convert to Catholicism to gain influence in Italy after the fall of the Ostrogothic kingdom. This, however, led instead to the fall of the Visigothic realm, and his decision must for the Goths, and above all for the Jews, be labeled as a pure catastrophe.

One of the distinguishing traits of the Arian power-wielders namely was that non-Christians, specially Jews, had better possibility to practice their religion in their realms than in the Catholic countries. An exception however is the Vandilic realm in Northern Africa where the political situation was unstable. Concerning the relations towards the Catholics it may be noted that it normally was considerably relaxed, but in the state-formations of the Visigoths the antagonism was much increased under Eurich in the Toulouse-realm and later also under Leovigild in the Toledo-realm. Both seem to have intended to create a uniform Arian church-organisation. This is specially clearly seen with Leovigild in the 580's. It however never went to persecutions, but they tried to persuade Gothic Catholics to convert, and in the case of Eurich it also included bishop-chairs where no bishop was appointed, and exilement during a certain time of Catholic bishops. (Claude 1970, p.48 ff, 70 ff)

For non-Christians, as stated above, it was different. In Italy Teoderik forced the local population to rebuild a destroyed synagoge, in who's destruction they themselves had been involved with reference to the right of everybody to have one's own faith. In both the Toulouse- and Toledo-realms the Gothic kings had regular meetings with spokesmen of the Jewish congregations, and granted them a controlled freedom of religion. The same policy was applied by the Burgundians. When Belisarius laid siege to Napoli in 536 with his East-Roman troops the Arian Goths got active support by the Jews both with provisions and help in open battle. (Wolfram 1989, p.301) It is not until Reccared in the Toledo-realm has become Catholic that a number of concilies increase the fight against the Jews in an ever more antagonistic way. (Claude 1966, p.77 ff; 1970, p.72 ff) In the year 702 it has reached that far the all Jews are declared as slaves, and with the special property to never having a chance to be freed. The owner is

held responsible to hinder them to practise their cult. This development is gradually accelerated up to 702 through king Egica, when he at the 17<sup>th</sup> consilium of Toledo in 694 prioritates the question of a Jewish conspiracy with foreigners of the same faith. He explains that now the time has come to convert the Jews and extinguish the Mosaic religion. (Claude 1966, p.190 ff; 1970, p.81 ff) The Jews played an important role for the economic infrastructure of the Visigothic realm which else was based on agri-culture, and consequently the economic development is gradually decreased. Because of this decrease also the central control gets weaker and local nobles start acting on their own behalf in their territories. When the Arabs press on during their expansion in the Mediterranean area of course all Jews give them their support, since they are seen as liberators. This also goes for other un-free in the Visigothic society, which was a remarkably great part of the population. (Claude 1970, p.111 ff) It deals for the Jews of a considerably great group in numbers and since old with good international contacts. The result is that the Visigothic realm goes under in 711. (Claude 1970, p.81 ff) A rest-population of Visigoths in time is assimilated in Provence and presumably the Arian heritage is mixed with the Manicheism and the Cathars and might have contributed in spreading gentle habits and the knight's ideal via the wandering troubadurs. Many Visigoths however remain in Spain and merge with the rest of the population, and under the Arabs both Jews and Christians are allowed to practice their religion.

It should however be noted that Reccared in a sense fulfilled a Gothic tradition when he claimed he had got his royal mission from God and that he represented him. This is seen in a letter he sent to pope Gregorius the Great. (Gregorii I, Registrum IX, 227 a, MGH Epp.II, p.721) The only one that until now had claimed this position was the Byzantine emperor. (Claude 1970, p.72 ff) Also Reccared and his decessors accordingly tried to use the cult to keep their realm together, but since the nobility through this lost part of it's foundation as supporters of the king, this resulted in forceful opposition and a number of rebellions against the new order took place.(Claude 1966, p.77 ff) Besides, after this there was no real difference between Goths and non-Goths. In that point Heather has tried to explain the later development with the occurrence of new power-groups, and a merging between Gothic and Ibero-Roman elements that wiped out the old class of free-men. This he claims was the last Gothic ethnicity—groups who primarily supported the king thanks to his granting them tax-free land regardless if they were of Gothic or Roman origin, and who all were Catholics like all peoples in the surrounding areas. (Heather 1996, p.313 ff) This is in my opinion no ethnicity at all. He in his analysis disregards the evident basic reason—namely the conversion into Catholicism, which he indeed mentions but not gives it's right dimension. He means there must be something original that the Goths could



associate with the expression Gothic, not least because those emigrants who arrived from present Poland must have felt something such to make the name survive also in the two great groups Visigoths and Ostrogoths, and even be applied on the later kingdoms. He can however not define what it is. (Heather 1996, p.313 ff) Could it possibly be that simple that they in fact were just Goths 'outpoured humans' already when they lived at the Vistula, and that they simply continued to be that?

The ethnic unity was, according to my decided opinion, dissolved quite simply because the common cult no longer had an own independent status. It started dissolving already after Reccared had gone Catholic.

## Summary of the known history of the Goths

We have in this section concluded that the Goths are mentioned by Strabo, Plinius and Tacitus. Consequently they are known during the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD in the Vistula-area. Plinius besides refers to Pytheas who is told to have heard of them in the 330's BC, but how the text of Pytheas was formulated is not known. Hachmann claims this is a later addition to Plinius but most researchers however regard Plinius information as original. The Goths are by Tacitus mentioned as allies of Catualda in the Marcomannic wars, and he places them north and north-east of the Lugii (the Vandals) and longre into the mainland than Rugii, Lemovii, Aestii and Sithones who he places along the coast. Plinius regards them as a part of the Lugii. Ptolemaios mentions Γυδωνες (Gudones) c:a 150 AD but not in the same location but south of Ουνεδιχος Κολπος (Ounedichos Kolpos) at the Vistula, and at the coast there are Sithones, Rugii, Venedi and Burgundians, and on the western side of the Vistula at it's upper part the Lugii are mentioned. He also mentions Γουται (Goutai) in Scandinavia, i.e. the Gautar (or as some have interpreted it possibly referring to Guti, the Gutar). Accordingly we can confirm that the Goths lived at the Vistula but not closest to the coast, and the referees do not seem to know any closer details about their exact location. I will have reason to return more detailed to this problem in the section dealing with the possible origin of the Goths.

From originally having been dependent of the Vandals and, according to Wolfram, also been part of a cultic league together with these to which I am a bit sceptical because of their different burial habits, they loose themselves from the dependence and are spoken of as a people with strong kings- stronger than those of other Germanic peoples. You can conclude that the in connection with Uppland suggested Sithones here are mentioned in the Vistula-area, why there perhaps is some kind of connection between these entities. We already have demonstrated strong women in the Vistula-area during Gepidic time and the Sithones are tied just to rich women's graves. The grave-gifts of the Wielbark-culture with among else double fibulae in women's graves have followed the Gothic migration-wave down to the Black Sea and all the way to Spain. I have explained the strong kings with the fact the Gothic sacral kings pro primo claimed ancestry from Gaut, who is supposed to have been an Odinic wargod, but also a fertility-god and creator god of the people, and pro secundo that the normally restricted power of a sacral king immensely increases during wars of defense and for freedom, and also during migrations. Every time we hear of this strong kingship it can be related to a war or a migration.

Under Berig the Goths, according to the tribal saga written down by Cassiodorus with references from among else Ablabius and compiled by Jordanes, have emigrated from the island of Scandza, and during the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD under the migration-king Filimer they have forsaken the old cult and accepted Óðinn-Gaut as a main-god. Then this happened the so called halirunnae, vǫlvas or guðjas—priestesses, were banished and also later accused to have created the Huns. The Goths consequently have taken a new, or at least partly new, ethnogenesis.

I accordingly claim, that in connection with the proposed possible emigration from Scandinavia, to wich I return in a later section, and up to at least Filimer, if he by chance happens to be a real person, the Goths have been ruled by sacral kings—þiudans—who have had great power by outer threats and during migrations, and who have legitimated their power in the classical way through a connection between a sun-god and an earth-and moon-goddess according to the model of Steinsland. They have however not claimed divine status but rather they were heroes-demi-gods- descending from the creator-god Gaut. The factual religious power has been under control of women and has included the cult of Ingr/Ingun and maybe Njorðr/Njārðr.

In connection with the ethnogenesis the power of the sacral king has gradually been decreased while the local chieftains' power has increased in the same degree. Some time around 290 AD a division takes place into Greutungj with their allies and Vesi-Tervingi. Greutungj settle in Ukraine and build a vast realm between the Baltic and the Black Sea, while Vesi-Tervingi settle in the former Roman province Dacia—mainly Romania and parts of Hungary. The common archaeological culture reminding of the Goths is called by archaeologists for the Cerniachov-Sintana de Mûres-culture. In connection with the mentioned division the þiudans-institution ceases to exist. With the Greutungj now strong Óðinn-kings appear and the Ostrogoths, that they now are called by Jordanes, become a rider-folk but still with agri-culture as basic occupation and cattle-breeding as a complement. The first known king that seems to fit the demands of this new type of kings, a reiks, probably is Ostrogotha, but he claims descendance from an Amal, whose status we do not know. Possibly this is an adding by Cassiodorus to suit Teoderik. The largest territory is controlled by Ermanarik who finally is defeated by the Huns around 375 AD and who commits suicide. By the evidence to judge it may deal with a king's sacrifice to Óðinn like in the Víkarr-saga, sice Jordanes talks about a sword-stab in the side, just where the spear should wound the sacrificed. After the decessor of Ermanarik, who almost immediately was slain by the Huns, the Ostrogoths were divided between two dynasties. One part escaped to the Balkan and tried to maintain the resistance while another dynasty, those claiming ancestry from Amal, remained in Ukraine as petty-kings under the Huns up to the middle of the 5th c.AD. Wolfram claims that the last real þiudans

might have been a Cniva, who according to him, may be identical with Cannabas-Cannabaudes, who was annihilated by Aurelius together with an army of 5000 men in a massacre in 271. A consequence of this loss might have been that the Vesi-Tervingi grew tired of wars and preferred to settle in those areas that had been abandoned by the Romans in Dacia. I agree with Wolfram that this might be the reason of the division, but I mean that Cniva already was a reiks, since he is called king over the western part of the army. If there still was a þiuðans he should have controlled the whole army. I may besides remark that this Cniva had relatives who could have inherited the title had he been a þiuðans.

In the society, Gutþiuða, which the Visigoths now founded in Dacia there were no kings. The common power rested with a kindins, which I translate with 'kinsman' or 'kind-leader', i.e. roughly family leader. He is normally translated as law-man or judge. I derive *kind* from the Nordic *kind* meaning family including all the relatives of the family. I have even indicated a possible connection with the Nordic Kind-organisation and a possible emigration from among else Småland and Östergötland. This kindins had two main-functions. Pro primo he should have command of the defense of Gutþiuða towards outer enemies—he headed a council consisting of the different tribal chiefs—the settled country-kings/the reiks—but he was never, not even during war, put his foot outside the borders of Gutþiuða. Pro secundo he was expected to guard the religion of the people, since in this was also the ethnicity of the people. Here we primarily talk about the fertility-cultic part since this was what the common people always had practised but, of course, now also connected with the cult of Óðinn-Gaut as already described above. The direct warrior cult however, in my opinion, was a matter for the local reiks. The local connection of cult quite generally is emphasized of the fact, that every tribe-kuni/kunja had, except of the common organisation, own unique holy objects who were kept by respective priestess (guðja?)/priest (guðe). Also Ulrich stresses the importance of the local chieftain in connection with the cult. It is told in *Passio S. Saba* that the population in the villages had to swear an oath, \**aips*, to their reiks, but it is unclear whether it also included military matters. I however find it obvious that the warriors were sworn in by oath and initiation and also Ulrich assumes a military connection. A saintly vita has no reason going to the depth in such a matter. The kindins functioned as a replacement for the no longer existent sacral king, and hence it is quite clearly demonstrated that the preposition for recognising a new sacral king must have been that the person in question could claim ancestry from Gaut. The ethnogenesis into the cult of Óðinn should have been the final kill of the sacral kingdom of the old type. Evidently the earlier family, which Wolfram calls the Berig-family, no longer existed and that could have contributed to the division.

Under the local reiks there were lesser chieftains who in Greek sources are called *μεγιστῶνες* (megistanes) and also a person who functioned as a village elder, but in the last instans was responsible to a reiks.

It has been discussed how great power the kindins in fact had, and both Thompson and Ulrich claim that all power lay with the reiks and that the kindins just had to effectuate their decisions. Heather gives the kindins status of king, which I reject unless we talk of the sitting kindins in the function as reiks of his own local tribe. If he however refers to a function as replacer of a sacral king he should formulate himself in another way. In my opinion Ulrich and Thompson are right what concerns politics in general, but in sacral matters of over-gripping fertility-character it was the kindins who decided. The persecutions by Athanarik of the Christian Goths for example had a dubious popular support but was still carried through, since he most likely considered this to be nessecary for the ethnic unity of the people. This is evidently the only kind of matters in which the kindins acted personally in time of peace, and during wartime he had the ultimate command of the defense and hence the society. The kindins, hence, has substituted the function of the eralier sacral kings. Of course the power of kindins decreases while the power of the reiks increases and finally, when the Vesi-Tervingi accept the Arian Christianity and cross the limes to escape the Huns, this institution fades away. Athanarik remains with a small number of retainers, and rules for a time in a lesser realm northwards but now mainly in capacity of reiks of his own tribe.

The above demonstrates very clearly that the Gothic tribes by no means were a people in a biological-ethnic meaning, but that the ethnicity all the time rested on the common cult. This it was keeping together the council of reiks, by Wulfila called *ragigonds*, which was headed by the kindins. It was this uniting function that was the basic responsibility of the kindins. The Goths accordingly was a cultic league, and all peoples being named after Gaut might be said to be part of this league in a wider sense. That the cult, besides, by respective chieftain was used as a means for wielding secular power is natural, but outwards they stuck together.

Also the Vesigoths had their basic outcome from agri-culture completed with cattle breeding, but it is evident that they were not self-supporting. This goes among else for both food and textiles, which was imported and sometimes to a relatively large extent. They were economically dependent of the trade with the Romans but had quite meagre trade-goods. Mostly it dealt with slaves but this trade decreased rapidly in economical importance. It was primarily the military foedus-status motivating a generous Roman trade- and subsidie-politics during certain periods. The dependance of agri-culture is remarkably distinct since this seems to be the reason they were that easily defeated by the Huns, because the crops was not harvested when the Huns attacked, and after having crossed the

limes they received extensive support of food-stuff by the Romans. It seems to have been an extensive famine among the people.

The population lives in villages but there also is a remaining Roman population both in country-estates/mansions and in cities. The Goths now accept the right of private property along the principles of the Roman Law, and when problems arise to support the city-populations with food-wares these people are in time forced to work on the country-estates for their support and hence the embryo of serfdom is born. This development is accelerated by the laws of Justinianus stating that the son shall inherit his father's occupation.

Distinguishing for the Christian Goths is that they have accepted Christianity in it's Arian form and the faithfully stick to this. It is by several writers suggested it was a mere chance they took this creed since emperor Valens happened to be Arian just when they crossed the limes. A political decision hence. Thompson, like Heather, also regard it as only a political decision but focus more on the ethnical control of the people. I can agree to this last statement of ethnicity but there is more to it. I claim that it is exactly this form of Christianity lying closest to the habit of ritual initiations in both the cult of Gaut and of Óðinn. A warrior is initiated through symbolical hanging and piercing with a spear-he dies but is resurrected as a living dead and still a human. His king is initiated in the same way and this one also claims to be ancestor of the god. His chieftain represents in the cult the god himself. Jesus was born human, was sacrificed on a cross but was resurrected as living dead and human, he was the son of God, and under the reincarnated Christ, the son of the god, who represented/incarnated his father, in his turn the Holy Ghost served. According to this philosophy there is only one god, who is almighty, which was what the Goths were taught, and not three as the Niceanean creed may be interpreted. The Niceanean deity is at a hasty look not almighty since god is said to be only good and be balanced by the devil. This was the rope which made both Augustinus and Thomas ab Aquino fall in their tries to write a teodicé. I have demonstrated that all major Germanic peoples on the Continent took the Arianism except of the Franks, whose decision evidently was political to be able to take over the influence in Italy after the Langobards.

The Arianism replaced the old cult as a uniting glue, which gave the people a continued ethnicity, and it was supplemented with restrictions meant to hinder marriages with the Roman part of the population in the Gothic kingdoms raising in Italy, France and Spain. Besides they had double administrative systems and laws for Romans and Goths. This contributed to the isolation of the Gothic "masterfolk-group" from direct popular majority-influence and was meant instead to strenghten the unity between the different Gothic groups in these kingdoms. The adminstrative condition are also connected with the fact that the kings in the Gothic kingdoms all recognised the Eastern emperor and regarded

themselves as reiks towards him and with special obligation to let the old Roman laws still be in force for non-Goths. In treality, hence, they defended the Roman heritage but added also new fresh Germanic ideas.

The most important of these ideas was in my opinion the feeling that everyone, which was not part of their own group, should be allowed to have a belief after his own wish—like the pre-Christian Rome. Because of this confessors of other religions were relatively favoured by the Gothic Arians. They had meetings with Jewish congregation-leaders and allowed them to worship their god within the realms. This was unacceptable for the pope.

When the by Teoderik erected Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy in the 550's finally was defeated by East-Roman troops and so was dissolved, it still remained an Arian kingdom in Spain—the Visigothic Toledo-realm. In Italy the Arian Langobards took over in the northern and middle parts up to the the 750's, even if they in the end became Catholic, but this did not help against the Franks who by political reasons helped the pope to crush them.

In 586-89 the Visigothic king Reccared accepted the Catholicism, and on command of the king, and according to decisions by a number of Catholic concilies in Toledo, a persecution of the Jews started. This led to a weakening in the economy since the Jews were an important part of this, and to a weakend ethnicity of the Goths towards other groups in the society—except, of course, the Jews. During the period 694-702 laws were made leading to an increase in the persecutions of the Jews until finally in 702 it was decided that all Jews should be slaves and never be allowed to be freed again. The proprietor was responsible for stopping them practising their cult. At this time the Arabs attack the realm and of course the Jews and other slaves join the Arabs regarding them as liberators. Other unfree groups were indeed numerous, but they can not be compared with the Jews who earlier had a considerable economical and political influence both in the realm and specially abroad, wich gave positive effects in the realm. Hence their support to the Arabs might have been deciding. The final consequence, however, is that the realm is dissolved in 711 and the later so called Visigothic realm is in fact quite a new realm, built on the ruins of the old and now in fact by Spaniards, since the former Gothic ethnicity was gone.

You consequently quite clearly might conclude, that what united the Goths from the beginning of their history to the tragical end of the Visigothic realm in Spain, was the common cult. The Goths were a cultic league. Tragically enough it seems as if Reccared and his decessors indeed also tried to govern with help of the cult, but the earlier unique ethnical position of the Goths was impossible to keep after having joined the Catholicism. We instead see a try to introduce the kingdom of the grace of God, like the Byzantian emperor.

# WHAT OR WHERE WAS THE WELL SPRING—THE POSSIBLE GOTHIC ORIGIN?

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To answer the rubricated question is perhaps an impossibility, but maybe an examination of a number of indicies from linguistics, archaeology, science of art, science of religion, geography, history et c. possibly could suggest ideas of where to find this well spring—if such a common origin or common homeland ever existed, of course.

To get a certain order out of the chaos I at first intend to scrutinize the Classical sources to see what clues they might contribute. Primarily it is Jordanes *Getica* being actual in this connection, but certain information also might be extracted from Ptolemaios like the mentioning of ΓΟΥΤΑΙ (Goutai), of whom Tacitus is not aware. He however mentions the tribes of the Suiones. (Tacitus, 44) Vergilius has written of an island Thyle, which by Jordanes also is mentioned in e.g. *Getica* I,9 without considering it is in fact just another name of Scandinavia. The archaeological confirmations then shall be carefully examined for possible clues. Except of literary and historiographical works I will use linguistic examinations and the indices they suggest. Place-names, geographical topography, communication routes, accessible demographical indications, interpretations in science of arts, science of religion and related disciplines will be referred to when needed.

## **Classical literary confirmations**

Plinius mentioned, as already told, in an supposed excursion of Pytheas, a tribe which the different Mss. call Guiones or Gutones. (*Hist. Nat.* XXXVII 2, 35) The latter form Gutones was accepted by among else K. Zeuss. (Zeuss 1837) Müllenhof agreed but meant that Plinius had replaced the original writing, Teutones, with Gutones, since he knew of them in connection with the amber-trade, to which Pytheas was said to have referred. (Hachmann 1970, p.135) O. Bremer (Bremer 1900, p.52) still claimed that Pytheas already originally could



have written Gutones. Detlefsen proposed later for the reading ‘Guionibu’s and ‘Gutonibu’s instead ‘Inguionibu’s, and meant it was a side-form of Inguaeones. (Detlefsen 1904, p.7 f) L. Schmidt, O. Gutenbrunner and E. Schwarz later returned to Müllenhof’s proposal.(Schmidt 2 1934; Gutenbrunner 1939, p.70; Schwarz 1956, p.43) In any case Plinius has not presented the text of Pytheas word for word and it has been edited by him. Hachmann (Hachmann 1970, p.136) thinks it in fact refers to the North-Sea coast, and that this also was what Plinius meant. Of this reason Bremer places the origin of the Goths in Holstein. (ibid) He believes Plinius added the name to the text of Pytheas—maybe because he thought that this was the meaning. This leaves us in a total confusion about what Pytheas in fact wrote. Did he know of the Goths or not? Evidently we must rely to other indicies to find out if there is something that could support the assumption Pytheas knew of the Goths. Until then we must leave the things as they are. Still it remains the fact that Plinius knew of the Goths 79 AD, even if his opinion of them is quite vague. He mentions them in spite of all together with \*Vandilii, Burgundians, Varines and Charines. (Hist. Nat. IV 14, 99) In my opinion this indicates he might have meant the Vistula-area. Hachmanns seems too sceptical towards Plinius.

The first Antique geographer who knowingly wrote of the Goths is Strabo, who mentions ΒΟΥΤΩΝΕΣ (Boutones) among the tribes obedient to Marbod.(Strabo Geogr.IV 1, 3) The accepted reading, proposed by Zeuss, for this name is now \*ΓΟΥΤΩΝΕΣ (\*Goutones). (Zeuss 1837, p.134)

Strabo generally has finished his book in year 7 BC. The section of the Goths is added later, but before the banishment of Marbod since this is not mentioned, but after the victory of Germanicus in the year 16 AD, which is referred to. He simultaneously mentions ΛΟΥΓΙΟΙ (Lougioi), the else unknown ΖΟΥΜΟΙ (Zoumoi) and ΜΟΥΓΙΛΩΝΕΣ (Mougilones)and, further away, ΣΙΒΟΝΟΙ (Sibonoi) and ΣΕΜΝΩΝΕΣ (Semnones). Lugii and Semnones might have been known for the Romans in connection with the naval expedition year 5 AD and the campaign against Marbod in year 6 AD. This point of time must, according to Hachmann, be regarded to be the earliest possible, that the name of the Goths could have been known to the Romans, and I feel inclined to agree to this, if you with ‘known’ mean more generally and broadly known. This does however not exclude that e.g. Pytheas and other single Greeks could possibly have heard of them. This however gets the consequence that the Goths must have emigrated a considerably long time before year 5, in order to have been able to establish their own realm, and later also to get in contact with Catualda and help him against Marbod. In this point Hachmann and I quite agree. (Hachmann 1970, p.136)

Tacitus, 98 AD, calls them Gotones and tells they live “Trans Lugio”...Protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii,...(Germania 44, 1)- i.e.

north or north-east of the Lugii and longer into the mainland than Rugii, Lemovii, Aestii and Sithones, who he expressly says live at the ocean. In close connection with the Lugii, as already stated, he mentions the Helvecones, who by Ptolemaios are called Αἰλουαῖωνες (Ailouaiones). Geographically this is at the delta of the river Vistula. He evidently regards the river as a border between the Germanics in the east and the territory he calls Sarmatia. He counts, as stated above, the Germanics to the Suebi and he is unsure of where to count the Peucini, Venethi and Fenni. (Germania 46) The Gautar he does not know of. However he mentions in Germania 44 (Fuhrmanns translation):

Dann kommen, schon im Meere, *die Stämme der Suionen*; sie haben außer Männern und Waffen auch starke Flotten. Die Gestalt ihrer Schiffe zeichnet sich dadurch aus, daß beide Enden einen Bug haben und stets eine Stirnseite zum Landen bereit ist. Auch benutzen sie keine Segel, noch machen sie die Ruder in Reihen an den Schiffswänden fest; lose, wie manchmal auf Flüssen, und je nach Bedarf hier oder dort verwendbar ist das Ruderwerk. Bei den Suionen steht auch Reichtum in Ehren, und deshalb herrscht einer, schon ohne jede Beschränkung, mit unwiderrüflichem Anrecht auf Gehorsam. Auch sind dort die Waffen nicht wie bei den übrigen Germanen, in freiem Gebrauch, sondern eingeschlossen, und zwar unter Aufsicht eines Sklaven. Denn plötzliche Überfälle von Feinden verhindert das Meer; außerdem neigen bewaffnete Scharen im Frieden leicht zu Ausschreitungen. Und wahrhaftig, daß kein Adliger oder Freigeborener, nicht einmal ein Freigelassener, die Waffen unter sich habe, ist ein Gebot der königlichen Sicherheit.

This passage normally is referred to as a proof that the Svear/Svíar in the Mälär-valley and in the folklands were the leading and most reputed of the Scandinavian tribes/peoples. You should however notice, that he in fact talks about “the tribes of the Suiones”, i.e. in pluralis. Tacitus knows nothing of Scandinavia or even present Denmark even if he knows of the Cimbri, and he draws all Scandinavian/Nordic peoples over one edge. The described ships might be of type Hjortspring or Nydam and they may come from Gautar, Jutes, the Danish isles, the peoples in the Viken territory and northwards, from the Swedish east-coast and from Skåne/Scania and Halland. The habit to preserve weapons under care of a thrall/slave do not necessarily signify all these “tribes of the Suiones”. It is however evident that this Northern territory is connected to the term “Suiones”, which fits neatly with the assumed ancient fertility-cultic league up North.

We already before have seen that Tacitus seems to have used the cult as a means of division for his different tribal groups. Concerning the origin of the Goths he is of little use. Instead, however, he confirms the connection between the Germanics and the strong position of women in the cult, and in connection with the Aestii, who are meant to have been neighbours of the Goths, we doubtlessly can comprehend a very prominent position of women. This fits excellently into the picture of the women's graves of Okulicz in the Gothic-Gepidic area at Elblag. He also writes that the Gothic kings are stronger than most Germanic kings.

Nördlich der Lugier leben die Gotonen. Sie werden von Königen beherrscht, schon etwas straffer als die übrigen Germanenstämme, doch nicht bis zum Verlust der Freiheit. Unmittelbar darauf folgen die Rugier und Lemovier; sie wohnen an der Meeresküste. Kennzeichnend für alle diese Stämme sind runde Schilde, kurze Schwerter und Gehorsam gegenüber Königen. (Germania 44, Fuhrmann)

The above mentioned prohibition of weapons in peacetime maybe in its extension could be connected with a kingship of this character in Scandinavia, and with the occurrence of weaponless graves. In this case it should be Gautar from present western Sweden who could be the base for Tacitus claim. Concerning the Vistula Goths it was another matter since they almost incessably had war with other peoples, and the same applies for their migrations.

Ptolemaios, again, as is already told, has around 150 AD Γυδωνες (Gudones), but on another place than Tacitus—namely south of Ουενεδιχος Κολπος (Ouenedichos Kolpos) at the further side of the Vistula. Σειδινοι(Seidinoi)(sithones), Ρουγικλειοι (Rougicleioi) (Rugii), Ουενεδαι (Ouenedai) (Venedii), Αιλουαιωνες (Ailouaiones) and Βουργουντες (Bourgountes). (Burgundians) live by the coast. Further in on the mainland at the western side of the Vistula and its upper flow are mentioned, as told, Λουγοι (Lougoi)(Lugii). Γουτοι (Goutai) (Gutar, some say Gutar) are placed on the Scandinavian island. (Ptolemaios II, 11. 16)

The above says very little of the original location of the Goths, in case you mean they have immigrated in the area mentioned. Here we happen to have a "lost" Gothic history said to be written by an Ablabius, who according to the normal opinion probably was a low ranked civil servant or author in the outskirts of the royal court in the first Visigothic realm in Toulouse. There is all reason in the world, however, to question that opinion. I will later treat Ablabius more thoroughly. He is often cited by Cassiodorus—it means no adding by Jordanes according to most interpreters—in Getica. Hachmann claims it was Ablabius handing over the information of the Gothic origin on Scandza. Hence we are

approaching the standard source that nobody treating the history of the Goths can evade- namely Cassiodorus'/Jordanes' *Getica*. It is an in many ways destroyed and miserable source. Cassiodorus himself is regarded to have written only few of the sections. The rest is compiled either by Cassiodorus or Jordanes from diverse Antique writers and certain sections are freely fabulated like e.g. the section of Gog and Magog and of the Getae. Enough of the stuff, however, might be genuine when concerning the migration and the origin-story. This depending of that Cassiodorus is assumed to have compiled Ablabius in his original history of the Goths, which later was compiled by Jordanes. Mostly the source is referred to in the text, but it is also possible to decide from the manner of writing who wrote what. It seems to be an agreement between most researchers that the origin- and migration-stories stem from Ablabius, and that they are not freely invented. (Hachmann 1970; Wenskus 1961 ; Wagner 1967) To make bad worse the great work in 12 volumes by Cassiodorus was compiled into one short volume by Jordanes, who also added some own sections. Enough with people already have analysed this text into fragmentary pieces, and so I rest content with referring to contradictory standpoints when necessary, and to refer to the sources being regarded as compilation base in actual cases.

Before I continue to treat the different written sources I intend to take a closer look on Ablabius. Inger E. Johansson of the university in Linköping has demonstrated to me a number of interesting source-places who might be able to apply on the problem of Ablabius. I have carefully studied these and I have also found still more possibly applicable material. We have discussed the probability of her interpretation in deep and I indeed join it without reservations. She kindly has given me opportunity to share the content of her unpublished manuscript *Den gotiska mosaiken*, with help of which material I have, with also own addendas, produced the presentation below concerning the possible identity of Ablabius. She has used an English translation of Zosimus while I had a French copy. My references consequently all the time are to the French translation by F.Paschoud 1979.

Ablabius was, of the circumstances to judge, quite well informed in Gothic matters and he seemingly had no troubles getting first-hand information. Earlier known chroniclers of the Goths all have been outstanding statesmen or highly ranked militaries. This goes for example for Cassiodorus, Procopius, Ammianus Marcellinus and Tacitus. Why then suspect an insignificant writer and lower clerk? Our suspected Ablabius was, according to Zosimus, a "pagan" converted into Christianity and he became one of the favourites of emperor Constantin the Great. (Zos. 2. 40. 3, note 53) This suggests he might have been a "barbarian" and could have had partly Gothic background means Inger. I am however not convinced in that bit, since his known background seems to contradict that.

Ablabius had a position as Pretorian Prefect. (Blockley 1983, note 188, p.150) It is not until after year 306, when Constantin had become Roman emperor, the picture of Ablabius and the power he wielded in force of his office gets more clear. During the reign of Constantin the Great the administrative organisation within the Roman realm was strongly reinforced, and in the end it included four prefekturates. Every prefekturate had a civilian clerk as chief of the administration. This one was called Pretorian Prefekt. A Pretorian Prefekt of Rome was second in rank among the non-military officials in the realm since Constantinople had become the capitol. The highest ranked then was the Pretorian Prefekt in Constantinople and after him the one in Italy, i.e. Rome. (Ostrogorski 1968, p.35) As a Pretorian Prefekt Ablabius was chief of all those 'officia' working within the prefekturate.

According to Chronicon Paschale Constantin elected his son Constantin as a co-emperor in 316. (Chron. Pasc.year 316) Constantin (II) was given the prefekturate Gallia. His brothers Constans, Constantius and Crispus were later raised to ceasars. (Zos.2.40.3) Crispus was Constantin's choice as heir of the imperial throne. (Chron.Pasc. year 317) Ablabius became, according to Eunapius, guardian for the young Constantius. (Eunapius Fragmenta, book 3.20.2) Rome with Italy was given to Constans (Zos.2.40.3) who, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, was engaged to be married with Ablabius' daughter. (Amm.Marc.20.10.3, J.C.Rolfe, 1972) The son of Constantius, the brother of Constantin the Great, Dalmatius was, at the same time the sons of Constantine were given authority, appointed ceasar of Mesopotamia. Dalmatius brother Hannibal received the dignity of "nobilissimus", which only was granted to members of the imperial family, and which allowed him to dress in imperial purple. Another brother of Dalmatius, Optat, received the honorary rank of "princeps", which also could be granted to certain consuls. (Zos. 2.40.3., note 52 and 53) Crispus was executed according to Chronicon Paschale (Chron.Pasc.year 326) on order of his father Constantin some time during the summer in 326 for "secual misconduct". Whether Ablabius had influenced the decision or not is unclear. Behind this was according to a rumour that Crispus had tried to rape his stepmother Fausta. Fausta later died through suffocating in a steam-bath and it is suggested the door was locked on order of Constantin, since his mother, Helena, had proved the accusation was wrong, and that Fausta just had wanted to secure the throne for her children. (Rubenstein 1999, p.91 ff) Eunapius and Zosimus instead remark that it dealt with a less suitable love-affair with a male cousin. Since Fausta also died remarkably earlier than 326 the chronology becomes mildly spoken dubious. In connection with all this, however, the sofist Sopatros was murdered, and Eunapius is convinced it was Ablabius who with the good will of the emperor stood behind the murder. (Eunapius, Wright, 1921, p.463 f)

After Constantin the Great had seated in Constantinople he left the administration in the western part of the realm mainly to Ablabius. This means that

Ablabius in name of the emperor issued laws and decrees and counter-signed all imperial decisions. He must be present at all negotiations with foreign powers, peace-agreements and similar occasions. Ablabius had during his time in Italy the same position as Cassiodorus under Teoderik as representative of emperor Zeno when he was not in Rome, but in practice Ablabius had a stronger position since he was closest in rank under the imperial family, except of some few consuls with the rank of “princeps”. He however could not, as Cassiodorus, boast with an imperial lineage through the Flavius-family. Still his factual influence was said to be even greater than the emperor’s own and specially during the last years of Constantin, Eunapius states.(Eunapius a.a., p.463 ff) Zosimus tells that the realm was divided at the death of Constantin I in 337. (Zos.2.39-40) Constantius took the eastern part of the realm and because of this moved his court from Italy to Constantinople. The brother Constans, who was caesar of Italy, made war with Constantin II in Gaul, and Constantin II died during the war. Later Constans was murdered by Magnentius who had taken over in Gaul. After this had happened Constantius, according to Chronicon Paschale, fired Ablabius who retired to a country-estate in Bithynia, as Eunapius writes.(Chron.Pasc, year 349; Eunapius, a.a., p.464 f) Short time afterwards, in 338, Ablabius however, according to the same informant, claimed the free imperial purple mantle as caesar in Rome, but instead he got a purple death when he was chopped in pieces in his villa by the emperors swordsmen.(Eunapius a.a., p. 464 f) Zosimus just informs that he was sentenced to death by Constantius. It was however not only Ablabius who was gotten rid of. Constantius also arranged the murder of his uncle Constantius and his cousins Optat and Dalmatius and he had Hannibal exiled, and also he later was murdered. (Zos.2.40.3) The daughter of Ablabius, Olympias, who had been engaged with Constans, was in 360 married away by Constantius II with the Armenian king Arsaces as part of his alliance-politics.(Amm.Marc. 20.10.3, J.C.Rolfe, 1972)

This Ablabius consequently meets highly positioned demands of a possible chronicler of the Goths. If that is the case, the Scandinavian connection is considerably reinforced and could be regarded in a brighter light. Cassiodorus, besides, should have had direct access to the annotations of Ablabius in the imperial archive in Rome. If he however really is “the” Ablabius I dare not say with certainty, but I am fairly convinced.

Orosius writes in the 4<sup>th</sup> c.AD in Hist. adv. 1:16 that the Goths have arrived over water.

In any case Cassiodorus/Jordanes/Ablabius do not leave us in doubts concerning the Gothic Well Spring. It is written in *Getica* IV §25 about the island of Scandza :

It is told that the Goths once upon a time emigrated with their king Berig from this island, like from a work-shop where peoples are created, or as from a mother-bosom of the peoples. As soon as they had stepped ashore from the shipst hey immediately named the land. Still today there is a place, it is said, which is called Gothiscandza (Nordin 1996)

It has for long intensively been discussed where this island lies, and both Gotland and the Scandinavian peninsula have occured among the suggestions. Most are agreed that the Scandinavian peninsula is referred to. What then does Cassiodorus/Jordanes self have to say in this matter? I give you at first the Latin text for the actual section, and later I discuss different variants of translation. The Swedish translation consequently is taken from the manuscript of Andreas Nordin (Nordin 1996) to his later published translation of *Getica* by the publishing company Atlantis. The translation of the Swedish text to English is my own.

Jordanes' *Getica* Kap. III §§16-24:

a. (16) Ad Scandziae insulae situm, quod superius reliquimus, redearnus. b. De hac etenim in secundo sui operis libro Claudius Ptolomeus, orbis terrae discriptor egregius, meminit dicens: 'Est in Oceani arctoi salo posita insula magna, nomine Scandza, c. in modum folii cetri, lateribus pandis, per longum ducta concludens se', d. De qua et Pomponius Mela in maris sinu Codano positam refert, cuius ripas influit Oceanus. e. (17) Haec a fronte posita est Vistulae fluminis, qui Sarmaticis montibus ortus in conspectu Scandzae septentrionali Oceano trisulcus inlabitur, Germaniam Scythiamque disterminans. f. Haec ergo habet ab oriente vastissimum lacum in orbis terrae gremio, unde Vagi fluvius, velut quodam ventrae generatus, in Oceanum undosus evolvitur. g. Ab occidente namque inmensu pelago circumdatur. A septentrione quoque innavigabili eodem vastissimo concluditur Oceano, ex quo quasi quodam brachio exiente, sinu distento, Germanicum mare efficitur. h. (18) Ubi etiam parvae quidem, sed plures, perhibentur insulae esse dispositae, ad quas si congelato mari ob nimium frigus lupi transierint, luminibus feruntur orbari. i. Ita non solum inhospitalis hominibus verum etiam beluis terra crudelis est. j. (19) In Scandza vero insula, unde nobis sermo est, licet multae et diversae maneant nationes, septem tamen

eorum nomina meminit Ptolemaeus. k. Apium ibi turba mellifica ob nimium frigore nusquam reperitur. l. In cuius parte arctoa gens 1Alogii consistit, quae fertur in aestate media quadraginta diebus et noctibus luces habere continuas, itemque brumali tempore eodem dierum noctiumque numero luce clara nescire. m. (20) Ita alcernato merore cum gaudio beneficio aliis damnoque impar est. n. Et hoc quare? Quia prolixioribus diebus solem ad orientem per axis marginem vident redeuntem, brevioribus vero non sic conspicitur apud illos, sed aliter, quia austrinis signis percurrit, et quod nobis videtur sol ab imo surgere, illos per terrae marginem dicitur circuire. o. (21) Aliae vero ibi sunt gentes 2Screrefennae, quae frumentorum non querunt victum, sed carnibus ferarum atque ovium vivunt; ubi tanta paludibus fetura ponitur, ut et augmentum prestent generi et satietatem ad cupiam genti. p. Alia vero gens ibi moratur Suehans, quae velud Thyringi equis utuntur eximiis. q. Hiquoque sunt, qui in usibus Romanorum sapherinas pelles commercio interveniente per alias innumeras gentes transmittunt, famosi pellicum decora nigridine. r. Hi cum inopes vivunt, ditissime vestiuntur. s. (22) Sequitur deinde diversarum turba nationum, 4Theutes, 5 Vagoth<ae>, 6 Bergio, 7 Hallin, 8 Liothida<e>, quorum omnium sedes sub uno plani ac fertilis, et propterea inibi aliarum gentium incursionibus infestantur. Post hos autem 9 Heinii, 10 Finnaithae, 11 Fervir, 12 Gauthigoth<ae>, acre hominum genus et at bella primum Dehinc 13 Hixi, 14 Euagreotingi[s]. Hi omnes excisis rupibus quasi castellis inhabitant ritu beluino. (23) Sunt et his exteriores 15 Ostrogothae, 16 Raumarici ac 17 Ragnaricii. t 18 Finni mitissimi, Scandiae cultoribus omnibus minores, nec non et pares eorum 19 Cainothioth. 20 Suetidi cogniti in hac gente reliquis corpore eminentiores, u quamvis et 21 Dani, ex ipsorum stirpe progressi, 22 Herulos propriis sedibus expulerunt, qui inter omnes Scandiae nationes nomen sibi ob nimiam proceritatem affectant praecipuum. v (24) Sunt quamquam horum positura 23 Grannii, 24 A[u]gandzi, 25 Eunixi <e>t 26 Aetelrugi, 27 Arothi, 28 Raumi. x. Quibus non ante multos annos Roduulf rex fuit, qui contempto proprio regno ad Theodorici Gothorum regis gremio convolvit et, ut desiderabat, invenit. y. Hae itaque gentes, Germanis corpore et animo gradiores, pugnant beluina saevitia.

Codices: 1 adogit 9 post hos ahelmil (vel athelnil) 13 mixi vel mixti 16 raumariciae ragnaricii 19 mitiores nec non et pares eorum uinouiloth 27 arochi 28 ranii vel rannii De loco v post u (non post s) ab exerptenti Iordane posito vide infra pag. 4, 99, 143.



In Getica III §16-18 is said:

Now let me return to the island of Scandza, which I left above. Because of this island Claudius Ptolemaios, who excellently has described the round of the earth, says in the second book of his work:” In the northern part of the ocean is situated a great island with the name of Scandza. It is long and closes itself together with rounded sides like the leaves of the citrus tree.” Also Pomponius Mela says that the island is situated in the Codanian bay, towards whose beaches the waves of the ocean swell. The island lies right opposite the mouth of the Vistula river, which rises in the Sarmatian mountains and falls with three furrows into the northern ocean in sight of Scandza. The river constitutes a borderline between Germania and Scythia. The island has in the east a very big lake in the bosom of the earth-round, from where the Vagus river, appearing like from a stomach, swellingly flows into the ocean. On the western side the island is surrounded by the immeasurably great ocean. In the north it similarly is engulfed by the same hughe and untravelable great ocean, from which like an arm stretches and forms the Germanic ocean in the shape of an elongated bay. It is also said to have small but many islets, to which wolves cross when the sea has frozen because of very strong cold, and there they become blind it is said. Hence these areas are not only unhospitable for humans but also harsh for wild animals.(Nordin 1996)

Here Cassiodorus/Jordanes has used a number of older classical sources. Both Pomponius Mela and Ptolemaios are referred to. The distance to the original Goths thereby is considerably decreased in time. It might be suitable here to take a closer look on the text in Getica, since the translation might be of imperativ importance for the interpretation of the position of Scandza.

The original text in the most critical passages says:

- e. (17) Haec a fronte posita est Vistulae fluminis, qui Sarmaticis montibus ortus in conspectu Scandzae septentrionali Oceano trisulcus inlabitur, Germaniam Scythiamque disterminans. (Jordanes)
- f. (18) Haec ergo habet ab oriente vastissimum lacum in orbis terrae gremio, unde Vagi fluvius, velut quodam ventrae generatus, in Oceanum undosus evolvitur. (Jordanes)

This is translated in turn by Svennung, Nordin and Mierow as below:

- e. (17) Sie liegt vor dem Fluss Weichsel, der in den Sarmatischen Bergen entspringt und, Germanen und Skythien scheidend, gegenüber Scandia in drei Strombetten in den nördlichen Ozean fließt. (Svennung)
- e. (17) The island lies right opposite the mouth of the Vistula river, which rises in the Sarmatian mountains and falls with three furrows into the northern ocean in sight of Scandza. The river constitutes a borderline between Germania and Scythia. (Nordin)
- e. (17) This island lies in front of the river Vistula, which rises in the Sarmatian mountains and flows through its triple mouth into the northern Ocean in sight of Scandza, separating Germany and Scythia. (Mierow)

Here Svennung and Mierow agree the island lies in front of or alternatively outside of (*vor dem*, in front of) the delta of the Vistula. Nordin places it right opposite—i.e. a more precise location. My own reaction is rather that the Latin text says: “...in front of Scandza the river Vistula is situated and flows in three branches into the ocean within sight of Scandza.”

‘In front of’ is in this connection a very vague indication. You could assume that he means, that if you travel straight abroad the sea from Scandza you will reach the Vistula delta. This is exactly what Berig and his people are supposed to have done. In clear weather and good wind you will soon arrive at the Pommeranian coast, which is where the Goths are supposed to have landed, and you will have land in sight during the most part of the journey. This is maybe the reason he claims that the island was situated in sight of the the delta. Just this claim has caused some researchers to identify Gotland as Scandza. This island, however, is too small to fit with other information given about Scandza, but because of this in no way improbable as part of the origin-area of the Goths.

- f. (18) Sie hat im O einen sehr grossen Binnensee (Den Ladogasee) im Inneren des Festlandes, von wo, wie aus einem Bauch hervorkommend, der wellenreiche Fluss Vagus (die Neva) dem Ozean zuströmt. (Svennung)
- f. (18) The island has in the east a very big lake in the bosom of the earth-round, from where the Vagus-river, sprung from like a stomach, swellingly flows into the ocean. (Nordin)

- f. (18) The island has in its eastern part a vast lake in the bosom of the earth, whence the Vagus river springs from the bowels of the earth and flows surging into the Ocean. (Mierow)

In the section above Mierow places the great lake in the eastern part of Scandza, while the translation of Nordin is literal and leaves a certain doubt about the expression “the bosom of the earth-round”. Swennung interprets this as the main-land and identifies the lake as Ladoga. I mean that in the sentence “Haec ergo habet ab oriente vastissimum lacum in orbis terrae gremio” you should consider that he has not written *in* but *ab*, and that this matter together with *oriente* points towards an area lying ‘east of’, ‘eastwards from’ the island and not on the island itself. The impression is reinforced by the fact that just this area is entwatered by Neva, and that the river was part of one of the major trade routes in aient times. I accordingly join the interpretation by Svennung without reservations. Even Nordin might indeed be interpreted in a similar way.

I Getica III §19-20 we get still more geographical and climatological information about the island in question:

But on the island of Scandza, of which I now talk, live many different peoples. Let be that Ptolemaios only mentiones seven of them. Honeyproducing bees are nowhere because of too great cold. On the northern side of the island live the Adogit. Of them it is told that they at midsummer time in forty days and nights have uninterrupted daylight, but further that they during as many days and nights around the winter-solstice not have any daylight at all. As a consequence of this they alternate between sorrow and joy, and hence the island is unlike other both for good and for evil. What then is the cause of this? During the long days they see the sun return eastwards along the rim of the earth-axis, but during the short days they see the sun in a differnt way, since it travels through the southern celestial signs. To us the sun seems to go up from the deep, but for them it is said to move around along the horizon. (Nordin 1996)

The midnights-sun accordingly is known and this presupposes that the island must stretch above the polar circle. It is also stressed when it is told to be elongated. This means the alternative Gotland with great security might be excluded from all discussion concerning Scandza. I shall below relate examples about the debate between the alternatives Scandinavia and Gotland concerning the emigra-

tion area. It can of course not be excluded that some Goths also originate from Gotland, but I however decisively state that the term Scandza, going out from Jordanes on Ptolemaios and Tacitus supported description, never can be interpreted as Gotland.

As mentioned above Vergilius in *Geografica* I,30 mentions the island of Thyle. This island is mentioned in *Getica* I, 9 in connection with a section which in other parts is taken from Orosius *Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII* (*Getica* I, 1-8) mentioning the world ocean, a number of islands and Europé. First thereafter is for the first time mentioned that the Goths come from the island of Scandza, without any reaction from Jordanes that this maybe could be the very same island.

Hachmann claims that this information about the emigration is taken from Ablabius. (Hachmann 1970, p.39) In *Origo Gentibus Langobardorum* and in Paulus Diaconus' *Historia Langobardorum* are mentioned that the Langobards/Vinnili have emigrated from Scadinavia. This is by a number of researchers considered to be copied from the tradition of the Goths to spread more glory over the Langobards, while other claim it is original. In this connection that distinction is of lesser importance, but the important thing is that there already at this time exists a general identification between the island of Scandza and Scadinavia. The Langobards had direct contact with the Goths during the time this tradition may be regarded as living also among the commoners as an oral tradition. The last major researcher who questions the Scandinavian origin is Peter Heather, who however believes that Ablabius has told of a genuine tradition, but he thinks it only was spoken of a not namegiven island, and so he believes that Scandza has been added because at the time Cassiodorus wrote he had good information about Scandinavia via Rodulf, who visited the court of Teoderik. Cassiodorus, he claims, accordingly has regarded it as probable that it referred to Scandinavia. (Heather 1996, p.27)

To this just might be added that Ablabius, as I have treated above, ought to have had very good primary information through his direct contacts with the Gothic leaders by negotiations of different kind already in the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> c.—i.e. about 200 years before Cassiodorus. Besides, as I have pointed out, Cassiodorus should have had direct access to the files of Ablabius in the imperial archive in Rome. It is also noteworthy that Cassiodorus never sees any reason to introduce Ablabius more thoroughly because he considered him already enough reputed.

## Conclusion

I have in the above section demonstrated that the interpretation of the sources has not resulted in a general agreement about the location of the Goths in the

Vistula area. It is evident they lived close to the Vandals of which they seem to have been dependent for a time. If they have come by sea it is quite possible that they may have lived both along the lower Vistula and up in the river bend. If there by chance were several immigration waves a spread habitation is also natural. If they lived all over the area special tribal detachments living in one place might have been mistaken to represent all Goths. The author maybe simply meant that this group lived just there and so he presupposed all other Goths did too.

Regarding the demonstration by Blume, Schindler and other of flat-ground-graves with pottery of West-Swedish type and weaponless male funerals at the lower Vistula, and the information of Tacitus about the connection between Germanics and the strong position of women in the cult, and that the Goths were neighbours to the Aestii, where women had an outrageous favored position, it at least seems quite probable that there were Goths living there. It also fits quite neatly with the rich women's graves from Gepidic time being excavated by Jerzy Ockulicz. The only one having a really deviating interpretation is Hachmann who claims the Goths were the Masovian group.

Hachmanns questioning of the information by Ptolemaios about ΓΟΥΤΟΙ in Scandinavia I consider to have been convincingly rejected by my argumentation. It is also quite clear the Goths must have been known on the mainland before the book of Strabo. This means we must in agreement with Hachmann claim, that at least the first immigration must have taken place a considerable time before the beginning of our time-reckoning.

The reliability of the information by Jordanes about the island of Scandza I have expressly demonstrated concerning the geographical information, and hence Gotland must be ruled out as an alternative.

The information by Tacitus of "the tribes of the Suiones" I have, in connection with the information of their weapon-control treated below, connected with a possibility that some of these tribes might have been Scandinavian Gautar. This should suggest that the term Suiones referred to all peoples living within the territory where the fertility-cult dominated during the Bronze Age. This also, hence, could have included the Suebes. Tacitus mentions the strong position of the kings of the Goths, which can be compared with the strict royal weapon-control ascribed to "the tribes of the Sueones".

It has been remarked that Jordanes mentioned the island of Thyle without considering it possibly could be the same island as Scandza.

Finally I consider myself to have confirmed that Jordanes truly recites the tradition of Ablabius about the emigration, and that Ablabius most likely is a relatively reliable source.

# The research-discussion about the origin of the Goths

A try to a summary of the results of those researchers having tried to solve the riddle about the origin of the Goths. It must with necessity by a most sketchy summary but still it will be quite voluminous. I shall treat at least the most important names and very short conclude their standpoints. Certain, more decisive works will be given more space than the other. I start with the archaeological estimations, and later I turn to the historiographic and linguistic estimations.

## 1. Archaeological judgements

### The older Kossinna-school

The first archaeologist who seriously treated the question was Gustaf Kossinna in *Die ethnologische Stellung der Ostgermanen*, where he on primarily linguistic and historical basis means that the similarity between the names of the Eastgermanics and of the Scandinavian peoples, and of the names of their landscapes, is enough proof in itself. He also remarks that Jordanes in his list of the Scandinavian peoples mentions Gauthigoth, Ostrogothae and Vagoth. He later publishes an archaeological examination under the title *Über verzierte Eisenlanzenspitzen als Kennzeichen der Ostgermanen*. In this, like in the later published *Das Weichselland—ein uralter Heimatboden der Germanen*, he confirms that around BC at the Vistula mouth inhumation-graves appear side by side with the older cremation-graves. (Kossinna 1940, p.10 f) These new skeleton burials also are found on Gotland, which also by its name has a clear connection with the Goths. In spite of the fact that these burials exist also in some other parts of Scandinavia at this time Kossinna means that the Goths came from Gotland, and brought the name with them. In time Kossinna changes his opinion several times and claims at first that the leading tribe presumably came from Gotland, but he assumes it must have been folks also from the other Swedish tribes like e.g. the Gautar. Still later Kossinna means that the Goths at around BC came from the Swedish Götalandscapes and settled at the Vistula-mouth.

E.Blume means in *Die germanischen Stämme und die Kulturen zwischen Oder und Passarge zur römischen Kaiserzeit* that some of the grave-fields in the delta have been terminated at the transition between the Late Latène-Period and the Emperor-Time, and he regards this as a sign of Gothic immigration. (Blume 1912-15, part I, p.153 f) This Blume is a pupil of Kossinna.

Oscar Almgren remarks that inhumation-graves not only are confined to Gotland but also exist in e.g. Östergötland. He also remarks that the find-material on Gotland does not decline around BC but on the contrary it increases strongly. This consequently, he claims, speaks against an emigration from Gotland. If such a one should be discussed it ought to be in the beginning of the Middle Latène Period, i.e. 300-150 BC. This thought I indeed find interesting regarding the above mentioned information by Plinius concerning Pytheas, if it is reliable of course.

From the above follows, according to Almgren, that the Goths come from Scandinavia and Götaland. He refers, like Kossinna, to the mentioning by Jordanes of Gauthigoth, Ostrogothae and Vagoth. I will return to this question further down. With Almgren also Birger Nerman joins, but with a slightly different motivation. He claims that the Götalandscapes and Gotland shows a similarity of names, and that it is not possible to disregard Gotland because of the Scandza-story, since Gotland could be included as belonging to this island. Since Jordanes however states that a king Berig headed the emigration, and, he remarks, there never was a king on Gotland, so must this island be rejected as original home. Archaeologically he agrees with the analysis by Almgren of Gotland, and what the Götalandscapes concerns he points on the scarcity of finds during the last century BC, and a strong further decline of finds at about BC, in both Öster- and Västergötland, which could indicate an emigration. Nerman claims that the burial habits with flat-ground graves containing fire-pits, fire-pit-urn and urn graves existing in both landscapes is similar with the burial habits in the Vistula-area, while the Gotlandic graves deviate.

The pottery in the graves in the Vistula delta is treated by Reinhard Schindler, who states that a change to an inferior quality occurs at the same time that the male graves turn into weaponlessness, and when rich women's graves start appearing. He concludes it must depend on a Gothic immigration. (Schindler, *Besiedlungsgeschichte*, p.97) He means the Goths landed directly in the Vistula area, and later he goes into polemics with Oxenstierna, who meant they landed in the Hinterpommern/Pommerania. Schindler means that the tribes living there was driven away because of the population pressure from the Vistula-region.

## Oxenstierna

After the above related Eric C. G. Oxenstierna writes *Die Urheimat der Goten* (Oxenstierna 1948). The book now is of course mostly inactual, a product of the time spirit of the forties' as it is. In connection with grave-forms and pottery it is however still quite interesting, and it still has a solid, not unjustified, international reputation because of this. Not least important is the excellent overview he

gives of the Swedish archaeology in Väster- and Östergötland through having presented a gathered catalogue of works and finds by Sahlström, Gejvall and other. He here treats also the ideas of Schindler about the pottery, and compares both burial-habits and pottery in Öster- and Västergötland with the Vistula-area. He demonstrates that the burial custom in Östergötland is mixed. It occurs both flat-ground-graves of Westgautic type, and cremation-graves with stone-packings, stonesettings and other kind of markings above ground. It occur besides inhumation-graves and weapon-graves who may be both inhumation-and cremation-graves. He has not found any terminated grave-fields. In Västergötland he however demonstrates a number of terminated grave-fields, among else in Bankälla and Stora Roo, and he notes that the burial custom is uniform with fire-pits, urnfire-pits and urn-graves of flat-ground type. The men's graves consequently lack weapons and have poor grave-goods, but the women's graves may contain daggers, sickles, household-utensils and bronze-jewellery. Around BC he notes an almost total find-emptiness, and in combination with the terminated grave-fields he assumes an extensive emigration to the Vistula-delta, where a generation later the same type of graves without weapons with the men, and rich women's graves, appear. The pottery in these new grave-fields is of the same shape, quality and appearance as the low-quality pottery extant in the graves in Västergötland and Östergötland. It replaces an earlier high-quality pottery in the Vistula delta. Oxenstierna uses in his examination Montelius' division of the pre-history in numbered periods. Period III is c:a 200 BC- BC. This time-period also is called the Older Iron Age and Late Latène Time, and in Germany Seedorfstufe. Period IV is BC-c:a 200 AD.

He notes in the section 'Die Beweise für die Herkunft der Goten aus Västergötland' among else:

Die Küste Nordostdeutschlands blieb Jahrhunderte lang nach dem Aufhören der früheisenzeitlichen Geschichtsurnenkultur unbesiedelt, also während der Zeit von 300-150 vor Beginn u. Ztr. Diese Zeitspanne fällt ungefähr mit der Fundleeren Zeit Schwedens zusammen.... Die neue Kultur des Weichsellandes besitzt keine Wurzeln in dem eigenen Land. Sie hat fast keine Beziehungen zu der Geschichtsurnenkultur, sondern ist eine Brandgrubenkultur mit völlig eigenartiger Keramik und für die Zeit typischem Schmuck (Oxenstierna 1948, p.143)

Here it shall be noted that the jewellery in the graves are not of Westgautic type but of a kind being usual on the Continent at this time. It accordingly must be pre-supposed an adaptation to the actual fashion in this point.



Concerning the settlement-area he comments:

Die Benennung der Kultur als burgundisch oder burgundisch-rugisch ist durch eine Aussage des Ptolemaeus ermöglicht worden. Ihre herleitung aus Bornholm, das einzige, was ihr plötzliches Auftreten erklären könnte, ist jedoch heute nicht möglich (68, S.105-106)... Sie umfasst das Gebiet zwischen der Persante und der Passarge (Abb. 119). Sie füllt die hinterpommersche Küste aus, meidet den Höhenrücken Pommerellens, geht aber an den Flüssen Persante und Weichsel stromaufwärts fast bis zur Netze und bis in die Gegend von Warschau. (Oxenstierna 1948, p.144)

Here he calls, like his predecessors, the overlaid culture Burgundian, but he dismisses its origin on Bornholm and you get the impression he is dubious if they really are Burgundians. Since he continuously still refers to the Burgundians it creates a little splintered impression. Modern research as well regard Bornholm as possibly an intermediary location for the Burgundians and not as their origin. The island is too small to have kept that much people. Besides it is assumed that in this area there has been an extensive mix of peoples during the different tribe-formation processes. Ockulicz mentions the area as Goto-Gepidic, and it has also housed the Oksywie-culture a certain period. Now what former was called the Burgundian-Goto-Gepidic-culture is referred to as the Wielbark-culture.

What concerns the archaeological picture in the territory during the time before BC Oxenstierna writes:

Bohnsack zählt ein typisches Formengut auf (68, S.102), dessen einzelne Erscheinungen keinesfalls nur auf diesem Gebiet zu finden sind. Zu nennen sind u. a. Fibeln von Mittellatèneschema, geknickte und geschweifte Spätlatènefibeln, eingliedrige Gürtelhaken mit wechselseitig umgeschlagenen Enden aller Arten, einschneidige Schwerter und andere Waffen (Abb. 120-121), Mondsichelmesser, Ledermesser mit geradem, oft gewundenem Schaft und vor allem eine Keramik, die besonders charakteristisch ist. Sie ist meistens geschwärzt, immer schön hart gebrannt und geglättet, und hat als immer wiederkehrendes Merkmal die facettierte Kante....

Die Grabform ist immer die der Brandgrube oder der Urnenbrandgrube... Das reine Urnengrab ist selten... Bekannt sind Neudorf 52, Kr. Stuhm, und Praust 2. Knochenhäufchen sind entsprechend aus Rondsden 65a, Praust 26 gehoben worden und öfter, mit und ohne Steinpackung, in Langenhagen, Kr. Saatzig, das aber schon west-

lich der Persante liegt. Decksteine, Tondeckel, Steinpflaster und Bodensteine sind manchmal nachgewiesen (68, S.94).

Zwischen Oder und Persante kommt eine Besiedlung mit Abweichendem Formengut vor (68, S.104). Bohnsack nennt die Gruppe vorsichtshalber die mittelpommersche Gruppe, deren jüngere, vorchristliche Stufe schon von der burgundischen Kultur beeinflusst wird. Sie hat in der älteren Stufe klare westgermanische Bestandteile oder Einflüsse (Abb. 119).

Südlich der burgundischen Kultur, also etwa südlich der Netze, fängt die Kultur an, die den Wandalen zuzuschreiben ist. Sie reicht bis Schlesien und Breslau im Süden und vermischt sich mit der burgundischen im Osten beim Weichselknie (Abb. 119). Auch ihre Herleitung aus dem nordjütischen Vendsyssel ist die einzige Erklärung ihres plötzlichen Auftretens, durch die Keramik aber bedeutend besser gestützt. So liegen also die Verhältnisse Ostdeutschlands vor Beginn unserer Zeitrechnung, zu welchem Zeitpunkt verschiedene Veränderungen eintreten, die heute allgemein so gedutet werden, dass es die Goten sind, die jetzt das Land der Weichsel in Besitz nehmen. (Oxenstierna 1948, p.144 ff)

You can here conclude that already before the presumed Gothic immigration there is an existing culture with cremation-graves of similar type as in Västergötland, and specially in Östergötland, with coverstones, stone-fillings and stonesettings. The finds include one-edged swords-seaxes- and other weapons and fibulae and strappings of Middle and Late Latène type, sickles and leather-knives and a high quality black ceramic with decided forms. He also links the Vandilic pottery to their presumed ancestry from Jutland.

The changes he claims occur are indicated in the points below:

1. Extensive appearance of inhumation-graves.
2. Urn-fire-pit graves decrease in number in favour of simple fire-pit graves. Like before they are flat-ground graves.
3. Termination of several gravefields and settlements except of in the Hinter-Pommeranian coast.
4. All weapons disappear from the graves.
5. Complete change of pottery.
6. Bronze-jewellery instead of iron ornaments.
7. Wealthy women's graves instead of wealthy men's graves.

He claims that the referred characteristics all must be found within a decided area in Scandinavia, and besides during the time close before the beginning of our time-reckoning. The because of the name interesting Väster- and Östergötland must carefully be scrutinized, while Gotland already is outruled by Almgren and Nerman.

He hence finds that:

1. does not occur in Scandinavia before the beginning of our time-reckoning and can not be traced back from there.
2. The cremation graves of Eastern Sweden are characterised by their many markings above earth. Denmark and the Swedish west-coast mostly have urn-graves. Västergötland has too many urn-fire-pit graves.
3. Only in Västergötland all grave-fields are terminated at the beginning of our time-reckoning.
4. Only in Västergötland and on the Swedish west-coast few or no weapons occur in the graves.
5. Only Västergötland and Östergötland have the same pottery as in the Vistula-area during the 1<sup>st</sup> c. in our time-reckoning.
6. The generous ornatation with bronze presumably can be traced back to Scandinavia, where already during the centuries before our time-reckoning was produced much jewellery of bronze (Oxenstierna 1948, s. 147 ff.)

We could directly note some exaggerations by Oxenstierna that are not correct and that also in the latter case contradicts his own text. First: Inhumation occurs already in the Stone Age in Scandinavia but disappears during the Bronze Age. Second: A number of grave-fields in Västergötland are terminated—definitely not all.

He then tests the the six above mentioned arguments one by one. This wake questions like possibilities of native origin of the inferior pottery, where the habit of inhumation first appears in Northern Europe, how urn-graves relate to fire-pit graves in different regions in the Vistula-area and the similarities with the graves of Västergötland. With references to Bohnsack and Schindler he concludes that their results indicate, that he can regard his main-thesis—whether a Swedish origin can be united with the already by German researchers undisputed knowledge about the Goths—as proven. (Oxenstierna 1948, p.171)

His proofs or indicies are among else, that in Västergötland you find three of the most important innovations in the Vistula-area, while in the other actual areas in

Sweden only one is found in every area.. He remarks that the new skeleton-grave custom occasionally happens to appear at the same time as the Gothic immigration into Hinterpommerania, but he denies a direct connection. The cremation-graves who are not family- or kins-graves may only be explained by the Goths, he means. Since it deals with flat-ground graves Östergötland is thereby excluded, since it is characterised by graveconstructions above earth of various kinds. The find-empty period in Västergötland coincides with the disturbance-area in Hinterpommerania. He claims that the immigration in Western Prussia not can be indicated through an increase of finds, but through the flight of the earlier tribes, the Burgundians and the Ulmerugi, having been living there. The Goths have taken over the old settlements. The rapidly appearing weaponlessness in the grave-material is an important indici-um, and since it has been carried through that rapidly in the whole area he believes that it bears witness of a strong military and administrative organisation. He adds however, by way of precaution, that it alternatively might deal with a social or religious reason lying behind, and he claims this suggests a total emigration from Västergötland. The total impact of the new pottery in the whole territory he also regards as an indication of the great number of humans and the strong uniform organisation.

Here I might add that there are signs indicating a possible emigration from among else Östergötland and Gotland already from 2-300 years before our time reckoning. The grave-habits are similar with parts of the Vistula-area but these find areas occur at the Continent parallel with other archaeological cultures. Hence you might object against Oxenstierna that an early Gothic part-emigration in the shape of smaller groups not can be excluded for Eastern Sweden. The decisive change of burial habits and grave-goods might however in my opinion be explained through the examination of Oxenstierna, even if this not presupposes a massive military invasion as he thinks, and hence in any case a connection between Western Scandinavia and the Vistula-area seems to be established around BC.

He notes that the metal objects in Västergötland during period III more answer to the Burgundian in Western Prussia than the "own" Gothic style after the emigration. It has accordingly, he means, arrived new cultural influence to the emigrants. The transition to bronze-jewellery might be a continental fashion-trend or it may have been dictated by the Goths. (Oxenstierna 1948, p.171 ff)

Gothic is all the territory between the Passarge in the East and the Persante in the West, meaning the land-stretch west of Persante to the Oder partly had weponless graves, but at Dramburg again are weapon-graves. This area accordingly

might have been populated by Westgermanics. In the South the Gothic territory stretched to the Netze, whose both banks evidently were claimed by both Goths and Vandals. The Vistula was a totally Gothic river in this area. Schindler means that all this area, inclusive the later added Pomerellen, not could have been that densely populated that early without still more settlers. He then thinks of the Gepids. Oxenstierna rejects this proposal as not proven. (Oxenstierna 1948, p. 174)

In the section about *Der Kattegattraum und der Grund der Auswanderungen* (Oxenstierna 1948, p.181 ff) Oxenstierna raises a number of important and basic issues, which by several researchers have been regarded as the natural starting point in a discussion about the origin of the Goths. He remarks, that it with Almgren and Nerman, was easier to assume an origin in the close-lying Baltic area, e.g. Östergötland, but points then on the reasons why Västergötland instead is the natural choice, even if it is more distantly situated. He refers to the emigrations of Cimbri, Langobards, Vandals, Burgundians and Rugii and remarks that Västergötland is situated in the middle of the group of tribes who have emigrated shortly before the beginning of our time-reckoning. He writes:

Ostsee und Gotland haben damit nichts zu tun. Der ganze Kattegattraum ist in Bewegung. Der ganze Kattegattraum nimmt teil an einem grossen politischen Geschehen, so wie ich die Verbundenheit in Handel und Verkehr schon oben besprochen habe. Die Auswanderungen formen sich zu einem gewaltigen historischen Ereignis. In diesem einen Jahrhundert der Auswanderungen aus Skandinavien liegt die Geschichte der Ostgermanen beschlossen. In diesem einen Jahrhundert vollzieht sich der Aufmarsch zu der Völkerverteilung der kommenden Wanderung. Die Ursache der grossen germanischen Völkerwanderung liegt in der grossen skandinavischen Auswanderung begründet.

Here he accordingly says plainly that the European migrations depend on the great migration from the Kattegat-area. The vandals are here presupposed to come from Northern Jutland, Vendsyssel, and also the Cimbri are regarded to origin on Jutland. The Langobards are supposed by some to have lived in Skåne and by others around the Elbe and at the south coast of the Baltic. The Rugii might have been from Norway and the Burgundians are often tied to the island of Bornholm—Burgundarholm. The problem here is mainly that Oxenstierna himself dismisses the idea the Burgundians come from Bornholm, but he still counts them to the Kattegat-area. He however adds to protect his own back:

Indessen sind aber die verschiedenen Überwanderungen nach Norddeutschland noch nicht wissenschaftlich gesichert...Die Schwierigkeit ist lediglich eine methodische. Wie ist ein gesammeltes Volkstum fassbar? Kossinna...erkannte ein Volkstum an gewissen Eigenheiten im Schmuck oder Gerät, so wie die Burgunden durch die Gürtelhaken oder verzierten Eisenlanzenspitzen, die Goten an den Skelettgräbern...Wir müssen das gesamte Material der Bodenforschung heranziehen, und dann noch finden, dass ein Volkstum manchmal durch eine, manchmal durch eine andere Erscheinung fassbar ist. (Oxenstierna 1948, p.181)

Pottery, Oxenstierna means, is the safest method to identify a tribe. It is a handiwork by the woman in the family which is not sellable, is hard to transport and because of this is linked to the settlement. Through the pottery you can get a hold of the Goths and the Vandals. It is remarkably more difficult to interpret the grave-material which is an expression for the religion and an inner conviction, and which rapidly may change under impression of different influences. There is however often when making comparative examinations, similarities between the burial habits in the newly colonized area and the original area. Specially noticable characteristics like weaponlessness seem more usable in comparisons than the shapes of the metal objects. Interruptions in the settlement must allways be regarded with carefullness and all thinkable explanations must be considered. He concludes that we still methodically know too little of the objects we find who often primarily suggest trade-connections, and at last we do not know, maybe never, if we, when we talk of Goths, Burgundians or Vandals, deal with a people, a united tribe. He asks forhelp by written sources.(Oxenstierna 1948, p.181ff)

He writes:

Letzten Endes bleiben wir vor der Frage stehen, ob wir es immer, wenn wir über Goten, Burgunden oder Wandalen sprechen, mit einem reinen Volkstum, einem geschlossenen Stamm, zu tun haben? Sie kamen alle nach Norddeutschland, vielleicht eher nach Art von Wikingerzügen, und besiegten frühgermanische bzw. burgundische Stammesverbände. Ein Teil der Neuankömmlinge, vielleicht der führende, nannte sich nun Goten oder Burgunden, da er aus Västergötland oder Bornholm kam, und deshalb wurden die anderen Neuankömmlinge, ebenso wie die besiegten Einheimische, mit der Zeit auch Goten oder Burgunden genannt.

In this point Oxenstierna and myself partly agree. The Name Gudones/Gotones ii it's established, as East-Germanic regarded, form can only have been worn by a nucleus of all those different groups of peoples who presumably were involved in the

building of the Gothic tribes in the Vistula-area, and the rest have been granted this name in time. The question of the possible size of the nucleus I will return to later. On the other hand, like Oxenstierna does, to limit the name to people from Västergötland is quite unbelievable. The name in my opinion is teophoric, and it is quite uninterestingly if the absorbed groups originally were called for example Gautar, Gutar or Jutes. These terms just were regional variants showing you belonged to the 'humans', the by the god Gaut 'outpoured'. Whether the Gautar from Västergötland at that time had been affected by the first sound-shift or not is in this connection a decisive criterium. This is further treated in the linguistic section. In any case Oxenstierna hesitates whether he may call the Goths a people or a tribe. This hesitation is, as I have stated above, quite justified, since it in fact in reality seems to deal with a greater number of tribes/peoples within a cultic league. Besides there are indeed also indications, that both Vandals and Burgundians might have a similar background even if the tribe not has a teophoric name but that they instead have regarded themselves as emigrants from a geographical area. I will return to this later.

Concerning the written sources Oxenstierna notes with satisfaction that they all place the occurings to the same time and to the Kattegat-area. He then asks himself if it is possible to find a common cause to the great mobility among the peoples in the Kattegat-area. He here mentions the great climatic change occurring around 500 BC. In this connection he claims it occurs a find-poor period resting for centuries. To 200 or 150 BC (beginning of period III) earlier find-rich areas are quite without finds. Sernander blames this on the Fimbul-winter. Lindqvist uses the expression "the Celtic Hansa" to indicate that Celtic dominance on the Continent strangled the import of metals, which affected both the bronze-and iron artifact production. Against this Oxenstierna objects that the Celts did not have an organized stately power, and that a poorness of metals not could cause a disappearance of burials. Besides we are now well aware of the occurrence of iron-resources in Västergötland in the shape of "red earth" and moor-ore having in fact been used for iron production according to extensive archaeological examinations during the 1980's and 1990's.

The weakening of the Celts in any case means a vitalizing for Scandinavia in period III. Nerman (p.58) explains the find empty period with the great emigration in spite of the fact that this is assumed to have taken place half a millenium after the climatic change. Oxenstierna means that Cimbri, Vandals and Burgundians unhappily enough come from areas where no find-poorness is indicated and three centuries too late. Concerning the Langobards he gives a kick to Nerman and concludes that "Die Langobarden schliesslich lässt Nerman, um die Zeit auszufüllen, nach Saxo Gotland und die ostschwedische Küste besuchen. Auch meint er nach Saxo, die Auswanderung sei wegen Dürre der Erde und

Mangel an Niederschlägen erfolgt—in einer Zeit, wo sich Nordeuropa vor Regen und Feuchtigkeit kaum retten konnte. “(Oxenstierna 1948, p.183 f) He accordingly means that the climatic deterioration not can be the reason of the great emigration starting around 120 BC. The decrease of finds since the end of the Bronze Age is not explained by an emigration but by other factors. The reason of the emigration is instead depending on quite opposite reasons. Since no natural catastrophe has occurred and we are just in the middle between the first climatic change to maritime climate and the one around 500 AD to continental climate, which means that the climate was either the best thinkable or quite bad (too dry for cattle-breeding). Which is true the geologists can not say, he remarks. Of this follows in both cases an overpopulation—either because of good harvests and an increasing population growing more than the harvests and the herds, or through bad harvests and failed cattle-breeding causing people to starve. Overpopulation besides is mentioned in the emigration-sagas as the reason. The emigration is according to Oxenstierna centrally organised. Cf. the emigration of Helvetii in Caesar’s *De Bello Gallico* 5. Specially the cattle-breeding is held forward by Oxenstierna as important, and he cites himself Strabo, who writes about the Vistula Goths (Oxenstierna 1948, p.183 ff):

Strabo (VII 291): Gemeinsam allen dort wohnenden Völkern ist ihre Bereitschaft zum Wechsel ihre Wohnsitze. Der Grund hierfür liegt in der Einfachheit ihrer Lebensführung und darin, dass sie keinen Ackerbau treiben oder Schätze aufspeichern, sondern in Hütten wohnen und Vorräte nur für einem Tag auf den anderen haben. Ihren Lebensunterhalt haben sie grösstenteils von ihren Herden, wie die Nomaden, so dass sie in Nachahmung dieser ihr Hab und Gut auf ihre Wagen laden und dorthin mit ihren Weidetieren ziehen, wohin es ihnen beliebt. “(Oxenstierna 1948, p.187)

Here is described closest a pure nomadic people which has very little in common with neither the Gautar of Scandinavia nor the Gothic tribes we know on the Continent. They all the time were primarily dependent of agri-culture.

Oxenstierna finally presents the below indicated list of the archaeological evidence that the Goths originate in Västergötland, and it is complemented with a list of other factors he means prove his thesis: (Oxenstierna 1948, p.189 ff)

### **Direct archaeological proofs**

1. All grave-fields in Västergötland are terminated at the beginning of our time-reckoning.



2. Västergötland is in the beginning of our time-reckoning completely find-empty in opposite to Östergötland. In any case no skeleton-graves or date-able finds occur.
3. It has been concluded a disturbance on the Pommeranian coast. It is indicated by breaks in many grave-fields and new-construction of other.
4. The graves in the Vistula-delta remain flat-ground graves like in Västergötland. Family-cremation graves are abandoned..
5. A close to complete weaponlessness characterise the graves in the Vistula-area since the beginning of our time-reckoning, like in Västergötland during the earlier century.
6. The Burgundian black pottery disappear in the graves and is replaced by the same low quality pottery as in Västergötland. Probably in all the weapon-empty area.
7. A transition from wealthy men's graves to rich women's graves, and from iron jewellery to bronze jewellery.

### **Indirect proofs through cultural changes**

- 8 Västergötland lies in connection with the Kattegat-area, whose peoples are on the move and emigrating to North-Eastern Germany. The point of time for these migrations are placed, independent of each other, to the last century before our time-reckoning.
9. Overpopulation may be supposed to be the reason of all these migrations, who occur in a time-period between two extreme climatic conditions. The aim accordingly should be to get better living-conditions.
10. Since the climatic conditions in the Baltic Sea—area are different to the Kattegat-area and they have different interests, trade-connections and similar in the Baltic area they have had no reason to migrate.
11. In the 100's AD an evident cultural stream is identifiable through finds of eye-fibulae, band-fibulae and hair-needles.

12. Since the Goths established themselves in Southern Russia this cultural stream increases in extent (point 12) and is possible to identify through fibulae with wrapped foot, later romboid foot, keel-shaped cuttings of runes et c.
13. It seems to be a close kinship between Goths and Heruls—in the North/Scandinavia on both sides of the Kattegat (See Prokopius), in the South through common actions on the Black Sea.

Oxenstierna seems to convincingly have confirmed the connection between Western Scandinavia and the Vistula-area, but he also could be used as an indicator for a connection between Eastern Sweden and the Continent through his demonstration of the similarities in the burial habits in Östergötland and parts of the Vistula-area, even if this connection not is as evident as the other. He has however definitely not succeeded in proving that Västergötland should be the sole origin of the Goths. It is hard to decide if he with “bleiben” means that the flat-ground graves are a news or that they simply just remain. I mean it is linguistically correct to write “remain”. Flat-ground graves is nothing new in the Vistula-area but the decisive must be that change in pottery and the weaponlessness. How you could decide that family-graves are abandoned must be a little triggier however. As has been remarked already earlier there are also not terminated grave-fields in Västergötland meaning that Oxenstierna has exaggerated his claims. For example the grave-field at Timmele is in use continuously but it still remains that the find-poorness during parts of period III and IV partly consists. It should be able to use as confirmation of the by Oxenstierna assumed emigration, but in a lesser scale. Against this thesis, however, Carl Axel Moberg opposes (Moberg 1951, p.74 f) meaning there are too few date-able finds from this period to make a meaningful comparison. He also means the excavations are too incomplete to dare to draw some conclusions. He also says that if it really deals with an evident decrease of the population it does not need to be caused by an emigration, but it could also be a consequence of famine, diseases et c. Concerning the changes in the Vistula-area Moberg writes that during the actual period in this area there are 35 known grave-fields of which 20 are from period III stretching into the Roman Iron Age. Seven fields are terminated around BC but eight new fields are opened. He means it indicates a rather stable population. (Moberg 1941) Against this Schindler remarks that the Goths might have taken over and continued to use earlier grave-fields, and that the controversies between the people-groups not have been that great as has been assumed. In my opinion the diggings by Okulicz at Elbląg clearly point in the same direction. Even Bohnsack

regarded overlaid grave-fields as a natural thing and he did not accept the thesis of Moberg.

Moberg claims that some sudden terminations of grave-fields during the time closest around BC not have occurred in the Vistula-area, but indeed in Hinterpommern/Hinterpommerania (Moberg 1941, p.194), and, as we well know, this is also where Oxenstierna means the Goths landed from the beginning. Evidently a certain agreement exists between these two combatants. In spite of all also Moberg considers the changes in the pottery in the Vistula—area as indication of a discontinuity in the population, but he means that this is not possible to use as evidence of a break in the culture because of too restricted knowledge of different local pottery-variants. (Moberg 1941, p. 193)

Rolf Hachmann (Hachmann 1970) regards the Hinterpommeranian grave-fields as badly examined and means that more of them should be excavated to be able to draw better conclusions. Accordingly he has the same Weibullian ground-ideas as Moberg—at least in this question. It could be connected with his final placement of the Goths east of the Vistula-bend and as coming from quite another origin-area. He means the bronze-jewellery as replacement of iron is a general Germanic tendency, and concerning weaponless graves he says with reference to Bohnsack (Bohnsack 1938, p.105) that these occur also on Bornholm and with the West-Germanics. In my opinion however the similarity on Bornholm quite well may point on an earlier Burgundian presence on the island.

Hachmann also concludes that the Romans, in the case the Goths should have immigrated around BC, had bad geographical and ethnographical knowledge of these areas, and they were besides only interested by military aspects or other occurrences that could threaten their borders. That's why the migrations of the Cimbri and the Teutons were interesting like the move by Ariovistus into Gaul and the travel of the Marcomannics to Bohemia and the appearing of the Chatti at the river Rhen. That is also why Strabo and Plinius know so little of them. (Hachmann 1970, p.137 f) Tacitus indeed knows more but concerning their origin he has no information to give.

## The polish archaeology

Jerzy Kmiecinski has in East-Pommerania and Poland confirmed two cultures—Przeworsk in the south and Oksywie (Oxhöfde) in the north. He considers there is no possibility to differ Vendic and Germanic elements. He proposes you maybe rather should look on the degree of cultural influence in the long run, which you can not do through examining single finds.

He means the Scyths were Sarmatized after the Sarmatic conquering of the lower Dniepr-basin. During Late Latène-Time there was a certain Celtisation of

Europe, and between the 800's and the 1100's a Slavisation of Eastern Europe and so on. The culture-picture east of the Oder differs from Scandinavia during the first centuries, and does not seem to have been Germanized. The similarity between the Kraghede pottery in Northern Jutland and the Schlesian is illusory, he claims. The Jutlandian is a development of the Jastorfstyle. There is no similarity between the culture of the Rugii in the Vistula-mouth and Rogaland in Norway. He remarks that excavations of standing stone circles and howes in East-Pommerania have shown that the skeleton have thinner skull-bones than contemporary Scandinavian. He supposes a Germanization in part not happened until the Germanic realms had been established in Southern Europe, and first then, he means, the trade-route over the Bug and the Vistula has been more seriously established. Before this time he means it dealt with small groups travelling through, and who only occasionally dwelt in certain places, and who did not create a political influence or power-sphere on a more permanent basis. The unification took place at the Black Sea he claims. In Pommerania, he means, there is a ceramic connection to the Öresund- and Kattegat-area, but what the Vistula concerns it is closest the Elbe-area wich is actual. The funeral culture in Pommerania and Poland seems to be a direct continuation of the two earlier cultures he claims. Kmiećinski suggests instead that this burial habit might have been brought to Scandinavia with a northgoing cultural impuls during the Late Emperor-Time. (Kmiećinski 1972, p.72-80) Kmiećinski does in any case find graves of Scandinavian type in an area at the lower Vistula, where he derives the round stone-settings from the Oslo-firth-area, the raised stones from Uppland and Östergötland and the round stone-settings in the ground-plane from Gotland. He means it might have been a limited immigration from the mentioned areas to former unsettled and bad grounds. He presupposes it deals with smaller groups arriving now and then during the period c:a 150-220 AD. (Kmiećinski 1962, p.270 ff; Wagner 1967, p.118)

Volker Bierbrauer concludes the Polish results at a symposium in Fredrikstad in Norway 1991, but he does not add any decisive news to the above related. (Bierbrauer 1991, p.9 ff)

Jerzy Okulicz-Kozaryn (Okulicz 1992) writes in connection with the amber-trade from the Vistula-delta that it is referred to already by Plinius the elder.(Plin.Nat.Hist.37, 3 (11) 45) Plinius mentiones commercia—trade-stations where the amber was gathered and where the commerce took place. Kolendo supposes that these trade-stations mostly were situated at the Vistula-mouth. (J. Kolendo 1981, p.13-17) During the first century BC to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> C. AD were, according to Kolendo, these trade-centra visited by trades-men from the Donau-provinces and the land of the Quadii, who had come to buy raw amber. The transports went along a well organised trade-route over the mouth-areas of the

Vistula and the Oder and through the Moravian gate to Carnuntum at the middle Donau and further to Aquileia, which was famous for its amber work-shops. (J. Kolendo 1981, p.18-96; Okulicz 1992, p.82) The Continental trade lost in importance during the later half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c.AD as a consequence of disturbances connected with the Marcomannic wars along the limes at the Donau. At the same time a different marketing system was developed. The amber now was demanded—except of by the Romans—also by the higher strata in the tribal aristocrasies of Europe because of their excellent and complicated ornamentation-technique making the amber usable as beautiful jewellery. During the earlier period the population at the lower Vistula (which is by the archaeologists connected with the Wielbark-culture) normally did not use amber in the daily life. Women's graves from the 1<sup>st</sup> and the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c AD only exceptionally contain rather unsophisticated hand-made amber-beads. From the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. such graves start producing expensive collars in high quality amber. Hence we see, according to Okulicz, from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. the rise of a very rich and prosperous culture along the lower Vistula. Cemeteries from the Wielbark-culture now exhibit a great number of Roman imports. (Okulicz 1992, p.82)

The in the Vistula-area established gold-smith centre influenced after Okulicz the gold-smithery in the Baltic area. (W.Hallqvist 1954, p.271-277; R.Wolagiewicz 1974, p.129-152; Okulicz 1992, p.83) Trade-routes during this period is still the route to the middle Donau in a limited extent, and also two other roads—the sea-way in the Baltic from the Vistula-mouth along the Pommeranian coast, Rügen or Bornholm to the Danish isles. The other route connecting with the main-road of the so called Gothic migration from the mouth of the Vistula through Masovia, Podlasia and Volhynia (Mazowsze, Podlasie, Volhynia) where the archaeologists note the appearance of the Żernichów-culture, which rose during the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.AD. The ware-exchange reached its peak after the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c., when a great number of amber objects of Vistula-type appear in grave-fields in the area—primarily during the phases faserna C<sub>2</sub>-D (M.B.Scukin 1981. p.135-161; Okulicz 1992, p.83). The trade with amber but also other wares like e.g. hides continued until the 4<sup>th</sup> c. via the Vistula to and from the Baltic region. An important link was also the trade-centre on Gotland. (U. E. Hagberg 2, 1967, p.109 ff, fig.56-57; Okulicz 1992, p.83)

Okulicz comments :

You can not avoid to associate these interregional economical connections with the emigration of Scandinavian peoples, known from the written sources, who came to the southern coast of the Baltic and continued to the Ukraine. Exchange-contacts between the areas close to the

Vistula-mouth and the Danish isles and Southern Scandinavia, which started developing during the later part of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. and reached its peak in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. and continued through the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c, coincided with the migrations of groups of North-Germanics into Pommerania and later to the South-Eastern Europe. At this time the trade-routes became main-roads for organised, and hence safe, population-migrations.(Okulicz 1992, p.83)

Okulicz here sees a possible immigration-route which he means both allowed a safe journey for groups of humans, and which offered them the possibility to stay in touch with their home-lands in the North. The revenues one could get from trading, including also the organisation of peoples migrations, he means, could keep the poverty away after the families having left their well equipped homes. He does not intend to suggest that everything was peaceful, since before it was possible to control the route large groups from the Przeworsk-culture must have been chased away southwards. (V.Bierbrauer 1989, p.40; Okulicz 1992, p.83) He means that echoes of such struggles maybe are found with Jordanes, when he refers to the clashes between the Goths, the Ulmerugii and the Vandals. (Okulicz 1992, p.83)

Okulicz also remarks that during the later half of the first millenium BC there is a rather intensive habitation in Pommerania, the so called Pommeranian culture. During the run of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC this culture is replaced by the Oksywie-culture, which is typical for the Late Pre-Roman Period.

This culture he means grow out of an autoctonous (original, local) population, mixed with groups from westward areas—from the region around the Elbe (R.Wolagiewicz 1979, p.33-61; Okulicz 1992, p.84) The Oksywie-people grouped themselves in carachteristic concentrations on both sides of the lower Vistula (where you can see a continous continuation of zones and settlements) and along the beaches of the Baltic westwards from the Danziger-bay until the river Rega. The lake- and marsh-region streching southwards from the inhabited area to the river Notec does not exhibit any traces of human activity at this time. (R.Wolagiewicz 1979, p.46-57, fig.3 and 4; Okulicz 1992, p.84) During the first decades of our time-reckoning, Okulicz remarks, the whole region undergoes significant changes in habitational structure and culture, which he regards as the beginning of the new developement-cycle which is ascribed to the Wielbark-culture—earlier known as the Goto-Gepidic civilisation. The basic, archaeologically noteable, characteristics for this culture remained according to Okulicz unchanged during the whole of its existence up to the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. In spite of this he finds it possible that during the period from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> to the end of the

2<sup>nd</sup> c. recognize three separate zones- A-C. (The zones A and B are here defined after R. Wolagiewicz 1981, p79-106; zone C after J. Okulicz 1989, p.117-120.)

Zone A is defined as an area over-lapping earlier concentrations of Oksywie find-sites along the lower Vistula and in the coastal region. Grave-fields from the Oksywie-culture continue to be used during the first centuries of our era—especially on the western banks of the Vistula-delta, and also on the other side of the river close to Malbork. He regards it as a zone with stable habitation with clear signs of an autoctonous continuity. He connects this with Ptolemaios III,5,8, where he writes that the coast at the Venedian bay is inhabited by the Venedi. He suggest the identification with the Danziger bay, or a broader section of the coast from the Hel-laguna to the mouth of the river Neman, is uncontroversial. The Venedian people he means are descenders of the local Pommeranian culture, who spoke an archaic Paleoeuropean language, indicated by the close occurings of Paleoeuropean hydronomy within just this area. (H. Krahe 1962, *passim*; J.Okulicz 1986, p.10-11) He claims that their language during this period was Germanized through influence of new arrivers from the other side of the Baltic. The zone was not depopulated between the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and the early 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, and it's habitations remained here until the early phase of the Migration Period.

His zone B, including the Pommeranian lake-region, stretch from the Vistula westwards and to the southern border of zone A. It does not exhibit any archaeological traces of settlements up to the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> c.AD nor any other use of the ground. During the last half of the the 1<sup>st</sup> c.AD (phase B<sub>2</sub>), however, new grave-fields were established with stone-monuments of Scandinavian type—standing stones, stone-circles, howes and cairns. These grave-fields are in the archaeological literature called grave-fields of Odry-Wesiory-Grtybnica-type. (D.Bohnsack 1940, p.22-36; K.E.Sablström 1942, p.118-136; J.Kmicinski 1962 *passim*, Okulicz 1992, p.84) Grave-fields characteristic for this zone are also found in a smaller number on the eastern bank of the Vistula close to Chelmno. Okulicz beleives that this area was inhabited by Goths coming from Scandinavia, and who continued their earlier life-style with their families/kins intact and with their old habits unchanged. He refers to Ptolemaios, who count the Goths to the “minor peoples”: “...the Gytones live in Sarmatia close to the river Vistula, below the Venedii...”(Geogr. III, 8)

Okulicz writes:

If you take the text of Ptolemaios literally the Vistula divided Germania from Sarmatia; hence should, according to some scientists, the inclusion of the Gytones among the Sarmatian peoples fix their settle-

ment-area east of the Vistula. At the same time the Venedi live, also they accounted for among the Sarmatian peoples, along the beach of all the Venedian bay (the Danziger bay or vaster area as above), and therefore probably straight across the whole breadth of the Vistula-delta. "Under" them somewhere "close to" the Vistula the Gytones live- in the same manner either on the eastern or the western side of the river or on both sides. I believe the last mentioned localisation is the most plausible, considering that two grave-fields with stone-circles also have been registered on the eastern side of the river close to Chelmno at Bledowo, and the less secure Trzebcz Szlachecki. (J. Okulicz 1970 p. 486-487, fig.1) This area is poorly examined, but it is probable that the people establishing grave-fields in zone B must have crossed the Vistula in a number of places. Out of the information from Jordanes the arrival of the Goths from Scandinavia to the southern shore of the Baltic can be estimated to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. of our time-reckoning. (H. Lowmianski I, 1963, p.259-261) The coincidence between such an estimation and the chronology for the earliest grave-fields of Scandinavian type—after the middle of the same century—is striking. All grave-fields in zone B, like the western group in zone A (fig. 1 A<sub>3</sub>) were terminated in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> cc. (R. Wolagiewicz 1981 a, p.85) This should fit with our assumption that the Goths moved southwards just at this time (year 238 their presence is noted at the Roman limes at Donau). Recolonisation in the abandoned areas took place first in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c, but it was of another character—the so called Debczyno-culture. (Okulicz 1992, p.85)

The here by Okulicz related settlements in zone B lie by all to judge in the same area where also Kmiećński sees Gothic habitations, but Okulicz' area is definitely more extensive than the one of Kmiećński. Specially Okulicz opens the possibility to see Gothic settlements on both sides of the lower Vistula. It should also be noted that the chronology goes perfectly well with the abandoning of the settlements.

The last excavations that Okulicz has made in the Vistula-area are in his zone C, which includes the Wielbark-culture in the south-western part of the Ebląg-heights (*Elbląg* = Germ. *Elbing*)—a well defined morain gravel-ridge in the down in the eastern part of the Vistula-delta (with the delta-down below the zero-isophyete height raises 60-180 m above the sea-level). During the first centuries of our era, Okulicz claims, the hydrographical situation differed from today's conditions. (Okulicz 1992, p.86)



In that time the main-stream of the mouth of the Vistula passed through the right part of the delta out into the bay, which stretched further southwards than today. A remnant that still remains of this outflow is the lake Druzno. The main-arm continued through Druzno and the Vistula-laguna and through an opening in the reef out into the Baltic. Fertile soil on the western slopes and at the foot of the ridge gave excellent conditions for intensive cultivation and a very good pasture-land. Simultaneously the area was easy accessible for seafarers. It was easy to sail out through the bay and the opening, or to sail out on the laguna to the Sambian peninsula, rich of amber assets, which was situated about 70 km from Elbląg. Tradesmen with wares from the south could travel to the Elbląg-height via a main-land route along the terraces of the old valley of the Vistula. Hence the conditions were excellent for the development of an habitation which became the centre of the Amber-coast, and which demonstrates a considerable concentration of humans—a rather considerable number even if the area and the number of inhabitants were lesser than the zones A and B.(Okulicz 1992, p.85 f)

This territory was accordingly in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. inhabited by a population which ought to have been just insignificantly lesser than in the other zones, who had a more widely distributed habitational structure. Up to and including the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC the Elbląg-heights were densely populated by West-Balts—the West-Baltic Barrow Civilisation. Thereafter Okulicz informs that during the last part of this century the Balts withdrew from the whole area, and also from the whole western part of the Mazurian lake-region, and they left a huge section of desert land which then divided their territory from the one of their unfriendly neighbours at the Vistula-delta—the people of the Oksywie-culture. The area was not recolonized, according to Okulicz, until the later half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD (the beginning of phase B<sub>2</sub>) when during a short period of time a great number of grave-fields and settlements typical for the Wielbark-culture grew up. From the beginning they formed an exceptionally close concentration along the western and southern combs of the Elbląg-ridge. In the bordering lower situated belt he informs that it has been registered, within an area of c:a 40 km length, 43 grave-fields and more than 70 settlement-remnants. The settlements were inhabited until the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.(phase C<sub>2</sub>) and thereafter they all were abandoned. From this time on and until the 5<sup>th</sup> c. no settlement-remnants have been discovered.(Okulicz 1992, p.86)

He remarks that the pattern for settlement/use of the land in this region during the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.—high concentration of settlements surrounded by vast empty areas—might be interpreted as an indicium of the growth of a social group

of tribal type. An intensive settling which is measurable through comparing of the distances between the grave-fields—an average of 2,5 km—and which can be compared with the distances between the settlements which range between 5 and 7 km, suggesting a considerable number of inhabitants—12-15 000 during the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century. (Okulicz 1992, p.86) The reason for this development is, he means, a considerable expansion of the trade with amber. The leading centre of distribution for raw amber was situated in the area in question. Great profits from the trade-exchange attracted, like a magnet, entrepreneurs from all directions—the Venedi and the West-Balts (Balt-Aesti) from the bordering areas and, in time, a growing number of Germanics—individually or in groups—from Scandinavia, the Danish isles and the Elbe-area—tradesmen, sailors and crafts-men of different branches.

Besides, as he has already remarked, there existed extremely good prepositions for cattle-breeding and cultivation who could form the living-hood base for a society of considerable extent. During such conditions, he remarks, the construction-process of a new society must have had a multi-ochtonous character. This is also indicated in the exhibition of the local culture lacking those qualities of external origin which should have been noticeable if whole tribal-groups had arrived from e.g. Scandinavia, which was the case in zone B, as earlier described. Instead he finds in the traces of funeral-rites and in the style of decoration an explicit connection with the characteristic traits in the Wielbark-culture. He here believes to see the birth of the Gepidic people. Those who, according to Jordanes, should have arrived with the third ship after the other.(*Getica* III, §§ 94-95) He however means that another information by Jordanes is more interesting in this connection, and he cites:

“...Gepida: ...dum Specis provincia commanerent in insulam Visclamnis vadibus circumactam, quam patrio sermone dicebant Gepedoios. Nunc eam (early 6<sup>th</sup> c J.O.) ut fertur insulam gens Vidivariorum incolit.” (*Getica* III. 96)

Both the reference to the concrete topography in the Vistula-delta and the identification of “the island-Gepids” with the land of the Vidivariorum, being contemporary with Jordanes, Okulicz finds likely to be founded on concrete information, to which the author has had access. On the map over the Vistula-delta, as it was shaped in that time, there is according to Okulicz no place more reminding of an island surrounded by water than the Elbląg-ridge, rising in the middle of ground shallows and marshes, and which also is broad enough to be able to have settlements with a large population. In another part of the work of Jordanes he finds a more detailed information of the Vidivariorum, whose habitations in the

east bordered to the Aestii—the West-Balts on the Sambian peninsula. (Getica IV, 91) The old name of the Elbląg-ridge—Vitland (White-land)—survived into the 9<sup>th</sup> century. In this land—Vit (White)—Wulfstan placed, in the amendment to the by Alfred the Great initiated translation of Orosius, the Truso-habitation. (J. Okulicz 1986, p 16-17) He stresses that the linguistic similarity in the root of the words for *Vit-* and *Vid-* is evident. This could be a ground to identify the Gepids with *Vitland* and a trace to their localisation in the eastern part of the Vistula-delta, because it bordered to the Aestii. He however never even then claims, during the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> cc, that the tribe-forming process leading to the strong tribe reputed in Southern Europe was completed, or that the name of Gepids was in use at this time. The first mentioning in the sources does not come until late in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. (the rule of Probus 276-282) in connection with their arrival to the limes at the Donau. The temporal coincidence between the abandoning of the Elbląg-ridge by the inhabitants just during the later half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. and the arrival of the gepids in Southern Europe, he however finds to be remarkable. The hypothetical tribe from the Vistula-delta could, depending on their strong economical position, have formed the nucleus of the Gepidic people, which in time during the migration grew in strenght and absorbed different smaller groups of humans. The memory of the ethnical origin of this group might have been preserved by the heirs, and later been registered by Jordanes. (Okulicz 1992, p.86 f) Here must be remarked that the above by Okulicz mentioned registration was in any case not undertaken by Jordanes, but rather by Cassiodorus and with probable reliance of Ablabius.

Earlier examinations in the area have been done during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and up to 1944 information of the finds was systematically gathered, and a great collection of artefacts, mainly from grave-fields, was built up in museums in Elbląg/Elbing, Königsberg, Danzig and Berlin (E. Blume I, 1912) The main-body of these collections were destroyed at the end of the last war, and only few of them (the excavations) had been published (among else by R. Schindler, 1940). The few methodical examinations being made during the mentioned period were according to Okulicz not enough advanced in relation to modern archaeological methods. Not the less extremely rich find-material from several cemeteries had since long risen an interest. Examinations have during the period been carried out by among else A. Jentsch 1986; J. Andrzejowski, A. Bursche 1978; H. J. Eggers 1966; M. Ebert 1926. What he means was lacking is a good knowledge of necropolises of this type, the planiography of the graves, key survey planes and descriptions. No settlement-remnants had been examined except of a smaller excavation at Myslecin (Meisleiten) (M. Ebert 1926). Okulicz selected for a closer examination the grave-field at Weklice, find-site 7, south of Elbląg. Field-work has been going on there

since 1984. The grave-field was known after occasional finds being made in 1825 and after smaller preliminary diggings in 1925. (F.Jacobson 1927, p.123-135; J.Okulicz 1991, p.115-127). During the diggings up to 1992 were discovered approximately 270 urn- and skeleton-graves in an surface answering to only 30% of the whole grave-field. Some of the grave-gift finds belong to the richest in not only the Wielbark-culture but also in the whole Baltic Sea region. A considerable collection of bronze-, silver, gold-, glass-,bone- and amber-artefacts have been taken care of—around 1200 objects and approximately 100 clay-pots. The closest situated grave-field at Myslecin is located 2,6 km from there, and another, at Aniolowo, lies 1,2 km away. The earliest graves at Weklice are dated to phase B<sub>2a</sub> (c:a 70-100 AD) while the latest are from the earlier part of phase C<sub>2</sub> (c:a year 300 AD). All during this time occur both cremation-graves and inhumations. While cremation was overwhelming during the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. inhumations were as more common in the later Roman Period during the phases C<sub>1b</sub>C<sub>2</sub>. The corpses were oriented along the North-South-axis with the heads turned northwards-sometimes with smaller deviations from the main-direction. In the earlier period wooden coffins were used. With the beginning of phase C the coffins grew more rare and instead they started dressing the walls of the grave with wood, and also made a platform of planks where the body was placed.(Okulicz 1992, p.87 ff)

He demonstrates that a special characteristicum for the grave-field at Weklice, which is not known anywhere else in the Barbaricum, is the digging of new graves in already existing, older graves. It often happened that, when older urns were found at the grave-digging, they were taken up and later they were respectfully replaced into the filling over the new grave. In dozens of cases this has created a reversed stratigraphy; early Roman Period urn-graves were discovered above later Roman Period skeleton-graves. Such a treatment of earlier grave-places by later users leads, he means, to an important conclusion: Since it was a rule during this period to honour the dead, and the knowledge of the exact location of a grave probably was preserved by the family from generation to generation, the group re-using Weklice must have been of a different kind. He wants to connect the phenomenon with the specific multi-ochtonuos origin of the social group of tradesmen in this inter-regional trade-centre, who in fact did not have any relatives in the area. It accordingly deals with an open group which is continously increased with newcomers, maybe from the Baltic Sea region, and who later broke up for Southeastern Europe. This is the cause of the broken off memory of the localisation of the earlier graves, even if the grave-field has been in use all the time for boths funerals and cult. (Okulicz 1992, p.90) I will remind that we here are talking of flat-ground graves.

As in all grave-fields in the Wielbark-culture the men's graves contained very sparsely with grave-goods and remarkably simple such—the skeleton-graves

normally do not contain any grave-goods at all. In Weklice only two graves contained spurs, other single finds as combs, fibulae and an amber bead per grave—it probably served as amulet of the deceased. (Okulicz 1992, p.91) Dead women, on the contrary, were buried, as already told in an earlier section, in costly and formalised dress with wooden boxes containing distaff-stones, needles, prickers and similar equipment.

What is interesting with this section is indeed that Okulicz has succeeded to make probable a tribe-formation process which could very well be the one of the Gepids. The position of the graves of men contra those of women goes very well together with the tradition of the Goths and the Gautar. The appearing and the breaks of settlements and grave-fields in at least zone B and C seem to verify the idea of a inflow of immigrant- groups of Scandinavians and other peoples to the Vistula-area. To judge by the “Gepidic” tribe-formation process we possibly also could draw parallels to other immigrant-groups? Also concerning the economical and security-political aspects in connection with migrations and their organisation Okulicz has given very good suggestions. We note, as well known, intensive continental contacts during the later part of the Roman Iron Age and during the Migration Period from for example Västergötland. It appears as more and more probable that these contacts to a large extent go via the Vistula-area. Neither Okulicz nor Kmiezinski have convincingly succeeded to prove that the flat-ground graves of the Wielbark-culture should be totally native, and Okulicz indeed also indicates secondary funerals in a great scale. Kmiezinski also suggests a Germanisation that in many aspects fits well into the multi-ochtonous society of Okulicz.

## **The archaeological and paleodemographical estimations by Hachmann**

Rolf Hachmann has in his work *Die Goten und Skandinavien* 1970 made a thorough investigation of the archaeology of both the Nordic countries and the Vistula-area. He draws a conclusion going against the main-stream in many respects. He has hyper-Weibullian demands of proofs in both archaeology as other disciplines, and the hypothesis to which he finally arrives concerning the origin of the Goths consequently, with his demands, is as unproven as other hypotheses however very well argumented and examined. He raises the question of the population-base in Scandinavia around BC with regard to all the tribes that are said to come from there. He criticizes the earlier tries of estimation of the total population in Germania which have been undertaken by E.M.Arndt who estimates the number to 17-22 humans/km<sup>2</sup>. Also F.Dahn has accepted this figure. L.Schmidt counted with 6-8

persons/km<sup>2</sup>, which answers to a total population at the time of Caesar of 5-6 millions but in the beginning of CE only 3-4 millions. He partly has as a base the census of population carried out by Geiserik in connection with the crossing to Africa in order to estimate the number of ships needed to move the Vandals. B. Delbrück meant that a tribe should be approximately 25 000 persons, 4-5/km<sup>2</sup>, since the number not could be greater if the system with popular councils/things should function. Kossinna got with the figures of Delbrück a total population in Germania of 2 millions. Hachmann claims these estimations are summaric, and that they not rest on an empirical base. They also fail to indicate which part of an area that is populated and which is not. Because of this they are meaningless, and they do not prove anything at all. He claims that the try by K. Völld to connect pre-historical finds and antique chiffer-material is wrong, and that there is nothing really useable to gain with ethnographical parallels or with comparisons between cultures and cultivation-geographical examinations. (Hachmann 1970, p.328 ff)

He instead recommends the method with relative figures who give information of population-development like the average living-span for different categories—adults, children, men, women—including mortality of new borns, child-bed mortality, average birth-rate per family and so on. He means that the important thing is to find out the maximal possibility for an population-increase in one generation. He claims it is nessecary to work with maximi-numbers since minimi-numbers may give rise to suspicions that you try to manipulate the figures in order to reach a wanted result. (Hachmann 1970, p.330)

He asks himself whether emigrations depend of population-surplus, of hopes for power and wealth through looting, agro-economical or social reasons. Were there several migration-directions or did everybody move southwards? Did the northward expansion start only in the Viking Age? He means that with the present basic material it is senseless to make these questions. For this is demanded the modern anthropology and the in this one included paleodemografi, which can answer questions like average life-expectation for adults in connection with the kin, burial-statistics over adults, men, women, children and similar. He among else refers to G. Arsádi and J. Nemeskéri who at excavations of the grave-fields Képuszta and Halimba-Cseres created methods which will make it possible to enlighten pre- and earlyhistorical peoples history. Hachmann however criticizes the examination since they had arrived to a mortality for newly born of 16,2% respectively 6,6% for the two close lying gravefields. That figure is unique in Hungary. Hachmann comments that often during the early Middle Ages newly-borns in Hungary were not buried in the cemetery, which here should be the case. He quite generally concludes in this connection that the mortality of women was high during the fertile age but decreased with higher age. He connects this with

pregnancy. (Hachmann 1970, p.331 f) He stresses, that after in the above mentioned examination having demonstrated a short average life-span for men and a high mortality for new-born, that all figures reached in this way are fictitious, but he considers they indicate the small growth of population which is normally expected in primitive societies. The examination covers the period from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> c.AD. During this period of time the population should have tripled. Hachmann claims that the examination is too narrow to be statistically significant. He means you also must consider that Christianity has been introduced during this period, which might have affected the figures.(Hachmann 1970, p.341 f)

In connection to the more general discussion about climatic conditions he among else writes:

Wichtiger als der Gesellschaftsstand dürfte bei barbarischen Bevölkerungen die Wirtschaftsökologie für die Lebenserwartung gewesen sein. Ungunst der Umwelt, soweit sie das Wirtschaftsleben beeinflusste, muß stets die durchschnittlichen Erlebenschancen beeinträchtigt haben: Unregelmäßigkeiten in den Ernteerträgen, ausgesprochene Mißernten, geringer Ertrag des Bodens, unzureichende Milch- und Fleischleistungen des Viehs. Man ist deswegen durchaus berechtigt, aus klimatischen Verhältnissen, aus der Wirtschaftsform und der Nahrungsbasis und aus den Wohnverhältnissen allgemeine Schlüsse auf die durchschnittliche Lebenserwartung der Bevölkerung zu ziehen. Die Folgerung, die durchschnittliche Lebenserwartung sei weiter nördlich—insbesondere in Skandinavien—eher geringer gewesen als im Mittelmeerraum, da die allgemeinen wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse ungünstiger als im Süden waren, ist unausweichlich. (Hachmann 1970, p.342)

After this not so self-evident statement, considering climatological prepositions for epidemics et c., he moves to an survey of the above mentioned agro-economical prepositions in different areas on the Scandinavian peninsula—both in present Sweden and Norway—and also in Denmark. The period of examination is the closest centuries before the birth of Christ. He remarks for Jutland a deterioration of the arable soil, as I have already concluded for myself above. He supposes the cattle has been sick, and demonstrates that the vegetabilic food-stuff has been mixed with seeds from wild herbs, and that this is supported by so many sources that it must be true. (Hachmann 1970, p.343) He also means that changes in population in the early Middle Ages in southern Germany indicate the general frames for what was possible in Scandinavia around BC. He refers to a number of osteologically examined grave-fields, specially in Västergötland, giving

clear ideas of the real conditions. A specially good example, he means, is the examination of the grave-field in Bankälla. (Hachmann 1970, p.375) This examination was carried out by N-G Gejvall and K.E. Sahlström and is published in their mutual report *Bankälla och Stora Roo. Två västgötska brandgropsgravfält* 1954. (Cf. also Sahström-Gejvall *Gravfältet i Mellby by, Källands härad* in *Västergötlands fornminnesförenings tidskrift* 5, 1951 and N-G Gejvall, *Gravfältet på Kyrkbacken* 1948 and by the same author *Västerhus* 1960.) Among else Bankälla and Stora Roo are also referred to in the material of Oxenstierna as remarked above.

In the same manner that he has earlier criticized the Hungarian examination he here means that Gejvall and Sahlström have made incomplete examinations of the grave-fields at Stora Roo and Mellby, since the mortality of new-born according to their result is too low compared with the figures they reach in Bankälla and Kyrkbacken, and also in Västerhus. He assumes that they have found a high percentage of urn-graves, but overlooked a greater number of urn-fire-pit graves and fire-pit graves with infants, and hence he thinks that the average figures for infant-mortality should be at least doubled. In Bankälla were 64,2% of the graves infant-graves—43 of 67—which may be compared with 13, 4%, in Mellby, 34, 5%, in Kyrkbacken and 18, 5%, in Stora Roo, which also Sahlström found considerably low. A corrected estimation with seven insecure graves gives a total mortality for the population in Stora Roo of 36%. Hachmann suggests that the distribution of grave-types possibly could indicate the number of overlooked infant-graves, or at least suggest an incomplete excavation. (Hachmann 1970, p.377 f):

Es zeigt sich, daß in Bankälla 76% der Urnengräber Kindergräber sind. 56, 5% der Rindenschachtelgräber und 61, 6% der Brandgrubengräber sind ebenfalls Kindergräber. Setzte man voraus, daß die der allgemein üblichen Verteilung der Kindergräber auf die verschiedenen Grabarten annähernd entspricht, oder nähme man wenigstens an, daß der gut gegrabene Friedhof Bankälla den wirklichen Verhältnissen am nächsten kommt, so ergibt ein Vergleich mit den anderen Friedhöfen einige interessante Aufschlüsse. In Bankälla sind 40% aller Gräber Urnengräber, in Stora Roo sind es 55%, in Mellby by gar 66%, während es auf dem sorgfältig ausgegrabenen Friedhof Kyrkbacken nur 35% sind. Man kann als Regel aufstellen: Je größer die Zahl der Urnengräber mit Leichenbrand von Kindern ist, um so schlechter wurde der Friedhof gegraben. Die gut sichtbaren Urnengräber werden am leichtesten entdeckt. Die Frequenz der schwerer feststellbaren Rindenschachtelgräber ist auf denselben Friedhöfen in gleicher



Reihenfolge 41%, 13%, 19% und 50%. Bankälla und Kyrkbacken sind am besten gegraben und man sieht, daß sie, was die Verteilung der Grabarten anbelangt, stärker untereinander übereinstimmen als mit Stora Ro und Mellby by. Das scheint zu bedeuten, daß in Stora Ro und Mellby by Rindenschachtel- und Brandgrubengräber in wesentlich geringerer Vollständigkeit erfaßt worden sind als die gut erkennbaren Urnengräber. Es sieht danach aus, als seien auf diesen beiden Friedhöfen vor allem Rindenschachtelgräber besonders schlecht beobachtet worden. Die unscheinbaren Knochenreste von Kindern in Rindenschachtel- und Brandgrubengräbern zu übersehen, war um so leichter möglich, als in der Zeit um Christi Geburt im Norden—wie anderwärts—die Leichenbrände nur selten vollständig aus dem Scheiterhaufen ausgelesen und ins Grab gegeben wurden. (Hachmann 1970, p.377 f.)

Sahlström assumed for Bankälla an unusually great infant-mortality as a consequence of an epidemic, but Hachmann claims that it seems to be normal figures for a community of this kind. Here word stands against word. Hachman remarks, that if it were an epidemic there should not be that many children extant in a community of this size, that such a great number could die at the same occasion. The argument that one had in Bankälla excavated in a Christian cemetery, where a large portion of the grave-field earlier had been destroyed, and that one there could expect it was specifically used for burying infants, is denounced by Hachmann, since the grave-fields in Västergötland, and generally the Swedish grave-fields, according to Gejvall do not exhibit such differences, but everybody are treated equal what concerns the position of the grave regardless of gender and age. (Hachmann 1970, p.376)

Hachmann regards the by Gejvall calculated average of expected life-span for all born children to 24,7 years as too high, and he claims that 18 years is more reasonable. He writes:

Zieht man in Betracht, daß die Säuglingssterblichkeit in Kyrkbacken nicht vollständig erfaßt zu sein scheint, so kommt man zur Annahme einer durchschnittlichen Lebenserwartung aller Neugeborenen, die bedeutend niedriger liegt und der von Västerhus—etwa 18 Jahre—nahekommen müßte. Interessanter wäre die durchschnittliche Lebenserwartung der Erwachsenen, aufgeschlüsselt nach den Geschlechtern. Doch dafür fehlen Zahlen. (Hachmann 1970, p.378)

Hachmann accordingly regards Bankälla and Kyrkbacken as representative for Västergötland, and he then compares with Gejvall's diggings in Fiskeby in Östergötland. Gejvall excavated 458 cremation-graves in Fiskeby from the Bronze Age to the Viking Time. The average age here reaches 30,7 years and the infant-mortality is lower. He hence assumes that infants and children not were regularly buried in this grave-field, or that they were buried in a such different manner that they were difficult to indicate at the excavation. He besides finds a higher survival quota for elders than in Kyrkbacken. Hachmann concludes that the tables Gejvall used not are available, and so he can not test the figures closer but he seems, as expected, sceptical. (Hachmann 1970, p.379 f) From Södra Spånga in Uppland we have figures suggesting a low child-mortality which, according to Hachmann, is dependent of incomplete burials of infants and a relatively high survival-quota for elders. The seemingly expected life-span becomes for a new-born 31,8 years. On the Vallhagar grave-field on Gotland childrens graves are totally lacking. Gejvall sets the average expected life-span to 35,4 years with, according to Hachmann, an unclear basic material. (Hachmann 1970, p.380) Concerning the question of possible family graves that you can study family units, it is also here the statistics which is the important:

In Vallhagar M stehen 19 sichere Männerbestattungen solchen von 7 Frauen gegenüber Unsicher sind weitere 8 Männer- und 15 Frauenbeisetzungen. Es stehen also maximal 27 Männer- 23 Frauengräbern gegenüber. Für Kyrkbacken rechnete Gejvall mit maximal 67 männlichen und 55 weiblichen Bestattungen In Bankälla stehen 8 Männer 6 Frauen gegenüber, dazu kommen 5 als weiblich und 2 als männlich unsichere Leichenbrände. Ein Überwiegen des männlichen Geschlechts is also auch hier sehr wahrscheinlich, wenn auch nicht absolut sicher. Für Stora Ro weisen die Leichenbranduntersuchungen nur 5 männliche, dagegen 15 weibliche Individuen aus. Nach den Angaben von Gejvall waren die Geschlechtsdeterminationen für 11 Frauen und für 3 Männer nicht völlig sicher; das Bild könnte sich also umkehren; aber hier wie anderswo ist die Zahlenbasis zu schmal. In Mellby by überwiegen ebenfalls die Frauen. Geschlechtsbestimmungen bei Leichenbränden aus Skandinavien sind für die Jahrhunderte um Christ Geburt schwierig, da die Reste der verbrannten Knochen oft nur unvollständig aufgelesen und bestattet worden sind. (Hachmann 1970, p.380)

Interestingly enough you note a higher share of women's graves in Västergötland with regard to the discussion in earlier sections above, and you also should note, that the protests of Hachmann against a lower children-mortality

and a higher life-expectancy become weaker or not extant as long as it does not concern Västergötland. Hachmann concludes the population-situation in Germania and means that it also can be applied in the Nordic countries:

Die durchschnittliche Lebenserwartung der Erwachsenen war gering; Greise waren selten. den Hauptanteil der Bevölkerung bildeten Kinder und Jugendliche, obwohl deren Sterblichkeit—vor allem die der Säuglinge—sehr groß war. Trotz physiologisch bedingter größerer Sterblichkeit des männlichen Geschlechts war in allen Lebensaltern die Zahl der Männer größer. Es muß mit Kindesaussetzungen—insbesondere von weiblichen neugeborenen—gerechnet werden. Die Sterblichkeit der jungen Frau im Kindbett war erschreckend groß und nach vorübergehendem Nachsinken stieg sie mit dem Lebensalter und der Zahl der Geburten wieder stark an. Neben der biologisch bedingten Unfruchtbarkeit mancher Ehen machte sich eine—mit der Zahl der Geburten wachsende—erworbene Unfruchtbarkeit der Frau in der Zahl der Kinder bemerkbar. Viele junge Männer waren zur Ehelosigkeit verurteilt oder verwitweten nach kurzer Ehe. Es gab aber auch viele junge Witwen, deren Männer gefallen oder im Streit erschlagen worden waren. Sie hatten gewiß eine gute Chance zur Wiederheirat. Kindesaussetzung, Säuglings- und Kindersterblichkeit dezimierte die Rate der Heranwachsenden von der Geburt an, und zwar, so daß die Zahl der ehereifen Herangewachsenen eines Geschlechtes die der elterlichen Ehen nur wenig übertraf. (Hachmann 1970, p.381.)

Hachman considers the living-conditions in the Nordic countries to be in any case less favourable than further southwards, but that Scandinavia indeed could have had a population-surplus, however small. Where this surplus was distributed, he means, is however another matter. He remarks that there is an extant inner colonisation with new-cultivation. If an external colonisation from the North exists it is however still not proven, he means. He states besides as his thesis, that if there was a population-surplus in the Nordic countries it should be a still greater surplus among the Continental Germanics. Where did this surplus go? Also here he estimates a partial inner colonisation. He admits that it many times over is historically confirmed that they have been inclined to move southwards, but that it is dubious whether this every time has been depending of an overpopulation. That Continental Germanics migrated to the North is not proven but, he means, it is not possible to exclude.(Hachmann 1970, p.381 f)

He then continues to an analysis of the nourishment-geographical prepositions in different parts of the Nordic countries, and he examines whether a great

enough population-decrease is at hand, that it may be motivated to talk about an emigration.

A comparison with the Continent during the Merovingian period shows, Hachmann states, that peaceful years promoted a population-growth while in times of warfare a decrease occurred. Also materially comfortable life with good harvests produces an increase and famines a decrease. There he points on the example with the Greenlandic vikings where the whole population was extinguished. (This is however according to newer research probably not true. There are many signs suggesting the population just emigrated to the American continent. Since that however has nothing with the actual topic to do I will not continue that trail.) Technological progress should be able to counterwork a decrease and promote an increase of the population, but there are no historical proofs of this he means. If you, in spite of the fact that the paleodemography indicates a weak population-growth of an already from the beginning small population, suggest that great numbers of people should have emigrated from the North it should, according to Hachmann, mean depopulation of whole landscapes and hence it should be able to confirm. The old research around Scandinavia has in too high a degree concentrated on find-catalogues and cultural influences, and this also goes for the later archaeological research, Hachmann exclaims, while they have neglected settlement-examinations and grand-scale cultivation-historical artefacts. (Hachmann 1970, p.388 f)

Criteria for such examinations he states in the text below, of which could be said that he mentions just those factors I myself have tried to scrutinize closer in this work. Methodologically I am accordingly in agreement with Hachmann. Whether I reach the same conclusions as him is however quite another matter.

Von allen diesen verschiedenen Faktoren ist die Ökologie noch am ehesten kalkulierbar. Sie scheint sich im wesentlichen tiefgreifender vor der Epoche gewandelt zu haben, die im Zusammenhang mit die Frage nach der Entwicklung der nordischen Germanen und der Herkunft der Goten näher betrachtet werden sollte. In der eigentlichen vorrömischen Eisenzeit und den ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten scheint sich die natürliche Umwelt der Germanen nur in verhältnismäßig geringem Umfange verändert zu haben. Man darf auch wohl annehmen, daß sich die Wirtschaftsweise in diesen Jahrhunderten nicht grundlegend wandelte. Ackerbau und Viehzucht waren die Grundlage des Wirtschaftslebens. In diesen beiden Bereichen mögen sich die Schwerpunkte gelegentlich verschoben haben. Das ist in diesem Zusammenhang nicht so sehr wesentlich. Wichtiger ist es, daß die Wirtschaftsweise eine durch vorhandene Arbeitskräfte begrenzte oder

durch die Ertragsfähigkeit geforderte Bodenfläche verlangte, Acker für das Getreide, Brache, Wiese oder Waldweide für das Vieh. Mehr als das, was zum Leben notwendig war, brauchte nicht bebaut zu werden. Das bebaute Gebiet setzte für die Größe der Bevölkerung eine Grenze; wenn diese überschritten war, mußten neue Lösungen gefunden werden.

Eine Bevölkerungsvermehrung—war sie vorhanden—mußte sich unter solchen Bedingungen durch den Ausbau bestehender Siedlungen und durch Wachsen von deren Bevölkerungszahl, durch eine Binnenkolonisation in Gegenden, die bislang nicht in gleicher Weise landwirtschaftlich genutzt worden waren, oder durch Abwanderungen in die Ferne niederschlagen. Man wird, wenn Ausbau bestehender Siedlungen oder Binnenkolonisation nachweisbar sind, Abwanderung nicht ausschließen dürfen; doch darf man, wenn sich zeigen läßt, daß der geringe Bevölkerungsüberschuß, mit dem man im Norden in jenen frühen Zeiten rechnen muß, sich im Landausbau niederschlägt, annehmen, daß in solchem Falle Auswanderung in die Ferne eine untergeordnetere Rolle gespielt haben dürfte. Bei Untersuchungen, die den Umfang des besiedelten Raums erfassen sollen, sind—solange Grabfunde Grundlage der Untersuchungen sind—Veränderungen der Grabsitte, die sich in der Zahl der Gräber oder Gräberfelder niederschlagen müssen, gebührend in Rechnung zu stellen. Wie überall gilt hier die Regel, daß nur Gleichartiges verglichen werden darf, wenn man mit verlässlichen Ergebnissen rechnen möchte. (Hachmann 1970, p.391)

The conclusions of Mårten Stenberger from excavations on Öland is as well criticized by Hachmann. Stenberger excavated 179 graves from the Older Roman Iron Age and 42 from the Younger, of which 39 were directly dateable. He counted 20 to the Older- and 19 to the Later Roman Emperor-Time. He drew the conclusion that the settlement-conditions had hardly changed during the Younger Emperor-Time even if it was indicated a break between the two time-periods. Normally the old grave-fields from the Older Emperor-Time have been abandoned. The new graves have been placed in connection to howes. By the small number Stenberger concludes that an emigration to the Continent has taken place. If you compare, Hachmann means, the size of the inhabited and cultivated area you find that it has not been changed but marginally. He also remarks that further northwards, where earlier no traces of habitation were extant, has been made a single grave-find. Hachmann means that in the beginning of the Younger Emperor-Time not only the location of the grave-fields has been changed, but also the habit with burial-gifts and consequently they are more difficult to discover. It seems, he continues, as if the new burial-habit continued also later. Stenberger found for the Older Migration Period just 10 graves, which all

were from the early part of the epoch. After this there are no other grave-finds before the Viking Time. Instead there are finds of another kind, which for the Migration Period indicates a dense population- the settlements themselves- of which, according to Hachmann, from the beforegoing period traces are as good as totally lacking. It is, Hachmann remarks, a wrong method that has been applied by Stenberger, and which has led to this result, since the change of the number of graves and grave-fields are not allways confirmative proofs. He also remarks that the different parts of the Scandinavian main-land and the different islands might exhibit between themselves quite different cultural-geographic developments. (Hachmann 1970, p.393 f)

He mentions the climatic theories by R.Sernander and A.Blyth and also the uplifting of the later research of the climatic changes, but concludes that the important thing is to confirm how the humans reacted to the by these phenomena created ecological changes, since there are a number of thinkable reactions. For Norway he states that all the Northern territory almost lacked agri-culture and cattle-breeding between Trøndelag and Hordaland, but the finds are in the coastal and coast-close areas in the South, and mostly concentrated in Østfold and Vestfold around the Oslofjord, and on Lista and Jæren in Rogaland. In Trøndelag, besides, the grave-habit that was extant in the Pre-Roman Iron Age seems to continue during the Younger Emperor-Time and the Migration Period but the finds are scarce. He regards the supposed decrease in cultivation and habitation between the Younger Bronze Age and the Pre-Roman Iron Age as considerably small, but he can however not deny a certain decrease, and he suggests that the same changed conditions must have occurred in Sweden and the “Western Baltic Sea—area”, but that the humans might have reacted differently. He draws the conclusion that the limited land-stretch and the relatively outspread population makes it difficult to judge changes between the Bronze and the Iron Ages, and that it is not possible to indicate an increase of the population or an emigration, but neither can he exclude it. He means the population has gradually adapted to the changed conditions. He remarks that the finds do not change character in a mention-worth degree during the first decade after the Birth of Christ in comparison with earlier. (Hachmann 1970, p. 394 ff)

In the beginning of the Older Iron Age the Barrow- and Coast-Mound-culture in Norrland disappears, and Hachmann assumes they maybe have gone southwards to the warmer territories of Scandinavia, and he comments that they during the Bronze Age might have gone eastwards, but that this at this time no longer is possible. Simultaneously the finds also in the south decrease. A continuity between the Bronze Age and the Older Iron Age is only possible to indicate in some few places in Sweden, and this depends according to Sune Lindqvist, to whom also Oxenstierna and Arbmänn refer, of a trade-boycott from the side of

the Continental Celts towards the Scandinavian area. This meant they could not import raw-material. (Oxenstierna 1948; Arbmman 1934, p.15) Arbmman claims this meant that it took a longer time before the iron became generally used, and that consequently the Bronze Age continued for a longer period locally. This has resulted in a wrong dating of the finds and hence it should explain the find-emptiness. (Arbmman 1934, p.15) Also Berta Stjernquist can believe in this explanation. (Stjernquist 1961, p.128 ff) Hachmann agrees it could be like that but not necessarily however. He means there existed both competence and raw-ware in Sweden, as well as in Norway, but he instead points on another circumstance. The metal-rich so called treasure-hoard finds or sacrifice-finds having been made in wet-grounds during the Bronze Age both on the continent and in Scandinavia decrease and finally cease, both in Northern Germany and in the Western Baltic Sea-area and in Scandinavia. This is a common cultural exhibition which he claims has nothing to do with the climatic deterioration. It indicates a connection between the Continent and the Nordic countries meaning the Scandinavian area can not be regarded as an isolated territory. When wet-ground sacrifices re-appear in a greater scale, like in the find in Hjortspring, they are of another character. This difference occurs also in Sweden during the Pre-Roman and Roman Iron Age. He remarks quite generally that the habit to sacrifice expensive bronze objects indicate well-being and wealth during the Younger Bronze Age, but you do not get the same impression from the graves during this time. It is accordingly necessary to compare graves with graves and sacrifice-finds/hoards with sacrifice finds/hoards. (Rosenberg 1937; Hachmann 1970, p.400 ff)

This I to a certain extent regard as confirmation of the observation I have done above in another section, concerning the difference between the older grave habits in Västergötland during the transition from the Neolithicum to the Bronze Age, when the grave-finds and the grave-habits suggest that Västergötland is peripheral, while other finds clearly indicate that it belongs to the wealthy central territory of the Bronze Age.

Hachmann refers to K.E.Sahlström, who in connection with the excavations at Kyrkbacken, treated above, has indicated a find-empty period when graves from the Bronze Age are followed by graves from the Younger Roman Iron Age, while the graves from the Older Roman Iron Age are missing. Oxenstierna comments in connection with this matter:

Ein unglückseliges, gleichzeitiges Schwinden der drei grabbildenden Faktoren: Metallbeigaben, Knochen und Überbau können offensichtlich zu einer 'gräberlosen' Zeit führen" (Oxenstierna, Östergötlands äldre järnålder, p.69)

Hachmann comments himself that:

“Es ist nicht ganz einfach vorstellbar, daß sich alle Elemente einer Kultur gleichzeitig so entwickelt haben sollten, daß die ganze Kultur archäologisch nicht mehr faßbar ist, und doch gibt es Beweise dafür, daß die Entwicklung in Schweden teilweise so verlaufen sein muß.

Hachmann remarks that on Gotland, in the centre of the grave-field Vallhagar M, there is a group of graves totally lacking grave-gifts and they are according to Erik Nylén the oldest graves in the cemetery. Hachmann calls for a more complete excavation, which he thinks might lead to a connection between the graves lacking gifts on Vallhagar M and the graves from the Older Iron Age found on Vallhagar S. The graveless period on Gotland now only rests on the evidence from Vallhagar M, he means. (Hachmann 1970, p.401 f) For the Swedish main-land he means that the observations of Nylén might give references to the conditions in Väster- and Östergötland and in the Mälars-valley-area. He mentions besides that M. Fries, as I have already remarked, has made pollen-analytical examinations in Västergötland showing that a decline of the cultivation has not occurred even if the settlement-finds and other finds are getting fewer. (Fries 1958, p.38) He however comments with a certain care:

Die geringe Zahl der bislang vorliegenden Pollenanalysen sagt allerdings nichts über den Umfang des Ackerbaues und den der bebauten Fläche, die durchaus kleiner gewesen sein kann als vorher und später” (Hachmann 1970, p.402)

It is a wise reservation. I have above claimed that the need of the single family for cultivation-ground and grazing pasture increases during this period and that people now start using clay-soil for pastures. The habitations now turn to family-yards and not as earlier collective groups like during the Bronze Age. The villages accordingly consist of a number of family-yards claiming the soil and forcing other to seek elsewhere for grounds. The cultivation consequently increases, but at the same time it feeds a lesser number of humans!

Also Hachmann finds it remarkable that in Västergötland it does not exist a single grave-field with continuity from the Younger Bronze Age and into the Iron Age. None of the by Sahström examined grave-fields can exhibit a group of graves lacking grave-gifts, and by who's position on the grave-field you could conclude it belongs to the graveless time. In Fiskeby in Östergötland however there is such an example. The same conditions as in these mentioned areas, he comments, it is in



Uppland, and so he means you must count with that many grave-fields have been opened just during the Younger Roman Iron Age. He writes:

Untersucht man das chronologisch aufschlüsselbare Fundgut genauer, so kommt man überall zu den Ergebnis, daß noch zu Beginn der jüngeren vor-römischen Eisenzeit, die Besiedlung überall ziemlich spärlich war, daß die Gräberfelder auf verhältnismäßig kleine Siedlungsgemeinschaften hinweisen und daß der besiedelte Raum klein war. (Hachmann 1970, p.402 f)

He thereby confirms my thesis of the small, family-based unit which necessarily must leave small, easily negligable grave-fields after them. The question then is what happened to all other humans in the old collective society? As I have already several times demonstrated there are nowadays a number of unbroken grave-fields extant, but still there is a scarcity of finds from this period, and specially so just in Västergötland. Here we also might refer to the excavation in Dragby in Uppland with 150 graves, resulting in the confirmation the field belonged to a yard or a small group of yards. (Nylén 1956, p.73) Hachmann himself claims that the grave-field in Kyrkbacken maybe only was a cemetery for 8-11 families during 9-12 generations, and that during the Older iron Age the graves should have been placed so densely, that they are not possible to differ from each other. He accordingly claims it was a weak population-developement at the same time they were that stingy with space for burying this small population. (Hachmann 1970, p.405 f) This is indeed a contradiction!

Instead Hachmann uses these conditions as an excuse to claim:

Zieht man das alles in Betracht, so kann es als sicher gelten, daß der Übergang von der Bronze- zur Eisenzeit in Schweden gewiß keine Bevölkerungsvermehrung brachte. Eine Verminderung ist wahrscheinlicher, eine Bevölkerungsleere allerdings ganz unwahrscheinlich. Das braucht aber keineswegs zu bedeuten, daß größere Bevölkerungsteile abwanderten. Ungunst der Umwelt und Beeinträchtigung der wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen des Lebens können unversehens die Bevölkerung stark dezimiert haben, ohne daß wesentliche Abwanderungen stattgefunden zu haben brauchen. (Hachmann 1970 p.403)

He accordingly means that there was such a lack of people that a mass-emigration was not probable.

In time it might have been a lack of people, yes, but during the transition period there must have been considerably more people than there was available, arable soil, considering the demands of soil-quality possible to cultivate with the tools of that time. There was good communications between different areas already now in e.g. Halland and Västergötland. If a number of younger sons from every village in certain areas gather they are able to form a good military expedition without being overwhelmingly many. A number of such groups meeting each other along the way do not become a mass, but still a not insignificant group of emigrants with capacity to conquer and control areas like in the Viking Time.

Hachmann also refers to the description by Märten Stenberger of the “Örslösanöden” (Örslösa-famine) in the 16<sup>th</sup> c. and to the Greenlandic vikings being extinguished because of starvation (which I as earlier mentioned doubt), but none of these occurrences produce a total explanation. He means that the local population was too busy—in the whole country—to survive, and that an organised emigration just was one, and a less probable, alternative. (Hachmann 1970, p.403 f) I disagree with him in that point, as demonstrated above. He also confesses himself, that with such theories you can not solve the question of the population-change in the Scandinavian area in connection with the climatic deterioration. He concludes with stating that there are scarce finds in Väster- and Östergötland up to the Younger Iron Age, when:

In der Frühphase der jüngeren vorrömischen Eisenzeit dort nicht viele Gräber mit Beigaben ausgestattet wurden, ist es doch sichtbar, daß eine ganze Anzahl von Gräberfeldern keine frühen Funde enthalten. Für Västergötland geben die Abb. 54-55 einen Eindruck von der Siedlungsdichte. Bezeichnend ist im übrigen, daß die meisten frühen Fundstellen auf relativ fruchtbarem Boden liegen. Erst die beginnende Ausbauphase der fortgeschrittenen jüngeren vorrömischen Eisenzeit läßt eine Fundvermehrung und ein Ausgreifen der Besiedlung auf Böden geringerer Qualität erkennen. Die Fundverteilung um Christi Geburt und in der ältern Kaiserzeit läßt für Västergötland einen deutlichen Fortschritt der Binnenkolonisation erkennen. In Östergötland ist das Bild ähnlich. (Hachmann 1970, p.408 ff)

This partly might be explained with the relocalisation from the Cambro-Silurian area to the clay-plains, but it still gives room for a surplus-population as described above.

He rounds up with a commentary about the Northern Norway:

Die Besiedlung dieses Gebietes intensivierte sich in der jüngeren Kaiserzeit und dehnte sich nach Jämtland aus. Die Verbreitung der völkerwanderungszeitlichen Funde zeigt eine Fundverdichtung im Küstengebiet und eine Fortsetzung der Binnenkolonisation. Westlicher Einfluß setzte sich neben dem südlichen durch die jüngere Kaiserzeit hindurch fort und wurde im Verlaufe der Völkerwanderungszeit intensiver. W. Slomann dachte für diese Zeit an eine Kolonisation aus Südwestnorwegen. Der westliche Einfluß in Kulturgut und Grabsitten ist evident und zeigt die Kraft der norwegischen Kultur dieser Zeit, die—trotz des Weges über das Gebirge—hier den schwedischen Einflüssen überlegen war (vgl. dazu auch unten S.428). Die späte Besiedlung der Landschaften Västerbotten und Norrbotten hat Neuerdings I. Serning verdeutlicht (Hachmann 1970, p.411)

Norway consequently in the opinion of Hachmann has been partly colonised, and the Norwegians have not colonised southwards.

After this survey Hachmann states that it now may be regarded as confirmed, that as latest during the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD Goths—Γουτῶι (Goutai) lived in Scandinavia. Besides that during the 5<sup>th</sup> c. was reported, probably from Gallia, about the Gauthigothae, who he places south of the Väner lake and the Göta älv river, and of the Vagoth who he believes shall be placed east of the Vättern-lake and south of the stream Motala älv. It also must be considered as confirmed, he states, that Goths like the \*Γουτῶνες (\*Goutones), Gutones, Gotones or Γυδῶνες (Gudones) during the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> cc. AD lived at the Vistula but east of the river and not by the sea. He further claims that it with very great probability might be concluded, that the main-land Goths are identical with the Masowian group, which group can be confirmed archaeologically. Concerning the finds of Oxenstierna in Västergötland and Östergötland Hachmann considers they must refer to \*Gautigothae and \*Vagothae. Since Gotland not is mentioned in the literature he means that the island should be treated as equal with Väster- and Östergötland in order that it should not be totally overlooked. (Hachmann 1970, p.432)

It may be noted that Hachmann here admits that the Gautar indeed are Goths, which is an important distinction towards many other researchers. Hachmann remarks that what Scandinavia concerns you can see an increase of the number of settlements and an increase of the cultivated ground, while in

Masowia and Masuria you see an over-layering and an increase of settlements. The cultural connections seem to be more intensive with the neighbouring Przeworsk-culture in south and south-west than with the Scandinavian area. There are however cultural and ceramic similarities with Scandinavia, but also many differences. There is no special connection with Scandinavia but similarities may be found with all Germanics. The cultures of Väster- and Östergötland are relatively closely connected with other close-lying Scandinavian landscapes, while the culture of Gotland has traits deviating from the main-land and exhibits, specially from the time before Christ, many times connections with the Continental main-land—however not with the Masowian group but with the East Mecklenburgian and Pommeranian area and with the Vistula-mouth-area. He claims in any case that it can be confirmed, that a close connection existed between the Scandinavian Goths and the main-land Goths. Whether the continental main-land Goths came from Scandinavia or the Scandinavian Goths came from the Continental main-land he can not on this ground decide. It is also unclear, he remarks, if the on the main-land respectively in Scandinavia living Goths were of Gothic, biological ancestry since this depends of whether you presuppose an immigration from either direction. (Hachmann 1970, p.432 f)

Concerning the point of time for a migration in any direction he remarks:

Die ΓΟΥΤΩΝΕΣ des Strabo geben jedenfalls einen Terminus ante quem für die Wanderungsvorgänge falls Goten aus dem Norden gekommen sein sollten. Die Goutai des Ptolemaios liefern einen entsprechenden Terminus, falls Goten vom Kontinent kommend nach dem Norden verschlagen worden sein sollten. Beides—Wanderung von Gotenteilen nach dem Süden, Auswanderung von Teilen des Gotenstammes nach dem Norden—könnten schon wesentlich früher als die feststellbaren Termini ante quos vor sich gegangen sein...Unter der Voraussetzung, daß die Masowische Gruppe mit den Goten identisch ist, müßten die festländischen Goten schon um 100 v. Chr. Geb. oder kurz vorher als an der Weichsel bezeugt gelten. Eine Abwanderung nach Norden könnte dann schon im Verlaufe des letzten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts erfolgt sein. Einwanderung von Goten aus dem Norden—sie hätte zur Entstehung der Masowischen Gruppe geführt—müßte um oder kurz vor 100 v. Chr. Geb. geschehen sein. (Hachmann 1970, p.433 f.)

Now it is, however, not so selfevident, Hachmann means, that the Masowian group originally comes from Scandinavia. It is, he claims, during its early period a part of the Przeworsk-culture. Pottery and grave-gifts stand at a first look in

evident opposition to the cultures called alternately the Geschichtsurnenkultur, Pommeranian culture, Stone-cist-grave culture and Beaker-culture. Polish researchers have in later time been able to give a more thorough picture of the culture during the Pre-Roman Iron Age based on new finds. They have with this tried to prove a continuous development of the Przeworsk-culture. He concludes that exact proofs are hard to find. He assumes among else that in the whole Vistula-area the grave-field seem to have a continuity from the Beaker-culture into the Oksywie/Oxhöfde-culture and the Przeworsk-culture. These circumstances do not force to an assumption of a continuous population he remarks, even if it is close to hand. It is normally very difficult to differ these cultures by excavations. (Hachmann 1970, p.434 ff)

The strongest evidence by Hachmann for a continuous transition between the mentioned cultures is an excavation at the grave-field of Wola Szydłowiecka-Kolonia, Kr. Lowicz in grave 2, a fire-pit grave from the Przeworsk-culture, where among else has been found a ceramic-plate which is usual in the Beaker-culture. He means that here is evidence not only typologically confirmed but also concerning the burial-habit, which he considers confirmed through the excavation of the fire-pit graves 7-10 who also exhibit a mixed content. He means that the relations between these two cultures remind of the conditions around BC within the Oksywie-culture. It changed to great parts but the grave-fields mostly were in continuous use.

In the lower Vistula-area however there is a remarkable decline of the number of grave-fields, and areas with less fertile soil are abandoned, and in the Vistula-valley itself land-areas are abandoned in connection with the termination of the Beaker-culture. These areas are re-colonised during the run of the Roman Iron Age. He suggests that also in the south the transition partly must mean a decrease of the inhabited and cultivated area. In the Masowian territory there are lot of finds of graves from this culture. The most informative example, he claims, are the finds in Kacice, where the grave-field consists of two parts from respectively the Older Hallstatt-Time and the Younger Latène-Time, where graves from the Beaker-culture and the Przeworsk-culture met each other. He remarks that there on the grave-field at Wilanów in the Warszawa-area are no Beaker-graves, but that on the close-lying field at Henryków, with graves from the Youngest Beaker-culture, have been found burials from the Masowian group from the Younger Pre-Roman Iron Age. They contain ceramic-plates standing the Przeworsk-culture close. The grave-field Wichrowice stands close to Henryków and has, besides burials from the the Beaker- and Stone-cist culture, also graves from the Younger Pre-Roman Iron Age. Out of this he concludes that the Vistula-valley in the area around Włocławek not for sure might be counted to the Masowian group. (Hachmann 1970, p.438 ff) In Northern Masowia L and J Okulicz have tried to

demonstrate a continuation of the Przeworsk-culture, but Hachmann means that these graves, howes with straight-angled stone-coverings and urns, point towards the West-Masurian group of the Baltic culture and he finds no connection with the Przeworsk-culture. (Hachmann 1970, p. 444)

He accordingly concludes that the Masowian culture not is autochton and that it no doubt slowly has spread from the south and northwards. With beginning in the Younger Pre-Roman Iron Age the southern branches have pressed away the West-Masurian culture, and during the Older Roman Iron Age the area in the north has been denser colonised. In north and north-east still more territories have been included whose earlier habitational history is unclear. Hachmann assumes that an East-Masurian Baltic group has been pressed away here. The origin of the Masowian culture he in any case means lie in the Stone-cist and Beaker culture in the middle Vistula-area. He is however uncertain since by the fibulae-finds and other artefacts you can see influences of the Celtic Latène-culture, but also objects lacking connection to this. Also the pottery differs from Latène. He reckons the grave- and the grave-gift-tradition to "local tradition".(Hachmann 1970, p.447)

Hachmann considers that in the same manner as the Alamanni constituted themselves as a tribe, you possibly here can see the growth of the Gothic tribe. He states, however, that there are no traces of emigrants from the Scandinavian area in those landscapes considered to have been the original home of the Goths. New impulses from the south never come to the Masowian group—neither before or after BC. He finally concludes that the material is insufficient to decide whether it really deals with the Goths, and that an external origin of the group not is possible to confirm with the present methods. (Hachmann 1970, p.449 f)

Against Hachmann Herwig Wolfram claims that he is wrong in tying a regional group in the Przeworsk-culture in Masowia before the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. to the Goths. Both these cultures, Przeworsk and the East-Pommeranian-Masowian are clearly defined and divided from each other in an evident succession. The change depends on a new population.

The East-Pommeranian-Masowian culture is by Wofram regarded as basically Gothic and is connected with the expansion of the Goths during the end of the 100's and in into the 200's when the Cerniachov-Sintana-de- Mûres-culture is created. (Wolfram 1989, p.394 f, note 17)

Also Peter Heather jumps into the discussion and means that the Wielbark-culture during it's younger phase expands and overtakes the Przeworsk-culture, and the expansion continues southwards which ends in the creation of the Cerniachov-Sintana-de-Mûres-culture, which carries with itself some heavy remnants from the old Wielbark-culture. He then primarily refers to the habit with

weaponless burials of men, simultaneously occurring inhumations and cremations and the burial-clothes for women with a pair of broches. He is however not quite convinced this is a sole Gothic habit, but he means it was applied within the whole Wielbark-culture, which leads to that he regards the whole culture as a possible cultic league. He remarks there lived a lot of different peoples who could be expected to have migrated southwards and he mentions among else Rugii and Taifali, which he considers Germanic Wielbark-peoples, while Wolfram instead claims the Taifali were a non-Germanic tribe. In any case Heather claims that it decidedly deals with an emigration in a greater scale but that it is not a united enterprise, but it consists of a greater number of independent groups under their own leaders. This goes both for the Goths and the other peoples. (Heather 1996, p.35 ff, 43 ff)

Heather also touches the question of the possible origin of the Goths before their supposed arrival in the Vistula-area. He suggests the archaeological evidence consist of 7 elements: Inhumation, weaponless burials of men, the occurrence of standing stone-circles and standing stones in grave-fields, pear-shaped metal-pendants, snake-headed bracelets, S-shaped fibulae and pottery which is both polished and rugged. If these evidences should have any worth for the theory they have come from Scandinavia, he means, they shall first be confirmed in Scandinavia. It is however only the standing stones and the standing stone-circles that meet this demand, he remarks. He claims the rest primarily exist in other places. (Heather 1996, p.14 ff) He can however not deny that already in the first phase of the Wielbark-culture the mentioned changes take place, like transition from weapon-graves to weaponless ones, replacement of the black pottery with low-quality goods et c., but he admits that the earlier inhabitants in these areas had other habits. (Heather 1996, p.23)

I consider that he has failed to exclude a possible Scandinavian origin for parts of the Goths with regard to e.g. the catalogue of Oxenstierna over the finds in Västergötland. The fact remains that both the weaponless burial-habit for men and the pottery earlier exist in Västergötland and West-Sweden, even if maybe similar ceramics can be confirmed also elsewhere. In any case Heather regards the Goths as original in the Wielbark-culture. In that connection I will remind of the possibility of several emigration-waves as mentioned above, where the first one could have originated on Gotland already before BC. It should explain why Pytheas possibly could have heard of the Goths (which Hachmann denies as earlier referred to). Here might be added that Erik Nylén in an article in *Peregrinatio III* has concluded that many grave-fields on Gotland, among else the great Annelund at Visby and Sälle in Fröjel with 500 graves each, have been terminated about the year 200, and that this correlates to the Gutasaga. He also sees the grave-habits in the Vistula-area from about 200 as agreeing both with the

Scandinavian main-land in Väster- and Östergötland and Öland and Gotland. (Nylén 1991, p.173 ff.) This also points towards that Scandinavians, also Gutar, have part-taken in the wanderings of the Goths. Heather remarks that the archaeological cultures not are identical with the area of a certain people, but that there may live several peoples within these, and that certain tribes arrive to the area and accept certain habits from there and establish some of their old, while other peoples emigrate that in time result in more changes.

This is of course quite correct and reasonable, but it does not exclude that the change concerning weaponless burials of men and the pottery-change might have come with the Goths and been accepted also by the earlier inhabitants. Heather himself indeed sees a cultic league in the archaeological traces of the burial habits, and that is exactly what I have claimed myself above—maybe it deals with peoples worshipping the god Gaut. Even if there has earlier existed other cults among the peoples of the Oksywie-culture you could well grasp the idea, that in connection with a Gothic expansion in the area also the Gothic cult makes an impact with certain neighbouring peoples, and when the Prezworsk-culture is overlaid the same thing happens. The habits indeed remain even under the later combination of Óðinn-Gaut in the ?ernjachov-culture. I still consist the Goths were basically a cultic league.

We have above in an earlier section treated the goldbracteates. There is however a Swedish archaeologist Kaj Lyckebo, having written a paper entitled *Skandinavien-Östgermanernas ursprung?* (*Scandinavia-the origin of the East-Germanics?*) at the University filial of Visby 1996. He brings some quite new and interesting aspects of the bracteates that still better demonstrate the connection between Scandinavia and the East-Germanics. I will quote selected parts of his reasoning translated to English by myself:

Within the borders of the distribution-area of the bracteates they seem to have functioned as a symbol of Scandinavian identity, where the appearance in the female find-goods is almost total for example in Kent, where the leading families claimed a Jutlandian origin. Because this was an important part of their identity, to mark their origin, the women marked this among else through carrying goldbracteates.(Chadwick, Hawkes and Pollard 1981) Here you can notice that the goldbracteates could be a symbol for a common Scandinavian identity outside Scandinavia, and not only a political symbol as I have mentioned earlier.

...

To be able to recognize political affiliation or alliances and tribal belonging we have, except of the local chieftains in South-Scandinavia,



groups of persons having been tied to each other through carrying identical bracteates. "Tribal areas match to chieftain's how wear similarly gold bracteates".(Andrén 1991:254)

...

Stamp-identity between different gold bracteates have as latest been defined by Morten Axboe and been mapped by Karl Hauck. The political groupings or alliances which can be estimated through the stamp-identity have been relatively small. Stamp-identical bracteates have been found within areas, who later are known as landscapes, but sometimes also in several areas of that kind. Links between the finds exist e.g. within Jutland, Zealand and Skåne, but also between Northern Jutland and Zealand and between Skåne, Halland, Blekinge, Öland and Gotland.(See map)

...

The spread of stamp-identical bracteates however never answers to that great units as the younger medieval states. Instead there appears a picture of smaller political units Andrén considers. (Andrén 1991:254)(Lyckebo 1996)

Lyckebo then reasons about the typological elements of the bracteates suggesting there might be certain elements pointing on greater political units/tribal units than just the stamp-identity. Stamp-identity has been noticed also outside Scandinavia. It deals with finds in Kent and Normandy and in Pannonia. Lyckebo suggests that the stamp-identity here has marked just those political groupings claiming a Scandinavian origin, namely the Jutes in Kent and the tribes in Pannonia. He gives a definition-table of the gold bracteates:

#### Definitions of the gold bracteates

To group A are counted gold bracteates, who exhibit human representations without feet and who lack pictures of animals or parts of animals.

To group B are counted gold bracteates, who picture human representations with feet.

To group C are counted gold bracteates, who exhibit both human representations without feet and representations of animals and parts of animals.

To group D are counted gold bracteates, who exhibit representations of animals or parts of animals, and who lack human representations. (Malmer 1963:113)

(Lyckebo 1996)

He writes that Mats Malmer in 1963 divided the bracteates in subgroups through indicating certain typological elements. Only the C-bracteate he divided into 8 main-groups with subgroups, which makes totally 23 groups just for the C-bracteate. He gives the eight main-groups of C as below:

Nr 1. Human representation with round hairstyle or only diadembands in the neck, placed on the back of a four-feet animal.

Nr.2. Human representation who's hair-style is ended with a loop in the neck, placed on the back of a four-feet animal.

Nr.3. Human representation who's hair-style is ended with a braid in the neck, placed on the back of a four-feet animal.

Nr.4. Human representation who's hair-style is ended with a tuft in the neck, placed on the back of a four-feet animal.

Nr 5. Human representation who's hair-style is ended with a bird in the neck, placed on the back of a four-feet animal.

Nr.6 Human representation who's hair-style is ended with a bird in the forehead, placed on the back of a four-feet animal.

Nr 7. Human representation wich is not placed on the back of a four-feet animal.

Nr.8. A so confused presentation that it is impossible to decide to which one of the groups 1-8 it belongs. (Malmer 1963:137f).(Lyckebo 1996)



*Fig.37 CIIa1-bracteate*

Later he treats the spatial distribution of the bracteates. He remarks that, of the 758 gold bracteates he has presented in the included table it is only 91 having been found outside the Nordic territory and in Eastern Europe only 23. Statistically there are some interesting detail remarks. He finds, except of the 23 groups of C-bracteates by Malmer a subgroup, C:IIa1, of which there are 12 in Eastern Europe, former East-Germany and the countries east and south-west of it, 24 in Southern Norway, 8 in East-Sweden, 14 in West-Sweden and 6

in each of Skåne, Blekinge and Jutland. That within just one group of all C-groups have been found as many as 12 in Eastern Europe, and them having a distribution that wide as up to Southern Norway and West- and East-Sweden might indicate close to stamp-identical bracteates and political connections over vast distances, he suggests. It can neither, he claims, be pure chance that of the 23 groups of Malmer just one group, C:IIa1, which contains that many specific typological elements, has been found within these geographical areas. (Lyckebo 1996)

The bracteates he find most important consequently are C:IIa1 and C:VIII, which he defines as below:

To bracteatepicture C:IIa1 are counted gold bracteates who exhibit only such human representations that lack feet, among them one who's hair-style is finished with a loop in the neck and placed on the back of a four-foot animal with two back-legs, of wich neither is upturned, and who lack beard. (Malmer 1963:117)

To C:VIII are counted gold bracteates which show both human representations without feet and representations of animals and parts of such, but in such a confused shape that they can not safely be placed in any group but need an own. (Malmer 1963:119) (Lyckebo 1996)

Tribal belonging is the next issue he centers on. He suggests the above mentioned areas in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe showing a stamp-identity possibly also had political contacts. The Scandinavian areas have high values of C:IIa1-bracteates in common with Eastern Europe, while e.g. in England and the Netherlands no finds at all have been done and in the major area of former West-Germany only 2 have been found. These political groupings, he suggests, who wanted to claim their Scandinavian identity, in some manner must have had close contacts with their original tribal territory to be able to make alliances, recruit new fighters to the warrior-bands and to make marriage-alliances. It all points towards strong ties to East-and West-Sweden and Southern Norway—strong political structures over vast geographical areas he remarks. Of 89 CIIa1 bracteates in total accordingly 12 have been found in Eastern Europe. Of the 11 C:VIII-bracteates 5 have been found in Southern Norway and 4 in Eastern Europe- it is hence the possible widest spread within the Germanic Europe, and he asks himself if this can indicate close contacts and kinship. Concerning the percentage-distribution we can see that C:I-C:II have high values within the areas distinguished by the sub-group C:IIa1, and also Skåne and Blekinge are included when the typological variation is increased. (Malmer 1963:177) (Lyckebo 1996)

This study by Kaj Lyckebo I consider as a strong indication of close and intensive contacts between the Continental Goths and their kin-folks in the North and the distribution fits well with my supposed Gothic areas in the Scandinavian region which are the present Swedish Götaländerna including also former Danish provinces like Halland and Skåne, Southwestern and Southern Norway and Jutland.



*Fig. 38 Stamp-identities of gold bracteates (Andrén 1991:253) (Lyckebo 1996)*

Lyckebo as well mentions an interesting observation concerning the hoard-finds of silver-denars. The denars in Sweden are part of a broad belt stretching from Poland, where 50 000 have been found, through the old Tjeckoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and former Soviet-Union, where 30 000 have been found, all the way to the Donets-basin in eastern Ukraine. The most date to the period 64-200 AD exactly as in Sweden. Sweden has the fourth biggest concentration of denars in this belt, and they have been deposited during the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. Lyckebo remarks that, apart of a find in old Tjeckoslovakia and one in Romania, the biggest hoards with 1000 denars or more lie in a north-south line from the Hungarian plains to Gotland. Lyckebo connects the finds with possible parttaking of bands of Germanics from Gotland and East-Scandinavia in the Gothic campaigns and generally he estimates very close contacts with North- and Eastgermanics. After the Hunnic invasion many peoples ought to have deposited their wealth he reasons and so happened evidently also up North. He mentions that if they had close contacts they took as much care of ones own fortune as that of the Continental kinsmen. (Lyckebo 1996, p.9) I can add that the returning people after the break down of the Hunnic realm also should have been quite loaded. In the section of Västergötland above I will remind of the war-boot-finds from Finnestorp and Vennebo and also of the finds in Skåne by Fabeck.

Lyckebo also indicates the finds of Roman glas-vessels connected with the symbolic drinking of the Germanics. Such grave-finds of symbolic drinking-bowls in glass, used when forming alliances, worshipping the gods or receiving high guests seemingly are only found in the North-Germanic and Eastgermanic areas in the free Germania. (Lyckebo 1996, p.12)

Grupp	Danish Jorana		Danmark utan fylndort		Västverrige	Chausrige	Gotland	Sverige utan fylndort	Sjyborge	Norborge	Norge utan fylndort	England	Nederländerna	Västyskland	Östereopa	Summa
	Jylland	Sjælland	Sjælland	Sjælland												
A: 1	1	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	21
A: 2	1	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11
B: 1a	1	8	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	22
B: 1b	1	4	1	4	1	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	35
B: 2a	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4
B: 2b	1	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14
B: 2b	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9
C: 1a1	1	1	1	2	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
C: 1a2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
C: 1b1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5
C: 1c1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
C: 1c2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1la1	1	6	2	6	14	5	4	4	24	1	1	1	1	1	1	80
C: 1la2	1	9	2	11	5	6	2	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	46
C: 1lb1	1	4	1	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	18
C: 1le1	1	2	1	3	2	1	1	1	4	8	1	1	1	1	1	22
C: 1le2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11
C: 1ll1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5
C: 1llb1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
C: 1V1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vb1	10	2	2	4	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	32
C: 1Vc1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
C: 1Vd1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Ve1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
C: 1Vf1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vg1	1	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
C: 1Va2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5
C: 1Vc1	1	1	2	1	3	1	1	1	6	7	1	1	1	1	1	25
C: 1Vd1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vf1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vg1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vh1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vi1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vj1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vk1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vl1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vm1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vn1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vo1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vp1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vq1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vr1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vs1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vt1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vu1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vv1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vw1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vx1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vy1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
C: 1Vz1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
D: 1	1	22	5	4	5	1	2	33	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	73
D: 2	1	82	12	5	18	7	1	22	5	2	16	6	17	1	1	106
D: 3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Summa	87	183	35	60	63	31	26	10	125	24	5	20	8	48	23	748
Obetämbara	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Totalsumma	87	183	35	60	66	31	28	10	127	25	5	20	8	50	23	758

Fig.39 Distribution of gold-bracteates. (Malmer 1963: 164) (Lyckebo 1996)

Recently a new Swedish study, *Gothic Connections*, has been published by Anders Kaliff, to whom I have already referred above in connection with other examinations. I simply give a very short summary of his general views, that I share in the great lines but of course not totally. His results tend to strengthen the presumed connection between Scandinavia and the Continental Goths. Since the book is written in English and quite actual I

see no need to go deeper in my text but refer the reader directly to the book. Kaliff has examined archaeological finds from eastern Sweden and demonstrated that they indicate close contacts with the Baltic coastal area on the Continent, and further down in south-easterly direction. He has demonstrated that this is indicated in material already from the Bronze Age. There are continuous indications of close contacts between eastern Sweden, Balticum and Poland. Pottery, graves and house constructions point towards contacts with the Lusatian culture, but also further. He assumes a kind of alliance-system between chieftains in different areas during the Pre-Roman and Roman Iron Age upholding trade routes over the Baltic Sea between Scandinavia and the Wielbark-culture and supports himself among else with similarities in grave-constructions. He rejects however a mass emigration and admits the Wielbark-culture mostly originates from earlier local cultures, but he still sees old and lasting contacts and influences going both ways between the areas starting already in the Lusatian culture between groups of chieftains getting closer and closer related which eventually, he means, could result in similarities of material culture, burial habits and language. Consequently he means that the history of Jordanes very well could be based on an oral tradition of kind. (Anders Kaliff 2001) This all goes, as far as I understand, quite well together with my thesis of smaller

groups and different emigration waves during a period of about 300 years or longer, and a generally cultic influence from the North transforming the Wielbark-culture into a cultic league, that also was the impression Heather got from the diversities in the “culture”. I have not treated e.g. the last book of Walter Pohl which I have not had time to read, but of different excerpts I have found no reason to believe that it decisively affects my theories since it all in the end comes down to interpretations.

## **Conclusion of the archaeological judgements**

What conclusions then might we draw from this part of the research survey? The first thing you can conclude is that much material of importance for the total judgement will be added in the two following sections, and consequently all conclusions at this stage will be suffering of insecurity. In spite of this I think the demonstrated material gives a fairly good picture of the scientific stand right now. The original idea of Kossinna that the inhumation graves should be characteristic for the Goths has been further developed by Almgren, who contrary to Kossinna rejects the Gotland-hypothesis since the find material on Gotland increases instead of decrease around the time of the presumed emigration. He concludes that primarily Östergötland is the hot area. Birger Nerman concludes similarly, and one of his reasons is also that he considers, that there were no kings on Gotland who could lead an emigration. What Almgren concerns it is interesting to note that he means that the grave-material on Gotland might suggest an emigration around 300-150 BC. Since it is normally considered, with exception of Hachmann, that Plinius refers to information from Pytheas from the 300's BC that he should have been aware of the Goths, this information might have concerned Gutnic traders having taken part in and controlled parts of the amber trade, or Gutnic emigrants. Since the Gothic language in the version of Wulfila closer reminds of Gutnic than any other Germanic language this is not an impossible thought. The establishment of the actual name-form *Guiones* or *Gutones* accordingly could have originated on Gotland and hence the Gothic “emigration” could have taken place in different stages. The Goths, however, in my opinion were not only these possible early immigrants but in fact all tribes/peoples worshipping Gaut—they were the real ‘humans’, ‘the outpoured’. Among else Kossinna, Almgren, Nerman, Blume and Schindler all agree the Goths arrive from Scandinavia around the time of BC. This could then, in my opinion, possibly be the second immigration-wave in the Vistula-area.

They support themselves on the name-similarity with the Gautic landscapes and the island of Gotland (old name Gutland) and the name of the Goths. Even the mentioning by Jordanes of Gauthigoth, Ostrogothae and Vagoth are mentioned as evidences. Schindler specially demonstrates the change of pottery in the

graves from a high-quality black ceramic to a low-quality greyish, reminding of the pottery in Väster- and Östergötland. Almgren and Nerman point on the find-poorness during the last century BC and a still further decline of finds around BC in both Väster- and Östergötland and consider that this might indicate an emigration. They refer to that the grave-habits with flat-ground graves containing fire-pits, urn-fire-pits and clean urn-graves existing in both the landscapes fit with the grave-habits in the Vistula area.

Oxenstierna agrees with this judgement but also makes his own examination, when he with the help of specially flat-ground graves and weaponless burials of men in opposite to more wealthy equipped women's graves, which also may contain daggers and similar, appearing in the Vistula-area and who, according to him, postulate an emigration from primarily Västergötland. Except of the same pottery as in the Vistula-area it is mostly only in Västergötland and on the Swedish west-coast there exist contemporary weaponlessburials of men in the shape of flat-ground graves, and where you also find a great number of grave-fields being terminated during the Older Iron Age. Also Schindler has above noted, except of the low-quality pottery, a transition to weaponless men's graves and rich women's graves and he draws the same conclusion—namely that it depends on a Gothic immigration. He thinks the Goths landed directly in the Vistula-area, while Oxenstierna means they landed in Hinterpommern/Hinter-Pommerania. Oxenstierna supports his theory about the landing-area on the fact that the find-empty period in Västergötland coincides with the disturbance-area in Hinter-Pommerania. He suggest that the immigration in Western Prussia not can be indicated through an increase of finds, but through the flight of the tribes earlier living there, the Burgundians and the Ulmerugii, who's settlements have been overtaken by the conquerors. The rapid changes in pottery and weaponless graves indicate, he means, a strong military organisation and an organised total emigration. He reserves himself however in favour of a social or religious influence concerning the grave-habits. He also concludes that the jewellery has got different shapes in comparison with Västergötland, and he mentions that the jewellery in Västergötland is more similar to the old Burgundian. A new trend of fashion he comments. He claims that all lower Vistula was a totally Gothic river, and he is sceptical towards Schindler who means that the Pomerellen not could have been populated without further immigration- the Gepids.

Oxenstierna claims that all the tribes in the Kattegat-area were on the move southwards, and he mentions Cimbri, Langobards, Vandals, Burgundians and Rugii, and points out that Västergötland is situated in the middle of the group of tribes who have emigrated shortly before the beginning of our time-reckoning, and that this was the cause of the great migrations. Apart of the Langobards, about who's origin there is a considerable doubt, the other tribes can, in my opin-

ion, indeed possibly be connected with the Kattegat-area. This is however a disputed and unsecure question.

Oxenstierna ties the name Goths to Västgötar—i.e. Gauthi-Goths—but he hesitates whether they are a people or a tribe. If you assume this is the second “emigration-wave” the name then rather in my opinion just indicates that they considered themselves as ‘the humans’, ‘the outpoured’, as suggested above, and that it was a gathering name for everybody having the same opinion of their divine ancestry—in other words it rather indicates a cultic league. Whether this then is written or pronounced slightly different depending of from which territory the person in question comes is of less importance. The form known on the Continental main-land in any case ought to be the East-Germanic variant, or maybe the original Gutnic, but the meaning is exactly the same in all cases. This also Rolf Hachmann admits. This means the so called Goths might have come from all the Kattegat-area and also from Östergötland, since according to Bohnsack to whom Oxenstierna is referring, there already before existed a grave-culture indicating similarities with both Väster- and Östergötland. Still it is however Västergötland exhibiting the most indicies of a decrease of population during the period around BC.

Oxenstierna claims the reason of the emigration should be overpopulation, while Hachmann claims that it possibly not could have been an overpopulation, but the small surplus that existed he means have taken part of the inner colonisation or died of starvation et c. The argumentation by Hachmann where he remarks that the inner colonisation, also during the find-empty period, all the time increases with new-cultivations, or that the cultivation is maintained according to pollen-analysis, is intended to demonstrate that an emigration not should be probable. What Hachmann over-looks is the by him self demonstrated development towards one-family yards instead of the collective habitations during the Bronze Age. New-cultivations take place by necessity but they provide lesser number of persons than before, and besides the increasing cattle-breeding forces to use of heavier soils, which can not so easily be cultivated with the technique of those days, but who taken together give both a great areal per individual and a limited number of places where sand- and clay-soils are extant together. Hachmann has for instance in the Dragby-excavation concluded that it probably deals with a yard-grave-field during a long period. I mean, that with those examples I have given in the earlier section, about among else the archaeology of Västergötland concerning the migration from the Cambro-Silur-area to the clay-plains, the arguments of Oxenstierna about an overpopulation appears definitely more convincing than the denial by Hachmann. The grave-material on which Hachmann builds his demographical conclusions is quite limited, and he presupposes all the time that it has been too poorly excavated or that everything has



been misinterpreted. It is in short not a reliable base for the method he applies. Besides it is not that many extra persons needed in every habitation to cause a total overpopulation, and as I have already demonstrated, a number of younger sons from the yards in a region might form quite efficient war-bands without need of a total emigration of the whole population in the landscape. Modern excavations have indicated several grave-fields with unbroken continuity in Västergötland and some may have been destroyed by cultivation. Still however the landscape stands out as the find-poorest from the Older Iron Age.

The Polish archaeologists Jerzy Kmieżinski and Jerzy Okulicz both see an area with grave-fields of Scandinavian type with stone-settings and standing stone-circles and standing stones seeming to verify the thought of an inflow of Scandinavians and other peoples to the Vistula area. This culture partly has overlaid an earlier, but many of the settlements are placed on bad soil which was abandoned already before the arrival of the colonists. According to Kmieżinski they are placed solely on one side of the lower flow of the Vistula while Okulicz demonstrates habitations on both sides of the river. The dating of the graves and the habitations fit with the assumed time around BC. If you thereto add the weaponless flat-ground graves that earlier have been confirmed in the area, so there is in my opinion an overwhelming probability of an immigration from Scandinavia. This does not mean it must deal with great groups, but it might as well be a number of smaller immigrant-groups who in time merge with both their kin and the earlier extant population, but it seems to mean that they base their existence on a common religious ancestry, a common cult, giving them a common identity. This cult I reckon, as argued above, originate in Scandinavia and should be what created the name Goths for everybody in the area, and so this should be the most important Scandinavian contribution to the Continental peoples in the area. This merging of peoples of different origin is also suggested by the examinations of Kmieżinski, who demonstrates that scull-bones having been excavated in a standing-stone-circle are thinner than contemporary Scandinavian ones. With regard to the god—name Gaut the mentioned cult originally ought to have its roots on the Scandinavian main-land in the neighbourhood of Gaut's river—i.e. in Western Sweden and Västergötland and its surroundings and maybe also Jylland and Southern Norway having close contacts with Western Sweden. This all regardless of if the factual name-form at the Vistula had an East-Germanic shape, since the name-form should have been adapted to the actually spoken dialect instead of all immigrant-groups speaking their own dialects also in the long run. There is a kinship between the dialects of Götaland, the Gutnic language and the Gothic according to certain linguists, among else Wessén. The god also by the Vistula-Goths was called Gaut. More about these matters in the language-section.

Another interesting thing with the examination by Okulicz in Elbląg is that he has succeeded to make probable a tribe-forming process, which quite well could be the Gepids. He has also within this area demonstrated that the conditions for mens and womens burials are connected with the Gothic/Gautic tradition. Here maybe we can find the “third ship” in the Gothic tribal saga—the third immigration. Quite generally neither Okulicz nor Kmieziński have succeeded in demonstrating in a convincing way that the flat-ground graves of the Wielbark-culture should be totally native, and Okulicz also demonstrates secondary burials in a great scale. Kmieziński also suggests a Germanization of an originally Baltic population, which I think fits well into the multiocthonous society of Okulicz. Hachmann means, as mentioned, that concerning Scandinavia you in three landscapes/areas regarded to have been named after the Goths, you can see an increase of the number of settlements and also an increase of the cultivated soil, while in Masowia and Masuria, where he will place the Goths east of the Vistula-bend, you see an overlaying and an increase of settlements. He comments that the cultural connections from Masowia seem to be more intensive with the Przeworsk-culture in the south than with Scandinavia/the North. The cultural and ceramic similarities with the North who exist are also comparable with other Germanic areas and not unique he remarks. He besides mentions that Gotland exhibits similarities with the Continent before the birth of Christ, but that the Gotlandic connection is to the East-Mecklenburgian and Pommeranian area and with the Vistula-delta.

This, in my opinion, definitely indicates I may be right in my theory concerning the “first emigration” as I suggested above!

Hachmann means that the Masowian culture which has overlayed an older, and which is not autochthon, comes out of the Stone-Cist and Beaker-cultures in the middle Vistula-area. He is a bit insecure since you from finds of fibulae and other objects may see influences from the Celtic La Tène-culture but also objects lacking this connection. Also the pottery differs from La Tène. He derives the grave- and grave-gift-tradition to “local tradition”, which principally is what he himself criticises Oxenstierna for when he concludes that the Goths do not have the same jewellery as in Västergötland but have got a new fashion.

The point of time for the possible migration he means is decided by Strabo's ΓΟΥΤΟΝΕΣ when it concerns terminus ante quem for an emigration from the North, and by Ptolemaios ΓΟΥΤΟΙ if the Goths should have immigrated into Scandinavia. He does not mention Plinius in this connection, and it should be admitted that the reference to Pytheas is debated, but in theory it is also a thinkable terminus for an emigration. A possible emigration to Masowia must have occurred before 100 BC. He compares the forming of the Allemans as a tribe with

an possible growth of the Gothic tribe in Masowia. He finds however no traces of emigrants from the North in the Götalandscapes and consequently no Nordic origin of the Goths. He concludes finally that the material is insufficient to decide wether it really deals with the Goths, and that an external origin not is possible to confirm with the present methods. His very ambitious examination of the archaeological material accordingly finally leads to the conclusion that he can not draw any other conclusion than it is insecure wether the Masowian group are Goths, and that the Goths most probably do not come from Scandinavia.

Hachmann in any case confirms a close connection between the main-land Goths and the Scandinavian Goths and, as mentioned above, we can here note that he counts the Gautar as Goths. He is unclear about the possible biological origin of the Goths—from Scandinavia or from the continent. The problem gets however less critical if you understand the now more and more obvious fact that they came from several origins with a different genetical background, but with the same cult, the same divine origin—that they simply were a number of tribes and peoples in a cultic league giving them a common ethnicity.

It also can be settled that most researchers agree that the Goths lived in the Vistula-delta andt that they also should have landed somewhere along the coast. Peter Heather sees signs of that the Wielbark-culture might represent a cultic league between Goths and other peoples but sees the Goths as original in this culture. In spite of his denying a Gothic immigration he is forced to admit that the preceding Oksywie-culture, overlayed by the Wielbark-culture—the Goto-Gepidic culture—had wepongraves and another pottery and also differed in many other points from the Wielbark-culture. The introduction of the new burial habits with weaponless flat-ground cremation-graves, preceding the inhumations, and with the low quality ceramics fits timely to the termination of certain grave-fields in Västergötland. The inhumations on the contrary is by everything to judge an innovation from the Continent, but the habits with burying men without weapons and metal-objects continue also in these graves. It is possible, as I have earlier remarked, to argument that cremation-graves generally are weaponless, but if you combine similar pottery and the occurence of knives and sickles of metal in the women's graves during the same period in both Scandinavia and the Vistula-area the picture gets clearer.

To this should be added the by Kaj Lyckebo proposed connections between stamp-identity of certain gold bracteates and their patterns of distribution with tribes claiming a Scandinavian origin. Specially the CIIa1 bracteates pointing directly towards a connection between Scandinavia and South-East Europe are most interesting for a continued research. Also his high-lighting of the patterns of the Roman silver-denars connecting the Black-Sea area and especially Pannonia with the Baltic area and Gotland and Öland, and the strict borders of the finds of

symbolic drinking-vessels of glass confined to Northern and Eastern Europe within free Germania are good indications of kinship and close contacts between peoples in these areas.

The Gothic Connections by Anders Kaliff as well indicates old and stable contacts with the Gothic area and the predecessors of the Goths in the Vistula-area with Scandinavia.

## 2. Historiographical judgements

Concerning antique historical sources there is as already earlier settled only one mentioning a Gothic origin before the Vistula-Goths, and that is Jordanes' *Getica* which places this in Scandinavia. Strabo, Tacitus and Ptolemaios (with proposed quotation from Pytheas) only know them on the Continental main-land. The source-value of Jordanes, according to his own statement from Ablabius fetched, information is in the highest degree disputed. During the Middle-Ages and up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century Jordanes story was generally accepted, but during the 20<sup>th</sup> century doubts have been risen in an increasing degree as a consequence of the more and more accepted source-critical method within the discipline of history. Within our discipline, like in all disciplines, the pendulum swings between the extremes, and by all signs to judge it is at present in its counter Jordanes most extreme position. This is mainly a consequence of the devastating criticism that was delivered by Curt Weibull in *Scandia* nr. 23. (C. Weibull 1955-57) Recently a new book is published by by Arne Soby Christensen „Cassiodorus, Jordanes and the History of the Goths”, Copenhagen, 2002. He continues in the best spirit of Weibull to pick the book completely apart, but he does not add any significant new points of sight in comparison with Weibull, apart of his doubts that the Gotones really were the later Goths. He reaches this conclusion through totally ingnoring the archaeological results.

Weibull starts with the conclusion that people in that time meant that there were no new peoples but only new names on old peoples. Weibull remarks that bishop Ambrosius writes a tractate, *De fide ad Gratianum Augustum*, on request of emperor Gratianus. Ambrosius predicts in this connection the victory of the emperor over the Goths with starting-point in the bible, where in the book of Hesekiel (Hes. 38, 1-39, 20) is written a prediction that Gog, who is ruler in the land of Magog, will march against Israel from the outmost North and threat it with extinction. The wrath of the Lord however will drive him away. Ambrosius concludes that “Gog iste Gothus est” (De fide 2, 16, 138) and hence it is also sure that the Goths shall loose the fight. Consequently Weibull claims that because of the identification of Gog and the Goths and the fact they are arriving from the North—from the outmost North—it all fits into the general time-picture, when no new peoples are supposed to exist. He also as an example uses bishop Proklos in Constantinople in the time of emperor Tedosius II, who in a preaching used the very same Hesekiel-prophecy against the barbarians at that time ravaging their lands, and which is told by Socrates. (Socrates *Historia ecclesiastica* 7, 43) Weibull accordingly claims that when they saw the Goths coming from the outmost North, and at the same time considered the proposals of the antique geographers

that the northern areas were specially promoting for the fertility, meaning one could produce great numbers of humans up there, who could threaten the lands in the south, they could do nothing else but believe the Goths indeed were the hordes of Gog. This, he means, is the basic motivation for searching an origin as far northwards as possible for the Goths. There are then two possible choices, two islands, he suggests—Scandinavia or Britain—and remarks that Jordanes hesitates between these two, but he then decides himself for Scandinavia. Weibull means that by Tacitus and Ptolemaios there is no confirmation of immigration. According to Tacitus (*Germ.* 43) the Goths lived beyond the Lugii and inside the Rugii and the Lemovii, and with Ptolemaios (*Ptolemaios* 3, 5, 8) the Venetii lived at the coast and the Goths further into the main-land. He suggests that when the researchers have assumed that Ptolemaios has confused the two names and consequently placed the Goths at the coast, they have been under influence of the emigration-story in *Getica*. Weibull finally claims that *Getica* is a purely literary construction by Cassiodorus, and that it has no real source-value, and consequently the whole story of the emigration is a freely invented fiction. Concerning the exact location of the Gothic settlements you can, according to him, only indicate where they according to archaeological results might have lived in the Black Sea-area, since also the by Tacitus and Ptolemaios extant information is insufficient for a closer localisation. (C. Weibull 1955-57, s. 161 ff.) This conclusion by Weibull is by no means surprising, since he represents a hyper-source-critical method which only accepts written sources of a character that is provable beyond doubt. In this case Jordanes tells that the emigration-information comes from Ablabius, which he only can have known through the original history of Cassiodorus, which he has compiled, and Ablabius refers to an oral tribal tradition. Only this oral tradition means strictly methodological that Weibull rejects it as having no source-value. Christensen above has the same opinion as Weibull and draws generally similar conclusions. Had Weibull been aware of the probable background of Ablabius, treated above, he maybe should have been less categorical, since in my opinion the oral tradition probably is founded on direct contacts with Gothic chieftains already during the early 4<sup>th</sup> century.

Another problem with *Getica*, which by most researchers is regarded to show towards a literary construction, is the division in three ships—three tribes—which also occurs with the Anglo-Saxons at the immigration in England and in the Mannus-myth. L. Schmidt considers it to be a consequence of the division in Vesi- and Ostrogoths when the Gepids naturally become the third tribe. (Schmidt 2 1934, s. 196f) Wenskus however means that this should not have influenced a Moesi-Goth like Jordanes. (Wenskus 1961, s. 463) The circumstance that new peoples during the Antiquity tried to claim an old and honourable history, which is as well noticed in *Getica*, when Jordanes/Cassiodorus mixes *Getae* and Goths and

gives, them a long history in the Mediterranean area, and a closer connection to the Romans, speaks, according to several researchers, for that Ablabius tells a true tradition, since they mean that such an origin can give no honour in that time. (Wessén 1924, p.109; Wenskus 1961, p.464) Also Peter Heather means, as already mentioned above, that the tradition is genuine of the same reason, but he assumes Ablabius just mentions a not name-given island, which Cassiodorus/Jordanes has given a name. (Heather 1996, p.27) Jerker Rosén stresses that the story is written down only 500 years after the supposed occurrences, and since there is no older literature treating the question you can not regard the information as evidence. (Now, however, it might be that the difference in time concerning the emigration story has been reduced to 300 years. My remark.) Rosén however remarks that the name-similarity between Goths, Götland and Gotland still remains to be explained. (Carlsson/Rosén 1962, p.65)

Rosén writes later in *Den Svenska Historien* that:

The archaeological research has not been able to prove the information of Jordanes about an emigration from Sweden to the southern coast of the Baltic. Nowhere in our land it has been possible to note a so remarkable change of the number of graves during a decided period, that it could possibly be interpreted as a depopulation through emigration or new colonisation through immigration. In the central habitation-areas in Götaland and Svealand you can on the contrary demonstrate an evident stability in the permanent settlements. This does however not mean that the Scandinavian peoples have stood outside the migrations. Name-similarities and certain information in contemporary sources can not be fully neglected, and still less the many artefacts of foreign origin who have been brought home to Scandinavia during this time. Probably the increase of the population at this time was great enough to allow and to make necessary—a continuous emigration without a resulting depopulation of the territory. Northerners searched themselves to earlier emigrated kinsfolk on the Continent, and after a period of increasing dense living the group eventually started a migration, possibly forced by other tribes. (Rosén 1966, p.112 f)

Rosén ignores in connection with the grave-finds the by Oxenstierna and as well Hachmann noted find-poorness in Västergötland at the time around BC. Also Montelius has, as remarked above, noted this circumstance even if he did not find it to be a direct evidence. In else, however, Rosén supports my objection against Hachmann, when I demonstrate that it may occur emigration of

smaller groups without a total depopulation, and as well my ideas of a permanent contact between the Continental Goths and the Gautar in Scandinavia.

The brother of Curt Weibull, Lauritz, has in an earlier article complicated the situation still more, when he starts from the report by Herodotos about the emigration of the Lydians (Herodotos 1, 94) which he means is so very similar to both the *Gutasaga* and Paulus Diaconus' *Historia Langobardorum*, that both of these ought to be copied from Herodotos. (L.Weibull 1948, p.146 ff) As a consequence these two sources also should totally lack proof-value. It has indeed been claimed that the Langobardic connection with Scandinavia should be taken from *Getica*, and that everything hence should go back to the presentation by Cassiodorus of Ablabius.

Reinhard Wenskus has looked on the Langobardic tribal-saga, and he writes:

Die Wandersage der Langobarden verlegt die Heimat des Stammes, der anfangs Winniler hieß, nach Schonen. Diese Angabe blieb in der Forschung nicht unbestritten. Sprachlich und archäologisch lassen sich bei den Langobarden keine eindeutigen Spuren der nordischer Herkunft feststellen. Dagegen hat das langobardische Recht mit J. Ficker u. a. engere Beziehungen zum skandinavischen Recht, und hier besonders zum gotländischen. Man wird L. Schmidt gegen H. Brunner zustimmen müssen, wenn er die Zeit der herulischen Oberherrschaft an der Donau für zu kurz ansieht, als daß sie so erhebliche Einwirkungen auf das langobardische Recht hätte hinterlassen können. Doch reichen die Rechtsgleichungen nicht aus, um mit L. Schmidt die "Heimat" der Langobarden in Gotland selbst anzusetzen. Auch im Namengut finden sich eindeutig nordische Beziehungen. Diese Indizien deuten auf eine echte Überlieferung in der Wandersage. Auch in den Angaben über die Form, in der sich die Auswanderung vollzog, können wir einige weitere, glaubhafte Züge feststellen. Anders als die Goten ziehen die Langobarden nicht unter einem König aus, sondern unter duces (principes). Das ist ein untypischer Zug, der den wirklichen Vorgängen entsprechen kann: Die Winniler, wie sie damals noch hießen, lösten sich aus dem Verband einer Völkerschaft im Norden, ohne daß der König mit ihnen zog. Aus welcher Völkerschaft der Traditionskern der Langobarden stammt, läßt sich nicht sicher sagen. Gausus, der Ahn der Könige Audoin und Alboin, sowie der langobardische Personenname Ansgaus deuten auf eine gautische, das Geschlecht König Rotharis (ex genere Arodus) auf eine harudische Komponente. Doch darf man daraus keine allzu weitreichenden Schlüsse ziehen. (Wenskus 1961, p.486 f)



Wenskus accordingly understands the saga as genuine and hence there is in his opinion also a connection between Langobards and Gutar, and a possible genealogical connection with Gaut. Even the Harudes come from the Kattegat-area, and they might originally have worshipped a god which in reality answered to Gaut but with a local name Hǫrðr. It means they possibly also could be counted among the 'outpoured', 'humans'. Of this we however do not know. The league of peoples that the Vinnili broke away from also might, considering their later development and the connection with Gausus, have been the same Gothic cultic league even if this probably never will be able to prove neither for Harudes nor Vinnili since the tribal names deviate. It should however be observed that the Langobards accepted Arianism like the Goths. The hypothesis of Ernst Schwarz of a great Gothic habitational area around the southern shores of the Baltic Sea with branches in the Kattegat-area (Schwarz 1951) in any case gets a certain actuality in that enlightenment.

Hachmann on the contrary is critical to the Langobardic claim of Scandinavian ancestry and writes:

Daß es in der frühmittelalterlichen Historiographie einen Scandza-Topos gab, neben dem ein Troja-Topos und noch ein dritter Topos bestand, wonach die germanischen Bevölkerungsgruppen im Zusammenhang mit Völkern standen, die in der Heiligen Schrift genannt sind, läßt sich füglich nicht mehr bestreiten. Nachrichten, die von der Herkunft der Langobarden, der Burgunden, der Franken und anderer germanischer Gruppen aus dem skandinavischen Norden sprechen, sind sichtlich nach dem Modell der von Jordanes überlieferten Herkunft der Goten aus Scandza konstruiert. Sie haben keinen historischen Wert. Für die Überlieferung von der Herkunft der Goten gilt diese Feststellung in gleichem Sinne nicht. Sie ist ein fester Bestandteil der *Getica* des Jordanes. Während die Abhängigkeit späterer Herkunftsberichte von den *Getica* nachweisbar ist, läßt sich deren gotische "Urgeschichte" weder durch den Nachweis einer Abhängigkeit von einem älteren, antiken Modell als eine Fiktion erweisen, noch einfach durch ihre Stellung zwischen Textpartien, die sich schon auf den ersten Blick als unglaubwürdig—d.h. als gelehrte Erfindung oder als sagenhafte, greifbaren Wahrheitsgehalt entbehrende Überlieferung—erweisen, entlarven. "(Hachmann 1970, p.451)

Hachmann accordingly rejects the Langobards but does not treat the reliability of the *Gutasaga*. *Getica* he considers to be an expression of a genuine tradition,

even if he in his later examination does not succeed to find evidence for a Scandinavian origin. He however means that also the Gautar in Scandinavia are Goths. If he had known a little more about the probable background of Ablabius he maybe should have been even more convinced of the truth in *Getica's* description of the origin-myth.

There is consequently reason to look closer on what Wenskus and Hachmann have to say about the origin of the Goths.

Wenskus accepts in his *Stammesbildung und Verfassung* (Wenskus 1961) Jordanes' description of the peoples in the Vistula-area, and he mentions in connection with the earlier sources about Strabo VII 1.3. that he knows the Goths as the clients of Marbod., About the destroyed art of reading he suggests that ΒΟΥΤΩΝΕΣ shall be read as ΓΟΥΤΩΝΕΣ, and not with L.Schmidt as ΒΑΤΕΙΝΟΙ...". About Plinius n. h. IV 28 he mentions that he refers to the "Gotones only quite generally in the North-Eastern part of Germania", and of Tacitus Germ.c.43 "trans lugios—i.e. north of the Vandals" and Tacitus Ann.II 62 "the escape of the noble youngster Catualda to the Goths lets as well these glimpse inside the by Marbod controlled area..." and of Ptolemaios who in III.5.20. "knows them to the right of the lower Vistula..." (Wenskus 1961, p. 463 f) He also writes:

Auch die sonstigen Angaben über die Völker dieses Raumes bei Jordanes entsprechen den Quellen des 1. Jahrhunderts. Tacitus Germ. c. 43 nennt als Nachbarn der Goten einmal Lugier, ein Name, der damals schon auf die Wandalen übertragen war, und am Meer u.a. Rugier. Ptolemaios II 11. 12 nennt zwischen Oder- und Weichselmündung einen Ort Rugion und II 11. 7. 9 einen Volksnamen ΡΟΥΤΙΧΛΕΙΟΙ, der wohl in ΡΟΥΓΥΧΛΕΙΟΙ zu bessern ist. Selbst die besondere Form des Rugiernamens bei Jordanes (Ulmerugi = got. \*Hulmarageis 'Insel-Rugier') wird noch auf andere Weise gesichert. Die Rugier in der skandinavischen Heimat (Rygir) werden gelegentlich, wohl in unberechtigter Übertragung des Namens ihrer Stammesgenossen auf den Weichselinseln, Holmrygir ('Insel-Rugier') genannt. (Wenskus 1961, s.463 f.)

Wenskus consequently means that this confirms that the Goths in fact lived in the area around the birth of Christ. He concludes that they probably lived along the lower Vistula, and this with the remark by Tacitus, that they lived north of the Luggii, in memory. He on the other hand rejects that the Rugier(Rugii) (in Norway)and \*Hulmarageis—Island-Rugier should be the same tribe. He also claims that it does not deal with a mass-emigration but just of a tradition-keeping nucleus which has emigrated and later attracted followers from a wider territory.

Wenskus claims that the similarity between the names of the Gothic people and the island of Gotland points towards that Gotland is the most probable origin of the tradition-keeping nucleus among the Goths. He remarks that Ptolemaios (II 11.16) indeed once mentioned the name Goutai on the Scandinavian peninsula, but Wenskus regards this as one of the many errors of Ptolemaios. (Wenskus 1961, p.464) This goes however very bad together with the opinion of Birger Nerman, who claims there were no kings on Gotland, while the Goths according to Jordanes were headed by king Berig. This is also the opinion of Ernst Schwarz. (Schwarz 1951, p.15, 1956, p.85, 1959, p.20) Wenskus himself however uses this circumstance to strengthen his thesis. He means that the old king himself was in head of the emigration, and thereby the kingdom moved, and also all its traditions, to the Continental main-land, and since then there have been no kings on Gotland:

Nerman hat—wie in anderem Zusammenhang schon erwähnt—gegen die Herkunft der Goten von der Insel noch eingewandt, daß es hier niemals Könige gegeben habe, während die Goten stets unter solchen gegangen hätten. Dieses Argument, dem sich E. Schwarz anschließt, ist nun, wie wir schon gesehen haben, eher eines, das eine Herkunft gerade aus Gotland nahelegen kann, da der alte König selbst nach der Wandersage 'die' Goten auf das Festland führte. Die ungebrochene Tradition des Königtums, die sich auch darin ausdrückt, daß der alte Begriff þiudans sich bei den Goten erhält, spricht mindestens nicht gegen dieser Auffassung. (Wenskus 1961, p.464 f)

Wenskus dismisses besides the archaeological judgement of Oscar Almgren (see above!), which Nerman has agreed with, and which proposes a possible emigration from Gotland around the Middle Latène-Time, i.e. 300-150 BC, since here in connection with Jordanes the time around the birth of Christ is discussed, and that besides the Gotlandic burial-habits do not fit with the Vistula-area. He writes about this:

Wir hatten bereits einfach zu betonen, daß die Traditionskerne der Eroberer- und Wandervölker sich selten im Landnahmegebiet archäologisch erfassen lassen. Auch dieses Argument dürfen wir also hier übergehen. Umgekehrt beweist die Tatsache, daß es besondere sprachliche Übereinstimmungen zwischen den Gotischen und dem Schwedischen auf Gotland gibt, für sich auch nicht viel, da diese Gleichungen nur den Herkunftsort einer für die ethnisch-politische Überlieferung belanglosen Stammes-Komponente anzudeuten brauchen. (Wenskus 1961, p.464)

He then mentions the *Gutasaga*, but means that it is not a strong support in this connection, even if those forced to emigration could get a certain feeling of unity. According to the saga the emigrants travelled via Dagö and along the Dyna to southern Russia and Greece. He dismisses the remark of Ernst Schwarz that such a route more ought to be fit for the Varjags during later time. Also Otto Höfler means that they travelled to Greece-Krikland. (O.Höfler 1952, p.56) Nerman claims that this emigration took place during the 400's AD to southern Balticum. (Nerman 1924, p.49) Erik Nylén remarks that many grave-fields on Gotland, among them the great Annelund at Visby and Sälle in Fröjel with 500 graves each, have been terminated about year 200 AD, and that this goes well along with the *Gutasaga*. He regards also the burial-habits in the Vistula-area as similar to both the main-land of Scandinavia in Väster- and Östergötland and Öland and Gotland. (Nylén 1991, p.173 ff) Wenskus concludes also that you with the help of the *Gutasaga* not are able to draw any safe conclusions. (Wenskus 1961, p.464) Carl Marstrander's (Marstrander 1952) by Otto Höfler (O.Höfler 1952, p.44) supported thesis, that the inhabitants of Gotland spoke Gothic up to the 500's AD, which claim Schwarz and Brinkmann (E.Schwarz 1951, p.149; Brinkmann 1951/52, p.209, n, p.53) have tried to confirm, but without success, is however by Wenskus taken as an indication for the probability that the Gutar took part in the Gothic tribe-formation. Therefore, Wenskus means, it is with regard to other traditions on the island also closest at hand to see the origin of the Gothic royal family and the ethnic traditions on Gotland. Counter the thesis of Oxenstierna that the Goths came from Västergötland (Oxenstierna 1948) he objects that his methods are too close to Kossinna's, and that he has been outruled by Hachmann. He means that it is not possible with only archaeological methods to confirm the origin-territory of a tribe, but in the best case you maybe can indicate the origin of parts of the tribe. Wenskus indeed considers that Oxenstierna has succeeded with this in spite of the objections by Hachmann. He claims that Oxenstierna indeed has not succeeded to indicate the origin of the tradition-nucleus of the Goths, but he has demonstrated the possible size of the area from which immigrants may have come.

Wenskus can not exclude an emigration according to the model of the *Gutasaga*, but holds for more probable that it deals with "gefolgschaftliche Züge". (Wenskus 1961, p.464 ff) With this he touches the same idea I have already myself tried to hold forward, that the old sacral kingdom, where the king claimed ancestry from Gaut, gradually is replaced by a society where the local chieftains/petty-kings can gather followings controlled by the chieftain, who in the warrior-cult personifies the god, even if the sacral king still is formally recognised. I see this as a gradual development towards the new cult-variant of the Continental Óðinn/Wotan/Wodan.

Wenskus also writes:

Die Betonung des Asenglaubens bei den Goten und Gauten deutet ebenfalls eher auf gefolgschaftliche Struktur der ersten Wanderbewegung.

And a little further forward:

Das gotische Königtum scheint durch die Landnahme erheblich gestärkt worden zu sein, wie wir aus Tacitus *Germania* c, 44 (omni-umque harum gentium...et erga reges obsequium) entnehmen. Die Wellen der keltisch-rheinwesergermanischen "Revolution" waren nicht bis in diese "unentwickelteren" Gebiete gelangt, und so konnte hier eine Form des Königtums entstehen, die, unmittelbar im alten Sakralkönigtum wurzelnd, die Funktionen und die Macht des Heerkönigtums erlangt. (Wenskus 1961, p.467f)

Ludwig Schmidt (Schmidt 2 1934, p.196) instead assumes that the Gothic army-kingdom appeared only after the emigration to the Vistula-area, but this Wenskus dismisses as less probable.(Wenskus 1961, p.467)

Here might indeed be discussed what Wenskus means with a "stronger" kingdom. The power of the sacral king should have been diminished continually, but through the migration and the continuous wars the king might indeed have been able to enforce his old rights better than in peace-time. That far I could agree that it could have been a stronger kingship. On the other hand the power of the local tribal chieftains/petty-kings continuously increases on behalf of the sacral king's, and at last it leads to Odinistic Gefolgschaft-kingdoms. If this structure appears already before the break up under the proposed Filimer we do not know, but Jordanes/Cassiodorus claims that Óðinn(Mercury) was accepted as a main-god during his time. Here we accordingly behold the root of the later realm of Ermanarik. I consequently conclude, that basically Wenskus supports my thesis about the gradual development from a sacral kingdom, where the king claims ancestry from Gaut, to an army-kingdom where the power in time is passed to petty-kings, reiks, while the power of the sacral king all the time is weakened. Finally, when they settle around the Black Sea, his power totally disappears. Also the interpretation by Schmidt might fit with this analysis, since the more pure army-kingdom not can be claimed for real before the hypothetic Filimer or maybe his successor and as absolutely latest with the proposed king Ostrogotha.

Wenskus also believes that the chroniclers, who did not want to have incomplete genealogies, since information of kings during the peaceful in between period are lacking—from the immigration in the Vistula-area and to the emigra-

tion from there—and so they have described the migration as undertaken in a gathered mass. Wenskus is convinced of that it was undertaken under a number of Gefolgschaft-kings/petty-kings/tribal chieftains who after own head have emigrated southwards towards the Black Sea alone or together with other tribes.(Wenskus 1961, p.467) These army-kings/petty-kings ought to have been what later is called *reiks* and earlier *kuningaz*. Of this follows that my earlier launched thesis gets an increased support. It is only when outer disturbances occur as a sacral king has a real executive authority, but in periods of peace-time the power rests with the reiks/chieftains. This pattern returns also in Gutþiūða relating to the *kindins*.

Wenskus discusses the fact that the name of the Goths and the name of the tribe called Greutungi are traceable in the Vistula-area. It has been forwarded by S. Gutenbrunner in *Germanische Stammeskunde* that the Goths could have had early trade-depots in the area, and that this should be the origin of the later tradition-nucleus. In the discussion about the names also E.Schwarz has been involved.((Schwarz 1951, p.318) Wenskus here calls for help of the archaeology. In any case he is convinced that a native population has been overlaid.(Wenskus 1961, p.467)

Ernst Schwarz claims that the linguistic similarity between Gothic and North-Germanic means that close related languages have been spoken in the whole area, and he hence has doubts towards an gradual over-layering. He considers that such an over-layering hence must have occurred as one single occasion and by a whole people, since else the old language from a vast population should have survived. Schwarz accordingly claims a great common language-and cultural area. (Schwarz 1951, p. 86 ff; H.Kuhn 1952, p.48) Wenskus remarks against Schwarz that it should have come wave after wave of Nordic immigrants from a greater territory than believed until now, and that they had to fight against both Rugii and Vandals about the area. He also believes that the Gepids later form a new tribe in the territory, but he is dubious if they are the Hreiðgotar suggested by von Friesen (von Friesen 1920, p.122 ff) as meaning 'the close living Goths'—*nestgoter*, and who are supposed to have remained in the territory up to the 600's AD. (Wenskus 1961, p.467 ff)

The thesis of Gutenbrunner concerning early Nordic trade-depots supports my earlier presented hypothesis about several Gothic emigration-waves, where the first should have occurred some time around the 300's BC from Gotland and also the Eastern parts of the Swedish main-land and just taken the shape of establishing advanced trade-depots in connection with the amber-trade. If the remark of Pytheas is original by Plinius, which however is disputed by Hachmann, this could be the explanation he could refer to the Goths.

Hachmann notes that Tacitus has a certain system for his account of eastern tribes. He goes from south to north and mentions the Lugii, the Goths and then the Rugii at the sea. Later he goes westwards to the Lemovii, across the Baltic Sea to the Suiones and back to the main-land where Aestii and Sithones are mentioned as living by the sea. Ptolemaios starts in the west and counts the coast-peoples of which in the east are mentioned Σεδίνοι (Sedinoi) and Ρουτιχλείοι (Routicleioi) at the Vistula. Thereafter come the great tribes in the main-land and he ends with the Βουργουντες (Bourgountes) again at the Vistula. Later follows a number of lesser tribes and so he counts southern people-groups and he ends with the Λουγοί (Lougoi) again at the Vistula but now at its well spring. The Goths are missing in this account since Ptolemaios did not know them as Germanics. He had drawn the border of Germania at the Vistula. Γυδωνες (Gudones) are mentioned south of Ουενεδιχος Κολπος (Ouedichos Kolpos) and at the eastern side of the Vistula. Ptolemaios did not understand them as living at the sea, Hachmann means. He suggests that at a comparison between these sources a number of synonymous name-pairs might be constructed who lie in the same positions: “Lemovii—Σειδίνοι (Seidinoi), Rugii-Ρουτιχλείοι (\*Ρουτιχλείοι) of Ρουτιχλείοι [Routicleioi], Helvecones—Αιλουαιωνες (Ailouaiones), Lugii—Λουγοί (Lougioi). “He concludes that according to the antique authors the Goths clearly lived behind the chain of coastal tribes. (Hachmann 1970, p.138 ff) K. Müllenhof presupposed, with starting-point in Jordanes, that the Goths should have lived in the Vistula-mouth, but he found that they according to the other sources had to live in the area at the Vistula-bend. The Scandza-tradition does not force the Goths to a localization in the river-mouth, Hachmann remarks. In *Getica* IV, 25 f. is written: “Qui ut primum e navibus exientes terras attigerunt, ilico nomen loci dederunt, nam odieque illic, ut fertur, Gothiscandza vocatur”. The text does not indicate, Hachmann claims, whether the Goths landed at the sea-coast or if they went up the Vistula to a suitable landing-place. It is merely the wrong interpretation of Gothiscandza as ‘the Gothic coast’ giving this connection. It has been supposed, that since they came with ships over the Baltic Sea they must have landed at the coast. The text does however not force to such an interpretation, he means. On the contrary it’s continuation seems to point in an opposite direction:

Unde [Gothiscandza] mox promoventes ad sedes Ulmerugorum, qui tunc Oceani ripas insidebant, castra metati sunt eosque comisso proelio propriis sedibus pepulerunt,...(Jordanes *Getica* IV 26).

The Goths accordingly drew against the Ulmerugier, who then lived at the sea, and defeated them. According to the Scandza-tradition the clash with the

Ulmerugier did not occur in the landing-area. They landed in Gothiscandza from where-*'unde'*—the the war-campaign started. (Hachmann 1970, p.140) He writes later:

Es ist unklar, ob die Nachrichten, die Ptolemaios verwandte, sich auf die Verhältnisse des 2. Jahrhunderts beziehen, wenngleich es wahrscheinlich ist. Es ist auch nicht sicher, ob die Nachrichten über ΓΟΥΤΑΙ und ΓΥΔΩΝΕΣ gleich alt ist. Der Name ΓΥΔΩΝΕΣ mutet älter an: Alle alten Belege des Stammesnamens liefern die längere Form \*ΓΟΥΤΩΝΕΣ, Gutones, Gotones (vgl. oben S.117).

Abgesehen von der Form ΓΟΥΤΑΙ stammen alle Belege für die Kurzform aus dem 3.oder späteren Jahrhunderten. Man kann aber aus dem Unterschied der Namensformen lediglich folgern, daß im 2. nachchristlichen Jahrhundert sich bereits "starke" Namensformen bei germanischen Stammesnamen durchzusetzen begannen, nicht etwa, daß die starke Namensform ΓΟΥΤΑΙ auf Scandia auf spätes Auftreten der Goten im fernen Norden schließen läßt. (Hachmann 1970, p.143)

You can indeed note that between Wenskus and Hachmann there are considerable differences. Wenskus presupposes an emigration from Gotland of a tradition-keeping nucleus which is increased by immigrants from the whole Nordic territory—the Kattegat-area according to Oxenstierna and Eastern Sweden according to Almgren and Nerman. He sees linguistic similarities between Gutnic and Gothic. According to Wenskus the mentioning by Ptolemaios of ΓΟΥΤΑΙ on the Scandinavian peninsula is an writing-error. He places the Goths at the lower Vistula.

Hachmann denies an emigration from Scandinavia, and he places the Goths in the Masowian group east of the Vistula-bend, but he at the same time claims that also the Gautar and the Gutar are Goths, and he assumes an intimate connection with the Continental main-land Goths. Hachmann's paleodemographic analysis, on which base he rejects an emigration from Scandinavia, I have already treated and criticized in the section of archaeology above.

The Weibull brothers' above referred examinations have been targets for an extensive criticism by Norbert Wagner.(Wagner 1967) Wagner comments concerning the comparison between Herodotos and Paulus Diaconus by Lauritz Weibull, that Weibull does not consider the about 100 yers earlier written *Origo gentis langobardorum* which was known of Diaconus, and nor does he consider *Fredegar*. Paulus Diaconus writes that the Vinnilii, under the lead of the sons of Gambara Ibor and Aio drew away from the island of Scadinavia and met the



Vandals under Ambri and Assi in a decisive fight in the landscape “Scoringa”.” (Paulus Diaconus, *Hist. langobardorum*, 1, 2 ff) *Origo Langobardorum* mentions all the referred names except of “Scoringa”. In *Fredegar* is told that the Langobards come from “Scathanavia, que est inter Danuvium et mare Ocianum”. (Fredegar 3, 65) Wagner claims that it is impossible that *Origo* and *Fredegar* might go back to Herodotos. Instead, he means, so does this indicate that it is derived from an old Langobardic folklore-tradition. (Wagner 1967, p.147 f)

Concerning the thesis of Curt Weibull Wagner remarks a great number of weaknesses in his examination. (Wagner 1967, p.148 ff) The prophecy of bishop Ambrosius failed and Gratianus lost but, as Wagner comments, the prophecy already was known and could not be withdrawn. The important thing is that the contemporary criticism of his claim of an identity between Gog and the Goths was very negative. (Schwarz 1951, p.86 ff; H.Kuhn 1952, p.48) Hieronymus rejects the comparison in his probably in 338 written *Hebraicae quaestiones in libro Geneseos* where he ironically enough mentions, that he knows of a person who equals Gog and Magog with the Goths, and he is supposed to refer to Ambrosius. Even Weibull himself has mentioned Hieronymos’ commentary. Hieronymos himself ties Magog to the Scyths. Flavius Josephus connects as well Gog and Magog to the Scyths (Corpus Christianorum, Series latina, part 27, 1959, comment, p.11) and also Augustinus rejects similarities between the Goths and Gog-Magog. (De civitate dei 20, 11) On the other hand Goths are quite often equaled with Getae by classical authors, as already remarked. Because the contemporaries reject the statements of Ambrosius, there is also no reason to place the origin of the Goths in the outmost North. (Wagner 1967, p.149) This specially as the contemporary population well knew that they lived in present Southern Russia, which was fairly much north for the Mediterranean world and was regarded as distant. It is indeed of this reason they sometimes are confused for Scyths. What Weibull writes about Claudianus *De bello Pollentino* which should suggest an origin in the cold North is rejected by Wagner, who demonstrates that for Claudianus even the territories situated along the Donau and the Rhen are to be regarded as northern, cold and snowy. He remarks that the words *dura ursa* and *nivosae plagae* in the poem very well can refer to Southern Russia and Dacia—accordingly just those territories being inhabited by the Goths. Both Claudianus himself and Hieronymos, and also other at this time call the Goths Getae. Even this suggests that their settlements were situated in the Getic Dacia. (Indeed real Getae still remained in Dacia under the Gothic rule and their descendants still do. My commentary) Gog is not mentioned by Jordanes and Magog only once (Getica 29) in connection with Goths and Scyths. (Wagner 1967, p.149 f) This is more thoroughly treated by Rudolf Buchner in an arti-

cle—*Das Geschichtsbewußtsein der Germanen*—in the critical edition of Mommsen. (Mommsen, p.486)

The assumption by Weibull that Jordanes had to choose between an origin on two islands—Scandza and Brittany—in connection with the horse-story (*Getica* 38) falls on the fact, that in a closer examination of this story it becomes evident, that behind Brittany lies Prußenland (i.e.Prussia), and so the island Britain is quite inactual. (Wagner 1967, p.149 f) It is evident of the writing that it is a contemporary well known fable being told about the Gepids in a demeaning intention. Maybe I should remark that Brittany as well could refer to the Celtic area on the mainland—Bretagne—that still is cold Brittany in English.

Weibull also claims that the whole of *Getica* is a literary construction, and that earlier it was believed it was founded on old poems and earlier history-writers, and he claims there are no proofs of this. Wagner states that the poems about the migration to the Black Sea can be referred to an oral tradition with which Jordanes have come in contact (I would rather suggest Cassiodorus here! My remark.). Concerning the emigration from Scandinavia there is the sentence: “Ex hac igitur Scandza insula...cum rege suo nomine Berig Gothi quondam memorantur egressi”( *Getica* 25). In those places where the word *memorare* elsewhere is used in *Getica* it has the meaning ‘report, tell’. This suggests that he tells something he has heard of or read, and accordingly he has not fancied it together. Jordanes mentions Berig as the leader of the emigration. This is a clearly Germanic name which also is confirmed by Stender-Petersen (Stender-Petersen, p.71) and in the word-book of Schönfeldt.(Schönfeld, p.60) He also reports (*Getica* 25 f) that the territory the Goths landed in was called Gothiscandza, and that it still, when he writes the book, bears this name. A little later the Goths meet the Ulmerugi. The name Rugi occur in antique sources but not with the by him used compositum. From Old-Nordic literary sources we however know the combination Holmrygir and from OE Holmrygas(Widsith 21) as name of the inhabitants in the West-Norwegian Rogaland. They are also called Island-Rugi and this name indeed should suite also for the Ulmerugi living on islands in the Vistula-delta. It appears accordingly in the telling three Germanic names who are not able to confirm in the antique tradition. (Wagner 1967, p.152 ff)

It might as well be remarked once again that the most serious researchers, as last Hachmann and Heather, agree that the original source of the emigration-story is Ablabius. As have been stated above his sources are unknown but seem to build on oral tradition. I consider myself to have strengthened the probability of Ablabius through demonstrating his probable position as a pretorian praefect, which is the same position later being held by Cassiodorus.

Apart of this report there is no historical document directly reporting of a Gothic emigration from Scandinavia, and hence it is still a matter of judgement if

you believe in the story or not, Wagner means. You have to complement with other indirect sources. (Wagner 1967, p.155)

There are indeed also other possibilities, even if also these build partly on Cassiodorus/Jordanes. Josef Svennung has in *Jordanes und Scandia* (Svennung 1966) tried to identify the people-names mentioned in *Getica* with certain territories in Scandinavia, and has constructed tables with people-names which he has tried to localise to decided peoples. It should however be noticed that this information concerns the time when *Getica* was written and not the time of the possible Gothic emigration. A summary of these lists follows below:

(Svennung 1966, p. 1-12; maps and commentaries p. 30 ff)

About Suehans and Suetidi Svennung comments(Svennung 1966, p.45, 97 f):

Schon Mommsen (Ed. p. XXXIX) meinte daß aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach diese gotische Pluralform- wo da *h* des Hiatus wegen hinzugefügt wurde (vgl. etwa p. 79, 7 *cohercitur*)—durch Ablabius vermittelt worden ist; sie deutet nicht auf griechische Überlieferung. Somit wären die Völker 1-3 durch die doppelte Vermittlung von Ablabius und Cassiodor in das Kompendium des Jordanes geraten.

Auf die verschiedenen Formen *suehans* und *suetidi* (Nr. 20) gründete der schwedische Jordanesforscher Dr. J. V. Svensson seine These von den zwei Quellen der jordanischen Völkernamen im Norden—einer östlichen und einer westlichen (NoB 5, 1917, 147 f.). Tacitus (K. 44) *Suionem civitates* kann vielleicht dem späteren "folkland" der Svear entsprechen. Das Gebiet der Svear umfasste anfangs nur das nördlich vom Mälarsee gelegene Uppland, später auch Västmanland. (Svennung 1966, s.45)

...Bereits Zeuss (514) hat dieses Wort [*suetidi*, *förf. anm.*] mit dem aisl. *Svithjóðh* zusammengestellt. Jetzt können wir auch Formen von Runensteinen heranziehen, wie *snialastiR i suiþiuþu* (transkribiert: *sniallastiR i Sveþiuþu*), 'die flinksten in Svithjod' (in Ludgo, Södermanland; so schreibt man auch in Simris, Schonen). Im 6. Jh. dürften wohl unter diesem Namen etwa Uppland und Västmanland gemeint gewesen sein. Bemerkenswert ist, daß noch im 14. u. 15. Jh. ähnliche Formen belegt sind: *i swidhidhe*, Akkus. *swidhido*, später sogar *Syðhedho*, *Sytho*, bzw. *Sødho*...

Daß Ländernamen und Völkernamen einander nahe stehen, ist längst bekannt(die Bildung von Ländernamen ist ja eine jüngere

Entwicklung).....Es lag sehr nahe, aus dem Ländernamen einen Völkernamen zu bilden. Das unbetonte zweite Glied im Dativ *Sueþiubu* wurde zu-*ðiðu* geschwächt. Bei der Latinisierung ging es in-*tidi* über.

Aus demselben Stamm sind später mehrere andere Latinisierungen gebildet:*Suetia* (dann, durch die bekannte Vermischung von-*ti* und-*ci* vor Vokal, *Suecia*), *Sueticus* (*Suecicus*, *Suecus*, *Suecanus*). (Svennung 1966, s.97 f.)

The rune-stone-construction *suiþiubu* might also be used as support for my thesis about *\*Sviþþiob* which glides to *\*Sviðþiob* and hence is difficult to pronounce and is simplified to *Svþiob*. You also could conclude that the Suiones are confirmed both by Tacitus and Jordanes, who according to Mommsen should have had the information from Ablabius. By everything to judge accordingly the name of *Svíar* already at this time has got a more limited geographical meaning. Svennung connects the information by Tacitus that the Suiones deliver hides, have boats which they row and have good horses among else to the above treated Häggeby-stone, which is supposed to show a stallion-fighting and which also pictures a stilicised ship with many rowers. He localises them at this time(!) to the Mälar-valley area. (Svennung 1966, p. 46)

Svennung also comments the circumstance that the western informer of Jordanes does not mention the Suiones until he already seems to be in Norway, and he means that this indicates that the contacts between *Gautar* and *Svíar* were rather scarce, while from Norway there was a trade-route to *Medelpad*. (Svennung 1966, p. 46)

### Svennung's tribes/peoples

1. Alogii	Halogaländer	Inhab. in Hålogaland
2.. Screfennae	Skrerefennen-Screrefennae	Lappar(Saami)
3. Suehans	Suehans (Swiones)	Swedes, svear
4. Theutes	Theutes	Tjuteå
5. Vagoth<ae>	Vag-Goten-Hamn/Sjögoter	Settlers at the Skålderviken bay
6. Bergio	Bergio	Inhab. in Bjäre
7. Hallin	Halländer—Hallin	Inhab. in Halland—Halläningar
8. Liothida<e	Liothida Fruktbarhetsfolket	Luggude?
9. Heinii	Heinir—Heinii	Inhab. in Himle
10. Finnaithae	Finnheden—Finnaithae	Inhab.in Finnveden—Finnvedingar

11. Fervir	Fervir	Inhab.in Fjäre-Fjäringar
12. Gautigoth<ae>	Gaut-Goten-Gautigoth<ae>	Västgötar, West-gautar
13. Hixi	His-ischen—Hixi	Hisingsbor, Inhab.on Hising-island
14. Euagreotingi[s]	Eua-Greotingi—Euagreotingi[s]	Grottinnevånare från öarna Cave-livers from the islands.
15. Ostrogothae	Ost-Goten—Ostrogothae	Östergötland
16. Raumarici	Raumariki	Raumarici
17. Ragnarici	Ragnariki	Ragnaricii-poss. Inhab. in R.
18. Finni	Finnen—Finni	Lappar, Finns
19. Cainothioth	Kainu-folket—Cainothioth	Kväner-Finno-ugrier
20. Suetidi	Svethiudh—Suetidi	“Svenskar” Swedes
21. Dani	Daner—Dani	(who descend from Suetidi)
22. Herulos	Heruler—Herulos	(who were driven from their habitations)
23. Grannii	Grenland- Grannii	Inhab.in Grenland
24. A[u]gand	Agder- A[u]gandzi	Inhab.in Agder
25. Eunixi<e>t	Euniskir—Eunixi<e>t-	island inhab.- Öbor- Öingar
26. Aetelrugi	Haupt-Rygir—Aetelrugi	Inhab.in Rogaland
27. Arothi	Hordar—Arothi	Inhab.in Hordaland
28. Raumi	Raumar—Raumi	Inhab.in Raumariki

Concerning the tribes having the element *got* in their names I state shortly what Svennung says about these:

Nr. 5 uagoth<ae> ‘Vág-goter’ (gautar vid Skälderviken).

Leffler hat uagoth als ‘Vag-Goten’ erklärt.

Die alte Bedeutung von *vágr* ist oben S.20 ff. erörtert worden. Der Sinn des zusammengestetzten Namen hängt davon ab, wie man das vorhergehende Wort liest und deutet. Wer aber die *theutes* S.von Halland verlegt, ihm dürfte es naheliegend sein, den *vágr* des Namens *Vággothi* auf die grosse Bucht im NW Schonens zu beziehen, die jetzt *Skälderviken* heisst und die sich den Seefahrern in vorhistorischer Zeit wie ein willkommener Meerbusen darstellen musste. Hier sei erwähnt, daß in demselben Kulturkreis (s.S.170 f.) auf der dän. Insel *Samsø* in den

altnord. Sagas zwei Häfen angeführt werden: in Orvarodds Saga 28, 3 Munarvágr, in Hervararsaga Unavágr. Über diese “mytischen Namen” s. Danmarks Stednavne I, 116.

An der Mündung des Busens liegt Väderön, aisl. Veðrey... Diese Insel könnte eine Operationsbasis der Gauten gewesen sein. Vgl. Väderöarna vor Bohuslän unten S.202 f. (Svennung 1966, s.55 ff.)

Da unser Text von den Stämmen Nr. 4-8 sagt, daß sie auf ihrer fruchtbaren Ebene von anderen Stämmen angegriffen werden, und da nach der nächsten Gruppe, Nr. 9-12, die Charakteristik (die wohl kaum nur mit dem Gauthigothae zusammengehört) folgt; “eine tapfere und sehr kriegerische Völkerschaft”, wäre es vielleicht möglich anzunehmen, daß Cassiodor in den Vag-gothae Gauten aus dem heutigen Västergötland (vielleicht auch aus den damit verbündeten Landgebieten), also \*Vág-gautar, gesehen hat, die die schonische Küste bei Skälderviken (vág) invadiert haben? Sie könne später vertrieben oder von den Ureinwohnern assimiliert worden sein. Die Archäologen haben im Schonen des 5. u. 6. Jhs. einen kulturellen Aufschwung festgestellt, aber auch Kriege und Anfälle, vor allem in den Küstenstrichen. Was die nähere Lokalisierung der Vág-goten angeht, ist es wohl möglich, daß sie an der Mündung des Vegeå oder des Rönneå wohnten. (Svennung 1966, p.56 f)

Svennung accordingly claims that these Vág-goter could be West-gautic Gautar who had invaded the Skäldervik-area and settled there during the 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> cc.

Nr. 12. gauthi-goth<ae> ‘Gaut-Goter

Einige Forscher (v. Friesen, Wessén) wollen in *goth* ein aus dem Rande falsch hereingekommenes Glossen sehen. Da aber die Getica—Hss. keineswegs durch Glosseme gekennzeichnet sind, muss ich \**Gauthigothae* als eine wahrscheinlich von Cassiodor geschaffene Bildung auffassen, im Sinne von Gaut-Goten. Der zweck des Werkes war ja, die Geschichte der Goten zu schreiben; dazu gehörte, ihre Urheimat, die Scandia-Insel, zu schildern. Dabei sollen nun vor allem die “zurückgebliebenen” Goten erwähnt werden.

Hier finden wir demnach:

1. Die ‘Goten’ im Lande der Gauten, d. i. Västergötland (Nr. 12)
2. Die östlichen ‘Goten’, d. i. Gauten in Östergötland (Nr. 15)
3. Die ‘Goten’ am Vág (Nr. 5).” (Svennung 1966, p.65)

Svennung accordingly here equals the construction of the word *Gautigothae* with the earlier by Schönfeldt (Schönfeldt, p.267) assumed original writing by Cassiodorus—*Wisigothae* (*Vesegothae* with Jordanes). Svennung interestingly enough calls the name *Gautigothae*, i.e. the name he applicates on the Westgautar, for “Urgauten-Name”. Concerning the Eastgautar he means the name has been directly copied from the famous *Ostrogothae* on the Continent. As an alternative possibility to the first component ‘*gaut*’ he gives a thinkable compositum as in e.g. the Germanic names Gaudipert, Gaucibert and Gautbert. He remarks that a Gepidic prince who is mentioned by Prokopius (Bell.Goth. 4, 27, 19) was called *Oustri-gotdoz*, and that you with Jordanes find names like *Thiudi-goto*, *Theudigiscus* and similar. He presents as a parallel the construction of *Gothi-scandza*, which he understands as a latinization of the Gothic Scandia, and he remarks that it was, and is, a custom among emigrants to bring with themselves names from the old habitation-area. He then gives still a possibility for the namegiving of *Gautigothae*. He draws a parallel with his interpretation of the names *eua-greotingi*—‘ö-grytingar’ (Island-Grytings)—and *\*Vagi-gothae* (alt. *\*Vaga-gothae*) as the Goths in the ‘vik’ (=bay) (*vágr*) (=waves) with ‘the Goths who live at Gauts river’—*Gautigothae*. He then writes: “Of these alternativs I prefer the first.” (*Analogie nach Wisigothae, auth.remark*) He accordingly then has dismissed the second possibility—that they should have been named in this way by Cassiodorus/Jordanes because they lived at the Göta älv river. In spite of this he later claims just that they should have been named so by this very reason. (Svennung 1966, p.65)

The meaning and origin of the name Gautar/Gauter has been discussed above. Svennung (Svennung 1966, p. 66-78) means here, that I have already treated above, that the name comes from the fact they lived at the Göta älv river, which name earlier can have been not composited and the river could only have been called *\*Gaut* (f.). During later times, he means, the name “*elfr*” might have come into use and been added to the old name. He will derive the name—origin of the whole of Götaland to this circumstance, and the explanation hence that the culture in Östergötland is as old he claims depends on a colonisation of Gautar. As a proof he refers to the results of an examination by Olof Arrhenius, showing that:

daß sich ein an Grabfeldern reiches Gebiet von der Alvastra-Gegend, von dem Boren-See und Skänninge ostwärts bis W von Roxen-See und dann nordwärts bis zur Gegend von Bråviken erstreckt; in überraschend ähnlicher Weise reicht ein phosphatreicher, ca. 20 bis 30 km breiter Gürtel vom Vättersee, W und N vom Tåkern-See über Skänninge bis W und SO vom Roxen-See, dann bis S von Bråviken. Die Frequenz der Grabfelder ist ungefähr die gleiche im W und im O, der Phosphatgehalt

dagegen ist erheblich grösser im W. Dies dürfte auf eine ältere Kultur im W Östergötlands hindeuten. (Svennung 1966, s.86).

He can in spite of this not convincingly explain why a river-name meaning ‘water that pours’ (into the sea) should have the same name as the main-god of the Goths/the Gautar. I mean instead, as stated above, that the name is derived from the creator of the humans, ‘the out-poured’, meaning the god Gaut, who consequently has given name to both the people and the river. Why else should the Jutes/Ýtas have the same basic meaning in their name living on the other side of the Kattegat and with no *hughe*, pouring rivers?

Svennung remarks that the informer, who got his information from the Gautar in Västergötland, först after having left Bohuslän starts mentioning more distant peoples. First then he brings up a group which seems to be “eastwards emigrated Gautar”... (in alliance with the Westgautar?)”, he writes. He claims the most important connection-route between Norway, in the vicinity of Uddevalla, and Västergötland went via Naglumssund NE of Trollhättan, Norra Björke, Nybro at the Nossan and Lidköping to Skara. On that route, he suggests, the knowledge of the Eastern Goths might have come to Euagreotingi and Ragnaricii (N of present Uddevalla). (Svennung 1966, s. 86)

I note that this route indeed seems to have very old traditions, and the latest remarkable gold-find in Västergötland in Vittene in just Norra Björke, which according to the place-name book was called Birke in 1527, while Södra Björke was called Birka. It is, accordingly, a suspected Birk-place (trading-place). It might be added, that after excavations in 1999 in Vittene it has been found the presumably biggest of the till now known grave-fields in Västergötland, with graves from the Pre-Roman and Roman Iron Age. The material is still not officially analyzed.

The people-name Ostrogothae means after Svennung East-Goths—the Eastern Gautar—and he dismisses the interpretation ‘Glanz-Goten’ by Streitberger. (Svennung 1966, p.87) Adamus Bremensis (Adam 4, 23) calls them “gothi orientalis” in opposite to “gothi occidentalis”. It may also be remarked that the connection to the Goths for the Gautar was that strong in Europe of that time, that the pope Gregorius VII in a letter to the brother-kings in Västergötland in the year 1080 AD did address it to “Wisigothorum gloriosis regibus”. (Diplom.Suec.I Nr.25)

Nr. 13. *mixi* = \**hixi* (for ON. \**hiskiR*) ‘Hisingsborna’, ‘The inhabitants of the Hising island’

*Mixi* is interesting in this connection, since it often is combined with Euagreotingi[s] and hence occur together with the on the Continent known tribal names.



Svennung writes:

...Codd. BXY haben mixti, was entschieden den Eindruck einer interpolatorischen "Verbesserung" erweckt, aber von Gelehrten wie Müllenhof (Ed. S.163), v. Grienberger u. a. aufgenommen worden ist. Die "lectio difficilior" ist unleugbar mixti, das ich als eine Verschreibung für \*hixi betrachte: dies wiederum dürfte m. E. einen urnord. Volksnamen \*hiskiR latinisieren, im Sinne von 'Bewohner der Insel \*His' (jetzt Hisingen, mit dem nordischen suffigierten bestimmten Artikel).

Einem Römer des 6. Jhs. war nämlich die Lautverbindung-sk- vor weichem Vokal ganz ungewohnt, seitdem in späteren Latein-sk- in dieser Stellung zu einem Zischlaut geworden war; er hat hier die Aussprache einfach durch Metathese erleichtert und in \*hiksi, geschr. \*hixi, latinisiert. Die moderne Forschung hat gezeigt, daß die Metathese verschiedener Sprachen ziemlich willkürlich und sporadisch auftritt, bes. in Fremdwörtern, z. B. Plin. 8, 39 in achlis für germ. \*alcis 'Elch' oder in der Latinisierung Scandia für \*Skapnia.

Es läßt sich denken, daß \*hiskir aus \*his durch ein k-Suffix gebildet worden ist, etwa wie der Fluss Vis-k-a(n) in Nordhalland, dessen Namen man mit dem Namen des Sees Visu-langer (durch den der Fluss Viskan fließt) verbunden hat; die Flussniederung wird 1231 Viskærdal (jetzt Viske härad) genannt, was die Form \*Viskr voraussetzt.

Der Plural \*hiskir kann auch durch eine Art Haplogogie aus \*his-isk-ir, Sing. \*his-isk-r entstanden sein, gerade wie aisl. frískr aus frís-isk-r, 'Friese', 'einer der frísir'; wie holl. *friesch* 'friesisch', *fries.frysk*, mnd. *vresch*, nd. *freisch*." (Svennung 1966, p.79)

Svennung wants to add to the linguistic confirmations, that *mixti* shall be interpreted \*hiskir—inhabitant of the island Hisingen, which includes both the mouth-branches of the Göta älv river, that it must have been of strategical importance for as well shipping, trade and defense. The island was according to Svennung probaly called *His* from the beginning.

Nr. 14. euagre otingi[s]=\*eua-greotingi 'the Cave-dwellers- or 'the Stone-people- on the islands'

This name has been discussed intensively and the opinions still are strongly split. In the original it is divided into two words—Evagre Otingis. Mommsen remarks that it might hint on Greutungi, Th. von Grienberger proposes *mixti etiam Greotingis* and J.V. Svensson chooses mixti Auragreotingi, which he believes

shall mean the population in Örgryte. Löffler writes Eva-Greotingis, where Eva is *eya*, island, while Greotingis are 'those living in stone-houses'. Löffler places them on Öland.

Svennung continuously argues:

Meinesteil möchte ich behaupten, daß die Eua-Greotingi—das *u* bezeichnete bilabiales *v* (eng. *w*; Noreen AIG §42)—auf der Insel Orust, N von Hisingen, wohnten; wahrscheinlich umfasste ihr Gebiet (bis Ranríki, Nr. 17) bisweilen auch die Küste des Festlandes, die früher Grözbakka skipreidha (1465), später Kreis Grötsbacka (härad), jetzt Inlands Nordre genannt wird. Urgerm. \**aujo*, das im Vorderglied steckt, bedeutete nicht nur 'Insel', sondern auch 'Wasserland', 'Halbinsel' usw. (Bach §307), ähnl. aisl. *ey* u. a. Wörter der jetzigen nordischen Mundarten. Eng. *island* (aus *izland*) hat auch bedeutet 'watered place', 'meadow'. Das verwandte ae. *éalond*, eig. 'water-land', 'riverland', auch 'island'. Bei Beda ist *eu* 'Insel': Smith I 147 f. (vgl. Ekwall, Place-Names 158 b).

Das zweite Glied, ano. *grjót*, aschw. *gryt* (aus urgerm. \**greuta-*; vgl. das finn. Lehnwort *riutta* 'Klippe'), bedeutete u. a. 'Gestein'...

Der Völkernamen Greotingi deutet an, daß sie in einer felsigen Provinz wohnten, das Vorderglied Eua-, daß sie auf Inseln, bzw. an der Küste, wohnten. Das alles passt vortrefflich zur heutigen schwedischen (früher norwegischen) Provinz Bohuslän (früher Viken). Der Name *Eua-Greotingi* kann die Inselbewohner, im Gegensatz zu den Einwohnern des Festlandes in der (späteren) Grözbakka skipreida, bezeichnet haben, etwa wie \**EuniskiR* im Geg. zu Aetel-Rugi (s.Nr. 25, 26)."

Verträgt sich nun damit der Zusatz: *hi omnes* ('alle diese Menschen') *excisis rupibus quasi castellis inhabitant, ritu beluino?* Die bejahende Antwort wird unten S.148-154 gegeben.

Im Mittelalter wurden die Inseln Hising, Tjörn und Orust samt dem Küstenland bis Uddevalla unter dem Namen Elfarsysla zusammengefasst (das Gebiet N oder NW des Flusses Elfr). Die Stämme Nr. 13 und 14 gehörten wahrscheinlich schon im 6. Jh. zusammen. Elfarsysla wurde später Inland genannt, im Gegensatz zum Utland (offenbar vom Norden her benannt) S oder SO vom Elfr; über dieses s.auch unten S.179 f. (Svennung 1966, p.80 ff.)

Among else Sophus Bugge has wanted to interpret *eua-* as a Old-Nordic *eymir* of PrtGerm. \**aujiniz* 'island-inhabitant', 'island-liver'. This should mean that the *i*-Umlaut and the syncopation of *i* in the second part already should be introduced in Nordic around year 500 AD, which is supported by von Friesen, Neckel

and Hesselman. (Svennung 1966, p.84 f) As a conclusion Svennung offers a possible connection to the Continental tribal names Greutungī and possibly Mixi, which later writing however is questioned. Concerning Gauthi-gothae and Ostrogothae it is hardly possible to confirm an emigration with only this material, but it however clearly indicates that the Gautar living in Scandinavia were reckoned as Goths by their contemporaries.

Norbert Wagner remarks of the insecurity of the writing *Eva Greotingi*, and its connection with *Mixi/Mixti*, and he also remarks, that for the interpretation 'stone', 'mountain' et c. it is the Proto-Nordic *grjót* forming the base, and that other Germanic languages also can have the meaning 'sand', 'gravel' et c. It accordingly should presuppose a linguistic connection with the North-Germanic, since the word *not* is confirmed in the Gothic of Wulfila. (Wagner 1967, p.171 ff) This argument is however weakened through Wessén, as mentioned above, who has demonstrated that Gothic and the dialects of Götaland show a certain similarity, and also Schwarz has indeed wanted to see a Gothic language-area around the southern Baltic Sea inclusive Scandinavia.

## Conclusion

As stated above new sources to the Gothic pre-history do really not exist. It is still Jordanes' *Getica*, Strabo, Tacitus, Ptolemaios and Plinius (with debated possible quotation of Pytheas) dealing with times being close to the origin of the Goths. Certain loose remarks can be found also in e.g. Orosius, Zosimus, Dio and other but nothing substantially. The source-value for Jordanes' according to himself from Ablabius fetched information is disputed. I however consider myself to have demonstrated that Ablabius probably is a far more believable source than hitherto presumed. The devastating criticism of Curt Weibull, and latest also Christensen, which has been demonstrated above, and which claims that Tacitus and Ptolemaios give no support for an immigration-theory, and that *Getica* is a strictly literary construction by Cassiodorus without any source-value, must definitely be rejected. It is not possible to ignore oral traditions unless the research will be made impossible and become only a static history-writing.

Since new peoples during the Antique tried to get themselves an old and honourable history, which indeed is noticeable in *Getica* when Cassiodorus/Jordanes mix *Getae* and Goths, there is much that speaks for, some researchers mean, that Ablabius refers to a true tradition since they mean, that of this proposed tradition comes no honour in those times.

Norbert Wagner efficiently kicks away the feet of Weibull through referring to Hieronymos *Hebraicae quaestiones in libro Geneseos*, where the Gog and Magog-interpretation already is known. Concerning the island with Jordanes Wagner

also remarks that behind Brittany lies Prußenland, and hence the island of Britain is quite inactual.

Jerker Rosén does not see any proof-value in the story, but he remarks that the problem with the similarity in names between the Goths, Götaland and Gotland still remains to be explained. He accordingly is not totally convinced by the arguments of Weibull. (Carlsson/Rosén 1962, p.65)

The discussion between Hachmann, Wagner, Wenskus and Schmidt, which has been referred above, leads up to an estimation of the strenght of the kingship. Wenskus claims that th kingship grew stronger but I then question his definitions. I mean that the power of the sacral-king should have decreased continuously, but that the king through the migration and the continous wars indeed could claim his old rights better than during peace-time. That far I can agree that the kingship gets stronger. On the other hand the power of the local chieftains/petty-kings all the time increases and finally this leads to Odinistic Gefolgschaft-kingdoms led by former chieftains/petty-kings/kuningaz, later reiks. We know in any case that Óðinn(Mercury) is claimed to have been the main-god under the proposed Filimer, and here I mean the foundations are laid for the later realm of Ermanarik, who is a genuine Óðinn-king and reiks. Wenskus accordingly in the bottom supports my thesis of agradual developement from a sacral-kingdom of basically fertility-character, where the king however claims genealogy from Gaut, to an army-kingdom where the power in time is transformed to local chieftains/petty-kings/reiks while the power of the sacral-king is weakened and finally, when settling at the Black Sea, totally disappears.

Wenskus claims the chroniclers did not want to have an incomplete lenght of kings, and since they lacked information of this in the early history, specially during periods of peace, they have described the migration from the Vistula as a gathered enterprise under one leader. Wenskus himself however claims that it actually deals with a number of Gefolgschaft-kings with their followers having led individual tribes or groups of tribes to the Black Sea area. These kings should have been reiks. This supports, as remarked, my earlier stated thesis. It is only during outer disturbances that a sacral-king has a real political power and in periods of peace and permanent habitation it lies with the reiks/chieftains. This patterns also appears in Gutþiuða concerning the kindins.

To this may be added Wenskus remarks about the name of the Goths and the name of the tribe called Greutungj which is traceable in the name-material in the Vistula-area, and opens the possibility a native population has been over-layered, and the idea of Gutenbrunner that the Goths might have had early trade-depots in the area, and that this should be the origin to the later tradition-nucleus.

The thesis of Gutenbrunner agrees with my earlier stated hypothesis of several different Gothic emigration-waves, where the first could have taken place

somewhere around the 300's BC from Gotland and possibly East-Scandinavia and have taken the form of Gutenbrunners trade-depots in connection with the amber-trade. If Pytheas really knew of the Goths, which is indeed disputed, this is in that case the only possibility with regard to a Scandinavian origin.

The claim by Ernst Schwarz of the similarities between Gothic and North-Germanic makes indeed in his eyes a gradual over-layering less probable. Against Schwarz however Wenskus claims that it should have come wave after wave of Nordic immigrants from a bigger area than hitherto fancied.

Finally the survey of Josef Svennung of the different people-names in *Getica* becomes a decisive instrument of interpretation. Concerning the indication of a direct emigration of certain tribes through similar names the possibilities are confined to primarily the Greutungi, derived from *Euagreotingi[s]* after the original form *Evagre Otingi*, which should mean approximately 'island-livers from the rocky island' or 'island-livers who inhabit stone-houses' or 'caves'. Mommsen thinks it is possible it might hint on Greutungi, while von Grienberger reads *mixti etiam Greotingis*. J. V. Svensson interprets it as *mixti Auragreotingi*, which he believes is 'the people in Ögröte'. Löffler uses the writing *Eva-Greotingis*, where *Eva* is *eya*, 'an island', while *Greotingis* are 'they who live in stone-houses'. He places them on Öland. Svennung claims the island is Orust, lying strategically just outside the mouth of the Göta älv river. On Orust there is the old Grözbakka skipreidha (1465, which later becomes Grötsbacka härad. Groz comes of ON. *grjót*, OSw. *gryt* (from PtGmc. \**greuta-*) and means among else 'stone'.

The people some call Mixi or Mixti Svennung reads as Hixi and gets from this *His-ischen*—*Hixi* or 'the inhabitants of the island \**Hi's*', now Hisingen. This Island controls the mouth of the Göta älv river and is there fore naturally connected with Gautar/Goths. This interpretation Hixi is however quite disputed but when it concerns the Greutungi we are indeed on a more stable ground.

Svennungs' interpretation of the peoples nr

5.	uagoth<ae	'Vág-goter'	(Gautar at Skälderviken)
12.	Gautigoth<ae>	Gaut-Goten-Gautigoth<ae>	Västgötar, Westgautar
15.	Ostrogothae	Ost-Goten—Ostrogothae	Östgötar, Eastgautar

is reasonable and useful, but is not possible to use as direct tribal names, and can not be referred to as confirmations of a possible earlier emigration from Scandinavia. They evidently just mean Gaut-Goths and East-Goths, the later meaning East-Gautar. In any case it is clearly demonstrated that to the Continental peoples of the 6<sup>th</sup> century they were regarded as Goths. Goths and Gautar accordingly were equalized which could possibly suggest a still living tradition.

Uagoth—Vággoter (Wave-Goths) might in this connection be disregarded except of a possible connection with certain high-cultures indicated in Skåne (e.g. suspected Heruls et c.). They can in no way be connected with any early Gothic migration.

The meaning of and origin of the Gautar has been discussed. Svennung claims the name comes from the fact the people lived at the Göta älv river and was named after their living-area. It could earlier have been called only \**Gaut* (f.), he claims. He will derive the name-origin of the whole Götaland from this and he also claims Östergötland was colonised by Gautar from this area. As a proof he refers to an examination by Olof Arrhenius indicating an older culture in Western Östergötland. Svennung however can not explain in a convincing way why a rivernamn meaning “‘pour out water’ (in the sea) should have the same name as the main-god of the Goths. I claim the name derives of the god Gaut, the creator of humans, ‘the outpoured’. Both the people and the river are named after the god I mean. The Jutes have the same basic meaning of their name and they have no swallowing rivers to refer to and live on the other side of the Kattegat.

Interestingly enough Svennung lifts forward the old trade-route between Gauthi-gothae and Norway via Naglumssund N. of Trollhättan, Norra Björke, Nybro at the Nossan and Lidköping to Skara. This way indeed has ancient traditions and the latest remarkable gold-find referred to above has been made in Vittene in Norra Björke and in time close to the presumed Gothic emigration. It has also been excavated parts of the probably just now greatest known grave-field in Västergötland right in Vittene. This graveyard includes the Pre-Roman and Roman Iron Age but the analysis are still not official and only a minor number of graves are still examined.

The name Ostrogothae means according to Svennung Eastgoths—the Easter Gautar—and he dismisses Streibergers’ Glanz-Goten. Adamus Bremensis calls them “Gothi orientalis” in opposite to “Gothi occidentalis”. Gauthi-gothae are by Svennung called also Ur-Goten, i.e. Proto-Goths. Whether this implies only that they colonised Östergötland, or if they are the original Goths he does not explain.

If any preliminary conclusions shall be drawn from this material we can at first conclude that there is no agreement in the issue of a possible mass-emigration to the Vistula-area neither from Scandinavia nor Gotland. Instead appears with a greater sharpness the possibility of a possible three-step-emigration of a number of smaller groups. The Gutar could possibly be the ones referred to by Pytheas in Plinius, if this referrance is real and not, with Hachman, a later adding. Also gautar from the Eastern Swedish main-land are thinkable at this time—around the 300’s BC and on. Gautar also from Western Sweden and the Kattegat-area are

thinkable around the birth of Christ and as the last step the tribe of the Gepids can have been formed, and have included except of locals in the Vistula-delta also Scandinavians from all over the Katttegat and Baltic area. The telling of Jordanes should in this case refer to the peoples from the Kattegat-area and Western Sweden. According to Erik Nylé, who was referred to in the archaeology-section, there was a Gotlandic emigration also around 200 AD. (Nylén 1991, p.173 ff) I must here stress that in my opinion these groups were just additions to already existing cultures in the Vistula—area and what they brought was mainly, as stated also by Wenskus, a tradition-nucleus. This tradition in my opinion is the religious origin of the peoples from the god Gaut which finally gave rise to a cultic league also in the Vistula-area.

Since Rosén, Hachmann and other also agree there are strong connections between Gautar and Goths, and what Hachmann concerns, that the Gautar indeed were Goths, this leads to the by mestated thesis: Goths were all those peoples worshipping the god Gaut—he who had poured them out. They were the humans who all had the same divine origin. This goes for the Vistula-goths, the Gutar, the Gautar and the Jutar who all have names after the god Gaut, and maybe also other names of Gaut may have existed to explain the Norwegian connection. In any case there are a lot of name on Gaut in Norway but they are traditionally explained as incolent names (nature names). It is remarked by Schwarz that it might have existed a common language-area around the Southern Baltic and including Scandinavia and the Kattegat-area, but this is opposed by many. According to Wessén the Gothic language should be closest related to to the Swedish Götaland-dialects and Gutnic—i.e. not with the Old Swedish, which is rather a medieval language with North-Swedish dialects involved. This does not contradict there are great linguistic differences between Scandinavian and Gothic, but this does not make an inflow of people from the whole area in any way impossible. Naturally enough you accept the language normally spoken when you immigrate into a country and the language might possible have been established by the Gutar from the beginning or they could have been included in a already existing language-group on the main-land. The Gutnic seems anyhow to be the Nordic language being closest to Gothic, and that is also what Wenskus claims. What really is important with this reasoning, however, is that it is, in my opinion, the religion and not the language which is the original ethnical common symbol of unity. The Gothic ethnicity is primarily based on their religious origin and neither on language or politics.

Another question is from where this religion has spread, and we so again land in the Nordic Bronze Age-culture, which at its dissolution demands a more useable religion and that leads, in my opinion, to the rise of the cult of Gaut as a political factor. This happens in Southern Scandinavia where still lie Gaut's land

and Gaut's river and in close connection Jutland (after *\*ýtland*). The religious nucleus with the Goths accordingly very well might have an Scandinavian origin, and hence the tradition of a Scandinavian ancestry is not unreasonable even if we do not talk about great numbers of humans. The archaeological confirmations in Southern and Western Sweden in no way contradicts this possibility and indicate indeed close and intensive contacts with the Continental Goths.

As is demonstrated above it is all the time a continuous development from a sacral-kingdom to an Odinic army-kingdom with *Gefolghaften*, and hence there is also a continuous weakening of the power of the sacral-king. This results on sight in a thinner ethnicity for the whole group, but an increased such within the frames of the single army-kingdoms. Still all the time the common religion lies as a uniting factor, differing Goths from non-Goths, and this also during the Arian epoch. Not until Reccared converts to Catholicism the Gothic ethnicity starts declining finally and the realm goes under.



### 3. Linguistic judgements

The discussion about the possible kinship of the Gothic language with the North-Germanic languages has been going on for long now. It must be made clear that this division is invented by linguists. All Eastgermanic languages are today extinct. To these were counted among else Gothic and Vandilic. The only reason, it is said, the philologists originally had to clump together a line of tribes and call them Eastgermanic was the law "lex Gothica" where a common language, spoken by all these tribes, existed. Be it as it will with that statement- I dare not say anything conclusive. Some have wanted to place the Gothic totally among the Northgermanic languages, but the majority claim it is a, at least now, quite alone representative of the Eastgermanic languages. Those exist also, who claim a closer relationship with Southgermanic. A complication in this matter is also that there is a definite difference between so called Old Swedish, which is a medieval language, and the Swedish Götaland-dialects, who are older, like also the old dialects of Northern Sweden. They have been mixed together in Old Swedish. According to Wessén the relationship between Gothic and the Swedish Götaland-dialects and Gutnic is greater than with other Germanic languages. This circumstances should indeed have contributed to the fact that some have seen Gothic as a Northgermanic language. Since I am myself no linguist I can hardly make any authoritative claims about who is right or wrong on linguistic grounds, but I have to take position in regard of all facts from all disciplines where the language is just but a part of the whole picture. I however intend to report on the most important points of sight in this discussion as best as I can achieve. Except of linguistics it will of course also touch other important disciplines of importance for the understanding, like archaeology, history, religion, geography and so on. In this way I also will try to give a survey of the division of the Indo-Germanic languages according to the both the former and the present view.

#### General survey

This survey is based on excerpts from *De germanske sprog* by Hans Frede Nielsen (Nielsen 1979, p.58 ff) which is one of the latest and most initiated publications of this character. It is published by Odense Universitetsforlag in 1979 and the author has been extremely helpful to me during my work with this book, and has given me many a good advice.

Rasmus Rask (1818) meant that High German and what he called Moesogothic both were parts of a German language-branch, who together with a Saxon branch consisting of Old-Frisian, Anglo-Saxon and Low-German consti-

tuted the Germanic language-group. This Moesogothic he considered related to the Nordic languages and these constituted together the Gothic language-stem.

Jacob Grimm divided the Germanic into four groups, where he apart of linguistic considerations also included ethnic estimations. These groups are:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Goths, Gepids, Vandals and Herules      | 2. Langobards, Burgundians, Allemans, Franks and Bavarians |
| 3. Angles, Saxons, Frises and Westphalians | 4. The Nordic peoples                                      |

Grimm motivates his scheme with that the link between Gothic and High German is intermediated by the Marcomanni and the Quadi. Between the Anglian and the Langobardic group it is a relation via the Franks. Finally Angles and Frises constitute a connection to the Nordic languages. (Grimm 1819) He mixes in this scheme Eastgermanic, which he connects with the High German, with tribes regarded to have a directly Danish, Nordic origin, and then let the different groups influence each other in a quite confusing way.

A new angel of attack is delivered by Adolf Holzmann, who means that the language being closest to Gothic is Icelandic, which he regards as a direct continuation of Gothic. He later modified his stand-point to claim that the Nordic languages were closest related to Gothic and that the difference from Old High German was very great. (Holzmann 1870)

August Schleicher proposes in 1860 a tri-partition of a relatively modern kind into Northgermanic, Eastgermanic and Westgermanic, and his ideas were among else also accepted in Braune/Ebbinghaus *Gotische Grammatik*, and it is still actual in many ways. Schleicher means that Nordic, Old High German and Gothic each are based on the "German" base-language, and none of them has been model for the other. In spite of this he admits that there are similarities between Gothic and Old Nordic among else in 2 pers. sing. ind. with the strong verbs. (Nielsen 1979, p. 60)

E. Förstemann (1869) also sees three groups but claims another development. The Proto-Germanic is replaced with Old Proto German and from this comes the Gothic. From the later stage Middle Proto German the Old Nordic is broken loose as an own group. Then New Proto German remains and from this other Germanic languages are developed.

Karl Müllenhof, who was a historian, is the one having introduced the division in East- and Westgermanics in a greater scale (Müllenhof 1900), however not on linguistic grounds, but he starts with the three supposed tribal leagues I

already treated in an earlier section, namely the Ingaevones, Herminones and Istaevones, who are mentioned by Tacitus. (Tacitus 98:2) these he calls Westgermanics, and so he claims that the Eastgermanics are the Vandals. These elsewhere are counted as Herminones. Müllenhof means the Scandinavians have lived as neighbours to the Goths in the Vistula-area already before an emigration *northwards* over the Baltic Sea took place to Scandinavia. Consequently the Goths and the Scandinavians constituted the Eastgermanics. Here accordingly the Goths come from the Continent and settle in Scandinavia. This interpretation is also supported by W. Scherer (1868). Scherer meant that the relationship between the languages was proved by the faintly sounded-*s* (-*z*) and Nielsen gives the examples Got. *dags*, ON *dagr*; OE *dæg*, OHG. *tag*.' (Nielsen 1979, p. 60)

H. Zimmer contributes through indicating the development of—*ww* to the *ggw* and-*jj*- of Gothic and Old Nordic and *ddj* of Gothic and *gg* of Old Nordic. (Zimmer 1876)

Beside this linguistic theory-building Gustaf Kossinna regarded himself to have proven with the help of archaeology that the Eastgermanic peoples had their origin in Scandinavia. He therefore introduces the terms North- and South-Germanics. (Kossinna 1897)

One who methodically would become a great influence is Johannes Schmidt, who is the first to introduce the wave-front-theory and show the limitations of the stem-tree-theory. Nielsen gives a quotation by him:

Das nordische ist sowohl ostgermanisch als westgermanisch, es bildet den übergang vom gotischen zum angelsächsischen, das angelsächsische und friesische den vom nordischen zum altsächsischen. (Nielsen 1979, p.61)

Nielsen notes a certain similarity what concerns Schmidt with the ideas of Grimm about transition between language-groups. (Nielsen 1979, p.61)

Richard Loewe looks to which linguistic renewals who link Gothic, Northgermanic and Westgermanic between themselves. He then places Gothic and Northgermanic together and thereafter Nordic and Westgermanic. He accordingly regards Nordic as a transition-form, and besides the phenomenon, according to him, is a result of the geographical location. The parallels between Gothic and Northgermanic stem according to him from the time the Goths lived in Scandinavia. (Loewe 1899)

Ferdinand Wrede (1919) rejects a Proto German language with High and Low German as intermediate steps from Westgermanic, and he considers Westgermanic

includes Ingaevonic and German. Ingaevonic includes in his interpretation Frisian, Anglo-Saxon and Continental Saxon (Low-German). The problem however seems to be that these different languages influence each other through cultural contacts between the peoples, why Wrede concludes:

Alles in allem ergibt sich eine deutliche Teilung des deutschen Mundartgebietes: verdeutschtes Ingwäonisch im Norden, reines Deutsch im Süden, auf Kontamination beider beruhendes 'Mittel-deutsch' dazwischen. (Nielsen 1979, p.62)

Wrede besides has points of sights on Gothic mixture in Bavarian. He concludes that Bavarian not, as Ingaevonic, has *h*-forms in 3.sg. pers. pron, and that one differs between three persons in pres.plur.of the verbs, and that it is not nasal-fall away before homesound in *i fünf* and *uns*. Gothic has the same characteristics. Because of this Wrede might consider a Gothic/Eastgermanic influence on the language. He tries to explain this with the occurrence of Gothic and Vandilic tribes in Hungary and Austria, Scirs in Galicia and Rugii in Niederösterreich/Lower Austria. Around 400 AD it besides lived Burgundians in Bavaria and the Eastgoths of Teoderik were extant in Italy. Even further, he means, there was a Gothic mission which has influenced the language in South-Germany. They say e.g. instead of Dienstag *Ertag* (originally Greek) and they use the old dualis-form *enk* meaning 'yours'. (Nielsen 1979, p.62) This word *enk* goes back on Got. *izwis* and, according to Hellquist's Etymological Wordbook, "with not original, probably through dissimilation of Proto Nordic *\*iRwiR* created *d* (*ð*) to the form 'yours'." Hellquist thinks that it originally, via the Germanic form—*wes* is similar as Sanscrit. ack. *vas*, 'yours, of IE. *\*ues*. (Hellquist 1970, p. 174). Wrede dares in any case 1924 call German "ein gotisiertes Westgermanisch". Nielsen comments Wredes ideas as follows:

...and hence the following should be understand: Gothic has via Bavarian influenced the German language area in that way, that a wedge has been driven in in west/northwest direction. This has got as a consequence that the old connections between the north and the south have been ripped apart, and the small Allemannic area towards the south-west and the Ingaevonic North-Germany have become linguistic border-areas. But you can also understand from the expression, that the by the Gothic influenced renewals have not in Wrede's opinion affected the Westgermanic character of German, even for the consonantal gemination. (1924:281).(Nielsen 1979, p.62)

C. Karstien (1939) refused to accept that a nasal-loss before home-sound should have included also South- and Middle-Germany. Sure the loan-word *Hanf loses it'st n* in Allemannic but it can have happened first, he means, after the sound-shift in OHG. and after the loss of the unsounded-*a-*. He compares with OHG. *hanaf* and OSax. *hanap*. Karstien also concludes that the morphological and phonological parallels between Gothic and Bavarian represent something old. He gives as example Got. *is*, OHG.-South-German *ir, er*, OE/OFris./OSax. *hē, hī*. He besides doubts quite generally that a neighbour-position that rapidly and strongly could have affected the Westgermanic. Karstien also rejects the Westgermanic of Müllenhof which has been accepted by both Wrede and Frings. Karstien claims that many Anglo-Frisian renewals are of an older date than the so called Westgermanic. This leads to that the tripartite division of Schleier is divided into four groups. (Nielsen 1979, p.64)

- |                              |                  |
|------------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Gothic                    | 2. German        |
| 3. Anglo-Frisian (Ingvæonic) | 4. Northgermanic |

This fits, as I can perceive, quite well with the opinion of Th. Fring (1932) that these influences should have occurred when Goths, Allemans and Bavarians were neighbours in North-East Europe. (Nielsen 1979, p.63) Fring however later means that both Allemannic nasal-loss in front of home-sound and uniform pluralis in presens of the verbs are of considerably younger date than answering phenomena further north. He also says that Wrede moves on an insecure ground when he means that he can count the *b*-forms in 3. sg. pers. pron. Among those Ingvæonisms, which had a spread also in South-Germany. It has not been possible to confirm that such modern dialect-forms have existed south of Mainz. Frings also gives parallels between Gothic and Alpendeutsch, which he relates to prehistoric contacts between Eastgermanics and Hermionnes (the easternmost Westgermanics) in present Poland (1957). (Nielsen 1979, p.66 f)

F. Maurer (1952) also he attacks Wrede who he means takes too small considerations to the history. He means that you ought to have considered the historical situation before publishing such a theory. He also objects that Wrede draws his conclusions from modern dialects and later applicates his conclusions from these many centuries back in time. He disregards the diacrone, the language-historical, in advantage of the syncrone, and here rests, according to Maurer, the reason of the misjudgement of Allemannic. Self Maurer claims in his book *Nordgermanen und Allemannen* that the Germanic language-area not can be understood without the aid of Antique sources and of the archaeology. This because the Germanic dialects in their present shape are of a rather late origin, and this means that comparisons between these inte can be made far back in time with acceptable accu-

racy. With a starting point from the archaeology Maurer estimates 5 cultures (partly already treated in the section of cultic leagues above) who exist from the 1<sup>st</sup> c BC to 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> cc. AD. These are:

1. Northgermanics
2. Oder-Weichsel-Germanics
3. Elbgermanics
4. Weser-Rhen-Germanics
5. North-Sea Germanics

He means that the Classical sources point towards a five-division. Plinius' Vandili (Burgundians, Goths and other) he refers to the Northgermanic find-group, Peucini and Bastarnae to the Oder-Weichselgermanic. Mediterranei, Hermiones (Suebi, Hermunduri and other) he counts as Elbgermanics while Proximi Rheno are directed to the Weser-Rhen-Germanic group. Finally he places Inguaeones (Cimbri, Teutoni, Chaucorum gentes) in the North-Sea Germanic group. The reason Maurer counts Burgundians, Goths and Vandals to the Northgermanic group is that they are considered to have originated in Scandinavia. The real Eastgermanics are thought to have emigrated c:a 1000 years earlier from the vicinity of Middle- and Lower Elbe, and later their dominions have been occupied by the Goths and other tribes. Maurer claims among else that the connections between Elbgermanics and Northgermanics, inclusive the Goths, were closer than between Northgermanics and Anglo-Saxons. Kuhn attacks Maurer (Kuhn 1944) and remarks that the loss of sounding-*z*, *ð* > *d* and the consonantal gemination were important Westgermanic renewals. Maurer counters this through placing such common traits to the time after the five-division, and he means that if North-Sea Germanic was the starting point of the renewals you could also explain why the Anglo-Saxons were included, and why the consonantal gemination is introduced also in Northgermanic. Nielsen criticises Maurer and remarks that his criteria are not primarily linguistic but they build on archaeological find-groups, and that he in all groups except of the Northgermanic introduces the term "Oberdeutsch". Maurer means to be able to demonstrate a lot of parallels between "Oberdeutsch" and Northgermanic, which should be a consequence of the long settlement-period of the Elbgermanics in Northern Germany. Nielsen further remarks that Maurer, when he postulates the group Weser-Rhen-Germanics, he presupposes that an archaeological cultural area and a language- or dialect-area always coincide. It is, Nielsen means, not difficult to confirm the opposite. Nielsen then gives a quotation of Maurer:

die Zusammenführung der Ergebnisse von Geschichte und Sprachforschung; die Vertiefung unserer sprachgeschichtliche Erkenntnisse mit Hilfe der Nachbarwissenschaften, hier besonders der Archäologie.

In the matter with the Weser-Rhen-Germanics he has, Nielsen remarks, made quite contrary. Nielsen, *gjort tvärtemot*. (Nielsen 1979, p.64 ff)

W. Jungandreas keeps the term *Westgermanic* and divides the languages in:

Westgermanic

German = Lowgerman and Highgerman

Anglofrisian = English and Frisian

Goto-Nordic

Northgermanic

Eastgermanic

The reason to bring together Northgermanic and Eastgermanic is that he finds similarities in the weak nan-verbs, *-t* i 2. pt. sing. of the strong verbs and that the developement *wu, jj > ggw, ggj/ddj* suggests a common origin (Nielsen 1979, p.69)

## Ernst Schwarz and the Goto-Nordic

A mile-stone in the linguistic discussions might be said to be the publishing of the book of Ernst Schwarz *Goten, Nordgermanen, Angelsachsen*, which I regard as the perhaps most thoroughly worked through work what concerns the possible connection between Nordic and Gothic. It also has caused an enormous debate which still is going on. Schwarz gives as a starting point among else when it concerns this interesting so called Eastgermanic language-group:

Uns kümmern in erster Linie solche Sprachbewegungen, die die Ausgliederung der germanischen Sprachen grundlegend beeinflusst haben, also hauptsächlich in der Zeit vom 1. Jh. v. bis 5/6 Jh. n. Ch.

Schwarz considers that you can disregard older, co-Germanic renewals which already exist with all Germanics. He concludes that Bastarnae and Sciri disappeared from our cultural area already around 300 BC. The Bastarnae were extinguished and the Sciri were forced to flee the Huns and also disappeared. About the language of the Bastarnae we know nothing. The Cimbri and the Teutones formed a Germanic language-island like the Goths. Not until the appearance of the Vandals, the Rugii and the Burgundians we find known Northgermanic language-islands in Eastern Europe, divided from the home by the sea. He remarks that it is nessecary to consider that the 1<sup>st</sup> sound-shift, which started in the middle of the last millenium BC and in time has reached all in the North. He pre-

sumes it arrived in Scandinavia at about the same time the Goths emigrated, and because of this they were not affected by a changed Nordic, but got own changes. (Schwarz 1951, p.249 f) Schwarz shows with a number of examples on transitions which changes that are co-Germanic and which are later changes in different language-branches. (Schwarz 1951, p.250 ff)

He writes that the diphthongs in MHG. *i*, *ū*, *iu* derive from Bavaria, and that the process took centuries. The monophthongs in MHG. *ie*, *uo*, *üe* remains in Middle Germany while the change from *hs* > *ks* again goes out from Bavaria, from where also the 2<sup>nd</sup> sound-shift comes and presses northwards with, as he assumes, Langobardic help. The OHG. change from *ō* > *uo*, *ē*<sup>2</sup> > *ea*, *ia*, *ie* he means starts in Rheinfranken and still further north the origin area of the monothongation of *ai* > *ē*, *au* > *ō*, because it in the south only is accepted within limited areas. (Schwarz 1951, p.250 f)

He concludes that the transition *e* > *i* before nasal + konsonant or at least before nasal + *h* is co-Germanic, i.e. also in Gothic, and derives from in any case the 1<sup>st</sup> c.BC, and he mentions as examples of strong verbs in 3.class *þeiħan* < \**þiŋħan* while the transition from *ē*<sup>1</sup> > *ā* starts in North-Sea Germanic. You could, he claims, notice this on the fact that in the later North-Sea Germanic *ē*, *ā* have not been created as an original form but as a palatisation of *ā*. Because of this it is also understandable that *ā* occurs on runic inscriptions in Schleswig already in the 200's AD. He remarks that *ā* also exists in ON. and that it is considered to have been a spontaneous transition. Examples in the North-Sea Germanic exist already from the 1<sup>st</sup> c AD, but he means that a transition, also in the North, ought to have taken place already during the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, not least since he claims that North-Sea Germanic was created as a consequence of influences from both North- and South- Germanic, and he writes in opposition against a spontaneous transition, that the Goths emigrated with kept *ē*<sup>1</sup> like also the Heruls and the Crimean Goths did c:a 250 AD, and as well the Burgundians and the Vandals around 120 BC.

He claims that all the North up to at least around 250 AD has used *ē*<sup>1</sup>. That's why loan-words in Finnish have—*e*. The Nordic rune-stones have since around 250 AD already *a*, which of course also could be interpreted as *æ* but in reality could have been pronounced *ā*. This is one of those renewals he regards as coming from the south up to the 500's AD. The area distributing these renewals is according to him the North-Sea Germanic. (Schwarz 1951, p.252)

Loss of nasal before *h* with replacement-levelling is co-Germanic and exists also in Gothic. This is specially valid before *s*, *f*, *þ*. Schwarz gives an example with the spear-tip from Krahegul on Funen, 6<sup>th</sup> c.AD, with the person-name *asugisalas* = \**Ansugisalas* (Gen. Sg). The loss of nasal combined with replacement-levelling is in ON. confined to *n* before *s* and *m* before *f*. In the group *n* + *þ* there is no loss



but instead assimilation. Noreen has found some examples opposing this. For example sporadical loss of *n* before *s* like in ON. *rei(n)son* ‘cleaning’, OIcl. *vistre* and *vinstre* ‘left’. Noreen explains this with that here *n* and *s* are secondary after synkoptation of the vocal. (Schwarz 1951, p. 253.)

Schwarz comments the change to umlaut of *e > i* before the following syllable *i, j*, for example *birg(i)Ngu* (in Opedal, Norway, 6<sup>th</sup> c.AD), which is the first Nordic example. In the grammar this example is equalised with *n+consonant*, but it has quite another phonetic ground and another spread and it does not exist in Gothic. The first confirmations date from the 1<sup>st</sup> c.AD. Schwarz means that this change, which had an earlier western spread, had not reached the North or Eastern Europe when the Goths emigrated. He also means that the writing of Jordanes, *Fervir* and *Bergio*, demonstrates that the old *e* still remained, and that it consequently is first later which *e* before *i, j* becomes *i*—umlaut more generally. The change from *i > u* after following syllable is not even in Southgermanic consequently carried through, and ON. does not know *i* in this position, but on a bracteate from Zealand (c:a 550 AD) stands *gibu* ‘I give’. Noreen tries to explain this with that it stands after a *g* or as an analogy after 2. pers. *gibiR* (OHG. *gibis*) and Schwarz agrees.

Umlaut at *i > e* before *a* after following syllable is late in the North, Schwarz means. On the Tune-stone in Norway is still in the 5<sup>th</sup> c.AD written *WiwaR*. He remarks also that it for the umlaut after the following syllable from *u > o* before *a, e, o* not can be expected a similar order-follow as with *i > e*. The condition in Northgermanic was that beside *e* and *i* there only was *u* because *o* had become *a*. This old *o* is during the 1<sup>st</sup> c.AD replaced by a new *o* in Elbgermanic. This, he means, is proven of the fact that Tacitus writes *Gothones* 98 AD.

The Goths have, Schwarz claims, still left the old *u* that they brought with them. On the horn from Gallehus stands *horna* and *holtijaR* c:a 400 AD through analogy of *\*holta*. On the stone from Tune in Norway from the same period stands *woratho* ‘made’ < *\*wurtha*, OIcl. *orta*. *Horna* stands also on the Wetz-stone in Strøm in Noway from the 5<sup>th</sup> c.AD. This demonstrates, he means, that the new *o* evidently existed earlier in Scandinavia than *än i > e* because this transition is not depending of the umlaut *i > e*.

Concerning the developement of *z* north and south have had different developement. According to Braune the Scandinavian and Westgermanic *r = got. z*, and the transition has been independent of each other within both these language-areas. The Westgermanic *z* has become *r* only at initial sound, but not at out-sound. In Scandinavia in both cases is written *r*. Westgermanic *zd, zn* have become *rd, rn* while in Scandinavia assimilation to *dd, nn* has occurred. This assimilation of course is founded on a special Nordic *z* Schwarz means. Gothic has kept *z* at initial sound while in out-sound it has become *s*. The late Gothic

allows evident sound-weak out-sounding *s* to disappear and also *z* disappears in the late Gothic. Gothic accordingly has developed in quite another way than Nordic, Schwarz concludes.

In Southgermanic appear losses already during the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD in for example *Catvalda* and *Chariovalda*. Schwarz remarks that here one have wanted to see a connection with Got. and Anglo-Fris.-*a* < *-ōn* but he considers that these names not have been treated in a different way than e.g. compositions with-walt, OHG.-*olt* in OHG.*Heriolt* < \**Harjawaldaz*. They contain OHG. *gi-walt*, OSax. *gi-wald*, OFris.*wald*, OE. *weald* 'violence, protection' and not the weakly flecant *waldo* (OHG. *alewalto*, OSax. *alowaldo*, OE. *wealda*, OIcl. *einvaldi* 'ruler'). The change has been slow since during the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> cc AD normally still is written *Aflims*, *Saitchamims* in Rheinland, i.e. after *m*. On the gallehus horn still stands *HlewagastiR*, *holtijaR*, why it can be questioned if one still says—*z* or if one have changed to—*R*. From this in any case it is possible to conclude that the loss of out-sounding—*z* has reached the North-Sea Germanics rather late, since they form during the 5<sup>th</sup> c. the southern border of Northgermanic, Schwarz claims. This maybe explains why Northgermanic not is affected by this phenomenon he suggests. In Northgermanic have out-sounding—*z* like in initial-sound to-*R*, a palatal *r*, only late become *r*. Gothic has an inclination towards loss while one in the North continue with long-*az*, *-iz*, *-uz* and keep-*z* as-*R* he claims.

Concerning initial-sounds the change dives up in Southgermanic during the 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD with the name *Hortarius*, an Allemannic king, which Schwarz derives from Germ. \**Huzdhari* and he considers that it has been an assimilation of *d* in front of *h*. How long the initial-sound *z* is kept in the North he does not know, since the runic inscriptions use the same sign. Around the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD presuppose according to Schwarz both the Crimean Gothic and the Herulic that you still say—*z* while in the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD—*R* has been introduced, which is demonstrated by *Fervir* with Jordanes with assimilation of *d* in front of *h*. He considers this renewal as coming from the south. He claims that the Nordic—*R* is a compromise since they were dubious to renewals. (Schwarz 1951, p.254 ff)

He concludes:

Nicht alle Neuerungen des Südens haben auf den Norden übergegriffen, auch dann nicht, wenn das gesamte Nordseegerm. erfaßt worden ist. Der Norden hat also einen eigenen Sprachwillen, der sich darin äußert, daß zwischen den Neuerungen des Südens eine Auswahl getroffen wird. So gehen Norden und Süden ihren eigenen Weg beim Dat. (Akk) Pl. des Pronomens der 2. Person. Das got. *izwis* ist die älteste Form, wenn sie auf \**izwiz* zurückgeführt wird. Nach der got. Abwanderung ist im

Norden Dissimilation zu *\*ipwiz* eingetreten, die das Got. nicht vorzunehmen brauchte, weil hier auslautendes-*z* zu-*s* geworden war. Der Süden aber hat vollständige Dissimilation durchgeführt. (Schwarz 1951, p.258 f)

Schwarz remarks also that it at the time of the Gothic emigration still existed a reduplicating preterium in 7. strong class, and he compares with Got. *haihait* 'was called', *lailōt* 'sounded'. This existed also southwards, he means, and indicates rest-forms like OHG. *steroz* 'put', OE. *hehf* 'beside' *hēt* 'was called', *lealc* 'jumped', and claims that this disappeared because of pronunciation-difficulties. Since the reduplication is Indo-Germanic it means that the Goths continue with their inherited conditions, he suggests, while a new preterium later enters the North. The origin of this new he places in Southgermanic, and gives as an example the distribution of  $\bar{e}^2$  och *eu*. He mentions the shortening of  $\bar{e}^2$  before *ng* in *heng*, *feng* 'hanged', 'began' in parts of Southgermanic and means that the idea of a southern origin lies close at hand. Therefore speaks also that the OSw. *lōt* 'let', answering to Got. *lailot*, has kept the umlaut. Even Anglic and Saxon have got this change before the emigration of these peoples to England, and Schwarz claims that all these changes are ante-Gothic, i.e. they have occurred after that the Goths left Scandinavia. He gives examples with *pl-* to *fl-*, cf. Got. *pliuhan* 'flee'; OHG. *fliohan*, OE. *fleōn*, OIcl. *flýja*. He underlines that in the North out-sounding- $\bar{o}$  for long has been kept in runic inscriptions, but that there has been a difference between- $\bar{o}$  och- $\bar{o}^n$  because the runic inscriptions use-*u* at a time when- $\bar{o}^n$  still is written-*o*. OHG. *wisa* can be bowed strongly and weakly and consequently according to Schwarz there is no safe confirmation of strong *o*-stems, but both OE. *gifu* 'gift', *beru* 'bear, carry', OHG. *biru*, ON. *skor* 'hair' < *\*skaru* have *u*-ending which have come from- $\bar{o}$ , but Got. has-*a* (*giba*, *nima*). Therefore the general change to-*u* has taken place after the Gothic emigration. Because Got. had an inclination towards-*a* the transition to-*u* was not given in beforehand in the North, but should have been depending of influence from the south he claims. (Schwarz 1951, p.259 f)

Other occasions when the North has received southern renewals after the Gothic emigration Schwarz suggests are among else male *a*-stems like ON. *dogom* < *\*dagum*, Southgerm. *\*dagum*, and also 1.Pl. Pres.Ind.ON. *berom* 'we bear, we carry', Southgerm. *\*berum*-counter Got. *dagam*, *batram*, and the introduction of reinforced demonstrative pronomina in Nordic. He remarks also of the ancientness of Gothic through pointing on the reduplicating construction *nasidēdum*, *nasidēdup*, *nasidēdun* in weak preterium in pluralis, which is only possible to find there.

An important renewal he considers to be the introduction of *i*-umlaut in Nordic at *a* and *u*, and he there refers to Bengt Hesselman, who regards the writing of the Rök-stone *sair(a)widaR* c:a 400 as the first confirmation. He objects to Hammerich's opinion that this should be a Nordic renewal and considers it comes from the south like the earlier. Even Roth places the origin-area on the southern North-Sea-coast. (Schwarz 1951, p.260 ff)

He finally comments about this question:

Auch im Norden gibt es Unterschiede, denn das Ostnordische lautet weniger um als der Westen, vgl. westnord. *vāre*: ostnord. *vare* 'er wäre', *i gār*: *i gar* 'gestern'. Die Langobarden sind vor dem Umlaut nach Süden abgezogen, so daß dadurch für einen Teil Norddeutschlands ein zeitlicher Ansatzpunkt um 400 gewonnen wird. (Schwarz 1951, s.262)

He accordingly has fixed the umlaut in northern Germany to c:a 400 AD, but when it was introduced in East-Old Nordic is not indicated. This presupposes that the Langobards really originate from Scandinavia, which is, as known, disputed. Concerning the gemination of consonants, which is supposed to be Westgermanic he remarks that it also exists in the North and he even indicates spread confirmations in southern Germany. He demonstrates that it should have occurred after 400 AD, i.e. relatively late. It hence does not disturb the conditions of Goto-Nordic. Schwarz means the change can emanate from the North-Sea-Germanic area. (Schwarz 1951, p.262 f)

Also the so called input-vowels in connection with *r* with guttural or labial consonant are found in the Nordic runic inscriptions. He gives examples from Tuna c:a 400 *worahto* 'made' and Björketorp in the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> c. *falab* 'saved,rescued;gathered'. He considers this renewal to have spread from Southgermanic, and it has also spread to OSax. and North-Sea Germanic.

Schwarz presumes that the of-sound law of vowels has been more rapidly accepted in Gothic than in Nordic, and that this change as well has come from the south. The North was conservative and still in the 6<sup>th</sup> c. the old forms remain in e.g. Eidsvåg in Noway around.500 AD *haraRaR* which is compared with Weimar in the early 8<sup>th</sup> c. *Hahwar* and Berga in Södermanland around 500 AD *saligastiR*. (Schwarz 1951, p.262 f)

The abandonment of the labiovelar connections after the patterns of Got. *sig-gwan* 'sing', *alva* 'water' och *naqaps* 'naked' he also considers a Southgermanic renewal being preserved in for example ON. *syngua*. This change he means lies in the time before the Anglo-Saxon emigration. This explains also according to Neckel and Hirt why this phenomenon not has spread more in Nordic, but Schwarz remarks that it deals with two different processes in OE. and ON. The

break occurs around 700 AD and concerns in the North only *e*, but in England also *i* and *a*. In the North it is needed a placement before *a* and *u* and is in fact an *u*-umlaut. In that way he gets his thesis to fit together showing that the contact between North- and South-Germanic was broken when the Anglo-Saxons emigrated to England in the transition between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> cc. (Schwarz 1951, p.262 f)

The decline of the 4.weak class is noticed already in Gothic and it evidently has continued in the North after the emigration of the Goths, Schwarz claims. (Schwarz 1951, p.264 f) Schwarz also suspects that the transition which took place in North-Sea Germanic from *ai* to  $\bar{a}$  in OE. and OFris. And which was rather late might have entered ONas  $\bar{a}$  in e.g. Lindholm in Skåne during the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. *hateka* (usually corrected to *haiteka* to get 24 runes) and in Tune in Østfold around 400 AD *dalidun* 'she shared'. (Schwarz 1951, p.265) Also at the transition from *u* before *r*(*R*) to *o* and from *i* to *e* he sees a connection OE., but well to notice from the time before the emigration to England. (Schwarz 1951, p.266)

Schwarz concludes on the North-Sea Germanic:

Dann darf daraus geschlossen werden, daß mit der Abwanderung der Angelsachsen, besonders der Angeln im 5. und frühen 6. Jh. die sprachliche Gemeinschaft des Nordseegerm. und Altnordischen in den genannten Fällen zu Ende geht. Das ist nur ganz natürlich. Mit dem Fortzuge der Angeln, die nach ihrer Epik und ihrem Sagenschatz, aber auch nach ihrer Sprache am stärksten mit nordischen Stämmen wie Gauten und Dänen in Berührung standen und auch Kämpfe gegen sie geführt haben, bricht ein wichtiges Glied in der Verbindung zwischen Süden und Norden ab. Seit Anfang des 6. Jh. dürfen wir Dänen auf den dänischen Inseln und auf Jütland annehmen. Damit wurden die bisher westnordischen Elemente in Jütland, die eine jahrhundertlange Gemeinschaft mit den nordseegerm. Stämmen unterhalten haben (man denke an die Wandergenossenschaften), abgelöst durch ostnordische, die durch Kämpfe in ihre neuen Sitze gelangt waren. Damit hören die Voraussetzungen zum sprachlichen Austausch auf. Die bisherige nordseegerm.-nordische Grenzzone wird zu einer scharfen Grenzlinie. (Schwarz 1951, s.267)

Here he points on the close location of the Jutes/Jutar to the Anglian North-Sea Germanics, which is of interest later when I treat the Crimean Gothic.

Schwarz later remarks that there are Nordic renewals which have not come from the outside and who also stay in the North:

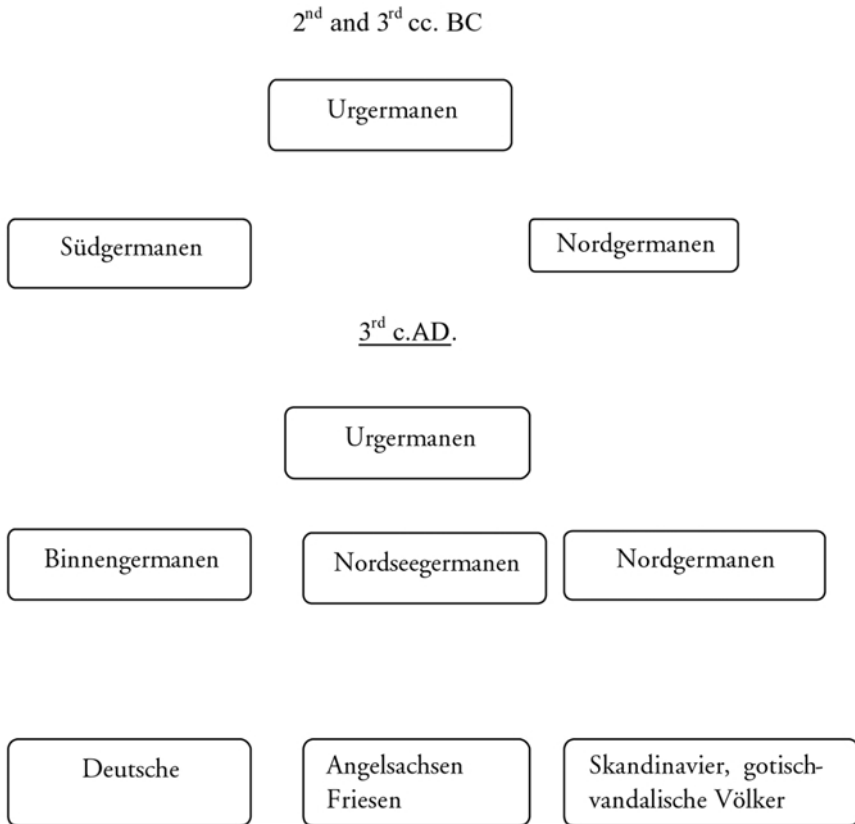
Schwarz påpekar senare att det finns nordiska förnyelser som inte kommit utifrån men som också stannar inom Norden:

Es ist nicht so, daß es nicht auch im Norden Neuerungen gäbe, man denke an die Gutturalisierung geschärfter *ij* und *uu*, an *ai* > *ē* und *au* > *ō* im Hiatus, an die 1. Ps.Pl. des Opt. Präs.u. a. Aber sie bleiben auf den Norden beschränkt. (Schwarz 1951, p.258)

He further writes that there is no doubt that the North to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD is part of the general Germanic language-world, but later this connection ceases and the North picks its own way, and with the Viking Time the linguistic differences grow still greater. (Schwarz 1951, p.258 f)

Finally he defines his language-areas with interesting commentaries about Proto- and Old-Nordic:

Das Südgermanische besteht also aus den später deutschen Gebieten, dem früheren Elb- und Weser-Rhein-germanischen und dem Nordseegerm., das Nordgermanische aus dem Skandinavischen und dessen ausgewanderten Stämmen, dem Gotischen und dessen Verwandten. Dementsprechend ist auch der Begriff des Urgerm. und Urnordischen besser in ältere Zeiten zu verschieben. In Ausgliederung begriffene Sprachen vertragen sich mit dem Ausdruck Ur- nicht mehr. Urgermanisch sollte man nicht in die Jh. n. Ch. bis zur literarischen Zeit reichen lassen, weil ja mindestens seit dem 1. Jh. v. Ch. bereits die dialektische Spaltung in allen Teilen der germanischen Welt erkennbar ist. Gemeingerm. ist das, was alle germanischen Sprachen einschließlich des Gotischen erfaßt hat, urgerm. der noch ältere Sprachzustand, dessen Sprachbewegungen nicht mehr gegliedert werden können. Auch urnordisch sollte man nur für die Zeit vor dem 2 Jh. v. Ch. verwenden, bis zum 6. das Frühalt-nordische reichen lassen. (Schwarz 1951, p.270)



Schwarz opinion of Proto-Germanic, Proto-Nordic and Old-Nordic I share in full. I indeed claim that the younger so called Old-Swedish should be called Middle-Swedish, since it in fact is just Medieval Swedish. It does not consider the differences between the old Northern- and Götaland-dialects. Schwarz counts the early North-Sea-Germanic to Northgermanic and dismisses Eastgermanic, which he considers to be Northgermanic Westgermanic he has already by definition rejected.

Hans Frede Nielsen considers of Schwarz that:

What concerns the North-Germanic he is able to indicate 26 parallels between Gothic and Old-Nordic, of which ten however are of a lexical

kind. Of general common renewals, which are of a decisive importance, he mentions four:

- 1) *w, j* > *ggw, ggj/ddj*,
- 2) *ū > ō* i hiatus (i.e. before vowel),
- 3) got. *bairaina*, ØN-*aina* i 3. præs. pl. opt. and
- 4) got. *bērjau*, ON *bæra* < \**bērjau* (1. pt. sg. opt.) (Nielsen 1979, p.70)

It is according to Nielsen the common renewals who are decisive. Schwarz himself has consequently argued for the independent renewal of the languages, which should depend of the neighbouring areas influence, which he in a high degree has demonstrated for Nordic. The approach Nielsen takes seems to me as not linguist just mean that it is impossible to make further advancement in this matter.

He further says:

The original belonging of North-Sea Germanic to Northgermanic he tries to demonstrate with a number of Got./Nord./OE. parallels and some of dubious character. Schwarz is surely right in, that the referred correspondences hardly represent common renewals. The division of North-Sea Germanic from the northern group is connected with both independent North-Sea Germanic renewals and renewals who are common with Southgermanic, and hence should be expressions of an incorporation of North-Sea Germanic in the southern group. Schwarz mentions totally four renewals as a demonstration of an expanded Southgermanic group, like for example the bowed infinitiv (1951:199f.). About Schwarz' conclusions might be said that they are to far going concerning the thoroughness and extension of the examination. Important renewals common for Northgermanic and North-Sea Germanic are merely ignored, and with regard to Schwarz success in *Goten, Nordgermanen, Angelsachsen* you may ask about his cautious mentioning of the similarity between on the one side OE *þæm*, *gsf. þære* and on the other ON *þeim*, *þeire* (dem. pron.): »Es wird zu überlegen sein, ob die gleiche Entwicklung des Nordseegerm. und An. zur selben Zeit unabhängig erfolgt ist oder ob ein Zusammenhang besteht« (Nielsen 1979, p.71)

Here it accordingly deals with that Schwarz has made too far reaching conclusions from a too meagre material, and it sure might be a correct observation both concerning the North-Sea Germanic and the way of single renewals to the North and to Gothic. This however hardly changes the sense of the basic reasoning of



Schwarz. Nielsen's aim is evident when he remarks that the division of Schwarz of Northgermanic supports itself on Oxenstierna and Jordanes, and that the Anglo-Saxon emigration should have cut off the linguistic connection between the Anglo-Saxon and the Continent. He remarks that Schwarz himself has written about the North-Sea Germanic area that: "Sein Zusammenhalt liegt in der Lage am Meere begründet". He adds that "The method, which Schwarz uses is the dialect-geographical" and suggest with this that it is not exclusively linguistic, which criticism even among else Maurer and Müllenhof have been exposed to. Nielsen rejects with other words the dialect-geographical method. (Nielsen 1979, p.71)

He also states:

Schwarz writes in the foreword of his book (1951:5), that he will try to "das zur Abwanderungszeit im ersten Jahrhundert vor Chr. gesprochene Gotonordische zu gewinnen, das in der gotischen Urheimat in Südschweden gesprochen worden ist. "A great part of the content in the book is designed to this aim in such a way that both Gothic and Old-Nordic are traced back to a by Schwarz reconstructed Goto-Nordic, which then becomes a middle-step in respect to Proto-Germanic. It is pointed over and over that Gothic because of historical circumstances is a part of the Northgermanic (1951:104, 136 m. v.), and that it therefore is circular when Schwarz says, that the 26 parallels between Old-Nordic and Gothic "sichern die Herkunft des Got. aus dem Norden"(1951:148)—Schwarz proves what he presupposes (1951:148).

This criticism is quite correct as far as you hardly can claim that his results allow the expression "*sichern die Herkunft des Got. aus dem Norden*". It is however not inadequate to say that he has succeeded in indicating a number of good arguments for a possible Gothic origin in the North, even if the time-period may be discussed. Unhappily enough it is always in multi-disciplinary examinations of this kind vere easy to come into situations which may appear circular without really being so. I in any case agree with Schwarz in that only linguistic criteria without historical and geographical consideration never lead to the goal. It is nessecary to look to the wholeness.

Brinkmann (1952) finds Schwarz' material a little meager, but he will not oppose a Nordic origin. He however means that the language already in Scandinavia should have occupied a special position in many respects.

Philippson (1954) doubts the value of lexicalic parallels between Gothic and Old-Nordic, and he claims besides that these not are more than between Got.

and OE, or Got. and OHG. Besides he means that Schwarz goes against the ethnographical authorities. (Nielsen 1979, p.72) The statement of Philipsson about authorities is twin-edged, since for the first Schwarz thoroughly has worked with dialect-research and must be considered an authority himself in connection with ethnography, and secondary you might understand that Philipsson himself claims to be such an expert. This tends as well to lead to a circular proof. What concerns the objection of the lexicalic parallels Schwarz himself has remarked that Gothic has been influenced from outside during the migrations, and that the separation between the Northgermanic peoples has happened that early, that the then spoken Proto-Nordic was very close to Proto-Germanic but with a certain dialectical division. It is accordingly not peculiar if parallels exist with OE. and OHG. since Gothic has received a great part of these common renewals after the possible separation, and also Old-Nordic has received renewals and both languages have developed independent of each other. Philipsson has besides complained on that Maurer and Schwartz construct new language-trees that Johannes Schmidt has worked in vain. Against that may be remarked that Schmidt, as demonstrated above, regarded Old-Nordic as both East- and West-Germanic, i.e. as a transition-form between these both language-areas, which is exactly what Schwarz has tried to grab hold of when he demonstrates North-Sea Germanic/Southgermanic renewals in Old-Nordic.

Rosenfeld (1954) attacks Schwarz proposal that the Gothic emigration from Skandinavien should be a safe *terminus ante quem*, since it is not known whether the Goths emigrated gathered or in smaller tribal groups, indicating the possibility of a continuous linguistic exchange after the birth of Christ between Goths on both sides of the Baltic Sea. Such a development he suggests could occur during a period of several hundred years. He means, that if the languages shall accept renewals from another language they should be closely related. He also remarks that it is dubious which of the reconstructions of Schwarz who are co-Germanic and which are only Goto-Nordic, but he in the end can not deny a close relationship between Gothic and Nordic. (Nielsen 1979, p.73)

The criticism of Rosenfelds is interesting since, as has been noted before, much speaks in favour of that a possible emigration has been carried out in steps rather than at one occasion, and for the continuous keeping of contacts between the Vistula-Goths and the Gautar. This is originally according to my opinion not primarily founded on a linguistic unity between the different groups, even if the language might have been the same once, but on religious, cultic ethnical grounds since they all belonged to the same humankind—'the outpoured', 'the by Gaut created'. It should be considered, as already stated, that the linguistic differentiation and the 1<sup>st</sup> sound-shift just had started at the supposed emigration.

Later also arrives the 2<sup>nd</sup> sound-shift of which the Goths are influenced during quite different circumstances in new areas and with new neighbours. In spite of all it fits well with the opinion of Rosenfeld that Gothic during the migration keeps a more archaic form, and assimilates less renewals than other Germanic languages. Maybe this depends on their isolation from their kins up North, but on the other hand Gothic is rather rapidly assimilated and gradually declines after their crossing of the limes. They get indeed a writing-language via Wulfila, which has signs from both Latin and Greek except of Runes, but apart from its ecclesiastic use it is only sparsely used in the administration which soon enough turns into Latin in the Gothic kingdoms. In time also the Goths themselves are mixed up with Latin-speaking elements. In the same manner they accept cultural influences resulting in the increasing difficulty to confirm the Goths archaeologically as divided from other groups in the areas they control, except of certain characteristics like weaponless graves in pre-Christian time. As far as e.g. the Visigoths remain in Gutþiuða their linguistic background anyhow, as well as the religious, ethnical clearly stands out in e.g. the kindins-institution, which quite evidently points towards an Scandinavian background. Rosenfeld considers besides interestingly enough that the list of Schwarz on common traits in Nordic and Gothic could be made longer. (Rosenfeld 1951, p.144 ff)

Kuhn rejects generally all what Schwarz writes about Goto-Nordic, and his 26 similarities between Old-Nordic and Gothic are almost all dismissed. The exception is the possible fall together of *o* and *u* in hiatus and the ending-*na* in 3, pres. pl. opt. While he considers that *jj*, *ww* > *ggj/ddj*, *ggw* is too insecure to build something on. he also claims that when the Goths emigrated from Scandinavia for about 2000 years ago, the Germanic language-area was still undivided even if linguistic dissimilarities indeed existed, and the language the Goths then spoke was not Nordic but Proto-Germanic. He accordingly regards the later the later Eastgermanic as a side branch to common Germanic, which later, around 500 AD, is divided into North- and Westgermanic. He also claims that the Sea does not stop linguistic exchange in connection with the Anglo-Saxon colonisation of Brittany. (Nielsen 1979, p.74)

The difference between Kuhn and Schwarz is however not that great as Kuhn considers concerning the origin, since Kuhn in fact admits a Scandinavian ancestry. He uses the term Proto-Germanic while Schwarz talks of Proto-Nordic or Goto-Nordic, but what the time concerns they refer to the same period. Schwarz did indeed underline that it is a great difference between Old-Nordic and Goto-Nordic/Proto-Nordic but he wants to place the Proto-Germanic still longer back in time before the appearance of the dialects. These dialects indeed figure in what Kuhn calls Proto-Germanic. The matter must accordingly primarily be

regarded as a difference in the nomenclature in this case. The criticism by Kuhn against the suggestion that water should make linguistic exchange impossible is quite justified what concerns the exchange of the Anglo-Saxons with North-Sea Germanic and Nordic.

Kuhn considers that the North-Sea Germanic area originally appeared only in connection with the conquering of England. This is indicated, he means, of the fact that in the presumed home-land of the Jutes and the Angles the rune-stones do not exhibit any particular North-Sea Germanic traits. Not until they have got a colony in England the North-Sea Germanic is developed on an Anglo-Frisian ground, Kuhn claims. Schützeichel has a with Kuhn close to identical opinion. (Nielsen 1979, p.75)

Adamus distances himself from the idea of a Goto-Nordic language-area, and he claims instead that Gothic through it's isolation became the first language with own renewals. It is derived directly from Proto-Germanic, he considers, while on the contrary Nordic and Westgermanic continued to develop common renewals far after the Goths had emigrated. Adamus' examination builds on a very limited material and it contributes according to Nielsen not very much. (Nielsen 1979, p.76) Adamus accordingly lies himself in line with Kuhn, but thereby he also accepts a Scandinavian origin even if they are considered to originally have spoken Proto-Germanic. As stated above I consider it less important if you use the term Westgermanic or Southgermanic since during all circumstances Schwarz ought to be correct in his estimation of the North-South direction of most of the renewals. If then some of them were redistributed from the west in stead of directly should be of a subordinated importance for the later renewals. What is important is which renewals who came to the North before a possible Gothic emigration.

After Schwarz a number of newer works have been issued which have tried to define the position of the Germanic languages towards each other.

Ludvig Rösel (1962) uses in his *Die Gliederung der germanischen Sprachen* a more refined linguistic method. (Nielsen 1979, p.77 ff) He collects a number of parallels in groups and in chronological order after what is believed when the language in question received it's renewals. He claims that the oldest division in Germanic languages were the choices the single language made in that case there existed Indo-Germanic double forms. An important part is, Nielsen remarks, *a*-vowels counter *e*-vowels in dem. and interrog. pronomina. As example he gives Got. *hvana*, ON. *hvan* (1962:11f.), OE. *hwone*, OSax. *hwena*, OHG. *hwen*. Here stand OE., ON. and Got. in opposition to OSax. and OHG. Rösel suggests that the reason might be the Baltic Sea and the danish Belts (the sounds) and the Öresund. The Goths are supposed still not having left southern Scandinavia. He

agrees with Schwarz that the North-Sea Germanic earlier has been closer connected with Northgermanic. Even since Germanic came into being there appeared double-forms, and Rösel remarks that the parallels between OE. and ON. in some cases must have appeared after the Goths had left Scandinavia. (Nielsen 1979, p.78) He claims that the old connection between the original northern and western dialects later was replaced by a closer relation between Pre-OE and Southgermanic which can be seen through the use by Pre-ON. and Pre-OE of original locatives as instrumentalis while the Pre-OSax and Pre-OHG keep the old instrumentalis-form. Pre-OE. however preserved it's instrumentalis(<lok.) as an independent casus (mask. *a*-decl.) in similarity with Pre-OSax. and Pre-OHG. Besides was added Westgermanic renewal when *s* was included as a morphem in 2.pers.sg. of the verbs, which is connected with the loss of out-sounding—*z* in Westgermanic, which by Rösel is placed at 200 AD. Rösel also means that the Goths in the Vistula-area were not quite isolated from the tribal kins in Scandinavia, and they seemingly also received linguistic influence from the Elb-Germanics. He however considers that Gothic might have been rather isolated from the other Germanic dialects already before the migration to Southern Russia. Rösel rejects with Schwarz a Westgermanic common language, but admits that the renewals were extensive enough to create a Westgermanic community (Pre-OE.Pre-OSax. and Pre-OHG.) that has been divided from Northgermanic. The connection with the North is broken in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. with the Anglo-Saxon emigration. (Nielsen 1979, p.78)

#### The grouping of Rösel

c:a 200 BC. .	Goths + Scand + Engl.	Saxons +	OHG
c:a 100 BC.	Goths - - Scand + Engl.	Saxons +	OHG
c:a 0 --	Goths - - Scand - - Engl. - -	Saxons +	OHG - - Got.
c:a 200 AD. .	Goths Scand Engl. - -	Saxons - -	OHG
c:a 500 AD. .	Goths Scand Engl. -	Saxons - - -	OHG
c:a 800 AD. .	Scand Engl. - - -	Saxons -	OHG

(+ means close relationship, -, --, --- means closer or looser connections)

The above seems to point in the same direction as earlier theories, and hence reinforce the possibility of a Gothic Scandinavian ancestry. The breaking-point 200-100 BC fits quite well with the assumption by Schwarz about the break through of the 1<sup>st</sup> sound-shift up in the North. Ottar Grønvik however has newly in a recension remarked that the presumed time for the 1<sup>st</sup> sound shift is even ear-

lier than the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.BC, maybe the 4<sup>th</sup> c., and that I am not linguistically updated. I freely admit he is right that the last suggestion is around 450 BC because of the supposed adoption of certain words like 'hemp/canabis' into the Germanic, but I leave to specialist to fight each other in this respect, but I however dare not draw too great conclusions of this. On the other hand there are not two linguists that agree in many points so it is not easy to know who is right. Schwarz in any case places the Proto-Nordic to before 200 BC. Nielsen points out that the judgement by Rösel does not lie far from Kuhn (Nielsen 1979, p.79) but Kuhn here talks of Proto-Germanic at the same time Schwarz uses Proto-Nordic/Goto-Nordic. It is hence a terminological difference, but the important is that the parallels in this case occur in the same time-interval, because what is of primary interest is to fix the possible geographical origin of the Goths, or in my case rather the origin of their tradition-nucleus, and not to go too deep into linguistic specialities. By the examples of Rösel Kuhn only confirms the distribution of \*hwaz and \*hwez, and he besides remarks that Rösel has left out some competing forms. Kuhn also objects towards the projection backwards of Rösel of his tribes Goths and Anglo-Saxons, since they are not historically possible to confirm in South-Scandinavia. (Nielsen 1979, p.79 f) About this you could of course say that the only possibility to carry out a theoretical reasoning about the hypothetical origin of the Goths should be to project them somewhere. Concerning OE the circumstances are different and the criticism of Kuhn might be considered justified if Rösel with this refers to Anglo-Saxon, which is not formed until later. It would be more reasonable to talk of Old-Anglian and Old-Jutic to which later the Old Saxon is connected.

In 1963 Lehmann announced in a lecture entitled *The Grouping of the Germanic Languages* the opinion, that the work of Schwarz contained the most plausible conclusions concerning the internal position of the Germanic languages, and he counted with two sub-groups after the proto-Germanic time. These were a North-Eastgermanic and a Westgermanic group. Nielsen remarks that it deals with dialectal groups and that Lehmann because of this does not find any reason to construct a North-Eastgermanic language. Lehmann stresses, except of known parallels to Gothic, a number of lexical similarities between the Scandinavian languages and the Westgermanic coastal-languages, who he means have developed with OE and OFris. as base. The lexical parallels who exist between Got. and OHG. he means have been added to OHG. after the acceptance of Christianity during the run of the the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> cc. (Nielsen 1979, p.80)

Schirmunski (1965) claims a two-division with a northern or Scandinavian group and a southern continental one, but he does not believe in a Goto-Nordic proto-language. He accordingly differs from Lehmann through a north-south

insted of a north-east-western original grouping. Northgermanic is for a long time very similar to the Continental Germanic, and differs out in it's more modern form only in the 5<sup>th</sup> c, which maybe means that he regards it as a kind of Proto-Germanic. Eastgermanic is brought to the Continent among else by the emigration of the Vinnilii from Scandinavia, and the emigration of the Goths from the Vistula-area to southern Russia is regarded as the cause of the special development of Gothic. Westgermanic is later developed and the Nordic parallels with this are placed in the time after the Gothic emigration from around the birth of Christ to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. AD. (Nielsen 1979, p.80 f) He accordingly has mainly the same standpoint as Schwarz.

Kufner(1972) lies in *Toward a Grammar of Proto-Germanic* close to Schirmunski but he considers that the common renewals in Got. and Northgerm. Probably only were common for a relatively small part of the Northgermanic area during the 2<sup>nd</sup> c BC, and that they spread in Scandinavia only after the emigration of the Goths. Hence he joins the idea that the Germanic language-area was undivided Proto-Germanic at the time of this emigration, and that it accordingly does not exist any Goto-Nordic. (Nielsen 1979, p.81)

The Russian runologist Makaev (1965, 1966, 1968) considers that the Nordic rune-language might be as well Northgermanic as Westgermanic. He writes that Germ.  $\bar{e}$  for example already has become  $\bar{a}$ ,  $aR$ , and that these endings also have existed in west and south before they disappeared. He means among else that the form  $ek$  'I' not is specifically Nordic since  $ek$  not is unknown in OSax. and OLFr. He admits however that certain runic inscriptions bear Eastgermanic traits, and he mentions in this connection the spear-tips from Dahmsdorf and Kovel. Of this reason he supports the opinion of Kuhn that the linguistic division within Germanic started with the Gothic emigration. The Scandinavian language-group develops first during the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> cc. The runic inscriptions however were unchanged all the time until the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> c, and Makaev because of this talks of a runic coiné wich might have been common for several languages. (Nielsen 1979, p.82)

In my opinion, if the last statement is true, the runic inscriptions then can not be used as proofs of a kept Proto-Germanic that long as to the 7<sup>th</sup> c. Evidently the Northgermanic and ON. have received many renewals, but maybe also rejected or for a longer time resisted other renewals—regardless of the language on the runic inscriptions. Also dialects should in that vast an area with necessity appear. On the other hand a runic coiné should indeed be thinkable. This is besides also supported by Bente Magnus in a lecture at the symposion Peregrinatio III in Fredrikstad, Norway, who claims that there is much suggesting that the runes primarily had a magical function far up in time, and that a small number of runemasters initiated their successors in the secrets. (Magnus 1991, p.133 ff) Since

this secrets were of a magical nature it is also evident that the language quite formally not was important, and hence there is no need to assume that it was similar with the forms of the spoken language.

Antonsen (1967) wants to divide Germanic in Gothic and North-Westgermanic, and this just because of the runic coiné of Makaev. The single language differing is accordingly Gothic, and hence it should be natural that the rune-stones have a common language. He claims quite counter the researchers who regard this as Proto-Nordic, that the reconstructions having been made of the from the Middle Ages known Nordic languages answer to Common-Nordic, but that this in turn derives from the runic language. The similarities between ON. and Got. he means are too few, and he claims that there are much more important connections between ON. and Westgermanic. Antonsen claims that Gothic after the emigration has developed separately by itself, and hence has not affected the mother-language in Scandinavia. It has according to Antonsen indeed been developed dialects at that time, and he mentions as an example that the Dutch not was changed even if Afrikaans was established in South-Africa. Hence he claims that Proto-Germanic still remained regardless of the dialects. (Nielsen 1979, p.82 f)

I find the argumentation by Antonsen less convincing since he presupposes that there is no runic coiné, but instead that everybody during this period spoke the same language. It should, as suggested above, mean that all linguistic renewals should be dialectal and lie very close to each other in time up to the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD. Gothic should be the only developed independent language out of an in other aspects well gathered Proto-Germanic. This is of course unreasonable, and Antonsen also says that the different languages have developed during this period, and hence he contradicts himself. This also should have been visible in the runic inscriptions if there should not have existed a runic coiné. In any case it is not reasonable to found a theory about North-Westgermanic on the runic language as far as we do not know if it is a coiné or not. Then Makaev is quite more convincing since it is highly probable that the training and initiation of rune-master was founded on arcaic traditions and with a strong impact on the fact that the runes were magical and had to be used along given patterns. This however does not mean that Makaev has proven his thesis, but it is at least more probable than Antonsen's.

Voyles (1968) counts as well with a North-Westgermanic and a Gothic branch. For North-Westgermanic Voyles gives thirteen sound-shifts of which five partly have parallels in Gothic. He writes as example that  $X^w$  and  $X$  develops to  $h^w$  and  $h$  in Got. while answering change only occurs initially in front of vowel in North-Westgermanic. He considers the thirteen North-Westgermanic changes to be more important than the only phonological parallel between North- and East-Germanic,



i.e. *jj*, *ww* > *ggj/ddj*, *ggw*. He adds that these changes ought to have happened in every language independently that it accordingly not deals with the same change. The North-Westgermanic changes should have occurred when Northgermanic and Westgermanic were just simple dialects, he claims. He counts with that the Goths might have had a special position in Scandinavia before the emigration, and here he partly supports himself on Oxenstierna. (Nielsen 1979, p.83 f)

Haugen (1970) claims that there was a dialect-continuum in the North-Westgermanic area. It is to say that there were a number of close-lying dialects making it possible for everybody to understand all other, and that this situation ceases only with the emigration of the Anglo-Saxons and the intrusion of the Danes into Denmark. This should fit with the lack of Scandinavian characteristics on the rune-stones before year 500 AD. (Nielsen 1979, p. 85) Haugen accordingly here follows Antonsen.

T.L.Markey (1976) concurs in his *Germanic Dialect Grouping and the Position of Ingvæonic* largely with Voyles and places the division in Northgermanic and Westgermanic in the period 300-450 AD. (Nielsen 1979, p.85 f)

Karen Bahnick (1973) is a pupil of Antonsen and claims in her *The Determination of Stages in the Historical Development of the Germanic Languages by Morphological Criteria* that there is a North-Westgermanic community consisting of a number of dialects which later develop into languages. She here counts with OE., OSax., OHG. and ON. (Nielsen 1979, p.86 ff)

Thorsten Andersson in an article “*Götar, goter, gutar*” in *Namn och Bygd* nr 1 1998 takes the position that: “A people referred to as *\*gautoz/\*gutaniz*, inhabiting the region in and around the southern Baltic Sea, appear to have been the ancestors of the Scandinavian *\*gautoz* ‘Geat’s and *\*gutaniz* ‘Gotlander’s and the East Germanic tribe of the *\*gutaniz* ‘Goth’s.” He also refers to these tribes as Goto-Nordic. (Th. Andersson 1998, p.15 f, 21)

The till now treated works clearly indicate that there are two main-lines concerning the question of the Gothic language’s position towards Scandinavia/Old Nordic. Gothic is regarded as either an own, from Proto-Germanic outgoing language which is the only known language in Eastgermanic or as a from proto-Nordic/Goto-Nordic deriving language belonging to the Northgermanic group, which thereby includes Eastgermanic languages. Most agree that the language originally appeared in the Scandinavian region regardless if you derive it directly from Proto-Germanic and hence call it Eastgermanic, or from Goto-Nordic/Proto-Nordic and regard it as Northgermanic. The last contributions in this survey however mean that ON. not is Northgermanic but North-

Westgermanic, but they support themselves on a development that starts first after the beginning of our time reckoning. Several heavy contributions demonstrate that renewals have come from both south and west to ON., and this makes the idea of an early North-Westgermanic group dubious to say the least. That the development later goes in a slightly other direction is quite another matter. Those who argue for North-Westgermanic do themselves consider that ON. is not fully developed until around 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> cc. This consequently says nothing of a possible relationship between Gothic and Proto-Nordic. The article of Th. Andersson also demonstrates that the theory of North-Westgermanic in no way has been accepted as the only possibility even now.

After this more historically aimed survey I will, in addition to Th. Andersson, treat some relatively modern articles which maybe can spread still more light on the problem.

Witold Manczak writes 1990 in an article *The object of philology and the object of linguistics* in *Historical Linguistics and philology* about lexical similarities between Gothic and other languages, and then also Swedish and Danish. In the section he rubricates *The original homeland of the Goths* he makes an comparison from a section of the gospel of Matteusin Swedish, Danish, Low German, Middle German and High German. From similarities in root and consonants he then draws his conclusions of relationship. The problem is just that he evidently has no idea at all about the words in the Scandinavian languages, and for Sweden he uses quite modern words from the bibletranslation of 1940. The result becomes consequently distorted. An example from his quite long table might illustrate the method (Manczak 1990, p.261-272):

Swedish	Danish	Low German	Middle German	Upper German
allenast	ikkun	blot	nur	<i>allein</i>
<i>bad</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>bed</i>	<i>bat</i>	<i>bat</i>
<i>barn</i>	<i>Børn</i>	<i>buren</i>	Kinder	sune
<i>blev 2</i>	<i>blev 2</i>	würd 2	ward 2	wart 2
<i>bliver</i>	<i>bliver</i>	ward	wird	were

Examples of the comparisons by Manczak between Swedish and other languages. Words showing similarities in consonants are cursivated. The Swedish *allenast* also can be written as *blott* and *endast*, Danish have *blot*, *kun*, *allene*. If you in a bible-text write *barn* (child) or *son* should be quite locally varying and rather depend on the values of the translator. Manczak evidently never heard of

Sw. *varda* in stead of *bliva* or the Da. *vere*. In this way he continues along till the bitter end. He concludes:

On the whole are the lexicalic similarities between Swedish and other germanic dialects as follow:

Danish	111
Low German	36
Middle German	31
Upper German	22

If the original homeland of the Goths was in Scandinavia, Gothic should resemble Swedish more than Danish, Danish more than Low German, Low German more than Middle German and Middle German more than Upper German. I however compared a fragment of Gothic Bible with parallel texts in modern Germanic dialects and noticed that Gothic resembles Upper German more than Middle German, Middle German more than Low German, Low German more than Danish and Danish more than Swedish. I drew two conclusions from these facts (Manczak 1982, 1984 a):

- (1) The original homeland of the Goths was not in Scandinavia, but in the southernmost part of the ancient Germania.
- (2) The tripartite division of Germanic should be into North, Middle German, Dutch, Frisian, English), and South (Gothic).

The result presumably should have been different if he had used words that was used in that time and not today, or in any case were a bit closer in time to the extinct Gothic, and it means he should have had considerably better knowledge of the words in the examined languages. As it now is this examination says nothing of similarities or dissimilarities between Swedish and other Germanic languages. It should however be noted that there is one person who means the Goths originated in South-Europé, and that Gothic consequently should be Southgermanic. Maybe it is with the linguistic labels as Manzak himself writes about philology and linguistics: "Terminology is a question of taste, and de gustibus non est disputandum."?

Wolfram Euler treats in an article in Nowele 1983 Ernst Schwarz' Goto-Nordic theory

And starts with making a list with a good summary of the similarities of Schwartz between Gothic amd ON.:

- 1) die Entwicklung von urg. \*jj, ww zu got. ddj, ggw und an. ggj, ggv,
- 2) von u zu o vor Vokal im Got. und Ostnordischen,
- 3) der fem. *in*-Stamm der Part. Präs. gegenüber dem westgerm. *yo*-Stamm,
- 4) die 2. Sg. Ind. Prät. auf-*t*, got. an. *namt*, aber ahd. *nami* 'du nahmst',
- 5) die Verba inchoativa mit Nasalsuffix, got. *fullnan*, Prät.-*noda* 'voll werden', an. *stirðna*, Prät.-*naða* 'starr werden',
- 6) das Fehlen des Verbs urg. \**don* 'tun',
- 7) die 1. Sg. Opt. Prät., got. *berjau* = an. *bæra*. (Euler 1983, p.5 f)

he completes this basic table with a number of other interesting similarities. There he takes up Got. *wato,-ins* = ON. *vatn* 'water', id est *n*-stem counter Westgerm. *sauil* = 'sun', id est *l*-stem, *himins* = *himinn* 'heaven', *leitils* = *litill* 'little', *hvarjis* = *hverr* 'which' and the dativforms *sis* = *ser* 'oneself' and *im* = *em* 'I am'. (Euler 1983, p.6)

Concerning ON. and Westgermanic similarities which Schwarz has given Euler refers to the following:

- 1) Der Lautwandel von inlautendem e zu a (im Ags. nur zur æ.),
- 2) von auslautendem-o zu-u
- 3) von ai und au in Nebeosilben zu e und o, 4)
- 4) von z zu r (im Urn, noch als R erhalten),
- 5) von pl- zu fl-,
- 6) die Geminatio von Gutturalen vor j und w,
- 7) die Ausbildung des Derrnonstrativs mit s-Formans,
- 8) die Vereinfachung der Endungen im Pl. des Ind. und im Opt. des schwachen Präteritums
- 9) der weitgehende Verlust der der präteritalen Reduplikation der starken Verben der 7. Klasse infolge von Umbildung. (Euler 1983, p.6)

Euler finally indicates the most important Westgermanic renewals of the mentioned. He means that it is the formation of the adjectivabstracta with an *ss*-suffix and mentions as example Got. *ibnassus*, OGmc. *emmes* 'similarity'. (Euler 1983, p.6) he then gives a research-survey where he among else remarks that Kuhn is dubious, which already has been treated, and also manzak is included and his fig-

ures are referred to without special comments. Euler however concludes after the survey that the Goto-Nordic similarities of course not can prove a direct Nordic ancestry, but that the similarities between Nordic and Westgermanic are less characteristic and might have occurred after the Gothic emigration according to Kuhn (above). The Gothic-Westgermanic parallels however have not a specially heavy impact. Apart of abstractsuffix there are lexical similarities like Got. *galaubjan*, OHG. *gilouben* 'believe' which are regarded as coming from the Gothic mission in Germany. Nobody totally exclude a Scandinavian origin of the Goths with exception of Manzak, Euler concludes. (Euler 1983, p.7 f)

He thereafter makes a careful examination of the runic inscriptions during Proto-Nordic time both in Scandinavia and in Europe, and afterwards he concludes his results as follows:

...daß wir im südsandinavischen Raum von Gotland bis hin zu den dänischen Inseln gerade in frühem Zeit bis ins 5. oder gar 6. Jahrhundert offenbar noch mit ostgerm. Sprachresten rechnen müssen, sowohl die Spange von Etlhem wie die Schnalle von Vimose mit den klar ostgerm. Inschriften werden von archäologischer Seite als einheimische Erzeugnisse betrachtet. Allerdings müssen diese Sprachreste dann bald von der damals ohnehin noch nicht allzu verschiedenen, aber schon im 3. Jahrh. deutlich konservativeren urn. Koiné aufgesogen worden sein. "...Indes stellen diese ostgerm. Unterschiede entweder Neuerungen gegenüber dem Nord. und zum Teil dem Westgerm. oder Eigentümlichkeiten gegenüber beiden auf dem Gebiet der Auslautgesetze dar (*Merila, wurta; ansau, wija, Awings*)— und dies immerhin schon im 3. Jahrhundert, so daß eine gotonord. Einheit im Sinne von Schwarz hiermit nicht gestützt werden kann. Zumindest stellt sich jedoch heraus, daß dieser Befund mit der Nachricht des Jordanes und der bis heute geltenden communis opinio der Urheimat der Goten in Götland und auch der Herkunft der Burgunder von Bornholm durchaus in harmonischem Einklang steht. (Euler 1983, p.14 f)

Euler accordingly is sceptical to the idea of a Goto-Nordic language but he still considers that the linguistic evidences support the idea of a Gothic origin in Götaland and a Burgundian on Bornholm. This presupposes in that case, as far as I can grasp, a beginning dialectal division of Proto-Germanic in that way, that it is specifically in the Götalands, where most of the old Scandinavian runic inscriptions are, where the embryo to Eastgermanic is developed, and that this embryo after the emigration is renewed independently and the Götaland-dialects instead are renewed together with the other ON dialects. Alternatively a linguistic and social unity might have been kept rather long after an emigration, so that

renewals might have gone in both directions. The conclusions of Euler in any case support the theory of the Scandinavian origin.

Piergiuseppe Scardigli treats 1973 in his book *Die Goten. Sprache und Kultur* the Gothic language. I will here only touch some more interesting parts of his ideas that differ him from the rest. This goes specially for his assumption that certain words are connected to the Asian shamanism. Such words are among else Got. *auhjon* 'make noise', *reirandei* 'trembling' *siponeis* 'pupil', *atta* 'father'. (Penzl 1976, p. 399) Since it is insecure when shamanism arrived with the Goths, and in how great extent it originates in Asia, it is difficult to from this basis judge the age and origin of the words, but that the meaning the words might have connection with such rites is at least for the first two reasonable and more I dare not say. Like several other researchers noted above Scardigli sees a loan-word-connection to the Celts in *reik-*, 'ruler', 'chieftain', 'petty-king', *andbaths*, 'servant', *kelikn*, 'attic', 'altan', 'balcony', *eisarn-* 'iron', *brunjon* 'breastarmour', *magus* 'boy', 'knight', 'employee'. In the last case Scardigli assumes that the word comes via *Piumagus*, 'stable-knight', and accordingly is related to horse-care. Penzl doubts with the majority of the researchers that *magus* is a loan-word and writes: "Gegen Entlehnung spricht aber m.E. die zahlreiche Wortsippe im Gotischen: *magula*, die alte feminine *f*-Bildung *mawi* (aus urgerm. \**magwi*), *mawilo*, *magaPs*, vielleicht auch *megs*, 'schwiegersonn'. "(Penzl 1976, p.399) I besides allow myself to doubt that *eisarn-* and *brunjon* should be direct loan-words to Gothic since e.g. the first mentioned appears in OHG. and *brunjon* in e.g. Sw. as *brynja*. The words accordingly are common loan-words. It may be that the *brunjon* was introduced by the Celts and also the iron, and in that sense the words indeed are of a celtic origin but that is another matter.

Scardigli interestingly enough claims that the Goths suffered by an inferiority-complex in linguistic sense, and that they because of this tended to more and more use the articles *sa*, *so*, *þata* and passivforms with *wairþan* and *wisan*. Besides they created an own futurum of the same reason. he claims. Scardigli refers to Ladislaus Mittner (1955, p.64) who in *wisan* sees a Christian term while *wairþan* is regarded a pre-Christian help-word. (Penzl 1976, p. 399) That a number of diphthongs in Gothic turn to monophthongs Penzl and most other explain in polemics with Scardigli, who just means they have disappeared, with the problems to coordinate Germanic with Greek and Latin writing and rules of pronunciation. Scardigli also remarks that the Gothic written language is a result of considerations to the name-types of the Mediterranean area and its linguistic rules and the Germanic inheritance. (Penzl, p.400 ff)

The bible-translation was made by Wulfila, who was born a Goth with parents who descended in their turn from a half Gothic and half Cappadocian family. The translation was primarily made for the Gothi Minores in Moesia. This means

the background of Wulfila with Greek roots, and mostly living in Moesia in a Greek linguistic area, can be considered both genealogically and enviromentally to have influenced a longer going coordination of the Gothic language in written form to Greece and Latin than hitherto beleived. This could explain why some forms in Gothic deviate that strongly from other Germanic languages. I now do not refer to loan-words but to original Germanic words, who could be written to ease an oral pronounciation of the written text and to adjust a term to a partly new application in a context not reminding of the earlier use of the word. So I mean that all forms must not nessecarily be inherited oral Gothic but instead intentionally pedagogically constructed that everybody, regardless of linguistic ethnic background, were forcedto learn the written language from the beginning concerning certain forms and words. This is not unreasonable if you consider that those who learnt to read still must start from the ground-level. What phonetical value every letter and word have in oral use is in fact mostly guesses what Gothic concerns. The preacher giving an oral sermon might have freely explained certain things in amore poular way like our priests and pronounced certauin sound in another way than we beleive now. In the light of the by Scardigli presented inferiority-theory a certain revision and standardisation of the written language would be understandable. This matter however is a question for an experienced linguist who also could consider all historical-ethnical and social factors which possibly could have influenced this process.



*Fig. 40 The runic inscription from Pietroassa which by Reichert convincingly is tied to the Nordic sacral-kingadom. (Source: Heather 1991)*

Herrman Reichert published in 1993 an article rubricated *Gutani wi hailag* which treats the inscription of the Pietroassaring. Counter the earlier common alternative readings *gutani? wi hailag, gutani? wi hailag, gutan i?wi hailag* he puts

*gutane jer weih hailag.* (Reichert 1993, p.237 ff) It all depends on the interpretation of rune 7.

He interpreys it as a half j-rune (𐌺) with angle downwards to the right (Reichert 1993, p.246). What the meaning concerns he first asks himself who possibly can have worn such a torques-ring. The three alternatives are a priest, a king or an idol. He chooses the king as a well so probable alternative, and hence connects this with the meaning of the inscription:

Die Entscheidung von Krause, die Inschrift als *der Goten Erbbesitz, geweiht und unverletzlich* auf den Ring allein zu beziehen, greift auch abgesehen davon, daß wir 'gutes Jahr', im Sinne eines Segens-wunsches, für 'Erbbesitz' einsetzen, sehr kurz. Selbst wenn man die alte Lesung aufrechterhalten könnte, sollte die Inschrift wohl eine umfassendere Aussage vermitteln, etwa daß der gesamte Erbbesitz der Goten heilig und unverletzlich sei... (Reichert 1993, p.240 f)

It maybe deals with a king who functioned as a guarant for good growth during the year and peaceful conditions, but with power to protect his people also against outer enemies—human as well as demonic—or with other words a sacral-king. As a support for his assumption he points quite generally on the Nordic sacral- and Óðinn-kings duties towards the people, and the consequences it got in bad times. Among else Vikarr, Domalde and Olof Tretelja are brought up as examples and for the Goths the possible suicide of Ermanarik. Besides he comments on Snorri's Heimskringla, chap. 9 below:

...ár mit friðr bzw. fésæla, wobei der Kontext Á hans dögum var friðr algóðr ok allz konar ár, svá mikít, at Svíar trúðu því, at Njorðr réði fyrir ári ok fyrir fésælu manna zeigt, daß friðr nicht den durch Kriegsglück gewonnenen Frieden meint sondern den Zustand des Landes, in dem der Reichtum gemehrt werden kann; ähnlich dem lateinischen *annona*, das den jahresbezogenen Fruchtbarkeitsaspekt des Glückes meint. (Reichert 1993, p.243)

Concerning the Burgundians he gives a quotation from Ammianus Marcellinus:



Apud hos generali nominerex appellatur Hendinos et ritu veteri potestate deposita removetur, si sub eo fortuna titubaverit belli vel segetum copiam negaverit ter(ra, ut) solent Aegyptii casus (eiusmodi suis) assignare rectoribus. Nam sacerdos apud Burgundios omnium maximus vocatur Sinistus et est perpetuus obnoxius discriminibus nullis ut reges.

He accordingly stresses the king as responsible for the *árs* 'crops, harvest' in stead of the *goðe* 'the priest'. This is quite natural since the king also was *höggöðe* 'high priest'.

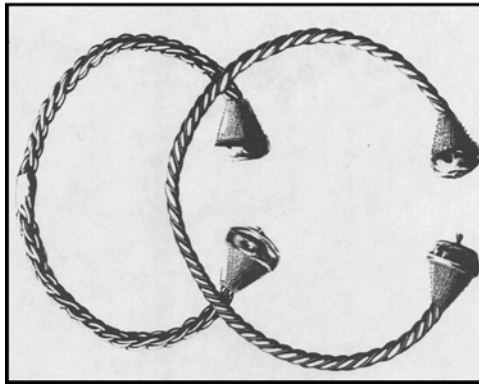
It should be noticed that the rune  $\mathfrak{D}$  ( $\mathfrak{D}$ ) 'jer', the rune of the year-times, just stands for the crops and sewing-time in spring. I am accordingly in this interpretation quite agreed with Reichert, and I also there find support for my above presented interpretation of the function of the sacral-kings, and also concerning the the responsibilities of the kindins in Gutþiuða.



*Fig. 41 The rune-ring from Pietroassa*  
*Source: Torsten Capelle, Frühmittelalterliche Studien 1968.*

The inscription on the Pietroassaring gives according to Reichert a clear connection to Scandinavian circumstances, and hence it strenghtens the probability of the Scandinavian origin of the Goths, and at the same time ties it more firmly to the religious ethnicity. Torsetn Capelle demonstrates a letter by bishop Ambrosius

in 381 which Müllenhof remarked on in 1874. (Capelle 1968, p.228 ff) In this you can read that holy rings were characteristic for Gothic priests. Capelle besides remarks that another necklace-ring which is worn around the one lock-knob has been found in Szilágy, and this indicates it was often held in the hand which immediatly gives associations to an oath-ring. It should be stressed that ther is no contradiction between an oath-ring and a necklace-ring of a sacral-king/leader who at the same time is Pontifex Maximus/high priest. Such a ring well might have been used to swear in vassals of the king. Therefore Reichert's interpretation is in the highest degree both possible and probable.



*Fig. 42 The with the Nordic and Gothic rings compareable necklace-rings from Smjela at Kiev. Source: Nylén 1996.)*

Nor shall we in this connection forget the necklace-rings in Dronninglund, Havor and Vittene, and the probably with the Goths closely connected finds in Smjela and Olbia. These are regarded, as mentioned above, by Erik Nylén to be all of Nordic manufacturing, but about this there is no general agreement. Also in the earlier mentioned presumed emigration-area in Östergötland finds of gold-necklace-rings have been made.

In later times also some interesting idol- and figure-finds have been made, who still more clearly connect the ring-habit to the North. A suspected wooden idol from the 5<sup>th</sup> c.AD, found at Rude Eskilstrup on Zealand also might show a continuity to the goddesses with necklace-rings from the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age as a sacral symbol.



*Fig. 43 The wooden idol from Rude Eskilstrup on Zealand with necklace-ring, 5<sup>th</sup> c.AD. Source: Oldtidens ansigt, JyAS 1990, s. 141, Mogens Ørsnäs.*



In Slipshavn skog at Nyborg in Denmark was found in 1981 a golden figure with double golden necklace-rings. It is supposed to represent a chieftain. It is dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> c.AD.

*Fig. 44 The Goldman from Slipshavn Skov, Nyborg, Denmark. The figure is from the 6<sup>th</sup> c.AD. and demonstrates that gold-rings indeed were worn in the North at this time.*

*Source: Oldtidens ansigt, JyAS 1990, s. 157, C. L. Vebæk.*

## The Nordic Ring-names

Because rings of all kinds seem to be so important for the Gauts, the Gutar and the Jutes in Scandinavia as well as among the Continental Goths, I asked myself when the ring acquired this significance for the Gothic peoples. Did it start on the Continent and spread up to the North or, on the contrary, did its symbolism originate in the North, and spread southwards?

In trying to find an answer to this question I noticed an interesting factor in the toponymic geography of the Scandinavian region. There are numerous place-names and incolent names, i.e. nature names, beginning with the syllable *Ring-*, e.g. *Ringsholmen*, *Ringholmen*, *Ringsbacken*, *Ringsåsen*, sometimes with a *Spjuttorp* close by. The first two names mean Ring-island, and followed by Ring-hill, Ring-ridge and Spear-thorpe. It should be noted that the spear of *Gungnir* was regarded as Óðinn's.

Using maps and etymological literature, including the series *Danmarks stedsnavn* and Rygh's *Norske gaardsnavne*, I have endeavoured to comb Denmark, Norway and Sweden for *Ring*-names. Finland was not really a part of the Scandinavian area at this time and so I have included Finland in the Continental area. So far I have found 412 names in these three countries. Outside Scandinavia I first found another four in Brandenburg—where both Goths and Burgundians stayed. One of these is called *Ringenhain*, 'the cult-place of the ring' which is also the case in e.g. an Bohemian site. It is noteworthy that these places in Brandenburg are at the farthest eastern edge, within the Gothic area. There are *Ring*-names in other countries, however. In Poland, the starting point for the Gothic migration to the Pontic basin, there are quite a number. They indicate settlements such as farms and villages. The Slavicized names in Poland are constructed from a form *ryn-*, which appears also in the derivative *rynek*. The word *rynek* means 'ring' and in Polish it has acquired the meaning 'market-place, square'. According to Professor Salamon of Kraków it originates from certain Germanic dialects. (Pers.com) Brückner (1957: 472), Grimm (1893, vol. 14: 993 f.), Mikloši (1886: 286) and Vasmer (1950—1958, vol. III) recount that this meaning has spread to Bohemia, Hungary, Silesia and Russia (cf. Rus. *rynok*, "market"). Cult and market in ancient times were closely interconnected, as is shown by e.g. the *Disting* in Uppsala. The Slavic names are of the same character as the Nordic ones. In neighbouring countries there are still more. In Lithuania, also, there is a considerable number consisting mostly of settlements and a few names of rivers and lakes. Estonia has two, Livonia one and Latvia have three names. In Belarus the village of Rynkóvka is located quite far east, near Mogilov, and there are still three names of the same character. Finally, at a tributary of the

river Prut in the Ukraine, I found a village called Ryngach, in the heart of Bessarabia, and at the centre of the Gothic settlements. I also found two other “Rynek places” This gives a total of at least three places in the Ukraine. There is another Rîngaci (= Ryngach) just across the Ukrainian border in Moldova, and there are single names even in Romania, Hungary and in the Czech Republic.

There is also another Ring name area. In Germany I have located 102 place-names beginning with the element *Ring-* and a smaller distribution in neighbouring areas. There are two distinct concentrations—one along the river Rhine all the way to Switzerland and another along the upper Danube and into the Austrian border-land. I believe these concentrations may possibly be connected with the Burgundians expanding along the Rhine, and for the other concentration the Gepids and possibly also the Hasding Vandals.

A third area seems to be from Jutland along the coast of the North Sea and over to England and Scotland with 12, resp. 2 names. Ireland has indeed 26. This spread may be connected with both the Jutes in the Anglo Saxon period and with the early vikings. In all I have registered outside the Scandinavian area 265 names starting with *Ring-* or connected with *Rynek* (or *Ryn-*).

There is also another root, *kolo*, meaning ring or circle. According to the Russian archaeologist V.V. Sedov there is a concentration of such names along the Djnepr where also the Goths had settlements. These names are however not included in the survey. Accordingly the Russian figure might be higher.

In the following the examination is presented in form of diagrams. Of technical reasons the text to respective diagram does not always occur directly in connection to the diagram.

Fig. 45 This chart demonstrates that the largest group of single Ring names is of the type *ring*, *Ringen* (the Ring), *Ringstad*, *Ringsted* (Ring place, Ring home) and a number of related names, mostly settlements—hence an indication that these were the places where cult ceremonies were enacted. Perhaps an oath-ring also has been kept there? *Ringbacken* (Ring hill) and *Ringberget* (the Ring mountain) and other names connected with topographic features are as well frequent. The Continental names, which are not included here, accord quite closely with the Nordic pattern. In percentage terms the distribution is as follows: the group of mixed nature names which include also a number of sacral places and chiefs settlements dominate with 17% and then comes *Ring/Ringen* with 10%, *Ringstad* 8% and the combination *Ring hill* with 7% and *Ring mountain* with 5%.

In order to obtain a better overview, the minor categories of names you can split them all into a few functional groups indicating respectively:

1. Elevations—astronomical observation points = 65
2. of habitations combined with Ring, such as *gård* (farm, settlement), *by* (village), *torp* (*thorpe*), *stad* (place, homestead) etc., = 127
3. Only Ring or Ringen (the Ring) = 42
4. Other incolent names, i.e. the names of natural features, which in combination with Ring—could often be interpreted as cultic places, i.e. field, island, islet, cape etc. = 178

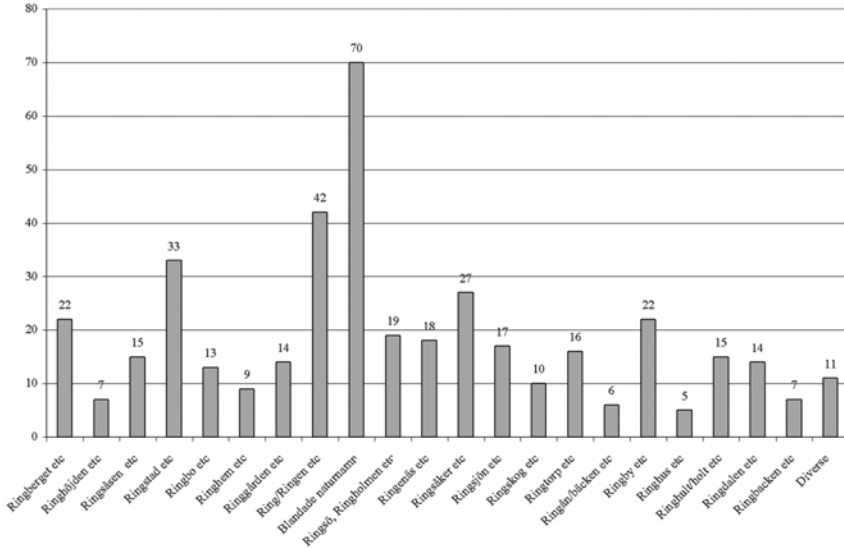


Fig.45 Ringname-groups

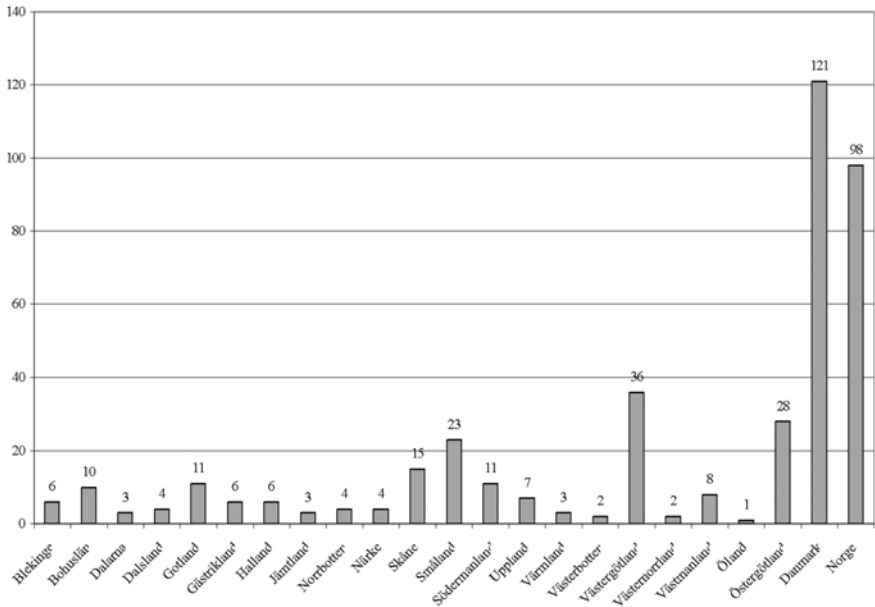


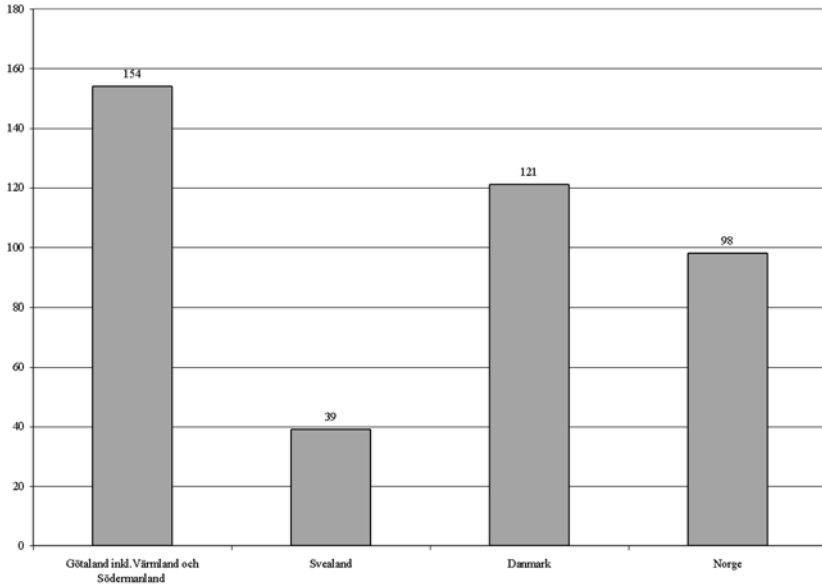
Fig. 46 Distribution of Ringnames in Sweden and total figures for Denmark and Norway

The distribution of Ring names in Sweden and for Denmark and Norway only totals regardless of regional distribution. The pre-dominant Swedish provinces are Västergötland 9% (20%), Östergötland 7% (15%), Småland 6% (12%) Skåne (Scania) 4% (8%), Gotland and Södermanland 3% (6%) and close after Bohuslän 2% (5%). Taking internal Swedish distribution as 100%, the spread for the major areas is given within parentheses. 47% in Sweden, 29% in Denmark and 24% in Norway

I have shown in the book there are a number of factors indicating that Södermanland in the Nyköping area should be counted as part of the Gautic lands. This is also true of Värmland, in spite of its only three known *Ring* names, and the coastal area in Roslagen, and parts of Närke could also be seen as integral to this area.. (Cf. Johansson, 1993).

Fig. 47 shows the concentration within the Gautic areas of modern Sweden contrasted with Svealand, Denmark and Norway. In the term “Gautic lands” I have included Södermanland and Värmland, with 3 names, while the areas with a hypothetical connection, Närke and Roslagen, have been listed under Svealand.

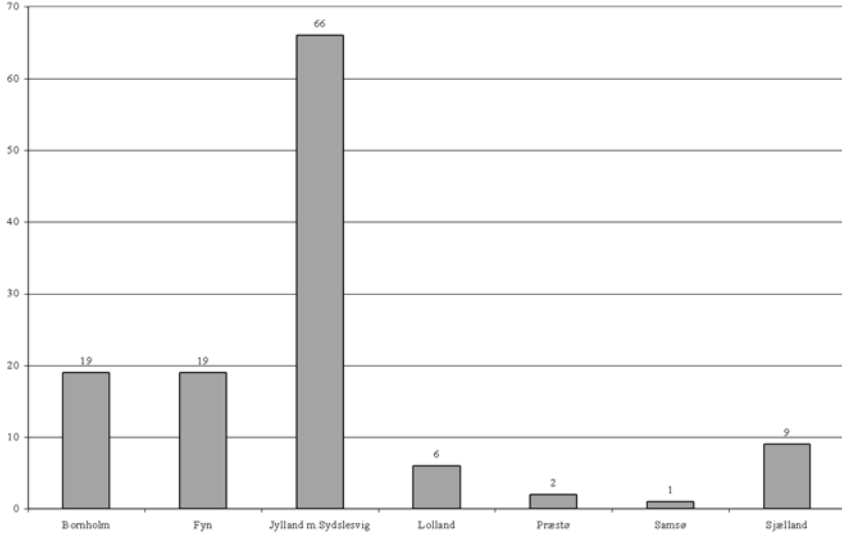
If these were to be regarded as Gautic, which is probable, there only remain a small number of mostly incolent names for Svealand. The distribution percentages show that 38% are Gautic, 29% Danish and 24% Norwegian, which leaves Svealand with a maximum of 9%



*Fig. 47 Comparison between the Ring-name intensity in different regions in the North.*

It is also interesting to compare Scandinavia in a narrow geographical sense, with Denmark, separated into Jutland and the rest of Denmark. Jutland is quite pre-dominant, although the other areas contain a considerable number. Scandinavia has 71% (291) of the names, Jutland 16% (66) and the rest of Denmark 13% (55).





*Fig. 48 Internal Danish distribution*

Fig. 48 As regards internal Danish distribution we find that, besides Jutland, Funen and the small island of Bornholm show a considerable number of names—54% lie in Jutland (66), 16% on Funen (19) and 15% (19) on Bornholm. The rest are minor and they include the subsequently important Sjælland (Zealand) (8). Included under Jutland (Jylland) are also included the former Danish areas in what is now northern Germany, Danish South Schleswig. Jutland, Funen and Bornholm contain 104 names, while in the whole of the rest of Denmark there are only 17 names. This means that 86% of the Danish names lie in Jutland, Funen and Bornholm, and the remaining 14% are scattered. In this connection it is worth noting the very close connection between the Goths and the Burgundians, the last-named allegedly having resided on Bornholm for some period at least. Funen is situated close to Jutland, and it is also known for an early cult of Óðinn.

The Continental names are localised in three quite distinct groups. The name types are identical with the Nordic ones. The mayor group is most represented within Poland, Lithuania, the Russian province of Kaliningrad and border areas of Belarus and the Russian province of Kaliningrad). It covers the major part of the early known Gothic settlements, but also neighbouring areas. Their extension all the way to the Ukraine and Romania along the rivers Vistula (Wisla), Dnestr and Prut down to the centre of the Gothic settlements in the Pontian area is of

particular interest. I should caution that I might well have overlooked a considerable number of names, especially in Russia, Belarus and the Ukraine.\* Nevertheless, a clear tendency is discernable. East Brandenburg may be seen as part of this area.

\* There is an abundance of *kolo-* names in the Dnieper basin. *Kolo* is the Slavic main root for ‘ring’. It is in this area that V.V.Sedov in his book “Drevnerusskaja narodnost’ locates the “Ruzzi”. Sedov regards these as a Slavic tribal group. It is an interesting observation that the Goths also had numerous settlements in this area. Further evidence of the Ring influence in present Russia is provided by S. K. Kuznetsov in Russian historical geography Moscow, 1910.

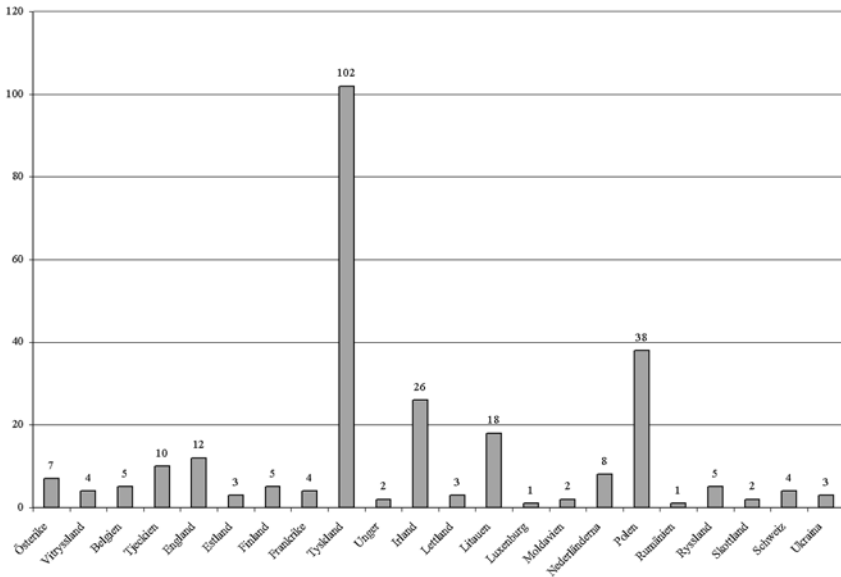


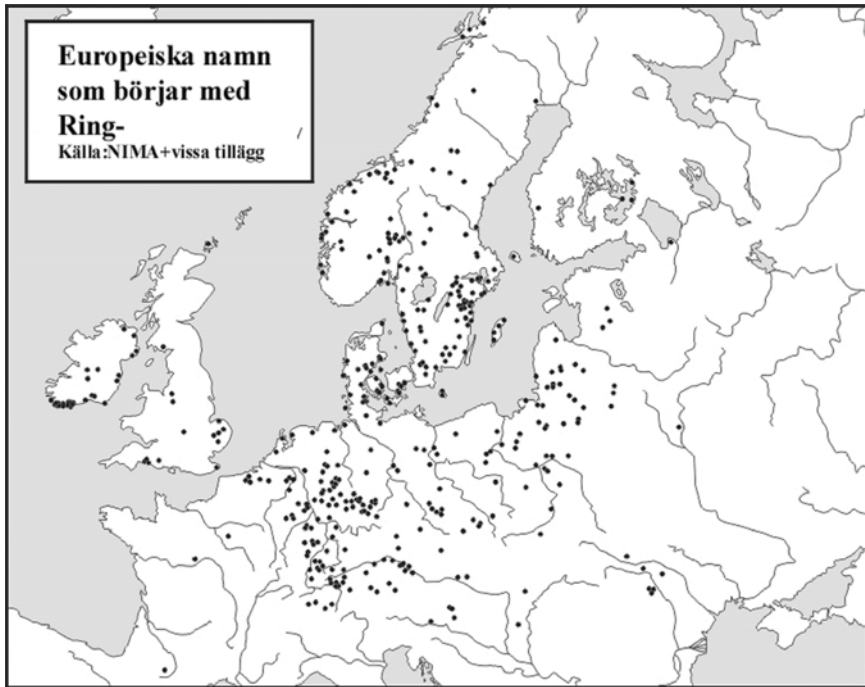
Fig. 49 Continental Ringnames

The second group is concentrated along the river Rhen all the way up to Switzerland and the names follow roughly the Burgundian expansion way. A local concentration around the upper Donau and part of Austria may be connected with the Gepids and maybe even the Hasding Vandals. Apart from these groups there is a third concentration from Jutland towards the British Isles. The most likely origin is from the Vikings and possibly also from Jutes and other Anglo-Saxons. The British Isles include Ireland. The most dominant countries are: Germany 102 (38%), Poland 38 (14%), Ireland 26 (10%) and Lithuania 18 (7%). After these follow closest England 12 (4%), the Czech Republic 10 (4%)

and the Netherlands 8 (3%). From this material I have drawn the conclusion that there is a possibility the Ring-names may be originally Nordic and possibly connected with the Goths and the early cult of Gaut. Later, the newer cult version of Óðinn-Gaut with the shorter sacrificial cycle would have continued the old tradition. Óðinn-Gaut is without doubt connected with Ring sites, as shown above. If the names accompany the newer, external cult of Óðinn, it would be expected that, in respect of the Odinistic kings who are traditionally localized to Uppsala and the “Folklanden”, united in 1296 AD into the province of Uppland, which still claimed descent from Frejr but regarded him merely as the grandson of Óðinn, they would have had a much wider distribution over the present Svealand region. The Ring- names would also have been more common on Sjælland (Zealand), since this was the Danish royal centre in later times. There is, however, a royal administrative centre, or royal settlement, called Ringsted on Sjælland. Similarly, Bornholm would have been less important at that time. I consider these names with the first syllable Ring distinctly older than the Continental German names ending with—ring. In Scandinavia names of that construction are few and I have not included them in this survey but it is an interesting topic later on.

As may be observed, however, *Ring-* names are exclusively concentrated within those areas traditionally associated with a possible Gothic origin and they are also common within the known early settlement-area of the Vistula Goths, and are likewise found within the Gothic Pontic area and along the Gothic expansion and trade routes: the Vistula, Dnestr and Prut rivers. *En passant*, I have also noticed that the concentration of standing stone circles, according to a survey by Västergötland’s museum, travels along a line leading from south-western Norway via Bohuslän, Västergötland and North Halland, Östergötland, Småland, Blekinge, Öland and straight over the Baltic, to the Vistula area. In Denmark these circles appear on Bornholm and continue on the Continent in the area between the Elbe and the Oder. They date from the Pre-Roman and Roman Iron Ages (*Västergötlands Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift* 1975—76: 96—101). It does seem to suggest some kind of connection. This impression is definitely reinforced by the concentration of *Ring-* names in connection with the Burgundian expansion route along the Rhen after supposedly having stayed at Bornholm. 412 Ringnames in Scandinavia compared with 265 external names in the rest of Europe, of which at least 40 lie in an area with proven Scandinavian dominance from the Migration Period on, gives quite a good idea about the origin of the name type. On the other hand, of course, with respect to the orthodox interpretations of the philologists, one might assume that the male proper name or by-name, *Ring* or *Hringr*, was only occasionally used in Svealand, and in Sjælland (Zealand) and the rest of Denmark, whereas it was very common on Götaland’s mainland, in Norway, on Jutland and Funen and the more isolated islands

Bornholm and Gotland, and, of course, in Poland and Lithuania and their environment and also along the river Rhen.



*Fig. 50 Spread of Ring-names.*

The above displayed map is merely a sketch, intended to show the regions within Scandinavia where names with the first syllable *Ring-* are frequent, but it does not show all the names. The map therefore relates only slightly the actual internal distribution of at least the Nordic names. On the Continent it outlines the approximate area within which I have found continental *Ring-* names, roughly covering the rivers Vistula, Dnjestr and Prut and the areas along river Rhen and upper Donau. Besides there is a presumably younger distribution in the North Sea Region and the British Isles. The map indicates the potential routes taken by the different Gothic tribes and the Burgundians as they expanded from the Scandinavian and Baltic regions towards the South—East. I also conclude that the earlier suspected relationship between Burgundians and Goths seems to be reinforced. They may all have a common cultic background from the beginning.

The complete investigation is published in the magazine *Migracijske Teme*, nr. 1-2, Zagreb 2000, pp.103-140 including tables of all Ring-names and their locations.

(Remark: I gave in september 2002 a lecture on the conference *Saga&Societies in Borgarnes on Iceland*, where I except of the Ring-names also treated the Skialf-names and their connection to the cult of Óðinn. This is also shortly recapitulated above in connection with the cult of Óðinn.)

## The question of Crimean-Gothic

It is debated whether Crimean-Gothic really is Gothic or another language, and the whole question about the origin and status of the Crimean Goths is unclear. The first information in western Europe about a Germanic language in Crimea was conveyed by a Franciscane monk, Wilhelm Ruysbroek, who made a missionary trip to Crimea in 1253. In the period 1436-37 also a Venetian merchant Iosapath Barbaro had noticed that it was spoken a language similar to German in Crimea. In the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century it is also mentioned by Philipp Melanchton (1497-1560) and Wilibard Pirckheimer (1470-1530). The first however who made a comprehensive list of Crimean-Gothic words was the Flemish diplomat Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, who during the period 1556-62 was imperial messenger at the sultane in Constantinople, and who once had the occasion to interview a couple of messengers from Crimea and ask them about the language. The only one who knew the language was however a Crimean Greek but he was relatively knowing. This list was published 1589 in Paris, and it is still the only source we have even if the language reportedly was in use still in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Busbecq himself saw great similarities with Saxon, and if you look to the counting-words I mean they are close to both Northgermanic and Westgermanic in the area of the Netherlands—i.e. they have a Low-German and Scandinavian similarity of e.g. 31= *treithyen* och 41=*furdeithien*. Loewe regarded them as Heruls and Karsten as a mixture of Ostrogoths and Heruls while Krause means they were Goths mixed with various Westgermanics. Ernst Schwarz places them among the Northgermanics. (Høst 1971, p.45)

Mac Donald Stearns jr. has made a thorough analysis of the language and he puts it together with the Bible-Gothic in the Eastgermanic language-group, since it deviates from both Northgermanic and Westgermanic. He refers to that the Goths arrived in the Crimea in the 250's, and it fits with the assumption that the Crimean-Gothic dialect should have been extracted some time around 200 AD. He remarks that there is a distinct possibility that loan-words and other renewals might have come from elsewhere during the passing of time. (Stearns 1978, s. 118 ff.)

In Nowele 1995 Ottar Grønvik has written a debate-article where he claims that Crimean Gothic is of Westgermanic origin, and he then goes out from the latest language-tree variant where Gothic is presupposed to come directly from Proto-Germanic, while Northgermanic is secondary developed from North-Westgermanic.

Grønvik refers to the division of Proto-Germanic in long and short vowels and their later development within respective language-group. The short vowels were in Proto-Germanic *i, e, a, u* and later *e* was united with *i* that you got a system with three vowels *\*i, \*a, \*u*. Then *\*i* and *\*u* became lowered to *e* and *o* before the consonants *r, h, h<sup>w</sup>*, but nothing else was changed, which is according to Grønvik demonstrated by the fact Gothic has *i, e, a, o, and u*. In North-Westgermanic, he claims, *i* and *u* before nasal-group was kept, and in front of the high vowels *i, u* and the answering half-vowels *j, w*. In front of deep vowel on the contrary *u* and partly *i* were lowered to *o* and *e*. In this way they got a system with five short vowels *i, e, a, o, u*. This system he means that he finds in Crimean Gothic, which accordingly might be applicable to both Northgermanic and Westgermanic. Concerning the long vowels, Proto-Germanic *ī, ē, ō, ū* they are in time completed with  $\bar{e}^2$  that we get two long  $\bar{e}$ , namely  $\bar{e}^1$  and  $\bar{e}^2$  who in Gothic were united to  $\bar{e}$ . In Nordic  $\bar{e}^1$  is transformed to  $\bar{a}$  in the oldest runic language around 200 AD, that  $\bar{e}^2$  could be kept as  $\bar{e}$ . In Westgermanic, however,  $\bar{e}^1$  around 200 AD *possibly* still was an open *e*-sound. In Crimean Gothic the old  $\bar{e}^1$  is represented by  $\bar{i}$  and hence it can not be of Northgermanic origin, Grønvik claims, but well Westgermanic. Later the language has developed together with Gothic, and he from this concludes that a Westgermanic people has taken part in the migration by the Goths. The origin-area he supports on the single word *kommen*, which he means is the only one among the around hundred words from Busbecq that is useable. It's similarity with German leads him to place the tribe in the neighbourhood of the Oder or the middle Elbe, since he because of this word finds it less probable that it is an ingvaeonic language like Anglo-Frisian or Old Saxon. He also regards it as a support for polyethnical elements in the Gothic migration. (Grønvik 1995, p.75 ff)

With regard to that Stearns jr indeed classified it as an Eastgermanic language in the Gothic language-family Grønvik is not quite convincing. There still exists a possibility that the Crimean Goths already from the beginning have been of a polyethnical character including both Vistula-Goths, Northgermanics and Westgermanics, or that the language in time has been mixed up with new elements. In any case it is a little too hasty to decide the area of origin to middle Germany with support of a single word. He tries to strengthen his argumentation through referring to a paper by Neumann and Düwel 1985, where they treat an old city- and river-name Greek *Alouston*, today *Alušta*, on the Crimea. The

authors have connected this with OHG. *erila* from older *elira*, OE. *alor*, OWN. *ǫlr* < Germanic *\*aliz-*, *\*aluz* and mean that it for a place-name is necessary to add the suffix-*ta-* (Germanic *\*alusta-/alista-*, cf. Lat. *arbustum* 'equipped with trees'). They refer to the Westphalian river-name *Alst* (12<sup>th</sup> c. *Alest*) and to the Dutch place-name *Aalst* (a. 866 *Alost*) and *Elst* (a. 911 *Eliste*). Grønvik's analysis of the vowels, however, seems rather convincing, but it should in that case as well be possible to interpret it as Anglo-Frisian. Specially so since *Aalst* and *Elst* occur in the argumentation. I have above suggested that also the Jutes, *Ýtas*, 'the out-poured' should be included in the Gothic cultic area, and then it is in no way preposterous to assume possible connections with neighbouring Anglic tribes. Grønvik also remarks that  $\bar{e}^1$  in ON. was  $\bar{a}$  which is found on rune-stones from the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. and forward, but how rapidly that development grasped over all tribes in South-Scandinavia is still unknown, since the inscriptions often are judged as a special runic coiné, applied by rune-masters working over vast areas. Their evidence-value hence is disputed. Grønvik however has a clear point when he demonstrates the thinkable size of the origin-area with polyethnical components in the language. This indeed strenghtens my thesis, that it was not primarily the language but the religious origin that united the Goths—they all had an ancestry from Gaut, the outpourer, they simply were 'the humans', 'the outpoured'. Grønvik indeed later claims that Gaut was an early name of Óðinn which appeared on the Continent and spread northwards (Grønvik 1995, p.89 ff), but his arguments are in this case not convincing regarding that all those peoples/dynasties who claim ancestry from Gaut also claim to come from the Scandinavian area, or are confirmed to come from there. There still is a certain strenght in the suggestion that the Crimean Goths represent an at least partly polyethnical mixture, if you assume that a considerable number originally were Ingvaeones, who lived in the outskirts of the Gothic influence-area, and had longer than the Goths stayed with the old fertility-cultic habits. This namely could possibly explain why they never took the Arianism but all the time in the Christian epoch were loyal to the Romano-Greek church of Constantinople which with Teodosius became the catholic, universal church. This explanation concerning polyethnicity also could support that some of them also might have been Heruls. They emigrated early from Scandinavia and so they might have been exposed to different linguistic influences on the Continent before they lined up with the Goths in the Pontic area. They besides are actually confirmed as Gothic allies and are known to have lived close to the Ostrogoths/Greutungi and were active on the Black Sea with maritime warfare. They are not counted as Goths from the beginning, but a number of remaining Heruls well could have been Gothized in the same manner as other originally non-Goths, and like other non-Goths it should be as natural for them to accept the Greek creed as I

suggested for the Ingvaeones. In any case, in my opinion, a possible Westgermanic people on the Crimea must have an origin west or north of Germany.

Let us have a closer look on the circumstances on the Crimea, and the problems that exist in recognizing different ethnicities, which difficulty not least concerns the place-names.

Prof. Alexandra Superanskaja at the Russian Academy of Science has in a lecture on a symposium in Lidköping, Sweden 1992 thoroughly treated the problems. She among else presented a complete list of the different ethnicities having lived on the Crimea during different times and also contemporary.

As is clearly demonstrated by this list (below) the Goths neither were first nor alone on the Crimea but they all the time shared it with several other peoples. According to Russian sources the Goths appear first on the Kertch-peninsula and the south-coast. Smirnov (1966) mentions that the Goths in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD destroyed the capital of the Scythian realm—Neapolis. This marked the end of the Scyths as a political entity. On the other hand Dyakov (1942) wrote that the Goths appeared on the Crimea the years 255—257 during peaceful forms, and that they soon were assimilated among other peoples. (Superanskaya 1992, p. 143 f) Vasilyevsky (1912) remarks that the Goths in their maritime expeditions to the Caucasian coast-land and to Asia Minor for a beginning used Bosphorian ships, but that they soon started to build their own. This means, Superanskaya concludes, that they knew how to build ships. Their activities on the Black Sea were the same as their ancestor's on the Baltic. (Superanskaya 1992, p.143)

She also remarks that the Crimean Goths lived separated from other Goths, and that contacts between them during the time before Wulfila were sporadic. The followers of Wulfila were Ariand while the Crimean Goths were "ortodox". She refers to Brun (1874) who writes that the religious contacts between the Crimean Goths and Byzantium were stronger than the political. Byzantines and Crimean Goths had the same church, and hence it is impossible for archaeologists to decide whether a church is Greek or Gothic.

Concerning the above mentioned place-name *Aluston* Procopius writes that Justinianus started to reinforce the Crimean peninsula military. The following fortresses were built or rebuilt: Aluston, Gorsuvita, Suiren, Eski-Kermen, Doros, Kalamita (later Inkerman). Procopius mentions, nota bene, that Justinianus did not build in those areas where the Goths lived, because they could not stand to live within fixed borders. He just built long walls around their territory in case of an invasion. (De aed., 17) There is, Superanskaya remarks, a contradiction in the text, since the fortresses Doros, Eski-Kermen (turkish name), Kalamita and Suiren (turkish name) were situated within the area inhabited by



Goths. These long walls have caused long discussions without resulting in any solution. (Superanskaya 1992, p.144)

As far as I understand *Aluston* did not lie within the Gothic territory. At least not at this time.

Superanskaya remarks that Gothia not is mentioned in the mss. from the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> cc., but that at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. and the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> c. there is a list of the following sees: Chersones, Bosphoros, Gothia, Sudak. According to Kulakovsky the Gothic metropol should remain on the Crimea up to the 13<sup>th</sup> c, but is neither mentioned in Greek documents nor in the vita of *St Johanni of Gothia*. The Gothic metropolites lived in Doros. She asks herself how long the Goths stayed on the Crimea after the Turkish conquering, and she refers to Matteus Kanonius, who wrote that, when the Turks took Mangup it was defended by a troop led by thwo brothers. They were Goths and both were slayed. They were, he claims, the last Crimean Goths. (Ravdonikas, 1932) (Superanskaya 1992, p.144)

### **Nations, peoples et.c. having existed on the Crimean peninsula**

<b>Nation/tribe/group:</b>	<b>Time period:</b>
taurans	2-1 mill. BC
cimmerians	End of 2 mill.-5th c BC
scythians	10 c BC—3 c. AD
tauroscythians, sarmatians, sinders, maeotes,	
dandakes, satatkhers, celts	End 1th millBC-start 1mill.AD
alans	2-4 c. AD
greeks	6 c. BC-20th c. AD
romans	1 c.BC-3 c.AD
jews	1-20 c. AD
goths	3-14 c AD
huns	4-6 c AD
bulgars	5-8 c AD
westturcs	6 c AD
khazars	7-9 c AD
karaites	8-20 c AD
magyars	9 c AD
Kiev rus	10 c AD
petjenegs	10-11 c AD
kumanes	11-13 c AD
seldjukic turcs	13 c AD
genovesians, venetians	12-15 c AD

krimtatars, armenians	13-20 c AD
krymtjaks	15-20 c AD
osman turcs	14-18 c AD
nogays	16-20 c AD
karakalpaks, kirgisians	17-18 c AD
arnauts (albans)	18-19 c AD
russians, gypsies	8-20 c AD
ukrainians, bulgars, germans	19-20 c AD

(Superanskaya 1992, p. 149)

Concerning the last Crimean Goths Superanskaya however has an own opinion. F.A. Braun (1890) has in *Zhyvaya Starina* told about a journey he undertook to Mariupol on the northern shore of the Sea of Asov, whereto the Crimean Greek had been forced to move in 1877 from the Bakhchisarai-region under the impression that Catharina the Great wanted to protect the Christian against Islam. In reality the migration weakened the base of the reign of the kahn on the Crimea and led to a later Russian annexation of the peninsula. Braun searched for possible Gothic population-remnants. There were 25 villages in the vicinity of Mariupol, where the transferred Greeks lived. Some of them spoke Greek, other Tatar-languages but nobody spoke a Germanic or distantly reminding language. Braun however in every village found several persons he meant were of Gothic ethnicity with blond hair, blue eyes, high-grown and also more corpulent than the Greeks and the Tatars. One of them had the nick-name Chalbasch—the white-head. These Superanskay beleives were the last Crimean Goths. (Superanskaya1995, pers.com.)

A Tataric researcher, Kurtiyev, has found traces after the Goths in i *Uskyt* (present Privetnoye). The place *Iskyt* also was of great interest out of an ethnographical point of view, since the place had name in two languages, and there were peculiarities in the way of living and the clothing-habits of the population. There also occurred the person-name *Gafrid*—probably *Gottfrid* Superanskaya writes, and she supposes also that the place-names might refer to the Scyths, since the Goths were called so in the beginning. She besides points out that in 1944 all non-Slavs (except of the Karaites) were deported from the Crimea, and almost all place-names were changed, which she quite correctly regards as a toponymic genocide. (Superanskaya 1992, p.144 f)

The Goths on the Crimea, Superanskaya means, sometimes may be regarded as polyethnonyms, since Goths to the Greeks was a collective name of all Germanic tribes as an opposite to non-Germanics, occasionally also a tribal union but not necessarily a Germanic such. This is quite interesting considering my basic claim the Goths primarily from the beginning were a cultic league or,

else formulated, just a tribal religious union—not necessarily a political. Other Gothic ethnonyms are *tetraxites* and *trapezites* but they do not include all Crimean Goths. The Trapezites have got name after their living-space at the mountain Trapezus, and some believe that these Goths have founded the city Trapezunt on the Caucasian side of the Black Sea. Tetraxites were those Goths inhabiting the peninsulae Taman and Kertch. Procopius mentions them as another ethnical group than the Crimean Goths. Their capital was Fanagoria close to Anapa, and they shall according to Procopius have lived at Kertch since 275 AD.

Superanskaya believes it is possible that *tetraxites* (Greek. *Τετραζιτες*) come from *Τετραταζιτες* tetra: four, fourth taxis: ‘class, order, troupe’. The Goths were divided in three groups—Eastgoths, Westgoths and Gepids. The Tetraxites might have been differed from them rather early, she suggests, and they were divided from the other Goths through marshes and hence had difficulties to keep in touch. They accordingly are “the fourth group”, she proposes. Vasilyevsk (1912) compares *Tmutarakan* in the old Russian sources with *Tetraxites/Tmetraxitei* and thinks that the name of this old Russian principality might be derived from the name of this Gothic nation. Vasilyevsk also compares other names on the Taman-peninsula, Greek. *ΤαΜαταρχα* and Lat. *Matrica, Matercha*, to prove the possibility of such an adaptation. Superanskaya here sees a possibility that this could explain the mentioning of “the Gothic maidens at the beach of the blue sea”. (Superanskaya 1992, p.145)

Concerning the place-names—the toponyms—she points out the difficulties with more than 40 languages with many dialects, and that the Gothic elements in place-names not could be preserved in their original form, since the Goths not were the first on Crimea. When they arrived many places had already got their names and other in time got Turkish names. The single one which is undisputed is *Gothia*. She however remarks that the borders of Gothia are differently described by the authors. Sometimes it is confined to the Belbek-river/Kuchuk Uzenbash/Kap Ai-Thodor, but sometimes the whole southern coast of the Crimea is included. Many of the places where the Goths lived later got Turkish names, and here she mentions Mangup Kale which was the new name of Doros. It means ‘destroyed fortress’. Doros, (Greek. *Δορος, Θεόδωρο, Τα Θεόδωρα*) was the capital of the Goths until it was conquered and destroyed, and the meaning of the name is disputed, but by all evidents to judge of Greek descent. The oldest Gothic graves are from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> cc, and characteristic for all pre-Christian graves in Gothic areas is, according to Repnikov(1932), that no weapons have been found. (Superanskaya 1992, p.146)

A Crimean-Gothic name which may be of a certain interest is the word Fula/Fulli (Greek. *φυλα, φουλλα, φουλα*). Superanskaya says that several

researchers mean that it only exists one such name, but she herself has a long list. The for us most interesting are the forms Pula, Phyle and Thulle. The Romans believed that Fulla was a legendary land in the north, and Goethe wrote a ballad about the king living in Fula/Thule. It is hard to know if all these forms are the same word, and the Russian letter Ф can replace both *ph* and *th* Superanskaya comments. (Superanskaya 1992, p.147)

There are a considerable number of *-sala*-names within the Gothic areas on the Crimea but no Upsala. About these names Superanskaya writes:

The element—*sala* is of Indo-European origin. It is a place-name. Cf. the Germanic name *Salaber* (*sala* ‘place, house and *ber(th)* ‘perfect, radiating’). The element—*sala* takes the first position in the personal name and the second position in a place-name. Further it easily might be connected with Turkish elements; Bughaz Sala (bughaz = mountain-pass), Suuk Sala (suuk = sour), Kodzhasala (kodzha is an honorary title). (Superanskaya 1992, p.148)

The—*sala*-names accordingly can not be used to prove a North- or West-Germanic origin, but still there is a distinct possibility that some of the—*sala*-names might be Gothic.

Other toponymic endings in the area are among else *-anda*, *-inda*, *-unda*, *-onda*. Examples of such place-names are Avonda/Avunda, Lunda och Terskunda. Here is according to Superanskaya a similarity with Germanic, and she writes:

There are different hypothesis regarding their origin. A.Carnoy (1951, p.102) mentions the old French term *warande* ‘protected place, park, fence’. The word is still used in the Netherlands. (Superanskaya 1992, p.148)

Here, accordingly, exists a possible connection to a Westgermanic origin for parts of the Crimean Goths, and then rather an Anglo-Frisian. It is however not possible to disregard that Rus and Varjags of supposed Scandinavian origin also have been extant in the area later, and hence might have affected the toponymic geography.

## Conclusion of linguistic judgements

As the survey above demonstrates there are mainly five major views on the relations of the Germanic languages between each other. Above this occur lesser disputes whether Gothic derives directly from Proto-Germanic or if it has been

transferred via a secondary Proto-language. These divisions are, if you temporarily disregard the position of Gothic:

1. Northgermanic and Eastgermanic
2. Northgermanic and Southgermanic
3. Northgermanic, Westgermanic and Eastgermanic
4. Eastgermanic and Westgermanic
- 5 North-Westgermanic divided into Northgermanic and Westgermanic, which later causes Main-land-Germanic and finally North-Sea-Germanic, which later results in Anglo-Saxon and Frisian

It should be noticed that e.g. North-Sea-Germanic is included as a subgroup also in some of the earlier listed divisions, and in addition still more specialised language-areas are claimed by some authors.

I have above stated that the main-reason with this survey is not to take position to which division that is the most correct, since it often just deals with a fight on the terminology. Instead I have tried to consider from where and when certain renewals might be supposed to have come to respective language. I have as well tried to take consideration to the geographical position of a language to estimate whether words and bowing-forms et c.may depend on cultural and economical contacts and similar influences.

In the same manner I have for Gothic not considered it to be decisive whether it comes directly from Proto-Germanic or has gone via Goto-Nordic. The primary is to decide if Gothic possibly can have been spoken in Scandinavia—alone or together with other dialects—or not. If it however should be supposed to have come from an early German according to Schleicher and Förstemann the matter of course comes into quite another position.

Müllenhof and Scherer, who both count with Eastgermanic and Westgermanic consider that the Goths, who are Eastgermans, already early lived as neighbours of the Scandinavians, who also are seen as Eastgermanics, in the Vistula-area, and that they later immigrated also in Scandinavia. The accordingly claim a reversed order to the established opinion. These ideas also have been forwarded by the Polish archaeologist Jerzy Kmieciński.

Schmidt and Loewe both see, but from different points of view, Northgermanic as a transition-form between East- and West Germanic, and this is geographically explainable since the North is strategically placed to receive influences from several directions.

F.Maurer claims that the Germanic language-area not can be confined without the aid of classical sources, and by the archaeology. He counts

with 5 language-areas (above) from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC to the 3-4<sup>th</sup> cc.AD. I note that he counts Goths, Burgundians and Vandals as Northgermanics because these peoples are presumed to have emigrated from the North. He besides claims that there is a closer relationship between Northgermanic and Elbgermanic than between Northgermanic and Anglo-Saxon. Hence a North-south-connection. Common Nordic and Westgermanic renewals he explains with that they have been distributed via North-Sea-Germanic after the division into five groups. An interesting conclusion is that Maurer counts the Suebi as Elbgermanics, and hence closer tied to Northgermanic, which suites well with my earlier stated thesis of a great common cultural/religious community up to the final part of the Bronze Age, which has been discussed in connection with cultic leagues.

W. Jungandreas keeps as mentioned the term Westgermanic and places this in opposition to Goto-Nordic, from which later come Northgermanic and Eastgermanic. The relationship between Northgermanic and Eastgermanic he finds in similarities in the weak *nan*-verbs, *-t* in 2. pt. sing. of the strong verbs, and the development of *ww, jj* > *ggw, ggj/ddj*. Just the transition *ww, jj* > *ggw, ggj/ddj* is perhaps the most referred to question in the linguistic discussion of this question.

The work of Ernst Schwarz has in my opinion great values however not finally conclusive. He claims that the Goths once lived in Scandinavia and also on the shores of the southern Baltic Sea, and that the language spoken in Scandinavia then—Proto-Nordic if you so wish—was the same that he calls Goto-Nordic. An estimated Gothic emigration might have taken place somewhere around the last century before Christ, and simultaneously, Schwarz means, the first language-change reaches to up here. This should mean that the emigrating Goths get isolated in Eastern Europe, while the Nordic starts changing through southern and partly western influences, most likely to the greatest part through North-Sea Germanic. The Goths in time get own changes through contacts with Centraleuropean tribes. In this way the differences increase between the original Goto-Nordic and Gothic resp. Old-Nordic. The two languages develop in different directions but the old commonship is still discernible. He stresses both similarities and differences between the languages, and hence can be said to treat the subject relatively objectively. A weakness is, of course, that he presupposes that Oxenstierna and several other have de facto proven a Gothic emigration from Scandinavia, and this is a basic reason he counts the Goths as a part of the Northgermanics. Oxenstierna however is not alone in claiming such an emigration,

and he has, as mentioned above, also been supported by Wenskus who means he in any case has indicated the size of the possible area from which immigrants have come to the Vistula-area. Also Nylén in later time supports the Scandinavian origin. Also without this presupposition Schwarz has succeeded to indicate as many as 26 similarities between Nordic and Gothic, and hence a Nordic ancestry is in no way outruled. If this supposed exodus possibly happened before the time Schwarz discusses it does still not diminish the value of his examination. Earlier has, as stated, Loewe placed Gothic as a Northgermanic language, and he puts this against Nordic together with Westgermanic. He regards the Nordic as an transition-form from the old Goto-Nordic. Johannes Schmidt, who also has been quoted, proposes in his wave-front-theory that Nordic is as well Eastgermanic as Westgermanic—it forms the transition from Gothic to Anglo-Saxon, while Anglo-Saxon and Frisian form the transition between Nordic and Old-Saxon. Also this out of geographical starting-points. Even Andreasjung claims the Goto-Nordic language-group, and Maurer counts Goths, Vandals and Burgundians as Northgermanics as have been remarked above. Schwarz reasons principally in the same way when he indicates a original community, but then demonstrates how the North has been affected by linguistic renewals from both south and west, which is natural because of it's geographical position. That he does not succeed in showing an absolute similarity between Gothic and Nordic is selfevident regarding the difficult prepositions. Another important thing he succeeds in demonstrating is that the terms Proto-Nordic respectively Old Nordic should be moved further back in time, so that Proto-Nordic should not be used after around the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, and that Old Nordic should be divided into an early phase up to around 500 AD, and a later phase in the following period. This seems to me to be a very reasonable standpoint, and in this connection I have suggested myself that the term Old Swedish should be divided into Old- and Middle-Swedish, since the present so called Old Swedish is in fact mostly Medieval Swedish. Old Swedish does not consider the dialectally different origins of the Göta- and Svea-dialects, which creates problems when trying to establish just linguistic relations.

The derivation from Proto-Nordic or Goto-Nordic however implicates still a question—namely that Gothic does not come directly from Proto-Germanic, but according to the new definition by Schwarz is developed via Proto-Nordic. Concerning the fight whether certain Germanic languages shall be called Westgermanic, Southgermanic or something else it is in this connection, as already indicated, of less importance, since what is important is to show the way a certain renewal might have come to a language, and this Schwarz indeed has made quite thoroughly with reference to geographical areas and their actual sound-laws.

Similarly it is less important whether the Goths and other peoples are called Eastgermanics or Northgermanics, as long as you can indicate similarity between these languages and a common origin. Kuhn for example considers that Gothic has come directly from Proto-Germanic, but he still means they have come from Scandinavia, and this presupposes a common earlier linguistic background even if it possibly is dialectally divided. A demonstrated Schwarz rejects the expression Westgermanic languages, and means that these are Southgermanic. North-Sea Germanic is according to him originally Northgermanic, but later it develops to be part of Southgermanic. Eastgermanic does not exist in his opinion since it is part of Northgermanic. He clearly is influenced by the division of Maurer in five language-areas. The criticism by Kuhn that Schwartz wrongly claims that water hinders linguistic exchange must be considered correct, and hence also the age of North-Sea Germanic may be questioned, since this according to Kuhn has been developed later. This however does not change the basic observation that linguistic renewals mainly have gone in north-south direction regardless of what you call the language-area in question. Interesting is also that the theory of Rösel about a close connection between Gothic and Old-Nordic and Old English—which I will rephrase to Old Jutic and Old Anglian—indeed supports both Schwarz and Kuhn

And also gives an increased plausibility also to the claims of the Anglo-Saxon royal families to have ancestry from Geat/Gaut. The breaking-point 200-100 BC fits excellently with the by Schwarz presumed arrival of the 1<sup>st</sup> sound-shift to the North, while in the same time the water unites as suggested by Kuhn. Also Lehmann supports the Goto-Nordic of Schwarz when he counts with North-Eastgermanic, but places this against Westgermanic, while Schirmunski sees a north-south division, like Schwarz, where the Eastgermanic comes from Northgermanic via emigration. He however does not believe in the theory of Goto-Nordic but derives it from Proto-Germanic dialects. In the rest he takes mainly the same position as Schwarz. Kufner also claims a Gothic emigration around 200 BC, but considers the Goths spoke Proto-Germanic, and that the renewals of respective language started after the Goths had moved. Euler can see more similarities with Goto-Nordic than between Old Nordic and Westgermanic, and means the later similarities should have been introduced after the Gothic emigration. He however is sceptical towards Goto-Nordic but supports the idea of a Gothic origin in Götaland and a Burgundian on Bornholm. This however presupposes, as remarked above, a dialectal division of the Proto-Germanic, to be able to demonstrate that it is specifically in the Götalands, where most of the old runic inscriptions are, that the embryo of Eastgermanic has developed. Rosenfeld also sees a close relationship between Gothic and Nordic, and he thinks there might have been linguistic exchange between the emigrants and those who remained at home for several hundred years, but this then must presuppose an extensive and



regular physical contact between the peoples in a large scale as I regard it. I claim indeed a regular contact during the period of migrations, but I then presuppose that it did not include a greater number of those remaining at home but mostly emigrants revisiting and smaller groups taking part in continental activities or visiting relatives. A possible linguistic influence in that case should rather have been outwards-directed from the North and not in the opposite direction I think. Besides, it is informative to see how rapidly a Swedish emigrant to the US tends to forget to use his old language. Since Gothic has received renewals from other languages on the Continent, and Old Nordic received the same impulses from the continent, it is not possible to decide whether a certain influence on Gothic comes from Old Nordic. Rosenfeld admits himself that Gothic accepts less renewals than other Germanic languages, but he also means that the similarities with Old Nordic are greater than what even Schwarz claims. I for my part however claim that it is the religious ethnicity which is the decisive in connection with the Gothic name.

All these accordingly have claimed a Nordic origin, and Schwarz must be regarded as kind of coordinator—regardless if you start with Proto-Germanic or Goto-Nordic. In an article published in 1998 also Thorsten Andersson joins an original Goto-Nordic and a common origin of the Vistula-Goths, the Gautar and the Gutar, who are supposed to have been living around the southern part of the Baltic Sea. This is exactly the area claimed by Schwarz.

Interesting is in this discussion the introduction by Makaev of a common runic coiné which make the Nordic runic inscriptions less reliable as linguistic evidence. He claims that the Germanic language-division started with the emigration of the Goths, and that the Scandinavian language-group not appears until the 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> cc AD, while the runic inscriptions are unaltered till a bit into the 7<sup>th</sup> c.AD. This opens for dialectal division during the whole period, and does not contradict the existence of a Goto-Nordic area as a middle-step. The dialectal difference in any case existed already in the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> cc.AD with regard to Ptolemaios' ΓΟΥΤΟΙ. In any case the runic inscriptions can not selfevidently be used as conclusive evidence that Nordic very early has been divided from Gothic. The runemagical paper of Bente Magnus decidedly supports the idea of such a runic coiné, and also what I have demonstrated myself about rune-magics and initiations of rune-masters above. That Antonsen then has used Makaev as confirmation to introduce North-Westgermanic I find rather confusing. According to Antonsen it is only Gothic that differs from other Germanic languages and hence all these are in the same group. This is not what Makaev claims, but he however means that there are a small number of runic inscriptions exhibiting Eastgermanic traits. The runic coiné on the contrary does presuppose that all rune-masters use the same "ritual" language where ever they work, and it could

possibly be compared to a written official language contra oral local dialects or languages understandable between themselves. Dialects and languages may differ considerably but still be relatively understandable by all. The most important however to remember concerning this period is that it was in no way the common man who read runes but just a minor elite, and besides the most common use of runes was for magical inscription uninteresting to read. The younger futhark which was more widely used also for reading is considerably later. Accordingly there is no real foundation on which to assume great linguistic similarities in the spoken language within a vast North-Westgermanic area because of similarities in the language of the rune-stones. In any case Antonsen also claims the Goths came from Scandinavia.

Voyles also counts with North-Westgermanic and Gothic, but means in opposition to Antonsen that Gothic, already before the emigration from Scandinavia, has begun an own development. He counts with dialectal differences and so does also Haugen, who claims that first with the Anglo-Saxon emigration the North-Westgermanic area was broken with cose-lying dialects. He stresses the immigration of the Danes as a part of this process of changes. Personally I am still dubious towards a North-Westgermanic unit.

Other who claim this North-Westgermanic division are Markey and Bahnick. All have that in common that the mentioned dialects being developed to languages, but this should however presuppose that these dialects can receive influences from all possible directions where there are neighbourhood-relations, trade-connections and so on. Under such conditions it is quite natural that similarities appear, and it is also evident that the similarities between Gothic and later Nordic must be assumed to be lesser as time passes, and respective language instead starts receiving changes from other languages. In any case there are a considerable number of similarities between the Old Nordic we know and Gothic. That the differences in time increase does not in itself justify to treat the origin of Gothic as an isolated issue.

The above referred examination by Manzak concerning the word-storage of the Bible-Gothic and a number of other languages including modern Swedish only indicates that Manzak himself has all reasons to learn Swedish before he continues that work, not to think of comparing those Swedish words with other languages. Specially I do not think that a Swedish Bible-edition from the 20<sup>th</sup> c. can contribute that much to the Swedish of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. and the words then used. He also stands out as the only one regarding Gothic as Southgermanic and with a Southern origin as probably the first after Carolus Lundius in 1687.

The by Scardigli conveyed idea of a Gothic inferiority-complex, and his remarks concerning the written language as only an ecclesiastical language has forced me to consider the possibility of a partial revision and standardisation of

the written language, meaning it could be considerable differences between the written and the spoken language. If so the difference between spoken Gothic and other Germanic languages might have been less pronounced. These are however mere speculations and I dare not have any decided opinion of it.

Reichert's article about the Pietroassa-ring is maybe not comparative linguistics in a traditional sense, but it gives indeed a clear suggestion about the origin of the Gothic culture in the interpretation by Reichert, which largely harmonises with the hypothesis I myself have claimed on several places and which presupposes an original sacral-kingdom which in time transforms into a Odinistic Gefolgschaft-kingdom. A Scandinavian origin and an ethnicity resting on religious foundation is what you could interpret from his article.

Except of the Scandinavian connection of Reichert I have above demonstrated a connection between the rings of Pietroassa, Szilágy, Smjela and Olbia, and also the Nordic gold-necklace-rings. I have besides indicated the distribution and character of the Nordic and European Ring-names and the existence of such names in the Vistula-area and further all the way down to Ukraine and Romania, which in my opinion suggests that there with all probability has existed a similar structure of power as in the North among the Gothic reiks on the Continent in connection with the þiuðans and the later Vesigothic kindins. The process leading to the dissolving of the power of the sacral-king evidently started in the North and has accelerated more and more on the Continent. One must presume that in connection with the oath-giving, in both the Ostrogothic/Greutungian society as in the Vesigothic, there was some kind of oath-rings. When the cult is redefined from Gaut to Óðinn-Gaut is however not possible to date, but he should basically have been derived from the same original IE-divinity, probably just a younger variant, but he later grows in power. Because of the fact there are numerous Ring-names on Bornholm the possibility also exists that the Burgundians might originally be of a Gothic religious origin.

After this survey I consider it safe to claim that an overwhelming number of facts talk in favour of a possible Scandinavian origin of the Goths. The thought of a massive emigration around the birth of Christ is however more dubious. I find it definitely more reasonable with a process divided into several stages. A first wave around 350-200 BC, or possibly still a little earlier, a second around the birth of Christ and a third in connection with the formation of the Gepids. The total area of origin of the immigrants should be all Scandinavia inclusive Denmark and Gotland or with other words the Kattegat-area and the Baltic Sea-area. At least when the written sources start mentioning Goths in the 1<sup>st</sup> to 2<sup>nd</sup> cc AD already a certain division into dialects seems to have taken place if you can believe Ptolemaios.

The examination of the material concerning the Crimean Goths seems to suggest it deals with a partly polyethnical group, where both Gothic, Northgermanic and Westgermanic linguistic components may be discerned. Loewe and Karsten count with Heruls as one of the components, which fits with the fact that the Herules stayed somewhere in the area when they cooperated with the Goths. Sterns jr. classifies them as Eastgermanics together with the Goths. The article of Grønvik, who claims they are Westgermanic, is in many ways convincing, but certain properties in the language are possible to apply also on Northgermanic, and hence the remaining impression is that there at least are clear Westgermanic influence in the language. It should be noted that Grønvik uses the language-modell with North-Westgermanic to which model I am personally a bit sceptical. He claims they come from middle Germany with support of the single word “kommen”, but everything else in his examination only points on Westgermanic in general. If you consider the place-name examination to which he refers, and to it add also the toponymical examination on the Crimea by Superansky, you rather land in the western part of the Westgermanic area—namely in the Anglo-Frisian or the Ingvaenic group. I then can consider that a close contact with Jutes, and also with other Scandinavians, might have resulted in the partaking of for example an Anglian Group. It has in that case a more decided fertility-cultic background than the Gothic peoples, and hence they should not be as inclined as the real Goths to accept the Arianism. This might possibly be an explanation why the Crimean Goths all the time stayed fidel to the Romano-Greek church, and later the so called catholic church of Teodosius. It also could explain their relatively independent policy counter the other Goths. This also should fit with the examination of Rösler showing an early connection between Gothic, Old Nordic and Old Anglian.

Also after this summing up of Crimean Gothic however the earlier conclusion stands fast, that overwhelming reasons talk for a factual Scandinavian origin of the Goths, but it is to bserve that Scandinavia only must be regarded as a part of the southern Baltic region with surrounding areas. The Goths—the humans—were all those peoples that lived within this area and worshipped the god Gaut. They might have had from each other partly deviating dialects/languages and hence linguistically spoken they were polyethnic in part, but religiously they normally were of the same origin. The religious nucleus might have come from Scandinavia and in time have turned the whole Wielbark-culture into a kind of common cultic league, or alternatively they shared the religious ancestry from the beginning. I of course make an exception later for the groups being accepted by the Goths during the migration southwards and later on and who became part of this religious ancestral claim. The Gothic language we know most probably was developed in the Vistula-area and only a minor part of the population can have

been immigrated Goths from Scandinavia. Their contribution was rather the cultic export and perhaps in time also probably they had chieftains gathering personal followings also from the earlier inhabitants and hence finally came to dominate the whole culture, but they did not overlay the local traditions of the different tribes except religiously, and that is why, I think, it is that hard to find uniform archaeological confirmation. This also might mean that the Crimean Goths, when they took the general version of Christianity while the other took Arianism, they also in a sense became a more independent people that also politically cared themselves. The time they were part of the Gothic ancestral community the main-god must have been Óðinn and the fertility-cult functioned as it always had. This means that they could fit into this system without necessarily all of them having had Gaut as ancestral father from the beginning. The ethnic band to the other Goths was however cut in some way and the connections with them gradually faded away. For the rest of the Goths Arianism replaced their old cult as a means of division from the Mediterranean folk.

## Conclusions about the possible Gothic origin

The interpretation of the sources does not result in any kind of unity concerning the settlements of the Goths in the Vistula-area. It is evident that they have lived close to the Vandals of which they for a time were depending. If they arrived by sea it is quite possible that they may have lived both along the lower Vistula and up at the river bend. In the case it deals with several immigration-waves a spread habitation is also natural. Considering the demonstration by Oxenstiernas, Schindler and other of flat-ground-graves with pottery of West-Swedish type and weaponless burials of men at the lower Vistula, and the statements of the Polish archaeology about grave-fields of Scandinavian type with standing stones and stone-settings along both banks of the lower Vistula, and the indicated similarities with Gotland before the birth of Christ in Pommerania, Mecklenburg and the Vistula-area I find this area the most probable. The Masowian group, which according to Hachmann presupposes an immigration before 100 BC, therefore not necessarily must be outruled. I namely do not consider it nessecary with a great gathered habitation, but Gothic tribes/peoples may have lived in different locations. Tacitus talks about the “strong kings” of the Goths. If there at the migration southwards existed a þiuðans leading them, or if it dealt with smaller groups/tribes commanded by a petty-king/kuningaz/reiks is a matter of dispute. What however stands rather clearly out is, that a Gothic sacral-king at this time not should have been remarkably strong unless outer threat or a migration was at hand. The power, then, normally should have rested with the tribal kings/reiks. Of we instead already have Odinic kings they could indeed have been strong. Also Tacitus seemingly sees them at the lower Vistula, since he tells they lived as neighbours with the Aestii, and simultaneously he points out the strong position of women with the Germanics. We know that this as well fits quite good with the Aestii, and that the Gepidic burial habits according to Okulicz are characterised by the same habits in the Elbląg-area. Concerning the Masowian group Hachmann demonstrates that this archaeological culture has been overlayed and extended, but he finds connections closest to the Stone-cist and Beaker-cultures and to Latène. If you presuppose that the Gothic weaponless grave-culture in the older cremation-grave-material might be hard to differ out, and you at the same time consider the opinion of Peter Heather, that the whole Wielbark-culture gives the impression of a cultic league, this all could simply mean that the Gothic habitations at this stage are hard to confirm archaeologically, and hence also Hachmanns overlaying might be Gothic. Hachmann indeed has been forced to use the same method he criticises

with Oxenstierna and presume new jewellery et c, i.e. a new fashion. It is also natural that renewals are adapted. In this case the Goths should have extended their territory gradually concerning land, but religiously the area seems, as remarked, considerably uniform.

Hachmann has questioned the information by Ptolemaios about ΓΟΥΤΟΙ, which I have rejected. There were Gutar on Gotland and Gautar in Scandinavia. The Goths on the Continental main-land were known before the book of Strabo at the beginning of our time-reckoning. This means that the Goths at least partly must have arrived considerably earlier if you count with an immigration.

The reliability of the information by Jordanes/Cassiodorus/Ablabius about the island of Scandza I consider to be confirmed what the geographical information concerns, and hence Gotland is excluded. I also mean that I have given good indicies that Jordanes thruthfully conveys the information of Ablabius about the emigration from the island of Scandza, and also that Ablabius seems to be a rather beleivable source if he, as probable, is the closest co-worker of emperor Constantin the Great, and in practice ruler of the western half of the Roman empire. Formally he ended as praetorian prefect over Italy, like Cassiodorus himself later, but his power was much greater. Cassiodorus should have had access to the papers of Ablabius in the imperial archive in Rome.

Already in Tacitus the Gautar possibly could have been included in “the tribes of the Suiones” if you consider the information of their strong kings and the rigoruos control of their weapons. It accordingly is quite possible that the name “Suiones” meant all those living within the territory where the fertility/solar-cult had dominated during the Bronze Age. This hence could, as suggested above, originally also have included the Suebes.

Almgren has suggested an emigration from Gotland around 300-150 BC. Almgren and Nerman can both consider an emigration from Östergötland primarily around the beginning of our time-reckoning and Oxenstierna at the same time, but from Västergötland. Okulicz sees the tribe of the Gepids as a consequence of immigration from a greater area around the southern Baltic and the Kattegat-area, and all Scandinavia is included. Hachmann claims ther was not a sufficient population-base in Scandinavia, and that it is possibl to confirm an inner colonisation taking care of the birth-surplus. I have on this point argued against Hachmann among else through pointing out, that the developement towards one-family-farms in connection with the climatic deterioration also means that fewer humans can live of the harwests of a certain cultivation-areal than was possible before. Oxenstierna remarks on the great find-poorness in specially Västergötland around the time of the beginning of our time-reckoning, and of a great number of terminated grave-fields. Moberg earlier also has noticed the

find-poorness at this time. Oxenstierna means that overpoulation is the cause of the emigration from Västergötland. He also indicates that a number of peoples who can be connected with the Kattegat-area at this time move southwards down to the Continent. He mentions the Cimbri, the Rugii, the Vandals and the Burgundians, and as a more disputed example, also the Langobards.

As has been indicated above Oxenstierna, Schindler and other see similarities between the low-quality Scandinavian pottery and the pottery appearing in the Vistula-delta around BC. Bohnsack finds a similarity in burial-habits between the Vistula-area and Väster- and Östergötland. From this I have concluded that a possible emigration archaeologically perhaps could be indicated in three steps, wher the first wave comes from Gotland and East-Sweden according to Almgren, the second from Scandinavia, specially the Kattegat area and West-Sweden, and the third wave in connection with the formation of the Gepids from all over the Baltic- and Kattegat-area. The first wave then could have established the language since Gutic is clearly the language/dialect being closest to Gothic of the Scandinavian languages. I have also stressed the thesis of Gutenbrunner about extended trade-stations as a probable incentive to the emigration. The by Inger E. Johansson made examination in Östergötland and Småland suggests still clearer the possibility of an emigration from this area, and the connection between the title of kindins and the kind-organisation in these very landscapes is remarkable. Through the existence of wild extensively spread Klibblim and Vejde in just this area and elsewhere, except of spread via cultivation, also along the coast in Balticum and a confined area on the east-coast of Skåne and also Hungary and the Gothic area around the Black Sea, it is possible to see possible regular connections between these areas, and that is reinforced through the renewal of both agriculture and building-technique in the very same area.

I however claim, that what primarily connects the Goths is not in the first hand the language, even if it is important, nor the geographical origin but the common religious ancestry. The Goths are those who worship the god Gaut. They are 'the created', 'the outpoured', 'the humans'. Biologically, genetically they are polyethnic which is confirmed among else by the scull-bone examinations of Kmiecinski. Religiously I mean that the cult of Gaut emanates from southern Scandinavia where we have the people of Gaut and the river of Gaut in the central parts and also the Ýtas on Jutland, by Alfred the Great called Gotland in the 9<sup>th</sup> c AD.

I consider myself to have confirmed that Jordanes truthfully conveys the information of Ablabius about the tradition of the Gothic emigration from Scandza. In connection with the discussion about the strength of the old Gothic kingship between Hachmann, Wagner, Wenskus and Schmidt I have claimed that the sacral-kings only had a real power during migrations or in the case of outer attack



against the Goths. Else the power rests with the tribal chiefs. It should be noted, that every time it is mentioned that the Goths have strong kings they face an outer threat or are actually migrating. When the transition to the cult of Óðinn/Wodan took place is supposed to be as latest under the hypothetical Filimer, but interestingly enough Ottar Grønvik has suggested that Berig could mean 'the Bear-like' and so in fact be a circumscrip of Gaut or Óðinn-Gaut. The change accordingly can have taken place earlier. The developement leads to the Odinistic Gefolgschaft-kingdom which is fully developed at the Black Sea. In Gutþiudā the kindins take over the function of the former sacral-king.

A connection between Greutungi in Scandinavia and the name-material in the Vistula-area is concluded by Svennung and Wenskus, but is opposed by Wagner. Regardless of Wagner's objections it is however not possible to ignore the similarity. Also in other ways Svennung contributes with useful information about the peoples/tribes in Scandinavia in the time of Jordanes, but it must be remarked that the names of type Gauti-Gothae and Ostrogothae not are possible to use as an evidence of a Gothic origin in Scandinavia, since they refer to the Gautar of Jordanes time. It shows however that the people on the Continent still regarded the Gautar as Goths.

A discussion about the meaning of the name Goths and the connection between Goths, Gautar, Gutar and Ýtar/Jutar (Jutes) gives the result that these all have exactly the same meaning and, at least what concerns the three first mentioned, that they go back to a common origin.

Linguistic I have been able to understand that a majority support a Gothic origin from Scandinavia, but the Goths are supposed to have emigrated during Proto-Germanic time, before at least the 2<sup>nd</sup> c.BC, when the 1<sup>st</sup> sound-shift had come to Scandinavia. This fits with my proposed first emigration-wave around 350-300 BC, but if Ottar Grønvik is correct about the sound-shift as being earlier it is maybe necessary to go back still about a 100 years. On the other hand it takes time also for a sound-shift to penetrate everywhere. With these prepositions the emigration also need not be confined only to Gotland, since the find-poorness on the Swedish main-land also occurs in the referred period. Ernst Schwarz has formed a school when he claims a between-stage with Goto-Nordic which should have been common for the peoples around the southern Baltic Sea including Scandinavia and also the Kattegat-area. From this then Nordic and Northgermanic should have been developed. I consider Schwarz to convincingly have demonstrated how the linguistic renewals have come to the North, and how Gothic has developed by itself. I find it of less importance what names are given to the different language-areas as far as you can understand how the languages affect each other in practice. The geographical position of a language-area is in this connection important. I have concluded that the most renewals come in the

direction south to north, and that Old Nordic not is fully developed until during the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> cc. AD I consequently mean that from the 2<sup>nd</sup> c BC and to this time you can not exclude the possibility of a Proto-Nordic or Goto-Nordic language with in time is being divided into dialects. The language which appears on the older runic inscriptions might according to Makaev be a common runic coiné, and hence it can in my opinion not be used as decisive evidence for the similarity with a Nordic spoken language, and still less as a proof for North-Westgermanic.

Scardigli claims a Gothic inferiority-complex which leads me to consider whether there is a difference between the written and spoken language in Gothic, and what possible consequences that could get.

Herman Reichert proves convincingly how the inscription of the Pietroassaring leads back to the Nordic sacral-kingdom. To this comes the by myself undertaken examination of the Nordic and European Ring-names, which clearly indicates that these are of a Scandinavian origin, and that they later have spread on the Continent primarily within the by the Goths dominated area but also within the Burgundian and Jutish influential-areas. I accordingly claim that a Gothic origin from Scandinavia and the southern Baltic Sea-area without to take position in the question whether they spoke Proto-germanic or Goto-Nordic. They must in any case have made the first emigration before Nordic was affected by the 1<sup>st</sup> sound-shift. For the Crimean Gothic I see a more polyethnical composition with both Gothic, Northgermanic and Westgermanic components. I suggest there is included among the Crimean Goths a tribe of Ingvaeonic origin, probably an Anglian. This should in my opinion partly explain why there is a political and religious difference between the Crimean Goths and the other Goths.

After this examination I still claim that the Goths had a common ethnicity resting on the god Gaut, who had created all these peoples—the Goths were shortly ‘the humans’, ‘the outpoured’. Also after they had become Christian it was the cult—Arianism—keeping them together and protecting the ethnicity towards the Mediterranean folks. When the Crimean Goths instead took the common Christian faith it also meant a gradual decrease of the contacts with the other Goths and a greater amount of independent politics but also a more rapid assimilation in the local population, even if the language remained quite long. When the Visigoths in Spain accepted the Roman-Catholic faith, the decline and fall of the realm began since they then finally lost their ethnicity.



## CONCLUSIONS OF THE EXAMINATION

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In this examination I have, from the above presented hypothesis, tried to make probable, that what has united the Goths and has given them an ethnicity basically has been their religion. To be able to demonstrate this I have been forced to take position towards opposing opinions of the Germanic religion during the Iron Age, and thereafter tried to reconstruct the early, not known cult of the presumed god Gaut and his place in the divine pantheon. Later I have treated the cult of the united god Óðinn-Gaut. During this process I have felt myself obliged to try to follow the religious development all the way from the Stone Age, and hence I have drawn conclusions as far as possible from archaeological material beside works of history of religion and sagahistory. According to the mentioned hypothesis the cult of Gaut was initiated, or at least actualised, during the later part of the Nordic Bronze Age then, after the climatic deterioration, a need was developed with the local chieftains for a better control of warriors for guarding the pastures. Cattlebreeding grew more and more important for the food-production with the increasing use of clay-soils not being possible to cultivate. The question was also whether Gaut was a totally foreign war-god or if he could have been included in the old popular fertility-cult, which, according to the same hypothesis, was the one that produced the older general name to the people in these areas, Svíþjóð- The Sun-people, and where the highest religious leader was Svíakonungr—The Sun-king. Another basic question was whether the cult of Óðinn allways was extant in the North or if it was imported here first during the Iron Age.

After the religionhistorical survey I have been able to conclude that the facts uniformly seem to support the opinion, that the continental variant of the cult of Óðinn with a sacrificial cycle of eight years is a newcomer in the North, but, however, that certain matters point towards the possibility that Gaut, who most likely should be regarded as a shamanistic fertility-god, could be a local variant of Óðinn but he does not seem to have had the leading position as the one Óðinn later grasped. Maybe he primarily was understood as a creator-god, the divine father of peoples, and only later has he been uplifted by the sacral rulers motivating also their secular power through a genealogical descent from him. This is in strong contrast to the Svíakonungr claiming he was the re-born Ingr/Frejr and, as I have demonstrated, in the same time Úllr/Balðr. He accordingly was the sun

reborn and hence divine. A certain possibility exists that Gaut might have been imported during the later part of the Bronze Age. Through the restructuring of agriculture towards a greater share of cattle-breeding, caused by the necessity to cultivate and in other ways use less suitable soil, the prepositions for the old solar cult, which depended of chiefdoms where many people worked during a central command for food and shelter, were seriously weakened. Instead single-farms or lesser villages founded on family-cultivation have expanded.

This all means that the ruling group have had to accept other methods than earlier to establish loyalty. The old method was, as remarked, to guarantee food and shelter for the workers. Since the farmers themselves from now on could produce their own food-stuff the remaining possibility for the chieftains was to claim kinship with and representativity of the local god. Through oaths and initiations they secured the supply of warriors led by the chieftain representing the god. The farmers they promised to take care of the demons in the fields to protect the harvest and hence secret cultic men's leagues are formed for this aim. This is also the structure we know in connection with the cult of Óðinn-Gaut. Because of this I find it quite probable that these gods, being so similar, basically ought to be the same god. Still I must stress that the arrival of the later cult of Óðinn-Gaut seems to result in a refurnishing of the old divine pantheon. Nor was a single supreme king/ruler recognised but instead there is a development towards a greater number of petty-kingdoms of a more independent character. Those tribes venerating Gaut for a long time seem to have recognised a more traditional sacral king, even if the local petty-kings grew in force and power in time through their personification of the god within the warrior-cult. For the Vistula-Goths the old structure survives until the settlement in the Pontian Basin. The Kindins-institute in Gutþiuða is the last stage in the declining Gothic sacral kingship. As already remarked the cult of both Gaut and Óðinn is not a popular cult but the people all the time primarily adore the traditional fertility-gods even if their names are changed in time.

The old ruler-god presumably was Heimdallr who seems to have included the functions of both the high-gods, meaning that both Óðinn-Gaut and Týr reach power only later. Balðr replaces Úllr and the name of Frejr replaces the name of Ingr. The cult of Balðr is among else practised, according to *Skírnismál*, via the cult of Frejr/Freja, and I claim that earlier the answering cult of Úllr has taken place via the cult of Ingr. This means that the cult of Balðr, presumably together with the names Frejr and Freja, arrive together with the continental cult of Óðinn and with a sacrificial cycle of eight years leading also to a change/combination of name for the part of Gaut to Óðinn-Gaut and consequently a cessation of the old meton-cycle of nineteen years.

As suggested above Gaut possibly can have held a position that partly has competed with the one of Heimdallr from the middle of the Bronze Age. The expansion of the continental cult of Óðinn is also demonstrated by bracteates from this period, which has been treated above. The connection between these cultic variants is also indicated by the ancient Ring-names who I have suggested might have a connection with the cult of Gaut and who also later are tied to the cult of Óðinn-Gaut.

Through the above I also consider myself having succeeded in making probable that the suggested conflict between Svíar and Gautar (Sviones and Gauts) originally falls back upon two cultic leagues, where on each side ruling families, having based their keep of power either on the claim to be re-born gods or to be descendants of a god, have made battle with each other. This then could explain that Svíar and Gautar are supposed to have fought in the most different places geographically but still always having been close to their homes.

It is a fact that all peoples whose kings claim ancestry from Gaut/Geat either provingly come from the surroundings of Scandinavia or claim to do so. This reinforces still more that in the bottom may lie a gradually withering cultic league. Of this follows as well that both Svíar and Goths, Gautar, Gutar and Ýtar are teophoric names, and the last mentioned group include those peoples who claim a common ancestry from Gaut—they are ‘the humans’, ‘the outpoured’. This cultic league can be supposed to have originated within the boundaries of the older solar-cultic league whose tribes/peoples were called Svíþjóf—the Sun People—and embraced all of Scandinavia including Denmark and present Northern Germany. According to my opinion also the original Suebes may originally have been part of this league. Those tribes/peoples within this old area claiming ancestry from Gaut and because of this have a close kinship and cultural, but not necessarily political, close relations around the birth of Christ call themselves or are referred to in classical sources as, depending on the local language, Gautar, Jutar, Gutar, Gutones/Gudones/Gutoi—later Goths. When the cult of Gaut starts accepting a more politically significant form via a sacral king, and in time stronger and stronger local chieftains personifying the god in the warrior-cult, and thereafter is mixed with the more modern cult of Óðinn this all result in the transferring of the old title Svíakonungr upon a ruler supporting his claim for power with an ancestry from Óðinn-Gaut. This means that the old fertility-cultic sacral kingdom ceases in present Sweden. There is however claimed that the old Yngling/Ingling-family establish a realm in Solør in Norway. The presumed kings of the Mälär Valley area later put Óðinn as their ancestral father in his capacity as grandfather of Yngve-Frejr in a try to keep the old tradition from the Inglings and hence the continued control of the local population. It should as well be remarked that the name of Uppsala not necessarily must be

tied to a king living in Uppsala in present Uppland, but there exist around 200 Uppsala within the power-area of the old Ynglings/Inglings in North- and North-West- Europe. There are many things suggesting that the name in several places indicate a cultic place tied to Ingr/Frejr and Ingun/Freja. Since the king, also a local petty-king, simultaneously also was Pontifex Maximus/höggoðe in the cult of Frejr it is only natural if the king sits at Uppsala. The position of women within the cult seemingly has been better preserved in the fertility-cultic area around lake Mälaren suggesting that this area should have been important for the late solar- and fertility-cult. The name Sviþioþ is that well established outside the North that it survives the religious change, which can be seen in Tacitus talking of the Suionic tribes. A lot of these at this time however should have been Gauts. The last pocket of resistance to the expanding cult of Óðinn-Gaut I have indicated in the Mälar Valley area and the later administrative areas Tiundaland, Attundaland och Fjärdrundaland. Not until the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> c. the continental variant of the cult of Óðinn ought to have arrived here when considering the changed sacrificial cycle from nineteen to eight years which follows from the Law of Aun c:a 476 AD. I have supposed that the old divider between those who adored Gaut within the frame of Sviþioþ and the Up-Sviár has been the forest Tiveden.

The question whether the Goths being mentioned at the Vistula, and whose wanderings to the Black Sea and within the Roman realm are well recorded, are emigrants from Scandinavia, which Jordanes/Cassiodorus/Ablabius claims, or if they have a more local Polish origin we might probably never with certainty be able to conclude. I have however examined available materiel and during this process discovered several factors indeed talking for a Scandinavian origin. Scandinavia should be defined as including the Kattegat-area with Denmark/Jutland. I consider myself to have shown also that Ablabius very well might be a trustworthy source concerning the Scandza-tradition.

The great emigration proposed by Jordanes/Ablabius around the beginning of our time-reckoning is hard to indicate archaeologically in Scandinavia. There are however clear evidence of termination of grave-fields in the Gautic landscapes/counties and a general lack of finds from that period all over the country. There are also extensive finds of "Gothic" gold and specially so in Västergötland. In Småland and Östergötland also terminated settlements and grave-fields have been indicated as well as signs of possible regular contacts with Gothic areas—among else through the spread of continental wild weeds just in these landscapes. The name of kindins has been tied to the kind-organisation in the Gautic landscapes. Through the Ring-name examination, demonstrating the distribution of Ring-names from the North and downwards to the Continent, it also appears probable that the Goths should have a Nordic background. As well the Burgundians, through the concentration of

Ring-names on Bornholm, as the Teutons, through the possible emigration-area in Tjust, might have a Gothic connection. The possible emigration is maybe in total numbers not very imposing, but still it should suffice—even for military operations in modest scale when so needed. The objections of Hachmann I have to a certain point refuted above. If however you consider that Plinius refers to Pytheas having known of the Goths on the Continent in the 300's BC (even if Hachmann means this is not in Plinius which other still mean), and also consider there are signs of emigration from Gotland at this very time and that the lack of finds on the mainland also now is great, you are led to the conclusion that there might have been three different Gothic emigrations. The first one in the 300's BC from Gotland and maybe Eastsweden with the intention that, along with Gutenbrunner, establish advanced trading posts to control the amber-trade. The second in a more limited extent from all over the Kattegat-area and not least with people from Västergötland and the West coast as leading groups and also, what concerns the East coast from Östergötland, Sörmland/Södermanland and Tjust. The archaeological confirmations in the Vistula-area do not contradict this possibility. The third wave also comes from all over the Scandinavian area and also from more local origin and results finally in the tribe of the Gepids, which Jerzy Okulicz has succeeded in making probable. In the two last examples at least you must presuppose that an earlier population might have been gothized resulting in the spread of the cultic league. Peter Heather indeed regards all the Wielbark-culture as a cultic league

The first emigration then should have established the language of the Vistula Goths which with this has been shielded from the later linguistic development in the North. For this theory talks also the circumstance that the Gutnic dialect/language, which also has been relatively isolated, still today is the Nordic language being closest to Bible-Gothic. A great number, maybe a majority, of linguists consider the Gothic to originate in the North but that the Gothic emigration should have occurred when they still spoke Proto-Germanic or alternatively, Schwarz and other, that there existed a Goto-Nordic language as an intermediate language. During the 300-200's BC, Grønvik claims even the 400's, the first Germanic sound-shift occurs and hence also dialectal differences start developing. For the Goths it is not confirmed until by Ptolemaios around 150 AD through the mentioning of Γουττοι in Scandinavia. Regardless of which alternative is preferred it must be presupposed that a possible emigration must happen during this period to explain the isolation of the Gothic language. Müllenhoff's by Kmicinski supported thesis about a Gothic emigration from the Continent to Scandinavia does not find any support except of by Scherer.

The by Jordanes mentioned emigration under the lead of Berig might have been referring to the second wave, having joined/overlayed an already existing culture to which they also have brought new impulses indicated by the archaeological



materiel. Up to then there has been a mix of burial customs including both weapon-graves and weaponless graves for men which might indicate that the first Goths had not overlaid other cultures but rather been living in coexistence with these as neighbours. Around the beginning of our time-reckoning however the weapon-graves for men disappear totally like in the former tradition in western Sweden. Simultaneously also a new pottery appears in the gravegoods similar to the pottery in the Gautic landscapes pointing towards a clear Gothic dominance in the area. Weaponless men's graves are above connected with warriors initiated in secret men's leagues or alternatively to the reluctance to waste good and expensive weapons that might be used in battle. The remark of Tacitus that the royal power with the tribes of the Suioni had all weapons locked up because the fighters only were allowed to use them when need was is interesting in this connection. It might possibly have been Gautar/Gauts that he was referring to.

When the first emigration wave arrived one was in the beginning of the process leading towards a more developed cult of Gaut. Maybe he then was only the creator-god of the people and a real developed organisation of warriors was still not at hand. At the second occasion however the organisation seems to have been more developed and an organised kingship is hinted by Jordanes, which kingship might have had a rigorous control of weapons. Because of this it is not possible to decide directly whether weaponless graves for men should be connected with a religious initiation in secret men's leagues or just to a strong royal power which the Goths according to the sources definitely had. Maybe both explanations could be applicable. Politically it seems anyhow as if the by Jordanes mentioned immigration should have been decisive but linguistically there should have been predecessors unless, as claimed by certain linguists, the division into dialects not had been totally settled around year 0. Gothic could have been in use up to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC in Scandinavia, alternatively with a Goto-Nordic transmission-phase according to Schwarz who claims just this timepoint. The emigration hence might have been undertaken at the same time a renewal of the language starts for the people remaining at home. In this case the language should not have been strongly changed at that time. Both the possible emigrations lie within the right epoch of time if we see to the sound-shift up North and assume it has come from the South. Wessén suggests that the Gautic dialects (Götamålen) are those languages/dialects in modern time on the Swedish mainland being closest to Gothic. Evidently the Goths during this period still have been partly dependent of the Vandili but they should have been considerably stronger after this. I must stress that we need not talk of great number of humans in these emigrations since it primarily deals with joining earlier extant cultures. It all builds on export of cultic community and strong leaders with not too sizeable groups of followers. Archaeology has shown that the main-body of the Vistula Goths are of local con-

tinental origin and what came with the Goths was mostly the uniting cult making the common culture expand. The primary is the mutual heritage of the people from the creator-god Gaut and not the biological or linguistic ethnicity. The immigrating Gothic groups brought in my opinion just this cult. You must however in the second wave calculate with a military well organised enterprise even if not necessarily very numerous. The story of Berig points towards an early type of *Gefolgschaft* where the king still keeps some of the old sacral functions, and he might establish his power with aid of local groups and ambitious chieftains. Amber should be regarded an important factor in connection with trading possibilities. Pritsak's ideas of charismatic clans could have a certain relevance in this connection. Also Anders Kaliff's suggestions of early contacts between chieftains in the Baltic area should be considered.

The discussion about the strength of the kingship during the emigration has resulted in my agreement with Wenskus that they emigrated under the lead of a sacral king. He claims that the royal power was reinforced during this time which is true during the very migration, but when they had settled down the power was transferred more and more to the tribal chieftains-reiks. This means that the power of the sacral king was weakened. Latest under the by Jordanes mentioned Filimer Óðinn/Mercurius was accepted as the main-god. This means still less power for the sacral king, the þiudans. According to Wenskus already the move to the Black Sea was led by different tribal kuningaz-reiks and there was no held together migration under mighty þiudans. There is much indicating this might be quite correct, but still it evidently existed a þiudans up to the possibly mythic Filimer and maybe up to Ostrogotha—a sacral king trying to wage his power. This power was twifold. He was the guardian of the religious unity towards the people. In this capacity he was also the highest priest and his family descended from a god. He was a semi-god, a hero. All this could be gathered within the fertility-magical aspect. He was also responsible for leading defensive wars and wars fought during ongoing migrations. When they had settled down permanently he had not, even during wartime, the right to give commands outside the own domain and nor was he allowed to leave the domain of his own people.

This is exactly illustrated by the position the kinsman—kindins—had in the Vesigothic Dacia. Also there reiks had an more and more independent position with direct controll of their own warriors. These circumstances concerning the power of the reiks can, except of earlier stated references, also be compared with the continental Ring-names being of the same character as in the North and presumably connected with warrior cult. The power of the reiks later resulted in the Gothic kingdoms in Italy, France and Spain.

It has been regarded as pure chance that the Goths took the arianic confession. In that way you may not explain why they stayed with it so decisively in spite of

the defiance of later church-officials. It does also not explain the successful Gothic mission among all other continental Germanic tribes with exception of the Franks. Maybe it is easier to understand if you regard the cultic background of the Germanic warriors. Normally they were initiated to Óðinn-gaut and was thereby symbolically hanged and stabbed by a spear—they were indeed symbolically killed and reincarnated as 'living dead'. Their kings were initiated in similar way and they also claimed to be descendants of Gaut, later Óðinn-Gaut.

In the arianism is Jesus God's son but also human, he is killed(sacrificed) and reincarnated (as a human). Such a process might for the Germans be quite natural and understandable. Of course the Arian clergymen did not regard Christ as a mere human but the common folk would hardly care of such finesses. The son could of course not be the same person as the father, and so even the Holy Ghost was added as the same person by the Nicenians. The Arian opposal to this statement might well be understood by the Germanics as a rejection of a polytheistic religion with three gods. They had been told there was only one god. Still an important explanation is that it replaced the old common cult with a new which differed from the neighbouring Mediterranean folks and in that way served as the new ethnicity, which stopped the Goths to merge with the new cultures. Not until they accepted the Catholic faith did the ethnicity finally begin to dissolve.

# DIE GOTENQUELLE—ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

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Diese Arbeit geht von der Hypothese aus, daß die Goten kein Volk, sondern eine Anzahl verschiedener Stämme und Völker waren, die durch einen gemeinsamen Kult zusammengehalten wurden. Das heißt, daß nicht nur die Weichselgoten, sondern auch andere Völker sich wie Goten betrachten konnten. Die Religion sei als den ethnischen Leim der Goten zu betrachten. Um diese Hypothese zu unterbauen, werden zuerst entgegenstehende Forschungsmeinungen von der germanischen Religion in der Eisenzeit untersucht. Danach wird versucht, den Kult von dem hypotetischen Gott Gaut zu rekonstruieren und zu entscheiden, welchen Platz Gaut im göttlichen Pantheon hätte innehaben können. Später wird gleiches für den zusammengelegten Kult von Óðinn-gaut behandelt. Im Rahmen dieses Prozesses war es nötig, die religiöse Entwicklung von der Steinzeit her zu verfolgen. Dabei werden Schlüsse aus dem archäologischen Material sowie aus religionswissenschaftlichen und sagahistorischen Arbeiten gezogen.

Infolge der Hypothese wird der Kult von Gaut am Ende der nordischen Bronzezeit aktuell, als nach der Verschlechterung des Klimas die lokalen Häuptlinge es für notwendig fanden, die Krieger direkter zu kontrollieren, um das Weidegebiet für das Vieh zu bewachen. Viehzucht ist immer wichtiger geworden, je weniger Ertrag der Ackerboden gab. Es war nicht möglich, die Lehm Böden zu kultivieren, die für Viehzucht ausgezeichnet waren. Wegen des Klimas war es auch notwendig, das Vieh im Winter im Stall zu halten, weshalb der Hof in der Nähe vom Weidegebiet liegen mußte. Wegen dem schlechten Ertrag war es nicht mehr möglich, große Höfe mit einer Menge von Leuten, die von einem Häuptling versorgt wurden, zu betreiben. Daher fing eine Entwicklung mit Kleinhöfen an, die von einzelnen Familien betrieben wurden, was wiederum bedeutete, daß die Häuptlinge weniger Macht bekamen. Es wäre in dieser Lage wichtig, eine neue Begründung für den Kriegsdienst zu erfinden, und was wäre besser als eine Personifikation des Gottes in dem lokalen Häuptling zu suchen. Der Ackerbau bot den Schutz der göttlichen Mächte, und einen solchen Schutz konnten die Häuptlinge in Form der geheimen Männerbünde er bieten, die sowohl als schamanistische Dämonenvertreiber wie auch als Kriegerbünde dienen konnten. Die Frage wurde auch gestellt, ob Gaut ein fremder Kriegsgott war oder ob er möglicherweise im Rahmen des Fruchtbarkeitskultes einzuordnen wäre. Dieser Kult wird in Zusammenhang mit dem Namen der Bevölkerung, die den Fruchtbarkeitskult im

hronzeitlichen skandinavischen Gebiet ausübte, gebracht: mit dem Namen Svíþjóð, gedeutet als 'das Sonnenvolk'. Der König, Svíakonungr, sei demzufolge als 'der Sonnenkönig' anzusprechen. Ein anderes Problem ist, ob, und wann, der Kult von Óðinn in Skandinavien eingedrungen ist oder ob er schon früher unter einem anderen Namen, z. B. dem des Gaut, bekannt war. Die religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung führt zu dem Schluß, daß der Kult von Óðinn, mindestens offiziell, ein Neuankömmling im Norden gewesen sein muß. Jedoch wird auch die Möglichkeit erwogen, in Gaut, der als ein schamanistischer Fruchtbarkeitsgott erscheint, eine lokale Variante von Óðinn zu sehen, wenn er auch nicht die offizielle Stellung als Gottkönig besaß und nur auf Südsandinavien mit Umgebung begrenzt war. Die Erklärung wird versucht, daß man ihn zuerst nur als Ahnherren und Schöpfergott des Volkes gesehen hat, und daß sakrale Häuptlinge erst später damit anfangen, ihre Macht durch genealogische Abstammung vom Gott zu begründen. Eine solche Begründung unterscheidet sich sehr von der des Svíakonungr, der den Anspruch erhob, die wiedergeborene Sonne Ingr/Frejr—zu sein. Nach Skírnismál war er der wiedergeborene Balðr und wahrscheinlich war er auch früher Úllr. Er war also im vollen Wortsinn die wiedergeborene Sonne.

Beim Betrachten des späteren Kultes von Óðinn wird festgestellt, daß dieser sehr ähnlich wie der hypothetische Kult von Gaut funktionierte—der Kult beförderte eine ähnliche Gesellschaftsstruktur. Deshalb ist es begründet, Gaut als ebenfalls eine Variante von Óðinn anzusehen. Die Goten scheinen lange einen Sakralkönig anerkannt zu haben, aber mit dem Kult von Óðinn fängt ein Prozeß an, wo einzelne Häuptlinge die Macht selbst übernehmen konnten. Wir bekommen eine Anzahl von Gefolgschaftskönigtümern, die in gewissen Fällen, mit dem Christentum, sich zu modernen Staaten entwickelten. Die Weichselgoten behielten wahrscheinlich ihre alte Sakralkönigsstruktur bis zur Ankunft am Schwarzen Meer, so daß die Kindins-institution in Gutþiuða, die dann untersucht wird, als die letzte Stufe in dem untergehenden gotischen Sakralkönigtum angesehen werden kann. Der Kult von Óðinn wie auch der von Gaut ist kein Volkskult, sondern ein Kult für Fürsten, Häuptlinge und Krieger. Es wird argumentiert, daß das Volk die ganze Zeit die alten Fruchtbarkeitsgötter verehrt hat. Der Sakralkönig ist in erster Linie mit dem Volkskult in Verbindung zu bringen. Genau diese Funktion hat der Geschlechtsmann—Kindins—im Gotenreich in Dacien ausgeübt.

In einem anderen Abschnitt wird die Götterfamilie, die aus der Ankunft des Óðinn-kultes heranwächst, funktional aufgeschlüsselt. Ablabius des Jordanes ist auch hoffentlich identifiziert als Prätorianprefekt in Rom unter Konstantin I.

Man kann feststellen, daß die Völker, deren Könige eine Abstammung von Gaut behaupten, nachweislich aus der skandinavischen Gegend kommen oder Anspruch darauf erheben. Dies wird als ein weiteres Indiz dafür genommen, daß

hier im Grunde ein zerfallender Kultverband vorliegt. Daraus wird der Schluß gezogen, daß die Bezeichnungen Svíar, ebenso wie Goten, Gautar, Gutar und Ýtar, teofore Namen sind. Die letztgenannte Gruppe umfaßt die Völker, die ihre Abstammung von Gaut behaupten—sie sind ‘die Menschen’, ‘die Ausgegossenen’. Der Ursprung dieses Kultverbandes ist im älteren Sonnenkultverband zu suchen, dessen Stämme gemeinsam Svíþjóð genannt werden. Auch die Sueben dürften darin einbegriffen sein. Die Stämme, die ihre Herkunft von Gaut behaupteten und darum ein enges Geschlechtergefühl und eine kulturelle, doch nicht notwendigerweise politische, Gemeinschaft um Ch. Geb. hatten, nennen sich oder werden in klassischen Quellen im lokalen Sprachgebrauch Gautar, Jutar, Gutar, Gutones/Gudones/Gutoi genannt. Als der Kult, zuerst von Gaut, eine politisch offenere Form durch einen Sakralkönig und später durch immer stärkere lokale Häuptlinge, die den Gott im Kriegerkult personifizieren, annimmt und dann mit dem offenen Kult von Óðinn verschmilzt, wird die alte Benennung ‘svíakonungr’ am spätesten um 500 n. Chr. von einem Herrscher, der seine Macht auf die Abstammung von Óðinn—gaut gründet, übernommen.

Die Könige die traditionell behauptet werden nördlich des Mälarsees behalten formell den alten Anspruch, mit Yngve-Frejr verwandt zu sein, aber jetzt in Form einer genealogischen Abstammung von Óðinn-gaut via Njorðr und Yngve-Frejr, also eine ganz odinistische Begründung. Die Tatsache, daß der König mit dem Namen Upsala verknüpft wird, muß doch nicht notwendigerweise auf einen bestimmten Platz Upsala hinweisen, denn es gibt in Skandinavien und England im Bereich der alten Ynglinger Könige etwa 200 Plätze dieses Namens. Diese sind in vielen Fällen an die Kultplätze des Frejr/Freja-Kultes anzuknüpfen. Der König, also auch ein Kleinkönig, würde der ‘goðe’ der lokalen Frejr/Freja-Kultes gewesen sein. Im Mälarseegebiet haben die Frauen anscheinend am besten ihre Stellung im Kult bewahrt. Daraus wird der Schluß gezogen, daß dieses Gebiet zumindest für den Fruchtbarkeitskult eine entscheidende Rolle spielte.

Die Frage, ob die Weichselgoten aus Skandinavien stammen, wie es Jordanes behauptet, läßt sich natürlich nie sicher entscheiden. Im zugänglichen Material werden einige Faktoren betont, die auf einen Ursprung in Skandinavien hinweisen. Skandinavien bedeutet in diesem Falle das ganze Gebiet inklusive Dänemark/Jütland mit Umgebung—also das ganze Ostsee- und Kattegat-Gebiet. Eine große Auswanderung nach Jordanes um Chr. Geb. ist in Skandinavien schwierig zu beweisen. Es gibt jedoch in Schweden deutliche Spuren in Form von abgebrochenen Gräberfeldern besonders in Västergötland, aber auch an anderen Stellen, und im ganzen Land eine auffallende Fundleere zwischen etwa 300 v. Ch. bis zum Chr. Geb. Es gibt auch in Västergötland eine ziemlich große Menge völkerwanderungs-zeitlichen Goldes, das in die Richtung

zu Kontakten mit den Goten hinweist. Hachmann hat Einwände gegen eine Auswanderung gebracht, die zum Teil zurückgewiesen werden, und wenn der auch die Angabe des Plinius von Pytheas zurückweise, der schon um 350 v. Chr. die Goten auf dem Kontinent kannte, ist es doch von anderen bestätigt. Um dies zu erklären, muß man beachten, daß es auf der Insel Gotland abgebrochene Gräberfelder und andere Indikationen einer Auswanderung etwa um 350-300 v. Chr. gibt, ebenso, wie oben gesagt, auf den schwedischen Festland, wo es eine Fundleere gibt. Diese Umstände führen zu dem möglichen Schluß, daß es drei verschiedene Auswanderungen gegeben haben könnte.

Die erste Auswanderung mit vielleicht gotländischer Dominanz wäre dann etwa auf 350 v. Chr. zu datieren. Die nordische Sprache, die dem Bibelgotischen am ähnlichsten ist, ist der gutnische Dialekt. Auf dem schwedischen Festland sind es nach Wessén die gautischen (Götalands) Mundarten. Nach Gutenbrunner können diese Stämme die Absicht gehabt haben, vorgeschobene Handelsstationen zu errichten, um mit Bernstein Handel zu treiben; in diesem Zusammenhang würde Pytheas von den Goten gehört haben. Die zweite Welle sollte dann um Chr. Geb. gekommen sein. Man muß voraussetzen, daß die ersten Einwanderer die alte Kultur im Weichselgebiet nicht überlagert haben, daher die nicht einheitliche Grabsitte—sie wohnten offenbar wie Nachbarn anderer Völker. Archäologisch sind da auch Übereinstimmungen mit Östergötland vorhanden. Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich in der zweiten Welle um ein militärisch organisiertes Unternehmen mit einem gemeinsamen Kult für das ganze Gebiet und mit einer Grabsitte, die man u. a. aus Västergötland und Westschweden herleiten kann. Frühere Nachbarvölker könnten damals gotiziert worden sein—zumindest was die kultische Zugehörigkeit betrifft. Peter Heather hat auch darauf hingewiesen, daß die Wielbarkkultur den Eindruck eines großen Kultverbandes gäbe. Die dritte Welle, vom ganzen Ostsee- und Kattegatraum kommend, kann man mit den Gepiden verbinden, wie es Jerzy Okulicz überzeugend getan hat.

Manche Sprachforscher meinen, daß die Goten aus Skandinavien stammen. Sie sind jedoch geteilt: entweder meinen sie, daß die Goten Skandinavien verlassen hätten, als sie noch urgermanisch redeten, oder sie meinen, diese hätten eine Übergangssprache im Ostseegebiet—Goto-Nordisch—gesprochen. Welche der beiden Meinungen der wahrscheinlichste ist, hat für die Hypothese dieser Arbeit wenig Bedeutung. Beiden gilt die Voraussetzung, daß die erste Lautverschiebung, die offenbar um 300-200 v. Chr. anfängt und zu dialektalem Unterschied führt, wohl die nordischen Dialekten, nicht aber die gotische Sprache berührte. Die Auswanderung wird also in diese Zeit zu datieren sein, entweder vom urgermanischem Standpunkt oder während des Prozesses durch die genannte Übergangssprache des Goto-Nordischen. Ernst Schwarz meint, daß

diese Sprache noch im 1. Jh. vor Chr. unverändert sein könnte. Durch die Namensform Γουτοί legt Ptolemaios erst um 150 n. Chr. Zeugnis davon ab, daß die Lautverschiebung in Skandinavien durchgedrungen ist. Sprachlich ist also nichts gegen eine Auswanderung einzuwenden, doch kann man auch nicht mit der Sprache eine Auswanderung beweisen. Müllenhoffs These einer gotischen Einwanderung in Skandinavien, von Kmicinski unterstützt, findet sonst nur noch bei Scherer eine Stütze.

Die kulturelle Überlagerung der Auswanderung, die Jordanes in die Zeit König Berigs verlegt und die mit der zweiten Welle identisch sei, wird durch archäologische Veränderungen bezeugt, die auf eine militärische und religiöse, doch nicht notwendigerweise totale kulturelle Überlagerung hinweist. U. a. verschwinden die Waffengräber vollständig—vgl. Tacitus über die 'suionische Stämme', wo die Könige alle Waffen kontrolliert haben, damit diese nur im kontrollierten Kampf verwendet werden. Als Alternative kann die Sitte der waffenlosen Bestattungen einen Zusammenhang mit den eingeschworenen Kriegern schamanistischer Männerbünde haben, denn diese Krieger waren schon sogenannte lebendige Tote. Sie werden in der Weihezeremonie symbolisch getötet und auferstehen dann wieder. Wenn ein solcher Krieger stirbt, nimmt ein anderer seinen Platz und übernimmt wahrscheinlich auch seine Waffen. Es ist nicht möglich, genau die Ursache von waffenlosen Gräbern für Männer zu erklären—vielleicht sind beide Erklärungen richtig. Die Frauen, die wahrscheinlich nur einmal sterben konnten, haben doch manchmal reiche Beigaben, z. B. auch Messer, mitbekommen.

Ich muss bestimmt unterstrichen daß jene Auswanderung nicht groß war und die meisten Völker die Kontinentalgoten genannt waren sind biologisch aus lokal Entstammung. Was die Einwanderer vortrittsweise mitbrachte war der kultische Idee, daß das Volk vom Gott Gaut erschaffen seien. Sie könnten ähnlich die Ideen Pritsaks eine carismatic clan gebildet haben.

Mit Wenskus wird behauptet, daß die von Jordanes beschriebene Auswanderung unter einem Sakralkönig erfolgt ist, gegen Wenskus jedoch, daß im Laufe dieses Vorganges eine Stärkung der Macht des Königs eingetreten hätte. Während der aktuellen Wanderung ist ein Sakralkönig selbstverständlich stark, auch wenn es darum geht, sein Volk in einem Verteidigungs- oder Freiheitskrieg zu führen. Anders wäre es, wenn das Volk in seinen eigenen Grenzen wohnte und Frieden herrschte. Dann läge die eigentliche Macht bei den Häuptlingen. Der Sakralkönig könnte auch in einem Verteidigungskrieg unter diesen Umständen keine Befehle außerhalb der Grenzen des Wohngebietes geben. Mit dem Übergang zum Kult von Óðinn wird er, wie schon bemerkt, schwächer, bis seine Funktion ganz verschwindet. Für die Goten hat dieser Prozeß schließlich zu den



arianischen Königümern in Italien und Frankreich/Spanien geführt, die alle von einem Reiks, nicht von einem piudans, beherrscht wurden.

Man hat es als reinen Zufall betrachtet, daß die Goten die arianische Lehre annahmen. So würde jedoch nicht erklärt werden, warum die Goten so fest an diese Lehre festhielten, trotz des Widerstandes späterer kirchlicher Behörden; es erklärt auch nicht die erfolgreiche gotische Mission unter den Germanen. Die Sache wird vielleicht begreiflicher, wenn man ihren kultischen Hintergrund beachtet. Die germanischen Krieger, normalerweise als Óðinn geweiht, wurden in der Weihezeremonie symbolisch gehängt und mit einem Speer durchbohrt— sie waren also eigentlich getötet worden und sind dann wieder auferstanden als 'lebendige Tote'. Ihre Könige sind auf ähnlicher Weise geweiht worden, und sie erheben auch den Anspruch, Söhne und spätere Nachkommen des Gottes Gaut (Odinn-gaut) zu sein. Im Arianismus ist Jesus Gottessohn und Mensch, er wurde getötet (geopfert) und ist damit wieder auferstanden {wie ein Mensch}. Ein solcher Prozeß dürfte für die Germanen natürlich und begreiflich gewesen sein. Wenn auch die arianischen Prälaten dafür hielten, daß der wiedergeborene Christus nicht ein normaler Mensch war, so wurde dies wahrscheinlich unter den Germanen anders gedeutet. Da der Sohn nicht dieselbe Person wie der Vater sein konnte, wozu nach Nicea der Heilige Geist als göttliche Person hinzukam, kann das Bekenntnis der Germanen zum Arianismus als Ausdruck der Ablehnung einer Dreigötterlehre verstanden werden. Noch ein Grund Arianismus zu behalten ist es, sich von den anderen Völkern im Mittelmeergebiet zu unterscheiden, und damit funktioniert der Kult, wie früher, als einen ethnischen Leim. Es heißt, daß erst mit dem Übergang zum Katholizismus die Goten endgültig ihre ethnische Gemeinschaft verloren haben.

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