Sámi Drums and Rune Magic

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SÁMI DRUMS
AND
RUNE MAGIC

TWO CHAPTERS FROM
THE HISTORY OF MAGIC

BY

SIGURD AGRELL

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FOREWORD

The work hereby presented to the public is a continuation of my book Senantik mysteriereligion och nordisk runmagi (Late Antique Mystery Religion and Nordic Rune Magic), published three years ago. Like the previous work, the new book has been written with a popular scientific purpose in mind. As the first of the essays included here provides a comprehensive overview of my research into runes, the new book can also be read by those who are completely unfamiliar with the first. However, the two works complement each other.

Since 1931, through studies of books and manuscripts at home and abroad (France, England, Germany, and Italy), my evidence regarding the magical origins of the runic alphabet has greatly increased. I have reported on some of these discoveries in a work published in German in 1932: Die spätantike Alphabetmystik und die Runenreihe (Late Antique Alphabet Mysticism and the Runic Alphabet). However, this new Swedish presentation—the first essay in this work—also contains a great deal of new information for experts. The second essay in this book is devoted to a problem that has so far been outside my field of research: the Lappish art of divination and its model. Although I have embarked on something completely new, I believe that my ideas will attract attention even outside the circle of experts. There is a lively interest in Scandinavia in everything concerning the Lapps and their lives. My research also shows that much of the ancient North Germanic beliefs and customs have been preserved among the Lapps.

Both essays have been written without the use of a heavy scholarly apparatus. However, the attached bibliography enables those interested to familiarize themselves with all my sources. For reasons of space, these references have been limited to what is strictly necessary. However, anything that has been omitted can be found

without too much difficulty in the bibliographies of the specialist works I have mentioned. I have found it most advisable to reproduce quotations from Danish and Norwegian sources from earlier times in modern Swedish translations. The curious spelling in these texts is too difficult for those unfamiliar with the writing style of the period.

Thanks to the interest of the Gleerups publishing house, the cooperation of the Royal Society of Humanities in Lund, the Science Society in Lund, and the publisher of "En isländsk svartkonstbok från 1500-talet" (An Icelandic Book of Black Magic from the 1500s), Docent Nat. Lindqvist, this work has been able to be equipped with a wealth of illustrative material. I am greatly indebted to my friend, the runologist, docent, Dr. Ivar Lindquist, for his valuable advice during the proofreading process.

Lund, April 27, 1934.

Sigurd Agrell.

RUNE MAGIC

I

Since 1927, I have addressed one of the most interesting problems in runic research in a series of publications, including a major popular science work entitled "Senantik mysteriereligion och nordisk runmagi" (Late Antique Mystery Religion and Nordic Runic Magic). This problem concerns the reason for the peculiar arrangement of the so-called older runic alphabet and the original meaning of the names of the characters. Since publishing the aforementioned work in 1931, continued research has taken me several steps further. In a new publication intended for a wider audience, I now take up the question again, while presenting the results of studies of Lappish divination and magic, seen in their connection with Old Norse models. A proper understanding of my attempts to interpret phenomena within Lappish sorcery is not possible without an introductory overview of runic magic and its connections with late antique alphabet mysticism.

The oldest known runic monument is the Kylver Stone on Gotland, whose carving is generally considered to have been made in the early 400s AD. Somewhat younger—about 75 or 100 years—are the runic inscriptions on the Vadstena bracteate and its close variant, the Grumpan bracteate, the latter being partially damaged.

What is remarkable is that these three old runic inscriptions do not fully agree in terms of the order of the characters. The runic inscription on the Kylver stone (see fig. 1) has the *p*-rune # standing before the character #, a rune whose original sound value is uncertain, and the *d*-rune # before the *o*-rune #. On the Vadstena and Grumpan bracteates, the relationship is reversed in both cases. The rune # is concealed by a pearl on the former. However, it can be traced by observing the back of the pendant, where the vertical lines of the sign have left two discernible impressions. On the Grumpan

bracteate, the *d*-rune # is fully visible and stands last (immediately after the *o*-rune #, which is somewhat unclear at the top). See fig. 2 and fig. 3. Other runic inscriptions from earlier times correspond without exception to the runic inscriptions on the Swedish bracteates in terms of the sequence of characters ##. However, there is no older parallel to the sequence of characters ##, due to the fact that the runic inscriptions on the Charnay brooch (see fig. 4) and on the newly discovered Breza pillar (see fig. 5) are missing the very last characters. On a short sword (scramasax) found in the River Thames, the runic inscription is extended with certain new, purely Anglo-Saxon characters. However, some archaeologists have wanted to attribute this object to a fairly late period. This runic monument cannot, however, be used to decide the question of the relative position of the *o*- and *d*-runes. The fact is that several runic characters in the original third section of the alphabet have been moved around: the o-rune is certainly last in this group, but it is preceded not by the d-rune but by the m-rune, and the d-rune has been placed before the l-rune (see fig. 6). We do not know whether the d rune has been moved from the last or second-last place in the group. What we have to go on is a number of runic inscriptions found in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. In one of these, however, the o rune appears before the d rune, just as on the Swedish bracteates (see fig. 7). The fact that the opposite is true in the other cases can easily be explained as the influence of a group of newly added characters: these begin with a series of vowel characters, and it is likely that the o-rune was placed after the d-rune in order to obtain a continuous sequence of vowel characters: æ (from the older o), a, æ, y, ea, io. This was a very natural measure at a time when runic magic no longer played any role, at least not for the Anglo-Saxon monks who wrote these inscriptions.

In my opinion, we must regard the two bracteate inscriptions as representing the most reliably preserved tradition. They date from pagan times and cannot easily—like the clearly hastily executed Kylver inscription—have been created in a moment of haste. These

pendants, amulets with magical inscriptions, undoubtedly had older models associated with the most ancient runic tradition. If the preserved runic bracteates were also made around 300 years after the emergence of runic writing, they can hardly have been created freely, but must have been made with an older model in mind, another amulet whose symbols could be studied at leisure when making a new stamp.

As is well known, the Nordic bracteates are ultimately imitations of late antique coins and other objects of the same type, such as round medal-like amulets. The Vadstena and Grumpan bracteates both show an image belonging to a late antique world of ideas: a horned animal with a man's head protruding behind it (see figs. 8 and 9). I see in this a reflection of a late antique representation of the god Mithra alongside the sacrificial bull. It should be beyond doubt that Germanic warriors in Roman service—and ultimately our Nordic bracteates—encountered comrades-in-arms who worshipped the Mithraic religion, which originated in Persia, during the late imperial period. This religion had many active followers among Roman soldiers from the first century AD until the final victory of Christianity shortly before the beginning of the 5th century. There is nothing unreasonable in the fact that some pendants, made in the 300s, were brought to the north and copied there a century or two later. In addition, it is by no means certain that all expressions

The two Swedish runic bracteates show, as mentioned, an image that can be interpreted as referring to the central myth of the Mithraic religion: Mithra killing the sacred primeval bull. According to preserved tradition, still partly alive in the sacred writings of Parthism, among others, a sickle appeared from the body of the animal. The Roman worshippers of Mithras depicted the metamorphosis in such a way that the animal's tail split into a bunch of sickles at the moment of death (numerous reliefs show this detail). The animal image on the bracteates corresponds to the split tail of the Roman bull depictions in that it shows a horned creature with a

forked tail. There has been some debate as to whether the animal is supposed to represent a horse or a bull, or perhaps even a goat. In my opinion, the image can be explained quite simply by the fact that it goes back to a late antique depiction of a horned animal, a bull, whose tail was split because it consisted of sickles (see fig. 10). The Vadstena Bracteate has another striking similarity with a detail in the Mithraic cult image: a bird is seen hovering in front of the four-legged animal's head. Mithras received a message from the sun god via a bird, a raven, instructing him to stab the captured bull. This is why this bird is depicted on many Roman reliefs (left in fig. 10). On the Grumpan bracteate, which is executed in a coarser style (see fig. 9), only the bull and the man's head have been included. Here, the inscription is also somewhat shorter. It consists only of the three groups of the older runic row, of which the middle one has lost the last two runes due to a break. In addition to the three runic row groups, the inscription on the Vadstena bracteate has a group of eight runes, *tuwatuwa,* undoubtedly a purely magical word. It was previously read as *luwatuwa,* but a closer examination of the back of the bracteate has shown that the first letter must be a *t* rune # not an *l* rune #. Spells of this type — repetition of the same sound sequence twice — are known from late antique letter mysticism and are also found on other brakteate amulets, e.g. *salusalu.* A calculation of the numerical value of the word *tuwatuwa* in connection with my rune theory shows that the magic number hidden in it is 54 (16 + 1 + 7 + 3 + 16 + 1 + 7 + 3). The same numerical value (1+2+17+1 + 14+1+18) is found in late antique mysticism in the name of the god or demon *Abraxas*, according to the esoteric system of calculation (α = 1, ω = 24). In late antique speculation, Mithra has been linked to the mystical universal god Abraxas of Gnosticism (more on this in the discussion of the 16th rune). Abraxas was associated with the year and the circumference of the heavens. His magical symbol was the circle. When late antique speculation in the alphabet saw a counterpart to the universe or the circumference of the heavens (the

12 houses of the zodiac corresponded to 24 letters), Abraxas was considered by many to be the supreme god of alphabet mysticism. In the following, we shall see him associated with the 24th letter of the Greek alphabet, which with its number also indicated the total number of letters. This agrees well with the fact that the alphabetical mystical inscription on the Vadstena Bracket is arranged in a circle. According to my calculations, the numerical value of all the characters is 360. This is the ancient Babylonian number for the circumference of the heavens (we still divide it into 360 degrees according to the Babylonian model); it was also the number for the older year (which was extended by five leap days). In addition, the name *Mithras,* written in Greek letters and calculated according to the so-called Milesian system of calculation used in everyday life, gives the number 360. In order to make this name give the same numerical value as Abraxas according to the latter system of calculation, *Meithras* was also written with *ei* instead of *i.* According to the Milesian system of calculation, the letters in both names then gave the same sum: 365, the number of the year with its five leap days.

Our most important runic monument, the Vadstena Brakteate, thus points to Mithraic Gnosticism through both its imagery and its inscription. The peculiar sequence of characters in the runic inscription can also be explained in connection with what is known about Mithraic and closely related Persian number mysticism.

However, in the arrangement of the runes in a futhark (a series beginning with the characters f, u, th, a, etc.), a cryptographic device has been used: the last character has been placed before the others. This makes it impossible for the uninitiated to know the true order of the runes. On both bracteates, the 24 runic characters appear in the following order (however, the characters # # are erased on the Grumpan bracteate, and on the Vadstena bracteate, the *p*-rune looks like a slight variation of the *b*-rune):

1. # 2. # 3. # 4. # 5. # 6. # 7. # 8. # *u þ(th) a r k g w h* 9. n 10. 1 11. j 12. I (si) 13. p 14. t R 15. s 16. T t 17. b 18. M e 19. n m 20. r 21. n O (ng) 22. SI o 23. M d 24. r

At first glance, this rearrangement of the runic symbols may seem like an overly bold move. However, it has no precedent in magic and, more importantly, in runic technology. Our standard deck of cards (to mention a related example) has had and still has connections to magic and divination. Here, however, the "ace," which outwardly is a picture of the number 1, is usually counted as the highest of the 13 cards in a series: the card called "two" is actually the lowest in normal play. The same applies to the runes V and p| according to my interpretation of the runic alphabet: V denotes the highest and p| the lowest. In the Nordic cipher script, which was used for cryptographic purposes by the runemasters of pagan times, we see the same principle applied: the last "rune" (rune group) was designated as the first and the first as the last. An even closer counterpart can be found in a cipher system used on the Rökstenen, among other places. Here, the runes have been carved in such a way that the sign that immediately preceded the intended sign in the futhark sequence has been carved in its place. The letter sequence airfb stands for sakum, etc. This is certainly a question of the younger runic alphabet consisting of 16 characters, but the principle is the same (a from the older j stood in this runic alphabet before 5, the three separating characters have been omitted or moved, b stood before m). We also know that this is a very old cryptographic device, undoubtedly borrowed from the letter system of late antiquity. It has been reported, for example, that Emperor Augustus used a cipher based on this very method.

From statements in Old Norse literature, e.g. Egils saga, it appears that the use of runes for magical purposes was a difficult, if not impossible, task for the uninitiated. A farmhand from Värmland carved runes in order to awaken love in a girl, but this made her terminally ill. Egil mentions that the runes carved by an ignorant

person were ten in number and that the combination of runes brought misfortune to the girl. If the actual order of the runes was a secret, the failure is quite understandable. If we seek the magical cause of the fateful effect of the number 10, we find it if we consider that the tenth sign in the runic alphabet (see the list on p. 15) is the ice rune: this has been Hel's rune, and it and its number have been believed to have the power to "make cold," i.e. bringing illness and death (cf. p. 43). In the following, a series of examples will be given which show that the number 10 in the North was used especially in harmful magic.

II

From these general indications about runic magic, we now turn to an investigation of the meaning of each individual sign. We shall find that if we count the // rune (the sign H) as the first and then follow the order of the Swedish runic inscriptions letter by letter, a correspondence can be established at every point in the series between the numbers of the runic signs (1–24) and the number mysticism known from other sources. In most cases, connections with late antique letter magic can be clearly demonstrated, and further connections can be made to a number of references in Old Norse literature and to many reports of partly surviving folk traditions concerning numbers with magical significance.

1. The first rune, H, the sign for the sound u, most certainly originally bore a name meaning 'bull, ox' (Anglo-Saxon ur). In Mithraism, the bull was regarded as a symbol of organic life and its beginning. I have already mentioned the myth of Mithras' bull sacrifice. However, the bull that was sacrificed was not an ordinary bull, but a heavenly bull that Mithra brought to his cave from the "moon country." In Babylonia, the Persian Mithra religion was interwoven with the ancient star worship of that region. The Mithraists must also have been strongly influenced by the Semitic alphabet, as recent research has revealed that the language used by them during the Babylonian stage of development was Aramaic, the main language of the Near East at the time of the great conquests of the Persian Empire. The Semitic alphabets begin with a letter that since ancient times has been called 'ox, cattle' (Hebrew 'aleph', etc.). The first letter of the Greek alphabet, called alpha, derives from this sign. In earlier times, its resemblance to an ox head was even more striking: ^. There is also evidence that the Greeks were still aware in late antiquity that this sign referred to an ox head. In a Coptic text on the mysticism of the Greek alphabet, this letter is said to be

connected with “the first heaven.” I have already mentioned that the primeval bull in the Mithraic religion was of a heavenly nature. In the Persian religion, the bull was held sacred: his soul was believed to be ‘in heaven’ and under the protection of Zarathustra. A certain influence from Egyptian religion may also have been at work: the Egyptians imagined heaven in the form of a cow (see fig. 11). The fact that the Semitic proto-alphabet begins with a sign meaning 'ox, cattle' may, incidentally, have its roots in the Egyptian belief in the sanctity of cows and bulls. The oldest Semitic letters, the Sinaian alphabet, arose in connection with Egyptian writing signs, which were simplified to a few pure phonetic signs. Statements in a Latin text also indicate that Hebrew letter mysticism associated the first and last letters of the alphabet with 'heaven' and 'earth'. Judging by many reasons, which will be discussed in more detail below, the runic alphabet seems to have originated in the Mithraic environment in late antiquity. As already mentioned, we must consider Babylonia under Persian rule and somewhat later as the country of origin of the oldest Mithraic letter mysticism. Here, the ancient worship of the stars had long survived and exerted a great influence on other peoples. In this context, it is also worth noting that the bull was the name of a constellation, in ancient times the first in the zodiac. For the Mithraists, it must therefore have been natural to associate the first letter of the alphabet with the sacred bull and thus with ritually related concepts: great sacrifice (Latin: taurobolium), vitality, etc. Among the Lapps, who adopted much from ancient Norse paganism, the sacrifice of a pure bull was a sacrifice of life, i.e., what was required to save the life of a person threatened with death. We also know that such a sacrificial animal must be killed with a single blow in accordance with ritual procedure (Randulf in Qvigstad). There is something similar in Swedish peasant superstition: a bull used for breeding must be struck with a stick, and when making a so-called “stäkvisla,” a cleft branch used in cattle mating, care must be taken to remove the split branch from the tree with a single cut, turning one's back to the tree and cutting with the left hand, thus

performing a typically magical operation. This “stäkvisla” must be renewed annually, and therefore must not be more than one year old (Heurgren). In the Edda there is a vague, but in my opinion noteworthy, reference to the magical power of the first rune. The first stanza of “Oden's magic songs” reads:

“Help is mentioned first,
and help it can give
against soot, against sorrow and against strife."

The so-called ‘Oden's magic songs’ allude to 18 different magical cases. They are not real magic songs (galdrar) but only indicative verses referring to the meaning of the numbers 1 to 18 (Oden's numbers) and the ideas associated with these numbers. Since the runes were connected in order, each with a specific number, the hints usually also contribute to our knowledge of runic magic. If this assumption is correct, the so-called first magic song refers to the rune p| (u), the sign associated with the bull (aurochs) and the great sacrificial offering. On a copper amulet from Roskilde (see fig. 12), undoubtedly intended as protection against disease-bringing demons, there is a magical runic inscription in which, among other things, two groups each contain three intertwined pj runes. The inscription speaks of overcoming “two guardians.” In my opinion, this probably refers to the demon world: the number of evil is 2, the number of the divine is 3 and 1 (the divine creative power).

2. The second rune, |>, the sign for the ^ sound (= English voiceless th), has an ancient name meaning 'troll, thurs' (Old Norse purs). Another name used in Scandinavia and England with the meaning 'torn, thorn' is undoubtedly a so-called noa name, i.e. a substitute word to avoid the original name, which was considered dangerous. The aim was to avoid “talking about the troll.” In Skytts härad in Skåne, the population still believed at the end of the 18th century that “old towers” standing on hillocks made “the resident trolls” less dangerous (Nicolovius). The anti-demonic word tower, older thoru, was therefore well suited as a replacement for thurs. That

the number 2 was perceived as a demonic number in late antique mysticism can be confirmed by statements made by Neoplatonic philosophers. It is also known that in the Near East, the homeland of Mithraism, it was associated with evil spirits. For Zarathustra, evil was the second principle of life. It was therefore a symbol of Angra Mainyu (Ahriman) and his world. To please Angra Mainyu, also called "the other," the evil spirits recounted their misdeeds twice, according to the Bundehesh (chap. 3), the sacred Persian scripture on creation and world development.

The Middle Persian religious document Vendidad lists certain passages in the oldest Avestan hymns, which are to be recited twice, after which one is to add: "I drive Angra Mainyu away from this house," etc. (Fargard 10). The Jewish religious document Talmud gives a drastic picture of a Persian's fear of the number 2. A Jewish innkeeper once happened to place two glasses on the empty table in front of a distinguished Persian. He is said to have frozen in terror and only calmed down when another object was hastily placed next to the two glasses. Among the peoples of the Caucasus, the belief in the number 2 as a demonic and devilish number still lives on, according to what a Russian born there told me.

In Nordic folklore, there are still some traces of the same belief. According to a Swedish folk tale, two flames burn at night above the place where a dragon rests on a hidden treasure (Hofberg), and among the people of Finnveden in Småland, it is said that a dragon can be killed with the help of a twin spear made of entré (Eneström). According to Danish folklore, magic can be practised with pairs of objects; for example, a hook is placed on one side of the door and a hook on the other (Thiele). A Skåne folk tale tells of a boy who teased witches and was therefore given dangerous gifts by them on Maundy Thursday. One gave him two garters, the second two Easter eggs, and the third two buns. On his father's advice, the boy took a wheel and tied a garter around each end of the hub, then stuffed the eggs and buns into the wheel's hole. When this was done, the wheel flew

high above the roof (Nicolovius). In Skåne and Småland, the devil is called "the other." According to southern Swedish folklore, the water spirit Näcken sometimes appears in the form of two women walking hand in hand on the water (Eva Wigström). The demonic character of the number two is even clearer in Lappish superstition. The devil is called "the other man" (Randulf in Qvigstad). A Lapp witch in Norway said that she could destroy a boat with the help of two eggshells: if two eggshells were placed in a tub of water and both turned around, the boat would be destroyed (Leem). For the god of fishing, who belonged to the non-celestial deities (cf. Näcken in Sweden), two drinks were taken from a horn at Christmas while turning counterclockwise, a typical demonic ceremony (Forbus in Reuterskiöld). To ensure good luck in fishing, two fish were burned (I. Fellman) or fish eyes were sacrificed to the fire (probably two). During Christmas Eve, sacrifices were made to the evil one (Ruotta) so that he would not harm women, by hanging birch bark bowls containing some of the Christmas food in a tree with a cross carved on both sides of the trunk. Sometimes a special hot cake was baked and placed in a basket with two slats attached (Högström, v. Düben). In contrast, three sticks were stuck into the porridge of the protective goddesses, the akkorna. On some Lappish magic drums, a double sign also appears as a symbol of the devil, "the other man." On a magic drum, which we will discuss below, the Vadso family's divination tool, two devils are depicted, one free and one bound. A Lappish magical rule says: "If you cut your fingernails, you must always split the cut nail into two pieces. If you do not, the old one (= the devil) can make a boat out of it." There is clearly a connection here with the Old Norse myth of Nagelfar, Muspell's god-hating ship, which according to Snorri is built from the fingernails of dead men. As in Swedish-Norwegian folklore, the Christmas nights are considered a time when demonic beings appear. To see them, on the first and second Christmas nights (i.e., two nights), two people must sit with their backs to each other at a place where water is fetched

and where five roads meet (Qvigstad). The number 5, as we shall see below, protects against demons.

In late ancient letter magic, the second Greek letter B, beta, according to the aforementioned Coptic representation, is associated with "the abyss." "This letter gives the type (symbol) of the abyss and darkness," it is said. 'The highest is called eternal light and the depths eternal darkness,' it says in Bundehesh (chap. 1) when speaking of good and evil. Without a doubt, the second letter in the Mithraic alphabet mysticism has been associated with the demonic. In my opinion, this is the reason why the creator of the runic alphabet chose a name meaning 'troll, demon' (fornisl. purs) to designate the second rune.

In Odin's magic songs, there is the following hint about the meaning of the number 2:

"The second, I know,
is needed by humans
for happiness through the power of healing."

According to the familiar rule 'you take the cure where you got the disease,' consideration of the demon world has had its given significance in magical healing. On the Roskilde amulet (see fig. 12), the number two (cf. above) is mentioned, along with two anti-demonic runic combinations (both containing three intertwined p|-ru-nor) following one after the other. The Edda stanza quoted above is incomplete. It has lost its latter half, which probably contained a clarification of some kind.

3. The third rune ^, the sign for the a-sound, has throughout the ages borne an unchanged name meaning 'god, Aesir god' (fornisl. äss etc). The number 3 is found in Hellenistic mystical philosophy — among other things as a contrast to the number 2 — clearly referred to as divine. The same is true in virtually all religiously colored speculations about numbers originating in the Near East. Even the Sumerian chief gods formed a triad. For Mithraism, the number 3

has undoubtedly been a divine number. Mithras was called "the three-shaped one." In the three-shaped Mithras, we have considerable reason to believe that we see the prototype of the three-shaped Odin, who is described in Snorri's "Gylfaginning" and called "High, Equal, and Third." The god who was primarily associated with the third rune was therefore undoubtedly Odin. The third rune has been called Odin in Sweden, albeit in recent times (as in a manuscript in the Royal Library in Stockholm). The Lapp wind god, who mainly borrowed features from Odin, has been associated with the number 3 in magic. Swedish folklore thus associates Odin with the number 3: three runic axes are said to be his, the god is said to want three dishes of food, and if you want to meet him, you must go to a crossroads and call out three times: "Ode, come!" (Hyltén-Cavallius). More often, however, the number has been associated with the divine in general in Norse magic. An example of the supposed divine, anti-demonic power of the number 3 that is still alive today is undoubtedly the custom of spitting three times as protection against "evil." Magical acts connected with the number 3 are performed on animals. Folk belief sees this as protection against trolls ("Tussefolket").

In Lapp magic, the number 3 (along with its reinforcement 9, 3X3) plays a dominant role in divine ceremonies and healing rituals: when offering a sacrifice to one of the sky gods, three pieces are first cut from the still-living animal (a piece from each ear and one from the tail), three sticks were stuck into Sar-akkas' porridge, three images were placed on the same altar during the worship of Horagalles, threefold hand laying was used to heal the sick, three times one walked around a tree, etc. Analogies to this are still found in Swedish-Norwegian folklore. I find it unnecessary to give examples.

However, a few runic formulas in which the number 3 must have played a role should be pointed out. On the Sigtuna amulet, made for protection against a disease demon, there is a sign which is now

interpreted by Ivar Lindquist as three ice runes (j | j), joined together into a single unit by a line running across them all. (An identical line connects two large I's into a single unit in a Swedish mark from the 18th century, see "Nordiskt folkminne" [Nordic folklore], "Bomärken i en Västmanlandssocken" [Marks in a parish in Västmanland], fig. 1.44). This combination of symbols brings to mind a magical runic formula mentioned in the Edda, consisting of the rune purs (j>) and "three sticks." These sticks, which are said to be able to bring threefold woe to a thursmö, were probably three ice runes, i.e., the deadly rune carved three times. The Sigtuna amulet also features a row threatening "triple woe"; the symbols in this row are 3X6. On the anti-demonic Roskilde amulet already mentioned in connection with the rune H (u), the number 3 is emphasized in several ways. It may also be mentioned here that the ending of the runic inscription on the other side consists of three [^ (r) runes. According to Ivar Lindquist's interpretation, this part of the inscription means: "Threefold medicine is rope." This word, the name of Thor's rune (fornisl. reid), and its anti-demonic function have, according to Lindquist, been marked by carving the rune that gave the word its name three times. By carving the sign of the thunder god Thor three times, it was believed that the demons of disease would be deprived of their power. (I have already pointed out that the number 2 played a certain role in this.)

In the Edda poem "Odens trollsånger" (Oden's magic songs), the third stanza hints at one of the cases where the number 3 was used magically, namely in the consecration of weapons, so that they could "halt the enemy's advance" and "dull their weapons." That this was indeed the case is evident from a stanza in "Sigrdrifumal," the poem about Sigurd and the Valkyries. There it is stated that battle runes should be placed in three places: on "the hilt of the sword," "on the tip," and "on the edge." (In addition, the name of the god of war, Tyr, should be mentioned—not carved—twice.)

That the third Greek letter, gamma, was associated with the divine is evident from the fact that in the Coptic alphabet it is said to be “filled with heavenly mysteries.” That “heavenly” in this case is synonymous with “divine” is self-evident. For the Persians, Ahura Mazda and heaven were almost synonymous concepts: according to Bundehesh, heaven is Ahura Mazda's first creation. Herodotus reports that the Persians worshipped Oromazdes, i.e. Ahura Mazda, as “the entire circumference of heaven.” Among the Roman Mithraists, Caelus ('heaven') was a name for Zeus-Jupiter, the counterpart of Ahura Mazda.

4. The fourth rune |^, the sign for the r sound, had a name whose original meaning was probably 'wagon' (Old Icelandic reid, etc.). As I have already mentioned, we can see in this the sign of the god Thor: in Old Icelandic, Thor is called Reidarlyr, 'god of the chariot'. This agrees with the fact that in Old Norse ritual, the same god was associated with the number 4: 'Heimskringla' mentions that in the temple of Thor in Gudbrandsdalen, 'four loaves of bread' were placed before the image of the god every day. It can also be shown that a whole series of formulas addressed to Thor consist of four words or a variety of four such words, e.g. the formula: “Tor vige dessa runor” (Thor, bless these runes). The fourth stanza of “Odens trollsånger” (Oden's magic songs) refers to a galder that gives the power to break chains. The so-called first Mer-seburggaldern provides examples of such magic. Its last stanza, which contains the actual incantation, consists of four words. It seems to me a well-founded assumption that the god of power, Thor, was invoked when it came to liberation from harsh coercion. In magic, however, Thor has generally played a rather subordinate role. Scandinavian folklore has relatively few examples of the magical use of the number 4. In some of these cases, a connection with the four cardinal directions is more likely. One example, however, where there are strong reasons to believe that it is a reflection of the number 4 in runic magic, is the prescription in a Swedish book of black magic to give a dog, so that

it will not tire, 4 pieces of calf's tongue and 4 square pieces of bread 4 mornings in a row, beginning on a Thursday ("Salomoniska magiska konster" [Solomon's Magic Arts], the same book prescribes elsewhere that one should take four peppercorns or cloves in one's mouth so as "not to tire"). The number seven has remained in Nordic magic in isolated cases, when it has been a matter of conferring strength.

In late ancient alphabet mysticism, the fourth Greek letter /J, delta, was usually associated with the four elements. This is mentioned explicitly in the Coptic account of the mysticism of the Greek alphabet. For the Mithraists, a chariot, the sacred four-horse team, quadrigan, was the symbolic image of the four elements. This circumstance is one of the signs that we must seek the origins of runic magic in the late antique Mithraic environment. In my opinion, the creator of the runic alphabet chose a word meaning "chariot" for the fourth rune, since the quadrigan, as a symbol of the four elements in Mithraic alphabet mysticism, was associated with the fourth Greek letter. A magical Mithraic amulet has been preserved to this day (see fig. 13). It has two inscriptions: the upper one gives the numerical value 96 = 24 x 4, the lower one the numerical value 88 = 22 x 4. The letters in the lower row are somewhat damaged but can be reconstructed, as they undoubtedly form a palindrome (a combination of letters that reads the same forwards and backwards) like the characters in the upper row.

5. The fifth rune < (later also y and J^), the symbol for the k sound, is called cén in Anglo-Saxon runic poetry, a word meaning 'torch'. In the Scandinavian North, it was called kaun in the later runic period, a word meaning 'boil'. However, such a meaning stands in stark contrast to all other rune names. It is therefore likely that the Anglo-Saxon name represents the original. The Scandinavian name may have arisen through the reversal of two words in a memorial verse that combined the names of the torch runes

Fig. 13. Mithraic amulet with quadriga and the alliterative name of a symptom of illness. As we shall see below, the number 5 was used in the expulsion of certain diseases. In addition, Johannes Bureus, who had access to considerable runic tradition, gives the rune name as kyn, which may go back to the same root form as Anglo-Saxon cén (and German Kien). In the word, y probably stands for i, and thus a closed e may have been reproduced. A study of the magic symbols on a well-preserved pagan-type wooden drum also gives reason to believe, as we shall see below, that the Scandinavian rune sign meant 'pine wood', 'branch of pine' (the basic meaning of the Anglo-Saxon cén — the torch, a branch of fat pine). The image of a pine branch or pine top appears on this magic drum precisely in the place where one would expect to find a counterpart to this rune.

If 'torch' was the original name of the fifth rune, this fits well with what we know about late antique letter magic and number mysticism. The torch is to be understood as a symbol of fire and light. In the Coptic representation of Greek alphabet mysticism, it is said, among other things, that the fifth letter E is symbolic of "light." In a Greek text, "The Etymology of the Alphabet," in which much of late antique letter magic has lingered in a more or less confused manner, it is also suggested that the same letter, which appears to have been called eos (scos), "morning red," had something to do with light. The Greek word for "light," /os (p&s), has also been able to mean "torch."

The reason why the fifth letter in particular has been associated with light and the torch, the symbol of fire and light, is most likely to be found in the mystical speculation of the Near East, most notably Persia. In the Bundehesh (chap. 17), there is mention of five types of fire. The Mithraic god of fire, Zervan, is also called the "five-god" in Manichaean hymns, and as a Mithraic deity he is depicted carrying a torch (usually two torches) and with a lion's head from whose mouth fire could be emitted. (The lion was a symbol of fire.)

In Norse and other European folk magic, the pentagram, the five-pointed star, is regarded as a symbol of health and was attributed in the Middle Ages with the ability to drive away the powers of darkness; the sign was therefore often placed on hooves, cow horns, and horse hooves (Heurgren). Formulas mentioning multiples of 5, such as 15 or 150, were used against boils in animals (cf. what I said about the rune name kaun). To cure "flög," four 5s were drawn on the horse's right front hoof with a knife. Another remedy was to draw 9 pentagrams on a clean piece of paper and let the horse eat it (Heurgren). Among the peoples of the Mediterranean countries, the number five is still a physical symbol, the outstretched hand with five fingers spread out or positioned in a certain way, is a frequently used remedy against "the evil eye" (called iettatura by the Italians). The Moroccans call an amulet made to ward off the harmful power of the evil eye "femma." This (see fig. 14) usually consists of four circles with a center, which is apparently considered the fifth (Westermarck). The pentagram has also been used by the Lapps, who took great care to carve it in one piece, i.e., without lifting the knife (a clear anti-demonic operation). In Norway and Denmark, the same symbol has been called tussemcerke and Marekors. In the Edda poem "Odens trollsånger" (Oden's magic songs), the fifth stanza refers to the warding off of enemy spears. In some places, the number 5, originally used as protection against the powers of darkness, may have gained a wider use. If it was believed to help against "troll shots," it could ultimately also have been attributed with the power to ward off projectiles thrown by human enemies. In order to "make oneself hard," i.e., invulnerable to all kinds of weapons, during the Catholic era, people sang "five masses about the body of God" five Thursdays in a row (Thiele).

6. The sixth rune ^, the sign for the g sound, has a name in Anglo-Saxon, gifu, which means 'gift'. This clearly corresponds to the corrupted form of the Gothic letter name geiina. In Scandinavia, where in the younger runic alphabet the old k sign also serves to

indicate the g sound, the name of the sixth rune has been lost. In many languages, words for 'gift' and 'give' are also used in the sense of 'sacrifice' and 'sacrifice'. In Sweden, even in the 19th century, "give to Odin's horses" was used to mean "sacrifice" (Hyltén-Cavallius). In the Edda, Odin is referred to as "given to Odin" in the sense of "sacrificed." Similarly, Snorri mentions that the Swedes "gave a king to Odin" in the sense of "sacrificed him to Odin." The same shift in meaning also occurs in the Lappish language in the verb corresponding to our 'give'. The ancient Persians called the sacrificial gift darun, a word that actually means 'gift'. The number 6 has been associated with sacrifice in many religions. Among the ancient Persians — and probably also among the Mithraists of the Roman Empire — six (or four) loaves of bread were ritually used in sacrifices. According to Mithraic astrology, the sixth sphere of heaven belonged to the moon. In the Greek text known as "The Etymology of the Alphabet," the sixth Greek letter, Z, £, is also associated with one of the spheres of heaven, the seventh. This is obviously due to the influence of the so-called Milesian number system used in everyday life, according to which the same letter (£, Beta) was the symbol for 7. In an alphabetical mystical system, which used the letters a-co as symbols for the numbers 1-24, £ must have denoted 6. If the sixth letter of the Greek alphabet was associated with one of the heavenly spheres by the Mithraists, it should have been the sixth, i.e., the moon. In late antiquity, astrologers referred to this planet as "silver-producing." According to Norse folklore, the moon is a gracious giver if it is worshipped when it enters its waxing phase: people bow to the new moon and greet the "New King," who is believed to bestow wealth and fertility (Hyltén-Cavallius). On a Lappish magic drum of pagan origin, right next to the figure corresponding to the fifth rune name (a schematically drawn pine tree top), there is an image of a rooster, which is interpreted as referring to a minor sacrifice. This seems to me to indicate that even in the north, the rune was primarily a symbol associated with sacrifice and its power. On some Lappish magic drums, the sign for sacrifice has been

replaced by an image of the moon, as will be shown below. This suggests a connection between the moon and the gift rune.

In “Oden's magic songs” in the Edda, the sixth stanza refers to the magical ability to prevent sorcery (the effect of runes carved on wood). It seems likely to me that such a conception of the sixth rune and its power may derive from the belief in the power of sacrifice to protect against harmful sorcery.

There are also numerous examples in Norse magic of the use of the number 6 in operations intended to help people or animals that have been bewitched. For example, it is prescribed that one should take six straw pipes and blow through them if one has been “bewitched” (afflicted with illness by underground beings or a sorcerer). To “set back” (practice counter-magic), a formula of the following wording must be read: “I set modesty, I set envy, I set the Devil; I set evil people to a mountain where no one lives, to a lake where no one rows, under a stone where no mouse (sic!) is mine.” (Lapp man Jon Johansson.) The formula invokes six things that are supposed to counteract (note the words I have blocked out). Another formula from the same source reads: “You shall go back to him who sent you, and there you shall devour and there you shall consume in his house, in his dwelling, in his liver, in his lung, in his tooth, and in his tongue.” As we can see, six locations are specified in the formula (words blocked by me). “When the animal is destroyed,“ says a book of black magic (”Solomon's Magic Arts"), one can bind together ‘under the sill’ the following six ingredients: ‘orant,’ ‘light flowers,’ ‘åbrod,’ ‘geteruta,’ ‘red onion,’ and ”garlic.” The same text states that no one can “destroy one's horse” if one mixes the following six ingredients into its bridle: “bäfvergäll,” “hvitlök,” “olsten,” “lagerbär,” “tibast,” and “ven-derot.” If a horse has been bewitched and is “braklaget” (rearing up), another source (Heurgren) says you should spit three times in front of the animal and three times on the bit, so this magical act has six parts.

7. The seventh rune, p, the sign for the w sound, has the Anglo-Saxon name wynn (wen), which means 'joy, happiness'. Scandinavian tradition provides no information about the name of this rune, as the sign fell out of use in the Nordic countries shortly before the later runic period and was replaced by the u-ru rune. The corresponding Gothic letter name is uncertain in its actual meaning and, by all accounts, distorted in form. However, taking into account late antique number mysticism, the Anglo-Saxon rune name appears to be something original. The meaning 'joy' seems to indicate a lucky rune, which fits well with the well-known fact that the number 7 was regarded by the Persians and Mithraists as auspicious and good. The Coptic writing on the mysticism of the Greek alphabet associates the seventh letter H(rj) with 'glory' and 'light'. A Greek account of the mysticism of the Hebrew alphabet connects the seventh letter (sajin) with “fire.” In the language of late antique magic, the word for “fire” most often replaces the word for “love.” — Compare a love formula recorded in Denmark, undoubtedly based on a late antique model, which reads: “Just as this burns, so shall your heart burn with love for me” (Ohrt). — For the Persians, light was one of the symbols of goodness: the good principle of life had its eternal existence in light, ‘the highest is called eternal light,’ it is said in ”Bunde-hesh.” For the Mithraists, 7 was a particularly sacred number, associated with the solar sphere and the highest rank in this religious community. That 7 was interpreted as a good number in ancient Persian magic is evident, among other things, from Herodotus' account that when birdwatching, the sight of 7 hawks was interpreted as a sign of good luck. Bishop Epiphanius of Cyprus, who lived in the 4th century, calls the number 7 “a praised and admirable number” in one of his treatises. In medieval legends, 7 is often a number used in connection with undertakings that lead to a happy ending. Persian number mysticism has certainly influenced Judaism and Christianity.

In German folklore, it is considered lucky to bake seven different cakes at the solstice (June 21), to place seven elder branches in the

ground when digging for treasure, etc. (Graf). In Nordic magic, there are numerous examples of the use of the number 7 in love spells and the like, and it often appears when indicating deadlines (waiting times, etc.). In an Icelandic book on black magic (published by Nat. Lindqvist), there is a formula to be used to win people's love. It consists of seven letters forming a row, with another letter below (see fig. 15). This resembles a capital Latin P, but ultimately seems to go back to the symbol >, the seventh rune in the Old Norse alphabet. (The Icelandic book of black magic contains several letter formulas in which unmistakable runic symbols appear together with Latin letters.) A magical runic row from the older runic period, the inscription on a bracteate from Skodborg, which includes the word auja, 'happiness', three times, has the numerical value 287 in the runes, if these are calculated according to my system. The number 287 can only be broken down into 41 X 7. In the mystical Edda poem "Oden's Magic Songs," the seventh stanza reads:

"A seventh I know: when crackling flames are seen shining around the bench, no matter how widely they burn, I bind them nonetheless."

This is clearly about magic with light and fire. This in no way contradicts my explanation of the meaning of the rune name. Since ancient times, as already mentioned, the number 7 and fire and light have been associated with each other. An example can be found in the Old Norse period. In northern Norway in the 19th century, the so-called "skadekvisten" (damaging branch), a deformity in the wood of a house wall, was rendered harmless by driving seven nails into the dangerous spot. Otherwise, the house was considered to be at risk of fire (Nicolaissen). That both Greek and Jewish letter mysticism associated the seventh letter of the alphabet with light or fire, as I have pointed out above. There is nothing to prevent the seventh rune and its number 7 in ancient Norse times from having been associated with light and joy in magical operations. The parallel with late

antique magic is obvious, and, as we have seen, living Norse folklore connects the number 7 with both of these concepts.

The Norse deity associated with the rune p (w) in runic magic was probably primarily the god Freyr: the god of friendship, love, and warming light. According to Snorri, he ruled not only over the earth's crops but also over the sun's light and peace among men. “He gives mortals peace and pleasure,” says Adam of Bremen. The joy drum must therefore have been his. A study of the symbols on the Lappish magic drums supports this already probable assumption. The god who corresponds to Frej among the Lapps even appears on a magic drum with a “staff” next to him, the shape of which corresponds to the rune p, the w-sign in the older runic alphabet and the seventh rune of the Uthark. More on this below.

8. The eighth rune [s|, the sign for the h sound, is called hcegl (haegil) in the Anglo-Saxon runic tradition, which means 'heron'. Old Norse runic names show forms consistent with this meaning: they mean 'hail, hailstones'. The Gothic letter name haal presupposes a word *hagl with the same meaning. The Germanic words meaning 'hail' are etymologically derived from a word whose original meaning was 'crystalline stone'. Since ancient Aryan times, the sky was believed to consist of stone or rather petrified ice. The word crystal is borrowed from Greek, where its equivalent meant 'that which has frozen'. The Roman natural historian Pliny the Elder mentions that, according to the popular belief of his time, crystals fell from the sky, from where they had broken loose. The fixed stars, the “crystal sky” of the ancient astrologers, were called Asman by the Persians, a name whose basic meaning is “stone.” According to Mithraic cosmology, this crystal sky was understood as the outermost, eighth sphere of the universe (below which lay the regions of the seven planets). The Coptic writing on the mysticism of the Greek alphabet assigns the eighth letter (9, theta) to correspond to the “firmament.” In Egyptian-Greek magic, the letter O was understood as the “circumference of the world” (= the crystal sky). The line in its

middle was interpreted as referring to the “good demon” (Agathodaimon) that holds the world together. With regard to Persian and Mithraic astrology, we are fully justified in assuming that Mithraic letter mysticism agreed with other late antique alphabet speculation in this respect, in that it associated the eighth letter with the crystal sky. This is all the more likely since the Coptic script follows a creation history that differs in several respects from the Bible, which in many ways is much closer to the presentation in the sacred Persian scriptures. If we take into account that Mithraic or Mithraic-influenced late antique letter mysticism at the time of the runic alphabet's creation (around 200 CE) associated the eighth letter of the Greek alphabet with crystal and the crystal sky, we have the model for the peculiar rune name, which in its earliest form must have meant 'crystalline stone'. How close the concepts of 'stone' and 'hail' actually are to each other is shown by the Swedish word hagelsten (hailstone).

The magical function of the eighth rune was probably to create stability and cohesion. This is indicated by the use of the number 8 in Germanic magic for the treatment of certain diseases, such as dancing sickness. As a cure for this, Bavarian folklore prescribed wearing eight iron rings. This was supposed to overcome the body's lack of control. In connection with runic magic, the Anglo-Saxons' belief in the eightfold power of a gemstone is also indicative. The Lapps had a figure on pagan-type magic drums called “the bear of heaven.” This was placed in a spot where we can assume there was a counterpart to the h-rune, and sometimes had eight star-like points next to it. Everything points to this symbol referring to a constellation. We can assume this is a symbol for the starry sky.

The eighth stanza of “Oden's Magic Songs” reads: “If hatred grows between the sons of rulers, I can quickly cure it.”

This statement is understandable in connection with my assumption that the number 8 and the hail rune in Norse magic had

significance for achieving stability and cohesion. Behind this lies the ancient perception of the fixed starry sky as an unshakeable vault.

9. The ninth rune, ᚾ, the sign for the n sound, has in all traditions a name meaning 'need, necessity' (Anglo-Saxon nyd, Old Norse naudr, etc.). Many circumstances, including a statement in an Edda poem, suggest that this rune had a particularly great magical significance. The name itself also suggests this. It corresponds perfectly to a term used in ancient times for the divinity of fate, which the Greeks called Ananke and the Romans Necessitas: both names mean 'necessity'. In late antiquity, the goddess of fate, Ananke, was the central power of witchcraft (of course, she was also known by other names). In my work "Late Antique Mystery Religion and Norse Rune Magic" (chapter 2), I have given a detailed account of this. It is also known that Ananke played an important role among the Mithraists. According to a Greek text, they identified Ananke with the ether and the night. Her kingdom was thought to be located outside the outer limits of the cosmos (the crystal vault of heaven) in the dark space where only the light ether existed. According to Mithraic astral theory, Ananke's sphere thus surrounded the eighth sphere of the world and could be perceived as the ninth. Plato also has the representatives of fate, the three Fates, dwell outside the eight spheres. The Coptic writing on the mysticism of the Greek alphabet also refers to a zone existing outside the crystal sky. It associates the ninth letter with "the waters above the firmament," and immediately before that, the firmament has been associated with the eighth letter.

That the rune of necessity, j (n), is associated with the number nine is an assumption that is consistent with numerous testimonies from Old Norse poetry and later folk tradition. In the ninth stanza of "Oden's Magic Songs," naudr, the threatening necessity, is explicitly mentioned. It speaks specifically of saving a ship by calming the waves when "necessity" (naudr) threatens. If the n-rune had the meaning I have indicated in magic, it must of course have

been associated with the foremost practitioner of sorcery, Odin. As is well known, he was, among other things, a storm god. This characteristic of Odin will be discussed in more detail in the study of Lappish sorcery. The use of the number 9 in wind magic is therefore mythologically understandable.

An example of such magic can perhaps be found in an inscription consisting of nine runes, the letter formula lituluism, carved on an oar belonging to the Oseberg ship. In an Edda poem (Sigrdrifumal), it is said of "storm runes" that they should be placed on the "bow," the "rudder," and the "oar." In the poem "Solsången," which is certainly Christian but mixed with Old Norse sayings, it says: "I sat on the chair of the Norns for nine days." It is clear that the goddesses of fate, the Norns (together with Odin), were associated in magic with the emergency rune and its number: the Norns were said to "create necessity," i.e., to determine necessity (fate). In post-pagan times, the old emergency rune and its mystical number have left quite clear traces behind. On Skåne tapestries there is a cross-like figure called "ellakors," which in form appears to be a direct counterpart to the rune sign ^. A certain type of amulet is also called "ellakors." It was considered particularly effective against illnesses caused by the "elven" ("Näcken"). Such an amulet was made from nine different pieces of silver. These had to be inherited and were to be joined together in nine places (Nicolovius). (Most known depictions of "ellakors" or "alfkors" show a cross of approximately the usual type, but as a woven figure, the ellakors bears a strong resemblance to the shape of the emergency rune. An even clearer testimony to the connection between the emergency rune and the number 9 is provided by the Sigtuna amulet found a few years ago. On this amulet is written, among other things: af ptR niu noptR ulf d. v. s. rhaf nio nödtvång, varg' (by the power of nine, wolf). Here, the numeral niu is combined with the word that is identical to the name of the ninth rune. Since the line also contains two signs, the

last of which consists of three isrunas connected into a unit, it forms a clearly delimited group of 2X9 signs.

As is well known, 9 is a number that is very often found in magical acts and formulas. We should particularly remember the so-called nödel, mentioned in Germany in 743. This was supposed to be brought about by rubbing, in England with 9 spindles from a spinning wheel of 9X9 men, and magically secured by 9 kinds of wood. Swedish folklore includes the custom of sleeping on nine kinds of flowers to become a true dreamer, placing nine oak sticks between your teeth to cure toothache, walking nine steps backwards towards a four-leaf clover, and basing "troll butter" with a rice made from nine kinds of fruit-bearing trees (Hyltén-Cavallius). An author who has studied Semitic number mysticism has called the number 9 "the number of the completion of a destiny." (Even among the Sumerians, the predecessors of the Babylonians, 9 was considered "the number of perfection.") Ananke was the power that guided the course of destiny. The essence of fate magic was undoubtedly received by the Greeks from the Near East. As already mentioned, Mithraism arose in Babylonia through a fusion of Persian and Semitic beliefs. The expression "ninefold wisdom" used by the ancient Greeks is undoubtedly related to the central role of the number 9 in magical knowledge. (For the Swedish peasantry, "wise" is still synonymous with "magically insightful" in certain contexts: "wise old woman," etc.)

Among the heirs of run magic, the Lapps, we also find the number 9 as the most powerful number in sorcery. Johan Turi informs us that the construction of a Lapp magic drum included, among other things, the use of nine pieces of a magically significant parasitic plant (called "Troldkost" in Danish). The same person also mentions that to cure a certain illness, one had to count from 9 to 1, while for another, one had to boil a decoction of 9 kinds of trees. J. Qvigstad has collected similar information: jaundice was believed to be cured by eating 9 lice, etc. An old West Bothnian Lapp has

reported that if the singer at a bear festival was married, he would take nine pieces of birch bark before lying down with his wife, put them in a pot filled with warm water, and then wash his whole body (S. Drake). The number 3 certainly occurs more often in magical operations, but alongside it, the number 9 appears as the more powerful (the number 3 is used in most cases for actions that are primarily ceremonial in nature). 9 (3 x 3) is a reinforcement of 3 and almost always has a willful, result-oriented meaning. In the witches' song in "Macbeth," it says:

"Thrice to thine and thrice to mine And thrice again, to make up nine."

In European magic, nine is still, as it was for the Sumerians, the "number of perfection."

Finally, it should be mentioned that in late antique astrology and magic, a sign was used for fate (sors) and Ananke, which alphabetically may be related to the rune n, a letter that has no counterpart in the Greek or Latin alphabet. This symbol of Fortuna (Ananke) used in astrological works is o. If we remove the ring, we have, if the crossbar of the cross is reduced and slanted, the rune ^. (As is well known, a characteristic feature of the runic types is that horizontal lines are avoided; they are replaced by slanted lines: T becomes " o. s. v.). I have encountered the magical sign 0 in a Swedish book on black magic ("Salomoniska magiska konster"), where it is explained to mean "probatum est," i.e., that the magical operation in question has been tried before and has been successful.

There is an important Greek document for assessing the genetic connection between the runic symbols 10–15, etc. in the uthark sequence and late antique letter magic. During a visit to the Bibliothéque Nationale in Paris in the summer of 1931, I found a Byzantine manuscript dealing with the mysticism of the Greek alphabet. Unfortunately, the first page of the manuscript has been lost and the top line of the second page is somewhat unclear, but

what follows is completely legible. Here is a description of the connection between the Greek letters and various moments in the creation of the world. There is clearly a very close parallel to the Coptic account of the mysticism of the Greek alphabet mentioned above. The Coptic text can therefore serve as a supplement to the part that is missing in the Byzantine document. For its part, the preserved sections provide a more reliable source for what has hitherto only been known from Coptic translations and clearly show that the Coptic script is indeed based on a system adapted from Greek that was used in the Hellenistic world. I therefore follow the testimony of the Byzantine document from the 10th letter onwards (from which, incidentally, the Coptic version deviates only slightly). The document fragment is reproduced on page 16.

10. The tenth rune I, the sign for the / sound, has a name well established in various Germanic traditions, whose meaning was undoubtedly 'ice' (fornisl. iss etc.). From Norse magic, we know of a whole series of cases where the number 10 was used in harmful sorcery. I have already mentioned the 10 disease-causing runes mentioned in Egil Skalla-grimsson's saga. The saga's hint at the magical meaning of this number is consistent with preserved runic inscriptions with clearly harmful or deadly intent. The inscription on a weaving shuttle from Trondheim, where the creator expresses his desire to see a woman as a widow, consists of 4 x 10 characters, and the result has been achieved by joining two characters at the end to form a so-called binderuna. The last group of runes on the back of the Sigtuna amulet consists of 3 x 10 characters. In front of this part of the inscription, ice runes have even been added. The previous group of runes, mentioned by me in connection with the 9th century, ends with a rune formula consisting of 3 ice runes joined together to form a single unit. This is followed by the culmination of the incantation with a meaning that refers to the destruction of the demon of disease (according to a new interpretation by Ivar Lindquist, not yet published). This means that the symbols within

the same frame are 30 = 3 X 10. The Björketorp stone, which predicts destruction for anyone who damages the ma-Avb. 16. The first page of Paris manuscript no. 2214 in Fonds grecs.giskt has the inscription upATAÖAsbA (a = the 11th rune with the sound value a: from *jara had become ara) on its north-facing side. The meaning is: "fateful prediction." There are 10 runes, and if the gematric value of these ten runic characters is calculated, it turns out to be 100, i.e. 10 x 10. The lower inscription of the so-called Sigtuna inscription (the upper one is badly damaged) consists of 4 x 10 characters (35 runes and 5 punctuation marks). The content refers to the killing of a thief. A meat knife found in Gjersvik in Norway, probably a ritual tool, has an unmistakably mystical inscription consisting of a corrupted word, to which a group of 10 l-runes has been added. (The total number of runes is 18, the number of Odin.) The Valby amulet, in whose stone a curse against "envy" is carved, has an inscription consisting of 10 runes. Further runic inscriptions could be cited. However, I wish to confine myself to material where it is perfectly clear that attempts at so-called harmful magic are present.

In an Icelandic book on black magic (published by Nat. Lindqvist), there is a combination of "staves" which undoubtedly refer to runic characters (see fig. 17): the f, n, h, and i runes (the h rune is of a younger type). The combination of symbols is intended to be used to kill another person's livestock. The purpose justifies the use of ice runes and cattle runes (one of the f runes is turned upside down, the other two have three additional strokes). It is also natural that the emergency rune, the spell of coercion, is included in the formula. The presence of the hail rune may be due to the fact that in more recent times, this rune has been attributed, because of its name, with roughly the same calling power as the ice rune. The same book mentions a disease-bringing rune formula, which consists of 8 ass runes, 9 emergency runes, and 13 thurs runes, i.e., a total of 3 x 10 characters.

That the number 10 had a certain connection with death in the lives of the ancient Norse people is evident from examples preserved in some older literature. An Arab writer who wrote in the 900s mentions that the Varangians in Russia first laid their dead chieftain in a grave for ten days, then burned him. A girl and eight animals (one dog, two horses, two oxen, one rooster, and two hens) were sacrificed: ten creatures thus followed each other in death. It is also known that the king of Uppsala, Aun (according to Snorri in Heimskringla), sacrificed a son every ten years to buy his freedom from death.

A reminiscence of the number 10 as associated with the realm of death may be found in the following Swedish spell for stopping bleeding: "Stand blood as they sit and stand in hell, as Noah's ark was on the water for nine days and on the tenth day came to rest. So shall you stand." (Heurgren.) That the number of the ice runes in certain magical operations could be considered to have the ability to make a liquid become viscous and solid (just as water is turned to ice) is, of course, an understandable disbelief from a magical point of view. The formula probably originally contained something completely different from "Noah's ark." As we know, this was 40 days on the water and did not come to rest on the tenth day. It should be noted here that in some parts of Sweden, instead of "Noen's dogs," they say "Noah's dogs." It is therefore likely that the name Noen (= Odin) was part of the original pagan formula. Another example where the number 10 is associated with death comes from Danish folklore. "If you dream of the death of a spirit, it will add ten years to his life" is a dream interpretation (mentioned by Thiele). Dreams are often interpreted as meaning the opposite of what they seem to mean. In this case, it is conceivable that death was once associated with the number 10 and that dreams about death were therefore interpreted as dreams about 10 years of life. (Cf. also the story of Aun, who ransomed himself from death for 10 years.) Among the heirs of runic magic, the Lapps still retain certain traces

of the number 10 as the number of death. When fishing, for example, the Norwegian sea Sami consider the number 10 (catching 10 fish at once) to be a sign of bad luck, as are multiples of 10 (Qvigstad). This may be because the number 10 was once perceived as killing fishing luck. The association of the number 10 with the realm of death is evident in a certain healing ritual practiced by the Sami. Juoksot means to cure an illness caused by the dead. The healer ties a white or black thread around his own thumb and then wraps it nine times around the body of the sick person. Thus, l + 9 = ten times. (Qvigstad.)

Whether the Roman Mithraists associated the number 10 with death and the realm of the dead is not known. However, it is highly probable on the grounds that the Middle Persian text "Bunde-hesh" mentions multiples of the number 10 in connection with death and illness: the evil Angra Mainyu sends "1,000 deadly demons" (chapter 3), and the same prince of the abyss has created 10,000 different kinds of diseases (chapter 9). In the Near East and India, the number 10 is still considered unlucky today. Indian pearl necklaces usually have an odd number of pearls; numbers such as 10, 20, etc. are avoided when it comes to jewelry. In the Egyptian mysteries of Isis, 10 was probably a number associated with death. Before their final initiation, adepts had to fast for 10 days. This state was seen as a symbol of death, from which the initiate was then reborn into a new life. According to myth, there were ten rivers in the Greek underworld, Hades. Cold water appears in late antique mystery religions as a symbol of death. The "water of death" mentioned in folk tales probably originally referred to cold (and stagnant) water, while "water of life" referred to warm (and flowing) water. Even today, the magical term for causing death is "to make cold." The same view must have been behind the choice of the name "ice" for the 10th rune. We can see in this the runic symbol for Hel and death.

In the Byzantine manuscript I found, the abyss, which in late antiquity was regarded as the realm of the dead, is associated with the 10th letter of the Greek alphabet. It says “the earth's emergence (apocalypse) from the abyss (ek bytoti = en fivrov)”. The Coptic variant has “waters” instead of “abyss”, obviously referring to the deep waters. The late antique letter magic thus agrees on this point with my assumption that the 10th rune is associated with Hel and the ice-cold realm of the dead in Norse mythology. The tenth stanza of “Oden's magic songs” refers to “tunridor,” which can be forced “to its rightful home in the harbor” by a galder. The meaning here may be to send them to Hel. “Tunridor” may also refer to the spirits of the dead, which according to Scandinavian folklore float in the air when the wind blows.

11. The eleventh rune G (since then of very variable form), the sign for the /-sound, has been associated with a name meaning 'good year'. In Old Norse, the rune is called ar, a word derived from a Samgermanic *jéra (cf. Jahr in German). The Anglo-Saxon name was ger = gear, the same word as the later English year. The Swedish word äring, 'annual growth', belongs to the same root. In the Nordic region, the god of annual growth was Frej, the god of the sun and light, who is mentioned in Old Norse texts as argud. In an Edda poem about Frej and the giantess Gerd, “eleven golden apples” are mentioned as a gift from the god. Some have wanted to see a linguistic corruption in the number 11, which is meaningless to the uninitiated. However, both of the best texts actually contain the numeral ellifu, and it is completely unnecessary for an imaginative commentator to insert ellilyfs and interpret the expression as “the apples of rejuvenation” (which, incidentally, belonged to Idun and not to Frej). The Poetic Edda has a general tendency to indicate numbers, which is usually due to the ancient mystical meaning of the numerals. In this case, if we stick to the best text source, an explanation can also be found in connection with the uthark theory. According to this, the Äringsruna is the eleventh. As the god of

fertility, Frej should therefore have been associated with the number 11 in runic magic: the eleven golden apples are a symbol of his fertility. (It is likely that 11 apples were displayed in Frej's sanctuary, just as four loaves of bread were displayed in Thor's.)

In my work "Senantik mysteriereligion och nordisk runmagi" (Late Antique Mystery Religion and Norse Rune Magic), I have provided some examples of how the number 11 was associated with certain fertility rites in the Nordic region even in fairly recent times. Here I can give a new example. A folk tale from southern Skåne tells of a mighty "sorcerer" named Gjelle, who fled from Gislöv because of the church bells. In "the East," he was visited by sailors from Skåne. He engaged them in conversation about his former home, inquiring in particular about the yield of the crops. Things were better in the old days, Gjelle believed: "In my time, I got much more; for I plowed deep and sowed thickly; then, believe me, grain grew on the fields of Gislöv," he says, ending with the following peculiar statement: "I would have left eleven memorials behind me if I had been allowed to stay there longer." (Nicolovius; the numeral has been omitted by me in the quotation.) These 'eleven memorials' must have referred to his work for the estate. Both Old Norse poetry and South Scandinavian folk tales thus suggest that the number 11 is magically connected with inheritance. This can be satisfactorily explained if we take into account that the number of the inheritance rune was 11.

We find a striking parallel to this in late antique letter mysticism: in the Byzantine manuscript I found, the eleventh Greek letter A(X) is associated with "the sprouting of fodder plants" (botanön ekblastésis: Poravöv éu^Ådörrjöig). The connection between the number 1 and vegetation can also be traced in Persia. "Bundehesh" (chap. 10) mentions that after the death of the primeval bull, fifty-five kinds of grain grew out of the earth, i.e., 5 x 11. It is likely that an older tradition, preserved among the Mithraists, had the number 11. In the medieval tradition in Persia or India, the number has since been multiplied by 5 to bring it closer to reality.

The eleventh stanza of “Oden's magic songs” refers to a galder that gives the singer the power to protect “friends” so that they “travel unharmed from feud.” This is the only case in the aforementioned Edda poem where there is certainly a significant distortion of the original. Frej was both the god of friendship and of war. In the former capacity, he was associated with the seventh rune (ags. wynn), in the latter with the rune of war and the number 11. It is quite understandable that in the North, during a period when the seventh rune was no longer in use, the number 11 became Frej's number also in his capacity as the god of friendship and love.

12. The twelfth rune is — if we arrange them in the order of the alphabetical runic alphabet — the sign 1. This had a name, which was originally *lkwag and meant 'yew' (Anglo-Saxon éoh). Previously, relying on the somewhat more archaic Kylver runic alphabet, I assumed that this sign was the 13th (the /> sign [^ appears on the Kylver stone between the j rune (•) and the sign Js). However, all other runic traditions agree in this case with the letter row of the Vadstena and Grumpan bracteates. In addition, as I have already indicated, the Brakteat inscriptions were certainly made using an even older runic monument of the same type as a model. It must therefore be considered highly probable that the apparently carelessly carved Kylver runic inscription may contain one or more reversals in the order of the characters caused by haste or ignorance. This is quite common in Latin alphabetical inscriptions of the same magical type. (Vessels found in burial sites with rows of letters often show defects in the order of the letters.) Anyone who engraved a stamp intended for casting had the opportunity to discard a piece of work that was flawed in some important detail if he happened to make a mistake. For the creator of a stone carving with a special magical purpose, an absolutely correct order may have seemed less important. The signs were not intended to be seen and criticized by others familiar with the runic alphabet: the Kylver stone stood in a covered grave.

We therefore have good reason to assume that the rune called 'idegran' (*ihwas > ags. éoh) was the twelfth in the sequence. The rune bears the name of a tree and may thus originally have been used as a representative of trees and the magic associated with them. In the Byzantine manuscript I found, there is an unambiguous counterpart. Here, the twelfth Greek letter M (ju) is combined with "fruit-bearing tree": xyla karpofora, (§vÅa uciqjzo-(pÖQa (see fig. 16, i(3 = 12 indicates the 12th letter, i.e. /u). It is quite natural that grain crops and trees should come in succession.

If we look for what the number 12 might have meant in runic poetry, we find a certain hint in the Edda poem "Odens trollsånger" (Oden's magic songs). About the twelfth rune, it is said (my emphasis):

"I know a twelfth:
if I see a tree
with a corpse turning in the wind,
I know how to carve,
how to color the runes,
so that the dead man comes down,
and speaks with me."

This probably refers to a galder (or a magic spell) that was used at the same time as the runes were carved into the tree and then colored (perhaps with blood) for greater effect. The twelfth rune therefore probably referred to the magic associated with trees and was named after a representative, religiously significant tree, the yew tree. Since the letter t was needed for the 16th rune (fornisl. Tyr etc.), the creator of the runic alphabet was unable to use the word for tree in general, which began with t (cf. forn. tre, Goth. triu, etc.), but was forced to apply the rule of pars pro toto, a fairly common phenomenon in magic (as in poetry). The deity associated with this tree rune can be assumed to have been the god Ull in the Scandinavian North, since we know, among other things, that his dwelling, the first mentioned in the poem "Grimnismal," was called Ydalir, d. If these Edda names

for the dwellings of the gods refer to the "houses" of the zodiac, as I have assumed (see chapter 3 of "Senantik mysteriereligion"), there may also be another connection to the late antique world of ideas. A twelve-branched fruit tree was one of the symbols of the zodiac. Such a tree is referred to in Revelation 22, where it speaks of a "tree of life" that produces "twelve fruits, one each month." (This is how it is written in the Greek original; our latest Bible translation, however, speaks of "trees of life that yielded twelve harvests.") This idea of the zodiac as a twelve-branched tree is related to the "world tree" that appears in many mythologies. It is possible that the Mithraists imagined this as a cypress, the sacred tree of the Persians. (The cypress produces cones.) The closest equivalent found by the creator of the runic alphabet is the yew tree. According to Fritz Läffler, the large tree at the pagan temple in Uppsala was a yew tree. Given the Persian religion, it is highly likely that the number 12 in Mithraic numerology had something to do with fruit trees. In "Bunde-hesh" (chapter 10), it is said that after the killing of the bull, fifty-five (=5X11) types of grain grew (cf. above) and, in addition, "twelve health-giving plants." This probably originally referred to fruit-bearing trees and bushes. An indication of this can be found in the previous chapter (chapter 3), which mentions a "medicinal fruit" that Ormuzd tears apart. Later (in chapter 27), "trees" are also listed among "plants." For both the ancient Persians and the Norse, the category of fruit trees was more extensive than in modern Swedish usage. "Fruit-bearing trees" also included oaks, spruces, birches, etc.

In Lapp mythology, we find a clear counterpart to the North Germanic Ull, namely "the man" (Leibolmai). Like Ull, he is thought to carry a bow. His sacred animal is the bear. That Ull was, among other things, a hunting god is attested in Old Icelandic literature: Snorri calls him veidi-ass ("god of the hunt"). It seems quite likely that the bear was sacred to the North Germanic gods of the hunt, although no Old Norse text mentions Ull in connection with the bear (as Odin is with the wolf, Frey with the boar, etc.). Thor, Ull's

stepfather, is occasionally referred to as Biörn, 'bear'. In Norse folklore, the bear is associated with the number 12, in that it is said to possess “twelve men's strength” or “ten men's strength and twelve men's wits.” It cannot be ruled out that ancient numerical symbolism may lie behind these expressions used in Sweden and Norway.

In magical formulas recorded in Scandinavia, the number 12 is not uncommon. As a rule, however, it is related to Christian beliefs (12 apostles, 12 angels, and the like). In a Swedish book of black magic, it is prescribed that to extinguish a soot fire, one should take 12 (3, 4, and 5 pieces) of garlic cut into small pieces and sprinkle them over the charred wood (“Salo-moniska magiska konster”). This may possibly be related to 12 as the number associated with trees and wood in runic magic. An Anglo-Saxon spell intended to prevent bees from flying into the forest (to rwudu) consists of two stanzas with 12 words in each (a text editor has inserted the word and in the second stanza, but this is a completely arbitrary change). The fact that the number 12 in the aforementioned Swedish magic rule is divided into 3, 4, and 5 may possibly be due to the fact that the number was originally divided into 7 + 5: as I pointed out above, the number 7 has significance in light and fire operations (cf. the division 8 + 9 under 17).

13. The thirteenth rune in the uthark sequence is, if we follow the bracteate runes, the sign [^ (as on the Grumpan bracteate; the Vadstena bracteate, on the other hand, has a variant of the 6 rune in the same place). This sign had a name beginning with p and was once used to indicate the p sound. Among the Scandinavian peoples, however, it fell out of practical use already in the early runic period and is found in the Nordic countries only in purely formal inscriptions. How to determine the oldest name form of this sign is a much-debated question. The Gothic letter tradition gives the name pertra to the sign for the p sound. Anglo-Saxon runic singing connects the p-rune with peord, a word of uncertain (possibly Celtic)

origin. However, some (both older and younger) records of Anglo-Saxon runic names (the oldest from the 9th century) found by me in English and German libraries have the forms pert, perc, or perd. In medieval handwriting, c is a very common misspelling of t. The same applies to d for t at the end of words, when the writer is German. Considering that a manuscript in the British Museum shows the name form pert and that a German manuscript found by another researcher indicates the letter name peta, a word of the type perta or petra should be regarded as the most likely oldest form. The same basic form is suggested by the Gothic letter name pertra, which may be a corrupted form of perta or petra. However, neither word form seems to be a reflection of a Germanic heritage word. The older Germanic languages were very poor in words beginning with p. It is therefore possible, if not probable, that the creator of the runic alphabet chose a non-Germanic word as the name for the p-sign, which at the time of the emergence of runic writing was known within his relatively small language area or his temporary environment. The fact that the p-sign disappeared from practical use as a letter during the early runic period in the Nordic countries suggests that its name became unclear, perhaps confused with a similar-sounding word beginning with b. Now, both the Romans and the Greeks had a word petra meaning 'rock, stone'. From such a word, through mispronunciation or misremembering, the form perla could have arisen in the Gothic letter tradition alongside petra, and through contamination of both forms, the written form pertra may ultimately have arisen.

According to Mithraic mythology, Mithra was born “from the rock” (énjréryag). Many sculptures depicting this divine birth have been found in Roman military camps and elsewhere. In a few cases, the signs of the zodiac are depicted in a ring surrounding the whole. This has led some researchers (including myself) to believe that the “stone” actually refers to the sky (cf. above under 8). In most cases, however, the birth of Mithras is depicted without this zodiac ring.

And where it does appear, it is only a decorative frame; the god is seen rising not directly from the ring but from a piece of rock behind it (cf. fig. 18). Undoubtedly, a stranger with only a superficial knowledge of the Mithraic mysteries would have understood the expression "the god from the rock" (o flsös éu Ttérgag) literally and seen in him a being born from the earth.

There is now evidence that late antique letter mysticism associated with Mithraism linked the 13th letter of the Greek alphabet with one of the products of the earth, probably understood as a symbol of its generative power, the earth's ability to give birth. In the aforementioned Greek text "Etymology of the Alphabet," it is said that the letter N (ν), the 13th letter of the alphabet, derives its name from nan, which means bread, since "the Persians call bread (ågrov) nan (weave)." The word persai [jtégoat) is certainly corrupted in the poorly preserved text (the third letter from the end has been omitted), but since the Persians still call 'bread' nan today, a textual correction is entirely justified. This case shows — among others — that Greek speculation about the alphabet was influenced by the Near East. In this case, the transmission must have taken place through Mithraism and the associated mysticism of letters. We must also assume that this speculation combined the letter l with grain (fodder crops, etc.), the letter 12 with trees (fruit trees), and the letter 13 with bread (or some other related symbol). Here we see a naturally coherent sequence of letter mysticism. In alphabet magic, each letter was probably attributed to a divine or demonic power. In late antiquity, the representative of the receiving and giving female primal force was the goddess Demeter, the "mother of grain." Bread or flour is mentioned in Greek, among other things, as "Demeter's seed" (JrjjLtrjTSQog äurri). Demeter was a counterpart to the Persian-Babylonian goddess Anahita-Ishtar, the most important fertility goddess of the Mithraic cult that developed in the Near East. In the Roman form of this originally Persian-Babylonian cult, this fertility goddess also merged with the originally Phrygian Cybele, commonly

called Magna mater (the great mother). It is of some interest that this deity was worshipped in Asia Minor in the form of a black meteorite, which was brought to Rome in 204 BC ("the great mother from Ida"). In view of the late antique mysticism and magic's conception of Demeter-Cybele, it is highly probable that the 13th letter could be understood as having significance for procreation and birth. In connection with the expression "stone (rock) of birth," petra geneseös (névga ysvéöews), used in Mithraism, the runic name petra may have arisen.

The counterpart of Demeter and Magna Mater in Germanic mythology was, of course, the goddess Earth, also called Fiorgyn in Icelandic. This name is related to the Gothic word fairguni, 'mountain, rock'. Since the letter f was needed for the 24th rune (cf. below), the creator of the runic alphabet could not use the goddess's specifically Germanic name. If he had instead turned to Latin or Greek word material, petra, nέxQa, 'rock', would have been the most obvious choice.

In the following essay on Lappish magic, it will be shown that the northern peoples used a certain stone (lausnarsteinn) for magical purposes during childbirth. The figure that appears on the pagan-style Lapp magic drums and seems most likely to correspond to the 13th rune sign refers to a goddess of childbirth (Madderakka).

The thirteenth stanza of the Edda poem "Oden's Magic Songs" also seems to refer to magic associated with a birth ceremony:

"A thirteenth I can
with power give
to the arrow, which I have dipped in water,
that he shall not fall,
however fierce the battle;
nor shall he fall by the sword."

It is reasonable to assume that what is meant here is that through a galder, the goddess of childbirth is persuaded to grant a safe life to

a newborn, newly baptized baby boy. (Baptism was not a specifically Christian ceremony.)

The number 13 is, as we know, generally considered unlucky in our time. However, if we study ancient magic, we find that 13 was by no means consistently regarded as unlucky. In Jewish magic and mysticism, for example, 13 was an important number, but by no means distinctly unlucky. From a statement in Exodus 34:6, rabbinical exegesis concluded that God had 13 attributes, there were 13 tables in the temple, and the Holy Land was divided into 13 parts, the 13th of which, according to the Talmud (Baba bathra 122), would fall to the Messiah. The fact that 13 has become an unlucky number in the Christian world is clearly due primarily to the fact that among the 13 at the Last Supper, one was a traitor and one (Messiah-Jesus) was betrayed and killed. The superstitious fear of thirteen at the table undoubtedly stems from this circumstance.

Nor is there any evidence that the number 13 was considered unlucky in ancient runic magic. An examination of the well-known inscription on the golden horn from Gallehus, shows that this, in the event that it was used to count numbers — as indicated by, among other things, the complicated distinguishing marks — was designed to emphasize the number 13. For details, I refer to chapter 9 of my book "Senantik mysteriereligion och nordisk runmagi" (Late Antique Mystery Religion and Nordic Rune Magic). Previously, I have assumed that the number 13 refers to the god Ull. However, if the idegransruna was the 12th sign in the utharkra-den, this assumption can no longer be considered valid. A more plausible explanation in this case can be found in connection with the above-mentioned 13th stanza of "Oden's Magic Songs": the horn may have been consecrated to the gods so that the giver would not "fall by the sword." In addition, the number 13 was used in the name of the magnate who had it made. The runemaster therefore ensured that the sum of the numerical values of all the characters was a multiple of 13 (390 = 30 x 13). He achieved this with the help of an extra

artistic device: the use of quadruple separators (single or double would normally have been sufficient). These circumstances explain why the inscription, despite its simple wording — "I, HlewagastiR from Holt, made the horn" (see fig. 19) — is associated with rather complex gematria: 13 is included in the numerical values of three different groups of characters and is also found in the sum of the characters in the first rune group (ekhlewagasttR = 13 runes). In the later runic period, it seems that people switched to counting only the number of characters, whereas in earlier times, following a more or less similar Greek model in magical inscriptions, the numerical values of the characters were primarily taken into account (alu = 3 + 20 + 1 = 24, etc.). A very instructive example is the magical inscription on the Lindholm amulet, which I will discuss below. However, there are undoubtedly some inscriptions from the early runic period where the number of characters was the essential or numerically mystical only significant factor. In late antiquity, the Greeks used both methods, sometimes simultaneously (this is the case on the Lindholm amulet and also, as we shall see, on the golden horn from Gallehus, cf. section 18).

In late magical practices in Scandinavia, the number 13 still appears in certain cases in connection with the induction of a birth process. In Skåne, a laying hen is placed on 13 eggs and a Tuesday (Eva Wigström). A Swedish book of black magic ("Salomoniska magiska konster") prescribes that, in order to make a snake give birth to a so-called "worm stone," one must tie it tightly around the navel with a strand of black silk made from 13 threads.

14. As the fourteenth sign in the utharkrad, we have, in connection with all runic monuments, the rune y, used in the north as a symbol for an r-sound occurring at the end of a word (transcribed as i?). At first glance, it may seem as if the sign ^ on the Grumpan braktee (see fig. 3) has been replaced by the Ingruna, the 21st sign of the uthark (<^> on the Vadstena braktee). However, in my opinion, which has been endorsed by other researchers, we are

dealing here with an Ingruna: the symbol /S has been placed on a staff and thus taken the form ^, but on the brakteate, the upper part of the symbol has been hidden under the edge of the frame. The same fate has befallen the adjacent £> rune, so that both signs appear as fv in place of ^j> O. It should be noted that the ^--sign y^ is in its normal place. The rune y, on the other hand, has been completely erased. Had the pendant not been damaged in the place where the characters y^ are to be expected, the same types would certainly have appeared here as on the Vadstena brakteate. There can therefore be no doubt about the ordinal number of the rune y: it is the 15th in the futhark arrangement and thus the 14th in the uthark row. However, it is difficult to determine the original name of the rune, since the sign in the north has taken over the name of the ihwag rune (yr) and, within the Gothic alphabet, has probably been given a new name with b inside the word. In Anglo-Saxon runic poetry, the sign ^Y is called eolhx. From being a symbol for the tone 5 = (3) or a related sound at the end of a word, it has come to serve as the symbol for ks (x) in Anglo-Saxon. According to von Friesen, the new sound value was added to the original name eolh, 'elk' (from West Germanic *elhaz). In an Anglo-Saxon runic inscription I found in the British Museum, arranged in connection with the Latin alphabet, after the letter u, i.e. as a sign for x, there is a rune with the name xelach. Here, the new sound value has been placed before the original name. In German libraries, I have come across the following name forms: helach = x (Heidelberg, 11th century, Bamberg, 11th century), elx and elux (Munich, 11th century), elcd (Munich, 9th century, x sign, after u). With von Friesen, I assume that the Anglo-Saxon runic tradition transformed a name that meant 'elk', used in Scandinavia to denote the r sound occurring at the end of words (*algiR). Is this also the original name of the rune? I have previously assumed that this name with the meaning 'elk' replaced a similar, now incomprehensible god name *alhis: Alcis in Tacitus, the name of a pair of divine brothers worshipped by the ancient Germans, compared by Tacitus to Castor and Pollux, the so-called

Dioscuri. These were star deities. Among other things, a constellation, Gemini, was named after them. In ancient times, stars were used as the emblem of the Dioscuri, usually two of them (sometimes two with caps adorned with stars). We also know that the Dioscuri were eagerly worshipped by the Roman Mithraists.

That the 14th Greek letter had a certain connection with the concept of the star is evident from the Greek text "Etymology of the Alphabet." Here, 5 (£), xi, the 14th letter of the alphabet, is combined with the word aster, 'star', preceded by an adjective denoting something sword-shaped. A related noun (xifias: §t(plag)) is mentioned in Greek literature as referring to a comet (a sword-like star). The fact that the Greek alphabet was combined with such a special name for a celestial body is clearly due to the desire to have a word beginning with the sound combination ks (x), which was represented by the 14th letter (£). We therefore have good reason to suspect that the 14th letter was originally magically associated with the stars. In the Byzantine document I found, the 13th letter is associated with the word qxoörfj-Qeg (foster es), which in late Greek (e.g., in the New Testament) has the meaning 'stars'. The alphabetical mystical system described in the Byzantine document, which is also preserved in all its essential features in the aforementioned Coptic edition, is based—probably in connection with Semitic letter magic—on a simplified Greek alphabet in which the double consonant signs § (ks) and \p (ps) have been omitted. This results in the desired 22 characters (as in the Hebrew and other Semitic alphabets). The 14th and 23rd letters (§ and ip) have thus been removed. If, in a model based on a complete Greek alphabet, the 14th letter had a particularly important function, this may have been transferred to the 13th letter.

The aim here was to adapt the alphabet to different stages of a creation story. However, as already mentioned, this creation story is closer to the Iranian than to the Jewish one. According to the Bundehesh (chap. 1), Ahura Mazda first created the heavens, then

the waters, then the earth, then the plants and animals, and finally man. The course of development is thus parallel to the Jewish creation story in Genesis, but differs from the outset in that Ahura Mazda creates water after creating the sky and before creating the earth. This corresponds to the account in the Coptic text, which is a translation of a Greek version of the Byzantine manuscript I found. The first element of creation mentioned is "the sky," the second "the abyss" (a creation of Angra Mainyus, Ahriman), the third "the water," and the fourth "the earth." In Genesis it says: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." The Coptic-Greek alphabet combination deviates even more clearly from Genesis in that the stars are mentioned as having been created before the sun and the moon, an order that is found in Bundehesh (chapter 2), where it is said that Ahura Mazda created light between heaven and earth, first the fixed stars and planets, then the moon, and finally the sun (the planets then fell away and entered into a covenant with Angra Mainyu, chapter 3). In Genesis, the great lights (the sun and the moon) are mentioned first, then the stars. Even in the order of the creation of animals, the Byzantine manuscript and its parallel, the Coptic translation, differ from the account in Genesis (more on this below).

What interests us most now is the fact that the stars are associated with a letter that precedes the one associated with the sun and moon (the great lights). This was obviously the case in the original, and judging by the Greek text "Etymology of the Alphabet" (cf. above), this letter was precisely the 14th (<f). This letter was removed in order to obtain 22 characters. However, what it was associated with played such an important role in the history of creation that this element could not be omitted. Therefore, the 13th letter (v) has been combined with what originally belonged to the 14th letter (£). The 15th letter (o) is then obtained by omitting the 14th (§) and combining it, as we shall see, with the sun and the moon.

From what has been said so far, it is clear that there is a strong probability that the creator of the runic alphabet, as a pattern in late antique letter mysticism, had an alphabetical arrangement in which the 14th letter (ᛇ) was combined with the stars or with the Dioscuri, who had stars as their emblem. If we choose the latter alternative, it fits well with my hypothesis about *alhi8 (= Akis) as the original rune name. However, the first alternative is by no means excluded, but it can only be upheld on the condition that the runic symbol creator, instead of using stars above the head, associated the rune with a specific constellation. In that case, it may have been the constellation Gemini, which may have been called *alhig, but it may just as well have been some other constellation significant to the fixed starry sky, which in that case would have been called "the Moose." We would then have a reflection of the original name (> Old Norse *algiR) in the Anglo-Saxon runic name. Unfortunately, very little is known about the names of constellations used by the ancient Germans and Scandinavians. However, the fact that such purely indigenous (typically Germanic pagan) names existed is evident from the sparse Swedish and Icelandic traditions that have been preserved. Furthermore, the Lapps borrowed a great deal from the Germanic peoples of Scandinavia in earlier times. Many of their constellation names are therefore likely to have been adopted from names used among the Germanic northerners during pagan times. It is therefore interesting that the Lapps actually know of a large constellation, which they call Sarv = "the moose." According to an 18th-century lexicon (Lindahl and Öhrling), Sarv, "moose," was the name of the Big Dipper. According to the modern Lapp Johan Turi, the largest constellation in Lapp astronomy is called "the moose" and is formed by stars in Cassiopeia, Perseus, and Auriga (the latter constellation is located immediately next to Gemini, the zodiac sign of the Dioscuri). The moose is not a particularly typical Lappish animal; its actual habitat is in central Scandinavia. (In the first centuries of our era, moose were also found in the lands inhabited by the South Germanic peoples, even as far south as the Balkan Peninsula. On

Lappish magic drums, there is a figure that can clearly be recognized as an elk and has also been identified as such by the Lapps. This elk is usually found very close to the sign of the sun. In earlier times, it was placed on the upward ray of the sun or "path" (see fig. 20). This may be due to the fact that the two runic names with the meanings "moose" and "sob" follow each other in the Scandinavian runic alphabet. If *algiR, "moose," was the original name of the 14th utharkruna, the creator of the runic alphabet proceeded according to the principle of pars pro toto (as in a previous case, when a name meaning 'yew tree' came to represent trees).

However, even if this rune originally had a name meaning 'elk', it must be assumed that the sign was associated with a particular mythological concept. We know that animals were symbols of the Norse gods: the horse for Odin, the boar for Freyr, the son for Freja, etc. Above, I have assumed that the bear was the sacred animal of the hunting god Ull. Perhaps the horned big game, the moose and the deer, were sacred to the Germanic Dioscuri, the divine pair of brothers mentioned by Tacitus, who in the Scandinavian north were once called Balder and Höder. (Enmity and rivalry between twin gods is an ancient concept in Indo-European mythology and elsewhere.) In a Christian but ancient mystical poem from the Far North, "Solsången" (Song of the Sun), there is mention of an animal of a clearly astral nature:

"The sun's deer
came from the south;
two men reined him in."

It is not impossible that a reminiscence of the pagan mythological world has lingered in this passage of the poem. The "sun's deer" (in earlier times possibly "the sun's elk") may have been thought to be alternately reined in by two divine brothers: the ancient Germanic Dioscuri. In all Indo-European mythology, the Dioscuri appear in close connection with the sun. It seems clear that in the North, Balder was a god of the year and light. I think Höder was his

counterpart: the dark Dioscuri. (The ancient Dioscuri were thought to represent the light and dark parts of the heavens, respectively.) It is likely that Balder was originally thought to rule during the light part of the year, while his counterpart, the "blind" (actually "dark") Höder, ruled during the dark part. In a study of astrology and Icelandic poetry, I have shown that certain purely astronomical reasons suggest that Balder's castle "Bredablick" mentioned in the Edda was the constellation Gemini, which included the sun when midsummer was about to begin. (See chapter 3 of my book Senantik mysteriereligion och nordisk runmagi [Late Antique Mystery Religion and Norse Rune Magic].)

In the Edda, the fourteenth stanza of Odin's magic songs refers to knowledge of gods and elves. "Such things many wise men do not know," ends the rather obscure statement. In my opinion, there is no reason to assume that this is an allusion to knowledge of the stars. In Gylfaginning, it is mentioned that gods and light elves lived in different places in the sky; the light elves in Alfhem, which in an Edda poem is mentioned as the heavenly abode of the god Frej. In the same passage in Gylfaginning, Odin's dwelling place is mentioned as "Valaskalv." It also mentions "Bredablick" and others from the poetic Edda as places known as the dwellings of the gods. Of "Himmelberg," Heimdall's dwelling place, it is said that it lies where the bridge Bifrost "touches the sky."

Runic inscriptions with clearly prominent letter magic associated with the number 14 are rare. There may be a case of such runic magic in a section of the Rökstenen, which I have interpreted as referring to Balder (see "Rökstenens chiffergåtor och andra runologiska problem" [The Rökstenen cipher riddles and other runological problems]).

15. The fifteenth rune ᛋ, the sign for the s sound, has a name which in all preserved traditions has the meaning 'sun': forn. söl, etc. Anglo-Saxon sources generally give sigil as the name for the s rune (sigil in the manuscript I found in the British Museum). The

meaning of this word is indirectly apparent from a number of adjectival and substantive formations (e.g., the word for 'heliotrope' = 'sun-turning', etc.). In runic name records of Anglo-Saxon origin, which I have encountered in German libraries, the following evidence exists: suhil (Heidelberg, 11th century, and Bamberg, 13th century), sigo (Munich, 11th century), sol (variant in the same manuscript), sil (somewhat unclear, Munich, 9th century). The runic row in which sol appears as the name for the s-rune shows a number of other runic names of non-Anglo-Saxon origin: e.g. naut (next to net). Since the 15th day of the Avestan lunar calendar was dedicated to Ahura Mazda and the 16th to Mithra, there may already have been a motive for Mithraic letter magic to associate the 15th letter of the alphabet with the sun. In Babylonian times, Shamash (the sun) and Mithra were united into a twin deity.

However, the Greek-Semitic alphabet mysticism, which was independent of Mithraism, also played a decisive role. The 15th Greek letter was the letter O. This round symbol resembles the outline of the sun. It can be traced back to an older Semitic symbol in the shape of a circle called 'eye' (Hebrew *ajin, whose original form has been greatly altered). For a letter magician, this naturally suggested an association with the sun or the full moon. In the magical language, the sun and moon have been associated with the two eyes of the human body since ancient times. The Egyptians perceived the sun as the right eye of the god Amun-Ra and the moon as his left eye. In the Paris manuscript I found, where, as mentioned, the 14th letter of the normal alphabet, £, has been removed from the alphabet row, the 14th letter, i.e., the ö sign, is associated with “the sun and the moon” (fjÅiog nat ösAtjvt]). In a model that, like the runic row, had 24 characters, the same letter, but with the ordinal number 15, should thus have been associated with the sun. We also know from other sources that the 15th letter of the Greek alphabet was regarded as a solar symbol. In late antique alphabet mysticism, this letter (according to a work by the paleographer Kopp) could be

exchanged for the astrological sign of the sun: the figure <</ (variant /P). That the creator of the runic row based his choice of name for the 15th sign in the sequence on late antique models is obvious to anyone who assesses the facts without bias. It cannot be a coincidence that a sign with the ordinal number 15 is associated with the sun in both late antique letter mysticism and runic magic, when a series of other correspondences can be demonstrated, including such an obvious parallel as in the case of the 11th letter (cf. above).

That the Persian religion, which also exerted influence from the West, associated the magical influence of the sun with the number 15, is evident with some certainty from a passage in the Bundehesh. Chapter 15 of this work mentions that the first human couple was born from the seed of the first man, after it had been purified by the sun. This first human couple (man and woman) emerged from a plant with 15 leaves, and in appearance these humans were like 15-year-olds. It is likely that the numerical symbolism underlying this representation took into account a 15-year influence of the sun.

The fact that the number 15 in Norse magic was associated with the sun seems to me to be hinted at in the fifteenth stanza of the Edda poem "Odens trollsånger" (Oden's magic songs): "I know a fifteenth, who sang to me, the dwarf at Dellings door. He sang powerfully to the mountains, to the happiness of the Alvars, and rich wisdom to Hropt."

The expression "at Delling's door" undoubtedly refers to the sun. Edda scholars before me have interpreted it as meaning "at sunrise." According to Norse mythology, Delling was the father of Dag. Those familiar with astrological speculation also see in the latter half of the stanza an allusion to the sun and its magical power. Astrologers have attributed to this royal planet the ability to give strength and power. Furthermore, the sun, the planet of Apollo, the god of wisdom, was considered to be the heavenly power that bestowed the gifts of understanding. A reflection of this belief seems to have penetrated the worldview of the Lapps through North German mediation:

according to information from 1727, they sacrificed to the sun specifically to cure mental illness ("lack of understanding," Sidenius, also Forbus).

Among runic inscriptions consisting of 15 characters, the runic row on the large gold ring from Pietroassa is noteworthy: gutaniowihailag. The most reasonable interpretation of this inscription, which is by all accounts sacred, is probably: "the Gothic temple treasure (is) inviolable." A space divides the semicircular runic row into two groups, one with nine (gutaniowi) and one with six runes (hatlag). This may have been intended to emphasize the number of Ananke and the sacrificial offering, as well as the sun (9 + 6 = 15). An intimate connection between the sun and gold existed in ancient speculation (in alchemy, for example, the astrological sign of the sun was used to denote gold). Among many peoples, the ring is also a symbol of the sun and was used in sun sacrifices. The Lapps, for example, sacrificed a brass ring to the sun; reindeer bones were placed in a ring during sun sacrifices, etc. (Leem, Reuterskiöld).

A Danish spell intended to subdue the elf queen ("Ellekonen") goes: "Ellekone! Ellekone! Are you here, then you shall leave here on fifteen oak sticks!"

When this was said, 'Ellekonen' appeared (Thiele). As the tree of the god of lightning, the oak, a plant of great significance in magic, has been associated with fire and the sun. The sun rune undoubtedly belonged to the anti-demonic symbols. The fact that the formula refers specifically to fifteen oak sticks may have its origin in an ancient form of runic magic. However, the number may also have arisen as a reinforcement (3 x 5) of the number 5, the number of the torch rune and fire.

16. The sixteenth rune, ^, the sign for Mjudet, is the rune of the god Tyr. Rune name information from various sources indicate this (fornisl. Tyr, etc.). In the Avestan-Persian lunar calendar, the 16th day was sacred to the god Mithra, like Tyr, a god of victory. In the

Edda poem about Sigurd and the Valkyrie (Sigrdrifumäl), this rune is referred to as the "victory rune": one must mention its name (Tyr) twice and carve it in three places on the sword. In this magical operation, consideration is thus given to both the numbers of the thursars and the gods. The fact that it must be carved in three places corresponds to the third stanza of "Oden's magic songs" (cf. above under 3). That Tyr was related to the thursars is suggested in the Edda poem about the visit to the giant Hyme. Mithras's characteristic as a god of victory is particularly emphasized in Roman Mithraism. He was usually called "the undefeated god" (Dens Invictus) and was clearly the soldiers' chief patron god. That his number was 16 is attested not only by the Avestan-Persian calendar, but also by numerous Mithraic amulets preserved to our time. Such amulets feature a 16-pointed star, and there are also examples of this figure appearing together with the name of Mithras: on an amulet preserved from late antiquity, this name appears under the 16-pointed star (MsidQac; the i sound is probably written with si for talismanic reasons, cf. above p. 14). That within the Hellenic world a god's sacred number was his day number is a phenomenon often observed in antiquity. Apollo's number 7 is said to be lucky, and this god is said to have been born on the 7th day of the month. Hermes-Mercurius' day of the week was 4, which is why this number was considered his, etc. According to the same principle, Mithras' number was undoubtedly 16. The closest equivalent to the "unconquered god" of Mithraism must have been Tyr, the Germanic god of victory at that time. Incidentally, we know from the Edda that Tyr's rune was the "rune of victory." At the time of the emergence of runic writing, Odin was, by all accounts, primarily a god of magic and death. He probably only acquired the character of a god of victory during the Viking Age, when he was the chief sacrificial god of the warrior kings.

Since the sacred documents of Mithraism have been lost through systematic persecution by Christians, there are only indirect

indications that Mithra was associated with the 16th letter of the alphabet (ar) in Greek letter magic. In the Paris manuscript I found (as in the Coptic parallel text), the letter jr, which by striking out the sign £ has become the 15th, is associated with "the setting (déoig) of the sun and moon in the sky." This suggests that someone was struggling to fill a gap. All evidence suggests that at one time the purely Mithraic alphabet mysticism associated the 16th letter (among 24 characters) with Mithra, who was so closely associated with the sun.

However, there is no evidence that the 16th Greek letter (12) was a symbol of Mithra. On a Mithraic coin from Tarsus (fig. 21) there are two isolated ZZ signs, perhaps alluding to Mithra, whose image is found on the other side of the coin. Of greater interest is a Greek inscription from late antiquity found in Maschtala in Asia Minor in 1899. The inscription in question is located at the bottom of a large stone slab, on which Mithra is depicted in relief standing on a bull, which is being attacked by a two-headed snake, the symbol of the demon (see fig. 22). The inscription reads: "The great god Sill." The 24th (co) and 16th (ri) letters of the Greek alphabet thus form a mystical formula, hinting at the name of the god. Since Mithra and Abraxas-Aion were combined in late antique magic (cf. the previous example), I believe there are good reasons to see a reference to this dual deity here. S2, which in its number 24 indicates the number of all letters, may have been understood as a symbol of Abraxas, the god of the year and the alphabet, for whom the snake and the circle, both reminiscent of the 24th Greek letter, especially in its shape w, are well-established emblems. Mithras has been added to the letter symbol of Abraxas: in view of his number 16, he has been combined with the 16th letter, i.e. II. Some researchers certainly wish to see the god Jupiter Dolichenus of Asia Minor in the god figure on the Maschtala plate instead of Mithra. However, there is no example whatsoever of Dolichenus sacrificing a bull. And in this case, it is undoubtedly a question of a bull sacrifice. The rear of the bull has

sunk toward the ground, and just as on the Roman Mithra monuments, the body of the sacrificial animal is attacked from below by a reptile (a symbol of evil). It is understandable that this newly discovered Asian representation of Mithra is of a different type than the previously known Hellenic-Roman images of Mithra. These were actually created with the bull-slaying Nike as a model. In the Near East, a different development of the image motif should be expected. In addition, in the present case, we are dealing with a variant of Mithra, the Abraxas-Mithra of magic and letter mysticism.

Due to the statement in the Edda poem Sigrdrifumål about the meaning of the god Tyr's sign (the victory rune, cf. above), one should expect to find letter magic with the number 16 on weapons, especially swords:

"Learn the battle runes
— they are required for victory —
inscribe them on the hilt of your sword."

(The entire stanza has been taken into account above under 3; the original has 'victory runes' for 'battle runes'). The only sword with a longer runic inscription that has been preserved is a short sword found in the River Thames (fig. 6): here, however, there appears to be letter magic with the number 17, due to the fact that the owner's name began with the rune b (Beagnofi). A piece of bone found a few years ago in the Weser River appears to have been intended as the shaft of a stabbing weapon. According to my calculations, the numerical value of all the symbols is 13 x 16. Gematria with the numbers of Tyr and Mithras may therefore be present here. However, scientific discussion regarding the authenticity of this find is still ongoing. (See my work "Rökstenens chiffergåtor och andra runologiska problem" for more details.) In Scandinavia, there are no runic weapons with longer inscriptions. The few that exist are difficult to read and may be incomplete (e.g., the inscription on the Stabuspjutet). Some letter formulas, reported in the Icelandic black magic book published by Nat. Lindqvist's Icelandic book on black

magic, may possibly be related to the number 16 as the number of the sword god Tyr. The Icelandic script contains a letter formula against all kinds of danger. This is said to have the effect of ensuring that "no sword can harm" the bearer. The formula consists of 16 letters, accompanied by a Christian cross of the so-called Greek type (fig. 23). In Christian letter mysticism, the letter T was interpreted as referring to the cross. I therefore consider it likely that the original formula consisted of 16 staves + the T rune, in which case we have a parallel to the formula mentioned under 7 (7 staves + the W rune). The last two letters of the formula probably refer back to the H runes: together they form the number 16 (8+8). Another formula, found in the same book of black magic, consists of 2 x 16 staves and is said to provide protection against enemies (harm from enemies). Two Norwegian formulas for "overcoming" and "destroying" enemies (in Bang) each consist of 16 characters. In the Edda stanza, which is said to refer to Odin's sixteenth magic song, there is no reference to battle and victory other than in an erotic sense: to win a woman's favor by "turning her mind." Since the following 17th stanza is defective and the 17th rune, which we shall see below, has had significance for women, it is possible that the magic song indicated in the text as the "sixteenth" was originally the "seventeenth" (the alliteration is the same in both cases). However, it is not entirely necessary to assume a confusion regarding the order number of this stanza. In late antique magical formulas of corresponding erotic meaning, there are allusions to the god of war Ares-Mars, and in Swedish folklore preserved to a late date, Tuesday —the day of Mars and Tyr—seems to have a certain significance for the female sex. I have already mentioned above a similar case, that the hen should be laid on eggs on a Tuesday (cf. under 13).

17. The seventeenth rune [<;, the sign for the b sound, is associated in the Germanic letter traditions with a name meaning 'birch' or 'birch twig' (fornisl. biarkan etc). In the Avestan-Persian lunar calendar, the 17th day was dedicated to Mithras' brother

Sraosha. His emblem was a bundle of rice. Since sacred twigs have played an important role in magic, especially in fertility rites, it is possible that the creator of the runic alphabet saw in Sraosha's bundle of rice a symbol with the same meaning as the birch twigs in ancient Germanic folk magic. (In the Nordic countries, birch twigs are still used in fertility magic today.)

However, the fact that the 17th rune was given a name that can be understood as a symbol of fertility may have a direct connection with late antique letter magic. In the Paris manuscript I found, the 17th Greek letter q (which, for reasons already mentioned, is the 16th) is associated with “fish” (ixtivec; = ichthyes). There is much to suggest that we may be dealing here with a remnant of a very ancient alphabetical tradition. In the Semitic alphabet, the 15th letter had a name meaning 'fish' (Hebrew sämcek). When, for magical-optical reasons, the originally round symbol, which in the Greek alphabet became the 15th (o), was combined with the sun's eye and, in addition, in a Mithraic system the 16th letter was assigned to Mithra, the 17th may have been associated with the fish for reasons of location. Nothing prevents both the letter o and q from having had their mystical meaning in the Semitic alphabet, the former in the sign called 'eye' (fajm), the latter in the sign called 'fish' (sämcek). For several reasons, which I have explained in detail in previous writings, the fish was a symbol of fertility in the Near East. It was, for example, the sacred animal of the goddess Atargatis. In the general mystical speculation of late antiquity, the fish was a symbol of life-giving moisture. Of particular interest is that “Bundehesh” (chap. 21) informs us that the “sacred scripture” of the Persian religion (i.e., the Avesta in its oldest unadulterated form) mentions seventeen different kinds of moisture (that of plants, rivers, rainwater, etc.). All these types of moisture are said to work together to produce vegetative and animal life. Here we find the same magical worldview as in Norse birch magic. The two symbols, “fish” and “deciduous tree branch” (“birch twig”), refer to the same thing. It is

possible that Sraosha was given a bunch of leaves in his hand because his number was 17, the number of vegetative power. In any case, there are strong reasons to believe that magic influenced by Mithraism associated the number 17 and its symbol in the alphabet with fertility.

We can be fairly certain that the birch crown, the island sign, the 17th in the alphabet, was associated with Frigg and the fertility magic linked to this goddess. Icelandic tradition, albeit of relatively recent origin, attests that the island rune had special significance for women. As already mentioned, this is consistent with the birch magic still alive in the Nordic countries. The woman's soul is "bound" to a birch tree and is said to "live" in it, according to folklore recorded in Ostrobothnia in Finland, to mention just one fairly telling example. Furthermore, a medieval manuscript tells us that in pagan times, the birch was Frigg's sacred tree. We have reason to believe that the number 17 had significance in connection with women in Icelandic sorcery because of the "troll staff kvennagaldur" mentioned by Jon Ärnason: this is said to consist of 8 ass runes and 9 naud runes, i.e. 8 + 9 = 17 characters. The runes thus form Frigg's number. The formula is said to be intended to "force a woman to love someone."

Frigg's counterpart among the Lapps is Sarakka, to whom Friday, Frigg's day, was sacred. On several Lapp drums, birch trees are depicted next to the figure said to represent "Sarakka's tent." Furthermore, birch twigs have been found at an important Sarakka ceremony: the pagan baptism of the Lapps, which will be described in more detail below. That the birch tree was in some way connected with the number 17 in the magical rites of the Lapps seems to me to be evident from a detailed account of the Lapps' bear festival in earlier times (mid-18th century) found in 1912 and published by Professor Wiklund. The description mentions that the men, after leaving the bear hut and entering the tepee through the sacred door, washed themselves thoroughly in water mixed with ashes from "nine

birch trees." At the same time, a song they sang included words meaning: "wash yourself well, bear man, in the water of eight and nine birch trees." The sum of 8 and 9 is 17, the number of birch trees in the utharkrad. Since the song in Lappish is obviously the best way to keep the tradition alive, I think we should interpret it this way: the Lapps burned birch twigs in a number that matched the sacred number of the birch in Norse magic, 17, and split the magical operation into two parts: first, eight birch twigs were placed in the water, then another nine, thus emphasizing the important magic number nine. (An analogous case exists in the Icelandic magic staff kvennagaldur mentioned above.) Later, people were content with just nine, as the connection between the birch and the number 17 had been forgotten (cf. above under 9). Tunder is a growth on birch trees, suitable for lighting fires. The fact that the Lapps washed themselves in water mixed with ashes from birch twigs is probably because they wanted to make themselves harmless to women (see the example from S. Drake, mentioned above under 9). The bear and everything associated with it were taboo for women. A parallel to this division of the number 17 into 8 + 9 found among the Lapps can be found in Swedish folk magic in Norrland. There, eight types of wood sticks are used as a frame, wrapped in nine different types of yarn, to make a so-called bjära. The magical tool thus consists of 17 parts. The task of the bjära (or milk hares) was to enchant a female creature, a cow, and suck its milk (Heurgren). According to the Lapp Jon Johansson, the bjära must be whipped with a birch twig in order to work.

Among older runic inscriptions, there are several where letter magic with the number 17 appears to be present. The Charnay brooch, which was undoubtedly worn by a woman, has a formulaic inscription in which, according to numerical calculation in connection with the arrangement of the outer row, the number 17 can be found in no less than five different cases in the combinations of symbols. (In chapter 9 of my book "Senantik mysteriereligion och

nordisk runmagi" [Late Antique Mystery Religion and Nordic Rune Magic] provides an account of this.) The same type of gematria (numerical value calculation) is found in the inscription on another piece of women's jewelry (from Faxo in Denmark). This consists of three joined bracteates, each bearing the runic sequence nalsof (numerical value: 1+3 + 20+15 + 22 + 24 = 85, i.e. 5 X 17). In the Icelandic book on black magic published by Nat. Lindqvist's Icelandic black magic book, there is a description of a magical operation to discover a thief. This involves the use of three sticks, which, judging by the text, refer to three invoked Norse gods. These are said to be: Thor, Frigg, and Belsebub-Odin ("tor frich Belsebub odin"). Two of the sticks are runes, reminiscent of the Korschiffer on the Rökstenen. The third symbol consists of a large circle surrounded by three smaller ones (see fig. 24). In this larger circle is a letter that resembles a capital Latin B in shape but is probably related to a runic symbol of the same type, Frigg's rune. The first of the two cross-shaped runic symbols has nine "branches" (side projections): the sign is therefore likely to be a cryptogram for the emergency rune associated with the number 9, the rune of fate and a magical sign for Odin in his capacity as god of magic. The second cross-shaped maple rune has twelve "branches," and therefore may originally have been a cryptogram for the juniper rune associated with the number 12, the sign of Ull. A late practitioner of magic may have misinterpreted this symbol, which also features the number 4 ("branches" in four places), as a symbol of Thor.

In this context, I would like to mention that in my work "Rökstenens chiffergåtor och andra runologiska problem" (The Rökstenen cipher riddles and other runological problems), I sought a solution to the Rökstenen cross cipher according to the principle stated here. The presence of a cross symbol with branches on only three arms suggests that, unlike previous researchers, we should not interpret such a cross with side projections as a cryptogram containing a reference to two runes (through the use of two family

numbers together with two sign numbers). A cross-shaped rune cryptogram can only refer to a single rune, in which case it is most likely to represent numerical symbols for the runes in the old 24-character runic alphabet, some knowledge of which survived into the Viking Age (after the year 800) and later. However, like the author of the Kylver inscription, the smoke stone magician has reversed the order of the 12th and 13th runes. These two signs never appeared in normal use, so a certain uncertainty must have arisen very quickly about their numerical values and, as a result, about their place in the runic row.

As I mentioned earlier, the Edda stanza referring to Odin's seventeenth magic song is incomplete. However, what has been preserved clearly refers to a woman:

"I know a seventeenth:
that she will forget me late,
the maiden who is loved by me."

As a curiosity without any real evidential value, it may finally be mentioned that one or two formulas for arousing female love, recorded in Scandinavia, consist of 17 letters. For example, this one from Denmark: Sater Mater Elreger. The last magic word also consists of seven letters (cf. under 7); the same is true of the word Sadorsa, which was used as a love formula. In most of these formulas, the words sound like distorted Latin. However, in late antique magic, the number 17 had the same meaning as in Norse magic. It is known from various sources that the 17th Greek letter was mystically associated with certain words that are symbolic of female sexuality (janaa, 'gate', etc.). Those interested are referred to my book Die spätantike Alphabetmystik und die Runenreihe.

18. The eighteenth rune [^ the symbol for the e sound] came into practical use in Scandinavia before the Viking Age and was replaced by the i rune. In the Anglo-Saxon rune tradition, its name is preserved as ek, a word meaning 'horse' (related to the Latin eqitus).

As the ancient Germanic god of horses, we can think of Odin, who in Icelandic sagas is often referred to by horse names. Furthermore, it is a very reasonable assumption that the horse rune came to Odin in his capacity as the god of death. Even in late Swedish folklore, the horse is an animal closely associated with death. Nicolovius recounts that even at the beginning of the 19th century, farmers in southern Skåne had a vague concept of "Hels häst" (Hels' horse), and that when escaping death, they used to say: "This time I gave death a bushel of oats." Hyltén-Cavallius recounts that among the peasantry of his time in Småland, it was sometimes considered necessary to "sacrifice" or "give to Odin's horses." The "Noens häst" mentioned in Eva Wigström's notes from Skåne and southern Sweden is undoubtedly Odin's (cf. above under 10). In Swedish folklore, Odin has ultimately become synonymous with "the evil one." The same development has taken place in other Nordic countries. In an Icelandic book of black magic from the 16th century, Belsebub-Odin is invoked and referred to as "Odenn Ille," i.e., "Odin the Evil." The Lapps also imagine the devil, coming to take a dead person, in the form of a horse (Pirak: "a heavy-footed horse came before you"; referring to a death omen for a Lapp who had made a pact with the devil). The bat, among other animals, was considered "the animal of the evil one." Of particular interest is that in some places, including Skåne, it was called attanpackan (Eva Wigström). This is consistent with my theory that the number 18 (Swedish dialect attan) is the number of the god Odin. Another example of the use of 18 as the number of evil (originally Odin) is preserved in certain swear words. Rietz cites the expression "Dä va attan, vad du kör" (That's the devil, what you're doing) in his dialect dictionary from Götaland. In my childhood in Värmland, I often heard the expression "Dä vore väl själve attan, om inte . . ." (That would be the devil himself, if not . . .). According to German folklore, the bat is an animal that heralds death. J. Grimm mentions a case of German superstition in which the bat and the horse are associated with each other. If you wrote magic words with the blood of a bat on a house door, when

you returned after a while, you would see a horse in front of the door.

A number of passages in Germanic pagan literature also give unmistakable hints of the connection between the number 18 and Odin. The so-called "Odin's magic songs" in the Edda are 18 in number. The stanza alluding to the 18th and last of these is likely to have had a meaning in its original form that can be rendered in Swedish verse as:

"I know one thing,
which I have never forgotten
to any man,
the best of all
that only one knows,
thus ends the song."

(Cf. chapter 3 of my work "Runornas talmystik och dess antika förebild" [The mysticism of the runes and its ancient model].) If 18 is Odin's special number and also refers to the mystery of death, it is understandable that the god of magic observes silence about the deeper meaning of 18-talsmagi. An analogy to this can be found in another Edda song, where Odin asks a giant 18 questions, which ultimately remain unanswered when he reaches the 18th:

"What did Odin say
in his son's ear,
when Balder was carried on his funeral pyre?"

Here it is clear that this is a mystery associated with death. (It is also of some interest that a previous question, the ninth, alludes to Odin as the god of wind, cf. the ninth stanza of "Odin's magic songs.") Odin asks King Heidrek twice as many questions (36, or 2 x 18) according to Hervarar saga's account of their verbal battle. The Edda mentions that Odin's castle, Valhalla, has 540 gates, i.e. 30 x 18.

In the second Merseburg charm, Wodan (= Odin) recites a magic formula to cure a horse's sprained foot. This consists of 18 words preserved in a manuscript to this day. (The opinion that the last three words are a later addition is held by a German researcher, but cannot be proven.) An Anglo-Saxon book on magic spells mentions how Woden (= Odin) used nine divination sticks and nine pieces of a chopped-up snake to create 18 magical objects. Lindqvist, there is mention of a way of "bewitching a woman" with the help of an incantation and the drawing of magic wands. There are six of these magic symbols. Two, called Molldfiurs and Madrrunor, are not depicted. The other four are reproduced with the incantation written below. They are called Blad, Naud, Komla, and Gapalldr. The last one appears (cf. fig. 25) to be a figure developed from the old horse rune, Odin's sign, in its variant form [ ] (as, for example, in the Kårstad carving in Norway, see fig. 26). After the curse: "May you sit nowhere, may you find no comfort anywhere, if you do not love me," it is said: "This I pray to Odin . .." Some magic wand associated with Odin should thus be included in the formula. It is most obvious to guess at the sign that is to be drawn last. This is, as mentioned, the staff Gapalldr. If we look more closely at this figure, we see that it has eighteen protrusions (6+6 at the top and 3+3 at the bottom). This magic staff is also mentioned by Jon Arnason, who states that the staff "Gapaldur" should be carried "under the heel of the right foot." The magic wands in the black magic book formula are, as mentioned, 6, but since the first two, which probably consisted of ordinary runic characters (purs and madr runes), are to be included 3 times and broken, the formula contains 6 (= 3 X 2) + 4 characters, i.e. ten magic wands. This is consistent with the formula's purpose of being highly harmful under certain conditions: "Misfortune will befall you if you do not love me. Your feet will freeze . . . your hair will rot," etc. The destructive power inherent in the Isruna and the 10s is conjured up.

Swedish black magic also knows the number 18, when it comes to curing horses. To cure lameness in a horse, it is prescribed to braid nine colored woolen threads, on which nine knots should be tied, after which the band should remain around the animal's leg until it fell off (Heurgren). “Solomon's magical arts” states that to cure a horse with glanders, one should take nine hairs ‘from under the horse's hindquarters’ and nine from its ‘rump’ and feed these 18 hairs to the animal in oats, which it should eat at dawn and dusk. A formula recorded by the Lapp Jon Johansson in Norrland against harm from humans and the underground begins: “Have you N. N. straight out for truths and vetterbett from one to eighteen?” The dangerous nature of the number 18 is evident from its mention in such a context. In everyday Swedish, the numeral seventeen now appears in the same function, e.g. “full i sjutton” = ‘drunk as a skunk’ etc. All likelihood suggests that we are dealing here with a euphemistic paraphrase: people have shied away from the number 18, which is considered devilish, and taken the next lowest number instead (cf. p. 74).

On Lappish fortune-telling drums, the area denoting the realm of death is usually preceded by the image of a horse. This is called Stuorek. Since the same word in Lappish also means 'giant' (the first syllable is related to the borrowed adjective Stuor = 'big'), the thought immediately turns to what Hyltén-Cavallius reported from Småland, that the common people there used the expression 'the big horse' to refer to Odin's horse.

If we look for a connection between this well-documented case of number mysticism in the North and conditions in late antiquity, we find that, according to the Avestan-Persian lunar calendar, the number 18 must have been the sacred number for a deity close to Odin, Mithras' brother Rashnu, lord of the underworld and judge. If the creator of the Greek Mithraic letter magic, the closest model for the runic alphabet, associated Mithra with the 16th letter of the alphabet and perhaps also Sraosha with the 17th, it is reasonable to

assume that Rashnu was associated with the 18th letter. In the normal Greek alphabet, the sign for 5 (a, sigma) was the 18th. In the Paris manuscript, where § is missing, this sign appears as the 17th. Here it is associated with "birds." The god Hermes, Odin's counterpart in Greek mythology, is described as "winged." The word used in the Paris manuscript for 'birds', peteina (jterstvd), is actually a plural of the Greek adjective peteinos (nsrsivög), 'winged'. There is therefore nothing to prevent the Paris fragment and its parallel, the Coptic translation, from pointing back to Mithraic alphabet mysticism in this case as well. For a Greek letter magician, the fact that Hermes-Mercurius' most commonly used astrological name among the Greeks, Stilbön (ZriÅficov), began with the 18th letter of the alphabet, the letter s, may also have played a role.

As associated with the god of magic, Odin, the number 18 is found in numerous runic inscriptions of magical significance. I would like to mention a few cases where this is the case and where a connection with Odin's magic is particularly likely. The runic gold horn from Gallehus, now unfortunately lost, had in a prominent place—in the center of its upper field decorated with figures (see fig. 19)—the image of a spear-bearing god. Researchers who have attempted to interpret the horn's clearly mythological images have almost unanimously identified this figure as Odin with his spear in one hand and his magical ring Draupnir in the other. The spear is to be understood as a symbol of Odin as the god of death — those sacrificed to him would be pierced with a spear — and the ring, which gave birth to eight new rings every ninth night and thus became ninefold, probably refers to Odin's role as the god of magic. Odin's numbers are 3, 9, and above all 18. The latter number belongs to him alone, while the other two he shared with the other Aesir (3) or with the Norns (9). If we now consider the runic inscription running around the upper edge of the horn, we find that it consists of 36, i.e. 2 x 18 characters (32 runes and 4 separators). I have pointed out above (cf. 13) that the numerical values in the

inscription indicate gematria with the number 13. However, these numerical values are already found in the names of the magnate mentioned in the runic inscription, who is said to have "made," i.e., had made, the horn. The somewhat complicated gematric relationship cannot therefore have caused the runemaster any extra headache: the combination with 13 presented itself twice, and a third was easily achieved by increasing the number of dots in the distinguishing marks. We can therefore imagine that the runemaster primarily wanted to emphasize the god of runes and death, Odin (36 = 4 x 9 and 2 x 18), through the number of characters, while the numerical values hidden in the characters refer to the sacrificer and what he magically desired (see above under 13). This mystical interpretation of the inscription's meaning is more consistent with Old Norse religion and the location of the images on the horn than a previous attempt I made.

The inscription mainly reads as a tribute to the god Ull. He appears in more subordinate places: first in the second and fifth circles of the series of figures, there is a figure, an archer, who is presumed to be a representation of the hunting god Ull. The fact that the gematric value of the entire inscription is 390 and thus also contains the number of death, 10 (390 — 39 X 10), can be considered consistent with the main purpose. There is a certain kind of death magic involved in redeeming oneself from sudden death (cf. under 10 on Aun the Old). The golden horn may be a votive offering to the gods, as indicated by the circumstances of its discovery.

Another example, where the number 18, included in the sum of the characters of a runic inscription, may be related to Odin's magic, is provided by the Kårstad inscription discovered a few years ago in Norway (see fig. 26). The meaning of the undoubtedly magical runic inscription ekaljamarkiR baijtR is: "I, AljamarkiR, am a magician." Two runes in this inscription are unclear but can be restored with a high degree of probability. However, the fact that there are 18 characters is indisputable. If gematria (numerical values) is also

present, we can determine the numerical value of 180 in connection with the carving, which is ten times the number of the god Odin. The fact that the runic carver refers to himself as a “magician” in an inscription — the word baijtR should be interpreted, whatever meaning it may have in terms of its etymology — emphasising the number that was Odin's above all others, is to be expected. (One more rune than strictly necessary has been used, a circumstance that indicates an intention to reach a certain number.) Eighteen characters in succession also appear in one of the groups of runes on the Sigtuna amulet — the place where there is mention of 'nine necessities' (cf. this under 9). On the buckle from Vi in Denmark (fig. 27) there is an inscription of a formulaic nature, consisting of two rows of runes: laasauwija and aadagasu. Since one contains 10 and the other 8 runes, we have here an inscription whose number of characters forms the Odin number 18. That the inscription is of a magical nature is an inevitable assumption, given the formulaic nature of the words and the practically unnecessary double markings (aa). Finally, the inscription on the so-called meat knife found in Gjersvik in Norway, probably an ancient sacrificial tool, is of an even more clearly magical nature. It contains 18 runes, the last 10 of which are all l-runes (see above under 10).

Finally, in the relatively late Icelandic Bósasaga, there is a runic formula used by the sorceress Busla, which she asks a king to interpret to show his insight. It consists of 2 x 18 runes, arranged in 6 groups. The number 6 probably plays the dominant role, but the fact that it has been included so many times that the whole becomes a multiplicity of the numbers of Thurs and Odin (2 and 18) is likely to have significance. (For more on this runic formula, see chapter 3 of my work “Runornas talmystik och dess antika förebild” [The mysticism of runes and its ancient model].)

19. The nineteenth rune, ᛗ, the sign for the m sound, has a name well established in various runic traditions with the meaning 'man, human being' (Anglo-Saxon *man*, Old Norse *maðr*, etc.). As I have

explained in detail in previous works, we must see in the number 19 a numerical symbol for man adopted in late antiquity from the Near East. According to an ancient astral-mystical view originating in Babylonia, the human body was connected to the 12 constellations of the zodiac, while the soul was ruled by the seven planets. The latter circumstance is related, among other things, to the Christian religion's division of vices into the "seven deadly sins," originally a type of sin associated with each planetary sphere. In view of the aforementioned Babylonian belief, there is every reason to assume that for the Mithraists, heirs to the Chaldean star mysticism, who demonstrably adopted the essential astrological elements of their teachings in Babylonia, the number 19 was a symbolic number for humans. They regarded man as an image of the cosmos (a microcosm). This is evident, among other things, from the fact that many sculptures depicting human bodies with the signs of the 12 constellations placed on different parts have been found among the remains of Mithraic monuments. Furthermore, certain statements by church fathers and others justify the assumption that the Mithraists, like the Gnostics of late antiquity, believed in a theory according to which the soul, when it ascended to the eighth heaven, passed in turn through the spheres of the seven planets, freeing itself from seven different qualities of the soul: to Saturn, the frivolous inclinations; to Venus, the erotic drives; to Jupiter, the desire for glory; to Mercury, the cunning desire; to Mars, the warlike desire; to the Moon, the vital energy; and to the Sun, the intellectual gifts. (The Mithraic planetary spheres began with Saturn at the bottom and ended with the Sun: the order was reversed in relation to the deities of the days of the week, with the most important at the top.) Essentially similar ideas were held by the mystical religion that developed in Egypt under the name of the god Hermes Trismegistos. Here, too, the human body was associated with the constellations of the zodiac and linked to the number 12, while the soul was associated with the number 10, which was called the "soul-creating" number. The reason for the replacement of the number 7 with 10

undoubtedly lies in the fact that Hermetic speculation also assumed that the "triune divine" ("light," "life force," and "good") ruled over its own specific areas in the human soul. This has therefore been interpreted as meaning that there are 10 regions, 7 under the influence of the planets and 3 ruled by the divine trinity. In Hermetic mysticism, the number of man must therefore have been 10 + 12 = 22.

The letter-mystical fragment I found in Paris also connects the 22nd Greek letter with man (ho anthröpos: o åvdQtoJtog, see fig. 16). Indirectly, this document (like its parallel in Coptic translation) shows that my explanation of the numerical mystical meaning of the 19th rune is entirely justified. Later on, I will also show that there are good reasons to believe that the letter-mystical system presented in the two sources mentioned above presupposes an older model in which man was associated with the 19th letter.

In "Bundehesh" there is a passage that contains a peculiar statement about numbers, which may possibly be related to the fact that the number 19 is associated with man in the Persian religion. In chapter 31, it is said that all humans will be resurrected from the dead over the course of 57 years, in three different periods. The number 57 contains the number 19 three times. However, this number also has a certain astral significance: after 19 years, the phases of the moon become the same in relation to the solar year (the so-called Metonic cycle).

Since there are only 18 of Odin's magic songs in connection with the god's number, this Edda poem unfortunately gives us no clue as to the meaning of the number 19 in ancient Norse magic. In older Scandinavian saga literature, however, there is a single reference that may be a reflection of the belief that there was a mystical connection between the number 19 and humans. It is said of Gånge-Rolf that he got lost while hunting and deep in the forest met one of the underground creatures, a female troll, who asked him to follow

her to her daughter, who had been in labor for “nineteen days” and could only be delivered with the help of “a human being.”

Scandinavian books on magic also contain certain information that suggests that the number 19 was a number of significance for humans, or rather for men (cf. the meaning of the runic name madr). In “Salomoniska magiska konster” (Solomon's Magic Arts), a remedy for enhancing virility (“confortativum ad membrum virile”) is mentioned. This remedy consists of no less than 18 ingredients, to which either water or brandy is added: thus, the remedy consists of 19 different ingredients. The same book of magic prescribes elsewhere that to determine the potency of a man (and possibly also a woman), one should place 5 grains of wheat, 7 grains of rye, and 7 beans in the urine of the person to be tested. The test depends on how these 19 objects behave after 7 days.

There are relatively few runic inscriptions in which the number 19 appears. I know of no example where it can be assumed with any degree of certainty that magic involving the number of humans or men is present. On the Einangsten stone in Norway, there are 19 runes: days par (according to a later reading piR) runo faihido = “DagaR carved these (or more likely ”dig*) runes.” It is possible that the runic carver, who may have exercised a certain violence on the language (runo for runoR), intentionally sought to use 19 characters. In that case, the carving could have an erotic meaning in connection with the meaning 'man' in the 19th rune name. If read as ftii^, this word could refer to a woman. An inscription where gematria with the number 19 may have been intentionally achieved is the inscription on the brooch from Vi mentioned above (p. 80): the sum of the numerical values of both rows of runes contains the number 19 (one row = 76 = 4 x 19, the other row = 57 = 3 x 19).

20. The twentieth rune [\ the sign for the l-sound, has a name well established in the runic tradition with the meaning 'water': Anglo-Saxon lagu, forn-isl. logr, etc. (the word is identical to -lag in Swedish socker-lag). It is to be expected that water (like fire, cf. above

under 5) should have been present in Mithraic letter mysticism: water enjoyed the second highest worship among the elements after fire. Water was used in several rites. According to Nonnus, a monk in the 500s, one of the tests of the Mithraists consisted of bathing in snow for 20 days. The naive monk's account of Mithraism is certainly a considerable distortion of the real situation. However, there may be some truth behind this figure: perhaps the followers of this religion undertook 20 days of purification in cold water. According to the Bundehesh (chapter 7), Ahura Mazda let two streams flow around the earth, and from the same source came eighteen streams that joined the first two. This figure may possibly be connected with the number 20 as a symbol of flowing water. In Mithraic mysticism, 20 may have become a numerical symbol for water over the head, perhaps under the influence of Platonic philosophy. Plato, who continued Pythagorean number speculation and was probably also influenced by Near Eastern thought, speculatively linked water to the number 20 in such a way that he assumed this element to have the stereometric shape of an icosahedron, i.e., a 20-sided figure. Through Neoplatonism and other schools of thought, Platonic ideas were able to merge with late antique mystery religions and Hellenistic magic. It is impossible to determine with certainty where the number 20 as a number associated with water originally belongs. However, it is important to note that there are many indications that Mithraic number mysticism regarded the number 20 as a number associated with water, and there is even a textual reference in which the Greek letter v, the 20th letter of the alphabet, is associated with water. The passage in question is found in the Greek text “Etymology of the Alphabet.” A word that in all likelihood meant 'watery' has certainly been greatly corrupted by the loss of letters, but a text-critical reconstruction can be undertaken with almost complete certainty, since it is immediately followed by a word related to the Greek word for 'rain cloud' and then by the expression 'full of water': hydatos pléres (vdaroc: TtÅfjQes).

It is also possible that the Paris manuscript and its variant in the Coptic translation are based on an earlier version in which the twentieth letter was associated with the great water creatures. In the Paris manuscript and its Coptic variant, the 18th letter is associated with an expression that can be interpreted as referring to 'the great water animals', in Greek kété (uyjti]). However, since this is a letter-mystical system of 22 letters (the characters § and \p have been omitted, as mentioned above), the 18th letter refers to the letter r, i.e. the 19th letter in the usual Greek alphabet. However, as I pointed out above (cf. under 19), one must further take into account that what was once associated with the 19th letter has been moved to the 22nd , since the number 22 in Hermetic speculation was considered the number of man, whose Babylonian-Mithraic number, by all accounts, must have been 19 (12 + 7, but according to Hermetic understanding 12 + 10, cf. p. 82). If a transfer has taken place — and everything indicates that it must have done so —, the originator of the system that exists in the Paris manuscript and the Coptic version, or perhaps one of his predecessors, had a gap to fill. The most obvious solution was to use a combination of the letter r with what originally belonged to the next character (v): water was thus combined with r instead of v. Then, when it came to creating a creation story, it was replaced by "the great water animals."

Turning to Scandinavian folklore, we find quite a few examples that suggest that Nordic magic associated water with the number 20. The Lapp Jon Johansson mentions a magical remedy for growths, lumps, and goiters, an operation to be performed "either in water or with the index finger around the growth." The finger is moved around the growth nine times and the numbers are counted from twenty to one nine times. The assumption that the number 20 was chosen specifically in relation to water, which was certainly always (and not alternatively) used, is supported by several other examples. To stop the flow of blood, Estonian Swedes place a house or church key on the wound while counting backwards from twenty

(Russwurm). According to ancient magical and philosophical beliefs, blood naturally belongs to the element of water. The same method of counting was also used when an animal had been "bewitched" and was "modstulet" (frightened), so that it would not eat or drink: one counted backwards from 20 to 1 and pointed at the sick animal for each number (Hofberg, from Närke). "Just as water disappears, so does the enchantment" (according to a statement, probably from Södermanland, reproduced by Heurgren). The meaning of this formula is obviously to illustrate a disappearance. The illness, which consists of something watery or associated with water, must be removed. Counting formulas of the same type, usually beginning with 9 or 7 and ending with 1 or nothing, are quite common in Nordic magic. However, the fact that one begins with such a high number as 20, which is not very dominant in magic, must be due to some special circumstance. A fully plausible explanation can be found if one assumes that 20, as the number associated with water, has lived on in folk magic since pagan times, more or less latently. Another example of the magical use of the number 20 in folk medicine is the following method of curing "floget" in a horse. "Floget" or 'flåget' is the same as colic, i.e., a disease that manifests itself in watery discharge. One remedy, however, is to wash a woman's linen, after which the water used is poured on the horse. Another remedy consists of reading a formula about St. Peter and then drawing four fives on the horse's right front hoof: at the first one, one says "five," and so on, at the fourth "twenty." This is repeated once more in the same way until twenty is reached, whereupon one says: "Now you are rid of your fly." (Heurgren). It is likely that the healing power was originally thought to lie in the fact that the number twenty was divided into the number of water, which is hostile to fire, and the number of fire, which is five (the number of the torch rune).

Runic inscriptions that clearly refer to water are rare. To my knowledge, there is only one inscription that can be suspected of

being magical and clearly having had something to do with water. It is found on a whetstone, fun, nen in Str0m in Norway. On one side of the stone is written: “may the horn wet this stone” (wate kali hino korna). As the inscription contains two bind runes, the number of characters is 15. However, if the total numerical value of these runes is calculated according to the uthark system, the number 180 = 9 x 20 is obtained, which is the number of necessity combined with that of water. Of course, such a simple case of gematria could easily have arisen by chance. Far more important support is provided by the folk tradition preserved in many parts of the Nordic region regarding the number 20 as a number used in water magic, as explained above.

21. The twenty-first rune <^>, the sign for the /^-sound or rather ^ + g, a letter that has hardly ever been used, is called Ing in Anglo-Saxon runic poetry. Like the t-rune, the sign seems to have been named directly after a deity. Ing has been a god associated with fertility and male procreative power, originally perhaps a tribal hero. In northern Scandinavia, a name related to the Anglo-Saxon Ing has been associated with Freyr: the fertility god Yngve-Frö worshipped in Uppsala is called Ingunar-Freyr in Old Norse. It is highly possible that the name of the rune originally meant 'phallus', a meaning that several etymologists have assigned to the basic form of the name Ing. In that case, an interesting correspondence can be demonstrated with fairly reliably attested late antique letter magic.

In certain cryptographic or rather semi-cryptographic systems, traces of which have survived to our time (e.g. in astrological manuscripts), the 21st Greek letter cp can be replaced by a figure of unmistakable phallic shape. In a Latin joke verse, the Greek 99 is interpreted as a figure (j) similar to the type, referring to “testiculi et mentala.” Incidentally, in the Semitic alphabet, the 21st letter already had a name that could be interpreted as meaning “phallus” (lit. 'stick') and is linked to a whole series of preceding letter names that clearly denote body parts ('eye', 'mouth', 'face', 'belly', 'head' as names for the characters 16–20). It is therefore conceivable that we

are dealing with a reflex from the Semitic alphabet period, which has remained, thanks in part to the form of the Greek letter.

It is highly probable that Mithraic letter magic had a similar concept associated with the 21st sign, especially since the 21st day of the Avestan-Persian lunar calendar was dedicated to a male fertility deity, Rama Hvastra (Ram in Persian). The letter system in the Paris manuscript and its variant in Coptic translation connect the letter q) (here considered the 20th) with reptiles. In late antique magic, the snake was one of the symbols of the phallus.

In the Scandinavian North, there is hardly any tradition preserved that would allow us to comment on the belief that was probably associated with the number 21. However, the specifically Swedish custom of firing 21 shots at the birth of a royal person should be mentioned here. To my knowledge, the reason for this custom has not been established. Two Anglo-Saxon spells for pregnant women each consist of 21 words. (See chapter 3 of my work "Runornas talmystik och dess antika förebild" [The mysticism of numbers in runes and its ancient model].) Whether this is a reflection of ancient runic magic is uncertain, however. The number of words may be coincidental. In this context, it may also be recalled that, according to the Talmud, a Jewish woman in childbirth was not considered free from the dangers of the birth demons until the 21st day after giving birth.

To my knowledge, there are no Nordic runic inscriptions with a demonstrable mystical connection to the number 21. If the Weser runes mentioned above (cf. under 16) were recognized as authentic with complete certainty, a suggestive gematric example could be seriously considered. Several runologists are skeptical about the so-called Weser find, including a prominent Norwegian expert with whom I have spoken. However, the reasons he gave me do not seem to me to be decisive in themselves. The fact that all the finds are made of the same material (animal bones) does not prove that a forgery has been attempted. In the present case, we are dealing with

a river find. In such cases, it must be assumed that everything made of heavier material (metal, etc.) has remained elsewhere. Such items would inevitably have sunk deep into the riverbed over time, and during the dredging work in the Weser, which is said to have brought the new finds to light, only the upper layer of the riverbed could have been disturbed. (In my work "Rökstenens chiffergåtor och andra runologiska problem" [The Rökstenen cipher riddles and other runological problems], I have attempted to interpret these runic inscriptions, which exhibit several puzzling peculiarities.

We now come to two runes whose order is disputed. On the Kylverstenen and in most Anglo-Saxon runic inscriptions, the d rune ^ precedes the o rune O. On all runic inscriptions (both variants of the Vadstena type and the largely corresponding Grumpan type), however, the o-rune appears before the d-rune, as is the case in at least one of the Anglo-Saxon runic inscriptions. Professor von Friesen, who has largely subscribed to my uthark theory, believes that this in particular indicates that the rune with the name meaning 'odal' (real estate) stood immediately before the rune with the meaning 'ffä' (wealth) and that the utharkrad thus ended with the sequence of characters [XJOf> since the runa names with the meanings 'odal' and 'wealth' originally belonged together. But if this was the case, the question arises: for what reason did the order of the runes in certain cases happen to be reversed at this point, if there was such a good rule to aid memory — and why would such a reversal have occurred on bracteates, for which the maker must have had an older original as a model, whereby any mistake made could have been corrected by making a new stamp? As I have already pointed out, it seems to me much more likely to assume that the runic rows on the bracteates represent the conservative, while the Kylver inscription, which was made hastily and for a special purpose, can be assumed to contain two more or less involuntary reversals. The first reversal may be due to the fact that the characters h and [^, which were not strictly necessary, had already fallen out of practical use in the 400s, which

is why only those with very reliable knowledge of runes were still familiar with their numerical values. The second reversal |X| O for O |X| can be explained by the fact that the name of the 24th character attracted it to the closely related name of the 22nd. The same easily made memory error may also be the cause of the deviations in the Anglo-Saxon runic rows, but here there is the additional circumstance that in England newly formed runes were added, which were vowel signs and therefore fit better with the vowel sign <> than with the consonant sign [X] (cf. p. 9).

As for the Kylverstenen, it shows other deviations from the norm besides the order of the characters. For example, the a-rune and the 6-rune, the characters f* and ^, are reversed (4 and <jj on abbreviation 28). These circumstances indicate that the runic carver was either unfamiliar with runic techniques or had a magical purpose in mind. There are quite a few alphabet rows preserved from late antiquity in which sign reversals and less correct letter forms appear. What could happen to an unskilled late antique letter magician could also have happened to a temporary practitioner of Nordic runic magic. The creator of the Kylver inscription may also have been in a hurry to complete the inscription for some reason and therefore made certain mistakes. It is highly likely that the carver carried out his work when the sun was not shining (cf. the opening words of the Eggjumsten inscription: "the stone is not touched by the sun"). However, it cannot be ruled out that certain deviations were made in the position of the runes with regard to their intended magical effect in this particular case. It seems highly probable to me that the Kylver inscription was made for necromantic purposes. This is supported, among other things, by experience with late antique letter inscriptions of the same type. More or less abnormal Latin or Greek alphabet rows are found on vessels and other objects buried in cemeteries. The Kylver stone has been found inside a grave. We must therefore assume that the runemaster's intention with the inscription was to use the magical power of the writing to bind a dead person to

his resting place and provide protection against demons. Above the runic row, the stone bears (cf. fig. 28) a word of a magical formula type, sueus. Several researchers now believe that this part of the inscription should be read as sueus and not, as previously thought, sulius, i.e. ^flf^f^, not ^flflf)^. It is likely that the e-sign (f^) has been partially erased, so that its second cross line is no longer fully visible. A circumstance which, in my opinion, lends good support to this new reading is that sueus forms a so-called palindrome, i.e., a combination of characters that can be read the same both forwards and backwards. In late antique letter magic, such an arrangement (as well as the reversal of letters) was considered an effective means in the fight against demons, which could not then nullify the spell by reading it backwards. The palindrome sueus also consists of 5 characters. As I pointed out earlier, the number 5 is associated with the torch rune and as a symbol of fire with a distinctly anti-demonic character. The lower inscription consists of 25 characters (the last one being a cryptogram). Thus, here too we have the number 5 hidden (25 = 5 x 5). When all the characters in the inscription are added together, they form the number 30, which contains the numbers of the isrunas and death: 30 = 3 x 10. In terms of letter mysticism, the runic inscription can thus be interpreted as referring to death magic and anti-demonic protection. If we read the first rune in the lower row as it actually appears, this group of runes begins with an ice rune, the letter L, followed by the 24 carved characters, the last of which, the letter F, is represented by a cryptogram. This would further indicate death magic. Professor von Friesen, who, in a thorough investigation of the Kylverstenen stone (in collaboration with an archaeologist), found that there are no traces of bistavar near the beginning rune, nevertheless maintains in a recent statement in his work “Runorna” that one must assume that an f-rune, the symbol ^', was once engraved here. Since in runic inscriptions on stone, the beginning of what is engraved is always particularly strongly executed, it seems highly peculiar to me that any additional letters, even though no break can be observed at the place in question, would

have disappeared completely. Since the main stroke of the first character is slightly slanted in relation to the following main strokes, von Friesen assumes that an f-rune was carved with a backward-slanted main stroke to "make room for the additional strokes." If it were a character a little further into the row, such an assumption would, in my opinion, be quite plausible. However, in the present case, we are dealing with a sign which, if everything had gone normally, would obviously have been carved first of all the signs in the group, and there is enough space on the stone that the initial runes would not have had to crowd each other. I therefore consider it likely that the runecarver first carved out the row using a cryptogram for the 24th sign and then carved either the i-rune or the f-rune in front of the whole thing. In that case, he had reason to tilt the main stem for reasons of space, if it was the sign V. If he carved the rune j, the tilt may be due to haste, which caused him to pay insufficient attention to the position of the previously carved main stems. However, both explanations must take into account that the carving was done in one go.

The assumption that the 25th sign in the lower group of runes on the stone is a cryptogram for the 24th rune (according to my theory, the f sign) can be justified in detail. The cryptogram consists of six "branches" on the left and eight on the right of a common "stem." In connection with other Old Norse cipher systems, we have reason to assume that the 8 "branches" on the right indicate a rune that is number 8 in its group. The 6 "branches" on the left should then in some way serve as an indicator of the group number. Since only 3 groups are possible with an even distribution of 24 characters (8 + 8 + 8), we must assume that an additional cryptographic trick has been used: the group number has been indicated by double lines, while the order within the group has been indicated by single lines. If such a means had not been used, it would have been possible at first glance to see which side referred to the group ("ätt") and which referred to the number within it, when it came to a rune with one of the higher

numbers within the group (4-8). In later runic cryptography intended for 16 characters, it is also common to make the deciphering of the cipher more difficult in some way. This is usually done by masking the "ätt": the groups are designated in reverse order (3 marks for the first group, 2 for the second, and 1 for the third). In a cryptographic system intended for 24 different characters, where the number of characters in a group could therefore be very high, interpretation was made more difficult in a similar way by double-marking the groups: 6 stood for 3, 4 for 2 and 2 for 1. Given the large number of "branches," the cipher system on the Kylverstenen can only be interpreted according to such a principle. If we assume that the system is based on the uthark and not on the futhark, we must interpret the cryptogram at the end of the lower row of runes as referring to the eighth character in the third group of the uthark. This is the f-rune (see the list of runes on p. 15). The fact that the runic carver placed the o-sign, the odal rune, next to this cryptogram for the f-sign, the rune of wealth, can, considering that this is a magical inscription, be assumed to be intentional: by placing the two property runes next to each other, the magician may have wanted to emphasize something that was of particular interest to him: the inheritance of the deceased. However, it is conceivable that the carver was a person with a less reliable memory. In his mind, the two signs with similar meanings attracted each other.

There is therefore no compelling reason to assume, based on the evidence provided by the runic inscriptions associated with the Kylverstenen, that the d-rune originally came before the o-rune. I have already discussed the Anglo-Saxon runic rows above. Below, I will show that circumstances within late antique letter mysticism support my long-held view that the ö sign was placed before the d sign by the creator of the runic rows and should therefore be considered the 22nd in the alphabet.

22. The twenty-second rune O, the sign for the o sound, had a name that originally meant 'inheritance, estate'. Through linguistic

development, the initial sound in its name, which was a long o, became a long e in Anglo-Saxon. The Anglo-Saxon rune name is épel, 'real estate, land'. This corresponds to the phonetically inaccurate Gothic letter name utal. If the rune name had been preserved in Scandinavia, where it fell out of use before the Viking Age, it would have been called odal in Old Icelandic, a word meaning 'inheritance, estate'.

The 22nd letter of the Greek alphabet is % (the sign for ch, originally an aspirated k). The most common Greek word for 'property' chrémata (/Qr/juara) begins with this letter and could already on this basis be assumed to have been combined with the 22nd letter. That this was indeed the case seems to be evident from a magical text that has been preserved to this day. In the Greek-language Judeo-Christian text "The Testament of Solomon," there is a statement that can hardly be interpreted in any other way than as referring to the fact that the letter %, the 22nd letter of the alphabet, was understood as a symbol for "property." After talking about everything he had acquired (the kingdom, singers and songstresses), Solomon exclaims: "Vanity of vanities! % rules over all letters." If the letter % is understood as a symbol of property and the desire to possess, the quoted sentence takes on a fully comprehensible meaning. It says the same thing as a Greek proverb, which can be rendered in English as: "Possessions (/grj/jtara) are everything to humans (ipv%rj flgorolöi, lit. 'the souls of mortals')."

In the Hebrew alphabet, the last (22nd) letter is called täw, a word that is rare in the Bible and whose meaning is not entirely clear. However, this word must have meant some kind of mark, and the interpretation "property mark" is the most obvious (cf. Ezekiel 9:6, "the mark" = "God's property mark"). As I have already mentioned, there is a tradition that suggests that the 22nd Hebrew letter is associated with the earth (just as the first is associated with the sky). The manuscript fragment I found in Paris (like its Coptic translation) associates the 22nd letter with "the creation of man"

(here it is certainly a question of co, which is considered to be the 22nd, since the double signs § and yj are not included in the simplified alphabet that was used). However, the first man was Adam, who was created from the earth. The alphabet magic of the Parish manuscript shows, as we have seen, many Persian (i.e., rather Mithraic) features. The change from 24 to 22 letters and the transfer of man from the 19th letter to the 22nd must, however, have been undertaken by a follower of another religious system, probably under the influence of Egyptian Hermetic speculation. Jewish beliefs have, moreover, more or less permeated all late antique magic and secret science. In a late antique alchemical text, for example, there is an explanation of how Adam (whose name is formed from four letters) consisted of four different kinds of earth. Whether we assume that the Mithraic alphabetical system linked the 22nd Greek letter (%) with 'property' or 'earth' (and in this case probably following a Semitic model), offers an explanation for the runic name *oftala, whose oldest meaning is to be understood as 'real estate' = 'the inherited plot of land'.

In later Nordic magic, the number 22 is rarely used. As a symbol of property, it has been replaced by the number 24, which originally, like färunan, referred to movable property, but over time has come to function as a numerical symbol for property in general. In addition, magic has mostly concerned movable property (the recovery of stolen goods and the like). An older runic inscription, in which gematria based on the number of the o-rune is likely to occur, is, in my opinion, the carving on one side of the plane from Vi in Denmark. The first word of the inscription is talio, which has been interpreted as meaning 'plane'. This is followed by the runic sequence gisaioj. Here, the last two characters are probably to be understood as indicating the names of two runes: *ofiala and *Jara. The runic combination can then be interpreted as “to Gis's inheritance and property.” The total numerical value of the 12 runic characters on this side of the object is, calculated in connection with

the notch, 220, i.e. 10 X 22, which is the number of the dalruna. At the same time, the number also contains the number of the eringruna, 11:220=11 X 20.

23. The twenty-third rune is the sign for the d sound [X], if we place the hollow row in accordance with the bracteate runic rows, whose order is also found in at least one Anglo-Saxon record. In Scandinavia, the symbol M came into practical use before the Viking Age, but still appears in a secret script on the Rökstenen stone. In Anglo-Saxon, the symbol was called dceg, 'day'. In the considerably corrupted transcription of the Gothic letter names, the word daag is found, certainly a distortion of an older dags. In Old Norse, the rune is thought to have been called dagciR, a word from which the Swedish words dag and dager are derived. It is likely that the corresponding word in the language of the runic writer meant both 'day' and 'daylight (dager)'. In the Avestan-Persian lunar calendar, the 23rd day was dedicated to the god of light Ahura Mazda, called "eternal light" in the Bundehesh (chap. 1). From inscriptions on the monuments of the Roman Mithraists, we know that they worshipped a deity called Lux in Latin, meaning "light." Furthermore, it is known that the Mithraic god of light and heaven, Caelus, was a fusion of Ahura Mazda and Jupiter. He is called Zeus-Oromazdes or Jupiter-Caelus. A study of late antique letter mysticism also shows that the 23rd letter of the Greek alphabet was associated with Zeus (Jupiter). In a Byzantine codex, there is a cryptographic Greek alphabet preserved in which the well-known astrological sign for Jupiter has been given the place of the letter \p (ps) as a substitute for the letter 23. A coin has also been found depicting a cult object, a so-called baitylos, belonging to the Cretan cult of Zeus. The 23rd letter of the Greek alphabet (y) is inscribed on this cult object.

The number 23 seems to have been rarely used in Nordic magic. However, Dagrunan and its number must have belonged to the anti-demonic symbols. Its function must have been essentially the same

as that of the torch rune and the number 5, and the sun rune and the number 15. The aforementioned numbers were obviously much more convenient to use in magical operations, and this circumstance may fully explain the absence of the number 23 in the fairly large body of Scandinavian sorcery documents from a later period that I have examined.

Examples of the use of the number 23 in runic inscriptions are few and uncertain. On a stone found in Nordhuglen ("Huglen") in Norway, there is an inscription from around 400. The inscription in question is defective, but can be reconstructed with a significant degree of probability. Translated, it reads: "I, the priest in Hugl, who is impervious to harmful magic (gand)." The runes must originally have been 23: ek gudija ungandtR i hugulu. Of the last word, only the first letter (h) remains. However, as the word must have been a place name, the reconstruction hugulu is highly probable for topographical reasons. Since the inscription indicates that its author was powerful in so-called counter-magic (Gegenzauber), the carving must have been made in accordance with some rule of runic magic. It can be assumed here that the day rune and its number 23 were considered to protect against trolls and black magic.

24. The twenty-fourth rune V, the sign for the f-sound, has in all traditions a name meaning 'wealth, movable property': fornisl. fe, 'livestock, wealth', Anglo-Saxon feoh, 'goods, movables', etc. (fe in the Gothic alphabet undoubtedly had the same meaning). The concept of wealth is associated with the idea of a large number: the rich own a lot. This circumstance alone provided a motive for associating the letter that denoted the highest number with wealth. That a rune with such a name should have been associated with the lowest of all numbers, 1, is pure nonsense if we consider that the names of the runes had magical meanings. In the Semitic alphabet, the last character (the 22nd), as I pointed out above, had a name that could be interpreted as a symbol of property (taw, 'owner's mark'). The Mithraic alphabet mysticism has undoubtedly adopted several

elements that were originally Semitic. Mithraism developed in an Aramaic-speaking environment (Persian Babylonia, cf. above). The Mithraists probably borrowed the framework for their letter mysticism from the Semites, which was later adapted to Greek with its 24 written characters. The Semitic alphabet begins with a letter whose name ('aleph, etc.) means 'bull, ox, cattle', and ends with a sign whose name (taw, etc.) probably referred to property (cf. above). The same is true, in my opinion, of the runic alphabet derived from Mithraic letter mysticism. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the 22nd and 24th runes ultimately go back to the same model. When transferring letter magic from an alphabet with 22 characters to an alphabet with 24, a division of the magical function of the last Semitic letter must have been attempted in late antiquity: the 22nd Greek letter (%) was probably associated with 'wealth' (xgrjjuara, cf. above under 22), while the 24th was associated with 'individual possessions' (Kr^/btara). The creator of the runic alphabet then assigned the word meaning 'wealth' to a letter name meaning 'estate, inheritance' (real property) and the word meaning 'personal property' to a runic name meaning 'wealth, livestock' (personal property).

The fact that Mithraic letter mysticism associated the 24th letter of the Greek alphabet with wealth may also be partly due to the fact that the number 24 was symbolic of Pluto, the god of the underworld and wealth. In black magic, he was identified with the Persian Angra Mainyu (Ahriman). According to Plutarch, which is also confirmed by Iranian tradition, this enemy of light began his evil creation by producing 24 demon princes from himself. Persian magicians, in this case undoubtedly practitioners of black magic, eagerly sacrificed to Ahriman, according to Plutarch. Ahriman-Pluto is said to have played an important role in the Hellenistic sorcery influenced by Mithraism. It is in this sorcery—not in the actual Mithraic religion—that we must seek the closest origin of rune magic.

However, it is uncertain whether Mithraic letter magic associated the 24th Greek letter with Okeanos, a deity who is known to have belonged to the pantheon of Mithraism. The alphabetical mystical fragment I found in Paris, like its Coptic parallel, associates the penultimate letter with unqvr) (kténé)y 'domestic animals, livestock'. If, as I assume (and there are good reasons for this), the original magical correspondence of the 19th letter, the word åvdgcojtos (anthrö-pos), 'human being', has been moved to the last place, one can see in the combination found at the penultimate letter be seen as a reflection of what originally belonged to the letter &>, the 24th in the normal Greek alphabet. The Greek word urrjvrj is an almost direct translation of providesl. fe etc.

In the Paris manuscript, I have previously pointed out a number of similarities with the Persian creation myth. Towards the end, however, there is a deviation in that mammals ("domestic animals") are said to have been created immediately before humans. According to "Bundehesh" (chapter 14), plants were first created from the primeval bull, then animals, and among the mixed animals, first a bull and a cow, then various other mammals, followed by birds, etc. The order in the Paris manuscript corresponds somewhat more closely to the Jewish creation story in the final part, but by no means completely. According to Genesis (chapter 1), the following animals were created: 1) the great sea creatures, 2) other water creatures, 3) birds, 4) wild animals, 5) livestock, 6) creeping things. The Paris fragment and its Coptic parallel give the order: 1) fish, 2) birds, 3) the great sea creatures, 4) wild animals, 5) creeping things, 6) domestic animals (livestock). Since the late antique letter-mystical system, as we see, does not slavishly follow the presentation in Genesis, this document can hardly have been the immediate model. It is likely that the Mithraic form of the Persian religion was more strongly influenced by Semitic mythology than the Persian tradition preserved by the Parsis in India. How Semitic and Persian creation myths are genetically related to each other has not yet been fully

investigated. In the main features, there is a striking similarity. Just as God created the world in six days according to Genesis, the Bundehesh (chapter 1) states that creation took place in six periods: Ahura Mazda created 1) the heavens, 2) the waters, 3) the earth, 4) the plants, 5) the animals, and 6) man. According to Persian myth, however, not everything was created by Ahura Mazda: the abyss and evil in the world (poisonous animals and plants) are the work of Angra Mainyu. Furthermore, it must be assumed that the original letter mysticism was not originally connected to a scheme with different moments of creation: people associated certain letters with names or numbers and used them for magical speculation; it was only relatively late—a few centuries before the beginning of the Middle Ages—that people sought to use the alphabet to create an image of the entire cosmos, from the heavens to humans created from the earth. The runic alphabet goes back to an older form of Mithraic letter mysticism, where cosmological speculation had not yet been taken into account in detail.

The fact that the number 24 (like its multiples, especially 72) played an important role in Norse magic is confirmed both by runic inscriptions and by traditions of magical use. There are numerous ancient runic inscriptions on amulet-type objects that consist of or contain the magic word aln. According to the runologist, the total numerical value of these is 24 (3 + 20 + 1). That this is primarily a magical combination of letters is evident from the fact that the three letters are found on bracteates in other orders as well: lua, lau, ual. However, combinations of precisely these three letters are encountered time and again. The Lindholm amulet (fig. 29 a and b), whose purpose must have been to grant its magical bearers material success in life, consists, in addition to the rune group alu, of a whole series of other character sequences, which, just like this one, contain the number 24 or one of its multiples: 8 a-runes = 24 (3 X 8), 3 t-runes = 2 X 24 (3 X 16); the number 216, which contains the number 24 nine times, is the numerical value of the entire mystical

row of letters, which also consists of 24 runic characters. Considering these numerical relationships, the main thing the wearer wanted to gain with the help of his amulet must have been wealth. This is indicated by the recurring number 24, the number of the wealth rune. Another magical inscription, in which the 24th rune f (/) must be the central element in the letter-mystical arrangement, is the Gummarpstenen inscription (now known only from an older reproduction, see fig. 30). The text of the inscription reads hApuwolAfA[R] sAte stAÖA pria, thus consisting of 24 characters. One of these (the one in brackets) has admittedly escaped the attention of the runic scribe, who was not entirely proficient in the runic script, but it can be reconstructed on linguistic grounds (the stone itself is now lost). To these 24 runes, the carver has added, as we can see in the picture, a separate group of VVV (three /-runes). For this reason, I interpret the purpose of the runic inscription in question as being that Hatuwolf (later known as Half) wanted to use runic magic to acquire wealth for himself and his neighborhood.

The Icelander Jon Årnason mentions a spell that closely resembles the first part of the Lindholm amulet, consisting of eight magic runes, symbols for six Aesir and two Vanir. This formula is most likely a reflection of an older combination of eight magical signs consisting of eight ass runes (equal to 24). What is remarkable is that, according to Arnason, the formula is to be used to make a person who has stolen another's property reveal himself: ad lata pjof skita aptur stolnit fe. The idea was probably that the same number that could help acquire property could also bring punishment to those who violated property rights, and thus recover what was lost.

In a couple of Norwegian spells against thieves, the number 24 is mentioned in such a way that it conjures up unrest in the perpetrator for 24 hours straight (Bang). A runic formula recorded in Denmark with the same purpose consists of 19 runes, probably partly reproducing an older formula, which most likely consisted of 24 characters: the first of the runes is the character f (Ohrt). Another

Danish formula uses Latin letters to indicate a series of characters that will cause a thief to reveal himself. This consists of 24 letters: leppel Iauischer gaar gaait (Ohrt). In Sweden, there are numerous spells against a pest that behaves like a thief, the magpie. In Nicolovius, it reads: "Gla — gla — glänte Vänte! Ska ja' dej hänje I fir å tjyve stränje Mä löver å långe A alle dine lövenges ange; Din gässlingetjyv."

In a record from Småland (Hyltén-Cavallius), the magpie is called "lummetjuv" (pickpocket) and is also threatened with death by 24 strings.

The number 24 also seems to have played a role in the magical practices of the Sami. The largest sacrifice known to have been performed by the Sami consisted of 24 reindeer slaughtered at once. The purpose of the sacrifice was probably to ensure good luck with the reindeer. However, to my knowledge, reports of such a large sacrifice are found only in the eastern Lapp region, where the influence of North Germanic magic is less pronounced.

SÁMI DRUMS

I

It is likely that Lapp sorcerers — known as *nåide* — have used drums, primitive musical instruments, since time immemorial to put themselves into a state of excitement. This is also the case with Siberian shamans, who use drums of very simple construction, similar to the Lapp drums, which are decorated with images. A Siberian drum usually has only a few figures and in any case only a few types of images. On some drums there is a jumble of images, but this is usually caused by the repetition of the same type of image (see fig. 31). The Lapp magic drums, as we know them from the period after the mid-17th century, make a different impression: those that have been tried and tested as divination tools display a number of twenty or more images, and these images are largely distinct from each other in character.

The oldest reference we have to a Lapp drum is found in the "Chronicon Norvegiæ" from the 13th century. This Latin text describes how some Norwegian merchants witnessed a Lapp sorcerer at work. Their Lapp hostess had suddenly fallen ill and died. A sorcerer with a drum, who was present, went into a trance. In the midst of dancing and singing, he fell down and was dead after a while. A new sorcerer was then summoned, and he practiced his art so successfully that the Lapp woman, who was considered dead, returned to life. She then recounted that the soul of the first sorcerer had traveled in the form of a whale and encountered a sharp stake in the water, which pierced the animal's belly. It is said that the sorcerer's drum was painted with a whale, a reindeer with a sled, and a boat equipped with oars. These represented the means used by the sorcerer's soul when it left the body to go in search of the dead. The magic drum probably also had other images, although these are not mentioned. In this case, however, it is a matter of sorcery, in which the drum with images did not play the main role.

The situation is different with the aforementioned divination tools from the 17th century and slightly later. When using them, it was usually the drum and not the sorcerer in a state of ecstasy that was the essential element. On the drumhead, there are several more or less symmetrically grouped figures, usually arranged in two or more regions. These figures were consulted in such a way that an object, a brass ring, or even a bundle of smaller rings—in earlier times, according to reports, an object representing a jumping frog—was placed in the middle of the drum, usually on the centrally located sign of the sun. This object was then set in motion by the diviner striking the skin stretched over an oval frame with a small hammer made of antler. If the pointer stopped and remained at a certain sign, such as the image of a god, it meant that the god demanded a sacrifice. The position of the pointer in relation to other signs, such as figures representing a bear or water, was used to predict the prospects for hunting and fishing.

As complicated as this divination system is, it cannot possibly be a legacy from the primitive life of the Urlaps. It must either have been developed over the centuries by Scandinavian Lapps, or have been adopted by them from the North Germanic tribes when these were still at a pagan or semi-pagan stage. Sorcery with roots in pagan beliefs has, incidentally, been prevalent among Norwegians and Swedes well into Christian times, as examples of this have been given above. We have no North German divination tools from pagan times, but a simpler method of divination using an object somewhat reminiscent of a Lapp magic drum has been practised among the Norwegian and Swedish peasantry almost up to the present day: a pair of scissors is placed in a sieve and its movement is observed. In earlier times, a similar device, an oval leather drum marked with symbols or some other object suitable for shaking, may have been in use. A large number of Lapp drums—especially the more unusual divination devices—have a sieve-like appearance.

The symbols that the ancient North Germans probably used on their divination devices are thought to have been runes or modifications thereof. It is highly probable that the pagan North had an equivalent to the late antique letter oracle or pictorial devices of the Parthian divination apparatus type (see chapter 6 of "Late Antique Mystery Religion and Nordic Rune Magic").

The fact that, judging by certain reports, some Arctic peoples in Russia already in ancient times seem to have practiced divination in a manner reminiscent of the Lappish, does not prove, as some researchers maintain, that the method used in consulting the Lappish magic drums must be considered a loan from the east. In the Byzantine Empire, late antique knowledge of the use of sign-bearing divination devices was preserved. The Russians were already in lively contact with both Scandinavians and Byzantines in the 9th century, and through Russian mediation, the aforementioned divination technique may have spread to more primitive tribes in the north. The history of Near Eastern and European magic shows that it had a great ability to spread from people to people without being hindered by ethnographic boundaries. If this were the case, which I consider unlikely, that the Lapps already had a somewhat methodically developed divination technique before their encounter with the North Germans, there is still a highly probable possibility that such a technique was further developed in connection with the large number of religious beliefs that this nomadic people actually adopted from their sedentary Germanic neighbors during the pagan era.

A number of prominent researchers, among whom J. Fritzner, K. Krohn, A. Olrik, and J. Qvigstad deserve special mention, have shown that the Lapp religion, as we know it mainly from the period after the mid-17th century, is an invaluable source of increased knowledge about the pagan beliefs of our ancestors. There can be no doubt that the Lapps derived the essence of their religious beliefs—at least as they appeared to the nomadic people's sorcerers (the

nåidas)—from North Germanic paganism. The similarities between Lapp religion and ancient Norse paganism are both numerous and striking. In my previous essay, I showed, among other things, that there are also striking similarities between the magical use of numbers among the Lapps and the North Germans. In the following, I will examine some of the older Lapp divination tools to determine the extent to which the figures and symbols appearing on these magic drums may have been influenced by ancient Norse models.

I will begin my investigation with the most interesting of all Lapp drums, the one described in detail in the so-called Naeromanus manuscript. This magic drum was found in the 1720s by the zealous Norwegian Lapp missionary, lecturer Thomas von Westen. The manuscript, written in 1723 by the parish priest, Magister Johan Randulf, is probably largely based on information gathered by the energetic von Westen. He understood better than anyone else how to carefully question repentant Christianized Lapp sorcerers about what they knew concerning the meaning of the symbols on the divination tools and the religious beliefs associated with them. The magic drum described in the Naeromanus manuscript represents an ancient type. It may also have been quite old when it was found. It was probably not newly made in the 1720s. As a highly regarded divination instrument, it had probably been in use for several generations. The older a magic drum was, the more effective it was considered to be. Such a magical tool was highly valued and passed down from generation to generation.

II

The Lapp drum described and illustrated in the Nærø manuscript is decorated with 24 figures. What is marked with 9 on plate 32, two parallel horizontal lines, should only be regarded as a boundary separating the higher world, the realm of the sky gods, from the lower world, that which lies beneath the starry sky. On the other hand, we must include as a separate figure the image of a curved trunk or stem in front of the middle god figure, from which several protrusions, called "spikes" by Randulf, emerge. The upper region of the magic drum thus has nine symbols and the lower region has fifteen. These numerical relationships are interesting in themselves, as they indicate that a certain numerological purpose was intended. I have shown above that the Lapps' understanding of the magical significance of different numbers essentially corresponds to that of runic magic. In the heavenly region of this divination drum, three main gods are depicted, and all the figures within this area are also 3 x 3 = 9. We also know the number 9 from both Germanic and Lappish magical traditions as a particularly magical number, the number of fate and necessity. The lower region of the magic drum displays 15 symbols: in the center is the sun symbol (13 in fig. 32), surrounded by the 14 others. If we recall that the number of the sun rune in the runic alphabet is 15, we find here too a numerically significant relationship; it has been particularly appropriate to divide the 24 symbols into a group of 9 and a group of 15. The fact that the sun has its place in the lower region is explained by the fact that in the cosmic conception of the Lapps, the sun was believed to travel beneath the earth at night and move forward beneath the vault of heaven during the day, a view that is also found among the ancient Egyptians and other peoples in ancient times.

Since the symbols on this Lapp drum, which by all accounts must be regarded as the most pagan of all known types, are precisely 24 in

number and arranged in a manner that seems to correspond well to the rules of runic magic, the question arises: could these 24 figures be genetically related to the 24 runes?

Even a first glance at the very symmetrically arranged series of images in the Nærø manuscript's reproduction of the magic drum (fig. 32) shows us a striking correspondence between the 24 figures on this instrument and several names of runes in the old runic alphabet consisting of 24 characters. Just as the runic alphabet has a name meaning 'sun' (no. 15) and one meaning 'water' (no. 20), the Lapp drum has an image representing the sun (13 in the illustration) and one representing water (21 in the illustration). One rune originally had a name meaning 'yew tree', but in the north it has probably since ancient times also (and perhaps primarily) meant 'bow' (no. 12), and another rune has been called 'horse' (no. 18): on the troll drum there is an image of a man with a bow (23 on the illustration) and an image of a horse (15 on the illustration). These immediately striking correspondences prompted me to investigate whether a connection with the runic symbols could also be imagined in other cases. If this proves to be the case, it is no coincidence that in many cases the figures on the Lapp drum consist of images that appear to be pure illustrations of certain runic names. As mentioned, the Lapps have borrowed a great deal from their Germanic neighbors in their language and mythology and have preserved what they have adopted with staunch conservatism. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that their magic also was strongly influenced by the North Germanic pagans, the last practitioners of the art of runic magic. A detailed examination of pagan-type Lapp drums may therefore reveal a certain—perhaps quite close—connection between Lapp divination and ancient Norse runic magic. I will begin with the divination instrument described and explained by Randulf in the Naeromanus manuscript. As I have already mentioned, this is undoubtedly to be regarded as the Lapp drum that, in its images, has best preserved reflections of a predominantly pagan worldview.

1. At the top (slightly to the left) in the middle of the upper region of the magic drum is the image of a reindeer (7 in the illustration). In the drawing, it resembles a reindeer (the horns are less pronounced). However, in another image on the same magic drum, the same figure appears as the image of a reindeer (the horns are tall and branched in a more schematic drawing by von Westen, see fig. 33). Randulf mentions this figure with a Lappish word meaning 'male reindeer' (sarva = 'uncastrated reindeer'), but translates it as 'Hun-Reinsdiur'. On other magic drums, a reindeer of a clearly male type appears in approximately the same place. The translation 'honren' is thus a mistake by Randulf. He explains that this symbol indicates a sacrifice to one of the three main gods. Various sources indicate that reindeer were sacrificed to both Thor (Horagalles) and Frey (Veraiden olmai). It is therefore quite certain that the figure was originally the image of a reindeer. If a connection with one of the 24 runes is sought, the most natural candidate is the initial rune, the u-sign #, whose name was 'uroxe', perhaps even 'bull (above the head)'. As I have already pointed out, in the oldest runic magic derived from Mithraism, the bull rune was probably associated with the power of a life-renewing great sacrifice: in the Persian religion, the bull was a symbol of life. Of particular interest is that in a story that Randulf inserted into his investigation of the signs of the realm of death, it is mentioned that when divining with this very magic drum, a father, in order to save his mortally ill son, vowed to make a sacrifice even greater than a renko by slaughtering a pure bull. Randulf mentions that the Lapps called the sign on the magic drum “Saerva Waero.” The latter word originally meant “treasure,” from which a meaning of “sacrifice (great sacrifice)” developed. The former word means “pure bull” (see above).

2. At the top right of the region below the sky, there is a figure (16 on the illustration), which is referred to with a Lappish expression meaning 'the sorcerer of the underworld' (nåide, tioaide). This figure is located some distance from the underworld, the realm

of the dead (cf. below under 10), and is said to have the task of performing the duties of a sorcerer for those who rule there. I suspect that this is a counterpart to rune no. 2 in the uthark row, the sign [>, whose name means 'thurs, troll'. Due to its demonic meaning, this figure could not be placed next to the sign of the great sacrifice in the heavenly region. Its place is, of course, in the lower region. The fact that this figure is placed relatively high up is probably due to a certain desire for symmetry: the “underworld wizard” corresponds to the “heavenly wizard” (cf. under 9).

3. The right-hand of the three figures, representing the main gods (3 on the abacus), is said to be “the man of the wind,” Biekagalles. Some researchers have wanted to see in this Lapland deity a counterpart to Njord, who, although originally a fertility god, in Norwegian-Icelandic tradition also had to do with the sea and the wind. However, it is more likely that other researchers see a connection with Odin, whose status as a storm god is well established. 1 In Snorri's “Gylfaginning,” Odin is called Vidrir (“Lord of the Wind”), and in late Scandinavian folklore, Odin is the god associated with storms and bad weather (“Odin's hunt,” etc.). In Old Norse mythology, Odin also has a nickname that means 'the third'. From the unanimous testimony of several sources, we also know that Lappish sorcerers used three knots to conjure up wind, which were untied as needed to produce winds of varying strength. A connection with the third sign of the runic alphabet, the ass rune, which was given to Odin as the foremost of the Aesir, seems to me to be the most obvious assumption here.

4. The god figure on the left with two hammers (1 on the abbreviation) is said to be Horagalles, the god of thunder, an unquestionable counterpart to Thor. In connection with my previous investigations into the meaning of the wagon rune, the fourth sign of the outstretched arm, I combine this figure on the magic drum with the aforementioned rune and the magic associated with it.

5. At the top right of the upper region, there is a sign (5 on the illustration) that most closely resembles the top of a spruce or pine tree with upward-pointing branches. In his interpretation of this sign, Randulf seems to have made a mistake. He says that it refers to Rutu, a demon of death and disease. However, according to all other sources, his dwelling is to be found in the underworld. Therefore, a symbol referring to him cannot have been placed in the heavenly region. The author is very uncertain about the meaning of this sign, as he says that he has not been able to obtain any satisfactory information about the nature of this Rutus. It is likely that there has been a confusion of two similar words. There is a Laps word ruotko meaning 'dry spruce' (Lindahl and Öhrling's dictionary). This fits the tree-like figure, which obviously represents the outline of the top of a coniferous tree. I have previously pointed out that the ear sign in the utharkrad originally must have had a name meaning 'torch' and 'pine wood' (Angelsax. cén, 'torch'). The heavenly figures of the Lappish magic drum are, of course, best interpreted if the sign in question is referred to this rune, which was symbolic of fire, the most anti-demonic element. Since the rune name had a double meaning in the North Germanic languages, 'torch' and 'pine wood', it is easy to understand why the Lapps interpreted it in the more literal sense of 'pine wood' (cf. the German Kien) and depicted a pine branch or pine top as a pictorial representation of this.

6. Just below the tree-like figure just discussed is the image of a rooster (6 on the illustration). Randulf explains that this sign refers to a sacrifice. Of course, it must originally have been a smaller sacrifice, consisting of poultry and smaller animals. According to my explanation of the runes, the sixth rune, whose name means 'gift' (ags. gifu), originally got its name in connection with the Persian darun (lit. 'gift'), used in the sense of 'sacrificial gift' and ritually linked to the number 6 (or alternatively 4). As I pointed out above, among many peoples, including the Germanic peoples of the north, the verb that actually means 'to give' has also been used in the sense

of 'to sacrifice'. Lappish magic texts also refer to “giving something” in the sense of “sacrificing something”: “giving something to the cemetery” is, for example, equivalent to “sacrificing to the dead” (J. and P. Turi). Given the circumstances described above, it seems reasonable to assume a genetic connection between the sacrificial symbol of the magic drum (the rooster) and the gift rune that immediately follows the torch rune, the sixth sign of uthar-ken.

7. The god figure in the middle (2 on the abbreviation) is said to refer to Veraiden olmai, the Lapp equivalent of Frej. Veraiden olmai probably means 'man of the world'. In “Heimskringla” it is mentioned that the Swedes called Frej veraldar gud, i.e. 'god of the world'. The Lapps generally refer to their gods as “men” or “karlar” (olmai = “man,” galles = “man”). In front of the god figure, who is holding a hoe (an agricultural tool) in his hand, is the previously mentioned tribe or fence-like figure (not numbered in the illustration). According to Randulf, it signifies “fertility,” and we shall discuss this further below (cf. under 11). However, Frej was not exclusively a god of agriculture. In ancient Scandinavia, he was perhaps primarily a god of friendship and peace, and sacrifices were made to him not only for a good year (til ars), but also for peace (til fridar). In the preceding section, I have presented reasons that suggest that this god, in his capacity as protector of friendship and peace, was associated with the seventh rune of the Uthark, whose name originally probably meant “joy” (ags. wynn). Further support for the connection between Frej and the seventh rune p (w) is provided by a Lappish magic drum, which I will discuss below: the god corresponding to Veraiden olmai in the Naeromanus manuscript has a staff in the shape of this very rune at his side.

8. To the left of the reindeer we see a bear (8 on the abbreviation). At first glance, it is very difficult to find a counterpart to this among the names of the runes. However, if we consider that the bear figure in question is located in the region of the sky and is said to bear the name “bear of the sky,” we understand that there are sufficient

reasons to believe that we are dealing with an astral representation and not with an ordinary earthly bear. What is meant here is probably a constellation, which, according to the principle of pars pro toto, can stand as a symbol for the entire celestial vault. According to what I have explained above, the hail rune, the eighth sign of the utharken, magically refers to the fixed starry sky, the unshakeable eighth sphere, which was believed to consist of crystal (hail actually means 'crystalline stone'). That the Lapps had a constellation called "the bear" is highly probable for several reasons. Incidentally, a researcher has already identified the "bear in the sky" mentioned in the Nseromanuscript with the Big Dipper (or the Big Bear), which is called "Bågarna" or "Favtnas båge" (J. Turi) elsewhere among the Lapps. There is nothing to prevent this constellation, or perhaps rather the Little Bear located at the north celestial pole, from being called "the bear in the sky." In the Lapp hunting language, which is influenced by taboo, a bear's eye is called a "star" (naste), which may be based on an astral conception of the "sky" consisting of stars, the "bear."

Fig. 33. v. Westen's drawing of the magic drum from the Naerö manuscript, there is a collection of dots, which could be stars. In the schematic drawing made by Professor von Westen, who found the magic drum, these dots are 8, the same number as the Hagal rune in the outer circle (see fig. 33). In the following, we shall also find that on another magic drum, the "bear of the heavens" has been replaced by 8 star signs (cf. under VII).

9. The figure furthest to the right in the sky region (4 in the illustration) is called "the sky's runeman (i.e., sorcerer)". Here, it seems to me that a connection with the ninth sign of the uthark, the emergency rune, is close at hand. This rune can be regarded as the magical rune above all others; it is, as its name indicates, the letter symbol of necessity and the power of fate. In magic, the number 3 and its reinforcement, the number 9, overcome the demonic number 2. As mentioned above, the counterpart to the "sky wizard" (cf. above

under 2) is the “underground wizard,” which I have associated with the thursrune, whose counterpart cannot be assigned a place in the heavenly region, where all the initial signs of the uthark have their reflections. The upper sorcerer figure, the “sorcerer of the heavens,” holds a large divination drum (“Runebomme”) in his left hand, while the lower one, the “sorcerer of the underworld,” holds one that is slightly smaller. Both have a hammer in their right hand, which clearly refers to the reindeer horn hammer that was used to strike a divination drum. Randulf says of the “sky wizard” that he is the “prophet and runeman” of the three highest gods, and that after he has performed his divination, prayers are answered or rejected on earth. (Cf. under VII for the corresponding nine signs.)

10. The 10th rune in the utharkrad has a name that means 'ice'. As I have explained above, this rune was magically associated with death and Hel, the ruler of the dead, among the pagan North Germanic peoples. Since, according to Lappish mythology (in accordance with Old Norse mythology), the realm of the dead is located underground, an equivalent to the ice rune can only be found in the lower region of this magic drum. Down at the right-hand edge, we also find an area (17 on the illustration) that is indicated as “the realm of the dead.” Randulf mentions that when, during divination, the mas-sing ring moved toward this area and entered what was called “the path of the dead,” this was considered a sign that the sick person was threatened by death. If a sacrifice was promised or performed and the drum was then consulted again, it was concluded that the sacrifice or vow had been accepted if the ring moved to the left side, where the home of the Lapps is indicated (22 on the illustration). The sick person was then believed to be allowed to live and remain with his family for a time.

11. We now come to the ninth and last sign within the heavenly region. Since the equivalents of two runes (thursruna and isruna) must necessarily be sought in the lower region, we now expect to find an equivalent to the 11th sign of the uthark, the ar rune, the symbol

of the fertility of plants. In ancient Norse magic, the god Frej, as already mentioned, in his capacity as god of vegetation, was closely associated with the aforementioned rune; he was called, among other things, drgnd, 'god of fertility'. In front of Frej's Lappish counterpart, Veraiden olmai, a peculiar stem or stalk with protrusions or thorns can be seen on the magic drum. I have already mentioned this symbol, as it is not marked with a specific number in the illustration. Randulf, however, describes it in detail and explains that it signifies "fertility, both of the earth and the sea, as well as of livestock." We are therefore dealing with a symbol that closely corresponds to the function that the ar-rune is believed to have in runic magic. It is only natural that the Lapps also saw the fertility god Frej as a promoter of pure breeding. However, the shape of the fertility symbol suggests something vegetative; it represents a trunk with branches. I have already discussed that Frej must have been associated with two runes in Old Norse magic. It is not unreasonable that a god who had different functions was thought to be connected with two or more runes. Odin has undoubtedly been closely related to no less than three runes (the 3rd, 9th, and 18th signs of the uthark, cf. above). We have now found counterparts to nine divine and two demonic runes. The divine counterparts have been found in the upper region of the magic drum and, interestingly, in roughly the same order as in the uthark. Since the figures are not grouped one after the other in rows, a strictly consistent arrangement in detail is of course not demonstrable. On a troll drum of another type, which shows a division into five regions, the order of the equivalents can be better established. We shall see that although this magic drum—the Vadsore relation—shows a younger worldview, greatly influenced by Christianity, the deviations from the utharken are relatively few within the series of figures that corresponds to the celestial region of the magic drum described in the Naeromanus manuscript. If we now look at the lower region of this divination tool, we find that the symbols are placed in a fairly clearly discernible symmetrical arrangement. The symbol of the sun is in the middle. The realm of

the living is a counterpart to that of the dead, the former being located in a semicircle to the left, the latter in a semicircle to the right. At the bottom are three goddess figures. These represent, as we shall see, female deities living under the Lapp hut and the surface of the earth. Above the sun and parallel to it are three male supernatural beings. Their angelic nature is indicated by the fact that their arms are replaced by wings. To the right of the lower strip of the sun cross, we see the farmer's home and his livestock, and to the left, the Lapp's fishing waters. The sorcerer of the underworld at the top right—who corresponds to the sorcerer of the heavens on the other side—is matched on the left by a man with a bow. And the horse on the right, the demonic animal between the sorcerer of the underworld and the realm of the dead, is matched on the left by the bear, considered sacred, "the dog of God," which corresponds to the bear in the heavens. With such an arrangement, it is obvious that the figures cannot appear one after the other in such good agreement with the signs of the sequence as if they were arranged in rows. However, the 13 figures within this large area that have not yet been discussed correspond, as will become clear below, to runic symbols 12–24.12. If we start at the far left, at the boundary between heaven and earth —according to Randulf, the air lies between the two lines—we see a man with a bow in his outstretched hand (23 on the plate). In variant drawings, the bow looks more like a staff. However, the bows of the Lapps were of a design that allowed the bow wood to straighten when the weapon was no longer drawn. That we are dealing with a bow god is also clear from the interpretation. The figure with the weapon in his hand represents the hunting god Leibolmai, the divine protector of bears. (In the picture, as we can see, he has a bear next to him.) Leibolmai actually means "the man." As a hunting god with a bow, he inevitably brings to mind the yew tree and bow god Ull, with whom, in my opinion, the 12th sign of the runes, the yew tree rune, was magically connected. The "yew tree man" thus corresponds to the "man of the forest," both divine representatives of hunting and archery. According to sources from the 18th century, arrows and

bows were sacrificed to Leibolmai. As I pointed out earlier, the yew rune had a name which, in the Scandinavian north, came to be understood as meaning "bow" (*thwa£>yr). The parallel with runic magic is striking in this case.

13. It is more difficult to find an equivalent to the /> rune, the 13th character in the outer row, if the Kylver inscription is to be considered in the middle of the runic row as representing an isolated, temporary reversal. As I have emphasized above, the original name of the rune is difficult to determine. If we agree with my previous explanation, this rune was originally called petra and had a magical connection to the earth: its late antique counterpart was Demeter, alias Magna mäter. If we assume a rune symbol associated with a female earth deity, we must look for the corresponding figure on the magic drum in one of the three goddess figures in the periphery below the sun cross. These represent the goddesses Juksakka, Sarakka, and Madderakka, the female helping holy "earth mothers." The latter, who stands furthest to the right in the picture (20 on the illustration), has a name which, according to some researchers, means 'tribal mother' (literally 'root mother'), but according to Professor Setälä, it means 'earth mother' (from the Finnish word mantere, 'earth'). She is thus a counterpart to Demeter and Magna Mære, and the author of the Naeromanus manuscript also explicitly compares her to the latter. If my interpretation of the p-rune name is correct, there is thus a striking correspondence between the meaning I have assigned to a certain rune sign and the aforementioned figure on the Lapp drum. In the following, I will show that there are also reasons to believe that the Lapps knew the p-rune in the form U-l, and combined it with Madderakka or a variant of the same goddess (the so-called "back mother").

14. The 14th rune in the utharken, the sign y, had a name whose original meaning cannot be determined with complete certainty. I have shown above that in Greek letter mysticism, the 14th letter was probably associated with the stars (just as the 15th was associated

with the sun and the moon). In Mithraic alphabet mysticism, the same letter was probably been sacred to the Dioscuri, for whom, among other things, two stars were one of their emblems. The Dioscuri were deities closely associated with the sun. The two stars they used as their symbol probably referred to the morning and evening stars, which heralded the rising and setting of the sun. Alternatively, however, one might think of the two stars Castor and Pollux in the zodiacal constellation Gemini. Whatever the original name of the 14th utharkrunan may have been, it is to be assumed that its counterpart on a lapptrumma is to be found in the vicinity of the sun. On several Lapp drums, the image of a moose also appears in the immediate vicinity of the sun. This is usually found on the upper part of the drum, extending outwards from the center (cf. fig. 20; similarly on a drum kept in the National Museum in Stockholm). As I pointed out above, even though the name of the rune did not originally mean 'moose', it was so similar to this word that in some places, for example among the Anglo-Saxons and probably also earlier in Scandinavia, it was replaced by the word for 'moose'. However, the magic drum in the Naerö manuscript does not have an elk next to the sun but, as mentioned, three peculiar winged human figures, which are said to represent the three "holy men." This is obviously a reinterpretation of certain pagan figures in connection with ideas introduced with Catholic Christianity. The figure on the left (11) is said to be the "Saturday man" and the figure on the right (12) the "Friday man," between them stands (above the sun) "Sunday man." In one of these figures, we can find a reflection of the rune "f." Since a sign of exactly the same shape was used over time as a man rune and schematically offers the image of a man with outstretched arms, it is understandable that the idea of a "man" eventually became associated with the sign. The reflections of the old signs f^ and y may thus both have been understood over time as signs for "men." How these "men" later developed into holiday deities, one being regarded as the "Saturday man" and the other as the "Friday man," I will explain in more detail in the discussion of the

counterpart to the 23rd utharkruna. A good support for my opinion is that a magic drum from the end of the 17th century, the Vadsorelation, has run-like sticks next to the figures of the holiday men: “V (corresponding to the 14th) and -f- (a younger sign for the m sound, genetically corresponding to the old 19th utharkruna). By all accounts, it can be assumed that the symbols on the Lappish magic drums were originally imitations of runes. Over time, human and animal figures (in some cases plant figures) developed from the names and representations associated with them.

15. The 15th carved sign is the sun rune. The correspondence with the central figure of the magic drum (13 on the illustration), which is explicitly said to represent “Paive,” the sun, is so obvious that no lengthy argument is necessary. The peculiar angular shape of the sun sign may go back to a variant of the s-rune, known from Iceland: 1 in an Icelandic book of black magic from the 16th century; £ in Jon Årnason's “rune staff sun with a line across.” This type of rune is a modification of the more familiar West Norse s-sign ^ On one of Schefferus' reproductions of Lapp drums from the 17th century (see fig. 34), the sun sign has a shape corresponding to this more sun-like type of rune. In this illustration, we see a long line running from the top down to the sun circle and also a long line continuing downwards, while the side lines are only very short. It is likely that the sun symbol on a Lapp drum originally looked like the runic type in, i.e., it only had a line combined with the circle. This appearance has been preserved in the magical metal ring through which the Lapps looked at the sun (see fig. 35). In doing so, they probably held the handle-like part downwards. However, reversal of runic symbols is very common among the Lapps (as is the reversal of right and left, cf. below). In one of Rudbeck's reproductions, the sun symbol has an angular shape and is marked with only a line at the top (h in fig. 36). Here, the similarity with the runic type is striking both in terms of the shape and meaning of the sun symbol, we thus find clear parallels in the runic alphabet developed in Scandinavia.

16. Next to the image of the bow-bearing hunting god Leibolmai, the "speaker," there appears, as already mentioned, a bear. The bear, the forest's most powerful beast, was under Leibolmai's special protection. The two images are obviously closely related, and it is therefore possible that both figures have replaced one and the same rune sign: the yew rune. In that case, one of the 24 rune signs must have been left without a replacement. However, it is possible that the bear image stands as a replacement for a corresponding rune sign. The only rune that comes to mind in this case is the t-rune, the sign of the god Tyr. In ancient times, a sign associated with this rune may have predicted good luck (victory) in bear hunting. Tyr's rune was called the victory rune by the North Germanic runemen. For a Lapp, victory over the forest's most powerful beast was probably the closest thing to a victory sign on a divination device. The Lapp bear song, of which there are several accounts, begins with words that speak of victory: "You, conqueror of the forest," etc. To mark their "victory" over the bear, the Lapps are said to have kicked the fallen animal's body with their skis. There is also a similarity between Tyr and the bear in that both are regarded as symbols of physical strength. When a divination drum was consulted before a bear hunt, the movement of the ring toward the bear was probably interpreted as success (victory) in the undertaking. If, on the other hand, the pointer stopped at Leibolmai, this was interpreted as a demand for sacrifice from this god. Unfortunately, there is no direct reference to this, but certain analogies and general statements give us some guidance in our guess.

17. The 17th carved symbol, the birch crown, has been interpreted by me as a letter of particular significance for female fertility, associated with the goddess Frigg, whose sacred tree was the birch. The Lappish deity most closely corresponding to Frigg is the childbirth goddess Sarakka. On the Naeromanus manuscript's magic drum, this goddess is depicted to the left of Madderakka. Sarakka is the middle of the childbirth goddesses standing at the bottom (19

on the illustration). Her name is probably related to the Lappish verb saret, which means 'to split or tear apart tendons'. She undoubtedly received this name in reference to her role as a helper during childbirth. The name probably originally meant 'she who splits or cuts the umbilical cord'. Sarakka was the most beloved goddess of the Lapps, the foremost protector of the home. The Norwegian Lapp missionary Jessen describes how the Lapp pagan baptism was performed. This ceremony was performed in honor of the goddess Sarakka. Heated water was poured into a trough, into which two birch twigs were placed (one grown, the other bent into a ring). The godmother then said to the child: “You shall be as fruitful, healthy, and strong as the birch from which this twig was taken.” (Jessen in Leem.) Through this ceremony, the child was considered to have entered into a covenant with Sarakka. This entire baptismal ritual brings to mind the fertility magic associated with the birch crown. I have described in detail another ceremony, the purification of the Lapp men in water mixed with ashes from 17 (8 + 9) birch trees, in the previous section. Sarakka's connection with Frigg is also evident from the fact that even at the beginning of the 18th century, most Lapps, when asked about the connection between the days of the week and deities, explained that Friday, i.e. Frigg's day, was sacred to Sarakka (Forbus in Reuterskiöld). This confirms my assumption that the so-called “Friday man” (cf. under 14, 19, and 23) is a relatively late deity, who was first associated with a day of the week in analogy with the “sun man” (cf. under 23). Sarakka was believed to live under the floor of the hut. Like the other akko, she was a chthonic (underground) deity. Such deities were undoubtedly worshipped by the Lapps already at a primitive stage of development, when they had not yet become acquainted with North Germanic religion. From Frigg, the earth mother Sarakka, who probably originated from ancient nomadic religion, has taken on many characteristics, as she was identified with the Scandinavian mother goddess when the North Germanic religion was introduced: she was given the same sacred tree, day, and number (17), etc. Sometimes a special small hut

was built for the worship of Sarakka. This is depicted on some magic drums and is usually accompanied by a birch tree (or two).

18. The 18th carved symbol, the horse rune, has, as I have already mentioned, an obvious counterpart on the Naeromanus manuscript's magic drum. Between the “underground sorcerer” and the “realm of death” is a horse (15 on the illustration). This figure is called “Sturich,” an awkward spelling of Stuorek, a name that I have previously (p. 77) linked to the Swedish word stor, recalling that Odin's horse was called “the great horse” in some parts of Sweden. Randulf explains that this “Sturich” is a “sacrificial horse” that is promised when someone is terminally ill, so that the dead will allow him to live a little longer. That is why this horse stands “on the road to the realm of the dead,” says the author of the manuscript. As with the North Germans, the horse has been a creature closely associated with death and the realm of the dead among the Lapps. The underground god Rota (Rutu), who brought sickness and death, was also thought to come riding on a horse. In some sources, Rota is perceived as a female creature (J. Fellman and others), but in most as a male. Much has been written to interpret the name of this Lappish deity of death etymologically. The name has two main variants, one with an o and one with a u in the root syllable. The less common name Rutu, Ruto, etc. is probably related to the Finnish word rutto, meaning 'plague, pestilence'. However, the Finnish word may have been borrowed from Lappish, which in turn is thought to be a loan from a Germanic word ('leprosy' is pruts-fill in Gothic, and a corresponding word for 'plague, serious illness' probably existed in ancient Scandinavia; Old Norse, for example, has the adjective pnitenn, 'swollen'). However, it seems likely to me that Rota was the actual name of the demon of death. This is supported by the fact that its home is almost always called 'Rotaland' or 'Rotaimo' (in Swedish source texts, I have found 10 instances of Rotaland or Rotaimo compared to 1 instance of Rutaimo). I mentioned above that Rota is portrayed as a female being in certain sources. This circumstance

brings to mind Snorri's "Gylfaginning," where a death Valkyrie bears an identical name. Three of the Valkyries in Odin's service are said to "constantly ride out to select those who are to fall," and are mentioned by Snorri: "Gunn, Rota, and Skuld." However, only a few sources refer to the Lapps' Rota as female. It has been thought that this perception was due to the name ending in -a. However, considering that Rota was the name of a death Valkyrie in Norse mythology, it is worth considering whether the Lapps' perception of Rota as male may be secondary and have arisen from the fact that it is generally men who travel on horseback. Of course, the idea of Odin as a horseman must also have played a role. Even if the Lapps originally and mainly thought of Rota as a male being, the origin of the name itself may be found in the name of the death valkyrie mentioned by Snorri. It is of some interest that a Swedish spell against a horse disease ("floget") mentions a demonic being whose name is reminiscent of the Lappish Rutu (Rota):

"Rut draws her bow against her foot, she shoots everything that is against him."

("Salomoniska magiska konster" [Solomon's magical arts], either "she" or "he" should be a transcription error.) The incantation probably originates from a formula recorded in Småland, which begins: "The evil one stood on the mountain with a drawn bow" (Söderbäck). "The evil one" refers to Odin (cf. under 18 in the previous essay). The spelling Rut may have replaced an older Rot (which rhymed with foot). It is conceivable that the name Rota mentioned by Snorre may have become a name for Odin as a demon of disease in later Scandinavian folklore, or may have survived as the name of a female demon associated with Odin and death, which was eventually partly confused with the god himself.

19. I have already mentioned the 19th runic character, the man rune, above (under 14) in connection with one of the so-called holy men. It is difficult to determine whether the character in question is related to the "Saturday man" (11) or the "Friday man" (12). The

question is, however, of secondary importance. A male being corresponding to Madderakka is Madderattje. He is said to have his dwelling "near the sun." On a troll drum (Leem-Jessens), he is seen as a figure with arms and a head (3 in Fig. 37). The sign bears a certain resemblance to two late forms of the m-rune: ^ and ?. We can therefore assume that this is a remnant of the rune whose name meant 'man'. On the troll drum in question, there are also three cross-like symbols for the three holy men. However, there is nothing to prevent an original symbol from eventually being reflected in two forms. A sign derived from a certain variant of the man rune may have remained, even though the figures on other magic drums introduced three holy men, designated by crosses, in which there is likely to be a reflection of another variant of the m rune: -j- = m in the Swedish-Norwegian runic alphabet. In any case, it is to be expected that an equivalent to the man rune should be sought in the vicinity of the sun sign.

20. The 20th carved sign, the l rune, whose name means 'water', has its striking counterpart in the figure on the troll drum, which is said to represent 'fishing waters' (21 on the illustration). That water was primarily important in Lapp magic as fishing waters is entirely understandable: the Lapps expected good fishing from the water first and foremost. Randulf mentions that if the ring (the pointer) moved to the sign of water and remained there, this predicted good fishing, but if the ring remained at the edge of the figure without entering it, this meant that the water god, "Tonsie Gud," demanded a sacrifice for the fishing to be successful. If the ring remained completely outside, no sacrifice was necessary. Such a sacrifice usually consisted of a dead dog. The name of the water god has been interpreted by the Norwegian Lapp expert Qvigstad as originally meaning "Tunnsjoguden" and referring to a place near Tunnsjoen in Namdalen. The Lapps had different water gods in different regions. The deity of water is usually called Tjasolmai, i.e. "water man," a counterpart to the Russian Vodjanoj and our Näcken. As I pointed

out earlier (cf. the first essay under 2), the “water man” was regarded as a demonic being.

21. The 21st carving is Ingrunan. Judging by its name, this must have had something to do with fertility (cf. the previous essay under 21). Just as Tyrrunan is associated with the god Tyr, Ingrunan has been magically linked to Ing, one of the North Germanic deities, traditionally originally a tribal hero who was locally worshipped as a male fertility god. Unlike the birch crown, Frigg's sign, Ingrunan may have had the function of predicting male offspring in divination. In Lapp mythology, there is a female creature, Juksakka, whose main task is to bring boys into the world. This goddess of childbirth has a name that should actually be written Juoksakka, as it is clearly related to the word jnoks, 'bow'. The reason she bears such a name is that it was up to her whether the child would be of the sex that used bows. If she practiced sufficiently powerful sorcery, it was even believed that a female fetus in the womb could be changed into a male. This is why she has a magic drum in her right hand, explains Randulf. In the other hand, she holds a staff (see 18 on the plate). Her figure on the magic drum is turned in the direction of the bow god Leibolmai. There is no direct mythological continuation of the god Ing in this case. As I have already pointed out, the Lapps undoubtedly worshipped certain female deities, protectors of the hearth and home, long before their encounter with the North Germans. Like Sarakka, Juksakka was believed to live underground beneath the hut, more precisely at the door, where the men's bows were usually placed. The name Uksakka probably refers to the same deity. It means 'door woman' (uks in Lappish means 'door'). A similar creature also appears in the imagination of the northern Swedish population, 'Dörrkäringen' (in Västerbotten). The name Juksakka is probably a contamination of Juoksakka and Uksakka (the same figure is called 'Uks- or Juksakka' by Jessen). If we assume that the immediate pattern for the Lappish figures of magic was a North Germanic divination tool with runic symbols, it

is not difficult to connect Juksakka with Ingrunan: for the Lappish shamans of pagan times, the essential thing was the function of the symbols, not the names of the runes themselves. It is not too bold an assumption that Ingrunan was used on a North Germanic divination tool as a sign for the birth of a boy (cf. p. 87).

22. The 22nd carved sign, the odal rune, has a name that refers to real estate (odal, inheritance). In runic magic, this sign should have been associated with the concept of 'dwelling, home'. On the magic drum described by Randulf, there is a semicircular space on the left (as a counterpart to the realm of death on the opposite side) where Lapp huts and earth mounds are depicted. The meaning of this figure is that the movement of the ring from this area or its remaining within it determined whether the Lapp would stay where he was or had prospects of finding something better elsewhere. We also know that if the ring moved from the realm of death to this residential area, it was a good sign: the sick person would be allowed to remain with his family. If we stick to what can most likely have been the role of the odal rune in divination, we find a good correspondence between the Lappish sign of residence and the meaning of the 22nd sign of the uthark: what had been the residence of the settled person became the residence of the Lapp. In this case, the name of the rune was not essential, but rather its magical function.

23. The 23rd uthark sign, dagrunan, had a name that meant 'day' and probably also 'daylight'. In Lappish, however, the same word beive (peive) is used for both 'sun' and 'day'. If the reflections of the 15th and 23rd runes (the sun rune and the day rune) have been kept separate, the Lappish signs that go back to the aforementioned runes should be found in each other's immediate vicinity. In view of this, I assume that the so-called “Sunday man,” placed immediately above the sun sign (10 on the abc), is a reflex of the day rune. To distinguish this sign from that of the sun, it was probably initially called the “sun man.” Already in Old Norse mythology, the day rune was associated

with a light deity perceived as a male being: Dag, son of Delling. Since Sunday was the day of the sun, the day man-sun man eventually became the "Sunday man," after which the two male figures placed on either side of the sun symbol, reflections of the m and r runes, were also perceived as weekday deities. It is possible that the Sunday man (the sun man) was first given wings, perhaps in connection with older North Germanic mythology. Then the other two figures were also given wings instead of arms.

24. It now remains only to find the counterpart to the last rune of the Uthark (associated with the number 24). Its name in Old Norse, *fehu, has meant both 'livestock' and 'wealth', a collective concept that corresponds well to the high numerical value of the letter according to the Uthark theory. The only symbol on the troll drum that we have not yet discussed is called "the way of the Christians." This symbol (14 on the abbreviation) refers to the wealthy neighboring population and their household goods, the Christian farmers and their possessions. Next to a church and two lower buildings (a farmhouse and a storehouse) are livestock (a goat and a cow). Randulf mentions that this symbol was used to indicate when the Lapps were to "trade" with farmers, priests, and others who were not Lapps. The Lapps' sacrificial customs, which they had adopted from the ancient Norse religion, required the acquisition of various animals and foodstuffs that they did not raise or produce themselves. Horses for sacrifice to the realm of the dead, roosters for certain minor sacrifices, etc. could only be obtained by purchase from the settled peasant population. It is interesting to note in this context that the Lappish language has a word for 'wealth' *båndavuot* (or *båndotak),* which is a derivation of the borrowed word *bånda,* 'householder', which apparently originally meant 'independent farmer'. Both details in the image — figures representing domestic animals — and what we know about the function of the sign — advice on trade — suggest a connection with the *f*-rune. With this and its number 24, as we have seen above, in North Germanic magic,

actions related to the acquisition and recovery of property have been associated.

Of particular interest to my uthark theory is the fact that the equivalents of the urox rune and the wealth rune — the sign of the pure deer and the sign of the farmer's home and livestock — are located at such a great distance from each other. The former sign is located at the top of the troll drum among figures which have been shown to be reflections of runes in the first half of the uthark, while the latter sign, which is surrounded by reflections of runes in the second half of the uthark, reaches almost as far down as the sign of the realm of the dead and has only the image of Madderakka, who dwells underground, below it. (On v. Westen's drawing, abbr. 33, it reaches all the way down.) Examination of the next magic drum will show even more clearly that the sign of the reindeer is No. 1.

III

From the end of the 17th century, a Lapp magic drum is known to have belonged to a nearly 100-year-old Lapp man, Anders Poulsen. He was accused of practicing witchcraft and was tried in 1691 before a court in Vadsø in Norwegian Finnmark. There, the accused gave a detailed explanation of the use of the divination tool and the meaning of the figures depicted on the drum. The old Lapp said he was born in Torne Lappmark in Sweden and claimed to have learned the art of divination from his mother. The magic drum, which was very worn from frequent use, is said to have been made by the accused himself, but he denied this in court. Although the tool used by Anders Poulsen was found a few decades earlier than the magic drum found by von Westen and interpreted by Randulf, which we have discussed above, it belongs mythologically to a later stage of development. Unlike the divination drum found in the early 1720s, which was probably made much earlier, it shows strong Christian elements. The reason for this difference is easy to see if you think about how the two magic drums, even though they're from around the same time, come from different places. In addition, the magic drum from Vadsø, or its prototype, was used by a woman, the mother of a Lapp man accused of witchcraft. As a rule, women were not allowed to use a Lapp magic drum, except perhaps at an advanced age. However, many of the features of the divination figures (the absence of counterparts to the two bears, etc.) can be explained if one considers that, in exceptional cases, a Lapp woman (in that case, one who had reached an advanced age) may have practiced divination using a tool suited to her needs.

At first glance, the two magic drums appear to be very different from each other. However, closer examination reveals that of the 24 figures described in the Nærø manuscript, no fewer than 22 have counterparts on the magic drum in the Vads0 relation. The fact that

25 figures appear on the latter drum despite the absence of two signs is due to certain signs having been duplicated. Several of the figures on the Vadsø drum are also equipped with "staves," magical signs of a runic nature. This is probably a remnant of something very ancient. Judging from written accounts, it seems that in earlier times there were magic drums without pictorial figures, whose signs consisted of what were called "lines" or "characters" (probably runic marks). It is said, for example, that a Finnmark Lapp had a drum with "nine lines, each with its own special meaning" (Leem). The fact that there were only nine signs in this case is probably due to a partial misunderstanding. It is more likely that the drum in question, like the one described by Randulf, had 24 signs, of which nine, belonging to the heavenly realm, were the subject of special mention. Further evidence is provided by images of magic drums found on magic drums. One such depiction (no. 7 on the magic drum no. 8 in Friis) shows the same main division as in the image in the Nærø manuscript: a horizontal line slightly above the center, with vertical lines on this line and a slightly larger number of vertical lines in the lower field. It is likely that the figurative type developed from the line or stick type. The troll drum from Vadsø probably shows a transitional stage: figures have been placed next to the sticks (lines) and in some cases the sticks have been omitted, leaving only images, as in the Nærø manuscript. An even older stage is represented by divination drums, which only had so-called "lines" or "staves," which were probably once quite similar to the runes used by the North Germanic peoples. The Norwegian name for the Lappish magic drum, *runebomme*, gives some indication of this, although it should not be forgotten that the New Norwegian verb *runa* means 'to divine'. A detailed examination of the Vadsø relation's magic drum will also show, as we shall see below, that its so-called sticks can to a large extent be traced back to runes, and some are even identical with runic characters, in two cases even of the old type (see fig. 38).

The magic drum in the Vadsø report, whose model, as mentioned, originated in the Torneträsk region of 17th-century Sweden, has red symbols painted with bark and is divided into five sections by four horizontal lines. During the interrogation, the Lapp sorcerer was asked to explain the figures within these sections in order. In accordance with the direction of the Latin script and the usual European practice of having images follow each other from left to right, the Lapp's answers were recorded in that order. Whether the fortune teller himself intended this order is by no means certain: a common magical operation is precisely to allow a movement to take place "counterclockwise" (from west-right to east-left). In my opinion, a decisive circumstance in this question is that only if one counts from right to left do the three closely related holy men and the sun appear in sequence. If, on the other hand, one counts from left to right, no fewer than six figures would stand between the sun (the round sign furthest to the left in the second row) and the three holy men (in the third row, the last one furthest to the right). This circumstance is of great importance. The connection to the Naeromanus manuscript's imagery and to the runic row also appears in other respects when oriented right-left. The orientation I have chosen is also supported by an indirectly significant message given by the sorcerer himself, which will be discussed below (p. 150). I will now proceed to a detailed examination of the figures and signs of the divination tool.

We begin with the upper region, where figures 1, 2, and 3 in the illustration are to be grouped in reverse order.

In this case, we must consider the image of the pure bull (3 in the illustration) as No. 1. That it is a reindeer is clear from the powerful horns, which are characteristic of a male animal. This corresponds to the bull's horn in the uthark (Angelsax. *úr)* and the information in the Nærø manuscript in Lappish about the uppermost central sign on the troll drum: that it represents a *sarva,* a male reindeer.

As No. 2 in the same row is a figure (2 in the illustration) which is said to represent thunder (called "Torden" in the protocol). On its right side, this figure has a staff, in which a reflection of the Lappish hammer sign can easily be recognized: what corresponds to the hammer on the drum head in the Nærø manuscript has been thinned and looks like the handle of a staff. As in No. 2 in the carving, the thursruna is present, but its reflection cannot be found among the "heavenly" signs. As on the Nserotrumman, it has been moved downwards, as we shall see below (cf. what I say below about the lowest, fifth region). However, figure no. 2 does not correspond to the third sign in the carving, but to the fourth, the wagon rune, Thor's sign. An insignificant rearrangement has thus taken place, probably due to considerations of space: the god of thunder was considered higher than the god of wind and was therefore depicted where the arched region reaches its highest point.

As in No. 3, on the far left, next to the god of thunder, there is a figure (1 on the illustration) representing a being who is said to rule over "storm and tempest," thus corresponding to the "man of the wind" in the Naeromanus manuscript, which I have associated with Odin and the third carved sign, the ass rune. To the left is a "staff," probably referring to a rune sign. Lack of space probably caused the sign to be truncated, so its original form has been lost.

In the second region, the figure on the far right (8 on the illustration) refers, according to the protocol, to an "angel," which is believed to be an equivalent of the Holy Spirit. The sorcerer has clearly tried to interpret everything as far as possible according to Christian beliefs. He has therefore avoided using the term "god" for the god of thunder and the god of wind, instead using the word "et Menniskes Lignelse" (the likeness of a man). Originally, this figure was probably a messenger of the gods of the sky. The fifth symbol on the Nseromanuscript's magic drum is said to be one of the three great gods' "under-rulers," with whose help they accomplish everything they want "in heaven and on earth." This is therefore a messenger,

equivalent to what the Lapp Poulsen called an "angel." On Linnaeus's magic drum there is a sign which corresponds in form to the "furutopp" in the Nseromanuscript, and in the interpretation is given the meaning "angels." I suppose there is a connection with the fifth sign of the uthark, the torch rune. In runic magic, this was probably associated with a god other than Odin, Thor, and Freyr. As a symbol of vigilance, it may have been Heimdall's rune. He brought messages to the other gods. The staff standing upright shows a curve at the bottom. There is a certain similarity to the rune sign <, the fifth in the utharken. If this were to be transformed to resemble a walking stick, it would be necessary to greatly soften the curve. The result is a stick whose lower part is slightly bent to the right.

Next to the man with the curved staff is the image of a church (7). It is said of this that "if anyone wants good luck, he shall give it wax candles, wild game, or money." I therefore assume a connection with the gift rune, the sixth sign in the utharken, and the figure "offertupp" on the drum of the Naeromanus manuscript. The function of the sign has been to provide instructions on the appropriateness of making an offering. The church depicted is equipped with three crosses, one of which has a fairly large and slightly slanted crossbar. A Lappish offering sign may have been formed from the old g-rune v (such a sign actually exists, cf. below). From the sign v, a cross could easily have emerged, which over time was combined with a church, in which the Lapps probably saw a place of sacrifice dedicated to the Christian God, to whom even a pagan Lapp sometimes sought help through gifts to the priest and the temple.

To the left of the image of the church, we see a male figure (6 in the illustration), which in the protocol is indicated as "God the Father." Here we must assume the central deity of Lapp mythology, Veraiden olmai ("man of the world") in the Naeromanus manuscript, the god of procreation, whom research has identified with Frej. As the god of love and friendship, Frej should, according to what I have

previously explained in runic magic, be associated with the seventh carved sign, which immediately follows the gift rune. This sign is the w rune p. It is therefore very interesting to note that a staff in the shape of this very rune is placed next to this figure (see illustration).

As already mentioned, there is no equivalent to the "bear of the sky" on the magic drum described by Randulf on the divination tools of the Vadsore Relation. The reflection of the eighth carved sign may easily have disappeared for several reasons. One circumstance I have already hinted at: the divination drum or its prototype was used and probably also made by a Lapp woman. This may explain why the two bear images were omitted. It is also conceivable that the equivalent of the "bear of the sky" once consisted only of dots or small crosses, intended to represent stars (examples of this can be found below). Over time, these dots or crosses probably ceased to have any significance in divination, which is why this figure was omitted.

To the left of Frey's staff, we see the image of a man (5 on the illustration), whose one foot looks more like a horse's hoof. The protocol explains that the image represents "the son of God." However, the figure appears quite diabolical. We are probably dealing here with a counterpart to the "sorcerer of heaven" in the Naeromanus manuscript, in whom we should see a reflection of Odin in his capacity as the foremost practitioner of runic magic. Since the sorcery rune was the ninth sign of the runic alphabet, we must assume a connection with this. The staff on the left also bears a certain resemblance to the emergency rune ^. The staff has simply been moved slightly higher and lost its slanted direction. However, it is possible that it is the eighth rune that has remained: in the Swedish-Norwegian runic alphabet, the h rune has the form -J-. In any case, we must assume that the figure next to it is a counterpart to the "sky wizard" and the magical function of the emergency rune. As is well known, in post-Christian times, Odin was partly thought

of as a horse: the horse's hoof of the popular devil figure is a legacy from this.

Far to the left, in the second region, there is a round sign crossed by a vertical line (4 in the illustration). The protocol states that this refers to the sun. Here we have, of course, a clear counterpart to the sun sign on the troll drum discussed above and many others. As I mentioned earlier, the line probably originates from the Icelandic-Norwegian rune type <*>. A middle form between the aforementioned rune sign and the sun image on this magic drum is reproduced by Pastor Forbus in 1727 (in Reuterskiöld). The sun has "the sun ring -0 in honor," he says. In this sign, the line does indeed continue diagonally downward and not upward, but the reversal of signs is very common among the Lapps. As a curiosity, I would like to mention that the prehistoric researcher Hermann Wirth, who is highly regarded in some parts of Germany, believes he has found a sign for "the holy year" in the sun sign on this very Lapp drum. Nothing in the protocol's description of the sign's meaning or in any other tradition of Lappish signs supports this far-fetched idea. The protocol clearly states that it is a sign for the sun, and what we otherwise know about Lappish magic signs is consistent with this. In my opinion, the aforementioned German author sets a record in loose evidence: he labors page after page with all possible signs, as if he were thoroughly familiar with their meaning. However, most of it seems to have been taken, as in this case, "aus der Tiefe des eigenen Bewusstseins" (from the depths of his own consciousness).

In the third region, counting from the right, there are three figures, which are said to represent three "Christmas lords": the lords of the first, second, and third days of Christmas (13, 12, 11 on the abbreviation). The earliest may be "*peiveherr*," which can mean both "sun lord" and "day lord." This is clearly a counterpart to the figures closely associated with the sun symbol, which in the Nærø manuscript are referred to as the "Friday, Saturday, and Sunday men." As I have already mentioned, it is of particular interest that

the staffs of these three "lords" in two cases correspond to the very runes of which they can be presumed to be reflexes. The figure on the far right (13) has a staff of the appearance ### next to it. The correspondence with the 14th sign of the uthark, the *R* rune, is obvious. Next to the other two figures are two other staffs, both of the same shape. There is a striking similarity here with the *m* sign † of the Swedish-Norwegian runic alphabet. It is also interesting that the staff associated with the 14th character of the uthark comes before the two staffs associated with the 19th character of the uthark. It is understandable that the day rune ### has no reflex; it could not be transformed into a "staff." Cross-like symbols for "men" around the sun appear on several Lapp drums. In my opinion, these go back to a relatively late type of manruna, which replaced the old uthark sign ###. The rune ### should also, by analogy with a type in the younger runic alphabet, ultimately have been understood as a manruna. This gave rise to signs for three "men."

Next to the three "Christmas Day gentlemen" stand two female figures. The one on the right (10 on the illustration) is indicated as "Mary, Mother of Christ, Woman of God." "When she is worshipped, she especially helps women in childbirth ("Barselqvinder")," it is added. This is an unmistakable reflection of the childbirth goddess Sarakka, whom we know from the Nærø manuscript. Her North Germanic counterpart is Frigg, the deity of the 17th rune (the birch crown).

Next to Maria-Sarakka, on the far left (9 on the illustration), stands a female figure, which in the protocol is interpreted as referring to "Saint Anne," who is said to be "Mary's sister." According to the Bible, Mary's mother was named Anne. We should therefore see in this figure a reflection of the oldest of the midwives, Madderakka, who under Christian influence was renamed Anna, the mother of the Virgin Mary. As mentioned above, I see the model for the Madderakka figure in the troll drums in the divinity of the p rune, a goddess associated with the earth. The 13th rune of Utharken

originally had the form ### (as, for example, on the Kylverstenen). In northern Sweden (Dalarna), a *þ* sign of the form ### appears. This may have come about when the old *þ* rune was turned upside down and placed on a staff. A so-called staff in the form ### is also found on this magic drum, next to the male figure standing closest to "Saint Anne" in the fourth region (15). It is possible that a staff was moved from the third region to the fourth, as the maker of the magic drum did not consider it necessary for women to have staffs. During the interrogation, the sorcerer explained that "just as the lords of the earth have staffs in their hands, these people have staffs in their hands."

In the fourth region, on the far right, stands a male figure (17 on the illustration). He resembles a man with a stick, carrying a sack of flour. Judging by the protocol, the accused seems to have been very unclear about this figure and the others in this region. "They are people who go to church," he is said to have explained, but according to one version, he added that the magic drum could be used to do them "harm" or "good." The interpretation of the protocol thus provides very little guidance. However, if we stick to the sticks seen next to these male figures, we may be able to find an explanation. Next to the figure on the far right (17 in the illustration), we see a stick that looks like a cleft. A similar symbol has been used in Lapland worship. Forbus informs us that the symbol of the fertility god Tjorveradien was a "forked or two-branched tree." The missionary J. Kildal mentions that every autumn a reindeer (or other animal) was sacrificed to this fertility god so that he would bestow a "good harvest" on the earth. Tjorveradien, whose name can be roughly translated as "the horn god," is undoubtedly just a variant of the fertility god Veraiden olmai in his capacity as god of vegetation. The explanation for why this deity is called the "horn god" has been sought in the fact that on certain magic drums, some of the god figures are depicted with halos around their heads in the Christian style. In this context, however, it should be noted that the image of

Frej on the runic gold horn from Gallehus (see fig. 19 on the right) has two horns on his head. In one hand, this god figure holds a hoe, just like Veraiden olmai on the Nærø manuscript's magic drum. In connection with this, I assume that the figure on the far right in the fourth region of the Vadsø relation's magic drum (17) refers to a variant of Veraiden olmai and that the figure and his staff in the runic magic correspond to the god Frej in his capacity as god of war and the 11th utharkruna associated with war magic. In the Swedish-Norwegian runic alphabet, the *a* sign, which ultimately goes back to the *j* sign of the uthark (*ār* < **jāra*), has the form ###. The letter in question thus shows a significant similarity to a cleft-shaped sign, the symbol of Tjorvenradien among the Lapps according to Forbus. The fact that the staff on the magic drum has a protrusion to the left instead of to the right, as is the case with the runic sign, corresponds to the Lapps' way of reproducing runes. The male figure associated with this staff can be assumed to have originally been a so-called ithyphallic image (the phallus of the god was thought to fertilize the earth). The Frejstoden in the pagan temple in Uppsala was, as is well known, according to Adam of Bremen, equipped with a "mighty priapus."

Figure 2 from the right in this region (18 on the plate) depicts, as can be seen, a church. The function of the figure is explained in the protocol, which states that the sign refers to offerings of "wax candles, money, and other things." This image of a church is probably a reflection of the symbol "the way of the Christians" on the Nærø manuscript's divination drum (14 on fig. 32). This symbol consists of figures representing livestock, houses, and a church and is said by Randulf to be related to trade with farmers, priests, and others who were not Lapps. Both the image and the function thus show a clear correspondence between the two divination tools. In both cases, it has been a matter of monetary transactions. In view of this, the connection with the rune of wealth, the 24th sign of the uthark, is what we have to assume. Of course, this connection is much clearer

in the Nærø manuscript than in the Vadsø report. However, no other sign in the Vadsø report seems to me to correspond better to the sign "the way of the Christians" described by Randulf. It is also interesting that the sorcerer in the Vadsø account indicated during questioning that "Dom Kirken" (i.e., the sign in question) was significant for the recovery of stolen property. This is consistent with what I have pointed out above about the role of the 24th utharken sign and its number in such magic.

To the left of the church are two male figures. The protocol is extremely vague about these (they are said to be "people going to church"). No conclusion can be drawn from this statement. The only way to approximate the identity of these figures is to note which equivalents are missing once the more easily interpretable ones have been identified. We have not found any counterpart to the "bear of heaven"; if there were one, it would have to be sought in another region. It remains, as the following will show, to consider counterparts to the hunting god Leibolmai and the "bear of the earth." One of the two male figures must therefore have once represented Leibolmai on an older model of the magic drum. This is probably the figure on the far left (15 on the illustration). The male figure on the right (16 on the illustration) clearly cannot be a reflection of the "bear of the earth." It is more likely that the figure was simply added as a complement to the staff between him and the church. This has a certain resemblance to a corrupted *f* rune, the sign ᚠ. The main staff may have been bent at the top, and one of the side staffs may have continued the central line of the sign. We should also take into account the reversal of the rune staff, which is common among the Sami. At one time, the rune sign ᚠ probably belonged to the figure that indicated "trade" with priests and peasants (the adjacent church = "the way of the Christians," cf. p. 145).

The circle on the far left (14 on the copy) is interpreted in the protocol as referring to the "moon." However, there is no sign for the moon on the Nærø manuscript's magic drum. Based on the

appearance of another similar round symbol in the fifth region (cf. below), I assume that the circle on the far left in the fourth region corresponded at the earliest to the Lapp settlement area on the divination drum described by Randulf: the semicircle of this sign may have become a completely closed circle, which in turn, by analogy with the sun sign, was interpreted as referring to the moon. The location of the dwelling sign on the Nærø manuscript's treasure chest fits very well with this hypothesis. Likewise, the reflection of the hunting god, Leibolmai, should be sought near the site of this original settlement. In the male figure next to the circle, I have also, cf. above, assumed a reflection of Leibolmai. The sign next to this figure should, as I pointed out above, have been moved down from a nearby place in the adjacent upper region. In the Swedish-Norwegian runic row, the sign that could be associated with the god of hunting in connection with its name, *ýr*, 'bow', consisted only of a small, low-standing vertical line. It is possible that a staff of this appearance was eventually perceived as incomplete and therefore replaced by the symbol ᛘ, which originally stood next to one of the three acorns (Madderakka).

The fifth region of the divination chamber contains exclusively figures relating to "hell," i.e., the ancient pagan realm of the dead.

In the round figure (23 on the illustration), which in the protocol is said to represent "hell's tar kettle," we have, in my opinion, a reflection of the semicircle that on the divination drum described by Randulf signifies the realm of the dead. (A parallel to this development from a semicircle to a full circle can be found in the origin of the circle furthest to the left in the fourth region, which I have combined above with the dwelling place symbol in the Nærø manuscript). In front of the circle in the fifth region is a figure consisting of a horizontal line and three vertical lines (22 in the illustration). This is called "the fire of hell." It is not impossible (especially considering the death symbols on other grave markers) that the vertical lines are reflections of isrunas. The image and the

"staff" may have given rise to two figures here. In my opinion, both can be traced back to the 10th sign of the outer circle, the ice rune, and its magical meaning.

In the square figure (24 on the illustration), which is said to represent "hell's grave," one can probably see a reflection of the water sign on other divination drums. As a rule (e.g., in the image from the Nærø manuscript), this figure is rectangular, as is the case with this sign from the Vadsø account.

Just as we have encountered two reflections of the sign of the realm of death, we also find, as a counterpart to the "underworld sorcerer" on the Nærø manuscript divination drum (and its oldest pattern, the thursruna), two devils: one bound (25 on the illustration) and one unbound (21 on the illustration). The number of the demonic is 2 in both runic magic and Lapp superstition (cf. the preceding). There is also a divination drum on which the demonic is indicated by a double sign, interpreted by Jessen (in Leem) (cf. fig. 37). Here, the holy men are indicated on the sun's upper and both side rays by crosses, which, as mentioned above, can be explained as reflections of the Swedish-Norwegian runic manruna † (the m sign). On the sun's downward ray is a figure consisting of two joined crosses: †† (44 in fig. 37). This figure is said to represent "mubben-olmak, evil spirits who want to harm the Lapps."

The Lappish mythological concept of a bound devil may have its origins in both Christian and North Germanic mythology (Loki, Fenrir). A curious detail that testifies to the influence of Old Norse mythology is the information provided in the protocol that when God found this devil, he was wearing "iron shoes." This brings to mind Vidar and his heavy shoes mentioned by Snorri. Vidar participated with the other Aesir in binding Fenrisulven and is said to trample him at Ragnarök.

The figure on the far left in the fifth region (19 on the illustration), which is said to represent "the bound devil's wife," is

probably a counterpart to the mother goddess Juksakka in the Nærø manuscript, who, judging by various indications, can be considered identical to Uksakka, “the Door Witch” in Swedish folk belief in Västerbotten. According to Randulf, on Christmas Eve, the Lapps sacrificed to the underworld at a door called *uks* by pouring out beer or brandy and drinking a toast. Through this ceremony, Uksakka, “the door witch,” may have become associated with the underworld and demons and ultimately, in the imagination of a semi-Christian Lapp woman, perceived as the devil's wife. The other two characters met a different fate. Sarakka was understandably identified with the Virgin Mary, the helper of Lapp women above all others. It was also natural to make Madderakka, the eldest of the guardian goddesses, her mother, Saint Anne. For Uksakka, however, there was no connection to the holy women of the Christian religion. She was allowed to keep her home underground and was given a completely demonic nature. We therefore encounter her in the lowest region of this divination drum as “the bound devil's wife.”

The figure farthest to the left below ‘the devil's wife’ (20) is said to be a disease-causing demon (”a devil who kills people and humans, and is said to be Siugdom"). We have no doubt that this is the demon of death and disease, Rota, who is closely connected with his sacrificial animal, the horse, “Sturich” in the Nærø manuscript, which I have linked to the 18th sign of the uthark, the horse rune.

IV

The two Lappish divination drums discussed above differ considerably from each other. However, they must go back to a common older basic type. In terms of the meaning of the signs, this has undoubtedly been closest to the divination apparatus of the Nærø manuscript, where very little has been changed in connection with Christian beliefs. The magic drum from Vadsø, on the other hand, shows numerous Christian elements, although during questioning these were probably presented as more Christian than they were understood in the practice of divination. However, this magic drum has preserved something that is of the utmost importance for our investigation: the divination apparatus is not only equipped with images but also, in many cases, shows "staves" whose shapes bear an unmistakable resemblance to runes, in some cases almost identical. As might be expected, not all of these staves can have been based on runic characters from the older runic alphabet. Over the years, in connection with the younger types of runic writing, which were borrowed as chronological marks (signs for the days of the week), among other things, an exchange of an older form for a younger one must have taken place in several cases. Older types have, however, persisted to a certain extent, especially in the case of signs that, together with their names, have disappeared from the younger runic alphabet: the *w*-rune #, Frej's sign, and the *R*-rune #, a sign for a deity associated with the sun or possibly for an animal regarded as divine or astral (the elk). Runes of an older form with names remaining in the Swedish-Norwegian runic alphabet, which may have reflections on the Vadsø relation's magic drum, are: # (the n-sign) and # (the k-sign). The same in both the older and younger runic alphabets are: # (the i-sign) and # (the f-sign). Of the younger type are # *(m)*, # *(p)* and # *(a* for the older *j).* It can hardly be a coincidence that on one and the same Lapp divination tool there

are no fewer than nine characters called "staves" that show such significant similarity to known runic types.

That the Lapps had some knowledge of runes, although they probably never used these symbols to write coherent texts, is evident not only from the Lapp weekday symbols but also from a series of family marks used by the Lapp population. Among these (cf. the material provided by v. Diiben and Sigrid Drake), I have found equivalents to [~~| e, y^ g (also X) V P ^ ligature), f* a (somewhat slanted), ^ and J r, p| u (in ligature), KI // (the last sign may, however, be due to the influence of the similar Latin sign), see fig. 39. In addition, as I have already pointed out, there is evidence that the signs on some older magic drums consisted only of so-called "lines" or "characters."

Another important feature of the Vadsore magic drum is that it is divided into no less than five different regions and that the figures therefore follow each other in rows. The decisive factor, however, is to be able to determine where the beginning and end are. It is clear that the beginning is to be found at the top and the end at the bottom. At first glance, it is more difficult to determine whether one should count from right to left or, as in the explanatory protocol, from left to right. Here, however, we are helped by a statement from the sorcerer who was questioned. He was asked about the meaning of the figures in the left-right order, which seemed most obvious to the investigator. However, the note contains a statement which, when properly understood, shows that the divination instrument was oriented in the opposite direction. The interrogated man said that if the brass object used as a pointer happened to move counterclockwise when tapped with the hammer, it was a bad sign, but if it danced "right with the sun," the person being divined would have "good luck." The clockwise direction is from left to right: this direction must therefore be followed to move from a less favorable (lower) to a more favorable (higher) position. The figures must then be arranged counterclockwise, i.e., from right to left. The

chords in the third region are lower than the holy men ("Christmas men"). The sun and "God's son" (the wizard of heaven) in the second row belong to a lower stage than "God the Father" (Frej). The wind god in the first row is of lower rank than the great and powerful god of thunder. Above all, in the uppermost region, stands the sacred sacrificial bull, which represents the will of all the higher gods. In the two lower regions, the fourth and fifth, the orientation is not strictly bound to one row: in both areas we can distinguish higher and lower placed figures. Furthermore, we know from the Naeromanus manuscript's magic drum that the figures in the lower region are not arranged as closely to the outer row as in the upper region. What interests us most is therefore the arrangement of the signs within the two regions, which correspond to the heavenly region on the divination drum described by Randulf. The beginning runes of the Uthark (nos. 1–9) are found on the Vadsorelation drum in the following order: 1 (rentjur, reflex of the urox rune), 4 (Thor, god of the wagon rune), 3 (god of the wind, god of the ass rune), 5 (angel, guardian, god of the torch rune), 6 (sacrificial sign, equivalent of the gift rune), 7 (Frej, god of the joy rune), 9 ("Son of God" = "sky wizard" = god of the emergency rune). There is thus only one reversal: the figure corresponding to Odin and the third outchark rune comes after the representative of the fourth, Thor's rune. As I pointed out above, this is probably due to space considerations, as well as Horagalles-Thor's more prominent place in Lapp mythology compared to the less frequently invoked wind god. There are no equivalents to the two utharkrunas, symbols associated with the second and eighth runes, in this group. The former counterpart, as demonic (associated with the devil), has been moved down to the lowest (fifth) region, while the latter has disappeared altogether, probably because, as an animal image ("the bear of the sky"), it fell outside the scope of the diviner's activities. Vadsorelation's divination tool (or its prototype) was used by a woman. For such a woman, everything related to bears was taboo. It is likely that a woman, even if she was elderly, was never consulted when it came to

bear hunting. She obviously had no use for the two bear figures and therefore omitted them from her special divination tool. It is likely that when a Lapp fortune teller consulted a magic drum before a bear hunt, the bear figure in the sky region sometimes stood in for the sign that referred to the bear on earth, the target of the hunt. If, for example, the ring (the pointer) came to the "bear in the sky," this could well be interpreted as a good omen for bear hunting.

On the whole, on closer inspection, the divination drums in the Nseromanuscript and the Vadsore account show a significant degree of similarity despite the strong quasi-Christian reworking of the latter. This is particularly true, as I have already pointed out, of the figures belonging to the heavenly region, which I have shown to be counterparts of the initial signs of the uthark. Here we have new evidence that the old runic alphabet consisting of 24 characters did not begin with the wealth rune, |^, the character that in Old Norse was called fe (from the older *fehu), but with the urox rune f|, which was once in Scandinavia (as evidenced in England) associated with a bull. It has been called ur (from the older *urus) with the indicated meaning.

It is of great interest that among the Lapps, the sign of the reindeer was a symbol of the great sacrifice. This was a kind of counterpart to the taurobolium of the Mithraists, which was intended to prolong life. As mentioned, the bull was a symbol of life among the ancient Persians. There are records of a Lapp sacrificial belief that if someone had a child who was particularly dear to them, they could "buy life for it" by "sacrificing a reindeer." The child was then allowed by the great gods to live out its life (Demant Hatt). This belief has survived sporadically into the present day. As I mentioned earlier, the animal was to be killed with a single blow during the great sacrifice. In this circumstance, there is reason to suspect a reflection of ancient Norse runic magic, which associated the bull and the great sacrifice with the number 1, the number of the urox rune in the utharkrad. The reindeer depicted on the magic

drums was also believed to bring the warrior "help" in his battles in the spirit world. This is reminiscent of what is said in the Edda about Odin's first magic song: "Help is mentioned first," etc. (cf. above, p. 19). The reindeer figure was also called "the reindeer of luck" (S. Kildal).

V

The two divination tools discussed above are those that best illustrate the connection with North Germanic run magic. They are also the magic drums that have been most thoroughly described by contemporaries. Randulf's detailed commentary, which, as mentioned, is based on systematic interviews conducted by von Westen, is particularly valuable. However, there is a whole series of other Lapp drums. Each of these is undoubtedly of greater or lesser value to the question we are dealing with here. Some of these, however, contain only a few symbols and therefore cannot shed much light on the matter. Others have a significant number of symbols, in one case so many that it is believed that this magic drum was only a model on which all kinds of symbols were placed and that it was never actually used. This applies to the large magic drum depicted by Schefferus from Swedish Lapland (Torne). My investigations of the material have led me to the conclusion that Lapp drums with a large number of symbols (almost double the number of carved symbols or more) represent a secondary type of development.

The illustration of a Lapp drum with no fewer than 150 figures, published in the appendix to the French edition (1678) of Schefferus's work on Lapland (Laponia, 1673), originally written in Latin, cannot possibly represent anything ancient in the arrangement of all these symbols. There are figures representing a whole series of countries, including such distant ones as Spain, France, and Turkey. Furthermore, there are symbols for a large series of holidays: Easter, Pentecost, Spring Day, St. Eric's Day, St. John's Day, St. Peter's Day, St. James's Day, etc. However, on this drum, which is best regarded as a collection of all kinds of symbols known and used by the Lapps, there are several reflections from pagan times. In my opinion, these include the symbols for the sun, the sun god (probably originally

Frej), the wind (Oden), thunder or Ture (Tor), fishing waters, bears, livestock (cows and bulls), Lapp huts (dwellings), men, sorcerers ("sorcerers of the sky"), the devil (thurs), the devil's grave (the realm of the dead), death with a horse (Rota, Stuorek), sunlight (dagrunan), birch (björkrunan), spruce (fackel-runan). Numerous offer signs may reflect the urox rune or the gift rune. There are thus equivalents to most of the figures in the Nærø manuscript, i.e., to most of the signs in the utharkrad. However, the whole thing has been so altered by the addition of other material (signs for Christian holidays and various countries, etc.) that an analysis of the position of the signs can hardly tell us anything of importance. All probability suggests, however, that the above-mentioned signs for the sun, various gods, water, etc. are a remnant of the original divination apparatus.

However, a group of symbols on this drum, which appear to contain letter-like elements, are of particular interest. There is one symbol (no. 81) which is explained as representing "a man." This symbol looks like a man rune of the younger type #, connected by a horizontal line at the bottom to the sun rune #. It can be assumed that this sign, which clearly arose through a combination, originally referred to one of the "holy men" known from the previous period: "men" placed in the vicinity of the sun. The sign of the god Nao (no. 99) looks like two old-style ass runes # and # connected by lines. Unfortunately, no information is provided about what kind of god Nao was. Perhaps Nao was the name of the "wind god" who, in my opinion, was associated with Odin and the third outrunkruna. The name is somewhat reminiscent of the peculiar name given to Odin by the Swedish peasantry: Noen in "Noens häst" (cf. pp. 42 and 74). The fact that a reflection of the rune called 'asagud' belongs to a divine symbol may, incidentally, be explanation enough. In six sacrificial signs on the drum (nos. 25, 26, 27, 28, 144, and 150), intersecting lines appear, which resemble the sixth sign of the uthark, the gift rune X (the g sign). As a counterpart to the sixth carved sign,

we have previously encountered symbolic images of sacrifice (a rooster, a church). Furthermore, it can be observed that above the semicircle enclosing the small figures, which are said to represent "dangerous sorcerers who do the worst" (sign 79), there are two upright lines, which in this context bring to mind ice runes (we have an Icelandic analogy in the one reproduced by Randulf, which is intended to kill another person's creature). Randulf also mentions that a figure that looks like a line signifies "the dead." On another Lapp drum (no. 8 in Friis), two vertical lines signify "the Lapp's burial place." It thus appears that Schefferus' Lapp drum contains traces of at least five runic characters: ^ (m, possibly r), S (s), f(a), x (g) and (i).

Another Lapp drum with traces of runes is the one published by Leem and described by Jessen (cf. fig. 37). This one has a figure called "Saivoberget" (no. 41), which I will discuss below. On a strangely curved protrusion, there are "staves" placed. Most are straight lines similar to ice runes; two have "side staves" and resemble the runes t and [* (though more so in the original than in Friis' reconstruction, fig. 37). In both cases, the first side projection does not start from the top. The latter line combination may therefore be a reflection of a late form of the emergency rune: ^ (n) in the Swedish-Norwegian runic alphabet. On the holy mountain, on a magic drum seen and described by the missionary S. Kildal, there was probably a counter-spell.

Fig. 40. The devil's sign. Since, according to my explanatory principle, this figure is to be regarded as a counterpart to the magic rune, the *n*-sign, the rune of necessity, one should assume here a relic of the rune sign originally associated with the "sorcerer of heaven" (oldest #, then #).

In the Nærø manuscript, Randulf mentions, among other things, a sign found on the back of a picture of the magic drum in question. This sign is said to refer to "Satan," "Muben Olmay," the "second

man." The figure in question (see fig. 40) appears to consist of two man-runes of the younger type, # and #, placed as antipodes, and two thurs-runes placed to the right and left of each other: # and # merged together. An analogy to this can be found on the Roskilde amulet (see fig. 12).

VI

A divination tool, which must have been very similar to the one described by Randulf in the Nærø manuscript, is the magic drum, whose images form the basis of the list of deities compiled by the Norwegian Lapp missionary Sigvard Kildal, known to the Lapps in northern Norway during the first part of the 18th century (before 1730). Unfortunately, the author does not provide any image of a magic drum relevant to the description, but it is clear from his statements that he knew the deities in question precisely in connection with their images on a specific divination tool, which he considered typical.

I. Among the deities who, according to S. Kildal, dwell in the "starry sky," there are the following equivalents to what we already know. I list them in the order followed in the preceding section:

1. "Passevara Serva," the sacred reindeer of the mountain (or of luck). This information confirms what I have emphasized above, that the large sign I have associated with the first rune of the uthark signifies a pure reindeer *(serva = sarva,* 'a reindeer that has not been castrated'). The fact that the figure is also called the "reindeer of luck" indicates the great significance of this sign. Here it is worth recalling the information in the Vadsore relation that it was a lucky sign if the pointer moved clockwise: in this way one reached the top and the far right, to the "reindeer of luck."

2. "Biex Olmai," the wind god, who rules over the weather and wind, which I have combined with the utharkruna n:r 3. (The equivalent of n:r 2, the thursruna, cannot be expected in this region, see below.)

3. "Thora Galles," the god of thunder, i.e., Thor, associated by me with the fourth carved sign, the wagon rune.

4. “Mans” (incorrect for Mano), the moon. This sign probably replaces the image of the sacrificial rooster on the magic drum in the Naeromanus manuscript. A white rooster was the usual sacrifice to the two heavenly lights, the sun and the moon, among the Lapps. The sign for such a minor sacrifice, which may have represented a white animal, has in some places been interpreted as primarily referring to the moon (the sun had its own sign). This may have led to its replacement with an image of the moon. As a fruitful, wealth-promoting deity, the new moon may also have been associated with the sixth sign of the uthark, as I pointed out earlier. On some depictions of magic drums, we also see the new moon depicted in the sky. (The round moon symbol in the fourth region on the Vadsorelationens spåtrumma, cf. above under III, is, however, the result of a misunderstanding, a misinterpretation of the dwelling symbol.

5. “Veraiden Rad,” the god of procreation, who gives soul “to the body that the goddess Sarakka forms in the womb,” clearly corresponds to Frej (Veraiden olmai in the Naeromanuscript), as the god of friendship and pleasure associated with the seventh sign of the uthark.

6. “Rana Neid,” called “the summer maiden” or “the green maiden,” probably corresponds to the recurring fertility symbol on the Eringsruna (the 11th rune of the Uthark), which is seen to the left of Veraiden olmai's figure on the magic drum described by Randulf. Kildal has readily accepted that the name Råna is related to the somewhat similar Lappish word mottas, 'green'. This is hardly correct. (Perhaps one should instead assume a connection with a name that forest spirits have in northern Sweden: Randa, whose origin, to my knowledge, has not yet been explained.) We also know from other sources that the Lapps knew a female vegetative deity called “Rananeida” etc. (neida means “girl”). This deity was believed, among other things, to provide new grass for the reindeer to eat. Her

function was apparently such that people had reason to associate her with a figure representing vegetative growth.

7. "Beive" or "Beive Neid," i.e., "the sun" or "the sun maiden," is also mentioned by Kildal among the deities belonging to the "starry sky." Other magic drums, however, usually have the sun symbol, the equivalent of the sun rune, the 15th symbol of the runic alphabet, placed below the actual heavenly region. It would therefore have been of some interest if Kildal had provided a proper illustration. He further refers to the sun as a female being, to whom "a white creature" was sacrificed, and says that the Lapps call her "the queen of heaven."

II. Among the gods 'who live on earth' are mentioned:

1. "Passevara Olmai," the man (sorcerer) of the holy mountain. Olmai, which is a singular form, is strangely enough understood by Kildal as a plural: he translates it as "mountain gods" and says of "these Passevare Olmai" that they teach the Lapps to beat magic drums, to tell fortunes, and to ask questions of the dead. From what has been said, it is clear that we have here a counterpart to "the wizard of heaven" in the Naeromanus manuscript, which I have compiled with the 9th utharktecknet, the emergency rune, the magic wand above all others. "The wizard of heaven" was, after all, the mediator between the gods of heaven and the people of earth. This may have led Kildal to believe that he belonged to the earthly realm.

2. "Leib Olmai," the almann, god of hunting, understood by Kildal as "the Bread Man (!) or God of Archers," is, like the bow-bearing hunting god on the Nasromanuskript troll drum, a clear counterpart to the idegransruna, the 12th rune of the uthark, which I associate with the North Germanic hunting god Ull. Kildal mentions that this god was worshipped by the Lapps with "kneeling" to persuade him to grant them hunting luck and let them "get the sacred bear." "Therefore, this Leib Olmai," he continues, 'is placed on the magic drum with a bear figure.' This suggests that Kildal saw

both the hunting god and the bear depicted as on the divination tools in the Naeromanus manuscript. I have previously linked the bear figure with the 16th sign of the utharken (albeit with some hesitation).

3. "Maderacha" is also called "defender of the female sex." She "intervenes" in her daughters' "Bestillninger" (commitments). Kildal states that there are three daughters (he distinguishes between the name variants Uksakka and Juksakka). I assume (cf. above) that the figure representing Madderakka on the Lapp drums is a counterpart to the 13th utharkruna, the p-sign. I have mentioned that the rune in question in Dalarna has the form L|J. On a troll drum (no. 2 in Friis), a highly peculiar figure appears alongside Sarakka and Juksakka, called "Sselge-asdne," "the back mother," a "midwife." This is probably nothing other than a variant of Madderakka. What is striking is that this "back mother" in the picture (see fig. 41, no. 13) has a highly remarkable back: it consists of three runic-like signs, which together are quite reminiscent of the "helmet of terror" known from Icelandic black magic books. Two of these runic symbols, those corresponding to the arms, bear a strong resemblance to the p-rune UJ mentioned above. According to what I have explained above, the oldest name for the p-rune was probably petra, a word derived from Latin or Greek meaning "rock" or "cliff." I can report here that, according to a Norwegian historian (Fritzner), in ancient times, Lapp women held an object called gaggagcedge in their hands to facilitate childbirth, corresponding to the Icelanders' lausnarsteinn. This so-called "stone" was actually the fruit of a sea plant. In medieval stone books, such a stone was called an "ormsten" ("snake stone"). In a Swedish book on witchcraft, which I referred to earlier, it is described how to make a snake give birth to a "stone" by, among other things, wrapping the animal tightly with a cord made of thirteen threads (cf. p. 54).

4. "Sar Acha" is mentioned as the first daughter of the previous one and is said to be a helper in childbirth. Kildal mentions that the

blood of this goddess is drunk and the body of Leibolmais (the bread god) is eaten. This indicates at least a partial influence from the Christian doctrine of the Last Supper. In the previous section, I have linked Sarakka with Frigg and the birch wreath, the 17th sign of the uthark.

5. "Jux Acha" is apparently identical with Juksakka in Randulf, whom I have associated with the 21st sign of the utharken, Ingrunan. Kildal informs us that this goddess received sacrifices in order to be persuaded to transform a female fetus into a boy and hand it over to Leibolmai, so that he "might practice on it in Sagittarius." The goddess thus had a certain relationship to the male sex and male athletics, primarily the use of the bow. As I have already mentioned, her name probably means 'bow woman' and is related to juoks, 'bow'. "Ux Acha," 'the door woman,' mentioned as a special deity in Kildal, is, as pointed out above, most likely a variant of Juksakka, who, according to several sources, was believed to live near the door where the bows were kept. "Possio Acha," 'the table woman,' who is said to watch over the interior of the house, just as Madderakka protects it from the outside, is probably just a variant of this. When the Lapps became acquainted with runic magic, they probably had three actual mother goddesses: the primordial mother has been identified with the deity of the 13th rune (Earth, Fiprgyn); her eldest daughter, the closest helper of the female sex, with the deity of the 17th rune (Frigg); and the goddess who was important for the birth of boys, whose place was at the door and the arches, took over the magical role of the 21st runic sign, which in the divination of the North Germans was probably a sign that predicted the birth of a boy.

6. "Zias Olmai" (regarded by Kildal as identical with "Saive Neide," "the water woman") is clearly the god of fishing waters, Tjasolmai, whose name means "water man." He has obviously been associated with the water sign of the diviner, a clear counterpart to the 20th rune, the water rune.

7. Kildal also mentions three holiday deities: "Porgie Dag," 'Laue Dag,' and 'Sodne Beive,' which are listed as the deities of Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, thus corresponding to the Naeromanus manuscript, in connection with which I have assumed a connection with the 14th, 19th, and 23rd utharktecknet. Kildal adds, however, that most Lapps considered Friday to be sacred to Sarakka and Saturday to Veraiden Rad (i.e. Veraiden olmai, Frej). Sunday was considered sacred to the three holy men (Ailikes) collectively. This may reflect a time when these were regarded as "men" associated with the sun, since their symbols (crosses derived from the Swedish-Norwegian runic alphabet) were placed on the rays of the sun symbol. The day of the sun, Sunday, was therefore consecrated to them. It was probably not until later that they became three separate deities of the week.

III. Kildal mentions the following as existing "under the earth" or "deep under the earth":

1. "Jam Aimo," the land of the dead, where "Mother Death" reigns. It is located "under the earth," but not "deep under the earth." (J. Fellman speaks of "Jabmeaimo" as a place "under the surface of the earth.") Here we encounter a counterpart to the realm of the dead and the goddess Hel, which I have associated with the 10th rune, Isruna. Sacrifices were made to the "Mother of Death" ("Jam Acha") so that the soul would remain with the body and not be hastily taken to the new life in the realm of the dead, where the dead were believed to receive new bodies. From the realm of the dead, the dead could be transferred to higher joy with the supreme god, "Veraiden Rad," who had given them their souls in the beginning. This happened after about 100 years, says Kildal. (There may be a mystical reference to the number 10, the number of death: 100 = 10 x 10. Elsewhere, Kildal refers to exactly 100 years.) A peculiar expression used by the Lapps, known from another source (v. Duben), is galme, kalme, meaning the smell of a corpse. This word is related to the adjective kalmes, 'cold', and should originally have

meant 'coldness'. It is difficult to determine whether there is any influence from Norse magic here: 'coldness' and 'death' are closely related concepts (cf. what I said on p. 43 about the expression 'göra kall' = 'to kill').

2. “Rot Aimo” or “Ruut Aimo,” “the evil land,” is, according to Kildal, located “deep underground.” (J. Fellman also states that “Rotaland” is thought to be located “in the center of the earth.”) According to Kildal, this is where “Rota” or “Rutu,” the god of torment, lives, to whom the Lapps are said to have made sacrifices when no help was to be had from other gods. (For J. Fellman, on the other hand, the ruler of this world is a female being: “Rota akka”; she was pleased with the sacrifice of a dead horse, which was buried whole in the ground, he explains.) Kildal says that this place of torment, hell, is where the souls of those who have been negligent in their sacrifices and prayers to the gods go. These souls never reach “Veraiden Rad” like those who, “after 100 years,” are taken up to him from “Jam Aimo” (a realm of the dead, which thus corresponds to some extent to the Catholic purgatory). Kildal describes in great detail a sacrifice to Rota and mentions that “at the altar” a dead horse was to be buried in the ground. In the Nseromanuscript, this location corresponds to “Sturich,” the horse, which I associate with the 18th utharkruna. On some troll drums, Rota is depicted riding a horse. Kildal says of the sacrificial horse that it is slaughtered so that Rota can ride away on it to his kingdom.

Kildal's presentation of Lapland mythology is undoubtedly — as he himself has hinted — based mainly on one of the figures he studied on a divination drum. This should have been of approximately the same type as the one described by Randulf and should also have had almost the same number of characters, around 24.

Above, I have shown that Kildal's divination drum should have had equivalents to the runes n: r 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, and 23 in the outer row. Why are there

no equivalents to nos. 2, 5, 8, 22, and 24? This is mainly because Kildal only focused on what he perceived as relating to the world of religion. He did not directly provide a description of a Lappish magic drum, but rather wanted to provide "information" about the "pagan religion" of the Lapps. However, he used the figures on a divination tool of a distinctly pagan type, a variant of the magic drum in the Naeromanus manuscript, as a guide.

The lack of equivalents to the symbols n:r 22 and 24 is easily explained by the fact that their reflections on the magic drums are figures that refer entirely to the human world (the settlements of the Lapps and peasants). It is also understandable that Kildal did not concern himself further with the two bear images, which correspond to runes no. 8 and (possibly) no. 16. However, he does mention the latter bear image in connection with Leibolmai, the god of hunting. He probably did not list the magical function of the "bear of the sky," as he did for the spruce tree, which I think was probably the equivalent of the torch rune (No. 5). He probably just saw an animal in one case and a tree in the other. On the grounds that Kildal speaks of several "Passevare olmai," who are said to teach the Lapps to cast spells, it is likely that he placed the "sky wizard" and the "underground wizard" (cf. the Naero manuscript) in the same category. He may therefore well have seen a magic drum on which there was also an equivalent to the second sign of the thursruna, utharken: the figure of the "underground sorcerer." We must therefore assume that Kildal was familiar with an old, mainly pagan type of magic drum, which probably had 24 symbols or slightly more.

What Kildal mentions about mythological beings, for which there are no images in the Naeromanus manuscript's divination tools, is highly insignificant. As mentioned, "Ux Acha" is probably just another name for Juksakka and "Possio Acha" for Madderakka in a dual function. There is no definite evidence that Kildal knew of a magic drum with five different chords. It is likely that these are

simply different names for the same figure (Jessen, in Leem, for example, refers to "Uks or Juksakka" when explaining the same figure).

The elements in Kildal's description that have no counterparts in the divination drum described by Randulf are: "Passevara" — the sacred mountain — and the associated "Passévare Lodde," the bird of the sacred mountain, and "Passevare Guelle," the fish of the sacred mountain. The "sacred mountain" probably corresponds to "Saivoberget" on the Lapp drum described by Leem of Jessen (41 on plate 37). It can be assumed that on the drum Kildal saw, a figure corresponding to "himlenstrollman" (sky wizard), namely "Passevara Olmai" (cf. above), stood on this mountain. This may originally have been a detail that was added without disturbing the 24 figures. As for the bird and fish of the sacred mountain, it is by no means certain that Kildal saw them depicted on any magic drum; he may have known about them from oral accounts. However, some late magic drums do feature equivalents of these magical animals. Perhaps they also appeared on a drum that Kildal saw. In that case, it is most natural to see them as relatively late additions, due to the fact that the "wizard of the heavens" was allowed to remain on the sacred mountain: next to the "man of the sacred mountain," small figures were added, representing the "bird of the sacred mountain" and its "fish." In "Wurnes Lodde," "evil bird," understood by Kildal as plural ("slemme Fugle"), one can assume one or more additional figures to the "wizard of the underworld."

VII

A magic drum, which at first glance appears to be of a rather different type compared to the divination tools found in Norway described above, is depicted in the "report" written by the Swedish missionary Samuel Rheen in 1671 (mainly referring to the Lule Lapp region). In one respect in particular, this Swedish Lapp drum shows a very clear Christian element: three men are depicted and described as Christ and two apostles. However, if one examines the series of figures on this divination drum more closely, one finds counterparts to most of the signs in the Nærø manuscript: 20 out of 24. Christ and the two apostles are clearly identical with the three holy men, etc.

Like the drum described by Randulf, the divination device depicted by Rheen is divided into only two regions.

In the upper region, closest to the dividing line (see fig. 42), Thor is depicted with a "servant" and the High Steward (Frej) with a "servant." Here we have counterparts to the 4th (Thor) and 7th (Frej) runes. Frej's so-called servant is probably a counterpart to "Rana Neid" in Kildal, a figure I have matched with the 11th rune. Thor's servant may have been added as a counterpart to Storjunkaren (Frej) after previously being an image of the wind god, whom we have seen depicted lower than Thor on the Vadsorelation troll drum. I therefore assume that this is a counterpart to the 3rd rune.

The rest of the sky is filled with images of the crescent moon, stars, and birds. The moon image has its counterpart in Kildal, whose moon symbol I have combined with the sixth runic symbol. But what do the many stars and birds represent? The stars consist of two separate groups. To the left of the moon are eight star signs, to the right five. The group of birds consists of nine animals (one of these bird figures are located furthest to the left, most of the others to the

right). The remarkable thing is that the runic characters after Mr. 4, for which we have yet to find equivalents in this region, are precisely the 5th, 8th, and 9th. The figure which I have assumed in the Nseromanuscript to correspond to the eighth utharkruna is the "bear of the sky." It is located (see 8 in fig. 32) on the left in the region of the sky: the same is true of the suite of eight stars on Rheen's magic drum. The fir-like symbol on the Norwegian divination tool, which I have combined with the torch rune, the fifth symbol of the utharken, is located on the right in the region of the sky (5 on fig. 32): the same is true of the series of five stars on the Swedish magic drum. I conclude from this that the sign "the bear in the sky," which probably referred to a constellation, was replaced by eight star figures in accordance with the magical number 8 of the sign. By analogy, the equivalent of the torch rune should have been replaced by five fire signs, which ultimately took on roughly the same shape as stars. According to the same principle, "the sorcerer of the sky," the counterpart of the 9th carved sign, has been replaced by nine birds (most of them on the right, like "the sorcerer of the sky" on the drum in the Nseromanuscript). The 9th rune has been associated with Odin in his capacity as god of sorcery. This god received his messages from ravens. The fact that the magic rune is represented by birds may therefore be related to the myth of the magic ravens of Odin. The missionary Jens Kildal also informs us that in order to get in touch with "Passé vare may", i.e. the wizard of the sky, people sent him a message with a "Passé vare lodde", i.e. a bird belonging to the sacred mountain.

In the upper region, the sacrificial reindeer is missing. In the lower region, however, we find the image of a reindeer. It was probably considered unnatural to have a reindeer in the heavenly sphere, so it was placed at the top among the other animals in the earthly region.

In the heavenly region, we have thus found counterparts to the runes n:r 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 11. Correspondences to the runes

associated with the underworld, nos. 2 and 10, should not appear in this section, as is the case with the Norwegian troll drums.

In the lower region, we also find a series of correspondences to figures known from the Naeromanus manuscript: the sun (reflection of rune 15), water ("lake," rune no. 20), a reindeer (rune no. 1, cf. above), a bear (rune no. 16 or a secondary figure to Leibolmai, which I have linked to rune no. 12), an ox (probably a remnant of the cattle image on the drum of the Naeromanus manuscript, which I have linked to rune no. 24), a wolf (called "the devil's dog" by the Lapps, probably corresponding to the horse image on the Norwegian divination tool, a clear counterpart to rune no. 18). The images of Christ and the two apostles correspond, as I have already pointed out above, to the three holy men (in whom I have assumed reflections of the runes no. 14, 19, and 23).

It remains to explain the three figures at the bottom: a fox, a hare, and a snake. What we still lack are equivalents to the three akors (at the bottom of the Naer0 manuscript image). Could these earth goddesses have been symbolized on Rheen's magic drum by animals magically connected to them? A note by J. Fellman tells us that at least one of these female deities was invoked during hunting, when smaller animals were being caught. For example, Madderakka was invoked for a good beaver catch, according to Fellman. The hare was probably considered to belong to the same category as the beaver. Like the beaver, it may have been an animal symbolic of Madderakka. Since the snake is a sacred animal of the home for many peoples, one can guess that it was associated with Sarakka, the goddess of the hearth. That leaves the fox, which may have been associated with Juksakka, the goddess of the bow, who had a certain relationship with Leibolmai, the god of the great hunt.

There is no trace of a figurative counterpart to the four symbols on the Norwegian magic drum described by Randulf: the underground sorcerer (and rune no. 2), the realm of death (and rune no. 10), Leibolmai (and rune no. 12, unless this corresponds to the

bear, cf. above) and the home of the Lapps (and rune no. 22). However, the realm of life and the realm of death (the equivalents of runes no. 22 and 10) could only be determined by the position of the pointer to the left or right on the lower region of the magic drum. Their symbols may have consisted of faintly drawn semicircles, which escaped the attention of missionary Rheen. Missionary Olaus Graan also mentions a drum with figures similar to those on Rheen's. I would add that in the Kemi Lapp region, "all of this" was also painted "helfwetitt aldranederst" (i.e., an equivalent of rune no. 10).

There are, of course, several other Lapp drums that are worth examining in light of my explanatory principle. However, I will not be able to discuss them until a later publication. A popular science work cannot provide an excessive amount of detail. What I have intended to do here is merely to pose the problem and to present an attempt at interpretation with regard to the central issues. The task of providing a complete investigation must be left to the future and to specialist literature.

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