Personal Names on Swedish Viking Age Runestones

By

Tristan Matthias Mueller-Vollmer

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
(Scandinavian Studies)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN–MADISON

2021

Date of final oral examination: 04/28/21

The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:
  Kirsten Wolf, Professor, Scandinavian Studies
  Thomas A. Dubois, Professor, Scandinavian Studies
  Joseph C. Salmons, Professor, Language Sciences
  Henrik Williams, Professor, University of Uppsala

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation owes a great deal of thanks to first and foremost my advisors, Kirsten Wolf and

Henrik Williams, who were always more than generous with their time, expertise, and support,

and to the two other outstanding members of my committee, Thomas A. DuBois and Joseph C.

Salmons. I am also deeply grateful for the generous Fellowship from the American Scandinavian

Foundation, which allowed me to spend the 2019–2020 academic year researching and writing at

Uppsala University. Special thanks go to Björn Melander of Uppsala University, who aided in

some statistical calculations, Douglas Hemken at the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Social

Science Computing Cooperative, who assisted with complicated statistical calculations, and

David Jonsson, the assistant librarian in Skara, Sweden, who obtained a somewhat obscure

article for me I had been unable to access through interlibrary loan. Another hearty thanks must

go to Robert B. Howell and Jordan Zweck for their informative and enjoyable lectures on the old

Germanic languages, Todd Michelson-Ambelang, the Librarian for Scandinavian Humanities at

UW–Madison, for his kindness and advice, as well as to Christopher Stevens and Timothy

Tangherlini, who guided my MA studies at UCLA. Finally, I am especially indebted to Jackson

Crawford, whose Old Norse language and mythology courses provided me with the inspiration

which led me to the Scandinavian Studies program at UW–Madison, and ultimately, to writing

this dissertation.

Table of Contents

Chapter 2: Alliteration

Chapter 6: Summary and Conclusion

Bibliography

Appendices

List of Tables

Abstract

This dissertation examines the naming methods on Late Viking Age Swedish runestones. It is well-known in the runological world that the runestones of the Late Viking Age preserve a plethora of personal names. At the same time, name scholars have long observed that the older Germanic naming strategies of alliteration and the variation system used before the Viking Age had been completely replaced by the repetition of whole names by the Late Middle Ages. Since most Late Viking Age runestones mention the names of related persons and their familial relationship, they provide an excellent corpus for evaluating naming strategies used from the late 10th- to early 12th century.

A total of 1824 of the most usable Viking Age inscriptions from the Runic Swedish area were gathered and entered into a custom database to allow all relationships of a certain type to be viewed at once (i.e. fathers and their children, mothers and their children, siblings, grandparents, etc.). With this information, each relationship type was evaluated for use of alliteration, variation, and repetition as naming strategies. The analysis compares the naming methods used on stones from the earlier part of the period (980–1050) with the later part of the period (1050–1130) to discern chronological trends. The results are explored in the context of Christian runestones and also compared with naming methods in relevant literary sources. Finally, the findings are discussed within a broader social context contributing to changes in naming methods in Late Viking Age Sweden focusing on Christianization, runic literacy, social status, and trade and foreign contact. The appendices include a full list of the results of each naming method and family trees constructed from multiple related inscriptions which yielded additional family relationships.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction and Previous Research

The goal of this dissertation is to evaluate the naming methods used within families in

Late Viking Age[1] Sweden and to determine whether any significant changes occurred over time.

To address these queries, this study selects 1824 Late Viking Age inscriptions on Swedish

runestones and examines the names of individuals of both higher and lower social status whose

familial relationships are known. To aid in this, genealogical trees using multiple inscriptions are

established wherever possible to identify family relationships over several generations. This

technique is especially valuable for evaluating repetition because most runestones do not

mention more than two generations. This will yield information about the patterns of personal

name inheritance, and general trends from the late 10th to the early 12th century (c. 980–1130

CE).

The study of personal names in Scandinavian Viking Age society has much to gain from

runic inscriptions. In the over 6000 individual known inscriptions, personal names represent a

significant portion of the lexical items. Research on runic personal names has been an important

subfield of onomastics since the 19th century with Sophus Bugge and Otto von Friesen's first

explorations on the subject,[2] but there is still work to be done to systematically identify the

---

[1] This dissertation considers the Viking Age to be between 750 and 1130 and the Medieval period between 1130 and 1520.

[2] Studies of personal names dealing specifically with runic materials began as early as 1666 with Olaus Verelius' publication of *Bósa saga*, which included a list of personal names found on Swedish runestones. The next work on the topic is Udo Waldemar Dietrich's 1844 *Runen-Sprach-Schatz, oder, Wörterbuch über die ältesten Sprachdenkmale Skandinaviens, in Beziehung auf Abstammung und Begriffsbildung*, which lists all then-known interpretable names on Viking Age runestones in Futhark order and numbered by Johan Gustaf Liljegren's cataloging system. The early 20th century also began to see work on personal names in pre-Viking Age inscriptions with Sophus Bugge's comparison of Proto-Norse runic personal names with their south German cognates in *Norges indskrifter med de aeldre runer* (1891–1903), and Otto von Friesen's list of personal names in the Elder Futhark inscriptions in *Rö-stenen i Bohuslän Och Runorna i Norden Under Folkvandringstiden* (1924).

naming strategies used among family members on late Viking Age runestones, to place Viking Age personal names into a larger context, and conclusions to be drawn from them about social structures, beliefs, and cultural interactions and possible tensions of the time.

The most relevant work to the present study on Viking Age personal names begins with Elias Wessén's 1927 *Nordiska namnstudier*, which examines the naming strategies of alliteration, variation, and repetition, and the structure of names themselves as well as the class distinctions they communicate. Building upon Wessén's work, Assar Janzén's 1947 "De fornvästnordiska personnamnen" and "De fornsvenska personnamnen" examine Old West Norse and Old Swedish personal names and naming methods of the Viking Age. Another important study on exclusively West Norse material is Max Keil's 1931 *Altisländische Namenwahl*, which discusses the naming methods of alliteration, variation, and repetition in the *Íslendingasögur* (Sagas of Icelanders), and their relation to naming practices throughout medieval Scandinavia. Henry Bosley Woolf's 1939 *The Old Germanic Principles of Name-Giving* covers personal names in all West and North Germanic dialects with special emphasis on Anglo-Saxon names. He also discusses types of variation (front versus end variation) as a means of identifying individuals with particular tribes, and includes an extended section on Anglo-Saxon genealogies. Paul Peterson's 2015 dissertation examines Old Norse nicknames in Icelandic literary sources, but excludes runic inscriptions. Jan Owe's 1996 *Svenskt runnamnsregister* catalogs more than 6000 names, made up of around 1250 interpreted personal names, 110 place names, and 245 uninterpreted names on Viking Age runestones within Runic Swedish territory. In 2004 Lena Peterson published her *Lexikon över urnordiska personnamn*, which contains 203 personal names from runic inscriptions, *Beowulf*, and *-lev* place names up to 700 CE. Following the groundwork laid by Owe, Lena Peterson published the most extensive work on Viking Age runic

names to date with her *Nordiskt runnamnlexikon* (2002, 2004, 2007), which contains approximately 1530 individual entries on different names from Viking Age inscriptions throughout Scandinavia. The work includes personal names, names of mythical characters, Christian and saint names, place names, and uninterpreted names. Under each name the etymology and variations of the name, and the signa of the inscriptions in which it occurs are listed. However vital, *Nordiskt runnamnlexikon* is meant to function as a lexicon with a focus on individual names and thus does not provide a detailed analysis of naming practices or attempt to draw any conclusions about the broader context or changing social dynamics which the present study seeks to do.

In the early- to mid-20th century, scholars compiled runic inscription indices for each Nordic country possessing runic inscriptions. These collections afforded runologists and philologists a systematized catalog to study, but have lacked constant updates of newer finds. Since the downloadable database *Samnordisk runtextdatabas* (or SRD), made available through the program *Rundata* (1993–), was made available to runologists and the public by researchers at Uppsala University, the analysis and comparison of inscriptions has become more streamlined. The program allows one to display all known runic inscriptions from a certain country or region and to search by the carver's name, ornamentation style, material type, type of inscribed object, time period, location, etc. It is also possible to display only names, which renders *Rundata* a very useful tool for runic onomastic research.

Personal names and naming systems underwent dramatic changes from the centuries before the Viking Age to the end of the Middle Ages. The traditional Germanic methods of alliteration and variation disappeared, and repetition became the only naming strategy for forenames. At the same time, the composition of the onomasticon also shifted to include fewer

traditional Nordic names and more foreign imported names of religious or secular nature. The aim of this dissertation is to evaluate the extent of use of alliteration, variation, and repetition during the Viking Age using Swedish Viking Age runestones, as defined below. A major goal is to identify changes or trends over time and to determine whether the changes can be correlated with or explained by an increasingly Christian society in which cultural values and the importance of kin networks were shifting. An additional question is whether the naming methods of alliteration and variation carried an association with pre-Christian culture and were purposefully replaced by repetition as Scandinavia became Christian. Further questions to which answers are sought are the extent of name repetition within families in the corpus, and whether some families used alliteration, variation, and repetition to name children more than others. Regional differences in naming practices within Sweden should also shed further light on the factors influencing change.

The runestones in *SRD* are designated with the decorative styles (if they are known) defined by Gräslund (2006), each of which is associated with a corresponding date range. The styles range from the late 10th century to the early 12th century. The earliest style is designated as RAK (*rak* = 'straight'), which is characterized by long bands of runes, otherwise unadorned, and ranges c. 980–1015 CE. The next chronological style is known as *Fågelperspektiv* or 'Bird's Eye View' (Fp), which refers to the top-down view of the head of the decorative serpent whose meandering body forms a band which contains the runic text, and ranges c. 1010–1050 CE. A rarer style is the *Korsband* or 'Cross-Band' (KB), which is claimed to range c. 1000–1050 CE (Lindblad & Wirtén 1992, 50). Somewhat contemporaneous are the early 'profile' (Pr) stones in the Ringerike style, which are characterized by a serpent or dragon whose head is seen in side-profile, with somewhat rounded shapes and sometimes plant-like tendrons. The two groups

within this style are Pr1 whose range is c. 1010–1040 CE, and Pr2, ranging c. 1020–1050 CE. The remaining three profile styles are in the Late Viking Age Urnes style characterized by elongated forms, elaborate interlace, and almond-shaped, head-filling, small round, or non-existent eyes. These three groups are Pr3, ranging c. 1045–1075 CE, Pr4, ranging c. 1070–1100 CE, and Pr5, ranging c. 1100–1130 CE. Given the prevalence of the Urnes style during roughly the second half of the period under study, it is a logical choice to divide the corpus into two groups to enable diachronic evaluation: an early group from about 980 to 1050, and a late group from about 1050 to 1130. The data will then be evaluated according to changes from the early inscriptions to the late inscriptions.

Differences in local practices are also investigated. Although less than half of all Swedish runestones were discovered in their original locations (Sawyer 2000b, 26), most were unlikely to have been moved great distances due to their weight, and will have originated somewhere in the vicinity of their find spots within the same province. Runic inscriptions in *Rundata* have identification numbers which include the province in which each inscription was found. This provides a convenient method of organizing the data by geographic region. The provinces making up Sweden which are used in the dissertation are Dalarna, Gästrikland, Hälsingland, Jämtland,[3] Lappland, Medelpad, Närke, Småland, Södermanland, Uppland, Västergötland, Värmland, Västmanland, Öland, and Östergötland. The provinces Blekinge, Halland, and Skåne are excluded, since they belonged to the Danish kingdom at the time.[4] Similiarly, Gotland and

---

[3] Although Jämtland may not have been politically Swedish during the Viking Age, the single runestone in the territory follows the Swedish runestone tradition. The inscription J RS1928;66 possesses one Jämtlandic orthographic feature (*Trjon* instead of the Swedish *Tryn*), but otherwise exhibits Upplandic orthography and ornament style similar to those employed by Ásmundr Kárasun (von Friesen 1928, 66).

[4] The formerly Danish provinces Skåne, Halland, and Blekinge, collectively often referred to as Skåneland, along with the formerly Norwegian province of Bohuslän, permanently became part of the Swedish realm in 1658 as part of the Treaty of Roskilde following the Second Northern War between Sweden–Finland and Denmark–Norway (Frost 2000, 180).

Bohuslän are dialectally and politically separate during this period and also not traditionally included in Runic Swedish. Using this organization, emerging differences in local practices are evaluated.

The remainder of this chapter lays out background of Viking Age society, the naming methods examined, methodology of this study, and brief summary of the contents of each chapter. Section 1.2.1 provides basic information about the structure Germanic society, followed by Section 1.2.2, which provides background on the importance of family and honor in the Viking Age. Section 1.2.3 introduces naming strategies and some problems with definitions. Sections 1.2.4, 1.2.5, 1.2.6 discuss the naming stategies of alliteration, variation, and repetition, respectively. Section 1.2.7 briefly explains the formation and function of bynames and difference between prefixed and absolute bynames. Section 1.2.8 provides information about the purpose runestones and their social context. Section 1.3 discusses the methodology used in this study, including how each runestone has been dated, and how the data for the study was obtained. Finally, Section 1.4 briefly summarizes the contents of the remaining chapters of the dissertation.

1.2.1 Background – **Introduction to Germanic Society**

In order to understand the context in which commemorative runestones were raised, an introduction to early Germanic society focusing on the late Viking Age society is necessary. In the following sections, the discussion will not be limited to Viking Age Sweden, but also include examples from other early Germanic cultures. Like all other Indo-European societies, Viking Age Scandinavians lived in a highly stratified patriarchal society (DuBois 1999, 18). For an overview of the basic hierarchical structure, it is useful to turn to the Eddic poem *Rígsþula* (*Lay of Ríg*), preserved in the 14th-century Codex Wormianus (AM 242 fol). Scholars are in

disagreement about the age of the poem, but estimates range from the 10th to the 13th century (Amory 2001, 4). *Rígsþula* is an etiological poem which explains the origin of the three social classes, the *þrælar* (thralls or slaves), the *bændr* (yeomen, free farmers), and the upper class or elite. According to the plot of *Rígsþula*, the god Rígr, otherwise known as Heimdallr, travels the world, spends three nights in three different households, and fathers a child in each. The progeny of each of these unions are characters who represent each of the three social classes and engage in typical activities associated with each.

At the bottom of the social rung were the *þrælar* (sg. *þræll*), or slaves. The female equivalent was *ambátt*, which maintains its general meaning related to service in the modern Swedish *ämbete* 'public office, title' and German *Amt*, 'agency, department, office; post'. In *Rígsþula*, Þræll and his children perform menial tasks such as gathering firewood, raising pigs and goats, dunging and tilling the fields, and digging peat. Slaves in Western Scandinavia were either imported from Ireland or Scotland, and in Eastern Scandinavia from Slavic or Finnic areas (Brink 2008, 53; Karras 1993, 598). Native Scandinavians could also become enslaved during warfare or as punishment for crimes or debt, and children could also be sold into slavery (Brink 2012, 88). It was also possible to enter slavery voluntarily if one was otherwise unable to support oneself economically (Brink 2012, 88). During the Viking Age and early Medieval period, slavery was an inherited condition: children of slaves most often automatically became slaves at birth and belonged to their masters, while their parents had no say. According to medieval law codes which postdate the Viking Age by several centuries, slaves were allowed to marry in certain parts of Denmark and Sweden (Karras 1993, 598). For the most part, however, slaves had no rights and could be bought and sold like livestock. The only penalty associated with injuring or killing a slave was the reimbursement to the owner of their lost monetary value. Although

slavery was hereditary, slaves could be freed by their master, or purchase their freedom by earning a certain amount of silver, which differed depending on specific regions (Foote & Wilson 1970, 71–73). Two runestones from Sweden, U 168 and U 696, appear to refer to a person using the term *leysi*, which has been interpreted as 'freedman'. The general attitude toward slaves was negative, as the portrayal of Þræll in *Rígsþula* as a dirty, deformed, and unintelligent person demonstrates. Even into the 14th and 15th centuries, after slavery was outlawed, it was a punishable insult to call a free person a slave in Sweden and Denmark (Karras 1988, 66). The conversion to Christianity made slavery less acceptable and defensible, but it took several centuries for the practice to be outlawed after the system became economically unsustainable. In Iceland and Norway, slavery ended by the end of the 12th century, in Denmark in the 13th century, and in Sweden, the practice was outlawed in 1335 in the Skara Ordinance (Karras 1993, 599). Although slavery was no longer a social institution in the later Middle Ages, many former slaves became tenant farmers, whose lots were not much improved in practical terms.

Above the *þrællar* are the *bœndr* (sg. *bóndi*), represented by Karl in *Rígsþula*. Karl and his offspring are prosperous farmers and craftsmen who domesticate cattle, tend to fields, and build ploughs, carts, barns, and houses. The term *bóndi* itself is very common on Viking Age runestones and occurs in 176 inscriptions in this study, for example in Gs 1: "Snjólaug lét reisa stein eptir Véleif, bónda sinn," (Snjólaug had the stone raised in memory of Véleifr, her husband). The term *bóndi* is difficult to translate into English, as it can have three main meanings: 'farmer, landowner,' 'husband,' or 'master (of the household)' (Sawyer 2000a, 53; 56). *Bóndi* is cognate with the second element in the modern English *husband*, and is most often translated as *husbandman* in *SRD*, though the term generally referred more to the man's role as

head of the farm household rather than his role as a married man, as *husband* implies today. The

class of *bændr* in Scandinavia usually included any landless free farmers to the higher land-

owning ranks of *stórbóndi*, *óðalsmaðr*, and *hǫldr* (Amory 2001, 7). The lower-status *bændr* were

free, but did not own land or cattle, and lived and worked on other *bændr*'s farms as farm hands.

Also counted among the lower ranks of *bændr* were *leysingar* (sg. *leysingi*), former slaves or

freedmen. In Iceland, *leysingar* could have nearly all the legal rights of other *bændr* if they

owned enough land or property, with the exception that their property would fall to their former

master if they died without producing an heir (Byock 1993, 51). Some *bændr* rented or bought

the land they lived on, while others inherited theirs from their family. The wealthiest and most

powerful *bændr* were in some cases almost indistinguishable from the elite (Foote & Wilson

1970, 82). Runestones, which were costly to commission, could be used to advertise the acquired

land wealth of a family. For example, the Swedish runestone Hs 14 from Malsta from the first

half of the 11th century boasts that "Gylfir varð um landi þessu, en þá norðr í vega þrím býjum,

en þá Lønangri, en þá Feðrasjó," (Gylfir acquired this land and then three estates in a northerly

direction in the north, and then Lønangr and then Feðrasjór.) (*Rundata* entry for Hs 14).

     The highest social status in the Viking Age belonged to kings and the social elite. In

Rígsþula, Jarl and his youngest son Konr ungr [the young Konr] (ON *konungr* = king) occupy

this space. Jarl spends his time practicing martial skills such as archery, javelin casting, sword

fighting, horseback riding, and swimming (*Rígsþula* 35). He distributes rings and other precious

objects among retainers, and it is perhaps especially notable that he is literate in runes. In the

Viking Age, wealthy chieftains were also war leaders. These were followed by their warrior

retinue, known as the *drótt*, whence the term *dróttinn* 'leader, lord' (Foote & Wilson 1970, 100).

These retinues could be seasonal, for example a group of warriors who would come together for

summer ventures, or permanent bands. The formal retinue of a *jarl* or king was called *hirð*,

which itself is a loan from the Old English *hīred*, with the meaning 'retinue, family, household'

(Brink 2008, 13). *Hirð* members were usually housed, feasted, and given valuable items such as

weapons or rings in return for loyalty and military service to their lord. Another term used for

retinues or bands of warriors which could also be applied to the crew of a ship is *lið*, which

occurs in several runic inscriptions. Two of the Ingvarr runestones,[5] Sö 254 and U 778, make

explicit reference to "Ingvarr's lið". The Karlevi runestone (Öl 1) states that it is "placed in

memory of Sibbi the good, Fuldarr's son, and his retinue". Four additional runestones (Sö 217,

U 611, U 698, U 1161) speak of the *lið* of a specific person, and two runestones (Sö 338, U 112)

mention individuals referred to as *liðs forungi* (leader of the retinue). Often it was not the *jarl* or

king himself who went on expeditions, but a middle-rank of the elite called *hersir* (pl. *hersar*).

These men were wealthy landowners or even local chieftains in charge of a *hundred* (ON

hundari), which was a division of land responsible for providing 100 or 120 of something,

possibly armed men for military service (Larsson 1988, 224).[6] The *hersar* were charged with

mobilizing and commanding about 100 men for military service. Jarlabanki Ingifastsson was

likely one such *hersir* in 11th-century Eastern Sweden. He raised several runestones in memory

of himself, one of which boasts that "he...alone owned all of this Hundred" (*Rundata* entry for

U 212). Men distinguished by the title *jarl* could either be powerful independent local leaders, or

---

[5] Ingvarr was a chieftain in east Sweden during the first half of the 11th century who led an unsuccessful expedition to the Caspian Sea (Shepard 1982–1985, 222). There are at least 25 (Larsson 1990, 15) runestones in the Lake Mälaren region connected to this expedition, which commemorate fallen members of his retinue. The events of the expedition are detailed in the late 12th- or early 13th-century Old Icelandic *Yngvars saga víðförla* (*The Saga of Ingvarr the Far-Travelled*). Although some elements of the saga are obviously fantasy, such as encounters with dragons and giants, it is regarded as a largely factual source on the expedition and appears to correspond well to the evidence on the Ingvarr runestones (Larsson 1990, 21).

[6] The Old Norse term *hundrað* (hundred) can have the meaning of either 100 or 120. Originally, the term appears to have meant 120, while 100 was expressed with *tíu-tíu*, and it was only after the conversion to Christianity that a decimal hundred, denoting 100, was introduced (Cleasby & Vigfússon 1874, 292).

ranking second to a king's authority. The Swedish province of Västergötland was likely ruled by a *jarl* during the 10th and early 11th centuries, and the next attested instance of *jarls* in the area is that of Birger Jarl (c. 1210–1266) and his descendants in the 12th century (Foote & Wilson 1970, 135).

Viking Age kings were exemplary warriors who led a retinue and provided them with gifts in exchange for their sworn loyalty. Kings during this time descended from a royal family and were elected by wealthy freemen (Foote & Wilson 1970, 137). They were viewed, perhaps metaphorically rather than literally, as descended from divinity (Sundqvist 2002, 166–170). They were tied to the fertility and prosperity of the land, and could on occasion be offered as a sacrifice in dire situations such as famine or other disasters (Foote & Wilson 1970, 140). Toward the end of the Viking Age, the form of kingship began to change to a divine position "by the grace of God" (*rex Dei gratia*) passed on by primogenitor and approved by the Church (Sundqvist 2002, 331–332; Foote & Wilson 1970, 141). The transition from martial kings to monarchs with an intrinsically divine royal nature is also apparent in skaldic poetry. For example, poems in praise of Knútr inn ríki (Cnut the Great) of Denmark (c. 995–1035) and Óláfr II of Norway (c. 995–1030) are based on war deeds they had accomplished, whereas Magnús góði (the good) (c. 1024–1047) is praised in a poem by the skaldic poet Arnórr Þórðarson jarlaskáld (poet of earls) (c. 1012–1070s) at age 10 before he has been able to accomplish anything. Rather, it is merely Magnús' role as king that sets him apart as a leader (Jesch 2001, 267–268). In terms of runestones, there are only two that are known to have been raised by a king, namely the Jelling stones commissioned by Gormr gamli (the old) (reigned c. 936–958) and Haraldr blátǫnn (blue tooth). The first Jelling stone (DR 41) was carved around 950 and commemorates his wife Þyrvé. The second and more famous Jelling stone (DR 42) was

commissioned by Haraldr c. 985, commemorates his father Gormr and mother Þyrvé, and

proclaims that he "won for himself all of Denmark and Norway and made the Danes Christian."

Although there are no further royal runestones known, Haraldr's monument is thought to have

inspired the runestone craze of the late 10th and 11th centuries (Harrison & Svensson 2007,

192).

Although works like *Rígsþula* largely discuss class as related exclusively to the male

sector of society, women's experiences were also deeply affected by class. Women in

Scandinavian Viking Age society enjoyed more rights than those in most of Europe, but

nevertheless still played a subordinate role to men (Auður Magnúsdóttir 2008, 41; DuBois 1999,

19–20). Women were primarily in charge of the domestic sphere and tasks such as the weaving

and washing of clothes, cleaning, milking and butter-making, and food preparation, although

some evidence suggests that some were also involved in trade (Jesch 1991, 39). However,

women could generally not participate in the political or judicial sphere. In court, a woman

needed a man to represent her, and in Iceland, she could not act as *goði* (chieftain). It is

important to emphasize that the extent of a woman's rights and power also depended on her

social status. Some notable examples of higher-status women of the Viking age are the queen

interred in the Oseberg ship burial and the Hassmyra runestone (Vs 24), raised by a husband for

his wife, who bears the unusual prefixed byname *Óðin-Dísa*. The Hassmyra runestone is the only

Swedish runestone to commemorate a woman in verse (Jesch 1991, 64–65), which, together with

her name connected to a heathen god, may indicate that she was a woman of some importance.

In most cases, women could only indirectly inherit property as through the death of their

husbands and children, although this began to change during the later Viking Age. Sometime

within this time period, possibly during Sven Forkbeard's (c. 960–1014) reign, siblings in

Denmark could inherit equal shares regardless of their gender. Additionally, according to

medieval and post-medieval documents, men and women inherited equally in the small district of

Värend in the Swedish province of Småland, but it is unclear whether this was an old or a new

custom (Foote & Wilson 1970, 109). Unmarried women were under the authority of their father,

and married women were under their husband's jurisdiction. However, as a widow, a woman

could take over her estate, have authority over her children, and have some say in the choice of

husband in any of her future marriages (Foote & Wilson 1970, 110). It is clear that women did

sometimes inherit family property after the deaths of their relatives if no other heir was left. The

Hillersjö inscription (U 29) in Uppland is one such example which documents inheritance in this

kind of situation. It was commissioned by a woman named *Geirlaug*, who describes how,

through the death of her husband, son, son-in-law, and finally daughter, she came to inherit all

her daughter's property.

Because it could be a costly affair, most runestones during the Viking Age were raised by

the wealthier members of society. Illustrating this is the fact that there are several runestones that

were raised by kings or chieftains. For example, King Haraldr blátǫnn and his father Gormr

gamli famously raised the Jelling stones (DR 41 and DR 42), and the Karlevi runestone (Öl 1)

was raised in memory of a powerful local chieftain named *Sibbi*. About 6 runestones in Uppland

were raised by the chieftain or *hersir* Jarlabanki, one of which states that he owned an entire

hundred. However, there are also a few examples of runestones connected with members of

lower social classes. One such stone is Sö 133, which is unornamented and roughly carved, and

may have been raised by freedmen (Williams 2008, 15). Another runestone from Hørning in

Denmark (DR 58) explicitly states it was raised by a freed slave in memory of his former master:

tuki : smiþr : riþ : stin : ift ¶ þurkisl : kuþmutaʀ : sun : is : hanum ¶ kaf : kul : uk : frialsi

Tóki Smiðr reisti stein ept Þorgísl Guðmundar son, er honum gaf gull(?) ok frelsi.

Tóki Smith raised the stone in memory of Þorgísl Guðmundr's son, who gave him gold(?) and freedom. (*Rundata* entry for DR 58)

However, most runestones raised in Sweden during the late Viking Age were raised by people in the middle: the wealthier members of the *bœndr* class.

1.2.2 Background – Family, Kin, and Honor

The reputation of an individual in early Germanic society was largely tied to his or her family, or *ætt*[7] (pl. *ættir*). The *ætt* was a clan that included more than just the nuclear family, such as grandparents, great-grandparents, aunts and uncles, and so forth. The head of the *ætt* was usually an adult male, who inherited the family property from his father (Dommasnes 1991, 70). Other family relationships such as a person's siblings, mother, or other relatives, also played a role, but were not as important as the male line of descent. This hierarchy is codified in detail in the *Baugatal* (Tally of Rings) section of the Icelandic *Grágás* (Gray Goose) laws, which lists the family members not only in order of inheritance, but also in order of their obligation to exact

---

[7] The word *ætt* derives from Proto-Germanic **aihtiz* (f), 'possessions, property' (cf. Gothic *aihts*, 'possessions, property'). Thus, the Scandinavian word has the meaning of 'belonging' in the sense that related persons belong to their clan. Other words for kinship in the Germanic languages derive from Proto-Germanic **sibjō* (f) (Go. *sibja*, Mod. Ger. *Sippe*, cf. Mod. Eng. *sibling*), and Proto-Germanic **kunja* (n) 'kin, family, clan' (ON *kyn*, Mod. Swed. *kön*, Mod. Eng. *kin*) (Hellquist 1948, 1449–1450). The fact that the latter was loaned into Finnish as *kunnia*, with the meaning of 'honor, glory' (Toivonen 1958, 238) supports the notion that honor in early Germanic societies was intrinsically linked to one's family.

revenge (Sørensen 1993, 22).[8] Any male individual's primary obligation was toward his father,

followed in order of importance by his son (2), his brother (3), his paternal grandfather (4), son's

son (5), maternal grandfather (6), daughter's son (7), paternal uncle (8), brother's son (9),

maternal uncle (10), sister's son (11), paternal uncle's son (12), maternal uncle's son (13), and

maternal aunt's son (14) (Sørensen 1993, 23).

Following the importance of the clan, it was critical to identify individuals in relation to

who their closest relatives were. A focus on genealogical information is found in the heroic lays

of the *Poetic Edda*. In *Fáfnismál* 1, for example, the wounded Fáfnir begins by asking Sigurðr

his lineage:

> *Sveinn ok sveinn,*
> *hverjum ertu svein of borinn?*
> *Hverra ertu manna mögr,*
> *er þú á Fáfni rautt*
> *þinn inn frána mæki?*

> 'A boy! just a boy!
> To what young man were you born?
> Whose son are you,
> you who have reddened
> your shining sword on Fafnir?'

> (Larrington's 2014 revised translation)

The importance of an individual's kin in early Germanic society is also apparent in a very similar

scene in the Old High German *Hildebrandslied*. Hildebrand asks Hadubrand to identify himself

by telling him who his father is: "Hiltibrant gimahalta, [Heribrantes sunu]: her uuas heroro man,

---

[8] *Grágás* is not one set of laws, but a collection of about 130 codices, of which the manuscripts GkS 1157 fol. and AM 334 fol., both of which date to the mid-13th century. GkS 1157 fol. contains sections on homicide, wergild, legal assemblies, inheritance, betrothals, and tithes (Fix 1993, 234–235). *Baugatal* (Ring List) is a section in the *Grágás* laws that details how much money a killer owed to the family of his victim based on the victim's social rank.

... hwer sin fater wari" (Hildebrand said, Heribrand's son, who was the older man ... who his father was) (lines 7 and 9, Braune's 1969 edition, my translation), and "'eddo hweilihhes cnuosles du sis'" ('or of which clan you are') (line 11, Braune's 1969 edition, my translation). Although the *Hildebrandslied* survives only in a fragment and breaks off before the duel between the father and unknowing son can be resolved, evidence suggests that the father most likely slays his son (Bostock 1976, 47). The tragedy of a father forced to fight his own son—his closest kinsman toward which he carried the largest responsibility and his legal heir—and potentially kill him, was possibly the most tragic deed a person in early Germanic society could commit (Bostock 1976, 47–48).[9]

Anyone familiar with the *Íslendingasögur*, which take place during the Saga Age (*söguöld*),[10] knows that each saga begins with an extensive genealogy of the main characters, which often goes back many generations up to the time of settlement. Similar to the geneaologies in the *Íslendingasögur*, a few 11th-century Swedish runestones list several generations of forefathers. Two such examples are Sm 71 and Hs 14. Sm 71 was raised by *Erinvarðr* in memory of his father *Heggi*, and enumerates four additional generations of forefathers: *Hæra*, *Karl*, *Hæra*, and *Þegn*. Hs 14 was raised by *Hróðmundr* in memory of his father *Hé-Gylfir*, and lists five additional forefathers: *Brísi*, *Lini*, *Unn*, *Ófeigr*, and *Þórir*. This inscription does not stop at male ancestors, but also goes on to enumerate *Hróðmundr*'s paternal grandmother *Gróa*, his great-grandmother *Berglǫf/Bergleif*, and his great-great-grandmother, *Guðrún*.

Still another indicator of the importance of one's ancestry in early Germanic society is the system of patronymics and matronymics. Until the 19th and early 20th centuries (Hanks &

---

[9] The theme of a father mourning the death of his own son also occurs in "The Father's Lament" in lines 2444–2462 of *Beowulf*.

[10] The *söguöld*, or Saga Age, is part of the late Viking Age and is often defined as 930–1030 (Jónas Kristjánsson 1988, 203), which is roughly contemporary with the Late Viking Age runestones examined in this study.

Parkin 2016, 215; Kousgård Sørensen 1997, 100), and modern-day Iceland, patronymics and occasionally matronymics are added to an individual's forename to distinguish the person based on their father's identity, and occasionally their mother's identity. In the Swedish runestone corpus, patronymics occur in the name of the rune carver Ásmundr Kárasun in 20 different inscriptions (Källström 2007, 279).[11]

The supreme importance of the *ætt* and family honor is consistent with the fact that the majority of runestones were raised for family members and explicitly state the relationship of the sponsors to the commemorated individuals. By commemorating deceased family members with costly runestones, the prestige and honor of the deceased and the sponsors was increased.

1.2.3 Background – Introduction to Naming Strategies

This dissertation explores personal names in Viking Age inscriptions in Sweden, the region with the vast majority of known runestones from the period. Because of the large proportion of runic inscriptions that serve as memorials for deceased individuals, most often commissioned by a living relative or relatives, relationships between kin members can shed light upon the naming systems in use and their development in late Viking Age Scandinavia. The goal is to evaluate the use of alliteration, variation, and repetition among close kin relationships, differences in practices relating to gender, changes from the beginning to the end of the period in

---

[11] Another possible patronym in the runic corpus is *Káti Véfríðarson* or *Véfrøðarson* in the Gursten runestone (Sm 144). However, this interpretation of the inscription is highly uncertain, and Hanna Åkerström's (2012, 47) reading of the same runic sequence is *Víf síðarr unn*[*i*].

question, the impact of Christianity on naming practices, and the appearance of non-Germanic names.

Before proceeding to the methodology, an introduction to Germanic naming practices is necessary. The three main strategies of naming a child which will be explained in further detail below, were by *alliteration*, *variation*, and *repetition*. Additionally, names could be *monothematic* (consisting of only one name element), or *dithematic* (compounds consisting of two name elements). At this point it is also important to define the difference between primary and secondary names. Primary names are new linguistic creations. In the variation system, these are names compounded from two name elements in the pre-existing stock of name elements to create new names. An example of a dithematic name is *Gunnhildr*, consisting of elements which derive from the nouns *gunnr* ('war, battle') and *hildr* ('battle'). Secondary names on the other hand convert an existing linguistic sign to a name. Secondary names must be viewed as monothematic, even if the noun or adjective they are based on is a compound (Peterson 1988, 122). An excellent example is the name *Þormóðr* from the adjective *þormóðr* ('brave'), which is a secondary, monothematic name despite deriving from a compound adjective. The German and Scandinavian onomastic schools categorize some monothematic and dithematic names differently. For example, German scholars typically interpret *Þormóðr* as dithematic, consisting of the name elements *Þór-* ('Þórr') and *-móðr* ('temperament; wrath; courage'), whereas Scandinavian scholars view the name as a secondary monothematic name deriving from the ON adjective *þormóðr* ('brave') (Peterson, 1988, 121). Another example of a monothematic name is the Old Norse *Þóra*, which is simply a feminine derived version of *Þórr*.

Although it is sometimes tempting to interpret dithematic names as meaningful compounds,[12] some of the earliest recorded instances of Indo-European names offer examples of meaningless compounds that arose through the variation system (described below in Section 1.2.5). While the individual name elements derived from nouns or adjectives connoting desirable associations or characteristics such as having to do with war, bravery, faithfulness, or wisdom, the compound names containing these elements did not have meaning apart from associating a person with family members by sharing certain name elements (Peterson 1988, 124).

A further complexity is added by the phonological reduction of names. Phonetic erosion can have dramatic effects on names and therefore naming strategies, because what speakers once understood as a compound of two name elements becomes a single unit, such that formerly dithematic names appear monothematic after a certain amount of time. Examples of such names in the present corpus are *Helfr* (< *Herleifr*), *Hrólfr* (< *Hróðulfr*), *Þólfr* (< *Þórulfr*), *Þórðr* (< *Þórfreðr*), and the extremely common *Þórir* (< **Þunra-wīhaR* or **Þunra-iaR*). The uncertainty researchers face in the reconstruction of the last of these is precisely due to phonological reduction and may mirror the difficulty of speakers' understanding of the name's components. The names *Helfr*, *Hrólfr*, and *Þólfr* are still fairly transparent in their components, and the unreduced forms they derive from are also attested. In the case of *Þórir*, however, the reduction occurred at an earlier time, and it is uncertain if speakers during the Viking Age knew its origin. Two further Viking Age names which are posited to have derived from dithematic names with the **-wīhaR* ('priest') element are *Hróir* and *Móir*, from **HrōþiwīhaR* and **Mōð-wīhaR*, respectively. An even clearer example of phonological reduction obscuring the

---

[12] The German school has traditionally viewed dithematic names as meaningful, either as determinative compounds (Scherer 1953, 36) or as conveying looser meanings denoting a person in ways similar to kennings in poetry (Schramm 1957, 91–92).

etymology of name elements occurs with names ending in the element *-arr*, such as in *Einarr*, *Fastarr*, and *Gerðarr*. The name element derives from either *-*harjaR* ('army leader, general, warrior'), *-*gaiRaR* ('spear') or *-*warjaR* ('one who wards, defender'). Because there are multiple possibilities, it is impossible to tell from which of the three the element *-arr* in any name attested during the Viking Age derives (Peterson 2007, 27).

There is clear evidence that Viking Age people recognized unreduced dithematic names as compounds. A total of 30 instances in the inscriptions are included in this study in which the rune carver inserted a separating mark between the two elements of compound names. Some examples are *Fastulfr* as **fast·ulfr** on U 665, *Holmsteinn* as **hulm:stin** on U 763, and *Ketilvé* as **katil×ui** on U 62. The use of separators within names is relatively rare, and in principle only occurs in compounds in which the individual elements are distinctly recognizable, but it nonetheless demonstrates that at least some dithematic names were conceived as compounds of two different name elements during this time, which is a prerequisite for the variation system to function, as described below.

1.2.4 Naming Strategies – Alliteration

One of the main methods of naming amongst the ancient Germanic peoples is alliteration of the first letter or sound of the name. A child's name alliterated in this way with the name of his or her father. Vowels alliterated with any other vowel, and initial consonant clusters *st-*, *sk-*, and *sp-* were considered separate sound units only able to alliterate with each other (Minkova 2003, 192). An additional complexity specific to Scandinavia is that alliteration with identical vowels was avoided. Alliteration is an ancient feature of verbal expression in all the Germanic languages, particularly in poetry. Alliterating personal names occurring in poetry could be fit

into the alliterative scheme. A typical example of this is found in *Sigurðarkviða in meiri*, where a standard device is that the name of a character and her or his father's carries the alliteration of the line: "Þá kvað þat Brynhildr, Buðla dóttir" (Then Brynhildr said this, Buðli's daughter) (*Sigurðarkviða in meiri* 12, my translation). Alliteration is also found in early runic inscriptions, such as the verse on the famous Golden Horns of Gallehus (DR 12 †U) from about 400 CE: "ek Hlewagastiz Holtijaz horna tawido," ("I, Hlewagastiz of Holt, made the horn(s)").

Alexander Jóhannesson (1923, 75–122) counts eight pre-Viking Age runic inscriptions in which the names of a father and a child are mentioned. In six out of the eight cases, the son's name alliterates with that of a close male ancestor such as *Heruwulfaz* and *Haþuwulfaz*, and one of the non-alliterating pairs represents a father and daughter (Woolf 1939, 163–164). An example from the Old High German epic poem *Hildebrandslied* are the alliterating names of the father and son, *Hildebrand* and *Hadubrand*, and in the Gotlandic *Gutasaga*, the legendary Þielvar's three grandsons are named *Guti*, *Graipr*, and *Gunfiaun*. Alliteration is also well-documented among the Anglo-Saxon kings, for example those of Kent, Essex, and Wessex from the 6th through 11th centuries: *Eormenric*, *Æthelbeorht*, and *Eadbeald*; *Sæweard*, *Sigebeorht*, and *Swithhelm*; and *Cerdic*, *Cynric*, and *Ceawlin* (Woolf 1939, 18, 27, 71). In the *Íslendingasögur*, which document the settlement period of Iceland and the first generation of settlers, the names of father and son and of father and daughter alliterate in a substantial number of instances, such as *Haraldr hilditǫnn*, son of *Hrørekr slonguandbaugi*, *Þórolfr*, son of *Þrándr*, and *Bárðr*, son of *Brynjólfr* (Keil 1931, 6). Forenames of individuals with patronyms reveal further instances of alliteration with their father's names: *Randvér Ráðbarðsson*, *Hlíf Hrólfsdóttir*, *Bragi Boddason*, *Brynjólfr Bjǫrgólfsson*, and *Hildiríðr Hǫgnadóttir* (Keil 1931, 6). The names of Swedish kings in *Ynglingatal* alliterate in vowels for 13 generations, and the

mythical kings before them had a strong tendency to alliterate with their predecessor: *Freyr*,

Fjǫlnir, Sveigðir, *Vanlandi*, *Vísburr*, *Dómaldr*, *Dómarr*, *Dyggvi*, and *Dagr* (Wolf 1939, 166–

167). Alliteration also occurs on Viking Age runestones, for example *Hrólfr* and his son *Halfdan*

on the runestone at Gammalkil church (Ög 180), *Varinn* and his son *Vámóðr* on the Rök

runestone (Ög 136), and the sisters *Helga* and *Holmfríðr* on the Skälby runestone (U 89).

1.2.5 Naming Strategies – Variation

Variation refers to the passing on of a single name element, usually of dithematic names,

while the other name element remains fixed. Germanic peoples inherited this practice from their

Indo-European ancestors. Variation also includes the addition of an element to a name,

modification of an element, or transposition of name elements from an ancestor's name to a

child's name (Keil 1931, 9). The father and son *Hildebrand* and *Hadubrand* in the

Hildebrandslied thus not only alliterate with each other, but also exhibit variation, as they share

the second name element *-brand*, ('sword'). In *Vǫlsunga saga*, the father and son pair *Sigmundr*

and *Sigurðr* share the element *Sig-*, ('victory'), and the sisters *Brynhildr* and *Bekkhildr* share the

element *-hildr*, ('battle'). In *Egils saga*, Skallagrímr's brother *Þórólfr* is the son of *Kveldúlfr*, and

the two share a variant of *-úlfr*, ('wolf'). *Eyrbyggja saga* describes how *Þórólfr Mostrarskegg*

was named by combining elements from *Hrólfr* and *Þórshof*: "Hrólfr var hǫfðingi mikill ok hinn

mesti rausnarmaðr. Hann varðveitti þar í eyjunni Þórshof ok var mikill vinr Þórs ok af því var

hann Þórólfr kallaðr." (Rolf was a mighty chief, and a man of the greatest largesse; he had the

ward of Thor's temple there in the island, and was a great friend of Thor. And therefore he was

called Thorolf) (*Eyrbyggja saga*, chapter 3, Magnússon and Morris translation). However, in this

last scenario, *Þórólfr* derives from a primary name *Hrólfr*, which itself is a contracted form of

Hróðulfr, prefixed with the byname *Þór*. In the runic corpus, the Valby runestone (Sö 88) offers

an example in which the *-úlfr* element is shared by the brothers *Fastulfr* and *Herjulfr* and their

father *Gelfr* (contracted form of most likely *Geirulfr*), and their paternal uncle, *Ulfviðr*.

The passing on of whole personal names, or repetition, likely had strong associations

with the cult of ancestors. In Ancient Roman society, names were the primary means to preserve

one's ties to one's ancestors and had to be handed down from generation to generation

(Mitterauer 1993, 79). Among the Germanic peoples, the practice of variation originally had to

do with the Germanic belief in the continuation of a person's spiritual and physical unity after

death, such that only portions of the deceased person's name could be passed on without

invoking that particular person (Janzén 1947b, 37; Le Jan 2002, 40). By repeating, varying, and

transposing name elements, a person was situated in and could be identified as part of their kin

group or groups, which were held together through inter-family marriage bonds (Le Jan 2002,

45).

1.2.6 Naming Strategies – Repetition

In naming practices, repetition refers to the inheritance of a whole name from an older

relative. The repetition of a whole name created or strengthened associations between two

individuals, their personalities, and abilities (Le Jan 2002, 45). In this way, a person would be

identified with one particular ancestor rather than their clan. As mentioned above, early

Germanic peoples originally avoided repetition because of religious beliefs, but the Visigoths

apparently began to adopt the practice in the 5th century CE under the influence of Roman and

Christian culture (Le Jan 2002, 40). Because the inheritance of an ancestor's name helped

maintain a person's link to his or her ancestors and the ancestral cult in Ancient Roman tradition,

some early bishops such as John Chrysostom (c. 349–407), opposed the practice of renaming

children with ancestral names. However, despite some protests from church authorities,

repetition became associated with Christianity and its use in Christian naming practices spread

throughout the Christian Roman world (Le Jan 2002, 42). Christian and baptismal names are

examined in the context of this study in Section 5.2.3.

It seems that at the time when the Merovingians began using repetition in the 6th century

CE, it was only acceptable to pass down full names of relatives who were no longer alive. The

later Franks and Anglo-Saxons of the 7th and 8th centuries seemed to hold similar views, as only

the names of deceased relatives were passed on to the new generation (Le Jan 2002, 42).

Repetition also made inroads in Scandinavia during these centuries, and was apparently the

dominant naming strategy by the Viking Age (Wessén 1927, 8, 18; Janzén 1947a, 238). There

are numerous examples of repetition of names in the *Íslendingasögur*. In *Njáls saga*, for

example, Þorgerðr asks her mother whether her son should be called *Glúmr* after his grandfather,

or *Họskuldr* after his great-grandfather. Her mother decides in favor of *Họskuldr*, because she

did not get along well with Glúmr (Keil 1931, 27). In *Vọlsunga saga*, *Sigurðr's* son by Guðrún is

named *Sigmundr* after Sigurðr's father *Sigmundr*, who died before he himself was born. Unlike

variation, which depends largely on dithematic names, repetition could be practiced with any

kind of name available: monothematic, dithematic, derived names, bynames, or foreign loans.

1.2.7 Naming Strategies – Bynames

Aside from given name formation, it is necessary to provide some background on

bynames. These are names that were originally separate entities from forenames, and most often

originally derived from a person's distinguishing physical, mental, familial, social

characteristics, or regional origin. Some examples are *Þórólfr Mostrarskeggi* (according to *Eyrbyggja saga*, 'man with a beard from Mostr'), *Haraldr blátǫnn* ('blue tooth'), and *Æðelred Unrǣd* ('ill-advised'). The primary function of bynames is to further identify an individual, especially in cases where multiple individuals bore the same forename. As Jacobsson notes by (2012, 54), bynames are well-attested in the Nordic Viking Age runic inscriptions, though their appearance in inscriptions is sharply divided by gender, as roughly 98% are male, only 1% are female, and the rest are uncertain.

Bynames could derive from simple nouns or adjectives or could be composed of compounds. In contrast with the typical dithematic names made up of first elements and second elements chosen from a stock of available themes, the compounded bynames are meaningful compounds (Brylla 2016, 246). For example, the 10th-century Danish ruler *Sveinn Tjúguskegg* ('Forkbeard') has a compound byname which describes the physical appearance of his beard. In the runic corpus, *Forkunnr* has two elements *For-* ('before, ahead'), and *-kunnr* ('one who knows'), and might denote someone with exceptional foresight. Some examples of simple derived bynames from runic inscriptions are *Karl* (U 659), *Spjótr* (Sö 106), *Smiðr* (Br Olsen;208, DR 58, DR 91, DR AUDI1996;274), and *Víkingr* (Sm 10), and some compounded bynames are *Svarthǫfði* (Sö 256, U 52, U 87, U 457, U 825, U 1018, and Ög 158) and *Skammhals* (Sö 32, Sö 40, and Sö 323) (Jacobsson, 2012, 51–53). In addition, bynames could be used prefixed to the person's given name, for example *Brodd-Helgi* ('Spike-Helgi'), or absolutely, that is by themselves, independently of the primary name, such as *Ófeigr* ('not doomed') (Janzén 1947a, 242).

1.2.8 Purpose of Runestones

One final piece of social background information for the context of this dissertation is the purpose of the runestones. The runic[13] monuments of the Viking Age are foremost stones raised in commemoration of deceased relatives, which overwhelmingly employ the formula "[NAME] had this stone raised in memory of [NAME], his/her [RELATION]". Occasionally runestones also mention a bridge that was built or a path that was cleared in memory of an individual, very often sponsored by a woman (Gräslund 1989, 227–230). The sponsors of the stone are almost always named before the person(s) being commemorated in Viking Age inscriptions, and most often their relationship to the commemorated individual is stated as well. Some previous scholars have placed a disproportionate focus on the relatively few stones that commemorate Vikings who travelled and died abroad, but the vast majority of the inscriptions show no indication of travel and were raised by and for individuals who remained within their communities (Sawyer 2000b, 16). The distribution of runestones is uneven throughout Scandinavia, and the places with the highest concentration are the Swedish provinces of Uppland and Södermanland. One theory about this distribution is that the act of raising a runestone was a way to declare one's religion in opposition to the social mainstream in the given area (Sawyer 2000b, 18). For example, in areas which had become Christian earlier than eastern Sweden, such as Denmark and Götaland (of which the provinces included in this study are Småland, Östergötland, Västergötland, and Öland), several stones with Þórr's hammer images and heathen texts such as **þur uiki** (Vg 150)

---

[13] A common misconception outside the field of runology is that runes were associated with pre-Christian religion or traditions. Perhaps this is due to the rumor that Pope Sylvester II (c. 946–1003) wrote to Óláf Tryggvason of Norway (c. 960s–1000) and instructed him to abandon use of runes in order to become fully Christian, which itself stems from a misinterpretation of 17th and 18th century sources (Hagland, Jan Ragnar & Marek Thue Kretchmer 2007, 1). Instead, during the Viking Age and Medieval period, runes were the most accessible form of writing to most people in Scandinavia who did not have access to a formal education in reading and writing in the Latin alphabet, and very often were used in Christian contexts including church bells, baptismal fonts, and explicitly Christian runestones.

('May Þórr hallow'), have been found. Conversely, Uppsala, which is in the heart of Uppland, and remained a famous pre-Christian cult site until 1080 CE, also happens to have the greatest runestone density per square kilometer anywhere in Scandinavia. It is possible that Christian converts in Uppland and other still largely heathen regions used Christian runestones to show that a family was Christian, or that no "proper" Christian burial sites existed in those regions, such that the stones would function as Christian markers in the absence of churches or church yards (Sawyer 2000b, 19).

Runestones may at least some of the time also have served as a means to document inheritance. Most stones were raised by sons commemorating their fathers, while few commemorate women, which seems to correlate with inheritance laws which held that a daughter's inheritance of a parent's property would be postponed in favor of any other close living male relatives. The runestone U 29 mentioned in Section 1.2.1 above is the best example of this type. However, while some runestones do appear to be concerned with the inheritance of property, this is likely not the primary purpose of all Viking Age runestones. Given the effort and expense associated with raising a runestone, these runic monuments can at least be considered a status symbol for those who raised them and for whom they were raised.

1.3 Methodology

Using the Scandinavian runic inscription database *SRD* accessed through the program *Rundata*, 1824 Viking Age runestones from Sweden (except the excluded regions mentioned above) were collected. Stones whose inscriptions were too damaged or whose personal names are too uncertain were also excluded. The resulting corpus contains a total of 5217 personal names, and of these, 1162 unique personal names borne by 4668 individuals. The names of the

rune carvers which are mentioned in some inscriptions are also included in this study to obtain a more complete picture of the names in use at the time. Although most of these represent professional rune masters who were commissioned to carve runestones on behalf of the sponsoring individual(s), they are occasionally related to the patrons. In most cases, runestones are raised by close kin related by blood or by marriage to the commemorated individual(s), but there are some runestones in which the individuals named stand in a non-familial relationship, such as U 11: "Tólir the steward of Roðr had them rightly carved for the King". The total number of inscriptions according to region is as follows:

Region	Number
Uppland	956 (52. 4%)
Södermanland	319 (17.5%)
Östergötland	198 (10. 9%)
Västergötland	126 (6.9%)
Småland	93 (5.1%)
Öland	60 (3.3%)
Västmanland	16 (0.9%)
Medelpad	14 (0.8%)
Närke	14 (0.8%)
Gästrikland	13 (0.7%)
Hälsingland	12 (0.7%)
Värmland	2 (0.1%)
Jämtland	1 (0.1%)

Table 1.1: Number of inscriptions according to region.

All inscriptions examined in this dissertation have the designation "Period/Datering: V," meaning very broadly *Viking Age*, but most of the selected inscriptions also have a style designation which refers to the decoration and layout of the runes on the stone, and each has a relatively specific date range associated with them. The inscriptions treated in this study range

from c. 800 CE to 1130 CE, and while only 13 date from before 1000 (Ög 38, Ög 81, Ög 82,

Ög 83, Ög 84, Ög 136, Ög 165, Ög N288, Öl 1, Sm 144, Sö 176, U 4, and Vg 119), 728 (50.5%)

are dated between 1000 and 1050 CE, and 715 (49.5%) are dated between 1050 and 1130 CE.

Rundata provides some dating information on inscriptions, if it is known. In some instances,

Rundata records a range or two or more styles associated with a particular runestone, in which

case the inscription was counted as the latest style mentioned. For example, "Pr1–Pr2" has been

counted as Pr2, and "Fp, Pr2–Pr3" is considered as belonging to Pr3. In addition, eight

runestones designated with the RAK style are considered to be from around 1100 rather than

1000, and have for that reason been counted as Pr5. These are U 92, U 146, U 184, U 214,

U 347, U 413, U 440, and Vg 75 (Källström 2007, 66; *SRI* Band 6, p. 11; *Samnordisk*

runtextdatabas 2015). With all these details taken into consideration, the time ranges and number

of inscriptions for each are as follows:

Style	Date Range	Number
RAK	c. 980–1015 CE	279 (15.3%)
Fp	c. 1010–1050 CE	190 (10.4%)
KB	c. 1000–1050 CE	34 (1.9%)
Pr1	c. 1010–1040 CE	70 (3.8%)
Pr2	c. 1020–1050 CE	155 (8.5%)
Pr3	c. 1045–1075 CE	241 (13.2%)
Pr4	c. 1070–1100 CE	407 (22.3%)
Pr5	c. 1100–1130 CE	67 (3.7%)
Unknown	Unknown	381 (20.9%)

Table 1.2: Number of inscriptions according to runestone ornament style and date range.

Since the selected inscriptions in this study all originate in Eastern Sweden, the language they record is Old East Norse, or Runic Swedish. *SRD* provides a transliteration of the runic text, followed by the text in both normalized Old East Norse and Old West Norse. For the sake of clarity and uniformity, the names and name elements will be rendered in the Old West Norse dialect version gathered from *Rundata*.

Once the inscriptions to be included in this study were collected, the data from each inscription was entered into an Access database. The data categories of runic names, standard Old West Norse names, gender, relationship nodes, inscription signa, ornamentation style, and location of the runestones were entered into three linked tables. Once this was complete, functions were written in the SQL programming language to use the relationship nodes to create tables of each type of relationship examined in this study: father/son, father/daughter, mother/son, mother/daughter, siblings, grandfather/grandson, grandfather/granddaughter, grandmother/grandson, grandmother/granddaughter, uncle/nephew, uncle/niece, aunt/nephew, aunt/niece, great-uncle/great-nephew, great-uncle/great-niece, great-aunt/great-nephew, and great-aunt/great-niece. Following this, functions in SQL were used to identify the instances within each type of relationship in which names alliterated, varied a name element, or were repeated in their entirety. The results from these queries are discussed in Chapters 2, 3, and 4, and tables with the results are listed in Appendix 6.

1.4 Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation comprises this introductory chapter, four body chapters, and a conclusion.

1.4.1 Chapter 2 – Alliteration

This chapter first discusses alliteration in the context of early Germanic alliterative poetry and the intersection between alliterating personal names and alliterative verse. It provides additional background on alliterating names in early historical sources including Anglo-Saxon, Merovingian, and Swedish royal lineages. Sections 2.2 and 2.3 present and discuss the results of this study's data, especially in relation to chronological changes and regional preferences. Next, Section 2.4 considers Viking Age runestones containing verse in relation to alliteration as a naming strategy. Section 2.5 evaluates the effects of the conversion to Christianity on alliteration by examining the use of alliteration on explicitly Christian runestones. Section 2.6 compares the use of alliteration as a naming strategy on Viking Age runestones with older runic inscriptions. Finally, the results of the study are compared to the occurrence of alliteration in contemporary or near-contemporary literary sources such as the *Íslendingasögur*, *Beowulf*, *Ynglingatal*, and *Vǫlsunga saga* in Section 2.7, and the findings and conclusions about alliteration in naming are summed up in Section 2.8.

1.4.2 Chapter 3 – Variation

The third chapter begins by introducing variation and providing examples from various Germanic peoples, especially among the Anglo-Saxons, Carolingian Franks, and Scandinavians. Next, the functions of first elements and second elements,[14] are explained with regard to gender and regional preferences of certain name elements. Following this introduction, the variation data results of the runestone corpus are presented, analyzed, and discussed in Section 3.2. Sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3 examine the frequencies of individual name elements with regard to gender and

---

[14] These have also occasionally been termed as *prothemes* and *deuterothemes*, respectively (Searle 1897, xii; Kangro 2006, 113).

region, and in Section 3.3.4, additional types of variation such as alliterating variation are

examined. Section 3.4 evaluates the use of variation on explicitly Christian runestones and

Christian name elements, and Section 3.5 compares the instances of variation on the Viking Age

runestones in this study with runic inscriptions predating the Viking Age. Section 3.6 compares

the runestone corpus with literary sources. Section 3.7 sums up the chapter's findings on

variation and comparison with earlier and literary material.

1.4.3 Chapter 4 – Repetition

Chapter 4 begins by introducing repetition as used by Germanic peoples in general and

Scandinavians during the Viking Age. Section 4.2 discusses the link between repetition and the

use and proliferation of bynames, and Section 4.3 provides a background on the introduction of

Christian names in the north. Next, the data results of the runestone corpus are presented in

Section 4.4. Section 4.5 analyzes the results and examines each less-expected case of repetition

individually. Section 4.6 evaluates the bynames and names that were originally bynames in the

results and examines each that occurs as an instance of repetition. Section 4.7 compares the use

of repetition on explicitly Christian runestones versus unmarked runestones and discusses the

impact of loaned Christian names on naming strategies. Section 4.8 compares the use of

repetition on Viking Age runestones to the naming strategies in near-contemporary sources of

Landnámabók, the *Íslendingasögur*, and *Ynglinga saga*, and Section 4.9 summarizes the findings

of the chapter.

1.4.4 Chapter 5 – Factors of Social Change

The fifth chapter investigates the social developments that may have contributed to changes in naming systems in late Viking Age Sweden. Section 5.2 broadly discusses the impact of Christianity. Within this, Section 5.2.1 provides background on the state of the conversion of Scandinavia and Sweden in particular during the 11th century. Section 5.2.2 explores the connection between Christianity and the raising of runestones. Section 5.2.3 delves into the introduction of Christian names in the north, and Section 5.2.4 finally examines the impact of Christian names on the naming strategies in general. Section 5.3 deals with the socio-economic factors which influenced naming and naming strategies. Section 5.3.1 discusses runic literacy during the Viking Age and the purpose of runestones. Section 5.3.2 investigates the social class of the individuals who raised runestones, the different types of names borne by members of particular classes, and the influence of social class on naming practices. Section 5.4 explores the impact that trade and contact with other cultures had on naming during the Viking Age and the following centuries. The effects of contact with the Hanseatic League and urbanization are also examined with regard to imported secular names and naming strategies. Finally, Section 5.5 summarizes the findings of the effects of Christianization, social class, and external cultural influence with regard to the onomasticon and naming strategies in late Viking Age Sweden and beyond.

1.4.5 Chapter 6 – Conclusion

The sixth and final chapter summarizes the preceding chapters and provides a systematic overview of their findings. The conclusions of this study are stated and positioned among the results of other personal name scholarship.

Chapter 2: Alliteration

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides background on alliteration and its importance in naming practices within the wider context of the old Germanic languages and poetry. Among the aspects analyzed are how many total and what percentage of sons' or daughters' names alliterate with the names of their fathers their mothers, grandparents, siblings, and other relatives. Regional differences and discernible changes in the use of alliteration between the early period (980–1050 CE) and the later period (1050–1130 CE) are presented here and discussed. The connection between alliteration and verse on runestones, and the possible role of Christianity are also explored. Finally, the use of alliteration in the runic data is presented and compared to other contemporary sources for personal naming patterns, in particular in the Old Icelandic *Íslendingasögur* and *Landnámabók*, the Scandinavian names in *Beowulf*, the names of Swedish rulers in *Ynglingatal*, and the families in *Vǫlsunga saga*.

Some of the earliest examples of name alliteration among Germanic peoples can be observed among various tribes during the Migration Period, such as the Vandals, Burgundians, Lombards, Rugians, Gepids, and Merovingian Franks (Wessén 1927, 14). The defining feature of alliteration is that every consonant sound alliterated with itself, for example the royal names among the Merovingians, *Childerik*, *Chlodvig*, *Chrothilde*, *Chlodomir*, *Childebert*, *Chlotar*, *Chramn*, *Charibert*, and *Chilperich* (Wessén 1927, 14). Alliteration is also found in Old Norse poetry, for example in stanza 8 of *Atlakviða*: "Hvat hyggr þú brúði bendu". A peculiarity is that the initial consonant clusters *st-*, *sk-*, and *sp-* were considered separate sound units only able to

alliterate with each other, for example in the Old English *Beowulf*: *stefn*/*strēamas* (line 212), *Scyld*/*Scēfing*/*scēaðena* (line 4), and *spēd*/*spel* (line 873) (Minkova 2003, 192).

Another feature of alliteration in Germanic is that every vowel alliterated with every other vowel, as the names of the Anglo-Saxon kings of Kent from the 6th through 8th centuries show: *Eormenric*, *Æþelbeorht*, *Eadbald*, *Eorconbeorht*, *Ecbeorht*, *Eadric*, *Eadbeorht*, *Æþelbeorht*, and *Alric* (Wessén 1927, 14). Several theories have been put forth to explain why all vowels alliterated with each other, but no definite consensus has been reached (Kristján Árnason 2007, 89–90). The oldest, most prominent theory, first promoted by Rapp (1836, 53f), holds that it was the glottal stop before vowels rather than the vowels themselves that alliterated (Classen 1913, 2). The problem with the glottal stop theory is that it assumes that the oldest stages of Germanic, from which the attested early Germanic languages derive, possessed glottal stops, which has so far not been shown convincingly (Kristján Árnason 2007, 89). Another theory, first formulated by Axel Kock (1889–1894) holds that originally only identical vowels alliterated with each other in Germanic, a system which was confounded by the creation of new vowels through umlaut, and eventually resulted in a kind of chaos in which every vowel could alliterate with every other vowel (Kristján Árnason 2007, 89).

Still another conspicuous feature of alliteration in early Germanic is that while all vowels alliterated with each other, identical vowels tended to be avoided (Salmon 1958, 223). In his *Háttatal*, an Icelandic work dated to 1220 CE, Snorri Sturluson famously delineates the rules for writing skaldic poetry and recommends the avoidance of same-vowel alliteration: "En ef hljóðstafr er höfuðstafrinn, þá skulu stuðlar vera ok hljóðstafir, ok er þá fegra, at sinn hljóðstafr sé hverr þeira." [p. 195] ("And if the chief stave is a vowel, the props must also be vowels, and it is more elegant that each of them should be a different vowel." Faulkes' 1987 translation, p.

166). Although Minkova (2003, 136–137) points out that Snorri's statement can only be seen as an after the fact observation of Old Norse alliterative poetry, Hollmérus (1936, 36) confirms Snorri's statement with his statistical finding that the *Poetic Edda* avoids alliteration using identical vowels.

The change from variable syllable stress in Proto-Indo-European to primary word stress in Proto-Germanic favored alliterative verse in poetry. The early Germanic languages had very similar forms of long-line alliterative poetry in common. Some examples are *Beowulf* in Old English, *Heliand* in Old Saxon, the Old High German *Muspilli*, and poems composed in *fornyrðislag* ('old story meter') in Old Norse, largely found in the *Poetic Edda*.[15] Germanic long-line alliterative poetry is composed of long lines, which are in turn composed of two half-lines, or verses. The first verse is called the a-line and the second is called the b-line. Each verse is made up of lifts (usually denoted by /) and drops (denoted by x), which are respectively heavily and weakly-stressed syllables. The first and sometimes second lift of the a-line alliterates with the first lift of the b-line, while the second lift of the b-line never alliterates (Terasawa 2011, 3-26). In the following example from the shorter of the Golden Horns of Gallehus (DR 12), the two lifts in the a-line alliterate with the first lift in the b-line (A), while the second lift in the b-line does not alliterate (X):

> *Ek Hlewagastiz Holtijaz*   *horna tawidō*
> x /   x x x /   x x   /   x / x x
>   A   A   A   X

According to Fulk (2016, 253), there are three types of stress words can have which determine how they are used in Germanic alliterative poetry. The first type is *stress words*, which carry the primary stress on the first syllable. These are nouns, adjectives, non-finite verbs, and most adverbs (Fulk 2016, 253). Personal names also fall into this first category. The second type is *particles*,[16] which are sometimes stressed, depending on their position in the verse. These are finite verbs, pronouns, and demonstratives. The third type is *clitics* or *proclitics*, which are prepositions, conjunctions, and articles, and never carry stress. It is always the stress words and sometimes particles which carry the alliteration of the verse. Since personal names are stress words, when they occur in alliterative poetry, they must usually be incorporated into the alliteration of the line.

Müllenhoff (1920, 534–536) found that name alliteration was probably to some extent related to alliterative poetry among the Germanic peoples. In early Germanic societies, the extended family, or *ætt*, was of key importance. Honor and reputation were always centered on the family members' deeds and misdeeds, and individuals were legally obligated to defend and avenge members of their clan (Kellogg 1997, xl). As a result, it was critical to identify individuals in relation to which extended family they belonged to. Alliteration provided a way for the names of chieftains, their retainers, and their lineage to be seamlessly woven into poetry about their deeds. Some examples of this are the references to Halfdan's sons in line 61 of *Beowulf*: "Heorogār ond Hrōðgār ond Hālga til" (Heorogar, Hrothgar, and Halga the Good), and to the sons of King Hréðel in line 2434: "Herebeald ond Hæðcyn oððe Hygelāc mīn" (Herebeald and Haethcyn, or my Hygelac) (*Beowulf*, Pearson's 1965 translation). In the *Hildebrandslied*, the

---

[16] These are not to be confused with grammatical particles, which do not belong to the main categories of words (verbs, nouns, pronouns, demonstratives, etc.), serve a variety of functions in linguistic contexts, and do not inflect (Richards, Platt, and Weber 1985, 208).

only surviving fragment of heroic poetry in Old High German, alliteration between the father's

and son's names in line 14 also carries the alliterative pattern of the poem: "Hiltibrant gimahalta,

Heribrantes sunu" (Hildebrand said, Heribrand's son) (my translation).

Alliterative names integrated into poetry are also found in Scandinavia. The earliest

example is the inscription on the already mentioned inscribed Golden Horn of Gallehus from

about 400 CE, which was discovered in modern-day Denmark and incorporates an alliterative

personal name into the oldest preserved line of Germanic alliterative verse: "*ek Hlewagastiz*

Holtijaz horna tawidō," (I, Hlewagastiz of Holt, made the horn(s)). Although composed

centuries later, the heroic poems of the Niflung cycle in the *Poetic Edda*, which deal with

material from the Migration Period, make good use of the paternally alliterating names of the

main characters. This device is found in several poems, and *Sigurðarkviða in meiri* offers for

example "Þá kvað þat Brynhildr, Buðla dóttir" (Then Brynhildr said this, Buðli's daughter), and

"Þá kvað þat Guðrún, Gjúka dóttir" (Then Guðrún said this, Gjúki's daughter) (stanzas 12 and

15, my translations). An example in which Sigurðr himself speaks in alliterative verse as he tells

his name and father's name in verse occurs in *Fáfnismál* stanza 4: "'Sigurðr ek heiti, Sigmundr

hét minn faðir'" ('Sigurðr I am called, my father is called Sigmundr') (my translation). Thus, one

finds personal names of heroes which alliterate with their fathers and other close kin as an

integral part of the alliterative pattern in heroic poetry.

Outside of poetry, alliteration is attested as a naming strategy among Germanic peoples in

early historical sources, and appears to have been favored by the elite, especially during the

Migration Period (Wessén 1927, 14, 25). As mentioned above, the names of Merovingian kings

tended to begin with *Ch-*, but alliteration is also well-recorded in the names of the rulers of

Kent,[17] Essex,[18] and Wessex[19] of the 6th through 8th centuries, and in Wessex through the 11th

century[20] (Wessén 1927, 14). Wessén (1927, 16) notes that the names of members of the elite

also often alliterated with their clan or tribe's name, such as *Finn*, who was son of *Folcwalda*

and ruled over the *Frisians*, *Wulfgar* over the *Wendlas*, *Breca* and *Beanstan* descended of the

Bronding tribe, *Hroðgar* and *Hroðwulf* who resided in *Heorot* and *Hleiðra (Lejre), the Anglo-

Saxon kings who bore names alliterating with *S-* and traced their lineage back to *Seaxnēat*.[21] In

Gutasaga, the legendary history of the Gotlanders, the island's first settler Þielvar's three

grandsons *Guti*, *Graipr*, and *Gunfiaun* all alliterate with *G-* along with the name of the island

itself, and according to *Ynglingasaga* and *Ynglingatal*, the early kings of the *Yngling* dynasty in

Sweden were centered in *Uppsala* and bore names with vowel alliteration.

According to Wessén (1927, 29), the line of Swedish kings whose names employed

vowel alliteration for 13 unbroken generations up until *Halfdan Hvitbeinn*, was an archaism by

the 10th century, while repetition had already become the dominant royal naming strategy in

Norway and Denmark. Wessén (1927, 17–18) holds that apart from the lineage of Swedish

kings, examples of alliteration during the Scandinavian Viking Age are few and uncertain. The

goal of this chapter is to determine the extent of alliteration as a naming strategy among late

Viking Age Swedes who had the means to raise runestones for their kin. Possible regional

---

[17] As listed above in this chapter.

[18] *Sæbeorht*, *Seaxred*, *Sæweard*, *Sigebeorht*, *Swithhelm*, *Sigeheri*, *Sigeheard*, *Swæfred*, *Selered*, *Swithred*, *Sigeric*, and *Sigered*.

[19] *Cerdic*, *Cynric*, *Ceawlin*, *Ceolric*, *Ceolwulf*, *Cynegisl* (sons: *Cwichelm*, *Coenwealh*, *Centwine*; daughter: *Cyneberga*), *Cuthred*, *Coenbeorht*, *Cadwalla*, *Cuthred*, and *Cynewulf*.

[20] *Æþelwulf*, *Æþelbeald*, *Æþelbeorht*, *Æþelred*, *Ælfred*, *Eadweard*, *Æþelstan*, *Eadmund*, *Eadred*, *Eadwig*, *Eadgar*, *Eadweard*, and *Æþelred* (sons: *Eadmund* and *Eadweard*).

[21] *Seaxnēat* is the name of a semi-mythical king of Essex who may have been a tribal god. The name is cognate with the continental *Saxnōt*, which appears in the 9th-century Saxon baptismal vow alongside Wodan and Thunear (the continental version of ON *Þórr*), whom the Christian convert was supposed to renounce upon baptism into the new faith. The name is a compound of *seax*/*sax*, 'knife/short sword' (the favorite weapon of the Saxons, who are named after it), and *nēat*/*nōt*, either 'companion' or 'friend,' and thus the full meaning of the name is 'sword-companion' or 'friend of the Saxons' (Simek 1993, 276).

differences and chronological trend will be evaluated, and if use of alliteration is found to have changed over time, the possible role of Christianization will be examined. Finally, use of alliteration as a naming strategy will be compared to the Pre-Viking Age runestones and literary sources.

2.2 Alliteration Data & Results

Of the 4668 individuals named in the 1824 runic inscriptions examined in this study, 3902 are in clear familial relationships. Out of all relationships, 404, an overall average of 10.4%, are recorded as bearing a name that alliterates with that of a named relative. Naturally, repeated names and names beginning with the same name element alliterate, but have been excluded here and instead are counted as either instances of variation or repetition. Also, due to the Old Norse avoidance of same vowel alliteration, names beginning with identical vowels have been excluded. Finally, 11 individuals in the corpus bear forenames prefixed with a byname, but for the purposes of alliteration have been considered with their forename only.[22] With this in mind, the total results of alliteration are as follows:

---

[22] These are *Hé-Gylfir* (Hs 14), *Lið-Bófi* (Ög 103), *Féar-Unn* (Öl 37), *Þunn(Thin)-Áki/Þunn(Thin)-Hnakki* (Sm 7), *Dverg-Ketill* (Sm 136), *Guða-Skeggi/Skakki/Skagi* (Sm 144), *Varr-Ási(?)/Vǫrr-Ási(?)* (Sö 210), *Kár-Tóki* (Vg 180), *Þellinefr/Þelli-Nefr/Þilinefr/Þili-Nefr* (U 325), *Eiki-nefr* (U 472), *Snerribjǫrn* (U 1088), and *Óðindísa* (Vs 24).

Relationship	Number (Proportion)	Total Relationships
Father/Son	143 (9.8%)	1454
Father/Daughter	12 (10.3%)	117
Mother/Son	50 (13.9%)	361
Mother/Daughter	3 (8.8%)	34
Brother/Brother	138 (9.7%)	1417
Sister/Sister	8 (27.6%)	29
Brother/Sister	13 (9.0%)	144
Grandfather/Grandson	20 (19.2%)	104
Grandfather/Granddaughter	1 (9.1%)	11
Grandmother/Grandson	1 (4.8%)	21
Grandmother/Granddaughter	0 (0%)	1
Uncle/Nephew	13 (8.7%)	149
Uncle/Niece	0 (0%)	5
Aunt/Nephew	1 (5.6%)	18
Aunt/Niece	0 (0%)	2
Great-Uncle/Great-Nephew	2 (11.1%)	9
Great-Uncle/Great-Niece	0 (0%)	0
Great-Aunt/Great-Nephew	0 (0%)	0
Great-Aunt/Great-Niece	0 (0%)	0

Table 2.1: Proportion of alliterating names according to familial relationship.

The instances of alliteration with respect to region and style are as follows:

	U	Sö	Ög	Vg	Sm	Öl	Vs	M	Nä	Gs	Hs	Vr	J
F/S	82 (9.9%)	24 (8.5%)	10 (8.5%)	8 (12.7%)	8 (11.9%)	4 (12.1%)	2 (15.4%)	1 (5.6%)	0	1 (20%)	3 (15.8%)	0	0
F/D	6 (8%)	5 (15.2%)	1 (10%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
M/S	38 (14.8%)	6 (10.7%)	0	2 (14.3%)	1 (20%)	2 (33.3%)	0	0	0	0	1 (25%)	0	0
M/D	2 (9.5%)	1 (11.1%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B/B	76 (9.2%)	30 (8.8%)	11 (11.1%)	9 (22%)	3 (8.8%)	3 (7.7%)	0	4 (22.2%)	1 (20%)	0	0	0	0
S/S	4 (18.2%)	4 (33.3%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B/S	10 (10.2%)	0	3 (25%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GF/GS	17 (25%)	2 (16.7%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GF/GD	1 (10%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GM/GS	1 (6.3%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GM/GD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
U/NP	10 (8.5%)	2 (11.8%)	1 (10%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
U/NC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A/NP	1 (5.9%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A/NC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GU/GNP	2 (25%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GU/GNC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GA/GNP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GA/GNC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 2.2a: Alliterating names in familial relationships on runestones according to region.

	RAK	Fp	KB	Pr1	Pr2	Pr3	Pr4	Pr5	Unknown
F/S	24 (12.1%)	13 (7.6%)	4 (22.2%)	4 (5.4%)	17 (10.8%)	24 (10.3%)	38 (9.5%)	5 (9.8%)	14 (9.2%)
F/D	0	3 (18.8%)	0	0	3 (16.7%)	1 (5.3%)	3 (8.1%)	1 (16.7%)	1 (12.5%)
M/S	3 (10.7%)	3 (13%)	1 (25%)	3 (16.7%)	8 (19%)	8 (12.3%)	20 (15.4%)	2 (7.7%)	2 (8%)
M/D	0	0	0	0	1 (10%)	0	2 (15.4%)	0	0
B/B	24 (13.5%)	13 (7.8%)	1 (4.8%)	12 (14.3%)	19 (11.4%)	22 (9.8%)	29 (7.2%)	7 (14%)	11 (8.8%)
S/S	1 (50%)	2 (66.7%)	3 (100%)	1 (100%)	1 (50%)	0	0	0	0
B/S	3 (23.1%)	1 (6.3%)	0	1 (33.3%)	0	1 (4.2%)	7 (17.1%)	0	0
GF/GS	0	0	0	4 (36.4%)	1 (8.3%)	1 (10%)	1 (20%)	3 (42.9%)	1 (20%)
GF/GD	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (33.3%)	0	0
GM/GS	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (9.1%)	0	0
GM/GD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
U/NP	0	1 (7.7%)	0	0	1 (14.3%)	3 (15%)	7 (8.2%)	0	0
U/NC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A/NP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A/NC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GU/GNP	0	1 (50%)	0	0	0	0	1 (16.7%)	0	0
GU/GNC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GA/GNP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GA/GNC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 2.2b: Alliterating names in familial relationships according to runestone ornament style (and therefore age, according to Gräslund [2006]).

Region	Relationships	Alliterating	Percent
Uppland	2370	250	10.5
Södermanland	794	74	9.3
Östergötland	263	26	9.3
Västergötland	124	19	15.3
Småland	119	12	10.1
Öland	83	9	10.8
Västmanland	23	3	13
Medelpad	42	5	11.9
Närke	18	1	5.6
Gästrikland	11	1	9.1
Hälsingland	43	4	9.3
Värmland	0	0	0
Jämtland	1	0	0
			10.4

Table 2.3: Percent of alliterating relationships according to region.

When viewed according to an early period of 980–1050 CE (comprised of styles RAK, Fp, KB, Pr1 and Pr2) and a late period of 1050–1130 CE (including styles Pr3, Pr4 and Pr5),[23] the alliterating relationships are represented as follows:

---

[23] The stones with an unknown style have been excluded from Table 2.4 because as such, they cannot be assigned to the early or late period.

	980–1050 CE		1050–1130 CE	
Relationship Type	**Total**	**Alliterating**	**Total**	**Alliterating**
Father/Son	617	62 (10 %)	684	67 (9.8%)
Father/Daughter	54	6 (11.1%)	62	5 (8.1%)
Mother/Son	115	18 (15.7%)	221	30 (13.6%)
Mother/Daughter	11	1 (9.1%)	21	2 (9.5%)
Brother/Brother	615	69 (11.2%)	677	58 (8.6%)
Sister/Sister	11	8 (72.7%)	17	0 (0%)
Brother/Sister	57	5 (8.8%)	77	8 (10.4%)
Grandfather/Grandson	44	7 (15.9%)	55	12 (21.8%)
Grandfather/Granddaughter	4	0 (0%)	7	1 (14.3%)
Grandmother/Grandson	6	0 (0%)	15	1 (6.7%)
Grandmother/Granddaughter	1	0 (0%)	0	0 (0%)
Uncle/Nephew	35	3 (8.6%)	112	10 (8.9%)
Uncle/Niece	3	0 (0%)	2	0 (0%)
Aunt/Nephew	11	1 (9.1%)	6	0 (0%)
Aunt/Niece	3	0 (0%)	1	0 (0%)
Great-Uncle/Great-Nephew	3	1 (33.3%)	6	1 (16.7%)
Great-Uncle/Great-Niece	0	0 (0%)	0	0 (0%)
Great-Aunt/Great-Nephew	0	0 (0%)	0	0 (0%)
Great-Aunt/Great-Niece	0	0 (0%)	0	0 (0%)
TOTAL	**1588**	**181 (11.4%)**	**1963**	**195 (9.9%)**

Table 2.4: Alliterating names in familial relationships in the first and second half of the 11th century.

There are some minor differences between the early and late periods. Alliteration for most of the relationships appears to slightly decline from the period 980–1050 to 1050–1130. The relationships of father and daughter, mother and son, sister and sister, grandmother and grandson, aunt and nephew, and great-uncle and great-nephew also show a decline in alliteration.

Only the relationships of mother and daughter, brother and sister,[24] grandfather and grandson, and uncle and nephew increased. However, not all relationships have many recorded examples, so some results are inevitably not as accurate as well-represented relationships. For example, the low number of grandfather/granddaughter relationships results in a 20% increase in alliteration from the early to the late period with just one recorded instance. Conversely, the three types of relationships with the most recorded instances all show some decline. Between fathers and sons, brothers, and mothers and sons, the three most common types of relationships expressed in the runic inscriptions in this study (1454, 1417, and 361, respectively), there is a slight decline (10% to 9.8%, 11.1% to 8.1%, and 15.7% to 13.6%) in alliteration. The overall average rate of alliteration declined from 11.4% to 9.9% over the course of the 11th century, but according to a chi-square test, the change is not great enough to be statistically significant.[25]

In addition to dividing the runestone corpus into groups of before and after 1050 CE, there are 13 inscriptions to which *Rundata* explicitly ascribes an approximate age in addition to ornament style that date to before 1000 CE. Most (9) date to the 10th century, and 4 are dated to the 9th century.

---

[24] Part of the reason why the mother and daughter and brother and sister relationships increased statistically could be that the overall number increased during the late period. This is probably due to the fact that many of the later inscriptions are found in Uppland, where the number of women mentioned make up a significantly higher proportion compared to other regions. On the other hand, while the total number of mother and son relationships doubles from the early to the late period, the percent of alliterating names is not as large.

[25] The alliterative and non-alliterative relationships were evaluated from the early to the late periods using $\chi^2(1) = 1.9879$ (N = 3551), p = .15856, indicating no evidence of a relationship between alliteration and age.

Inscription	Approximate Date	Relationships
Ög 38	900s	none
Ög 81	900s	1x uncle/niece (Gulli: Þorgerðr) 5x father/son (Gulli: Ásmundr, Qzurr, Halfdan, Kári, Oddr, Búi) 15x brother/brother (Ásmundr/Qzurr, Ásmundr/Halfdan, Ásmundr/Kári, Ásmundr/Oddr, Ásmundr/Búi, Qzurr/Halfdan, Qzurr/Kári, Qzurr/Oddr, Qzurr/Búi, Halfdan/Kári, Halfdan/Oddr, Halfdan/Búi, Kári/Oddr, Kári/Búi, Oddr/Búi)
Ög 82	900s	1x father/son (Tosti: Eyvindr)
Ög 83	900s	1x mother/son (Þóra: Sveinn)
Ög 84	900s	none
Ög 136 (Rök)[26]	800s	1x father/son (Varinn: Vámóðr)
Ög 165	900s	1x father/daughter (Tosti: Þórunnr)
Ög N288	800s	none
Öl 1 (Karlevi)	late 900s	1x father/son (Foldarr: Sibbi Góði/Goði)
Sm 144	800s	1x father/son (Véfríðr: Káti)
Sö 176	900s	none
U 4	900s	none
Vg 119 (except §E)	800s	1x father/son (Eiríkr: Eivísl)

Table 2.5: The age of the oldest Viking Age inscriptions according to *Rundata* that are included in the study and familial relationships found.

The inclusion and separate examination of these older inscriptions should provide a greater chronological span and contrast with the rest of the corpus. The inscriptions in Table 2.5 yield a total of 10 father/son, 1 father/daughter, 1 mother/son, 15 brother/brother, and 1 uncle/niece relationship. In these, there are 5 instances of alliteration (1 father/son, 1 father/daughter, and 3 brother/brother) which occur in 3 of the 13 pre-1000 inscriptions (Ög 81,

---

[26] Following Wessén, Lönnroth, and Harris, I interpret the 20 kings of Zealand in lines 9–11 (by Lönnroth's numbering) as mythological and thus exclude them from the discussion on Swedish names during the Viking Age.

Ög 136, and Ög 165). These comprise 10% of father/son relationships, 100% of father/daughter relationships, 20% of brother/brother relationships, and 0% of uncle/niece relationships for these older inscriptions. The sample size is naturally small and thus perhaps of limited usefulness, but the better-represented father/son and brother/brother relationships have a greater chance of accurately reflecting the naming trends of the time. As one can observe from these results, the 10–20% rate of alliteration appears to be somewhat greater than the average 10.4% on the later runestones.

2.3 Analysis

Table 2.1 shows that the proportion of persons with alliterating names is very similar for most familial relationships. The percentages for a parent's name alliterating with a child's, and two siblings alliterating with each other is approximately 10%. The exception is the sister/sister relationship, where 23.5% of sisters alliterate with each other, but this could be the result of skewing due to a smaller number of relationships listed in the inscriptions. The two other relationship types with a higher percentage of alliterating names are grandfathers with grandsons and great-uncles with great-nephews, at 18.3% and 22.2%, respectively. These higher frequencies of alliteration among grandfathers and grandsons, and great-uncles and great-nephews could either be significant patterns, or due to a small sample group for each type of relationship. However, the difference in these rates is likely due to chance, considering that unlike with repetition (Janzén 1947a, 238), there was no requirement that the older relative be deceased at the time of naming for the alliteration principle to be used, and the relatively small amount of results for those types of relationships. There are a total of 104 grandfather and grandson relationships and 9 great-uncle and great-nephew relationships, while there are more

than a hundred times as many father and son and brother/brother relationships of respectively

1454 and 1417. For several relationship types the number of recorded instances and total number

of overall relationships are simply too small or completely nonexistent for any statement to be

made about the results. For example, grandfathers and granddaughters, grandmothers and

grandsons, and aunts and nephews only have 1 instance of alliteration each, and grandmothers

and granddaughters, uncles and nieces, aunts and nieces, and great-uncles and great-nieces

have 0.

These results raise the question of how many of the recorded instances represent

accidental alliteration.[27] The rate of random alliteration of the personal names in the present

corpus was calculated to be 11%, almost identical to the observed average rate of alliteration for

all relationships of 10.4%. Given this statistic, it may be impossible to discern how many, if any,

of these instances are due to chance. For example, some individuals may be named by the

variation or repetition principle and are connected with a person not named in the respective

inscriptions. However, some instances of alliteration do not appear to be accidental. The best

example of intentionally alliterating names is that of alliterative variation. This naming method

involves the combination of front variation—in which the second name element in dithematic

names remains constant—with a varied alliterating first element. Two examples of certain

alliterative variation are found on Sö 56 and Sö 347. Both inscriptions mention a pair of brothers

---

[27] The 11% rate of random alliteration was found using a random match probability equation. First, incomplete names were removed from the complete list of names and occurrences. In cases in which there were more than one possibility of a name, the first alternative was assumed (Gulli/Kolli > Gulli). Prefixed bynames were removed from the respective (Óðin-Dísa > Dísa) and hypocoristic forms were encoded as the respective long version (Gubbi > Guðbjǫrn). Repeated names and names with the same first element were not considered alliteration. All consonants were considered to match with the same consonant (including the *sk-*, *st-*, and *sp-* clusters), while every vowel was considered to match with every other vowel except identical vowels. The frequency of a given name times the frequency of all possible alliterating names added across all possible names resulted in an 11% probability of a name alliterating with another name by pure chance. I am indebted to the expertise of Douglas Hemken at the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Social Science Computing Cooperative for these calculations.

named *Hásteinn* and *Holmsteinn*, which appear to be two different sets of brothers, due to the

differing ages of the stones.[28] The fact that there are two recorded instances of brothers with

identical alliterating names sharing the second element appears to be quite intentional, especially

considering the fact that the inscription on Sö 56 weaves their names into an alliterative verse

(see Section 2.4 below). There are a total of 19 examples of possible or certain alliterative

variation in the examined inscriptions, which are as follows:[29]

Relationship	Number (Percent)
Father/Son	4 (0.3%)
Mother/Daughter	1 (3%)
Brother/Brother	12 (0.8%)
Sister/Sister	1 (2.8%)
Grandfather/Grandson	2 (1.9%)
Grandmother/Granddaughter	0 (0%)
Uncle/Nephew	0 (0%)
Aunt/Niece	0 (0%)
Great-Uncle/Great-Nephew	0 (0%)
Great-Aunt/Great-Niece	0 (0%)

Table 2.6: Relationships with alliterating variation.

Table 2.6 shows the overall percentage of alliterating variation in names in the

inscriptions to be very low, especially when compared to the percentages of alliterating names in

Table 2.1. However, these instances may represent a higher proportion of intentional alliteration

than the overall alliteration results. The fact that siblings in particular appear to be more prone to

---

[28] Sö 56 is RAK, which ranges 980–1015, and Sö 347 is Pr3, which ranges 1045–1075.
[29] The names of each are listed in Table 2.8 in Section 2.4.

bear names with an alliterating first element and an identical second element than any other type of relationship should also be noted.

An examination of the results in Tables 2.2a and 2.3 does not reveal a preference for alliteration in name-giving in any particular region. Västergötland and Västmanland appear to have higher rates of alliteration than the average for all regions, so it is almost tempting to conclude that alliteration may have been more prominent in the west than in the east. However, while Västmanland is situated west of Uppland (hence its name in relation to the core Swedish area), it was culturally most similar to Uppland during the Viking Age. In addition, the province of Närke lies between Västmanland and Västergötland and has the lowest rate of alliteration. Taking these points into consideration, it is likely that the smaller number of recorded relationships in some provinces are contributing to slightly skewed results.

From the results listed in Table 2.2b, it is difficult to discern a clear pattern from the early period to the late period, but a slight downward trend becomes apparent when the earlier and later runestones are separated into two distinct groups in Table 2.4. To this can be added that the most statistically valuable relationship type with the most recorded instances is between fathers and sons, closely followed by brothers, which can serve as a useful benchmark for the trend from the early to the late period. As mentioned above, many relationship types do not have enough data to be statistically significant. Similarly, there are few Viking Age runestones in Sweden from before the year 1000, such that due to the small sample size, they may not provide an accurate picture of older Swedish naming traditions. Despite this caveat, it may be significant to note that the rate of alliteration appears to be very similar to the runestones of the early and later 11th century.

2.4 Viking Age Runic Inscriptions with Alliterative Verse

As mentioned above, there appears to have been a long symbiosis between Germanic alliterative names and Germanic alliterative poetry. Names of high-born individuals alliterated with those of their relatives, facilitating the composition of alliterative poetry about them. Therefore, the intersection of the two in the runestone corpus will be examined here to determine if the appearance of verse on runestones can shed any light on the use of alliteration as a naming strategy.

Although it is not especially common, there are some Viking Age runestones that contain alliterative verse. According to Hübler's (1996, 165–166) calculations, 30 (1.6%) Swedish[30] runestones contain a full verse, and 111 (6.1%) contain at least a deliberate alliteration, if not a full line or verse. Among the most notable ones are the Kjula runestone (Sö 106), the Karlevi runestone (Öl 1),[31] the Fyrby runestone (Sö 56), one of the Ingvarr runestones (Sö 179), and the Rök runestone (Ög 136). With an approximate date of 800 CE, the oldest among these is the Rök stone, which contains a complete *fornyrðislag* verse about Theoderic the Ostrogoth:

> *Réð Þjóðríkr*
> *hinn þormóði,*
> *stillir flotna,*
> *strǫndu Hreiðmarar.*
> *Sitr nú gǫrr*
> *á gota sínum,*
> *skildi umb fatlaðr,*
> *skatti Mæringa.*

---

[30] It is important to note that Hübler also includes the regions of Gotland, Blekinge and Skåne in his study (1996, 26), despite the fact that they are traditionally excluded from Runic Swedish on dialectal and political grounds. With these provinces excluded, 27 runestones containing verse have been considered in this section.

[31] The Karlevi runestone is included in this study of Swedish runestones beause it is located within the regions of Viking Age Sweden, although it is often regarded as Danish or Icelandic.

Þjóðríkr the bold, chief of sea-warriors, ruled over the shores of the Hreiðsea.

Now he sits armed on his Goth(ic horse), his shield strapped, the prince of the

Mærings. (Jesch 2017, 188)

Before the *fornyrðislag* verse about Theoderic, the Rök stone's dedication formula in the first

two lines contains the names of the father *Varinn*, who raised the stone in memory of his son

Vámóðr:

> *Ept Vámóð standa rúnar þær. En Varinn fáði, faðir, ept feigjan son.*

> These runes stand in memory of Væmoð, but Varin wrote them (lit. painted), the

> father, for the dead (lit. death-marked) son. (*SRI* band 2, 232-233; Lönnroth 1977,

> 5)

The alliteration of the father's and son's names are incorporated into the formula. Next, the

runestone Sö 56 from the early 11th century mentions two brothers named *Hásteinn* and

Holmsteinn, and again, unlike the majority of formulaic commemorative stones from the late

Viking Age, it is entirely a *fornyrðislag* verse:

> *Ek veit Hástein*
> *þá Holmstein bræðr*
> *menn rýnasta*
> *á Miðgarði,*
> *settu stein*
> *ok stafa marga*
> *eptir Freystein,*
> *fǫður sinn.*

I know Hásteinn and Holmsteinn [to be] the most rune-skilled brothers in Middle

Earth, [they] placed a stone and many staves in memory of Freysteinn, their

father. (Jesch 2017, 194)

The brothers *Hásteinn* and *Holmsteinn* commemorate their father *Freysteinn* on the stone and are

connected to his name and to each other by repeating the -*steinn* element, while the alliterating

H- strengthens their connection to each other. Sö 56 is carved in the RAK style, which indicates

an approximate date between 980 and 1015 CE. Interestingly, the runestone Sö 347 also

mentions two brothers named *Hásteinn* and *Holmsteinn* (and a brother named *Eysteinn*, who

once again shares the same end element with the alliterating pair), but is carved in the style Pr3,

which dates it to approximately 1045–1075 CE, several decades later than Sö 56. Still another

example of the same names used for brothers is in *Landnámabók* 6, where the sons of Earl Atli

are called *Hásteinn*, *Hersteinn* and *Holmsteinn*. There are 17 additional instances of alliterating

variation in the runic inscriptions examined in this study:

Inscription	Father	Son
U 478	Jóarr/Ívarr	Ingvarr
U 233	Ólafr	Eilafr
U 1010	Þjóðmundr	Þormundr
Sö 200	Arnsteinn	Eysteinn
Inscription	**Mother**	**Daughter**
U 489	Gullaug(?)	Gillaug
Inscription	**Brother**	**Brother**
Ög 130	Jóarr/Ívarr	Einarr
U 492	Auðbjǫrn	Ásbjǫrn
U 688	Auðbjǫrn	Ásbjǫrn
Sö 255	Eibjǫrn	Ubbi (Ulfbjǫrn)
U 635	Arfastr[32]	Arnfastr(?)
Sö 234	Jógeirr	Ormgeirr
U 425	Ǫnundr	Jǫrundr
U 893	Ǫnundr	Eyndr
U 160	Arnkell	Ulfketill
U 72	Ernmundr	Ingimundr
Sö 347	Hásteinn	Holmsteinn
Sö 56	Hásteinn	Holmsteinn
Inscription	**Sister**	**Sister**
Sö 263	Gullaug	Guðlaug
Inscription	**Grandfather**	**Grandson**
U 503	Ásgautr	Erngautr
U 644	Gunnleifr	Gulleifr

Table 2.7: Recorded instances of alliterating variation by relationship.

From Table 2.7, it becomes clear that alliterating variation was especially common

between two siblings, but that it could also occur between a parent and child or grandparent and

---

[32] Lena Peterson (2007, 24) views the first elements in the names *Arfastr* and *Arinfastr* in U 635 as variants of the same element Old East Norse arn ('eagle'), corresponding to Old West Norse ǫrn ('eagle'), but notes that the variation has been explained as a second protheme deriving from Old East Norse ærin ('hearth'). In this study, they are also considered different elements, and thus beginning with different vowels (which is not apparent in the standard Old Icelandic form above), and thus another example of alliterating variation.

grandchild. In view of these, especially in the case of repetition of the name pair *Hásteinn* and

Holmsteinn at least three decades apart, I propose that the use of alliterating variation is

analogous to a poetic collocation. According to Ruggerni (2016, 310), poetic collocations are

pairs of words that alliterate and share a common semantic or cultural meaning. "Such pairs of

poetic words which seem from their frequent occurrence together to have 'gone together well',

or to 'belong to each other', prove that within the wide range of possible combinations of words

sharing the same initial sound, Germanic versifiers tended to prefer some over others"

(Ruggerini 2016, 312). One such poetic collocation that in addition to Old Norse, is also attested

in Old English, Middle English, and Old Saxon is that of *rún* ('secret; rune') and *ráð* ('counsel')

(Ruggerini 2016, 317), which also occurs inter alia, on U 11 and side C of Vg 119 as *Ráð þú*

rúnar and *ráð rúnar* (interpret the runes), respectively. Alliterating names of close kin, and

especially pairs using alliterating variation such as *Hásteinn* and *Holmsteinn*, certainly share a

semantic and cultural meaning, in this case that the two are brothers.

It is very significant that it is primarily the older runestones that bear alliterative verse.

This becomes clear when assessing Hübler's (1996, 182–184) list of inscriptions with a full verse

according to their ornament style, and therefore runestone age, according to Gräslund (2006):

Age	980–1050 CE	1050–1130 CE
Number	19	8
Percent	70.4%	29.6%

Table 2.8: Runestone inscriptions containing verse according to age based on Hübler's (1996, 182–184) classification.

Table 2.8 shows that the majority of runestones containing verse is dated to before 1050

CE. This chronological decline is still apparent when considering that 50.5% of all runestones in

this study with an identifiable style (728 of 1443) date from 980–1050 and 49.5% (715) from

1050 to 1130. As Fischer (1999, 3) observed, the majority of runestones with verse are from Södermanland, which comprise 13 of Hübler's total count. The proportion of all runestones examined in this study from Södermanland is 17.5%, yet the proportion of verse-bearing inscriptions is more than double that at 48.1%. Conversely, Uppland inscriptions with verse are noticeably lower with 33.3% compared to the 52.4% of all runestones in this study. Fischer (1999, 30–31) attributes this to a regional difference in the "language of power". However, as Lager (2003, 501–507) has shown, the tradition of raising runestones for deceased relatives occurred in a chronological wave moving from the south to the north, and largely coincided with the conversion of each region to Christianity. Most of the oldest runestones in Swedish territory were raised around the beginning of the 11th century in the provinces of Östergötland, Västergötland, and Småland (Lager 2003, 501–502), followed by Södermanland in the first half of the 11th century until about 1050, when runestone production declined. In Uppland, most runestones were raised from about 1050 until production declined and runestones went out of fashion during the first third of the 12th century. Considering that only 26.5% (214 out of 809) of all dateable Uppland runestones are assigned to the early period, it should be doubly significant that 4 (44.4%) out of the 9 verse inscriptions from Uppland were carved before 1050. The evidence indicates that verse inscriptions become less common in the second half of the 11th and the first quarter of the 12th century, when inscriptions on runestones rely more heavily on prose formulas to convey the information of the commemorated and the surviving family members or friends.

Among the runestones containing verse, there appears to be a higher proportion of alliteration among brothers than in the general corpus. Out of 46 brother/brother relationships, 8 (17.4%) alliterate. The only other alliterating relationship found on these is 2 out of 27 fathers

and sons, or 7.4%. This is lower than the average for the corpus, but only slightly, and could be because of the smaller size of the subset of verse-containing runestones. There are only 9 named female individuals mentioned in relationships, which likely stems from the fact that the proportion of women on earlier runestones is lower than in the latter part of the 11th century, when, particularly in Uppland, 39% of runestones mention women (Gräslund 2003, 490). And while the alliterating relationships on these runestones do not necessarily alliterate with each other in the verses that contain them,[33] the decline of both could be symptomatic of changing æsthetics during the late Viking Age, possibly due to increased influence of contact with the European continent and Christianity.

Poetry was a popular, largely upper-class pastime during the Viking Age (Williams 2013, 67). This was especially true of skaldic poetry (*skald*, later *skáld* = poet), as evidenced by the many kings and chieftains who were praised and glorified in verses known as *lausavísur* (praise verses). Some famous examples of skaldic poem include the *Hǫfuðlausn* (Head Ransom) and the *Aðalsteinsdrápa* (Drápa for King Æthelstan), in which Egill Skallagrímsson (c. 904–c. 995) praises Eirikr (c. 885–954) blóðøx ('blood axe'), the former king of Norway, and King Æthelstan (c. 894–939) of England. Many kings and princes employed court poets as entertainers (Clunies Ross 2005, 2). While traditional poetry continued to exist in Scandinavia,[34] its form and function began to change with the arrival of Christianity. Poems comparing rulers to Norse gods became unacceptable and had to become tailored to incorporate God and Christ instead. In the centuries following the Viking Age, rhyming poetry eventually replaced alliterative verse in mainland

---

[33] On the Högby runestone (Ög 81), for example, one finds: "Góðr karl Gulli gat fimm sonu. Fell á Fœri frœkn drengr Ásmundr, endaðist Qzurr austr í Grikkjum, varð á Holmi Halfdan drepinn" (The good man Gulli had five sons: by Fyris fell Åsmund, the valiant 'dræng', Assur died out east in Greece, Halvdan was on Borgholm (?) slain. Kari was atuti. Dead is Boe too.) (Jansson 1987, 90).

[34] Some runestave inscriptions found in Bryggen from as late as the 14th century contain charms in *ljoðaháttr* and *dróttkvætt* such as N B255 and N B257 (Clunies Ross 2005, 19), but these informal inscriptions were created by a different social class from those who raised commemorative runestones, and also served a very different function.

Scandinavia.[35] While it was not until the 14th century that medieval romances in rhyming

couplets began to make their way from the European continent to the North (Layher 2008, 408),

a limited amount of rhyming poetry did already exist in Scandinavia during the Viking Age.[36]

There is a single tantalizing example of end rhyme on runestones from the Viking Age. The

inscription at Vallentuna Church, U 214, which is a continuation of the inscription on U 215,

contains a sequence in end rhyme:

> *Hann druknaði á Holms hafi, skreið knǫrr hans í kaf, þrír einir kvámu af.*

"He drowned in Holm's sea. His ship sank bodily, those who lived were only three."

(Jansson 1987, 142)

Both U 214 and U 215 date to c. 1100, almost the very end of the runestone tradition. The

practice of raising runestones in Scandinavia died out last in Uppland after 1130, and later

medieval runic inscriptions on grave monuments employed different formulae and vocabulary,

tended to place emphasis on the deceased, and often did not mention the surviving family

member(s) who commissioned the work (Barnes 2012, 100).

If instances of alliteration and alliterating variation such as *Hásteinn* and *Holmsteinn*

represent an older tradition linked to alliterative poetry, perhaps some pairs of names such as

these were more favored than others and remained in use longer, similar to the archaic or

---

[35] In Iceland, Christian skaldic poetry continued to be composed until the mid-16th century, and the more modern *rímur*, which make use of both rhyme and alliteration, were composed from the mid-14th through the 19th century (Clunies Ross 2005, 5).

[36] Egill Skallagrímsson is often credited with importing end rhyme from England in the earliest Scandinavian example, his poem *Hǫfuðlausn* (Head Ransom), which has been dated to the 10th century (Layher 2008, 410).

obsolete English *kith* ('friends and acquaintances') preserved only in the phrase *kith and kin*. The evidence gives the overall impression of a slowly dying tradition of alliterative name giving in favor of other naming strategies and expressions of social status.

2.5 Alliteration and Explicitly Christian Runestones

Since there appears to have been a small decline in alliterating names over the course of the 11th century, a natural aspect to investigate is whether Christianization possibly played a part in the decline. The most direct way is to evaluate whether there is a discernible pattern between inscriptions with alliterating familial names and runestones that are explicitly marked as Christian. Runestones with crosses or other Christian symbolism, or whose inscriptions contain prayers or other Christian messages, have been counted as explicitly Christian, versus unmarked runestones, which lack any of these. Runestones from the Viking Age that were raised in a heathen context are exceedingly rare and can only be counted as such if they display Þórr's hammers, invocations to Þórr, or other heathen content. As Williams (1996, 51) has shown, even the use of heathen scenes or symbols (except for a central Þórr's hammer in place of a cross) do not necessarily indicate that a runestone was produced within a heathen context, and there are very few runestones that scholars agree can be viewed as heathen. The two undisputed heathen runestones containing instances of alliteration in this study are the Rök stone (Ög 136) and the Stenkvista stone (Sö 111). The proportion of runestones whose inscriptions contain at least one set of alliterating familial names viewed according to the explicitly Christian criteria is as follows:

Type	Number	Percent
Explicitly Christian	198	69.2%
Unmarked	86	30.1%
Heathen	2	0.5%

Table 2.9: Explicitly Christian, unmarked, and heathen (Ög 136, Sö 111) runestones with alliterating familial names.

As Table 2.9 shows, the majority of alliterating names occurs on runestones that are explicitly Christian. With 69.2%, the proportion is higher than the overall proportion of runestones marked with prayers or crosses. A total of 1098 out of 1824 (60.2%) in this study are explicitly Christian, versus 683 (37.4%) that are unmarked, and only 5 (0.3%) appear to be heathen. An additional 47 runestones (2.6% of the total) are too damaged for the viewer to discern if they once displayed a cross. It is true that Christian names began to appear and slowly increased in frequency on Swedish runestones during the 11th century (Williams 1996, 70–71). However, from the results above, one must conclude that alliterating names were not directly associated with the pre-Christian religion in the minds of people in 11th century Sweden. This finding is further supported by the fact that people continued to use names that appeared to be obviously heathen and theophoric, even among high-ranking Church officials such as the German missionary bishop *Ansgar*, whose name could be rendered 'god-spear,' and Danish bishop *Óðinkárr*, whose first name element derives from **wōðana-*, 'furious,' rather than *Óðinn*[37] (Peterson 2007, 171), although it came to be associated with the heathen god in later times (Williams 1996, 78).

---

[37] Stille (1999) has argued based on the names in U 440 and Vg 16, that individuals could bear the names of heathen gods, however, the evidence for this is uncertain.

2.6 Comparison with Older Runic Inscriptions

Although there is only a small number (65) of pre-Viking Age runestones, there are some that provide useful information on personal naming strategies. Because there are only 15 found in the Swedish territories included in this study of Viking Age runestones, and because very few mention more than one name and even fewer contain reasonably clear kin relationships, one must also examine Danish and Norwegian runestones for information on naming before the Viking Age. On the 65 Pre-Viking Age runestones, there are a possible 63 personal names total. Among these are a total of 6 clear familial relationships, and alliteration appears relatively often. Out of 5 fathers and sons, and 1 brother and sister, 3 fathers' names alliterate with their sons' names, and one son bears the same name as his father (*Hrozaz*, on N KJ71). The best examples are found on 3 runestones in the Danish province of Blekinge. The first is on the Istaby runestone (DR 359), which dates to about 520/530–560/570 CE and was raised by *Haþuwulfaz*, the son of *Heruwulfaz*, for *Hariwulfaz*, who is a close male relative, possibly his brother (Nielsen 1994, 41). The Stentoften runestone (DR 357) in Blekinge from 520/530–700 CE, also mentions *Haþuwulfaz* and *Hariwulfaz*, possibly the same two mentioned on the Istaby runestone. Finally, the Gummarp runestone (DR 358†) from 560/570–700 CE also mentions *Haþuwulfaz*. The Istaby, Stentoften, and Gummarp runestones, along with the Blekinge runestone (DR 360) from 520/530–700 CE whose inscription contains no personal names, were likely raised by members of the same family clan (Sundqvist and Hultgård 2004, 597–598). All of the names alliterate with *H-* and share the *-wulfaz* ('wolf') element, and are thus also examples of alliterating variation. Sundqvist and Hultgård (2004, 583–584) make the point that these dithematic names are typical elite chieftain names for the 6th and 7th centuries, and that the naming pattern with the lycophoric second element may indicate a warrior elite of "Wülflinge" (ON *Ylfingar*). Although

not a runestone, it is worth raising the possibility that the *Hlweagastiz* in the inscription on the

Gallehus horn could be the son of *Holta* or *Holtigastiz* (Antonsen 1975, 41; Düwel 2008, 32),

and so alliterate with his father's name. Although this theory is not generally accepted, and

Holtijaz most likely derives from a place name and so would translate to 'of/from Holt'

(Kousgård-Sørensen 1984, 45–46), this inscription nonetheless demonstrates the affinity for

alliteration in names among the pre-Viking Age elite in Scandinavia.

A different example of alliteration with *H-* is found on the mid-6th-century Kjølvik

(Strand) runestone (N KJ75) in Norway, with *Hadulaikaz*, the son of *Hagustaldaz*. Apart from

the familial relationships found on the Pre-Viking Age runestones, 2 are of a lord and a retainer,

of which 1 alliterates and is woven into verse. This is found on the Tune runestone (N KJ72) in

Proto-Norse from c. 250–400 CE, and reads:

Ek Wiwaz after Woduride witandahlaiban worhto r[unoz]

"I, Wiwaz, made the runes after Woduridaz, my lord." (Grønvik's 1987 dissertation)

Finally, a non-runic 4th century Burgundian Latin grave inscription discovered in Trier,

commemorates *Hariulfus*, son of *Hanhavaldus*. Some of the names above not only alliterate, but

they are examples of alliterative variation, where the second element remains constant, while the

first element is varied and alliterates with the first element of the father's name. Another

important thing to note is that almost all of the names above mentioned on pre-Viking Age

runestones are typical names of chieftains. The alliterating first elements in *Heruwulfaz*,

Haþuwulfaz, and *Hariwulfaz* all carry a warlike meaning: *Hari-* (> ON *herr* m. 'war-host'),

Heru- (> ON *hiǫrr* m. 'sword'), and *Haþu-* (> ON *hǫð* f. 'battle, war'). The second

element, *-ulfr/-wulfar* ('wolf'), was popular among other names of predatory animals, such as eagles, ravens, serpents, and bears, which were power symbols and likely also carried religious significance (Gräslund 2006, 124–128). Thus, the names *Heruwulfaz*, *Haþuwulfaz*, and *Hariwulfaz* mean 'war-host-wolf,' 'sword-wolf,' and 'battle-wolf,' and signal a warrior elite (Sundqvist & Hultgård 2004, 598).

An examination of the Pre-Viking Age runestones appears to support Wessén's idea that alliteration was an elite naming method. However, here emerges the well-known problem in runic scholarship that many of the oldest surviving runic inscriptions were produced by and for the elite (Spurkland 2005, 137). Accordingly, there is essentially no certain evidence of common people's names or non-elite naming customs before the Viking Age. In any event, examples of the Pre-Viking Age runestones provide a glimpse into earlier times, but incomplete information about individuals and families that were not kings or chieftains.

2.7 Comparison with Literary Sources

As mentioned earlier, literary sources provide much information about naming conventions among Germanic peoples, although they should always be approached with caution, even if they purport to be historical (Halvorsen 1968, 199; Jónas Kristjánsson 1988, 203–206). Even so, literary sources can provide information at the very least about the ideal personal naming systems in the minds of the creators and audiences of the works.

Landnámabók and the *Íslendingasögur* provide numerous examples of alliteration between immediate relatives. According to Keil (1931, 8), 67 sons' names alliterate with their father's and 27 daughters' names alliterate with their father's. *Egils saga* mentions the earliest

skaldic poet known by name, *Bragi Boddason*,[38] and *Landnámabók*, *Íslendingabók*, and several sagas name the most famous early Icelandic settler, *Ingólfr Arnarson*.[39] Also according to *Egils saga*, *Brynjólfr Bjǫrgólfsson*'s son is named *Bárðr* (who joins Haraldr hárfagri's retinue). Keil (1931, 8) finds both men's and women's names alliterate with the name of their fathers, for example *Helgi Hǫgnason*, *Þorvaldr Þiðrandason ens spaka*, *Geirný Gnúpsdóttir*, *Illugi Ásláksson*, *Ásgrímr Arngeirsson*, *Álǫf Erlingsdóttir ens auðga*, and *Jórunn Einarsdóttir þveræings*. There are also examples of a grandfather's name alliterating with his grandson's, for instance *Randvér Ráðbarðsson*'s grandson, *Ragnarr lóðbrók*. Although it is by far the most common for sons' names to alliterate with their father's, and to a lesser degree with their grandfather's, they would sometimes alliterate with their mother's name instead, and occasionally with that of their grandmother. For example, Bjǫrgólfr marries *Hildiríðr Hǫgnadóttir* in a second marriage and names their sons *Hárekr* and *Hrørekr*, using alliterating first elements with an identical second element, and *Helgi enn magri* is *Hlíf Hrólfsdóttir*'s grandson. Keil (1931, 61) finds that alliteration, variation, and repetition are used about the same amount during the Saga Age (*söguöld*) up to 1050 CE, with alliteration and variation each 18.8%, and repetition 17.5%, but clarifies that the latter figure is skewed downward due to fewer mentions of women in the sources, and that repetition occurs in about 20.3% of male individuals.

---

[38] Bragi Boddason was a possibly Norwegian skaldic poet who lived during the 9th century, and the first skaldic poet whose name is recorded. According to the 12th- and 13th-century *Skáldatal*, he flourished around 830, but *Landnámabók* and *Egils saga* place his life around 835–900. His surviving work, the 20-stanza *Ragnarsdápa*, describes mythical scenes depicted on Ragnarr lóðbrók's shield. By the Middle Ages, Bragi had become a mythical figure as the god of poetry, listed among the gods in Snorri's *Skáldskaparmál* (Simek 1993, 42).

[39] Ingólfr Arnarson is also mentioned in *Egils saga*, *Eyrbyggja saga*, *Flóamanna saga*, and *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar*. According to Ari Þorgilsson's account in *Landnámabók*, upon arriving near the shore of Iceland, Ingólfr cast his high seat pillars overboard in order to settle wherever they washed ashore. After three years of searching, the pillars were discovered in a bay, and Ingólfr's settlement eventually developed into the capital city, Reykjavík (Ellwood 1898, 8-10).

The figure for alliteration in the Old Icelandic sources is significantly higher than the average 10.4% found in this study.

Considering especially the high sample number of father/son relationships (1456) and brother/brother relationships (1421) gathered from the runestones in this study, the average rate of alliteration for at least these relationships should be regarded as reasonably reliable. Of course it cannot be discounted that the variance between the alliteration rates in the Old Icelandic sources could be due to a regional difference between Iceland and Sweden. For one, Iceland did not have as an intense cultural contact with the rest of Europe, as mainland Scandinavia and has been more conservative linguistically. Today, Iceland is the only Nordic country in which the traditional patronymics are still required by law for most individuals (Alþingi 2019). However, it may also be due to an aspect unique to the Old Icelandic sources dealing with the centuries following the time of settlement (approximately 870–1030 or according to Keil, 1050), namely that the first written sources relaying information about this time date from 1200 onward (Jónas Kristjánsson 1988, 217), at least 200 years after the events. Before the events in the *Íslendingasögur* were put to parchment, they existed in an oral tradition, which 19th-century scholars believed passed down historical events in an unaltered form until they were finally written down in the forms surviving today (Jónas Kristjánsson 1988, 204). However, since then, scholars have viewed the *Íslendingasögur* in a more critical light, with some scholars regarding them as semi-historical works and others considering them works of pure fiction. I will take the view here that they are at their core based on historical events, but changed and evolved over the centuries until they reached their written form. In that case, it is possible the oral tradition was responsible for the higher rates of alliteration in the Old Icelandic sources. After all, alliteration is a well-known mnemonic aid in poetry (Minkova 2003, 6). Perhaps people remembered

individuals or characters with alliterating names better than those with non-alliterating names, or changed forgotten names of some individuals in the *sögur* to seem more æsthetically pleasing. It is also possible that the extant alliteration in the poetic and prose material is more a literary convention and a product of the demands of the alliterative verse form rather than a measure of historical naming practice. The relationships between named persons on Viking Age runestones on the other hand, are historically reliable as long as the inscriptions are interpreted correctly. However plausible, it may never be known exactly why alliteration appears to be twice as common in Old Icelandic sources as on Viking Age runestones in Sweden.

Some Anglo-Saxon texts also provide abundant information about Scandinavian names up through the Viking Age. In *Beowulf*, the names of the kings of the Danes, the Swedes[40] and the Geats[41] alliterate over several generations. In the Danish line one finds alliteration most often in *H-*: *Healfdene*'s sons, *Heorogár*, *Hróðgár*, and *Hálga*, and their respective sons, *Heoroweard*, *Hréðríc* and *Hróðmund*, and *Hróþulf* (Woolf 1939, 146). The related poetic fragment *Fight at Finnsburg* also yields more instances of alliteration among the Danes: *Hóc* with his sons *Hnæf* and *Hildeburh*, the brothers *Æschere* and *Yrmenlaf*, and *Ecglaf* and his son *Unferð* (Woolf 1939, 147). Among the Geats/Götar mentioned in *Beowulf* we find king *Hréðel* with his sons *Herebeald*, *Hæðcyn*, and *Hygelác*, and Hygelác's son *Heardréd*. Other Geats/Götar connected to Hréðel's family by marriage are *Hæreþ* with his sons *Hygd* and *Hereríc*, and *Wígláf*, son of *Wéoxstán*, who is the son of *Wægmund*. Out of a total of 24 father and son relationships, 18

---

[40] The modern name for Sweden (*Sverige*) is a phonological reduction of the older Swedish *Swerike* (attested in Old English as *Swíoríce*), 'realm of the Swedes,' which derives from the tribal name *Svear*, one of the two main tribal ancestors of modern Swedes (Hellquist 1948, 1126). Historically, the region of *Svealand* comprised the area of the modern regions of Uppland, Södermanland, Västmanland, Närke, Dalarna, and Värmland.

[41] The other of the two main tribal ancestors of modern Swedes is the *Götar* (not to be confused with the etymologically related *Gutar*, the historical tribe of Gotlanders), attested in Old English as *Géatas*. The historical region of Götland was centered in Västergötland, but later Östergötland other regions were included (Stål 1976, 130).

(75%) alliterate. Alliteration in contemporary Swedish names is thus far more common in *Beowulf* than on the Swedish Viking Age runestones examined here. This may be explained by the fact that all individuals mentioned in the poem are high-status. In addition, the source is an Anglo-Saxon text likely first composed in the 8th century (Bredehoft 2014, 97), and as has been shown in Section 2.1, Anglo-Saxon rulers employed alliteration well into the 11th century.

Alliteration is also common among the Swedish royal family in *Ynglingatal*. There are 20 instances of either vowel or consonant alliteration, or 16, excluding repeated names and repetition of first name elements between two immediate generations: *Vanlandi - Vísbur*, *Dómarr - Dyggvi - Dagr*, *Agni - Alrekr/Eiríkr - Yngvi/Álfr - Jǫrundr/Eiríkr - Aun* or *Áni - Egill - Óttarr - Aðils - Eysteinn - Yngvarr - Ǫnundr - Ingjaldr - Ása/Ólafr - Ingjaldr*. Out of a total of 27 human kings mentioned in *Ynglingatal*, 59% alliterate with their predecessor. Dating these mythical kings is highly tenuous at best, but given their connection to Uppsala according to Snorri, and the fact that some graves at Gamla Uppsala date to the third and fourth centuries (Nerman 1943, 46), Vanlandi could have lived in the mid-third century. Alliteration could thus have been the dominant naming strategy from the mid-third century up to when Halfdan hvítbeinn ('whiteshanks') lived (Woolf 1939, 167–169), breaking the line of vowel alliteration which had gone on for 14 generations before him. It is interesting to note that according to *Ynglinga saga* 48, Halfdan became the first of his line to be king of Norway, and thus the end of alliteration as a naming strategy coincides with the end of the family's rule of Sweden, while in Norway, the family's descendants used repetition instead (Marold 2012, 7). The high proportion of alliteration in the royal family fits with the idea that alliteration was a naming method especially favored by the social elite during the Migration Period (Wessén 1927, 14).

The four historically verified kings (hailing from the House of Munsö) from the mid-10th- through 11th centuries, Eiríkr inn sigrsæli ('the victorious,' c. 945– c. 995), Óláfr skötkonungr ('tax king; tributary king,' c. 980–1022), Ǫnundr Jakob (c. 1008–1050), Emunðr gammal ('the old;' reigned: c. 1050–1060), still appear to employ vowel alliteration as their naming strategy. Wessén (1927, 29) considers this to be a relic of the 7th century, a result of conservative naming traditions, since repetition had already replaced alliteration as a naming strategy in the royal houses of Norway and Denmark by this time. The break from the alliterative tradition happens with the House of Steinkill,[42] when repetition became the dominant naming strategy in Sweden as well (Wessén 1927, 31). The first four historical kings of Sweden whose reigns spanned approximately 970–1060, almost exactly corresponds to what has been designated as the early period of late Viking Age runestones in this study (980–1050). The rule of the House of Steinkill spanned approximately 1060–1126, which in turn happens to correspond to what this study designates as the late period (1050–1130). However, the marked change from alliteration to repetition as a favored naming strategy seen in *Ynglingatal* and the later historical Swedish kings does not at all seem to correspond to the slight decline in alliteration used by the persons who raised runestones during this period in Sweden.

Among other Norse sources, *Vǫlsunga saga* and the poems of the Niflung cycle in the *Poetic Edda* also provide rich examples of alliteration among kin. Material of the same legend is found in many other Scandinavian[43] and German[44] written sources, as well as visual artwork

---

[42] The kings from the House of Steinkill are, in order: Steinkill - Eiríkr and Eiríkr - Hallsteinn - Anund - Håkon - Ingi - Sveinn - Filip - Ingi - Ragnvald.

[43] Aside from *Vǫlsunga saga* and the poems in the *Poetic Edda*, the Scandinavian sources for the legend are: *Skáldskaparmál* in the *Prose Edda*, the Norwegian *Þiðriks saga af Bern* from 1250–60, the 14th-century *Norna-Gests Þáttr*, the late medieval Icelandic *Völsungsrímur*, Scandinavian ballads dating from 1300 on, and the *Hven Chronicle* (a 1603 Danish translation from Latin) (Finch 1965, ix-xi).

[44] The main German sources apart from the *Nibelungenlied* are the c. 1280 romance *Siefrid de Ardemont*, the 1477 *Anhang zum Heldenbuch*, the 16th-century *Das Lied vom Hürnen Seyfrid*, the 1557 drama *Der Hürnen Seufrid*, and the 1726 *Volksbuch vom gehörnten Sigfrid* (Finch 1965, xi–xii).

from the late Viking Age and medieval period.[45] The most famous work is the Middle High German *Nibelungenlied*, which dates from about 1200 CE and served as the inspiration for Wagner's opera cycle *Der Ring des Nibelungen*. Although the text of *Vǫlsunga saga* was probably composed around 1250 (Larrington 2014, xviii), and it is preserved in only one manuscript from around 1400 (Ny kgl. Saml. 1824b 4to), the saga and the poems in the *Poetic Edda* it is based on deal with much older material from the Migration Period (c. 300–700 CE). As such, even though the events and characters in the works are largely fictional, some are based on historical personalities (Crawford 2017, xvii), and the naming conventions appear to be based on what society deemed appropriate for high-status individuals. Alliteration, as well as variation, are the dominant naming systems used by the main characters and their kin. All of *Sigurðr*'s family members have names beginning in the *Sig-* element or alliterate in *S-*, from his father *Sigmundr*, who sires a son *Sinfjǫtli* with his own sister *Signý*, to Sigurðr's daughter *Svanhildr* and son *Sigmundr*. Alliteration with other consonants or with vowels is also found in the House of Vǫlsung, but also in the House of Buðli and that of Gjúki (the Niflungar). Sigmundr's (Sigurðr's son) sons are *Helgi* and *Hamundr*, two of *Buðli*'s daughters alliterate with him (*Brynhildr* and *Bekkhildr*), *Gunnarr*'s parents are *Gjúki* and *Grimhildr*, and two of his three siblings also alliterate in *G-* (*Guðrún* and *Guttormr*), *Atli*'s sons by Guðrún are *Erpr* and *Eitill*, and two of Hǫgni's three sons alliterate with each other (*Solar* and *Snævarr*). There is overall a striking amount of alliteration in *Vǫlsunga saga* and its analogues, far more than is found in the Viking Age runic inscriptions examined here. It is possible that archaic naming traditions were preserved in folk memory and used to indicate the mythical high-status characters in a distant

---

[45] Some prominent examples of these include the Ramsund carving (Sö 101), the Västerljung runestone (Sö 40), the Gök carving (Sö 327), a baptismal font from Norum in Bohuslän (Bo NIYR5;222), the Hunninge picture stone from Gotland, and the frame of the church doors from Hylestad stave church in Norway (Düwel 2008, 140–141; Millet 2008, 155).

time from the contemporary audience of the saga. Oral tradition and poetry in particular, as discussed above, favors alliteration. Additionally, *Vǫlsunga saga* deals almost exclusively with persons from the highest social strata, who would be given alliterating names in these stories. Here again, as with the mythical and historical kings of Sweden, there is little correspondence between the naming systems in *Vǫlsunga saga* and the people who raised runestones in late Viking Age Sweden, which supports the idea that alliteration was an upper class phenomenon.

A survey of the relevant literary sources has yielded some insight into the use of alliteration by Scandinavians during the late Viking Age. Alliteration is twice as common in the *Íslendingasögur* as in the runic inscriptions examined in this study, either due to the fact that many sagas went through several centuries of oral transmission before arriving at their written form, in which alliteration may have served as a memory aid, or because Iceland has traditionally been more conservative than its mainland Scandinavian counterparts. In the Scandinavian families mentioned in *Beowulf*, alliteration occurs in 75% of all father and son relationships, which may be attributed to the fact that the poem is mostly concerned with the social elite by and for whom it was composed. The Anglo-Saxon origin of the poem may play a part, since the names of Anglo-Saxon rulers were largely governed by alliteration into the 11th century. In *Ynglingatal*, one can observe alliteration as the main naming tradition in the Swedish royal family for 20 generations from about 140 to 710 CE, when it is replaced by repetition. Although the historicity of *Ynglingatal* is questionable, the first 4 Swedish kings of historical times also alliterate with each other, which supports Wessén's argument that alliteration was an archaic elite naming strategy. Finally, alliteration serves as the primary naming strategy within the families of the main characters in *Vǫlsunga saga*, which, due to the high status of the characters and the setting of the plot in the Migration Period, also seems to indicate support for Wessén's

theory that alliteration was especially in use during earlier centuries, but had mostly fallen out of favor during the Viking Age.

2.8 Conclusion

A thorough examination of the data has shown that alliteration may have still been somewhat in use by the wealthy landowners who raised runestones in late Viking Age Sweden, but in most cases, it is impossible to determine whether alliteration was deliberate or due to chance. In addition, alliteration was not especially common with an average of 10.4% for all familial relationships. There also appears to have been a small, but not statistically significant decline in the use of alliteration over the course of the 11th century from 11.4% to 9.9%. At the same time, runestones containing verse declined as well, which may indicate that æsthetics involving alliteration were becoming less popular. While alliteration in naming was on the decline and slowly being replaced by repetition, it is possible that especially among siblings, alliteration retained a small foothold through alliterating variation by creating alliterating pairs of names that went well together and so remained in use longer than others. Because the proportion of runestones with alliterating relationships that are explicitly Christian is even higher (70.8%) than the entire corpus examined here (60.1%), there is no apparent direct connection between the decline and the strengthening of Christianity over the course of the 11th century. Analysis of the relationships on Pre-Viking Age runestones revealed a much higher rate of alliteration, possibly due to the fact that they were raised by the social elite during the end of the Migration Period (Wessén 1927, 14). All the literary sources examined show significantly higher rates of alliterating names. The world of the *Íslendingasögur* is roughly contemporary with the late Viking Age runestones of Sweden, but the rate of alliteration is about twice as high as on the

runestones. This is likely either due to more conservative traditions in Iceland or the influence of the long oral tradition from the time of purported events to the time in which they were recorded in writing, since alliteration could serve as a mnemonic device. The Scandinavian names in *Beowulf* and the names of Swedish kings in *Ynglingatal* also evidence very high rates of alliteration and support Wessén's theory that alliteration was the favorite naming strategy among kings and the social elite during the Migration Period, and declined before the Viking Age. Finally, the mythical world of *Vǫlsunga saga* and its analogues depicts heroes with idealized traits and names, and harkens back to the earlier times of the Migration Period when alliteration was the main naming strategy among high-status individuals.

Chapter 3: Variation

3.1 Introduction

This chapter first provides a brief outline of the history of variation in name-giving practices as inherited from Indo-European and delineates the use of variation in Germanic dithematic personal names. Then the frequency of variation in the runestone corpus between relatives is explored. Additional aspects investigated are the use of gendered name elements, regional patterns in variation, and discernible changes from the beginning of the 11th century to the end of the period around 1130. Variation in naming practices in the rest of the old Scandinavian and Germanic world will be examined as well to draw comparisons and underline differences between the runic data from Sweden and its contemporary neighbors.

The naming strategy of variation involves dithematic names in which one of the elements remains fixed and the other element varies. Dithematic names are composed of first elements and second elements. Names in which the second element remains the same and the first element is varied make use of *front variation*, whereas names that have the first element in common and vary the second element are termed *end variation*. An example of front variation is *Þorbjǫrn*, son of *Arnbjǫrn* (*Landnámabók* 100), and an example of end variation is *Þorbjǫrn* with his son *Þorvarðr*, and grandsons *Þórarinn*, and *Þorgils* (*Landnámabók* 80). The use of variation was not restricted to one type, but could be mixed within a family itself (Wessén 1927, 25). An example of a family line using both front and end variation also from *Landnámabók* is *Þorbjǫrn* and his son *Þorbrandr*, his grandson *Ásbrandr*, and great-grandson *Vébrandr* (*Landnámabók* 45). Occasionally, the fixed element could change positions, for example, *Þorgrímr*, the son of *Grímólfr* in *Egils saga*, though this was not as common as the element remaining fixed in the

same position. This may be partly because not many first elements have corresponding second elements, and vice versa. For example, *Ulf-* and *Grím-* can readily be changed to *-ulfr* and *-grímr*, while *Frey-*, *Hall-*, *Bryn-*, and *Ás-* only occur as first elements, and *-arr*, *-laug*, and *-fríðr* only occur as second elements and cannot be interchanged. It is thought that variation is a type of partial repetition (Peterson 1988, 124; 2002, 750) and was allowed while the original name bearer was still alive (Janzén 1947b, 37). This contrasts with repetition, which for a long time was only permitted if the original name bearer was deceased (Janzén 1947a, 238). Instead of the entire name, only a name element was passed on from a relative's name to a new individual.

Unlike alliteration as a naming strategy, which appears to have been a Germanic innovation due to the change from variable to fixed syllable stress (see Section 2.1), the variation system was a practice inherited from Proto-Indo-European. There are many ancient Greek examples: *Aristokles* (Plato) son of *Ariston*, *Sophokles* son of *Sophillos*, and *Arkhetimos* son of *Eurytimos* (Wessén 1927, 6). There are also examples of variation in the earliest attested Germanic names. For instance, Tacitus mentions the brothers *Inuiomerus* and *Segimerus*, as well as a father *Segimundus* with his sons *Segimerus* and *Segestes* (Wessén 1927, 6). Some other early examples are found in Gothic with Wandalaharjis' sons *Þiudamers*, *Walamers*, and *Widimers* (Sundqvist and Hultgård 2004, 584). Among the Agilofing family in Bavaria from the 6th to 8th centuries, variation was used alongside repetition: *Theudelinde*, *Theodo*, *Theudebert*/*Theodebert*, *Theobald*, *Theodo*, *Garipald*, *Gundoald*, and *Grimoald* (Strömer 1975, 38). In the Anglo-Saxon House of Essex, the *Sige-* element was especially popular, along with alliteration with *S-*. From the early 7th century to the end of the 8th century one finds: *Sigebeorcht* with his son *Sigehere*, *Sigeheard* with his son *Sigemund*, and the sequence *Sigefrith*

- Selefrith - Sigebeald - Sigebeorcht - Selered - Sigeric - Sigered (Woolf 1939, 18). In 6th- and 7th-century Kent there are also many examples of variation alongside alliteration: *Æthelbeorht* with his sons *Æthelburg Tate*, *Eadburg*, and *Eadbeald*, *Eormenred* with sons *Eormenburg* and *Eormengyth*, siblings *Æthelthryth*, *Æthelred*, and *Æthelbeorht*, and *Eorconbeorht* with children *Eorcongote* and *Eormengild* (Woolf 1939, 27–28). The House of Mercia predominantly made use of alliteration, but even here one finds examples of variation. The offspring of King Offa (ruled 757–796 CE) were sons *Æthelburg* and *Æthelswith*, and daughters *Ælfflæd* and *Ælfthryth*; *Wiglaf*'s (died 839) son and grandson were *Wigmund* and *Wigstan*, and *Beorhtwulf*'s (died 852) sons *Beorhtfrith* and *Beorhtric* (Woolf 1939, 43–44).

On the continent, the variation system remained in full use in Carolingian times, when the practice of repetition of name elements occurred within families both of high and low status (Wessén 1927, 6). Occasionally, the child's name was built from mother's and father's name elements, for example among the Carolingian Franks: *Teutbertus* son of *Teutricus* and *Ermenberta*, and *Adalildis* daughter of *Adalgaudus* and *Giroildis* (Wessén 1927, 7). In the Old High German *Hildebrandslied*, which was recorded in its extant form around 830 (Bostock 1976, 74) but whose content dates to the 7th or 8th century, one finds three generations with the same second element and alliterating first element: *Heribrand*, *Hildebrand*, and *Hadubrand*. Another example of OHG names using variation are *Hrambert* with his sons *Waldbert* and *Wolfbert*; once again, the sons also alliterate with each other in addition to sharing the *-bert* second element with each other and their father (Sundqvist and Hultgård 2004, 585).

Variation is also attested in early Scandinavian sources. The 6th-century Istaby runestone (DR 359), for example, mentions three generations of men with the same second element and alliterating first element: *Heruwulfaz*, *Haþuwulfaz*, and *Hariwulfaz*. There are numerous

examples from the Viking Age, particularly names of Icelandic settlers, as well as on Swedish and Danish runestones. In Book 6 of *Gesta Danorum*, Saxo Grammaticus mentions 12 Norwegian warrior brothers who all share the second element *-bjǫrn*, among them are *Geirbjǫrn*, *Gunnbjǫrn*, *Arinbjǫrn*, *Steinbjǫrn*, *Esbjǫrn*, *Þorbjǫrn*, and *Bjǫrn* (*Saxos Danmarks historie*, 236). In the Norse material one even finds some combinations of individuals' mother's and father's name elements, such as *Þorkatla*, the daughter of *Otkatla* and *Þorvaldr* (Wessén 1927, 7).

It was especially common for brothers to share a name element. Wessén (1927, 9) draws attention to examples from *Landnámabók* and *Heimskringla*. The children of the Icelandic settler *Végeirr* were *Vésteinn*, *Véþormr*, *Vémundr*, *Végestr*, *Vèþorn*, and *Vébjǫrn* (*Landnámabók*, 198). Some runic examples Wessén draws attention to are *Hásteinn* and *Holmsteinn*, the sons of *Freysteinn* on the Fyrby runestone (Sö 56) and *Eysteinn*, *Hásteinn*, *Holmsteinn*, the brothers of *Bjórsteinn* (Sö 347) (Wessén 1927, 10). There are also cases of brothers and sisters sharing the same name: *Þorbjǫrn tálkni*, and his brother *Þorbjǫrn skúma*, and the sisters *Guðrún* and *Goðrún* (Wessén 1927, 9). There is also an example of two identically-named brothers on the runestone U 490: *Geirbjǫrn* and *Geirbjǫrn* (Wessén & Jansson 1943-46, 327).

The gender of the end name element of dithematic names has to correspond to the gender of the name-bearer. Some of the more common masculine second elements are *-bjǫrn*, *-steinn*, *-geirr*, *-fastr*, *-ke(ti)ll*, *-ríkr*, *-ulfr*, and *-undr*, and some common feminine end elements include *-bjǫrg*, *-dís*, *-friðr*, *-hildr*, *-gerðr*, *-laug*, *-rún*, -and *-vé*. The masculine and feminine name elements originally derive from masculine and feminine nouns (Otterbjörk 1968b, 208). Some second elements developed feminine forms from their masculine counterparts through *transferal* (Swed. *movering*, Ger. *Movierung*) (Andersson 2011, 11): *-laugr* (m)

and *-laug* (f), *-ke(ti)ll* (m) and *-katla* (f), *-garðr* (m) and *-gerðr* (f), *-fastr* (m) and *-fast* (f), *-friðr*

(m) and *-fríðr* (f), *-lafr/leifr* (m), and *-lǫf* (f). It was also possible to form masculine second

elements from feminine elements such as *-bergr* (m) from *-biǫrg* (f), but this was much less

common (Peterson 1981, 25; Janzén 1947b 102; Schramm 1957, 158). There was largely more

freedom with first elements with regard to gender. Even masculine second elements such

as *-geirr*, *-ketill*, and *-steinn*, appear as first elements in feminine names such as *Geirhildr*,

Ketilvé, and *Steinbjǫrg*.

The dithematic names of the variation system in most cases do not form meaningful

compounds, even if the individual name elements have clear etymological meanings (Peterson

1988, 125). Rather, their meaning derives from the inclusion of particular name elements which

indicate an individual's kinship with other persons. An example of a name in which both

elements have a clear etymology, but are meaningless when compounded is *Hallsteinn* (*Hall-*

'stone, slab' and *-steinn* 'stone'). Another example is the second element *-arr* found in names

like ON *Eyjarr*, *Garðarr*, and *Jarðarr*, which could derive from *-harjaR, *-gaiRaR or

*-warjaR. Because all three of these second elements underwent phonological reduction and

merged as *-arr* (Peterson 1988, 126), the exact source of the *-arr* element of a name is uncertain.

The main exception to the semantic meaninglessness of compound names is bynames.

Meaningful bynames describe a person's physical, mental, or social characteristics (Brylla 1999,

15–16).

Vikstrand (2009) has posited that some names bear pre-Christian religious content.

According to him, the second elements *-alfr* and *-dís* may refer to minor deities or spirits, while

the first elements *Þór-* and *Freyr-* may simply derive from the same source of the names *Þórr* (<

Proto-Germanic *þunraz* 'thunder') and *Freyr* (< Proto-Germanic *frawjō* 'lord'), and not denote

the actual gods. One possible exception is *Þórir*, which may derive from **Þunrawīhaz*, 'Þórr's priest/cultic functionary'. Another notable exception is the feminine byname *Óðin-Dísa* on the runestone Vs 24, which possibly expresses the woman's still heathen beliefs in a time when Sweden was becoming increasingly Christian (Vikstrand 2009, 21). The area remains controversial with regard to whether or not names containing potentially religious elements actually had a religious meaning or function (Andersson 1993, 54; Peterson 2002, 666-667, 747).

Because name elements were passed on from generation to generation within families, different name elements naturally became more common in different regions. Studies of personal names during the Viking Age have revealed regional differences. *Fast-*, *Folk-*, *Heðin-*, *Holm-*, *Ígul-*, and others are especially favored in East Norse names, whereas hypocorisms deriving from *Þór-* are especially common in Denmark. On Gotland, the element *Bót-* is most common, and the first element *Líkn-* is also often found, while the second element *-líkn* is unique to the island, and *n*-stem declension of *Þór-* hypocorisms are rare in Norway (Peterson 2002, 747–749).

Variation was still in use at the end of the Viking Age, but according to Wessén (1927, 8), the most common method of naming during this time was repetition. Wessén notes that ruling families strongly preferred repetition during the Viking Age (1927, 9). In the Medieval period, foreign names, such as names of Christian saints and eventually German names, began to be adopted by the populace. Evidence suggests that the adoption of Christian and foreign names (which did not fit into the dithematic variation scheme and had to be passed on through repetition) was initiated by the elite (Melefors 2002, 966; Sands 2010, xix; Williams 1996, 75). Naming children after saints or other persons unrelated to the family led to a decline in native dithematic names and the deterioration and eventual abandonment of the variation system in favor of repetition by the end of the Middle Ages (Melefors 2002, 966).

The remainder of this chapter examines the use of variation in the runestone corpus to determine the extent of variation during the late Viking Age in Sweden. It will also determine whether there are regional variations, and whether there are any discernible changes over time. The use of variation in relation to Christianity will also be examined. Finally, the data of the runestone corpus will be compared with near-contemporary literary sources.

3.2 Variation Data Results

As Wessén (1927, 10–14) noted, there are many examples of variation on Swedish runestones from the Viking Age. In this study, instances of all types of variation have been counted together to reveal the total number and percent of names using the variation principle. Names such as *Sibbi*, *Tubbi,* and *Gubbi* have been included in the results as hypochoristic forms of dithematic names, in these cases of *Sigbjǫrn*, *Þorbjǫrn*, and *Guðbjǫrn*. Similarly, monothematic names such as *Inga*, *Bjǫrn*, and *Ulfr* have also been included, as they are short forms of dithematic names with the elements *Ing-*, *Bjǫrn-/-bjǫrn*, or *Ulf-/-ulfr*. Of course, some of these types of names are not necessarily short forms of dithematic names and could potentially represent bynames. However, if a name of a relative contains the same element in a dithematic name, it can be considered a partial name repetition and an instance of variation.

There are a total of 4668 individuals named in the 1824 runic inscriptions examined in this study, in which 3901 family relationships can be identified. Of these, 363 individuals, an overall average of 9.3%, are recorded as bearing a name that shares a name element with a named relative. The relationships evaluated for variation are father/son, father/daughter, mother/son, mother/daughter, brother/brother, sister/sister, brother/sister, grandfather/grandson, grandfather/granddaughter, grandmother/grandson, grandmother/granddaughter, uncle/nephew,

uncle/niece, aunt/nephew, aunt/niece, great-uncle/great-nephew, great-uncle/great-niece, great-aunt/great-nephew, and great-aunt/great-niece. In Tables 3.1, 3.2a, 3.2b, and 3.3 below, only entries with positive results are shown. The total numbers and percent of variation for each type of family relationship examined in this study are as follows:

Relationship	Number (Proportion)	Total Relationships
Father/Son	130 (8.9%)	1454
Father/Daughter	5 (4.3%)	117
Mother/Son	16 (4.4%)	361
Mother/Daughter	10 (29.4%)	34
Brother/Brother	172 (12.1%)	1417
Sister/Sister	8 (27.6%)	29
Brother/Sister	6 (4.2%)	144
Grandfather/Grandson	3 (2.9%)	104
Grandfather/Granddaughter	0 (0%)	11
Grandmother/Grandson	1 (4.8%)	21
Grandmother/Granddaughter	0 (0%)	1
Uncle/Nephew	8 (5.4%)	149
Uncle/Niece	0 (0%)	5
Aunt/Nephew	0 (0%)	18
Aunt/Niece	0 (0%)	2
Great-Uncle/Great-Nephew	0 (0%)	9

Table 3.1: Total instances of name variation on Swedish Viking Age runestones by relationship.

As with Tables 3.1, 3.2a, 3.2b, and 3.3, there are no variation results for Värmland or Jämtland, so these have been excluded from Table 3.2a below. The recorded instances of variation with respect to region are as follows:

	U	Sö	Ög	Vg	Sm	Öl	Vs	M	Nä	Gs	Hs
F/S	78 (9.4%)	29 (10.3%)	8 (6.8%)	6 (9.5%)	3 (4.5%)	1 (3%)	2 (15.4%)	1 (5.6%)	1 (12.5%)	1 (20%)	0
F/D	2 (4%)	0	2 (20%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
M/S	11 (4.3%)	2 (3.6%)	0	1 (7.1%)	1 (20%)	0	0	1 (20%)	0	0	0
M/D	7 (33.3%)	3 (33.3%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B/B	101 (12.2%)	49 (14.4%)	10 (10.1%)	1 (2.4%)	2 (5.9%)	8 (20.5%)	0	0	0	0	1 (20%)
S/S	7 (31.8%)	1 (8.3%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B/S	4 (4.1%)	1 (4%)	1 (8.3%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GF/GS	2 (2.9%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (8.3%)
GM/GS	1 (6.3%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
U/NP	5 (4.3%)	1 (5.9%)	1 (10%)	1 (50%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 3.2a: Total recorded instances of all types of variation ordered by region.

The recorded instances of variation with respect to style and therefore age (Gräslund [2006]) are as follows:

	RAK	Fp	KB	Pr1	Pr2	Pr3	Pr4	Pr5	Unknown
F/S	20 (10.1%)	16 (9.4%)	1 (5.6%)	2 (2.7%)	13 (8.3%)	22 (9.4%)	38 (9.5%)	8 (15.7%)	10 (6.5%)
F/D	1 (10%)	0	0	0	1 (5.6%)	1 (5.3%)	2 (5.4%)	0	0
M/S	2 (7.1%)	3 (13%)	0	0	1 (2.4%)	2 (3.1%)	2 (1.5%)	5 (19.2%)	1 (4%)
M/D	0	0	0	0	2 (20%)	1 (33.3%)	4 (30.8%)	3 (60%)	0
B/B	15 (8.4%)	17 (10.2%)	2 (9.5%)	6 (7.1%)	20 (12%)	41 (18.2%)	42 (10.4%)	12 (24%)	17 (13.6%)
S/S	0	1 (33.3%)	0	1 (100%)	0	2 (40%)	2 (20%)	1 (50%)	1 (100%)
B/S	1 (7.7%)	1 (6.3%)	0	0	0	1 (4.2%)	1 (2.4%)	2 (16.7%)	0
GF/GS	0	0	0	1 (9.1%)	0	0	2 (5.3%)	0	0
GM/GS	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (9.1%)	0	0
U/NP	1 (8.3%)	1 (7.7%)	0	0	0	2 (10%)	4 (4.7%)	0	0

Table 3.2b: Total recorded instances of all types of variation ordered by ornament style.

The percent of instances of variation in each province is as follows:

Region	Relationships	Variation	Percent
Uppland	2370	219	9.2
Södermanland	794	86	10.8
Östergötland	263	22	8.4
Västergötland	124	9	7.3
Småland	119	6	5
Öland	83	9	10.8
Västmanland	23	2	8.7
Medelpad	42	2	4.8
Närke	18	1	5.6
Gästrikland	11	1	9.1
Hälsingland	43	2	4.7
Värmland	0	0	0
Jämtland	1	0	0
			9.2

Table 3.3: Percent of relationships with variation according to region.

The total instances of variation that can be assigned to an early period of 980–1050 CE (comprised of styles RAK, Fp, KB, Pr1 and Pr2) and a late period of 1050–1130 CE (including styles Pr3, Pr4 and Pr5) and the total number and percent of variation for each region and overall are as follows:[46]

---

[46] The stones with an unknown style have been excluded from Table 3.4 because as such, they cannot be assigned to the early or late period.

	980–1050 CE		1050–1130 CE	
Relationship Type	**Total**	**Variation**	**Total**	**Variation**
Father/Son	617	52 (8.4%)	684	68 (9.9%)
Father/Daughter	54	2 (3.7%)	62	3 (4.8%)
Mother/Son	115	6 (5.2%)	221	9 (4.1%)
Mother/Daughter	11	2 (18.2%)	21	8 (38.1%)
Brother/Brother	615	60 (9.8%)	677	95 (14%)
Sister/Sister	11	2 (18.2%)	17	5 (29.4%)
Brother/Sister	57	2 (3.5%)	77	4 (5.2%)
Grandfather/Grandson	44	1 (2.3%)	55	2 (3.6%)
Grandfather/Granddaughter	4	0 (0%)	7	0 (0%)
Grandmother/Grandson	6	0 (0%)	15	1 (6.7%)
Grandmother/Granddaughter	1	0 (0%)	0	0 (0%)
Uncle/Nephew	35	2 (5.7%)	112	6 (5.4%)
Uncle/Niece	3	0 (0%)	2	0 (0%)
Aunt/Nephew	11	0 (0%)	6	0 (0%)
Aunt/Niece	3	0 (0%)	1	0 (0%)
Great-Uncle/Great-Nephew	3	0 (0%)	6	0 (0%)
TOTAL	**1588**	**130 (8.1%)**	**1963**	**202 (10.2%)**

Table 3.4: Recorded instances of all types of variation during the first and second halves of the 11th century.

Region	**Relationships**	**Variation**	**Percent**
Uppland	2377	219	9.2
Södermanland	794	86	10.8
Östergötland	263	22	8.4
Västergötland	124	9	7.3
Småland	119	6	5
Öland	83	9	10.8
Västmanland	23	2	8.7
Medelpad	42	2	4.8
Närke	18	1	5.6
Gästrikland	11	1	9.1
Hälsingland	43	2	4.7
Värmland	0	0	0
Jämtland	1	0	0
Total	**3898**	**359**	**Avg. 9.2**

Table 3.5: Total number and average percent of names using variation as a naming strategy.

Finally, in addition to dividing the runestone corpus into groups of before and after 1050 CE, there are 13 inscriptions to which *Rundata* explicitly ascribes an approximate age in addition to ornament style that date to before 1000 CE. Most (9) date to the 10th century, and 4 are dated to the 9th century. They are as follows:

Inscription	Approximate Date
Ög 38	900s
Ög 81	900s
Ög 82	900s
Ög 83	900s
Ög 84	900s
Ög 136 (Rök)	800s
Ög 165	900s
Ög N288	800s
Öl 1 (Karlevi)	late 900s
Sm 144	800s
Sö 176	900s
U 4	900s
Vg 119 (except §E)	800s

Table 3.6: The age of the oldest Viking Age inscriptions according to *Rundata* that are included in the study.

The inscriptions which date to before the year 1000 yield a total of 10 father/son, 1 father/daughter, 1 mother/son, 11 brother/brother, and 5 uncle/niece relationships. Of these, 1 father and daughter and 1 father and son have names that share a name element with each other. Ög 165 mentions *Þórunnr* daughter of *Tosti* (a hypocoristic form of *Þorsteinn*), and side §A of Vg 119 mentions *Eivísl*, *Eiríkr*'s son. These 2 instances of variation make up an average 7.4% of the total of 27 family relationships on the pre-1000 Viking Age runestones, which is slightly below the average for the entire corpus. However, because variation is a well-attested naming

strategy during and long before the Viking Age, this difference is probably due to the small

sample size. This proportion is comparable to the regions of Småland, Medelpad, Närke,

Hälsingland, Värmland, and Jämtland, in which there are not many runestones, and where the

low numbers of total relationships result in low percentages of variation. Overall, there is an

increase in variation from 8.1% to 10.2% between the early and late periods of 980–1050 and

1050–1130. According to a chi-square test, this change is statistically significant, but since a *t*-

test did not find the same results to be significant, the change in variation represents a borderline

case and may yet be due to chance rather than a trend in naming practices.[47] The fact that

variation would decrease and eventually fall out of use in following centuries, and Wessén's

(1927, 18) assertion that repetition was the dominant naming method in Viking Age Scandinavia,

cast doubt onto the apparent increase in variation during the 11th century and the statistical

significance of the results.

3.3.1 Analysis

An examination of the results in Tables 3.1 and 3.5 reveals that variation was still a fairly

popular naming strategy during late Viking Age Sweden. Unlike repetition, one could expect to

find variation more between parents and siblings rather than skipping generations. The low rate

of variation between grandfathers and grandsons (2.9%) and grandmothers and grandsons (4.8%)

supports this idea. There also appears to be an especially high frequency among same-gender

siblings with 12.1% for brothers and 27.6% for sisters, compared to the overall average of 9.2%,

which supports Wessén's (1927, 9) statement that siblings often have an element in common.

Among the closest family relationships, there are lower rates between different-gender

---

[47] The varying and non-varying relationships were evaluated from the early to the late periods using $\chi^2(1) = 4.585$ (N $= 3551$), $p = .032252$, indicating evidence of a slight relationship between variation and age.

relationships: father/daughter (4.3%), mother/son (4.4%), brother/sister (4.2%), all of which are about half of the overall average. This is likely due to the fact that different-gender relatives could only share first elements. As mentioned in Section 3.1, second elements were strictly gendered and could only be shared by same-gender individuals. While there are some feminine counterparts of masculine second elements such as *-laug* (f) and *-laugr* (m), *-katla* (f) and *-ke(ti)ll* (m), *-gerðr* (f) and *-garðr* (m), *-fast* (f) and *-fastr* (m), *-fríðr* (f) and *-friðr* (m), *-lǫf* (f) and *-lafr/leifr* (m), it is possible that the corresponding second element could be passed on to a different-gendered relative, however, there are no examples of this is in the runic data in this study.

Another result to note is that there is a surprisingly high rate of variation in female/female relationships: between mothers and daughters it is 29.4%, and between sisters, 27.6%. This could reflect the fact that there are overall fewer feminine elements than masculine elements available.[48] There are approximately 40 masculine second elements in the dithematic names in this study, versus only 23 feminine second elements, which are listed in Table 3.8 in Section 3.3.2 below. In addition to the total number of feminine second elements being significantly lower than their masculine counterparts, some second elements appear to be more popular than others. Out of the 12 mother/daughter and sister/sister relationships that share a second element, only 5 different second elements are used: *-laug* (5), *-(f)ríðr* (3), *-dís* (1), *-hildr* (1), and *-fast* (1). This is an example of the intrinsic narrowing of the pool of available name themes which results from the constant repetition of name elements, further discussed in Section 3.3.2.

---

[48] Female onomasticons may have been smaller than male onomasticons in general, as a tax record from 1522 from Vadstena, about half of whose entries are female names, shows much less diversity among female names than male names (Otterbjörk 1979, 19). Later evidence from the 18th and 19th centuries in Sweden also supports the idea of a smaller female onomasticon (Leibring 2006, 34).

Finally, Table 3.3 reveals that there are no clear patterns in geographic distribution of variation in naming. The most well-represented regions of Uppland and Södermanland, along with neighboring Gästrikland have relatively high frequencies of variation, which corresponds to that of Öland, while nearby Småland has one of the lowest frequencies. The differences in rates are most likely due to the low number of recorded relationships in some provinces.

3.3.2 Frequencies of Name Elements

The repetition of name elements from one generation to the next and among same-generation siblings has a natural tendency to focus on a few popular name elements while many other elements are comparatively rare. Preferences for certain name elements over others within families and clans carried on over many generations in turn led to considerable regional variation. According to Wessén (1927, 98), the first elements *Fast-*, *Folk-*, *Heðin-*, *Holm-*, *Ígul-*, *Jǫfur-*, and *Ketil-* and second elements *-djarfr*, *-fastr*, *njótr*, *-reifr*, *-vé,* and *-elfr* are most common in East Norse (especially Swedish) names. Meanwhile, the elements *Fast-* and *-fast(r)* are very rare in contemporary Danish names, with only 3 occurrences.[49] However, hypocoristic forms of names in *Þor-* (men's names *Tobbi*, *Tóki*, *Tófi*, *Tóli*, *Tosti*, *Tómi*, and women's names *Tófa*, *Tóka*, *Tóla*, and *Tonna*) are relatively common in Denmark, while these are uncommon in Sweden and absent on Gotland and in the British Isles (Peterson 2002, 748). Common elements on Gotland are *Bót-* and *Líkn-/-líkn* found in names such as *Bótfreðr*, *Bótheiðr*, *Bótulfr*, *Líknhvatr*, *Líknreifr*, *Líknvé*, and *Eilíkn*, as well as the elements *Geir-* and *Hróð-* (Peterson 2002, 748). Although there are fewer Viking Age runic inscriptions in West Norse territory, names

---

[49] These are *Fastúlfr* on DR 109, and *Þórfastr* on DR 370 and DR 377.

beginning in *Þór-* are very common, which agrees with *Landnámabók*, where this is also the case (Peterson 2002, 748–749).[50]

The investigation of first elements confirms the popularity of some of those mentioned by Wessén as the most common in East Scandinavian runic material, but other important aspects become clear when one views the frequency of each element:

---

[50] Keil (1931, 18) finds that 25.7% of all named individuals in the *Íslendingasögur* (including *Landnámabók*) have names which include a *Þór-* element (first element *Þór-/Þor-/Þyr-* or second element *-þórr*).

Element	Number	Element	Number	Element	Number
Þór-	449	Unn-	17	Gjaf-	4
Sig-	198	Brún-	16	Heim-	4
Ing-	177	Orm-	16	Sand-	4
Guð-	174	Sæ-	16	Alm-	3
Ás-	153	Styr-	16	Bjór-	3
Gunn-	134	Odd-	15	Ein-	3
Holm-	134	Finn-	14	Fjǫl-[51]	3
Vé-	109	Gerð-	14	Líkn-	3
Ketil-	96	Grím-	13	Þing-	3
Ey-	86	Við-	13	Þrúð-	3
Geir-	78	Far-	12	Trygg-	3
Ulf-	75	Borg-	10	Bót-	2
Fast-	68	Gaut-	10	Hag-	2
Frey-	54	Ag-	9	Hreið-	2
Stein-	51	Rík-	9	Jar-	2
Hróð-	50	Harð-	8	Lýð-	2
Ó-	50	Heg-/Eg-	8	Snæ-	2
Er(i)n-	44	Hjalm-	8	Vald-	2
Ígul-	44	Hlíf-	8	Ald-	1
Á-	43	Nef-	8	Ar-	1
Ragn-	40	Tíð-	8	Bá(ð)-	1
Víg-	38	Bryn-	7	Bein-	1
Auð-	36	Nes-	7	Fold-	1
Al-/Ǫl-	32	Stóð-	7	Grjót-	1
Ar(i)n-	31	Alf-	6	Hjǫr-	1
Helg-	31	Bjarn-	6	Holt-	1
Gísl-	30	Ginn-	6	Íð-	1
Ei-	29	Hall-	6	Megin-	1
Há-	25	Kol-	6	Ǫg-	1
Jǫfur-	21	Kvíg-	6	Ráð-	1
And-	20	Berg-	5	Rask-	1
Heðin-	20	Dýr-	5	Styn-	1
Rún-	20	Hug-	5	Þjóst-	1
Jó-	19	Jór-	5	Undr-	1
Svart-	19	Sal-	5	Vá-	1
Her-	18	Styf-	5		
Þjalf-	18	Dís-	4		

Table 3.7: All first elements that form dithematic and monothematic names on the runestones in this study, and number of their occurrences.

---

[51] *Fjǫl-* has been included here as a first element because according to Peterson (2007, 64), the name *Fjǫlmóðr* could either be a byname meaning 'courageous' or as a dithematic name composed of a first element *Fjǫl-* and a second element *-móðr*.

In Table 3.7, hypocorisms such as *Tóki*, *Frosti* and *Gubbi* have been counted as incorporating the elements *Þór-*, *Frey-*, and *Guð-*, respectively. Monothematic names based on a certain first element have also been included to determine the popularity of each name element, especially since many monothematic names such as *Fasti* and *Inga* can be short forms of names beginning in *Fast-* and *Ing-*. Conversely, instances of certain first elements such as *Víg-* and *Styr-* have been excluded when they occur within obvious descriptive bynames, such as *Vígmaðr* ('warrior') and *Styrimaðr* ('steersman, helmsman'). With these considerations in mind, there are a total of 109 first elements counted in this study, and an examination of their frequencies shows that the top 16 or so occur very often, while many occur only infrequently. To illustrate this inequality, *Jǫfur-*, with 21 occurrences out of 4668 individuals, is the 30th most common first element and occurs only in 0.4% of the named individuals. The 29 most frequent first elements make up 2559 of named individuals (54.8%), while the remaining 79 first elements are included in the names of 560 named individuals (12%). By far the single most frequent first element is *Þór-*, which is with 449 instances more than twice as frequent than the second most popular first element, *Sig-* with 198 instances. Names with first elements *Þor-*, *Þór-*, *Þyr-*, or hypocorisms beginning with *Tó-* or *To-* such as *Tóki* (*Þórkell*), *Tófa* (*Þórfríðr*), and *Tosti* (*Þórsteinn*) make up 9.6% of all named individuals in this study.

The second elements found in the names included in this study and their frequencies are listed below according to gender:

Masculine	Instances	Feminine	Instances
-bjǫrn	347	-fríðr	121
-steinn	263	-laug	89
-fastr	193	-vé	41
-mundr	142	-gerðr	34
-ulfr	128	-hildr	19
-geirr	126	-elfr	18
-vindr	97	-unnr	18
-arr	91	-gunnr	16
-ketill	78	-dísa	15
-leifr	77	-bjǫrg	14
-viðr	70	-rún	12
-valdr	58	-ey	11
-gautr	54	-lǫf	10
-gísl	33	-vǫr	10
-ríkr	32	-þóra	9
-marr	31	-þrúðr	7
-djarfr	27	-fast	6
-hvatr	24	-heiðr	6
-varr	22	-katla	2
-njótr	19	-ný	2
-leikr	14	-borga	1
-reifr	13	-dríf	1
-hjalmr	12	-veig	1
-varðr	9		
-friðr	8		
-fúss	8		
-laugr	8		
-grímr	6		
-móðr	6		
-þorn	6		
-þegn	4		
-finnr	3		
-ráðr	3		
-þórr	3		
-aðr	2		
-oddr	2		
-garðr	1		
-heðinn	1		

Table 3.8: Masculine and feminine second elements found on the Viking Age runestones in this study.

As with first elements, a relatively wide variety of second elements exists, but some are dramatically more popular than others. For example, the top 10 masculine elements (*-bjǫrn*, *-steinn*, *-fastr*, *-mundr*, *-ulfr*, *-geirr*, *-vindr*, *-arr*, *-ketill*, and *-leifr*) occur 1054 times in 26.6% of the names of all 3957 named male individuals, while the remaining 28 occur only 273 times, 6.9% of all named male individuals. The uneven distribution is similar for the feminine elements, but the smaller number of end elements makes this effect even more pronounced. The top 7 feminine second elements (*-friðr*, *-laug*, *-vé*, *-gerðr*, *-hildr*, *-elfr*, *-unnr*) occur 340 times in 53.3% of the names of all 638 named female individuals, and the remaining 16 occur 123 times, that is in 19.3% of all named female individuals.

3.3.3 Regional Preferences of Name Elements

Similar to the differences in name elements between larger geographical locales, there are also regional preferences for different first and second elements within the Swedish provinces. The number and frequency of each of the 5 most common first elements according to region is as follows:

Region	Individuals	Þor-/Þór-	Sig-	Ing-	Ás-	Guð-
Uppland	2544	188 (7.4%)	126 (5%)	131 (5.1%)	62 (2.4%)	87 (3.4%)
Södermanland	879	87 (9.9%)	32 (3.6%)	33 (3.8%)	16 (1.8%)	42 (4.8%)
Östergötland	428	66 (15.4%)	15 (3.5%)	5 (1.2%)	26 (6.1%)	12 (2.8%)
Västergötland	267	58 (21.7%)	2 (0.7%)	1 (0.4%)	23 (8.6%)	10 (3.7%)
Småland	210	23 (11%)	7 (3.3%)	1 (0.5%)	8 (3.8%)	6 (2.9%)
Öland	121	13 (10.7%)	5 (4.1%)	2 (1.7%)	6 (5%)	7 (5.8%)
Hälsingland	49	4 (8.2%)	1 (2%)	0	4 (8.2%)	3 (6.1%)
Västmanland	46	1 (2.2%)	3 (6.5%)	3 (6.5%)	0	2 (4.3%)
Gästrikland	41	2 (4.9%)	1 (2.4%)	0	5 (12.2%)	4 (9.8%)
Medelpad	41	5 (12.2%)	4 (9.8%)	0	1 (2.4%)	0
Närke	35	2 (5.7%)	2 (5.7%)	1 (2.9%)	0	0
Jämtland	5	0	0	0	1 (20%)	1 (20%)
Värmland	3	0	0	0	1 (33.3%)	0

Table 3.9a: Distribution of the 5 most common first elements by region and their frequency (% based on the total names for each region).

A comparison of the frequencies of the 5 most common front name elements in Table 3.9a reveals geographical differences. Among first elements, *Þór-* appears to be the most popular in Västergötland, Östergötland, Småland, Öland, and Södermanland, the areas of Sweden closest to Denmark, and not as popular in Uppland and Västmanland. Individuals bearing names with *Ás-* are more common in Västergötland, Östergötland, Öland, and Gästrikland, less common in Uppland and Södermanland, but absent in Västmanland. On the other hand, *Ing-* occurs in the highest percentage of named individuals in Västmanland and Uppland. The first elements *Sig-* and *Guð-* appear to have been more or less equally popular in all provinces of Sweden.

It may be especially significant that the highest frequency of *Ing-* is found in Uppland and neighboring Västmanland. The name element derives from Proto-Germanic **inguianiz*, 'worshipper or descendent of *Inguaz' (Hellberg 2014, 45) and is etymologically connected to *Yngvi* (Simek 1999, 379), the name of the king of the Svear (Hellberg 2014, 47), which is

another name for the god Freyr (who is sometimes known as Yngvi-Freyr). The element is also

connected to the Yngling dynasty of eastern Sweden (Simek 1993, 378–379), whose individual

names are known from Snorri Sturluson's *Ynglinga saga* and the skaldic poem *Ynglingatal*.

According to *Västgötalagen*, the oldest Swedish legal code, dated to c. 1250, and *Gutasaga*, the

semi-mythical history of Gotland, whose manuscript, Codex Holm. B 64, is dated to c. 1350

(Vrieland 2011, 3), the Yngling dynasty and kings of Sweden were centered in Uppsala (modern-

day Gamla Uppsala = Old Uppsala), which is located in the heart of Uppland. Hellberg (2014,

48–51) finds place-names containing the *Ingi-* element in central Sweden which appear to have

the meaning 'royal' or 'belonging to the king'. Even if the Yngling dynasty was mythical, the

high-status association with the Swedish royal family with divine roots would have served as an

inspiration for naming, particularly in Uppland and its surrounding areas. The phenomenon of

name borrowing appears to have occurred with other royal names such as *Haraldr* and *Knútr*

(Williams 2005, 343).

    The main 5 masculine and feminine second elements and their regional occurrences

within Swedish provinces are listed below in Tables 3.9b and 3.9c:

Region	Individuals	-bjǫrn	-steinn	-fastr	-mundr	- ulfr
Uppland	2112	214 (10.1%)	127 (6%)	138 (6.5%)	72 (3.4%)	54 (2.6%)
Södermanland	757	68 (9%)	60 (7.9%)	32 (4.2%)	22 (2.9%)	41 (5.4%)
Östergötland	376	17 (4.5%)	36 (9.6%)	4 (1.1%)	14 (3.7%)	14 (3.7%)
Västergötland	231	10 (4.3%)	15 (6.5%)	2 (0.9%)	11 (4.8%)	6 (2.6%)
Småland	193	9 (4.7%)	12 (6.2%)	6 (3.1%)	10 (5.2%)	7 (3.6%)
Öland	103	11 (10.7%)	8 (7.8%)	3 (2.9%)	3 (2.9%)	1 (1%)
Hälsingland	42	5 (11.9%)	1 (2.4%)	1 (2.4%)	3 (7.1%)	2 (4.8%)
Västmanland	41	4 (9.8%)	1 (2.4%)	5 (12.2%)	2 (4.9%)	1 (2.4%)
Gästrikland	36	4 (11.1%)	0	0	6 (16.7%)	1 (2.8%)
Medelpad	35	0	2 (5.7%)	1 (2.9%)	0	0
Närke	26	3 (11.5%)	1 (3.8%)	0	1 (3.8%)	1 (3.8%)
Jämtland	5	1 (20%)	0	1 (20%)	0	0
Värmland	3	1 (33.3%)	0	0	0	0

Table 3.9b: Distribution of the 5 most common masculine second elements by region and frequency (% based on the total names for each region).

Region	Individuals	-fríðr	-laug	-vé	-gerðr	-hildr
Uppland	390	100 (25.6%)	66 (16.9%)	28 (7.2%)	28 (7.2%)	17 (4.4%)
Södermanland	113	12 (10.6%)	12 (10.6%)	5 (4.4%)	3 (2.7%)	2 (1.8%)
Östergötland	50	3 (6%)	4 (8%)	0	2 (4%)	0
Västergötland	31	4 (12.9%)	0	2 (6.5%)	0	0
Småland	13	0	1 (7.7%)	1 (7.7%)	1 (7.7%)	0
Öland	15	1 (6.7%)	2 (13.3%)	4 (26.7%)	0	0
Hälsingland	6	0	1 (16.7%)	0	0	0
Västmanland	4	1 (25%)	1 (25%)	0	0	0
Gästrikland	5	0	1 (20%)	0	0	0
Medelpad	3	0	0	0	0	0
Närke	8	0	1 (12.5%)	1 (12.5%)	0	0
Jämtland	0	0	0	0	0	0
Värmland	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 3.9c: Distribution of the 5 most common feminine second elements by region and frequency (% based on the total names for each region).

As evident from the results in Table 3.9b, the geographical distribution of second elements is also uneven. The element -*bjǫrn* occurs in roughly 10% of male names in every region except for the adjacent southerly provinces Västergötland, Östergötland, and Småland, where it occurs half as frequently. The element -*steinn* appears to have been the most popular in Östergötland, Södermanland, and Öland, and to a slightly lesser degree in Västergötland and Uppland, while -*mundr* occurs especially frequently in Gästrikland and adjacent Hälsingland and to a lesser degree in the other regions. The element -*fastr* occurs most frequently in Västmanland and neighboring Uppland, to a lesser degree in Södermanland, and very infrequently in Västergötland and Östergötland. The distribution of -*ulfr* does not appear to have been as universally popular across regions as the other most common masculine second elements, but appears to be more common in Södermanland, Östergötland, Småland, and in Hälsingland.

The results in Table 3.9c also reveal an uneven geographical distribution of feminine second elements, but the smaller sample size of female individuals reduces the statistical reliability compared to that of the male individuals. Among these, the element -*fríðr* occurs with the highest frequency in Uppland and neighboring Västmanland, and to a lesser extent in Västergötland and Södermanland. The element -*laug* also occurs most frequently in Uppland and Västmanland and additionally in neighboring Gästrikland and Hälsingland. The element -*vé* on the other hand occurs most often on Öland, and to a lesser degree in Uppland and Småland. The element -*gerðr* occurs most in Uppland and Småland, while -*hildr* occurs exclusively in Uppland except for two instances in Södermanland.

3.3.4 Miscellaneous Types of Variation

There are also some examples of variation in which the shared element changes position. One such example is the Valby runestone (Sö 88). This monument was raised by the brothers *Steinn*, *Fastulfr*, and *Herjulfr* in memory of their father *Gelfr* (which is a contracted form of *Geirulfr* [Peterson 2007, 101]) and in memory of Gelfr's brother, *Ulfviðr*. Two brothers share the element *-ulfr* with their father, while Ulfviðr is connected to his brother's second element with the *Ulf-* first element. There are 13 total instances of this type of alliteration: 8 occur between siblings (6 brother pairs and 2 brother/sister pairs), 2 fathers and sons, and 3 mothers and sons. These represent 3.6% of all types of variation found on the runestones in this study, so it is relatively rare.

Similarly infrequent is alliterating variation, which is the combination of both the alliteration and variation systems. In this system, the second element remains fixed and the first element is varied with other alliterating first elements, such as *Heribrand*, *Hildebrand*, and *Hadubrand* in the Old High German *Hildebrandslied*. Alliterative variation appears to be most common between siblings, and there are 12 examples of brothers (3.3% of 363 examples of variation) in the runic data whose names alliterate and share a second element with each other. Especially of note is a pair of brothers named *Hásteinn* and *Holmsteinn* who commemorate their father *Freysteinn* on Sö 56, because the pair of names occurs again on a the later runestone Sö 347, together with a third brother *Eysteinn*. It may be that alliterating names sharing second elements were especially aesthetically pleasing and connected to poetic traditions. This topic has been explored at greater length in Sections 2.3 and 2.4 in the context of poetry. It may also be that alliterating variation is a more archaic naming system as seen on several pre-Viking Age inscriptions discussed in Section 3.5.

3.4 Variation on Explicitly Christian Runestones and Christian Name Elements

This section investigates possible correlations between the use of variation and explicitly Christian runestones versus those that are unmarked. Runestones have been considered explicitly Christian if the inscriptions include prayers or other Christian content, or if the ornamentation of the stone includes one or more crosses. Unmarked runestones lack prayers and crosses, but were in all likelihood also raised in Christian contexts. A testament to this is that the use of crosses on runestones decreased slightly and became less stylistically diverse after the mid-11th century (Lager 2002, 248), while the Mälar region (the last area in which the runestone tradition flourished) became increasingly Christian. It was likely not as important to declare one's faith as it had been in earlier times, before the majority of the populace had converted. Conversely, runestones with heathen motifs cannot automatically be considered heathen, because traditional Norse myths and legends were often reinterpreted from a Christian viewpoint (Williams 1996, 51). For example, the Ramsund carving (Sö 101), the most famous runic inscription depicting scenes from *Vǫlsunga saga*/the Niflung cycle of poems in the *Poetic Edda*, was carved in a Christian context. The inscription states that Sigríðr made a bridge for the soul of Holmgeirr, her husband (Jesch 1991, 130). At the time of the creation of the Ramsund carving, the Catholic Church offered indulgences in return for the building of roads and bridges (Gräslund 2003, 490–491), so there is little doubt regarding the faith of Sigríðr and her immediate kin. With this information in mind, the proportion of runestones whose inscriptions contain at least one set of familial names using variation viewed according to the explicitly Christian criteria is as follows:

Type	Number	Percent
Explicitly Christian	174	70.2%
Unmarked	73	29.4%
Heathen	1	0.4%

Table 3.10: Explicitly Christian, unmarked, and heathen runestones with familial names formed by variation.

A total of 1098 out of 1824 (60.2%) in this study are explicitly Christian, versus 683 (37.4%) that are unmarked, while only 5 (0.3%) appear to be heathen. An additional 47 runestones (2.6% of the total) are too damaged for the viewer to discern whether they once displayed a cross. Compared to the total percentage, the proportion of explicitly Christian runestones with at least one instance of variation are higher than the overall proportion, at 70.2%. This suggests that Christian devoutness and expressions of faith did not directly, or perhaps not immediately, impact the use of variation as a naming strategy, and agrees with the relative stability of the variation system over the course of the 11th century, as found in Table 3.4. For some time still after the Viking Age, dithematic names continued to be productive using the variation principle, as the 13th- and 14th-century Icelandic examples *Kristrún*, *Jóngeirr* and *Kristmoþer* (Melefors 2002, 966; Halvorsen 1968, 203) demonstrate. Despite these colorful examples, there are no examples of Christian name elements used in the Swedish runestone corpus. The name element *Bót-* (from the OWN feminine noun *bót*, 'improvement, recovery, remedy, compensation, penalty, fine') occurs in one certain instance in the corpus in the name *Bótvíðr* (Sö Fv1993;229), which, along with the elements *Lík(n)-/-lík(n)* as in *Líkbjǫrn* (U 1074), and *Líkviðr* (U 38 and U 984), some scholars have thought were Christian, but that view is no longer accepted (Williams 1996, 71–73; Ryman 1996, 140–141). So instead of Christian doctrine affecting naming practices per se, it was rather the introduction of Christian names such as

Jóhan, *Jón* (a shortened form of *Jóhan*), *Ióni* (possibly a hypocoristic form of *Jón*), *Kleme(n)t*, *Marteinn*, *Nikulás*, *Pétr*, and *Vinaman*, that did not fit into the variation system and eventually led to its decline.

3.5 Comparison with Older Runic Inscriptions

There are only 65 known runestones predating the Viking Age, but these still offer some information about personal names in the preceding centuries. On these runestones, there are a total of 63 individuals mentioned, and among these there are 6 reasonably clear familial relationships. Within these, there are 2 examples (33.3%) of variation. The Istaby runestone (DR 359) from about 520/530–560/570 CE was raised by *Heruwulfaz* for his relative, *Haþuwulfaz*, and the Stentoften runestone (DR 357) in Blekinge from 500–700 CE, which mentions *Haþuwulfaz*, who is a close relative of *Hariwulfaz* (Nielsen 1994, 41). The Gummarp runestone (DR 358) from 560/570–700 CE also mentions *Haþuwulfaz*, who is either the same individual or at least a relative of the individuals mentioned on the Istaby and Stentoften runestones. Names with an alliterating warlike first element and the fixed lycophoric second element -*wulfaz* (> ON -*ulfr* m. 'wolf') may indicate a socio-religious Männerbund (Sundqvist and Hultgård 2004, 583–584): a group of young men with animal associations similar to the *berserkir* and *ulfheðnar*.[52] According to Gräslund (2006, 124–128), name elements deriving from the names of predatory animals, such as eagles, ravens, serpents, and bears, served as power symbols of the elite and

---

[52] These terms, literally 'bear shirts' and 'wolf skins,' refer to warriors who took on an animal-like fury, bit their shields, and were especially fierce in battle. *Bersekrir* and *ulfheðnar* are mostly known from eddic and skaldic poetry and sagas which mostly date to the 12th and 14th centuries (Breen 1997, 13–27), but visual depictions of such warriors can be found on the Torslunda helmets from the 6th and 7th centuries (Price 2019, 306–307). The berserk fury and likenesses to bears and wolves connect these warriors to Óðinn, whose name also means 'fury' (ON *óðr* and Ger. *Wotan* ~ *Wut*) (Simek 1993, 35).

may have also had a religious significance.[53] The first elements in the three names have martial meanings: *Hari-* (> ON *herr* m. 'war-host'), *Heru-* (> ON *hiǫrr* m. 'sword'), and *Haþu-* (> ON *hǫð* f. 'battle, war'). Thus, the names *Heruwulfaz*, *Haþuwulfaz*, and *Hariwulfaz* can be rendered 'war-host-wolf,' 'sword-wolf,' and 'battle-wolf,' and signal a warrior elite, possibly possessing inherited animal-like qualities (Sundqvist & Hultgård 2004, 591, 598). Because they alliterate in *H-* in addition to sharing a single second element, the names on the Istaby, Stentoften, and Gummarp runestones are an example of alliterating variation, and demonstrate how particular name elements could link individuals together and display their kinship.

Most of the personal names on pre-Viking Age runestones mentioned in conjunction with familial relatives use alliteration as their naming strategy. Variation appears at most as alliterating variation. Additional examples of alliteration in *H-* are the mid-6th-century Kjølevig (Strand) runestone (N KJ75) in Norway which mentions *Hadulaikaz*, the son of *Hagustaldaz*, and a non-runic Burgundian Latin grave inscription from the 4th century discovered in Trier, which commemorates *Hariulfus*, son of *Hanhavaldus*. It is controversial whether the name *Hrozez* in the inscription on the By runestone (N KJ71) in Norway should be seen as a patronym or an adjective in the genitive plural,[54] but it can be considered an instance of name repetition in the pre-Viking Age runic inscriptions. A brief survey of the pre-Viking Age runic inscriptions demonstrates that alliteration was the most common naming method between the 4th- and 7th centuries. Occasionally a small amount of variation was also employed, which was likely used to

---

[53] The name elements **Wulfa-*, **Beran-*/**Bearnu-*, and **Eþura-* in particular, which refer to bears, wolves and boars, were common in the early Germanic languages, and appear to have been related to animal shapeshifting cults, which are reflected as the *berserkir* and *úlfheðnar* of later saga literature (Breen 1997, 5–6).

[54] The inscription of N KJ71 reads **ek irilaz hrozaz hrozezo** (Grønvik 1996, 127), and has been interpreted as either containing a patronym as first posited by Bugge (1891–1903, 98) "I, the Irilaz Hrozaz, son of Hrozaz," or as a genitive plural adjective "Erilaz, quick among quick ones" by Lindquist (1939, 20), or "I, Irilaz, the most agile of the agile ones" by Grønvik (1996). Kousgård Sørensen (1984, 34) finds *Hrozez* unlikely to be a patronym with the meaning "son of Hrozaz," but according to Schulte (1998, 86–87), it must be seen as such.

further strengthen family bonds and associations with animals of prey, and used as a symbol of social and martial dominance by the name bearers.

3.6 Comparison with Literary Sources

Literary sources have long provided scholars with information about personal naming practices of Germanic peoples, and several can serve as useful comparisons to the runestones in this study. However, it is important to bear in mind that even the more historical sources such as the *Íslendingasögur*, should always be taken with a healthy dose of caution (Halvorsen 1968, 199; Jónas Kristjánsson 1988, 203–206).

Landnámabók and the *Íslendingasögur* provide numerous examples of variation of name elements among fathers and sons or daughters. Of these, instances of front variation and end variation are the most plentiful. Some examples of children who share the second element with their father and vary the first element are *Ǫrnólfr Bjǫrnólfsson* in *Njáls saga*, *Reykdæla saga*, and *Landnámabók*; *Ívarr Ragnarsson lóðbrókar* in *Íslendingabók*; Egill Skalla-grímsson's paternal uncle *Þórólfr Kveldúlfsson* in *Egils saga*; and *Þorbrandr Ásbrandsson* in *Njáls saga*. Some examples of children sharing a first element are *Végeirr*'s sons *Vébjǫrn* Sygnakappi and *Vésteinn* mentioned in *Eyrbyggja saga*, *Gísla saga Súrssonar*, and *Þórðar saga hræðu*; *Sighvatr* enn rauði with his son *Sigmund*r, grandson *Sigfúss*, and great-grandson *Sigurðr* in *Egils saga*, *Njáls saga*, and *Flóamanna saga*, and the generational line of the Norwegian *Úlfhamr* enn hamrammi - *Úlfr* - *Úlfhamr* - *Úlfheðinn* in *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings*. In addition to fathers passing a name element on to a child, there are also some examples of children sharing a name element with their mother (Keil 1931, 14). One such example is found in *Laxdæla saga*, in which

Óláfr pái Hǫskuldsson's wife *Þorgerðr* Egilsdóttir passed the first element of her name on to five of her children: *Halldór*, *Steinþórr*, *Þorbergr*, *Bergþóra*, and *Þorbjǫrg*. Other examples are *Þórdís*, the daughter of *Vígdís* and Jarl Ingimundr in *Vatnsdæla saga*, *Þorgerðr* Skíði's and *Fríðgerðr*'s daughter in *Njáls saga*, and *Gjaflaug*, the daughter of Arnbjǫrn and *Þorlaug* in *Landnámabók* (Keil 1931, 13–14).

There are also examples in which the monothematic name of a parent is either incorporated into the dithematic name of their child, such as *Ásbjǫrn Bjarnarson* in *Njáls saga*, the brothers *Ketilbjǫrn enn gamli* and *Hallkell*, who are the sons of *Ketill* in *Njáls saga* and *Landnámabók*, and *Rúnólfr Úlfsson* in *Njáls saga* and *Landnámabók*. There are also some examples of variation in which the shared name element changes place from the front to the end and vice versa: *Þorgrímr Grímólfsson* in *Egils saga*, *Reykdæla saga*, and *Landnámabók*, *Þorfinnr Finngeirsson* in *Eyrbyggja saga*, *Þorkatla Ketilbjarnardóttir* in *Njáls saga*, *Arnóra Þóradóttir gellis* in *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar*, and *Þórey Eyjólfsdóttir ens halta* in *Þorsteins saga Síðu-Hallssonar*.

Another subcategory of variation found in Old Icelandic sources is alliterating variation. It is important to note that in addition to names that share a second element and have alliterating first elements such as *Hásteinn* and *Holmsteinn*, Keil (1931, 16) also counted names merely sharing a first element like *Sigurðr* and *Sigmundr* as alliterating variation, which have been considered to be examples of end variation in this study on Viking Age runestones. According to the definitions used in this study, examples of alliterating variation in the *Íslendingasögur* are *Brynjólfr Bjǫrgólfsson* in *Egils saga*, and the Icelandic settler *Hákell Hrosskelsson*.

Keil (1931, 20–26) also finds variation to be very common among siblings, both between same-gender siblings and between brothers and sisters. Examples of brothers are *Véþormr* and

Guðþormr, the sons of Rǫgnvaldr in *Droplaugarsona saga*, Ǫlvis barnakarl's sons *Steinólfr* and *Steinmóðr* in *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar*, *Hallgrímr* and *Hallsteinn* in *Njáls saga*, Þorleikr's sons *Þorbrandr* and *Ásbrandr* in *Njáls saga*, and *Þorvaldr tintein* and *Þorvarðr* in *Kormaks saga*. Sister-sister variation pairs are: *Ingibjǫrg* and *Þorbjǫrg* in *Eiríks saga rauða*, *Jófríðr* and *Þuríðr* in *Hǿnsna-Þóres saga*, Guðmundr inn ríki's daughters *Þórdís* and *Jódís*, *Þorgerðr* and *Valgerðr* in *Njáls saga*, *Þorvé* and *Þorvǫr* in *Njáls saga*, *Grettis saga* and *Flóamanna saga*, and *Halldóra* and *Hallfríðr* in *Eyrbyggja saga*. Variation between brothers and sisters can be seen in *Hallbjǫrn* hálftrǫll and *Hallbera* in *Egils saga* and *Gísla saga Súrssonar*; Gúðmundr inn ríki's children are called *Halldórr* and *Þórdís* in *Laxdæla saga*; the 5 children of Óláfr pái Hǫskuldsson mentioned above, who share the *Þor-/-þór* element with their mother *Þorgerðr* Egilsdóttir, and in *Eyrbyggja saga* and *Laxdæla saga Þorlákr* á Eyri's children *Þórðr* blígr, *Þórdís*, *Þormóðr*, *Steinþórr*, and *Bergþórr*.

Keil (1931, 18) finds 934 individuals whose names include a *Þor-/Þór-/Þyr-/-þór* element, which makes up 25.7% of all named individuals in the *Íslendingasögur*. This is decidedly higher than the 9.9% (461 out of 4668 individuals) whose monothematic and dithematic names include a *-þór* element on the Swedish Viking Age runestones in this study. However, this result is completely in line with the idea that the variation system will naturally lead to regional differences. The high proportion of *-þór* elements in the Old Icelandic sources also corresponds to the West Norse runic inscriptions where names with *Þor-* or *-þór* are also the most common (Peterson 2002, 748–749).

Overall, Keil (1931, 61) concludes that alliteration, variation, and repetition are used about the same amount during the Saga Age (*söguöld*) up to 1050 CE, with alliteration and variation each 18.8%, and repetition 17.5%, but clarifies that the latter figure is skewed

downward due to fewer mentions of women in the sources, and that repetition occurs in about 20.3% of male individuals. The figure for variation in the Old Icelandic sources is significantly higher than the average 9.2% found in this study. This could result from the fact that Keil also counts instances in which the monothematic name of a parent is transformed into the other-gendered form for their child. Examples include *Helga Helgadóttir* ens magra, *Oddkatla Oddkelsdóttir*, and the siblings *Hallbjǫrn* Úlfsson and *Hallbera* Úlfsdóttir (Keil 1931, 13). Instances such as these were not counted as variation in this study on Viking Age runestones, but rather were considered a form of repetition whenever they occurred. However, it is also possible that similar to alliteration, variation may have served as a mnemonic device in the oral tradition in which the *sögur* were passed down for about 200 years prior to being committed to parchment, or that it was a literary convention for names of related persons to often share name elements.

The Old English epic poem *Beowulf* also contains a number of names of Scandinavians of the Migration Period and is somewhat useful for comparison with the later runic material. As already noted in Chapter 2, 75% of the named fathers and sons have names that alliterate with each other. While this is one of the highest proportions of alliteration found in any source of the period, one does find two instances of variation among the Danes: *Heorogár* with his son *Heoroweard*, and *Hróðmund*, one of *Hróðgár*'s sons (Woolf 1939, 146). In both of these instances the second element is varied while the first element remains fixed, which allows the names using variation to fit into the widespread alliteration pattern with *H-* within the family. *Healfdene*'s sons are *Heorogár*, *Hróðgár*, and *Hálga*, who respectively father *Heoroweard*, *Hréðríc* and *Hróðmund*, and *Hróþulf* (Woolf 1939, 146). The high status of the individuals mentioned in *Beowulf* illustrates Wessén's (1927, 25) point that while the social elite was

especially fond of alliteration, it also used the variation system, often in conjunction with each other.

In the skaldic poem *Ynglingatal* and Snorri Sturluson's *Ynglinga saga*, the names of Swedish kings alliterate for 14 generations until repetition emerges as a naming strategy with Halfdan hvítbeinn ('whiteshanks') (fl. c. 710 CE) (Woolf 1939, 167–169). The only two instances of variation in the royal family mentioned are *Dómaldr* with his son *Dómarr*, and the brothers *Alrekr* and *Eiríkr*, who of course bear an alliterating first element, but share variants of the -*ríkr* second element (Peterson 2007, 21). This small amount of alliterating variation is comparable to the low frequency of variation among the Danes in *Beowulf*. If one also looks to the other families connected to the royal family by marriage, one can find a few more examples of variation. These are *Guðlaugr* (fl. c. 410) and his son *Gylaugr*, Svipdagr's sons *Gautviðr* (fl. c. 650) and *Hulviðr*, *Gautr* with his son *Gautrekr*, grandson *Algautr*, and great-granddaughter *Gauthildr* (fl. c. 650), and Hǫgni's (fl. c. 650) son and daughter *Hildir* and *Hildr* (Woolf 1939, 169–171). However, alliteration still appears to be the most popular naming method among most of these families as well. Thus the naming strategies among the Swedish social elite in *Ynglingatal* and *Ynglinga saga* show a greater similarity with those of the Scandinavians in *Beowulf* than with the named persons on late Viking Age runestones and perhaps indicates greater conservatism in naming practices among the elite.

Similar to the Danish, Swedish, and Geatish names in *Beowulf* and the Swedish royal family in *Ynglinga saga* and *Ynglingatal*, *Vǫlsunga saga* and the poems of the Niflung cycle in the *Poetic Edda* show a strong preference for alliteration, but variation also appears with some regularity. *Sigurðr*'s father and paternal aunt are *Sigmundr* and *Signý*, and Sigurðr names his son *Sigmundr* after his recently deceased father. In addition, King Buðli's daughters *Brynhildr* and

Bekkhildr alliterate with him in *B-* and share the *-hildr* element. The first element *Sig-*, so prevalent in Sigurðr's family, was also popular in late Viking Age Sweden and proves to be the second most common first element in the runic data examined here. However, there is a complete absence of any *Þór-* first elements and *-þórr* second elements in *Vǫlsunga saga*. The reason for the absence of *Þór-* related names is likely inherited from older versions of the material, as these name elements are also completely lacking in the Middle High German *Nibelungenlied* and other continental analogs of the story, in which several names of characters correspond to the Norse versions. It is also possible that the absence of some of the most common names has to do with creating a setting in a mythical time and place to emphasize distance from the audience's own place and time.

A survey of personal names in various relevant literary sources shows that the proportion of names formed by means of the variation system differs considerably from that found on the late Viking Age runestones. In the *Íslendingasögur*, variation occurs about twice as often (18.8%) as on the runestones examined in this study (9.2%). In contrast, the Scandinavian names in *Beowulf*, the Swedish royal family and its marital connections in *Ynglinga saga* and *Ynglingatal*, and the names of heroes in *Vǫlsunga saga* all show a strong preference for alliteration and a limited amount of variation. Additionally, the variation is often woven into the existing alliterative pattern within the mythical or semi-mythical families in these works.

3.7 Conclusion

An examination of the runestone data shows that there was still a very high composition of Old Norse names versus an extraordinarily small number of Christian names in the 11th century. The traditional Norse names could be and still were passed on through variation of

either first or second elements at an overall frequency of about 9.2%. There is an overall increase in use of variation 8.1% to 10.2% over the course of the 11th century, which indicates that the naming strategy lived on for some time before becoming replaced by repetition. Occasionally the name elements could switch places, but this was relatively rare. An investigation of the 5 most common first elements and the most common masculine and feminine second elements reveals regional preferences for some over others. Among these, the most notable is the popularity of the first element *Ing-* in Uppland and neighboring Västmanland, which might indicate a possible connection to the Yngling dynasty of Swedish kings based in Uppland. The overall most common first element is *Þór-*, particularly in western and southern Sweden, and is found in 9.6% of all named individuals, including all hypocoristic forms. There is less diversity in feminine names, which likely stems from the smaller pool of available feminine second elements.

Christianity can at most only be indirectly linked to the decline of the variation system, likely through Christian names that were passed on through repetition instead of variation, rather than Christian doctrine influencing naming traditions. Additionally, a comparison with the few extant pre-Viking Age runestones reveals a strong preference for alliterative variation and simple alliteration, although the number of total inscriptions is a fraction of those available for study dating to the Viking Age, and in addition, these may represent only the social elite and not the larger group of wealthy landowners who were able to raise runestones later during the Viking Age. Finally, there is a wide range of the frequency of variation in the literary sources examined. Variation occurs about twice as frequently in the *Íslendingasögur* than in the runic data. At the same time, the less historical sources such as *Beowulf*, *Ynglinga saga* and *Ynglingatal*, and the mythical *Vǫlsunga saga* show a strong preference for alliteration and only occasional use of variation. Of these, *Vǫlsunga saga* shows the greatest difference in names compared to the

Swedish runestones, particularly with the conspicuous absence of any names with the first

element *Þór-*. This could be due to the mythical nature of the legend and a natural inclination

toward creating a setting distant from the audience's own place and time, which supports the idea

that literary conventions above all else affect naming in literary sources.

Chapter 4: Repetition

4.1 Introduction

During the Viking Age, male children were named after fathers, grandfathers, uncles, and so on, and female children similarly inherited names from their mothers, grandmothers, aunts, and other female relatives. Repetition (Swed. *uppkallelse*) is a naming strategy in which a person is identified with a particular ancestor and given the ancestor's entire name instead of a first or second name element, or a name alliterating with the names of their closest relatives. The names of friends, weapon companions,[55] or famous rulers could also be passed on through repetition (Wessén 1927, 21). In contrast to variation, which builds a connection between the name-bearer and the family (as in *Heribrand*, *Hildebrand* and *Hadubrand*), repetition establishes a connection between the name-bearer and a single ancestor.

Repetition is an Indo-European naming practice, as evidenced among the ancient Gauls, Greeks, and Persians (Wessén 1927, 20). The first extant evidence of repetition among Germanic peoples is the Visigothic king Alarik II (c. 458/466–507 CE), who was named after his grandfather's grandfather, Alarik I (c. 370/375–410 CE) (Wessén 1927, 22), and soon thereafter, there is also evidence of repetition from Burgundian and Frankish sources. The lack of evidence of repetition prior to the Goths of course does not mean repetition was unknown among the ancient Germanic tribes as some early scholars surmised;[56] rather, the practice was most likely continuous from Indo-European times, and the current picture is incomplete due to insufficient early sources. There is very little textual evidence of Germanic names before the Migration Period, and Wessén (1927, 21) points out that *Ynglingatal*, the poem which enumerates a line of

---

[55] Members of the same warrior retinue.
[56] See: Storm, Gustav. 1893. "Vore Forfæddres Tro paa Sjælvandring og deres Opkaldelsessystem." *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, 9. 199–222.

27 Swedish kings, some of which are mythological, provides only very one-sided evidence of naming traditions that should not be generalized for Scandinavian naming practices during the Migration Period.

Beginning with Gustav Storm in the late 19th century, some scholars have viewed this method of naming as a reflection of a belief in reincarnation—that the deceased ancestor would in some ways be reincarnated in the new person bearing his or her name (Storm 1893, 203). However, Wessén (1927, 23) points out that while it likely did play at least some part, it is uncertain how exactly repetition was a function of reincarnation. One supernatural concept repetition could be connected to was the *fylgia*, known from the *Íslendingasögur*. The *fylgia* was regarded as a guardian spirit, of either a single person, or a family. It was connected to luck, fortune, or fate, and passed on to a younger generation (Turville-Petre 1975, 228). In *Hallfreðar saga*, Hallfreðr's *fylgia* appears to him as a woman when he is ailing at sea and asks his brother Þorvaldr whether he will receive her. Þorvaldr refuses, but Hallfreðr's son, Hallfreðr, receives her, and she disappears. Shortly before Hallfreðr dies, he also passes on his sword and other valuables to his son, all of which enable him to follow in his father's footsteps after his death (*Hallfreðar saga*, chapter 9).

Thus, the legacy of a family and a particular renowned ancestor would live on in the new generation. It has been noted many times that since the first recorded instances in the Germanic world, and throughout the pagan Viking Age in Scandinavia, only the names of dead persons could be passed on to new individuals, and only sometime during the Christian period did it become acceptable to also repeat the name of a living person (Janzén 1948a, 238). Therefore, since a name could normally only be passed on to another individual in its entirety when the original name bearer was deceased, one might expect a tendency to use this naming practice over

several generations within the runestone corpus, and not to occur between two still-living individuals.

4.2 Repetition and Bynames

The use of repetition eventually came to have far-reaching consequences for the onomasticon and Scandinavian society. Since entire names were passed on instead of being assembled from a first and second name element, one of which was fixed and the other of which was varied, this practice led to names being treated as more or less inseparable units (Wessén 1927, 66). Wessén (1927, 66) notes that repetition is in some ways the exact opposite of the variation system: the former reduces the number of names in circulation, while the latter conceivably creates a vast number of possible names. Some names became more frequently used than others, which led to a reduction of the names in circulation (Peterson 1994, 73). This in turn prompted the need to add further identifying information to a person's name to distinguish individuals with the same name. Patronymics were one solution, where individuals bear the father's primary name (e.g., Þorgils Helgason, the son of Helgi). Very occasionally individuals bear the mother's primary name as their secondary name (e.g., Auða Ragnhildsdóttir, daughter of Ragnhildr). The patronymic system is still in practice in modern-day Iceland (Alþingi Íslands 1997), but patronymic names became frozen in mainland Scandinavia during the 19th and early 20th centuries (Hanks & Parkin 2016, 215; Kousgård Sørensen 1997, 100).

However, patronymics were often not sufficient to distinguish people with the same name. According to Janzén (1947b, 49), 91 individuals in *Landnámabók* have both identical forenames and patronyms. For this reason, descriptive bynames became the most frequent way of identifying people with common names during the Viking Age (Wessén 1927, 67). Some

bynames are even attested in Proto-Scandinavian runic inscriptions, such as *Finnō* (f., 'Sámi;

Finn'), *Hraƀnaʀ* (m. 'raven'), *Lamō* (from adj. 'lame'), and *Swarta* (from adj. 'black') (Brylla

1993, 36). According to Eva Brylla (1999, 15–16), bynames can be divided into six categories:

(1) physical traits, (2) mental or personality traits, (3) place of origin or residence, (4) family

function, (5) societal function or (6) events, habits, or manners. Since bynames were descriptive,

and so carried semantic meaning, as opposed to the forename, whose meaning was normally

limited to evoking a connection between a person and her or his ancestor, family friend, or

famous person of prestige. Some examples of descriptive bynames are: *auðgi* '(the) wealthy',

auga 'eye', *beiskaldi* 'the harsh, bitter', *blátǫnn* 'blue tooth', *breiðr* '(the) broad', *dúfnef* 'dove

nose, pigeon nose', *enn einhendi* 'the one-handed', *fullspakr* '(the) fully wise', *gellir* 'bellower',

enn hárfagri 'the fair haired', *langháls* 'long neck', and *óþveginn* 'unwashed' (Peterson 2015,

127–202). For a more comprehensive list and treatment of the topic, see Paul R. Peterson's 2015

dissertation on Old Norse nicknames.

Eventually, bynames could also be inherited. Wessén (1927, 68) mentions the examples

of Gunnlaugr ormstunga Illugason, who in *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu* inherits his byname from

his paternal grandmother's father, Gunnlaugr ormstunga Hrómundarson, and the historical Erik

bloodaxe, who named his eldest son Gormr gamli, after his maternal grandfather. Thus, many

bynames that originally described some distinguishing feature of an individual, became regular

primary names that did not necessarily bear the original meaning of the name, but underwent

some degree of semantic bleaching. Some examples of such original bynames that became

regular names are *Svartr*, *Illugi*, *Fullugi*, *Sveinn*, and *Víkingr* (Wessén 1927, 68). One example

from the *Íslendingasögur* in which a relative's byname is passed on instead of his primary name

is Gísli Súrsson. Gísli inherits his byname from his father Þorbjǫrn Þorkelsson Súr, who had used whey (*súr*) in an attempt to put out a fire in his stable (*Gísla saga*, chapter 3).

Bynames also contributed to the creation of new names through prefixing. Sometimes bynames could precede the given name, such that new "dithematic" names were formed, such as *Blund-Ketill*, *Sniallsteinn*, and *Hafr-Biǫrn* (Wessén 1927, 68). The prefixing of bynames spurred the development of some new name elements derived from bynames, such as *Styr-*, *Kol-*, *-finnr*, and *-grímr*, and led to new compounded or dithematic names, such as *Styrkárr*, *Kolbiǫrn*, *Skarpheðinn*, and *Svartkell* (Wessén 1927, 69).

Repetition was also used especially with monothematic names that by default could not be passed on via variation because they only contained one name element. The frequency of monothematic and hypocoristic names, for example, increased during the Viking Age (Kousgård Sørensen 1958, 223). However, repetition also came to be used with names that were formerly dithematic. As has long been noted by name scholars, phonological reduction of originally dithematic names created names that appeared monothematic, such as *Hrólfr* from **Hroð-ulfr* and *Garðarr* from **Garð-* and *-arr*, the latter of which derives from **-harjaR*, **-gaiRaR* or **-warjaR*. One effect of phonological reduction for name scholars is that it complicates the question of whether such names should be regarded as dithematic or monothematic (Peterson 1988, 126). Another effect of phonological reduction leading to monothematic-appearing names, compounded with monothematic bynames becoming primary personal names, is that repetition would become favored over variation, and lead to the erosion of the variation system (Janzén 1947b, 36). There is, then, a self-perpetuating cycle as with many cycles of language change

such as Jespersen's Cycle:[57] repetition created a need for bynames, and the increased use of

bynames further contributed to the use of repetition at the expense of alliteration and the

variation system.

4.3 Introduction of Christian Names

The introduction of Christian names to Scandinavia progressed very slowly at first, even

as the new religion made significant inroads. Some evidence suggests that inheritance customs

may have played a significant role in the adherence to traditional names. Although Christian

names became more common earlier on the continent than in Scandinavia, it appears to have

initially been met by resistance of the ruling class. Cathey (2002, 148) writes about the scene

describing the naming of John the Baptist in lines 208–224 of the early 9th-century *Hēliand*:

> "The shock of giving the baby the unconventional name John would have been as
> great with the OS audience as it was in the biblical setting. The Bible states that
> "neighbors and relatives" wanted to name the child Zacharias, but Elisabeth
> responded that he should be called John (Luke 1:58–59). The Saxons were
> doubtless keenly aware that the giving of names to Germanic heroes or nobles
> must continue the patronym in the prescribed manner, either by alliteration or by
> other variation of constituent part (cf. Schramm, p. 37 f.). Hadubrand, for
> example, could more easily be identified as Hildebrand's son in the
> *Hildebrandlied* by means of the alliteration that followed from the father's name
> to the son's. The non-Germanic name John, or Johannes, was certainly foreign to
> that tradition."

---

[57] Jespersen's Cycle (named after the Danish linguist Otto Jespersen) is a 3-stage process in which negative expressions become semantically weakened and develop new markers to express negation. The most famous example is in French. In Old French (Stage I), the phrase "I do not say" is "jeo ne dis." In modern standard French (Stage II), the negator "ne" has become weakened such that a new negator "pas" has been added to obtain the same meaning: "je ne dis pas". Meanwhile, in modern colloquial French (Stage III) the original negator "ne" has been dropped: "je dis pas" (Lucas 2007).

In the original Biblical story, When Elizabeth responds to her neighbors and relatives that her child will be named John instead of Zacharias, they respond: "There is no one among your relatives who has that name" (Luke 1:61). This scene would have been doubly shocking to a recently converted Germanic audience, which not only understood the importance of linking a son's name with his father's or other ancestors', but also because of the foreignness of the Christian name itself.

For several centuries beginning with Denmark's first Christian king, Haraldr Bluetooth (d. 986 CE), Christian names are very rare in the Danish royal family and were only given to kings' daughters, and younger and/or illegitimate sons, while the older sons likely to inherit the throne received traditional Scandinavian names (Meldgaard 1994, 216). In some cases in Denmark, Rus, and Sweden, and also among the newly converted Hungarians, Bulgarians, Croats and Czechs, individuals received both a traditional name and a Christian name, such as the Swedish *Anund Jakob* (Uspenskij 2011, 110). It wasn't until the mid-13th century that Christian names began to gain ground, largely displacing the Germanic names in Sweden and Denmark by the end of the Middle Ages.

Since most of the first Christian names in use in Scandinavia are saints' names, Meldgaard (1994, 216) suggests that this drastic change was affected by the introduction of saints' days. Virtually every day of the year and every town and village church received its own patron saint (Meldgaard, 1994, 216–217), who was venerated and prayed to for protection and to intercede with God on the petitioner's behalf (DuBois 2008, 6–7). Children were often named after favorite local saints, or the saint whose feast day coincided with their birthday (Cormack 1994, 45). As with the repetition of a revered ancestor's name, receiving the name of a saint strengthened a person's connection with that particular saint, provided some protection from

earthly woes and misfortunes (Meldgaard 1994, 210), and according to Christian belief, increased a person's likelihood of salvation.

4.4 Repetition: Data & Results

The present investigation seeks to evaluate how frequent repetition is in the runestone corpus, between which family members repetition occurs, and where it occurs most. Additional points to be examined are if there is a tendency for bynames or names that were originally bynames to be repeated more frequently, if any phonologically reduced dithematic names are repeated, whether there is any local variation and change over time, and if Christianity played a role in repetition. All relationships with repeated names are as follows:

Father	Son	Inscription	Style
Bjarnhǫfði	Bjarnhǫfði	U 1045	Pr4 – Pr5
Geirmundr	Geirmundr	Sö 67	Pr2?
Ingvarr	Ingvarr	U 309	Pr4
Eysteinn	Eysteinn	U 135	Pr2
Mother	**Daughter**	**Inscription**	**Style**
Þorgerðr*	Þorgerðr*	U 968*	Pr4?*
Brother	**Brother**	**Inscription**	**Style**
Geirbjǫrn	Geirbjǫrn	U 490	RAK
Uncle	**Nephew**	**Inscription**	**Style**
Kárr	Kárr	U 643, U 644/U 654	Pr4, Fp
Half Uncle	**Half Nephew**	**Inscription**	**Style**
Sveinn	Sveinn	U 150, U 135	Fp?, Pr4
Jarlabanki	Jarlabanki	U 309, U 142	Pr4, Pr4
Ragnvaldr	Ragnvaldr	U 112, U 309	Pr4, Pr4
Grandfather	**Grandson**	**Inscription**	**Style**
Auðketill	Auðkell	Vg 102, Vg 103	RAK?, RAK?
Fjǫlvarr	Fjǫlvarr	Hs 6	Pr1
Hæra	Hæra	Sm 71	RAK
Kári	Kári	Sö 298, Sö Fv1971;208	Pr3, ?
Ingifastr	Ingifastr	U 135, U 142	Pr2, Pr4
Þorbjǫrn	Tobbi/Tubbi	U 229	Pr4
Þegn	Þegn	U 990, U 999	Fp, Fp

Table 4.1: Instances of name repetition on runestones in this study.
 * indicates the instance is uncertain

There are 16 instances of full name repetition between related individuals in the data: 4

fathers and sons (Bjarnhǫfði, Geirmundr, Eysteinn, and Ingvarr), 1 set of brothers (Geirbjǫrn), 7

grandfathers and grandsons (Auðkell – Auðke(ti)ll, Fjǫlvarr, Hæra, Ingifastr, Kári, Þegn, and

Tobbi/Tubbi – Þorbjǫrn), 1 uncle and nephew (Kárr), and 3 half-uncles and half-nephews

(Sveinn, Jarlabanki, and Ragnvaldr). Additionally, there is 1 uncertain instance of mother and

daughter (Þorgerðr), which have not been included in the count, and will be discussed below.

Based on the number of total relationships, repetition occurs with 0.3% of fathers with sons,

0.1% of siblings, 6.1% of grandfathers with grandsons, 0.0% of grandmothers with

granddaughters, 2.7% of uncles with nephews, and 0.0% of aunts with nieces, and great uncles and great aunts with great nephews and nieces, and possibly 0.3% of mothers with daughters[58].

	980–1050 CE		1050–1130 CE	
Relationship Type	**Total**	**Repetition**	**Total**	**Repetition**
Father/Son	621	2 (0.3%)	684	2 (0.3%)
Father/Daughter	54	0	62	0
Mother/Son	115	0	221	0
Mother/Daughter	11	0	21	0
Brother/Brother	615	1 (0.2%)	677	0
Sister/Sister	11	0	17	0
Brother/Sister	57	0	77	0
Grandfather/Grandson	44	4 (9.1%)	55	3 (5.5%)
Grandfather/Granddaughter	4	0	7	0
Grandmother/Grandson	6	0	15	0
Grandmother/Granddaughter	1	0	0	0
Uncle/Nephew	35	1 (2.9%)	112	3 (2.7%)
Uncle/Niece	3	0	2	0
Aunt/Nephew	11	0	6	0
Aunt/Niece	1	0	1	0
Great-Uncle/Great-Nephew	3	0	6	0
Great-Uncle/Great-Niece	0	0	0	0
Great-Aunt/Great-Nephew	0	0	0	0
Great-Aunt/Great-Niece	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	**1588**	**8 (0.5%)**	**1963**	**8 (0.4%)**

Table 4.2: Repeated names in familial relationships in the first and second half of the 11th century.

Table 4.2 reveals a preference for repetition especially between grandfathers and grandsons (average 7.1%), and uncles and nephews (2.7%). Additionally, the average rate of repetition

---

[58] This has not been included in the total percent per region calculations.

decreased from 0.5% to 0.4% between the periods 980–1050 and 1050–1130, perhaps owing to

the fact that there are significantly more established relationships with named persons in the late

period than in the early period (1963 versus 1588). The total numbers and percentages of

recorded instances are low and would almost certainly be significantly higher if one could

assemble a more complete view of all familial relationships in each set of inscriptions.

According to a chi-square test, there is no significant change in use of repetition between the

early and the late periods.[59]

Region	Relationships	Repetition	Percent
Uppland	2370	11	0.5
Södermanland	794	2	0.3
Östergötland	263	0	0
Västergötland	124	1	0.8
Småland	119	1	0.8
Öland	83	0	0
Västmanland	23	0	0
Medelpad	42	0	0
Närke	18	0	0
Gästrikland	11	0	0
Hälsingland	43	1	2.3
Värmland	0	0	0
Jämtland	1	0	0

Table 4.3: Percent of repeated names in relationships according to region.

When examined geographically, the instances of repetition appear to be proportional to the

total number of relationships recorded for each region in which they occur. The only outlier is

---

[59] The relationships with repeating names and non-repeating names were evaluated from the early to the late periods using $\chi^2(1) = 0.1813$ (N = 3551), p = .670289, indicating no evidence of a relationship between repetition and age.

Hälsingland, but given the small number of recorded relationships, 1 instance of repetition has the ability to impact the percentage greater than in better-represented regions. In any case, the small number of overall results is not large enough to draw conclusions about regional differences in use of repetition.

Some caution must be used when evaluating repetition according to runestone style, since many instances of repetition only come to light when examining multiple runestones, not all of which are carved in the same style, due to names being repeated over the course of several generations. The four instances of repetition this applies to are *Kárr* (whose inscriptions are assigned to Fp and Pr4), *Sveinn* (Fp and Pr4), *Kári* (Pr3 and unknown) and *Ingifastr* (Pr2 and Pr4). For these inscription groups with more than one style listed, I have assigned the later style, since that is where the name was repeated, unless it appears that the person assumed to be renamed (i.e. the younger of the two) is mentioned on a stone with the older style. Ordered according to style, the instances of repetition are as follow: RAK (3 – 18.8%), Fp (2 – 12.5%), KB (0 – 0.0%), Pr1 (1 – 6.3%), Pr2 (2 – 12.5%), Pr3 (0 – 0.0%), Pr4 (6 – 37.5%), Pr5 (1 – 6.3%), Unknown (1 – 6.3%). As with the instances of repetition according to region, these results mostly align with the overall total inscriptions sorted by style, with only a few exceptions. With a deviation of more than 5%, the style Pr4 is significantly more frequent in the repetition data than in the total number of inscriptions (37.5% versus 22.3%), and the style Pr3 and stones where the style is unknown are underrepresented (0.0% versus 13.2% and 6.3% versus 20.9%, respectively). There are no KB stones demonstrating repetition, although this is not surprising, since there is a total of only 34 KB-style runestones in the entire selection treated in this study. The higher number of Pr4-style stones must be explained. At first glance it may appear that repetition suddenly became a popular naming strategy. However, since the next highest

proportion of runestones with instances of repetition is RAK, the earliest Viking Age style, this

seems unlikely. Rather, the aberration is more likely due to the fact that inscriptions from

Uppland are overrepresented as a whole (68.8% versus 52.4%), and 54.5% (6 out of 11) of the

occurrences of repetition in the Uppland inscriptions have been counted as Pr4. Because the

runestone fashion began and ended later in Uppland than in the more southern parts of Sweden, a

larger proportion of its runestones are carved in later styles than in other regions. Indeed, 39% of

all Uppland inscriptions included in this study have been counted as Pr4, which explains why Pr4

dominates the repetition data.

The average rate of repetition for each region and the overall average for all relationships are

as follows:

Region	Relationships	Repetition	Percent
Uppland	2370	11	0.5
Södermanland	794	2	0.3
Östergötland	263	0	0
Västergötland	124	1	0.8
Småland	119	1	0.8
Öland	83	0	0
Västmanland	23	0	0
Medelpad	42	0	0
Närke	18	0	0
Gästrikland	11	0	0
Hälsingland	43	1	2.3
Värmland	0	0	0
Jämtland	1	0	0
Total	**3891**	**16**	**Avg. 0.4**

Table 4.4: Total number and average percent of names using repetition as a naming
strategy.

As one can see in Table 4.4, the total number and percent of individuals named using repetition

as a strategy is very low overall and easily skewed in regions with few relationships, as in the

case of Hälsingland. A more in-depth examination of specific instances of repetition and analysis of types of names will help further illuminate these results.

4.5 Analysis

Given the small deviations of the instances of repetition compared to the overall percentages of runestones in particular regions, it does not appear as though repetition was favored any more or less in any region or province. Similarly, the data for repetition organized by style (and therefore age) also does not show any significant change over the course of the 11th century. The results are distributed among the different styles in roughly the same proportion of styles in the overall body of runestones in this study. Since repetition is then just as prominent for the RAK style as it is for Pr4 and Pr5, this naming principle appears to have remained constant during the late Viking Age. This supports the idea that repetition was already a well-established naming practice during the Viking Age. According to Wessén (1927, 18), repetition was the dominant naming principle during the Viking Age.

Out of a total of 16 instances of repetition, 11 instances occur as expected, with either a grandfather and grandson, uncle and nephew, or half-uncle and half-nephew. However, 5 instances represent father and son (4) and brothers (1). The primary criterion for passing a whole name of a relative on to a child was that the original relative was already deceased. Repetition is more likely to have occurred over three or more generations, rather than two, since the parents of a child were more likely to still be alive when a child was ready to be named than the grandparents or great-grandparents. Although they were put to parchment about two centuries later and for this reason have to be approached with caution as historical sources, the *Íslendingasögur* purport to describe events largely in Iceland between the early 10th and 11th

centuries (Jónas Kristjánsson 1988, 203), and are as such at least in their content partly contemporary with the Swedish runestones of the late Viking Age examined in this study. In the *Íslendingasögur*, for example, male individuals named using repetition most often receive their name from their grandfather, great grandfather, uncle, or great uncle, and female individuals from their grandmother, great grandmother, aunt, or great aunt, provided they were no longer living at the time of naming (Keil 1931, 26–56). There are also a few instances in the *sögur* where a male child is named after his deceased father, and a daughter after her mother who died in childbirth, which might help explain some instances of repetition between parents and children and among siblings in the runestone corpus.

The less-expected instances of repetition are explained individually in the following.

Fathers and Sons:

U 135 (Eysteinn):

> **× ikifastr × auk × austain × auk × suain × litu · raisa + staina þasa · at · austain faþur × sin × auk × bru × þasa karþu × auk × hauk þana ×**
>
> *Ingifastr ok Eysteinn ok Sveinn létu reisa steina þessa at Eystein, fǫður sinn, ok brú þessa gerðu ok haug þenna.*
>
> Ingifastr and Eysteinn and Sveinn had these stones raised in memory of Eysteinn, their father, and made this bridge and this mound.

U 309 (Ingvarr):

> **× sikuiþr × auk × in[kua]r × auk × iarlabanki × litu × rista × runaʀ × at inkuar × faþur × sin × auk × at raknualt × broþur sin +**
>
> *Sigviðr ok Ingvarr ok Jarlabanki létu rista rúnar at Ingvar, fǫður sinn, ok at Ragnvald, bróður sinn.*

> Sigviðr and Ingvarr and Jarlabanki had the runes carved in memory of Ingvarr,
> their father, and in memory of Ragnvaldr, their brother.

These two runestones are considered to be among the Jarlabanki runestones, which form a special group within the Upplandic inscriptions. The group includes at least U 101, U 112, U 127, U 135, U 136, U 137, U 140, U 142, U 143, U 147, U 148, U 149, U 150,[60] U 164, U 165, U 212, U 261, U 309, and U 310. There was a powerful local chieftain or *hersir* (Hadenius, Nilsson & Åselius, 53) named Jarlabanki in the mid-11th century. Today he is known in particular from the 6 extant runestones he raised to himself while still alive (U 127, U 149, U 164, U 165, U 212, and U 261), which state that "he alone owned all of Tábýr" (modern day Täby). Runestone U 212 adds that he also made an Assembly-place and owned the entire hundred[61]. In addition, there are at least 13 further runestones connected to Jarlabanki, and it has been possible to assemble a larger family tree for his clan than any other from runic inscriptions so far. From the surviving inscriptions, the traceable family begins with the woman Ástríðr, who was married at least twice: first to Eysteinn, with whom she founded the Täby line, and then to Ingvarr, with whom she founded the line in Harg, 25 km north of Täby.

The name *Jarlabanki* refers to two different people within this group of inscriptions. The Jarlabanki who raised stones to himself is Ástríðr's grandson in Täby, and her son by her second husband Ingvarr in Harg is also named *Jarlabanki*, who is known from U 150 and U 309. Magnus Källström and Lars Andersson (2009, 372) presume that since these two men were alive at roughly the same time, they are most likely instances of repetition of an ancestor by the same

---

[60] On the basis of Gräslund's runestone ornamentation dating chronology, Lexerius (2011) has put forth the theory that the stones U 127, U 140 and U 150 were raised by a different (and third) Jarlabanki from the two Jarlabankis in the rest of the inscription group. However, because the date range for each ornamentation style partially overlaps with other styles, this study only considers the existence of two men with the name.

[61] A *hundred* (ON *hundari*) was an administrative division of land during Iron Age and Medieval Sweden that was responsible for supplying 100 or 120 of something, possibly armed men in the case of conflicts (Larsson 1988, 224).

name, possibly Ástríðr's father, as Wessén speculates (*Sveriges runinskrifter* 7, p. 21). Källström

and Andersson (2009, 372) also note that repetition appears to have been the primary naming

principle in the Jarlabanki clan. Upon viewing the family tree assembled from this group's

inscriptions, this immediately becomes apparent. There are five known instances of name

repetition: Eysteinn with his son Eysteinn, Ingvarr with his son Ingvarr, Ingifastr with his

grandson Ingifastr, Ragnvaldr with his nephew Ragnvaldr, Sveinn with his half nephew Sveinn,

and Jarlabanki with his half nephew Jarlabanki. Counter to Andrén's (2000) proposal that the

order of names in inscriptions represents the relative ages of siblings, there is unfortunately no

definite way of telling what the birth order of siblings is on runic inscriptions (Bianchi 2010, 38–

39, 52–53). Therefore, it is unknown whether the fathers Eysteinn and Ingvarr were still alive

while their sons bearing their names were born. Although it is possible and even tempting to say

that this could have been the case, and that it would indicate that the rule requiring the initial

name-bearer to be deceased at the time when their name was passed on was becoming relaxed, it

may also be that the fathers' names were passed on to their youngest sons shortly after their

deaths, similar to several instances in the *Íslendingasögur*.

U 1045 (Bjarnhǫfði):

> **' biarnaffþi ' lit ' hakua ' stain ' at ' biarnafþa ' faþur ' sin -ak-- ' s...- ' at '**
>
> *Bjarnhǫfði lét hǫggva stein at Bjarnhǫfða, fǫður sinn ... ... <at>.*
>
> Bjarnhǫfði had the stone cut in memory of Bjarnhǫfði, his father ... ...

According to Wessén and Jansson in *Sveriges runinskrifter*, the name *Bjarnhǫfði* was originally a

descriptive byname, similar to *Svarthǫfði*, *Hvithǫfði*, and *Ketilhǫfði* in other Swedish runic

inscriptions, and numerous West Norse bynames ending in *-hǫfði* ('head'). The name *Bjarnhǫfði* would have described someone with a head resembling a bear. Since it is unusual for a father and son to have the same name during the Viking Age, SRI proposes that the son resembled his father in terms of his physical appearance and so inherited his father's descriptive byname (*Upplands runinskrifter* del 4 (*Sveriges runinskrifter* band 9, 1953–1958), p. 305).

Sö 67 (Geirmundr):

> **[ouaifr : auk : kairmuntr : raistu : stain : þena : eftiʀ : faþur : sin kaiRmunt : kuþ : hialbi : ant : hans]**

> *Óleifr ok Geirmundr reistu stein þenna eptir fǫður sinn Geirmund. Guð hjalpi ǫnd hans.*

> Óleifr and Geirmundr raised this stone in memory of their father Geirmundr. May God help his spirit.

Brate and Wessén do not comment in *Sveriges runinskrifter* on the uncommon situation of father and son both sharing the name *Geirmundr*. However, Keil (1931, 53) reports that fourteen sons in the *Íslendingasögur* share a name with their father, six of whom were born shortly after the father's death. In this inscription, the brothers Óleifr and Geirmundr raised the stone to commemorate their father. It is possible the father died just before the younger son's birth, but that would mean that the son Geirmundr would have been very young when the runestone was commissioned. As in U 135 and U 309, it is impossible to know with any certainty, but it may be likelier that Geirmundr is the youngest of the sons. Very little is known about how long after a person's death a stone would normally be carved in their memory, but if it was only a few years at most, Geirmundr could have been an infant or small child at the time of raising. Since there

are several sons sharing their father's name, it seems at least plausible that young children could

be listed as runestone patrons along with their older relatives.

Mother and Daughter*:

U 968 (Þorgerðr):

> **[stoþi · auk · sihtiarfr · þorker · lit]u · ris[t]a · stin at · aistu[lf · b]roþu[r ·] (s)in [sun þorkerþa]**

> *Stóði ok Sigdjarfr [ok] Þorgerðr létu rista stein at Eistulf, bróður sinn, son Þorgerðar.*

> Stóði and Sigdjarfr and Þorgerðr had the stone carved in memory of Eistulfr, their brother, Þorgerðr's son.

Wessén and Jansson claim in *Sveriges runinskrifter* that this inscription suffers from a poor

formulation of its message. Supposedly, the Þorgerðr mentioned refers to only the mother of

Stóði, Sigdjarfr and Eistulfr, and the inscription should have instead read: "Stóði and Sigdjarfr

had the stone carved in memory of Eistulfr, their brother, and Þorgerðr in memory of her son."

(*Upplands runinskrifter* del 4 (*Sveriges runinskrifter* band 9, 1953–1958), 107–108). Despite

this, it is still possible that both the mother and daughter were named *Þorgerðr*, and that the

mother died sometime prior to her son Eistulfr, for whom the runestone was raised. However,

Peterson (1981, 60 note 14) and Larsson (2002, 63) cast doubt on the idea of two people bearing

the same name, as Peterson cites that the deletion of ð between two r-sounds as in -*gerðr* often

makes names with this element indistinguishable from those ending in -*geirr* in runic

inscriptions. Thus it could be that the stone was raised by three brothers, Stóði, Sigdjarfr, and

Þorgeirr in memory of their brother Eistulfr, whose mother is Þorgerðr. Given the possibility that

the first name could be a male individual, this instance must be excluded from repetition results, but due to the uncertainty, cannot be included as an instance of variation, either.

Female individuals are mentioned in runic inscriptions in a ratio of about 1:3 compared to their male counterparts, which could help explain the fact that this is the only potential instance of a mother named after her mother. Similar to the six mentions of a father's name passing to his son if he was born shortly after the father died in the *Íslendingasögur* (Keil 1931, 53), the same can be seen between mothers and daughters in two instances. The first example is not directly from mother to daughter: Snorri góði names a daughter from his third marriage Þuríðr after his deceased second wife Þuríðr Illugadóttir (*Eyrbyggja saga*, chapter 65). The second example is Bishop Þorlákr's mother Halla, named after her mother, who likely died in childbirth (Keil 1931, 56).

Siblings:

U 490 (Geirbjǫrn):

> **kiʀbiarn × uk × ihfurbiarn × uk × uifastr × þiʀ × ristu stin × þina × iftiʀ × kiʀbiarn × bruþur sin × kuþ ialbi ans ot uk salu**
>
> *Geirbjǫrn ok Jǫfurbjǫrn ok Véfastr þeir reistu stein þenna eptir Geirbjǫrn, bróður sinn. Guð hjalpi hans ǫnd ok sálu.*
>
> Geirbjǫrn and Jǫfurbjǫrn and Véfastr, they raised this stone in memory of Geirbjǫrn, their brother. May God help his spirit and soul.

In *Sveriges runinskrifter*, Wessén and Jansson note about this inscription that it is unusual that two brothers have the same name, but that it isn't completely unheard of either, pointing to examples in *Landnámabók* in which two sons of Bǫðvarr blǫðruskalli ('blister baldy, bladder baldy') are called Þorbjǫrn tálkni ('whalebone') and Þorbjǫrn skúma ('squint, cross-eyed; shifty-

eyed, sneaky-eyed; the dark; one who behaves strangely at dusk'), Þorgautr's sons were both named Gísli, two brothers named Végestr, two sisters named Gúðrún, two twin sons of Harald fairhair named Halvdan in Heimskringla (*Sveriges runinskrifter* band 7, 327–328; Wessén 1927, 9), and the runic inscription U 903. In the inscription from Läby however, the two persons with the supposedly name (*Sigdjarfr*) are not written the same on the stone, but rather **sihtarf** and **sitiarf**, and likely reflect different names. *Rundata* also gives *Sædjarfr* as a possibility for **sitiarf**. A carving mistake also seems unlikely, and Meijer (1992, 57) considers U 490 to be fairly well-planned.

To explain the identical name, one could consider the possibility that **bruþur** means 'companion' in this context. During the Viking Age, the typical military unit was the retinue, or *lið*, which was structured similar to a family (Varenius 1999, 172). It was led by a chieftain, king, or other military leader. Retinue members were conscious of the retinue's similarity to a family, and sometimes referred to each other as their brothers (Moltke 1985, 296; Jesch 2001, 223). It is also known that not all runestones were erected for deceased relatives. Some stones in Sweden and quite a few in Denmark were raised for companions, trade partners, or other non-familial relations. The runestone DR 295 even refers to a warband companion as 'brother': **satu : trikaʀ : iftiʀ : sin : bruþr ¶ stin : o : biarki : stuþan : runum**, *Settu drengjar eptir sinn bróður stein á bjargi stæðan rúnum* (Valiant men placed in memory of their brother the stone on the hill, steadied by runes) (*Rundata*). However, DR 295 is the only reasonably certain instance of **bruþir** referring to a non-biological brother, and most inscriptions in the Swedish Viking Age runestone corpus employ different terms for non-blood relations, and so appear to make a clear distinction between the two. A number of runestones use terms **felah[i]** (U391) / **felag[i]** (Vg 182) / **felh[i]** (Sö 292) (ON *félagi*, 'companion, fellow'), **matu:no** (U 385) (ON *mǫtunautr*,

'companion, messmate'), **stob** (Vs 19) (ON *stiup*, 'stepson, stepchild'), **fostrsun** (U 203) (ON *fóstrson*, 'foster son'), **mak** (U 167, U 90) (ON *mágr*, 'kinsman-by-marriage, in-law'), and **but[i]** (U 16) (ON *bóndi*, 'husbandman'). It is quite possible that at least some of the inscriptions bearing the term **bruþir** were actually raised for warband companions instead of blood relations, but there is no indication of this, and this view would greatly complicate many interpretations. In the instance of U 490, I will maintain that this instance is two brothers with the same name, however unusual.

4.6 Bynames and Names that Were Originally Bynames

Since bynames and monothematic-appearing, phonologically reduced names are more prone to repetition than regular dithematic names, one expects them to be somewhat more frequent in the repetition results than the overall group. Out of 16 names that are repeated in the data, 7 (43.8%) are bynames, or names that were originally bynames: *Bjarnhǫfði*, *Kárr*, *Kári*, *Sveinn*, *Jarlabanki*, *Hæra*, and *Þegn* (etymologies of these follow). This is notably higher than when compared to the complete selection, where out of approximately 4668 individuals, 32.9% (1539) have names that can be classified either as absolute bynames or former bynames used as forenames (20.9% – 975), names preceded by or prefixed with bynames (0.4% – 20), additional possible bynames (9.6% – 447), phonologically reduced (3 of which have added bynames) (2% – 95)[62]. When compared to the total set of unique names, the repetition data becomes even more significant. Out of 1162 unique names, 198 (17%) are either absolute bynames or former bynames, 29 (2.5%) are forenames prefixed with or accompanied by bynames, 140 (12%) are

---

[62] The three names with geographic information added to the forename, *Ulfr of Skolhamarr* (U 161), *Ulfr of Báristaðir* (U 161), and *Fjǫlvarr of Vitguðsstaðir* (Hs 6), and the two patronymic names *Ásmundr Kári's son* (U 956, Gs 11) and *Káti Véfríðarson/Véfrøðarson* (Sm 144) have been excluded from the bynames in the calculations because these additional elements would not be passed on by repetition.

possible bynames, and 11 (0.9%) are phonologically reduced names (again, including 3 with additional bynames or a byname prefix).

A brief examination of each repeated byname or original byname in Peterson's *Nordiskt runnamnslexikon* follows.

Bjarnhǫfði: A compounded byname of the OWN m. noun *bjǫrn-* 'bear' and *-hǫfði* 'head'. As mentioned above, this name would have described someone with a bear-like head. In this instance, the byname might retain its original meaning, since it seems very plausible that the son in U 1045 resembled his father and came to be known by the same descriptive name. The name appears on one additional inscription (U 1113), and likely refers to one of the individuals in U 1045 (Williams, 1990, 187), but all that remains of the inscription on this fragment is the name.

Kárr: A byname from the OWN adjective **kárr* (only attested in compounds) 'curly, wavy (- haired)', also 'obstinate, pugnacious, reluctant'. This would have originally been used to identify someone based on either their appearance or stubborn character. Aside from the instance of repetition between uncle and nephew found among U 643 and U 644/U 654, there are 3 additional cases in inscriptions examined here, two of which are sons commemorating their fathers (U 792 and Vg 73), and one husband commemorating his wife (Sö 128).

Kári: A byname derived from the OWN adjective **kárr*, weak form of the name *Kárr* above. In the selection of inscriptions examined here, the name *Kári* appears three times as frequently as *Kárr*, with 15 instances and is borne by fathers, brothers, nephews and

husbands. It is also found prefixed with an additional byname in two instances as *Blákári* (Öl ATA4686/43) and *Ferð-Kári* (Sö 258). The instance of *Blákári* is more complicated because it forms a meaningful compound, similar to the compounds *Rauðkárr* and *Hvítkárr*. *Kár-* also occurs once as a prefixed byname in the name *Kár-Tóki* (Vg 180).

Sveinn: Originally a byname from the OWN m. noun *sveinn* 'young man,' which also became a first element as in *Sveinaldr*, *Sveingeirr*, and *Sveinheiðr*, and a second element as in *Bergsveinn* and *Kolsveinn*. With as many as 119 individuals, *Sveinn* is the single most common name in the runestones examined here, and its high frequency attests to the popularity of repetition as a naming principle during late Viking Age Sweden.

Jarlabanki: Originally a byname, formed by compounding *Banki* with a byname prefix derived from OWN *jarl*, 'free, noble man'. As Lexerius (2011, 28) points out, the name is carved with a separation between the elements Jarla- and -banki (**iarla×baki**) on U 127, U 140, and U 150, and could or even should perhaps in these cases be interpreted as *Jarla Banki* and not as a compound. A *Banki* or *Baggi* occurs in Sö 158 (**baki**, Nom.), U 114, and in U 778 (**baka**, Acc.). However, although it is uncommon, there are no less than 30 instances in the runic inscriptions examined in this study that include a separator between the elements aside from **iarla×baki** [63], only 3 of which are bynames or names originally bynames (*Svarthǫfði*, *Hvíthǫfði*, and *Fjǫlmóðr*) – the rest are regular dithematic names. Seeing that the same dithematic names appear both written together or separated,

---

[63] These are Ög 17: **sig:biarn** (*Sigbjǫrn*), U 62: **katil×ui** (*Ketilvé*), U 93: **þouʀ+staih** (*Þorsteinn*), U 390: **frau×tis** (*Freydís*), U 394: **tuʀ:uis** (*Dýrvé(?)*), U 458: **suart×haufþa** (*Svarthǫfði*), U 504: **kitil×fastr** (*Ketilfastr*), U 585: **kitli:biarn** (*Ketilbjǫrn*), U 586: **ulm×f(r)[i](ʀ)** (*Holmfríðr*), U 655: **...·gaiʀ** (*...·geirr*) and **ikul·fhstr** (*Ígulfastr*), U 665: **fast·ulfr** (*Fastulfr*), U 965: **hulm×fri...** (*Holmfríðr*), U 692: **hru:muntr** (*Hróðmundr*) and **kuþ:muntr** (*Guðmundr*), U 716: **kuþ:fast** (*Guðfastr*), U 759: **sik:ualti** (*Sigvaldi*), U 763 and U 764: **hulm:stin** (*Holmsteinn*) and **kun:birn/kun:brn** (*Gunnbjǫrn*), U 1012: **þur'biurn** (*Þorbjǫrn*), U 1142: **huit'haufþa** (*Hvíthǫfði*), Sö 25: **ui·gautra** (*Végautr*), Sö 173: **hulm:stain** (*Holmsteinn*), Sö 229: **katil:biarn** (*Ketilbjǫrn*), Sö 232: **frau:stain** (*Freysteinn*), Sö 277: **inki:burk** (*Ingibjǫrg*), Sö 306: **þo]r[·kiai]rþ[i..]** - (*Þorgerðr*), Sm 125: **fiul:muþ** (*Fjǫlmóðr*), Sm 133: **þur:biaurn** (*Þorbjǫrn*), and Gs 19: **suar×aufþa** (*Svarthǫfði*).

separation of the two elements in dithematic names appears to have been an optional orthographic variation available to carvers. An example of this is the separated name **kitilfast** (*Ketilfastr*) on U 503, whereas on U 504 we find the elements separated as **kitil×fastr**. Already noted by Wessén, the two (or, according to Lexerius, three) men with the name *Jarlabanki* are instances of repetition (*Sveriges runinskrifter* band 7, 1943–1946, 21). The prefixed byname became fused into one and the name was repeated as a unit. Also worthy of note is that the name only occurs on the set of Jarlabanki stones, and presumably only within this powerful clan centered in southern Uppland.

Hæra: A byname from the OWN f. noun *hæra* 'gray-(haired)ness, hoariness; old age'. This would originally have described an older man, perhaps one who had reached an impressive age. The instance in which this name is repeated occurs on Sm 71, when both men are listed in a line of 5 male ancestors, so it is difficult to tell whether it was a functioning byname, or a semantically bleached name passed on from a grandfather to grandson. Another instance occurs on Sm 110, where a son commemorates his father *Hæra*. A fourth instance of the name occurs on U 335, where once again, a son commemorates his father by the name of *Hæra*. In both Sm 110 and U 335, it is probable that the name was used as a byname and retained its meaning, but it is impossible to be sure.

Þegn: A byname, cf. the OWN m. name *Þegn*, O.Swed. *Thiægn*, also from the OWN m. noun *þegn* 'thane, free man, liegeman', also became a second element -*þegn* as in *Farþegn* (Hs 21, M 1, Ög 222) and *Fastþegn* (U 1139). The name *Þegn* appears in 13 instances, and is borne by brothers, sons, and fathers.

All of the repeated bynames in the data in this study are male, which is consistent with the bynames in the overall corpus of Viking Age runic names. According to Peterson's *Nordiskt runnamnslexikon*, 98% of the 84 certain bynames in runic inscriptions are male, and only 1% are female, with the remaining 1% of indeterminate gender (Peterson 2007, 11; Jacobsson 2012, 54). The only certain female prefixed byname is *Óðin-Dísa*[64], found in Vs 24, which is the name *Dísa* prefixed with the byname *Óðinn*, possibly referring to the woman's heathen faith (Vikstrand 2009, 21).

Numbers of individuals with phonologically reduced names in the overall study are: *Ásl*/*Ǫsl* (4), *Auðin* (3), *Auðun* (1), *Ávir* (1), *Helfr* (1), *Hrólfr* (9), *Steinþórir* (1), *Þólfr* (5), *Þórðr* (24), and *Þórir* (45). As with the bynames, male names dominate this category (there are no female names counted as phonologically reduced), even though named female persons represent 13.4% (627) of identifiable individuals and 19% (221) of unique names in the inscriptions included in this study. However, there are no monothematic-appearing names resulting from phonological reduction in the recorded instances of repetition.

In light of the overall onomasticon available for use during the late Viking Age as evidenced on Swedish runestones, the data supports the idea that repetition promoted use of bynames, and that bynames in turn were passed on through repetition as regular forenames.

4.7 Repetition on Explicitly Christian Stones Versus Unmarked Stones

The comparison of the inscriptions bearing repeated names on runestones explicitly marked as Christian by prayers, crosses, or other indications versus runestones that are unmarked, does not appear to differ from the overall proportion of explicitly Christian runestones

---

[64] Few certain female bynames exist, among which are Káta in Vg 79 and Unga in U 169 (*Futhark* 2:198).

in this study. Out of 19 runestones contributing to the repetition results, 13 (68.4%) bear

Christian prayer or crosses, whereas 6 (31.6%) do not. The overall breakdown of explicitly

Christian runestones is only slightly lower, with 1098 out of 1824 (60.2%) in this study (58% of

all Swedish runestones display crosses), versus 683 (37.4%) that are unmarked (not including 47,

or 2.6% which may or may not have had crosses), and only 5 (0.3%) appear to be demonstrably

heathen and display Þórr's hammers, blessings involving Þórr, or from the pre-Christian era and

containing Old Norse mythological material without a Christian context[65]. These are the Södra

Åby stone (Sö 86), the Stenkvista stone (Sö 111), and the Lärkegapet stone (Vg 113), which

display Þórr's hammers, the Velanda runestone (Vg 150), which contains the blessing **þur uiki**,

and the Rök runestone (Ög 136), which dates from the 800s and makes reference to Þórr, the

Ostrogothic king Theoderich the Great, and the Valkyrie Gunnr. It is important to state that

"unmarked" does not mean heathen runestones, and it is likely that many, if not the vast majority

of unmarked stones were in fact Christian (Lager 2002, 255). One can examine the Jarlabanki

family runestone group, for example. Out of the 19 runestones considered related, 14 have

Christian prayers and/or crosses, while only 5 are unmarked. Considering that all of these

particular stones were raised by Jarlabanki's family, it is unlikely that some members would

have converted to Christianity and others not. It seems that Christianity was already well-

established in eastern Sweden during the 11th century (Lager 2002, 254), more than a century

---

[65] With the exception of the Þórr's hammer, the use of heathen scenes or symbols does not necessarily indicate a runestone was produced within a heathen context. Williams (1996, 51) gives the examples of the scenes from *Völsunga saga* on the Rasmund carving (Sö 101), the depiction of Þórr fishing for the Midgard serpent on the Altuna runestone (U 1161), and the depiction of Gunnarr in the snake pit on a baptismal font from Norum (Bo NIYR5;222), in which the scenes likely functioned metaphorically within a Christian context.

before Uppsala was officially incorporated into the ecclesiastical system of the European continent.

Unmarked		Explicitly Christian	Evidence
U 309		U 112	prayer
U 643		U 135	cross
U 999		U 142	cross
U 1045		U 150	cross
Sm 71		U 229	cross
Vg 102		U 490	prayer, cross
		U 644	prayer, crosses
		U 990	prayer, cross
		Hs 6	cross
		Sö 67†	prayer
		Sö 298	cross
		Sö Fv1971;208	cross
		Vg 103	cross

Table 4.5: Marked Christian runestones versus unmarked runestones with repeated names.

An examination of the inscriptions that show the less-expected situations of repetition, that is, all except grandfathers with grandsons, uncles with nephews, and half-uncles with half-nephews (i.e. nephews of their father's half-brother), does also not seem to show any pattern of preference for repetition. Out of these, 4 (66.6%) are marked with crosses or prayers, and 2 (33.3%) are unmarked.

Since most, if not all runestones with examples of repetition in this study are Christian, this may be some indication that the rule requiring the original name-bearer to be deceased before another person was named after them was beginning to give way.

In connection to Christianity, mention should also be made of the use of loaned Christian names. In this study, 21 individuals (0.4%) bear a maximum of 8 Christian names: *Jóhan*, *Jón* (a

shortened form of *Jóhan*), *Ióni* (possibly a hypocoristic form of *Jón*), *Kleme(n)t*, *Marteinn*, *Nikulás*, *Pétr*, and *Vinaman*[66]. These make up a very small proportion of the names in the present runestone corpus, and in the Viking Age overall, but even so, a trend is discernible. Of these Christian names, 4 uses occur in 0.2% of individuals on stones dated to before 1050, while 14 uses occur in 0.7% of individuals on stones dated to after 1050. The remaining 3 instances occur on stones with uncertain styles/dating. There are a total of 1112 runestones listing 1945 individuals which are dated to before 1050 (61%) and 712 listing 2028 individuals which are dated to after 1050 (39%) in this study, which indicates that Christian names were slowly becoming more common during the late Viking Age, and would increase dramatically during the Middle Ages. Two centuries after the end of the Viking Age runestone tradition, the six most common men's names in a 1312 taxation list from Uppland are all Christian saints' names: *Johan* (7.3%), *Olaf* (7%), *Niklas* (4.7%), *Laurens* (3.8%), *Peter* (3.5%) and *Jakob* (2.9%) (Otterbjörk 1968b, 214). By the end of the medieval period, traditional Scandinavian names only made up 3–10% of names in eastern Scandinavia (Meldgaard 1994, 216). In the 1312 Uppland taxation lists, only about 9% of unique names are Christian, but are borne by 39% of all individuals mentioned (Melfors 2002, 965), indicating that the new Christian names were not particularly numerous yet, but became very widespread through repetition. As with bynames, use of Christian names did not fit into the variation system and would further contribute to the dominance of repetition as a naming strategy.

In the view that repetition was the most popular naming system during the Viking Age, and that Christian names would only passed on through repetition, an important question emerges: why do we find none of the Christian names repeated? Again, it must be remembered

---

[66] The names *Spjallboði* ('carrier, bearer', 8 occurrences) and short form *Spjalli* (1 occurrence) are not included, as they do not have an explicit Christian meaning (Williams 1996, 70 note 133).

that most runestones only mention one or two generations, and that during the Viking Age

repetition was mostly restricted to more than two generations. This, together with the overall

small proportion of Christian names (8 out of 1162 unique names, or 0.7%, and only 21 (0.4%)

out of 4668 individuals bear Christian names), is likely the reason why there are no instances of

Christian names repeated in the corpus of runestones.

4.8 Comparison with Repetition in Literary Sources

There is some sense in comparing the use of repetition in the Swedish runic inscriptions

with the use of repetition in sources such as *Landnámabók*, the *Íslendingasögur*, and *Ynglingatal*.

However, one must be cautious about taking even works such as *Landnámabók* and the

Íslendingasögur as historical truth (Halvorsen 1968, 199; Jónas Kristjánsson 1988, 203–206).

One way in which these works might not always be historical is that naming might in some

situations be used as a literary device rather than accurately reflecting contemporary naming

practices. One device the *Íslendingasögur* are known to employ is that of parallel narrative

structures, in which certain situations or events are foreshadowed by similar situations or events.

Egils saga, for instance, establishes a parallel between Egill and his brother Þórólfr, and Egill's

father Skalla-Grímr and his brother (Egill's paternal uncle) Þórólfr. Both Þórólfrs are good-

looking and die an early death in battle, while Skalla-Grímr and Egill are physically deformed,

stubborn in temperament, long-lived, and gifted in poetry. In this instance, repetition of the name

Þórólfr appears to serve as a method of strengthening the parallel between the two generations.

Similarly, the main character in *Flóamanna saga*, Þorgils, shares the *Þor-* element with his sons

Þorleifr and Þorfinnr, and his wife Þórey, and a central part of the plot is his conversion to

Christianity and subsequent struggles with Þórr.

With these caveats in mind, there are abundant examples of repetition in the *Íslendingasögur* and *Landnámabók*: 43 Icelanders were named after their great-grandfather, 20 women after their great-grandmother (Keil 1931, 26–31), 48 after a grandfather (Keil 1931, 40) and 23 after a grandmother (45–46). Two cases of a byname passed on from a great-great-grandfather to great-great-grandson in *Landnámabók*: Þórðr illugi - Þórdís - Þorbjǫrg - Þórdís - Þórðr illugi, and Þorsteinn holmuðr Sumarliðason í Mǫrk - Þóra - Steinn - Þóra - Þorsteinn holmuðr Skaptason lǫgsǫgumanns (Keil 1931, 34). 21 are named after a great-uncle (46–49), 13 after a great-aunt (49–50), 32 after an uncle (50–52), and 13 after an aunt (52–53). 14 sons are named after their fathers, and in 6 cases the respective sagas state explicitly that the father died shortly before the son's birth (Keil 1931, 53), and there is one clear example of a daughter named after her mother (Keil 1931, 56).

Relationship	Repeated Names
Great-Great Grandfather	2 (bynames)
Great-Grandfather	43
Great-Grandmother	20
Grandfather	48
Grandmother	23
Great-Uncle	21
Great-Aunt	13
Uncle	32
Aunt	13
Father	14
Mother	1

Table 4.6: Instances of name repetition in the *Íslendingasögur* and *Landnámabók* according to Keil (1931).

According to Keil's 1931 study, 17.5% of Icelanders mentioned up to about 1050 CE are named using the repetition principle, which is roughly equal to the proportion of individuals named through alliteration and variation, at 18.8% (61). This is a large proportion compared to the repetition results found on Swedish Viking Age runestones, but is also closer to the notion

that repetition was the most popular naming method during the Viking Age. One of the most salient features of the *Íslendingasögur* is the recounting of genealogies often more than three generations back in time, and many sagas follow a family over several generations, such that instances of name repetition come to light to a much greater extent than on the typical Viking Age runestones. Accordingly, it comes as no surprise that one finds many more instances of name repetition in the Old Icelandic sources, and it lends credence to the idea that if the data from runestones were more complete, one would find similarly high proportions of name repetition there. One way to potentially test this hypothesis would be to examine similar ratios of the relationship types found in the runic corpus, which would involve discarding a number of the grandparent and great-grandparent relationships in the *Íslendingasögur*. The exception to the low documented rate of repetition on Swedish runestones is those raised by members of Jarlabanki Ingifastsson's family, which offer insight by assembling a larger family tree than for most other groups of runestones, and where many examples of repetition are found, similar to the frequency in the Old Icelandic texts.

It is very clear that the repetition of names was conscious and deliberate. Some sagas explicitly mention that a certain person is named after a relative. In *Laxdæla saga*, after Þorgerðr Egilsdóttir gives birth to a son, "lét Óláfr kalla hann Kjartan eptir Mýrkjartani móðurfǫður sínum" (Óláfr[67] let him be called *Kjartan* after Mýrkjartan, his maternal grandfather) (*Laxdæla saga*, chapter 28, my translation). In *Njáls saga*, Hallgerðr says to her husband Glúmr regarding their newborn daughter: "'Hana skal kalla eptir fǫðurmóður minni, ok skal heita Þorgerðr,' því hon var komin frá Sigurði Fáfnisbana í fǫðurætt sína at langfeðgatǫlu" ('She shall be named after my father's mother, Thorgerd, because she was descended on her father's side from Sigurd

---

[67] Óláfr himself was named after his uncle, Óláfr feilan Þorsteinsson.

Fafnisbani') (*Njal's saga*, chapter 14, Cook's 1997 translation). A third example is in *Vatnsdæla saga*, when Ingimundr jarl af Gautlandi says to his daughter and son-in-law shortly before his death: "En ef ykkr verðr sonar auðit látið hann hafa mitt nafn" (And if you are blessed with a son, let him take my name) (*The Saga of the People of Vatnsdal*, chapter 6, Wawn's 1997 translation). A final example is found in *Þórðar saga hræðu*, which relates the naming of Þórðr hræða Þórðarson Horða-Kárasonar after his father: "ok er erfit var drukkit, føddi húsfreyja Þórðar sveinbarn, ...því var nafn gefit, ok vildi húsfreyja at Þórðr héti eptir fǫður sínum; kvezk þat hyggja, at verða myndi mikilmenni, ef í ætt bryggði" (And when the funeral feast was over (drunk), the wife of Thórðr gave birth to a fine boy; to him a name was given, and, according to the wife's wishes, was called Thórðr after his father, as she thought he would become a great man, if he was like his kinsmen) (*The Story of Thórðr Hreða*, chapter 1, Coles' 1882 translation). Clearly, in passing on the name of a deceased ancestor, some of that person's legacy would continue to live on in the new name-bearer.

There is a strong preference to repeat names of deceased relatives in the *Íslendingasögur*, which the much higher proportion of grandparents and great-grandparents whose names are passed on to their descendants than those of parents to their children demonstrates. In instances where name repetition is less expected, such as a son with the same name as his father, the circumstances are often explained. For example, in *Eyrbyggja saga*, Snorri goði is initially named *Þorgrímr* after his father Þorgrímr Þorsteinsson þorskabíts, who died shortly before his birth: "Nǫkkurum nóttum síðarr føddi Þórdís kona hans barn; ok var sá sveinn kallaðr Þorgrímr eptir feðr sínum" (Some nights later, his wife Þórdís gave birth to a child; and the boy was called *Þorgrímr* after his father) (*Eyrbyggja saga*, chapter 12, my translation). The same saga also explains why Snorri Snorrason goða, Snorri Þorgrímsson's nineteenth and final child, has his

father's name: "hann var føddr eptir fǫður sinn" (he was born after his father) (chapter 66, my translation).

There are few instances of individuals named after living relatives; Keil (1931, 51–52, 63) counts only 2 nephews sharing a living uncle's name, while it was the norm for only name elements to be passed from a living individual to another. The Icelandic naming practices appear more conservative in comparison to the runic corpus, where even in the narrow window into broader family relationships, we find 4 instances of sons with their fathers' names, in 3 of which the father may have still been alive at the time of naming. If there was parallel development of naming practices in Iceland and Sweden during this period, this could be due to the fact that most of the runic material dates from 1000–1130, roughly a century later than the Saga Age (*söguöld*), which is often defined as 930–1030 (Jónas Kristjánsson 1988, 203). However, it is also possible that the rules regarding repetition were beginning to become relaxed in late Viking Age Sweden because of more intense contact with the rest of Europe. Indeed, Icelandic would undergo far fewer linguistic changes than its mainland Scandinavian sister languages in later centuries, which were under strong influence of Low German, French, and English. To this day, traditional dithematic or monothematic Scandinavian names make up the majority of the names in use in Iceland,[68] and it is the only Nordic country still using traditional patronymics.

The skaldic poem *Ynglingatal* contains the longest royal family tree in all Scandinavian texts. It extends from the Migration Period to the early Viking Age and is thus a potentially valuable source for elite naming patterns. In *Ynglingatal*, repetition is found in the Swedish and later Norwegian royal family: Eiríkr and his grandson Eiríkr; Eysteinn and seven generations

---

[68] In 2017, 66% of the top 100 male names and 58% of the top 100 female names were traditional monothematic or dithematic Icelandic names (*Icelandic Names*. National Statistical Institute of Iceland, https://www.statice.is/statistics/population/births-and-deaths/names/, accessed December 6, 2018).

later Eysteinn; Ingjaldr and grandson Ingjaldr; Hálfdan hvítbeinn (white-leg), grandson Hálfdan, and great-great-grandson Hálfdan; Guðrøðr, great-great nephew Guðrøðr veiðikonungr (the hunter), and Ólafr Guðrøðarson was named after his great, great, great-grandfather, Ólafr trételgia (Woolf 1939, 168–169). There is thus a total of 7 instances of repetition in the semi-mythical royal family. However, alliteration, especially vowel alliteration, is much more common here than repetition. There are 20 instances of either vowel or consonant alliteration, or 16, excluding repeated names and repetition of name elements between two immediate generations: *Vanlandi - Vísbur, Dómarr - Dyggvi - Dagr, Agni - Alrekr/Eiríkr - Yngvi/Álfr - Jǫrundr/Eiríkr - Aun or Áni - Egill - Óttarr - Aðils - Eysteinn - Yngvarr - Ǫnundr - Ingjaldr - Ása/ Ólafr - Ingjaldr*. The high proportion of alliteration in the royal family fits with the idea that alliteration was a naming method especially among the elite between the Migration Period and Viking Age (Wessén 1927, 14).

Out of the 16 other related families mentioned in *Ynglingatal*, one name is passed on through repetition: *Sǫlva hinn gamli* (the old) (*Ynglingasaga* 42), has a grandson *Sǫlva*, who in his turn has a grandson named *Sǫlva* (Woolf 1939, 171). However, here again alliteration is the dominant name-giving method, as there are 12 instances of consonant or vowel alliteration that cannot be counted as variation or repetition.

The strong preference of alliteration over variation and repetition in *Ynglingatal* stands in stark contrast to the naming principles in the *Íslendingasögur* and Viking Age runestones. Wessén makes a clear distinction between the names of kings and chieftains and those of the *bœndr* (the people of the farmer class). The former group is more conservative and largely employs names derived from the Migration Period, and avoided new formations from bynames, both monothematic such as *Grímr* and *Ketill*, and dithematic such as compounds with certain

elements such as *Þór-* and *-ketill* (Wessén 1927, 87). A clear example of resistance to change in naming, in this instance against loaned foreign names, is found in *Heimskringla*, when Snorri relates King Óláfr's angry reaction when his illegitimate son was named Magnús: "Ekki er þat várt ættnafn" (That is not the name of any in our family, chapter 122; Finlay & Faulkes 2014 translation, 140).

The difference in naming patterns in *Ynglingatal* and the Viking Age runestone corpus provides information about the development of naming practices prefered by the ruling class. The most extensive family tree that can be reconstructed from the runic material is of course that of Jarlabanki. Jarlabanki's family was high status and he himself a wealthy landowner, in control of an entire hundred in Uppland. Although not a king, Jarlabanki was certainly part of the upper class during the late 11th century. In his family, repetition was evidently a very popular method of naming, and there is only one clear occurance of alliteration. This contrasts sharply with the prefered naming strategies used by the Swedish and Norwegian ruling family described in *Ynglingatal* and suggests that the use of alliteration in the ruling classes had significantly decreased between the 9th and 11th centuries, with repetition taking its place.

4.9 Conclusion

If it is truly the case that repetition was the most common naming system during the Viking Age (Wessén 1927, 8, 18; Janzén 1947a, 238), then the relatively small proportion of instances of repetition versus those of alliteration and variation must be explained by the fact that most runestones only mention one or two generations, such that it is in most cases impossible to construct a larger picture of the family, in which repetition would become visible. The contrast is especially high compared to the 17.5% of individuals named by repetition in the

Íslendingasögur. In the Jarlabanki family, where we are fortunate to have enough runestones to construct a larger family tree, 6 names are repeated in a maximum of 21 individuals, or 28.6%. If one were to place the runestone corpus and *Íslendingasögur* on an equal footing by examining similar ratios of relationship types, it is possible the average rates of repetition would be closer. Among relationship types, repetition is found to be highest among grandfathers and grandsons (6.7%) and uncles and nephews (2.7%). This supports the idea that it was primarily names of more distant generations or family relations that were passed on to children. The overall average rate of repetition decreased from 0.5% to 0.4% between the beginning and end of the 11th century, which does not indicate a rising popularity of repetition as a naming strategy, and could be skewed by the fact that there are more established relationships originating on younger runestones.

Repetition is known to have encouraged the use of bynames to distinguish between individuals with the same forename.[69] Because bynames could be used either together with the forename or in its place, it was not uncommon for bynames to essentially replace the forename and become the person's primary name. Once this happened, bynames would become passed on to new family members through repetition, and become primary forenames, and in most, but perhaps not in all cases, with semantic bleaching (Brylla 2016, 241). An example where the byname may have retained its meaning is *Bjarnhǫfði* in U 1045, where the name may have described the appearance of both father and son.

It is possible that some children were named after a parent who was still alive, a practice that became permissible under Christianity, which correlates with the population of Sweden

---

[69] The 11th century Norwegian stone cross from Grindheim Church (N 273), bears a runic inscription in which both father and son are named *Þormóðr*, but the son is additionally distinguished by the byname *Svíðanda*/*Sviðanda* (Stinging /[Earth-]Scorcher).

becoming increasingly Christian during the 11th century, as the region moved from the mission phase to the phase of institution (Lager 2003, 506). We find a small number and a low frequency of Christian names that begin to become more common toward the end of the 11th century, a trend which was to dramatically increase over the next two centuries.

Chapter 5: Social Factors of Change

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the cultural and social factors that influenced changes in naming practices in late Viking Age Sweden. The thorough examination of alliteration, variation, and repetition as naming strategies on late Swedish Viking Age runestones in the previous chapters reveals that alliteration and variation are used to a similar degree (10.2% and 9.2%, respectively), but that concrete evidence of repetition is very low (0.4%). The investigation has also revealed slight shifts in naming strategies over time, though these are not statistically significant. Between the periods of 980–1050 and 1050–1130, alliteration declined from an average rate of 11.4% to 9.9% of all recorded relationships, while variation increased from an average of 8.1% to 10.2% primarily due to a marked increase in brother-brother shared name elements, and repetition decreased slightly from 0.5% to 0.4%.

The first area to be explored in connection with these changes is the transition from the heathen religion to Christianity. Runestones had been used occasionally as memorials for deceased family members centuries before the Viking Age. For example, on the Istaby runestone (DR 359) from about 520/530–560/570 CE, *Haþuwulfaz* commemorates his father, *Heruwulfaz*, and *Hadulaikaz* raised the 5th-century Kjølvik stone (N KJ75) after his son *Hagustaldaz*. However, it was not until the Late Viking Age, after the conversion to Christianity had largely been completed, that the practice of raising stones with memorial inscriptions flourished. The explosion of runestones during this time may be indicative of wider social changes brought about by the conversion, which also impacted the traditional uses of alliteration, variation, and repetition, as well as the adoption of non-Germanic names such as from Judeo-Christian sources. The second area investigated is that of the effect of social status on names and naming strategies.

Finally, the appearance of secular foreign names is examined in the context of cultural contact during the Viking Age and Medieval period.

5.2.1 Christianization

Arguably the most significant change Sweden underwent during the late Viking Age is the transition from the traditional heathen religion to Christianity. Fridtjov Birkeli (1973, 9) divides the process of conversion into the three distinct phases of infiltration, mission, and institution (*infiltrasjon*, *misjon*, *organisasjon*). In the phase of infiltration, there is contact with and influence from the new religion without actual conversion taking place. This is followed by active attempts to convert the populace in the second phase of mission. The final phase of institution is marked by the acceptance by political leaders and imposition on the populace via religious and political institutions. Although Sweden is considered the last of the Scandinavian countries to join Christendom following the establishment of the Uppsala archbishopric in 1164, Gräslund (2000, 273) suggests that the phase of infiltration began as early as 400 CE, when Scandinavia had intense cultural contact with the Roman Empire and the continental Germanic peoples who had at that point become Christian (Winroth 2012, 130). The phase of mission began in the 9th century and continued through the 11th century in some areas. Based in the Archdiocese of Hamburg, Archbishop Ansgar (c. 801–865), known as the "Apostle of the North", conducted missionary activities in Denmark and Sweden and founded the first Christian church on the island of Björkö in Lake Mälaren, and in Hedeby, Denmark (modern-day Germany) (Winroth 2012, 103–104). However, Ansgar's impact in Sweden was relatively minor, and it was not until the early 11th century that the first Swedish diocese was founded in 1020 in Skara, Västergötland (Lager 2003, 504).

Even so, the shift from heathen to Christian was a gradual process that went on for centuries throughout the whole of Scandinavia. As early as the 9th century, some Scandinavians accepted a form of preliminary baptism called *primo signatio* (first signing), or the taking of the sign of the cross, which allowed these individuals to trade freely with both heathens and Christians without converting outright (Melnikova 2011, 104). Rimbert, Ansgar's successor as bishop, mentions the rite in his 875 *Vita Ansgarii* (*Life of Saint Ansgar*) and writes that many Danes in Hedeby received the sign of the cross to prepare them for baptism at the end of their lives (Rimbert, chapter 24). *Egils saga* describes how both Egill Skallagrímsson (c. 904–c. 995) and his brother Þorólfr received *primo signatio*:

> The king asked Thorolf and Egil to take the sign of the cross, because that was a common custom then among both merchants and mercenaries who dealt with Christians. Anyone who had taken the sign of the cross could mix freely with both Christians and heathens, while keeping the faith that they pleased. Thorolf and Egil did so at the king's request, and both took the sign of the cross. (Scudder 1997, 84)

This phenomenon during the 9th and 10th centuries[70] illustrates that the conversion process in Scandinavia was gradual, and that Christian and heathen beliefs existed side-by-side for some time. This was certainly true also in Iceland, which continued to allow the pagan practices of infant exposure and the eating of horse meat despite the fact that they were Christian taboos, for some years after the country voted to officially become Christian at the *Alþingi*[71] in the year 999

---

[70] It is important to note that the Sacrament of Reconciliation developed in Ireland during the 11th century (Poschmann 1964, 130–31, 138, 145) and did not become widely practiced until the 12th century, until which baptism was the main method of the remission of sins. Hence, it may have made sense to take the *primo signatio* and delay baptism until one's deathbed in order to have all of one's sins forgiven before death.

[71] The *Alþingi*, established in 930 CE, was the judicial and legislative assembly of Iceland, and continued to be held at Þingvellir (assembly fields) until 1800. The *Alþingi* took place every summer beginning between June 18th and 24th, and legal matters such as laws and lawsuits were decided upon by the *lǫgrétta* (legal council), which was made up of 39 district *goðar* (chieftains), and later the bishops of Skálholt and Hólar. The *lǫgsǫgumaðr* (lawspeaker) was

or 1000 (Gräslund 2000, 265). Individuals themselves could also have mixed religious beliefs. *Landnámabók*, for example, mentions an Icelandic settler named Helgi, who was Christian, but prayed to Þórr in bad weather when he was out at sea (*Landnámabók* 218). Still another example of religious syncretism and the slow but steady transition to Christianity is a soapstone mold dating from the 10th century discovered in Trendgården, Denmark, which could be used to cast both Þórr's hammer and cross pendants (Fuglesang 1989, 18).

But how heathen was Sweden, the alleged last heathen stronghold of Scandinavia during the 11th century? In c. 1072–1076, Adam of Bremen wrote his famous *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* (*History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*). In this work, he describes the supposed extent of Sweden's paganism, including a detailed account of the temple of Uppsala and the animal and human sacrifice that purportedly took place there. Some have suggested that Adam of Bremen may have exaggerated the extent of Sweden's surviving heathendom in order to justify further missionary intervention by the Hamburg-Bremen archbishopric at a time when Scandinavian kings were establishing national churches independent of the German mission (Garipzanov 2011, 15f). However, since 2011–2017, excavations have revealed a grand 50-meter-long hall dating between 550 and 650 on a series of earthwork terraces, and a line of monumental poles which may represent a processional way in the approach to Gamla Uppsala. In addition, the heathen temple or cult building at Uppåkra in Skåne was likely in use until the 10th century (Larsson 2019, 21), so it is conceivable that Uppsala was still a functioning cult center in the late 11th century. According to the admittedly late source of the 14th-century *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks*, Ingi the Elder (died c. 1105–1100)

---

responsible for remembering and reciting a third of the laws every year. The *Alþingi* was disbanded in 1800, but resumed in 1844 in Reykjavík, where the Icelandic parliament has resided since (Pulsiano & Wolf 1993, 10–11; Heiða María Sigurðardóttir & Páll Emil Emilsson 2007).

was driven away from Uppsala in 1084 because he refused to participate in or allow heathen ceremonies to take place (Sävborg 2017, 58–59). Following this, Sveinn became king of Sweden and was known as Blót-Sveinn because he reinstated heathen sacrifices, and many people abandoned Christianity during his reign. Ingi returned three years later to kill Blót-Sveinn and reclaim the throne. Two further sources mentioning Blót-Sveinn's rejection of Christianity and upholding of heathen sacrifices are the late 12th-century *Orkneyinga saga* (which may have served as a source for the episode in *Hervarar saga*), and Snorri Sturlusson's *Magnússona saga* section in *Heimskringla* (Sävborg 2017, 58–61). The existence of Blót-Sveinn is also corroborated in medieval Swedish sources, the most detailed of which is the *Vita Sancti Eskilli*, which indicates that there very likely was a brief return to heathen religious customs centered around Uppsala in the late 11th century. In any case, the large number of Christian runestones from the middle to the end of the 11th century in Uppland in particular give no indication that the areas surrounding Uppsala were still heavily pagan or of any religious conflict (Gräslund 2000, 270).

5.2.2 Christianity and Runestones

Although there are a small number of pre-Christian runic monuments, the late Viking Age tradition of raising runestones appears to be connected to Christianity and Christianization (Gräslund 2000, 263). This fashion, which was most common during the 11th century in Sweden, began with King Haraldr Bluetooth's (911–986) raising of the Jelling stone II (DR 42) around 960 CE, which declares that he had united Denmark and made the Danes Christian. Two further examples describing conversion are the Frösön runestone (J RS1928;66) in Jämtland and the Kuli runestone (N 449) in Norway. The Frösön runestone dates to about 1045–1075 and was

raised by a man named Austmaðr, who had allegedly converted the Swedish province of Jämtland to the Christian faith, and the Kuli runestone states that "Christianity had been twelve winters in Norway". While these three runestones are exceptions to the typical inscriptions of the Viking Age in their explicit documentation of conversion (Gräslund 2000, 265), about 60.2% of the runestones examined in this study bear either a Christian prayer or cross, or both. In comparison, only three Swedish runestones (Sö 86, Sö 111, and Vg 113) bear possible images of Þórr's hammers in the place of a cross and one, the Velanda runestone (Vg 150), contains the blessing *Þorr vígi*, 'may Þórr hallow'. These depictions of hammers and invocations to Þórr, which parallel Christ and the cross, along with numerous hammer pendants from the Viking Age, might even embody a late reaction against Christianity (DuBois 1999, 158–159). Another possible religious symbol is the triquetra, which could be related to the valknut in a heathen context, or the holy trinity in a Christian context, and is found on at least 3 runestones in Sweden (U 484, U 896, and U 937). The triquetra on the Håga runestone (U 896) appears to exist in a Christian context since it occurs together with a cross and the inscription states the stone was raised for Eyndar, who died in white clothes in Denmark. Another triquetra appears on one of the Funbo runestones (U 937). However, U 937 was raised by the same individuals as U 990, U 991, and U 999. The second oldest in the group according to style, U 990, displays a large cross and the Christian prayer "God help his soul," so on U 937, the triquetra most likely stands in a Christian context as well. The symbol also appears on the Kasby runestone (U 848), which has no indications of its religious significance. The only triquetra that has been found in what may be a heathen context is on a runic picture stone from Sanda on Gotland (G 181), which according to some such as Nylén (1978, 60–61), may also depict Óðinn, Þórr, and Freyr, or possibly a heathen cremation ritual and the arrival of a fallen warrior in Valhǫll (Jungner 1930, 70–73; 76–80).

Further discussion of the significance of images on runestones is beyond the scope of this

dissertation, but is explored at length in Sigmund Oehrl's 2006 study.[72]

The Swedish territories were not a politically unified area during the late Viking Age, and

different regions converted at different times. Runestones provide some evidence for the

different waves of mission and conversion in Sweden. Using Gräslund's (2006) dating based on

runestone ornamentation, Lager (2003, 500–501) plots the extant runestones according to their

region and the approximate date they were carved to reveal a distinct peak in three regions at

different times. The first is around 1000 CE in the southernmost Swedish provinces Småland,

Östergötland, and Västergötland, the second between 1000 and 1050 in more northerly

Södermanland, and the third between 1070 and 1120 in Uppland, the northernmost of these

provinces. These peaks also correlate with the Christianization of the regions, as the wave of

conversion gradually spread from the south to the north, with Uppland converting last.

According to Lager (2003, 504) this pattern represents Christian converts erecting runestones to

proclaim their independence from the heathen religion and their own Christian customs, which

may have differed considerably from those sanctioned by the Christian Church in Rome. Some

scholars even suggest that because of Sweden's extensive ties to the East and Byzantium,

Sweden's first Christian converts and churches were Eastern Orthodox instead of Roman

Catholic (Rhodin, Gren, and Lindblom 2000, 173). In the southern provinces and in

Södermanland, runestone production continued for 30 or 40 years after the establishment of a

local diocese (Lager 2003, 504–505). Uppland converted later than the more southerly provinces,

---

[72] The *valknut*, or Hrungnir's heart, is another symbol associated with the heathen religion and appears on a variety of objects in the Germanic world, most notably the Stora Hamars I and Tängelgårda picture stones from Gotland (Simek 1993, 163). However, most of these date to the eighth and ninth centuries, and none are found on later Swedish runestones. The Snoldelev stone (DR 248) from Denmark displays a triple horn symbol possibly related to the valknut and a swastika, but likely dates to the late 8th century (Moltke 1985, 183).

and there is evidence of British missionary activity in that the shapes of the crosses used in this region strongly resemble those on British coins and stone crosses in the British Isles (Lager 2003, 505).[73] British missionaries may even have used the erection of runestones to further their goal of converting the Swedes, despite the fact that the practice was not condoned by the Frankish and Roman Church (Lager 2002, 253). English ecclesiastical influence in eastern Scandinavia continued into the 12th century, when Saint Henrik (died c. 1156) became the first bishop of Uppsala and eventually accompanied Saint Eric (1120–1160) on a crusade to Finland (DuBois 1999, 72). In the half century or so before Christianity became institutionalized in Uppland, the runestone tradition possibly served as a means of expressing Christian faith and local customs in opposition to the church institution (Lager 2003, 505).

A testament to the advanced stage of Sweden's conversion is that some Swedes were already venturing on Christian pilgrimages to destinations outside of Scandinavia in the 11th century and occasionally documented this fact on runestones. For example, the now lost Stäket runic slab U 605, which dated to approximately 1045–1075, was sponsored by a woman named Ingirún Harðsdóttir in memory of herself before she departed, in case she did not return from the dangerous journey to Jerusalem (*SRD* entry for U 605†). Another stone from Uppland, U 136, was raised by Ástríðr in memory of her husband Eysteinn, who "sought" Jerusalem and died in Greece. The verb in the inscription, *sœkja*, could mean both "attack" and simply "seek", so it is not entirely clear whether Eysteinn was on a pilgrimage or a Viking raid (Jesch 2001, 66), but the explicit mention of the primary Christian pilgrimage destination Jerusalem does suggest he was a pilgrim like Ingirún Harðsdóttir.

---

[73] Also among the ways in which British Christian influence is known to have reached Sweden via the Swedish Saint Botvid (died 1120), who converted to Christianity in England while on a trading journey and returned to Sweden as a missionary together with the English monks Saints Eskil and David (Wittmann 1912).

The building of bridges and roads were also pious acts for which the Catholic Church offered indulgences (Gräslund 2003, 490–491). Both of these endeavors are often mentioned on runestones. For example, the runic text on the Björnsnäs runestone (Ög 45) reads: "Harði and Sigreifr had this rock-slab cut and made this bridge in memory of Nannr, their brother" (*Rundata* entry for Ög 45). A total of 130 runestones in this study mention the building of bridges, and an additional 4 speak of clearing a path.

There is also some evidence that women were instrumental to the conversion. Gräslund (2003, 483) argues that because of women's importance in the traditional heathen religion, their status had not yet become diminished in the conversion period of Scandinavia to the second-class position under the institutional phase beginning at the end of the 12th century. She links the worship of the Virgin Mary to the cult of Freyja, who was the Norse goddess of fertility and received half of the dead in her hall (Gräslund 2003, 492). Gräslund (2003, 485–487) finds that far more female graves than male graves at Birka contained cross pendants and bronze keys, which may have symbolized the keys to heaven. There are also many runestones raised by women that mention they built a bridge, which was deemed a pious act by the Church. Although it is difficult to know which aspects of Christianity were emphasized by missionaries, Gräslund (2003, 492–493) suggests that women in particular were attracted to Christianity at first because it was a gentler religion with a more optimistic outlook and offered each individual the chance of salvation.[74]

Still another point which demonstrates the gradual transition from pagan to Christian is that heathen myths and imagery came to be re-interpreted and used in Christian contexts (Williams 1996, 51; Gräslund 2000, 271). One example is the Ramsund carving (Sö 101), which

---

[74] Jochens (1986, 47–48) also suggests that women may have benefitted by means of having a greater say in choosing prospective husbands under Christian law than Germanic custom.

depicts several scenes from the heathen legend of Sigurðr the Dragon-slayer, but the monument

is explicitly Christian because it states it was made for the soul of the sponsor's father in-law. An

even clearer example is found on the Altuna runestone (U 1161), which depicts Þórr fishing for

the Midgard serpent Jörmungandr. This scene can readily serve as an analogy for Christ as bait

on the cross for Satan, and makes use of imagery the Scandinavian audience was familiar with

(Williams 1996, 51). Still another is an image of Gunnarr in the snake pit on a baptismal font in

Norum, Bohuslän (Bo NIYR5;222), perhaps to serve as a warning of the dangers of remaining

unbaptized without hope of salvation.

Finally, 11th-century runestones not only record that the sponsors were Christian, but the

nature of the inscriptions suggests that Swedish social elite was fairly devout at this time. One

example is the close similarity of many of the prayers' content with the Apostle's and Nicene

creeds in mentions of Christ, the holy spirit, the mother of god, paradise, and the forgiveness of

sins (Williams 2016, 33–37). In addition, the mention of individuals who "died in white clothes"

(*dauðr í hvítaváðum*) on 7 Upplandic runestones[75] may refer to confirmation rather than

baptism[76], which was rarer and more worth mentioning on runestones during the late 11th

century (Williams 2012, 150). All the evidence presented here paints a picture of a fairly

advanced stage of conversion in 11th-century Sweden.

5.2.3 Christianity and Christian Names

The gradual transition from old to new beliefs appears to parallel gradual changes in

naming traditions. The evidence presented above suggests that Sweden was already relatively

---

[75] These are from Molnby (U 243), Gårdersta (U 364), Torsätra (U 613), Amnö (U 699), Håga (U 896), Tensta church (U 1036), and Uppsala cathedral (U Fv1973;194).

[76] As stated in note 70, the Sacrament of Reconciliation did not become widely available until the 12th century, so it is possible that *dauðr í hvítaváðum* referred to baptism on one's deathbed rather than confirmation.

Christian during the 11th century, when most runestones were raised. However, actual Christian names are still rare on Viking Age runestones, as only 0.4% of named individuals (21 out of 4668) bear one of 8 different Christian names in this study (see Section 4.7).

Christian names can be divided into the three distinct categories of Hebrew Old Testament names, New Testament names of Greek origin, and saints' names (Meldgaard 1994, 202), which could be Greek, Latin, English, Irish, German, or Nordic, as long as the names were borne by a particular saint. The saints came in a hierarchy with the Virgin Mary as the foremost, followed by angels and archangels, patriarchs and prophets, apostles, martyrs, bishops, and finally confessors, church fathers, priests and deacons, monks, hermits, and virgins (Meldgaard 1994, 203). As described in Section 4.7, the Christian names on late Viking Age runestones are also all saints' names: *Jóhan*, *Jón* (a shortened form of *Jóhan*), *Ióni* (possibly a hypocoristic form of *Jón*), *Kleme(n)t*, *Marteinn*, *Nikulás*, *Pétr*, and *Vinaman*. During the 12th and especially 13th centuries, a large influx of saints' names appears as personal names, including: *Laurentius*, *Stephanus*, *Agatha*, *Agnes*, *Cecilia*, *Lucia*, *Matthias*, *Paulus*, *Simon*, *Marcus*, *Mattheus*, *Clemens*, *Martinus*, *Michael*, and *Gregorius* (Otterbjörk 1968a, 338). Some German saints' names also became Swedish names, such as *Henrik*, *Sigfrid*, *Gertrud*, *Valborg*, *Elizabet*, from English came *Botulf*, and from Celtic, *Birgitta* (Otterbjörk 1968a, 338). Some names, such as *Ólafr* (14 instances) and the related form *Óleifr* (23 instances) occur in the Swedish runestone corpus of the 11th century, but it is unclear if they refer to Saint Olaf (c. 995–1030) (Otterbjörk 1968a, 339). In a similar vein, the name of the late 11th-century martyr Saint Eskil may or may not be instances of Christian name repetition, as the name *Áskell* is already common on Swedish runestones with 18 occurrences, 11 of which date to the first half of the 11th century. Beginning in the 14th century, it became the norm in Europe to take a saint name at baptism in addition to

one's given name (Murphy 2003, 140). The name of a particular saint might be chosen if the

person was born on that saint's feast day, or possibly after the patron saint of a church in the

local community (Cormack 1994, 45).

Precisely contemporary with the runestones examined in this study, the Reichenau

Verbrüderungsbuch ("Confraternity Book") records the names of about 740 pilgrims to the

monastery from the Nordic countries between 1050 and 1100, 3.9% of whom bore Christian

names (Naumann 1992, 703f). Although they make up a minority of the names, the proportion of

Christian names in the *Verbrüderungsbuch* is about 10 times the proportion of persons with

Christian names recorded on Swedish runestones from the same period. There is unfortunately

no way to know exactly from which regions the Scandinavian pilgrims originated. However,

given the geographic proximity, it may be that many of them came from Denmark, which had

been under Christian influence longer and entered the phase of institution earlier than both

Sweden and Norway. This could in turn have led to a larger proportion of the Danish population

bearing Christian names than those of Sweden or Norway. As a comparison, about a century

later, a quarter of the individuals mentioned in the early 13th-century Danish *Kong Valdemars*

Jordebog (*Danish Census Book*) bear Christian or other non-Nordic loaned names (Hald 1968,

225).

However, there could also be another possible explanation for the higher percentage of

Christian names in the *Verbrüderungsbuch*. It may be the case that persons with Christian names

were more likely to be devout than those without, and so were more likely to go on pilgrimage,

which was a potentially dangerous undertaking that required considerable planning and

resources. It is also possible that some of these individuals took on a Christian name later in life.

A change of name at baptism or upon conversion symbolized a person's new identity within the

Church. Since Antiquity, there have been documented cases of name changes upon baptism or conversion to Christianity. The martyr Saint Balsamus (died 331 CE) renamed himself *Peter* after Christ's apostle, and is supposed to have said in reference to his name "I am called Balsamus, but by the spiritual name which I received in baptism, I am known as Peter" (Thurston 1911, 674). Although a change of name was not common for pagans converting to Christianity during the Middle Ages, it was a requirement for Jews and Muslims becoming Christian (Selart 2015, 184). Nonetheless, there is evidence of name changes upon religious conversion also for non-Catholic Christians and former heathens. The Visigothic prince Hermenegild (died 585 CE) became *John* upon conversion from Arian Christianity to Catholicism (Dailey 2014, 12: note 40), and according to the Venerable Bede, the King of the Welsh kingdom of Gwynedd, Cadwallon ap Cadfan (died 634 CE), took the name *Peter* upon baptism by the pope (Stevenson 1853, 499–500). Among Scandinavians, Guðrum (died 890), the king of the Danelaw in England, converted to Christianity in 878 and took on the Anglo-Saxon name *Æthelstan* (Thurston 1911, 674–675).

What is more, individuals sometimes had both a traditional name and a Christian name, even if they were only known by one or the other. This is true of the Danish royalty in the 10th and 11th centuries. According to Adam of Bremen's account in *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiæ pontificum*, when Haraldr Bluetooth converted to Christianity, he gave his son Sveinn the additional name *Otto* after the German King and Holy Roman Emperor Otto I (912–973). This son was to be known by history as Sveinn tjúguskegg ('forkbeard') (960–1014) and two of his three children, Knútr (c. 995–1035) and Estríðr (990/997–1057/1073), received the Christian names of *Lambrecht* and *Margareta* (Meldgaard 1994, 203–204). Thus the Danish royal house set a trend which was taken up by the Swedes and Norwegians as well (Meldgaard 1994, 203).

The best-known example of a Swedish king with a Christian and Scandinavian name is Anund Jakob (c. 1008–1050), the son of Olof Skötkonung (c. 980–1022). Anund Jakob was initially first only named *Jakob*, but after popular protest was required to take the traditional Scandinavian name *Anund* upon his election as king (Beckman 1920, 74).

As discussed in Section 5.2.2, women were at the forefront of conversion, and it appears that they were as well when it came to the adoption of Christian names. In Sweden, at least, the use of Christian names was apparently led by elite women. The Swedish King Ingi the Elder's (died c. 1105–1110) wife was named *Helena*, the earliest known instance of a Swedish woman with a Christian name (Sands 2010, 4). The couple named their three daughters after popular virgin and martyr saints, *Margareta*, *Kristina*,[77] and *Katarina*. It seems to have been common royal practice at least in Denmark to give Christian names to children except those most likely to inherit the throne, who would receive a traditional Scandinavian name (Meldgaard 1994, 216). The case of Ingi the Elder supports this idea, as he gave his only son the traditional Nordic name *Ragnvaldr*, while his daughters bore Christian names. In addition, royal marriage connections with other European families may have played a role in the adoption of Christian names, and the masculine names *Benedictus*, *Magnus*, and possibly also *Philippus* entered the Swedish royal family through marriage (Otterbjörk 1968a, 338).

However, the preponderance of feminine Christian names was clearly not yet present during the late Viking Age. A glance at the Christian names found on the Viking Age runestones in this study reveals that each of the 21 recorded individuals bearing Christian names are male. This may be due to the overall low proportion of Christian names on late Viking Age runestones, the smaller number of women mentioned on runestones in general, and possibly also in part to

---

[77] The name *Kristin* is also found on a 12th-century runic stone coffin from Hammarby (U Fv1959;196).

social status. During the time of conversion, there are several examples where it is clear that political leaders converted first for political reasons. One such example is Óláfr Tryggvason (963–1000), who converted to Christianity in 994 as part of a peace agreement with the English King Æthelred (c. 966–1016) (Winroth 2012, 115). Converting to Christianity also brought the advantage of being able to interact and trade with the rest of Christian Europe. Thus, the nobility in particular had motivations to convert to Christianity and to demonstrate their piety, which could include having a Christian name. Perhaps this practice had not yet had the chance to "trickle down" from the ruling elite to the wealthy landowners who were responsible for raising the majority of runestones during the late Viking Age.

5.2.4 Christianity and Changes in Naming Strategies

The late Viking Age and early medieval period in Scandinavia witnessed the slow transformation of naming strategies as the traditional naming methods of alliteration and variation were gradually replaced by repetition. An examination of the runestones in this study shows that although subtle, this shift is already discernable during the 11th century. Between the periods of 980–1050 and 1050–1130, alliteration as a naming strategy declined from an average rate of 11.4% to 9.9% of all recorded relationships, but was not statistically significant. This trend increased after the Viking Age and repetition became the exclusive naming strategy in Scandinavia by the later medieval period. On the other hand, variation increased from an average of 8.1% to 10.2%, though was also not statistically significant. The overall recorded instances of repetition show a slight decrease from 0.5% to 0.4% between 980–1050 and 1050–1130, which runs counter to a slowly growing popularity, but could be due to the small number of results. It is important to bear in mind that repetition was especially favored between individuals further

removed than children and their parents (which the higher rates of repetition between grandfathers and grandsons and uncles and nephews reflect), but which are more rarely expressed on runestones.

At the latest by the 13th century, the main naming strategy was to give children the names predominantly of their grandparents, or if not the grandparents, of other relatives (Otterbjörk 1968b, 210–211). However, before then, variation continued to be used for some time during the earlier medieval period, as evidenced by new dithematic names with Christian elements, such as *Kristmund* and *Kristvið* (Otterbjörk 1968b, 210). Apart from these few exceptions, Christian names were monothematic and could only be passed on through repetition.

From just about two centuries after the end of the runestone-raising period in Sweden, the 1312 Uppland taxation records may be a highly useful source of personal names to compare with the runestone corpus, both in terms of the proportion of Christian names as well as naming strategies. The records contain the names of 1670 persons, among whom there are 396 unique names. Of these, only 37 or 9% are foreign Christian names, but are borne by 39% of individuals. Of the 15 most common names, 10 are Christian: *Johan*, *Olaf*, *Niklas*, *Laurens*, *Peter*, *Jakob*, *Anders*, *Olle* (hypocorism of *Olaf*), *Mikael*, and *Thomas*. In contrast, only 5 are native Scandinavian names with no Christian content: *Björn*, *Kettilbjörn*, *Gudvast*, *Thorsten*, and *Kettilvast* (Melefors 1002, 965). Thus, a relatively small number of names is used by a large proportion of the population, which is the effect that repetition as a naming strategy tends to have on the number of names in circulation. Certain names became more popular than others and kept being passed on from one generation to the next, while less popular names became rarer and eventually fell out of use.

Although some form of Christianity had already been relatively widespread and adopted by a large part of the population in 11th-century Sweden, the naming traditions of alliteration and variation were slow to change. Christian names during this period are rare and only slowly increase in frequency toward the end of the 11th and the first third of the 12th century. This parallels the gradual shift from heathen to Christian, which brought with it only incremental changes in beliefs and habits. In the 12th century, the practice of raising memorial stones for family members gave way to the production of medieval runic grave slabs and cists, which typically only mention the deceased, and rarely the sponsor (Ljung 2019, 158). While alliteration and variation emphasized the family, the naming strategy of repetition emphasized the individual (Janzén 1947b, 36). As Sweden and Scandinavia became more thoroughly Christian, repetition gradually replaced first alliteration, and then also variation.

5.3.1 Social Status and Runic Literacy

The exact function of runestones has been debated, it has been suggested that they are death or inheritance documents, declarations of Christian faith, and status symbols. Some scholars including Ruprecht (1958, 81), Jansson (1963, 97), Hyenstrand (1973, 187), Page (1987, 46–47, 50), and Sawyer (2000b, 47f), have argued that runestones played an important role in inheritance claims. This remains a controversial topic (Sjöholm 1991, 123; Barnes 2002, 116, Vogt 2010, 175–177), but it is clear that runestones at the very least served as a marker of social status during the Viking Age. The question of the purpose of runestones during the late Viking Age is a complex one that also involves the question of contemporary runic literacy. In order to

answer this, one must determine the original intended purpose of runes, and how their role(s)

changed during the Viking Age.

Evidence suggests that runic literacy underwent profound changes in Scandinavia

between the early runic period (~200–800) and the Viking Age and Middle Ages and in some

places at least, this literacy became democratized. There is evidence that runic literacy during the

early runic period was associated with the elite. Schulte (2015) argues that runes served as a

mark of social status during this period. Supporting this argument are the finds from the bog at

Illerup, where only objects of silver and a few of bronze—i.e. those belonging to the upper levels

of society—bear runic inscriptions. Spurkland (2005) and other scholars have pointed out that

incising runes on metal or stone may not have been the primary purpose of runes in Viking Age

Scandinavia. The runes were most likely designed to be carved into wood with straight forms

and no horizontal or curved lines that would be difficult to carve and read along the wood grain

(Spurkland 2005, 144; Williams 1996, 213). In the later Middle Ages, it appears that a

vernacular literacy in runes was widespread in at least some areas, as the discovery of about 600

rune sticks in Bryggen, dating from roughly 1150 to 1450 demonstrates. The inscriptions'

subjects include commerce-related inscriptions, ownership labels, poetry, personal and love-

notes, secret messages, codes, and even obscenity. Since Bergen was a trading center, it would

stand to reason that other trading centers within Scandinavia in communication with Bergen

would have displayed a similar level of runic literacy. Rune sticks similar to those found in

Bryggen dating to the Viking Age have been found in Hedeby and Ladoga, which supports the

idea of a non-elite runic literacy (Spurkland 2005, 143). One such inscription from Hedeby may

describe a trade transaction of shields and otter skins, or an instance of *níð*,[78] depending on the

---

[78] *Níð* was a form of insult in Viking Age and medieval Scandinavian society which usually implied a person was *ergi*, *argr*, or *ragr*. These terms have the general meaning of 'unmanly,' but carried the specific sexual meaning of

interpretation, but in either case it is a product of a textual community with everyday communication in mind. Since wood and bone may have served as the primary medium for runic writing, but are rarely preserved in the archaeological record, today's knowledge of runic inscriptions is likely skewed. If this is true, more durable runestones and metal objects might have only represented a small subsection of runic writing, and not the runes' most widely-used function. Spurkland (2005, 145) even suggests rune sticks may have served as a model for the layout of early Viking Age runestones such as Hedeby 3 (DR 3), on which runic text is contained in straight bands running vertically across the stone. Liestøl (1971, 75–76) also points out that it would not have been economical to learn and employ runic writing only for the purpose of creating stone monuments if only few could read them.

There is much evidence to support the idea that Viking Age runestones were likely not only meant to be seen, but also read. Runestones were set up in public places such as next to roads or bridges, and often bear ornate carved decorations and sometimes images in addition to their inscription. Most runestones in Sweden were raised by family members of a deceased individual, and a fair amount of space is devoted to indicating the relationship between the sponsor(s) to the deceased. This has led some scholars such as Sawyer (2000b), to argue that runestones must have served primarily as death certificates and inheritance documents for the deceased's surviving family members. Though Sawyer's theory has its critics (Sjöholm 1991, 123; Barnes 2002, 116, Vogt 2010, 175–177), it may at least be true that runestones following the formula "[NAME A] raised this stone in memory of [NAME B], his/her [RELATIVE]" might have been intended to serve the living more than the dead. These runestones do appear to

---

taking the passive role in male-male sexual encounters. In a society in which a man's honor was paramount, an instance of *níð* was a punishable offense in the 13th-century Icelandic *Grágás* law code, with similar laws in the contemporaneous Norwegian *Gulaþing* and Swedish *Heþnalagh* law codes (Sørensen, 1983; Raninen, 2008).

have been meant to be read and were perhaps intended as a means of increasing the social prestige of the sponsors, or possibly a demonstration of one's faith as examined in Section 5.2.2. Another example of runestones that were probably meant to be read by at least some individuals are those bearing verses of poetry, for example the Karlevi runestone (Öl 1), or the Högby stone (Ög 81). Since poetry was held in high regard during the Viking Age and could even be considered a costly gift fit for members of the nobility as seen in the *Íslendingasögur* (see Section 2.4), these stones undoubtedly also helped bolster the social status of the sponsors as well as the commemorated.

Although it has been debated how widespread the skill of reading runes was in Viking Age society (Bianchi 2010, 34–35), some runestones make explicit reference to interpreting runes. At least 7 runestones directly challenge the onlooker to interpret their inscriptions (Sö 213, Vg 119, U 11, U 29, U 328, U 729, U 887), and an additional 4 (Ög 28, U 847, Gs 12, Hs 10) mention reading or interpreting runes. These exhortations to interpret the runes suggest that not everyone would have been able to do so. For example, the Nybble runestone (Sö 213) ends in **raþi : saʀ : kuni**, *Ráði sá kunni* (Interpret, he who can!), and the Ågersta runestone (U 729): **raþi · tekr · þaʀ · ryn si · runum · þim sum · bali · risti**, *Ráði drengr/tækr sá rýnn sé rúnum þeim, sem Balli risti* (May the valiant man / the adept who is rune-skilled interpret those runes which Balli carved) (*Rundata* entries for Sö 213 and U 729). Accordingly, there is no guarantee that every person encountering a runestone would have been able to read it, and the ability to do so may have depended on the person's social status.

There are also some runestones which upon first inspection appear like typical runestones, but bear nonsense inscriptions. One such runestone is U 811 from Hjälsta, which reads: **fas(t)...(ʀ) + þuliak × oaʀtþiol × atiurai × fasatiʀ + þaloi + oaʀfsai**

(uninterpretable). This runestone is carved in the style Pr4 and appears well-planned and well-executed in all respects, but apparently the person responsible for composing the inscription was not skilled in reading and writing runes. There are more than 30 such runestones with nonsense inscriptions (Bianchi 2010, 172), other Swedish examples being Nä 19, Sö 225, Vs 10, U 466, U 835, U 1170, U 1175, U 1179, and U 1180, and DR 187 in Denmark. It may be tempting to explain non-lexical runestones as deliberate strings of runes by carvers who believed certain formulas had meaning or would achieve a desired effect, similar to Old English "gibberish" charms which employ nonsense words in certain rhythmic or rhyming patterns to produce medical cures (Grendon 1909, 114). However, some nonsense words have similarities to those found in typical formulaic inscriptions, such as **rihisastn** for *raisa stein* and **ourisn** for *bróður sinn* (Bianchi 2010, 177), which suggests that these inscriptions are the work of someone who had seen memorial runestones with lexical inscriptions before, but was not entirely literate in runes. In addition, the Herresta runestone (U 370), which reads **+ obmnþi(s)a : kl(f)ai?i : is-- lþ^RiR : iahþþ ¶ ÷ (o)þntiuilki(f) : ¶ ÷ iklRþ(f)** (uninterpretable), seems to have been carved by someone who had seen runes, but had not mastered their forms, and even invented some additional symbols. Mindy MacLeod (2002, 148) describes the inscription as "a bewildering array of reversed and inverted runes as well as decorative non-runic symbols." The existence of these runestones also suggests that some of the patrons were unable to read runes (Barnes 2012, 167), and that in these situations, the monuments must have primarily functioned as status symbols.

   If one considers the skills of reading and writing as being only in the hands of an elite, runestones would probably have functioned primarily as status symbols. Even if passersby in the local community could not read them, they might still know who erected the stones. Runestones

often had intricately carved ornaments and were painted in vibrant colors (Danielsson 2015, 70, 76–77) and would have been an impressive sight to behold in the landscape. Thus if it was the case that the general populace and sometimes also the sponsors themselves were unable to read the inscriptions on runestones, these monuments would still have possessed a special status simply with the knowledge of what they were, what they were supposed to say, and possibly most importantly, by whom they were raised.

Another parallel is the use of Latin inscriptions inside churches in Medieval Scandinavia. One example is a baptismal font from the church in Ottravad, Västergötland, which displays a Latin inscription from Mark 16:16, "Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit salvus erit" ("Whoever believes and is baptized will be saved," NIV) (Hallbäck 1971–1972, 98). Even though the majority of the congregation would not have been able to read the inscription, they would likely have had a good idea of what is said and contributed to the function of the font to save those baptized in it. Another example is the use of birthing girdles in later Medieval and Early Modern Europe, which contained images and prayers to Saint Margaret, and were wound around the expecting woman's abdomen to aid and protect her during childbirth. These objects functioned as amulets rather than texts, since many women during this period could not read, but undoubtedly had an understanding of its message and magical function (Morse 2015, 194). Another parallel of texts functioning as objects rather than texts to be read is that of the Book of Hours. In the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern period, it was fashionable for upper middle class and noble women to own and carry Books of Hours, even though some were illiterate and therefore unable read the text. The books were richly illuminated on the inside, ornately decorated with the most expensive materials on the outside (Walsham 2004, 124) and sometimes hung from the woman's girdle. These were very much symbols of the social status of the women

who wore them (Walsham 2004, 126–127), a function completely separate from the text they contained.[79] If one assumes a general Viking Age runic literacy or not, it is reasonable to conclude that among other things, runestones were a way to show off one's social status and financial means.

5.3.2 Social Status, Runestones, and Names

As shown above, there is good evidence indicating that runestones were at least symbols of social status, even if they also had other functions. Supporting this idea is the fact that some runestones differ greatly in quality. Some are skillfully planned and carved stones with intricate decorations, while others have poorly carved unornamented layouts, both of which can be tied to different social strata. An example of the latter is Sö 133, a runestone on the farm of Väringe in Södermanland. This runestone, which Williams (2008, 11) calls "possibly...the world's ugliest runestone," displays its text in an unornamented band which is roughly carved and possibly poorly planned as well. The text fills the first three quarters of the band, and the rest is blank. In the center space of the runestone there is a difficult-to-read bindrune. Wessén (Brate & Wessén 1924–1936, 399) does not even consider Sö 133 a "real" runestone, but rather an imitation of a type like the Korpbro runestone (Sö 140). Williams (2008, 15) suggests the Väringe runestone was raised by members of a family of recent freedmen, who desired to climb the social ladder and display their rising status despite having access to only limited resources.

At this point it, makes sense to turn to examine Jarlabanki's family. As mentioned in Section 4.5, Jarlabanki was a powerful local chieftain or *hersir* (Hadenius, Nilsson & Åselius

---

[79] Similar to relics and other religious talismans, Books of Hours were also thought to possess protective or healing properties that were conveyed to the wearer (Walsham 2004, 125). Another example of texts used as physical objects with magical powers is manuscripts with Christian prayers, incantations, or the legend of Saint Margaret, which were rolled into birthing girdles and placed on the woman's body to aid in childbirth (Tycz 2018, 260).

1996, 53) in mid-11th century Uppland. The 6 runestones he raised to himself while still alive (U 127, U 149, U 164, U 165, U 212, and U 261) state that "he alone owned all of Tábýr" (modern-day Täby), and runestone U 212 at Vallentuna church, which adds that he also made an Assembly-place and owned the entire local hundred. It is uncertain whether he actually "owned" the hundred or had been assigned to it as its chieftain by the king (Hadenius, Nilsson & Åselius, 53). The runestones, which are mostly decorated with Urnes-style rune serpents and prominent crosses, appear well-designed and executed, further indicative of abundant financial resources. In either case, the Jarlabanki runestones illustrate, and even flaunt his high social status.

Jarlabanki's family predominantly uses repetition as its preferred naming strategy. There are at least 6 recorded instances of repetition that may be gleaned from the reconstructed family tree, and whether there are two or three men named *Jarlabanki*,[80] the name itself is probably another example of repetition from an earlier person with the name (Wessén 1943–1946, 21). In two cases, the name of a father is directly passed on to one of his sons. This is the case with Eysteinn (Ástríðr's first husband) and Ingvarr (Ástríðr's second husband) and could either indicate that the eponymous father had died before the child could be named, or that the requirement that the original name bearer had to be deceased before their name could be passed on (Janzén 1947b, 35) was no longer being adhered to. The latter situation likely became possible with increasing Christian influence.

The names that individuals bear may themselves indicate their social status. However, one issue in the study of old Germanic names is that the oldest preserved names tend to belong to high-status individuals such as kings or chieftains, so examples of lower-status individuals must be taken almost entirely from later sources. It is clear that the majority of the names of the elite

---

[80] See footnote 60 on the controversy; this study only considers two people named *Jarlabanki*.

are dithematic, which the variation system required in order to function. Wessén (1927, 60–64)

views the names of characters occurring in the *fornaldarsögur* (legendary sagas) as prime

examples of this type of elite name. From *Vǫlsunga saga*, *Helgakviða Hjörvarðssonar*, *Hervarar*

saga, and *Ragnars saga lóðbrókar*: *Signý*, *Sigurðr*, *Siggeirr*, *Glaumvǫr*, *Oddrún*, *Áslaug*;

Borghildr, *Hjǫrleifr*, *Sigrún*; *Hjalmarr*, *Guðmundr*, *Granmarr*; and *Ragnarr*, *Eiríkr*, *Agnarr*,

Ívarr, *Hvítserkr*, *Rǫgnvaldr*, *Eysteinn*, *Ingibjǫrg*, and *Ragnhildr* (Wessén 1927, 61). The

individuals in the *fornaldarsögur* hail from elite stock and embody the heroic ideals the

Germanic social elite itself strove for. Therefore, the names of the heroes in the *fornaldarsögur*

had to be equally matched to these elite ideals, and so represent more archaic names and naming

principles (Wessén 1927, 60).

Sometimes unrelated individuals were named after famous high-status persons. One

possible example is the name of *Knútr*, Canute the Great of Denmark, Norway, and England (c.

995–1035 CE), of which there are 8 instances on Swedish runestones (Williams 2005, 342).

Another name common among the Norwegian royalty and elite is *Hákon*, which can also be

found in Sweden, and about 17 individuals are recorded with this name on the runestones in this

study. It may be that the use of royal names was considered a taboo among common people

under the king's rule, but that it was more acceptable outside the king's sphere of influence. For

example, Williams (2005, 342) finds that the name *Haraldr*, which was preferred by many

Norwegian kings, dates at least to the Proto-Norse period (c. 200–700 CE), but did not become

common in Norway until the 13th century. Similarly, the name *Knútr* was preferred by Danish

royalty, and did not become common in Denmark among the general population until the 14th

century because the name had become that of a saint. King Knútr IV of Denmark (1042–1086)

was canonized in 1101, and in 1300, Saint Alban's cathedral was named after him (*Sankt Knuds*

Kirke, or *Odense Domkirke*), where his relics were displayed (*Encyclopædia Britannica* 2018). Finally, the name *Magnus*, as in King Magnus the Good of Norway (c. 1024–1047 CE), also saw a rise in popularity during the late Viking Age, and was according to Snorri Sturluson, a reference to *Carolus Magnus* (Charlemagne). This name is not preserved in any Viking Age runic inscriptions, but occurs on several medieval inscriptions, such as Sm 67, Sm 115.

In contrast with the names of high-status individuals, peasant names (Swed. *bondenamn*) tend to be monothematic, bynames, hypocorisms, or compounds in which the components derive from bynames. Among these are names such as *Ketill*, *Grímr*, *Bófi*, *Barri*, *Tóki*, *Styrr*, *Hrókr*, and *Bǫlverkr* (Wessén 1927, 65–66). The names of the individuals mentioned on the Väringe runestone (Sö 133), *Etti* and *Atti*, are also indicative of lower social status, and the stone may have been raised by freedmen (Williams 2008, 15). Still, there are not many runestones that fall into this category, and only an examination of later sources can help further complete the picture of the names of lower-status individuals.

In the peasant names preserved in the 16th-century provincial records of eastern Småland, in addition to foreign names of mostly Christian origin, there are still a large number of traditional monothematic and dithematic names in use (Modéer 1957, 58–68). The masculine second elements found in these peasant names are: *-ger*, *-björn*, *-gisel*, *-got* (OWN *-gautr*), *-lif*/*-lef*, *-mar*, *-mod*, *-sten*, *-var*, *-vardh* (OWN *-varðr*) , *-(v)ast* (older **-faster*), and *-wid*/*-wed* (OWN **-viðr*) (59–64). There are few women mentioned, but the feminine second elements in these lists are: *-borgh*, *-(f)ridh*, and *-ild* (from *-hild*) (58). Among the most common monothematic names are *Ketel*, *Hemming*, *Heden*, *Biörn*, *Karl*, *Knut*, *Kul*, *Sten*, *Stigher*, *Swen*, *Helga*, and *Inga*. Hypocoristic forms of monothematic or dithematic names are especially common, such as *Abbe*, *Åke*, *Bonde*, *Bugge*, *Folke*, *Gille*, *Gisle*, *Gumme*, *Gunne*, *Helge*, *Holme*,

Hulte, *Hegge*, *Inge*, *Kåre*, *Kelle*, *Lage*, *Lunde*, *Obbe*, *Odde*, *Olle*, *Otte*, *Sibbe*, *Sigge*, *Sune*,

Toffue, *Thule*, *Tyke*, *Unne*, *Väste*, and *Äbbe* (Modéer 1957, 66). At this point in time, the most

common types of foreign names are Biblical, for example *Abram*, *Silaust* (< *Silvester*), *Teus* (<

Matheus), and *Pete* (hypocorism of *Petrus*, *Peter*). It is very significant to note that loaned

German names in the records do not occur often (Modéer 1957, 58), which shows a clear class

distinction between rural peasants and the urban middle class (see Section 5.4).

Social standing also had an effect on naming methods. There is evidence that alliteration

and alliterating variation were the preferred naming strategies of the social elite especially during

the Migration Period (Wessén 1927, 14). The names of the semi-mythical kings of Sweden in

Ynglingatal up to the late 7th century, and the first four historical kings of Sweden in the 10th

and 11th century are dominated by alliteration. By the Viking Age, repetition had become the

dominant naming method (Wessén 1927, 8; Janzén 1947a, 238), but variation and alliteration

were still in use. Furthermore, it appears that alliteration was not restricted to those of high social

status during the late Viking Age, as the vowel-alliterating names *Etti* and *Atti* on the lower-

status Väringe runestone suggest. By the later Middle Ages however, the only naming strategy

used by all social strata was repetition.

In a society in which many, but perhaps not all people were literate in runes, it is clear

that runestones at minimum served as status symbols for their patrons. It is also apparent that

some runestones are of lesser quality, and were likely commissioned by individuals of lower

social standing such as freedmen. Names on these runestones can offer a glimpse into the names

and naming strategies of more ordinary people during the late Viking Age. While the names of

the elite especially tended to be dithematic in order to be propagated via variation of first or

second elements, lower status names included monothematic names, hypocoristic names, and

dithematic names that were composed of name elements derived from bynames. Later sources, such as the 16th-century provincial records of eastern Småland, show that hypocoristic forms of traditional Nordic names and to an extent, Christian names were very common. In contrast, names of German origin are relatively rare among the peasantry, marking a clear difference between those who worked the land and the burgher class in urban areas.

5.4 Trade, Urbanization, and Foreign Loans

By the Viking Age, Scandinavia had long been in cultural contact with the European continent. At least as early as the Nordic Bronze Age (c. 1700–c. 500 BCE), there were lively trade connections between Scandinavia and the East Mediterranean for the import of bronze. Many petroglyphs in coastal areas of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway depict ships, which suggests that ships played an important role in this long-distance trade. Beginning at around 1750 BCE, bronze began to appear in Scandinavia, and Baltic amber dating to this period has been discovered in Minoan and Mycenean graves (Mörner & Lind 2015, 137). Jewelry with spiral ornaments found in Simrishamn in Sweden are nearly identical with jewelry from Asini, Greece, and the images and symbols in the paintings in the Kivik tomb in South Eastern Sweden appear to be very similar to those of the Eastern Mediterranean area (Mörner & Lind 2015, 132–134). In the 5th century BCE, the bronze trade routes between Scandinavia and the Mediterranean and Eastern Europe collapsed, but trade with other parts of Europe continued. During the Germanic Iron Age (c. 500 BCE–c. 800 CE), luxury items were imported from

Rome, such as pottery, glassware, swords, and coins (Winroth 2012, 130). In the 6th century, there was a lucrative fur trade between Sweden and Constantinople (Winroth 2012, 129–130).

During the Viking Age, contact with the rest of Europe expanded again and reached the Middle East. Key locations within Scandinavia developed into trading towns: Ribe, Hedeby, and Århus in Denmark, Birka in Sweden, and Kaupang in Norway. The Norse raided, traded with, and settled extensively in the British Isles. They established trade colonies like Dublin in 841, and conquered the Danelaw in the late 9th century, which functioned as an autonomous Danish-ruled territory in Eastern England. In the East, Norsemen from Sweden founded trade colonies that developed into the Russian cities of Kiev and Novgorod, and some Swedes even served the Byzantine Emperor as members of the Varangian guard in Byzantium. There is also plenty of evidence that cultural innovations made it back to Scandinavia during the Viking Age, for example, Russian-style lamellar armor discovered at Birka (Pedersen 2002, 33), and Middle Eastern-style pants worn by some figures on Gotlandic picture stones (Nylén 1978, 90–94).

A few foreign names appear in runic inscriptions from the late Viking Age and Medieval period. The Norwegian runic gravestone N 508 from Trondheim mentions *Vilhjálmr*, the Old Norse form of the West Germanic name *William*, and the now-disappeared medieval runic gravestone from Bygland, Norway (N 185) contains a prayer for *Magnhildr*, a person with a German name. On Swedish runestones of the Viking Age there are two foreign names that are not the names of Christian saints or Biblical personalities. The name *Kjallakr/Kjullakr* occurs on four unrelated runestones (U 287, Ög 20, Sö 339, and U 42) and is originally a Celtic name corresponding to Old West Norse *Kjallákr*, which derives from the Old Irish *Cealleach*, *Cellach* (Peterson 2002, 750). One additional name, *Kjúli/Kjúla*, occurs three times (U 944, U 1039, and Sö 48), whose etymology is uncertain, but could be a short form of *Kjallakr* (Peterson 2007,

149). After the 10th century, the Celtic names *Njáll*, *Kjartan*, and *Koðran* also gained popularity in Norway and Iceland, due to immigrants from the British Isles (Peterson 2002, 750). One final example from the Viking Age is the runestone U 391 from Sigtuna, which mentions the Old Low German *Albóðr* (Peterson 2002, 750–751). This runestone dates to the first half of the 11th century, and was raised for *Albóðr* by Frisian guild-brothers:

× frisa : ki... ... : þesar : eftʀ : alboþ : felaha : sloþa : kristr : hia : helgi : hinlbi : ant : hans : þurbiun : risti ×

Frísa gi[ldar] ... þessar eptir Albóð, félaga Slóða. Kristr hinn helgi hjalpi ǫnd hans. Þorbjǫrn risti.

The Frisian guild-brothers ... these in memory of Albóð, Slóði's partner. May the holy Christ help his spirit. Þorbjǫrn carved. (*Rundata* entry for U 391)

One other runestone from Sigtuna (U 379) was also raised by Frisian guild-brothers around the same time, this time in memory of Þorkell, their partner. Norse-Frisian contact predates the Viking Age by at least several centuries. Archaeological evidence of bracteates and brooches shows cultural connections between Frisia and Southern Scandinavia in the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries (Ijssennagger 2013, 69–70). These runestones in Eastern Sweden testify to the long trade network between the European continent and Scandinavia, which only intensified during the Middle Ages.

Trade with the Netherlands and Northern Germany brought continental West Germanic names to Scandinavia already before the 12th century (Melefors 2002, 968). Low German names

begin to appear more often in medieval runic inscriptions, for example *Henrik* on the

Mörbylånga runestone Öl 8 (1100s), and *Engibrikt* on the Södra Unnaryds runestone Sm 54

(1200s). However, beginning in the 13th century, in addition to its headquarters in Lübeck and

Hamburg, the Hanseatic League established *kontors* in various important port towns such as

Danzig, Riga, Reval (modern-day Tallinn), London, and in Sweden Stockholm and Visby, in

Denmark Copenhagen, and in Norway Bryggen. The League dominated trade in the Baltic and

North Seas until the 15th century. In addition, the cities with which the Hanseatic League traded

experienced an immigration wave primarily of merchants and craftsmen from Northern

Germany, especially in Sweden. For example, Stockholm's oldest charters mention more

German than Scandinavian names, and the first mayor of the city was German (Jahr 1999, 122).

Low German names such as *Albrekt*, *Berthold*, *Didrik*, *Engelbrekt*, *Fredrik*, *Gerhard*, *Gertrud*,

Hans, *Henrik*, *Herman*, *Klaus*, *Ludwig*, *Sigfrid*, *Tideman*, and *Valborg* appear in Swedish

charters around 1300 (Otterbjörk 1968b, 209).

     Because of its association with the wealthy Hanseatic merchants, Low German became a

prestige language, and as such had extensive linguistic influence on the Scandinavian languages.

Over the course of several centuries, contact with Low German led to the importation of loan

words, prefixes, suffixes, syntax, and as some have posited, it may even have caused the

simplification of the case system (Blaxter 2017, 341–346; Wessén 1929, 28–29; Hyldgaard-

Jensen 1983, 670).[81] Wessén (1929, 13) expresses the atmosphere of the time: "Det har varit fint

och förnämt att blanda in tyska ord i sitt tal, även om det icke var nödvändigt" (It was considered

---

[81] Boden (1993, 295f.) argues that the contact with Low German did not influence the simplification of the
Scandinavian case system, and that it was instead a result of natural language drift. He compares the prestige
language contact between Low German and the Scandinavian languages to Old Norse and English in the 9th through
11th centuries, and French and English in the later 11th century, and says that the numbers of speakers of these
prestige languages was simply too low to influence deeper linguistic changes such as inflectional systems (Boden
1993, 301–302).

elegant and fashionable to blend Low German words into one's speech, even if it was not necessary) (my translation). Names were no exception to this. The North German immigrants not only brought technological innovations and words for them to the areas they settled, but also German names, which eventually became absorbed into the onomasticon of each Nordic country. Common masculine second elements from Low German

are: *-bert*, *-brikt*, *-helm*, *-man*, *-rik*, *-wini* as in names like *Albrikt*, *Vilhelm*, *Herman*, *Diderik*, and *Gervin*. Feminine names imported from Low German are *Hillegun*, *Mekthild*, *Vendela*, *Gertrugh*, and *Valburgh* (Melefors 2002, 968). Aside from the German immigrants who quickly became assimilated into their new home and passed their names on to their descendants, it would have been fashionable for Swedes to bear a name of Low German origin.

As seen in Section 5.3.2, the Low German names that entered the Swedish onomasticon largely remained restricted to urban areas, while the most common foreign names used by the peasantry even in the 16th century were those of Biblical origin. This indicates a strong regional and socioeconomic difference. Similarly, the social elite also imported foreign names from East and West through marriage connections. Slavic names such as *Valdemar* (from *Vladimir*), *Boris*, and *Dagmar* (from *Dragomir*) appear in names of the Danish ruling elite (Melefors 2002, 968), and the English royal name *Edward* appears as *Jedvard* in Sweden (Otterbjörk 1968b, 210).

Despite the trading connections between Scandinavia and the rest of Europe during the Viking Age, there are only a few secular foreign names in runic inscriptions from this period. These are of either Celtic or Old Low German origin. Most likely the low number of loaned names is because the cultural contact itself was not intense enough to have a serious impact on the Scandinavian onomasticon. When the Hanseatic League expanded its influence across the Baltic and North Seas in the 13th century, Low German became a prestige language in

Scandinavia. Along with ushering in massive linguistic changes to the mainland Scandinavian languages, immigrants to Scandinavian cities brought a huge influx of Low German names and had a lasting impact on the onomasticon.

5.5 Conclusion

There is evidence that conversion from the pre-Christian religion in Scandinavia was a gradual process. The conversion spread from south to north, and brought with it a wave of runestone production that lasted about a generation after the establishment of a local diocese. By the 11th century, it appears that a sizeable portion of Sweden's land-owning population had already converted to Christianity. Paralleling the conversion, one sees the slow introduction of Christian names which gradually increase in runic inscriptions towards the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century. It was not until the 13th and 14th centuries that a significant proportion of the population bore Christian names, most of which were the names of saints. With the exception of a few newly-formed dithematic names with Christian elements such as *Kristmund* and *Kristvið*, Christian names were passed on only through repetition, and thus helped hasten the decline of the alliteration and variation systems.

Regardless of whether most people in Swedish society could read runes during the late Viking Age, runestones at the very least functioned by advertising the wealth and social status of those who commissioned them. While most runestones from the 11th century are well-planned and executed, there are some whose æsthetic design and overall quality of the carving indicate a lack of financial resources. These may indicate freedmen and other lower-status individuals. Social status may also be indicated by the very names borne by individuals. An examination of later centuries reveals a large number of hypocoristic forms of monothematic and dithematic

names. Even in the 16th century, there are not many German names found in the peasant class, which stands in stark contrast with those of the burgher class of the cities that were influenced by the influx of German immigration during the 13th through the 15th centuries.

Although Scandinavia had been in social contact with the rest of Europe for centuries before the Viking Age, there are relatively few non-Christian foreign names found on Viking Age runestones. The foreign names that are found are of Celtic or West Germanic origin. From the 13th through the 15th century, the Hanseatic League controlled trade in the Baltic and North Seas, and brought an influx of North German immigrants to various Scandinavian cities. The Low German language gained a prestige status which allowed it to exercise a profound influence over the Scandinavian languages and onomasticon. In most cases, the secular foreign names, especially the German names that were imported after the Viking Age, were passed on through repetition and further reinforced the abandonment of the variation system.

Chapter 6: Summary & Conclusion

6.1 Summary

The preceding chapters evaluate the use of the naming strategies of alliteration, variation, and repetition within families on 1824 Swedish runestones from the Late Viking Age, between 980 and 1130. Familial relationships were gathered from single inscriptions and supplemented with data from groups of related inscriptions with the aid of family trees to establish additional relationships wherever possible. Although the Viking Age began around 750, most runestones date to after about 1000. The naming methods are examined diachronically from the beginning of the period in the late 10th century to the early 12th century, and geographically according to the provinces in which the runestones were found. The study finds that naming methods did not change dramatically in Late Viking Age Sweden.

In the old Germanic languages and Old Norse in particular, names alliterate if they begin with identical consonants or non-identical vowels, for example *Fastlaug* and *Finnviðr* (U 475) or *Eysteinn* and *Áskell* (Ög 62). In addition, the initial consonant clusters *st-*, *sk-*, and *sp-* were considered units which could only alliterate with themselves, for example *Spjóti* and *Spjallboði* (U 727). The naming principle of variation depends on *dithematic* names—compounds consisting of a first and a second name element (as opposed to *monothematic* names which consist of only one name element). One of the name elements remains fixed, while the other is varied, for example *Steinfríðr* and *Steinbjǫrg* (Sö 128) or *Þorsteinn* and *Freysteinn* (U 275). Alliteration may have been especially favored by kings, chieftains, and other members of society with high status. Variation tends to emphasize the family over the individual because often a certain name element consistently recurs in many individuals' names over many generations. Repetition, on the other hand, entails the repetition of the whole name from a previous bearer

instead of only one of its components, most commonly from a deceased grandparent to a grandchild, for example *Hæra*'s grandson on the Norra Sandsjö runestone (Sm 71) who is also named *Hæra*. Repetition emphasizes the individual over the family.

Chapter 2 reveals that use of alliteration slightly declined over the course of the 11th century in Sweden from an average of 11.4% to 9.9%, which is not statistically significant. Additionally, it is in most cases impossible to tell whether alliteration was purposeful or accidental, and no clear regional variations in the use of alliteration are detectable. Alliterating variation is relatively rare in the corpus, with a frequency of 0.5% of all relationships. Since the earliest times, alliterative names have gone hand-in-hand with alliterative poetry. A small number of the Viking Age runestones in this study can be considered to contain verse of some kind. It is significant that most of the verse-containing runestones (70.4%) were carved before 1050, and only 29.6% after 1050, which indicates that this is an archaic tradition that faded in favor of the formula of "X raised this stone in memory of Y, his/her [RELATIONSHIP]". An examination of explicitly Christian runestones shows a higher frequency of alliteration on stones marked with prayers or crosses, which indicates that the conversion to Christianity did not immediately influence use of alliteration in naming during the late Viking Age. Alliteration is also more common on Pre-Viking Age runestones with a prevalence of about 50% of all clear familial relationships, though the corpus of this time period is very small and likely only reflects the social elite. There are two possible reasons for the higher rate of alliteration on these stones compared to the late Viking Age runestones. One is that naming traditions changed drastically in the interim. The other is that before the Viking Age, the people of lower social status may have used alliteration less than the elite, but since the raising of runestones during this time was an exclusively high-status affair, the first evidence of lower-status naming traditions does not occur

until the practice of raising runestones expanded to include people with lower social status in the 10th century.

In the *Íslendingasögur*, alliteration occurs alongside variation and repetition at about 18.8%, about twice as common as in the present study. This may indicate more conservative naming traditions in Iceland or a greater density of available data on familial relationships than in the runic sources, although the possibility of alliteration as a mnemonic device in the sagas cannot be completely excluded. The names of Scandinavians in *Beowulf*, that is, those of the Danes, Swedes, and Geats, alliterate 75% of the time and sometimes employ alliterating variation within the alliterative pattern of the respective clans. Similarly, the names of the Swedish kings in *Ynglingatal* alliterate for 14 successive generations, and a total of 16 of 27, or 59%, bear alliterative names. *Beowulf* and *Ynglingatal* suggest that elite naming strategies relied almost exclusively on alliteration before and during the Viking Age. In *Vǫlsunga saga*, most members of the clans of the main characters also have names alliterating with each other, which might be relics of the Migration Age past, since some names have close equivalents in the continental analogues of the material or represent contemporary Scandinavian ideas about heroic and elite ideals.

Chapter 3 finds that variation increased slightly in the dataset from 8.1% to 10.2% during the 11th century, which is not statistically significant. Use of variation is also not found to vary significantly based on geographic region. An examination of individual name elements shows that the 5 most popular first elements (which, unlike second elements, are possible in both masculine and feminine names) are *Þór-*, *Sig-*, *Ing-*, *Guð-*, and *Ás-*; the most common masculine second elements are *-bjǫrn*, *-steinn*, *-fastr*, *-mundr*, and *-ulfr*; and the most common feminine second elements are *-fríðr*, *-laug*, *-vé*, *-gerðr*, and *-hildr*. Additionally, while there is a wide

variety of name elements available, only a few first and second elements are extremely common, and a large number of first and second elements is used relatively rarely. This supports the idea of the natural tendency for the number of individual names formed by variation to decrease, since certain name elements were repeated from generation to generation and others disappear from our sources. In a similar fashion, the name elements used in different regions also tend to become more differentiated into distinct types of regional names, as family members passed on name elements to their descendants. In addition to front variation and end variation, occasionally first elements are passed on as second elements, or vice versa; however, this practice and alliterating variation are relatively rare.

Similar to alliteration, the proportion of names using variation is higher on explicitly Christian runestones, with 70.2% versus 29.4% on unmarked stones. This indicates that the conversion to Christianity did not immediately impact the variation system, a fact which is supported by later Christian name elements found in dithematic names such as the 13th- and 14th-century Icelandic names *Kristrún*, *Jóngeirr* and *Kristmoþer*. On Pre-Viking Age runestones, 2 out of the 6 clear familial relationships exhibit instances of variation, or 33.3%. However, the sample size is very small compared to the Viking Age runestone corpus, so it may not be an accurate representation of the naming strategies of the time. Additionally, the Pre-Viking Age runestones are associated with the elite, and can therefore only provide a glimpse into elite naming traditions.

As with alliteration, variation is found about twice as often in the *Íslendingasögur* with 18.8% than on late Viking Age runestones. As mentioned above, alliteration is the most common naming strategy among the Scandinavians named in *Beowulf*, but variation also occasionally occurs. Where variation appears, it is integrated into the larger alliterative pattern of the clan. In

Ynglingatal and *Vǫlsunga saga*, variation is found alongside the more prevalent alliteration, and represents another naming strategy used by the social elite.

Chapter 4 finds that recorded instances of repetition are very low, but decreased slightly from 0.5% to 0.4% over the course of the 11th century. The low number of results does not allow for a meaningful analysis of repetition based on geographic region. The apparent low rate of repetition runs counter to Wessén's (1927, 18) claim that repetition was the dominant naming principle during the Viking Age. It is likely that the rules of repetition and the nature of runestones contribute to the discrepancy between the data and Wessén's statement. Originally, repetition of a relative's name could only be used if the relative was deceased at the time of naming, so it was more common for grandparents' or great-grandparents' names to be passed on to their descendants than from parents directly to their children. However, most runestones only mention individuals from one or two generations, the most common type being commemoration of a father by his children, which explains why there are so many more recorded instances of alliteration and variation than repetition. A further indication that this may be the case is that the rate of repetition between grandfathers and grandsons (6.7%) and uncles and nephews (2.7%) is significantly higher than for any other relationship, including fathers and sons (0.3%) and brothers (0.07%). The passing on of a father's name to his son is rare, but there are four examples (U 135, U 309, U 1045, Sö 67), two of which occur in the Jarlabanki family. The normal condition for this to occur is that the father is deceased at the time of the son's naming, but it is unclear whether this was the case in all of the runic examples. It is possible that the prerequisite of the father's death was becoming relaxed during the late Viking Age, perhaps under influence of Christianity, as Janzén (1947a, 238) suggests. Similarly, it is very rare for two brothers to bear the same name for the obvious reason of causing possible confusion, and there is

only a single example in the present corpus (U 490). However, several examples of identically-named brothers in *Landnámabók* in particular suggest this did happen occasionally, and that confusion was avoided by the addition of a byname.

One effect of repetition was the popularization of some names over others, and by extension, the reduction of names in circulation. This led to many people bearing the same names, and in order to distinguish them from each other, descriptive bynames were added to a person's forename, or used instead. Bynames could be used either together with the forename or on their own (absolutely). Eventually, absolute bynames transformed into forenames in their own right which could be passed on only through repetition. It was found that 41.2% of the repeated names on Viking Age runestones are originally bynames, which supports this theory.

The proportion of explicitly Christian runestones with instances of repetition is very similar to those with alliteration and variation at 72.2% versus on unmarked stones (27.8%). Christian names are quite rare in the present corpus with 21 male individuals who bear 8 different Christian names. The chronological distribution of the names clearly shows that Christian names slowly increased in frequency during the 11th century, as only 4 (0.2%) of the 1945 individuals named on runestones dated to before 1050 and 14 (0.7%) of the 2028 individuals named on stones dated to after 1050 bear Christian names.[82] All of the early Christian names in the runic corpus belong to saints, which agrees with the types of Christian names used in later centuries. Since these Christian names were foreign loans, they did not fit into the variation system, so repetition was the only method to propagate these names. In addition, names of saints were employed to strengthen the connection of an individual with a particular saint or in some cases with a local church patron saint, with repetition or "naming after" being the only

---

[82] An additional three have not been assigned to a specific ornament style and as such cannot be dated according to Gräslund's (2006) guide.

naming method for these names. Only in this indirect way did Christianity influence naming strategies in Scandinavia, rather than through conflict with the other native naming traditions.

In *Landnámabók* and the *Íslendingasögur*, 17.5% of Icelanders are named through repetition. This figure is drastically higher than the results of the present study, and must largely be due to the differences in the nature of the two types of sources. The *Íslendingasögur* are well-known to provide detailed genealogies of the main characters and often go back many generations, while most runestones only deal with two generations. If runestones recounted as many ancestors and relatives as the *Íslendingasögur*, it is more than likely that the recorded instances of repetition would be much higher, or if one were to discard a certain number of grandparent and great-grandparent relationships in the *Íslendingasögur* to recreate the proportions of the runestone corpus, the two rates of repetition might be more similar. The fact that out of the 17 runestones whose inscriptions span three generations or more, 3 (Hs 6, Sm 71, U 229), or 17.7% mention men who share the name of their maternal or paternal grandfather, supports this idea. In *Ynglingatal*, 26% (7) of the 27 human Swedish kings from Fjǫlnir to Ragnvaldr have names that are repeated from an earlier generation. While alliteration is more common among the Yngling dynasty with 59%, repetition is used to a significant degree and more closely corresponds to the proportion of repetition in the *Íslendingasögur* than on Viking Age runestones.

Chapter 5 explores the social factors that influenced changes in the onomasticon and naming practices in late Viking Age Scandinavia. The first of these is the conversion to Christianity. Contrary to written sources such as Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, much archaeological and written evidence including runestones, indicates that the state of conversion was already relatively advanced in 11th-century Sweden. Very many

runestones profess the Christian faith by the inclusion of a cross or prayer (60.2% in the present study) or mention the pious acts of building bridges or roads, or even pilgrimage. Runestones with heathen imagery could also be interpreted in a Christian context and clarified doctrine using metaphors recent converts were most familiar with, for example scenes from the legend of Sigurðr on the Ramsund carving (Sö 101) or Þórr fishing for the Midgard serpent Jörmungandr on the Altuna runestone (U 1161).

Despite the advanced stage of conversion in the 11th century, the adoption of Christian names was very slow in Sweden, as evidenced by a mere 0.4% of the named individuals on the runestones in the present corpus bearing Christian names. Two centuries later, 39% of named individuals in the 1312 Uppland taxation records bear Christian names. The Christian names used in Scandinavia derive from several sources, which include Biblical names from the Old and New Testaments, and various saints' names. Of these, saints' names are the most common and the first to appear in Scandinavia. Saints' names could themselves derive from Biblical sources or from German, English, Celtic, or even native Scandinavian names such as *Óláfr* and *Eiríkr*. After the Viking Age, the influx of Christian names became more significant, which were borne by a greater proportion of the population. The social elite was influential in the adoption of Christian names. Already in the 10th and 11th centuries, members of the Danish royal family began to have both a Christian and a native Scandinavian name, and by the 14th century, most people in Europe received a Christian name at baptism in addition to their previous given name (Meldgaard 1994, 203–204). By the 13th century, repetition was the most common naming strategy in Scandinavia, but the variation system continued to be used for some time, albeit with decreasing frequency. Newly formed dithematic names with Christian name elements occur during the Middle Ages, evidencing that the variation system was not perceived as non-

Christian. The popularity of Christian names also evidences the dominance of the repetition

naming method. In the 1312 Uppland taxation records, only 9% of the total unique names are

Christian, but are borne by almost half the population.

Although the primary function of Viking Age runestones is debated, it can at least be said

that they were status symbols for the commemorated individuals and perhaps especially for the

sponsors. This social function is also not necessarily dependent on the audience's runic literacy,

particularly since runestone ornamentation became more intricate and ornate over the course of

the 11th century. While it is clear that at least some members of society, most likely the social

elite and the wealthier members of the *bóndi* stratum, could read runes and thus knew what was

written on the runestones in their surroundings, non-literate people would likely at least know

who in their community had erected the runic monuments and for whom. Runestones were

usually raised in public places and were undoubtedly expensive to commission. A great many

runestones are well-planned and carefully executed and bear ornate decorations, especially in the

later 11th century. However, a few appear to indicate a lack of available resources, as they are

crudely carved and unornamented, while others appear well-carved and otherwise ordinary, but

bear nonsense inscriptions. It is possible that these types of runestones were raised by those of

lesser means and provide insights into the lower-status members of late Viking Age society.

Repetition in the late Viking Age appears to have been popular among people with higher

social status. For example, it is the preferred naming strategy in the Jarlabanki clan, the family

for whom the largest genealogical tree can be reconstructed from known runestones. This is even

true to the point where 2 of the 4 instances in the entire corpus of sons renamed after their fathers

occur within this family. From Viking Age runestones and later sources it appears that the names

of high-status individuals such as kings like *Knútr* and *Magnus*, became popular first among the

social elite and wealthier landowners and eventually also among the common people. For the most part, however, the names of lower-status individuals are less well-known during the Viking Age due to a lack of sources recording them, and one must for this reason rely on later sources in order to make inferences about earlier times. One such source is the provincial records from 16th century eastern Småland, which preserves the names of peasants. A great deal of the names are monothematic or dithematic names—many of which have undergone continuous phonological reduction—and hypocoristic forms thereof, and Christian names. One notable difference between the names of peasants and city-dwellers is that names of Low German origin are common in the latter group, but rare in the former.

Despite centuries of trade between Scandinavia and the European continent and beyond by the time of the Viking Age, there is evidence of only a small number of foreign names adopted by Scandinavians before the Middle Ages. The secular foreign names found on the runestones in the present study are of Celtic and Low German origin. In the 13th century, the Hanseatic League established trading offices in many port cities across the Baltic and North Seas, including in Sweden. A wave of immigration of Low German-speakers to urban centers such as Stockholm and Visby began a period of intense influence on the Scandinavian languages and also the onomasticon of urban areas. At the same time, foreign names were also imported through the aristocracy, but usually did not become as common among the populace as Low German or Christian names.

6.2 Conclusion

A thorough investigation of the naming methods of alliteration, variation, and repetition on Swedish runestones from the Late Viking Age has shown that there is no significant change

discernable between 980 and 1130. In addition, there are no observable regional preferences for one naming method over another. It has however been found that alliterating names appear more frequently on runestones whose inscriptions include verse, which become less common over the course of the 11th century. Christian names, on the other hand, slowly increase in frequency and are more common between 1050 and 1130 than between 980 and 1050. Repetition appears far less frequently than expected, which is likely due to the fact that most runestones only mention two generations. This is further supported by the fact that repetition occurs most frequently between grandfathers and grandsons. The most significant social change in Late Viking Age Sweden was arguably the conversion to Christianity, but appears to have had only an indirect effect on naming practices during the period examined in this study. Rather, the increasing use of Christian names which did not fit into the variation system coupled with phonological reduction of dithematic names after the Viking Age were likely what led to repetition becoming the sole naming method by the end of the Middle Ages.

This dissertation has achieved its goal of elucidating the state of naming traditions in Late Viking Age Sweden. Its findings are of significance not only to runology and onomastics, but also contribute to the understanding of the linguistic, religious, and cultural history of the Viking Age. Perhaps its greatest contribution will be to the study of the cultural impact of the conversion to Christianity on Late Viking Age society in Scandinavia. Further research will be helpful to evaluate naming methods on Danish and Norwegian Viking Age runestones, and to answer the questions of when and why repetition became widely used, and at what point alliteration and variation ceased in naming entirely.

Bibliography

Åkerström, Hanna. 2012. *Sm 144 Gursten: En småländsk runsten från tidig vikingatid*. Uppsala University Master's Thesis.

Amory, Frederic. 2001. "The Historical Worth of *Rígsþula*." *Alvíssmál* 10: 3–20.

Alexander Jóhannesson. 1923. *Grammatik der urnordischen Runeninschriften*. Heidelberg: C. Winter.

Alþingi Íslands. 1997. "Lög um mannanöfn." https://www.althingi.is/lagas/135a/1996045.html. November 18, 2018.

Andersson, Lars, and Magnus Källström. 2009. "Spåren av Jarlabanke." *Hem till Jarlabanke: Jord, makt och evigt liv i östra Mälardalen under järnålder och medeltid*. Ed. Michael Olausson. Lund: Historiska media. 358–376.

Andersson, Thorsten. 2011. "Etymologiens ställning inom namnforskningen - en överblick." In: *Etymologiens plass i navneforskningen.: Rapport fra NORNAs 39. symposium i Halden 11.–13. mai 2010*. Eds. Ole-Jörgen Johannessen & Tom Schmidt. Uppsala: Norna-förlaget. 9–29.

Andrén, Anders. 2000. "Re-reading Embodied Texts: An Interpretation of Rune-stones." *Current Swedish Archaeology* 8: 7–32.

Antonsen, Elmer H. 1975. *A Concise Grammar of the Older Runic Inscriptions*. Túbingen: Niemeyer.

Ari Þorgilsson. 1898. *The Book of the Settlement of Iceland: Tr. From the Original Icelandic of Ari the Learned*. Trans. Thomas Ellwood. Kendal: T. Wilson.

Auður Magnúsdóttir. 2008. "Women and Sexual Politics." In: *The Viking World*, edited by Stefan Brink and Neil Price. New York, NY: Routledge. 40–48.

Barnes, Michael. 2002. Review of *The Viking-Age Rune-Stones: Custom and Commemoration in Early Medieval Scandinavia*, by Birgit Sawyer. *Saga Book* 26: 114–120.

Barnes, Michael P. 2012. *Runes: A Handbook*. Woodbridge: Boydell.

Beckman, N. 1920. "Anund Jakob." In *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, band 2. Ed. Birgitta Lager-Kromnow. Stockholm: Bonnier. 74.

Bede, the Venerable. 1853. *The Historical Works of the Venerable Beda*. Trans. Rev. Joseph Stevenson. London: Seeleys.

Birkeli, Fridtjov. 1973. *Norske steinkors i tidlig middelalder: et bidrag til belysning av overgangen fra norrøn religion til kristendom*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Blaxter, Tam Tristram. 2017. Speech in Space and Time: Contact, Change and Diffusion in Medieval Norway. University of Cambridge Dissertation. https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.15576.

Boden, Keith. 1993. "A Re-Examination of Middle Low German-Scandinavian Language Contact." *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik, 60.* Jahrgang. Vol 3. 292–306.

Bostock, J. Knight, K.C. King, and D.R. McLintock. 1976. "The Lay of Hildebrand." *A Handbook on Old High German Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 43–82.

Brate, Erik. 1911. *Sveriges runinskrifter band 2: Östergötlands runinskrifter*. Stockholm: Norstedt.

Brate, Erik, and Elias Wessén. 1924–1936. *Södermanlands runinskrifter*. Stockholm: Norstedt; Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri.

Braune, Wilhelm, ed. 1969. *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*. 15th Edition. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Bredehoft, Thomas A. 2014. "The Date of Composition of Beowulf and the Evidence of Metrical Evolution." In: *The Dating of Beowulf: A Reassessment*. Ed. Leonard Neidorf. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer. 97–111.

Breen, Gerard. 1997. "Personal Names and the Re-creation of Berserkir and Úlfheðnar." *Studia Anthroponymica Scandinavica* 15: 5–38.

Brink, Stefan. 2008. *Lord and Lady - Bryti and Deigja: Some Historical and Etymological Aspects of Family, Patronage, and Slavery in Early Scandinavia and Anglo-Saxon England*. London: The Viking Society for Northern Research.

Brink, Stefan. 2008. "Slavery in the Viking Age." In: *The Viking World*, edited by Stefan Brink and Neil Price. New York, NY: Routledge. 49–56.

Brink, Stefan. 2012. *Vikingarnas slavar: Den nordiska träldomen under yngre järnålder och äldsta medeltid*. Stockhom: Atlantis.

2018. "Canute IV King of Denmark." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. https://www.britannica.com/biography/Canute-IV. Retrieved March 18, 2019.

Brylla, Eva. 1993. "Binamn i de urnordiska runinskrifter." *Personnamn i nordiska och andra germanska fornspråk: handlingar från NORNA:s artonde symposium i Uppsala 16–19 augusti 1991*. Ed. Lena Peterson. Uppsala: NORNA-Förlaget. 27–37.

Brylla, Eva. 1999. "Anna Mædh inga hænder, Karl Dængenæf och Ingridh Thiuvafinger. Några exempel på medeltida binamn." *Runor och namn. Hyllningsskrift till Lena Peterson den 27 januari 1999*. Eds. Lennart Elmevik, Svante Strandberg et al. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet. 27–37.

Brylla, Eva. 2004. *Förnamn i Sverige: Kortfattat namnlexikon*. Stockholm: Liber.

Brylla, Eva. 2016. "Bynames and Nicknames." In *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*. Eds. Carole Hough and Daria Izdebska. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 237–250.

Bugge, Sophus. 1891–1903. *Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer I*. Christiania: A.W. Brøgers.

Byock, Jesse. 1993. "Bóndi." In: *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*. Eds. Phillip Pulsiano and Kirsten Wolf. New York: Garland Publishing. 51–52.

Cathey, James E., Ed. 2002. *Hēliand. Text and Commentary*. Morgantown: West Virginia University Press.

Cleasby, Richard and Guðbrandur Vigfússon. 1874. *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*. London: Oxford University Press.

Classen, Ernest. 1913. *On Vowel Alliteration in the Old Germanic Languages*. Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg Dissertation.

Clunies Ross, Margaret. 2005. *A History of Old Norse Poetry and Poetics*. Cambridge, U.K.; Rochester, N.Y.: D.S. Brewer.

Collinder, Björn. 1972. *Den poetiska eddan*. Stockholm: Forum.

Cook, Robert, trans. 1997. *Njal's Saga*. London: Penguin Books.

Cormack, Margaret. 1994. *The Saints in Iceland: Their Veneration from the Conversion to 1400*. Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes.

Crawford, Jackson, trans. 2017. *The Saga of the Volsungs*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing.

Dailey, E.T. 2014. "Gregory of Tours and the Paternity of Chothar II: Strategies of Legitimation in the Merovingian Kingdoms." *Journal of Late Antiquity* 7(1). 3–27.

Danielsson, Ing-Marie Back. 2015. "Walking Down Memory Lane: Rune-Stones as Mnemonic Agents in the Landscapes of Late Viking-Age Scandinavia." In: *Early Medieval Stone Monuments: Materiality, Biography, Landscape*. Eds. Howard Williams, Joanne Kirton and Meggen Gondek. Martlesham: The Boydell Press. 62–86.

Dietrich, Udo Waldemar. 1844. *Runen-Sprach-Schatz, oder, Wörterbuch über die ältesten Sprachdenkmale Skandinaviens, in Beziehung auf Abstammung und Begriffsbildung*. Stockholm; Leipzig: Fritze.

Dommasnes, Liv Helga. 1991. "Women, Kinship, and the Basis of Power in the Norwegian Viking Age." In *Social Approaches to Viking Studies*. Ed. Ross Samson. Glasgow: Boydell & Brewer. 65–74.

DuBois, Thomas A. 1999. *Nordic Religions in the Viking Age*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.

DuBois, Thomas A. 2008. *Sanctity in the North: Saints, Lives, and Cults in Medieval Scandinavia*. Ed. Thomas A. DuBois. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Düwel, Klaus. 2008. *Runenkunde*. 4th edition. Stuttgart: Metzler.

Fenger, Ole. 1993. "Social Structure: Sweden." In: *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*. Eds. Phillip Pulsiano & Kirsten Wolf. New York: Garland Publishing. 605–606.

Finch, R. G., trans. 1965. *The Saga of the Volsungs*. London: Nelson.

Fix, Hans. 1993. "Grágás." In: *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*. Eds. Phillip Pulsiano & Kirsten Wolf. New York: Garland Publishing. 234–235.

Flom, George T. 1917. "Alliteration and Variation in Old Germanic Name-Giving." *Modern Language Notes*. Vol. 32(1): 7–17.

Foote, Peter; David M. Wilson. 1970. *The Viking Achievement: A Survey of the Society and Culture of Early Medieval Scandinavia*. New York: Praeger.

von Friesen, Otto. 1928. *Runorna i Sverige*. Uppsala: Appelbergs boktryckeri aktiebolag.

Frost, Robert I. 2000. *The Northern Wars: War, State and Society in Northeastern Europe 1558–1721*. Harlow, Essex: Longman.

Fuglesang, Signe Horn. 1989. "Viking and Medieval Amulets in Scandinavia." *Fornvännen* 84: 15–27.

Fulk, R. D. "Eddic Meters." In: *A Handbook of Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*. Eds. Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn, and Brittany Schorn. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press. 252–270.

Garipzanov, Ildar H. 2011. "Christianity and Paganism in Adam of Bremen's Narrative." In: *Historical Narratives and Christian Identity on a European Periphery: Early History Writing in Northern, East-Central, and Eastern Europe (c.1070–1200)*. Ed. Ildar Garipzanov. Turnhout: Brepols. 13–29.

Gräslund, Anne-Sofie. 1989. "'Gud hjälpe nu väl hennes själ' - Om runstenskvinnorna, deras roll vid kristnandet och deras plats i familj och samhälle." *Tor* 22: 223–244.

Gräslund, Anne-Sophie. 1997. "Adams Uppsala - och arkeologins." In: *Uppsala och Adam av Bremen*. Ed. Anders Hultgård. Lund: Nya Doxa. 101–115.

Gräslund, Anne-Sophie. 2000. "From Pagan to Christian – On the Conversion of Scandinavia." In: *Vínland Revisited: The Norse World at the Turn of the First Millenium*. Ed. Shannon Lewis-Simpson. St. John's, NL: Historic Sites Association of Newfoundland and Labrador. 263–276.

Gräslund, Anne-Sofie. 2003. "The Role of Scandinavian Women in Christianization: The Neglected Evidence." In: *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300–1300*. Ed. Martin Carver. Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: York Medieval Press; Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer. 483–496.

Gräslund, Anne-Sofie. 2006. Dating the Swedish Viking-Age Rune Stones on Stylistic Grounds. In: *Runes and their Secrets: Studies in Runology*. Eds. Marie Stoklund, Michael Lerche Nielsen, Bente Holmberg, and Gillian Fellows-Jensen. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press. 117–139.

Gräslund, Anne-Sofie. 2006. "Wolves, Serpents, and Birds: Their Symbolic Meaning in Old Norse Belief." *Old Norse Religion in Long-term Perspectives: Origins, Changes, and Interactions. An International Conference in Lund, Sweden, June 3–7, 2004*. Eds. Anders Andrén, Kristina Jennbert, and Catharina Raudvere. Lund: Nordic Academic Press. 124–129.

Grendon, Felix. 1909. "The Anglo-Saxon Charms." *The Journal of American Folklore* 22: 105–237.

Grønvik, Ottar. 1996. *Fra Vimose til Ødemotland: Nye studier over runinnskrifter fra førkristen tid i Norden*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Gustavson, Helmer, and Klas-Göran Selinge. 1988. "Jarlabanke och hundaret: Ett arkeologiskt/runologiskt bidrag till lösningen av ett historisk tolkningsproblem." *Namn och bygd 76*: 33.

Hadenius, Stig; Nilsson, Torbjörn & Åselius, Gunnar. 1996. "Jarlabanke Ingefastsson." *Sveriges historia*. Stockholm: Bonnier Alba. 53.

Hagland, Jan Ragner & Marek Thue Kretschmer. 2007. "Bad paven Olav Tryggvason slutta å bruka runer?" *Mål og Minne* 1: 1–8.

Hald, Kristian. 1968. "Personnavn: Danmark." *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder* Vol. 13. 217–226.

Hallbäck, S. A. 1971–1972. "Medeltida dopfuntar i Skara-borg." *Västergötlands Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift* 6(8).

Halvorsen, E.F. 1968. "Personnavn: Island og Norge." *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder* 13. Ed. Johannes Brøndsted. Copenhagen: Rosekilde og Bagger. 199–206.

Hanks, Patrick and Harry Parkin. 2016. "Family Names." In: *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Meaning*. Eds. Carole Hough and Daria Izdebska. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 214–236.

Harrison, Dick & Kristina Svensson. 2007. *Vikingaliv*. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.

Heiða María Sigurðardóttir; Páll Emil Emilsson. "Hvenær var Alþingi stofnað?". Vísindavefurinn. https://www.visindavefur.is/svar.php?id=5268. Retrieved March 12, 2019.

Hellberg, Lars. 2014. "Inge och Inga: Ett omaka kortnamnspar." *Studia anthroponymica Scandinavica* 32: 37–58.

Hellquist, Elof. 1948. "Sverige." In *Svensk etymologisk ordbok*. Eds. Bertil Hellquist, Emil Olsson, and Erik Noreen. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. 1126.

Hellquist, Elof. 1948. "Ätt." In *Svensk etymologisk ordbok*. Eds. Bertil Hellquist, Emil Olsson, and Erik Noreen. Lund: Gleerup. 1449–1450.

Hollmérus, Ragnar. 1936. *Studier över alliterationen i Eddan*. University of Helsinki Dissertation. Helsinki: Mercators Tryckeri.

Hübler, Frank. 1996. *Schwedische Runendichtung der Wikingerzeit*. Runrön 10. Uppsala: Institutionen för nordiska språk, Uppsala universitet.

Hyenstrand, Åke. 1973. "...bättre än han förtjänade: En parentes om runstenar." *Tor: Tidskrift för nordisk fornkunskap* 15: 180–190.

Hyldgaard-Jensen, Karl. 1983. "Mittelniederdeutsch und die skandinavischen Sprachen." In: *Handbuch zur niederdeutschen Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft*. Eds. Gerhard Cordes & Dieter Möhn. Berlin: Erich Schmidt. 666–677.

2019. "Lög um mannanöfn." *Alþingi*. September 20, 2019. https://www.althingi.is/lagas/149c/1996045.html. Retrieved October 2, 2019.

2015. "Fear that the Nordic tradition of patronymic surnames will die out should naming laws be changed." *Iceland Magazine*, March 11, 2015. https://icelandmag.is/article/fear-nordic-tradition-patronymic-surnames-will-die-out-should-naming-laws-be-changed. Retrieved February 18, 2019.

Ijssennagger, Nelleke L. 2013. "Between Frankish and Viking: Frisia and Frisians in the Viking Age." *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 9: 69–98.

Jacobsson, Stefan. 2012. "Personbinamn i vikingatiga runinskrifter." In: *Binamn. Uppkomst, bildning, terminologi och bruk. Handlingar från NORNA:s 40:e symposium i Älvkarleö, Uppland, 29/9–1/10 2010*. Ed. Staffan Nyström. Uppsala: NORNA-förlaget. 49–64.

Jahr, Ernst Håkon. 1999. "Sociolinguistics in Historical Language Contact: The Scandinavian Languages and Low German During the Hanseatic Period." In: Ernst Håkon Jahr, ed. *Language Change: Advances in Historical Sociolinguistics*. Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter. 119–139.

Jansson, Sven. 1963. *Runinskrifter i Sverige*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Jansson, Sven B. F., 1987. *Runes in Sweden*. Trans. Peter Foote. Stockholm: Gidlunds.

Janzén, Assar. 1947a. "De fornsvenska personnamnen." In: *Personnamn*. Ed. Assar Janzén. Stockholm: Bonnier. 235–268.

Janzén, Assar. 1947b. "De fornvästnordiska personnamnen." In: *Personnamn*. Ed. Assar Janzén. Stockholm: Bonnier. 22–186.

Jesch, Judith. 1991. "Who was **hulmkir**? Double Apposition in the Ramsund Inscription." *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi* 106. 125–136.

Jesch, Judith. 1991. *Women in the Viking Age*. London: Boydell & Brewer.

Jesch, Judith. 2001. *Ships and Men in the Late Viking Age: The Vocabulary of Runic Inscriptions and Skaldic Verse*. Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press.

Jesch, Judith. 2017. "Runes and Verse: The Medialities of Early Scandinavian Poetry." *European Journal of Scandinavian Studies*. 47(1): 181–202.

Jochens, Jenny. 1986. "The Medieval Icelandic Heroine: Fact or Fiction?" *Viator* 17: 35–50.

Jónas Kristjánsson. 1988. *Eddas and Sagas: Iceland's Medieval Literature*. Trans. Peter Foote. Reykjavik: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag.

Jónas Kristjánsson & Vésteinn Ólason, eds. 2014. *Eddukvæði* I. Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag.

Jungner, Hugo. 1930. "Den Gotländska Runbildstenen från Sanda: Om Valhallstro och Hednisk Begravningsritual." *Fornvännen* 25: 65–82.

Källström, Magnus. 2007. *Mästare och minnesmärken: Studier kring vikingatida runristare och skriftmiljöer i Norden*. Stockholm: Stockholms Universitet.

Kangro, Robert. 2006. "Internal Alliteration in North Germanic Dithematic Personal Names." *NOWELE* 49: 113–126.

Karras, Ruth M. 1988. *Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia*. Ann Arbor: Yale Univ. Press.

Karras, Ruth Mazo. 1993. "Slavery." In: *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*. Eds. Phillip Pulsiano and Kirsten Wolf. New York: Garland Publishing. 598–599.

Keil, Max. 1931. *Altisländische Namenwahl*. Leipzig: Mayer & Müller.

Kellogg, Robert. 1997. Introduction. *The Sagas of Icelanders*. Eds. Jane Smiley and Robert Kellogg. New York: Viking Penguin. xv–lxvi.

Kock, Axel; Peder Låle, & Carl Justus Fredrik af Petersens. 1889–1894. *Östnordiska och latinska medeltidsordspråk*. Copenhagen, [Lund]: [Berlingska boktryckeriet].

Kousgård Sørensen, John. 1958. *Danske bebyggelsesnavne på -sted*. Navnestudier, ed. Stednavneudvalget 1. Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gads Forlag.

Kousgård Sørensen, John. 1984. *Patronymer i Danmark 1. Runetid og middelalder*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.

Kousgård Sørensen, John. 1997. *Patronymer i Danmark 2. Nyere tid og nutid*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.

Kristján Árnason. 2007. "On the Principles of Nordic Rhyme and Alliteration." *Arkiv för nodisk filologi*, 122: 79–114.

Lager, Linn. 2002. *Den synliga tron. Runstenskors som en spegling av kristnandet I Sverige*. Uppsala University Dissertation. Uppsala: Institutionen för arkeologi och antik historia, Uppsala universitet.

Lager, Linn. 2003. "Runestones and the Conversion of Sweden." In: *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300–1300*. Ed. Martin Carver. Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: York Medieval Press. 497–507.

Larrington, Carolyne, trans. 2014. *The Poetic Edda*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Larsson, Lars. 2004. "Ritual Building and Ritual Space: Aspects of investigations at the Iron Age central site Uppåkra, Scania, Sweden." In: *Old Norse Religion in Long-term Perspectives: Origins, changes, and interactions. An international conference in Lund,*

Sweden, June 3-7, 2004. Lund: Nordic Academic Press. Eds. by Anders Andrén and Kristina Jennbert. 248–253.

Larsson, Lars. 2019. "Uppåkra: A Central Site in South Scandinavian Iron Age, Stability and Change through More than a Millenium." *Acta archaeologica* 90(2): 13–42.

Larsson, Mats G. 1988. "Folkland och folkvapen." *Fornvännen* 83: 224–233.

Larsson, Mats G. 1990. *Ett ödesdigert vikingatåg: Ingvar den Vittfarnes resa 1036–1041*. Stockholm: Atlantis.

Larsson, Patrik. 2002. *Yrrunan: Användning och ljudvärde i nordiska runinskrifter*. Uppsala University Dissertation.

Layher, William. 2008. "End-Rhyme and Innovation in Medieval Scandinavian Poetics." Scandinavian Studies. 80(4). 407–436.

Leibring, Katharina. 2006. "Förnamnsskicket i Norra Råda och Gustav Adolf." *Studia Anthroponymica Scandinavica* 24: 23–52.

Le Jan, Régine. 2002. "Personal Names and the Transformation of Kinship in Early Medieval Society (Sixth to Tenth Centuries)." In: *Personal Names Studies of Medieval Europe*. Eds. George T. Beech, Monique Bourin, & Pascal Chareille. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications. 31–50.

Lexerius, Glen Ö. R. 2011. *Jarlabanke: U 150, En runsten för mycket?* Kandidatuppsats i arkeologi, Stockholms universitet.

Lindblad, Erik & Katarina Wirtén. 1992. *Korsbandstenar: En kronologisk studie*. Uppsala: Institutionen för arkeologi, Uppsala universitet.

Lindquist, Ivar. 1939. "Omkring namnet Erik." *Namn och Bygd* 27: 1–31.

Ljung, Cecilia. 2019. "Early Christian Grave Monuments and Ecclesiastical Developments in 11th Century Sweden." *Medieval Archaeology* 63(1): 154–190.

Lönnroth, Lars. 1977. "The Riddles of the Rök-Stone: A Structural Approach." *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 92: 1–57.

Looijenga, Tineke. 2003. *Texts & Contexts of the Oldest Runic Inscriptions*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV.

Lucas, Christopher. 2007. "Jespersen's Cycle in Arabic and Berber." *Transactions of the Philological Society*. 105: 398–431.

MacLeod, Mindy. 2002. *Bind-Runes: An Investigation of Ligatures in Runic Epigraphy*. Uppsala: Institutionen för nordiska språk.

Marold, Edith. 2012. "Þjóðólfr ór Hvini: Ynglingatal." In: *Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages: Poetry from the King's Sagas 1, Part 1*. Ed. Diana Whaley. Turnhout: Brepols. 3–60.

Meijer, Jan. 1992. "Planning in Runic Inscriptions." *Blandade runstudier* 1 (Runrön 6): 37–66.

Meijer, Jan. 1995. "Corrections in Viking Age Rune-stone Inscriptions." *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 110: 77–83.

Meldgaard, Eva Villarsen. 1994. "De kristne personnavne kommer." In: *Vikingatidens sted- og personnavne. Rapport fra NORNAs 22, symposium i København 14. –16. januar 1993*. Eds. Gillian Fellows-Jensen; Bente Holmberg. Uppsala: NORNA-Förlaget. 201–217.

Melefors, Evert. 2002. "The Development of Old Nordic Personal Names." In: *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. Vol. 1. Eds. Oskar Bandle; Kurt Braunmüller; Lennart Elmevik; Ernst Hakon Jahr; Allan Karker; Hans-Peter Naumann; Ulf Teleman; Gun Widmark. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. 963–971.

Melnikova, Elna. 2011. "How Christian were the Vikings?" *Ruthenica* 4: 90–107.

Millet, Victor. 2008. *Germanische Heldendichtung im Mittelalter*. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter.

Minkova, Donka. 2003. *Alliteration and Sound Change in Early English.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mitterauer, Michael. 1993. *Ahnen und Heilige: Namengebung in der europäischen Geschichte*. München: C.H.Beck.

Modéer, Ivar. 1957. "Östsmåländska bondenamn från 1500-talet." In: *Personnamn från medeltid och 1500-tal*. Ed. Ivar Modéer. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. 56–69.

Moltke, Erik. 1985. *Runes and Their Origin, Denmark and Elsewhere*. Trans. Peter Foote. Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark.

Mörner, Nils-Axel; Lind, Bob G. 2015. "Long-Distance Travel and Trading in the Bronze Age: The East Mediterranean-Scandinavia Case." *Archaeological Discovery* 3: 129–139.

Morse, Mary. 2015. "Alongside St. Margaret." In *Manuscripts and Printed Books in Europe 1350–1550: Packaging, Presentation and Consumption*. Eds. Emma Cayley & Susan Powell. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Müllenhoff, Karl. 1920. *Deutsche Altertumskunde*. Vol. 4. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.

Murphy, F.X. 2003. "Christian Names." In: *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 10. Ed. Charles Herbermann. Detroit: Thomson/Gale. 138–142.

Icelandic Names. National Statistical Institute of Iceland. https://www.statice.is/statistics/population/births-and-deaths/names/. Accessed December 6, 2018.

Naumann, Hans-Peter. 1992. "Die altnordischen Personennamen im Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau." In *Verborum amor: Studien zur Geschichte und Kunst der deutschen Sprache*. Eds. Harald Burger and Stefan Sonderegger. Berlin: De Gruyter. 701–730.

Nerman, Birger. 1943. *Gamla Uppsala: Svearikets hjärtpunkt*. Stockholm: Aktiebolaget Skoglunds bokförlag.

Nielsen, Niels Åge. 1994. *Danske runeindskrifter*. Copenhagen: Hernov.

Nylén, Erik. 1978. *Stones, Ships and Symbols: The Picture Stones of Gotland from the Viking Age and Before*. Stockholm: Gidlunds Bokförlag.

Oehrl, Sigmund. 2006. *Zur Deutung anthropomorpher und theriomorpher Bilddarstellungen auf den spätwikingerzeitlichen Runensteinen Schwedens*. Wien: Praesens-Verlag.

Otterbjörk, Roland. 1968a. "Namngjeving: Sverige." *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder.* Vol. 12. 210–211.

Otterbjörk, Roland. 1968b. "Personnavn: Sverige." *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*. Vol. 13. 206–217.

Otterbjörk, Roland. 1979. *Svenska förnamn*. Stockholm: Norstedis Tryckeri.

Otterbjörk, Roland. 1983. "'Mus-Gea' och Gestabondo. Något om prefigerade och 'absoluta' binamn." *Personnamnsterminologi. NORNAs åttonde symposium i Lund 10–12 oktober 1981*. Eds. G. Hallberg et al. Uppsala: NORNA-rapporter 23. 114–122.

Page, Raymond I. 1987. *Runes*. London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Publications.

Pearson, Lucien Dean, trans. 1967. *Beowulf*. Bloomington: Indiana.

Pedersen, Anne. 2008. "Viking Weaponry." In: *The Viking World*. Eds. Stefan Brink with Neil Price. New York: Routledge. 204–21.

Peterson, Lena. 1981. *Kvinnonamnens böjning i fornsvenskan: de ursprungligen starkt böjda namnen: with a summary: The Inflection of Women's Names in Old Swedish*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Peterson, Lena. 1988. "Mono- and Dithematic Names in Old Germanic." *Probleme der Namenbildung. Rekonstruktion von Eigennamen und der ihnen zugrundeliegenden Appellative. Akten eines internationalen Symposiums in Uppsala 1. –4. September 1986.* Ed. Thorsten Andersson. Uppsala universitet: Seminariet för nordisk ortsnamnsforskning. 121–130.

Peterson, Lena. 1994. "Personnamn." *Nationalencyklopedin: ett uppslagsverk på vetenskaplig grund utarbetat på initiativ av Statens kulturråd.* Vol. 15. Höganäs: Bokförlag Bra Böcker. 73–74.

Peterson, Lena. 2002. "The Development of Proto-Nordic Personal Names." In: *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. Eds. Oskar Bandle; Kurt Braunmüller; Lennart Elmevik; Ernst Hakon Jahr; Allan Karker; Hans-Peter Naumann; Ulf Teleman; Gun Widmark. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. 664–671.

Peterson, Lena. 2002. "Developments of Personal Names from Ancient Nordic to Old Nordic." In: *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. Eds. Oskar Bandle; Kurt Braunmüller; Lennart Elmevik; Ernst Hakon Jahr; Allan Karker; Hans-Peter Naumann; Ulf Teleman; Gun Widmark. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. 745–753.

Peterson, Lena. 2007. *Nordiskt runnamnslexikon*. Uppsala: Institutet för språk och folkminnen.

Peterson, Paul R. 2015. *Old Norse Nicknames*. University of Minnesota Dissertation.

Poschmann, Bernhard. 1964. *Penance and the Anointing of the Sick*. Trans. Francis Courtney, New York: Herder & Herder.

Price, Neil. 2019. *The Viking Way: Magic and Mind in Late Iron Age Scandinavia*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Pulsiano, Phillip; Kirsten Wolf. 1993. *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Garland Publishing.

Raffield, Ben, Claire Greenlow, Neil Price & Mark Collard. 2015. "Ingroup Identification, Identity Fusion and the Formation of Viking War Bands." *World Archaeology*. Vol. 48(1): 35–50.

Raninen, Sami. 2008. "Queer Vikings? Transgression of gender and same-sex encounters in the Late Iron Age and early medieval Scandinavia." *Queerscope Articles* 20: 20–29.

Rapp, Karl Moritz. 1836. *Versuch einer Physiologie der Sprache. 1, Die vergleichende Grammatik als Naturlehre dargestellt*. Stuttgart; Tubingen: Cotta.

Rhodin, Leon, Leif Gren, and Werner Lindblom. 2000. "Liljestenarna och Sveriges kristnande från Bysans." *Fornvännen* 95: 165–181.

Richards, Jack, John Platt, and Heidi Weber. 1985. *Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics*. Harlow, Essex, England: Longman.

Rimbert. "Life of Anskar, the Apostle of the North, 801–865." In: *Medieval Sourcebook*. Trans. Charles. H. Robinson. https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/anskar.asp. Retrieved March 10, 2019.

Ruggerini, Maria Elena. 2016. "Alliterative Lexical Collocations in Eddic Poetry." In: *A Handbook of Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia*. Eds. Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn, and Brittany Schorn. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press. 310–330.

Ruprecht, Arndt. 1958. *Die ausgehende Wikingerzeit im Lichte der Runeninschriften*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Ryman, Lennart. 1996. "Kristna personnamnselement?" In: *Från götarna till Noreens kor: Hyllningsskrift till Lennart Elmevik på 60-årsdagen 2 februari 1996*. Uppsala: Ortnamnsarkivet i Uppsala. 131–143.

Salmon, Paul. 1958. "Anomalous Alliteration in Germanic Verse." *Neophilologus* 41(1): 223–241.

Sands, Tracey. 2010. *The Company She Keeps: The Medieval Swedish Cult of Saint Katherine of Alexandria and its Transformations*. Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies; Turnhout: In collaboration with Brepols.

Sävborg, Daniel. 2017. "Blot-Sven: En källundersökning." *Scripta Islandica* 68: 51–97.

Sawyer, Birgit. 2000a. "Scandinavia in the Viking Age." In: *Vínland Revisited: The Norse World at the Turn of the First Millenium*. Ed. Shannon Lewis-Simpson. St. John's, NL: Historic Sites Association of Newfoundland and Labrador. 51–64.

Sawyer, Birgit. 2000b. *The Viking-Age Rune-Stones: Custom and Commemoration in Early Medieval Scandinavia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Saxo Grammaticus. 2000. *Saxos Danmarks historie*. Trans. Peter Zeeberg. Copenhagen: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab.

Scherer, Anton. 1953. "Zum Sinngehalt der germanischen Personennamen." *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 4: 1–37.

Schramm, Gottfried. 1957. *Namenschatz und Dichtersprache: Studien zu den zweigliedrigen Personennamen der Germanen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Schulte, Michael. 1998. *Grundfragen der Umlautphonemisierung: Eine strukturelle Analyse des nordgermanischen* i/j- *Umlauts unter Berücksichtigung der älteren Runeninschriften*. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Schulte, Michael. 2015. "Runology and Historical Sociolinguistics: On Runic Writing and its Social History in the First Millennium." *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics*. 1(1): 87–110.

Scudder, Bernard, trans. 1997. *Egils Saga*. In: *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders Including 49 Tales*. 5 Vols. Ed. Viðar Hreinsson. Volume 1. Reykjavík: Leifur Eiríksson. 46–139.

Searle, William George. 1897. *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum A list of Anglo-Saxon proper names from the time of Beda to that of King John*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Selart, Anti. 2015. "A New Faith and a New Name? Crusades, Conversion, and Baptismal Names in Medieval Baltics." *Journal of Baltic Studies* 47(2): 1–18.

Shepard, Jonathan. 1982–1985. "Yngvar's Expedition to the East and a Russian Inscribed Stone Cross." *Saga-Book* 21: 222–292.

Simek, Rudolf. 1993. *A Dictionary of Northern Mythology*. Translated by Angela Hall. Cambridge [England]; Rochester, N.Y.: D.S. Brewer.

Sjöholm, Elsa. 1991. "Runinskrifterna som källa till svensk arvsrätt under alder medeltid." *Scandia: Tidskrift för historisk forkning* 57(1): 121–126.

Snorri Sturluson. 1875. *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*. Ed. Þórleifr Jónsson. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.

Snorri Sturluson. 1987. *Edda*. Anthony Faulkes, Trans. London: J.M. Dent.

Snorri Sturluson. 2002. *Heimskringla* II. Íslenzk fornrit. Vol. 27. Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag.

Snorri Sturluson. 2014. *Heimskringla* Volume II. Trans. Alison Finlay & Anthony Faulkes. London: Viking Society for Northern Research, University College London.

Sørensen, Preben Meulengracht. 1983. *The Unmanly Man: Concepts of Sexual Defamation in Early Northern Society*. Trans. Joan Turville-Petre. The Viking Collection: Studies in Northern Civilization, vol. 1. [Odense]: Odense University Press.

Sørensen, Preben Meulengracht. 1993. *Saga and Society*. Trans. John Tucker. Odense: Odense University Press.

Spurkland, Terje. 2005. "Viking Age Literacy in Runes - A Contradiction in Terms?" In: *Literacy in Medieval and Early Modern Scandinavian Culture*. Ed. Pernille Hermann. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark. 136–150.

Ştefan, Camelia. 2017. "The Impact of Christianity on the Development of Personal Names in Medieval Scandinavia." In: *Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on Onomastics "Name and Naming": Sacred and Profane in Onomastics*. Ed. Oliviu Felecan. Cluj-Napoca: Crossref.

Stille, Per. 1999. Peter och Tor: Två namn i svenska runinskrifter. In: Runor och namn: Hyllningsskrift till Lena Peterson den 27 januari 1999. Eds. Lennart Elmevik & Svante Strandberg. Uppsala: Uppsala University. 87–93.

Storm, Gustav. 1893. "Vore Forfæddres Tro paa Sjælvandring og deres Opkaldelsessystem." *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, 9: 199–222.

Stroh-Wollin Ulla. 2011. "U 169 Björkeby: A Daughter without a Name?" *Futhark* 2: 193–200.

Strömer, Wilhelm. 1975. "Adelige Namengebung in Familie, Sippe, und Herrschaft." In: *Früher Adel: Studien zur politischen Führungsschicht im fränkisch-deutschen Reich vom 8. bis 11. Jahrhundert. Teil 1*. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 29–69.

Stål, Harry. 1976. *Ortnamn och ortnamnsforskning*. Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksell.

Sundqvist, Olof. 2002. *Freyr's Offspring: Rulers and Religion in Ancient Svea Society*. Uppsala: Uppsala University.

Sundqvist, Olof. 2018. "Stolpmonumentet i det förkristna Gamla Uppsala: En markering av en processionsväg och/eller en rituell avgränsning?" *DIN: tidsskrift for religion og kultur* 2. 25–50.

Sundqvist, Olof; Hultgård, Anders. 2004. "The Lycophoric Names of the 6th to 7th Century Blekinge Runestones and the Problem of Their Ideological Background." In *Namenwelten: Orts- und Personennamen in Historischer Sicht*. Eds. van Nahl, Astrid; Elmevik, Lennart et seq. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 583–602.

Terasawa, Jun. 2011. *Old English Meter: An Introduction*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Thurston, Herbert. 1911. "Christian Names." In: *Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 10. Ed. Charles Herbermann. New York: Robert Appleton. 673–675.

Toivonen, Yrjö Henrik; Erkki Itkonen; Aulis J Joki. 1958. "Kunnia." *Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja*. Helsinki: Suomalais-ugrilainen Seura. 238.

Turville-Petre, Edward Oswald Gabriel. 1975. *Myth and Religion of the North*. Westport: Greenwood Press.

Tycz, Katherine M. 2018. "Material Prayers and Maternity in Early Modern Italy: Signed, Sealed, Delivered." In: *Domestic Devotions in Early Modern Italy*. Eds. Maya Corry, Marco Faini and Alessia Meneghin. Leiden; Boston: Brill. 244–271.

Uspenskij, Fjodor. 2011. "The Advent of Christianity and Dynastic Name-giving in Scandinavia and Rus." *Ruthenica*. Supplementum 4: 108–119.

Varenius, Björn. 1999. "The Retinue and the Ship: An Archaeo-sociological Study of Scandinavia at the Turn of the Last Millennium and the Following Centuries." *Current Swedish Archaeology* 7: 173–182.

Verelius, Olaus. 1666. *Herrauds och Bosa saga*. Uppsala: Excudit Henricus Curio.

Vikstrand, Per. 2009. "Förkristna sakrala personnamn i Skandinavien." *Studia anthroponymica Scandinavica* 27: 5–31.

Vogt, Helle. 2010. *The Function of Kinship in Medieval Nordic Legislation*. Leiden; Boston: Brill.

Vrieland, Sean D. 2011. *Old Gutnish Historical Phonology and the Old Norse Context*. MA Thesis, University of Leiden.

Walsham, Alexandra. 2004. "Jewels for Gentlewomen: Religious Books as Artefacts in Late Medieval and Early Modern England." In: *The Church and the Book: Papers Read at the 2000 Summer Meeting and the 2001 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*. Ed. R. N. Swanson. Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, N.Y.: Published for the Ecclesiastical History Society by Boydell & Brewer. 123–142.

Wawn, Andrew, trans. 1997. *The Saga of the People of Vatnsdal*. In: *The Sagas of Icelanders*. Eds. Jane Smiley & Robert Kellogg. New York: Viking Penguin.

Wessén, Elias. 1927. *Nordiska namnstudier*. Uppsala: A.-b. Lundequistska bokhandeln.

Wessén, Elias. 1929/1956. *Om det tyska inflytandet på svenskt språk under medeltiden*. Stockholm: Svenska bokförlaget.

Wessén, Elias; Sven B.F. Jansson. 1943–46. *Upplands runinskrifter del 2. Sveriges runinskrifter band 7*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Wiktorsson, Per-Axel. 2005. "The Development of Personal Names in the Late Middle Ages." In: *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. Vol. 2. Eds. Oskar Bandle, Kurt Braunmüller, Lennart Elmevik,

Ernst Hakon Jahr, Allan Karker, Hans-Peter Naumann, Ulf Teleman, and Gun Widmark. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 1171–1187.

Williams, Henrik. 1990. *Åsrunan: Användning och ljudvärde i runsvenska steninskrifter*. Institutionen för nordiska språk. Uppsala University Dissertation.

Williams, Henrik. 1996. "The Origin of the Runes." *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur Älteren Germanistik* 45: 211–218.

Williams, Henrik. 1996. "Vad säger runstenarna om Sveriges kristnande?" In: *Kristnandet i Sverige: gamla källor och nya perspektiv = The Christianization in Sweden: old sources and new perspectives*. Ed. Bertil Nilsson. Uppsala: Lunne böcker. 45–83.

Williams, Henrik. 1998. Runic Inscriptions as Sources of Personal Names. *Runeninschriften als Quellen interdisziplinärer Forschung*. Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter. 601–610.

Williams, Henrik. 2005. "Name Borrowing Among the Vikings." In: *Viking and Norse in the North Atlantic: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Fourteenth Viking Congress, Tórshavn, 19–30 July 2001*. Eds. Andras Mortensen and Simun V. Arge. 340–344.

Williams, Henrik. 2008. *Rune-stone Inscriptions and Queer Theory*. University of Cambridge. Dept. of Anglo-Saxon, Norse & Celtic. BPR Publishers. 1–17.

Williams, Henrik. 2010. "Read What's There: Interpreting Runestone Inscriptions." *Futhark 1*. 27–39.

Williams, Henrik. 2012. "'Dead in White Clothes': Modes of Christian Expression on Viking Age Rune Stones in Present-Day Sweden." In *Epigraphic Literacy and Christian Identity: Modes of Written Discourse in the Newly Christian European North*. Ed. by Kristel Zilmer & Judith Jesch. 137–152.

Williams, Henrik. 2013. "Runstenarnas sociala dimension." *Futhark: International Journal of Runic Studies*. 4: 61–76.

Williams, Henrik. 2016. "Kyrklig norm huggen i sten: Runstenarnas trosbekännelse." In *Kyrklig rätt och kyrklig orätt - Kyrkorättsliga perspektiv*. Eds. Martin Berntson and Anna Minara Ciardi. Skellefteå: Artos. 27–40.

Winroth, Anders. 2012. *The Conversion of Scandinavia: Vikings, Merchants, and Missionaries in the Remaking of Northern Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Wittmann, P. 1912. "Sweden." In *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company. http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14347a.htm. Retrieved April 20, 2021.

Woolf, Henry Bosley. 1939. *The Old Germanic Principles of Name-Giving*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Regions of Sweden Included in this Study.
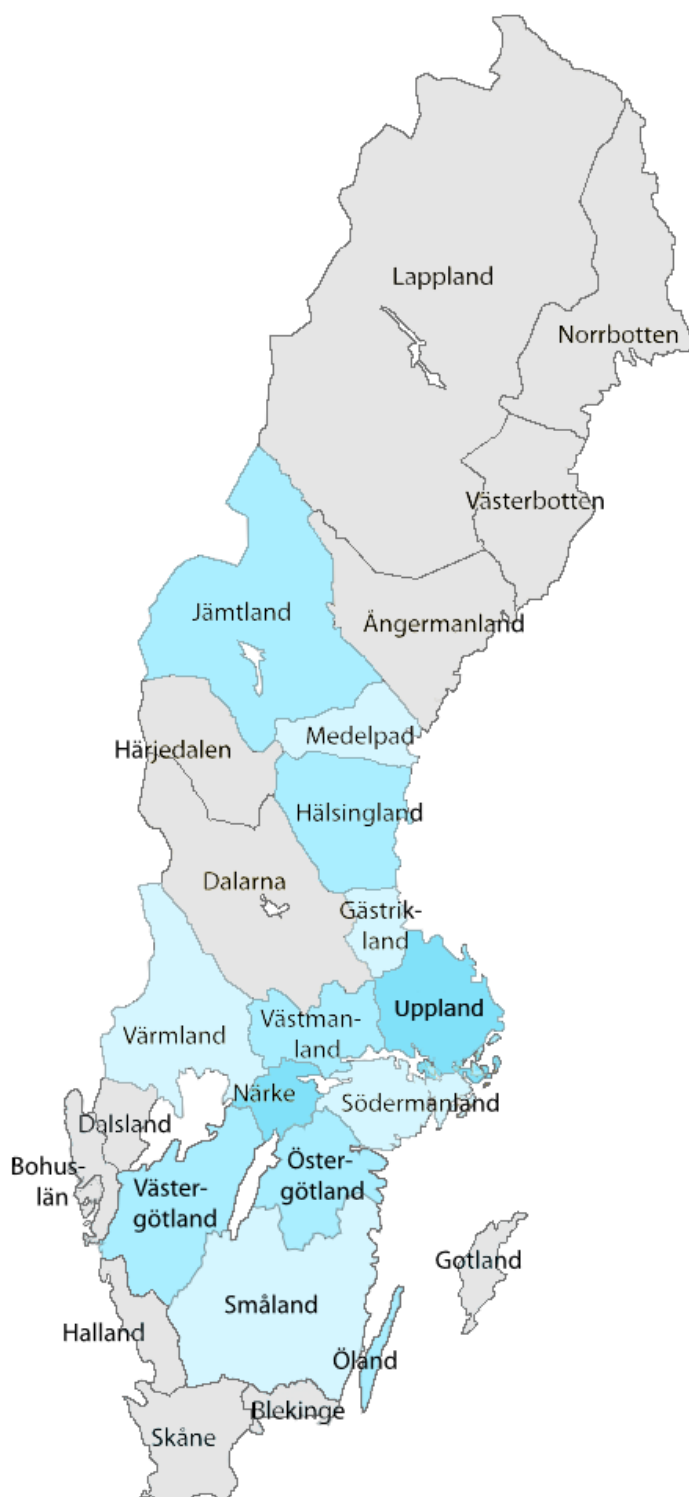
Appendix 2: Gräslund's Runestone Decoration Style Designations.

Image Copyright 2006 Anne-Sofie Gräslund, used with permission.

Appendix 3: Number of Inscriptions in this Study According to Runestone Ornament Style and Date Range.

Style	Date Range	Number
RAK	c. 980–1015 CE	282 (15.5%)
Fp	c. 1010–1050 CE	190 (10.4%)
KB	c. 1000–1050 CE	34 (1.9%)
Pr1	c. 1010–1040 CE	70 (3.8%)
Pr2	c. 1020–1050 CE	155 (8.5%)
Pr3	c. 1045–1075 CE	241 (13.2%)
Pr4	c. 1070–1100 CE	407 (22.3%)
Pr5	c. 1100–1130 CE	64 (3.5%)
Unknown	Unknown	381 (20.9%)

Appendix 4: Number of Inscriptions According to Region Included in this Study.

Region	Number of Inscriptions
Uppland	956 (52. 4%)
Södermanland	319 (17.5%)
Östergötland	198 (10. 9%)
Västergötland	126 (6.9%)
Småland	93 (5.1%)
Öland	60 (3.3%)
Västmanland	16 (0.9%)
Medelpad	14 (0.8%)
Närke	14 (0.8%)
Gästrikland	13 (0.7%)
Hälsingland	12 (0.7%)
Värmland	2 (0.1%)
Jämtland	1 (0.1%)

Appendix 5: List of Viking Age Inscriptions Used in this Study († indicates runestones that have been lost).

Gästrikland
Gs 1
Gs 2
Gs 4 †

Gs 7
Gs 8
Gs 9
Gs 11

Gs 12
Gs 13
Gs 14
Gs 15

Gs 16
Gs 19 †

Hälsingland
Hs 2
Hs 6
Hs 8 †
Hs 9
Hs 10
Hs 11
Hs 12
Hs 14
Hs 15
Hs 16
Hs 20 †
Hs 21

Jämtland
J RS1928;66

Medelpad
M 1
M 2
M 3
M 5
M 6
M 7
M 8
M 9 †
M 10
M 11
M 14
M 15
M 16
M 17 †

Närke
Nä 9
Nä 11
Nä 12
Nä 13
Nä 14
Nä 15
Nä 18
Nä 23
Nä 26

Nä 28 †
Nä 29
Nä 31
Nä 32
Nä 34

Östergötland
Ög 2
Ög 3 †
Ög 5
Ög 8
Ög 9
Ög 10
Ög 11
Ög 13
Ög 14
Ög 16 †
Ög 17 †
Ög 18
Ög 20
Ög 21
Ög 22
Ög 23 †
Ög 24
Ög 25 †
Ög 26
Ög 27 †
Ög 29
Ög 30
Ög 31
Ög 32
Ög 33
Ög 34
Ög 38
Ög 40 †
Ög 42
Ög 44 †
Ög 45
Ög 46
Ög 47
Ög 51
Ög 56
Ög 60 †
Ög 61
Ög 62
Ög 64

Ög 66
Ög 67
Ög 68
Ög 70
Ög 71 †
Ög 73
Ög 75
Ög 77
Ög 81
Ög 82
Ög 83
Ög 84 †
Ög 85 †
Ög 88
Ög 89
Ög 90
Ög 92 †
Ög 93
Ög 94
Ög 96
Ög 97
Ög 99
Ög 100
Ög 101 †
Ög 102
Ög 103
Ög 104
Ög 105
Ög 109
Ög 111
Ög 112 †
Ög 113
Ög 118
Ög 119 †
Ög 120 †
Ög 121
Ög 122 †
Ög 123 †
Ög 124 †
Ög 128
Ög 129 †
Ög 130 †
Ög 131
Ög 132
Ög 133
Ög 134

Ög 135
Ög 136
Ög 139 †
Ög 140 †
Ög 142 †
Ög 143 †
Ög 144
Ög 146
Ög 147
Ög 148
Ög 149
Ög 150
Ög 152
Ög 153
Ög 154
Ög 155
Ög 156
Ög 157
Ög 158
Ög 160
Ög 161
Ög 162
Ög 163
Ög 165
Ög 166
Ög 170
Ög 172
Ög 176
Ög 177 †
Ög 179
Ög 180
Ög 181
Ög 183
Ög 184
Ög 186
Ög 187
Ög 188 †
Ög 189
Ög 190
Ög 191 †
Ög 192 †
Ög 193
Ög 194 †
Ög 196 †
Ög 197
Ög 198

Ög 199
Ög 200
Ög 201
Ög 202
Ög 203
Ög 204
Ög 206
Ög 207
Ög 208
Ög 209
Ög 210
Ög 211
Ög 212 †
Ög 213
Ög 214
Ög 215 †
Ög 217
Ög 219
Ög 220
Ög 221
Ög 222
Ög 223
Ög 224
Ög 225
Ög 226 †
Ög 228
Ög 229
Ög 230
Ög 231
Ög 232
Ög 233
Ög 234
Ög 235
Ög 236
Ög 237
Ög 239
Ög 240
Ög ATA1083/48
Ög ATA322-165-2006B
Ög ATA322-3519-2010
Ög ATA322-4035-2011:16
Ög ATA351-2875-2013AB
Ög ATA5060/54
Ög ATA5503/61
Ög ATA580/75
Ög ATA6225/65

Ög Fv1943;317A
Ög Fv1943;317B
Ög Fv1943;317C
Ög Fv1950;341
Ög Fv1958;252
Ög Fv1958;255
Ög Fv1965;54
Ög Fv1966;102
Ög Fv1970;310
Ög Fv1975;174
Ög Fv1983;240
Ög Hov14;22
Ög Hov15;22
Ög Hov26;25
Ög Hov39;29
Ög Hov96;35
Ög MÖLM1960;230
Ög N288
Ög NOR1994;27
Ög NOR1997;28
Ög SvK43L1;174

Öland
Öl 1
Öl 2 †
Öl 4
Öl 5 †
Öl 6
Öl 9 †
Öl 10 †
Öl 12 †
Öl 13 †
Öl 15 †
Öl 16 †
Öl 17 †
Öl 18
Öl 19 †
Öl 21
Öl 23 †
Öl 24 †
Öl 26
Öl 27
Öl 28
Öl 29 †
Öl 31
Öl 36

Öl 37

Öl 39

Öl 40

Öl 41 †

Öl 42 †

Öl 43

Öl 46

Öl 47

Öl 48

Öl 49 †

Öl 55 †

Öl 56

Öl ATA322-4215-2004

Öl ATA4064/60A

Öl ATA411-4568-1998C

Öl ATA411-4568-1998D

Öl ATA4376/56A

Öl ATA4684/43A

Öl ATA4684/43B

Öl ATA4686/43

Öl ATA4703/43

Öl BN57

Öl Fv1911;274B

Öl KALM1982;57

Öl Köping7

Öl Köping23

Öl Köping26

Öl Köping27

Öl Köping48

Öl Köping49

Öl Köping50

Öl Köping52

Öl Köping55

Öl Köping57

Öl Köping68

Öl Köping69

Öl SAS1989;43

Småland

Sm 1

Sm 2 †

Sm 5

Sm 7

Sm 8

Sm 10

Sm 11

Sm 13

Sm 16

Sm 19

Sm 20 †

Sm 29

Sm 30

Sm 32

Sm 33

Sm 35

Sm 36

Sm 37

Sm 39

Sm 42

Sm 43

Sm 44

Sm 45

Sm 46 †

Sm 48

Sm 51

Sm 52

Sm 59

Sm 60

Sm 61

Sm 62

Sm 64

Sm 69

Sm 71

Sm 73

Sm 75

Sm 76

Sm 77

Sm 78

Sm 79 †

Sm 80

Sm 85

Sm 86 †

Sm 87

Sm 89

Sm 91

Sm 92

Sm 93

Sm 94

Sm 96

Sm 98

Sm 99

Sm 100

Sm 101

Sm 105

Sm 106

Sm 107 †

Sm 109 †

Sm 110

Sm 111

Sm 113

Sm 121

Sm 122

Sm 124

Sm 125

Sm 126 †

Sm 127

Sm 129 †

Sm 130

Sm 131

Sm 132

Sm 133

Sm 134

Sm 136 †

Sm 137

Sm 139

Sm 140 †

Sm 142

Sm 143

Sm 144

Sm 146 †

Sm 147

Sm 148 †

Sm 149

Sm 152

Sm 153 †

Sm 154

Sm 155

Sm 157

Sm 163

Sm 170

Sm NOR2002;25

Sm SvS1973;4

Södermanland

Sö 2

Sö 3

Sö 4 †

Sö 7

Sö 8	Sö 60	Sö 123
Sö 9	Sö 61	Sö 124
Sö 10	Sö 62	Sö 125
Sö 11	Sö 63 †	Sö 126
Sö 13	Sö 64 †	Sö 127 †
Sö 14	Sö 65	Sö 128
Sö 16	Sö 66	Sö 129
Sö 18 †	Sö 67 †	Sö 130
Sö 19	Sö 68 †	Sö 131
Sö 20	Sö 69	Sö 132
Sö 21 †	Sö 70	Sö 133
Sö 22	Sö 71	Sö 134
Sö 25	Sö 72 †	Sö 136 †
Sö 26	Sö 73	Sö 137
Sö 27	Sö 74	Sö 138
Sö 28 †	Sö 75	Sö 139
Sö 29 †	Sö 82	Sö 140
Sö 30	Sö 84	Sö 141
Sö 31	Sö 85	Sö 142
Sö 32	Sö 86	Sö 143
Sö 33	Sö 88	Sö 144
Sö 34	Sö 90	Sö 145 †
Sö 35	Sö 91 †	Sö 147 †
Sö 36	Sö 92	Sö 148
Sö 37	Sö 94 †	Sö 149
Sö 38 †	Sö 96	Sö 151
Sö 39	Sö 97	Sö 152
Sö 40	Sö 101	Sö 154
Sö 41	Sö 102	Sö 155
Sö 42	Sö 103	Sö 156 †
Sö 44 †	Sö 104	Sö 157 †
Sö 45	Sö 105	Sö 158
Sö 46	Sö 106	Sö 159
Sö 47	Sö 107	Sö 160
Sö 48	Sö 108	Sö 161
Sö 49	Sö 109	Sö 162
Sö 50	Sö 110 †	Sö 163
Sö 51	Sö 111	Sö 164
Sö 52	Sö 112	Sö 165
Sö 53 †	Sö 113	Sö 166
Sö 54	Sö 115	Sö 167
Sö 55	Sö 116	Sö 169 †
Sö 56	Sö 118	Sö 170
Sö 57 †	Sö 120	Sö 171
Sö 58	Sö 121 †	Sö 173
Sö 59	Sö 122	Sö 174

Sö 175	Sö 233	Sö 288
Sö 176	Sö 234	Sö 289
Sö 177	Sö 235	Sö 290
Sö 178	Sö 236	Sö 291
Sö 179	Sö 237	Sö 292
Sö 180	Sö 238 †	Sö 293
Sö 182	Sö 239	Sö 294 †
Sö 183	Sö 240	Sö 295 †
Sö 184	Sö 241	Sö 296
Sö 187	Sö 242	Sö 297
Sö 188	Sö 244	Sö 298
Sö 189	Sö 246	Sö 299
Sö 190	Sö 247 †	Sö 300
Sö 192	Sö 248	Sö 301
Sö 194	Sö 250	Sö 302
Sö 195	Sö 251	Sö 303
Sö 196	Sö 252	Sö 304
Sö 197	Sö 253 †	Sö 305
Sö 198	Sö 254	Sö 306
Sö 200	Sö 255	Sö 307
Sö 202	Sö 256	Sö 308
Sö 203	Sö 257 †	Sö 310 †
Sö 204	Sö 258	Sö 311
Sö 205	Sö 260	Sö 312
Sö 206	Sö 262	Sö 316 †
Sö 208	Sö 263 †	Sö 317 †
Sö 209	Sö 265	Sö 318
Sö 210	Sö 266	Sö 319
Sö 211	Sö 267 †	Sö 320
Sö 212	Sö 268	Sö 321
Sö 213	Sö 269	Sö 323 †
Sö 214	Sö 270	Sö 325
Sö 215 †	Sö 271 †	Sö 328
Sö 216 †	Sö 272	Sö 329 †
Sö 217	Sö 273	Sö 331
Sö 218	Sö 274	Sö 332
Sö 219	Sö 276	Sö 333
Sö 220	Sö 277	Sö 335
Sö 221	Sö 278	Sö 336
Sö 222	Sö 279	Sö 338
Sö 224	Sö 280	Sö 339 †
Sö 226	Sö 281	Sö 340
Sö 227	Sö 282 †	Sö 341 †
Sö 228 †	Sö 283	Sö 342 †
Sö 229	Sö 285	Sö 343
Sö 232	Sö 287 †	Sö 344

Sö 346	U 11	U 70 †
Sö 347	U 13	U 72
Sö 348	U 14	U 73
Sö 349	U 16 †	U 74
Sö 350	U 17	U 75
Sö 351	U 19	U 76
Sö 352	U 20	U 77
Sö 356	U 22	U 78
Sö 357	U 23	U 79
Sö 359	U 25	U 80
Sö 360	U 29	U 81
Sö 362	U 30	U 84
Sö 363	U 31	U 85
Sö 367	U 32	U 86
Sö 374	U 34	U 87 †
Sö 378	U 35	U 88
Sö 381	U 36	U 89
Sö 382 †	U 37	U 90
Sö ATA322-1467-2011	U 38	U 91
Sö ATA322-4237-2011	U 39 †	U 92
Sö ATA6447/61	U 40	U 93 †
Sö ATA6491/60	U 41	U 94
Sö Fv1948;282	U 42	U 96
Sö Fv1948;289	U 43	U 97 †
Sö Fv1948;295	U 44	U 98 †
Sö Fv1948;298	U 45	U 99
Sö Fv1954;20	U 46	U 100
Sö Fv1958;242	U 47	U 101
Sö Fv1969;298	U 48	U 102
Sö Fv1971;207	U 49	U 103
Sö Fv1971;208	U 50	U 104
Sö Fv1973;189	U 51 †	U 106
Sö Fv1982;235	U 52	U 107
Sö Fv1984;253	U 53	U 108
Sö Fv1986;218	U 54 †	U 109 †
Sö Fv1988;34	U 56	U 111 †
Sö Fv1993;229	U 57	U 112
Sö Sb1965;12	U 58	U 113 †
Sö Sb1965;19	U 59	U 114
	U 60	U 115
Uppland	U 61	U 116
U 1	U 62	U 117
U 2 †	U 63	U 118
U 4	U 65	U 119
U 6	U 67	U 120
U 10	U 69	U 121

U 122 †	U 170	U 233
U 123 †	U 171	U 235
U 124	U 172	U 236
U 125	U 173	U 237
U 126	U 174 †	U 238
U 127	U 175	U 239
U 128	U 176 †	U 240
U 129	U 177	U 241
U 130	U 179	U 243 †
U 131	U 180	U 244
U 132 †	U 181	U 245 †
U 133	U 182	U 247
U 134	U 183	U 249
U 135	U 184	U 251
U 136	U 186	U 252
U 137	U 188	U 253
U 138 †	U 189 †	U 255
U 140	U 190	U 256
U 141 †	U 191 †	U 258
U 142	U 192	U 259
U 143	U 193	U 260
U 144	U 194	U 261
U 145	U 195	U 262 †
U 146	U 196 †	U 263 †
U 147	U 198	U 265
U 148	U 200	U 266
U 149 †	U 201	U 267
U 150	U 202	U 268
U 151	U 203	U 269
U 152	U 204	U 270
U 153	U 207	U 272
U 154	U 208	U 273
U 155	U 209	U 274 †
U 156	U 210	U 275
U 158 †	U 211	U 276
U 159	U 212	U 277
U 160	U 214	U 279
U 161	U 215	U 280
U 162 †	U 216	U 281
U 163	U 217	U 283 †
U 164	U 225	U 284
U 165	U 226	U 285
U 166	U 227	U 286
U 167	U 229	U 287
U 168 †	U 231	U 288
U 169	U 232	U 289

U 293	U 344	U 411
U 294	U 345 †	U 412
U 295	U 346 †	U 413
U 296	U 347	U 418
U 297	U 349 †	U 419
U 300 †	U 350	U 420
U 301	U 351	U 421
U 302	U 352	U 422
U 304	U 353	U 423
U 305	U 354	U 424 †
U 306	U 355 †	U 425
U 307	U 356	U 426
U 308	U 357	U 428
U 309	U 358	U 429
U 310	U 360	U 430
U 311	U 361 †	U 431
U 312	U 362 †	U 432 †
U 313	U 363 †	U 433
U 314 †	U 364	U 434
U 315 †	U 371	U 435
U 316	U 372	U 436
U 317 †	U 373	U 437
U 318	U 375	U 438
U 319	U 376	U 439 †
U 320 †	U 377 †	U 440
U 321	U 378	U 441 †
U 322	U 379	U 442
U 323	U 382	U 444
U 324	U 384	U 445
U 325	U 385	U 447 †
U 326	U 386	U 448
U 328	U 388	U 449
U 329	U 389	U 451 †
U 330	U 390	U 452 †
U 331	U 391	U 453
U 332 †	U 392	U 454
U 333	U 393	U 455
U 334	U 394	U 456
U 335	U 395	U 457
U 336	U 398	U 458
U 337	U 403	U 459
U 338	U 405	U 460
U 339 †	U 407	U 461
U 341	U 408	U 462
U 342	U 409	U 463
U 343 †	U 410	U 464

U 465 †	U 525	U 607 †
U 467	U 527	U 608
U 470	U 528 †	U 610
U 471	U 530 †	U 611
U 472	U 531	U 613
U 473	U 532	U 614
U 474	U 533	U 615 †
U 475	U 537	U 617
U 476 †	U 538	U 618
U 477 †	U 539	U 619
U 478	U 540	U 620
U 479	U 541	U 621
U 480	U 544	U 622
U 481	U 545	U 623
U 482	U 546	U 624
U 484	U 547	U 625
U 485	U 550	U 626
U 489	U 558	U 627 †
U 490	U 559	U 628 †
U 491	U 560	U 629
U 492	U 565 †	U 630
U 494	U 566	U 631
U 495	U 567	U 632
U 496	U 568	U 633
U 497	U 570	U 634 †
U 498 †	U 572	U 635
U 500	U 573	U 636
U 501	U 574	U 637
U 502	U 575	U 639 †
U 503	U 578 †	U 640
U 504	U 579	U 641
U 505	U 580	U 642
U 506 †	U 582 †	U 643
U 508	U 585 †	U 644
U 509	U 586	U 645
U 510	U 590	U 646
U 511	U 592	U 647
U 512	U 593	U 648
U 513	U 594	U 649
U 514	U 597	U 649B †
U 515	U 598	U 650
U 516 †	U 599	U 651
U 517	U 600	U 652
U 518	U 604	U 653
U 519	U 605 †	U 654
U 524	U 606 †	U 655

U 656	U 718 †	U 777 †
U 657	U 719	U 778
U 658	U 720	U 779
U 659	U 721	U 780
U 660	U 722	U 785
U 661	U 723	U 786
U 662	U 724	U 789
U 663	U 726	U 790 †
U 665	U 727	U 791
U 667	U 729	U 792
U 668	U 731 †	U 793
U 669 †	U 732	U 795
U 670	U 733 †	U 796
U 671	U 734	U 797
U 673 †	U 735	U 798 †
U 674	U 738	U 800 †
U 676	U 739	U 802
U 677	U 740	U 803
U 678	U 741 †	U 804
U 679	U 742	U 805 †
U 681	U 744	U 808
U 682 †	U 745 †	U 809
U 683	U 746	U 810
U 684	U 749	U 814
U 685	U 750	U 815
U 686	U 751	U 816 †
U 687	U 752	U 817 †
U 688	U 753	U 818
U 689	U 755	U 819
U 690	U 756	U 821
U 691	U 757	U 824
U 692	U 758	U 825
U 695	U 759	U 826 †
U 697 †	U 762	U 827
U 698 †	U 763	U 828
U 699	U 764	U 829
U 700	U 766	U 831
U 701 †	U 767	U 836
U 703	U 768	U 838
U 705	U 769	U 839
U 706	U 770	U 840
U 707	U 771	U 842
U 708	U 773	U 843 †
U 712	U 774	U 844
U 713 †	U 775	U 845
U 716	U 776	U 846

U 847	U 908	U 960
U 848	U 909	U 961
U 849 †	U 910	U 963
U 851	U 911	U 964
U 854	U 912	U 965
U 855	U 913	U 968
U 856	U 914	U 969
U 857	U 915 †	U 970
U 859	U 916	U 971
U 860	U 917	U 973
U 861	U 918	U 974
U 862	U 919	U 975
U 863 †	U 920	U 976
U 864 †	U 921	U 977 †
U 865	U 922	U 978
U 866	U 923	U 980
U 867	U 925	U 982 †
U 868	U 926 †	U 984 †
U 870	U 929	U 985
U 871	U 931	U 986 †
U 873	U 932	U 987
U 874 †	U 933	U 990
U 875	U 934	U 991
U 876	U 935	U 992
U 878	U 937	U 993
U 879	U 938	U 995 †
U 880	U 939	U 996
U 881	U 940	U 997
U 884	U 941	U 998
U 885	U 942	U 999
U 887	U 943	U 1003
U 889	U 944	U 1005
U 890	U 945	U 1006
U 893	U 946	U 1007
U 894	U 947	U 1008
U 895	U 948	U 1009
U 896	U 950	U 1010
U 897	U 951	U 1011
U 898	U 952 †	U 1012
U 899	U 953 †	U 1014
U 901	U 954 †	U 1015
U 903	U 955 †	U 1016
U 904	U 956	U 1017
U 905	U 957	U 1018
U 906	U 958	U 1019
U 907	U 959	U 1020

U 1021	U 1076 †	U 1133 †
U 1022	U 1077	U 1134
U 1023 †	U 1079	U 1135
U 1024	U 1080	U 1139
U 1025 †	U 1081	U 1140
U 1026	U 1083 †	U 1142
U 1027	U 1084	U 1143
U 1028	U 1085	U 1144
U 1030 †	U 1086 †	U 1145
U 1031	U 1087 †	U 1146
U 1032	U 1088 †	U 1148 †
U 1033	U 1089	U 1149
U 1034	U 1090 †	U 1151
U 1035	U 1091 †	U 1152
U 1036	U 1092	U 1153 †
U 1038 †	U 1093	U 1154
U 1039	U 1094 †	U 1155
U 1040	U 1095	U 1156
U 1041	U 1096	U 1157
U 1042	U 1097	U 1158
U 1043	U 1098	U 1159
U 1044	U 1099 †	U 1160
U 1045	U 1100	U 1161
U 1046	U 1102 †	U 1162
U 1047	U 1103 †	U 1163
U 1048	U 1104	U 1164
U 1050	U 1105 †	U 1165
U 1051	U 1106	U 1168
U 1052	U 1107	U 1172
U 1053	U 1108 †	U 1173
U 1054	U 1110	U 1174
U 1056	U 1111	U 1176
U 1058 †	U 1113	U 1177
U 1060	U 1114 †	U ATA3019/65
U 1062	U 1115 †	U ATA322-4042-2009
U 1063	U 1116 †	U ATA6243/65
U 1065	U 1117	U Fv1912;8
U 1066	U 1118	U Fv1946;258
U 1067	U 1119	U Fv1948;168
U 1068	U 1121	U Fv1953;263
U 1069	U 1122	U Fv1953;266
U 1070	U 1123	U Fv1955;216
U 1072	U 1127	U Fv1958;250
U 1073 †	U 1130 †	U Fv1959;188
U 1074 †	U 1131 †	U Fv1968;279A
U 1075 †	U 1132	U Fv1968;279B

U Fv1969;210	Vg 17 †	Vg 102
U Fv1971;212B	Vg 18	Vg 103
U Fv1971;213A	Vg 20	Vg 104
U Fv1972;172	Vg 21 †	Vg 105
U Fv1972;271	Vg 22	Vg 106
U Fv1973;146	Vg 23	Vg 107
U Fv1974;203	Vg 24	Vg 109
U Fv1975;169	Vg 25 †	Vg 110
U Fv1976;104	Vg 30	Vg 112
U Fv1976;107	Vg 32	Vg 113
U Fv1976;99	Vg 33	Vg 114
U Fv1978;226	Vg 34	Vg 115
U Fv1979;243B	Vg 35	Vg 116
U Fv1983;228	Vg 37	Vg 117
U Fv1986;84	Vg 39	Vg 118
U Fv1988;241	Vg 40	Vg 119
U Fv1988;243	Vg 41	Vg 120 †
U Fv1990;32B	Vg 42 †	Vg 122
U Fv1992;156	Vg 44	Vg 123
U Fv1992;157	Vg 45	Vg 124
U Fv1992;169	Vg 48	Vg 125
U Fv1993;231	Vg 49 †	Vg 127
U Fv1993;233	Vg 50	Vg 128
U Fv1993;235	Vg 51	Vg 130
U Fv2009;312 †	Vg 52	Vg 133
U Fv2012;59 †	Vg 53	Vg 135 †
U NOR2003;23	Vg 55	Vg 136
U RR1987;134	Vg 56	Vg 137
U SD2013;24	Vg 58	Vg 139
U THS10;58	Vg 59	Vg 150
U THS30;83 †	Vg 61	Vg 151
	Vg 62	Vg 152
Västergötland	Vg 66	Vg 153
Vg 2	Vg 67	Vg 154
Vg 3	Vg 73	Vg 155
Vg 4	Vg 74	Vg 156
Vg 6	Vg 75	Vg 157
Vg 7	Vg 77	Vg 158
Vg 8	Vg 78 †	Vg 160
Vg 9	Vg 79	Vg 161
Vg 11	Vg 85	Vg 162
Vg 12	Vg 87	Vg 169
Vg 13	Vg 90	Vg 170
Vg 14	Vg 92	Vg 171
Vg 15	Vg 100	Vg 172
Vg 16	Vg 101	Vg 173

Vg 174
Vg 175
Vg 176
Vg 177
Vg 178
Vg 179
Vg 180
Vg 181
Vg 182
Vg 184
Vg 186
Vg 187
Vg 190
Vg 192
Vg 193
Vg 194
Vg 195
Vg 197
Vg 198
Vg 257
Vg NOR1997;27

Värmland
Vr 2
Vr 3

Västmanland
Vs 1
Vs 3 †
Vs 5
Vs 9
Vs 13
Vs 15
Vs 17
Vs 18
Vs 19
Vs 20
Vs 21
Vs 22
Vs 24
Vs 27
Vs 29
Vs Fv1988;36

Appendix 6a: Vowel Alliteration Between Fathers and Sons.

Father	Son	Inscription	Style
Íðaldr	Eibjǫrn	Gs 12	Pr2
Ófeigr	Unn	Hs 14	Fp, Pr1–Pr2
Arinbjǫrn	Unn	Hs 8	?
Ófeigr	Ulfr	Ög 214	Pr2–Pr3?
Ingimarr	Áslakr	Ög 226	?
Ófeigr	Eysteinn	Ög 236	RAK
Qnundr	Otr/Oddr	Ög 26	?
Unn	Ólafr	Öl 37	Pr3
Ávir(?)	Eysteinn	Öl 41	Pr3
Ávir(?)	Auðhvatr	Öl 41	Pr3
Eyndr/Hvítr	Qzurr	Sm 37	RAK
Ófeigr	Oddi	Sm 48	RAK?
Œpir	Eygeirr	Sö Fv1982;235	KB
Eyjarr	Ingulfr	Sö 143	KB
Ulfr	Qnundr	Sö 155	Pr2?
Ásl/Qsl	Qnundr	Sö 190	Pr2
Arnsteinn	Eysteinn	Sö 200	Fp
Ulfr	Eybjǫrn/Auðbjǫrn	Sö 211	Fp
Ulfr	Ofláti	Sö 211	Fp
Qnundr	Andvéttr	Sö 266	Fp
Arnfastr	Ingjaldr	Sö 343	KB
Orri(?)	Ulfr	Sö 350	Fp
Orri(?)	Ígull	Sö 350	Fp
Óleifr	Orri	Sö 36	KB
Etill	Ingivaldr	Sö 64	Pr1
Eist(?)/Æsir(?)	Andvéttr	Sö 90	Fp
Jǫfurr	Œringr	U 1015	Pr5
Illugi(?)	Eilífr	U 1022	Pr4
Ófeigr	Ulfr	U 1043	Pr3–Pr4
Eybjǫrn	Ígull	U 1047	Pr4
Ófeigr	Jǫfurr	U 1056	Pr4
Ígulfastr/Hjalmfastr	Ási	U 1069	Pr4
Ásbjǫrn	Jǫrundr	U 1106	Pr4
Ásbjǫrn	Ingifastr	U 1106	Pr4
Eysteinn	Jóhan	U 216	Pr5
Qrn	Ulfr	U 155	?
Ulfr	Arnkell	U 225	RAK
Eistr	Ásgautr	U 181	Pr5
Eistr	Ingifastr	U 181	Pr5
Eistr	Ingibjǫrn	U 181	Pr5
Jargeirr	Ásbjǫrn	U 186	Pr2
Ernbjǫrn	Ófeigr	U 2	?

Áli/Alli	Ulfr	U 203	Pr3
Ólafr	Eilafr	U 233	Pr4
Ólafr	Ásmundr	U 233	Pr4
Ólafr	Eysteinn	U 233	Pr4
Ulfr	Ingjaldr	U 256	Pr3
Illugi	Ónæmr	U Fv1968;279B	?
Eysteinn	Ǫzurr	U 349	RAK
Ingjaldr	Ófeigr	U 362	Pr4?
Ulfr	Jǫrundr	U 413	?
Jǫrundr	Ófeigr	U 43	Pr3
Eisti	Eysteinn	U 44	Pr4
Óleifr	Ingifastr	U 460	Pr4
Eistr	Œringr(?)	U 461	Pr2
Ǫnundr	Ulfr	U 471	Pr3
Ǫnundr	Ágeirr(?)	U 471	Pr3
Áli/Alli	Ǫnundr	U 506	Pr4?
Ótryggvi	Áki	U 570	Pr3
Ǫzurr	Ábjǫrn	U 621	Pr2
Ásbjǫrn	Ǫnundr	U 627	Pr3?
Arngísl	Illugi	U 629	Pr3
Ulfr	Ǫzurr	U 657	Pr2
Ǫzurr	Ígulfastr	U 665	Pr2
Japr(?)/Jarp(?)	Arngeirr	U 720	Pr1–Pr2
Ósyrgr	Ari	U 742	Pr4
Ígull	Ingibjǫrn	U 758	Pr4
Ósníkinn(?)	Eyjarr(?)/Varr(?)	U 797	Pr4
Ámundi	Ǫnundr	U 821	Pr4
Ingi-...	Eistr	U 855	Pr2?
Ingi-...	Ernfastr	U 855	Pr2?
Ǫnundr	Ábjǫrn	U 894	Pr4
Jarl	Áli/Alli	U 898	Pr4
Jǫfurr	Ígulbjǫrn	U 901	Pr3–Pr4?
Jǫrundr	Ernfastr	U 917	Pr4
Ófeigr	Áviðr	U 945	Pr3
Jarl	Ulfr	U 957	Pr4?
Jarl	Ábjǫrn	U 957	Pr4?
Auðketill	Ásgautr	Vg 102	RAK?
Ásgautr	Auðkell	Vg 103	RAK?
Auðgrímr(?)	Áskell	Vg 37	RAK?
Auga	Ásbjǫrn	Vg 77	RAK
Ǫzurr	Jǫrundr	Vg 92	RAK
Ǫzurr	Auðin	Vg 92	RAK
Áslakr	Ulfr	Vg NOR1997;27	RAK
Áslakr	Ǫzurr	Vg NOR1997;27	RAK

Appendix 6b: Vowel Alliteration Between Fathers and Daughters.

Father	Daughter	Inscription	Style
Eyjarr	Ása	Ög 154	Fp?
Eyjulfr	Ingifríðr	Sö 196	Fp
Arngísl	Áðísla	Sö 274	Pr2
Erinmundr	Una/Unna	U 107	?
Ígull	Ingiþóra	U 151	Pr3–Pr4
Ófeigr	Erndís	U 770	Pr3

Appendix 6c: Vowel Alliteration Between Mothers and Sons.

Mother	Son	Inscription	Style
Inga	Erngeirr	Sö 205	Pr4?
Ingirún	Óleifr	Sö 340	Fp?
Ingiþóra	Eysteinn	Sö 347	Pr3
Eybjǫrg	Ulfr	Sö 367	RAK
Ástríðr	Ingifastr	U 101	Pr4
Ástríðr	Eysteinn	U 101, U 135	Pr4
Ástríðr	Ingvarr	U 101	Pr4
Ástríðr	Jarlabanki	U 101, U 309	Pr4
Alfhildr	Eysteinn	Sö 254	Fp
Ása	Agni(?)	U 170	Pr3?
Ernfríðr	Aðísl	U 35	Pr2
Ernfríðr	Ásl/Ǫsl	U 35	Pr2
Ernfríðr	Ólafr	U 35	Pr2
Áselfr	Ígulfastr	U 378	Pr4
Ásgerðr	Eysteinn	U 44	Pr4
Eyðr	Ingifastr	U 460	Pr4
Ástríðr	Ingvarr	U 478	Pr1
Ástríðr	Ingifastr	U 478	Pr1
Ingifríðr	Ǫnundr	U 498	?
Áfríðr	Ígulfastr	U 52	Pr3
Áfríðr	Óleifr	U 565	Pr4?
Áfríðr	Jóhan	U 565	Pr4?
Ígulfríðr	Ótryggr	U 582	Pr1?
Una/Unna	Eysteinn	U 613	Pr3–Pr4
Ǫlvé	Arnfastr	U 636	Fp
Ǫlvé	Arfastr	U 635, U 636	Pr4
Ǫlvé	Árni	U 635, U 636	Pr4
Ásvé	Arnulfr	U 703	Pr3
Inga	Ernmundr	U 72, U 73	Pr3
Eydís	Ingimundr	U 808	Pr3
Auðgerðr	Ǫnundr	U 821	Pr4

Jógerðr	Eistr	U 855	Pr2?
Jógerðr	Ernfastr	U 855	Pr2?
Ástríðr	Eiríkr	U 960	?
Ingifast	Áli/Alli	U 986	Pr3–Pr4?
Erinvé	Eileifr	U Fv1959;188	Pr4
Ólǫf	Ǫzurr	Vg 50	Pr2?

Appendix 6d: Vowel Alliteration Between Mothers and Daughters.

Mother	Daughter	Inscription	Style
Ása	Undrlaug	Sö 328	Pr2
Erinvé	Ingiþóra	U 151	Pr3–Pr4

Appendix 6e: Vowel Alliteration Between Brothers.

Brother	Brother	Inscription	Style
Aun/Ǫrn	Eyndr	M 11	RAK?
Ófriðr	Unn	M 15	Pr2?
Ulfr	Ǫnundr	Nä 32	Pr2–Pr3
Jóarr/Ívarr	Einarr	Ög 130	?
Óttarr(?)	Jafri	Ög 18	RAK
Ásbjǫrn	Órœkja	Ög 22	RAK
Áli/Alli	Órœkja	Ög 22	RAK
Ásvaldi	Augmundr	Ög 224	Fp (RAK)
Eysteinn	Órœkja	Ög 229	Fp
Eysteinn	Áskell	Ög 62	?
Ǫzurr	Ásmundr	Ög 81	Pr1
Ormarr	Áskell	Ög 89	RAK
Eysteinn	Auðhvatr	Öl 41	Pr3
Jóarr	Eilífr/Eileifr	Öl KALM1982;57	?
Eilífr	Áki	Sm 16	RAK
Ótryggr	Agmundr	Sö 144	Fp
Ingjaldr	Ǫlvir	Sö 159	Pr1?
Ǫnundr	Ásl/Ǫsl	Sö 190	Pr2
Ingjaldr	Erngeirr	Sö 205	Pr4?
Eybjǫrn/Auðbjǫrn	Ofláti	Sö 211	Fp
Ormgeirr	Jógeirr	Sö 234	?
Ormgeirr	Jǫfursteinn(?)	Sö 234	?
Óleifr	Unn	Sö 248	Pr3
Ǫnundr	Óleifr	Sö 248	Pr3
Ǫnundr	Unn	Sö 248	Pr3
Ingjaldr	Ǫzurr	Sö 25	?
Ubbi	Eibjǫrn	Sö 255	Pr3

Eyvindr	Ingjaldr	Sö 293	?
Ǫnundr	Ótamr	Sö 320	Fp
Ulfr(?)	Ósníkinn	Sö 335	Fp
Ulfr	Ígull	Sö 350	Fp
Eysteinn	Óleifr	Sö 54	Pr2
Eygeirr	Ígull	U 1047	Pr4
Ábjǫrn	Ingjaldr	U 1084	Pr5
Eistr	Áki	U 1158	Pr3–Pr4
Ingifastr	Eysteinn	U 135	Pr2
Ulfketill	Arnkell	U 160, U 225	Pr1
Uni/Unni	Arnkell	U 160, U 225	Pr1
Ási	Auðgeirr	U 17	Pr2
Ásgautr	Ingifastr	U 181	Pr5
Ásgautr	Ingibjǫrn	U 181	Pr5
Órœkja	Ígull	U 202	Pr3
Eysteinn	Ulfr	U 231	Pr5
Eysteinn	Ólafr	U 231	Pr5
Ulfr	Ólafr	U 231	Pr5
Ǫzurr	Andsvarr	U 273, U 276	Pr1
Ígulfastr	Jón	U 279	Pr4
Eysteinn/Jósteinn	Jǫrundr	U 323	RAK
Ingjaldr(?)	Ígull	U 341	RAK
Aðísl	Ásl/Ǫsl	U 35	Pr2
Ásl/Ǫsl	Ólafr	U 35	Pr2
Aðísl	Ólafr	U 35	Pr2
Arnkell	Andvéttr	U 357	Pr4
Ulfr	Ingvarr	U 363	Pr4?
Jǫrundr	Ǫnundr	U 425	Pr3?
Ǫnundr	Eistr	U 457, U 458	Pr1
Ulfr	Ágeirr(?)	U 471	Pr3
Ásbjǫrn	Auðbjǫrn	U 492	Pr4
Ǫnundr	Eiríkr	U 513	Pr2
Eiríkr	Ingvarr	U 513	Pr2
Ǫnundr	Ingvarr	U 513	Pr2
Órœkja	Jógeirr	U 539	RAK
Óleifr	Jóhan	U 565	Pr4?
Jóhan	Áli/Alli	U 572	Pr4
Ótryggr	Ásgeirr	U 592	?
Ósníkinn	Ásvarðr(?)/Andsvarr(?)	U 645	Pr3
Ólafr	Arnmundr	U 685	Pr2
Ásbjǫrn	Auðbjǫrn	U 688	?
Ernmundr	Ingimundr	U 72	Pr3
Áli/Alli	Óleifr	U 867	Pr3?
Jógeirr	Auðríkr/Eyríkr	U 887	Pr4
Eyndr	Ǫnundr	U 893	Pr3–Pr4

Áli/Alli	Ingimundr	U 898	Pr4
Ígulbjǫrn	Jarl	U 901	Pr3–Pr4?
Árni	Órœkja	U 948	Pr4
Ulfr	Ábjǫrn	U 957	Pr4?
Ingulfr	Eyndr	U 974	Pr5
Ásbjǫrn	Juli	Vg 184	Fp
Jǫrundr	Auðin	Vg 92	RAK
Ulfr	Ǫzurr	Vg NOR1997;27	RAK

Appendix 6f: Vowel Alliteration Between Sisters.

Sister	Sister	Inscription	Style
Auða	Inga	Sö 60	KB
Auða	Erindís	Sö 60	KB
Inga	Erindís	Sö 60	KB
Ingilaug	Áfríðr	U 508	RAK

Appendix 6g: Vowel Alliteration Between Brothers and Sisters.

Brother	Sister	Inscription	Style
Óþveginn	Áfríðr(?)	U 1012	Pr3–Pr4
Eyndr	Ingigerðr	U 893	Pr3–Pr4
Ǫnundr	Ingigerðr	U 893	Pr3–Pr4
Áli/Alli	Jǫfurfast	U 893	Pr4
Otr	Ígulfríðr/Holmfríðr	U Fv1975;169	Pr4
Óttarr	Ásgerðr	Ög 118	RAK
Augmundr	Ástríðr	Ög 224	Fp (RAK)

Appendix 6h: Vowel Alliteration Between Grandfathers and Grandsons.

Grandfather	Grandson	Inscription	Style
Ormr	Alríkr	Sö 101	Pr1
Uggr	Ǫnundr	U 1146	Pr1
Eysteinn	Jarlabanki	U 101, U 143	Pr4
Oddi	Eysteinn	U 229, U 231	Pr5
Oddi	Ulfr	U 229, U 231	Pr5
Oddi	Ólafr	U 229, U 231	Pr5
Ingvarr(?)	Eileifr	U 266, U Fv1959;188	Pr4
Illugi	Ulfr	U 336, U Fv1968;217B	RAK
Ónæmr	Ulfketill	U 100, U 160, U 328	Pr1
Ónæmr	Uni/Unni	U 100, U 160, U 328	Pr1

Ónæmr	Arnkell	U 100, U 225, U 328	RAK
Ásgautr	Ernfastr	U 503, U 504	Pr4?
Ásgautr	Erngautr	U 503, U 504	Pr4?
Ófeigr	Engli/Egli	U 770, U 1151	Pr3
Eysteinn	Jón	U 993	Pr4

Appendix 6i: Vowel Alliteration Between Grandfathers and Granddaughters.

Grandfather	Granddaughter	Inscription	Style
Eysteinn	Jǫfurfast	U 993	Pr4

Appendix 6j: Vowel Alliteration Between Grandmothers and Grandsons.

Grandmother	Grandson	Inscription	Style
Ástríðr	Jarlabanki	U 101, U 143	Pr4

Appendix 6k: Vowel Alliteration Between Uncles and Nephews.

Uncle	Nephew	Inscription	Style
Jarl(?)	Áskell	Ög 40	Pr3?
Erngeirr	Ingjaldr	Sö 205	Pr4
Ernfastr	Ásgautr	Sö 296	Fp
Jǫrundr	Ernmundr	U 72	Pr3
Ǫzurr	Illugi	U 273	Pr4?
Ónæmr	Ulfr	U 336	RAK
Eysteinn	Jarlabanki	U 142, U 143	Pr4
Andsvarr	Illugi	U 276	Pr4?
Ǫnundr	Œringr(?)	U 457, U 458, U 461	Pr2
Ingjaldr	Eygeirr	U 700, U 723	Pr3
Jǫrundr	Auðbjǫrn	U 1006, U 1007	Pr4
Ulfr	Ásmundr	U Fv1986;84	Pr3–Pr4

Appendix 6l: Vowel Alliteration Between Great-uncles and Great-nephews.

Great-Uncle	Great-Nephew	Inscription	Style
Eysteinn	Ingifastr	U 135, U 142, U 143	Pr4

Appendix 7a: Consonant Alliteration Between Fathers and Sons.

Father	Son	Inscription	Style
Búrir(?)/Býrir(?)	Bergsveinn	M 1	Pr1
Bjǫrn	Brúsi	U 1094	Pr4
Bjǫrn	Blákári(?)	U 61	RAK
Borgfastr	Bjǫrn	U 895	Pr4
Grímr	Gunnarr	Sm 10	Pr2
Gunnarr	Guðfastr	Sm 134	?
Guðvér	Grjótgarðr	Sö 166	RAK
Geirbjǫrn	Gunnarr	U 258	RAK
Gansi(?)/Knasi(?)	Gísl	U 453	Pr3
Geiri	Gísl	U 668, U 669	Pr4
Geirrøðr(?)	Gunnarr	U 94	?
Gunnvaldr	Geirfastr	Vs 18	Fp
Hrólfr	Hákon(?)	Ög 149	RAK?
Hrólfr	Halfdan	Ög 180	?
Hrólfr	Hákon(?)	Ög 30	Fp
Hróði	Helgi	Sm 101	RAK
Hlífsteinn	Hrólfr	Sm 52	RAK
Hæra	Heggi	Sm 71	RAK
Holmviðr	Hani	Sö 116	Pr3
Holmsteinn	Hróðgeirr	Sö 173	Fp, Pr2
Hrólfr	Hámundr	Sö 367	RAK
Halfdan	Hemingr	U 159	?
Halfdan	Húskarl	U 240	Pr3
Hæra	Holmi	U 335	Pr1
Holmsteinn	Hjalmfastr	U 628	Pr4?
Holmi	Halfdan	Vs 29	Pr4
Hé-Gylfir	Hróðmundr	Hs 14	Fp, Pr1–Pr2
Káti	Ketill	Öl 5	Pr3
Klakki	Kali/Kalli/Galli	Sm 11	RAK
Ketill	Kolr(?)	U 1053	Pr4?
Ketilmundr	Kagr(?)/Gagr(?)	U 1108	Pr4
Kvígbjǫrn	Káti	U 189	?
Kjallakr/Kjullakr	Kvígr	U 42	Pr4
Kári	Krókr	U 866	Pr4?
Slóra(?)/Slyðra(?)	Sibbi	Sö 183	Fp
Svartungr	Sigbjǫrn	U 1006	Pr4
Sigrøðr/Sigþrúðr	Sveinn	U 326	Pr1
Sighvatr	Sjalfi	U 372	Pr2
Sveinn	Sjalfi	U 566	Pr4
Sinarr	Sigviðr	U 57	Pr3
Sinarr	Sigreifr	U 57	Pr3
Sigsteinn	Sveinn/Sveini	U 915	Pr4?

Signjóti (Signjótr)	Sigviðr	U 945, U 958	Pr3
Tólir	Tíðkumi	Sö 293	?
Þorsteinn	Þróndr	Ög 225	Fp
Þjalfarr	Þórir	Ög 27	?
Þjóðmundr	Þorgautr	Sö 111	Fp
Þorketill	Þjalfi	Sö 194	Fp
Þjóstulfr	Þorsteinn	Sö 248	Pr3
Þjóðmundr	Þormundr	U 1010	Pr4
Þorsteinn	Þegn	U 131	Pr3
Þjalfi	Þórðr	U 200	RAK
Þegn	Þorbjǫrn	U 456	Pr4?
Þorbjǫrn	Þólfr(?)/Þœfr(?)	U 838	Pr3
Varinn	Vámóðr	Ög 136	RAK
Vígmarr	Véhjalmr/Víghjalmr	Sö 298	Pr3
Vébjǫrn	Víðfari	U 686	Pr2

Appendix 7b: Consonant Alliteration Between Fathers and Daughters.

Father	Daughter	Inscription	Style
Geirbjǫrn	Guðfríðr	Sö 213	Pr3–Pr4
Guðsteinn	Gás	U 1102	Pr4
Halfdan	Heðinvé	U 231	Pr5
Holmfastr	Helga	U 89	Pr2
Sveinn	Sæfa	Sö 14	Fp
Vreiðr	Vébjǫrg	Sö 318	Pr2

Appendix 7c: Consonant Alliteration Between Mothers and Sons.

Mother	Son	Inscription	Style
Fastlaug	Finnviðr	U 475	Pr4
Geirvé	Gamall	Öl 37	Pr3
Gylla	Gunnarr	Sö 149	KB
Gunnelfr	Goti	U 1096	Pr5
Gíslaug	Geiri	U 363	Pr4?
Gróa	Gylfir (Hé-Gylfir)	Hs 14	Fp, Pr1–Pr2
Herþrúðr	Halfborinn	Öl 28	Pr2?
Hróðelfr	Heðinn	Sm 8	RAK?
Heðinvé	Holmgeirr	U 210	Pr4
Holmfríðr	Húskarl	U 240	Pr3
Helga	Hemingr	U Fv1953;263	Pr5
Rúna	Ragnarr	U 687	Pr4
Síða	Sveinn	Vg 133	RAK

Appendix 7d: Consonant Alliteration Between Mothers and Daughters.

Mother	Daughter	Inscription	Style
Gullaug(?)	Gillaug	U 489	Pr4

Appendix 7e: Consonant Alliteration Between Brothers.

Brother	Brother	Inscription	Style
Bjartr(?)	Býsir(?)/Bœsir(?)	U 676	Pr2
Forkunnr	Fullugi	U 41	Pr3
Freysteinn	Fasti	U 510	Pr4
Faði	Fastulfr	U 665	Pr2
Guððorn	Geiri	Ög 129	RAK
Guðmundr	Geirbjǫrn	Öl 23	Pr1–Pr2
Geirhjalmr	Guðbjǫrn	Sö 241	Fp
Gnúpa	Gulleifr	Sö 33	Fp
Geirr	Guðfinnr	Sö Fv1948;298	Pr1
Gulleifr	Gunnarr	U 678	RAK
Gísl	Guðfastr	U 836	Pr4
Gísli	Gunnarr	Vg 119	RAK
Geiri	Guði	Vg 187	RAK
Gjalli	Gjafulfr	Vg 59	RAK
Geitingr(?)	Geirmundr	Vg 8	Fp
Heðinn	Hersir	M 9	Pr3
Hróðsteinn	Hákon	Sm 16	RAK
Hermóðr	Hallr(?)	Sö 184	KB
Halfdan	Helgulfr(?)	Sö 188	Pr1
Hásteinn	Holmsteinn	Sö 347	Pr3
Hásteinn	Holmsteinn	Sö 56	RAK
Halfdan(?)/Eldjarn(?)	Hákon	U 1022	Pr4
Hónefr(?)/Hýnifrár(?)	Hrafn	U 1144	Pr3
Herbjǫrn	Hemingr	U 444	Fp
Hemingr	Holmi	U 447	Pr1–Pr2?
Helgi	Holtríkr	U 505	Pr4?
Hjalmviðr	Halfdan	U 61	RAK
Haursi	Hróðleifr	U 678	RAK
Holmsteinn	Hǫsvi	U 77	Pr4
Haraldr	Halfdan	U Fv1973;146	Pr4
Hettingr(?)	Hervarðr	Vg 14	RAK
Halfdan	Holmfastr	Vs 29	Pr4
Kári	Knútr	Sö 217	Fp
Karl	Kári	Sö 298	Pr3
Karlungr	Ketilbjǫrn	U Fv1976;107	Pr4
Kárr	Kali/Kalli	Vg 73	RAK
Sveinn/Steinn/Seinn	Starki/Óstarki	Sm 60	RAK
Spjóti	Spjallboði	U 727	Pr3

Sigurðr	Sveinn	M 14	Pr2?
Sveinn	Sandarr	Ög 147	RAK?
Sveinn	Slóði(?)	Sö 136	Pr1
Sigbjǫrn	Sveinn	Sö 142	Pr3?
Salvi	Smiðr	Sö 61	Pr2
Sveinn	Sigdjarfr	U 109	?
Sveinn	Sibbi	U 1122	Pr4
Sveinn	Sigsteinn(?)	U 174	?
Sigreifr(?)	Sveinn	U 237	Pr3–Pr4
Sibbi	Sveinn	U 237	Pr3–Pr4
Sighvatr	Sveinn	U 237	Pr3–Pr4
Sigulfr	Sóti	U 479	Pr1
Sigviðr	Sveinn	U 684	Pr4
Sigbjǫrn/Sæbjǫrn	Sigdjarfr/Sædjarfr	U 903	Pr3?
Sigdjarfr	Sigdjarfr/Sædjarfr	U 903	Pr3?
Þegn	Þórulfr	U 201	Pr1
Þorsteinn	Þegn	U 372	Pr2
Þólfr(?)/Þœfr(?)	Þorfastr	U 838	Pr3
Víðfari	Vébjǫrn	Sö 256	Pr1
Veðraldi	Vígi	U 463	Pr4

Appendix 7f: Consonant Alliteration Between Sisters.

Sister	Sister	Inscription	Style
Gullaug	Guðlaug	Sö 263	Fp
Gyríðr	Guðlaug	U 328	Pr1
Geirvé	Gulla	U 661	Fp
Helga	Holmfríðr	U 89	Pr2

Appendix 7g: Consonant Alliteration Between Brothers and Sisters.

Brother	Sister	Inscription	Style
Fullugi	Fastlaug	U 295	Pr4
Gunni	Guðlaug	U 167	Pr3
Gunnarr	Gulley	U 462	Pr3–Pr4?
Gautr/Gauss	Ginnlaug	U 617	RAK
Sigbjǫrn	Sandey	Ög 128	RAK
Þegn	Þóra	U 34	Pr1

Appendix 7h: Consonant Alliteration Between Grandfathers and Grandsons.

Grandfather	Grandson	Inscription	Style
Gunnleifr	Gulleifr	U 643, U 644	Pr4
Halfdan	Holmgeirr	U 210, U 231	Pr4
Kári	Karl	Sö Fv1971;208	?
Svarthǫfði	Saxi	U 458, U 459, U 461	Pr2

Appendix 7i: Consonant Alliteration Between Uncles and Nephews.

Uncle	Nephew	Inscription	Style
Freysteinn	Fastarr	U 510, U 511	Pr4

Appendix 7j: Consonant Alliteration Between Aunts and Nephews.

Aunt	Nephew	Inscription	Style
Guðlaug	Gýi	U 100, U 225, U 328	RAK

Appendix 7k: Consonant Alliteration Between Great-uncles and Great-nephews.

Great-Uncle	Great-Nephew	Inscription	Style
Sigfastr	Sveinn	U 112, U 150, U Fv1968;279B	Fp?

Appendix 8a: Variation Between Fathers and Sons.

Father	Son	Inscription	Style
Jóarr/Ívarr	Ingvarr	U 478	Pr1
Eibjǫrn	Bjǫrn	Nä 11	Pr2?
Geirbjǫrn	Bjǫrn	Sö 226	Fp
Geirbjǫrn	Vébjǫrn	Sö 226	Fp
Geirbjǫrn	Ketilbjǫrn	Sö 226	Fp
Ígulbjǫrn	Ketilbjǫrn	Sö 229	Fp
Ígulbjǫrn	Þorbjǫrn	Sö 229	Fp
Ketilbjǫrn	Bjǫrn	Sö 289	Pr2
Bjǫrn	Auðbjǫrn	Sö 344	Pr3
Bjǫrn	Sigbjǫrn	Sö 344	Pr3
Bjǫrn	Guðbjǫrn	Sö 344	Pr3
Herbjǫrn	Freybjǫrn	Sö 86	?
Sigbjǫrn	Auðbjǫrn	U 1007	Pr4
Bjǫrn	Þorbjǫrn	U 1012	Pr3–Pr4

Eybjǫrn	Ketilbjǫrn	U 1047	Pr4
Bjǫrn	Ábjǫrn	U 1084	Pr5
Bjǫrn	Þorbjǫrn	U 1094	Pr4
Erinbjǫrn	Viðbjǫrn	U 1163	Pr2
Eibjǫrn	Þorbjǫrn	U 176	Pr3?
Ernbjǫrn	...-bjǫrn	U 2	?
Sigbjǫrn/Seybjǫrn	Jóbjǫrn	U 297	Pr4
Þorbjǫrn	Vébjǫrn	U 481	Pr4
Bjǫrn	Ásbjǫrn	U 492	Pr4
Bjǫrn	Auðbjǫrn	U 492	Pr4
Bjǫrn	Þorbjǫrn	U 61	RAK
Bjǫrn	Gunnbjǫrn	U 61	RAK
Vébjǫrn	Þorbjǫrn	U 686	Pr2
Bjǫrn	Styrbjǫrn	U 691	Pr4
Kvígbjǫrn	Bersa/Birsa	U 189	?
Nesbjǫrn(?)/Nefbjǫrn(?)	Bjarni	Sö Fv1948;298	Pr1
Gubbi	Ígulbjǫrn	U 51	Pr3
Gubbi	Vébjǫrn	U 51	Pr3
Gubbi	Hugbjǫrn	U 51	Pr3
Sibbi	Vébjǫrn	U 281	Pr4
Stybbir	Bjǫrn	Ög 172	Fp
Védjarfr	Ádjarfr	U 597	Pr4
Dýri	Dýrgeirr	U 1139	Pr2?
Holmfastr	Ingifastr	Sö 308	Pr5
Holmfastr	Véfastr	U 1161	Pr3
Holmfastr	Arnfastr	U 1161	Pr3
Sigfastr	Ragnfastr	U 331	Pr3
Ingifastr	Ragnfastr	U 497	Pr4
Ketilfastr	Ernfastr	U 503	Pr4?
Véfastr	Sigfastr	U 623	Pr2
Véfastr	Sigfastr	U Fv1992;156	Pr2
Fastgeirr	Nefgeirr	U 1140	Pr4
Borggeirr	Jógeirr	U 887	Pr4
Borggeirr	Fastgeirr	U 887	Pr4
Gísl	Erngísl	U Fv1973;146	Pr4
Végísl	Ásl/Ǫsl	U 35	Pr2
Gísl	Ásl/Ǫsl	Vs 9	Pr3
Illugi	Fullugi	U 41	Pr3
Guðleifr	Óleifr	Sö 340	Fp?
Ólafr	Eilafr	U 233	Pr4
Þjóðmundr	Þormundr	U 1010	Pr4
Geirmundr	Arnmundr	U 685	Pr2
Ástráðr	Gautráðr	Sm 35	RAK
Alríkr	Holtríkr	U 505	Pr4?
Freysteinn	Þorsteinn	Ög ATA5503/61	?

Arnsteinn	Eysteinn	Sö 200	Fp
Freysteinn	Hásteinn	Sö 56	RAK
Freysteinn	Holmsteinn	Sö 56	RAK
Holmsteinn	Þorsteinn	U 146	RAK
Holmsteinn	Freysteinn	U 169	RAK
Þorsteinn	Freysteinn	U 510	Pr4
Holmsteinn	Þorsteinn	U 628	Pr4?
Þorsteinn	Vésteinn	Vg 175	RAK
Tosti	Steinn	Sö 254	Fp
Ulfr	Gunnulfr	Sö 108	Fp
Véulfr	Fastulfr	Sö 120	Pr2–Pr3
Farulfr	Þjóðulfr	Sö 148	?
Ulfr	Brynjulfr	Sö 155	Pr2?
Ulfr	Steinulfr	Sö 211	Fp
Borgulfr	Ulfr	U 444	Fp
Gunnulfr	Ingulfr	U 974	Pr5
Hrólfr	Ulfr	Sö 367	RAK
Holmviðr	Sigviðr	Sö 116	Pr3
Hegviðr	Sigviðr	U 684	Pr4
Egviðr/Hegviðr	Sigviðr	U 75	Pr4
Áskell/Ísjǫkull	Ásbjǫrn	Ög 47	RAK
Ásulfr	Ásbjǫrn	U 40	Pr3
Dýri	Dýrgeirr	U 1139	Pr2?
Eiríkr	Eivísl	Vg 119	RAK
Fastulfr	Fasti	U 244	Pr3–Pr4
Folkmarr	Folkbjǫrn	U 358	RAK
Fasti	Fastarr	U 511	Pr4
Gunnarr	Gunnkell	Sm 101	RAK
Guðmarr	Guðbjǫrn	Sö 164	RAK
Geiri	Geirfastr	U 1144	Pr3
Holmgautr	Holmgeirr	U 210	Pr4
Holmgeirr	Holmfastr	U 289	Pr3
Holmi	Holmfastr	Vs 29	Pr4
Ingivaldr	Ingimundr	U 296	?
Ingimarr	Ingvarr	U 307	Pr4
Ingifastr	Ingimundr	U 922	Pr4
Rúni(?)	Rúnfastr	U 1003	Pr4?
Sigrøðr	Signjótr	Sö 274	Fp
Sighvatr	Sigsteinn	U 885	Pr4
Signjóti (Signjótr)	Sigviðr	U 958	?
Sibbi	Sigmundr	U Fv1948;168	Pr5
Sibbi	Sigfastr	U Fv1948;168	Pr5
Steinarr	Steinn	Ög 231	Fp
Stóðbjǫrn	Stóðkell	U 952	Pr4
Þjóðmundr	Þjóðgeirr	Gs 11	Pr2

Þórðr Serða(?)	Þórir	M 9	Pr3
Þórir	Þorfastr	Sö 233	Fp
Þorsteinn	Þorbjǫrn	Sö 84	KB
Þorfastr	Þorbjǫrn	U 1034	Pr5
Þorfastr	Þorsteinn	U 1034	Pr5
Þorsteinn	Þorfastr	U 418	Pr3
Þorbjǫrn	Þorgísl	U 481	Pr4
Þorbjǫrn	Þorsteinn	U 481	Pr4
Þorsteinn	Þorbjǫrn	U 510	Pr4
Þorbjǫrn	Þólfr(?)/Þœfr(?)	U 838	Pr3
Þorbjǫrn	Þorfastr	U 838	Pr3
Þorviðr(?)	Þórir	Vg 160	RAK
Tófi	Tólir	Ög Fv1983;240	RAK?
Tóki	Tosti	Sö 145	?
Tobbi/Tubbi	Tosti	U 232	Pr5
Þórir	Tumir/Tummi/Dómi	Ög 123	RAK?
Þorgautr	Tóki	Ög 70	RAK
Þorgautr	Tosti	Ög 70	RAK
Tólir	Þórir	Vg 169	Fp–RAK?
Tosti	Þorgísl	Vg 87	?
Þorsteinn	Tumi/Tummi	Vg 3	RAK
Vígi	Vígdjarfr	U 573	Pr3
Borggeirr	Geirbjǫrn	Öl 23	Pr1–Pr2
...-geirr	Geirmundr	Sm 143	?
Ígull	Ígulfastr	U 378	Pr4
Ígull	Ígulfastr	U 624	Pr4

Appendix 8b: Variation Between Fathers and Daughters.

Father	Daughter	Inscription	Style
Holmfastr	Holmfríðr	U 89	Pr2
Ketill	Ketilvé	U 421	Pr4?
Þorgísl	Þorgunnr	Ög 29	Pr3?
Tosti	Þórunnr	Ög 165	RAK
Ernfastr	Fasta	U 1023	Pr4?

Appendix 8c: Variation Between Mothers and Sons.

Mother	Son	Inscription	Style
Fastlaug	Fastulfr	U 461	Pr2
Gyríðr	Gýi	U 100	Pr4
Gunnhildr	Gunni	U 288	Pr5
Holma	Holmi	Sö 331	Pr2–Pr3

Siglaug	Sigviðr	U 352	Pr4
Sigríðr	Sigþórr(?)/Sigþorn(?)	U 440	?
Þorgerðr/Þorgautr	Þorsteinn	M 11	RAK?
Þorný	Þórir	Vg 169	Fp–RAK?
Þórunnr	Tófi	Sm 64	RAK
Ingríðr	Ingivaldr	U 311	Pr5
Ingríðr	Ingimarr	U 311	Pr5
Ingifast	Ingulfr	U 485	Pr5
Inga	Ingimundr	U 72, U 73	Pr3
Ingiþóra	Þórir	U 104	Pr5
Ingiþóra	Þorsteinn	U 104	Fp
Geirunn	Freygeirr	Sö 52	Fp

Appendix 8d: Variation Between Mothers and Daughters.

Mother	Daughter	Inscription	Style
Guðlaug (Gylla)	Hjalmlaug	Sö 206	Pr4
Fastlaug	Holmlaug	U 461	Pr2
Gyríðr	Sigríðr	U 77, U 78	Pr5
Gullaug(?)	Gillaug	U 489	Pr4
Holma	Holmvé	Sö 331	Pr2–Pr3
Steinfríðr	Steinbjǫrg	Sö 128	Pr2
Ingríðr	Ingigerðr	U 311	Pr5
Ingigerðr(?)	Ingríðr	U 618	Pr5
Ingiþóra	Ingríðr(?)	U 996	Pr4
Auða	Auðgerðr	U 821	Pr4

Appendix 8e: Variation Between Brothers.

Brother	Brother	Inscription	Style
Gunnarr	Óttarr	Ög 118	RAK
Jóarr/Ívarr	Einarr	Ög 130	?
...-bjǫrn	Ásbjǫrn	Ög Fv1950;341	Fp
Sæbjǫrn/Sigbjǫrn	Geirbjǫrn	Öl 23	Pr1–Pr2
Ásbjǫrn	Hróðbjǫrn	Öl 56	Pr3
Ásbjǫrn	Þorbjǫrn	Öl 56	Pr3
Hróðbjǫrn	Þorbjǫrn	Öl 56	Pr3
Bjǫrn	Vébjǫrn	Sö 226	Fp
Vébjǫrn	Ketilbjǫrn	Sö 226	Fp
Bjǫrn	Ketilbjǫrn	Sö 226	Fp
Ketilbjǫrn	Þorbjǫrn	Sö 229	Fp
Auðbjǫrn	Sigbjǫrn	Sö 344	Pr3
Auðbjǫrn	Guðbjǫrn	Sö 344	Pr3

Sigbjǫrn	Guðbjǫrn	Sö 344	Pr3
Holmbjǫrn	Þorbjǫrn	U 1031	?
Þorbjǫrn	Styrbjǫrn	U 1034	Pr5
Þorbjǫrn	Fastbjǫrn	U 1159	Pr4
Þorbjǫrn	Ásbjǫrn	U 394	?
Herbjǫrn	Nesbjǫrn	U 444	Fp
Jǫfurbjǫrn	Geirbjǫrn	U 490	RAK
Geirbjǫrn	Jǫfurbjǫrn	U 490	RAK
Ásbjǫrn	Auðbjǫrn	U 492	Pr4
Ígulbjǫrn	Vébjǫrn	U 51	Pr3
Ígulbjǫrn	Hugbjǫrn	U 51	Pr3
Vébjǫrn	Hugbjǫrn	U 51	Pr3
Gunnbjǫrn	Ásbjǫrn	U 586	RAK
Þorbjǫrn	Gunnbjǫrn	U 61	RAK
Ábjǫrn	Sigbjǫrn/Sæbjǫrn	U 621	Pr2
Ígulbjǫrn	Nesbjǫrn	U 667	Pr2
Ásbjǫrn	Auðbjǫrn	U 688	?
Holmbjǫrn	Ábjǫrn	U 957	Pr4?
...-bjǫrn	Ketilbjǫrn	U Fv1976;107	Pr4
Bjarni	Nesbjǫrn(?)/Nefbjǫrn(?)	Sö Fv1948;298	Pr1
Sibbi	Tobbi/Tubbi	U 689	Pr2
Ubbi	Eibjǫrn	Sö 255	Pr3
Halfdan	Dan	Sö Fv1948;295	Fp
Vígdjarfr	Djarfr	Sö 112	Fp
Sigdjarfr	Sigdjarfr/Sædjarfr	U 903	Pr3?
Atfari	Víðfari	U 99	Pr4
Ragnfastr	Sigfastr	Sö 253	Pr3
Ketilfastr	Sigfastr	Sö 253	Pr3
Ketilfastr	Ragnfastr	Sö 253	Pr3
...-fastr	Ketilfastr	U 1081	Pr5?
Borgfastr(?)	Ketilfastr	U 1081	Pr5?
Borgfastr(?)	...-fastr	U 1081	Pr5?
Véfastr	Arnfastr	U 1161	Pr3
Fasti	Sigfastr	U 243	Pr3
Arnfastr(?)	Arfastr	U 635	Pr4
Guðfastr	Styrfastr	U 836	Pr4
Holmfastr	Styrfastr	U 836	Pr4
Holmfastr	Guðfastr	U 836	Pr4
Végautr	Þorgautr	Ög 197	RAK?
Ásgautr	Þorgautr	Sö 336	Pr2?
Ormgeirr	Jógeirr	Sö 234	?
Eygeirr	Freygeirr	U 723	Pr3
Harðgeirr	Mungeirr	U 843	?
Jógeirr	Fastgeirr	U 887	Pr4
Gísl	Þorgísl	U 836	Pr4

Þorgísl	Gísl	U 899	Pr4
Sighjalmr	Véhjalmr/Víghjalmr	Sö 298	Pr3
Illugi	Fullugi	U 629	Pr3
Jǫrundr	Ǫnundr	U 425	Pr3?
...-undr(?)	Ǫnundr(?)/Eyndr(?)	Sö 269	Pr1–Pr2
Eyndr	Ǫnundr	U 893	Pr3–Pr4
Sighvatr	Auðhvatr	Öl 41	Pr3
Vékell	Syrkell/Sørkell	U 22	Pr2–Pr3
Ulfketill	Arnkell	U 160, U 225	Pr1
Steinketill	Sigketill	Sö 70	?
Ketill	Brúnketill	U 371	RAK
Gulleifr	Hróðleifr	U 678	RAK
Ketilmundr	Erinmundr	U 103	Pr1
Hróðmundr	Guðmundr	U 692	Pr4
Ernmundr	Ingimundr	U 72	Pr3
Vígnjótr	Signjótr	U 599	Pr3–Pr4?
Arnnjótr	Signjótr	U 599	Pr3–Pr4?
Arnnjótr	Vígnjótr	U 599	Pr3–Pr4?
Sveinn/Steinn/Seinn	Þorsteinn	Sm 93	?
Sigsteinn	Holmsteinn	Sö 297	Pr2
Hásteinn	Bjórsteinn	Sö 347	Pr3
Eysteinn	Hásteinn	Sö 347	Pr3
Eysteinn	Holmsteinn	Sö 347	Pr3
Hásteinn	Holmsteinn	Sö 347	Pr3
Holmsteinn	Bjórsteinn	Sö 347	Pr3
Eysteinn	Bjórsteinn	Sö 347	Pr3
Þorsteinn	Eysteinn	Sö 54	Pr2
Hásteinn	Holmsteinn	Sö 56	RAK
Vésteinn	Freysteinn	Sö 82	Fp, Pr1?
Sigsteinn	Vésteinn	U 266	Pr4
Freysteinn	Þorsteinn	U 275	Pr4
Sigsteinn	Holmsteinn	U 410	Pr3
Eysteinn	Freysteinn	U 44	Pr4
Vésteinn	Þorsteinn	U 482	Pr1?
Tosti	Eysteinn	Sö 145	?
Ótryggr	Sigtryggr	U 592	?
Ulfr	Farulfr	Ög 166	RAK?
Helgulfr(?)/Hegulfr(?)	Eyjulfr	Sö 178	Pr4
Farulfr(?)/Þórulfr(?)	Ulfr	Sö 291	Pr2
Fastulfr	Herjulfr	Sö 88	?
Brynjulfr	Ulfr	U 252	Pr5
Brynjulfr	Gjafulfr	Vg 59	RAK
Líkviðr	Ríkviðr	U 984	Pr4?
Broddr	Oddr	Ög 133	RAK
Ásdjarfr	Ásfastr	U 976	Pr4

Arnfastr(?)	Arfastr	U 635	Pr4
Arnfastr(?)	Árni	U 635	Pr4
Arfastr	Árni	U 635	Pr4
Arnhvatr	Arnbjǫrn	U 740	Pr3
Ernfastr	Erngautr	U 503	Pr4?
Guðnjótr	Guðlafr	Hs 12	RAK
Guðfastr	Guðmundr	U 1043	Pr3–Pr4
Hróðmundr	Hróðgeirr	Sö 11	Pr2
Holmviðr	Holmfastr	U 530	Pr3?
Ingimarr	Ingimundr	Sö 10	Fp
Ingifastr	Ingibjǫrn	U 181	Pr5
Ingifastr	Ingvarr	U 287	Pr4
Ingivaldr	Ingimarr	U 311	Pr5
Ingvarr	Ingifastr	U 478	Pr1
Ingifastr	Ingimundr	U 495	Pr3
Ingulfr	Ingjaldr	U 974	Pr5
Styrlaugr	Styrbjǫrn	Sö 34	KB
Sveinn	Sveinaldr	Ög 100	?
Sigrøðr	Sibbi	Sö 273	Fp
Sveinaldi	Sveinungr	Sö 7	Fp, Pr2–Pr3
Sighvatr	Sigsteinn	U 180	Pr4?
Sigfúss	Sigmarr	U 232	Pr5
Sigreifr(?)	Sighvatr	U 237	Pr3–Pr4
Sibbi	Sighvatr	U 237	Pr3–Pr4
Sigreifr(?)	Sibbi	U 237	Pr3–Pr4
Signjótr	Sigviðr	U 333	Pr3
Sigviðr	Sigreifr	U 58	Pr4
Sigviðr	Sigfastr	U 623	Pr2
Sigurðr	Sig-...	U 854	Pr4
Sigbjǫrn/Sæbjǫrn	Sigdjarfr	U 903	Pr3?
Sigbjǫrn/Sæbjǫrn	Sigdjarfr/Sædjarfr	U 903	Pr3?
Sigdjarfr	Sigdjarfr/Sædjarfr	U 903	Pr3?
Sigmundr	Sigfastr	U Fv1948;168	Pr5
Sigfastr	Sigfúss	U Fv1992;156	Pr2
Þorbjǫrn	Þorkell	Ög 32	Fp
Þorsteinn	Þorlakr	Ög Fv1966;102	Fp
Þórir	Þorfastr	Öl 46	Pr2?
Þorsteinn	Þorfastr	Öl 46	Pr2?
Þórir	Þorsteinn	Öl 46	Pr2?
Þórðr	Þorbjǫrn	Sm 99	?
Þorbjǫrn	Þorketill	Sö 229	Fp
Þorbjǫrn	Þórir	Sö 232	KB
Þorgísl	Þorgautr	Sö 336	Pr2?
Þorsteinn	Þorbjǫrn	Sö 360	RAK
Þorsteinn	Þorkell	Sö 54	Pr2

Þorsteinn	Þorbjǫrn	Sö 61	Pr2
Þorbjǫrn	Þorsteinn	U 1034	Pr5
Þorsteinn	Þórir	U 104	Pr5
Þorsteinn	Þorgísl	U 144	Pr4
Þorbjǫrn	Þormundr	U 176	Pr3?
Þorbjǫrn	Þorgrímr	U 180	Pr4?
Þórir	Þorsteinn	U 275	Pr4
Þórir	Þorbjǫrn	U 429, U 430	Pr2?
Þorgísl	Þorsteinn	U 481	Pr4
Þorbjǫrn	Þorsteinn	U 628	Pr4?
Þorkell	Þorsteinn	U 653	Pr2–Pr3?
Þólfr(?)/Þœfr(?)	Þorfastr	U 838	Pr3
Þorgrímr	Þorsteinn	U Fv1992;157	Fp
Tosti	Tóki	Ög 70	RAK
Þórðr	Tóki	Sö 49	Fp
Vésteinn	Végrímr	U 482	Pr1?
Ketilbjǫrn	Þorketill	Sö 229	Fp
Ketilhǫfði	Sigketill	Sö 70	?
Ketilhǫfði	Steinketill	Sö 70	?
Gelfr (Geirulfr)	Ulfviðr	Sö 88	?
Mungeirr	Ketilmundr	U 843	?
Steinbjǫrn	Þorsteinn	U 917	Pr4
Holmsteinn	Steinbjǫrn	U 780	Pr4
Ígulfastr	Fastulfr	U 665	Pr2

Appendix 8f: Variation Between Sisters.

Sister	Sister	Inscription	Style
Heðindís	Erndís	U 770	Pr3
Jǫfurfast	...-fast	U 846	Pr3–Pr4?
Stynfríðr/Steinfríðr	Holmfríðr	U 1063	Pr4
Gyríðr	Ástríðr	U 329	Pr3
Ingríðr	Gyríðr	U 618	Pr5
Ragnhildr(?)	Ulfhildr	U 215	?
Gullaug	Guðlaug	Sö 263	Fp
Gyríðr	Guðlaug	U 328	Pr1

Appendix 8g: Variation Between Brothers and Sisters.

Brother	Sister	Inscription	Style
Ástríðr	Ásvaldi	Ög 224	Fp (RAK)
Holmi	Holmvé	Sö 331	Pr2–Pr3
Holmfastr	Holmfríðr	U 355	RAK?

Ingimarr	Ingigerðr	U 311	Pr5
Ingivaldr	Ingigerðr	U 311	Pr5
Þorbjǫrn	Ingiþóra	U 151	Pr3–Pr4

Appendix 8h: Variation Between Grandfathers and Grandsons.

Grandfather	Grandson	Inscription	Style
Ásgautr	Erngautr	U 503, U 504	Pr4?
Gunnleifr	Gulleifr	U 643, U 644	Pr4
Hreiðulfr	Unnulfr	Hs 6	Pr1

Appendix 8i: Variation Between Grandmothers and Grandsons.

Grandmother	Grandson	Inscription	Style
Ingríðr	Ingvarr	U 307, U 311	Pr4

Appendix 8j: Variation Between Uncles and Nephews.

Uncle	Nephew	Inscription	Style
Ketilbjǫrn	...-bjǫrn	U Fv1976;107	Pr4
Gunndjarfr	Védjarfr	U 510, U 511	Pr4
Fullugi	Illugi	U 273	Pr4?
Áviðr	Sigviðr	U 945, U 958	Pr3
Sibbi	Signjótr	Sö 273	Fp
Þorbjǫrn	Þórir	Vg 156	RAK
Tosti	Tóki	Ög 209	Pr2–Pr3?
Vénjótr	Védjarfr	U 510, U 511	Pr4

Appendix 9a: Repetition Between Fathers and Sons.

Father	Son	Inscription	Style
Bjarnhǫfði	Bjarnhǫfði	U 1045	Pr4–Pr5
Geirmundr	Geirmundr	Sö 67	Pr2?
Ingvarr	Ingvarr	U 309	Pr4
Eysteinn	Eysteinn	U 135	Pr2

Appendix 9b: Repetition Between Mothers and Daughters.

Mother	Daughter	Inscription	Style
Þorgerðr*	Þorgerðr	U 968	Pr4?

Appendix 9c: Repetition Between Brothers.

Brother	Brother	Inscription	Style
Geirbjǫrn	Geirbjǫrn	U 490	RAK

Appendix 9d: Repetition Between Grandfathers and Grandsons.

Grandfather	Grandson	Inscription	Style
Auðketill	Auðkell	Vg 102, Vg 103	RAK?
Fjǫlvarr	Fjǫlvarr	Hs 6	Pr1
Hæra	Hæra	Sm 71	RAK
Ingifastr	Ingifastr	U 142, U 143	Pr4
Kári	Kári	Sö 298, Sö Fv1971;208	?
Þegn	Þegn	U 990, U 999	Fp
Þorbjǫrn	Tobbi/Tubbi	U 229	Pr4

Appendix 9e: Repetition Between Uncles and Nephews.

Uncle	Nephew	Inscription	Style
Kárr	Kárr	U 643, U 644	Pr4
Sveinn	Sveinn	U 135, U 136, U 310, U 150	Fp?
Ragnvaldr	Ragnvaldr	U 309, U 310	Pr4
Jarlabanki	Jarlabanki	U 135, U 136, U 143, U 309, U 310	Pr4

Appendix 10: Composite Genealogical Trees from Multiple Inscriptions.

Single Inscription Family Trees: Uppland (2)

U 101 ???
- Hemingr
- Jarlabanki
  - Ástríðr
    - Ingifastr
    - Ingvarr

U 112 Ónæmr
- Fastvé
  - Ragnvaldr

U 127 Jarlabanki

U 135 Eysteinn
- Ingifastr
- Eysteinn
- Sveinn

U 136 Eysteinn = Ástríðr

U 137 Eysteinn = Ástríðr
- Kagr(?)/Gagr(?)

U 142 Jórunnr
- Jarlabanki = Ketiley
  - Ingifastr

U 216 Eysteinn
- Jóhan

U 148 Ingifastr = Ragnfríðr
- Hemingr

U 150 Jarlabanki = Fastvé
- Sveinn

U 143 Ingifastr = Jórunnr
- Hemingr
- Jarlabanki
  - Ingvarr = Ástríðr

U 309 Ingvarr
- Sigviðr
- Ingvarr
- Jarlabanki
- Ragnvaldr

U 310 Ástríðr = Ingvarr
- Ragnvaldr

Composite Family Tree: Uppland (2), Jarlabanki's Family

Eysteinn 1 = Ástríðr = Ingvarr 1
- Kagr(?)/Gagr(?)
- Eysteinn 2
- Sveinn
- Ingvarr 2
- Sigviðr
- Ragnvaldr
- Jarlabanki 2 = Fastvé (= Ónæmr)
  - Sveinn 2
  - Ragnvaldr 2
- Ragnfríðr = Ingifastr 1 = Jórunnr
  - Hemingr
  - Jarlabanki 1 = Ketiley
    - Ingifastr 2

Single Inscription Family Trees: Uppland (3)

U 144 — Bjǫrn—Holmfríðr
Gamall Þorsteinn Þorgísl Sighvatr

U 163 — Þórir
Gamall Sveinn Farulfr

Farulfr U 312
Gunnarr—Holmdís
Jǫfurfast

Farulfr U 315 †
Gunnarr—Holmdís
Þórðr

U 155
Qrn—Ragnfríðr
Sveinn Ulfr ??? ???

U 153
Sveinn Ulfr Halfdan Gunnarr

U 167
Qzurr Gunni Guðlaug

U 170
Gunni—Ása
Agni(?)

U 171
Gunni
Eyndr

U 210
Holmgautr—Heðinvé
Finnviðr Holmgeirr

Þorbjǫrn U 229
Oddi
Halfdan Tobbi/Tubbi

U 231 Halfdan
Heðinvé Eysteinn Ulfr Ólafr

U 232
Tobbi/Tubbi
Tosti Sigfúss Sigmarr

U 237 Ulfr
Gerðarr Fullugi Sigreifr(?) Sibbi Sighvatr Sveinn

U 238
Ulfr—Ástríðr
Sveinn

U 240
Halfdan—Holmfríðr
Danr Húskarl Sveinn

Ulfríkr
U 241 ???
Danr Húskarl Sveinn

U 266
Ingvarr(?)
Sigsteinn Vésteinn

U Fv1959;188
Sigsteinn—Erinvé
Eileifr

U 273
Djarfr Qzurr Fullugi
Illugi

U 276 Geirbjǫrn
Djarfr Andsvarr Fullugi

U 277
Ketilgerðr—Qzurr
Ulfr Bjǫrn

U 280 Gunni
Vébjǫrn—???

U 281 Sibbi
Vébjǫrn Húskarl

U 293 Ketill
Forkunnr Þórir

U 294
Forkunnr—Guðlaug
Ketilelfr ?

U 295
Végeirr(?)
Bersa/Birsa
Fullugi Fastlaug

U 304
Manni/Máni
Fullugi Haukr/Húkr

Composite Family Trees: Uppland (3)

Bjǫrn—Holmfríðr Þórir
Þorsteinn Þorgísl Sighvatr Gamall Sveinn Farulfr
U 144 U 163 U 312 U 315 †
Gunnarr—Holmdís
Þórðr Jǫfurfast

U 153 U 155
Qrn—Ragnfríðr
Sveinn Ulfr Halfdan Gunnarr

U 167 U 170 U 171
Gunni—Ása Guðlaug
Eyndr Agni(?)

Þorbjǫrn
U 210 U 229 Oddi
U 231 U 232
Halfdan Tobbi/Tubbi
Holmgautr—Heðinvé Eysteinn Ulfr Ólafr Tosti Sigfúss Sigmarr
Finnviðr Holmgeirr

U 237 U 238 Ulfr—Ástríðr
Gerðarr Fullugi Sigreifr(?) Sibbi Sighvatr Sveinn

Ulfríkr U 240 U 241
Halfdan—Holmfríðr
Danr Húskarl Sveinn

U 266
Ingvarr(?)
U Fv1959;188
Vésteinn Sigsteinn—Erinvé
Eileifr

U 280
U 281 Sibbi Gunni
Húskarl Vébjǫrn—???

U 273 U 276 U 277 Geirbjǫrn
Ketilgerðr—Qzurr Djarfr Andsvarr Fullugi
Illugi

Ketill U 293 U 294
Þórir Forkunnr—Guðlaug
Ketilelfr ?

U 295 U 304
Manni/Máni
Fullugi Haukr/Húkr Fastlaug

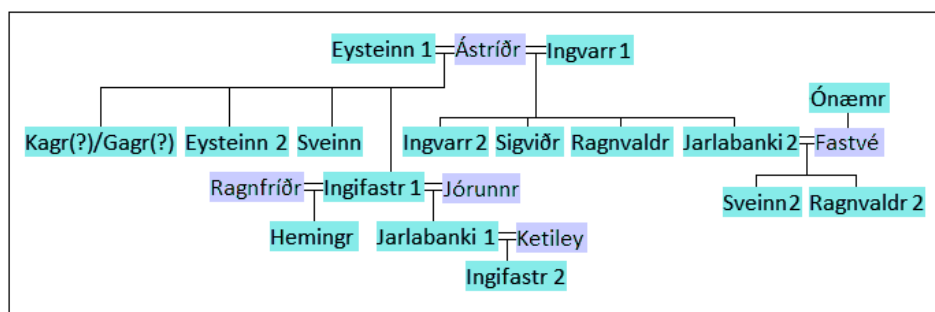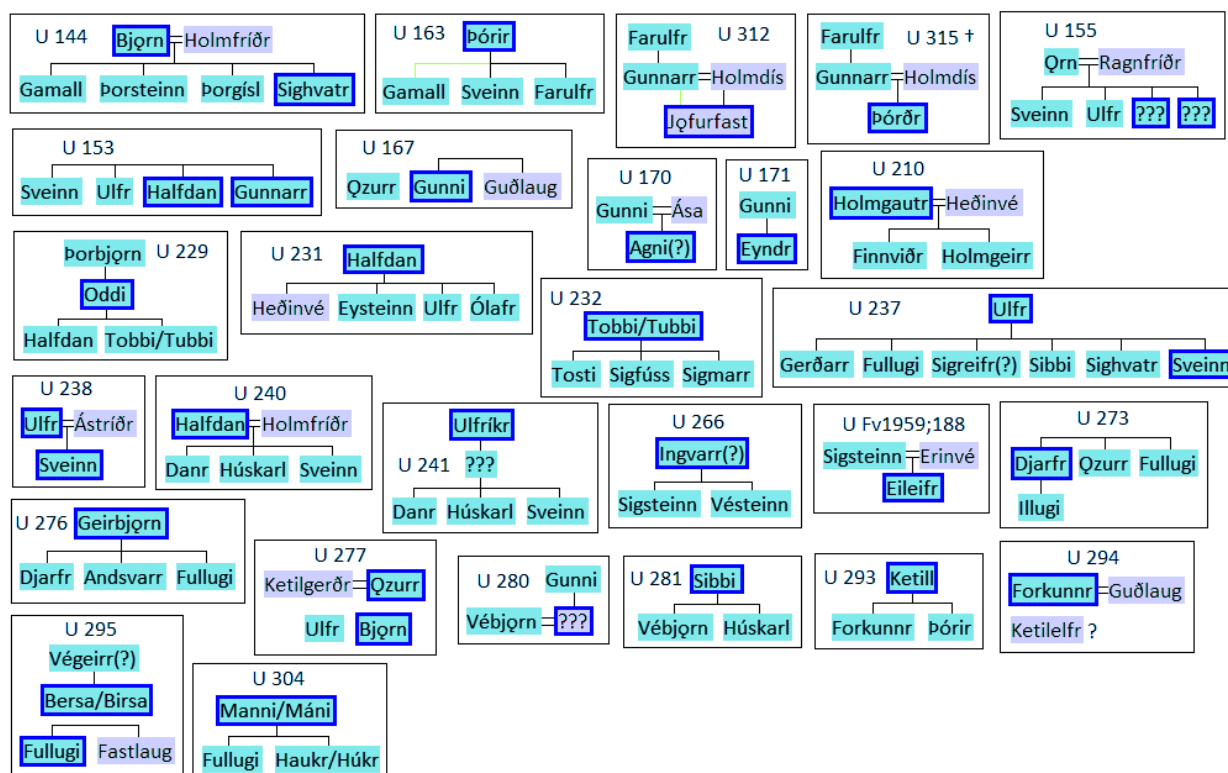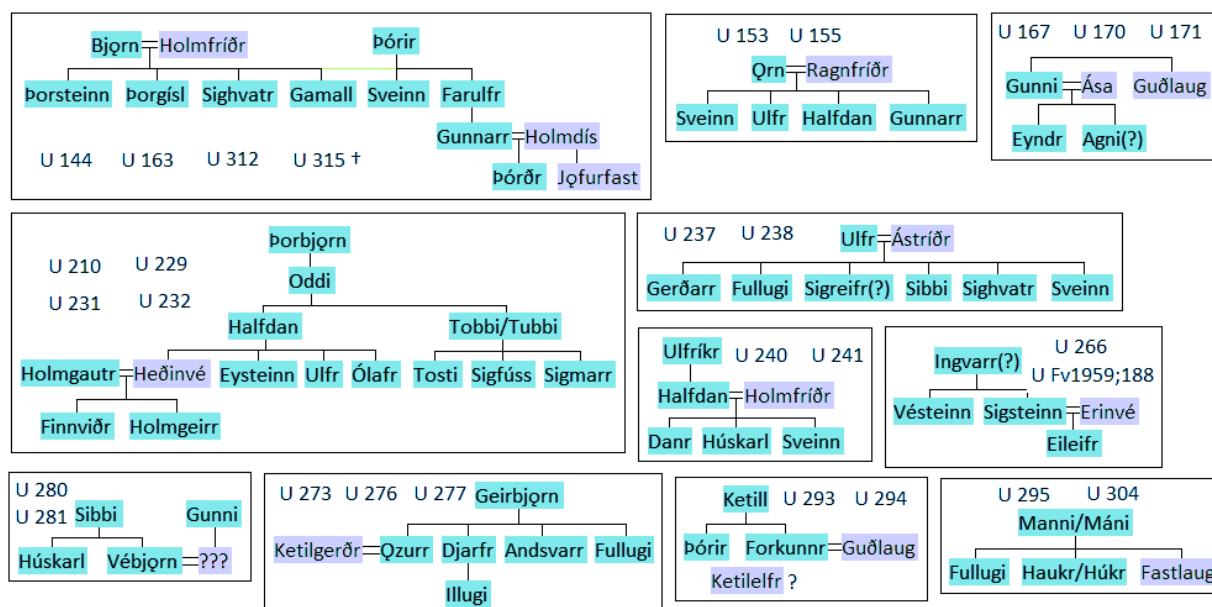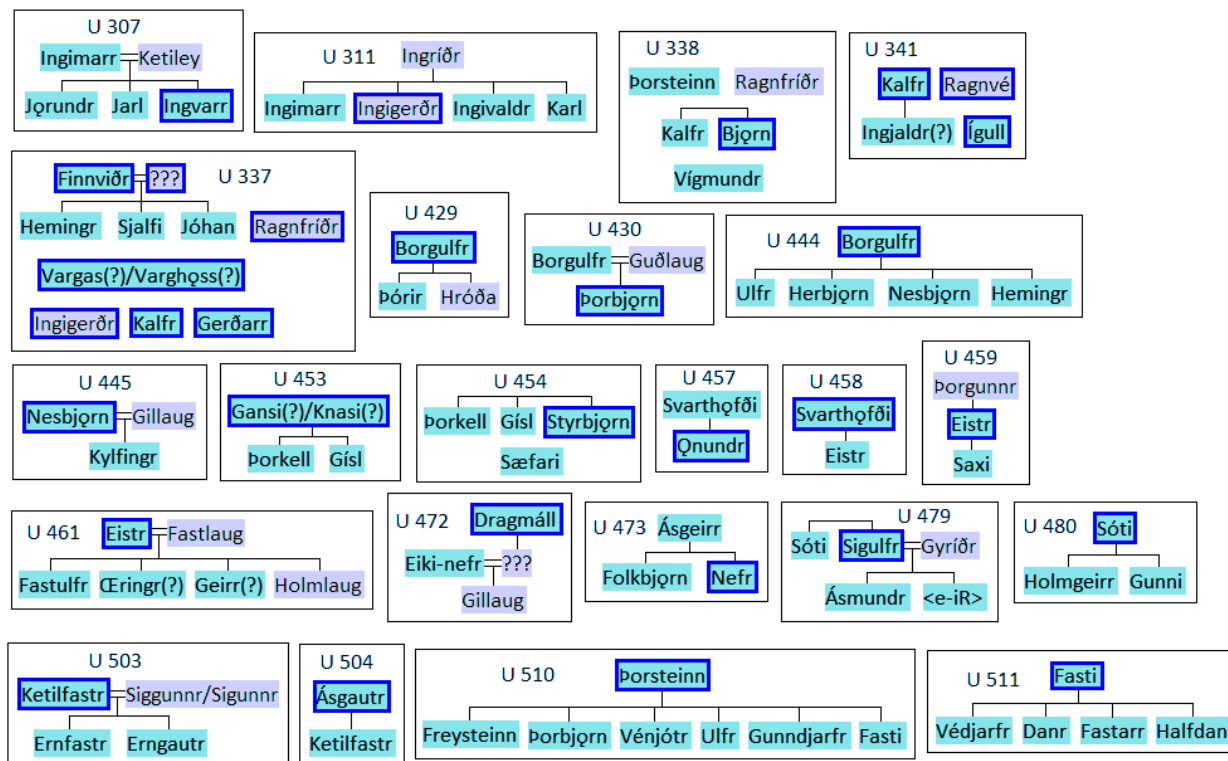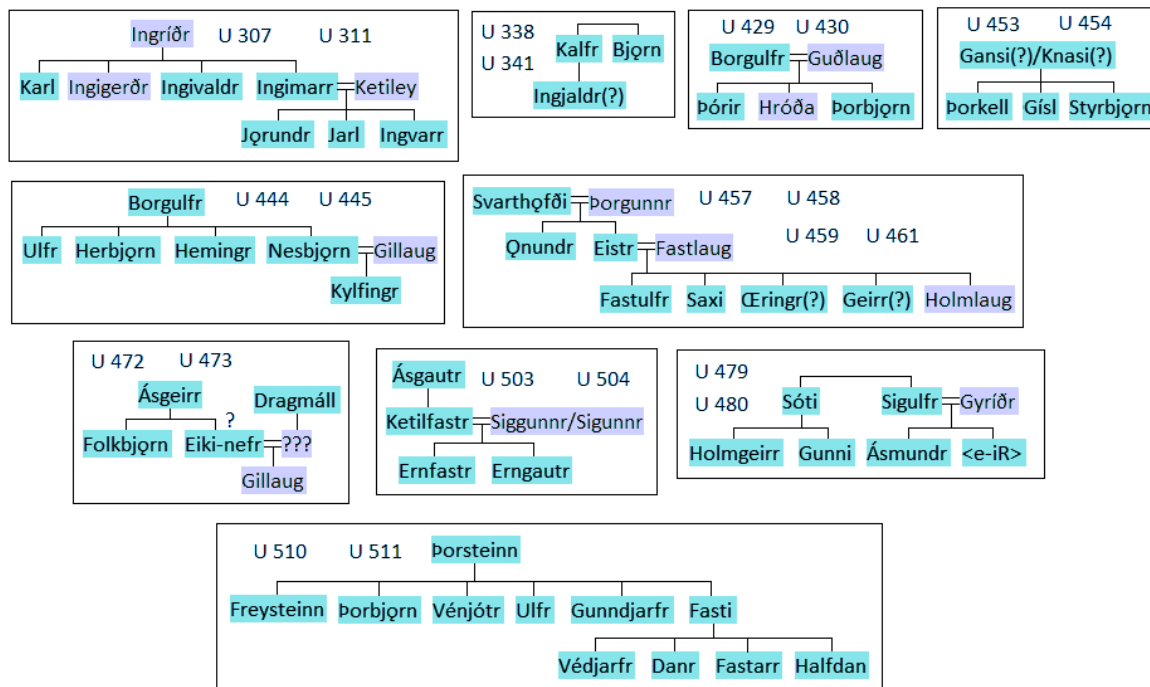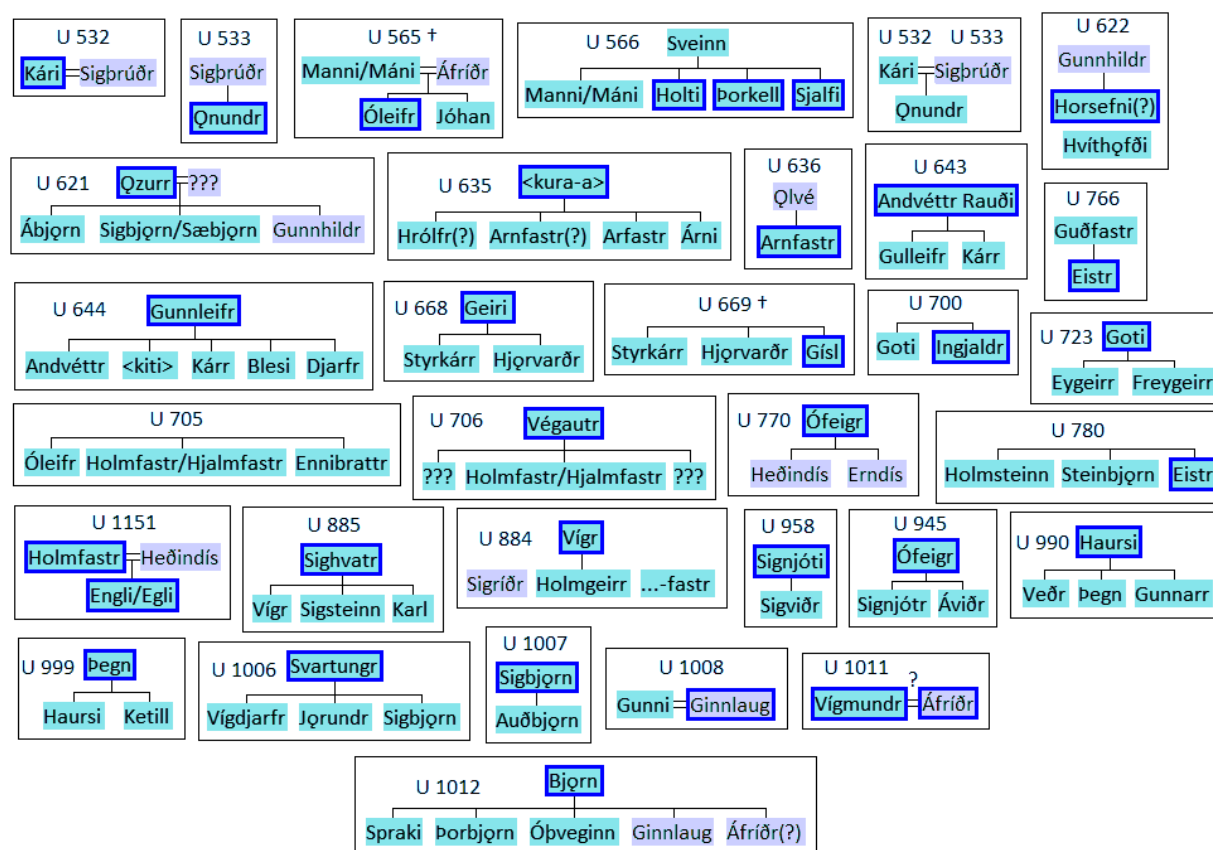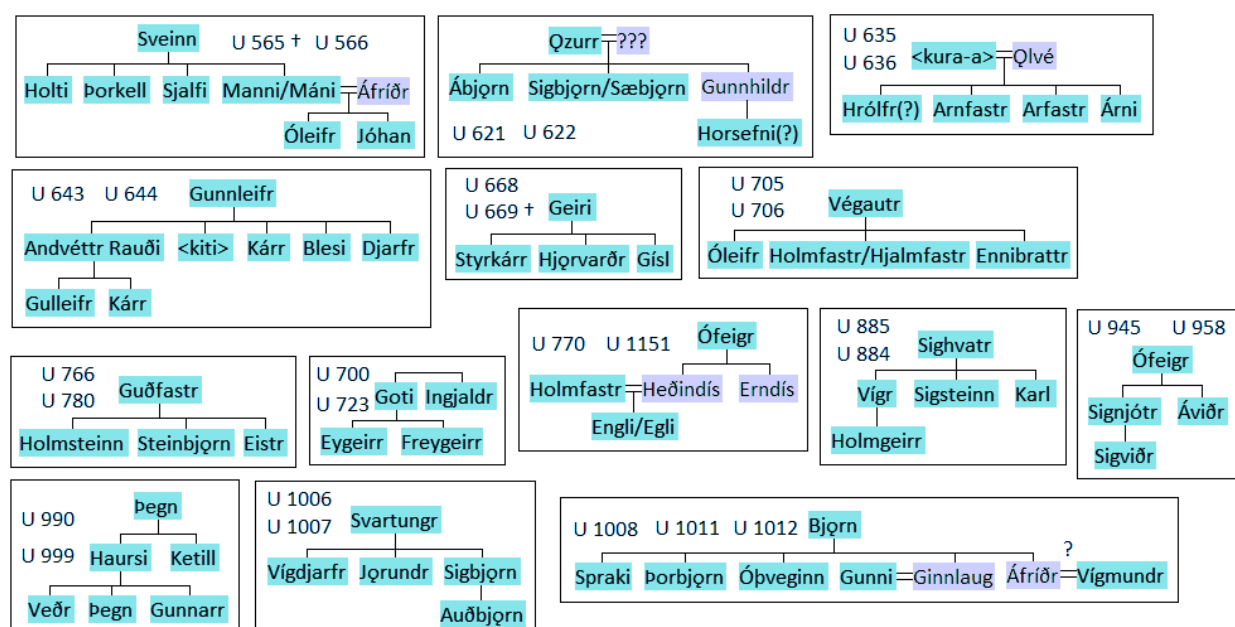## Single Inscription Family Trees: Uppland (4)
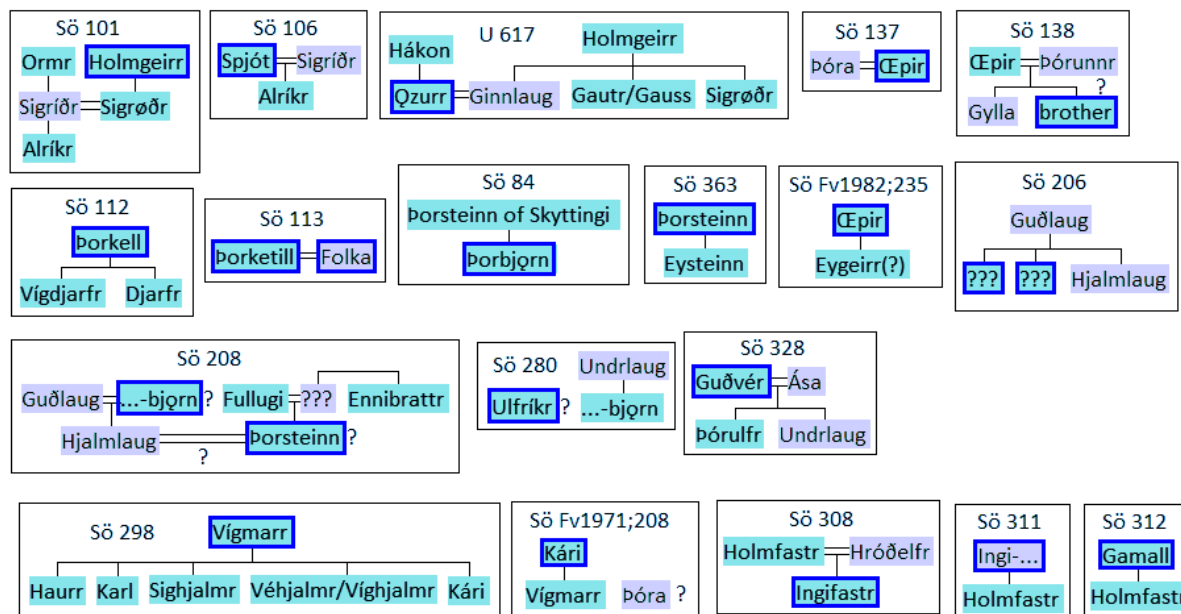

Composite Family Trees: Uppland (4)

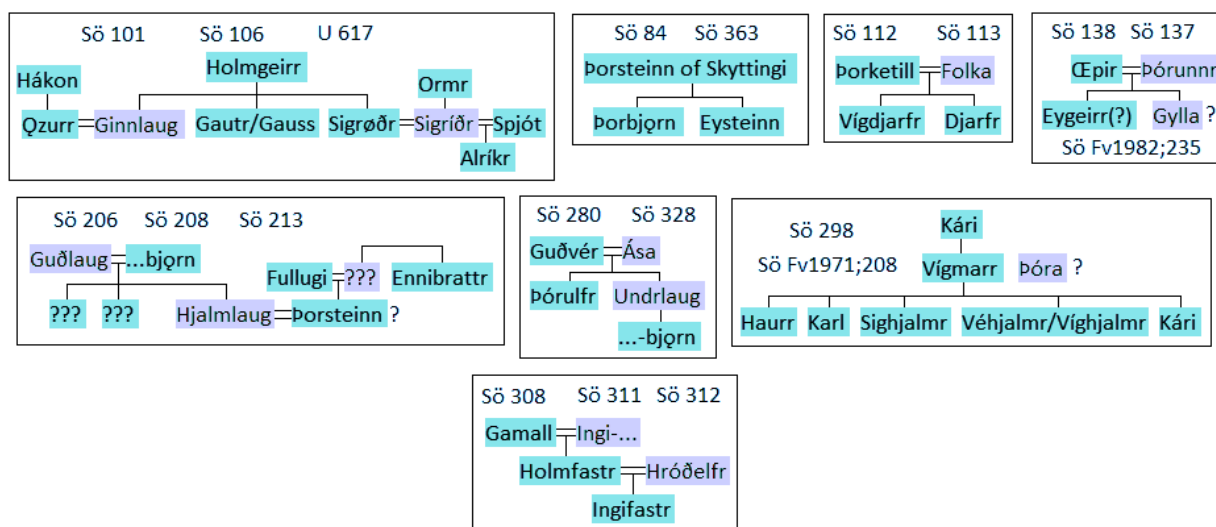Single Inscription Family Trees: Uppland (5)

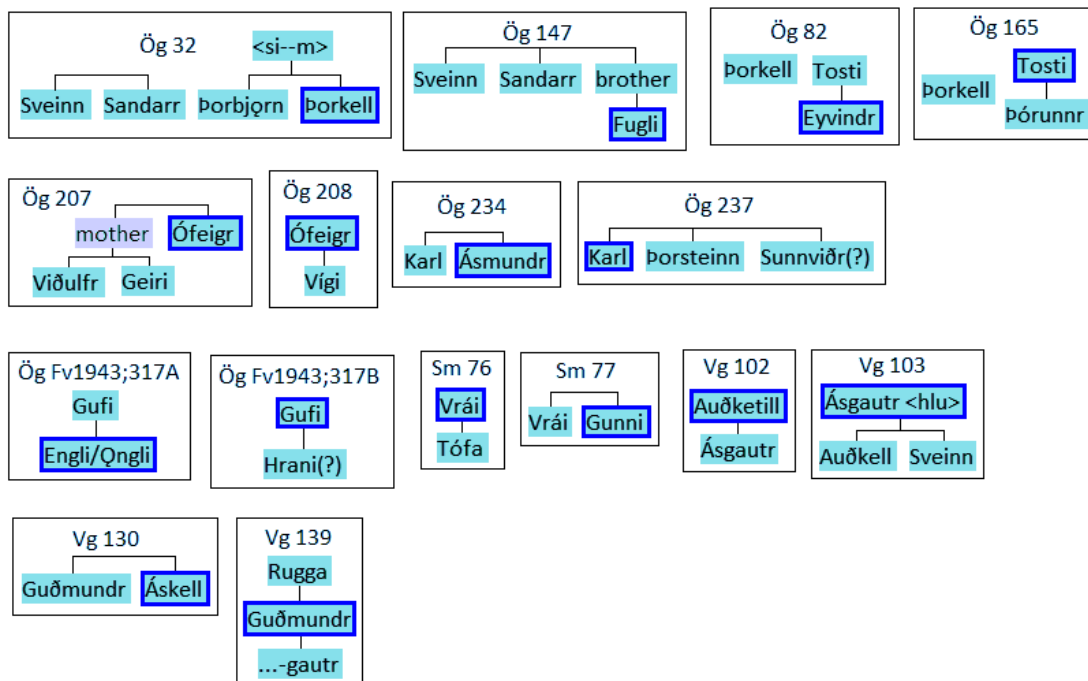Composite Family Trees: Uppland (5)

Single Inscription Family Trees: Södermanland

Composite Family Trees: Södermanland

Single Inscription Family Trees: Östergötland, Småland, Västergötland

Ög 32 / **<si--m>**
- Sveinn
- Sandarr
- Þorbjǫrn
- Þorkell

Ög 147
- Sveinn
- Sandarr
- brother
  - Fugli

Ög 82
- Þorkell
- Tosti
  - Eyvindr

Ög 165
- Tosti
  - Þorkell
  - Þórunnr

Ög 207
- mother / Ófeigr
  - Viðulfr
  - Geiri

Ög 208
- Ófeigr
  - Vígi

Ög 234
- Karl
- Ásmundr

Ög 237
- Karl
- Þorsteinn
- Sunnviðr(?)

Ög Fv1943;317A
- Gufi
  - Engli/Ǫngli

Ög Fv1943;317B
- Gufi
  - Hrani(?)

Sm 76
- Vrái
  - Tófa

Sm 77
- Vrái
- Gunni

Vg 102
- Auðketill
  - Ásgautr

Vg 103
- Ásgautr <hlu>
  - Auðkell
  - Sveinn

Vg 130
- Guðmundr
- Áskell

Vg 139
- Rugga
  - Guðmundr
    - ...-gautr

Composite Family Trees: Östergötland, Småland, Västergötland

Ög 32 **Ög 147** / **<si--m>**
- Sveinn
- Sandarr
- brother
  - Fugli
- Þorbjǫrn
- Þorkell

Ög 82 **Ög 165**
- Tosti
  - Þórunnr
  - Eyvindr

Ög 207 **Ög 208**
- mother / Ófeigr
  - Viðulfr
  - Geiri
  - Vígi

Ög 234 **Ög 237**
- Karl
- Þorsteinn
- Sunnviðr(?)
- Ásmundr

Ög Fv1943;317A
Ög Fv1943;317B
- Gufi
  - Engli/Ǫngli
  - Hrani(?)

Sm 76 **Sm 77**
- Vrái
- Gunni
  - Tófa

Vg 102 **Vg 103**
- Auðketill
  - Ásgautr <hlu>
    - Auðkell
    - Sveinn

Vg 130 **Vg 139**
- Rugga
  - Guðmundr
    - ...-gautr
  - Áskell