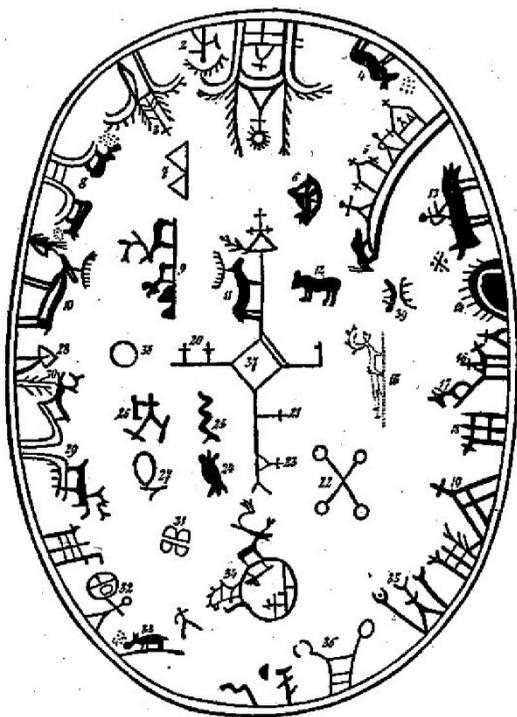


SIGURD AGRELL

# LAPP DRUMS AND RUNE MAGIC



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# LAPP DRUMS AND RUNE MAGIC

TWO CHAPTERS FROM THE HISTORY OF  
WITCHCRAFT

AV

*SIG URD AGRELL*



LUND  
C. W. K. GLEERUPS PUBLISHING HOUSE

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**BERLINGSKA BOKTRYCKERIET**

limited to only what is primarily necessary. What has been omitted is, however, easily found in the bibliographies of the special works I have mentioned. Quotations from Danish-Norwegian sources, belonging to older times, I have found it most advisable to reproduce as a rule in contemporary Swedish translation. The curious orthography in these texts is too cumbersome for those unfamiliar with the writing style of the period.

Thanks to the interest shown by the Gleerup publishing house, the kindness of the Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund and the publisher of "En isländsk svartkonstbok från 1500-talet", docenten, fil. d:r Nat. Lindqvist, it has been possible to provide this work with a wealth of illustrative material. For good advice in connection with proofreading I am greatly indebted to my friend the runologist, docent, fil. d:r Ivar Lindquist.

Lund, April 27, 1934.

Sigurd Agrell.

THE RUNE LINE AND ITS MAGICAL  
ORIGINS



## I.

Since 1927, in a series of writings, including a larger popular scientific work "Senantik mysterierelion och nordisk runmagi", has dealt with one of the most interesting problems of runic research, the question of the reasons for the peculiar arrangement of the so-called older runic writing and the original meaning of the names of the signs. Since I published the above-mentioned work in 1931, continued research has taken me several steps further, í a new, for a larger

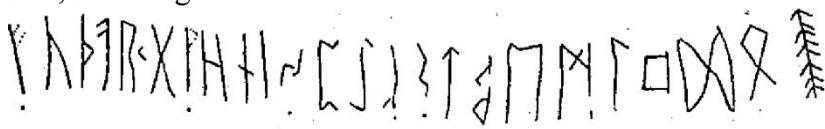


Fig. 1. rune row of the Kylver stone redrawn. (The beaks of the first character are visible, not on the stone, traces of the eighth character's beak can be found).

I now take up the question again for consideration, while at the same time at the same time as I present 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 the phenomena of Lappish sorcery is not possible without an introductory overview of runic magic and its connections with Late Antique alphabet mysticism.

The oldest known runic memorial is the Kylver stone on Gotland, the carving of which is generally considered to have been carried out in the early fourth century B.C. Somewhat younger - about 75 or 100 years - are the runic inscriptions on the Vadstena bracteate and its related variant, the Grumpan bracteate, the latter partly damaged.

The remarkable thing is that these three old rune lines do not fully correspond in terms of the order of the signs. The Kylversten rune line (see fig. 1) has the /"-rune standing in front of the character ,:nruna> whose original sound value is uncertain, and iZ-runai |x| in front of tl o-rune. On the Vadstena bracteate and the Grumpan bracteate the situation is in both cases the opposite. The is ^"erally on the first



Fig. 2. rune row of the Vadsten abbatial rune drawn. (Last character hidden under a pearl.)

mentioned hidden by a pearl. It can, however, be traced by looking at the back of the pendant, where the vertical lines of the sign have left two discernible impressions. On the Grumpanbrak the rf-rune is fully visible and stands last (immediately after the o-rune at the top is somewhat indistinct). See fig. 2 and Fig. 3. Other runic carvings from earlier times are invariably consistent with the runic line of the Swedish bracteates



Fig. 3. the rune line of the Grumpanbrakteat redrawn. (On the 22nd character see p. 54 f.)

i the of character se ce To sequence of characters is no older parallel, however, because the rune-row carvings on the Charnay buckle (see Fig. 4) and on the newly discovered Breza pillar (see Fig. 5) lack the very last characters. On a short sword (scramasax) found in the River Thames, the rune line is extended with some new purely Anglo-Saxon characters. Some archaeologists, however, have wanted to attribute this example to a rather late period. This rune memorial can also be

should not be used in deciding the question of the relative position of the *o* and (*/*) runes. The fact is that several runic characters in the original third division of the alphabet have been moved all over the place: the *o*-rune is indeed last in this group but has not *the d-* but the *m*-rune in front of it, the (*/*-rune has been its place in front of the *Z*-run (see Fig. 6). If (the *Z*-run has been moved from the last or second last place, we do not know under such circumstances. What we have to stick to, is a part, in Anglo-Saxon

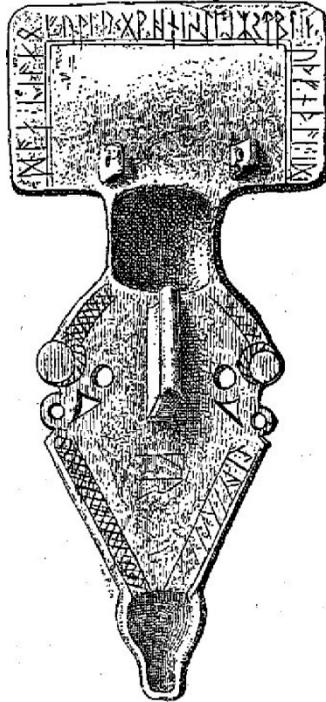
manuscripts found runic line drawings. In one of these, however, the *o*-rune precedes (the *Z*-rune, <sup>allA</sup> as on the Swedish bractea *terna*-(see Fig. 7). The fact that the opposite is true for the others can easily be explained as a dependence

the influence of a group of newly added signs: these begin with a series of vowel signs, and it is likely that the *o*-rune was added after the (*/*-rune to produce a coherent sequence of vowel signs:

*ce* (of older *o*), *a*, *ce*, *y*, *ea*, *io*. En , a very natural measure at a time ' when runic magic no longer played [ any role, at least not for the

Anglo-Saxon monks, who brought the pen.

In my opinion, we have to consider the two bracteates ■ the inscriptions as representing the best preserved tradition. They date from pagan times and they cannot well - as probably the apparently hastily executed *Kylver* carving - have been made in a temporary hurry. These pendants, amulets with magical writing, have undoubtedly had older, with the oldest



Avb. 4. the Charnay buckle.

10  
round tradition related models, If the preserved runic bracteates  
are also

about 300 years after the origin of the runic writing, they can hardly have been made freely, but should have

made with an older pattern in mind, another amulet, the signs of which had been quietly taken into account in the making of a new stamp.

As is well known, the Nordic bracteates are ultimately imitations of late antique coins and other objects of the same type, e.g. round medal-like amulets. The Vadstena and Grumpan bracteates both show an image belonging to the late antique imagination: a horned animal 'together with a figure behind it'

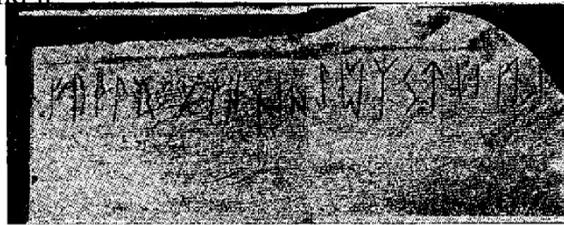


Fig. 5. the rune wheel of the Breza pillar. (After Cremosnik and Sergejevski.)

Avb. 6. Runorna på Thamesvärdet.



shooting man's head (see figs. 8 and 9). I see here a reflex of a late antique representation of the god Mithra beside the sacrificial animal. It should be raised above any doubt, that Germanic warriors in Roman service - and from such originate ultimately our Nordic bracteates - during the later imperial period met with comrades in arms who celebrated the Mithra religion originally native to Persia. This religion had a lively following among the Roman soldiers from the first century of our era until the final victory of Christianity just before the beginning of the fourth century. It is not at all unreasonable that some p e n d a n t s , made in the third century, were brought to the north

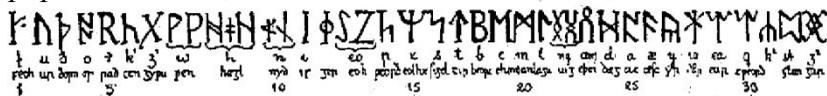
and still reproduced a century or two later. In addition, it is by no means certain that all manifestations

of Mithraic beliefs suddenly died out in the late ancient world as a result of the official victory of Christianity.

On the contrary, one should with a fairly high degree of probability

- might suppose that secretly many soldiers, though Christian in name, have nevertheless used Mithraic amulets to protect themselves from real and imaginary dangers. The victorious god Mithra, Sol Invictus, the undefeated god, has undoubtedly one or two centuries after the loss of his doctrine

the recognition of the Roman state and become a persecuted creature, had at any rate no small power among those classes of people in whom all kinds of sorcery persisted. Odin is still alive today in Nordic folklore - would it not then have been possible for images associated with the Mithraic religion to linger on in certain classes of the officially Christianized population?



Avb. 7. the rune row in Codex Cotton. Otho B 10.

the people of the crumbling Roman Empire? Even if Theodore the Great was a Christian, a few pendants based on Mithraic amulets may still have been worn by members of his army in the early fifth century. Several Germanic tribesmen from the countries north of the Baltic Sea served there, and some of them returned to their homeland around year 500.

As already mentioned, the two Swedish runic bracteate fias show an image which can be interpreted as a return to the representation of one of the central myths of the Mithraic religion: Mithra killing the sacred primeval bull. According to preserved tradition, some of which is still alive, e.g. in the sacred writings of the Parsis, shears of grain emerged from the body of the animal. The Roman Mithraic worshippers depicted the metamorphosis in such a way that the animal's tail splits into a bundle of shears at the moment of death (numerous reliefs show

this detail). The animal image of the bracteaters corresponds to the Roman bulls' tails split in this way in that it shows

a horned creature with a multi-lobed tail. There has been some doubt in the past as to whether the animal represents a horse or a bull, or perhaps even a yak. In my opinion, the image is simply explained by the fact that it goes back to a late antique representation of a horned animal, a bull, whose tail was split, as it consisted of shears (see fig. 10). On the Vadsten abacus there is a further remarkable correspondence with a detail of the Mithraic cult image: a bird is seen hovering in front of the quadruped's head. Mithra received a message from the sun god through a bird, a raven, urging him to stab the captured bull. Therefore, we see



Avb. S a. The front of the Vadsten abbatial.



Avb. 8 b. The reverse of the Vadsten abbatial (showing that the first character is an i-rune).

this bird is depicted on many Roman reliefs (left on 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 slightly shorter. It consists only of the three groups of the older runes, of which the middle one has lost the last two runes through a break. In addition to the three groups of runes, the inscription of the Vadstenabrakteat has a group of 8 runes *tuwatu^a*, no doubt a purely magical word. It has previously been read *luwatu-wa*, but more recent examination of the back of the bracteate has shown that the first letter must be a Z-rune <sup>^</sup>, not a Z-rune [ \ Magic words of this type - repetition of the same sequence of sounds twice - are known from late antique letter mysticism

and can be found on other bracteate amulets, e.g. *salu salu*. A calculation of the numerical value of the word *tuwatuwa* in connection with my rune theory shows that the magic number

is hidden, is 54 (16 4- 1 + 7 + 3 + 16 4- 1 4- 7 4- 3). The same number value (1 -r 2 + 17 + 1 4- 14 4-1 + 1\$) has the god- or demon-name *Abraxas* so often used in late antique mysticism according to the esoteric counting system ( $\alpha=1$ ,  $\omega = 24$ ). In late antique speculation Mithrā has been put together with the mystical all-god Abraxas of Gnosticism (more here on the treatment, of the 16th rune). Abraxas was associated with the year and the circumference of the sky. His magical symbol was the round of the circle. Since late antique speculation saw in the alphabet 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 compiled with the 24th letter of the Greek alphabet

letter, which with its number also indicated the number of all letters. With this said, it is true, that the alphabetic-mystical inscription of the Vadsten Abbey is arranged in a circle round. The numerical value of all the signs, according to my method of calculation, is 360. This is the old Babylonian number for the circumference of the sky (we still divide it according to the Babylonian model into 360 degrees); likewise it was the number for the older year (which was extended by 5 leap days). In addition, the name *Mithras*, written in Greek letters and calculated according to the so-



Fig. 9. grumpanbracteates.

called Milesian<sup>16</sup> method of calculation used in everyday life, gives the number 360. To make this name give the same numerical value as *Abraxas* according to the latter method, *Meithras* was also written with *ei* instead of *i*. According to the Milesian



However, if we take into account the aforementioned simple but radically regrouping cryptographic trick, we get the following cipher solution, which reveals the real alphabet arrangement:

1. 	2. 	3. 	4. 	5. 	6. 	7. 	8. 
<i>u</i>	<i>p (th)</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>h</i>
9. 	10. 	11. 	12. 	13. 	14. 	15. 	16. 
<i>n</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>(s?)eo</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>t</i>
17. 	18. 	19. 	20. 	21. 	22. 	23. 	24. 
<i>b</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>ŋ (ng)</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>f</i>

At first sight, this regrouping of the runic characters may seem too bold a measure. However, it is by no means unprecedented in magic and, more importantly, in runic technology. Our usual card game has (to cite a related example) had and still has connections with magic and divination. Here, however, the rule is that the 'ace', which is outwardly a representation of the number 1, counts as the highest of the 13 cards in a series: the card called the 'deuce' is actually the lowest in normal play. Similarly, the runes  $\wedge$  and  $\beta$  according to my runic interpretation:  $\wedge$  denotes the highest and  $\beta$  the lowest. In the Nordic cipher writing, practiced for cryptographic purposes by the runesmiths of the modern era, we see the same principle applied: the last "lineage" (rung group) was designated as the first and the first as the last. An even closer analogy can be seen in the cipher system used on the Rök Stone. Here runes have been carved in such a way that the character that immediately preceded the intended character in the sequence of letters has been carved in its place. The sequence of letters *airfb*, for example, stands for *sakum*, etc. Although this is the younger rune line, consisting of 16 characters, the principle is the same (a of the older *j* stood before *s* in this rune line, the three separating characters have been dropped or moved, *b* stood before *m*). We also know, that this is a very old

and undoubtedly borrowed from late antiquity lettering cryptographic 'artifice'. It is reported that the Emperor Augustus used a cipher based on this very procedure.

Statements in ancient literature, such as the Egil saga, show that the use of runes for magical purposes was difficult, if not impossible, for the uninitiated. A warm-country peasant boy carved runes to arouse love in a girl, but this made her deathly ill. Egil says that the runes, carved by an ignorant man, were ten in number and that the combination of runes brought disaster to the girl. If the true order of the runes has been a secret, the failure is quite understandable. If we seek the magical cause of the fatal effect of the 10th, we shall find it, if we consider that the tenth character in the arcade (see the list on p. 15) is the rune of ice:

in this has been the rune of Hel, and it and its speech have been attributed í power to "make cold", i.e. to bring sickness and death (cf. p. 43). In the following a series of examples will be given

which shows, that the number 10 in the north was especially used in damage magic.

## II.

From these general hints about runic magic we have now to proceed to an investigation of the meaning of each particular sign. We shall find that if we count the M-rune (the sign  $\beta$ ) as the first and follow the order of the Swedish runic bracteates letter by letter, at each point in the series a correspondence can be found between the numbers of the runic signs (1-24) and the number mysticism known from elsewhere. Connections with late antique letter magic can in most cases be demonstrated clearly enough, and

- forward in time offers links to a range of information in Old Norse literature and to many reports of folk traditions, some of which still survive, of speeches with magical significance.

1. The first rune  $\rho$ , the sign for the M sound, was almost certainly originally a name meaning 'bull',



In the Mithraic teachings the bull was regarded as a symbol of organic life and its beginnings. I have already mentioned the myth of Mithras' bull sacrifice. The bull, that was sacrificed, however, was not an ordinary bull but a heavenly bull, which Mithra brought to his cave from the 'moon land'. In Babylonia, the Persian religion of Mithra has been interwoven with the ancient star worship of this sun. The Mithraists must also have been strongly influenced by the Semitic alphabet, for recent research has revealed that the language

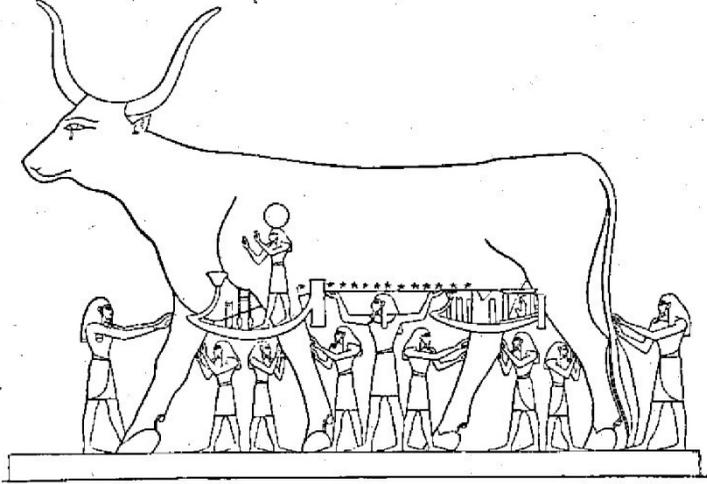


Fig. 11. Egyptian representation of the sky as a cow.

of them were used during the Babylonian stage of development, was Aramaic, the main language of Near Asia at the time of the great conquests of the Persian Empire. The Semitic alphabets are marked by a letter, which from the earliest times has been called 'ox, cattle' (Hebrew '*aleph*, etc.). The first letter of the Greek alphabet, J., called *alpha*, is derived from this sign. In older times its resemblance to an ox's head was also more striking:  $\Lambda$ . There is also evidence that even in late antiquity the Greeks knew 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

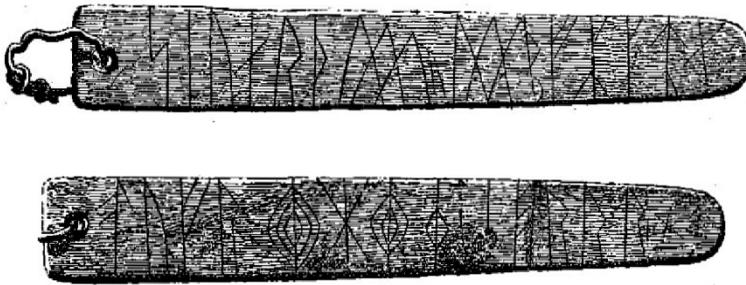
first heaven'. I have already mentioned that in the doctrine of Mithra the primeval bull was celestial in nature. In Persian religion, the bull was held sacred: his soul was considered to be 'in heaven' and under the protection of Zoroaster. There may also have been some influence from Egyptian religion: the Egyptians conceived of heaven in the form of a cow (see Fig. 11). The fact that the Semitic Urals alphabet begins with a character called 'ox, cattle' may, moreover, be due to Egyptian ideas about the sacredness of the cow and the bull. The oldest Semitic scripts, the Sinai alphabet, originated in connection with Egyptian characters, which were simplified to a few pure sound characters. It is also clear from statements in a Latin text that the Hellenic mysticism of letters combined the first and last letters of the alphabet with 'heaven' and 'earth'. For many reasons, which will be explained in more detail below, the runic line seems to have originated in a Mithraic environment in late antiquity. As the oldest country of origin of Mithraic letter mysticism, we have, as already mentioned, to consider Babylonia under the Persian Empire and somewhat later. Here the ancient star worship of the ancients has long survived and exerted great influence on other peoples. In this connection it may also be considered that the bull was the name of a constellation, in ancient times the first in such a zodiac. It must therefore have been natural for the Mithraists to associate the first letter of the alphabet with the sacred bull and related ritual concepts: great sacrifices (Latin *taurobolium* \ life force, etc.).

We also know, in that such a sacrificial animal must, in the case of ritual correctness 'is killed with a single blow (Randulf in Qvigstad). In the superstition of the Swedish common people there is something similar: a bull used for breeding must receive a blow with a stick, and when making a so-called "stäkvisla", a cleft used in the mating of cattle, one must ensure that the split branch is removed from the tree with a single cut, whereby one must turn one's back to the tree and cut with the left hand.

hand, thus a typically magical operation. This "fist" must be renewed annually, i.e. must not be more than one year old (Heurgren). In the Edda, there is an admittedly obscure, but in my opinion remarkable, indication of the magical power of the first rune. The first stanza of 'Odin's Troll Songs' reads:

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

The so-called "Oden's Troll Songs" allude to 18 different magical cases. They are not real magic songs (galdrar) but only allusions to



Avb. 12. copper amulet from Roskilde.

clear memory verses, referring to the meaning of the numbers 1 to 18 (Odin's number) and to the images associated with these numbers. Since the runes were each associated in turn with a particular number, the hints in the rule also contribute to the knowledge of runic magic. If this assumption is correct, the so-called first troll song refers to the rune  $\beta$  ("), the sign of the bull (urox) associated with the helping great sacrifice. On a copper amulet from Roskilde (see fig. 12), no doubt intended as protection against disease-carrying demons, is a magical runic inscription in which, among other things, two groups each contain three intertwined  $\beta$ -runes. The inscription speaks of overpowering "two guardians of battle". I assume that this 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 <sup>the A-sound</sup> (= English tone loosely *th*) has the oldest name with the meaning 'troll,, thurs' (fornisl. *purs*). Another name used in the Scandinavian north and in England with the meaning 'tower, thorn' is undoubtedly a so-called woa-name, i.e. a replacement 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 hills, made the 'resident trolls' less dangerous (Nicolovius). The antidemonic word *torn*, older *thorn*, was thus well suited as a replacement for *thurs*. That the number 2 in late antique mysticism was perceived as a demonic number can be proven by statements of Neoplatonic philosophers. It is also known that in the Near East, the ancestral land of Mithraism, it was associated with the evil spirit. For Zarathustra, evil was the second principle of life. It was there for a symbol of Angra Mainyu (Ahriman) and his world. To rejoice? Angra Mainyu, also called "the other", told the evil spirits twice about their evil deeds, saying "Bundehesh" (ch. 3), the Persian holy book on the destiny and development of the world.

The Middle Persian religious document Vendidad lists certain passages in the oldest Avesta hymns which are to be recited *t w i c e*, after which they are to be appended: "I drive Angra Mainyu . from this house" etc. (Fargard 10). The Talmud, a Jewish religious document, gives a drastic picture of a Persian's fear of the number 2. A Jewish innkeeper once put two glasses on the empty table in front of a distinguished Persian. The latter is said to have been struck with terror, and only calmed down when another object was hastily placed beside the two glasses. Among the peoples of the Caucasus, the number 2 is still believed to be a demonic and devilish number, according to what a Russian born there told me.

i; In Nordic folklore, there are still some traces of the same phenomenon. According to a Swedish folktale, at night there are flames over

the place where a dragon rests on a hidden treasure, e.g. light flames (Hofberg), and among the people of Finnveden in Småland it is proved, that a dragon can be killed with the help of a twin sturgeon

According to Danish folklore, witchcraft can be practiced with paired objects, e.g. a box on one side of the door and a hook on the other (Thiele). A Scanian folk tale tells of a boy who teased sorcerers and therefore received dangerous gifts from them on Maundy Thursday. One gave two garters, the other two Easter eggs, 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 the eggs and buns were stuffed into the wheel 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 devil sometimes appears in the form of two women walking hand in hand on the water (Eva Wigström).

The demonic character of the 2nd number is even more evident in Lappish superstition. The devil is called "the other man" (Randulf at Q vigstad). A Lappish sorceress in Norway said that she could destroy a ship with two eggshells: if two eggshells were placed in a tub of water and both turned over, the boat would perish (Leem). For the god of fishing, who belonged to the non-heavenly divinities (cf. the Nose with us), two drinks were taken from a horn at Christmas, while turning counterclockwise, i.e., a typical demonic ceremony (Forbus with Reuterskiöld). If you wanted to get lucky in fishing, you had two fish burned (I. Fellman) or sacrificed fish eyes to the fire (probably just two). During the Christmas night, sacrifices were made to the evil one (Ruotta), so that he would not harm the women, in such a way that you hung funnel nets, containing some of the Christmas food, in a tree, in whose trunk crosses were carved on two sides. Sometimes a special mulled wine cake was baked and placed in a bowl with two splints attached (Högström, v. Duben). In the porridge of the patron god Innorna - Akkorna - three sticks were inserted. On some Lappish troll drums, a double sign also appears as a sign for the devil, the "other man". On a magic drum, which we will discuss in the following, Vadso-

relationship's divination tool, two devils are depicted, one free and one bound. A Lappish magic rule states: "If you cut your fingernails, you should always split the cut nail into two pieces. If you do not do so, the old man (= the devil) can make a boat out of it". There is obviously a connection here with the Norse myth of Nagel far, Muspell's anti-god ship, which according to Snorri is built from the nails of dead men. As in Swedish-Norwegian folklore, Christmas nights are regarded as a time when demonic beings appear. To see such beings, on the first and second Christmas nights (i.e. two nights), two people sit with their backs to each other at a place where water is fetched and where five roads meet (Qvigstad). The number 5 is, as we shall see in the following, protective against demons.

In Late Antique letter magic, the second Greek letter *B*, *béta*, has been associated with the 'abyss', according to the already mentioned Coptic representation. 'This letter gives the type (symbol) of the abyss and darkness,' it is said. "The highest is called eternal light and the deep eternal darkness", says Bundeshesh (ch. 1), speaking of good and evil. Doubtless the second letter of the Mithraist alphabet mysticism has been conflated with the demonic. In my opinion, this is the reason why the rune-writer chose a name meaning 'troll, demon' (fornisl. *purs*) to designate the second rune.

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

"The other, I know, the  
tarva people  
for the happiness of the power of healing."

According to the well-known rule "you take the commandment where you get it", consideration of the demon world has had its given importance in magical healing. On the Roskilde amulet (see fig. 12), the number two is mentioned (cf. above), while two antidemonic runic combinations (both containing 3 intertwined p-ru-

nor) "follow one another. The Eddic verse quoted above is not complete. It has lost its later half, probably a somewhat clarifying addition has been made to it.

3. The third rune f, the sign for the  $\alpha$ -sound, has throughout the ages borne an unchanged name meaning 'god, asagud' (fornisl. *áss* etc.). The number 3 is found in Hellenistic mystical philosophy - among other things, precisely as a contradiction to number 2 - clearly spoken of as divine. The same is true of virtually all religiously colored number speculations originating in Near Asia. Already the main Sumerian gods formed a triad. For Mithraism, the number 3 was undoubtedly a divine number. Mithra was called 'the triune'. In the ; three-headed Mithra we have, from many indications, the model for the three-headed Odin, depicted in ' Snorre's "Gylfaginning" and is called "High, Even and Third"; The god most magically associated with the third rune was therefore certainly Odin. The third rune has been called Odin in Sweden and elsewhere, albeit in later times (as in a manuscript in the Royal Library in Stockholm). The Lapps' wind god, who essentially borrowed features from Odin, has been associated with the number 3 in the ma gia. Swedish folklore thus juxtaposes Odin and the number 3: three runic tablets are spoken of as his, three dishes of food are said to be wanted by the god, and if one wants to meet him, one must go to a crossroads and shout three times: "Ode, come!" (Hyltén-Cavallius). More often, however, speech ' in Nordic magic has been associated with the divine over head. A still living example of the supposed divine, antidemonic power of the 3's is undoubtedly the custom of spitting three = times as a protection against "evil". With the creatures, ma- ; gical acts connected with the 3s are undertaken. Folklore sees this as a protection against the trolls ("Tussefolket").

In the magic of the Lapps, the number 3 (together with its amplification 9, 3X3) plays the predominant role in divine ceremonies and healings: when sacrificing to one of the sky gods, three pieces of the still living animal are first cut off (one piece of each ear and one of the tail), three sticks are stuck in Sar- akka's porridge, three images are put on the same lava when worshipping

Horagalles, the laying on of hands three times was used to cure a sick person, three times a tree was walked around, etc. Analogies to this are still found in Swedish-Norwegian folk customs. I find it unnecessary to give examples.

Some rune formulas, in which the number 3 should have played a role, should however be pointed out. On the Sigtuna amulet, made to protect against a disease demon, there is a sign, now interpreted by Ivar Lindquist as three ice runes (| 11), united into a unit by a line running across all of them. (In a Swedish mark from the 18th century, a n identical line joins two capital I's into one unit, see "Nordic folk memory", 'Boom marks in a Västmanland parish', fig. 1.44). This combination of signs brings to mind a magical rune formula mentioned in the Edda, consisting of the rune *purs* (|>) and "three rods". These rods, which are said to be able to bring threefold good fortune to a thursmö, were probably thirteen ice runes, i.e. the death-bringing rune carved thirteen times. On the Sigtuna amulet there is also a line threatening "threefold woe"; the characters in this line are 3X6. On the antidemonic Roskilde amulet already mentioned in connection with the rune *p* (*u*), the number 3 is emphasized in several ways. It may also be mentioned here that the end of the rune carving on the other side consists of three <sup>^</sup>(*r*) runes. According to Ivar Lindquist's interpretation, this part of the inscription would mean: 'Trefalt läkemedel är *rép*'. This word, the name of Thor's rune (fornisl. *re/d*) and its anti-demonic function have, according to Lindquist, been marked by carving the rune named by the word three times. By carving the sign of the god Thor *thrice*, it was believed that the demons of disease were deprived of their power. (That at the same time the number 2 played a certain role, I have pointed out above.)

In the Edda poem "Oden's Troll Songs", the third stanza gives an indication of one of the cases in which the number 3 was used magically, namely in the consecration of weapons, so that these could "stop enemies' jumps" and "deaden eggs". That this was indeed the case is shown by a stanza in "Sigrdrifumäl", the poem about Sigurd and the Valkyrie. There it is stated that battle runes would be put on three

places: on the "hilt of the sword", "on the headland" A "at the edge". (In addition, the name of the god of battle Tyr should be mentioned - not carved - twice.)

That the third Greek letter  $\Gamma$ , *gamma*, was connected 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 readily apparent. For the Persians, Ahura Mazda and heaven were almost synonymous concepts: heaven, according to Bundeshesh, is Ahura Mazda's first creation. Herodotus said of the Persians that 'they worshipped Oromazdes, i.e. Ahura Mazda, as "the whole circumference of heaven". Among the Roman Mithraists, Caelus ('heaven') was a name for Zeus-Jupiter, Ahura Mazda's counterpart.

4. The fourth rune |ξ, the sign for the r-sound, has had a name whose original meaning may have been 'chariot' (Old Icelandic *reid* etc.). As I have already mentioned, we have to see therein the sign of the god Thor: in Old Icelandic Thor is called *Retðarlyr*, 'chariot god'. It is therefore true that the same god in Norse r i t u a l was associated with the number 4: "Heimskringla" mentions that in the Tor temple in Gudbrandsdalen every day "four loaves of bread" were offered to the god's image. It can also be shown that a whole series of formulas, addressed to Thor, consist of four words or a multitude of four such, e.g. the formula: "Thor consecrates these runes" ./ The fourth stanza in "Odin's Troll Songs" refers to a gallows, which gives power to break chains. The so-called first Merseburg Age provides examples of such sorcery. Its last stanza, which contains the actual incantation, consists of four words. That the god of power, Thor, was invoked when it was a question of liberation from a severe constraint seems to me to be a well-founded assumption. In magic, however, Thor has generally played a rather subordinate role. Scandinavian folklore has rather few examples of magical use of the number 4. In some of these cases, a connection with the four points of the compass should be assumed. One example, however, where there are strong reasons for a reflex of the number 4 in runic magic, is the prescription in a Swedish book of black art, to give a dog, so that he does not

shall tire, 4 pieces of a calf's tongue and 4 square pieces of bread 4 mornings in a row, starting with a Thursday ("Solomon's magic arts", the same book prescribes in another place that one must take 4 peppercorns or cloves in the mouth to "not tire"). Thursday's number has well in some cases remained in Nordic magic, when it was to confer strength.

In late antique alphabet mysticism, the fourth Greek letter J, *delta*, was usually associated with the four elements. This is explicitly mentioned in the account of the mysticism of the Greek alphabet written in Coptic. Among the Mithraists, a chariot, the sacred quadriga, was the symbol of the image for the four elements. One of the signs that



Fig. 13 Mithraic amulet with quadriga.

we have to look for the origin of runic magic in the Late Antique Mithraic environment, is this circumstance. In my opinion, the rune maker has chosen a word with the meaning of 'chariot' for the 4th rune, since the quadriga as a symbol of the 4 elements in Mithraic alphabet mysticism belonged to the 4th Greek letter. To our time, the preservation

a magical Mithraic amulet (see Fig. 13). On this there are two inscriptions: in the upper one the letters give the numerical value  $96 = 24 \times 4$ ,

in the lower numerical value  $88 = 22 \times 4$ . The letters in the lower row are slightly damaged but can be reconstructed, as they undoubtedly, like the characters in the upper row, formed a palin drom (letter combination, which is read equally from front to back).

5. The fifth rune (later also  $\gamma$  and  $\chi$ ), the sign for the  $\text{\AA}$  sound, is called *cén* in the Anglo-Saxon runic song, a word meaning 'torch'. In the Scandinavian North, it is called *kaun* in the Late Runic period, a word meaning 'boil'. However, such a meaning is completely at odds with all other runic names. It is therefore likely that the Anglo-Saxon name represents the original. The Scandinavian may have arisen from the reversal of two words in a memory verse that compiled the torch rune name

with the resulting alliterative name of a disease symptom. As we shall see below, the runic name has been used for the treatment of certain diseases. In addition, Johannes Bureus, who had access to a great deal of tradition, gives the runic name as *kyn*, which may go back to the same basic form as Anglo-Saxon *cén* (and German *Klen*). In the word, *y* probably stands for *i*, and thus a final *e* may have been rendered. A study of the sorcery signs on a patch drum of well-preserved pagan type also gives - as we shall see in the following

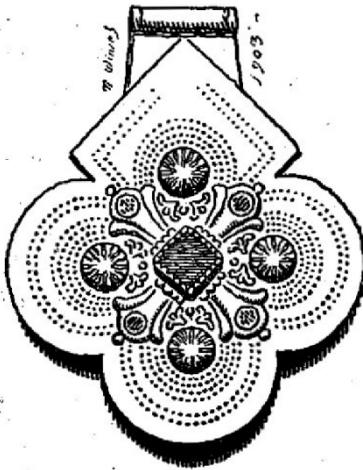
- reason, that the Scandinavian rune sign meant 'pinewood', 'branch of pine' (the basic meaning of Anglo-Saxon *cén* - torch a branch of fat pine). The image of a pine branch or pine top appears on this drum at the very place where one would expect a counterpart to this rune.

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 the 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 the letter magic of late antiquity has remained in a more or less confused way, it is also suggested that the same letter, which seems to have been called *eos* (ἔως), 'dawn', had to do with light. The Greek word for 'light', *lōs* (φως), could also mean 'torch'.

The reason why the fifth letter is associated with light and the torch, the symbol of fire and light, is in all probability to be found in the mysterious speculation of the Far East, chiefly Persia. In "Bundehesh" (ch. 17) there is mention of five kinds of fire. The fire god of Mithraism . Zervan is also called in Manichaean hymns the "five-god", ; and as a Mithraic deity he is represented as . carrying a torch (usually holding two torches), and with a lion's head from whose mouth fire could be emitted. (The lion was a symbol of fire.)

In Nordic and other European folk magic, pen-

the pentagram, the pentagon, as a symbol of health and the ability to dispel the powers of darkness; the sign was therefore often placed on hooves, cow horns and horse hooves var (Heurgren). For boils in animals (cf. what I have said about the common name *kaun*) formulas have been used, where multiples of 5 are mentioned, e.g. 15 or 150. When curing "flog", four 5s were drawn on the horse's right front hoof with a knife. Another method was to draw 9 pentagrams on a clean piece of paper and let the horse eat it (Heurgren). In Mediterranean countries



Avb. 5 4. Moroccan amulet.

people, the symbol of the body of five, the outstretched hand with five fingers spread out or positioned in a certain way, is still often used to ward off the 'evil eye' (known to the Italians as *iettaturd*). The Moroccans call an amulet designed to ward off the evil eye 'femma'. This (see Fig. 14) is generally made up of four circles with a centre, which is apparently regarded as the fifth (Wester-marck). The pentagram also has

used by the Lapps, who carefully ensured that such a one was cut into one, i.e. without the need to lift the knife (a clear antidemocratic operation). In Norway and Denmark, the same sign has been called

*tussmcerke* and *Marekors*. In the Edda poem "Odin's Troll Songs", the fifth stanza refers to the warding off of hostile spears.

In some places, the 5s, from its original use as a protection against the forces of darkness, may have had a wider application. If it was thought to help against "magic shots", it could also have been attributed the power to ward off projectiles thrown by human enemies. In order to "toughen up", i.e. make oneself invulnerable to all kinds of weapons, in Catholic times "five masses on the body of God" were

sung five Thursdays in succession (Thiele).

6. The sixth rune  $\Lambda$ , the sign for the g sound, has a name in Anglo-Saxon, *gifu*, which means 'gift'. This apparently corresponds to the corrupted form of the Gothic letter name *geuua*. In Scandinavia, where in the younger rune-

\* if the old  $\Lambda$ -sign is allowed to function also to indicate the  $\Lambda$ -sound, the name of the sixth rune has been lost. In many languages, the words for 'gift' and 'giva' are also used in the sense of 'sacrifice' and 'offer'. In Sweden, as late as the 19th century, 'giva to Odin's horses' was said to mean 'sacrifice' (Hyltén-Cavallius). In the Edda, Odin is said to be '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 change of meaning also occurs in Lappish in the verb that opposes our *giva*. The offering was called *daruft* by the ancient Persians, a word that actually means 'gift'. The number 6 has been a number associated with sacrifice in several religions. Among the ancient Persians - and probably also among the Mithraists of the Roman Empire - 6 (or 4) loaves of bread were ritually used in sacrifice. According to Mithraic astrology, the sixth celestial sphere belonged to the moon. In the Greek text known as the 'Etymology of the Alphabet', the sixth Greek letter Z,  $\Lambda$ , is also associated with one of the celestial spheres, the seventh. This is probably due to the influence of the so-called Milesian system of reckoning used in bourgeois life, according to which the same letter ( $\text{£}$ , *sota*) was the sign for 7. In an alphabet-mystical system, however, which counted the letters  $\alpha$ - $\omega$  as signs for the numbers 1-24,  $\text{£}$  must have denoted 6. In late antiquity, astrologers referred to this planet as 'silver-radiating'. According to Nordic folklore, the moon is a gracious giver, if he is honored when he enters his growing stage: one has to curtsy to nyet and greet the "New King", who is considered to bring wealth and fertility (Hyltén-Cavallius). On a Lappish troll drum of the pagan type, right next to the figure corresponding to the 5th runic name (a schematically drawn pine top), there is the image of a rooster, which is interpreted as a



been interpreted as referring to a minor sacrifice. This seems to me to indicate that even in the north the rune was primarily a sign associated with sacrifice and its power of action. On some Lappish troll drums the sign for sacrifice is replaced by the image of the moon, as will be shown in the following. This suggests a connection between the moon and the gift rune.

In "Odin's Troll Songs" in the Edda, the sixth stanza refers to It seems likely to me that such a belief in the power of the sixth rune and its number may derive from the belief in the power of the victim to protect against harmful magic.

There are also several examples in Nordic magic of the use of the number 6 in operations to help people or animals who have been bewitched. It is prescribed, for example, that one should take six straw pipes and blow through them if one has been "betrayed" (inflicted with illness by subterranean beings

or any wizardly person). To "put back" (practice countermagic), a spell should be read as follows: "I put counterstealing, I put envy, I put Fan; I puts evil people to a mountain, where no one lives, to a lake, where no one rows, under a stone, where no mouse (sic!) is for me" (Lapp man Jon Johansson.) The formula calls for six things, which shall counteract (note the words I have saved). Another formula from the same source reads: "You shall go back to him who sent you, and there you shall gorge and there you shall devour in his house, in his nest, in his liver, in his lung, in his tooth and in his tongue". In the formula, as we see, six localities are indicated (words blocked by me). 'When the sheep is destroyed', says one

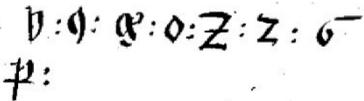
black arts book ('Solomon's magic arts'), the following six ingredients can be bound together 'under the seam': 'orant', 'light flowers', 'carrion', 'goat's rue', 'red onion' and 'garlic'. The same text states that no one can 'destroy your horse' if you add the following six ingredients to his halter: 'beetroot', 'garlic', 'olsten', 'laurel', 'tibast' and 'ven-derot'. Has witch hazel caused a horse to get the "braklag" (step according to another source (Heurgren), you should spit 3

times in front of the animal and 3 times on the bridle, so there are six steps in this magic action.

7. The seventh rune *p*, the sign for the *w* sound, shows in Anglo-Saxon a name *mynn* (*wew*), which means 'joy, gladness'. Scandinavian tradition provides no information about the name of this rune, since the sign fell out of use in the North shortly before the later runic period and was replaced by *M-runan*. The actual meaning of the corresponding Gothic letter name is uncertain and is apparently distorted in form. Taking into account late antique speech mysticism, on the other hand, the Anglo-Saxon rune name appears to be somewhat original. The meaning 'joy' seems to indicate good fortune, and this is consistent with the well-known fact that the 7th century was perceived by Persians and Mithraists as something auspicious and good. The Coptic writing on the mysticism of the Greek alphabet juxtaposes the seventh letter /*phi*/ with 'splendor' and 'light'. A Greek representation of the mysticism of the Hebrew alphabet connects the seventh letter (*saj*<sup>TM</sup>) with "fire". In the language of late ancient magic, the word for 'fire' usually replaces the word for 'love'. - Cf. that a love formula recorded in Denmark, doubtless with a late antique model, 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 the good: the good principle of life had its eternal existence in light, "the highest is called eternal light", says in "Bundehesh". Among the Mithraists, 7 was a particularly sacred number, associated with the solar sphere and the highest rank of that religious community. That 7 was interpreted as a good number in the magic of the ancient Persians is evident from the fact that Herodotus tells us that among them the sight of 7 hawks was interpreted as an auspicious sign. Bishop Epiphanius of Cyprus, who lived in the third century, calls the number 7 in a treatise "a praised and admirable number". In medieval tales, 7 is often a number used in connection with enterprises leading to a happy ending. Persian number mysticism has certainly influenced Judaism and Christianity.

In German folklore, it is considered auspicious that at solstice time (21

June) to bake 7 different cakes, to lay down 7 branches in the ground when digging for treasure, etc. (Graf). In Nordic magic there are many examples of the use of the number 7 in love spells and the like, so it often appears in the indication of deadlines (waiting times, etc. ). In a book on Icelandic sorcery (published by Nat. Lindqvist) there is a formula to be used to win people's love. It consists of seven letters, forming a line, and below this is another letter (see fig. 15). This resembles a Latin capital 'P', but should ultimately revert to the signj>, the (In the -Icelandic black art book\* there are several spells where unmistakable runic characters appear in



Avb. 15. Icelandic spell to win  
people's love.

together with Latin ' letters.) A magic rune line j from the older rune period, in the inscription on a bracteate from Skodborg, which includes the word *auja*, 'happiness', trenne

times, has the numerical value 287 in the runes, if these are calculated according to my system. The number 287 can only be resolved into 41 X 7.

The seventh stanza of the mystical Edda poem 'Odin's Troll Songs' reads:

"I know a seventh:  
when the crackling flame  
be seen shining around  
the bench, however wide  
it burns, I still bind it."

This is obviously 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, speech has 7 and fire and light have been associated. In the 19th century, in northern Norway, the so-called "damage twig", a malformation in the wood of a house wall, was rendered harmless by driving seven nails into the dangerous spot. Otherwise, the house was considered a fire hazard (Nicolaisen). That

As I have pointed out above, both Greek and Jewish letter mysticism associated the seventh letter of the alphabet with light or fire. There is nothing to prevent the seventh rune and its number 7 from being associated with light and joy at the same time in magical operations in Norse times. The parallel with late antique sorcery is obvious, and still living Nordic folklore connects, as we have seen, the number 7 with both these concepts.

The Nordic divinity, which runic magic associates with the rune p (w), should primarily have been the god Freyr: the god of friendship, love and warming light. According to Snorri, he not only ruled over the crops of the earth but also over the sunlight and peace among people. 'He gives mortals peace and joy', says Adam of Bremen. The rune of joy should ; therefore have been his. A study of the signs on the Lappish troll drums supports this assumption, which is true in itself. The god corresponding to Frey in the Lapps even appears on a troll drum with a "staff" beside him, the shape of which corresponds to the rune p, the w sign in the older rune line and the 7th rune of the uthark. About this in the following...

**8.** The eighth rune pj, the sign for the Ä sound, is called *hcegl* (*haegil*) in the Anglo-Saxon round tradition, which means 'hail'. Old Norse runic name records show forms consistent with this meaning: they mean 'hail, hail-grain'. The Gothic letter name *haal* implies a word

*\*hail* with the same meaning. The Germanic words with the meaning 'hail' go back etymologically to a word whose actual meaning was 'crystalline stone'. Since ancient Aryan times, the sky was considered to consist of stone or rather petrified ice. The word *crystal* is borrowed from Greek, where its opposite meant 'that which is frozen'. The Roman natural history historian Pliny the Elder mentions that, according to the popular belief of his time, crystals had fallen from the heavens, from which they had been broken loose. The fixed starry sky, the 'crystal sky' of the ancient astrologers, was called by the Persians *Asman*, a name whose basic meaning is 'stone'. According to Mithraic cosmology, this crystal sky was perceived as the outermost, eighth sphere of the universe (in

(before which lay the regions of the seven planets). The Coptic scripture on the mysticism of the Greek alphabet has the 8th letter

Θ, *theia*, corresponds to "firmament". In Egyptian Greek

- In Greek magic, the letter Θ was understood as the "circumference of the world" j (= the crystal sky). The line in its center was interpreted as of

seeing the "good demon" (Agatho- I daimon) holding the world together. With regard to Persian and Mithraic astral doctrine, we have every right to assume that Mithraic letter mysticism on this point corresponded to other Late Antique alphabets

speculation, that it connected the 8th letter sign with the crystal sky.

This is so much 'more likely, as the kop-

This scripture follows a creation story which differs in several respects from the Bible and which in many respects is much closer to the sacred Persian scriptures. If we assume that Mithraist or Mithraist-influenced late antique letter mysticism at the time of the rune-writer (about 200 years A D ) connected the 8th letter of the Greek alphabet with crystal and crystal heaven, we have the model for the peculiar rune name, which at its oldest must have had the meaning 'crystalline

stone'. How close the concepts of 'stone' and 'hail' are in fact to each other is shown by the Swedish word *hagelsten*.

\ The magical function of the eighth rune would have been to

Í Askapí <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup> <sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> <sup>34</sup> <sup>35</sup> <sup>36</sup> <sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup> <sup>39</sup> <sup>40</sup> <sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup> <sup>43</sup> <sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> <sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> <sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup> <sup>51</sup> <sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>54</sup> <sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup> <sup>57</sup> <sup>58</sup> <sup>59</sup> <sup>60</sup> <sup>61</sup> <sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> <sup>64</sup> <sup>65</sup> <sup>66</sup> <sup>67</sup> <sup>68</sup> <sup>69</sup> <sup>70</sup> <sup>71</sup> <sup>72</sup> <sup>73</sup> <sup>74</sup> <sup>75</sup> <sup>76</sup> <sup>77</sup> <sup>78</sup> <sup>79</sup> <sup>80</sup> <sup>81</sup> <sup>82</sup> <sup>83</sup> <sup>84</sup> <sup>85</sup> <sup>86</sup> <sup>87</sup> <sup>88</sup> <sup>89</sup> <sup>90</sup> <sup>91</sup> <sup>92</sup> <sup>93</sup> <sup>94</sup> <sup>95</sup> <sup>96</sup> <sup>97</sup> <sup>98</sup> <sup>99</sup> <sup>100</sup> <sup>101</sup> <sup>102</sup> <sup>103</sup> <sup>104</sup> <sup>105</sup> <sup>106</sup> <sup>107</sup> <sup>108</sup> <sup>109</sup> <sup>110</sup> <sup>111</sup> <sup>112</sup> <sup>113</sup> <sup>114</sup> <sup>115</sup> <sup>116</sup> <sup>117</sup> <sup>118</sup> <sup>119</sup> <sup>120</sup> <sup>121</sup> <sup>122</sup> <sup>123</sup> <sup>124</sup> <sup>125</sup> <sup>126</sup> <sup>127</sup> <sup>128</sup> <sup>129</sup> <sup>130</sup> <sup>131</sup> <sup>132</sup> <sup>133</sup> <sup>134</sup> <sup>135</sup> <sup>136</sup> <sup>137</sup> <sup>138</sup> <sup>139</sup> <sup>140</sup> <sup>141</sup> <sup>142</sup> <sup>143</sup> <sup>144</sup> <sup>145</sup> <sup>146</sup> <sup>147</sup> <sup>148</sup> <sup>149</sup> <sup>150</sup> <sup>151</sup> <sup>152</sup> <sup>153</sup> <sup>154</sup> <sup>155</sup> <sup>156</sup> <sup>157</sup> <sup>158</sup> <sup>159</sup> <sup>160</sup> <sup>161</sup> <sup>162</sup> <sup>163</sup> <sup>164</sup> <sup>165</sup> <sup>166</sup> <sup>167</sup> <sup>168</sup> <sup>169</sup> <sup>170</sup> <sup>171</sup> <sup>172</sup> <sup>173</sup> <sup>174</sup> <sup>175</sup> <sup>176</sup> <sup>177</sup> <sup>178</sup> <sup>179</sup> <sup>180</sup> <sup>181</sup> <sup>182</sup> <sup>183</sup> <sup>184</sup> <sup>185</sup> <sup>186</sup> <sup>187</sup> <sup>188</sup> <sup>189</sup> <sup>190</sup> <sup>191</sup> <sup>192</sup> <sup>193</sup> <sup>194</sup> <sup>195</sup> <sup>196</sup> <sup>197</sup> <sup>198</sup> <sup>199</sup> <sup>200</sup> <sup>201</sup> <sup>202</sup> <sup>203</sup> <sup>204</sup> <sup>205</sup> <sup>206</sup> <sup>207</sup> <sup>208</sup> <sup>209</sup> <sup>210</sup> <sup>211</sup> <sup>212</sup> <sup>213</sup> <sup>214</sup> <sup>215</sup> <sup>216</sup> <sup>217</sup> <sup>218</sup> <sup>219</sup> <sup>220</sup> <sup>221</sup> <sup>222</sup> <sup>223</sup> <sup>224</sup> <sup>225</sup> <sup>226</sup> <sup>227</sup> <sup>228</sup> <sup>229</sup> <sup>230</sup> <sup>231</sup> <sup>232</sup> <sup>233</sup> <sup>234</sup> <sup>235</sup> <sup>236</sup> <sup>237</sup> <sup>238</sup> <sup>239</sup> <sup>240</sup> <sup>241</sup> <sup>242</sup> <sup>243</sup> <sup>244</sup> <sup>245</sup> <sup>246</sup> <sup>247</sup> <sup>248</sup> <sup>249</sup> <sup>250</sup> <sup>251</sup> <sup>252</sup> <sup>253</sup> <sup>254</sup> <sup>255</sup> <sup>256</sup> <sup>257</sup> <sup>258</sup> <sup>259</sup> <sup>260</sup> <sup>261</sup> <sup>262</sup> <sup>263</sup> <sup>264</sup> <sup>265</sup> <sup>266</sup> <sup>267</sup> <sup>268</sup> <sup>269</sup> <sup>270</sup> <sup>271</sup> <sup>272</sup> <sup>273</sup> <sup>274</sup> <sup>275</sup> <sup>276</sup> <sup>277</sup> <sup>278</sup> <sup>279</sup> <sup>280</sup> <sup>281</sup> <sup>282</sup> <sup>283</sup> <sup>284</sup> <sup>285</sup> <sup>286</sup> <sup>287</sup> <sup>288</sup> <sup>289</sup> <sup>290</sup> <sup>291</sup> <sup>292</sup> <sup>293</sup> <sup>294</sup> <sup>295</sup> <sup>296</sup> <sup>297</sup> <sup>298</sup> <sup>299</sup> <sup>300</sup> <sup>301</sup> <sup>302</sup> <sup>303</sup> <sup>304</sup> <sup>305</sup> <sup>306</sup> <sup>307</sup> <sup>308</sup> <sup>309</sup> <sup>310</sup> <sup>311</sup> <sup>312</sup> <sup>313</sup> <sup>314</sup> <sup>315</sup> <sup>316</sup> <sup>317</sup> <sup>318</sup> <sup>319</sup> <sup>320</sup> <sup>321</sup> <sup>322</sup> <sup>323</sup> <sup>324</sup> <sup>325</sup> <sup>326</sup> <sup>327</sup> <sup>328</sup> <sup>329</sup> <sup>330</sup> <sup>331</sup> <sup>332</sup> <sup>333</sup> <sup>334</sup> <sup>335</sup> <sup>336</sup> <sup>337</sup> <sup>338</sup> <sup>339</sup> <sup>340</sup> <sup>341</sup> <sup>342</sup> <sup>343</sup> <sup>344</sup> <sup>345</sup> <sup>346</sup> <sup>347</sup> <sup>348</sup> <sup>349</sup> <sup>350</sup> <sup>351</sup> <sup>352</sup> <sup>353</sup> <sup>354</sup> <sup>355</sup> <sup>356</sup> <sup>357</sup> <sup>358</sup> <sup>359</sup> <sup>360</sup> <sup>361</sup> <sup>362</sup> <sup>363</sup> <sup>364</sup> <sup>365</sup> <sup>366</sup> <sup>367</sup> <sup>368</sup> <sup>369</sup> <sup>370</sup> <sup>371</sup> <sup>372</sup> <sup>373</sup> <sup>374</sup> <sup>375</sup> <sup>376</sup> <sup>377</sup> <sup>378</sup> <sup>379</sup> <sup>380</sup> <sup>381</sup> <sup>382</sup> <sup>383</sup> <sup>384</sup> <sup>385</sup> <sup>386</sup> <sup>387</sup> <sup>388</sup> <sup>389</sup> <sup>390</sup> <sup>391</sup> <sup>392</sup> <sup>393</sup> <sup>394</sup> <sup>395</sup> <sup>396</sup> <sup>397</sup> <sup>398</sup> <sup>399</sup> <sup>400</sup> <sup>401</sup> <sup>402</sup> <sup>403</sup> <sup>404</sup> <sup>405</sup> <sup>406</sup> <sup>407</sup> <sup>408</sup> <sup>409</sup> <sup>410</sup> <sup>411</sup> <sup>412</sup> <sup>413</sup> <sup>414</sup> <sup>415</sup> <sup>416</sup> <sup>417</sup> <sup>418</sup> <sup>419</sup> <sup>420</sup> <sup>421</sup> <sup>422</sup> <sup>423</sup> <sup>424</sup> <sup>425</sup> <sup>426</sup> <sup>427</sup> <sup>428</sup> <sup>429</sup> <sup>430</sup> <sup>431</sup> <sup>432</sup> <sup>433</sup> <sup>434</sup> <sup>435</sup> <sup>436</sup> <sup>437</sup> <sup>438</sup> <sup>439</sup> <sup>440</sup> <sup>441</sup> <sup>442</sup> <sup>443</sup> <sup>444</sup> <sup>445</sup> <sup>446</sup> <sup>447</sup> <sup>448</sup> <sup>449</sup> <sup>450</sup> <sup>451</sup> <sup>452</sup> <sup>453</sup> <sup>454</sup> <sup>455</sup> <sup>456</sup> <sup>457</sup> <sup>458</sup> <sup>459</sup> <sup>460</sup> <sup>461</sup> <sup>462</sup> <sup>463</sup> <sup>464</sup> <sup>465</sup> <sup>466</sup> <sup>467</sup> <sup>468</sup> <sup>469</sup> <sup>470</sup> <sup>471</sup> <sup>472</sup> <sup>473</sup> <sup>474</sup> <sup>475</sup> <sup>476</sup> <sup>477</sup> <sup>478</sup> <sup>479</sup> <sup>480</sup> <sup>481</sup> <sup>482</sup> <sup>483</sup> <sup>484</sup> <sup>485</sup> <sup>486</sup> <sup>487</sup> <sup>488</sup> <sup>489</sup> <sup>490</sup> <sup>491</sup> <sup>492</sup> <sup>493</sup> <sup>494</sup> <sup>495</sup> <sup>496</sup> <sup>497</sup> <sup>498</sup> <sup>499</sup> <sup>500</sup> <sup>501</sup> <sup>502</sup> <sup>503</sup> <sup>504</sup> <sup>505</sup> <sup>506</sup> <sup>507</sup> <sup>508</sup> <sup>509</sup> <sup>510</sup> <sup>511</sup> <sup>512</sup> <sup>513</sup> <sup>514</sup> <sup>515</sup> <sup>516</sup> <sup>517</sup> <sup>518</sup> <sup>519</sup> <sup>520</sup> <sup>521</sup> <sup>522</sup> <sup>523</sup> <sup>524</sup> <sup>525</sup> <sup>526</sup> <sup>527</sup> <sup>528</sup> <sup>529</sup> <sup>530</sup> <sup>531</sup> <sup>532</sup> <sup>533</sup> <sup>534</sup> <sup>535</sup> <sup>536</sup> <sup>537</sup> <sup>538</sup> <sup>539</sup> <sup>540</sup> <sup>541</sup> <sup>542</sup> <sup>543</sup> <sup>544</sup> <sup>545</sup> <sup>546</sup> <sup>547</sup> <sup>548</sup> <sup>549</sup> <sup>550</sup> <sup>551</sup> <sup>552</sup> <sup>553</sup> <sup>554</sup> <sup>555</sup> <sup>556</sup> <sup>557</sup> <sup>558</sup> <sup>559</sup> <sup>560</sup> <sup>561</sup> <sup>562</sup> <sup>563</sup> <sup>564</sup> <sup>565</sup> <sup>566</sup> <sup>567</sup> <sup>568</sup> <sup>569</sup> <sup>570</sup> <sup>571</sup> <sup>572</sup> <sup>573</sup> <sup>574</sup> <sup>575</sup> <sup>576</sup> <sup>577</sup> <sup>578</sup> <sup>579</sup> <sup>580</sup> <sup>581</sup> <sup>582</sup> <sup>583</sup> <sup>584</sup> <sup>585</sup> <sup>586</sup> <sup>587</sup> <sup>588</sup> <sup>589</sup> <sup>590</sup> <sup>591</sup> <sup>592</sup> <sup>593</sup> <sup>594</sup> <sup>595</sup> <sup>596</sup> <sup>597</sup> <sup>598</sup> <sup>599</sup> <sup>600</sup> <sup>601</sup> <sup>602</sup> <sup>603</sup> <sup>604</sup> <sup>605</sup> <sup>606</sup> <sup>607</sup> <sup>608</sup> <sup>609</sup> <sup>610</sup> <sup>611</sup> <sup>612</sup> <sup>613</sup> <sup>614</sup> <sup>615</sup> <sup>616</sup> <sup>617</sup> <sup>618</sup> <sup>619</sup> <sup>620</sup> <sup>621</sup> <sup>622</sup> <sup>623</sup> <sup>624</sup> <sup>625</sup> <sup>626</sup> <sup>627</sup> <sup>628</sup> <sup>629</sup> <sup>630</sup> <sup>631</sup> <sup>632</sup> <sup>633</sup> <sup>634</sup> <sup>635</sup> <sup>636</sup> <sup>637</sup> <sup>638</sup> <sup>639</sup> <sup>640</sup> <sup>641</sup> <sup>642</sup> <sup>643</sup> <sup>644</sup> <sup>645</sup> <sup>646</sup> <sup>647</sup> <sup>648</sup> <sup>649</sup> <sup>650</sup> <sup>651</sup> <sup>652</sup> <sup>653</sup> <sup>654</sup> <sup>655</sup> <sup>656</sup> <sup>657</sup> <sup>658</sup> <sup>659</sup> <sup>660</sup> <sup>661</sup> <sup>662</sup> <sup>663</sup> <sup>664</sup> <sup>665</sup> <sup>666</sup> <sup>667</sup> <sup>668</sup> <sup>669</sup> <sup>670</sup> <sup>671</sup> <sup>672</sup> <sup>673</sup> <sup>674</sup> <sup>675</sup> <sup>676</sup> <sup>677</sup> <sup>678</sup> <sup>679</sup> <sup>680</sup> <sup>681</sup> <sup>682</sup> <sup>683</sup> <sup>684</sup> <sup>685</sup> <sup>686</sup> <sup>687</sup> <sup>688</sup> <sup>689</sup> <sup>690</sup> <sup>691</sup> <sup>692</sup> <sup>693</sup> <sup>694</sup> <sup>695</sup> <sup>696</sup> <sup>697</sup> <sup>698</sup> <sup>699</sup> <sup>700</sup> <sup>701</sup> <sup>702</sup> <sup>703</sup> <sup>704</sup> <sup>705</sup> <sup>706</sup> <sup>707</sup> <sup>708</sup> <sup>709</sup> <sup>710</sup> <sup>711</sup> <sup>712</sup> <sup>713</sup> <sup>714</sup> <sup>715</sup> <sup>716</sup> <sup>717</sup> <sup>718</sup> <sup>719</sup> <sup>720</sup> <sup>721</sup> <sup>722</sup> <sup>723</sup> <sup>724</sup> <sup>725</sup> <sup>726</sup> <sup>727</sup> <sup>728</sup> <sup>729</sup> <sup>730</sup> <sup>731</sup> <sup>732</sup> <sup>733</sup> <sup>734</sup> <sup>735</sup> <sup>736</sup> <sup>737</sup> <sup>738</sup> <sup>739</sup> <sup>740</sup> <sup>741</sup> <sup>742</sup> <sup>743</sup> <sup>744</sup> <sup>745</sup> <sup>746</sup> <sup>747</sup> <sup>748</sup> <sup>749</sup> <sup>750</sup> <sup>751</sup> <sup>752</sup> <sup>753</sup> <sup>754</sup> <sup>755</sup> <sup>756</sup> <sup>757</sup> <sup>758</sup> <sup>759</sup> <sup>760</sup> <sup>761</sup> <sup>762</sup> <sup>763</sup> <sup>764</sup> <sup>765</sup> <sup>766</sup> <sup>767</sup> <sup>768</sup> <sup>769</sup> <sup>770</sup> <sup>771</sup> <sup>772</sup> <sup>773</sup> <sup>774</sup> <sup>775</sup> <sup>776</sup> <sup>777</sup> <sup>778</sup> <sup>779</sup> <sup>780</sup> <sup>781</sup> <sup>782</sup> <sup>783</sup> <sup>784</sup> <sup>785</sup> <sup>786</sup> <sup>787</sup> <sup>788</sup> <sup>789</sup> <sup>790</sup> <sup>791</sup> <sup>792</sup> <sup>793</sup> <sup>794</sup> <sup>795</sup> <sup>796</sup> <sup>797</sup> <sup>798</sup> <sup>799</sup> <sup>800</sup> <sup>801</sup> <sup>802</sup> <sup>803</sup> <sup>804</sup> <sup>805</sup> <sup>806</sup> <sup>807</sup> <sup>808</sup> <sup>809</sup> <sup>810</sup> <sup>811</sup> <sup>812</sup> <sup>813</sup> <sup>814</sup> <sup>815</sup> <sup>816</sup> <sup>817</sup> <sup>818</sup> <sup>819</sup> <sup>820</sup> <sup>821</sup> <sup>822</sup> <sup>823</sup> <sup>824</sup> <sup>825</sup> <sup>826</sup> <sup>827</sup> <sup>828</sup> <sup>829</sup> <sup>830</sup> <sup>831</sup> <sup>832</sup> <sup>833</sup> <sup>834</sup> <sup>835</sup> <sup>836</sup> <sup>837</sup> <sup>838</sup> <sup>839</sup> <sup>840</sup> <sup>841</sup> <sup>842</sup> <sup>843</sup> <sup>844</sup> <sup>845</sup> <sup>846</sup> <sup>847</sup> <sup>848</sup> <sup>849</sup> <sup>850</sup> <sup>851</sup> <sup>852</sup> <sup>853</sup> <sup>854</sup> <sup>855</sup> <sup>856</sup> <sup>857</sup> <sup>858</sup> <sup>859</sup> <sup>860</sup> <sup>861</sup> <sup>862</sup> <sup>863</sup> <sup>864</sup> <sup>865</sup> <sup>866</sup> <sup>867</sup> <sup>868</sup> <sup>869</sup> <sup>870</sup> <sup>871</sup> <sup>872</sup> <sup>873</sup> <sup>874</sup> <sup>875</sup> <sup>876</sup> <sup>877</sup> <sup>878</sup> <sup>879</sup> <sup>880</sup> <sup>881</sup> <sup>882</sup> <sup>883</sup> <sup>884</sup> <sup>885</sup> <sup>886</sup> <sup>887</sup> <sup>888</sup> <sup>889</sup> <sup>890</sup> <sup>891</sup> <sup>892</sup> <sup>893</sup> <sup>894</sup> <sup>895</sup> <sup>896</sup> <sup>897</sup> <sup>898</sup> <sup>899</sup> <sup>900</sup> <sup>901</sup> <sup>902</sup> <sup>903</sup> <sup>904</sup> <sup>905</sup> <sup>906</sup> <sup>907</sup> <sup>908</sup> <sup>909</sup> <sup>910</sup> <sup>911</sup> <sup>912</sup> <sup>913</sup> <sup>914</sup> <sup>915</sup> <sup>916</sup> <sup>917</sup> <sup>918</sup> <sup>919</sup> <sup>920</sup> <sup>921</sup> <sup>922</sup> <sup>923</sup> <sup>924</sup> <sup>925</sup> <sup>926</sup> <sup>927</sup> <sup>928</sup> <sup>929</sup> <sup>930</sup> <sup>931</sup> <sup>932</sup> <sup>933</sup> <sup>934</sup> <sup>935</sup> <sup>936</sup> <sup>937</sup> <sup>938</sup> <sup>939</sup> <sup>940</sup> <sup>941</sup> <sup>942</sup> <sup>943</sup> <sup>944</sup> <sup>945</sup> <sup>946</sup> <sup>947</sup> <sup>948</sup> <sup>949</sup> <sup>950</sup> <sup>951</sup> <sup>952</sup> <sup>953</sup> <sup>954</sup> <sup>955</sup> <sup>956</sup> <sup>957</sup> <sup>958</sup> <sup>959</sup> <sup>960</sup> <sup>961</sup> <sup>962</sup> <sup>963</sup> <sup>964</sup> <sup>965</sup> <sup>966</sup> <sup>967</sup> <sup>968</sup> <sup>969</sup> <sup>970</sup> <sup>971</sup> <sup>972</sup> <sup>973</sup> <sup>974</sup> <sup>975</sup> <sup>976</sup> <sup>977</sup> <sup>978</sup> <sup>979</sup> <sup>980</sup> <sup>981</sup> <sup>982</sup> <sup>983</sup> <sup>984</sup> <sup>985</sup> <sup>986</sup> <sup>987</sup> <sup>988</sup> <sup>989</sup> <sup>990</sup> <sup>991</sup> <sup>992</sup> <sup>993</sup> <sup>994</sup> <sup>995</sup> <sup>996</sup> <sup>997</sup> <sup>998</sup> <sup>999</sup> <sup>1000</sup> <sup>1001</sup> <sup>1002</sup> <sup>1003</sup> <sup>1004</sup> <sup>1005</sup> <sup>1006</sup> <sup>1007</sup> <sup>1008</sup> <sup>1009</sup> <sup>1010</sup> <sup>1011</sup> <sup>1012</sup> <sup>1013</sup> <sup>1014</sup> <sup>1015</sup> <sup>1016</sup> <sup>1017</sup> <sup>1018</sup> <sup>1019</sup> <sup>1020</sup> <sup>1021</sup> <sup>1022</sup> <sup>1023</sup> <sup>1024</sup> <sup>1025</sup> <sup>1026</sup> <sup>1027</sup> <sup>1028</sup> <sup>1029</sup> <sup>1030</sup> <sup>1031</sup> <sup>1032</sup> <sup>1033</sup> <sup>1034</sup> <sup>1035</sup> <sup>1036</sup> <sup>1037</sup> <sup>1038</sup> <sup>1039</sup> <sup>1040</sup> <sup>1041</sup> <sup>1042</sup> <sup>1043</sup> <sup>1044</sup> <sup>1045</sup> <sup>1046</sup> <sup>1047</sup> <sup>1048</sup> <sup>1049</sup> <sup>1050</sup> <sup>1051</sup> <sup>1052</sup> <sup>1053</sup> <sup>1054</sup> <sup>1055</sup> <sup>1056</sup> <sup>1057</sup> <sup>1058</sup> <sup>1059</sup> <sup>1060</sup> <sup>1061</sup> <sup>1062</sup> <sup>1063</sup> <sup>1064</sup> <sup>1065</sup> <sup>1066</sup> <sup>1067</sup> <sup>1068</sup> <sup>1069</sup> <sup>1070</sup> <sup>1071</sup> <sup>1072</sup> <sup>1073</sup> <sup>1074</sup> <sup>1075</sup> <sup>1076</sup> <sup>1077</sup> <sup>1078</sup> <sup>1079</sup> <sup>1080</sup> <sup>1081</sup> <sup>1082</sup> <sup>1083</sup> <sup>1084</sup> <sup>1085</sup> <sup>1086</sup> <sup>1087</sup> <sup>1088</sup> <sup>1089</sup> <sup>1090</sup> <sup>1091</sup> <sup>1092</sup> <sup>1093</sup> <sup>1094</sup> <sup>1095</sup> <sup>1096</sup> <sup>1097</sup> <sup>1098</sup> <sup>1099</sup> <sup>1100</sup> <sup>1101</sup> <sup>1102</sup> <sup>1103</sup> <sup>1104</sup> <sup>1105</sup> <sup>1106</sup> <sup>1107</sup> <sup>1108</sup> <sup>1109</sup> <sup>1110</sup> <sup>1111</sup> <sup>1112</sup> <sup>1113</sup> <sup>1114</sup> <sup>1115</sup> <sup>1116</sup> <sup>1117</sup> <sup>1118</sup> <sup>1119</sup> <sup>1120</sup> <sup>1121</sup> <sup>1122</sup> <sup>1123</sup> <sup>1124</sup> <sup>1125</sup> <sup>1126</sup> <sup>1127</sup> <sup>1128</sup> <sup>1129</sup> <sup>1130</sup> <sup>1131</sup> <sup>1132</sup> <sup>1133</sup> <sup>1134</sup> <sup>1135</sup> <sup>1136</sup> <sup>1137</sup> <sup>1138</sup> <sup>1139</sup> <sup>1140</sup> <sup>1141</sup> <sup>1142</sup> <sup>1143</sup> <sup>1144</sup> <sup>1145</sup> <sup>1146</sup> <sup>1147</sup> <sup>1148</sup> <sup>1149</sup> <sup>1150</sup> <sup>1151</sup> <sup>1152</sup> <sup>1153</sup> <sup>1154</sup> <sup>1155</sup> <sup>1156</sup> <sup>1157</sup> <sup>1158</sup> <sup>1159</sup> <sup>1160</sup> <sup>1161</sup> <sup>1162</sup> <sup>1163</sup> <sup>1164</sup> <sup>1165</sup> <sup>1166</sup> <sup>1167</sup> <sup>1168</sup> <sup>1169</sup> <sup>1170</sup> <sup>1171</sup> <sup>1172</sup> <sup>1173</sup> <sup>1174</sup> <sup>1175</sup> <sup>1176</sup> <sup>1177</sup> <sup>1178</sup> <sup>1179</sup> <sup>1180</sup> <sup>1181</sup> <sup>1182</sup> <sup>1183</sup> 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"If hatred will grow  
between the sons of  
rulers, I can cure it  
abruptly."

This statement is understandable in connection with my assumption that the number 8 and the hail rune in Nordic magic have been important for achieving firmness and cohesion. Behind this is ultimately the ancient conception of the fixed starry sky as an unshakable vault.

9. The ninth rune  $\psi$ , the sign for <sup>the A sound</sup>, has in all traditions a name with the meaning 'distress, necessity' (angelsax. *m/d*, fornisl. *naudr* etc.). Many circumstances, including a statement in an Eddic poem, indicate that this rune had particularly great magical significance. The name itself also suggests this. It corresponds perfectly to a name used in antiquity for the divinity of fate, which the Greeks called Ananke, the Romans *Necessitas*: both names mean 'necessity'. In late antiquity, the goddess of fate, Ananke, was the central power factor of the sorcery system (of course called by other names as well). In my work "Late Antique Mystery Religion and Norse Runic Magic" I have (ch. 2) 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. Their kingdom was thought to be located outside the outermost boundary of the cosmos (the vault of the crystal sky) in dark space, where only the light ether existed. According to the Mithraic astral doctrine, Ananke's sphere has thus enclosed the eighth world sphere and could be perceived as the ninth. Plato also allows the representatives of the power of destiny, the three moirs, to dwell outside the 8 spheres. The Coptic writing on the mysticism of the Greek alphabet also refers to a zone existing outside the crystal sky. It associates the 9th letter with "the waters above the firmament", and immediately before that the firmament, the firmament, is associated with the 8th letter.

That the rune j. (w) of necessity is connected with the number nine is an assumption that is consistent with several testimonies

in Old Norse poetry, and later folk tradition. The ninth stanza of "Odin's Troll Songs" explicitly mentions *naudr*, the threatening necessity. There is particular mention of salvaging a ship by stilling the waves when "distress" (*naudr*) threatens. If the A-rune in magic had the meaning I have indicated, it must of course have been associated with the foremost practitioner of the art of magic, Odin. As we know, he was, among other things, a storm god. This characteristic of Odin will be explained in more detail in the study of Lappish sorcery. It is therefore mythologically understandable that the distress rune was used in wind magic.

An example of such magic may be found in an inscription consisting of nine runes, the letters *lituluism*, inscribed on an oar belonging to the Oseberg ship. In an Eddic poem (*Sigrdrifumäl*) it is said of 'storm runes' that they are to be placed on the 'staff', on the 'helm' and on the 'oar'. In the poem, although Christian, but richly mixed with Old Norse sayings "The Sun Song" it says: "In the chair of the norms nine days I sat". That the goddesses of fate, the norms, (along with Odin) are associated in magic with the distress rune and its numbers is a given: the norms were said to "create distress", i.e. determine necessity (fate). In post-pagan times, the old distress rune and its number mysticism have left quite clear traces. On Scanian fabrics, there is a cross-like figure, called an "ellacross", which usually appears to be a direct counterpart to the rune sign j. A certain kind of amulet is also called an "ellacross". It was considered particularly effective against diseases caused by "Such an amulet would be made of nine different pieces of silver. This must be inherited and would be assembled in nine places (Nicolovius). (Most known depictions of "elven crosses" or "elf crosses" show a cross of roughly the usual type, but as a tissue figure the elven cross offers great similarity to the shape of the distress rune.) An even clearer testimony that the distress rune was associated with the 9th century is provided by the Sigtuna amulet found a few years ago. It reads, among other things: *af fiR niu nopiR ulf*, i.e. 'haf nio nödtväng, varg'. Here the counting word *niu* is combined with the word identical to the name of the ninth rune. Since the line also

contains two characters, the last of which consists of three ice runes connected to form a unit, forming a group of runes clearly delimited by a frame of 2 X 9 characters.

As is known, 9 is a number, which is extremely often met in magic documents and formulas. We have in particular to recall the so-called distress, mentioned in Germany in 743. This was to be induced by rubbing, in England with 9 spindles from a spinning coat of 9 X 9 men and magically secured by 9 kinds of wood. Swedish folklore includes the custom of sleeping on nine kinds of flowers in order to become a truth-teller, of having nine sticks of oak between the teeth to cure toothache, of walking nine steps backwards towards a flying maple, of bashing "troll butter" with a rice made from nine kinds of fruit-bearing trees (Hyltén-Cavallius). One author, who has dealt with Semitic number mysticism, has called the 9th number "the number of the completion of a destiny development". (Already among the Babylonians

"his predecessors, the Sumerians, were regarded as 'the voice of perfection'). Ananke was the power that guided the destiny magic. "The essentials of fate magic were undoubtedly taken by the Greeks from Near Asia. As already mentioned, Mithraism arose in Babylonia through a fusion of Persian and Semitic beliefs. The expression "ninefold wise" used among the ancient Greeks is undoubtedly connected with the central role of the 9th century in magical knowledge. (For the Swedish people, "wise" is still in some compilations synonymous with "magically insightful": "wise old woman", etc.)

In the heirs of runic magic, the Lapps, we also find the number 9 as, the most powerful magic number. Johan Turi states that the construction of a Lappish magic drum included the use of 9 pieces of a magically important parasitic plant (in Danish called "Troldkost"). Furthermore, the same person mentions that to cure a certain disease one had to count from 9 to 1, at another one one would boil a decoction of 9 kinds of trees. Similar information has been collected by J. Qvigstad: yellow soot was thought to be cured by eating 9 lice, etc. An old Västerbotten man reported that if the singer at a bear feast was married, he took 9 pieces of tinder before going to bed with his wife and dropped them into a cauldron filled with

hot water, and then washed his whole body (S. Drake). . The number 3 occurs almost more often in magical operations, but alongside it the number 9 appears as the more powerful (the number 3 is used in most cases in actions, which are more like ceremonies). 9 (3 X 3) is an amplification 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, as with the Sumerians, nine is still the "number of perfection".

Finally, it may be mentioned that in late antique astrology and magic for fate (*sors*) and Ananke a sign was used, which alphabetically and historically can be related to the w-rune  $\psi$ , a letter that has no precedent in the Greek or Latin alphabet. This mark of Fortuna (Ananke) used in astrological works is  $\theta$ . If the ring is removed, we have, if the transverse line of the cross is reduced and slanted, the rune  $\psi$ . (The characteristic of the round types is, as is well known, that in them horizontal lines are avoided; they are replaced by slanted lines: T becomes  $\psi$ , etc.). I have found the magic sign  $\phi$  in a Swedish black art book ("Salomoniska magiska konster"), where it is explained to mean "probatum est", i.e. that the magic operation in question has previously been attempted and carried out.

\* \*

\*

To assess the genetic connection between the runic characters 10-15 et al. in the sequence of letters and late antique letter magic, there is an important Greek document. During a visit to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in the summer of 1931, I found a Byzantine manuscript describing the mystery of the Greek alphabet. The first leaf of the manuscript has unfortunately been lost and the top line of the second leaf is somewhat indistinct, but what follows is perfectly straightforward and legible. It gives an account of the relationship of the Greek letters to various motifs.

ment in the creation of the world. A very close parallel to the presentation of the mysticism of the Greek alphabet in Coptic mentioned above is obviously present. The Coptic script can therefore serve as a complement to the part missing in the Byzantine document. This, in turn, leaves in the preserved portions a more reliable source for what has hitherto been known only in Coptic translation, and shows clearly that it is indeed the case that the Coptic script is based on a system adapted to Greek, which was used in the Hellenic world. I therefore follow, from the 10th letter onwards, the white lettering of the Byzantine document (from which, incidentally, the Coptic redaction deviates only slightly). The document fragment is reproduced on fig. 16.

**10.** The tenth rune |, the sign for the *í* sound, has a name well attested by various Germanic traditions, the meaning of which was undoubtedly 'is' (fornisl. *tss* etc.). From Nordic magic we know 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 suggestion of the magical content of this number is consistent with preserved rune carvings with a clearly harmful or deadly purpose. The inscription on a spoon from Trondheim, where the author expresses the wish to see a woman as a widow, consists of 4 X 10 characters, and the result has been achieved by joining two characters together at the end to form a so-called binderuna. The last group of runes on the reverse of the Sigtuna amulet consists of 3 X 10 characters. Even ice runes have been placed in front of this part of the inscription. The previous group of runes, mentioned by me in connection with the 9th century, ends with a rune formula consisting of 3 ice runes connected to a unit. Then comes the culmination of the spell with a meaning that refers to the destruction of the disease demon (according to a new interpretation not yet published by Ivar Lindquist). This means that the signs within the same frame are  $30 = 3 \times 10$ . The Björketorps stone, which predicts destruction for the one who harms the ma-



gically consecrated mark, has on its north-facing side the inscription *upArAbASbA* (A= the second rune with the sound value *a*; of 'danger had become *ara*). The meaning is: 'fateful prediction'.

The runes are 10, and if you calculate the gematria value of these ten runic characters, it turns out that this is 100, that is

10 X 10. The lower inscription of the so-called Sigtuna dance (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 butcher's knife found in Gjersvik, Norway, probably a ritual implement, has an undoubtedly mystical inscription, consisting of a corrupted word, to which is added a group of 10 /-runes.

nor. (All runes number is 18, The Valby amulet, in whose stone a curse against "envy" is carved, has an inscription consisting of 10 runes. The outer some rune inscriptions could be cited.

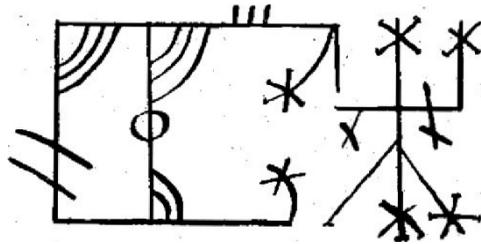


Fig. 17. Icelandic spell to kill another's cattle.

However, I would like to

I will only stick to material where it is absolutely clear that there is an attempt to commit so-called "malicious mischief".

In an Icelandic black art book (ed. by Nat. Lindqvist) there is a combination of 'rods', which undoubtedly refer back to runic characters (see fig. 17): *f*, *n*, *h* and /-runes (the *Ä*-rune of the later type). The combination of signs is intended to be used to kill another's cattle. The purpose justifies the use of is-runes and *fä*-runes (one of the /-runes is facing downwards, the other two have been given 3 bi-staves). It is also natural that the distress rune, the <sup>Astay</sup> of the spell, enters the spell. The presence of the Hagel rune may indicate that in later times this rune, because of its name, was attributed with roughly the same cold-causing effect as the Ice rune. In the same book there is mention of a

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sickly rune formula, which is said to consist of 8 rfss runes, 9 emergency runes and

13 thurs runes, i.e. a total of 3 X **10** characters.

That in the life of the old northerners the 10th century had a certain

The link with death is shown by a number of examples preserved in older literature. An Arab scribe, who wrote in the 900s

' speech, mentions that the hosts in Russia first laid their dead ; chief for ten days in a tomb, then he was burned. In doing so ■ a girl and 8 animals (1 dog, 2 horses, 2 oxen, 1 rooster, 2 chickens) were sacrificed: 10 creatures thus followed each other in death. It is also worth noting that the king of Uppsala, Aun (according to Snorri in "Heimskringla") sacrificed a son every ten years for in buying your way out of death.

A reminiscence of the number 10 as related to the underworld can be found in the following Swedish spell for tuning blood: "Stand blood as they sit and stand in hell, as Noah's ark was on the water for 9 days and on the tenth stopped. So shall you stand." (Heurgren.) That the speech of the ice rune in certain magical operations could be considered capable of causing a liquid to become viscous and rigid (just as water is brought to ice), is a disbelief explicable from a magical point of view. The formula probably originally contained something completely different from "Noah's Ark". This, as we know, was 40 days on the water and did not stop on the tenth day. It should be noted that in some places in Sweden, instead of "Noen's dogs" it is said

"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, belongs to Danish folk belief. "If one dreams of the death of a spirit, then there are ten years to his lifetime", is a dream superstition (mentioned by Thiele). As we know, dreams are often interpreted to mean the opposite. In this case it is conceivable that death was once associated with the number 10 and therefore the dream of death was interpreted as a dream of 10 years of life. (Cf. also the story of Aun, who ransomed himself for 10 years from death.) Among the heirs of runic magic, the Lapps still retain some traces of the number 10 as the number of death. When fishing, for example, the Norwegian Lapps consider the number 10 (catching 10 fish at once) to be unlucky, as do multiples of 10 (Qvigstad). This may be because the number 10 was once perceived as killing fishing luck. That

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the number 10 was associated with the underworld,

is evident from a certain healing practice practiced among the Lapps. *Juoksot* means curing a disease caused by the dead. The healer ties a white or black thread around his own thumb and then wraps it 9 times around the body of the sick person. Thus 14-9 = ten times are tied. (Qvigstad).

Whether the Roman Mithraists associated the number 10 with death and the underworld is not known. It is, however, highly probable on the ground that the Middle Persian scripture "Bunde- hesh" mentions multiples of the number 10 in connection with death and disease: the \* evil Angra Mainyu sends "1000 death-bringing demons" (ch. 3), and the same abyssal prince has created 10,000 different kinds of diseases (ch. 9). - In the Near East and India the number 10 is still considered an unlucky number. Indian strings of beads generally show odd numbers of beads; numbers of the type 10, 20, etc., are avoided when wearing jewelry. In the Egyptian Isis mysteries, 10 would have been a number associated with death. The adept had to fast for 10 days before his final consecration. This fast was seen as a symbol of the state of death, from which the mystic was then born to new life. According to the myth, there were ten rivers in the Greek kingdom of Hades. The cold water appears in late antique mystery religion as a symbol of death. The 'water of death' mentioned in folktales may originally have referred to the cold (and stagnant), the 'water of life' to the warm (and flowing). To this day, the magical term for the evocation of death is 'to make cold'. The same view must have been behind the choice of the name "ice" for the 10th rune. We have therein to see the rune sign of Health and Death.

In the Byzantine manuscript that I found, the abyss, which in late antiquity was thought to be the realm of the dead, is juxtaposed with the 10th letter of the Greek alphabet. It reads "the appearance (*apocalypse*) of the earth out of the abyss (*ek bytou* = *ἐκ βυτοῦ*)". The Coptic variant has "the waters" instead of

"the abyss", of course, refers to the waters of the deep. Late antique letter magic thus agrees on this point with my assumption that the 10th rune is associated with Hel and the

The tenth stanza of 'Odin's Troll Songs' refers to the 'tunridor', which could be forced by a galleon 'to the true home of its port'. The meaning here may be to send them to Hel. With "tunridor" it seems

/ could also refer to the spirits of the deceased, which according to Scandinavian

in folklore float in the air,, when the wind blows.

**11.** The eleventh rune G, (then of very variable form), the sign for the / sound, has been associated with a name meaning 'good year'. In Old Norse, the rune sign is called *dr*, a word derived from a Sam Germanic \**jéra* (cf. *Jahr* in German). The Anglo-Saxon name was *gér* = *gear*, the same word as the later English *year*. The Swedish word *ärbig*, 'year's growth', belongs to the same root. In the North, the god of the äring was above all Frey, the god of the sun and light, who is mentioned in Old Norse texts as *drǫgtid*. *Ǫ* an Eddic poem about Freyr and the giantess Gerd mentions 'eleven golden apples' as a gift from the god. In what is, to the uninitiated, an unjustified number 11, some have tried to see a linguistic distortion. However, both the best texts actually have the counting word *ellifu* here, and it is completely unnecessary to insert *ellifyfs* with a clever commentator and interpret the expression as "the apples of rejuvenation" (which, incidentally, belonged to Idun and not Frey). The poem

j The Edda in general has a prominent tendency for j to indicate numbers, usually due to the old mystical meaning of the counting words. In this case, an explanation in connection with the best textual basis also offers itself

to the harvest theory. According to this theory, the honor rune is the eleventh. As a god of honor, Frey should therefore have been associated by runic magic with the number 11: the eleven golden apples are a symbol of his fertility power. (Probably in Frey's saint the 11 apples have been presented like 4 loaves of bread in Tors.)

In my work "Late Antique Mystery Religion and Nordic Runic Magic" I have given some examples of how the number 11 has been associated with certain fertility rites even in fairly recent times in the North. Here I can give a new example. A folk tale from southern Skåne tells of a great "wizard" named Gjelle, who fled from Gislöv for the sake of the church bells. He was given "in

Österlandet" is visited by sailors from Skåne. He engages in conversation with them about his former homeland, and in particular he inquires about agricultural yields. It was better in the past, Gjelle thought: "in my time I got a lot more; for I plowed cubits deep and sowed quarters thick; then you should believe, grain grew on Gislöv's fields", he says and ends with the following self-righteous statement: "I would have left eleven memorial signs behind me, if I had been allowed to stay there longer." (Nicolovius; the counting word blocked by me when quoting.) These

"eleven memorials" should probably have referred to his work for the sake of the archangel. Both Old Norse poetry and South Scandinavian folk tales thus suggest that the number 11 magically

was associated with the pea. This can be satisfactorily explained if we assume that the number of the ring of honor was 11.

We find a striking counterpart to this in Late Antique book-syllable mysticism: in the Byzantine manuscript I found, the eleventh Greek letter *A* (*Α*) is juxtaposed with "the

germination' (*botanical island ekblastésis:*  
*βότανών ἐκβλάστησις*). The connection of the

number 11 with vegetation can also be traced in Persian.

"Bundehesh" (ch. 10) mentions that after the death of the primeval bull it grew out of the earth in eighteen-five kinds of grain, i.e. 5X11. Probably an older tradition, preserved among the Mithraists, had the number 11.

The eleventh stanza of "Odin's Troll Songs" refers to a mad that gives the singer the power to protect "friends", so that they 'unharmful travel from feud'. This is the only case in which the Edda poem mentioned above is likely to contain a significant distortion of the original. Freyr was both the god of friendship and of honor. In the former capacity he was associated with the 7th rune (ags. WAMM), in the latter with the rune of honor and the number 11. It is quite understandable that in the north, in a period when the 7th rune was no longer in use, the number 11 became Freyr's number also in his capacity as god of friendship and love.

**12.** The twelfth rune is - if we set up the sequence

in connection with the rune system of the alphabet bracteates - the character  $\Lambda$ . This has had a name, the oldest of which was *Ahwas* and meant 'yew' (Anglo-Saxon *éoh*). Earlier, relying on the somewhat older *Kylv errunrad*, I have assumed that this sign was the 13th (the  $\Lambda$ -sign [ $\Lambda$  stands on the *Kylv errune* between the *j*-rune  $\Lambda$  and the sign *j*'). All other runic

traditions are, however, in this case consistent with the *Vadstena-r* and *Grumpanbrakteaten* line of letters. In addition, the bracteate inscriptions, as I have already indicated, certainly have for

completed with some even older rune memorial of the same type as a model. It must therefore be considered extremely likely that the apparently carelessly carved *Kylver* rune row may offer one or another of haste or ignorance led reversal in the order of the characters. This is quite common in Latin alphabet inscriptions of the same magical type. (Vessels with rows of letters found in cemeteries often enough show defects in the order.) The person who engraved a stamp intended for casting has, if he happened to make a mistake, had the opportunity to discard a work that was deficient in some important respect. For the maker of a stone carving with a special magical purpose, an absolutely correct order might have seemed less important. The signs were not to be seen and criticized by others familiar with the rune line: The cooling stone has stood down in a covered grave.

We thus have good reason to assume that the rune called 'yew' (*jihAas* > ags. *éoh*) was the twelfth in the sequence of runes. The rune bears the name of a tree and may thus have originally come into being as a representative of the trees and the magic associated with them. In the Byzantine manuscript I found, there is an unambiguous counterpart. Here the twelfth Greek letter *M*  $\{\mu\}$  is combined with "fruit-bearing tree": *xyla karpofora*, (*ξύλα καρπο φόρα* (see fig. 16, 1β = 12 indicates the 12th letter, i.e.  $\mu$ ). It is quite natural that cereals and trees should come in succession.

If we then search for what the number 12 may have meant in runma-

gia, we get some hint in the Edda poem "Odin's Troll Songs".  
Of the twelfth gilder it is said (barring me):

"I know a twelfth:  
about a tree I see  
with a corpse turned for wind, I  
know so carve,  
so the runes color,  
that the dead person goes down,  
and that he mediates with me."

This would seem to refer to a bile (or spell), which was used at the same time as the runes were incised into the tree and then colored (perhaps with blood) for better effect. The twelfth rune (n is therefore likely to have referred to the magic associated with trees, and to have been named after a representative tree of religious significance, the yew. Since the letter j for Mjudet was needed for the 16th rune (fornisl. *Tyr* etc.), the rune-writer could not make use of his language's word for trees in general, which began with *t* (cf. fornl. *tre*, got. *triu* etc.), but had to apply the rule *pars pro toto*, a fairly common phenomenon in magic (as well as poetry). The deity associated with this tree rune can, as far as the Scandinavian north is concerned, be assumed to have been the god Ull, since we know, among other things, that his dwelling, the first mentioned in the poem "Grim-nismal", was called *Ydalir*, i.e. 'the valleys of the ivy'. If, as I have supposed, these Eddan names of deities' dwellings refer to the 'house' of the zodiac (see ch. 3 of 'Late Antique Mystery Religion'), there may also be another connection with the Late Antique world of imagination. A twelve-branched fruit tree was one of the symbols of the zodiac. Such a tree is referred to in the 22nd chapter of Revelation, which speaks of a "tree of life" that produces "twelve fruits, one every month" (this is what the original Greek says; our latest Bible translation, on the other hand, speaks of "trees of life that yield twelve harvests"). This idea of the zodiac as a twelve-branched tree is related to the 'world tree' found in many mythologies.

the tree'. It is possible that the Mithraists thought of this as a cypress, the sacred tree of the Persians. (The cypress produces berry cones.) The closest equivalent has been found in the yew tree. According to Fritz Löffler, the large tree at the Uppsala pagan temple was a yew. The fact that the number 12 in Mithraic number mysticism had to do with fruit trees is, with regard to the Persian religion, highly probable. 1 "Bunde-hesh" (ch. 10) says that after the killing of the bull, fifty-five (=5X11) kinds of grain grew (cf. above) and in addition "twelve health-giving plants". This probably originally meant fruit-bearing trees and shrubs. A hint of this lies in the fact that in the preceding (ch. 3) there is talk of a

'healing fruit', which Ormuzd tears apart. Later (in ch. 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" were also oaks, firs, birches, etc.

In the mythology of the Lapps, we have a clear counterpart to the North Germanic Ull, namely the "elf man" (Leibolmai). Like Ull, he is thought to carry a bow. His sacred animal is the bear. That Ull was, among other things, a god of the hunt is attested in Old Norse literature: Snorri calls him *veidi-äss* ('god of the hunt'). That among the North Germans the bear was sacred to the patron god of the hunt seems quite likely, although no Old Norse text mentions Ull in connection with the bear (as does Odin with the wolf, Freyr with the boar, etc.). Thor, Ull's stepfather, is however sporadically mentioned *Bigrn*, 'bear'. In Norse folklore, the bear is associated with the 12th century, in that he is said to possess "twelve-man strength" or "ten-man strength and twelve-man wit". It cannot be ruled out that old numerical symbolism may be the basis for these expressions used in Sweden and Norway.

1 magic spells recorded in Scandinavia, the number 12 does not occur very often. As a rule, however, it is related to Christian beliefs (12 apostles, 12 angels and the like). In a Swedish black arts book it is prescribed to extinguish a soot fire by taking 12 (3, 4 and 5) pieces of garlic cut into small pieces and sprinkling them over the charred wood ("Sal-

monic magical arts'). This may be related to 12 as the number associated by runic magic with trees and wood. An Anglo-Saxon spell, intended to be used to prevent bees from flying to the forest (*to wudu*), consists of two stanzas with 12 words in each (a text editor has admittedly inserted the word *and* in the 2nd stanza, but this is a completely arbitrary change). The fact that the number 12 is divided into 3, 4 and 5 in the aforementioned Swedish magic rule may possibly be due to the fact that the number was originally distributed as 7-4-5: the number 7 has, as I pointed out above, significance in light and fire operations (cf. the distribution 8 + 9 under 17). ■.

13. The third rune in the outcrop sequence is, if we follow the bracteate rune lines, the sign [^ (so on the Grumpan bracteate, the Vadsten bracteate, on the other hand, has in the same place a variant of

d-rune). This character has had a ninth beginning with *p* and was once used to indicate the /" sound. In

the Scandinavian peoples, however, already in the older runic period it came out of practice and is found in the north only

in purely formulaic inscriptions. How this oldest form of the sign's name should be regarded is a highly controversial issue. The Gothic letter tradition gives the word *pertra* as the name of the p-sound sign. The Anglo-Saxon rune song connects the /" rune with *peord*, a word of uncertain (possibly Celtic) origin. However, some (both older and younger) records<sup>1</sup> of Anglo-Saxon runic names found by me in English and German libraries (the oldest from the 9th century) have the forms *pert*, *perc* or *perd*. In medieval handwriting, *c* is a very common misspelling for *t*. The same is true of *d* for *t* in word endings, when a German recorder is involved. Considering that a manuscript in the British Museum shows the form of the name *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 considered 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 reflex of a Germanic heritage word. The older Germanic languages have been very poor in words, |



(incipient withp. It is therefore possible, not to say probable, that the rune-writer chose a non-Germanic word as the name for the /" character, which at the time of the origin of the runic writing was known in his relatively small language area or his temporary environment. The fact that the /" sign disappeared as a practically used book spelling already during the older runic period in the North, indicates that people became uncertain about its name, perhaps confusing it with a similar



Avb. 18. Birth of Mithras.

sounding words, beginning with *b*. Now, both the Romans and the Greeks had a word *petra* with the meaning 'rock, stone'. In the Gothic literary tradition, such a word could, through mispronunciation or misremembering, have given rise to the form *perla* alongside *petra*, and by combining the two forms, the written form *pertra* could have been created.

According to the Mithraic myth, Mithras was born "of klip pan" (*ἐκ πέτρας*). Many sculptures have been found in the Roman camps and elsewhere depicting this god-birth.

see. In a few cases, the signs of the zodiac constellations are depicted

in a ring enclosing the whole. This has given some scholars (including me) the idea that the "stone" actually meant the firmament (cf. above under 8). In most cases, however, the birth of Mithras is presented without this zodiacal ring. And where it is present, it constitutes only a decorative frame, the god is seen rising not immediately from the ring but from a piece of rock behind it (cf. fig. 18). Undoubtedly, moreover, a stranger who was only superficially familiar with the Mithraic mysteries would have understood the expression "the god out of the rock"

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(ο ὕεόζεέκ πέτρας) from the wording and would have seen in him a being born of the earth.

Now there is? there is a hint that with Mithraism liberated late antique letter mysticism connected the 13th character of the Greek alphabet with one of the products of the earth, probably perceived as a symbol of its generative power, the earth's ability to feed. The Greek text "Etymology of the Alphabet", already mentioned, states that the w-sound character  $\nu$  ( $\nu$ ), the 13th in **t h e** alphabet, is named after *nan*, which means bread, since "the Persians call bread (*ἀρτον*) *nan* (*weave*)". The word *persai* (*πέροαι*) is admittedly corrupted in the poorly preserved text (the 3rd letter from the end has been dropped), but since the Persians actually still call 'bread' *nan*, a textual correction is justified. This case, among others, shows that Greek alphabetic speculation was influenced by the Near East. The transmission in this case must have been through Mithraism and the associated mysticism of letters. We also have to assume that this speculation combined the second letter with cereals (fodder plants, etc.), the twelfth with trees (fruit trees) and the third with bread (or some other related symbol). We see here a naturally coherent sequence of mystical representations of letters. In alphabet magic, each letter would have been associated with a divine or demonic power. In late antiquity, the representative of the primordial female power to receive and give birth was the goddess Demeter, the 'mother of seed'. Bread or flour is referred to in Greek as "Demeter's seed" (*Λημῆτερος ἀκτῆ*). Demeter was a counterpart of the Persian-Babylonian goddess Anāhita-Ishtar, the chief fertility deity of the Mithraic cult developed in the Near East. In the Roman form of this originally Persian-Babylonian cult, this fertility goddess also merged with the originally Phrygian Kybele, usually called Magna mater (the Great Mother). Of some interest is that as this divinity in Asia Minor a black meteor stone was worshipped, which in 204 BC was brought to Rome ('the great mother'). In view of the late antique mystical and magical perception of Demeter-Kybele, it is highly probable that the 13th letter could be perceived as having significance for generation and birth. In connection with

the expression used in Mithraism "the stone (rock) of birth", *petra gencseōs* (πέτρα γενέσεωρ) may have originated from the common name *petra*.

Demeter's and Magna Mater's counterpart in Germanic mythology was of course the goddess Earth, also called *Fiorgytt* in Icelandic. This name is related to the Gothic word *fairguni*, 'mountain, rock'. Since the /-sign was needed for the 24th rune (cf. below), the rune-writer has not been able to use the goddess's particularly Germanic name. If he turned instead to Latin or Greek word material, *petra*, πέτρα, 'rock', should have been the closest to hand.

Ī the following essay on Lappish sorcery will show that a certain stone (*lausnarsteinn*) was used by the Norse for magical purposes in childbirth. The figure, which on the Lappish magic drums of pagan type seems most likely to correspond to the 13th rune sign, refers to a birth goddess (Madder- akka).

The thirteenth stanza of the Edda poem "Odin's Troll Songs" may also refer to magic, associated with a birth ceremony:

"A thirteenth I can  
with power to give  
for the arrow, which I have  
watered, lest he should fall,  
however the battle threatens;  
He shall not be put to the sword."

It is easy to assume that the intention is to persuade the goddess of birth to grant a secure  
' life course for a newborn, recently waterless baby boy. (Water  
' Baptism was not a particularly Christian ceremony.)

The number 13 is generally regarded as an unlucky number in our time. If we study ancient magic, however, we find that 13 was by no means always regarded as unfavorable. In discus magic and mysticism, for example, 13 was an important, but by no means distinctly unlucky number. From a statement in the 2nd

In Exodus (34, 6 f.), the rabbinical exegesis concluded that 13 was God's own creation, that there were 13 tables in the temple and that the holy land was divided into 13 parts, the 13th of which, according to the Talmud (Baba bathra 122), was to be given to the Messiah. The fact that 13 has become an unfortunate number in the Christian world is apparently mainly due to the fact that among the 13 at the communion table one was a traitor and one (Messias-Jesus) was betrayed and killed. The superstitious horror of the thirteen at the table undoubtedly stems from this circumstance.

Nor is there any evidence that the number 13 in the older runes was an accidental number. An examination of the known

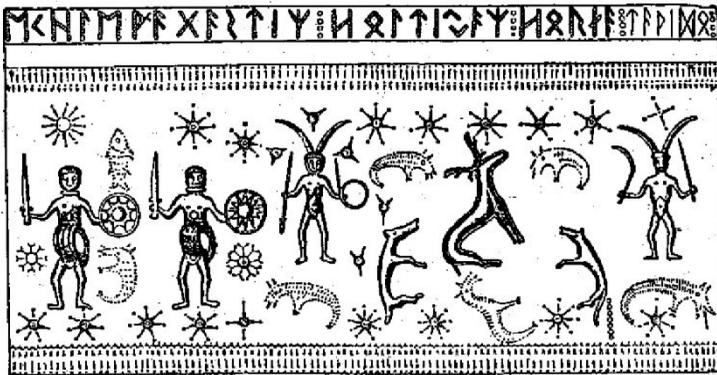


Fig. 19. Top ring of the rung gold horn from Gallehus.

inscription on the gold horn from Gallehus, shows that this, in the event that it was a numerical value counting - and therein indicate i. a. the complicated punctuation marks -, was arranged to emphasize the number 13. 9 of my book "Late Antique Mystery Religion and Norse Runic Magic".

Previously I have assumed the number 13 to be the number of the god Ull. If, however, the idegrans rune has been the 12th character in the harrow, the aforementioned assumption is no longer to be reckoned with. In such a case, a more likely explanation can be sought in connection with the above-mentioned 13th stanza in "Odin's Troll Songs": the horn may have been dedicated to the gods, so that the giver would not "be blessed by the sword". Moreover, the number 13 has just

was in the name of the great man who had it made. The runemaster has therefore ensured that the sum of the value of all the characters is also a multiple of the number 13 ( $390 = 30 \times 13$ ). He has achieved this by using an extra trick: the use of quadruple punctuation marks (single or double would normally have been enough). These circumstances explain that the inscription, despite its simple wording - "I HlewagastiR of Holt made the horn" (see fig. 19) - is associated with rather complicated gematria: 13 is part of 3 different sign groups' numerical values and is also found in the first runic group's sign sum (*ekhlewagastiR* = 4.3 runes). In the later runic period, it seems that only the number of signs was counted, whereas in older times, following a more or less similar Greek example, the numerical values of the signs were mainly taken into account in magical inscriptions (*alu* =  $3 + 20 + 1 = 24$  etc.). A very instructive example is the magical inscription on the Lindholm amulet, which I will discuss in the following. However, there are also some inscriptions from the Old Runic period, where the number of signs was the essential or the only significant factor. Among the Greeks of late antiquity both methods were used, sometimes simultaneously (this is the case on the Lindholm amulet and also - as we shall see - on the golden horn from Gallehus, cf. under 18).

In modern magical practices in Scandinavia, the number 13 still appears in some cases in connection with the induction of a birth process. In Skåne, a laying hen is laid on 13 eggs and a Tuesday (Eva Wigström). A Swedish black art book ("Solomon's magical arts") prescribes that, in order to get a snake to give birth to a so-called "snake stone", one should tightly tie it at the navel with a cord of black silk, made of 13 threads.

**14.** As the fourteenth character in the utharkraden we have in connection with all runic memorials to count the rune  $\gamma$ , in the north used as a designation for a word-ending r-sound (in transcription rendered with *R*). At first sight, it may seem as if on the Grumpan Bracteate (see fig. 3) the character  $\psi$  has been exchanged with Ingru- nan, the 21st outward sign (0 on the Vadsten Bracteate).

In my opinion, however, and that of other scholars, we are dealing here with an incongruity: the character <ζ> has been placed on a rod and thus given the form ψ, but on the bracteate the upper part of the top of the character has been hidden under the frame edge. The same fate has befallen the adjoining A-rune, so that both characters appear as ψ y instead of y ξ. It should be noted that the g character y is in its normal place. The rune y, however, is completely obliterated. If the pendant had not been damaged in the place where the signs yy are to be expected, the same types would certainly have appeared here as on the Vadsten abacus. There can therefore be no doubt about the order of the rune y: it is the 15th in the futhark line and thus the 14th in the uthark line. To determine the original name of the rune is, however, difficult, since in the North the character has taken over the name of the <sup>zAwA</sup> rune {yr} and within the Gothic letter line has probably received a newly formed name with s inside the word. In the Anglo-Saxon runic song, the sign y is called *eolhx*. From having been a designation for the tone de s (= + or a related sound at the end of an ord, it has in Anglo-Saxon been used as a sign for ks {x}. According to von Friesen, the new sound value has been added to the original name *eolh*, 'moose', (from the Western German \**elkas*). In an Anglo-Saxon rune inscription I found in the British Museum, arranged in connection with the characters of the Latin alphabet, there is a rune with the name *xelach* after the M-sign, i.e. as the sign for x. Here the new sound value has been set for the original name. In German libraries I have encountered the forms of the name: *helach* = x (Heidelberg, 2nd century, Bamberg, 2nd century), cLr and *elux* (Munche, 2nd century), *elcd* (Munche 9th century, A-sign, enär after u). With von Friesen I assume that the Anglo-Saxon runic tradition has reshaped a name meaning 'elk', used in Scandinavia as a designation for the Ä-sound {<sup>^</sup>*algiR*} occurring at the end of words. Is this also the original name of the rune? I have previously assumed that this name with the meaning of 'moose' displaced a similar, over time incomprehensible god-name \**alhis*: *Alcis* in Tacitus, the name of a deity worshipped by the ancient Germanic tribes.

brothers, compared by Tacitus with Castor and Pollux, the the so-called Dioscuri. These were star divinities. One constellation, the Twins, was named after them. In antiquity, stars were used as emblems of the Dioscuri, usually two of them (sometimes two mice each adorned with a star). We also know that the Dioscuri were eagerly worshipped by the Roman Mithraists.

That the 14th Greek letter has had some connection with the concept of the star is clear from the Greek scripture "Etymology of the alphabet". Here Ξ (ξ), *xi*, the 14th character of the alphabet, is combined with the word *aster*, 'star', preceded by an adjective denoting something sword-shaped. A related noun (*xifias*: ξιφίας) is mentioned in Greek literature as referring to a comet (a sword-like star). The fact that the Greek alphabetic writing made a compilation with such a special name for a celestial body is apparently due to the fact that they wanted a word beginning with the sound compound *ks* (*x*), which was rendered with the 14th letter sign (ξ). We therefore have good reason to suspect that the 14th character was originally magically associated with the stars. In the Byzantine document I found, the 13th letter is associated with a word *φωστήρ-ρες* (*fōstéres*), which in late antique Greek (e.g. in the New Testament) has the meaning 'stars'. The alphabetic-mystical system described in the Byzantine document, which is also essentially preserved in the Coptic edition mentioned above, is, however, based - probably in connection with Semitic book-syllable magic - on a simplified Greek alphabet, in which the double consonant signs, ξ (*ks*) and ψ (*ps*), have been omitted. The desired 22 characters have been obtained (as in the alphabets of Hebrew and other Semitic languages). The 14th and 23rd letters (ξ and ψ) have thus been removed. If the 14th letter had a particularly important function in a model that had a complete Greek alphabet, it may have been transferred to the 13th letter.

The aim here was to adapt the alphabet to the various stages of a creation story. This creation story is consistent with

however, as already mentioned, more closely with the Iranian than with the Jewish. According to "Bundehesh" (ch. 1), Ahura Mazda created first the heavens, then the waters, then the earth, then the plants and animals, lastly man. The sequence of events thus parallels the Jewish creation story in Genesis, but differs even at the beginning in that Ahura Mazda creates the water after he has created the heavens and before he has created the earth. This is consistent with 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 is called "the heavens", the second "the abyss" (a creation of Angra Mainyus, Ahriman), the third "the waters", and the fourth "the earth". In Genesis it is written: "In the beginning God created heaven and earth". Even more clearly the Coptic-Greek alphabetic combination differs from Genesis in that the stars are mentioned as having been created before the sun and moon, an order which is found in Bundehesh (ch. 2), where it is said that between heaven and earth Ahura Mazda created light, first fixed stars and planets, then the moon, and lastly the sun (the planets then fell off and came into conjunction with Angra Mainyu, ch; 3) In Genesis, the great lights (sun and moon) are mentioned first, then the stars. The Byzantine manuscript and its parallel, the Coptic translation, also differ from the Genesis account in terms of the order in which the animals were created (see below).

What interests us most is the fact that the stars were associated with a letter that preceded the one associated with the sun and moon (the great lights). This was of course the case in the original, and judging from the Greek text "Etymology of the Alphabet" (cf. above), this letter was the 14th' (Ϸ). This letter was removed 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 (r) has been combined with what originally belonged to the 14th letter (Ϸ). The 15th letter (o) becomes

then by the 14th (£) being substituted for the 14th and combined, as we shall see, with the sun and moon.

From what has been said so far, it is clear that there is a high probability that the rune maker had, as a pattern in Late Antique lettering, an alphabetic arrangement in which the 14th letter (£) was combined with the stars or with the dioscurei, which had stars as their emblem. If we choose the latter alternative, it fits well with my hypothesis of *\*alhis* (= *Alcis*) as the original runic name. However, the first alternative is by no means ruled out, but it can only be upheld on the condition that the runic rune maker associated the rune with a certain constellation instead of stars. This may in that case have been the constellation of Gemini, which may have been called *\*alhis*, but it may just as well have been some other constellation significant for the fixed star sky, which in that case should have been called "The Elk". We would then have a reflex of the original name in the Anglo-Saxon runic name (> urnord. *\*algiA*. Unfortunately, very little is known about the names of constellations by ancient Germans and Scandinavians. That such with purely domestic (typically Germanic pagan) names existed, however, is evident from sparsely preserved Swedish and Icelandic tradition. Furthermore, the Lapps have borrowed a lot from the Scandinavian Germanic peoples in earlier times. Several of their constellation names should thus be taken over from names used among the Germanic Northmen during pagan times. It is therefore of interest that the Lapps actually know of a large constellation, which they call *Sarv* = "The Elk". According to an 18th century dictionary (Lindahl and Öhring), *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 the stars of Cassiopeia, Perseus and the Cuscus (the latter constellation is immediately next to Gemini, the Dioscurei zodiac sign). The moose is not a particularly typical Lappish animal; its actual range is in central Scandinavia. (In the first centuries of our era, the moose was also found in the areas inhabited by southern Germans.

countries, even on the Balkan Peninsula.) On Lappish troll drums, a figure appears which is clearly recognizable as a moose and is even said by Lapps to represent one. This moose is usually found very close to the sign of the sun. In ancient times

it was positioned on the sun's upward ray or 'path' (see Fig. 20). This

may be due to the fact that the two runic names with the meanings "If \**algiR*, 'moose', was the original name of the 14th utharkrunan, then the rune-maker has proceeded according to the *pars pro toto* principle in choosing the name (as in a previous case, when a name with the meaning 'yew' was used to represent the trees).

However, even though this run sign was originally

had a name meaning 'moose', to count on it, that the sign

have been associated with a particular mythological image.

We know that animals were symbols of Norse gods: the horse for

Odin, the boar for Frey, the son for Freyja, etc. Above I have assumed that the bear was the sacred animal of the hunting god Ull. Perhaps the horned big game, the elk and the deer, were sacred to the [ Germanic Dioscuri, the divine in the pair of brothers mentioned by Tacitus, who in the Scandinavian north once seemed to be the

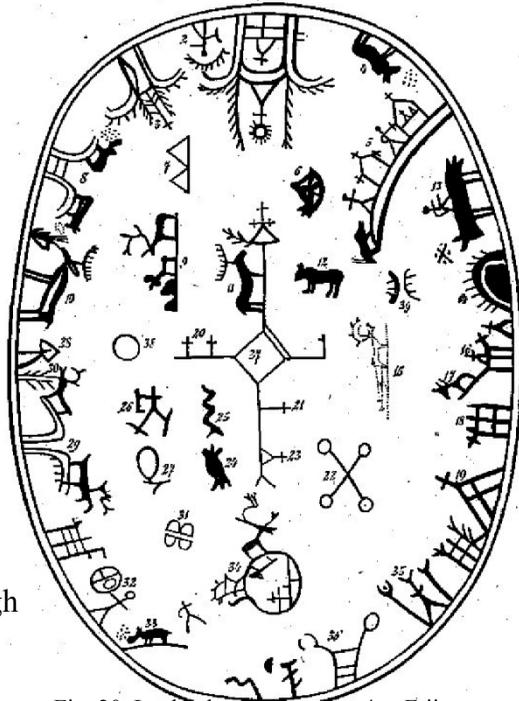


Fig. 20. Lapland troll drum, no. 4 at Friis  
(11 - the sun's moose).

i (Enmity and competition between two twin gods is an ancient  
i idea in Indo-European myth and also elsewhere.) In an  
' admittedly Christian poem filled with ancient mystical imagery,  
"The sun song", spoken of an animal of clear astral character:

"The deer of the sun  
from the sun went there;  
two of them were there."

It is not impossible that in the poem at this point a  
reminiscence has lingered from the world of pagan myth. The  
"stag of the sun" (in older times possibly the "moose of the  
sun") may have been thought to be alternately tamed by two  
divine brothers: the Old Germanic Dioscuri. In all Indo-  
European myth, the Dioscuri appear in close connection with  
the sun. That Balder was a divinity of the year and light in the  
North seems to be quite clear. In my opinion, Höder was his  
counterpart: the dark Dioscuri. (The ancient Dioscuri were  
thought to represent the light and dark parts of the celestial  
sphere.) It is likely that Balder was originally thought to rule  
i during the light part of the year, his counterpart, the "blind"  
j (actually  
[ "dark") Heights, however, under the dark one. In a study of  
astrology and Icelandic poetry, I have shown that certain purely  
astronomical reasons suggest that Balder's castle, mentioned in  
the Edda  
; "Bredablick" was the constellation Gemini, which included the  
sun when high summer was about to begin (see chapter 3 of my  
book "Late Antique Mystery Religion and Norse Runic  
Magic").

In the Edda, the stanza about the fourteenth of Odin's troll  
songs refers to knowledge of gods and elves. "Such things  
many a wise man knows not", ends the rather obscure  
statement. In my opinion, there is no unreasonableness in  
assuming here an allusion of star knowledge. I

Gylfaginning is mentioned, that gods and  
light elves lived in different places in the heavens; the light  
elves of Alfhem, who are referred to in an Edda poem as the  
god

Freyr's heavenly abode. The same passage in Gylfaginning refers to Odin's dwelling place as 'Valaskalv'. It also mentions "Bre dablick" and other places known from the Poetic Edda as the abodes of the gods. The "Himmelberg", Heimdall's settlement, is said to be located where the bridge Bifrost "touches the sky".

Runic inscriptions with clearly visible letter magic linked to the number 14 are rare. Possibly there is a case of such runic magic in a section of the Smokestone, which I have interpreted as referring to Balder (see "The Cipher Riddles of the Smokestone and Other Runological Problems").

**15.** The fifteenth rune <sup>^</sup>, the sign of the s-sound, has a name which in all preserved traditions shows the meaning 'sun': fornisl. *sol* etc. Anglo-Saxon sources usually give *si-gel* as the name of the s-rune (*sigil* in the manuscript I found in the British Museum). The meaning of this word is indirectly evident from a number of adjective and noun formations (e.g. the word for 'heliotrope' - 'sun turn', etc.). In runic name records of Anglo-Saxon origin, which I have found in German libraries, (there is the following evidence: *suhil* (Heidelberg, Ike årh, and Bamberg, 13th century), *sigo* (Munich, 11th century), *sol* (variant in the same manuscript), *sZZ* (somewhat indistinct, Munich, 9th century). The rune line in which *sol* appears as the name of the s-rune shows some other rune names of non-Anglo-Saxon type: e.g. *naut* (next to *nef*). Since the 15th day of the Aegean monthly calendar was dedicated to Ahura Mazda and the 16th to Mithra, there could already have been a motive for Mithraic letter-magic to associate the 15th alphabetic character with the sun. In ancient Babylonia, Shamash (the sun) and were united into a twin divinity.

However, the Greek-Semitic alphabet mysticism, independent of Mithraism, apparently also played a decisive role. The 15th Greek letter was the o sign: *o*. This 1 round sign offers an image of the contour of the solar disk. It ( goes back in its order . to an ancient round-shaped Sejmite sign called 'eye' (Hebrew '*ajin*', whose original form, however, has been greatly altered). Thus, for a literary magician, a compilation with so-

or the full moon. In magical language, the sun and moon have been related to the two eyes of the human body since ancient times. The Egyptians regarded the sun as the right eye of the god Amun Res and the moon as his left. In the Paris manuscript I found, where, as mentioned, the 14th character ζ of the normal alphabet was removed from the alphabet line, the 14th letter, i.e. the o-sign, is associated with "the sun and the moon" (*ἥλιος και σελήνη*). In a model, which like the rune line had 24 characters, the same letter, but with the order number **15**, should thus have been associated with the sun. We also know from other sources that the fifth letter of the Greek alphabet was treated as a sun sign. 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 <sup>^</sup> (variant *p*). That the rune wheel designer in choosing the name of the 15th sign in the sequence of letters was based on a late antique model, is obvious to those who unintentionally assess the facts. It cannot be a coincidence that a sign with the ordinal number 15 both in late antique letter mysticism and in runic magic is associated with the sun, when a series of other equivalents can be demonstrated, including such an obvious parallel as in the case of the second letter (cf. above).

That the Persian religion, which also received influence from elsewhere, equated the magical influence of the sun with the number 15, is evident with some probability from a passage in "Bunde- hesh". Chapter 15 of this book mentions that the first human couple was born from the original human seed, 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 people were like 15-year-olds. It is likely that the numerical symbolism underlying this position, counted on a 15-year inversion of the sun.

That the number 15 in Nordic magic was associated with the sun, seems to me to be implied in the fifteenth stanza of the Edda poem "The Troll Songs of Odin":

"I know a fifteenth, as  
 Tjodröre told me, the dwarf  
 at Delling's door. He power  
 sang to donkeys,  
 for general happiness,  
 abundant 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 myth, Delling was the father of Dæg. Those familiar with astrological speculation will also see in the latter half of the stanza an allusion to the sun and its magical power. This royal planet has been attributed by astrologers to the ability to give strength and power. Furthermore, the sun, the planet of Apollo, the god of wisdom, was considered to be the celestial power that bestowed the gifts of reason. A reflex of this belief seems to have penetrated even into the North Germanic mediation. According to information from 1727, they sacrificed to the sun specifically to cure insanity ("mangell '+§Tförstånd", Sidenius, also Forbus).

Among the runic inscriptions, consisting of 15 characters, the runic line on the large gold ring from Pietroassa is notable: *gutaniowihailag*. The most reasonable interpretation of this apparently sacred inscription would be: 'the Gothic temple treasure (is) inviolable'. The semi-circular row of runes has been divided into two groups, one with 9 runes (*gutaniowi*) and one with 6 runes (*hailag*). This may have been done to emphasize the number of Ananke and the offering as well as that of the sun (9 + 6 = 15). An intimate connection between the sun and gold was found in ancient speculation (in alchemy, for example, the astrological sign of the sun was used to denote gold). For many peoples, the ring is also a sun symbol and was used in sun sacrifices. The Lapps, for example, offered a brass ring to the sun; in reindeer bones, a ring was placed in a ring, etc. (Leem, Reuter-["skiöld).

A Danish spell, intended to subdue the fairy queen ("Ellekonen"), reads:

"Ellekone! Ellekone! is you in here,  
Then you'll have to come out here on fifteen oak sticks!"

If this was said, the 'Ellekonen' (Thiele) appeared. As the tree of the god of lightning, the oak, a very important plant in magic, has been associated with fire and the sun. The sun rune has undoubtedly belonged to the antidemonic signs. The fact that fifteen oak sticks are mentioned in the formula may have its origin in the successful number mysticism of an earlier period. However, the number may also have arisen as an amplification ( $3 \times 5$ ) of the number 5, the number of the torch rune and fire.

**16.** The sixteenth rune  $\psi$ , the sign for Mjudet, is the rune of the god Tyr. Runic names from various quarters / signify this (fornisl. *Tyr* etc.). In the Avestian-Persian [ monthly calendar the 16th day was dedicated to the god Mithra, like Tyr a god of victory. In the Eddic poem about | Sigurd and the Valkyrie (Sigrdrifumäl) this rune is referred j to as the "victory rune": its name (*Tyr*) is to be mentioned I twice and carved in three places on the sword. In this way, the magical operation takes into account the speech of both thursar and god. That it should be carved in three places, corresponds to the 3rd stanza of "Odin's Troll Songs" (cf. above under 3). That Tyr was related to Thursar is indicated in the Edda poem about the visit to the giant Hymir. Mithras' role as god of victory is particularly emphasized in Roman Mithraism. He was usually called 'the undefeated god' (*Deus Invictus*) and was apparently the chief patron of soldiers. That his number was 16 is attested not only by the Avestian-Persian calendar, but also by several Mithraic amulets preserved to the present day. On these there is 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 (the *ΜειΟρας*^ z sound probably signed with *ει* for a speech-mystical reason, cf. above p. 14). That in the Hellenic world a god's sacred speech was the speech of his day is a relationship 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 number was 4, so this number was held for his, etc. according to the same principle, Mithras' number was 16. The closest equivalent to the "undefeated god" of Mithraism for the rune-writer must have been Tyr, the foremost god of victory of the Germanic peoples at the time. Incidentally, as already mentioned, we know from Ed dan that Tyr's rune was the "victory rune". Odin was at the time of the origin of the rune writing by all accounts

mainly a god of sorcery and death. He probably first acquired the character of a god of victory among the Viking warrior kings, whose chief sacrificial god he was.

Since the sacred documents of Mithraism have been lost through systematic persecution by the Christians, there are only direct hints that Mithra in Greek letter magic was put together with the 16th character of the alphabet ( $\pi$ ). In the Paris manuscript I found (as well as in the Coptic parallel text), the letter  $\pi$ , which by deleting the character  $\zeta$  became the 15th, is put together with "the setting of the sun and moon ( $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\iota\varsigma$ ) in the sky". This suggests that been in trouble to fill a gap. All probability indicates, that once

In the past, purely Mithraic alphabet mysticism linked the 16th letter (out of 24 characters) to Mithra, who is so **c l o s e l y** associated with the sun.

However, there is no complete lack of evidence that the 16th Greek letter ( $\Pi$ ) was a symbol of Mithra. On a Mithraic coin from Tarsus (Fig. 21) there are two isolated ZZ-characters, perhaps referring to Mithra, whose image is on the other side of the coin. Of greater interest is a Greek inscription from semi-ancient times found at Maschtala in Near Asia in 1899. The inscription in question is placed at the bottom of a large

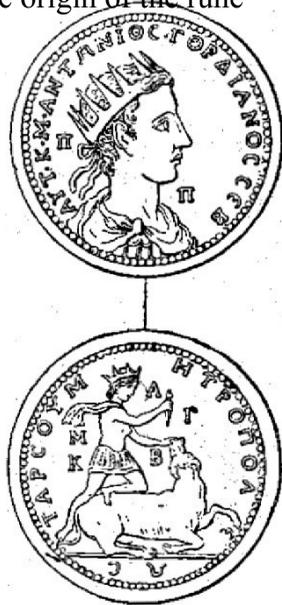


Fig. 21. Coins from Tarsus.

stone slab on which is depicted in relief Mithra standing on a bull being attacked by a two-headed serpent, the symbol of the demonic (see fig. 22). The inscription reads: 'The "great godFÖ"!'. The 24th ( $\omega$ ) and 16th ( $\pi$ ) letters of the Greek alphabet thus form a mystical formula, indicating the name of the god. Since in late antique magic Mithra and Abraxas-Aion were put together (cf. the preceding), I think there are good reasons to see here an allusion to this double divinity.  $\Omega$ , which in its number 24 indicates the number of all letters, must have been understood as a symbol for

(Abraxas, the deity of the year and the alphabet, for whom the serpent and



Fig. 22. Mashtalastene.

the circle, both recalling the 24th Greek letter, especially in the form of  $\omega$ , are well-marked emblems. Mithras has been added to the symbol of Abraxas: in view of his number 16, he has been grouped with the 16th letter, i.e.  $\Pi$ . It is true that some scholars would like to see the Minor Asian god Jupiter Dolichenus instead of Mithras in the Mashtala plate. However, there is no evidence whatsoever that Dolichenus sacrificed a bull. And in this case it is undoubtedly a bull sacrifice. The back of the bull has sunk to the ground, and just as on the Roman Mithraic monuments, the body of the sacrificial animal is attacked during

from of a war animal /a symbol.for . the. evil). The fact that this newly discovered Asian Mithraic representation is of a different type from the previously known Hellenic-Roman Mithraic images is understandable enough. These were actually made on the model of the bull-killing Nike. In Near Asia, a different development of the pictorial motif is to be expected. Moreover, in this case we are dealing with an offshoot of Mithra, the Abraxas-Mithra of magic and literalism.

Because of the statement in the Eddic poem *Sigrdrifumäl* about the sign of the god Tyr (the victory rune, cf. above), one should expect to find letter magic with the number 16 on weapons, especially swords:

"Battle runes teach you  
- they are required for  
victory - on the hilt of the  
sword they way."

(The stanza has been considered in its entirety above under 3, the original has "victory runes" for "battle runes"). The only surviving sword with a longer runic inscription is a short sword found in the Thames River (Fig. 6): here, however, there seems to be a letter magic with the number 17, because the owner's name began with the  $\delta$ -rune (*Beagnop*). 'A piece of bone found a few years ago in the Weser River seems to have been intended as a handle for a stabbing weapon. According to my calculation, the numerical value of all the signs is  $13 \times 16$ . The numbers of Tyr and Mithra may therefore be the same here. Concerning the authenticity of this find the scientific discussion is not yet finished (see my work "The cipher riddles of the smokestone and other runological problems"). In Scandinavia there are no rune-marked weapons with longer inscriptions. What little there is is also uncertainly legible and may be incompletely preserved (e.g. the Stabu spear inscription). Some letter formulas, which are given in the Icelandic black book published by Nat. Lindqvist, could possibly be connected with the number 16 as the speech of the sword god Tyr. In the Icelandic writing, a spell is given against all kinds of danger. This is said to work, among other things, that "no sword

may harm" the bearer. The formula consists of 16 rods, 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 letters + the Z-rune, in which case we have to reckon with a parallel to the formula mentioned under 7 (7 letters + the w-rune). The last 2 characters of the formula should be the Å-rows: these together form the number 16 (8 + 8).

Another, in the same black art book announced formula consists of 2 X 16 rods and said to provide protection against enemies (damage from enemies). Two Norwegian formulas for "overcoming" and "destroy" enemies (at Bang) each consist of 16 characters.

In the Eddic verse that is said to refer to Odin's sixteenth troll song, there is no reference to battle and victory other than

$\begin{array}{l} \wedge \wedge \acute{O} - CO - X - fo? P : \\ J > : \acute{O} : O : f : o ' \beta H - \phi \end{array}$	<p>in the erotic sense: to win a woman's favor by "turn her hope". As the subsequent 17th stanza is defective and the 17th rune, as we shall see below, has</p>
<p>Avb. 23. Icelandic spell against suffering and danger.</p>	

had significance for the woman, it is possible that the magic song mentioned in the text as the "sixteenth" was originally the 'seventeenth' (the alliteration is the same in both cases). It is not entirely necessary, however, to assume a confusion as to the order of this verse. In late antique magic formulas of a similar erotic meaning there are allusions to the god of battle Ares-Mars, and in Swedish folklore preserved to late times, Tuesday - the day of Mars and Tyr - have a certain importance for the female. I have already mentioned above

mentioned such a case, that the hen should be laid on eggs on a Tue day (cf. under 13).

17. The seventeenth rune £, the sign for the  $\delta$ -sound, was associated in the Germanic letter traditions with a name, meaning 'birch' or 'birch twig' (fornisl. *biarkan* etc.). In the Avestian-Persian lunar calendar the 17th day was dedicated to Mithra's brother Sraosha. His emblem was a bundle of rice. As since ancient times <sup>JieJigaAijstar</sup> scouted em

magic, especially in fertility rites, it is possible that the rune-maker in Sraosha's rice bundle assumed a symbol of the same meaning as that of the birchbark in the ancient Germanic folk magic. (In the north, birchbark was used in fertility magic even today).

However, the fact that the 17th rune was given a name that can be understood as a fertility symbol may have a direct connection with late antique letter magic. In the Paris manuscript I have found, the 17th Greek letter  $\rho$  (there, for the reason already mentioned, the 16th) is associated with "the fishes" ( $\text{Ιχθύες} = \text{ichthyes}$ ). There are many indications that in this case we could be dealing with a remnant of a very old alphabet tradition. In the Semitic alphabet, the 15th letter had a name meaning 'fish' (Hebrew *sanicek*). Since, for magical-optical reasons, the originally round sign, which in the Greek alphabet became the 15th (o), was combined with the eye of the sun, and in a Mithraic system the 16th letter was assigned to Mithra, the 17th may, depending on the location, have been associated with the fishes. There is nothing to prevent both the letters o and  $\rho$  from having their mystical meaning in the Semitic alphabet, the former in the character called 'eye' (*Aajin*) and the latter in the character called 'fish' (*sämtAk*). For several reasons, which I have explained in detail in previous writings, the fish in Near Asia was a symbol of fertility. It was, for example, the goddess Atargatis' sacred animals. In the general mystical speculation of late antiquity, the fish a symbol of the life-creating moisture. It is of particular interest that "Bundehesh" (ch. 21) states that the "sacred scripture" of the Persian religion (i.e. Avesta in its oldest unabridged edition) mentions seventeen different kinds of moisture (that of plants, rivers, rainwater, etc.). All these types of humidity are said to work together to produce growth (vegetative and animal). The same basic magical beliefs are present here as in Nordic birch magic. The two symbols 'fish' and 'deciduous tree branch' ('birch twig') refer to one and the same thing. It is possible that Sraosha had a bunch of rice in his hand, because his number was 17, the number of growth.

In any case, there are strong reasons to believe that Mithraism-influenced magic linked the number 17 and its signs within the alphabet with fertility.

With a significant degree of certainty we could count on, that the birch rune, the  $\delta$ -sign, the 17th in the uthark, is associated with Frigg and the fertility magic associated with this goddess. Icelandic tradition, albeit of relatively late date, testifies that the  $\delta$ -rune had special significance for the female sex. As already mentioned, this is consistent with the Nordic tradition still alive

j the magic of the birch. The woman's soul is "bound" to a birch tree and I is said to "live" in it according to folklore recorded in

Ostrobothnia in Finland, to mention just one rather telling example. We are

It is also known from a medieval manuscript that the birch was Frigg's sacred tree in pagan times. We have reason to believe that the number 17 in Icelandic sorcery had significance in connection with women because of the "wand *kvennagaldur*" mentioned by Jön Ärnason: this is said to consist of 8 "ss-runes" and 9 wawö-runes, thus  $8 + 9 = 17$  characters. The runes thus form Frigg's number. The formula is said to be intended to 'force a woman to love someone'.

Frigg's Lapp counterpart is Sarakka, to w h o m Friday, Frigg's day, was dedicated. On several Lapp drums, birch trees are depicted next to the figure that is said to refer to "Sarakka's tent". In addition, the birch twig has been used in an important Saracca ceremony: the pagan baptism of the Lapps' children, which is discussed in more detail below. That the birch in some way in the magical rites of the Lapps was connected with the number 17, seems to me to be evident from a 1912 ~~hand~~ by Professor Wiklund published detailed account of the Lapps' bear festival in older times (mid-18th century). The description mentions that the men, after abandoning the bear hut and entering the hut through the sacred door, washed themselves well in water mixed with ashes of "nine birch tundras". At the same time, a song sung by them includes words that mean: "Wash yourself well, bear man, in the water of eight and nine birch tundras". The sum of 8 and 9 is 17, the number of the birch crane in the iithar line. As the song is sung in Lappish, it is obviously best to preserve the tradition,

we have, in my opinion, to interpret the matter so that the Lapps burned birch tundras to the number that corresponded to the birch's sacred number in Nordic magic, 17, and divided the magical operation into two stages: first 8 birch tundras were put in the water, then another 9, the important magic number 9 was thus emphasized. (An analogous case exists in the Icelandic magic wand *kvennagaldur* mentioned above.) Later, only 9 was used, as the birch's connection with the number 17 had been forgotten (cf. above under 9). Tunder is a growth on birch, suitable for lighting. That the Lapp men would wash themselves in water, mixed with ash from birch tundra, should reasonably be due to the fact that it was necessary to make them harmless to the female sex (cf. the example from S. Drake, cited above under 9). The bear and what belonged to him was taboo for women. A parallel to this Lapp distribution of the number  $17 = 8 + 9$  can be found in the Swedish folk magic of Norrland. There, 8 kinds of sticks are used as a frame, wrapped in 9 kinds of different yarns, to make a so-called beam. The magic tool thus consists of 17 parts. The task of the bear (or milk hare) was to enchant a female creature, a cow, and suck its milk (Heurgren). According to the Lapp man Jon Johansson, the bear must be whipped with a birch twig in order to work.

Among older runic inscriptions there are several in which letter magic with the number 17 seems to exist. The Charnay buckle, which was undoubtedly worn by a woman, has a formulaic inscription in which, according to a calculation of the number in connection with the arrangement of the utharkra, the number 17 can be detected in no less than 5 different cases in the character combinations. 9 of my book

"The same kind of gematria (number value calculation) is found in the inscription on another female jewel (from Faxo in Denmark). This consists of thirteen bracteates joined together, each bearing the rune sequence *ualsof* (number value:  $1 + 3 + 20 + 15 + 22 + 24 = 85$ , i.e.  $5 \times 17$ ).

by Nat. Lindqvist, contains a description of a magical operation to detect a thief.

For this purpose, three rods shall be used, as shown by the text judge to refer to three invoked Norse gods. These are said to be: Thor, Frigg and Beelzebub Odin ('tor frich Bel- sehub odin'). Two of the staves are maple runes, reminiscent of the cross on the Smokestone. The third sign consists of a large roundel surrounded by thirteen smaller ones (see fig. 24). In this larger roundel is a letter, which in form corresponds to a Latin capital B, but in origin probably belongs to the same one with a rune sign of the same type, the Frigg rune. The first of the two cross-shaped maple runes has nine 'twigs'

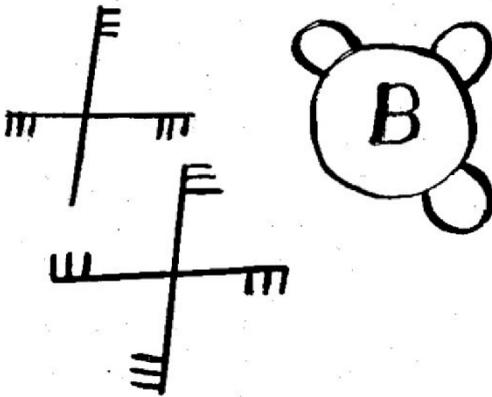


Fig. 24. Icelandic magic wands to detect a thief.

(aside): the sign would therefore seem to be a cryptogram for the rune of distress, the rune of fate and a magic sign for Odin in his capacity as god of sorcery. The other cross-shaped maple rune has twelve "twigs", origin it would have been a cryptogram for the person with

12th century associated with the ivy rune, the sign of Ull. This sign, in which the 4th century also appears ("twigs" in 4 places), may have been misinterpreted as a Tor s-sign by a late magic practitioner.

In this context, I would like to mention that in my work "Rökstenens chiffergåtor och andra runologiska problem", sought a solution of the Rökstenens korschiffer according to the principle described here. The existence of a cross-shaped cipher sign with a star on only three arms indicates that one does not have to interpret such a cross with lateral protrusions as a cryptogram containing reference to two runes (by using two suffixes together with

2 character numbers). A cross-shaped runic cryptogram can only refer to a single rune, in which case it is most likely to assume number symbols for the runes in the old 24 character runic line, about which some knowledge survived into the Viking Age (the time after 800) and later. However, like the originator of the Kylverin script, the smoke stone magician has reversed the order between the 12th and 13th runes. These two characters never appeared in normal use, so very soon there must have been some uncertainty about their numerical values and consequently about their place in the rune line.

As I have already mentioned, the Eddic verse referring to Odin's seventeenth troll song is defective. The extant one, however, clearly refers to a woman:

"I know a seventeenth:  
 — — — — —  
 that late she forgets me,  
 the spinster, who is loved by me "

Lastly, as a curiosity without any real probative value, it may be mentioned that one or two formulas for arousing a woman's love, recorded in Scandinavia, consist of 17 letters. E.g. this one from Denmark: *Sater Mater Elreger*. The last spell word also consists of 7 letters (cf. under 7); the same is the case with the word *Sadorsa* used as a love spell. In most of these spells the words sound like distorted Latin. The number 17, however, had the same meaning in Late Antique magic as in Norse. It is known from various sources that the 17th Greek letter was mystically combined with certain words symbolizing the sexual life of women (*janua*, 'port', etc.). Those interested are referred to my book 'Die spätantike Alphabetmystik und die Runenreihe'.

**18.** The eighteenth rune pA, the sign for <sup>the A sound</sup>, fell out of use in Scandinavia before the Viking Age and was replaced by the z rune. Its name is preserved in the Anglo-Saxon runic tradition as *eh*, a word meaning 'horse'

(originally related to Latin *equus*). As the horse god of the ancient Germans - we have to think of Odin, who in Icelandic sagas is often referred to as meJT 'ET®

assumption that the horse runes were given to Odin in his capacity as god of death. Even in late Swedish fplctro<sup>JA</sup> a with

death closely associated animals. Nicolovius tells us that even at the turn of the century, farmers had an obscure grip on 'Hel's horse', and that when in danger of death they used to say: "that time I gave death a bushel of oats". Hyltén-Cavallius tells us that among the Småland commoners of his time, it was sometimes considered necessary to 'sacrifice' or 'give to Odin's horses'. The "Noen's horse" mentioned in Eva Wigström's records from Scania and southern Sweden is undoubtedly Odin's (cf. above under 10). In Swedish folklore, Odin has finally become identical with "the evil one". The same development has taken place in other Nordic countries. In an Icelandic black art book from the 16th century, Beelzebub-Oden is invoked and referred to as "Odenn Ille", i.e.

"The Evil One". Even the Lapps imagine the devil, fetching a dead, in horse form (Pirak: "a heavy horse came before dig'; about a death omen for a patch that had made a covenant with the devil). The elder mouse was regarded as the 'beast of evil'. Of particular interest is that in some places, including Skåne, it was called *attanpackan* (Eva Wigström). This is consistent with the fact that the number 18 (Sw. dial. *altan*) according to my theory is the number of the god Odin. Another example of the use of 18 as the number of the evil one (originally Odin) is preserved in certain swear words. Rietz, in his dialect dictionary from Götaland, cites the expression: "Dä va attan, vad du kör". In my childhood in Värmland, I often enough heard the phrase: "Dä vore väl själve attan, om inte ...". According to German folklore, the bat is an animal that heralds death. J. Grimm mentions a case of German superstition in which the elder mouse and the horse are associated with each other: If you wrote magic words on a house gate with the blood of an elder mouse, when you turned back after a while, you would see a horse in front of the gate.

A number of passages in Germanic pagan literature also give some hints about the connection between the number 18 and





In the Icelandic black art book published by Nat. Lindqvist's Icelandic book on the black arts mentions a way of 'bewitching a woman' by means of an incantation and the drawing of magic wands. There are six such spells. Two, called *the Mollþurs* and *Madr* runes, are not depicted. The other four are reproduced with the inscription written below. They are called *Blad*, *Naud*, *Kom la* and *Gapalldr*. The last mentioned seems (cf. fig. 25) to be a figure developed from the old horse rune, the sign of Odin, in its variant form [ | (as for example in the Kårstadsrist' ningen +Xofge\~se~nvbr-26VA curse words: "May you nowhere be able to sit, may you nowhere be able to thrive, if

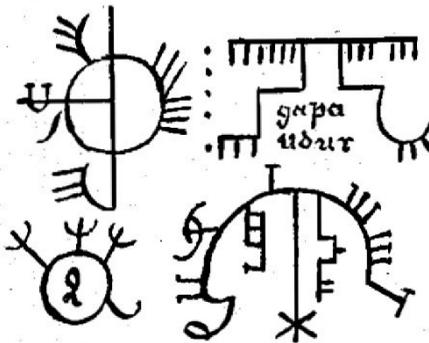


Fig. 25. Icelandic magic wands for bewitching a woman.

you do not love me" is said:

"This I ask of Odin ..."

Someone with the wand of Odin should certainly be included in the formula.

The most obvious guess is the character to be drawn last. As mentioned, this is the rod *Ga-palldr*. If we look at this figure more closely, we see that it is provided with a ton of projections (6 + 6 upwards).

to and 3 + 3 below). This magic wand is also mentioned by Jön Amason, who states that the wand "Gapalldr" should be carried 'under the heel of the right foot'. The wands in the spell book's formula are 6, but since the first two, which probably consisted of ordinary runic characters (*purs* and <sup>WAör</sup> runes), are to be included 3 times and dropped, the formula has included 6 (=3X2)+ 4 characters, i.e. ten wands. This is more in line with the spell's purpose to be highly damaging under a certain condition: "If thou lovest me not, kill thyself. If the feet thou shalt freeze . . . rot thy hair"

etc. The inherent damaging power of the ice rune and the 10th century is evoked.

Swedish black art also knows the number 18, as it concerns

to cure horses. To cure lameness in a horse, the braiding of 9 colored woolen threads was prescribed, on which 9 knots were to be tied, after which the band was to remain on the animal's leg until it fell off (Heurgren). "Solomon's Magic Art" states that to cure strangles, one should take 9 hairs

"under the horse's calf" and 9 of the "butt" and give the animal to eat these 18 hairs in oats, which he shall get at new and below. A formula recorded by the Lapp man Jon Johansson in Norrland against harm from humans and the underground begins:

"Have you N. N. suffered cuts and bites from a to eighteen?" The dangerous character of the number 18 is shown by the fact that it is mentioned in every day speech, the counting word seventeen now appears in the same function, e.g. "drunk in seventeen" = "drunk in hell" etc. There is every probability that we are dealing here with a euphemistic / paraphrase: the number 18, which was regarded as devilish, has been stopped and the next lower number has been taken instead (cf. p. 74).

In Lappish divination drums, the image of a horse usually appears in front of the area denoting the realm of the dead. This is called *Stuorek*. Since the same word in Lappish also means 'giant' (first syllable *AsammänhängerinFA*)

The adjective *stuor* - 'big'), the thought is inevitably brought to what Hyltén-Cavallius reported from Småland, that the common people there with the print "the great horse" had heard on Odin's horse.

If we look for a connection between this case of number mysticism, which is so well known in the north, and conditions in late antiquity, we find that, with regard to the Avestian-Persian monthly calendar, the number 18 among the Mithraists should have been the sacred number of a divinity close to Odin, Mithra's brother Rashnu, lord and judge of the underworld. If the creator of Greek Mithraic letter magic, the closest model of the ruhrad creator, has put Mithra together with the 16th character of the alphabet and perhaps also Sraosha with the 17th, it is easy to assume that Rashnu is associated with the 18th letter. In the normal Greek alphabet the sign for s (o, *sigma*) was the 18th. In the

Paris manuscript, on the other hand, where  $\wedge$  is missing, this sign appears as the

17:e. It is associated here with 'the birds'. The god Hermes, Odin's counterpart in Greek mythology, is described as 'winged'. The word for 'birds' *peteina* (*πετεινό*) used in the Paris manuscript is actually a plural of the Greek adjective *peteinós* (*πετεινός*), 'winged'. There is nothing to prevent the Paris fragment and its parallel, the Coptic translation, from pointing back to Mithraic alphabet mysticism in this case too. For a Greek letter magician, the fact that Hermes-Mercurius' astrological name Stilbön (*Στίλβων*), most commonly used by the Greeks, began with the 18th letter of the alphabet, the s-sign, may also have played a contributory role.

As associated with the wizard god Odin, the number 18 should be found in several runic inscriptions of magical significance. I would like to mention here a few cases where this is the case and where a connection with Oden magic is particularly likely. The runic gold horn from Gallehus, now unfortunately lost, had in a dominant place - in the center of its uppermost richly figured field (see fig. 19) - the image of a spear-bearing god. Scholars who have tried to interpret the obviously mythological image of the horn have almost unanimously wanted to see Odin in this figure with his spear in one hand and his magic ring Draupnir in the other. The spear is a symbol of Odin as the god of death - whoever was sacrificed to him would be pierced with a spear - and the ring, which every 9th night gave birth to 8 new rings and thus became ninefold, should allude to Odin's capacity as the god of sorcery. Odin's numbers are 3, 9 and especially 18. The last number is his alone, 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 punctuation marks). I have pointed out in the preceding (cf. above under 13) that the numerical values in the inscription indicate a mixed number of 13. However, these numerical values are already in the names of the great man mentioned in the runic inscription, who is said to have "made", i.e. had made, the horn. The somewhat complicated gematrical relationship between the

it cannot therefore have caused the runic carver any extra headache: by itself, the combination with 13 offered itself twice, and a third was easily achieved by increasing the number of dots in the punctuation marks... We could therefore imagine, ~~the~~ the rune master mainly wanted to emphasize the rune and death god Odin ( $36 = 4 \times 9$  and  $2 \times 18$ ) through the number of signs, but through the numerical values hidden in the signs, the sacrificial being and what he magically desired (see above under 13). This mystical interpretation of the inscription's content fits better with Norse religion and the place of the images on the horn than an earlier attempt by me to derive

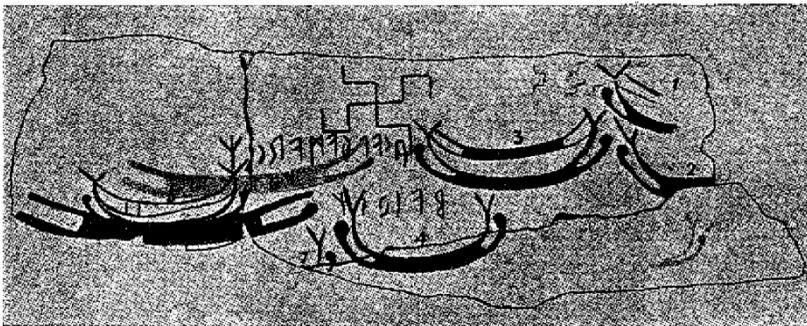


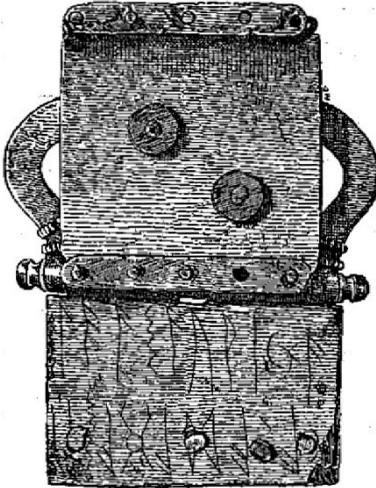
Fig. 26. The Kårstad carving.

the inscription is primarily a tribute to the god Ull. The latter appears in more subordinate places: only in the second and fifth circles of figure series is there a figure, an archer, in which one has to assume a representation of the hunting god Ull. The fact that the gematric number of the whole inscription is 390 and thus also contains the number 10 of death ( $390 = 39 \times 10$ ), can be considered consistent with the main purpose. There is a certain kind of death magic, to redeem oneself from premature death (cf. under 10 about Aun the Old).

Another example, where the number 18, included in a runic inscription's character sum, may be related to Odensmagi, is provided by the Kårstad carving discovered a few years ago in Norway (see

avb. 26) The meaning of the undoubtedly magical runic carving of an *ekaljamarikiR baijiR* is: 'I AljamarikiR am a magician'. Two runes in this inscription are admittedly unclear but could with considerable probability be restored. That the number of signs is 18 is, however, an indisputable fact. If there is also gematri (counting of numbers), we have that in connection with the rake

/ determine the numerical value 180, i.e. a tenfold of the rune god [ Odin's number. The fact that the runic carver in an inscription in which he refers to himself



Avb. 27. buckle from Vi.

himself as a 'magician' - this is how the word *baijiR* should be interpreted, whatever doubts one may have as to its etymology - emphasized the speech that was Oden's before others, is what one would expect. (A rune has also been used more than was strictly necessary, a circumstance that indicates an intention to reach a certain number.)

18 consecutive characters occur also in one of the ring groups on the Sigtuna amulet - the place where it is said that there are "nine compulsions" (cf. under 9). On the buckle from Vi in Denmark (Fig. 27) bears an inscription of formulae

tad nature, consisting of two lines of runes: *laasauwija* and *aadagasu*. As one contains 10 runes and the other 8, < we have here an inscription of which the number of signs is 18 bil- das. That the inscription is of a magical character is, in view of the formulaic nature of the words and the practically unnecessary double designations (*aa*), an inevitable assumption. Of even more obviously magical character is the inscription on the so-called meat knife found in Gjersvik in Norway, probably an ancient sacrificial tool, which contains 18 runes, the last 10 all

Z-runes (see above under 10). Some markings



are damaged, but that 18 runes were originally on the tool is quite certain.

Finally, in the relatively late Icelandic *Bösa saga* there is a rune formula used by the sorceress Busla, which she asks a king to interpret to show her insight. It consists of 2 X 18 runes, arranged in 6 groups. Probably the number 6 plays the dominant role, but the fact that this has been included so many times that the whole becomes a multiplicity of the numbers of Thorsen and Odin (2 and 18), should have its significance. (About this rune formula see ch. 3 in my work "The runes' number mysticism and its ancient model".)

**19.** The nineteenth rune pA, the sign for the w-sound, has a name well attested by various round traditions with the meaning 'man, human being' (Anglo-Saxon *man*, Fornisl. *madr* etc.). As I

As we have explained in detail in previous works, we have to see in the number 19 a number system for man adopted from Near Asia in late antiquity. According to ancient astral mysticism originating in Babylonia, man's body was connected with the 12 constellations of the zodiac, while his soul was governed by the 7 planets. With the latter circumstance is connected, among other things, the Christian religion's division of the vices into "seven deadly sins", originally a species of sin associated with each planetary sphere. In view of the Babylonian conception mentioned above, there is every reason to suppose that among the heirs of Chaldean star mysticism, the Mithraists, who evidently absorbed the essential astrological elements of their doctrine in Babylonia, the number 19 was a symbolic number for man. They regarded man as [ an image of the cosmos (a microcosm). This is evident, for example, from the fact that many sculptures depicting human bodies with the signs of the 12 constellations attached to various parts have been found among the remains of Mithraic monuments. Furthermore, from certain statements of the Fathers of the Church and others, we are justified in assuming that the Mithraists, like the Gnostics of late antiquity, held a theory according to which the soul, when it ascended to the eighth heaven, faced the 7 planets, whose spheres were passed in turn, freed itself from 7 different soul characteristics.

To Saturn were given the frivolous inclinations, to Venus the erotic urges, to Jupiter the lust for glory, to Mercury the insidious desire, to Mars the warlike lust, to the Moon the vital energy, and to the Sun the intellectual gifts. (The Mithraic planetary spheres began from Saturn downwards and ended with the Sun: the order was the reverse of that of the divinities of the day of the week: the first was at the top.) Essentially similar ideas were held by the mystical form of religion trained in Egypt, which went under the name of the god Hermes Trismegistus. Here, too, the human body was associated with the stars of the zodiac and associated with the number 12, while the soul was associated with the number 10, which was called the "soul-creating" number. The reason for the exchange of the number 7 for 10 is undoubtedly that the Hermetic speculation also reckoned that

"the threefold divine" ("light", "life-force" and "good") controlled their particular regions of the human soul. It has therefore been conceived as possessing 10 regions, 7 being under the dependency of the planets and 3 dominated by the divine triad. Thus, in Hermetic mysticism, the number of man should have been  $10 + 12 = 22$ .

The letter-mystical fragment I found in Paris also connects the 22nd Greek letter with man (*ho anthrdpos*: ὁ ἀνθρώπος, see fig. 16). Indirectly, therefore, this document (like its parallel in Coptic translation) shows that my explanation of the number-mystical meaning of the 19th rune is fully justified. Later on I will show that there are good reasons to believe that the literal-mystical system presented in both sources presupposes an older model, in which man is connected with the 19th book of the staff.

In "Bundehesh" there is a passage in which a peculiar number is given, which may possibly be connected with the fact that the number 19 is associated with man in the Persian religion. In chapter 31 it is said that all people will be raised from the dead during the course of 57 years and this in three different periods. The number 57 contains the number 19 thrice. This number

However, it also has a certain astral significance: after 19 years, the lunar phases become the same in relation to the solar year (the so-called Moon cycle).

Since "Odin's troll songs" in connection with the god's number are only 18, this Eddic poem unfortunately gives us no hint of the significance of the number 19 in Norse magic. In the older Scandinavian fairy tale literature, however, there is a single reference that may be a reflection of the idea that there was a mystical connection between the number 19 and man. It is said of Gånge-Rolf that he got lost while hunting and deep in the forest he met one of the underworld, a female troll, who asked him to follow her to her daughter, who "nineteen days" had been in childbirth and could only be delivered by the help of "a man".

There is also some evidence in Scandinavian magic books that the number 19 was a number with significance for men, or rather men (cf. the significance of the runic name *ma dr*)-. The "Magic Arts of Solomon" mentions a means of enhancing manhood ("confortativum ad membrum'virile"). This remedy consists of no less than 18 ingredients, to which are added either water or brandy: thus the remedy consists of 19 different kinds. In another place, the same book of sorcery prescribes the use of 5 grains of wheat, 7 grains of rye and 7 beans, placed in the urine of the person to be tested, to determine the potency of a man (or possibly a woman). The test depends on how these 19 items will behave after 7 days.

Runic inscriptions in which the number 19 appears are relatively few. I know of no example where it can be assumed with any degree of certainty that magic with human or male numbers exists. On the Einang stone in Norway there are 19 runes: *dagaR par* (according to later readings *piR*) *runo faihido* = "DagaR carved these (or more likely "you") runes". It is possible that the runic carver, who may have exercised a certain violence on the language (*runo* for *runoR*), deliberately sought 19 characters. In that case, the carving could have an erotic meaning in connection **w i t h** the meaning 'man' in the 19th runic name. Reading *spiR*, could

this word in that case refers to a woman. A carving, where possibly the gematri with the number 19 can be intentionally achieved, is the inscription on the buckle from Vi mentioned above (p. 80): both runic lines contain the number 19 (one line =  $76 = 4 \times 19$ , the other line =  $57 = 3 \times 19$ ).

20. The twentieth rune p, the sign for the Z sound, has a name that is well attested by tradition, meaning 'water': | angelsax. *lägu*, fornisl. *logr* etc. (the word is identical with *dag* in Sw. *socker-lag*). That water in some way (like fire, cf. above under 5) should have appeared in Mithraic literal mysticism is to be expected: water enjoyed the greatest worship among the elements after fire. Water was used in several rites. For example, according to Nonnus, a 5th-century monk, one of the Mithraists' tests was to bathe in snow for 20 days. The naive monk's information about Mithraism is certainly in many ways a distortion of the real situation. Behind this statement, however, there may be something factual: it is possible that the followers of this religion undertook purifications in cold water for 20 consecutive days. According to "Bundehesh" (ch. 7) Ahura Mazda caused two streams to flow round the earth, and from the same source eighteen streams came and joined the first two. This number may possibly be connected with the number 20 as symbolic of the liquid water. In Mithraic mysticism, 20 may then have become a numerical symbol for the water above the head, perhaps under the influence of Platonic philosophy. Plato, who continued Pythagorean numerical speculation and was probably also influenced by ancient Asian thought, speculatively linked water with the number 20 in such a way that he assumed this element to have the stereometric shape of an icosahedron, i.e. a 20-corner. Through Neoplatonism and other schools of thought, it has been possible to combine Platonic ideas with Late Antique mystery religion and Hellenistic sorcery. It is impossible to determine with certainty where the number 20, as a number associated with water, originally belongs. It is important, however, that there are several indications that Mithraic number mysticism regarded the number 20 as a number associated with water, and that there is even textual evidence that the Greek letter  $\nu$ , the alphabet's

twentieth characters," is associated with the water. The place in question can be found in the Greek text 'Etymo logi of the alphabet'. A word which in all likelihood meant 'watery' has probably been greatly corrupted by the loss of letters, but a text-critical reconstruction can be undertaken with a l m o s t complete certainty, since immediately after it follows a word which is connected with the Greek word for 'rain-cloud', and then the expression 'full of water': *hy datospléres (vbarog πλήρες)*.

It is also possible that the Paris Manuscript and its variant in Coptic translation go back to a model in which the twentieth letter is associated with the great water animals. In the Paris manuscript and its Coptic variant, the eighteenth letter is associated with an expression that is to be interpreted as referring to 'the great water animals', in Greek *kété (κήτη)*. Since, however, it is a mystical system of 22 letters (the signs  $\xi$  and  $\psi$  have been omitted, as mentioned), the 18th letter means the sign  $\tau$ , i.e. the 19th in the usual Greek alphabet. But, as I have pointed out in the preceding (cf. under 19), one must also reckon with the fact that what was once associated with the 19th letter has been moved to the 22nd place, since the number 22 in Hermetic speculation was considered the number of man, whose Babylonian-Mithraistic number should apparently have been 19 (12 + 7, but according to Hermetic understanding 12+10, cf. p. 82). If a shift has taken place - and everything indicates that it should have - the author of the system in the Paris manuscript and the Coptic version, or perhaps one of its predecessors, has had a gap to fill. The most obvious 'has been to use for the letter  $\tau$  the combination with -which originally belonged to the next character (v): water has thus been combined with  $\tau$  in place of v. Then, when it was necessary to produce a creation story, it has been replaced by 'the great aquatic animals'.

If we then turn to Scandinavian folklore, we find not so few cases that indicate that Nordic witchcraft associated water with the number 20. The Lapp man 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 plant'. Nine times the finger is passed around the plant and the count is made from twenty to one nine times. That the number 20 was chosen precisely because of the water, which was certainly used originally (and not as an alternative), is an assumption supported by several other examples. To stop the flow of blood, the Estonian Swedes put a house or church key on the wound, while counting backwards from twenty (Russwurm). Blood, of course, belongs to the element of water according to ancient magical and philosophical beliefs. The same way of counting was also used when an animal had been "disfigured" (enchanted) and was "stunted", so that it would not eat or drink: one counted backwards from 20 to 1 and for each number pointed to the sick animal (Hofberg, from Närke). "As the water disappears, so does the shame" (according to a statement, probably from Södermanland, reproduced in Heurgren). The purpose of this for mel is obviously to illustrate a disappearance. The ill, which consists of something watery or with water in it, is to be removed. Spells of the same type, usually beginning with 9 or 7 and ending with 1 or nothing, are quite common in Nordic sorcery. The fact that they begin with a number as high and as little dominant in magic as 20 must, however, be due to some special circumstance. A perfectly reasonable explanation can be found if we assume that 20, as the number associated with water, has remained - more or less latent - in popular magic since pagan times. Another example of magical use of the number 20 in folk medicine is the following way of curing the "fluke" in a horse. "Floget" or "flå-get" is the same as colic, i.e. a disease that manifests itself in watery discharge. One remedy, however, is for a woman to wash the linen cloth, after which the water used is poured into the horse. Another means consists in reading a formula about St. Peter and then drawing four fives on the horse's right front hoof: at the first one you say "five" and so on, at the fourth "twenty". Then count again in the same way to twenty, after which you say: "now you've lost your wing" (Heurgren). It is probable that the original idea was

The healing power lies in the fact that the number twenty was divided into the hostile fire number 5 (the number of the torch rune).

Runic inscriptions that clearly refer to water are rare. As far as I know, there is only one inscription which can be suspected of being magical and which must clearly have had something to do with water. It is on a whetstone found in Strom in Norway. On one side of the stone it says: 'may the horn wet this stone' (*wate hali hino hörna*). Since the carving includes two binding runes, the number of signs is 15. However, if the total number of these runes is calculated, according to the extrapolation, the number  $180 = 9 \times 20$  is obtained, i.e. the number of necessity, combined with that of water. Of course, a case of such an uncomplicated gematri could also easily have arisen by chance. A far more important support is provided by the folk tradition, preserved in many places in the North, of the number 20 as a number used in water magic, as described above.

**21.** The twenty-first rune  $\text{<}\Lambda$ , the sign of the  $\Lambda$ -sound or rather  $\Lambda$  4-\*, a letter little used, is called in the Anglo-Saxon roundel *Ing*. The sign, like the Z-rune, seems to have been directly named after a divinity. Ing has been a god associated with fertility and male procreative power, perhaps originally a tribal hero. In northern Scandinavia, a name associated with angelsax. *Ing* has been associated with Frejs: the fertility god Yngve-Frö, worshipped in Uppsala, is called *Ingunar-Freyr* in Old Norse. It is quite possible that the name of the rune originally meant 'phallus', a meaning that several etymologists have used for the basic form of the name Ing. In that case, an interesting correspondence can be demonstrated with quite certain late antique letter magic.

■ In some cryptographic, or rather semi-cryptographic systems, of which reflexes have survived to the present day (e.g. in astrological manuscripts), the 21st Greek letter  $\varphi$  can be replaced by a figure of unmistakable phallic shape. In a Latin joke verse, a figure  $\Lambda$  related to the Greek  $\varphi$  is interpreted as referring to "*testiculi et mentula*". In the Semitic alphabet, the 21st letter already had a name that could be interpreted as a significant 'phallus' (i.e. 'rod') and an

to a whole series of preceding letter names, which clearly designate body parts ('eye', 'mouth', 'face', 'belly', 'head' as names of characters 16-20). It is therefore conceivable that we are dealing with a reflex from the Semitic alphabetic period, which has persisted, partly thanks to the form of the Greek sign.

It is highly probable that Mithraic letter magic had some similar notion associated with the 21st sign, preferably the 21st day of the Avestian-Persian monthly calendar was dedicated to a male fertility deity Rârna Hvastra (in Persian Râm). The letter system of the Parismanu script and its variant in Coptic translation connect the character  $\varphi$  (here regarded as the 20th) with repti-

the clay. In Late Antique magic, the snake was one of the symbols of 'phallus'.

In the Scandinavian North there is hardly any tradition preserved on the basis of which one could comment on the idea that is probably associated with the 21st century.

he custom *in* Sweden of firing 21 shots at the birth of a royal person may be recalled here. As far as I know, the reason for this practice has not been investigated. Two Anglo-Saxon incantations for expectant mothers each consist of 21 words. (Cf. ch. 3 of my work "Runic speech mysticism and its ancient model".) Whether reflexes of ancient runic magic may be present, however, is uncertain. The number of words may be due to chance. In this connection it may also be recalled that according to the Talmud a woman in childbirth was not considered free from the dangers of the birth demons until the 21st day after birth.

To my knowledge, there are no Nordic runic inscriptions with a demonstrable mystical connection to the number 21. If the Weser runes already mentioned (cf. under 16) were recognized as genuine with complete certainty, a suggestive gematric example could be seriously considered. Several runologists have doubts about the so-called Weser find, such as a prominent Norwegian expert with whom I have spoken. The reasons he gave me, however, do not seem to me to be decisive in themselves. The fact that all the finds consist of the same material (animal bones) does not prove that a





Fig. 28. cooling stones.

The Kylveristningen, which was created for a specific purpose, can be assumed to contain two more or less involuntary reversals. The first reversal may be due to the fact that the not necessarily necessary  $\wedge$  characters | and [ $\wedge$  had already fallen out of practical use in the fourth century, so that only very confident rune experts still knew their numerical values. The second reversal  $\wedge$  £ for £  $\wedge$  can be explained by the fact that the name of the 24th character attracted the closely related name of the 22nd. The same easy error of memory may also be the cause of the discrepancies in the Anglo-Saxon rune lines, but here there is the additional circumstance that in England newly formed runes were added, which were vowel signs and therefore better suited to the vowel sign £ than to the consonant sign  $\wedge$  (cf. p. 9).

As far as the Kylver stone is concerned, it also shows other deviations from the norm than in the order of the characters. For example, the  $\alpha$ -rune and the  $\delta$ -rune, the characters  $\wedge$  and  $\wedge$ , are reversed (j and  $\wedge$  on fig. 28). These circumstances indicate that the runic carver was either unfamiliar with the rune technique or had a magical purpose in mind. There are quite a few alphabet lines preserved from late antiquity, in which reversals of characters and less correct letter forms appear. What might have happened to an untrained Late Antique letter magician might also have happened to a casual practitioner of Norse runic magic. The authors of the Kylver carving may also have been in a hurry to complete the inscription for some reason and therefore made some mistakes. Most likely, the carver did his work when the sun was not shining (cf. the opening words of the Eggjumsten inscription:

'the stone is not struck by the sun'). However, it is not impossible that some deviations have been made in the position of the runes with regard to their intended magical effect in this particular case. It seems to me highly probable that the Kylver carving was made for necromantic purposes. This is supported by the experience of late antique letter inscriptions of the same type. More or less abnormal Latin or Greek alphabet lines are found on vessels and other objects buried at burial sites. The cooling stone has stood inside a grave.

We must therefore assume that the runesmith's intention with the carving was to bind the dead to his resting place by the magical power of writing and to provide protection against demons. Above the rune line, the arrow stone (cf. fig. 28) bears a word of magical formula type *sueus*. That we have to read this part of the inscription like this and not, as previously, *sulius*, i.e.  $\Lambda|\Lambda\Lambda$ , not  $\Lambda\rho|\Lambda$ , is now considered by several scholars. It is likely that the e-sign (p) has been partially carved, so that nowadays its second transverse line is not fully visible. A circumstance, which in my opinion gives good support to this new reading, is that *sueus* forms a so-called palin drom, i.e. a character combination, which can. In late antiquity, such a device (as well as the reversal of letters) was considered an effective means in the fight against demons, who then could not destroy the spell by reading it backwards. Moreover, the palindrome *sueus* consists of 5 characters. As I have emphasized above, the number 5 is associated with the torch rune and, as a symbol of fire, is of a distinctly antidemonic character. The lower inscription consists of 25 characters (the last one a cipher). We thus also have the 5s hidden here ( $25 = 5 \times 5$ ). If we add up all the characters of the inscription, they form the number 30, in which the numbers of the ice rune and death are enclosed:  $30 = 3 \times 10$ . Thus, in terms of book-staff mysticism, the rune carving can be interpreted as referring to death magic and antidemonic protection. If we read the first rune in the lower row as it actually appears, this group of runes begins with an is-rune, the sign |, followed by the 24 uthark signs, the last one, the /-sign, represented by a cryptogram. This would further indicate death magic. Professor von Friesen, who in a careful examination of the Kylver Stone (in conjunction with an archaeologist) found no trace of beehives in the vicinity of the initial rune, maintains, however, in a recent statement in his work "Runorna", that one has to assume that a /-rune, the sign  $\Lambda$ , was once engraved here. Since in runic inscriptions on stone the beginning of what has been carved is usually particularly strongly executed, it seems to me most peculiar that even such beehives, despite the fact that at the place in question no break can be observed

taken, so would have disappeared altogether. Since the head of the first sign is slightly tilted in relation to the following heads, von Friesen assumes that a /-rune was carved with the head tilted backwards to "make room for the bees". If it were a sign some way inside the row, such a supposition would, in my opinion, have considerable merit. In the present case, however, 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 so much space on the stone that the initial runes need not have been crowded together. I therefore consider it likely that the rune carver first carved the outward row using a cryptogram for the 24th character and then carved either the z-rune or the /-rune in front of the whole... In that case, he has had reason to tilt the main bar for reasons of space, if it was the character (X If he has carved the rune character |, the tilt may be due to a hurried execution, which caused him not to pay close attention to the position of the previously carved main bars. Both explanations, however, have to take into account that the carving was done in one context.

That the 25th sign in the lower group of runes on the stone is a cryptogram for the 24th rune (according to my theory/sign), is an assumption, which can be justified in detail. The cryptogram consists of 6 "branches" on the left and 8 on the right of a common "trunk". In connection with other Old Norse cipher systems, we have reason to assume that the 8 "branches" on the right indicate a rune, which is n:r 8 in its group. The 6 "branches" to the left should then somehow serve as indicators of the group number. Since only 3 groups are possible with an even distribution of 24 characters (8 + 8 4-8), we must assume that an extra cryptographic trick has been used here: the number of the group has been indicated by means of double dashes, while the order within it has been indicated by single dashes. If such a means had not been used, it would have been possible at first sight to see which side referred to the group ("ätt") and which to the number within it, since it was a rune with one of the higher numbers within the group (4-8).

In the later 16-character space ciphers it is also common to make the cipher more difficult in some way. This is usually done by masking the "order": 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 designed for 24 different characters, where the number of characters in a group could be very high, double-marking the groups made interpretation much more difficult: 6 had to indicate 3, 4 indicated 2 and 2 1. Given the large number of "branches", the cipher system on the Kylver Stone can only be interpreted according to such a principle. If we assume that the system is based on the outharrow and not on the futharrow, we have to interpret the cryptogram at the end of the lower rune as referring to the eighth character in the third group of the outharrow. This is the /-rune (see the arrangement of the runes on p. 15). The fact that the runic carver placed the o-sign, the odal-rune, next to this cryptogram for the /-sign, the wealth-rune, can, considering that this is a magical inscription, be assumed to be deliberate: by having the two property-runes follow each other, the magician may have wanted to emphasize something that particularly interested him: the inheritance of the deceased. It is possible, however, that the carver was a person with less certain knowledge of memory. In his imagination, the two signs with similar meanings would have attracted each other.

There is thus no compelling reason whatsoever to assume, in the face of the testimony of the runic bracteates in connection with the Kylver Stone, that the (/-rune originally came before the o-rune. I have already spoken about the Anglo-Saxon rune lines in the previous section. Below I will show that circumstances within the late literary mysticism support my long-held opinion that the o-sign was placed before the (/-sign by the rune row creator and should therefore be regarded as the 22nd in the sequence.

**22.** The twenty-second rune  $\mathfrak{f}$ , the sign for the o sound, has had a name that originally meant 'heirloom, odal'. Through linguistic development, the initial sound in its name, which was a long o, has become a long e in Anglo-Saxon. Against

This corresponds to *utal* among the phonetically inaccurate recorded Gothic letter names. If the runic name had been preserved in Scania, where it, like the sign, fell out of use before the Viking Age, it would have been called *odal* in Old Norse, a word meaning 'heirloom, odal'.

The 22nd letter of the Greek alphabet is  $\chi$  (the sign for *ch*, originally an aspirated *k*). The most common Greek word for 'property' *chrémata* (*χρήματα*) begins with this letter and could already on this basis be assumed to have been associated with the 22nd letter. That this was in fact the case appears to be evident from a magical text preserved to our time.

"The Testament of Solomon" contains a statement which can hardly be interpreted otherwise than as referring to the fact that the letter  $\chi$ , the 22nd character of the alphabet, was understood as a symbol of 'own judgment'. Solomon, after speaking of all that he has acquired (kingdom, singers and songstresses), exclaims: "Vanity of v a n i t i e s !  $\chi$  rules over all letters". If the letter  $\chi$  is taken as a symbol of property and the desire to possess, the quoted sentence takes on a fully comprehensible context. It says the same as a Greek saying, which in Swedish can be rendered as: "possessions (*χρήματα*) are everything to men (*ψυχή βροτοίσι*, properly 'the soul of mortals')".

In the Hebrew alphabet, the last (22nd) letter has the name *tam*, a rare word in the Bible, the meaning of which is not entirely clear. This word, however, must have meant some kind of mark, the primary interpretation being 'property mark' (cf. Ezekiel 9:6, 'the sign' = 'God's property sign'). As I have already mentioned, there is a tradition which suggests that the 22nd Hebrew letter is connected with the earth (as well as the 1st with heaven). The manuscript fragment found by me in. The manuscript fragment found by me in Paris associates (like its parallel, the Coptic translation) the 22nd letter with "the creation of man" (here it is indeed a question of  $\omega$ , which is regarded as the 22nd, since the double characters  $\zeta$  and  $\psi$  are not part of the s i m p l i f i e d alphabet used). The first man, however, was Adam, who was created from earth. The alphabet of the Paris manuscript

magic shows, as we have seen, many Persian (i.e. rather Mithraic) features. The change to 22 letters from 24 and the transfer of man from the 19th letter to the 22nd, however, must have been undertaken by some follower of another religious system, probably under the influence of the speculation of Egyptian Hermetism. Jewish beliefs, moreover, have more or less permeated all late antique magic and secret science. In a late antique alchemical text there is

e.g. an investigation of how Adam (whose name is formed by 4 letters) consisted of 4 different kinds of earth. Whether we assume that the Mithraic alphabetic JϷstik connected the 22nd



Ref. 29a. Lindholm amulet (the page with the alphabetic formula).



Fig. 29 b. Lindholm amulet (the page with the runic carver's name).

Greek letter (*l*) with 'property' or with 'land' (and in that case probably after a Semitic model), offers an explanation for the runic name *\*opala*, the oldest meaning of which is to be understood as 'real property' = 'the inherited land lot'.

In later Nordic magic, the number 22 is a rarely occurring number. As a symbol for property, it has been displaced by the number 24, which originally, like the Farun, referred to movable property, but over time could function as a number symbol for property in general. In addition, in magic, it has mostly been about movable property (restoration of stolen goods and the like). An older runic inscription, where gematri built on the number of the o-rune should occur, is in my opinion the carving on one side of the razor from Vi in Denmark. In

The first word of the script is *talio*, which has been interpreted as meaning 'plane'. This is followed by the rune sequence *gisaiøj*. Here the last two characters are likely to be interpreted as indicating the names of two runes: *\*opala* and *\*jara*. The rune combination can then be interpreted as "for Gi's inheritance and honor". The total numerical value of the 12 runic characters on this side of the object, calculated in connection with the rake, is 220, i.e.

10 X 22, which is the number of the odd rune. At the same time, the number also contains the honorary rune number  $11:220=11$  X 20.

**23.** The twenty-third rune is the sign for the d-sound [ $\text{><}$ ], if we consider the pronunciation in accordance with the bracteate runes, the order of which is also found in at least one Anglo-Saxon record. In Scandinavia the character [X] fell out of use before the Viking Age, but it still appears in a map <sup>inscription</sup><sup>1</sup> on Rökstenen. In Anglo-Saxon, the character was called *dceg*, 'day'. In the much corrupted record of Gothic letter names, the word *daas* is found, certainly a corruption of an older *dags*. In Old Norse, the rune would have been called *dagaR*, 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 image meant both 'day' and 'daylight (dag)'. In the Avestian-Persian monthly calendar, the 23rd day was dedicated to the god of light Ahura Mazda, in "Bundehesh" (ch. 1) called 'eternal light'. From inscriptions on the monuments of the Roman Mithraists, we know that they worshipped a divinity known in Latin as *Lux*, i.e. 'light'. It is also known that the Mithraist 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). A Byzantine codex contains a cryptographic Greek alphabet in which the well-known astrological Jupiter sign  $\wedge$  has been substituted for the letter  $\psi$  (*ps*) in the place of  $\text{n:r}$ .

23. A coin has also been found depicting a cult object, known as a *baitylos*, belonging to the Cretan

The cult of Zeus. The 23rd letter of the Greek alphabet (y) is inscribed on this cult object.

The number 23 seems rarely to have been used in Nordic magic. However, the Dagrungan and its number must have belonged to the antidemonic symbols. The 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 numbers mentioned above have obviously been much more convenient to use in magical operations, and this circumstance can fully explain the absence of the number 23 in the rather large material of later Scandinavian magical documents 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 a carving from around 400. The inscription in question is defective, but can be reconstructed with a considerable degree of probability. In translation it reads: "Jagden for skadetrolldom (*gand*) oemottaglige prästen i Hugl". Ru norna should originally have been 23: *ek gudija ungan diR i hugulu*. Of the last word only the initial letter (Å) remains. But since the word should have been a place name, the reconstruction *hugulu* is, for topographical reasons, highly probable. As the inscription states that its author was powerful in 'Gegenzauber', the carving must have been made in accordance with some rule of runic magic. It can be assumed that the dagrun and its numbers were considered to protect against trolls and black magic. .

**24.** The twenty-fourth rune <sup>Λ</sup>, the sign of the / sound, in all traditions indicates a name meaning 'wealth, movable property': fornisl. *fé* 'cattle, wealth', angelsax. *feoh*, 'goods, chattels', etc. (*fe* in the Gothic letter line *hartvivals-* but had the same meaning). The concept of wealth is thought to be associated with a large number: the rich man owns a lot. Even in this circumstance, there was a motive to associate the letter indicating the highest number with wealth. That a runic character with such a name should have been associated with the lowest of all numbers, 1, is a pure unreasonableness, if we think

us that the names of the runes had magical significance. In the Semitic alphabet, the last character (the 22nd), as I have pointed out above, had a name which could be interpreted as a symbol of property (*tāw*, 'mark of ownership'). Undoubtedly, the Mithraic alphabet mysticism has taken over several original Semitic elements. After all, Mithraism was formed in an environment with an Aramaic language (Persian Babylonia, cf. the preceding) - From Semitic sources, the Mithraists must have received the very framework for their letter mysticism, which in time was adapted to Greek with its 24 characters. The Semitic alphabet begins with a letter whose name (*Caleph* etc.) means 'bull, ox, cattle', and ends with a character whose name (*lāw* etc.) would have referred to property (cf. above). The same is true of the rune line, which in my opinion derives from Mithraic letter mysticism. The idea is therefore obvious 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 last Semitic letter's magic function must have been undertaken in late antiquity: the 22nd Greek letter ( $\chi$ ) was probably associated with 'wealth' (*χρήματα*, cf. above under 22), the 24th, on the other hand, with 'individual property' (*κτήματα*):e, on the other hand, with 'individual possessions' (*κτήματα*). The rune writer has then let the word that meant 'fortune' be corresponded to a letter name with the meaning 'odal, heirloom' (real property) and the word that meant 'individual possessions' by a rune name with the meaning 'wealth, fä' (movable property).

The association of the 24th letter of the Greek alphabet with wealth in Mithraic mysticism may also be partly due to the fact that the number 24 was symbolic of Pluto, the god of the underworld and of the kingdom of judgment. He was identified in black magic with the Persian Angra Mainyu (Ahriman). According to Plutarch, which is also supported by Iranian tradition, this enemy of light began his evil creation by drawing out of himself 24 demon princes. Persian magi, in this case undoubtedly black magicians, have according to Plutarch eagerly sacrificed to Ahriman. In the Hellenistic sorcery system influenced by Mithraism

Ahriman-Pluto should have played an important role. In this magical system - not in the actual Mithraic religion - we seem to have to look for the closest origin of runic magic.

It is known from the statement of Zosimos, a late antique alchemist, that in some places the 24th Greek letter ( $\Omega$ ,  $\omega$ ) was regarded as the mystical symbol of the god Okeanos. Its name (*{Ὠκεανός}*) began with the sign in question, and was thus a phonetically appropriate name, preferably the name of the god could be taken as a euphemism for 'abundance, great quantity'. In the language of the Greeks, the word had this meaning in several sayings - like 'ocean' in our language. It is of some interest to point out in this context that the god of wealth, Njord, is depicted as a divinity closely associated with the sea. His dwelling Nöatdn ('the ship's plots') is thought to be located close to the coast, and Snorri states that Njord can calm the sea and should be invoked when traveling by sea and catching fish.

It is uncertain, however, - whether Mithraic letter-magic connected the 24th Greek letter with Okeanos, a divine heat, which, however, is known to have belonged to the Mithraic pantheon. The alphabet-mystical fragment I found in Paris, like its Coptic parallel, connects the penultimate letter with *κτήνη* (*{kténé}*, 'domestic animal, cattle'. If, as I suppose (and there are good reasons for it), the 19th letter of the original magical correspondence, the word *άνθρωπος* (*{anthrō-pos}*, 'man', has been moved down to the last place, one can sense in the combination found at the penultimate letter a reflex of what originally belonged to the letter  $\omega$ , the 24th in the normal Greek alphabet. From the Greek word *κτήνη*, the vernacular *fē* etc. is an almost direct translation.

In the Paris manuscript I have pointed out a number of correspondences with the Persian creation myth. Toward the end, however, there is a deviation in that the mammals ("domestic animals") are stated to have been created immediately before man. According to "Bundehesh" (ch. 14), first plants and then animals were created from the primeval bull, and among

first a bull and a cow, then various other mammals, then birds, etc. The order of the Paris manuscript corresponds somewhat more closely to the Jewish creation story, but by no means completely. According to the Book of Genesis (ch. 1), the following animals were created: 1) the large sea animals, 2) other water animals, 3) birds, 4) wild animals, 5) cattle, 6) creeping animals. The Paris fragment and its Coptic parallel give the word order: 1) fish, 2) birds, 3) large sea animals, 4) wild animals, 5) reptiles, 6) domestic animals (cattle). Since, as we shall see, the late antique literal-mystical system by no means slavishly follows the Genesis account, this document can hardly have been the immediate model. It is probable that the Mithraic form of the Persian religion was more strongly influenced by Semitic myth than the Persian tradition preserved in the Parsees of India. The genetic relationship between Semitic and Persian creation myths is not yet fully understood. In the broad outlines there is a clear correspondence. Just as God, according to Genesis, created the world in six days, "Bundehesh" (ch. 1) mentions 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, 6) man. However, according to Persian myth, not everything was created by Ahura Mazda: the abyss and the evil in the world (poisonous animals and plants) are the work of Angra Mainyu. It must be assumed, moreover, that the original mysticism of the letters was not from the outset connected with a scheme of various scales: they were connected with the names or numbers of certain letters and made magical speculations on that basis; it was only relatively late - some centuries before the advent of the Middle Ages - that the alphabet was sought to give a picture of the origin of the whole cosmos, from heaven to man created by earth. The rune line goes back to an older form of Mithraic literary mysticism, which did not yet take detailed account of cosmological speculation.

That the number 24 (as well as its multiples, mainly 72) played an important role in Nordic magic is confirmed by both runic writings and traditions of magical practices. Extremely numerous are

ancient runic inscriptions on amulet-type objects, consisting of or containing the magic word *alu*. Its total numerical value according to the rake is 24 ( $3 + 20 + 1$ ). That this is primarily a magical combination of letters is shown by the fact that the three letters are also found on bracteates in a different order: *lua*, *lau*, *ual*. Time and again, however, one encounters combinations of these 3 letters. The Lindholm amulet (fig. 29 a and b), whose purpose must have been to

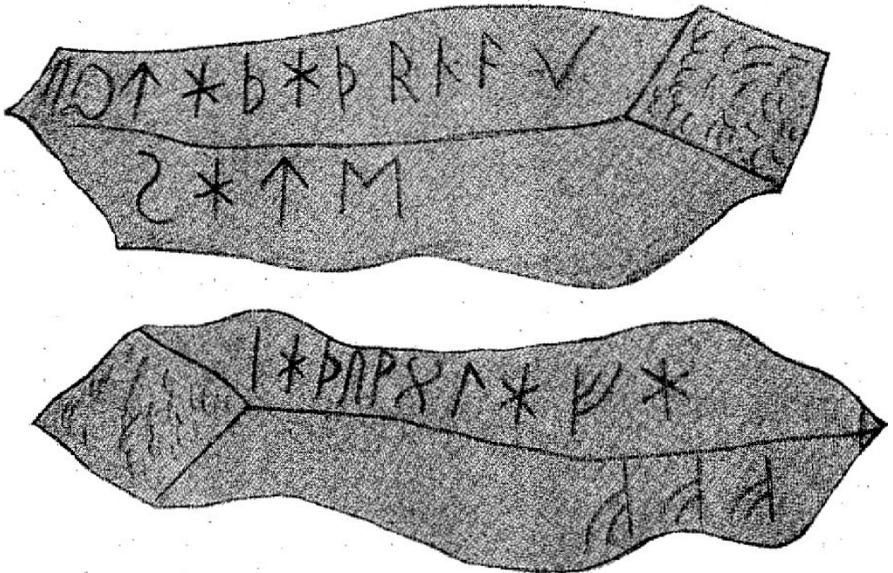


Fig. 30. Pencil drawing of the Gummarp Stone.

to bestow material success in life on its sorcerous wearer, besides the group of runes *alu*, is followed by a whole series of other signs, which just like this one contain the number 24 or one of its multiples: 8  $\alpha$ -runes =  $24 (3 \times 8)$ , 3 Z-runics =  $2 \times 24 (3 \times 16)$ ; the number 216, which contains the number 24 9-fold, is the numerical value of the whole mystical row of letters, which also consists of 24 runic signs. In view of these numerical ratios, what the wearer mainly wanted to gain with his amulet should have been wealth. This is indicated by the recurring number 24, the number of the wealth rune.

Another magical inscription, where the 24th rune  $\Lambda$  ( $\prime$ ) must be central to the mystical arrangement of the letters, is the carving of the Gummarp Stone (known today only through an older image, see fig. 30). The text of the inscription reads *kApuwolAfAA SAte -stAbA pria*, it thus consists of 24 characters. One of these (the  $R$  in brackets) may have escaped the attention of the draughtsman, who was not fully conversant with runic writing, but it can be reconstructed on linguistic grounds (the stone itself is now lost). To these 24 runes, as we see in the picture, the carver has added as an isolated group  $f\Lambda$  (trenne /-runes). In view of this, I interpret the purpose of the rune carving in question as consisting in the fact that Hatuwolf (later name form Half) wanted to acquire wealth for himself and his village by means of rune magic.

The Icelander Jon Ārnason mentions a spell closely corresponding to the first batch of the Lindholm amulet, consisting of 8 magic runes, signs for 6 aces and 2 asynyas. This formula should certainly be a reflex of an older time of 8 "ss-runes consisting of magical character combination (= 24). The strange thing is that the formula, according to what Ārnason says, is to be used to make a person who has stolen someone else's property reveal himself: *ad låta Pjof skita aptur stolnu fē*. The idea must have been that the same speech, which could help to acquire property, could also evoke punishment for the person who violated property rights, and thus recover what had been lost.

In a couple of Norwegian spells against thieves, the number 24 is mentioned in such a way as to induce anxiety in the offender for 24 hours at a stretch (Bang). A rune formula recorded in Denmark with the same purpose consists of 19 runes, probably partly reproducing an older formula, which probably consisted of 24 characters: the first of the runes is the character  $\Lambda$  (Ohrt). Another Danish formula specifies in Latin letters a line of characters that should make a thief reveal himself. This consists of 24 letters: *leppel lauischer gaar gaait* (Ohrt). Against a pest that acts like a thief, the gladi, there are numerous incantations in Sweden. In Nicolovius it reads:

"Gla - gla - glänte Vänte!  
 Shall I hang you?  
 \ I fir å tjuve stränje  
 Mä löver å  
 långge  
 Oh, all thy lion's breath, O  
 thou thievish dog."

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

The number 24 also seems to have played a role in the magical practices of the Lapps. The largest sacrifice known to the Lapps consisted of 24 reindeer slaughtered at once. The purpose of the sacrifice was probably reindeer happiness. However, as far as I know, such a large sacrifice is only known from Eastern L a p l a n d , where the influence of North Germanic magic is less evident.

# THE ART OF DIVINATION OF THE LAPPS



## I.

**S** Since time immemorial, Lappish sorcerers - one of whom is called a *näide* - have used drums, musical instruments of a primitive kind, to put themselves into a state of excitement. This is the case with Siberian shamans, who use drums of very simple construction, like the Lappish ones, with pictures on them. As a rule, a Siberian drum 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 usually occurs by the repetition of the same type of image (see fig. 31). The Lappish magic drums, as we know them from the time after the middle of the 17th century, make a different impression: those among them, which have been tried and tested divination tools, show a number of some twenty images or more, and these images are largely from each other clearly different in character.

The oldest record we have of a patch drum is found in "Chronicon Norvegise" from the 13th century. This Latin text describes how some Norwegian merchants witnessed the practice of Lappish sorcery. Their Lapp hostess had suddenly fallen ill and died. A sorcerer with a drum, who was present, went into ecstasy. In the middle of the dancing and singing, he fell down and was dead after a while. A new magician was then summoned, and he practiced his art so successfully that the Lapp woman, who was thought to be dead, came back to life. She told him that the first sorcerer's soul had traveled in the shape of a whale and had encountered a sharp stake in the water, which had pierced the animal's belly. On the sorcerer's drum, it is said, were painted: a whale, a reindeer with a sledge and a boat with oars. These represented the means used by the sorcerer's soul when it set out, detached from the body, on

research. It is likely that the magic drum also had other images, although these are not mentioned. In this case, however, it is an act of sorcery in which the drum with the image did not play the main role.

The situation is different with the above-mentioned divination tools from the 17th century and slightly later. In their use, it was usually the drum and not the magician in ecstasy that was essential. The skin of the drum bears a number of more or less symmetrically grouped figures, usually arranged in two or more regions. These



Fig. 31. Siberian shaman drum. was left behind at some tec

figures, - were consulted in such a way that a thing, a brass ring, also a bundle of smaller rings; - in older times reportedly an object, representing a jumping frog - was placed in the middle of the drum, usually on the central sign of the sun. This object was then set in motion by the leaping one striking the skin stretched over an oval frame with a small hammer made of reindeer horn. The hand stopped and

The position of the sign, which was, for example, the image of a god, meant that he required sacrifice. The position of the sign in relation to other signs, such as the figures representing a bear or a body of water, suggested the prospect of hunting and fishing.

. Complicated as this system of divination is, it cannot possibly be due to the primitive inheritance of the Aborigines. They must either have been trained over the centuries by the Scandinavian Lapps, or have been taken over by them from the North Germanic tribe when it was still in a pagan or semi-pagan stage. Witchcraft with roots in pagan beliefs has also occurred among Norwegians and Swedes well into Christian times, whereupon

examples given in the foregoing. Although we have no North Germanic divination tool from pagan times, a simple way of divining with the help of an object somewhat reminiscent of a Lappish magic drum has been practiced almost up to our time by Norwegian and Swedish commoners: they have put a pair of scissors in a sieve and observed its movement. In older times, a similar device, an oval leather drum with a sign or other object suitable for shaking, may have been used. A large number of patch drums - especially the more peculiar divination tools - have a sole-like appearance.

The signs that the ancient North Germans probably used on their divination devices should be assumed to have been runic or transformations of such. It is highly probable that the pagan North had a counterpart of the late antique letter oracle or picture devices of the type of the parchment divination tool (about this in ch. 6 of "Late antique mythical religion and Nordic runic magic").

That some Arctic peoples in Russia, judging from certain messages, already in ancient times seem to have proceeded by divination on a manner reminiscent of the Lappish, by no means proves, as some researchers hold, that the Lappish troll drums. The method used in the Byzantine Empire must be considered to be borrowed from the East. In the Byzantine Empire, the knowledge of late antiquity on the use of sign-laden divination devices was preserved. The Russians were already in lively contact with both Scandinavians and Byzantines in the 8th century, and through Russian mediation, the technique of divination may have spread to more primitive tribes in the north. The history of Near Eastern European magic shows that it has had a great capacity to spread from people to people without being hindered by ethnographic boundaries. If, however, it is unlikely that the Lapps already had a somewhat methodically developed divination technique before their encounter with the North Germanic peoples, it is highly probable that such a technique was further developed in connection with the large number of religious beliefs that this group of peoples had.

food people actually inherited from their settled Germanic neighbors during the pagan period.

A number of prominent researchers, among whom in particular J. Fritzner,

K. Krohn, A. Olrik and J. Qvigstad have shown that the Lappish religion, as we mainly know it from the time after the middle of the 17th century, is an invaluable source of increased knowledge about the pagan beliefs of our ancestors. That the Lapps received the essentials of their religious beliefs - at least as it appeared to the troll men (nåidarnä) of the nomadic people - from North Germanic paganism, cannot be doubted. The similarities between Lappish religion and Old Norse paganism are both numerous and striking. In the previous essay I have shown, among other things, that there are also striking similarities between the magical practices of the Lapps and the North Germans. In the following, in connection with some of the older Lappish divination tools, I will try to investigate to what extent the figures and signs appearing on these magic drums could be influenced by Old Norse models.

I begin my investigation with the most interesting of all Lapp drums, the one described in the detailed Naeromanuscript. This troll drum was discovered in the 1720s by the zealous Norwegian Lapp missionary Thomas von Westen. The manuscript, written by the parish priest, Master Johan Randulf in 1723, is probably largely a work based on information collected by the energetic von Westen. He knew better than anyone else how to carefully question repentant Christian Lapp wizards about what they knew about the meaning of the signs of divination and related religious beliefs. The magic drum described in the Naeroman manuscript represents an ancient type. It may even have been quite old when it was found. It was probably not newly made in the 1720s. As an instrument of divination of high repute, it would then have been around for several generations. The older a magic drum was, the more effective it was considered. Such a magical tool was highly valued and passed down from generation to generation.

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The patch drum described and ■ depicted in the NARo manuscript has 24 figures. What is shown in Fig. 32, two parallel horizontal lines, is to be regarded only as a boundary separating the higher world, the realm of the sky gods, from the lower world, that which is found under the starry sky. On the other hand, we have to include as a special figure the image of a curving trunk or stem in front of the middle deity, from which several projections, called "thorns" by Randulf, emanate. The upper region of the magic drum thus has 9 characters and its lower 15. Already these numerical ratios offer interest as *i n d i c a t i n g* that a certain numerical mystical purpose was sought.

I have shown above that the Lapps' conception of the magical significance of different numbers essentially corresponds to that of runic magic... In the celestial region of this spear drum, 3 main gods are depicted, and all figures in this area are also  $3 \times 3 = 9$ . The number  $9^*$  is also known from both Germanic and Lappish witchcraft tradition as the particularly magical number, the roof of fate, necessity Troll drum's lower region shows, 15 tecjiejji: in the center of the sun image (13 on Fig. 32), around this grouped the 44 others.

If we remember, that the number of the solar rune in the outward sequence is Q5y, we find here also a number-mystical significant relationship, it has been of a certain expediency to divide precisely 24 signs into a group of 9 and a group of 15.

'the sun at night was believed to travel under A and during the day to move below the firmament, a view found among the ancient Egyptians and other peoples of the ancient world.

Since the signs on this patchwork drum, which by all accounts must be regarded as the most pagan in type of all known, are precisely 24, and distributed in a way that seems to correspond well to the rules of runic magic, the question arises: could these 24 figures not be genetically related to the 24 runic symbols?

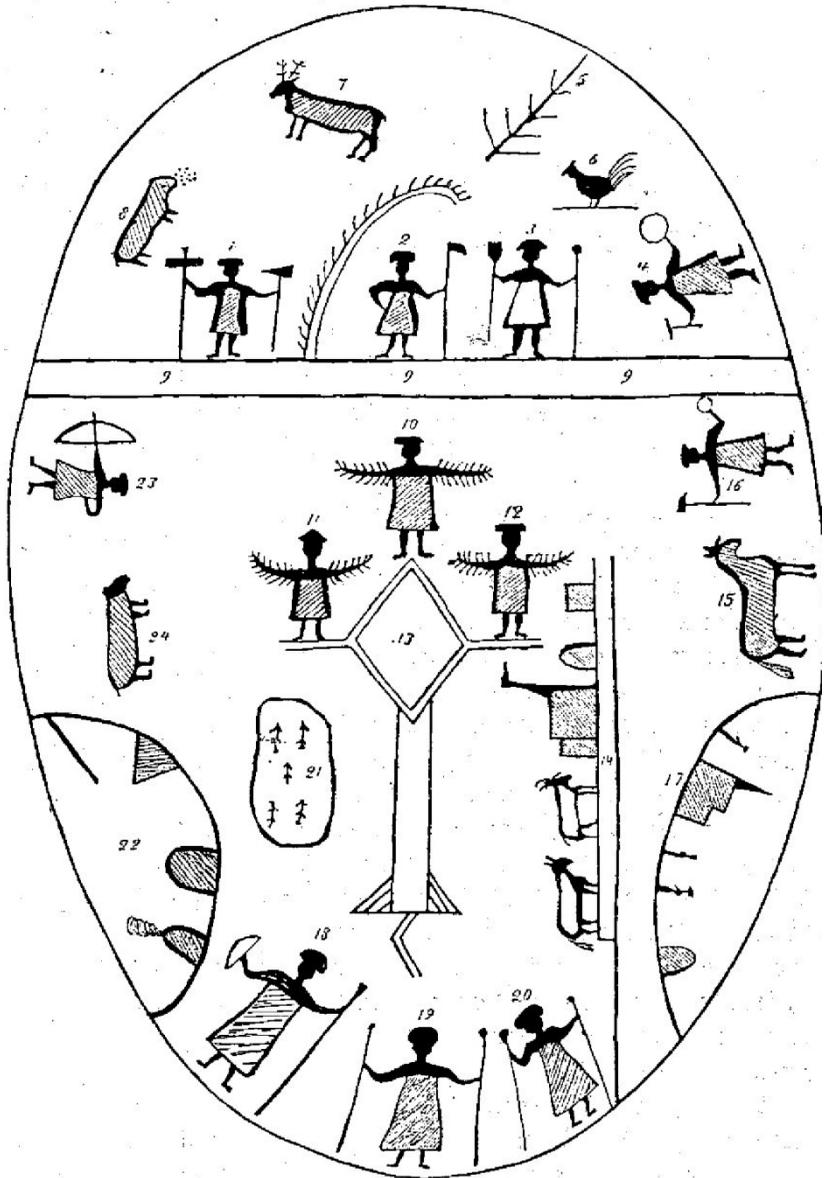


Fig. 32. The troll drum of the Naeromanus script.

the characters? As early as the 9th century, the old rune line consisting of 24 signs was known in Sweden, and it is likely that this series of signs, or at least its 24 names, was preserved in the witchcraft tradition in Scandinavia right up to the end of the pagan period. Previous research has in a number of cases been able to demonstrate a connection between the Lapp drum deities and pre-Scandinavian mythology, especially the three main gods, counterparts of Freyr, Thor and Odin (or Njord). According to my interpretation of runic magic, these gods and some others, together with certain powers of a divine or demonic nature, have been represented in the rune line: Tyr has had a rune (no. 16), named with the god's own name, : Odin has mainly been associated with the horse rune (no. 18), but also with the god rune (no. 3) and the sorcery rune (no. 9), Thor's sign has been the chariot rune (no. 4), etc. A certain part of the figures of the Lapp drum - the deities - can therefore be linked to the rune signs in connection with the magical content of the runes. Another, already at first sight not insignificant part can be directly linked to the rune names.

Already a first glance at the very symmetrically arranged series of images on the NAromanuscript's representation of the magic drum (fig. 32) shows us a striking correspondence between this instrument's 24 figures and several names of runes in the old 24 character runic line. Just as the rune line has a name meaning 'sun' (no. 15) and one meaning 'water' (no. 20), the snare drum has a picture representing the sun (13 in the illustration) and one representing water (21 in the illustration). One rune has had a name that originally meant 'yew tree', but in Nor has it probably also (and perhaps primarily) meant 'bow' (no. 12), and another rune has been called 'horse' (no. 18): on the troll drum appear the image of a man with a bow (23 on the image) and the image of a horse (15 on the image). These immediately striking correspondences have prompted me to investigate whether a connection with the runic characters could not also be imagined in other cases. If this proves to be the case, it is no coincidence that in many cases the figures of the patchwork drum consist of

pictures, which seemed to be mere illustrations of certain runic names. In their language and mythology, as mentioned, the Lapps have borrowed a great deal from their Germanic neighbors and have preserved what they have taken over with great conservatism. There is therefore nothing unreasonable in the assumption that their sorcery has also been strongly influenced by the North Germanic peoples of the past, the last practitioners of the art of runic magic. A detailed examination of Lapp drums of pagan type may therefore reveal a certain - perhaps quite close - connection between Lapp divination and Old Norse runic magic. I begin with the qAh explained divination instruction described by Randulf in the Nserom manuscript. As I have already mentioned, this is undoubtedly to be regarded as the patchwork drum which best preserves in its images the reflexes of a predominantly pagan imaginary world.

1. At the top (slightly to the left) in the central field of the upper region of the drum is the image of a reindeer (7 in the illustration). In the drawing it appears to resemble a reindeer cow (the horns are less strongly formed). In another depiction of the same troll drum, however, the same figure appears as the image of a reindeer bull (the horns are high 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* = 'non-whale reindeer'), but translates it as 'Hun-Reinsdiur'. In other

-In about the same place, a reindeer of a clear male type appears. The translation 'honren' is thus a mistake by Randulf. About this sign he states that it offers sacrifices to one of the 3 main gods. It is known from various sources that pure bulls were sacrificed to both Thor (Horagalles) and Freyr (Veraldolmai). It is therefore certain that the figure was originally the image of a pure bull. If a connection is sought with one of the 24 utharkrunes, such a connection is most naturally offered by the initial rune, the ζζ-sign β, whose name was 'uroxe', perhaps also 'bull (overhead)'. As I have already pointed out, in the oldest Mithraic runic magic the bull rune would have been too closely associated with the power of a life-renewing sacrifice: the bull was

in the Persian religion a symbol of life. Of particular

It is interesting to note that in a story inserted by Randulf in his account of the signs of the kingdom of death, it is mentioned that when divining with this particular magic drum, a father, in order to save the life of his terminally ill son, vowed to slaughter a pure bull as a more powerful sacrifice than a reindeer. Randulf mentions that the Lapps called the sign on the magic drum "Saerva Wsero". The latter word originally meant 'treasure', from which a meaning of 'sacrifice (great sacrifice)' evolved. The former word means 'pure bull' (see above).

2. At the top right of the region below the sky is a figure (16 in the illustration), which is referred to by a Lappish expression meaning 'wizard of the underworld' (*nåide, noaide*). 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 assume here a counterpart to rune no. 2 in the carving, the sign |>, whose name means 'thurs, troll'. Because of its demonic meaning, this figure could not have stood next to the sign of the great sacrifice in the celestial region. Its place is obviously in the lower region. The fact that this figure is placed relatively high up is probably due to a certain striving for symmetry: the 'wizard of the underworld' corresponds to the 'wizard of heaven' (cf. under 9).

3. The right of the three figures representing the head gods (3 in the illustration), is said to be the "man of the wind", Biekagalles. Some scholars have seen in this Lappish divinity a counterpart to Njord, who, although originally a fertility god, in the Norwegian-Icelandic tradition also had to do with the sea and the wind. However, it is more likely that with other scholars think of the connection with Odin, whose own creation of a storm god is well attested. In Snorre's "Gylfaginning" calls Odin Vidrir ('the weather lord'), and in later Scandinavian folklore Odin is the god associated with storms and tempests ("Odin's hunt" etc.). In Lappish literature, Odin also bears a byname meaning 'the third'. We also know from the unanimous testimony of many sources that Lappish sorcerers, in order to obtain wind

tied thirteen knots, which were untied when necessary to get weather of different strength. The connection with the 3rd sign of the arctic, the *ass* rune, which came to Odin as the foremost of the *asa*s, seems to me to be the closest to assume here.

4. The god figure on the left with two hammers (1 in the illustration) is said to be the god of the thunder island Horagalles, an undoubted equivalent of Thor. In connection with my earlier research on the significance of the chariot rune, the 4th sign of the utharkrad, I compare this figure on the troll drum with the rune and the magic associated with it.

5. At the top right of the upper region is a sign (5 in the illustration), which resembles the top of a spruce or pine with upward-pointing branches. In his interpretation of this sign, Randulf seems to have had a misunderstanding. He says it refers to Rutu, a demon of death and disease. Its abode, however, according to all other sources, is to be sought in the underworld. Therefore, a symbol referring to him cannot very well have been placed in the celestial region. That the author is very uncertain as to what is meant by this sign is evident from the fact that he says he has been unable to obtain any satisfactory information as to the nature of this Ruth. The truth is that there has been a confusion of two similar words. There is a Lappish word *ruotko* with the meaning 'dry spruce' (Lindahl and Öhrlings lexicon). This corresponds to the treetop-like figure, which of course is more like the outline of the top of a conifer. I have argued in the preceding that the 5th character in the utharkraden should originally have had a name, which meant 'torch' and 'pinewood' (angelsax. *cén*, 'torch'). The celestial figures of the Lappish troll drum are of course best interpreted if the sign in question is attributed to the rune, which was symbolic of the cflđ, the most ancient element. Since in the North Germanic languages the rune name had a double meaning, 'torch' and 'pinewood', it is easy to understand if the Lapps interpreted it in the more literal sense of 'pinewood' (cf. the German *Kien*) and as a symbolic figure for this drew a pine branch or pine top.

6. Just below the tree-like figure just discussed

is the image of a rooster (6 in the illustration). Randulf explains that this sign refers to a sacrifice. Of course, it must originally have been a smaller one, consisting of poultry and smaller animals. According to my explanation of the rune line, the + rune, whose name means 'gift' (ags. *gifu*), was originally named in connection with the Persian *darun* (eg. 'gift'), used in the sense of 'offering' and ritually tied to the number 6 (alternatively 4). As I have pointed out above, among several peoples, including the Germanic peoples of the north, the verb, which actually means 'to give', was also used in the sense of 'to offer'. Lappish troll texts also speak of 'giving something' in the sense of 'offering something': 'giving something to the cemetery', for example, is equivalent to 'offering to the dead' (J. and P. Turi). In view of the above, it is reasonable to assume a genetic connection between the sacrificial symbol of the troll drum (the rooster) and the gift rune immediately following the torch rune.

7. The deity figure in the middle (2 in the illustration) is said to refer to Veralden olmai, the Lapp equivalent of Freyr. Veralden olmai\* should actually mean 'man of the world'. In "Heimskringla" it is mentioned that the Swedes called Freyr *veraldar gud*, i.e. 'god of the world'. The Lapps usually call their gods "men" or "men" (*olmai* - "man", *galles* = "man"). In front of the god figure, who is holding a hoe (i.e. an agricultural tool) in his hand, is the already mentioned trunk- or stem-like figure (in the illustration without number). According to Randulf it is supposed to denote "fertile heat", and we shall deal with it in the following (cf. under 11). Freyr, however, was not exclusively a god of agriculture. In the ancient North he was perhaps primarily a god of friendship and peace, to whom sacrifices were made not only for a good year (*til árs*), but also for peace (*til fridar*). In the preceding I have presented reasons which indicate that this god in his capacity as the guardian of friendship and peace was associated with the utharkradens in +e\_runa, whose name may originally have meant 'joy' (ags.

Further support for Freyr being associated with the 7th rune sign p (w) is provided by a Lappish troll drum, which I will discuss in the following: the god corresponding to

/ The Veralden olmai of the NAeroman manuscript, has here at its side a staff of this particular rune's shape.

8. To the left of the reindeer we see a bear (8 in the illustration). At first sight, it is very difficult to find a correspondence with any of the runic character names. However, if we consider that the bear figure in question is in the region of heaven and is said to bear the name "heavenly bear", we understand that there are sufficient reasons to suggest that we are dealing with an astral object.

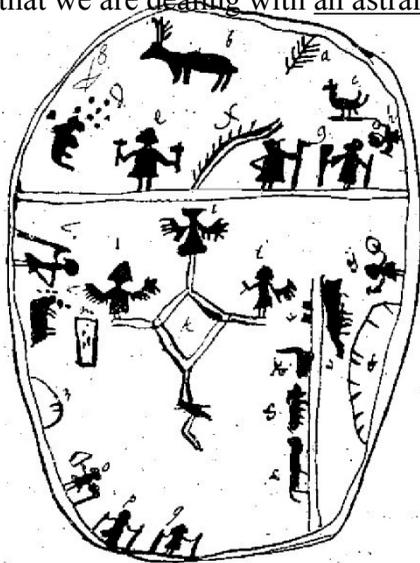


Fig. 33. v. Westen's drawing of Nasro the magic drum of the manuscript.

position and not with an ordinary -earthly bear. What -is meant should be a 'constellation, and this can, according to the principle of *pars pro toto*, stand as a symbol of the firmament in its entirety

it. According to what I have developed above, the hailstone, the 8th sign of the uthark, has magically appeared in the fixed starry sky, the unshakable eighth sphere, which was believed to consist of crystal (*hail* actually 'crystalline stone'). That the Lapps had a constellation, which was called "bear is highly likely for a number of reasons. One researcher

has, moreover, already identified the "bear of heaven" mentioned in the Naeroman manuscript with the Great Bear (or Karlavag nen), which elsewhere among the Lapps is called "The Arches" or "Favtna's Arch" (J. Turi). Nothing prevents this com- position or perhaps rather the Little Bear located at the northern celestial pole from being called "the bear of heaven".

In the in the taboo influenced Lappish hunting language, a bear's eye is

called "star" '*naste*' - behind this felt figure"  
the 'bear' in the sky, made up of stars. A detail, which also  
indicates something astral, is that at the bear's

nos are a collection of dots, with which stars could be indicated. On the one of the magic drum's discoverers, Lektor von

In the schematic drawing made in the West, these dots are 8, In the very number which is the hailstone in the outer row (see~ofb733r In the following, we shall also find that on another magic drum,

"the 'bear in the sky' is replaced by 8 zodiac signs (cf. under VII).

9. The figure on the far right of the sky region (4 in the illustration) J is called "the rune man of the sky (i.e. wizard)". Here the assumption of a connection with the 9th sign of the uthark, necessity

'rune, are close at hand. This rune can be considered the magical rune above others, it is, as its name indicates,

. the letter symbol of necessity, the power of fate. In magic, the 3 and its amplification overtake the demonic 2. 'As mentioned above, as a counterpart to the "troll of heaven" (cf. above under 2), there is the "troll of the underworld", which I have compared with the thursune, whose counterpart cannot have been assigned a place in the heavenly region, where otherwise all the initial signs of the uthar- k have had their reflexes placed. The

■ The upper wizard figure, 'the wizard of heaven', holds in his left hand a large drum ('Runebomme'), the lower, 'the wizard of the underworld', a slightly smaller one. Both have

in his right hand a hammer, apparently referring to the reindeer-horn hammer used for beating a groove drum. Randulf says of the "wizard of heaven" that he is the "prophet and rune-man" of the three supreme gods, and that after he has performed his divinatory work he is granted a hearing or a rejection on earth. (See under VII for the corresponding nine signs.)

10. The 10th rune in the eighth row has a name that indicates 'ice'. This rune has, as I have explained above, been magically associated by the pagan North Germans with death and with Hel, the mistress of the dead. Since, according to the Lappish mythology (in accordance with the Old Norse), the realm of death is underground, a correspondence to the ice rune can only be sought in the lower region of this troll drum.

Down at the right-hand edge we also find an area (17 on the illustration), which is said to be "the realm of the dead".

Randulf mentions that when divination is practiced, the

If the ring moved towards this area and entered what was called "the way of the dead", this was taken as a sign that the sick person was threatened with death. If a sacrifice was promised or carried out and the drum was then consulted again, it was concluded that the sacrifice or promise of sacrifice had been accepted, if the ring now went over to the left side, where the domicile of the Lapps is indicated (22 on the illustration). The sick person was then believed to retain his life and remain for a time among his own people.

11. We now come to the 9th and last sign in the celestial region. Since two runes (the thurs rune and the is rune) are, with local necessity, to be found in the lower region, we now have to expect a counterpart to the second sign of the uthark, the ifr rune, the symbol of the fertility of plants. In Norse magic, the god Freyr, as already mentioned, must have been closely associated with the rune mentioned, as he was called, among other things, *ârgudA* 'god of the harvest'. In front of Frey's Lappish counterpart, *Véralden olmai*, a peculiar stem or stalk with protrusions or thorns can be seen on the troll drum. I have already mentioned this sign, although it has not been given a special number in the illustration. Randulf, however, mentions it at some length, and also explains it: it is to signify 'fertility, both of the earth and the sea and of cattle'. We are thus dealing with a sign that corresponds very closely to the function of the ar-rune in runic magic. It is natural enough that the Lapps also saw in Frey, the god of fertility, a promoter of pure breeding. However, the shape of the fertility sign suggests something vegetative; it represents a trunk with branches. I have already discussed that Freyr in Norse magic should have been associated with two runes. It is not unreasonable that a god with different functions should have been associated 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 9 divine and 2 de monic runes. The divine counterparts have been found in the upper region of the drum and, interestingly, in roughly the same order as in the rake. Since the figures are not grouped one after the other in rows, a strictly corresponding arrangement in detail is of course not detectable. On a troll drum of a different type, showing a division into five regions, the order of the counterparts can be better ascertained. We shall see that although this magic drum - the V adsorelation > - shows a younger imaginary world, much influenced by Christianity, the deviations from the original order are relatively few within the series of figures corresponding to that in the Naeroman manuscript

the celestial region of the magic drum described. If we now look at the lower region of this divination tool, we find that the signs are placed in a certain quite clearly discernible symmetrical arrangement. The sign of the sun is in the center. The area of the living is a counterpart of that of the dead, the former being within a semicircle to the left, the latter within a semicircle to the right. At the bottom are three goddess figures. These, as we shall see, represent the living female divinities beneath the patchwork and the surface of the earth. Above the sun and in line with 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 dwelling and his hut, to the left the fishing grounds of the patch. The wizard of the underworld at the top right - who, on the other hand, corresponds to the wizard of heaven - is represented on the left by a man with bow. And the horse on the right, the demonic animal between the wizard of the underworld and the realm of the dead, corresponds to the bear, regarded as sacred, the "dog of God," which, on the other hand, corresponds to the bear of heaven. In such an arrangement it is obvious that the figures cannot be placed in the room, one after the other, in as good a correspondence with the signs of the succession as if they were arranged in rows. However, the 13 figures in this large area which have not yet been dealt with correspond, as will be seen below, to the characters Nos 12 to 24.

12. If we now start at the far left at the border between heaven and earth - according to Randulf, the air lies between the two lines - we see in the picture a man with a bow in his outstretched hand (23 in the illustration). In variant drawings the bow looks more like a staff. The Lapps' bows have sometimes been of a construction that allowed the bowstring to straighten out when the weapon was no longer drawn. The fact that we are dealing with a bow god is also unmistakable from the interpretation. The figure with weapon in hand represents the hunting god Leibolmai, the divine 'protector' of the bear. (In the picture, as we see, he has a bear beside him.) Leibolmai actually means 'elf-man', and as a hunting god with a bow, he inevitably evokes the idea of

| Ull, the god of the yew tree and the bow, with whom, according to my understanding, the 12th sign of the uthark, the yew rune, was magically associated. The "idegransman" thus corresponds to the "elman", both divine representatives of hunting and shooting. According to sources from the 18th century, bows and arrows were sacrificed to Leib olmai. As I have pointed out in the previous section, the rune of the idegrans has had a name, which in the Scandinavian north over time has been taken as a significant bow (*AihwasA yr*).

| The parallel with runic magic in this case is striking;

13. It is more difficult to find a counterpart to the /-rune, the 13th character in the rake, if the Kylver carving can be considered to represent an isolated, temporary reversal in the middle part of its rune line. As I have emphasized above, the original name of the /-rune can only be determined with difficulty. If we go along with my investigation given above, this rune would originally have been called *petra* and magically stood in

| The relationship to the earth: the late antique equivalent of this deity was Demeter, alias Magna mater. If we consider a 'runic sign associated with a female earth divinity, we have to look for the corresponding figure on the magic drum in one of the three goddess figures in the periphery below

I the sun cross. These represent the goddesses Juksakka, Sarakka and I Madderakka, sacred 'midwives' who help the female sex. The latter, who is on the far right of the picture (20 in the illustration), has a name which, according to some scholars,

means 'tribal

modern' (actually 'rotmodern'), in Professor Setälä's opinion ' rather 'earth mother' (to the Finnish word *mantere*, 'earth'). She is thus a counterpart to Demeter and Magna mater, and the author of the Naeroman manuscript also expressly compares her to the latter. Is my interpretation of the 'f' rune name

i correct, there is thus a striking correspondence between the meaning of a certain rune sign assumed by me and the p figure on the Lapp drum mentioned. In the following I shall show that I also have reasons to believe that the Lapps

j ikäht to the A rune under the form  $\psi$ , and combined it with Madderakka or a variant of the same goddess (the so-called "back-modern").

14. The 14th rune in the hare, the sign  $\psi$ , has 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 (like the 15th letter). with the sun and the moon). In Mithraic alphabet mythology, the same letter would have

was dedicated to the Dioscuri, whose emblems included two stars. The Dioscuri were divinities closely associated with the sun. The two stars used as their symbol probably refer to the morning and evening stars, which marked the rising and setting of the sun. Alternatively, however, the two stars Castor and Pollux in the zodiac constellation Gemini come to mind. Whatever the original name of the 14th crescent may have been, it is to be presumed that its counterpart on a patch drum is to be found in the vicinity of the sun. On several Lapp drums the image ] also appears in the immediate vicinity of the sun.

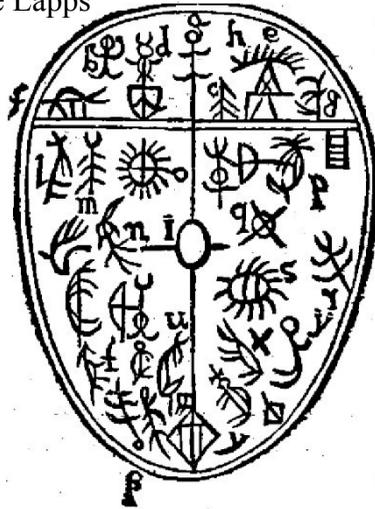


Fig. 34. Lapp drum, described by Schefferus and Rudbeck.



of a moose, usually on the upper "road" leading from it (cf. fig. 20; likewise on a track drum kept in the National Museum in Stockholm). As I have pointed out above, the name of the rune, even if it did not originally mean 'moose-', was so similar to this word that in some places, e.g. among the Anglo-Saxons and probably also earlier in the Scanian-Danish environment, it was replaced by the word for 'moose'. The Naeroman manuscript's magic drum, however, has no moose near the sun, but, as mentioned, thirteen strange winged human figures, which are said to represent the three "holy men". Here, of course, is a remodeling of certain pagan figures in connection with representations received with the Catholic Christian doctrine. 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-



Fig. 35. A ring carved in wood, through which the patches let the sun shine.

for the sun) 'Sunday man'. In one of these figures we have to look for a reflex of the rune  $\psi$ . Since a sign of exactly the same form was used in time as a manrunes and schematically offers the image of a man with upraised arms, it is understandable if the idea of a "man" finally attached itself to the sign. The reflections of the old signs  $\wedge$  and  $\psi$  may thus both have been perceived over time as signs for "men". How these "men" later developed into holiday divinities and one was regarded as the "Saturday man", the other as the "Friday man", I will elaborate on in the discussion of the correspondence to the 23rd utharkrun. A good support for my opinion is that a troll drum from the end of the 17th century, the Vadsorelation, next to the holy day men's stables has rune-like rods:  $\psi$  (corresponding to the 14th) and f (a younger sign for the m-sound, genetically corresponding to the old 19th century). It appears that the Lappish troll drum signs were originally | were imitations of runes. From the associated names and

over time, human and animal figures (and occasionally plant figures) have developed.

15. The 15th uthark sign is the sun-rune. The correspondence with the central figure of the magic drum (13 on the illustration), which is said to denote "Paive", the sun, is so obvious that no elaborate argumentation is necessary. The peculiar angular shape of the sun sign may go back to a variant of the s/unan, known from

Iceland:  $\Delta$  in a 16th century Icelandic black art book; in Jon Árnason called "run staven sol with dash over". This round type is a modification of the better known West Nordic s-sign  $\Delta$ . On one of Schefferus' reproductions of 17th century Lapp drums (see fig. 34) the sun sign a with this more sun-like round type over a monotonous shape. In this depiction we see a long line running from the top down to the sun roundel and also a long line running downwards, whereas the side lines are only very short.

Sari-

It is likely that the sun sign on a patch drum originally looked like the round type  $\Delta$ , i.e. it had only a line combined with the roundel. This appearance has been preserved in the magic metal ring through which the Lapps looked at the sun (see Fig. 35), probably holding the handle-like part downwards. Reversal of runic characters is, however, very common among the Lapps (as well as reversal of right and left, cf. below). In one of Rudbeck's reproductions, the sun sign is angular and has only one line at the top (*h* on fig. 36). Here the similarity with the round type is

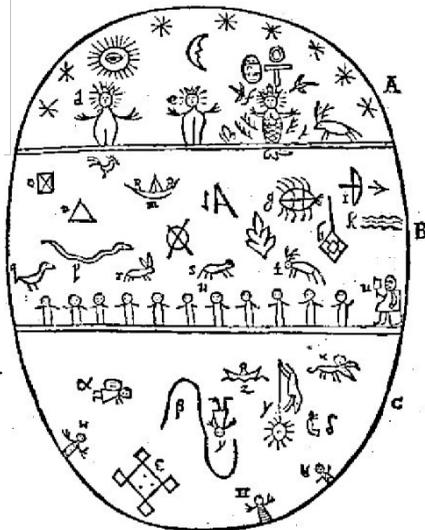


Fig. 36. Patchwork drum described by Rudbeck.

χ striking. Both in terms of the form and meaning of the sun sign, we thus encounter clear parallels within the rune line developed in Scandinavia.

16. Next to the image of the bow-bearing hunting god Leibol-mai, the 'elfin man', appears, as already mentioned, a bear. The bear, the most powerful prey in the forest, was especially under Leibolmai's protection. The two images are obviously closely related, and it is therefore possible that both figures have the same rune sign: the ivy 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 substitute for its own corresponding rune sign. In my opinion, the only rune that comes to mind in this case is Arunan, the sign of the god Tyr. In older times, a rune associated with this

Ī hanging signs have predicted good luck (victory) in bear hunting. Bulls ; the rune was called the victory rune by the North Germanic ' runesmen. For a Lapp man, victory over the forest's largest game was probably the closest thing to a victory sign on a divination device. The Lappish bear song, for which there are several accounts, has just

begun with words, which speak of victory: "Thou beast of the forest over the victor" etc. To mark their "victory" over the bear, the Lapps, it is said, kicked the bear's body with their skins. There is also a similarity between Tyr and the bear in that both were taken as symbols of physical strength. When a divination drum was consulted before a bear hunt, the ring's migration to the bear was probably interpreted as progress (victory) in the intended enterprise. If, on the other hand, the sage stayed with Leibolmai, this has been interpreted as a demand from this god for sacrifice. Unfortunately, there is no direct indication of this, but certain analogies and general statements give us guidance in our guess,

17. , The 17th uthark sign, the birch tree, has been interpreted by me

. as a book of particular importance for women's fertility | staff, associated with the goddess Frigg, whose sacred tree the bear was. The Lappish divinity, which most closely corresponds Frigg, is the childbearing goddess Saracca. In the Naeromanuscript

This goddess is depicted to the left of Madderakka in the troll drum. Sarakka is the middle goddess of childbirth (19 in the illustration). Her name is probably related to the Lappish verb *saret*, which means 'to split or tear sinews'. She undoubtedly received this name

with regard to her function as a helper in childbirth. It is likely that the name originally meant 'she who flays the son or cuts the umbilical cord'. Sarakka was the most beloved goddess of the Lapps, the main 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 like the adult, the other bent into a ring). Then the baptizing mother said to the child: "You will be as fruitful, healthy and strong as the birch from which this branch was taken" (Jessen in Leem).

-akka. This whole act of baptism brings to mind the fertility magic associated with the birch rune. Another ceremony, the purification of the Lapp men in water, in which ashes from 17 (8+9) birch tundras were placed, I have described in detail 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 of the days of the week with divinities, explained that Friday, i.e. Frigg's day, was dedicated to Sarakka (Forbus at Reuterskiöld). This confirms my assumption that the so-called "Friday man" (cf. under 14, 19 and 23) is a relatively late-arriving divinity, which only in analogy with "sun man" (cf. under 23) was associated with a day of the week. Sarakka was believed to live under the floor of the hut. Like the other akkas, she was a chthonic (subterranean) divinity. Such deities were undoubtedly worshipped by the Lapps 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 came from an old nomadic religion, has taken over a number of traits, since on becoming acquainted with North Germanic beliefs she was identified with the Scandinavians' foremost

mother goddess: given her its sacred tree, day and speech (17) o. s. y. Sometimes a special small hut was built, intended for the worship of Sarakka. This is depicted on some troll drums and usually has a birch tree (alternatively two) next to it.

18. The 18th uthark sign, the horse-rune, has, as I have already mentioned, an obvious counterpart on the Nserom manuscript's troll drum. Between the "wizard of the underworld" and the "realm of death" is a horse (15 in the illustration). This figure is called "Sturich", an awkward spelling for *Stuorek*, a name which I have in the preceding (p. 77) combined with the Swedish word *stor*, remembering that Odin's horse in some places in Sweden has been called "den in the great horse". About this "Sturich" Randulf states that , it is a "sacrificial horse", which is promised when someone is terminally ill, because

) that the dead will let him live for some time. Therefore this horse stands "on the way to the kingdom of the dead", says mariu-

in the author of the script. As with the North Germans, the horse has been one with death and the underworld among the Lapps. in that essence. The underworld god Rota (Rutu), who brought ill judgment and death, was also thought to come riding on a horse. In some sources, Rota is perceived as a female being (J. Féll-man and others), in most, however, as a male. The myth has been written to interpret etymologically the name of this Lappish death divinity. The name has two main variants, one with *o* and one with *u* in the stem. The less common name type *Rutu*, *Ruto* etc. is probably related to the Finnish word *rutto*, which means 'plague, pestilence'. However, the Finnish word may be borrowed from the Lappish, which is assumed to be a loan from a Germanic word ('leprosy' is called *pruts-Jill* in Gothic, and a corresponding word for 'plague, severe illness' would have existed in ancient Scandinavia, the Old Norse has e.g. the adjective *prutenn*, 'swollen'). However, it seems likely to me that *Rota* was the actual name of the death demon. This is supported by the fact that its home is almost always called "Rotaland" or "Rotaimo" (in the Swedish sources I have encountered 10 Rotaland or Rotaimo against 1 Rutaimo). I have mentioned above, that Rota in

some sources are presented as a female being. This perpetuity is reminiscent of 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 choose those who shall fall", and are mentioned by Snorri: "Gunn, Rota and Skuld". However, these are only a few sources, referring to the Lapp Rota as female. It has been believed, that this view was due to the fact that the name ends in *-a*. Given that Rota in Norse mythology was the name of a death valkyrie, however, it is to be considered, whether not before the position of Rota as one can be seen in the Lapps' customer and have arisen on the basis that it is generally [men who travel on horseback. Of course, the idea should also The idea of Odin as a horseman may have played a role. Although the Lapps originally and mainly thought of Rota as a male being, the origin of the name itself may be sought in the name of the death valkyrie mentioned by Snorri. Of some interest is that in a Swedish spell against a horse disease ("floget") a demonic being is mentioned, whose name is reminiscent of the Lapp Rutu (Rota):

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

("Solomonic magical arts", either "she" or "honom" should be a transcription error.) The spell seems to originate from a formula recorded in Småland, which begins: "Onden stod på berget med spänd båge" (Sö derbäck). By "Onden" is meant Odin (cf. under 18 in the previous essay). The writing Rut may have replaced an older Rot (which rhymed with foot). It is conceivable that the name Rota mentioned by Snorri in later Scandinavian folk tradition may have become a name for Odin as a disease demon or *s u r v i v e d* as the name of a female demon associated with Odin and death, which was eventually partly confused with the god himself.

19. The 19th uthark sign, the man-rune, I have already mentioned above (under 14) under the assumption of connection with one of

the so-called 'public holiday men'. If the sign in question is related to 'Saturday man' (11) or 'Friday man' (12), is difficult to determine. The question is, moreover, of secondary importance. A male being corresponding to Madderakka is Madderattje. He is said to have his abode "near the sun". On a troll drum (Leem-

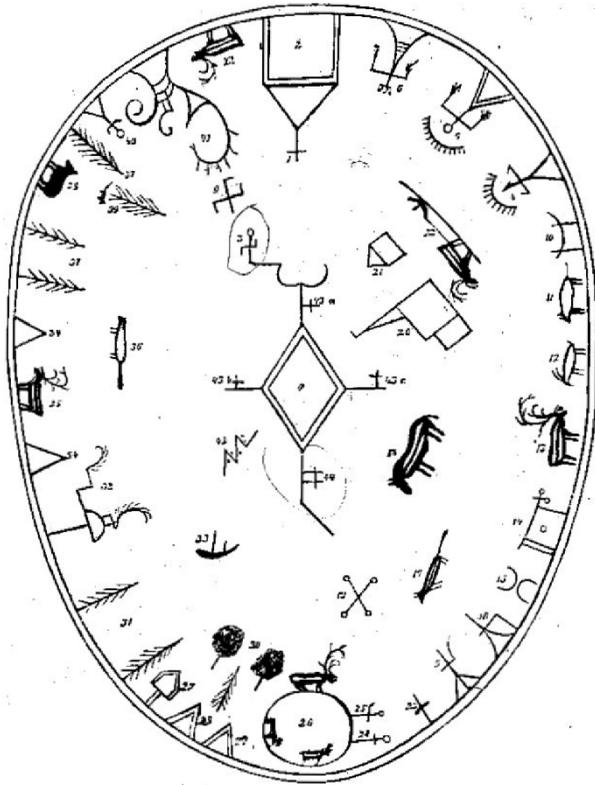


Fig. 37. Jensen's patchwork drum according to Friis' reconstruction.

Jessens), this is seen as a figure with arms and head (3 on fig. 37). The sign bears some resemblance to two late forms of the /"-rune: o ( So here we are presumably a remnant of the rune whose name means 'man'. On the drum in question there are also three cross-like signs for the three saints. Nothing prevents, however, that a ur-

A sign derived from a certain variant of the manrune may have been retained, although with other troll drum figures as a pattern three holy day men, marked with crosses, were introduced, in which a reflex of another variant of the wz-rune should be present:  $t = w$  in the Swedish-Norwegian rune line. That a counterpart to the man rune should be sought in the vicinity of the sun sign is, in any case, what one would expect.

20. The 20th uthark sign, the Z-rune, whose name means 'water', has its striking counterpart in the figure on the troll drum, which is said to represent 'fishing water' (21 on the illustration). It is quite understandable that in Lappish magic water has primarily had significance as fishing water: the Lapps expected good fishing from the water in the first place. Randulf mentions that if the ring (the pointer) went to the sign of the water and stayed within it, this meant good fishing; if, on the other hand, the ring stayed near the edge of the figure without entering it, it meant that the water god, "*Tonsie* God", required sacrifices for the fishing to succeed. If the ring was left completely outside, no sacrifice was worthwhile. Such a sacrifice is usually said to have consisted of a dead dog. The name of the water god has been interpreted by the Norwegian Lapp scholar Qvigstad as deriving from the originally significant "*Tunnsjöguden*" and referring to a site at Tunnsjoen in Namdalen. The Lapps have had different water deities in different regions. The deity of water is usually called *Tjasolmai*, i.e. "the waterman", a counterpart to the Russians' *Vodjanoj* and our *Näcken*. As I have pointed out above (cf. the first essay under 2), the 'Aquarius' as a demonic entity.

21. The 21st uthark sign is *Ingrunan*. Judging from the name, it must have had something to do with fertility (cf. the previous essay under 21). Just as *Tyrrunan* is connected with the god *Tyr*, *Ingrunan* has been magically associated with *Ing*, one of the North Germanic deities, according to tradition originally a tribal heros," who was locally worshipped as a male fertility god. Unlike the birch rune, the sign of *Frigg*, the *Ing* may have had the function of predicting male offspring. In Lappish mythology, the

a female being, Juksakka, whose main task is to bring boy children into the world. This goddess of birth has a name that should really be written Juoksakka, as it seems to be related to the word *juoks*, 'bow'. The fact that she bears such a name is explained by the fact that it depended on her if the child was of the sex that used a bow. If sufficiently powerful sorcery was practiced by her, it was believed

even a female fetus in the womb could change into a male. That is why she has a magic drum in her right hand, Randulf explains. In the other she holds a wand (see 18 on the illustration). Her figure turns on the magic drum in the direction where the arch-god Leibolmai is. There is no direct mythological continuation of the god Ing in this case.

Undoubtedly, as I have already pointed out, the Lapps, long before their encounter with the North Germans, had worshipped certain deities of the female sex, the protectors of the hearth and home.

' Like Sarakka, Juksakka was thought to live down in the ground under the hut, more precisely at the door, where the men's bows used to

/ is asked. The name Uksakka probably refers to the same divinity. It means 'door woman' (*uks* in Laplandic 'door'). Such a being also appears in the pre-setting world of the northern Swedish population, 'Dörrkärigen' (in Västerbotten). The name Juksakka is probably a contamination of Juoksakka and Uksakka (one and the same figure is called by Jessen "Uks- or Juksakka"). If we assume that the Lapps' immediate pattern for the sorcery figures was a North Germanic divination tool with runes, we encounter no difficulty in putting together; Juksakkas" in the form of the Ingruna: the essential thing for the Lappish needles of the present time has been the function of the signs, not directly the runes 5 names. To IngruruMiyAå<sup>jAA</sup> divination tool - used as a sign for the birth of a boy child, nothing is too bold' (cf. page 87)'.... ".....

22. The 22nd uthark sign, the odal rune, has a name that refers to real estate (odal, heirloom). In runic magic, this sign should have been associated with the concept of 'dwelling, domicile'. On the troll drum described by Randulf there is on the left (as a counterpart to the realm of death on the opposite side) a half

circular place (22 in the illustration), where Lapp huts and earth balls are depicted. The meaning of this figure is that the movement of the ring from this area or its stay within it determined whether the Lapp would stay where he was or had the prospect of a better life elsewhere. We also know that if the ring went from the region of the kingdom of death to this residential area, it was a good sign: the sick person would be allowed to stay with his family. If we stick to what can be assumed to have been the role of the odal rune in divination, we have here a good correspondence between the Lappish domicile sign and the meaning of the 22nd sign of the uthark: what was the domicile of the dweller has become the domicile of the Lapp. In this case, the name of the rune has not been the essential thing but its magic function.

23. The 23rd uthark sign, *dagrunan*, has had a name meaning 'day' and probably also 'day, daylight'. In Lappish, however, the same word *beive* (*peive*) is used for both 'sun' and 'day'. If the reflexes of the 15th and 23rd runes (the sun rune and the day rune) are kept apart, the Lappish characters that go back to these runes should be in each other's immediate neighborhood. In view of this, I suspect that the so-called "Sunday man", placed immediately above the sun sign (10 on the illustration), is a reflex of the day rune. To distinguish this sign from that of the sun, it was probably once called the "sun man". Already in Norse myth, the day rune may have been associated with a light divinity perceived as a male being: Dag, son of Delling. As Sunday was the day of the sun, the day man sun man has finally become

"Sunday man", after which the two male figures placed on the sides of the sun sign, reflections of the *m*- and *ze*-runes, were also perceived as weekday divinities. It is possible that the Sunday man (sun man) was first given wings, perhaps in connection with an older North Germanic myth. Then the other two figures were also given wings instead of arms.

■ 24. All that remains now is to find the equivalent of the last rune of the uthark (associated with the number 24). Its name in Old Norse, *\*fehu*, has at one time meant 'cattle' and

'wealth', a collective concept which corresponds well to the high numerical value of the letter-sign according to the uthark theory. The only sign on the magic drum, which we have not yet dealt with, is called "the way of the Christians". This sign (14 on the illustration) refers to the wealthy neighboring population and its possessions, the Christian worshippers and their possessions.

Alongside a church and two lower buildings (a farmhouse and a storehouse) are cattle (a goat and a cow). Randulf mentions that this sign was used to know when the Lapps were to "trade" with farmers, priests and others who were not Lapps. The Lapps' sacrificial system, inherited from the ancient disk religion, included requirements for procuring

- ■TiangAATITAIinA animalsAand" food, which they themselves did not raise or produce. Horse takes the victim to the afterlife, rooster for certain small sacrifices, etc., could only be obtained by purchase from the settled peasant population. It is interesting to note in this context that Lappish has a word for 'wealth', *båndavuot* (or *bdndotak*), which is a derivation of the borrowed word *bānda*, 'householder', which apparently originally meant 'self-owning farmer'. Both the individual names of the image - figures representing domestic animals - and what we know about the function of the sign - advice on trade - point to a connection with the /-rune. With this and

Its number 24 has, as we have seen above, been associated in North Germanic magic with acts connected with the acquisition and recovery of property.

Of particular interest to my theory of utharka is the fact that the equivalents of the urox rune and the wealth rune - the sign of the pure bull and the sign of the farmer's home and livestock - are so far apart. The former

- / the sign is at the top of the drum among a number of figures which have been shown to be reflections of runes in the first half of the uthark, 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 kingdom of death and has only the image of the Madderakka living underground below it. (In v. Westen's drawing, fig. 33, ; it reaches all the way down.) Examination of the next troll drum will show even more clearly that the sign of the pure bull is n:r 1.

## III.

- f A Lappish troll drum is known from the late 17th century,
- which belonged to a nearly 100-year-old Lapp man, Anders Poulsen.

! He was accused of practicing witchcraft and was interrogated in 1691 before a court in Vadso in Norwegian Finnmark. The accused gave a detailed explanation of the use of the divination device and the meaning of the figures depicted on the drum. The old Lapp man claimed to have been born in Torne Lapland in Sweden and to have learned the art of divination from his mother. The magic drum, which was very worn from frequent use, the accused is said to have once explained that he had made it himself, but in court he denied this. Although the tool used by Anders Poulsen was found a few decades earlier than the magic drum found by von Westen and interpreted by Ran-dulf, with which we have dealt above, it belongs mythologically to a later stage of development. This is because, in contrast to the magic drum found in the early 1720s, which was probably made much earlier, it shows a strong element of Christianity. The reason for this difference is easy to see if one considers that the two trolls, although roughly belonging to the same period, belong to different geographical areas. In addition to this, there is the fact that the Watserelation troll drum or its model was used by a woman, the mother of the Lapp man accused of sorcery. As a rule, a woman was not allowed to use a Lappish magic drum, though possibly at an advanced age. However, several aspects of the divination figures' arrangement (the absence of counterparts to the two bears, etc.) are explained by the fact that, in exceptional cases, a Lapp woman (in this case, one who had reached an advanced age) also practiced divination in connection with a tool suited to her needs.

At first glance, the two troll drums appear to be each other very differently. However, a closer examination will show that the prediction described in the Nbróm manuscript

The 24 figures of the apparatus have no less than 22 equivalents on the magic tool of the -Vadsorelation. The fact that on the latter drum, despite the loss of two characters, 25 figures appear is due to the fact that some characters have a double reflex. Several of the figures on the Vadsot drum are also equipped with "wands", magic signs  $ay\_ru$  <sup>nlikeJkaA</sup> raktäirAänWhär a remnant of something very archaic. In older times, judging from written accounts, there seem to have been magic drums without figurines, the signs of which consisted of what were called 'lines' or 'characters' (probably rune-like marks). It is mentioned, for example, that a Finnmarkslapp had a drum with "nine lines, each with its own special meaning" (Leem). The statement that the characters in this case were only 9, is probably due to a partial misunderstanding.

It is likely that the drum in question, like the 24 signs described by Randulf, of which those belonging to the JllLhinL- region have been the subject of particular comment. Further evidence is provided by depictions of troll drums affixed to troll drums. One such image (no. 7 on the troll drum no. 8 at Friis) shows the same main division as on the image of the Nasroman script: a transverse line a little above the center, on this stand vertical lines and in the lower field equal vertical lines in any significant number. It is likely that the figural type grew out of the bar or rod type. The magic drum of the vadsorelation seems to show a transitional stage: figures have been placed next to the rods (lines) and in some cases the rods have disappeared and only images have remained, as in the Nieroman manuscript. An even older stage has been represented by track drums, which have only so-called "lines" or "rods", which were probably once quite similar to the runes used by the North Germans.

The Lappish troll drum's Norwegian name, *runebomme*, gives some indication in this direction, although it should not be forgotten that the Nynorsk verb *runa* has the meaning 'to tell'. A detailed examination of the Vådsorelationehs'tföllffa also, as we shall see in the following, indicate that its so-

called rods can to a considerable extent be attributed to



runes, and some are even identical with runic characters, in two cases even of ancient type (see Fig. 38).

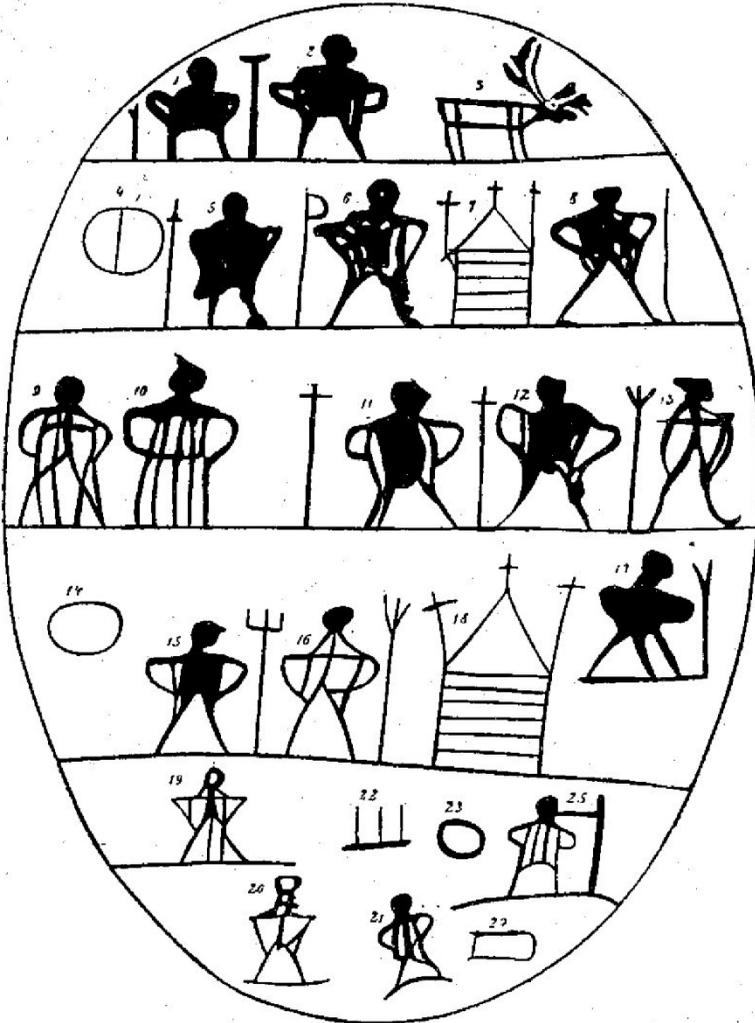


Fig. 38. The magic drum of the vadsorelation.

The troll drum of the Vadsorelation, whose model, as mentioned, belonged to the Tornetrakten in 17th-century Sweden, has red characters painted with alabaster and is characterized by four horizontally running

lines divided into five sections. The figures within these have \* been explained in turn by the Lapp wizard during the interrogation. In connection with the direction of the Latin script and the common European practice of having pictures follow each other from left to right, the Lapp man's answers have been recorded in this order. It is by no means clear that the fortune-teller himself intended this order: a common magic operation is precisely to let a movement take place "counter-clockwise" (from

4" West-right to east-left"). One circumstance which, in my opinion, is relevant to the question is that only if one counts with an arrangement from right to left, the three closely related saints and the sun come in succession. If, on the other hand, one counts from left to right, no less than six figures would stand between the sun (the round sign on the far left in the 2nd row) and the three saints (in the 3rd row, the last one on the far right). This circumstance is of great importance. The connection to the Naeroman manuscript's image and to the rune line also appears in other respects in a right-left orientation. The orientation I have chosen is also supported by a message given by the wizard himself - indirectly ~~to~~ which will be discussed below (p. 150). I now turn to a detailed examination of the figures and signs of the divination tool.

We start with the top region, where figures 1, 2 and 3 in the illustration are to be grouped in the opposite order.

As no. 1 we have in that case to consider the image of the pure bull (3 in the illustration). That it is a pure bull is clear from the powerful horns, characteristic only of a male. Here there is agreement with the uthark's tjurruna (ang- elsax. *dr* } and the NAroman script's statement in Lappish about the upper central sign of the troll drum: that it represents a *sarva*, a male reindeer.

; As no. 2 in the same row stands a figure (2 on the illustration), which is said to represent thunder (in the protocol called "Thunder"). At his right hand this figure has a staff, in which a reflex of the Lappish hammer sign is easily recognized: what corresponds to the hammer on the drum of the Nasroman script

has been thinned and looks like the handle of a stick. This is how as no. 2 in the rake stands the thursrun, its reflex cannot be sought among "heavenly" signs. As well as on the Nasrotrum, it is, as we shall see in the following, relegated (cf. what I say below about the lowest, fifth region). The figure n:r 2, however, does not correspond to the 3rd sign of the uthark but to its 4th, the chariot rune, the sign of Thor. An unclear rearrangement has thus taken place, probably due to considerations of place: the thunder god has been thought higher than the wind god and there- for depicted, where the arched region reaches the highest.

As no. 3, at the far left of the thunder god's side stands a figure (1 on the illustration), representing a being, who is said to rule over "storm and tempest", thus a counterpart to the "man of the wind" in the Naeroman manuscript, compiled by me with Odin and the 3rd uthark sign, the "ss-runan. To the left is a "rod", probably returning on a runic sign. Lack of space may have caused, that the sign was mutilated, why its original form was lost.

In the second region, the figure on the far right (8 in the illustration) is, according to the protocol, an "angel", which is presumed to be the equivalent of the holy spirit. The sorcerer has apparently tried to interpret everything as far as possible according to Christian beliefs. He has therefore, for example, avoided using the term "god" for the god of thunder and the god of wind, but used the word "a human parable". Originally, this figure would have been a messenger of the sky gods. The fifth character on the Nasroman script's magic drum is said to be one of the three great gods' "sub-regents", with the help of whom they do everything they want "in heaven and on earth". He is thus an emissary, a counterpart to what Poulsen called an "angel". On Linnaeus' magic drum there is a sign, which in form corresponds to the <sup>NAroman script's</sup> "pine top", and in the interpretation is stated to refer to "angels". I suspect that it is connected with the 5th sign of the uthark, the torch rune. This has probably been associated in runic magic with some other god than Odin, Thor and Freyr. As a symbol of vigilance it may have been Heimdall's rune. ∴ He brought messages to the

the other gods. The staff standing by the figure points down to a bend. There is some resemblance to the rune sign <, the 5th in the rake. If this was to be reshaped to resemble a walking stick, it was essential 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 bent staff is the image of a church (7). About this it is said that "if anyone wants good fortune, he should give it wax candles, wild goods or money". I therefore assume a connection with the gift ounce, the 6th sign in the rake, and the figure "offertory" on the drum of the Nasroman manuscript. The function of the sign has been to indicate the appropriateness of making an offering. The church depicted has three crosses, one of which has a rather large and slightly sloping cross arm. From the old g-rune  $\chi$  a Lappish sacrificial sign should have been formed (such a sign does exist, cf. below). From the sign  $\chi$  may then easily have arisen a cross, which over time was combined with a church, in which the Lapp probably mainly saw a place of sacrifice, dedicated to the god of the Christians, to whom sometimes even a pagan Lapp sought help through gifts to priest and temple.

To the left of the church image we see a male figure (6 in the illustration), which is indicated in the protocol as referring to 'God the Father'. We have here to assume the central divinity of Lappish mythology, the olmai ('man of the world') of the Naeroman manuscript, the ghid of the astringent, whom scholars have identified with Frey. As the of love and friendship <sup>^</sup> what I developed in the previous section on rune magic have been associated with the 7th uthark sign, the one immediately following the gift rune. This sign is the w-rune p. It is therefore of great interest to note that next to this figure a rod of precisely this rune's shape is placed (see fig.).

Some equivalent of the "bear of the sky" in the Randulf described is, as already mentioned, not found on the Vadso relation's divination tools. The reflection of the 8th exclamation mark could easily have disappeared for several reasons. One circumstance I have already hinted at: the divination drum or its model has been broken.

and probably also made by a Lapp woman. This may explain why the two bear images have been omitted. It is also possible that the equivalent of the "bear in the sky" once consisted only of dots or small crosses, which meant star-A nor (examples of which we meet in the following). Over time, these points or crosses have probably not been associated with any important act of divination, which is why this figure has fallen away.

To the left of Frey's staff we see the image of a man (5 in the illustration), one of whose feet looks more like a horse's hoof. In the proto-collage the image is explained as representing the "Son of God". The figure, however, seems even more diabolical. Eavi is probably dealing here with a counterpart to the Nasromanus script's "sorcerer of heaven", in which one should see a reflex of Odin in his own creation of the foremost practitioner of runic magic. Since the sorcery rune was the 9th sign of the uthark until others, one has to assume a connection with it. The staff on the left also bears some resemblance to the emergency rune  $\psi$ . The bar has only been raised a little higher and lost its oblique direction. It is possible, however, that it is the 8th rune bar that has remained: in the Swedish-Norwegian rune line the  $\Lambda$ -rune has the form  $y$ . In any case, in the adjacent figure we have an equivalent of the "sky wizard" and the magical function of the emergency rune. As is well known, in post-pagan times Odin was partly thought of as a horse: the popular "AA a legacy from here.

On the far left in the second region is a round sign, crossed by a vertical line (4 in the illustration). In the protocol it is said that this refers to the sun. We have here, of course, a clear counterpart to the sun sign on the troll drum discussed above and a number of others. As I have already mentioned, the line should originate from the Icelandic-Norwegian runic type A. An intermediate form between the aforementioned runic sign and the sun image on this troll drum is reproduced by the provost Forbus in 1727 (in Reuterskiöld). The sun has "the sun ring  $\sim Q$  in honor", he says. In this sign the stroke continues obliquely downwards and not upwards, but reversal of signs is very common among the Lapps. As a curiosity I would like to mention that in German

In the sun sign on this particular Lapp drum, the prehistoric researcher Herman/Wirth, who has attracted a great deal of attention in some quarters, believes he has found a sign for the 'holy year'. Nothing in either the protocol's statement about the sign's significance or in other traditions about Lappish signs speaks for this outdated idea. The protocol states in clear words that it is a sign for the sun, and what we otherwise know about the signs of Lapp magic is consistent with this. In my opinion, the aforementioned German author sets a record in loose proof: he labors page after page with all possible signs, as if he were certainly familiar with their meaning/ Most of it, however, he seems - as in this case - to have taken "aus der Tiefe des eigenen Bewusstseins".

In the third region follow, from the right, trenne figures, which are said to depict three "Christmas lords": the 1st, 2nd and 3rd lords of Christmas Day (13, 12, 11 in the illustration). Earliest perhaps *\*peive- herr\**, which can mean both "sun lord" and "day lord". Here there is obviously a counterpart to the figures closely associated with the sun sign, which in the Neeromanuscript are designated as "Friday, Saturday and Sunday men". As I have already mentioned, it is of particular interest that the spells of these three "lords" in two cases correspond to the very runes of which they may be supposed to be reflexes. The figure on the extreme right (13) has a rod of the appearance  $\psi$  broad by him. The correspondence with the 14th sign of the uthark, Ä-ru- nan, is obvious. Next to the other two figures, there are two other rods, both of the same shape. There is a striking similarity here with the Swedish-Norwegian runic "t-sign -f-. It is also interesting that the syllable associated with the 14th character of the uthark comes before the two syllables associated with the 19th character of the uthark. That the dagron |X| lacks a reflex is understandable enough; it could not be transformed into a "rod". Cross-like signs of the "men" around the sun appear on separate patch drums. In my opinion, the rune  $\psi$  also reverts to the éh rélä- TTvTTénATyfTHvAA which displaced the old A, Also the rune  $\psi$  should be in analogy with a type in the younger

the rune line was finally understood as a manrune. In this way, there were signs for three "men". /

Alongside the three 'Christmas Day Lords' stand two female figures. The one on the right (10 on the image) is indicated as "Mary, Mother of Christ, Woman of God". "When she is worshiped, she especially helps childbearing women ("Barselqwinder")", tofo-

gas it. Here is an unmistakable reflection of Sarakka, the goddess of childbirth, whom we know from the Naeroman manuscript. Her North Germanic counterpart is Frigg, the 17th century deity of the birch tree.

Next to Mary Saracca, on the far left (9 on the image), is a female figure, which is interpreted in the protocol as the seer "St. Anna", who is said to be "Mary's sister". According to the Bible, Mary's mother was called Anna. We should therefore see in this figure a reflection of the oldest of the earth mothers, Madderakka, who under Christian influence was renamed Anna, the mother of the Virgin Mary. As I mentioned above, I see the model for the magic drum in the figure of Madderakkah in the divinity of the /-rune, a goddess associated with the earth. The 13th nina of the Uthar- ' k originally took the form  $\text{f} \text{å}^*$  e.g. on the Kylver stone). In northern Sweden (Dalarna) a/-tec- ken of the form  $\psi$  appears. This may be due to the fact that the old /-rune has been turned and put on a rod. A so-called rod of the form  $\psi$  is also found on this troll drum, next to the male figure in the fourth region (15), which is located immediately below "St. Anne". It is possible that a wand has been moved from the third region to the fourth because the maker of the drum did not consider it necessary for women to have wands. During the interrogation

the magician has stated, that "as the lords of the earth have rod ff in their hands, these persons have rods in their hands". 8

In the fourth region, a male figure (17 in the illustration) stands on the far right. This is reminiscent of a man with a cane, carrying a sack of flour. The accused seems from the record to have spoken very vaguely about this figure and the others in this region. "These are people who go to church", he is said to have said, but according to one version he added that the magic drum could do them "evil" or "good". Here

The interpretation of the protocol thus provides very little guidance. If, however, we look at the rods seen at the side of these male figures, we may be helped to find an explanation. In the rightmost figure (17 in the illustration) we see a staff that looks like a cleft. A similar sign has been used in Lappish idolatry. Forbus informs, that the fertility god Tjorveradien's sign was a "two-lobed or two-grey tree". The missionary J. Kildal tells us that a reindeer (or other cattle) was sacrificed to this fertility god every year in the fall, so that he would bestow "good crops" on the earth. Tjorveradien, whose name roughly translates as 'the horned god', is undoubtedly only a variant of the fertility god Veralden olmai in his capacity as god of vegetation. The explanation for the divinity in question being called the 'horned god' has been sought in the fact that on certain troll drums some deities have been decorated with halos around their heads after the Christian pattern. - In this connection, however, it may be recalled that Freyr's image on the rune-engraved gold horn from Gallehus (see fig. 19 to the right) has two horns on his head. In one hand this deity holds a pickaxe just like Veralden olmai on the troll drum of the Nasromanus script. In connection with the above, I assume that the figure on the far right in the fourth region of the troll drum of the Vadsorelation (17) refers to a variant of Veralden olmai and that the figure and its staff in runic magic correspond to the god Freyr in his capacity as god of honor and the second utharkrunan associated with honor magic. In the Swedish-Norwegian rune line, the "- sign, which ultimately goes back to the utharkensj sign (*ärc^ara*), has the form p. The letter in question thus shows a significant resemblance to a cleft sign, the symbol of the Tjorven rune line among the Lapps according to Forbus. The fact that the staff of the troll drum has a projection to the left instead of to the right, as is the case with the rune sign, is consistent with the Lapps' way of rendering runes. The figure of the man associated with this staff may originally have been a so-called ithyphallic image (its phallus was thought to fertilize the earth).

As is well known, the Uppsala pagan temple was, according to Adam of Bremen, equipped with a "huge priap".

Figure no. 2 from the right in this region (18 in the illustration) represents, as can be seen, a church. As to the function of the figure, the protocol states that the sign refers to the offering of 'wax candles, money and other things'. This church image seems to be a reflex of the sign 'the way of the Christians' on the Naeroman manuscript's tracery (14 on fig. 32). This sign consists of figures representing cattle, houses and a church and is said by Randulf to be related to trade with peasants, priests and others who were not Lapps. Both image and function thus show a clear correspondence in the two divination tools. In both cases, it was a matter of money transactions. The connection with the rune of wealth, the 24th sign of the uthark, is in this respect what we have to assume. Of course, this connection is much clearer in the case of the Naeroman manuscript than in that of the Vadso relation. No other sign, however, seems to me to correspond better to the sign "the way of the Christians" on the Vadsorelation's track drum than the one described by Randulf. It is also of interest that the Vadsorelation's sorcerer suggested during the interrogation that "Dom Kirken" (i.e. the sign in question here) had been important for the recovery of stolen property. This is consistent with what I have pointed out above about the role of the 24th uthark sign and its numeral in such magic.

To the left of the church are two male figures. Rö The Protocol is extremely vague about these (they are said to be 'people who go to church'). No conclusion can be drawn from this statement. The only way to approximate the meaning of these figures is to note which counterparts are missing when the more obvious has been interpreted. To

"the bear of heaven" we have not discovered any equivalent, had such a thing existed, it would be to be sought already in the other region. It remains then, as the following will show, to think of equivalents to the god of the hunt, Leibolmai, and the "bear of the earth". One of the two male figures should therefore once have represented Leib- olmai on an older model of the magic drum. It is probably the figure on the far left (15 on

Fig.). The figure of the man on the right (16 in the illustration) can obviously not be a reflection of the 'bear of the earth'. It is likely that the figure was merely inserted as a complement to the staff existing between him and the church. This has a certain resemblance to a corrupted /-rune, the sign f. The main staff may have happened to be bent at the top, and one of the bees' rods has thus continued the central line of the sign. Most likely, we also have to reckon with the usual reversal of the runic vein in the Lapps. At one time the rune sign  $\wedge$  would have been associated with the figure indicating "trade" with priest and peasants (the adjacent church  $\wedge$  "the way of the Christians", cf. p. 145).

The leftmost roundel (14 in the illustration) is interpreted in the protocol as referring to the 'moon'. However, a sign for moon is missing on the drum of the Nmroman manuscript. Based on the appearance of another also round sign in the fifth region (cf. below), I assume that the round to the far left in the fourth region corresponds at the earliest to the settlement area of the Lapps on the tracing drum described by Randulf: this sign's semicircle may have become a completely closed round, which in turn, in analogy with the sun sign, is interpreted as referring to the moon. The position of the Bo place sign on the Nsereman manuscript's trace drum is very consistent with this hypothesis. Similarly, the reflex of the hunting god, Leiboldmai, should be sought in the vicinity of the site of this original residential area. In the male figure next to the rune part I have also, cf. above, assumed a reflex of Leiboldmai. The sign next to this figure, as I have pointed out above, is likely to have been moved down from a nearby place within the adjacent upper region. In the Swedish-Norwegian rune line, the sign which in connection with its name, *yr*, 'bow', could be associated with the god of the hunt, consisted only of a small, low vertical line. It is possible that a rod of such appearance was perceived over time as incomplete and therefore replaced by the sign  $\psi$ , which originally stood with one of the three Akkas (Madderakka).

In the fifth region of the tracery drum there are only figures that refer 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 "the tarry cauldron of hell", we have in my opinion a reflex of the semicircle, which on the divination drum written by Randulf denotes the kingdom of death. (A parallel to this development from semicircle to full circle we should have in the emergence of the round on the far left in the 4th region, by me above compiled with the settlement sign of the Nserom manuscript). In front of the round in the 5th region is a figure, which consists of a horizontal and thirteen vertical lines (22 on the illustration). This is called the 'fire of hell'. It is not impossible (especially in view of the dead space signs on other tracing drums) that in the vertical lines we have to see reflections of ice runes. Image and "rod" could here have given rise to two figures. Both are, in my opinion, to be attributed to the 10th sign of the extract, the ice rune, and its magical meaning.

In the square figure (24 in the illustration), indicated before the phrase 'the grave of hell', there is probably a reflex of the water-sign on other tracery. In the rule (e.g. on the N<er omanus script image) this figure is rectangular, as is the case with this sign of the Vadsor relation.

Just as we have encountered two reflexes of the sign of the realm of the dead, we also find as a counterpart to the "wizard of the underworld" on the Naeroman manuscript's scrying drum (and its oldest pattern, the thursrun) two devils: one bound (25 on the illustration) and one unbound (21 on the illustration). The demonic number is 2 in both Runic magic and in Lappish superstition (cf. the preceding). There is also a divination drum on which the demonic is indicated by a double sign, the one interpreted by Jessen (at Leem) (cf. fig. 37). Here, the saints are indicated on the upper and both lateral rays of the sun by crosses, which, as argued above, can be explained as reflections of the manruna / (the w-sign) of the Swedish-Norwegian rune wheel. On the descending ray of the sun there is a figure consisting of two joined crosses: cf. (44 on fig. 37). This figure is said to represent "mubben-olmak, evil spirits, who want to hurt the Lapps".

The Lappish mythology's idea of a bound animal may have its model in both Christian and North Germanic

A curious detail, which testifies to the influence of Norse myth, is the statement in the minutes that when God found this devil, he had "iron shoes on". This brings to mind Vidar and his heavy ("thick") shoe mentioned by Snorri. Vidar took part in the binding of the Fenris wolf with the other ashes and is said to trample him down at Ragnarök.

The figure on the far left of the fifth region (19 in the illustration), which is said to represent "the bound devil's wife", is probably a counterpart to the mother goddess of the Nsero manuscript, Juksakka, who, from all indications, may be considered identical to Uksakka, the "Door-Keeper" in Swedish West-Botnian folklore. According to Randulf, at a door called *the uks*, the lap parna sacrificed to the TridTe' world on Christmas Eve by knocking out the <sup>öFÉlTéKbA</sup> bowl. Through this ceremony, Uksakka, the "Doorkeeper", may have been linked to the underworld and the demons, and finally, in the imagination of a semi-Christian Lapp woman, she may have been perceived as the devil's wife. The other two Akkas met with a different fate. Sarakka was understandably identified with the Virgin Mary, the Lapp women's helper above all others. It was also natural for Mådderakka, the oldest of the patron goddesses, to become their mother, St. Anne. For Uksakka, however, no connection with the holy women of the Christian religion was offered. She was allowed to remain underground and acquired a completely demonic nature. We therefore meet her in the lowest region of this scrying room as "the bound devil's wife".

The figure on the far left below the "devil's wife" (20) is said to be a disease-causing demon ("en Dievel, som drseber folk og Mennesker, og skal viere Siugdøm"). No doubt we have to see in him the demon of death and disease Rota\ who is in close connection with his sacrificial animal the horse, . "Sturich" in the Naeroman manuscript, compiled by me with the 18th character of the uthark, the horse rune.

## IV.

The two Lappish track drums discussed above differ in several respects. They must, however, go back to a common older basic type. This has undoubtedly, as far as the meaning of the signs is concerned, been closest to the divination apparatus of the Naeromanu script, where very little has been reinterpreted in connection with Christian beliefs. On the other hand, the magic drum of the Wad Oriation shows numerous Christian elements, although several things were probably presented during the interrogation as more Christian than they were in the divination practice. This magic drum, however, has in return preserved something that is of the utmost importance for our investigation: the divination apparatus is not only provided with images, but in many cases also shows "wands", whose shapes offer unmistakable resemblance to runes, in some cases almost complete identity. As is to be expected, not all these staves could have had runic characters from the older rune line as models. 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), an exchange of an older form for a younger one must have taken place in several cases. Older types have, however, been retained to a certain extent, especially in the case of signs which, together with their names, have disappeared from the younger rune line: the w-rune  $\rho$ , the sign of Frey, and the  $\Lambda$ -rune  $\wedge$ , the sign of a divinity associated with the sun or possibly of an animal regarded as divine or astral (the moose). Runes of older form with names remaining in the Swedish-Norwegian rune line, which could have reflexes on the magic drum of the Vadsorelation are: | (the w-sign) and < (the  $\Lambda$ -sign). Equal in both the older and the younger rune lines are: | (z-sign) and (/■-sign). Of the younger type are f ( $m \setminus \psi$  ( $p$ )) and p ( $a$  for older 7). It cannot be a coincidence that on one and the same Lappish divination tool there are no less than 9 signs called "rods", which show such a significant resemblance to known round types.

That the Lapps had some knowledge of runes, although they

probably never used these signs to produce coherent textual records, can be seen, in addition to the Lappish weekday marks, from a series of tree marks used by the Lapp population.

Among these (cf. the material of v. Duben and Sigrid Drake) I have found equivalents to Gn \* (also (x^j, pp(i ligature), ^ (slightly inclined) ýand" ^Ä,"^TT(i Tigaret), ^ (the last character may, however, be ASeroApAonTrifluence of the similar Latin character), see fig. 39. In addition, as I have already pointed out, there is evidence that the signs on some older troll drums consisted only of so-called "tigatur".

'lines' or 'characters'.

Another important feature of the Vadsorelation troll drum is that it has been divided into no fewer than five different re

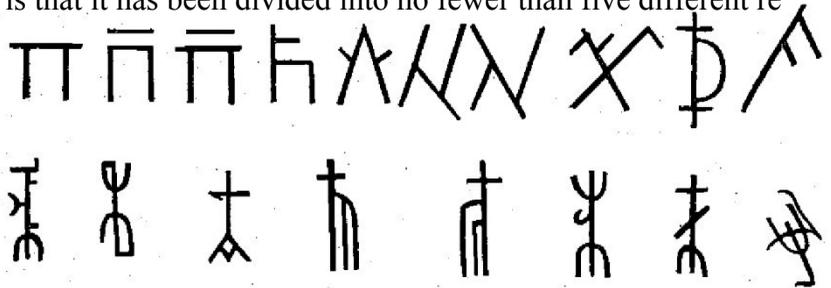


Fig. 39. Lapland tree marks according to von Duben.

regions and therefore the figures follow each other in rows. The crucial thing, however, is to be able to determine where the beginning and end are. That the beginning is to be found at the top and the end at the bottom is obvious. More confusing is the question of whether to count from right to left or - as in the explanatory report - from left to right. Here, however, a piece of information from the wizard who was questioned comes to our aid. He has been asked about the meaning of the figures in the order left-right, which to the investigator has seemed the most obvious. However, the witness has made a statement which, correctly understood, shows that the divination instrument was oriented in the opposite direction. The interviewee

has said that if the brass object used as a pointer, when pounded with the hammer, happened to go counterclockwise, this was a bad sign, but if it danced

"right about with the sun" it had, he predicted, "good fortune", *in* The direction clockwise is from left to right: this direction must thus be followed to reach from a less favorable *j* (lower) to a more favorable (higher). The figures must then be arranged counter-clockwise, i.e. from right to left. The Ak- | cows in the 3rd region are lower than the holiday men

(The sun and the 'son of God' (the sky wizard) in the 2nd row belong to a lower stage than 'God the father' (Frey). The wind god in the 1st row is of a lower rank than the great and powerful god of the Isle of Thor. Above all, in the uppermost region stands the sacred sacrificial bull, which represents the

velupTFögTUAgudiAA

Idea bāHa -ŷñáΓ£"YΛ0ηÉΓηαA

The ring is not strictly bound to one and the same row: in both areas we can distinguish higher and lower placed figures. Moreover, we know that in the Naeroman manuscript the figures in the lower region are not arranged so closely to the outer row as in the upper one. What interests us most, therefore, is the arrangement of the signs within the two regions that correspond to the sky region on the tracery described by Randulf. The initial serunas of the Utharks (n:r 1-9) are found on the Vadsorelation drum in the following order: 1 (Rentjur, the reflex of the urox rune), 4 (Thor, the deity of the chariot rune), 3 (the wind god, the deity of the "ss-rune), 5 (angel, guardian, the deity of the torch rune), 6 (the sacrificial cuckoo, the deity of the gift rune), 7 (Freyr, the deity of the joy rune), 9 ("son of God" = "him lens -trollman" = the deity of the distress rune). There is thus only one reversal: the figure that corresponds to Odin and the third rune of the harvest comes after the representative of the fourth, the rune of Thor. As I have pointed out above, this is probably due to space considerations, in addition to the more prominent place of Horagalles-Tor in Lappish mythology in comparison with the less frequently invoked wind god. Correspondences to two utharkrunes, signs associated with the 2nd and 8th runes, are missing in this group. The

The former counterpart, as demonic (connected with the .thurs-devil), has been moved down into the lowest (5th) region, the latter has disappeared altogether, probably because, being an animal image ("the bear of heaven"), it fell outside the diviner's sphere of activity; the divination tool of the Vadsor relation (or its model) was used by a woman. For such a woman, anything to do with a bear was taboo. Certainly 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 fortune-telling book. Probably, when a Lappish fortune-teller consulted a magic drum during a bear hunt, the bear figure standing in t h e heavenly region has in some cases been substituted for the sign that referred to the bear on earth, the target of the hunt... For example, if the ring (the pointer) came to "the bear of heaven", this could well be interpreted as a good omen for bear hunting. .. ; ' .-

On the whole, on closer inspection, the Naeromanu script and the Vadsorelation trace drums show considerable correspondence between them, despite the strong quasi-Christian remodeling of the latter. This is particularly true, as I have already emphasized, of the figures belonging to the celestial region, which I have shown to be consistently equivalent to the initial signs of the uthark. We have here a new proof that the old rune line consisting of 24 characters did not begin with the rune of wealth, p, the character which in Old Norse was called *fé* (of older \*fehu but with the ur ox-rune p], which once in Scandinavia (as well as demonstrably in England) was attributed to a bull. It has been called *ur* (from the older *\*urus*) with the meaning given.

It is of great interest that among the Lapps the sign of the pure bull was a symbol of the great sacrifice. This was a kind of counterpart to the Mithraists' taurobolium, which was intended to prolong life. As mentioned, the bull was the symbol of life among the ancient Persians. It is recorded that if a person had a child that was particularly dear to him, he could "buy

life to it" by "sacrificing a reindeer". The child was then allowed by the great gods to live out its time (Demant Hatt).

This belief

, has sporadically survived into the present. As mentioned above, in the case of a major sacrifice, the animal would be killed with a single

<sup>1</sup> stroke. In this circumstance, there is reason to assume a reflex of Norse runic magic, which linked the bull and the great sacrifice with the number 1, the number of the uroxrunan in the utharkra. The reindeer depicted on the troll drum was also believed to bring the nåid "help" in his battles in the spirit world. This is reminiscent of what is said in the Edda about Odin's first troll song: "*Help* is mentioned first" etc. (cf. above p. 19). The reindeer figure was also called "lyc kans ren" (S. Kildal).

v. ' V.

The two divination tools discussed above are the ones that best show the connection with North Germanic runic magic. They are also the magic drums most thoroughly described by contemporaries. Particularly valuable is Randulf's detailed commentary, which, as mentioned, is based on systematic inquiries made by von Weste n . There is, however, a whole series of patchwork drums. Each of these is undoubtedly of greater or lesser value for the question with which we are concerned here. Some of them, however, contain only a few characters and cannot therefore shed much light on the subject. Others have a considerable number of signs, in one case so many that it is even maintained that this magic drum was only a model on which all sorts of signs were placed, and that it was never in practical use. This applies to the large troll drum from Swedish Lapland (Torne) depicted by Schef-ferus. My studies of the material have led me to the conviction that Lapland drums with a large number of signs (more than twice the number of the outcrop signs or more) represent a secondary type of development. .

The depiction of a Laplander published in the supplement to the French edition (1678) of Schefferus' work on Lapland

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("Laponia", 1673), originally written in Latin

drum with no less than 150 figures cannot possibly represent anything ancient in the arrangement of all these signs. There are figures representing a whole range of countries, including countries as far away as Spain, France and Turkey. There are also signs for a large number of holidays: Easter Day, Pentecost Day, Our Lady's Day, St. Erik's Day, St. John's Day, St. Peter's Day, Christmas Day, etc., etc. However, this drum, which is almost to be regarded as a gathering place for all kinds of signs known and used by Lapps, contains several reflections of those times. In my opinion, these include the signs for the sun, the sun god (probably originally Frey), the wind (Odin), thunder or Ture (Thor), fish water, bear, cattle (cow and bull), Lapp hut (dwelling place), man, wizard ("sky wizard"), the devil (thurs), the devil's grave (the kingdom of death), death and horse (Rota, Stuorek), sunlight (dagrunan), birch (björkrunan), spruce (torch-rune). <sup>Numerous</sup> offerings can reflect the urox rune after the gift rune. There are thus similarities to the majority of the figures in the Nmroman manuscript, i.e. to the majority of the signs of the utharkra. The whole thing is, however, so disrupted by the addition of other material (signs for Christian holidays and all kinds of countries, etc.) that an analysis of the position of the signs can hardly tell us anything of importance. All the evidence suggests, however, that the signs for the sun, various gods, water, etc., listed above, are a relic of the original of a real divination apparatus.

Of particular interest, however, is a group of signs on this drum which seem to include letter-like elements. There is a sign (No 81) which is explained as representing 'a man'. This sign looks like a man rune of the younger type y, connected by a horizon.

spoken line at the bottom with the sun rune y It can be assumed that (this apparently by a combination arising from in originally intended one of the from the previous known "weekend" day men": "men" placed in the vicinity of the sun, the sign of the

GodNao (n:r 99) looks like two *ass*-runes of old type fj and y Unfortunately, no information is about what kind of god Nao was. Perhaps Nao has been a

name of the "wind god", which I presume is associated with Odin and the 3rd crone. The name is somewhat reminiscent of the Swedish peasant population's peculiar name for Odin: *Noen* in "Noen's horse" (cf. pp. 42 and 74). The fact that a reflex of the rune, called 'asagud', belongs to a deity sign, may be explanation enough. Six quotation marks on the drum (nos. 25, 26, 27, 28, 144 and 150) contain intersecting lines, which are reminiscent of the sixth sign of the uthark, the gift rune  $\chi$  (the g-sign). As a counterpart to the 6th uthark sign, we have previously encountered symbolic images for sacrifices (a rooster, a church). Furthermore, it can be observed that on top of the semicircle, which

The small figures, which are said to represent "dangerous sorcerers who do the worst" (character 79), are closed by two upright lines, which in this context bring to mind ice runes (we have an Icelandic analogy in the wand given in fig. 17, intended to kill another's creature). Randulf also mentions that a figure, which looks like a line, denotes "the dead". On the



another patch drum (no. 8 in Friis) denotes  $\text{Av}^{\text{I''}} \text{Wk}^{\text{Aa''}}$  "two vertical lines" "the patch's burial place". The  $\text{e}^{\text{stecen''}}$   $\text{k}^{\text{''}}$

Thus, it seems that on Schefferus' patch drum we have reflexes of at least 5 runic characters: / (*m*, possibly " ),

\$ (5), f ("), X (g) and | (i).

. Another patch drum with traces of runes is the one published by Leem and described by Jessen (cf. fig. 37). This one has a figure "Saivoberget" (no. 41), which I shall have occasion to discuss below. On a peculiar curving protrusion "rods" are placed here. Most are straight lines in the likeness of ice runes; two have "side rods" and resemble the runes  $\wedge$  and j. (however, more on the original than on Friis' reconstruction, fig. 37). The first lateral projection does not start from the top in both cases. The latter line combination may therefore be a reflex of a later form of the emergency rune:  $|^*$  (*n*) in the Swedish-Norwegian rune line. On the holy mountain, a troll drum, seen and described by the missionary S. Kildal, seems to be a counter-

difficulty to the "wizard of heaven" in the Naeromanuscript (cf. hereunder VI). Since this figure, according to the principle of my explanation, is to be regarded as a counterpart to the rune of the wizard, the "sign, the rune of necessity, one should here in presumably a relic of the runic sign originally associated with "the troll of heaven I man" (oldest  $\psi$ , then  $p$ .

In the Nasromanus script, Randulf reports, among other things, a sign found on the back of a depiction of the treated  
) the magic drum. This sign is said to refer to 'Satan', the 'Muben of Olmay', the 'other Man'. The figure in question (see fig. 40). i seems to consist of two man-runes of the younger type,  $j\ddot{o}ch$ , placed as antipodes, and two rods placed to the right and left of each other:  $ocl- <j\ hop- J>$   
| melt. An analogy can be found on the Roskilde amulet (see J Fig. 12).

## VI.

A divination tool that must have had considerable similarity to the one described by Randulf in the Nieromanuscript is the magic drum, the images of which form the basis of the list of divinities known to the Lapps in northern Norway in the first part of the 18th century (before 1730), compiled by the Norwegian Lapp missionary Sigvard Kildal. Unfortunately, the author does not include a picture of a magic drum, but it is clear from his statements that he knew the divinities mentioned precisely in connection with their images on a particular divination tool, which he described as typical.

I. Among the divine beings, who, according to S. Kildal, dwell in the "starry heavens," there are the following correspondences to what we already know. I give them in the order followed in the foregoing:

1. "Passevara Serva", the sacred mountain (or lucky) reindeer. This confirms what I have emphasized above, that the great sacrificial sign, which I have put together with the first rune of the uthark, meant a reindeer (*serva* = *sarva*, 'a reindeer,

The fact that the figure is also called the "reindeer of good fortune" indicates the great importance of this sign. It should be remembered that the Vadsorelation states that it was a lucky sign if the hand went clockwise: in this way one reached the top and the far right, the "reindeer of good fortune".

2. "Biex Olmai", the wind man, who rules the weather and the wind, compiled by me with the utharkrunan n:r 3. (Opposite to n:r 2, the thursrunan, cannot be expected in this region, see below.)

3. "Thora Galles", the god of the island of thunder, i.e. Thor, associated by me with the 4th uthark sign, the chariot rune.

4. "Mans" (wrong for Mano), the moon. This sign should replace the image of the sacrificial cock on the Nasromanus script's magic drum. A white rooster was the usual sacrifice to the two celestial lights, the sun and the moon, among the Lapps. The sign for such a minor sacrifice, perhaps representing a white animal, has been interpreted in some quarters as referring mainly to the moon (the sun had its own sign). This may have given rise to its replacement by an image of the moon. As a giving, wealth-promoting divinity, the new moon may also, as I have pointed out above, have had a connection with the 6th sign of the uthark. On some depictions of magic drums we also see the new moon depicted in the celestial region (the round moon sign in the 4th region of the Vadsorelation's tracery drum, cf. above under III, is, however, the result of a misunderstanding, a misinterpretation of the residential sign). . .

5. "Veralden Rad", the god of generation, who gives soul "to the body the goddess Sarakka forms in the womb", obviously corresponds to Freyr (Veralden olmai in the Nserom manuscript), as the god of friendship and well-being associated with the 7th oak of the uthark

6. "Rana Neid", called "the summer maiden" or "the green maiden", should correspond to the one on the 11th) receding fertility sign, which seen to the left of Veralden olmai's figure on the magic drum written by Randulf. Kildal has taken it for granted that the name Rana would be connected with the somewhat similar



the Lappish word *ruonaS* 'green'. This is hardly correct. (Perhaps one has to assume instead a connection with a name that forest reindeer have in northern Sweden: Rånda, about whose origin so far no opinion has been expressed.) We also know from other sources that the Lapps knew a female vegetative creature, called "Rananeida" etc. (*neida* means 'girl'). She was believed to provide new grass to feed the reindeer. Her function was apparently such that there was reason to associate her with a figure representing vegetative growth.

1 7- "Bgjve" ΘΠΘΓ "Beive >Neid>, i.e. '(the sun' or The 'sun maiden' is also mentioned by Kildal among the divine ethers belonging to the 'starry sky'. Other troll drums, however, have in

- the sun sign, the equivalent of the sun rune, the 15th sign of the uthark, placed below the actual celestial region. It would therefore have been of some interest if Kildal had shared a proper depiction. He further mentions the sun as

A<sub>5</sub>om ^Q^An/ig-v^ en<sub>A</sub> \*t'vilken<sub>t</sub> frAdeP .."etkvitk .ireätun' and says that the Lapps call her the "queen of heaven".

II. Among gods, "who dwell on earth" are mentioned:

1. "Passevara Olmai", the man of the sacred mountain (sorcerer). *Olmai*, which is a singular form, is strangely understood by Kildal as a plural: he translates as "Mountain gods" and says

7/:< í o "- I See about "these Passevare Olmai", that they teach the Lapps to beat the í magic drum, to tell fortunes and ask questions to the dead. From that

A/?t 7\* A said, it appears that we have here a counterpart to the "sky wizard" in the NAroman script, compiled by me with the 9th character, the distress rune, the wand of sorcery above others. The "sky wizard" was the intermediary between the gods of heaven and the people of earth. This may have given Kildal the impression that he belonged to the earth region.

"Leib Olmai", the elman, the god of the hunt, taken up by Kildal as "Brödmanden (!) or Skytternes Gud", is, like the bow-bearing hunting god on the Nseromanus script's troll drum, a clear counterpart to the idegransrunan, the 12:eruna of the uthark, associated by me with the North Germanic hunting god Ull.

Kildal mentions that this god was worshipped by the Lapps with "knee falls" to be commanded to give hunting luck and let them "get it sacred bear'. 'Therefore this Leib Olmai', he continues, 'is put on the magic drum with the figure of a bear'. This suggests that Kildal has seen both the hunting god and the bear depicted as

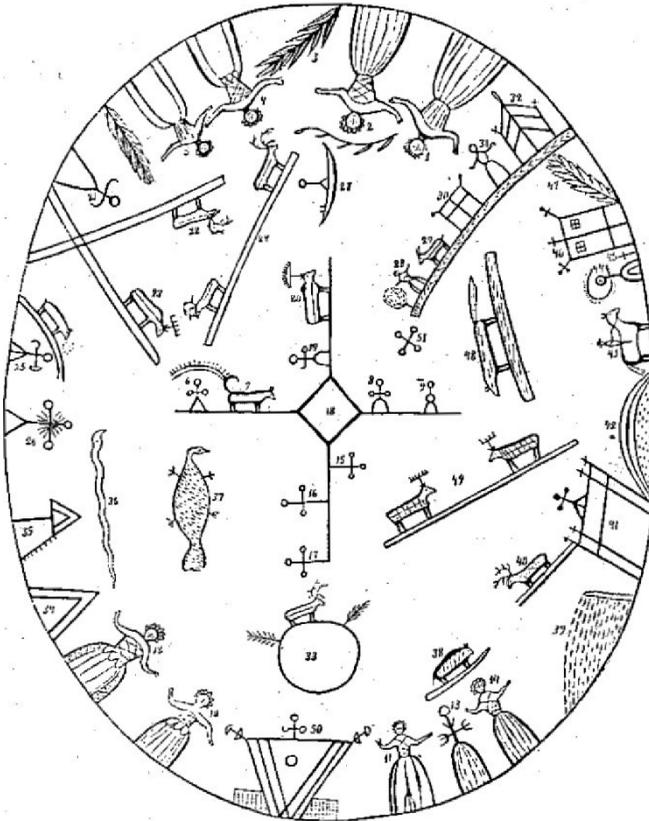


Fig. 41. Patchwork drum no. 2 at Friis.

as on the divination tool of the Nasromanus script. The figure of the bear I have in the foregoing put together with the 16th sign of the eagle (though with some hesitation).

3. "Maderacha" is also known as the "defense of the female sex". She is "interferes" in the "orders" of his daughters. These daughters are stated by Kildal to be three (he distinguishes in connection with the name





variants of Uksakka and Juksakka). I assume (cf. the previous) in the figure, which on the patch drums represents Madderakka, a counterpart to the 13th utharkrunan, the /-sign. I have mentioned that the rune in question in Dalarna has the form  $\psi$ . On a troll drum (no. 2 in Friis), a tall, stupid figure appears alongside Sarakka and Juksakka, called

"Saelge-sedne", 'back mother', a "midwife". This should "be nothing else than a variant of Madderakka. The striking thing is that this "back mother" in the picture (see figs. 41, ' n:r 13) has a most remarkable back:-it consists of three ' rune-like characters, which together remind one to a great extent of (the "helmet of terror" known from Icelandic black-art books. " Two of these rune-like characters, those corresponding to ar marna, bear a close resemblance to the above-mentioned /-rune  $\psi$ . The oldest name for the /-rune, according to what I have developed above, would have been *petra*, a word derived from Latin or Greek with the meaning 'stone, rock'. I can report here that according to a Norwegian historical researcher (Fritzner), the Lapp women, in order to facilitate birth in older times, held in their hands an object called *gaggagaÖge*, corresponding to the Icelanders' *lausnarsteinn*. This so-called 'stone' was actually the fruit of a sea plant. In medieval stone books such an object was called

"In a Swedish book of sorcery, which I have referred to above, 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 preceding one and is said to be a helper in childbirth. Kildal mentions that the blood of this goddess is drunk and the body of Leibolmai (the bread god) is consumed. This indicates at least a partial influence of the Christian doctrine of the Eucharist. In the preceding I have connected Saracca with Frigg and the birch rune, the 17th sign of the eagle.

5. "Jux Acha" is apparently identical to Juksakka in Randulf, compiled by me with the 21st sign of the uthark, Ingrunan. Kildal states that this goddess was sacrificed in order to transform a female fetus into a boy and to

leave it to Leibolmai, so that he "can practice shooting". The goddess has thus been in a certain relationship with the male gender and male sports, especially the use of the bow. As I have already mentioned, her name should actually mean 'bow man' and be related to *juoks*, 'bow' - "Ux Acha",

The "door-woman", mentioned as a special divinity in Kildal, seems, as pointed out above, to be rather a variant of the Jukesakka, who, according to several accounts, was considered to have her abode near the door where the arches were placed. - "Pos si o Acha", "the table-woman", who is said to look after the interior of the house, just as Madderakka protects it externally, seems to be in its origin only 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 13th runic divinity (Earth, *Fiorgyn*)-, her eldest daughter, the closest helper of the female sex, with the 17th runic divinity (*Fr*:(Frigg); and the goddess who was important for the birth of the boy child, whose place was at the door and the arches, has taken over the magical role of the 21st uthark sign, which may have been a sign in the divination of the northern men, predicting the birth of a boy child.

6. "Zias Olmai" (considered by Kildal as identical to "Saive Neide", "the water woman") is apparently the god of fishing waters, Tjasolmaä, whose name means 'water man'. He has of course been associated with the water sign of the divining rod, a clear counterpart to the 20th utharkan sign, the water rune.

7. Kil dal also mentions three holiday deities: "Porgie Dag", "Laue Dag" and "Sodne Beive", which are mentioned as the divinities of Friday, Saturday and Sunday, thus agreeing with the Naeroman manuscript's presentation, in connection with which I have assumed a connection with the 14th, 19th and 23rd uthark signs. Kildal adds, however, that most Lapps considered Friday sacred to Sarakka and Saturday to Veraldén Rad (i.e. Veraldén olmai, Frey). Sunday was considered sacred to the three holiday men (Ailikes) together. This may reflect the fact that they were considered to be associated with the sun.

men', since their signs (crosses derived from the Swedish  
 | Norwegian runic manruna) <sup>VänTplaA</sup>  
 [ lar. Eat them was therefore sanctified the day of the sun, Sunday.  
 Only late

<sup>1</sup> they would have become three separate weekday divinities.

III. Such as existing "underground" or "deep underground"  
 mentions Kildal:

1. "Jam A i mo", the land of the dead, where the "Mother of  
 Death" here cut. It is "under the earth", but not "deep under the  
 earth". (J. Fellman speaks of "Jabmeaimo" as a place  
 "below the surface of the earth"). Here we meet a counterpart to  
 the kingdom of death and the goddess Hel, which I associate  
 with the 10th uthark sign, the ice rune. To the "Mother of  
 Death" ("Jam Acha") was sacrificed, so that the soul would  
 remain with the body and not be hastily taken away to the new  
 life in the underworld, where the dead were believed to be  
 In the new bodies. From the underworld, the dead could be  
 transported to the higher joys of the supreme god, "Veralden  
 Rad", who  
 ' of the beginning gave them the soul. This happened after about  
 100 years, says Kildal. (Possibly a reflex of mysticism with the  
 number 10, the number of death, may be present here: 100-10 X  
 10. In another place Kildal speaks of even 100 years.) A peculiar  
 expression among the Lapps, known from another source (v.  
 Duben), is *galme*, *kalme* as a term for the smell of corpses. This  
 word is related to the adjective *kalmes*, 'cold', and must originally  
 have meant 'cold'. On the influence of Norse magic here  
 I exists, is difficult to determine: 'cold' and 'death' are

■ related concepts (cf. what I said on page 43 about the expression  
 "make cold" = 'kill').

2. "Rot Aimo" or "Ruut Aimo", "the evil land", is according  
 to Kildal located "deep u n d e r g r o u n d". (J. Fellman also  
 states that "Rotaland" is supposed to be located "in the depths of  
 the earth".) According to Kildal, "Rota" or "Rutu", the pinoy  
 god, lives here, to whom the Lapps are said to have sacrificed  
 when no help was available from other gods. (For J. Fellman,  
 on the other hand, this world is  
 j skare a female being: "Rota akka"; her pleasant as

| victim was a dead horse, which was completely buried in the ground, he informs.) About this pine kingdom, hell, Kildal says, to get there

the souls of those who have been negligent in sacrifice and prayer to the gods. These souls never come to "Veralden Rad" as those who "after 100 years" are taken up to him from "Jam Aimo" (a realm of death, which thus corresponded to some extent to the Catholic purgatory). Kildal describes a sacrifice to Rota in some detail and mentions that "at the altar" a dead horse would be buried in the ground. In <sup>the NAeroman manuscript</sup> this locality corresponds to "Sturich", the horse, which I associate with the 18th utharkrun. 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 it away to his kingdom.

Kildal's presentation of Lappish mythology is undoubtedly - as he himself indicated - made mainly in connection with the figures of a scrying drum he studied. 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, about 24.

Above I have shown that Kildal's tracing drum should have had counterparts to runes 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 23 in the outrigger row. Why are they missing? counterparts to Nos 2, 5, 8, 22 and 24? This is mainly due to the fact that Kildal only focused on what he perceived as relating to the world of religion. He has not directly given a description of a Lappish magic drum but wanted to give 'Intelligence' on the 'pagan religion' of the Lapps. However, he has used as a guide the figures of a divination device of a distinctly pagan type, a variant of the Naeroman manuscript's magic drum.

The fact that there are no counterparts to the outcrop signs n:r 22 and 24 is easily explained by the fact that their reflexes on the troll drums are figures that refer entirely to the world of men (the settlements of the lapps and peasants). Similarly, it is understandable that Kildal did not deal more closely with the two bear images, as opposed to runes no. 8 and (possibly) no. 16. The latter bear image, however, he mentions in connection with Leiboldmai, the god of hunting. The magical function of the "bear of heaven" is similar to that of the spruce top, which I assume to have been

answered the torch rune (n:r 5), he has probably not listed. He has probably only seen an animal in one case, and a tree in the other. Since Kildal speaks of several "Pas- sevara olmai", who are said to teach the Lapps to conjure, it is likely that he has put "the magician of heaven" and "the magician of the underworld" (cf. the Naeroman manuscript) in the same category. He may therefore very well have seen a troll drum, on which there was also a counterpart to the thursrun, the 2nd sign of the uthark: the figure of the "wizard of the underworld". We thus have to assume that Kildal was familiar with a troll drum of old, mainly pagan, type, which probably had 24 signs or slightly more.

What Kildal mentions of mythological beings, 'for which there is no car on the Nieroman manuscript's divination tools, is very insignificant. As mentioned, "Ux Acha" is probably just another name for Juksakka and "Possio Acha" Madderakka in a secondary function. There is no definite evidence that Kildal knew of a magic drum with five different yokes. It is likely that some of them are merely different names for the same figure (Jes- sen, in Leem, for example, speaks of "Uks- or Juksakka" when referring to the same figure).

In Kildal, what does not have any counterparts on the track drum described by Randulf is: "Passevara" - the sacred mountain - and the connected "Passevare Lodde", the bird of the sacred mountain, and "Passevare Guelle", the fish of the sacred mountain. The 'sacred mountain' should correspond to "Saivoberget" on the patch drum described by Jessen in Leem (41 on fig. 37). One can assume that on the drum seen by Kildal, a figure corresponding to the "sky wizard", namely "Passevara Olmai" (cf. above), stood on this mountain. It may originally have been a detail that was added without disturbing the figures' 24 numbers. As for the bird and fish of the sacred mountain, it is by no means certain that Kildal saw them depicted on any troll drum; he may have known about them from oral information. On some late troll drums, however, there are equivalents of these magical animals. Perhaps they have also appeared already on some drum, as

Kildal seen. In that case it is most natural to see in them relatively late additions, due to the fact that the "wizard of heaven" has been allowed to stand on the sacred mountain; beside the "man of the sacred mountain" small figures have been placed, representing the "bird of the sacred mountain" and its "fish". In "Wurnes Lodde", 'evil bird', <sup>hvTCildāTMpA</sup> as plural ("slemme Fuglc"), one or more secondary figures of the "wizard of the underworld" can be fashioned.

## VII.

A magic drum, which at first sight seems to be of a rather different type compared to the divination tools found in Norway described above, is depicted in the Swedish missionary Samuel Rheen's "relation" written in 1671 (mainly referring to the Lule L a p l a n d ). In one respect in particular, this Swedish drum shows a very clear Christian element: three men are depicted and described as Christ and two apostles. However, a closer look at the series of figures in this tracing drum reveals correspondences with most of the signs of the Nmroman manuscript: 20 among 24. Christ and the two apostles are obviously identical with the three holy men, etc.

Like the drum described by Randulf, the language apparatus described by Rheen is divided into only two regions.

In the upper one, closest to the dividing line (see fig. 42), there is Thor with a "servant" and the Great Monk (Freyr) with a "servant". Here we have counterparts to the 4th (Thor's) and the 7th rune (Freyr's). Freyr's so-called servant should be a counterpart to "Rana Neid" in Kildal, which figure I have put together with the second rune. Thor's servant may have been added as a counterpart to the Grand Junker (Freyr) after having previously been an image of the wind god, whom we have seen depicted as lower than Thor on the troll drum of the Vadsorelation. I therefore assume here a counterpart to the 3rd rune.

Otherwise, the sky is occupied by images of the crescent moon, stars and birds. The lunar image has its counterpart in Kildal, whose lunar signs I have compiled with



the 6th crone. But what do the many stars and birds mean? The stars consist of two distinct groups. To the left of the Moon are 8 constellations, to the right 5. The bird group is made up of 9 animals (one of these

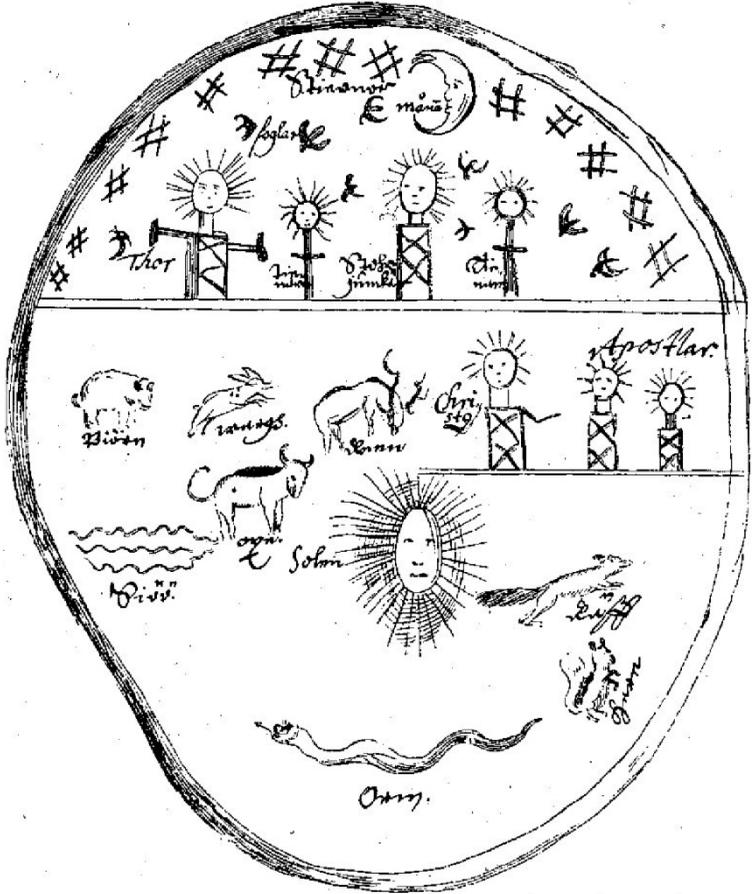


Fig. 42. The troll drum of Rheen.

bird figures are on the far left, most of the others on the right). The remarkable thing is that the runic characters after No. 4, for which we still have to wait for equivalents in this region, are precisely the 5th, the 8th and the 9th. The figure, which on the Nasromanus script has been assumed by me to

the 8th crone, is the "bear of heaven". It is located (see 8 on Fig. 32) to the left of the celestial region: the same is the case with the suite of 8 stars on the Drum of Rhen. The spruce-like sign of the Norse divination, which I have compared with the torch rune, the 5th sign of the uthark, is to the right of the celestial region (5 on Fig. 32); the same is the case with the suite of 5 stars on the Swedish magic drum. I conclude from this that the sign "the bear of heaven", which probably meant a constellation, has been replaced by eight star figures in accordance with the sign's magic number 8. By analogy, the torch rune's counterpart should have been replaced by five fire signs, which ultimately took on roughly the same shape as stars. According to the same principle, the "sky wizard man", the counterpart of the 9th uthark sign, has been replaced by nine birds (most of them on the right, like the "sky wizard" on the Naeroman manuscript drum). The 9th rune is associated with Odin in his capacity as god of sorcery. This god received his commandments from ravens. The fact that the sorcery rune is represented by birds may therefore be linked to the myth of Odin's ravens. The missionary Jens Kildal also states that in order to get into contact with "Passe vare olmay", i.e. the sorcerer of heaven, the naid sent a message to him with a "Passe 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 shall find the image of a pure bull. It was probably considered unnatural to have a reindeer in the heavenly sphere, and he was placed at the top among other animals in the earthly region.

In the celestial region we have thus found counterparts to the outhark runes n:r 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 11. Counterparts to the runes n:r 2 and 10 belonging to the subterranean should not appear in this section, as is the case with the Norwegian troll drums.

In the lower region we also encounter a series of opposites to figures known from the Naeromanuscript: the sun (reflex of rune 15), water ("lake", rune n:r 20), a reindeer (rune

n:r 1, cf. above), a bear (rune n:r 16 or a secondary figure to Leibolmai, which I have combined with rune n:r 12), an ox (probably a remnant of the cattle image on the Nierom manuscript's drum, which I have combined with rune n:r 24), a wolf (called "the devil's dog" by the Lapps, probably corresponding to the horse image on the Norwegian divination tool, a clear correspondence to rune n:r 18). The images of Christ and two apostles correspond, as I have already pointed out, to the three holy men (in which I have presumed reflections of runes 14, 19 and 23).

It remains to explain three figures placed at the bottom: a fox, a hare and a snake. What we are still missing are mainly correspondences to the three acorns (at the bottom of the Nieran manuscript image). Might these earth goddesses have been symbolized on Rheen's magic drum by animals magically associated with them? A note by J. Fellman tells us that at least one of these female divinities was invoked during hunting, when small animals were caught. 'For a good beaver catch, for example, they prayed to Madderakka,' Fellman says. It is likely that hares belonged to the same category as beavers. Like the beaver, it may have

| was an animal, symbolic of Madderakka. As the snake is a sacred animal of many peoples, one can guess that he was connected with Sarakka, the patron goddess of the hearth. This leaves the fox, which may have been associated with Juksakka, the goddess of the bow, who had a certain relationship with the God, Leibolmai.

Four signs on the Norwegian troll drum described by Randulf lack any hint of a figural equivalent: the trollman of the underworld (and rune no. 2), the kingdom of death (and rune no. 10), Leibolmai (and rune no. 12, unless it corresponds to the bear, cf. above) and the settlement of the Lapps (and rune no. 22). However, the kingdom of life and the kingdom of death (the opposites of runes 22 and 10) could only have been determined by the position of the pointer to the left or right on the lower region of the troll drum. Their signs could also have consisted of faintly drawn semicircles, which escaped the attention of the missionary Rheen. The missionary Olaus Graan also mentions a drum with figures similar to those on Rheen's. He says

adds that in Kemi Lapland, "helfwetitt aldranederst" was painted alongside "this all" (i.e. a counterpart to rune no. 10).

\*

There are, of course, many more patchwork drums worth examining in the light of my explanatory principle. Only in another publication, however, can I deal with them too. A work of popular science cannot provide an abundance of detail. What I have in mind this time is, moreover merely to set out the problem and to present an attempt at interpretation with regard to the central issue. The task of providing a full account must be postponed and left to the specialist literature. <sup>11</sup>

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"It is a beautiful scientific work. From a small and dry beginning, as one might think, the very question of the mysticism of speech may be, there develops in his clear and firm art of style old and forgotten Eastern religions in their splendor, their depth, their absurdity."

*John Landquist* in "Aftonbladet".



K. HUMANISTISKA VETENSKAPSSAMFUNDETS I LUND ÅRSBERÄTTELSE 1935-1936, IV.  
BULLETIN DE LA SOCIÉTÉ ROYALE DES LETTRES DE LUND 1935-1936, IV.

# THE PERGAMENIAN MAGIC DISC AND THE TAROT GAME

FROM

SIGURD AGRELL



C. W. K. GLEERUPS FÖ

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LUND

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BERLINGSKA BOKTRYCKERIET

## The Pergamenian magic disc and the tarot game.

FROM

SIGURD AGRELL.

I.

### The Pergamenian magic disc.

In 371 AD, as Ammianus Marcellinus (XXIX: 1, 7) relates, two *vaticinandi periti*, Hilarius and Patricius, were accused of having attempted to determine the name of the future successor to the throne of Emperor Valens by means of divination. During the investigation, it was discovered that the magic act had been carried out with the help of a bowl. On the edge of this bowl, which was placed on a tripod, the 24 letters of the Greek alphabet were found in a circle. The fortune-telling device was operated in such a way that a ring, which was attached to a linen thread, was made to vibrate above the disc. With each oscillation, the ring struck a letter. One after the other, the characters touched by the ring were joined together to form words. The four Greek letters *ΘΕΟΔ* were obtained in this way, and one of those present immediately called out that a certain Theodosius would be the successor. In fact, a man with this name became the successor of Valens - but a completely different one to the one known to the soothsayers. It is clear from what has been said that this late antique divination

device is essentially the same as a modern-day psychograph.

By happy coincidence, at the end of last year an almost completely undamaged late antique fortune-telling device was discovered in the city of Bergamo in Asia Minor, once Pergamon, the famous Hellenistic cultural centre. This interesting find has been described by Richard Wunsch in an exemplary



Fig. i.

This magic device was made at the beginning of the 3rd century AD, according to Wunsch. There is no doubt that divination devices of the same type were already in use earlier among the Greeks of the Roman Empire.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. WUNSCH, *Antikes Zaubergerät aus Pergamon*, 1905 (Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Ergänzungsheft VI) = WUNSCH, *AZ*. At the end of my paper you will find (p. 130) a complete list of the verbs used here.

in use (e.g. in the 2nd century and somewhat earlier).

The device consists, among other things, of a triangular magic table, a bronze plate on which the three-figured Hecate is depicted. Three figures rise up in flat relief, apparently representing the three different figures of this goddess (cf. fig. 1). A stem protrudes from the centre of this slab, supporting a small circular disc (cf. fig. 2). Another larger bronze disc has been placed on this disc.

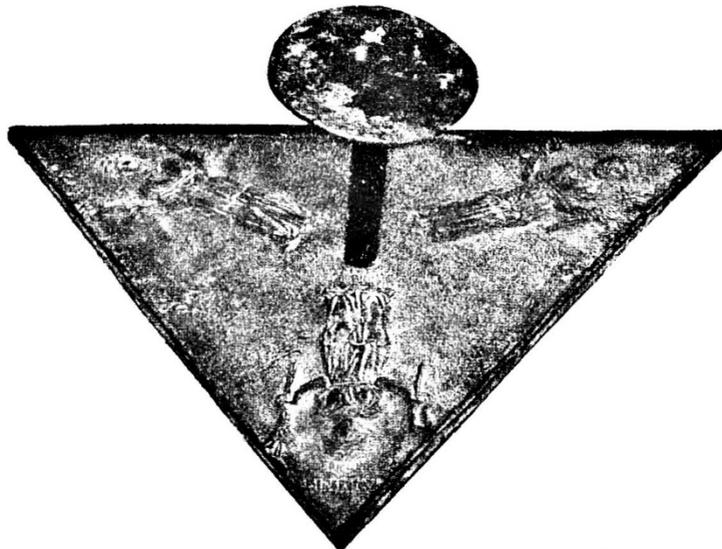


Fig. 2.

disc in the shape of a spherical cap. The plane of this disc, the actual magic disc, is divided into four concentric zones (see Fig. 8). The three outer regions are ring-shaped, the innermost region is a circular surface. At first glance you can see that the three outer regions (the concentric ring-shaped ones) are closely related and form a unit. The centre has only one magical sign in each of its 8 sector-shaped and rather large divisions and next to it letter-mystical inscriptions; the three ring zones have

In contrast, each of the small square subdivisions contains several magical signs. Together, there are 3 X 8 subdivisions in the three outer regions. There are therefore 24 related fields on the magic disc, each of which could correspond to one of the 24 Greek letters. In the 8 large signs of the innermost region

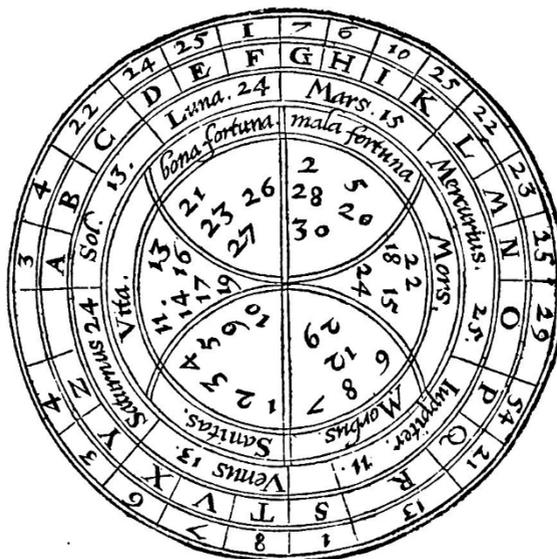


Fig. 3.

he surmised the symbols of "the ruler of the world and the seven planes" (AZ, p. 32). Something analogous to such an arrangement is actually offered by an illustration (unknown to me) of a divination apparatus from a somewhat more recent period, which I noticed in an edition of the works of Cornelius Agrippa <sup>1</sup> (cf. fig. 3). Here we see the 23 letters of the Latin alphabet in an outer zone and the 7 planetary names *Sol*, *Luna*, *Mars* etc. in an inner zone.

<sup>1</sup> HENRICI CORNELII AGRIPPAE etc. *Opera*, Lugduni (without J.), p. 470 (De speciebus magicae. De Onomantia).

The circumstances mentioned above indicate that we are undoubtedly dealing with signs in the centre of the Pergamenian magic disc that can only be of secondary importance in alphabetical mysticism. On the other hand, it is obvious that if we could decipher - at least in the main - the signs in the 24 fields of the three outer zones, the result would be fundamental for the knowledge of the late antique *alphabetical art of divination*.

The first attempt to include a series of characters in these Wunsch has undertaken to interpret 24 fields. Above all, he made the important observation that quite a few of these *signa magica* show similarities in their form to Egyptian hieroglyphs. According to Wunsch (AZ, p. 34 f.), for example, there are signs on the magic disc **t h a t** are similar to the hieroglyphs for the following terms: 'give', 'temple', 'ship', 'giirtel', 'ten'. Next to the Greek letter *B* is the image of a lower leg, once the Egyptian symbol for *b*. In another field we see a figure that may be a reflection of the Egyptian w-sign. Finally, Wunsch recognised the hieroglyph for 'evil' or 'abomination' in the image of a fish in an oblique position. He also believes that the ideogram of the god Bes is reflected on the magic disc - although, as we shall see, hardly rightly. This is followed by a series of similar observations that Wunsch made with regard to certain figures on other objects of the very complicated divination apparatus. Good connoisseurs of late antique magic are also of the definite opinion that Wunsch was on the right track with these compilations \*. However, he was unable to provide anything conclusive. He used too little material because he did not attempt to research a larger series of Egyptological works. As I will show below, the number of matches can be considerably increased following

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HOPFNER, OZ, II, p. 145. Professor S. EITREM in Oslo, with whom I have spoken about this problem, is of the same opinion.

to the Egyptological literature of modern times (Wunsch, it seems, has mainly only consulted Champollion's "Dictionnaire hiéroglyphique"). We also have to take into account the *signa magica* appearing in magic literature, but only in those cases where the meaning is somehow explained by the texts. Finally, I am in a position to utilise a newly acquired knowledge of Greek alphabetic magic. First and foremost, I can refer to my study "Late Antique Alphabet Mysticism and the Runic Series", a work which is very closely related to the present studies and which appeared in this publication just over three years ago. Although I have been working on the interpretation of the Pergamenian magic figures since 1930<sup>2</sup>, I am understandably also unable to offer a complete and entirely satisfactory decipherment. Achieving complete understanding is probably an impossible task in this case. Hopefully, however, my attempts to explain the main lines of the delicate problem can be furthered, and it will probably become apparent in the future that I have taken a few steps further along a correct path already found by a predecessor. It is in the nature of any deciphering work of this kind that you have to start with a partially intuitive method. Evidence only arises from the fact that a sufficient series of decipherments mutually support each other. In quite a few cases I believe I have found convergent solutions. In other cases I have the feeling that I am still on very uncertain ground, but I believe it is possible that new research and discoveries will confirm my interpretations, at least in certain respects. Without the courage to make mistakes, no progress is conceivable. - Hoping.

<sup>1</sup> K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundets i Lund årsberättelse 1931 - 1932, VI.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Senantik mysteriereligion och nordisk runmagi*, 1931, p. 129 ff (Chapter VI).

that more knowledgeable scholars or researchers with better luck will gradually correct and complete my work, I am publishing it in the conviction that I c a n n o t get much further with it myself now. Even if many of the conjectures given here with reserve are wrong, others may still contain the core of a correct interpretation.

As already mentioned, the Pergamenian magic device is dedicated to the goddess Hecate. This fact should undoubtedly be given special attention. On the magic table (see Fig. 1), Hecate is depicted in three figures: as Νυχίη, Διώνη and Φοιβίη. These three figures are accompanied by an essentially purely alphabetical Greek inscription. *T h e r e* are also several *signa magica*. These show a certain regularity in terms of the number of signs in three different, clearly delineated groups: Between the torch of Phoibie and the scourge of Dione there are **13** magic characters <sup>1</sup>, between the torch of Dione and the serpent of Nychie also **13** and between the sword of Nychie and the key of Phoibie another 13. As we shall see later, the fact that there are 3 figures in the 13th field on the magic disc is consistent with this. An analogous mathematical relationship can also be observed with regard to the magic characters on a nail belonging to the device: the nail (cf. Wunsch, AZ, Fig. 11) has 4 sides, and there are 10 magic characters on each side. That in magic the same number recurs in the same magic inscription or the same oral incantation is a well-documented fact (in the following we will also encounter many examples of this kind). We can therefore assume that the number 13 was particularly associated with Hecate. A continuation of the cult of Hecate and the magic linked to it must have lived on, at least in part, in the witchcraft of the Middle Ages. Of the witches of this period

<sup>1</sup> A larger illustration (see WUNSCH, AZ, Fig. 6) shows this clearly.

period we know that (at least in England) they formed associations that always consisted of 13 women \*. If we examine the late antique spell books, we also find much that points to a certain connection between Hecate (and the chthonic powers in general) with the number 13 indicates. In a magic papyrus (PGM P IV, 1991 I.), for example, it is written that an ivy vine with 13 leaves should be used when questioning a death demon. Ivy was considered a chthonic plant because of the dark colour of its leaves. in the Egyptian-Greek sorcery (Hopfner, OZ, I, § 523). In another magic papyrus (PGM, P V, 357), a cursing formula is given which is to be written on a piece of hieratic paper or a small lead tablet in order to then place one or the other in the grave of a prematurely deceased person<sup>2</sup>. The cursing formula is to be placed in the centre of a ring marked by two lines, in which an alphabetical magic letter row beginning with  $\iota\alpha\epsilon\epsilon\omega$  is to be placed. Outside this ring are can be found, like a communicated illustration shows, there are 13 magical signs (cf. fig. 4). The first (top left) is probably because it consists of schematic illustrations of the three-way (two  $\gamma$ ) composed is, the sign of Hecate (above it below); the last one (below left) schematically represents the wheel of Ananke and must be placed after other magic inscriptions as the sign of the goddess of fate (cf. Audollent, DT, p. LXXIII).

The mathematical relationship in a series of literal-mystical formulae, which were used especially when invoking the chthonic powers, corresponds to this. The two formulae  $\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\iota$  and  $\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\nu\alpha\upsilon\alpha\nu\alpha\lambda\beta\alpha$ , for example, are extremely common. They consist of 13 letters (as does the variant  $A\chi\rho\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\alpha\chi\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota$ , Audollent, DT, 242.8). A Latin curse text written in Greek letters is very interesting (Audollent, DT, 270). The last

<sup>1</sup> Cf. MURRAY, *The witch-cult in Western Europé*, 1921, p. 191 ff. (">every thirteen of them had a divell with them in sundry shaps", p. 194).

<sup>2</sup> The prematurely deceased belonged to Hecate, see ROHDE, *Psyche*, 1903, II, p. 411 ff.

The first line is purely alphabet-mystical in character and contains a magic word consisting of 13 letters. This row is separated from a subsequent letter by a dot and thus marked as something independent: *AXPAMMAXAAAAA* - *Ε*. This last, isolated letter is probably a shortening for the



Fig. 4.

name of the magic goddess: *E* = *Εκάτη*. The purpose of the curse is to make an erotically unruly man slack-jawed and restless (*non dormiat neque sedeat neque loquatur*) \ In the inscription, the Egyptian god of death Osiris is invoked, among others. Apparently the intention was to perform the magic act with the help of the grave demons, the souls wandering around with Hecate.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. herewith the cursing on p. 58 f. in *En isländsk svartkonstbok*, utg. av NAT. LINDQVIST, 1921.

A Latin curse inscription, which refers to damage spells in horse racing ( Audollent, DT, 272), begins with the spell word *sarbasmisarab*. This consists of 13 letters. It is followed by 8 *signa magica* (cf. fig. 5): No. 1 is the wheel of Ananke; No. 3 is a variant of the Latin-Greek letter Y, the schematic image of the three-way path and thus probably the sign of the trivium of Hecate. The curse is followed once more by the same magic word and the same magical characters.

In a Greek curse text ( Audollent, DT, 242), where Hecate is mentioned, is immediately before the word sequence *προεξορκίζω σε κατά ... ὀνόματα Ἐκάτης τρίμορφου* is the magic word *Ωηιαωεηαφετι* consisting of 13 letters (line 38). The word immediately preceding

V 7 H 3 V the sentence ὁ κύριος οὐρανῶν  
 τὸ χ νεκρωγών standing magic word

Fig- 5- Σαλβαλαχαωβρη ( Z. 9 ). The text invokes a death demon (*νεκρωγών*).

An even larger number of examples could easily be given here. The number 13 has actually been used very frequently in damage spells<sup>2</sup>. Such examples can already be found in my earlier writings, although I have not yet linked them to the ancient cult of Hecate. An interesting Nordic parallel is, for example, the use of 13 "rs runes in an Icelandic spell formula, the purpose of which is to cause an unpleasant illness<sup>3</sup>. The Westermønder In- spell published by Kapteyn and discussed by de Vries<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> According to FRIESENHAHN, *Hellenistische Wortzählmystik im Neuen Testament*, 1935, p. 57, it was regarded as the magical rice of the underworld goddess Persephone was considered. In the late antique magic were but Hecate and Persephone in the usually identified. About Hecate-Persephone cf. also WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, I, 1931, p. 173 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. MANNHARDT, *Zauberglaube und Geheimwissen*, 1909, p. 55 f., where "thirteen words" are to be used when questioning the devil.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *finnarnas talmystik*, 1927, p. 197; *En isländsk svart konstabok*, utg. av NAT. LINDQVIST, 1921, p. 72; on the number 13 see also AGRELL, *Lapptrummor och runmagi*, 1934, p. 52 ff. - Selene-Hecate was also a goddess of burial, see ROSCHER, *Selene*, 1890, p. 60 f., and HOPFNER, *OZ*, I § 302.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. JAN DE VRIES, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, I, 1935, p.

The 13th rune, which consists of 13 runic signs and begins with the word *imi*, may have referred to a magic act related to the magic of the same category: the yew belongs to the chthonic plants and trees and is known from the Germanic cult of the dead. In the north, the 13th rune was probably related to an earth goddess, who was also (like Tibrigen's Hecate) a goddess of birth k

The number 13 was already considered to be a symbolic number in pre-Christian times<sup>2</sup>. The cause (or one of the causes) can perhaps be found in the fact that mythological speculation reckoned with 12 main gods. According to this, the Tiber-shooting number 13 belonged to Hecate, who, although titanic in origin, was associated with the world ruler Zeus and the Olympians (cf. the depiction on the Pergamenian altar). Because over time Hecate became a goddess who was preferably invoked in damage spells, her number was ultimately regarded as particularly dangerous. Incidentally, the number 13 may have been considered inherently symbolic of anti-Olympic power (cf. Iliad V, 387). Cf. p. 113.

As I have already mentioned, in ancient magic Hecate, the goddess of the three ways (*trivia*, *Τριπότις*), was probably once associated with the sign of the three ways γ. On the Pergamenian magic disc we encounter this sign in the 10th, 18th and 24th field. The fact that it is missing in the 13th field can be explained by the fact that this region was dedicated exclusively to Hecate. In my opinion, the three magic symbols in it refer to three different figures of the goddess (more on this below). As can already be seen from my earlier writings<sup>3</sup>, the

315 f. (p. 249 the author forgets to mention that according to the Uthark theory 18 (9 4-9) is the number of the rune of Odin, a.s. *Woden*).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Lapptrummor och runmagi*, 1934, pp. 49--54.

<sup>2</sup> Darüber WEINREICH, *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs*, 1913, p. 35 f. (with references), cf. *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 18, 1915, p. 605.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. e.g. AGRELL, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung der Runennamen*, 1928, pp. 21, 36 and 42 f., cf. also *SA*, pp. 12 f., 22 and 50 f.

Numbers 10 and 18 are closely linked to death magic. The number 24 refers to possessions and wealth, thus indirectly to Hades-Pluto. Because Hecate was primarily regarded as a being associated with the deceased, she must have been partly connected with the functions of the numbers 10, 18 and 24. Hecate is also mentioned as a wealth-giving goddess, e.g. in the Theogony of Hesiodus (cf. lines 411 ff., especially 420, the passage is probably relatively recent).

The sign of the three-way street can also be found in various variations. The signs are depicted in different variations on two bronze plates belonging to the magic device. By combining three closely related forms, complicated signs have been created (cf. fig. 6; the signs on the other plate only show

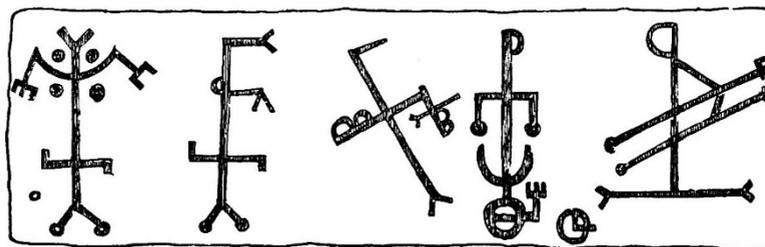


Fig. 6.

combinations with the type  $\gamma$ ). The basic form  $\gamma$  probably gave rise to the form  $\psi$  and then to the variant  $\psi$ . It may be a coincidence, but it is an interesting fact that the sign  $\psi$  is known in Scandinavia as a reflection of the 13th Uthark rune (probably originally  $\xi$ ). The same symbol can also be found on Lappish magic drums. Through Icelandic sorcerers we also know a symbol formed from it with the name *oegishjalmr* (= "fright helmet"). This magic symbol was used, for example, to instil fear, to protect against anger or to evoke love. Anyone who has studied the Greek magic papyri knows that the fear-inspiring goddess Hecate was invoked in just such cases. Her image

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Lapptrummor och runnagi*, 1934, p. 143.

was generally regarded as apotropaic in ancient times (Hilie, the mistress of terrors, was used to drive away the uncanny). The aforementioned Icelandic magic symbol (Fig. 7) consists of a combination of four figures of the form  $\psi$ , alternatively  $|$  or  $\psi$ , which together form a cross L

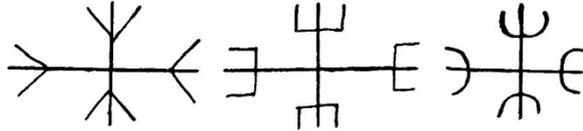


Fig. 7.

Christian mysticism of signs can certainly be expected here (the figures are only known from the 16th century or a little earlier). Nevertheless, a Christian element may only have had a partial influence, i.e. according to Christian mythology, a cross was formed by quadrupling an old magic figure. This figure itself, however, may have originated from runic magic, which is connected to the late antique magic. On the two Pergamenian bronze plates we see various combinations of similar signs. Such combinations may have provided the passage to the cross-shaped Icelandic sign *agishjalmr*. A combination of two  $\gamma$ -signs is also found, as mentioned, in a Greek magic papyrus and it is precisely the leading sign in a sequence of 13 *signa magica* (cf. fig. 4 above).

Let us now consider in turn the 3X8 fields of the three outer regions of the Pergamenian magic disc (the innermost, round area, as emphasised above, is hardly directly connected with the outer district). With Wtinsch and Hopfner, I place the 24 square fields in correspondence with the 24 letters of the Greek alphabet (*a-w*). As Hopfner (OZ, II, p. 145)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *En isländsk svartkonstbok*, utg. av NAT. LINDQVIST, 1921, pp. 28 and 46.

I assume that the beginning of the series, i.e. that which is related to the letter *a*, is to be found in the field to the right of the vertical line, immediately below the handle, on the periphery of the disc.

has (see Fig. 8).



Fig. 8.

A. The figures of the first circle zone.

1. The first field of the outer ring contains the following figures:  
1) a rondel with four "horns", 2) a rectangular sign divided in the centre by a vertical horizontal bar, 3) a figure consisting of two concentric circles crossed by a horizontal bar.

are drawn. - Sign No. 2 has a not inconsiderable similarity with with the Egyptian hieroglyph filr 'way' ꜥꜣ (Erman N 49, Gardiner N 31 lacks the horizontal bar in the centre'). This figure on the magic disc may have referred to the beginning (e.g. of a hike, a journey). This interpretation fits in well with Hopfner's very important assumption that the beginning of 24 is combined in this field with the 24 Greek letters corresponding to the 24 Greek letters. Perhaps of some significance is the fact that with Cornelius Agrippa<sup>2</sup> the first geomantic figure is called *Via, Iter*. - With regard to figure no. 3, we have to **c o n s i d e r t h e** following facts, which **i n d i c a t e** that we are probably dealing here with the magical sign for 'egg'. In Greek alchemy, an egg was denoted by an image of the same type of shape: two small concentric circles<sup>3</sup>, a sign in which we have to assume a reflection of the Egyptian hieroglyph for 'Et' (Gardiner H 8) (Champollion, p. 165, has a variant **c o n s i s t i n g** of two concentric circles). With regard to the horizontal line, it can be mentioned that Champollion<sup>4</sup> (64, p. 104) depicts a sign for 'egg', where the circumference (like the pergamenic figure) is traversed by a long horizontal line. This cancelled hieroglyph may have denoted something that died early. Like the path, the egg is a symbol of the beginning (: the origin of life). - One can assume that No. 2 (the p a t h ) was interpreted as a good beginning, No. 3 ( the destroyed egg) as a bad beginning.

- The sign no. 1 in this field probably reflects the light an Egyptian-magical sign for some deity. We have here above all a connection with the otherwise known

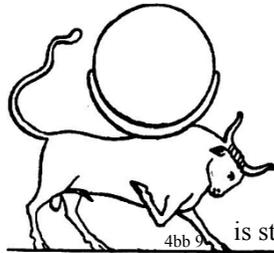
<sup>1</sup> The references Erman and Gardiner refer to ERMAN, *Ägyptische Grammatik*, 1911 (the 1928 edition contains § 50 only the most important determinatives), and GARDINER, *Egyptian grammar*, 1927.

<sup>2</sup> *De occulta philosophia*, Liber II, Cap. XL<sup>III</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> BERTHELOT & RUELLE, *Collection des andens alchimistes grecs*, 1888, I, pp. 108 and 114.

<sup>4</sup> The reference Champollion refers to CHAMPOLLION, *Dictionnaire égyptien en driture hiéroglyphique*, 1841.

Alphabet mysticism. The first Greek letter has a name,  $\alpha \lambda \phi \alpha$ , which is related to a Semitic letter name with the meaning 'cattle (cow, bull)' (cf. SA, p. 35 f.). According to Lindblom (in this Bulletin 1931 - 32, III, p. 23), the first Semitic letter is originally the sign of the goddess Hathor and once represented a cow's head. The Egyptian sign of the goddess Hathor (cf. Gardiner C 9) was the image of a seated woman with the disc of the sun between two horns on her head. On the Pergamenian magic disc we see a circular figure, but with four "horns". According to this



it is possible that this *signum magicum* referred to another divine being, which was also depicted together with the sun disc.

The divine bull Apis was also with the sun disc between the horns formed (the astronomical sign

is still Q today). We can

certainly expect that in the

Egyptianising magic, the sign of Hathor and that of Apis were not quite the same. The difference was perhaps that the sign of Apis was also marked with two lines at the bottom. The reason for this may be that Apis was depicted as the constellation of Taurus (see Fig. 9) with a large horned sun disc on the rücken<sup>2</sup> (the image thus consisted of four horns and a round disc), the horns of Taurus pointing halfway down. Both the name Hathor and the name Apis were written in Greek with the initial letter A ("Ἄβραμ, Amg). - However, in the alphabet mysticism of the syncretic period, the Greek god Abraxas (more often called Abrasax in antiquity) also played a role.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ERMAN, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, 1934, p. 26, fig. 11; WALLIS BUDGE, *The Mumtuy*, 1925, pp. 364 and 366 f.; ROSCHER, *Lex. I*, sp. 420.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. WALLIS BUDGE, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, H, 1904, p. 315 ("Signs of the Zodiac")

played a major role. This mystical all-god, who was worshipped as the creator of the 365 aeons and the lord of the 7 planets, is often invoked in the Egyptian-Greek magic papyri. In the papyrus gr. CXXI Brit. Mus. (cf. PGM, P VII, 202), there is a figurine of a magician next to the name Ἀβραοῦξί ^ . M . E. it is to be expected that this figure may be a somewhat stylised variant of the sign on the Pergamenian magic disc. The two figures may go back to a roundel-bearing form of the Hebrew letter x (*alcef*) used in magic. Magical Hebrew letters of this type are **f o u n d** in Cornelius Agrippa <sup>2</sup>. As a god of primordial creation, Abraxas - whose name incidentally contains the first character of the Greek script as its initial letter - was to be <sup>combined</sup> alphabetically with the first letter<sup>3</sup>. As we will see below, a number of circumstances indicate that on the pergame magic disc the first character in each of the 24 fields corresponding to the 24 letters regularly had a name whose initial letter was identical to the letter of the field (in the 1st field-a, in the 2nd *field-β* etc.). This meant that the disc could also be used as a letter oracle (psychograph).

2. In the second field, figure no. 1 is the image of a fish. Following Horapolio, Wunsch (AZ, p. 34) has already given a satisfactory explanation: among the Egyptians, the image of a fish was a sign of <sup>disgust</sup><sup>4</sup>. Modern Egyptological handbooks confirm this explanation: the hieroglyph for 'disgust' and 'revulsion' is precisely the image of a fish, and this figure

<sup>1</sup> I reproduce the figure after HOPFNER, *Archiv orientální*, III, 1931, p. 351. Cf. PGM, II, p. 9, where the figure should not be so clear.

<sup>2</sup> *De occulta philosophia*, Liber III, Cap. XXIX (scriptura cselestis).

<sup>3</sup> On Abraxas in alphabet mysticism, see AGRELL, *Laptrummor och runmagi*, 1934, pp. 13 f. and 66 f. A symbol of Abraxas, the originator of the recurring year, is the compass.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. LEXA, *La magie dans l'Égypte antique*, 1925, I, p. 74.

is either in oblique position mounted T^, (Erman K 4) or depicts a fish that is much thicker at the front than at the back (Gardiner K 2). On the magic disc (cf. fig. 8) the fish figure is in an oblique position; it is particularly thick at the front. In Egypt, the fish was an anti-sacred animal, associated with Seth, the evil god, and was not to be worshipped by the pious. not eaten eaten by the pious.

How the Greek letter β in Greek Coptic alphabet mysticism (cf. SA, p. 37 f.), the fish symbol of the magic disc may have referred to the Abyssos, ó β v ü ó ç, and in particular to the power of evil. The most common magical secret name of the Egyptian Seth in Hellenistic magic was *Béβων* (also *Báβvζ*, Latin *Babo*) \*. The name of the first figure in the second field may well have referred to the second letter of the Greek alphabet because it was a word beginning with *B*. The fact that the Egyptian word for 'abhorrence', *bwt*, also begins with the *ö* sound is also of eventual significance.

- Following on from what has already been said, the fact that a *T* follows the figure of the fish in this field as symbol no. 2 can be explained by the fact that this letter refers to the word *Tvφων*, the purely Greek name for the evil god Seth. In late antiquity and even earlier in Near Eastern numerical mysticism, the number 2 is known as a symbol of evil. Perhaps this is related to the fact that Typhon is said to have been created from two eggs according to a <sup>myth</sup>2.

3. In the third field we encounter the sign Γ, the third letter of the Greek alphabet, as no. 1. Next to it, as no. 2, is a sign which, according to Wtinsch (AZ, p. 34), is probably the reflection of a hieroglyph. Wtinsch does not specify the meaning of the hieroglyph depicted. The sign depicted by him (Cham- pollion 349) represents a papyrus scroll, usually in a lying position.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. WtINSCH, SV, p. 93; other magical names for Seth beginning with B in HOPFNER, *Archiv orientální*, III, 1931, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. EITREM, *Papyri Osloenses*, I, 1925, p. 63.

in the gender position:  $\overset{\wedge}{r}$  (Gardiner Y 1, Erman Y 2). It is used especially as a determinative in the designation of something abstract (spiritual). In late antique alphabet mysticism (cf. SA, p. 38 I.), the third Greek letter ( $\gamma$ ) was associated with the divine (heavenly). As a magical sign, the sign of the papyrus scroll probably originally referred to the scribes of the Book of God, the Cherheb priests\*. It is fitting that in the Coptic depiction of Greek alphabet mysticism (cf. SA, p. 38) the 3rd letter refers to "the heavenly mysteries". In Arabic numerical speculation, the

3 is considered significant for mysticism, contemplation and love of the divine<sup>2</sup>. The figure no. 3 in this region *looks* like the Greek letter  $\Lambda$ . However, if this symbol originated from something Egyptian, it is closest to the hieroglyph of the "scourge". This symbol is one of the Osiris symbols: the god was depicted with a sceptre and scourge in his hands (cf. Fig. 10), from the main contours of this



ruler's symbol can evidently be realised by

In addition, a sign in the form of a Greek  $\Lambda$  could have arisen from the simplification. It seems conceivable to me that the "papyrus" hieroglyph (no. 2) and the "scourge" hieroglyph (no. 3)  $\Lambda$  represented two opposite relationships to the divine; perhaps no. 2 was interpreted as a reward (help) and no. 3 as a punishment. -- Of some interest is also the fact that the Greek letter  $\Gamma$  has a certain similarity with the Egyptian ideogram for 'god' (cf. figs. 11a and 11b below, characters 13-15). In right-hand writing, too, this sign occasionally appears in reverse (cf. the form of  $\Gamma$ ), probably for decorative reasons (when two such signs are somewhat

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ERMAN, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, 1934, pp. 187 and 308.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. WALLIS BUDGE, *Amulets and Superstitions*, 1930, p. 470.

flank each other, they are both directed inwards). Because the first sign in this field *Ι Ο Ο Κ Σ* exactly like the letter Γ, *γάμμα* probably served as a memory word when the magic disc acted as a letter oracle. Or No. 1 was called *γν&σιν* (divine knowledge), No. 2 *γράμματα* (erudition).

4. The fourth field has 4 characters. It is known from Hellenic tradition that the fourth letter of the alphabet corresponded magically with the four elements (cf. SA, p. 39 with footnote 4). The first figure in this field is also identical with the upper half of the well-known astrological-chemical sign for earth \$. Wiensch (AZ, p. 35) has surmised a magical sign for 'earth' in the cross with the same arms, which is also found on a ring belonging to the magic device, but he seeks a connection with a hieroglyph

(g) (Champollion 19), which was primarily a sign for 'city'. M. E. in magic, the hieroglyph for 'land' M (Gardiner N 24, "land marked out with irrigation runneis") may have been simplified to a sign + for 'earth' (from which the sign j was later derived by astrologers following the planetary signs +, cf. especially \$ = Venus). - The second figure corresponds in the

Main lines of the hieroglyph for 'fire' Q (Erman W 37;

Gardiner Q 7 is identical with the variant Erman W 38). Many variants of this hieroglyph, which depicts a basin of fire with a flame, are known (cf. Champollion 517). The cursive form (cf. Gardiner, Plate I) is most consistent with the Pergamenian sign. However, it must be a character in the right-hand script. - The third figure corresponds to the zigzag line, which was used in alchemy and chemistry as a sign for 'water'. The Egyptian origin of this symbol is unmistakable. In hieroglyphic writing, falling water (rain) was denoted by the vertical zigzag line and flowing water (sea and river water) by the vertical zigzag line.

<sup>1</sup> However, a very similar symbol can already be found in the ancient Egyptian name for the earth god Geb ( cf. MORET, L. *Égypte pharaonique*, 1932, p. 136).

river water) by the horizontal: ^ 'rain' (Erman N 4 ),

cf. also fig. 19; resp, "w" (as an ideogram usually three lines one above the other: Erman N 55, Gardiner N 35). - The fourth figure in the series corresponds almost completely to an Egyptian sign, the hieroglyph  $t^{\wedge}$  (Erman § 34, Gardiner X 1). This occurs in the term  $t^{\wedge}$  'heaven':  $\square \Omega \Rightarrow 1$  (Gardiner, p. 541). - Alchemy had a partially corresponding figure .TU as a designation for 'spirit' and 'heaven' (terms that are closely related to the meaning of 'air') This sign is identical in its most characteristic part (the arch) with the curved line of the /-hieroglyph. This hieroglyph is usually explained as the image of a loaf of bread; it could probably also be interpreted - at least secondarily - as an image of the celestial vault (Champollion 536 speaks of "moitié de sphère"). - A number of facts thus show that we are in all probability dealing here with designations of the four elements: the figures are indeed four and bear a resemblance to astrological-chemical signs of Egyptian origin <sup>2</sup>. The order of the elementary signs (earth, fire, water, air) is the same as the mention of the elements in the Hippocratic writings. - According to my theory, the first sign must have had a name that began with the Greek letter Δ. Each of the elementary signs was probably associated with a certain deity (see below for the watermark and Osiris). The first sign therefore probably also functioned as a sign for Demeter, the earth goddess (or Isis as Demeter)

<sup>1</sup> On alchemistic signs see CORDIER, *Die chemische Zeichen-sprache*, 1928, p. 15 f.

<sup>2</sup> On the so-called sphere of Athens (cf. *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 37, 1913, p. 248, Fig. 1), there are magical signs which, although somewhat more complicated, nevertheless show corresponding forms. The word *AIΘAEP* (sic!) indicates that we are dealing here with the ether and the 4 ordinary elements. The fire sign is at the top, below the signs for earth (the hieroglyph for 'land'), air (in the centre, a hemisphere), water (the hieroglyph for flowing water).

have. The name *Δημήτηρ* begins with the 4th letter of the Greek alphabet.

5. There are two characters in the fifth field. Both are puzzling. With all due reserve, however, I would like to suggest a possible explanation with regard to No. 1: In the first figure can perhaps a reflex of the in the Egyptian religion and magic of a two-headed lion<sup>1</sup>. This image depicts two lion bodies depicted with the sun disc above their heads. If one looks closely at the first figure in this field (cf. fig. 8), one can fix the main contours of two primitively drawn predators of the lion type in it, namely in each: the head, a forehead and a back and one hind leg, the long tail. The two bodies are connected by a ligament. Above this is a round disc<sup>1</sup>. In the following to late antique alphabet mysticism (cf. SA, p. 40) we can here

- if we rightly see in the magic sign the reflex of a double lion - think of a connection with the (originally Mithrian) god Aion, who is often invoked in magic. As the origin of the four elements, Aion-Zervan was called "the god of the finins" in Manichaean hymns. A whole series of circumstances testify that the 4th field of the magic disc contains the signs of the four elements. It would have been fitting if the 5th field had referred to the primordial fire (the primordial element), symbolised by the lion-headed Aion Zervan. According to astrological speculation, the lion was a symbol of fire. The Egyptian double lion could have been used as a symbolic image of primal fire in syncretic magic. Of interest in this context is an Egyptian magic formula called the "lion spell". This formula consists almost exclusively of words beginning with *e*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. WALLIS BUDGE, *The Mummy*, 1925, p. 386. In a papyrus in the British Museum there is an analogous image, but with two free lions sitting with their heads turned towards each other (cf. MASPERO, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'orient classique*, I, 1895, p. 141.

catch: *eden edesen edergeh edesen . . . edesen . . . emej edesen* '. As mentioned, I have come to the conclusion that the first character in each of the 24 fields was regularly linked to a name that began with the letter of the field. It seems conceivable to me that the figure No. I in the 5th field was labelled with an originally Egyptian magic word. - I have not yet found any material for the interpretation of figure no. 2.

6. The sixth field contains two figures. In the first of these, Wtinsch (AZ, p. 34) has used the reflex of the Egyptian

Hieroglyph ftir                      'temple-^ (Erman O 15; cf. Gardiner O 6).

However, this assumption could only partially have made the right choice. First and foremost, m. In my opinion, the figure with the hieroglyph for 'treasure house' φ ( Erman O 7 , Gardiner O 2) together. The vertical sign, which gives the ideogram Π ('house', Gardiner O 1, Erman O 3) the meaning 'treasure house', has been combined with a slightly larger sign for 'house', which is in the form rectangular (like the sign for 'temple') is. I t is worth noting that the entrance is on the left. This i n d i c a t e s that we do not see the signs of the first circle in wrong direction read in the wrong direction <sup>2</sup> (the Egyptian script recognises both the direction left-right and the direction right-left, about this in detail below in the discussion of the second circle). If you also want to see in the sign no.

I has to see in this field the reflex of a hieroglyph for 'treasure house', the function of the sign can nevertheless be

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ERMAN, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, 1934, p. 303 (Fig. 125 on this page shows Egyptian magic figures with two heads); LEXA, *La magie dans l'Égypte antique*, 1925, I, p. 192 ("Lion bicéphale"). The word *edesen*, which recurs three times, probably corresponds to the word *EAEHN* on a Mithrian gem with the image of a lion (cf. CUMONT, *T & M*, II, p. 451; otherwise DELATTE, *Afusée Beige*, 18, 1914, p. 16, not convincing for me, but with regard to other words the reading is satisfactory).

<sup>2</sup> To make room, the sign is in the "horizontal" position, but the entrance is on the left: anyone coming from the left can enter.

have referred to an offering<sup>1</sup>. The ancient temples were usually surrounded by treasure houses where the offerings for the gods were kept (e.g. in Delphi, Olympia etc., also in Egypt<sup>2</sup>). - The Coptic representation of the Greek alphabet mysticism connects the 6th letter with darkness (cf. SA, p. 41). However, this combination may primarily have a phonetic reason: the word ζόφος 'darkness' begins with the 6th character of the Greek alphabet. Accordingly, this combination is not to be relied on very much. However, my assumption (SA, p. 41) that the sign ζ was once associated with the first phase of the waxing moon (with the black moon) and then further with Hecate, the goddess of eclipse, alphabetically mystically corresponded (cf. in the following N v χ í η , field 13). However, we have two other witnesses here that do not belong directly to late antique alphabet mysticism, but are undoubtedly dependent on it: the rune series and the tarot game. The 6th rune in the Uthark series has a name, the 'gift' means (ags. *gifu*). This name can also mean as 'sacrificial offering' (about this in the following). The 6th card in the original series of fortune-telling cards of the Tarot deck is called 'the Pope' and is, in my opinion, the reflex of a late antique Roman fortune-telling disc with the image of a sacrificial priest (cf. below II: 6). My interpretation of the Pergamenian magic sign as a reflexan Egyptian hieroglyph for 'treasure house' in the special meaning of 'treasure house of a temple', 'house for offerings'. - Sign no. 2 in this region is difficult to determine, perhaps it goes back to one of the Egyptian ideograms of the hand and arm type (cf. further under 7). In this case, however, it must have been very strongly remodelled and can be interpreted as the reflex of a backward-orientated

On sacrificial offerings in the Greco-Roman period among the Egyptians, see ERMAN, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, 1934, p. 403.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ERMAN & RANKE, *Aegypten*, 1923, p. 340 ff.; Orro, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, I, 1905, p. 395 ff.

(for analogous cases see below). The sign no. 1 (= treasure house of a temple) was probably interpreted as 'you must sacrifice (give)'; for the sign no. 2 (if it once represented an empty hand turned backwards) the meaning "sacrifice (or gift) is not necessary" could have functioned. - In order to combine the 6th field with the 6th letter of the Greek alphabet, I assume that the initial sign was labelled ζήμια 'punishment, fine'.

7. The seventh field contains a figure as sign no. 1, in which Wtinsch (AZ, p. 34) sees a reflection of the Egyptian hieroglyph for 'to give' seen has seen. Apparently hangs this magic sign with the numerous hieroglyphs of the hand and arm type discussed above (Erman D 41- 77, Gardiner D 28-49).

Among the Egyptians, certain hand movements had a symbolic meaning. Gardiner (p. 4) says: "Intellectual and emotional qualities were ordinarily described by reference to the physical gestures or expressions by which they were accompanied, thus 'liberality' is 'extension of hand'." A hand without a weapon has probably existed since the prehistoric period of mankind 'Peace, Friendship' (cf. the hand depictions in Palaeolithic caves etc.). The magic sign can, however, be determined as a reflex of one of the many hieroglyphs of the type mentioned, but in my opinion not as a sign for 'giving'. It does not correspond to the hieroglyphs D 38-40 in Gardiner (D 63-72 in Erman), but to the ideograms D 41-42, especially D 41 in Gardiner (=D 62 in Erman): "a". If it were a sign for 'give', there would have to be something in the hand. But this is not the case. What is on the right is the upper arm (drawn triangularly in the magic sign, instead of - as originally - quadrangularly with converging vertical lines); what is on the left is the hand (in the magic sign the corresponding part is turned upwards). Only such an interpretation corresponds to hieroglyphic writing, which is linear, and in the first circle of the magic disc follows

the fields and the characters one after the other in the direction left-right (see below p. 29). If we relate the magic sign to a meaning of 'peace, friendship', we can find a name among the older rune designations that fits well with this, and especially with the seventh rune in the Uthark series, the w-sign, for which the designation 'joy' (ags. *myn*) is documented. The name *ἡουχία* 'love of peace' etc. may have served as the name for sign no. 1 of this field (the word *ἡδονή* can also be considered). In the *Ετυμολογία τοῦ αλφαβήτου* is mentioned when explaining the 7th letter *ἦ* *Δογ και εὔκομία* (cf. SA, p. 43). - Wunsch (AZ, p. 34) has combined sign no. 2 in this field with a hieroglyph, which according to Champollion (324, p. 286) represents a girdle '-----' (. In Egyptian magic, the girdle was a symbol of Isis, albeit drawn somewhat differently (Erman p. 42). The number 7 is also associated with Isis, and is invoked as healing helper, known kI therefore find it very natural to recognise the two magical signs in this field (the 7. of the magic disc) to friendship (No. 1) and love (No. 2). As we will see below, the tarot game, whose 7th card<sup>2</sup> (cf. II: 7), called "il Innamorato", refers to love, is very well suited to this.

8. The eighth field contains three figures. For the alphabetmystical interpretation, sign no. 3 is the most important. It consists of three snake-like S-bends. From the study of Gnostic amulets, we know that three (as a rule by a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LEXA, *La magie dans l'Égypte antique*, I, 1925, p. 85 (the girdle as a symbol of Isis) and p. 102 (the number 7 and Isis, as well as the numbers 7, 14, 28, 77 as salvific numbers in Egyptian magic). On the girdle as a symbol of love in the mystical language of the early Christian period, cf. EISLER, *Orphisch-dionysische Mysteriengedanken in der christlichen Antike*, 1925, p. 308; "über dieses alles zieht an die Liebe, welche das Band der Vollkommenheit ist" (Col. 3: 14) says the Apostle Paul; the preceding (3: 5 ff.) should be noted.

<sup>2</sup> If the figure "il Folie" is not recognised as 0, but as no. 1 calculates.

S-lines connected by a horizontal bar) formed the sign of the Agathodemon \ The snake-like S-bend is probably related to the fact that the Agatho-demon was depicted as a mighty serpent (often with the head of a hawk or lion). There is also evidence that the late antique alphabet-mystical speculation of Egyptian-Greek syncretism connected the Agatha demon with the letter ©, the 8th character of the alphabet. In Philon of Byblos we read (according to Wunsch<sup>2</sup>): "When the Egyptians paint the cosmos, they draw a circular line, an airy, fiery one and a snake in the shape of a hawk (*ὄφιν ἰερακόμορφον*) stretched through the centre ( the whole figure is like our ©): they designate the circle as the world, the snake in the centre as the good demon holding it together." In a cryptographic alchemical alphabet, the letter *ū* is replaced by an S-shaped sign<sup>3</sup>. As I have already discussed in detail (SA, p. 43 f.), the Egyptian-Greek alpha-beta mysticism available in Coptic translation has linked the 8th letter (i.e. ©) with the firmament, i.e. with the 8th sphere, the crystal sky = the orbit of the world (cf. in Philon of Byblos: "they describe the circle as the world"), From different starting points (also according to the testimony of the 8th runic name) one thus comes back to the same thing: the Hellenistic-Oriental mysticism of letters saw the 8th sign of the alphabet as a symbol for the crystal sky (or the cosmos enclosed by the eighth heaven) ( cf. SA, p. 43 f., the runic name with the meaning 'hail' is based on the "hail heaven" of popular belief, more on this below, cf. III: 8). - The 8th field of the magic disc also contains two other signs. The fact that the sign of the Agathodemon is not No. 1 here explains my

<sup>1</sup> Cf. WALLIS BUDGE, *The Mummy*, 1925, p. 332; On the Agatho-demon in mysticism and magic cf. JAKOBSSON, *Datmon och Agathos daimon*, Diss. Lund, 1925, p. 173 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. DORNSEIFF, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie*, 1922 ( 1925), On the agathodaemon HOPFNER, *OZ*, II, § 133 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. BERTHELOT & RUELLE, *Collection des andens alchimistes grecs* 1888, I, P. 156.



one after the other in the same order? Because we are **d e a l i n g** with a magical device that must have been modelled on an **E g y p t i a n** one, it is not possible to

This question can be answered in the affirmative. The three rows of the 24 fields may have been arranged according to the so-called *βουστροφηδόν* order, i.e. the first row may go to the right, the second to the left and the third to the right again. Egyptian-epigraphic relationships

clearly indicate that the figures in the second zone have a different direction than in the first. Thus

z. For example, in the first zone the reflex of the hieroglyph for 'arm'<sup>1</sup> has the same position as in an Egyptian text that is right-handed (cf. above un

ter 7, cf. also under 2, 4, 6, 8). In the second zone, however, we encounter two distinct

reflections of Egyptian hieroglyphics, which exactly

show the position which the left-running Egyptian

Scripture (cf. Gardiner § 16). The first of these signs (in the 11th field) is already characterised by Wunsch as the reflex

of a hieroglyph, the sign for *b*, which represents a lower leg with a foot.

Let us note a

In a left-hand Egyptian text (cf. fig. 11a), we can state that the 'foot' (6) is turned to the same side as on the magic disc; in a right-hand text (cf. fig. 11b), the reverse is the case. The reflex of the hieroglyph for 'throne, seat' has the same position as in a left-hand Egyptian text (cf. under 15). The two signs mentioned are discussed in more detail below. A third example is given by sign no. 1 in the 10th field. The iibrige figures have a form that does not change when the direction of writing is reversed (one sign,



Fig. 11a.

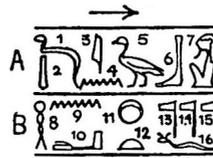


Fig. 11b.

<sup>1</sup> The following figures are also **c o n s i s t e n t** with hieroglyphs in the right-hand written form: the fish (cf. under 2), the fire (under 4), the yolk (under 7) and probably also the ship (under 8).

No. 3 in the 16th field, is doubtful). If we observe the fields in the second zone from right to left, we will also notice that in this case we can usually link the first character in each field very well phonetically with a Greek name. (As already mentioned, we have to reckon with the fact that the magic disc was also used as a so-called psychograph).

9. In the ninth field (i.e. in the 1st of the 2nd zone) there are next to each other four double crosses. One such an eight-pointed sign occurs in the late antique texts (with or without rondels at the tips). In Egyptian-Greek magic, for example, it is found several times on the Sethian curse tablets from Rome, which Wunsch discussed. These magical texts speak of the power of the goddess of fate Ananke. On the lead tablets, the eight-pointed sign is usually found under the images of people who are depicted as magically bound (bound) \ In the ancient and modern languages of our world, the eight-pointed sign is usually found under the images of people who are depicted as magically bound (bound). of our culture refers to a well-known magical expression meaning 'to bind' refers to magic compulsion (i.e.  $\alpha \nu \alpha \gamma \kappa \eta$ ). I am therefore convinced that this field on the magic disc, the 9th in the row, is dedicated to Ananke, the goddess of fate. Ananke was also called Heimarmene, i.e. 'fate'. In the Greek word *εἰμαρμένη*, *ει* was pronounced like *i* in late antiquity and was therefore often graphically confused with it (in the writings of the Greco-Roman magic standse.g. *Eloig* next to *Τσις*, *Μειύραρ* next to *Μίθρας* etc.). Incidentally, one can reckon with the name Isis-Nemesis (= Ananke) as a wish.

<sup>2</sup>, so there is no difficulty in finding the 9th field. with a Greek word that corresponds to the 9. letters. Phonetic link to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. WUNSCH, *SV*, p. 94 ff. (the sign can be found, for example, on p. 16, with rondels, and p. 20, without rondels, cf. also p. 10 f.). Cf. also EITREM, *Papyri Osloenses*, I, 1925, p. 133 f., and EISLER, *Orphisch-Dionysische Mysteringedanken in der christlichen Antike*, 1925, p. 90, footn. 2.

<sup>2</sup> On Isis-Tyche see ERMAN, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, 1934, p. 390.

The 9th letter was therefore almost self-evident. In this case, no special initial sign was necessary (as in the 8th field, for example; more on such cases below). But why do very similar initial signs appear here? The explanation is probably to be found in the fact that Ananke (like Isis, cf. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, XI, 5) in relation to

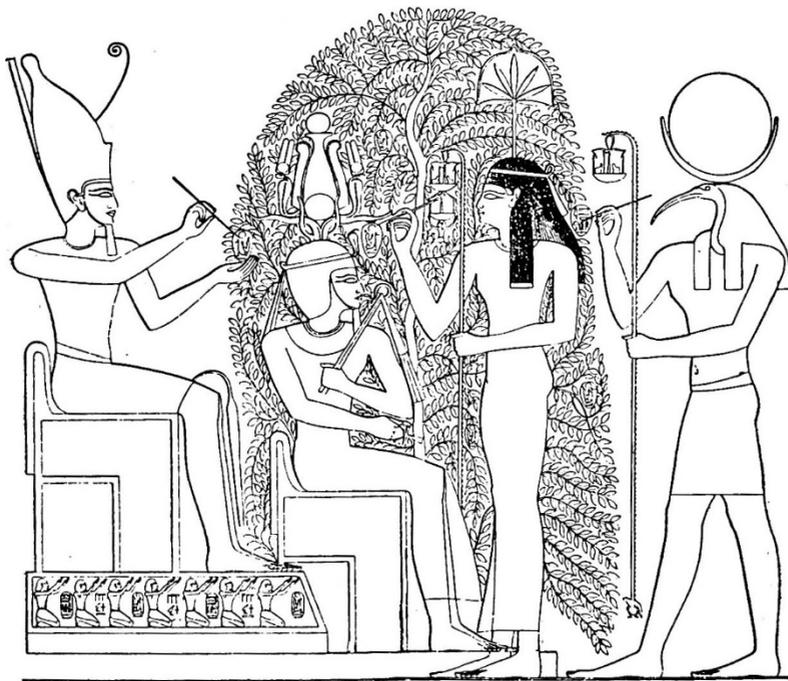


Fig. 12.

to the four elements. In mystical writings, e.g. "Pistis Sophia", is spoken of as the *ανάγκη* of the four elements, and in alchemy a star-like figure (albeit with only 6 rays) was used as a sign for the "prima materia" Y A contributory cause for the appearance of the four signs may be to be found in this,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. KOPP, *Die Alchemie*, 1886, II, p. 278. Almost the same sign belonged to the Mithrian Hecate, see CUMONT, *T & M*, I, p. 140, footn. 3.

that Ananke together with her three daughters (Lachesis, Klotho and Atropos) formed a foursome. As far as the shape of the sign is concerned, I suspect that it is a reflex of the hiero-

glyph of the goddess Seshat is: ^ (Gardiner R 20). This The goddess was the consort of the scribe god Thoth, who was also the god of magic. It is obvious that this goddess must have played an ancient role in the magic of writing (cf. fig. 12 "Atum, Seshat and Thoth write the names of Ramses II on the sacred tree in Heliopolis"). On Egyptian soil, Ananke, the main goddess of late antique magic, may have adopted the sign of Seshat Ti, which was probably simplified by the letter mystics of the imperial period: a curved line at the top (originally the "Seshat").

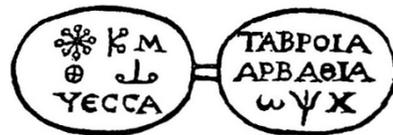


Fig. 13.

two horns pointing downwards) has been omitted, and only the eight-pointed figure remains. In the astrology, the sign of destiny is the figure ⊕

apparently an image of the Wheel of Fate \ I t is particularly remarkable that on a gem where, according to Kopp <sup>3</sup> (cf. fig. 13), a Hebrew sentence is inscribed in Greek letters, both signs are found next to each other, the latter immediately below the former. This shows that the two figures were identical in meaning (or very closely related). The Hebrew sentence is translated into Tiber by Kopp: *Bonus est adspectus! Spondisti salutem!* In other words, an interpretation that fits my view very well.

The eight-rayed sign with roundels is also found in the centre of the Pergamenian magic disc (cf. fig. 8). As I have already mentioned above (p. 4 f.), I am of the opinion that the figures in this region mainly refer to the planetary gods. The planets

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *L'astrologie grecque*, 1899, p. XIX: "Sort de la Fortune".

<sup>2</sup> Cf. KOPP, *Palaeographia critica*, IV, 1829, p. 221.

of the astrological time period were desire in the 8th figure the sign of the see, I am of the opinion that although planetary gods refer, the 8th figure is the sign of the see. goddess.

but only 7. instead of "ruler of the world" to 7 characters refers to the signs of destiny

et found in Syria

the images and names of the 7 weeks of the year.

The gods of the day next to the image and name of Tyche, i.e. the goddess of fate: Ananke, Tyche, Heimarmene, Dike etc. are just different names for the same being. The order is : Tyche, Kronos, Helios, Selene, Ares, Hermes, Zeus and Aphrodite. Thus Cronus, who is so important in magic, does not occupy the 7th place in the order of the gods of the week, but takes first place among them, immediately after Tyche-Ananke (cf. fig. 14). As I will show below, the 1st sign in the centre of the magic disc is that of Kronos (it is a decoratively stylised crescent, see below under 10).

Based on a whole series of observations, I therefore come to the c o n c l u s i o n that the 9th field on the magic disc is dedicated to Ananke, the goddess of fate, whose symbol is also found in the centre. The appearance of *botia fortuna* and *mala fortiuia* on Cornelius Agrippa's divination disc (see Fig. 3) is consistent with this.

It is unlikely that the same eight-rayed sign with roundels was once a sign for the constellation of Capricorn (cf. Wunsch, AZ, p. 32). In a magic papyrus (cf. PGM, P VII, 810 ff.), the same sign appears after the word *αιγοκέρωζ* (sic). However, this only proves that this sign somehow magically belonged together with the constellation mentioned. After the name of the constellation of Taurus (*ταύρον*), the corresponding sign is a horizontal

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BOLL, *Stemglaube und Sterndeutung*, 1926, p. 27 and p. 101 f.



Abb. 14.

Crescent Moon. The constellation of Taurus is the region of exaltation (*ψωμα*) of the moon. According to a Neoplatonic commentary on the 10th book of Plato's "State", souls return through the constellation of Capricorn after death to be condemned again by Ananke<sup>2</sup>.

A clear reflection of the late antique Ananke can be found both in the old rune series and in today's Ta-



rockspiel: the 9th rune in the Uthark series has a name that means 'need, necessity' (= *ἀνάγκη*), and the 9th card in the 22-card series "il Folie" - "il Mondo" in the tarot deck shows the image of the goddess of justice and is called "la Iustitia" (= gr. *Δίκη*, *Τύχη* etc.). The sphere of Ananke could be regarded as the 9th in the cosmology of late antiquity (cf. below III: 9 and SA, p. 44 f.).

10. The tenth square contains three pieces. Because in the second circle zone the characters

Fig. 15. follow one after the other from right to left, we have as no.

1 to look at the figure located directly next to the field with the 4 eight-rayed anchor signs. This figure corresponds to the image of a crescent and the hieroglyph

(Erman T 10). The sickle was an attribute of Kronos

(cf. Fig. 15), and a reflex of this is still present in the well-known astronomical sign of the planet Saturn: b- In this case the crescent is directed downwards. On

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *L'astrologie grecque*, 1899, p. 134.

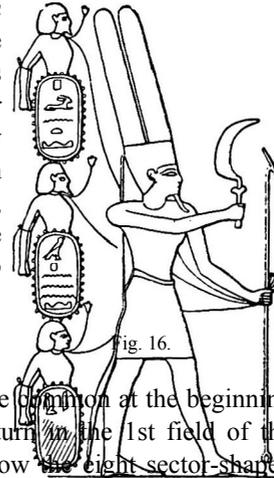
<sup>2</sup> BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *op. cit.*, p. 22 f.

The Pergamenian magic disc, on the other hand, has the crescent-shaped bend at the top. The figure has the same position as the sickle sword in Fig. 16 (where the hieroglyphs are also placed as in the left-hand script). We also encounter the same outline of a crescent in a sign in the centre of the magic disc, where, as I suspected (see above), there are 7 signs for the 7 planets of ancient astrology along with the sign of the

Find Ananke. Above the figure in which I see the sign of Kronos,  $\text{IEA}\Omega$  is written in Greek letters. Undoubtedly,  $\text{IE}\alpha\omega$  is the same as  $\text{I}\acute{\alpha}\omega$ , the usual name of the god of the Jews in Greek magic (often written with just four letters, following the pattern of the Hebrew name). Saturn and Yahweh were often identified by non-Jews (cf. e.g. Tacitus, Hist. V, 4): the Sabbath of the Jews was the day of the week of Saturn. The formula  $\text{IE}\alpha\omega$  also occurs in a magic text

(PGM, P XXXVI, Col. IV), where according to Eitrem<sup>2</sup> Yahweh is combined with Seth

is. The vowel combinations  $\text{IE}\alpha\omega$  and  $\text{I}\alpha\epsilon\omega$  are common at the beginning of spell formulae. If we see the sign of Saturn in the 1st field of the centre of the crescent-shaped figure and follow the eight sector-shaped fields with our gaze in the direction to the left, the arrangement of the 8 figures is in all probability as follows: Saturn, Sun, Ananke, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter and Venus. Among the 6 as yet undetermined figures, the presumed sign of Venus (top right) bears a certain resemblance to the



<sup>1</sup> Cf. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *L'astrologie grecque*, 1899, p. 318 with footn. 1, 371  
f o o t n . 1, 478 footn. 1, 483 footn. 3; REITZENSTEIN, *Poimandres*, 1904,  
S. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. EITREM, *Papyri Orloenses*, I, 1925, p. 57.

Venus sign of astrology § (with the variant<sup>1</sup>  $\text{O}^\circ$ ). With the presumed sign of the moon agrees in the main thing a figure tiber, which can be found in a series of astrological signs.

logical signs in a magic papyrus (PGM, P III,

298). The presumed sign of the sun has a fairly close resemblance to the final figure in the frame of the Egyptian name of Horus<sup>2</sup>  $\text{^}^\wedge$ . We will be dealing with Horus as the sun god further on (cf. under 15). Just like on the Syrian bracelet (cf. fig. 14), the signs of the gods of the week on the magic disc are in the following order: Saturn (Kronos), Sun etc. etc. (last) Venus (Aphrodite); the only difference is that the sign of Ananke does not precede the sign of Saturn, but is placed between the signs of the Sun and the Moon<sup>3</sup>. - If this interpretation of the signs of the centre is correct in the main, then one has to reckon with the fact that the signs in the four main regions of the magic disc follow consistently *βουστροφηδόν* one after the other: in the 1st zone from left to right, in the 2nd zone from right to left, in the 3rd zone from left to right, in the 4th zone (in the centre) from right to left.

There is therefore much to suggest that the 1st figure in the 10. field refers to the god Kronos. The name *Κρόνος* also begins with the 10th letter of the Greek alphabet. The figure may therefore also have functioned as a symbol for the letter  $\kappa$ . - In figure no. 2 in this field, which is Y-shaped, I see, as already mentioned (cf. p. 8 ff.), the sign of Hecate. Hecate and Kronos belonged closely together with the dead and the dying. - I assume that figure no. 3 is a sign of the realm of the dead. It may have been created following the Egyptian hieroglyphic system in that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. KOPP, *Palaeographia critica*, III, 1829, p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. WALLIS BUDGE, *The Mummy*, 1925, p. 83 and p. 282.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also AGRELL, *Senantik mysteriereligion och nordisk runmagi*, 1931, p. 157 f., where conjectures about the origin of all 8 signs of the centre are expressed.

the outline of the sign for 'heaven'  $\rho=1$  (Erman N 1, Gardiner N 1) was reversed \ This created a figure  $i \underline{j}$ , which was emphasised even more clearly by inserting the sign  $\gamma$  as an underworld symbol.

The 10th field on the magic disc therefore refers to death, antiquity and illness. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the 10th rune in the Uthark series has a name that means 'ice'. As is well known, the magical expression with the meaning 'to make cold' refers to the spell-induced provocation of death and illness (cf. SA, p. 12 f.; more on this below). Finally, the 10th figure in the tarot game, "l'Eremita", can, in my opinion, be explained as a reflex of Saturn; the prototype may once have had the name "Kronos" (cf. II: 10).

11. The eleventh field has as its first sign (immediately to the right of the 10th field) a figure that is almost completely identical with sign no. 3 in the 4th field, which I have explained as the ideogram of water (both signs are also *s i m i l a r* to a certain form of the letter  $\Xi$ ). In Egyptian religion, the element of water was closely associated with the god Osiris; the word for 'water' could even serve as a magical designation of the god: "*Όσιρις δ καλούμενος νόωρ*" (cf. Hopfner, OZ, I, § 455). In the Greek language, certain words that refer to water also b e g i n with  $\lambda$  (the 11th letter of the alphabet), e.g. *λίμνη* 'standing water' etc. Because the magic sign must be related to the Egyptian ideogram for 'falling w a t e r', the name is most likely to be found in the word clan of the verb *λείβω* 'to drip, to pour'; perhaps the word  $2^5 =$  -'any dripping moisture'. Often this word means 'waters (at all)'. As a god closely associated with water and also as the god of the underworld

<sup>1</sup> In the same way, in alchemy the sign for 'earth' is derived from the sign for heaven (cf. BERTHELOT & RUELLE, *Collection des andens alchimistes grecs*, 1888, I, p. 110).

Osiris was regarded by the Egyptians as the vegetation god  $\kappa\alpha\tau' \acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\chi\eta\acute{\nu}$ . The plants sprout from the corpse of Osiris under the influence of the water (cf. fig. 17: the water lines falling from above are characteristic). With regard to this circumstance, I can point out that the Egyptian-Greek alphabet mysticism known to us through the Greek Paris fragment and the Coptic translation (cf.

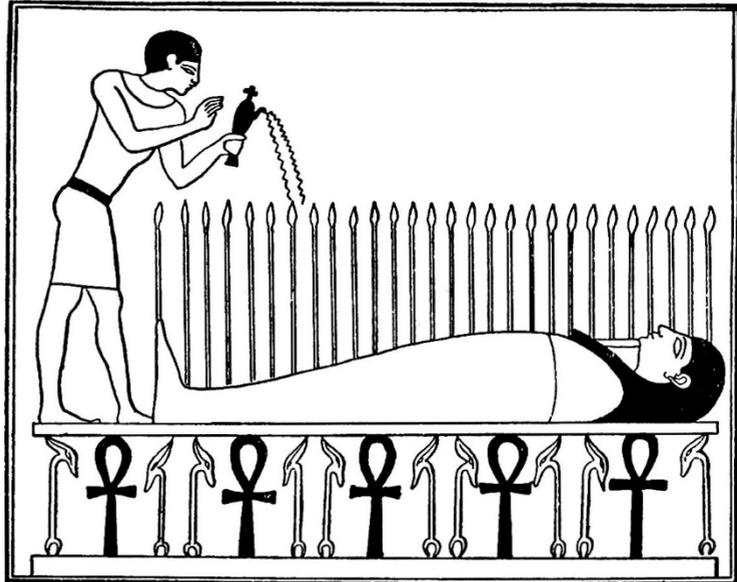


Fig. 17.

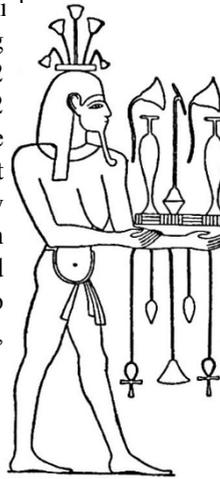
SA, p. 13) refers the elite letter to the plants ( $\beta\omicron\tau\alpha\nu\ \&\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\beta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omicron\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ); it is also true that the 11th rune in the Uthark series had a name that meant 'annual growth' (aisl. *är* etc.). It is therefore perhaps not coincidental that sign no. 2 in this field *is* the Greek letter *B*, with which the word  $\beta\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$  'pasture, forage, grass' begins. As Wunsch has already noted (see above), in Egyptian writing the hieroglyph

JJ, the image of a lower leg, phonetically as the sign of the  $\acute{o}$  sound. Next to the Greek *B* there is a

sign that corresponds in form to this hieroglyph tiber. Of particular importance is the sign discussed above, that this sign does not correspond to the Egyptian hieroglyph in the right-hand script, but in the left-hand script (cf. fig. 11). Perhaps

This image of a body part inherently has a certain magical significance. According to Egyptian belief, the plants emerged from the body of Osiris (cf. fig.

17). The old theological books contain hieroglyphs and hieroglyphic combinations, which represent all the main limbs of this god<sup>1</sup>. According to the teachings of late antique astrology, 12 different human body parts correspond to the 12 zodiac signs, namely the lower leg<sup>2</sup> with the constellation of Aquarius. It is well documented<sup>2</sup> that this constellation was considered particularly significant for water and therefore also for growth (see Fig. 17 above). Aquarius was also identified with the male-female Nilgoth, who was so significant for vegetation<sup>3</sup> (cf. fig. 18). Like the latter, he was depicted with lotus flowers in his hair. (see Fig. 19).



12. The twelfth field also has three figures. Sign no. 1 is of the same type as the first field. It can be traced back to the hieroglyph for 'egg' in the form given by Champollion (see above under 1). The second figure is identical in form to the figure of the 9th field, which appears four times. Sign no. 3 looks like the Greek Z-sign Α (Ζ). If we are looking for links with late antique alphabet mysticism, we have to pay attention to this,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. WALLIS BUDGE, *Osiris*, I, 1911, p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *L'astrologie grecque*, 1899, p. 319, p. 146 f. etc.

\* Cf. BOLL, *Spkaera*, 1903, p. 236, and ERMAN & RANKE, *Aegypten*, 1923, S. 514.

that the 12th letter of the Greek alphabet could be combined with the zodiac consisting of 12 constellations (cf. SA, p. 14). The Zodiac was a symbol of the cosmos as a whole. Accordingly, sign no. 1 in this field (the 12th) could have referred to the cosmic egg, the world egg.

12 fruit-bearing tree (cf. SA, p. 14). The hieroglyph of the goddess Seshat discussed above (p. 32) consists in its central part of a figure in which one can see the reflection of the head of a flower or a tree.<sup>2</sup> M. E. it should represent the simplified image

a palm crown be. On Egyptian drawings (see Fig. 20), the branches of the palm trees can be seen emanating from a centre like rays. The palm tree, "whose fan represents the sun with its rays", was created from



For this reason she is regarded as a sun tree (Hopfner, OZ, II, § 299, p. 143). Many Egyptian goddesses were originally tree goddesses. We know from Seshat that she (cf. fig. 12) was linked to the tree of the temple at Heliopolis<sup>3</sup>.

Fig 19 betmysticism, it is also well attested that the 12th letter of the Greek alphabet in

relationship to the trees (cf. ζύλα καρποφόρα, SA, p. 14: the palm tree is a fruit-bearing tree). In late antique astral mysticism, the zodiac could be visualised as a world tree with 12 branches (SA, p. 14). According to Plato, the goddess Ananke has her place next to the world axis, which corresponds to this world tree (cf. ancient Norse mythology) (The State, Book 10). - The goddess Ananke

<sup>1</sup> Cf. WALLIS BUDGE, *Osiris*, I, 1911, p. 60 ("the cosmic egg").

<sup>2</sup> Cf. WALLIS BUDGE, *The Mummy*, 1925, p. 185 ("Trees and Plants", No. 2).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ERMAN, *The Religion of the Egyptians*, 1934, p. 57; WALLIS BUDGE, *Osiris*, II, 1911, p. 260; *From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt*, 1934, p. 61:

"She dwelt by the Tree of Heaven, and as the Remembrancer of the gods wrote down on the leaves of the tree the deeds and duration of life of every man and every god".

speaking Norse Norns also live near the cosmic tree (Yggdrasill). - It is therefore not so surprising if we find the sign of the goddess of fate also represented in the 12th field of the magic disc.

Sign no. 3 in this field corresponds in form to the Greek letter  $\Lambda$  ( $\Lambda$ ). We have already observed this as character no. 3 in the 3rd field. The two figures are not entirely similar: the first *l o o k s* like  $\Lambda$ , the second more like 2. If the figure in the 12th field had roughly the same meaning as in the 3rd, it could have signified 'power' and originally represented the ruler's scourge.



Fig. 20.

The 12th field of the Pergamenian magic disc is called "la Forza" and in my opinion  $\omega a s$  once combined with the Latin word *magnitudo* (the 12th letter of the Latin alphabet is the *wz* sign, cf. II: 12). - The 12th field of the Pergamenian magic disc must somehow have been linked to the 12th letter of the Greek alphabet. Perhaps sign no. 1 (the world egg?) was called μακρὺς κύαμος.

13. The thirteenth field contains three signs. As I have explained on p. 11, we can expect a relationship to the three-formed Hecate here: the number of signs

<sup>1</sup> According to ERMAN & RANKE, *Aegypten*, 1923, p. 256, this attribute, usually interpreted as a scourge, was originally a flywhisk (albeit a sign of power and dominion). However, an archaeological discovery not yet known to Ranke contradicts this assumption, cf. CAR-TER & MACE, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen*, II, 1927, p. 83 ("Flagellum") and III, 1933, p. 77 I. (cf. Plate XXI A).

is 3, and the field is the 13th in the row (for 3 and 13, see p. 7). The three figures can be explained as different Hecate symbols as follows: figure no. 1 (on the right) may represent a rope (cf. Wunsch, AZ, p. 22); figure no. 2 (in the centre) corresponds to the Egyptian hieroglyph

for 'gravestone' (Friedman O 54, Gardiner O 26; also

'Stele, memorial stone')  can itself therefore refer to Hecate as the goddess of death (she was z. B. *σαρκοφάγος* cf. Wunsch, AZ, p. 27); in figure no. 3 (left) I see with wish (AZ, S. 45) a simplified representation of the Apollonian tribrach. From the inscription on the magic table (see p. 7 above), we know that Hecate was called by the magician with the name  $\text{Ν υ χ ί η}$ ,  $\text{Δ ι ώ ν η}$ ,  $\text{Φ ο ι β ί η}$  (see Fig. 1). The name  $\text{Φ ο ι β ί η}$  is obviously related to the Apollonian name  $\text{Φ ο ι β ο ς}$ . As a symbol for  $\text{Φ ο ι β ί η}$ ,

i.e. Hecate as the bright goddess of the moon, the image of the tripod, sign no. 3, should therefore have served. Sign no. 1 must refer to a name that begins with the 13th letter of the Greek alphabet, i.e.  $\text{Ν υ χ ί η}$ . The image of the gravestone, sign no. 2, thus belonged to the goddess as  $\text{Δ ι ώ ν η}$ , i.e. Hecate as the goddess of heaven who commands the dead'. She probably had the name  $\text{Ν υ χ ί η}$  as the goddess of nocturnal magic. The sequence Nychie-Dione-Phoibie begins with the goddess as the new moon (black moon) and coincides with the images on the magic table when they follow each other to the left. The movement to the left is characteristic of all spells relating to the underworld. It is obvious that this magic apparatus, which was dedicated to the three-figured Hecate, must have a place somewhere among the 24 squares that relates entirely to this goddess. The 13th field is obviously the most suitable of all for this purpose. It can be combined with one of the letters <math>\epsilon</math>,  $\nu$ ,  $\varphi$  (cf.  $\text{Δ ι ώ ν η}$ ,  $\text{Ν υ χ ί η}$ ,  $\text{Φ ο ι β ί η}$ ).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ROHDE, *Psyche*, II, 1903, p. 81: "among the dwelling places of the departed, amidst the gravestones and the horror of the cult of the dead, before which the heavenly shy away, she is well".

It contains 3 signs and r e f e r s to the number 13. The fact that the Y-shaped Hecate sign does not appear here at all is quite in order: this is a sign for the goddess of the three ways in general. The three different forms of the goddess are represented in the 13th field.

14. The fourteenth field also has three figures. Sign no. 1 (on the right) looks like a somewhat rounded Greek Θ. Among the hieroglyphs, sign no. 2 (in the centre) is almost identical in form ( Gardiner V 19, Erman Z 10). The meaning of this hieroglyph is not exactly known. In certain contexts it is a deter- minative for 𐀓 "alanquin or portable shrine" (Gardiner). Sign no. 3 (left) corresponds typologically to the hieroglyph



(Gardiner O 22, "open booth supported by a pole"; Er- man O 62, "Laube, Saab). Alternatively, the figure can be

be a duplication of the (somewhat simplified) sign for 'house', which I have already discussed above (under 6) (cf. also under 15 and 22). Sign no. 1, the ©- shaped figure, must be linked to a word that begins with ζ, the 14th letter of the Greek alphabet. In the actual script *Ετυμολογία τοῦ αλφαβήτου*<sup>1</sup>. ζ is explained as *παρά τοῦ ζιφιαίου ἀστέρος*, thus referring to a

"Sword star" referred to. In Greek astrology (e.g. Schol. Lucan. I, 529) a comet that was believed to have been sent from the planet <sup>Mars</sup>2 was called a "sword star" (*ζιφίας* or *ζιφοειδής*) ( see below). The planet Mars is also called *Θοῦρος* ('the wild, stormy one') and a ©-shaped sign (also ) was used as an ideogram for Mars (now<sup>^</sup>) in older astrology<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Etymologicnm Gudianum*, ed. STURZ, 1818, sp. 598.

<sup>2</sup> Or according to some of Mercury, cf. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *L'astrologie grecque*, 1899, p. 359 with footn. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *op. cit.* p. 98; BERTHELOT, *Introduction à l'étude de la chimie* etc., 1889, p. 102; Kopp, *Palaeographia critica*, III, 1829, p. 342; BERTHELOT & RUELLE, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, 1888, I, p. 104, line 5 and p. 114, line 1.



Accordingly, I believe that sign no. 1 refers to the power of the planet Mars, represented here by a "sword star",  $\zeta\iota\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha\zeta$ . This gave us access to the 14. letter of the alphabet. The whole field was against the stars dedicated to the stars. The Greek representation of a letter-mystical system, of which the fragment found in Paris is a reflex, does connect the 13th letter ( $\rho$ ) with the stars (cf. S A , p. 16). However, it must be noted that this system has eliminated  $\zeta$  (as well as  $\gamma\phi$  (cf. S A , pp. 11 and 34) and that  $o$  is then linked to the sun and the moon as no. 14 (instead of no. 15). It is therefore very likely (although I did not take this eventuality into account in my study SA) that in the original No. 14  $\zeta$  was once combined with the stars and No. 15  $o$  with the sun and the moon. With no. 13  $\nu$  the Christian alphabet mystic no use for He-cate or any other goddess had. In contrast stars, sun and moon belonged closely together. Its purpose was to form the alphabet with a creation story, and in such a story the stars could not well be missing. He therefore gave the letter  $\nu$  the role of the eliminated sign. As we shall see below, other circumstances also suggest that the 14th letter was linked to the stars in late antique alphabetic mysticism. - Sign no. 2 (in the centre of the field) may refer to a benefic planet, primarily Venus. The model for the magic sign can be seen in a hieroglyph, which once represented a palanquin or a portable (ritually used) shrine. An Egyptian jewellery box seen from the side has the same outline as this hieroglyph \*. Accordingly, it could very well have been a symbol for Isis-Venus <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ERMAN & RANKE, *Aegypten*, 1923, plate 14, fig. 1. A whole series of similar jewellery boxes is illustrated in CARTER & MACE, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen*, I, 1923, 11, 1927, III, 1933; Plate LV in vol. I shows such a portable jewellery box.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *L'astrologie grecque*, 1899, p. 99, footnote. 2.

This figure also bears a certain resemblance to that of the disc (both figures consist of two vertical and one horizontal line; in one case there is a full circle above the horizontal line, in the other a semicircle). Both figure no. 1 and figure no. 2 are found in a series of apparently astrological signs in a magic papyrus (PGM, P III, 298; here, for example, is also the sun sign <^).

- Figure no. 3 (left), which is similar to the Egyptian hieroglyph for 'hall' (cf. above) and could alternatively have originated from the ideogram for 'house', could also be explained as an astral sign (following the suggested interpretations of the other two figures). It could represent a celestial 'house', i.e. a zodiacal constellation. The two rondels in it may denote stars. - The 3 figures of the 14th field probably mean: No. 1 = the bad wandering stars (Mars, evil comets, such as *ξίφιας* etc.); No. 2 = the good wandering stars (Venus, Jupiter etc.); No. 3 = the fixed stars (perhaps represented here by the constellation of Gemini).

15. The fifteenth field could, as already indicated above, refer to the sun: cf. SA, p. 17, where clear evidence is given for the alphabet-mystical connection of the round o with the sun (*ἡλιος*) and its signs. The first two signs in this field **c a n** also be interpreted astrologically very well following this assumption. Sign no. 1 (right) corresponds to the hieroglyph for 'house' (Gardiner O 1, Erman O 3): only the two short horizontal lines at the bottom are missing. The Egyptian sign also occurs in a rectangular form, but it is often almost square. - The magic sign no. 1 can indicate the house of the sun. This interpretation is also satisfactory from a phonetic point of view: *οικία* (*τον ἡλιον*) begins with o, the 15th letter of the Greek alphabet. - The second figure (character no. 2) represents an armchair or represents a throne. The hieroglyph for 'seat' r

The small horizon line (right or left ) is often missing in the cursive hieroglyphic script (cf. Gardiner, Plate I).

(Gardiner Q 1, Erman Q 1). As I have already mentioned, the figure on the magic disc does not correspond to the hieroglyph in right-facing script, but in left-facing script (cf. 11 above). Here we have the third piece of evidence to support my assumption that the figures in the second zone follow one after the other from right to left. The hieroglyph for 'seat' was also the sign  $\kappa \alpha \tau$  'ἐξοχήν' of Isis (as numerous depictions of this goddess show, cf. fig.

21; the symbol on the head is very similar to the Pergamenian magic symbol). The goddess Isis was called "the



In the magic literature and the Greek astrological writings, the "throne of the sun" is occasionally spoken of. <sup>2</sup> - Sign No. 3 is reminiscent of the hieroglyph for 'rainwater' (see above under 4 and Fig. 19). The sign No. 3 in the 15th field corresponds to the adjacent sign No. 1 in the 16th field, in which the wish (AZ, p. 34) represents the Reflex of a hieroglyph for 'river

seem to correspond to a sign for 'water' in the region of the sun. The appearance of the two signs for water in the 15th and 16th fields, however, corresponds exactly with the method of Egyptian magic. In the Egyptian-Greek magic literature (cf. Hopfner, OZ, II, p. 119 below), it is emphasised that if one "wants to investigate important occasions", one should "look into any

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ROSCHER, *Lex.*, II, p. 362.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *L'astrologie grecque*, 1899, p. 242 ff.

<sup>3</sup> We encounter the sign filr 'river water', for example, in a magic inscription that refers to the *Δαίμων Υδροφόβας* (cf. *Musee Beige*, 18, 1914, p. 70 f. (on p. 70, just like on the Pergamenian magic disc: left no. 2 and right no. 4 and 7). 4 and 7). On water as a repellent, anti-demonic element, see GOLDZIEHER, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 13, 1910, p. 31 ff.).

Bowl "Rain water" pour into it, to the "heavenly gods" invoke, on the other hand "river water", if you ask Osiris or Serapis. The sun god obviously belongs among the heavenly gods. - For the ancient Egyptians, the sun and moon were "the two eyes of Horus" (cf. SA, p. 17). We may therefore have to reckon with the interpretation that sign no. 3 refers to the moon. The Paris fragment combines yes the letter o with *ἥλιος καὶ οελήνη* (cf. SA, p. 11). The figure in the centre of the magic disc, in which I want to see the sign of the moon (cf. above under 10), also begins with a zigzag line zigzag line (it comes after the anchor symbol, see Fig. 8). -

16. The sixteenth field has, as already mentioned above, as sign no. 1 a figure in which I see with Wiensch a reflex of the hieroglyph *A-W*" (in Egyptian script a sign for *n*, but originally an ideogram for 'river water, flowing water'). If this figure is interpreted as a sign for river-water, it can also be combined with a Greek word that begins with the 16th letter *π* of the alphabet: *ποταμός*, 'river'. In magic (cf. above under 15), the river water belonged to Osiris and to the Serapi (Sarapis) who emerged in Hellenistic period is a very probable assumption that the typical late antique magic disc has a relationship to the god Serapis somewhere. In the last period of Greek syncretism, this god was identified partly with Zeus and partly with Helios-Mithra. An altar found in the Caracallathermen bears, for example, a dedication to Zeus. For example, a dedication to Zeus-Helios-Sarapis-Mithras in the Egyptian-Greek magic literature is also well attested (cf. Hopfner, OZ, II, § 156 and 158). In one papyrus (PGM, P V, 5), for example, it is said:

*ἐπικαλονμαί οε, Ζεῦ, Ἥλιε, Μίϋρα, Σάραπι,* <sup>2</sup> the syn-  
*άνικητε*

Cretan god becomes - just like Mithras originally - the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE, *Textbook of the History of Religion*, II, 1925, p. 502.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also DELATTE, *Musée Beige*, 18, 1914, p. 11.

was described as "undefeated" (*avíkητος* = *itivictits*). Of particular interest in this context is the fact that the Iranian god Mithras inherently had the number 16 E the 16th day of the month was consecrated to him in Persia, and on a late antique Mithric gem his name is found together with a 16-rayed star (cf. SA, p. 18). On the Egyptian Gnostic amulets of the

3. According to Wallis Budge, a strong Mithraic influence can be observed from the 2nd century (i.e. the time of the Pergamenian magic device). On an amulet (British Museum, G. 156) with late antique Egyptian magic writing ("enigmatic writing"), for example, the lion of Mithras can be seen together with two <sup>stars</sup>2 - Sign no. 2 in the 16th field of the Pergamenian magic disc is a figure consisting of two united <sup>stars</sup>3. Following on from the above, I see this as a sign for Serapis-Mithras, the "unconquered" <sup>god</sup>4, who was magically associated with the number 16. - Sign no. 3 is difficult to interpret. The closest guess is that it goes back to a schematic Egyptian animal drawing. The originally very clear and characteristic Egyptian animal hieroglyphs have occasionally evolved into quickly drawn combinations of small, almost straight lines. For example, the animal of Seth is depicted as . Perhaps the magic sign originated from a schematic representation of a bull: for example, from the

Figure , where finally the suggestion of the forelegs has been omitted. Both Mithras and Serapis had a close r e l a t i o n s l  to a bull. Serapis could even be seen as a man

<sup>1</sup> C  NT, *Die Mysterien des Mithra*, 1923, pp. 9, 116, 154; AGRELL, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung der Runennamen*, 1928, p. 32, *Senantik mysteriereligion*, 1931, p. 214, *Lapptummor och runmagi*, 1934, pp. 64 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. WALLIS BUDGE, *The Mummy*, 1925, p. 333 f.

<sup>3</sup> A very similar magic figure can be found in CORNELIUS AGRIPPA, *De occulta philosophia*, (Liber IV), and refers to the sun: the

"Capita" \* dare + :d by a horizontal line:



<sup>4</sup> Cf. also CUMONT, T' & >, I, p. 48, footn. 5 (*invicto Serapidi*) and HOPFNER, *Archiv orientální*, III, 1931, p. 153 f.

with a bull's head k If we **a r e** dealing here with the reflex of a bull image, it is particularly important **t o** note that the figure has the position that it must have in the left-hand hieroglyphic script, because in the right-hand script all animals turn their heads to the left (cf. Gardiner E and G, and § 16; Erman E and G). The (in my opinion uncertain) interpretation thus **a g r e e s** with my thesis that in the second zone on the magic disc the fields and figures **f o l l o w** one another from right to left (cf. 10, 11 and 15 above).

### C. The figures of the third circle zone.

If we assume a /JonaT^o^öov arrangement of the rows of characters on the magic disc ( see above), then the fields in the 3rd zone (as in the 1st) are connected from left to right. The final row ρ-ω of the Greek alphabet can only be connected under this condition. Four characters here also show the same position as in the right-hand Egyptian script (the tibrious reflexes of hieroglyphs have a form that does not change when reversed).

17. The seventeenth field is therefore to the right of the vertical line that runs vertically downwards from the handle. Here we encounter three figures. In the first (the sign on the left) Wunsch (*AZ*, p. 34), following Chabas, surmised the reflex of a sign of the god <sup>Besa</sup>2. According to modern Egyptology, however, this god has a completely different

Determinative: the image of an animal <sup>skin</sup>3 (Gardiner F 27, Erman F 58). The signs ^ and °w (nos. 212 and 213 in the Harris Papyrus) are now explained quite differently: they both mean 'protection' (cf. Gardiner V 17 and 16, Erman V 28 and 29). The first of these hieroglyphs is recognised by many pictorial representations as an attribute of the hippopotamus goddess

<sup>1</sup> Cf. WALLIS BUDGE, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, II, 1904, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. CHABAS, *Le papyrus magique Harris*, 1860, no. 213 (252 in WONSCH, *AZ*, p. 34, is a misprint).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. WALLIS BUDGE, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, II, 1904, p. 284, footnote 2.

Toōris (Egyptian *Ta-urt*, proper meaning 'the great one'), is known (cf. fig. 22). This goddess, who usually pregnant was regarded as the midwife of women. She - like Besa - protected mother and child from harmful forces during labour. The pair Besa-Toōris can be seen, for example, in a number of images from the Ptolemaic period with the woman giving birth or with the newborn child. There are, as above mentioned, among the hieroglyphs two signs with meaning 'protection'. Accordingly it is very probable,



that not only one but also the other functioned as the name of the goddess Toōris. We are dealing with two variants that occasionally exist side by side (cf. Gardiner V 17 and p. 196 in the aforementioned edition by Chabas). According to this, we can assume that in Egyptian-Greek mythology of the period around 200 AD, a sign of the type Gardiner V 16 (cf. above) referred to the midwife Toōris. The sign also occurs in a simpler form, which is more closely related to that of the Pergamenian magic sign <sup>tibre2</sup>. One of the most common names of the hippopotamus goddess was <sup>Reret3</sup>, a word that begins with the 17th character of the alphabet in Greek script. As I have already emphasised earlier (cf. SA, p. 20 ff.), certain circumstances indicate that in late antique alphabet mysticism the sign ρ was related to the sexual life of women. The same is the case with the 17th rune in the Uthark series ^, whose original name meant 'birch' or 'biindel of birch branches': the birch was the sacred tree of Frigg, the divine

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ROSCHER, *Lex.*, V, sp. 889 and 902; ERMAN, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, 1934, p. 146 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. WALLIS BUDGE, *The Mummy*, 1925, p. 239, footn. 1 (according to him, the sign refers to "magical protection").

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ROSCHER, *Lex.*, V, sp. 880; WALLIS BUDGE, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, II, 1904, p. 249; HOPFNER, *Archiv orientdlni*, III, 1931, p. 329.

Birth attendant in old Scandinavian folklore. The fact that the number 17 in Nordic magic refers to the feminine is indicated by a number of examples: the Icelandic magic formula *kvennagaldur* consists of the number 17.

z. e.g. from 17 runes k - The signs no. 2 and no. 3 in this field may go back to Egyptian numerals<sup>2</sup>. No. 2 may correspond to the rather similar hieroglyph Lj, which alternates with a sign ], which was used as a numerical sign (Gardiner AA 26), namely for the very large number 10000. It is possible that the first hieroglyph was used in later times as a sign for 'quantity' in general. - The magic sign no. 3 corresponds in form to the Egyptian sign for 1 (which is only a vertical line). -- The three signs in this field can, in sequence, mean "happy birth" (No. 1), "many children" (no. 2) and "one child" (no. 3)<sup>3</sup>.

18. The eighteenth field has as sign no. 1 the Y-shaped figure which I have determined above as the magical sign of Hecate (cf. under 10 and also p. 8 ff.). Sign no. 2 is a figure similar to a U, which can go back to the hieroglyph for 'Kopfstitze', the ideogram ^ (Gardiner Q 4, Erman Q 44). The latter magic symbol may have referred to sleep and the god of dreams, i. e. Hermes-Mercury<sup>4</sup>. In Cornelius Agrippa's work "De occulta Philosophia" (Liber II, Cap. LI) there is a very similar sign  $\gamma$  among the "characteres" of Mercury. - Sign no. 3 is a figure that most closely resembles sign no. 2 on the magic disc in the 4. field. Perhaps it is a somewhat distorted variant of it. I have traced this magic sign (see above under 4) back to the Egyptian ideogram for 'fire'. Because Hermes bestows the gifts of the mind

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Lapptummor och runmagi*, 1934, p. 70 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. GARDINER § 259; ERMAN § 240; WALLIS BUDGE, *The Mummy*, 1925, P. 483 (the sign filr 10000, two variants).

<sup>3</sup> An Egyptian numerical symbol is also found in the 24th field, another on a ring belonging to the magic device (cf. WILNSCH, *AZ*, p. 43). <sup>4</sup> On Hermes as the revealing god of dreams, see HOPFNER, *OZ*, II, § 176.

In late antique mysticism it was referred to as  $\pi \upsilon \rho \acute{\iota} \nu \omicron \nu \varsigma$ , i.e. 'fire spirit'.  $\pi \upsilon \rho \acute{\iota} \nu \omicron \nu$   $\text{Μερχονρι}$  stands on the three stones belonging to the magic device (cf. Wunsch, AZ, p. 16 and p. 27). In addition to Hecate, Hermes-Mercury<sup>1</sup> is often invoked in magic literature for death magic and divination. To this circumstance is well, that is the sign of Hecate is also found in this field (No. 1). In the magic formula on the three stones (cf. above), the name  $\Sigma \text{Ρε} \nu \nu \omega$  appears in the immediate vicinity of the name of Mercury (AZ, p. 16). This name of a goddess of terror begins with the 18. letter of the Greek alphabet  $\alpha \nu$ . Stheno (in Hesiod  $\Sigma \theta \epsilon \iota \nu \acute{\omega}$ ) was probably by the Pergamenian sorcerer identified her with Hecate; in the text on the stones she is *called*  $\pi \lambda \eta \xi \iota \pi \alpha \nu$ , i.e. 'rossepeitschend' (cf. the well-known epithet of Homeric heroes  $\pi \lambda \eta \xi \iota \pi \alpha \nu \omicron \varsigma$ ). In the magic papyri, Hecate is often called  $\acute{\iota} \pi \pi \omicron \varsigma$  (cf. PGM). - According to my theory, the 18th rune in the Uthark series, whose original name probably meant 'horse' (ags. *ek*), referred to Wodan-Odin, the Mercury of the Germanic tribes (cf. SA, p. 22). In Egypt, Hermes-Mercury was identified with Thoth, the god of magic and the art of writing. This god was depicted with the head of a bird - that of an ibis. On the association of the letter  $\sigma$  with the birds -  $\pi \epsilon \tau \epsilon \iota \nu \acute{\alpha}$  in the Paris question - see SA, p. 29.

19. The nineteenth field contains only two characters. Sign no. 1 is obviously of Greek origin and consists of two letters connected by a horizontal line ( $Z$  with  $Z$ ). Sign no. 2, on the other hand, can be traced back to an Egyptian hieroglyph: it can be explained as a simplified reflex of the well-known hieroglyph for 'life force', 'spirit'  $\lfloor \text{ } \rfloor$  (the two tiny oblique strokes have merely been omitted<sup>2</sup>, cf. the form of sign no. 1 in the 15th century).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. AUDOLLENT, *DT*, No. 38, 74, 75 etc.

<sup>2</sup> On ancient Egyptian monuments these small lines are sometimes almost completely missing, cf. e.g. the illustration on p. 26 (left) in WALLIS BUDGE, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, I, 1904.

field opposite the hieroglyph for 'house'). Astrologically influenced late antique mystical speculation once combined the human being as a microcosm with the numbers 7 and 12, probably following the Iranian-Babylonian <sup>model1</sup>, with the number of the planets and the number of the signs of the zodiac of ancient astrology (cf. SA, p. 31 ff., for more on this see III: 19). Thus 19 (12 + 7) was regarded as the old sacred basic number of the cosmos. A reflection of this view can still be found in Babism, whose originator renewed the old mysticism of numbers and letters of the <sup>Orient2</sup>. (Liber the number 19 in the "Bundelesh", cf. below III: 19.) Accordingly, I assume that the 19th field of the magic disc referred to man (on ἀνθρώπος<sup>3</sup> in Egyptian-Greek alphabet mysticism, cf. SA, p. 31 ff.). - Sign no. 1 in the 19th field of the magic disc can refer to the number 12 and the body: a summation of the numerical values of two Z according to the toj calculation ( $\alpha=1$ ,  $\omega = 24$ ) results in the number 12 (6 + 6). The sign no. 2 corresponds, as mentioned above, to the hieroglyph for 'life force' (Erman D 46; Gardiner D 28: 'soul', 'spirit') and can refer to the soul (whose magic number was 7). The ancient Egyptians had two designations for our term 'soul': Ba, whose hieroglyph was the image of a bird, and Ka, whose hieroglyph is given above<sup>4</sup>. The latter sign was obviously much more convenient. In a later period, when the old religious ideas were no longer alive as they had been in the past, this distinction probably became strange. Following the ba-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, L *'astrologie grecque*, 1899, p. 76 ff.; BOLL, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung*, 1926, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> GUNKEL & ZSCHARNACK, *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, I, 1927, p. 698; HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, II, 1909, p.

306 On the number 19 among the Mandaeans as consisting of 7 + 12 and meaningful for a priest-adept (he had to be 19 years old), see AGRELL, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung der Runennamen*, 1928, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> The combination with the 22nd letter is explained by the influence of hermetic speculation, where the number of the soul was 10 (7+3).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. ERMAN & RANKE, *Aegypten*, 1923, p. 345; ERMAN, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, 1934, p. 210 f.

In Bylonian astral mysticism, only body (= 12) and soul (= 7) were reckoned with, and the originator of the magic apparition therefore linked sign no. 1 with the latter and sign no. 2 with the former. - If sign no. 1 was **l a b e l l e d** with the word *τάριχος* 'the embalmed dead body of a human being', it was possible to combine the 19th field with the 19th letter of the Greek alphabet.

20. The twentieth field has only two characters. The first is the Greek letter *N*, crossed by a horizontal line. However, there is an empty space in front of this character: the A character is actually in the centre of the field. Somehow the original initial sign must have been lost here (the cause can easily be determined by examining the original). Because the Egyptian word for 'water', *nw* (Gardiner, p. 546), begins with the w sound, it is reasonable to assume that the reflex of a hieroglyph for 'water' (a vertical or horizontal zigzag line ww") is missing here. The A-sign (like the letter *B* in the 11th field with the ö hieroglyph) could once have corresponded with this. The fact that magic links the number 20 with water is well attested<sup>1</sup>. The explanation of the letter *v* of *Ετυμολογία τον αλφαβήτου*, for example, refers to *ἕδωρ* (cf. SA, p. 23). The Runen magic agrees: the 20th sign in the Uthark series has a name with the meaning 'water' (ags. *lagu* etc.). With the word *ἕδωρ* begins with the 20th letter of the Greek alphabet. It is therefore suitable (cf. ags. *lagu*) as a designation for character no. 1 in this field, the twentieth in the series. - The last character in this field looks like a combination of two Egyptian hieroglyphs

from. The hieroglyph for 'sceptre' | (Erman p 62, Gardiner

S 38) has been united in a horizontal position with the ideogram for 'go, come' (: two legs). The term 'bring' is also expressed by an analogous combination (cf. Erman W 22). Such representations of counter-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Lapptrummor och runmagi*, 1934, p. 84 ff.

stands with two legs are very common (cf. also G a r - diner D 54 and § 58, 1). Important for my interpretation is the fact that the fissures of the legs have the same direction as in the right-hand Egyptian script A (cf. Gar- diner D 54, Erman D 96), cf. also sign no. 2 of the 23rd field. The same direction is also found in **s i g n n o . 2** of the 17th field and sign no. 3 of the 18th field (the fibrous hieroglyphic reflexes of the zone have a form that does not change when reversed). The hieroglyph for 'sceptre' is a symbol of 'power' and 'honour' and also means 'to rule' (Erman p 62). A sceptre of this type was particularly characteristic of the god Osiris <sup>1</sup> (cf. fig. 10). In Egyptian religion, this god was very closely associated with water; he was even identified with it (cf. 11 above): Osiris was "the new water that makes the fields green" <sup>2</sup>. In the Iranian religion, as is well known, water was particularly **h o n o u r e d** (alongside fire); according to a hymn of the Avesta, water brings "Power and glory" <sup>3</sup>. It is possible that a similar thought has been indicated by the combination of the two hieroglyphs (in analogous connections two legs = 'bring', cf. Erman W 22, Gardiner W 25).

21. The twenty-first field contains three figures. The first two are probably to be understood as snake images in analogy with the three S-shaped figures of the 8th field. In late antique mysticism, the serpent was occasionally used as a symbol of the phallus<sup>4</sup>. As I discussed earlier, in Greek alphabet mysticism (in a cryptographic system) the 21st letter (ϕ) was replaced by the image of a phallus (cf. SA, p. 23 f.). The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. WALLIS BUDGE, *Osiris*, I, 1911, pp. 78 and 324; on the crosier as a mark of honour see WIEDEMANN, *Das alte Ägypten*, 1920, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ERMAN, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, 1934, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Senantik mysteriereligion och nordisk runmagi*, 1931, p. 151; On the significance of water in Egyptian religion see WIEDEMANN, *Das alte Ägypten*, 1920, p. 95 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. HOPFNER, *OZ*, II, § 211; DE JONG, *Das antike Mysterienwesen*, 1919, p. 77 f.

Sign no. 1 of the 21st field of the magic disc may have had the word *φαλλός* as its name, whereby this place was phonetically related to the 21st letter. The position of this figure is the same as in the sign of the Agathodaemon in the 8th field (the figures in the 1st and 3rd zones follow each other regularly from left to right). Sign no. 2, on the other hand, may have been deliberately reversed, probably to indicate a certain variation in meaning (e.g. no. 1 = favourable, no. 2 = unfavourable<sup>x</sup>). The outline of sign no. 3 corresponds to a Latin letter. However, it cannot well have had the function of a letter (all the characters of the letter type on the magic disc obviously belong together with the Greek alphabet). It is likely that this figure was somehow interpreted in line with late antique mystical speculation. According to Plutarchus (De Iside 56), the vertical line is a symbol of the masculine, the horizontal one a symbol of the feminine. It is therefore possible that the L-shaped figure had the purpose of predicting the union of the masculine with the feminine. We know that the late antique magic apparatuses were particularly consulted by lovers (cf. the 7th and 17th panels).

22. The twenty-second field has two figures, both of which could be reflections of hieroglyphs. Sign no. 1 is identical with the third figure of the 14th field, if we disregard the two (apparently secondary) roundels inside it. We must therefore interpret it as a 'dwelling' ('hall' or 'house'). Sign no. 2 is an image of the crescent moon. The corresponding hieroglyph (Gardiner N 11, Erman N 28) is also the image of a crescent moon in a lying position  $\times=\times$  (although usually with the ears pointing downwards<sup>2</sup>). In Greek magic and astrology, the moon was regarded as a silver-producing, i.e. money-producing, symbol.

<sup>1</sup> Certain hieroglyphs are reversed, in order to indicate a retrograde movement (cf. Gardiner D 55).

<sup>2</sup>In contrast, directed upwards, e.g. in WALLIS BUDGE, *The Mummy*, 1925, S. 199.

(*αρχάριον*) \*. As I have already shown earlier (cf. SA, p. 25 i.), with regard to a Greek-Jtadic magic text (the so-called Testament of Solomon), it is to be expected that in late antiquity the 22nd letter of the Greek alphabet - like the 22nd of the Hebrew (called *tāw*) - magically referred to 'possession, property'. This fits very well with what we see on this place of the magic disc: the image of a dwelling (a house or a hall) and an astrological figure that can be considered symbolic of 'money, property'. The Greek word *χρῆματα*, which begins with the 22nd letter and especially means 'possessions' - 'fortune'<sup>2</sup>, could merely serve as the name of sign no. 1. The name of the 22nd Uthark rune, which originally meant 'property' (ags. *spel* and goth. *utal* correspond to schw. *odal*, cf. SA, p. 27).

23. The twenty-third field contains two figures. An obvious resemblance to a hieroglyph can be observed in the second case. The sign looks almost like the hieroglyph *fīr s* combined with the ideogram *fīr* 'to go, to bring'  $\sim r \sim$ . This combination occurs, for example, in the term *fīr* 'bring, offer' (Gardiner § 58, 1: "bring, offer"), - It is obvious that a sign with this meaning has not indicated the main function of this field; we have to look for this in sign no. 1. This figure bears a not inconsiderable resemblance to the well-known thunderbolt of the Greek-Roman supreme god. Jupiter Dolichenus was also depicted with the same attribute (cf. fig. 23). In a reclining position, much like the Pergamenian magic figure, this figure can be found under a lion's head on a gnostic gem depicted by Cumont (cf. T & M, II, Fig. 408, "ses pattes antérieures reposent sur un foudre", p. 454, cf. also here Fig. 14). I have already pointed out earlier (cf. SA, p. 46 f.) that the 23rd Greek book-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *L'astrologie grecque*, 1899, p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> Whereas *κτήματα* = 'single possession bucket'.

( $\psi$ ), which looks just like the Pergamenian magical figure when drawn twice, could have referred to Zeus or his planet (the Jupiter sign 21, for example, functions as a sign for  $\gamma$  in the cryptographic alphabet of an astrological codex). Phonetically, the sign no. 1 in this field could be connected with the



23rd letter of the Greek alpha

bet by the fact that it was called  $\psi\acute{o}\phi\omicron\varsigma$  'noise' or  $\phi\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  'lightning' (only in the meaning of 'surface lightning'). A mythological name for Zeus beginning with  $\psi$  is

z. e.g.  $\psi\nu\chi\omicron\tau\rho\acute{o}\phi\omicron\varsigma$  k However, I find it unlikely that the Pergamene would have reckoned with her <sup>2</sup>.

- The sign no. 2 probably meant 'bring sacrifice' and has been interpreted in such a way that the questioner could escape divine punishment by making a sacrifice.

24. The twenty-fourth field contains three symbols. Sign no. 1 is the Y-shaped figure already discussed several times, which is also found in the 10th and 18th fields. This has already been explained by me as a hecatic sign. Sign no. 2 is identical in form to the first letter of the

Greek alphabet. It probably has the

Marks the beginning of a god's name. The symbol no. 3 corresponds, as Wunsch has already noted, to a hieroglyph II, the numerical symbol for 10 (cf. Gardiner § 259, Erman § 240). It is a well-known fact that the last piece in a game, because it is linked to the highest numerical value, brings a big win (cf. p. 63 below). The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ROSCHER, *Lex.*, Suppl. (1893), p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> It is also conceivable that they were content with the name  $\psi\acute{\iota}$ : the magic symbol contains the form of this letter twice.

Magic signs may have predicted a tenfold (i.e. very good) yield. Because higher arithmetic is always based on the number ten, this number is characteristic of multiplication (in Homer, for example, *δέκατος* functions as a round number). I mentioned above (p. 12) that Hecate was also worshipped as the goddess of wealth. Signs no. 1 and no. 3 may therefore have related meanings. -- Sign no. 2 may have indicated the first letter of the Greek name "Αιδης (άδης). Hades-Pluton, as the god of the underworld, was also the lord and giver of wealth. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the 24th Uthark rune is associated with a name that means 'wealth' (aisl. *fé* etc., cf. SA, p. 50 f.). The Egyptian god Osiris <sup>1</sup> (as well as Serapis) was identified with the Greek Hades-Pluton. The number 24 played a certain role in the cult of Osiris: the god owned

24 gemstones, and he was balanced on the 24th day of the month. - The number  (= 24) also appears on the Osiris amulets, alongside an ideogram meaning 'to unite'

means<sup>a</sup> - How was a sign finally created in this

field with the Greek letter *ω*? I believe that in this case the field, because it was the last, was combined with the corresponding letter, the last character in the alphabet, not by its first but by its last character. If something is the very last link in a long series, it is much easier to fix the last element in it than the first. Character no. 3 may have had the name *ὠφέλεια* 'benefit, advantage, profit' (cf. above)<sup>3</sup> as the main character of the field.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ERMAN, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, 1934, p. 409; PETERSEN, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 13, 1910, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. WALLIS BUDGE, *Osiris*, II, 1911, pp. 29 and 37 (Osiris amulets).

<sup>3</sup> The fact that nowhere else does a character occur as the first character in more than one field speaks in favour of this assumption. Accordingly, the Y-shaped character in the 24th field (as opposed to character no. 1 of the 18th field) should not have played a phonetic role.

## II.

### The tarot game.

The game of tarot has long been a problem that has been the subject of research. This actual game has two completely different rows of cards. One row consists of 22 cards with figures, which today function as trumps. In addition, there are usually 56 cards, 14 in each of the four suits: King, Queen, Kaval (an equestrian figure) and Jack, as well as Ace, Two, Three, etc. <sup>2</sup> As is well known, the tarot cards are also used in the service of fortune-telling, e.g. by gypsies. Because the first group (Italian *trionfi* or *arcani*) is a series of exactly 22 cards, a connection with the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet has been suggested several times. There are also cards marked with these letters. However, these belong to a relatively late period. The oldest tarot cards (known to us) only have pictures. A numbering system with the Latin numerals I-XXI appears somewhat later, whereby one card, the image of the Fool, remains without a number. The link with the Hebrew alphabet is much more significant. However, this can hardly have restored an original state. An attempt to explain the 22 figures on the basis of the meanings of the Hebrew letter names is unsuccessful<sup>3</sup>. If there is a genetic connection

<sup>1</sup> Cf. DE GIVRY, *Witchcraft, Magic & Alchemy*, 1931, p. 280 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In Germany, people now usually prefer to play with only 54 or 42 cards, see HUBER, *Tarok und andere Kartenspiele*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (no date), p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. DE GIVRY, *Witchcraft etc.*, 1931, p. 289.

If there is a connection between the two, the images and their names must have changed considerably in the course of time, or we are only dealing with an indirect connection, which is to be sought in the common genesis of the Semitic-European series of letters in general.

Since everything points to the fact that the tarot game in the form in which we know it probably originated in Italy or another Romanic country, it is much more reasonable to assume that the actual tarot series, which originates from

22 figures, originally formed with reference to the Latin alphabet \ The Latin language had 23 letters in the imperial period. The small numerical deviation can be explained by the fact that only 22 letters were used in magic practice. A dictionary shows us that one of the

23 letter almost never functions as an initial character. In the Latin language of late antiquity, there is a whole series of loanwords that begin with *x* or *s*, but one with *y* at the beginning only occurs very sporadically in certain corrupted texts. The reason for this is that in Greek the *v* was always aspirated at the beginning of the word. In the older imperial period, all words in this group borrowed from Greek were therefore regularly written with *h* as the initial letter. Accordingly, a Roman magician who was familiar with the Greek language and wanted to produce a divination device modelled on an Oriental-Greek magic device of the Pergamenian type could only use 22 places.

The first look at the 22 pieces of the tarot game also shows that many of these so-called *arcani* have names that either clearly correspond to certain Greek words mentioned in the previous study or

<sup>1</sup> The group series with king, queen, kaval and jacks etc., on the other hand, has its origins in the game of chess, in which corresponding pieces appear. On the oriental origin of this type of playing cards, see BACHMANN, *Die Spielkarte*, 1932, p. 3 ff. Cf. also D'ALLEMAGNE, *Les cartes à jouer*, I, 1906, p. 3 ff.

are easy to connect with the material treated there. The names *le Stelle*, *la Luna*, *il Sole* correspond exactly to the words  $\phi\omega\omicron\tau\eta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ , *σελήνη* and *ήλιος* in Greek-Coptic alphabetic mysticism (cf. SA, p. 11). The demonic can be reflected by the figure of the sorcerer-instigator (*il Bagatto*), the divine by the figure of the high priestess (*la Papessa*). The figure of Death (*la Morte*) could belong to either the 10th or 18th field of the Pergamenian magic disc. If we consider not only today's names, but also the pictorial representations on the Tarot cards, other similarities emerge: the water urns on the card with the name *la Temperansa*, for example, correspond to the word *νόωρ* in Greek alphabet mysticism. Finally, if one attempts to replace the Italian names with Latin ones, an alphabetical regularity emerges in the series of names: the words *flarnen* (> *il Papa*), *institia* (1> *la Giusti- zia*), *magnitudo* (> *la Forsa*), *Orcus* (> *la Mor te*), *stellae* (> *le Stelle*) follow one after the other in the same order and with exactly the same intervals as in the Latin alphabetic series. The letters *f, i, m, o, s* are in this series as nos. 6, 9, 12, 14, 18; on the tarot charts numbered I-XXI the letters *f, i, m, o, s* are in the same order.

However, the order of the number <sup>1</sup> is: No. 5, 8, 11, 13, 17, so a shift must have taken place. The conspicuously regular deviation is completely explained if we assume that the unnumbered -- or with 0 labelled -- card *il Folie* ('the fool', in Germany "Skus" or "Skis") are inherently the first figure among the 22 has been. We can observe something similar in the ordinary card game, where the ace - originally obviously a sign for one - usually has the highest value and is placed after the others when the cards are arranged (the same is often the case with the card *il Folie* in the tarot game). M. In our opinion, in order to get the

<sup>1</sup> Together with DE GIVRY and other researchers, I am of the opinion that the so-called Venetian tarot cards have best preserved the original sequence.

to explain the original order of the 22 Trumi cards, to consider *il Folie* as No. 1, *il Bagatto* as No. 2, *la Papessa* as No. 3, and so on. This regular shift from 0 to 1, from 1 to 2, from 2 to 3 etc. provides the key to understanding an original alphabetical-mystical arrangement of 22 figures that were once used in the service of the art of divination.

1. "Il Folie", The card has a name meaning "the fool" (it is also called *il Matto*). The picture matches this (see Fig. 24). The oldest depiction from



Abb. 24.



Abb. 25.

from the 14th century <sup>1</sup> shows a jester surrounded by smiling children (cf. fig. 25). He is wearing a miza with large animal ears. Together with *il Bagatto* and *il Mondo*, this card ("Skits", also known as "der oberste Stecher") dominates the game (in the German tarot game, each of these 3 figures counts as tarot 5 points in itself). Apparently, the 3 figures once functioned as the actual tarot cards - *trionfi* - and one of these cards is probably

<sup>1</sup> The illustrations of the tarot cards of the oldest type are reproduced from D'ALLEMAGNE, *Les cartes a jouer*, 2 vols. 1906. This work also contains excellent colour reproductions.

Originally it was only associated with the Italian name *tarocco* but the closest thing is to think of the card with the name *il Folie*. The Swedish *Kille* game comes from the tarot game. It is named after the jester character *Kille* (< *Harlekiu*), certainly because the so-called card has a decisive role<sup>2</sup>. Etymologically, the Italian word *tarocco* has not yet been satisfactorily explained by anyone. Only a few uncertain suppositions have been made<sup>3</sup>. As yet, no Romanist has thought of a connection with the Provençal word *taruc*. According to Mistral<sup>4</sup> it means "pray, personne stupide". If one considers this word, it is obvious that the Italian term *tarocco* could very well have originally referred to the fool figure, *il Folie*. But what is the common basic form of prov, *tame* and Italian *tarocco*? In Vulgar Latin there was a suffix *-uccu*<sup>5</sup>. Before a suffix of this sound type, like *tiber-* before a stressed n-syllable, a preceding vulgar Latin *au* had to be dissimilated to *a*<sup>6</sup>, so the word element *tar-* can be

<sup>1</sup> "The name *Tarok* was originally given by the Italians to a certain card in the pack as early as the 13th century, but was afterwards applied to the game itself." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Volume 21, p. 818, Fourteenth edition, 1929.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. that the game of chess is named after the most important piece, the king (pers, *sāh*).

<sup>3</sup> It has been assumed to be of Arabic or Greek origin, among others. However, the interpretations are all very forced and usually also questionable from a phonetic point of view. Recently, for example, an attempt has been made to explain it from an Arabic verb meaning 'to remove, to eliminate', cf. KLUGE, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, 1934, p. 612. But how did the Italian *tarocco* arise from the Arabic *tarah*? Neither the accent nor the vowel system shows what would be expected. In Arabic, the second vowel is very weak and unstressed (infinitive *tarh* = *tarah*), cf. LQKOTSCH, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch etc.*, 1927, p. 159 (2024). One would therefore expect *\*tāraco*. And how can a verb with the meaning 'to make noise, to scold' arise from the meaning 'to remove'? (Cf. p. 65 *tiber taroccare*.)

<sup>4</sup> *Dictiounaire provençal-français*, II (without J., printed about 1878), p. 961.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. MEYER-LUBKE, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, II, 1895, p. 591 (§ 499 note).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. MEYER-LOBKE, *Italienische Grammatik*, 1890, p. 74 (§ 125).

go back to *\*taur-*. Prov, *taruc* may have originated from vulgar Lat. *\*ta(u)-ruccu* 'bad (evil) bull' and belong together with Latin *taurus*. Semasiologically, a development of the meaning 'bull, ox' > 'fool' is very natural. Such a development is attested by numerous examples. Suffice it to say that in Italian *bue* 'bull' also means 'fool' (as well as that the expression *er ist ein Ochs* in German, as in the Scandinavian languages, means 'he is stupid'). But how can the *-o-* in Italian *tarocco* be explained? Either can the tarot game once on Provençal soil, and the Italians have replaced the unusual suffix *-ucco* (older *-uccu*) with the much more familiar suffix *-occo*, or *-occo* has been substituted for *-ucco* by a vowel in Italian linguistic development in Italian language development. A reference to the verb *taroccare*, used as a play term, where an *o* in a prefixed position had to arise from *u*, may apparently have given rise to a new form *tarocco* instead of *\*tariocco*. (Such equalisations between *u* and *o* are very common in Italian). The verb *taroccare* also means 'to make noise, to scold' in the standard language, and in Sardinian it means 'to dispute, to oppose (= *contrastare*)'. These meanings can easily be explained as reflexes of an original basic meaning 'to behave like a (unruly bull) behave'. For denominative verbal formation cf. ital. *cornacchiare* 'to chat' (<'to talk like a crow behave'), *serpentare*, *gallare* etc. A good parallel is provided by the Swedish verb *tjura* 'to sulk, to let one's mouth hang down, to be stubborn' (biidet to *tjur* 'bull'). My etymological interpretation of the noun *tarocco* is the only one that also explains the verb *taroccare*, which occurs not only as a play term (= 'to play trump'). The card *il Folie* should therefore, in my opinion once have had the meaning 'bull'. The change of meaning 'bull' > 'fool' may also have been caused by the fact that a fool wore horns as an emblem of stupidity \ The card may ultimately refer to a late-

<sup>1</sup> In France in the 15th and 16th centuries there was a joking society of horn bearers in Evreux and Rouen, see NICK, *Die Hof-und Volks-*

The legend can be traced back to an ancient Roman magic disc, where the image of a bull was indicated by the contours of two horns. This divination plate could have been combined with the letter *A* by the fact that it had *Apis* (cf. p. 16 above) as its name. My interpretation of this card figure is consistent with my Uthark theory, which assumes that the rune  $\Pi$  (*u*) with the designation 'bull' (ags. *ur* etc.) was the first sign of the secret series of letters. The same designation is also linked to the first letter in the Semitic alphabet (Hebrew *'älcef*, cf. SA, p. 35).

2. "Il Bagatto". This card shows a juggler (French: *bateleur*) holding a magic wand raised in his left hand (cf. fig. 26). Earlier this figure probably depicted a real magician (it is missing in the oldest incomplete series of cards). As is well known, the magician summons demons with a magic wand. Both rune magic and late antique alphabet mysticism (cf. p. 17 f. above and SA, p. 37 f.) associate the demonic with the second letter. In the number mysticism of late antiquity, the role of the 2 :

Proclus \* says that "by means of dyas the soul causes the demons to take care of people". Augustine calls the substance of evil Dyas (cf. Confessiones, IV, 15) when discussing his Manichaean view of the world. On the Pergamenian magic disc there is a symbol of evil in the 2nd field as the first magic sign, the image of a fish, an animal belonging to the evil god Seth-Typhon (cf. p. 18 above). I find it probable that in the Egyptian-style divination art of the late antique Romans, the 2nd letter (*B*) referred to Seth-Typhon, the overlord of the demons. It is well attested that the demon god

*Fools*, II, 1861, p. 830 ff. In English depictions of jesters from the Renaissance and the Middle Ages, one occasionally sees a jester's head with horn-shaped tips. Swedish schoolboys of old wore horns as an emblem of foolishness.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ZELLER, *Geschichte der alten Philosophie*, III, 2, 1881, p. 636, A. 7 to p. 635.

Seth was depicted with a staff (or sceptre). In the Egyptian-Greek magic papyri that are still sporadically preserved, such images can be found, e.g. in Pap. Louvre 2391, Mimaut: the demon god holds a whip in his right hand and a long staff in his left <sup>1</sup>.

B. **ι η** the great Parisian magic papyrus (cf. PGM, P IV, 180) as **ο κ η π τ ο υ χ ε**, i.e. holder of the staff or sceptre. In the ceremonies of black magic in Europe (even in later times), the left hand is known to play a prominent role everywhere. As the name of a magical figure who



Fig. 26.



Fig. 27.

referred to Seth-Typhon and the 2nd letter of the alphabet, the name *Babo* may have been used on Roman soil in late antiquity, a form of the Sethic secret name that is attested, among other things, on a tablet of transience, which holds the centre between the Greek names *Βέβων* and *Βάβνς* (cf. above p. 18 with footnote 1). When the man with the magic wand (gr. *οκηπτούχος*) was able to

<sup>1</sup> In Egyptian-Greek magic, the left hand was used when one wanted to come into contact with demons (cf. e.g. *PGM*, P XXXVI, 256 f.). In contrast, the right hand had to be used before a deity of light, e.g. Apolon (cf. *PGM*, P I, 264 f.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *PGM*, I, plate II, fig. 3; HOPFNER, *OZ*, I, p. 221;

The figure of the Demon Prince can also be called *\*baculatus* or (with the suffixal element *-ul-* omitted) *\*bacatus*. It is conceivable that the Italian name of the figure, *Bagatto*, originated from this. The Latin word *bacthim* was used especially by the staff of the augurs. The Italian word *bacchetta* has an etymological connection with this word. The *g* in *bagatto* can be explained by progressive assimilation:  $b + c > b + g$ , because the preceding consonant is voiced.



was a *baguette* (cf. French *baguette* = ital. *bacchetta*). In the word material of the game terminolo In the case of the Italian language, small changes can easily occur in names that do not exist in the common language (cf. in Germany *Pagat* for Italian *Bagatto*). It therefore means little that the name *Bagatto* is spelt with two *t*'s.

3. "La Papessa". The card with this proper name shows the image of a woman with a high tiara (cf. fig. 27). Such a triple crown is worn, as is well known, the Pope. From This circumstance explains thinkable in ordinary language. The prototype of this figure must once have represented a priestess or a goddess. Because there is a crescent moon on the tiare (cf. fig. 27), a connection with the goddess Isis has been surmised. In the Egyptian-Roman Isis mysteries, the goddess was actually depicted with the crescent moon symbol. A Vatican tomb relief<sup>1</sup> shows a

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Visconti, *Museo Pio Clementino*, VII, 1807, tav. 19 (= fig. 28 above).

Priestess, who in death has become one with the deity and is of the same nature (cf. fig. 28). The pallium of the goddess hangs over her shoulder (known from the description of Apuleius, cf. *Metamorphoses*, XI, 3). On this pallium we see (in multiple repetition) horizontal crescent moons and six-pointed stars. On the head of the goddess-priestess we also see - just like on the tarot card (Fig. 27) - a recumbent crescent moon. Isis was regarded by her worshippers as an all-goddess. In Apuleius (*Metamorphoses*,

XI, 5) the great goddess calls herself *prima caelitus*, "the first among the celestials". The very word *caeles* 'celestial being, god' may have served in Roman divination as the name of the figure associated with the 3rd letter of the Latin alphabet (c).

4. "L'Imperatrice". This card (Fig. 29) shows a seated woman with a sceptre in her hand and a crown on her head. The late antique prototype of this card figure must be some kind of goddess. The Ephesian di-

ana, who in the late antique magic mysticism as the mistress of the four elements be-

is also depicted with a crown on her head (cf. fig. 30). Diana is depicted on a gem as the mistress of the four elements (cf. fig. 31); four animals apparently symbolise the four elements here (quadruped = earth, dolphin = water, eagle = air, salamander = fire). An interpretation of this card figure as a reflection of a depiction of the goddess of the elements is consistent with my explanation of the 4th field on the Pergamenian tale disc. The figure on the late antique Roman fortune-telling disc probably only depicted the head of the goddess,



<sup>1</sup> Cf. KOPP, *Palaeographia critica*, III, 1829, p. 617 ff.

elementary signs may have been placed next to it (e.g. the ideogram ~" for water etc.). For the association of the 4th Greek letter with the four elements, see SA, p. 39. The word *Diana* begins with the 4th character of the Latin alphabet.

5. "L'Imperatore". On this map ( Fig. 32) you will find The image of an old seated ruler. He is holding a long sceptre in his right hand and an imperial apple in his left. The oldest map (cf. Fig. 33) shows the imperial apple instead of the imperial sceptre.



Fig. 30.

apple is a globe, i.e. a sphere without a cross. I have emphasised above (cf. p. 22) that the Mithraic god Aion ( originally Zervan) was magically linked to the number 5 as the primordial fire ( the 5th element) k In the following ( cf. III: 5) I will show that the word *αιών* is mentioned in Greek alphabet mysticism in connection with the 5th letter. From the magical art of the Near East, this god entered the Egyptian-Greek magic of the late antique period. The magic papyri mention or describe him several times, cf. PGM, P IV, 595

<sup>1</sup> On the fifth of January as his feast see ZEPF, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 25, 1927, p. 227.

(previously, Z. 580, is spoken of fünf-zackigen Sternen), 2110 ff.; P XII, 246 f. and 251 f.; P XIII, 298 ff. In the

Leiden Papyrus, it is said of him: "By thy power are the elements, and all things in the air and in the air are made perfect.

Earth and water and in the vapour of fire" (PGM, P XII 251 f.).

In the great Parisian magic papyrus, his figure is described as "a lion-headed male figure with a belt, holding a staff in his right hand, on which a snake is attached.

But around his whole left hand a serpent is coiled, and fire strikes out of the lion's mouth" (PGM, P IV, 2110 ff.). This description corresponds in the main to the known Mithraic depictions of this

God above (cf. fig. 34). Note in particular that the lion-headed figure is holding a long sceptre and standing on a sphere. This sphere has been explained as the 'world egg'. The god was depicted with the head of a lion because he belonged to the primordial fire (the lion, the house of the sun in the zodiac, is an ancient symbol, as we know).

If we disregard the animal head and the snake,

the other matches the depiction on the tarot card.

The Roman divination plate used in late antiquity was probably quite simple; perhaps Aion was mainly marked by a sceptre and orb, and the lion's head was probably only faintly indicated. Because this figure followed immediately after the image of a woman with a crown on her head, it was understood in the Middle Ages to represent a powerful ruler and the figure was therefore given the name "Emperor".



<sup>1</sup> Cf. EISLER, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*, 1910, p. 437 and p.

412 According to CUMONT, *T & M, I*, p. 85, it is the Empyreum, "oii réside par excellence le Principe suprême".

The Roman soothsayer was able to link the 5th place in the oia- cle with the 5th letter of the Latin alphabet by saying (according to popular belief) that

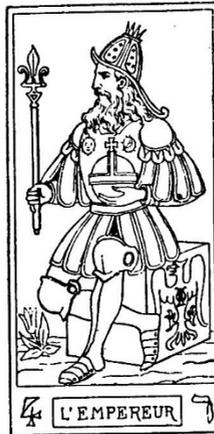


Fig. 32.



Fig. 33.



Fig. 34.



Fig. 35.

pronunciation of the word) *Aeon* was a spelling beginning with *E* understood as a name. Analogues are often found in magic literature, e.g. *is demones* instead of *daemones*

(cf. Audolent, DT). As I have mentioned (SA, p. 40), the torch was also an attribute of the Mithrian Aion, which belonged together with the primeval fire (cf. also p. 104). This is true,



Fig. 36.



Fig. 37.



Abb. 38.

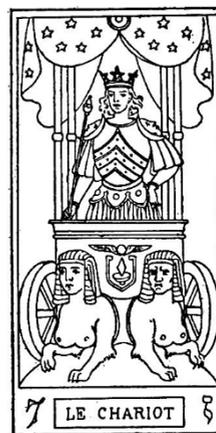


Fig. 39.

that the 5th rune in the Uthark series was connected with a name meaning 'torch' (ags. *cén*) (cf. SA, p. 40).

<sup>74</sup> K. Human, Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund Årsberättelse 1935-36  
6. "Il Papa" (see fig. 35). As I explained above

the Latin word *flarnen* 'priest' is more appropriate than the presumed original naming of this figure (*f* is the 6th character of the Latin alphabet). The image of a pope (cf. fig. 36) can already be found on the oldest map known to us (from the 14th century). As early as the early Middle Ages, the image of a pagan high priest or sacrificial priest may have given rise to the image of a Christian priest, which was eventually interpreted as that of a pope. In the art of divination of the Roman Magian, a figure with the name *flania* can apparently be the

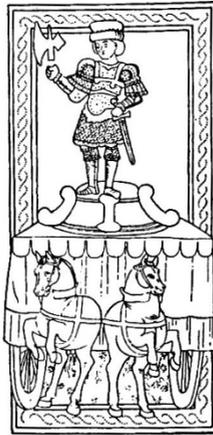


Fig. 40.



Fig. 41.

The 6th Uthark rune may have had the same function as the 6th field on the Pergamenian Zauberscheibe (cf. p. 24 above): it referred to sacrifice (possibly also gift) (cf. the name of the 6th Uthark rune, ags. *gifu* 'gift').

7. "L'Innamorato" (cf. fig. 37). This card, which was also called *l'Amore*, depicts a god of love with a bow and arrow at the top and a young man between two women. The oldest known to us depicts two shooting gods of love at the top and three pairs of lovers at the bottom (cf. fig. 38). This card therefore refers to love. My explanation of the 7th field on the Pergamenian magic card is very much in line with this.



disc (cf. above p. 25 f., on the late antique alphabetic mysticism see SA., p. 43). We also find a good parallel in runic magic: the 7th sign in the Uthark series (ags. *wyn* 'joy') also referred to love k In late antique love magic, as many surviving magic papyri testify, the number 7 was often used. Cf. e.g. PGM, P IV, 1270 ff., 1740 f. (7 + 7 letters), P VII, 645, P XII, 22 f., P XXXVI, 200 ff. In the last-mentioned passage, however, it is translated as 'eight' instead of 'seven'. The original, however, contains the letter  $\eta$ , which, according to the



Fig. 42.



Fig. 43.

esoteric method of calculation ( $\alpha = 1$ ,  $\omega = 24$ ) and thus denotes the number 'seven' here: there are actually 7 magic figures, not 8 (a fact that escaped the editor). In late antique divination, the original figure could easily be combined with the 7th letter of the Latin alphabet by calling it *gaudium* 'joy, pleasure' (also 'favourite').

8. "Il Carro" (Fig. 39). On this map you can see

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Lapptummor och runmagi*, 1934, p. 31 ff., and *Svensk uppslagsbok*, vol. 24, 1935, "Sju", sp. 938 f.

a large chariot and on it a standing man (originally probably a triumphator). The chariot after which the card is named is drawn by two horses on the older tarot cards (cf. fig. 40) (the two sphinxes on fig. 39 can therefore not represent anything original). In Roman imperial times, the word *hantaxa*, which comes from the Greek and begins with the 8th letter of the Latin alphabet, was used to designate certain large chariots. The same word was also used to designate a constellation that symbolised the northern firmament.



Fig. 44.

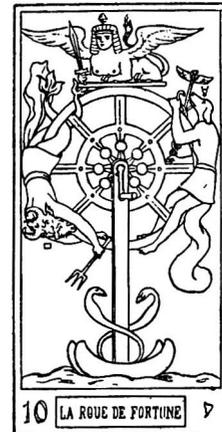


Fig. 45.

ment particularly characteristic is particularly characteristic.  
 The name referred to the constellation of the great (possibly also the small) bear, already called *ἀμάρξ* by Homer (Iliad XVIII, 487), "quod Latini plaustrum vel septentrionem appellant". As I have already explained above (cf. p. 27), it is well attested that the late antique alphabet mysticism the firmament (the crystal sky) with the sign of the Greek letter series (cf. further III: 8). Because in the Egyptian-Greek magic the constellation of the bear played a predominant role \ could the word *hamaxa*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. *PGM*, P IV, 675 ff. and especially 1275 ff. ("I call upon you, the greatest power in heaven, appointed by the Lord God, to turn the holy pole with a strong hand").

can be understood as the symbol of the 8th sphere and, in the language of magic, act as a designation for the crystal heaven in general according to the *pars pro toto* principle.

9. "La Giustizia" (Fig. 41). On this card, the image of the goddess of justice with sword and scales in her hands can already be found in its oldest known form (see Fig. 42). The Italian name of the card reflects the Latin word *iustitia*, which begins with the 9th character of the alphabet. The goddess of fate



Fig. 46.



Fig. 47.

Ananke, which was also called *Δίκη* (= justice) by the Greek magi, was usually called *Necessitas* or *Nemesis* by the Romans. The punishing divine nemesis<sup>2</sup> could apparently also be understood as *iustitia* (= Greek *Δίκη*). On the number mysticism associated with the number 9, cf. below III: 9, as well as above p. 30 ff. The 9th Uthark rune had a name that corresponds exactly to the Greek word *ἀνάγκη* (aisl. *uauQr* etc., cf. SA, p. 45).

<sup>1</sup> On *Δίκη* and *Τύχη* ("la Justice, qu'on appelle aussi la Fortune") cf. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCO, *L'astrologie grecque*, 1899, p. 602 with footn. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Nemesis was depicted in late antiquity with a pair of scales in her hand, cf. BOLL, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 13, 1910, p. 477. On the motif cf. MARTIN P. NILSSON, *Zetis mit der Schicksalswaage* etc. in this publication, 1932-33, II.

10. "L'Eremita". This card shows the image of an old man with a lantern in his raised right hand and a stick in his left (cf. fig. 43). The oldest known depiction (Fig. 44) shows an old man holding an **h o u r g l a s s** instead of a lantern. The image of a lantern, drawn schematically, is very similar to that of an hourglass. A change of subject may have been made with regard to Diogenes, who was well known as a hermit. (It is said that he **s e a r c h e d** for a person with a lantern in daylight). There is no doubt that we are **d e a l i n g** here with a symbol of old age and death. This card was also called *il Vegliardo* ('the old man') in Italy. In my opinion, the old man reflects an original image of the old god Saturn-Cronos. The name *Kronos*, which was also used among the Romans (especially in late antique magic), begins precisely with the 10. letters of the Latin alphabet. I see a parallel here to my interpretation of the 10th field on the per-gamic magic disc (cf. p. 34 ff. above). The 10th Uthark rune has a name (aisl. *iss* 'ice'), which can also be explained as a symbol for death and dying (cf. SA, p. 12 and below III: 10). According to the late antique astrological view, Saturn's nature was cold. The planet of this god has a "cold character" because it touches the cold highest regions of the <sup>sky</sup>3 (*tangit- que congelatas caeli regiones*, Vitruvius, *De architectura*, IX, 1). In late antique magic, lead, the metal of Saturn, was described as "cold", meaning that it had the power to "to make cold", i. e. to kill\*. The curse tablets were generally made from lead that had previously been

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Enciclopedia Italiana*, IX, 1931, p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> Recently IVAR LINDQVIST, *Fornvännen*, 1936, p. 44 f. (cf. also p. 31, footnote 3). Cf. also AGRELL, *Bidrag till nordisk filologi till ägnade Emil Olson*, 1936, p. 306.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *L'astrologie grecque*, 1899, p. 95, footn. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. EITREM, *Papyri Osloenses*, I, 1925, p. 32 f.

had been cold for a longer period of time (cf. Wtinsch, SV, p. 72 f.; Hopfner, OZ, I, § 608).

11. "La Ruota della Fortuna". Today's Tarot deck has an image of the wheel of fortune on this card (see Fig. 45). The oldest (French) depiction (Fig. 46), which was only called *la Fortune*, shows a female figure with an apple in her left hand and a sceptre in her right. This figure stands on a ring through which a landscape can be seen. Obviously, today's image of the wheel of Fortuna cannot be something original.



Fig. 48.

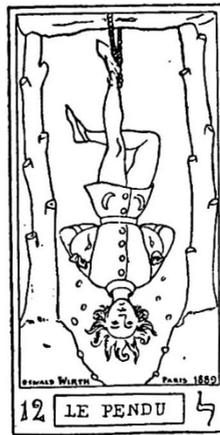


Fig. 49

present. Late antique alphabet mysticism l i n k e d the 11th character of the Greek letter series with the growth of plants: *βότανών ἐκβλάσθησις* (cf. SA, p. 13 and p. 38 above). A goddess of growth was Persephone-Proserpina, who was bound by Hades-Pluto as his queen through the gift of a pomegranate. As queen, Persephone was characterised by a sceptre and diadem \ Persephone was associated with Persephone on Roman soil.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEEMANN, *Mythologie*, 1910, p. 164 f., cf. also *The Mythologie of all Races*, Vol. I, 1916, p. 233.

a rural goddess of fertility, called *Libera*. This name begins with the 11th letter of the Latin alphabet. We can therefore assume that in the late antique Roman art of divination, an image of *Libera* with a sceptre and apple was used in this case. Both my interpretation of the 11th field on the Pergamenian magic disc and the naming of the 11th Uthark rune (aisl. "r = 'good year', 'good growth', see SA, p. 13).

12. "La Forza". This card shows the image of a powerful woman opening the jaws of a lion with her hands (cf. fig. 47). In this case we have obviously again with a considerable change of the original state. The oldest known map (Fig. 48) shows a seated female figure with a broken pillar. pillar in in her hands. We have are We are undoubtedly dealing with two different symbolic representations of strength (*la forsa*). A Latin word with the meaning 'strength' is *magnitudo* (also 'became' etc.). This word begins with the 12th character of the Latin letter series letters. From one original naming *magni tudo*, ital. *la Forsa* could be a reflex. We h a v e already seen earlier (cf. p. 40 above) that in late antique alphabet mysticism the 12th Greek letter was related to the trees. trees stood in relation to trees. Probably have we to to expect that in magic practice, the combination with a tree was interpreted as a prediction of future power. The word *robur* ('oak wood' etc.) was often identical in meaning with *magnitudo*. The 12th Uthark rune has a name (see above III: 12) that denotes a strong tree (ags. *eoh* 'yew'), symbolic of the god Ull. This god is depicted as a strong sportsman and was probably seen as a protector of the male physique<sup>1</sup>.

13. "L'Appiccato". There is a very peculiar image on this card. A man with one leg up

<sup>1</sup> Cf. IVAR LINDQUIST, *Namn och bygd*, 14, 1926, p. 82 ff. (especially p. 95).

bound man hangs with his head down (cf. fig. 49). The oldest map known to us (Fig. 50) matches this. The only difference of any significance is that the suspended man is holding two large purses. Under all circumstances we have to assume that this peculiar figure had something to do with a punishment. A word anianating with the 13th character of the Latin letter series is *noxa*, meaning 'harm, offence, punishment'. Above (cf. p. 42), I have compared the 13th field of the Pergamenian magic disc with the hecatena



Fig. 50.

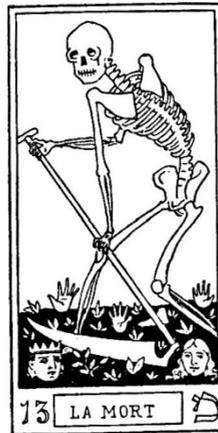


Fig. 51.

men *Nyxin* 'the nocturnal'. Originally, the late antique Roman art of divination probably linked the 13th magic disc with the name *Nox*. Because the nocturnal Hecate was a goddess of revenge and punishment, the name *noxa* (instead of *Nox*) was probably used over time. Following the meaning of the word, the original image, which probably indicated some attribute of Hecate, was later changed. Finally, in the late Middle Ages, the depiction of an extraordinary **p u n i s h m e n t** was created, perhaps to make a favour of a prince who was its author (the oldest preserved tarot cards

were made for the French king Charles VI'). For the 13th Uthark rune see below III: 13.

14. "La Morte". On this map you can see a representation depiction of Death as a bone man with a scythe (see Fig. 51). The oldest card known to us ( fig. 52) shows a grim reaper sitting on a horse. Here we encounter a figure that cannot belong together with the 14th Greek letter in the late antique alphabet mysticism. A shift must therefore have taken place. As discussed above (cf. p. 43 ff.), Greek oriental alphabet mysticism combined the 14th character with the stars and the 15th with the sun (together with the moon). We also find representatives of such combinations in the main series of the Tarot deck: the cards Nos. 17-19 (i.e. according to my interpretation Nos. 18-20) refer in turn to the stars, moon and sun. How can we explain this quite evident shift? There is no doubt that there are two interacting causes. The meaning of the name *stellae* could only be explained by some unnatural transcription with the letter *o*, the

14th character of the Latin alphabet. On the other hand, a combination of the name *stellae* with the letter *s*, the 18th character of the Latin alphabet, immediately suggested itself. In accordance with this, the sequence of stars-moon-sun can actually be found in figures no. 17-19 (18-20 according to my calculation). However, if the figures in the original positions 14-15 were moved downwards, the designer of the late antique Roman divination system had to transfer two figures that were only near the end of the row in the older Greek alphabet oracle to the two positions that had become empty. An exchange therefore had to be attempted. The simplest was obviously to combine the function of the original 18th square with the 14th. According to my interpretation of the 18th square on the Pergamian magic disc (cf. p. 51 f. above), this was dedicated to Hecate-Stheno and Her-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. DE GIVRY, *Witchcraft, Magic & Alchemy*, 1931, p. 281.

mes-Mercury as the leader of the dead. The 18th Uthark rune (cf. SA, p. 22) had a name with the meaning 'horse' (ags. *eh*). As is well known, the horse is a very common animal symbol for death. In ancient Scandinavia it was the sacred animal of Odin, the god who, as we know, was identified by the ancient Germanic tribes with Hermes-Mercury<sup>1</sup>. Hecate was also often called *ἵππος* (cf. p. 52 above). Accordingly, it is conceivable that the horse on the oldest tarot card known to us may be related to a depiction in late antiquity. With the 14th letter of the Latin



Fig. 52.



Fig. 53.

In the 18th position in the Italian alphabet, the letter *o*, a name relating to death could be combined by naming the figure *Orcus* after the Italian god of death. This shift freed up the 18th place in the row, and its letter (*s*) could be combined with the name *stellae*.

15. "La Temperanza". The card with this name shows a female figure with two urns of water. On some of the more recent cards (see Fig. 53), the female figure is depicted with two water urns.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Laptrummor och runnagi*, 1934, where this question is treated most extensively by me (pp. 73-81 and pp. 128 f.).

depicted as a winged figure. The oldest known map (Fig. 54) depicts a seated woman pouring water from a raised urn in her right hand into an urn held in her left hand. There is no doubt that we are dealing here with a symbol of water, primarily rain, and the figure may once have been combined with the name *pluvia* 'rain', a word that begins with the 15th letter of the Latin alphabet. The name *la Temperansa* (temperance) may have been inspired by the fact that the card was used in the divination of the rain.



Fig. 54.



Fig. 55.

art referred to qualities associated with the diligent use of water: the temperament of the typical water drinker is characterised above all by moderation. In the late antique alphabet mysticism of the Greeks, the 20th letter  $\nu$  was linked to water,  $\nu\acute{o}\omega\rho$  (cf. SA, p. 23 and above p. 54). The same is the case with the 20th rune in the Uthark series, whose name has the meaning 'water' (ags. *laga* etc.). In Scandinavian folk magic, the number 20 is also very often used in water magic \ Accordingly, we have good reason

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Laptrummor och runmagi*, 1934, p. 85 f.

It can be assumed that the designer of the Latin letter oracle moved a figure that referred to water (cf. p. 54 f. above) upwards from the 20th position of his Greek original in order to be able to place the figure of the sun in the row of stars, moon and sun. The 20th card of the original (reconstructed by me) tarot series actually has the name *il Sole* (see below). Because the sun (*ἥλιος*) was linked with the round o, the 15th character of the alphabet, in Greek alphabetical mysticism (cf. SA, p. 17), it is therefore possible to establish an interchange.



Fig. 56.



Fig. 57.

The figures of the 15th and 20th squares of an original arrangement are obvious.

16. "Il Diavolo". On the menu with this name, you will find the image of the devil in different variations.

The later cards depict a winged Satan with goat horns (cf. fig. 55). This card is missing from the 14th century series of figures, which unfortunately has only survived in a defective state (only 17 cards, 16 of which belong to the main series, are still extant). The oldest known depiction of the devil in the tarot game can be found on a 17th century card. The devil is flipped and

The second face is between his legs, the third and the fourth on both knees (cf. fig. 56). The last two faces are very small, the other two are of normal size. In the Middle Ages it was very common to depict the devil with two faces, sometimes even more \*. Because the prototype of the devil figure must once have been combined with the 16th letter of the Latin alphabet, a suitable original name beginning with *Q* must be sought here. Latin words with a magical-mythological meaning that begin with this letter are extremely rare. First and foremost, we have to think of the Roman god's name *Quirinus*. This god of war and peace was also identified with the ancient deity Janus; in any case, for the population living in late antique Rome, Janus-Quirinus had become a double name referring to a god with two faces. If a creature with two faces was depicted on one of the magic plates dating back to pagan times<sup>2</sup>, such a figure was undoubtedly soon to be interpreted as a representation of the devil in the early Middle Ages. - But how did the name Quirinus come to be combined with the 16th letter? We encounter a striking parallel in the series of Uthark runes, where the 16th character was connected with the name of the ancient Germanic god of war (aisl. *Tyr* etc. as the name for the / rune). Above (p. 47 f.) I reckoned that the 16th field of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. DE GIVRY, *Witchcraft, Magie & Alchemy*, 1931, figs. 71, 72, 73, 94 (the map illustrated here can be found on p. 287); OSWALD A. ERICH, *Die Darstellung des Teufels in der christlichen Kunst*, 1931, figs. 64,65,66,67.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ROSCHER, *Lex., H*, 1890-97, sp. 16 and sp. 40 f. " Schon the ancients themselves declared Janus to be a god of war and in particular related the opening of Janus Geminus in times of war and his epithet Quirinus ( see above, sp. 16) to this function" (sp. 40). According to CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, II, 1925, p. 434, the name Janus Quirinus probably originally meant only " the gate to Quirium". But that as it may, Janus-Quirinus must have been interpreted as a double name by the common people in Rome in the late imperial period.

The number 16 in the Pergamenian magic disc refers to Mithras-Serapis, a deity who was called "invincible" (*ἀνι- κητος* = *invictus*). On the number 16 cf. below III: 16. Certain facts indicate that Serapis was identified with Janus, the god with the double head, in late antique Roman times (cf. Roscher, *Lex.* IV, sp. 380 f.). Incidentally, the very fact that in Greek divination the field of the 16th letter was related to war and victory may have led to a combination with the name of a Roman god of war. Because Janus was also called *Quadri-*

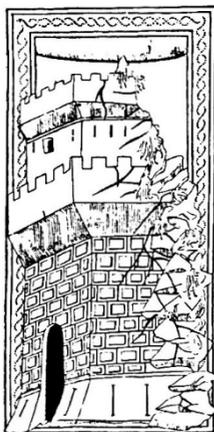


Fig. 58.



Fig. 59.

*formis* and *Quadrifrons* (cf. Roscher, *Lex.* II, sp. 53 f. and IV, sp. 1), it is not absolutely necessary to think only of the name *Quirimis*. We have to realise here that the Roman magician had the option of giving the 16th figure of the divination oracle a name beginning with *Q*. *Only the name beginning with Quadriamis was used.* With regard to the names beginning with *Quadri*, it should be remembered that the oldest devil figure in the tarot game has four faces (see above).

17. "La Casa di Dio". The image on the card with this proper name is a building - usually a tower - that is shattered by lightning (see Fig. 57). The card of the oldest type shows a shattered

The castle has been destroyed, no doubt struck by lightning (see Fig. 58). A ruin **c a n b e s e e n** on all variants of this map. The Latin word *ruina* begins with the

17. letters of the alphabet. We therefore have good reason to see the original name of the figure in the name *ruina*. On the other hand, the cause of the catastrophe is lightning, and the card was therefore also called *il Fulmine* in Italy. This fact is important for the connection with the late antique Greek art of divination. In my opinion, the 23rd field on the Pergamenian magic disc is a reflection of the lightning bundle of Zeus-Jupiter (cf. p. 57). Among the Romans, Jupiter was called *Fulgurator* and *Fulininator*. It is obvious that the designer of the Latin letter oracle, who only used 22 characters, could only operate with the function of the 23rd character if he had moved it upwards. As we shall see below, the role of the 17th Pergamenian field could be taken over by the figure of the moon. However, this figure had to belong to the star-moon-sun series, i.e. follow immediately after the 18th square. Accordingly, the

17th place, and here the Roman magician could find a use for the function of the 23rd Hellenistic magic figure. With regard to the effect of the punishing divine lightning bolt, the figure was called *ruina* in order to be linked with the 17th letter of the Latin alphabet. On the number 23, see III: 23 below (on the 23rd Uthark rune SA, p. 47 f.).

18. "Le Stelle". In accordance with the name, there are several stylised stars on this card (cf. fig. 59). As I have explained above, this figure is a reflection of the astral significance of the 14th place in Greek alphabet mysticism and the related art of divination (cf. p. 44 f. above). The 14th Uthark rune may also have originally had a name that referred to an ancient Scandinavian constellation (ags. *eolh*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Enciclopedia Italiana*, IX, 1931, p. 223; see also the Iranian name *le Feu du Ciel* (fig. 57).

'elk' -- in *eolhx* --: Lappish *Sarv* 'elk', name of the largest constellation in the sky '). The certainly old name *stellae* begins with the 18th letter of the Latin alphabet.

19. "La Luna". All variants of this card show an image of the moon. On the cards of the younger type (see Fig. 60), two dogs and a crab are depicted under a moon. In astrology, the constellation of Cancer was regarded as the house of the moon. In ancient mythology, the dog was associated with the Selene-



Fig. 60.



Fig. 61

Hecate as an animal belonging together. On the card of the oldest type (cf. Fig. 61), only two astrologers talking to each other can be seen under the image of a crescent moon, but the combination with the dog and the crab is probably of late antique origin. In the Greek magic papyri, the moon goddess is often called by the same names as Hecate: *τριπρόσωπε Σελήνη, τριό - όίτι, τρικάρανε, τρίκτυπε* etc. (cf. PGM, P IV, 2524 f., 2785 f.,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in more detail AGRELL, *Lapptrummor och runmagi*, 1934, pp. 54-60. In the series of runes, a naming according to the principle *pars pro toto* may have been used. :

2820 f. etc.). An image of Hecate is described here, for example, as a figure "with three heads, with six hands, holding torches in her hands", on the right side of her face she has "a cow's head, from the left that of a dog, in the centre that of a virgin" (PGM, P IV, 2119 ff.). It is therefore obvious that the late antique Roman magician had no difficulty in linking the figure of Luna, who was associated with Hecate, with a Latin word whose first letter was the 19th character of the alphabet: *Tri-formis, Trigemina, Trivia, Trina* etc. Among these, *trina* is particularly well attested as a lunar epithet (cf. Roscher, Lex., Suppl. 2, 1902, p. 62). In Greek alphabet mysticism (cf. SA, p. 17), the 15th letter was combined with the sun and moon (*ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη*). It is obvious, however, that a need could be felt to connect the sun and moon with two different letters. As I have already mentioned above (cf. under 17), the figure of the moon could also assume the function of the 17th field on the Pergamenian magic disc. The moon plays a prominent role in magic in relation to the sexual life of women. Roscher E says of this: "Of course, the experience that most births occur at night, when the moon is in the sky, and the fact that pregnancy is regularly calculated according to periods of menstruation, i.e. months, may have contributed a great deal to this view of the moon and the moon goddesses. Finally, there is also the strange idea that the waxing and full moon causes an easy birth, while the waning or new moon causes a difficult birth". Selene was characterised as a deliverer by the epithets *ΕΙλείυνια, ώκντόκος, γενέσεως προὔτατις* etc.. Accordingly, the figure of the moon in the art of divination - much like the 17th field of the Pergamenian magic disc - could refer to pregnancy, birth, etc.

*Ober Selene und Verwandtes*, 1890, p. 58 f.

become. The late antique Roman magician only needed to choose a name like *Trina* instead of *Luna* in order to connect with the 19th letter of the Latin alphabet and to place the figure immediately after the figure with the name *stellae*. The function of the 17 Uthark rune see above p. 50 f. and below p. 118.

20. "Il Sole". The image of a sun surrounded by several rays can be found on the variants of this map, including those of the more recent type (cf. fig. 62). On the oldest card known to us, the rays are 16 (8

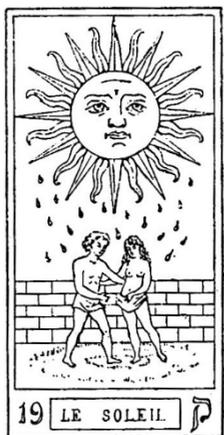


Abb. 62.



Fig. 63.

large and 8 smaller ones, cf. fig. 63). The prototype probably once had 15 rays, a number that was replaced by 16 for the sake of symmetry (15 was **t h e** number of the sun and the associated Greek letter  $\sigma$ ). Above, cf. under 15, I emphasised that the designer of the Roman alphabet oracle interchanged the two figures "sun" and "water" in order to be able to combine the place names with the series of letters *s, t, u*. The names *stellae* and *Trina* (ev. *Triformis*) must therefore have been followed by a name for the sun beginning with *U (V)*. It is known that the sun was named in

of the late antique period called *Sol invictus* etc. The name *Victor* for the sun is also documented (cf. Roscher, *Lex.*, Suppl. 2, 1902, p. 94) and in the Greek magic papyri there is a whole series of passages where the sun is invoked for victory (cf. PGM, P VII, 1020 f., XII, 271 ff., XIII, 340 ff., XXXVI, 213 ff.). Accordingly, the creator of the Latin letter oracle could not have had any particular difficulty in linking the figure of the sun with the 20th character of the alphabet. In analogy with *Trina* (ev. *Triformis* = 'moon'), he can also have created a



Fig. 64.



Fig. 65.

The name *Unus* (ev. *Uniformis* = 'sun'). In the Greek magical language, the sun was often characterised by the word *εἷς* (= lat. *unus*): *εἷς Ἡλιος*<sup>2</sup>. In Latin times, a curious but well-attested folk etymological idea may have played a role here:

"Sol dictus est quia *solus* ex omnibus sideribus *tantus*", it was thought<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Deo Soli vi[ctori]* in a Mithraic inscription (CUMONT, *T & Af.* II, 1896, p. 534).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. KOPP, *Palaeographia critica*, IV, 1829, § 801.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. KOPP, *Palaeographia critica*, IV, 1829, § 800.

21. "Il Giudizio". The image on all surviving variants of this card depicts the youngest judgement. Because an angel can be seen at the top (see Fig. 64), the card was once also called *l'Angelo* in Italy<sup>1</sup>. Two angels are depicted on the card of the oldest type known to us (Fig. 65). Apparently, we are dealing with a remodelling of a biid from the late antique period that was created in the Middle Ages. In order to determine its origins, we must first examine the name with which this figure may have been associated in the late antique Roman art of divination. According to

my theory, the picture must once have been

21. Characters of the Latin alphabet, i.e. combined with the letter .v. Only very few words could therefore have been available to the oracle maker. Because the figure comes immediately after the star-moon-sun series, it is quite probable that it also had an astrological meaning (as we will see below, this may have been the case with the 22nd figure). The Greek word *ξίφιας* 'sword star' (cf. p. 43 above) referred to a comet. A

The word *xi-phias*, borrowed from the Greek (cf. Pliny, II, 89; XXXII, 151), became

also used by Latin writers (meaning 'swordfish' or 'sword star - comet in the shape of a sword'). If we reckon with the fact that this figure of the late antique Roman letter oracle was called *xiphias* (meaning 'comet'), it is quite easy to understand the later development on Italic soil. A sword star - i.e. a comet, usually sent out by the evil Mars (cf. above p. 43 with footnote 2) - had to bring evil: War, overthrow, murder, punishment from above.



<sup>1</sup>Cf. *Enciclopedia Italiana*, IX, 1931, p. 223.

In the medieval popular imagination, a comet was very often feared as an omen of the end of the world. The eventual association of this figure with the Last Judgement (*il Giudisio*, see above) is therefore quite understandable. Over time, the image of an angel with a trumpet could develop from the depiction of a comet on a divination plate taken over from late Roman antiquity (cf. Matth. 24:31). This transition may have been due to the fact that in astrology certain comets were labelled with the names of wind instruments.



Fig. 67.

I have explained above (p. 55 f.) that the 21st letter in Greek alphabetic mysticism was linked to the word *φαλλός*. It is therefore conceivable that the late antique Roman art of divination first **u s e d** the word *xiphias* in the meaning 'fish' = 'phallus', and that somewhat later this figure, because it was in an astrological environment, was called *xiphias*.

= 'sword star, comet' ( for the meaning cf. also aisl. *sverd* 'sword' = 'phallus'). On the 21st Uthark rune with the name *Ing* cf. SA, p. 24 (after A.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *L'astrologie grecque*, 1899, p. 359, footn. 1.

Noreen has  $z\bar{M}^{\wedge} = \text{gr. } \varepsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  'spear' etc. once had the meaning 'phallus'), cf. also below p. 121.

22. "Il Mondo". The card with this name shows a woman, i.e. a human being, in the centre of a large wreath (see Fig. 66). Unfortunately, the corresponding sheet is missing from the tarot cards of the oldest type. The four corners of the card of the younger **t y p e** shown here depict the four "beasts" of the evangelists, probably



Fig. 68.

as symbols for the four cardinal points. This is obviously a late influence from Christian mysticism. By contrast, the wreath and the human figure depicted in it reflect something originally pagan. In the astrological writings of late antiquity and in the books of medieval astrology, the human being was depicted as a microcosm in the centre of the zodiacal circle, i.e. the macrocosm. It is interesting to compare an old Mithric-influenced representation (Fig. 67), where man appears as a man, with a corresponding old French one (Fig. 68),



Tarot figures:	Griech. Alphabet mysticism:	Runes:
1. <i>Il Folie</i> (<Apis)	← α (bull, cattle)	→ ᚢ ags. <i>ur</i>
2. <i>Il Bagatto</i> (< Bacatus = typhon)	← β (demonic)	→ ᚦ aisl. <i>purs</i>
3. <i>La Papessa</i> (< Caelles = Isis)	← γ (divine) - aisl. <i>dss</i>	→ ᚦ
4. <i>L'Imperatrice</i> (< Oiana)	← δ (the 4 elements) ■ aisl.	→ ᚨ . <i>reid</i>
5. <i>Dlimperatore</i> (< phone = Aeon)	← ε (Aion)	→ < ags. <i>cén</i>
6. <i>Il Fapa</i> (< z Flarnen)	← ζ (Sacrifice and Gift)	→ Χ ags. <i>gifu</i>
7. <i>L'Unnamorato</i> (< Gaudium)	← η (joy, love)	→ ᚱ ags. <i>myn</i>
8. <i>Il Carro</i> (cHamaxa)	← θ (Crystal sky)	→ ᚨ ags. <i>hcegl</i>
9. <i>La Giustisia</i> (< Iustitia)	← ι (Ananke)	→ ᚦ aisl. <i>naudr</i>
10. <i>L'Eremita</i> (< Cronos)	← κ (Kronos, death) - aisl.	→ ᚦ
11. <i>La Ruota della Fortuna</i> (cLibera)	← λ (Plant)	→ ᚷ aisl. <i>dr</i>
12. <i>La Forsa</i> (< Magnitudo)	← μ (trees) ■ ags. <i>eoh</i>	→ ᚠ
13. <i>L'Appiccato</i> (< Noxa, Nox)	← ν (Hecate, Νυχίη) got. <i>pe</i>	→ Χ
14. <i>La Morte</i> (< Orcus) (stars)	← σ ᚷ ξ	→ ᚷ ags. <i>eolhx</i>
15. <i>La Temperansa</i> (cPluvia) (su ← v ᚷ o)		→ ζ aisl. <i>sol</i>
16. <i>Il Diavolo</i> (< Quirinus?)	← π (Serapis-Mithras)	→ ᚠ aisl. <i>Tyr</i>
17. <i>La Casa di Dio</i> (< Ruina) (fi ← ψ ᚷ ρ)		→ ᚢ aisl. <i>btarkan</i>
18. <i>Le Stelle</i> (< Stellae) (death ← ξ κ σ)		→ ᚷ ags. <i>mek</i>
19. <i>La Luna</i> (< Trina?) (← ρ ay) ags. <i>man</i>		→ ᚠ
20. <i>Il Sole</i> (< Victor? Unus?) (w ← o ags. <i>lagu</i> )		→ ᚠ

21. <i>Il Giudisio</i> (< Xi- phias)	← φ (phallus)	→ 	ags. <i>Ing</i>
22. <i>Il Mondo</i> (<Zodi- acus)	(I ← τ χ	→ 	ags. <i>épel</i>
	23. ↖ ψ (Zeus)	→ 	ags. <i>dag</i>
	24. ω (wealth)	→ 	aisl. <i>fē</i>

This means that there are no tarot figures corresponding to the 22nd and

24th character in the Greek alphabet mysticism. The reason, as I have already emphasised above, lies in the fact that the Latin alphabet consisted of 23 letters, of which only 22 could be linked in sequence with the initial sound of a common word (the initial *y* was practically not to be reckoned with). The magical-divinatory functions associated with the 22nd and 24th signs in Greek divination must have been almost identical. The late antique Roman soothsayer was undoubtedly able to determine that someone was to expect wealth or possessions with the help of just 22 magic discs. He could give the figure of the moon and the figure of the sun a dual function. If his client was a man, the moon could promise him wealth, while the sun could promise victory; in the case of a woman, on the other hand, the sun could predict wealth and the moon could predict childbirth. In today's fortune-telling with tarot cards, the sun card means

On the Pergamenian magic disc we can see an image of the moon in the 22nd field, in my opinion a sign of money and wealth (cf. p. 56 f. above). In astrology, the moon was regarded as "silver-producing", the sun as "gold-producing"<sup>2</sup>. The same view was also found in alchemy<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> "Mariage fécond- or "Bonheur matériel", see PAPUS, *Le Tarot*, 1889, p. 324. On the art of divination with tarot cards, see also WIRTH, *Le Tarot des imagiers au moyen dge*, 1927 (with preliminary illustrations).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *L'astrologie grecque*, 1899, p. 315 and p. 91 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. HOPKINS, *Alchemy child of Greek philosophy*, 1934, p. 165.

### III.

#### The Mithric mysticism of numbers and the magic of letters.

In the previous analyses, only one important question has been touched upon from time to time: Where did the actual order of the divination figures ultimately originate? Why was the first letter once associated with a bull, the second with the demonic, the third with the divine, etc.? In the main, I have already clarified this problem in my study "Die spätantike Alphabetmystik und die Runenreihe" (= SA) and in some earlier and later writings \

In my opinion, Egyptian-Greek alphabet mysticism is derived from a number mysticism that originated in the Near East.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung der Runennamen, 1928; Lapptrummor och runmagi, 1934* (with bibliography). In the last-mentioned work I have shown, among other things, that there is a connection between the 24 Old Germanic runes and the figures on certain Lappish c o u n t r o m m s . These Lappish divination devices therefore also correspond to the Pergamenian magic disc and the tarot game. There are, for example, figures s u c h a s : a bull (a large racing animal, cf. h ), a wizard of the underworld ( cf. D , a god who was linked to the number 3 (cf. ^ ), a god of thunder (cf. K, aisl. reið, the rune of Thor), a top of a coniferous tree ( cf. <, ags. c en), etc. There are also such evidently corresponding figures as the sun, horse of death, man, water, dwelling place, domestic animals of the farmer ( c f . a i s l ./A Also a figurative symbol for sacrifice ( cf. ags. gifu) and a sign for growth ( cf. aisl. dr) occur. Many signs

are still clear reflections of runes (e.g. the sign of the sun: ^ or γ . Finally, the Lappish numerical mysticism a g r e e s with the Uthark series. In Germany this work has ( t o my knowledge) only been considered by ARNTZ, *Handbuch der Runenkunde, 1935, p 272.*

speculation, the Babylonian-Mithraic one. One can see, for example, that we cannot find any reason based on the original Egyptian view as to why Seth-Typhon in particular is associated with the 2, or Serapis, must belong to the 16th character of the alphabet. Only the Babylonian-Mithraic number symbolism can provide a satisfactory explanation: 2 was a demonic number because it contrasted with the sacred numbers of the good beginning (1) and the divine (3); the number 16 was consecrated to Mithras because his day was celebrated in the middle of the month, on the 16th. In Egyptian-Greek magic, Seth-Typhon was the main representative of the demonic, an antithesis to the Iranian Ahri-man; the late Egyptian god Serapis was identified with Mithras in his capacity as *ανίκητος*. There is a whole series of such parallels where the original is obviously not to be found in Egypt. A peculiar alphabet mysticism is only attested in Egypt by the Greeks of the Hellenistic period. The ancient Egyptians did have hieroglyphic magic, but this could hardly have been dependent on an ancient series of signs. Egyptologists know nothing of an ancient regular order of the main hieroglyphs<sup>2</sup>; the alphabet series was probably a Semitic invention<sup>3</sup>. The Babylonian and Asia Minor Mithraists (like the Greeks) undoubtedly adopted the alphabet mysticism from the Semites: newly discovered inscriptions testify that the language of the Iranian colonies of Asia Minor was not an Aryan idiom, but the Aramean<sup>4</sup>. In the letter magic of the Greek

<sup>1</sup> Egypt was a Persian province from 525-332 BC. Even earlier, one can already reckon with Near Eastern influence on intellectual life, cf. MORET, *L'Égypte pharaonique*, 1932; ERMAN, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, 1934, p. 331 ff. (on Mithras p. 396 together with note p. 455).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ERMAN, *Ägyptische Grammatik*, 1911, p. 21, § 34; GARDINER, *Egyptian grammar*, 1927, p. 26, § 18.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. LINDBLOM, *Zur Frage der Entstehung des Alphabets*, 1932 (in this publication, 1931-32, III).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. CUMONT, *Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum*, 1931, p. 133 f.

Late antiquity therefore contains clear remnants of Semitic alphabetic mystical art.

Below I will briefly discuss the genesis of this number mysticism originating in the Near East and Persia, taking into account mainly new arguments that have either not yet been published or have not yet appeared in German. In order to give a complete overview, I must of course also mention a number of facts with which most of my readers may already be familiar.

1. The first letter  $\alpha$  was linked to a bull in the Greek alphabet mysticism of the Mithric secret doctrine, partly because the 1st Semitic letter had a name with this meaning (Hebrew '*älcef etc.*'), partly because the Iranian creation myth explained: vegetative and anima- 1 life originated from a primordial animal \

2. The second letter  $\beta$  was associated with the demonic because the number 2 was the number symbol of the evil creation, the ahrimanic world, in the Iranian religion. For Zarathustra, evil was "the second" principle of life. Angra Mainyu was also called "the second". In the sacred scripture of creation

and the creation of the world (*Bundahisn*) will  
Bundehesh<sup>2</sup> describes how the evil Jahi be her bad hand

twice<sup>3</sup>

She mentioned her offences twice, so that Angra Mainyu rejoiced" (ch. 3). It is true that another Middle Persian document, Vendidad, contains certain

<sup>1</sup> Cf. recently AUTRAN, *Mithra, Zoroastre et la préhistoire aryenne du christianisme*, 1935, p. 120 ff. and p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. JUSTI, *Der Bundehesh*, 1868; *Sacred books of the East*, Vol. V, 1880 (Pahlavi texts translated by E. W. WEST). Two chapters are edited with French translations by NYBERG, *Journal asiatique*, CCXIV, 1929, p. 206 ff. (after the so-called great or Iranian *Bundahi'n*; the first mentioned translations represent the so-called Indian one).

<sup>3</sup> On the role of the number 2 in North Germanic magic, cf. my essay "Lönnskrift på magiska runstenar", *Bidrag till nordisk filologi tillägnade Emil Olson*, 1936, pp. 305 f. (where, among other things, a Swedish magic formula is given. (where, among other things, a Swedish magic formula is given in which the verb *tvåa* - formed from *två* 'zwei' - has the meaning 'to harm by evil magic'). It is worth mentioning here: A Norwegian magic rule from the 17th century writes

The oldest Avesta hymns contain passages that have to be recited twice with the addition of the exorcistic formula "I expel Angra Mainyu from this house" (Fragard 10) k I have already given other examples in my work "Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung der Runennamen" (1928), p. 10, as well as in the following writings. Cf. also above p. 66 (on the 2 in Manichaeism etc.).

3. The third letter  $\gamma$  was associated with the divine, partly because the number 3 in the Mithric religion was characteristic of the manifestations of the god Mithras: he was famously called Μίτρος τριπλάσιος (cf. the description of the Odinga figure in the Gylfaginning). Here we may have to reckon with the influence of the Semitic religion, where triads of gods are well attested (e.g. the Babylonian triad of gods Anu-Enlil-Ea). In the Zoroastrian doctrine (as in Mohammedan mysticism) the number 1 was symbolic of the divine. On the other hand, it can also be assumed that this is a connection between Mithraism and Hinduism<sup>2</sup>. On the well-attested role of the number 3 and the 3rd letter  $\gamma$  in late antique alphabet mysticism, cf. SA, p. 38 f.; on the 3rd Uthark rune (aisl. *áss* 'God' etc.) *ibid.*<sup>3</sup>.

4. The fourth letter  $d$  was linked to the four elements because it was the 4th character in the series. The fact that  $\delta$  referred to the four elements is emphasised explicitly in an alphabet-mystical script (cf. SA, p. 39). In the Roman-Mithraic cult, the four elements were known to be the four horses of a quadriga

According to a Danish spell, you always have to give a churchyard demon two shillings from a thaler in order to get a new thaler (BANG, *Norske Hexeformularer*, 1901-02, p. 700, no. 1434). In a Danish magic rule from the 18th century it is said: whoever wants to summon Satan must first divide the coals of a burnt-out fire into two heaps (OHRT, *Danmarks Trylleformler*, I, 1917, p. 464, no. 1036).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Sacred books of the East*, Vol. IV, 1880, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Recently AUTRAN, *Mithra, Zoroastre* etc., 1935, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> On 3 as the divine number in runic magic, see AGRELL, *Bi drag till nordisk filologi tillägnade Emil Olson*, 1936, p. 310 ff.

symbolically and figuratively represented \ I see a reflection of this idea in the actual naming of the 4th Uthark rune, whose name meant 'chariot' (cf. aisl. *reid* etc.); this circumstance shows that the creator of the magical rune series was influenced by Iranian ( Mithric) speculation. In pagan Scandinavia, the number 4 was sacred to the chariot god <sup>Thor</sup>2.

5. The fifth letter, ε, was associated with Aion, the originator of the four elements, the personification of primal fire. The fact that the magical creatures of late antiquity often stepping Aion figure of Iranian origin <sup>3</sup> has, is not too clear (cf. e.g. PGM, P IV, 595 ff., previously, line 580, the magician saw "funf-zackige" stars). The four elements were regarded by the mythical-Persian speculation as transformations of the primordial fire (thus of a 5th substance)<sup>4</sup>. In the Bundehesh it is said ( ch. 17): "Five kinds of fire are created". In Manichaean hymns, Aion-Zervan is called " the Funf-God" , undoubtedly in connection with to the older Mithric-Persian cosmogonic doctrine <sup>6</sup>. liber the primordial element, the fiery pneuma, in the hermetic speculation cf. SA, p. 40 (ibid. on the alphabet-mystical linking of the letter ε with the light etc.). A reflexion of the late antique letter-mystical combination of Aion and the 5th character of the alphabet can be found in the Etymologium Magnum (in the edit, von Sylburg, 1816, p. 265): *Ε τό στοιχείον, παρά την επέκτασιν την είς μέσον και την κυκλοτερή, τό μέν χάρ κυκλοτερές και περίζ τοῦ δντος αἰώνος α ι μ ε ί τ α ι τ α περίζ - τό δέ δέ είς μέσον μακράν έχον, την επέκτασιν τοῦ*

<sup>1</sup> About this Iranian idea NYBERG, *Journal asiatique*, CCXIX, 1931, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Lapptrummor och runmagi*, 1934, p. 25 f., and *Bidrag till nordisk Jilologi tillägnade Emil Olson*, 1936, p. 312.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. JUNKER, *Ober iranische Quellen der hellenistischen Aionvorstellung*, 1923 (Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1921-22, p. 125 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> On the development of the four elements from *Zurvan* (= Zervan- Aion) cf. NYBERG, *Journal asiatique*, CCXIX, 1931, p. 86 (If one counts from Ormuzd uber Zarōqar, Frasōqar, Asōqar, Zurvān is the 'FUnfgott').

<sup>5</sup> Cf. REITZENSTEIN & SCHAEFER, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, 1926, S. 81.

*αἴωνος*. Obviously the rounded letter form ε is spoken of here \ The 5th Uthark rune had a name (ags. *céri*) whose meaning was 'torch'. In my opinion, the name once referred to an attribute of the Mithrian Aion (cf. Cumont, T & M , II, p. 196, Fig. 22, where the god is depicted with two torches).

6. The sixth letter *ƒ* was associated with gift and sacrifice (= gift to a god). The number 6 (in addition to 4) was characteristic of the Mithraic sacrifice: 4 or 6 sacrificial loaves were used ritually. The Persians had

6 great annual festivals (apparently in correspondence with the 6 days of creation<sup>2</sup>). The offering was called *darun* (=gr. δωρον, cf. lat. *donum*).

The name of the

6. uthark rune (ags. *gifu* 'gift'). In the pagan Lapp countries, a sign that looks like the rune *γ*,

used to mark a victim<sup>3</sup>. We have also used it to

It can be assumed that in the Mithraic cosmology (see 8 below) the sphere of the moon was the 6th sphere. The moon (especially the new moon) was worshipped as a giver in ancient magic and even in today's popular beliefs.

7. The seventh letter *η* was related to joy and especially love (cf. SA, p. 41 ff. and above p. 25 f.). For the ancient Persians, 7 was a lucky number. The number 7 was particularly popular among the Roman Mithraists, because this number was associated with Mithras, *ó μ ε ο ί τ η ς*, the friendly helper (the 7th month was dedicated to him in the Avestan Persian calendar; according to cosmological teachings, the 7th sphere belonged to the sun). The 7th Uthark rune has a name that goes well with the friendly role<sup>4</sup> of the number 7 (ags. *myn* 'joy').

8. The eighth letter, *ö*, has been combined with the crystal

■ <sup>1</sup> Also in LOBECK, *Aglaophamus*, 1829, p. 1341, where the alphabetical meaning is emphasised.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. NYBERG, *Journal asiatique*, CCXIX, 1931, p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Lapptrummor och runmagi*, 1934, p. 155 (p. 30 on the number 6 in Nordic magic).

<sup>4</sup> Numerous examples show that the 7 retained this function among the Germanic tribes, see *Lapptrummor* etc., p. 31 f.

sky, the 8th sphere (cf. SA, p. 43 f.). Not only in Mithrian cosmology, but in late antique astrology in general, the fixed starry sky was regarded as the 8th sphere of the universe. The 8th Uthark rune is associated with a name meaning 'hail' (ags. *hagl* etc., cf. SA, p. 43), and I have interpreted this proper name as a symbolic word for the fixed starry <sup>sky</sup><sup>1</sup>. Recently I have found a valuable new support for this explanation: There is a text in Old Icelandic literature which - correctly understood - testifies quite clearly that the North Germanic peoples knew a cosmological system that must have been of Mithrian origin. A poem of the *pula-Yǫ-* pus <sup>2</sup> (F. Jönsson, *Skjaldedigtning*, AI, p. 678), once interpolated into the Snorri Edda, mentions "nine heavens" - cf. the "nine worlds" in the Poetic Edda

-, and among these the eighth is called *Vetrmimir* (text variants: *Vettmimir* and *Vetmimir*). The reading *Vetrmimir* is undoubtedly the correct one (in Icelandic manuscripts *tt* and *tr* are often written in almost the same way, and in *Vetmimir* a letter has obviously been lost after *t*). I connect the name *Vetrmimir* with aisl. *vetr* m. 'winter'. Accordingly, the word means 'the wintery (= cold) sky' = 'the frozen sky'. The idea that the sky (or the highest heaven) consists of crystal, ice or hail (cf. the runic name) is found among several <sup>peoples</sup><sup>3</sup>. Of great importance for my Uthark theory is the fact that the winter sky is referred to as the eighth:  $\mathfrak{H}$  (*h*) is the 8th in the original sequence of the 24 runes that I have reconstructed. - My basic idea that the number mysticism of runic magic has a Mithraic origin is also confirmed several times: The first heaven is

*Hreggmimir*, a name that can be translated as 'storm-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung der Runennamen*. 1928, p. 18 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. därtiber HJALMAR FALK, *Heidersskrift til Marins Hcegstad*, 1925, p. 34 ff.; REUTER, *Germanische Himmelskunde*, 1934, p. 303 ff. (an account with which I cannot agree in many respects).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. GUNDEL, *Sterne und Sternbilder*, 1922, p. 20.

Mimir' is to be interpreted'. In the Mithrian astral doctrine the sphere of Saturn was regarded as the 1st, and according to well attested astrological opinion the **w i n d s** come from the sphere of this planet<sup>2</sup>. The heavens nos. 2-4 have names which are of all too general significance (*Andlangr*, *Vidbláinn* and *Vtdfedmir*). They **w e r e** probably created secondarily **b y** creating new names for forgotten older names, which only refer to the fact that the spheres become larger and larger (perhaps the three names of this type originate from a Christian astral doctrine which, according to St Paul, reckoned with three heavens<sup>3</sup>). The fifth heaven has a name of a completely different type: *Hrjodr*. Hjalmar Falk<sup>4</sup> has tried to explain it with the meaning 'radiance',

m. In my opinion, this is not very plausible. First and foremost, we have to consider the mythical name *Hrjodr*, which is attested as a name of Odin (in a **^wZa p o e m** with the variant *Hrjotr*, cf. F. Jönsson, Lex. poet.). The original meaning of the name must have referred to a warrior, and the word *hrjodr* is probably originally identical with it. It means, among other things, 'exterminator' (Danish *Udryd-der*, cf. Ynglingatal 16). A name *hrjodr* with this meaning fits well for a mighty warrior or a god of war (such as Odin, Tyr or Ares-Mars). The planet Mars was called *Θοῦρος* in Greek astrology (see p. 43 above), a word meaning 'the savage, stormy one'. According to Mithrian astrology, the fifth sphere belonged to him. I therefore see in aisl. *Hrjodr* as the name of the 5th sphere a reflex of the Greek name *Θοῦρος*, which **w a s** undoubtedly also used by the Mithrians (at least by the Mithrian magicians). In the Mithrian planetary series (1. Saturn, 2. Venus, 3. Jupiter, 4. Mercury, 5. Mars, 6. Moon, 7. Sun) come as No. 6

\* Cf. FALK, *Heidersskrift* etc., 1925, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *L'astrologie grecque*, 1899, p. 358, footn. 6 ("moteur des vents et des tonnerres").

<sup>3</sup> Cf. FALK, *Heidersskrift* etc., 1925, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. FALK, *Heidersskrift* etc., 1925, p. 37.

and no. 7 moon and sun. The sixth heaven is called *Hlyrnir* in the <sup>^</sup> " /"-poem, a name that belongs together with the word *hlyrn* n., which was used (often in the plural) of sun and moon. Accordingly, the name *Hlyrnir* may once have referred to the moon. This interpretation is consistent with Mithraic cosmology (cf. above). <sup>Falk</sup><sup>1</sup> also explained the name as a designation of the lunar sphere (because he did not know the Mithrian astral doctrine, however, he did not understand the conspicuous sequence, but assumed that the author of the *fin la* had mixed everything up). The seventh heaven is called *Gimir*, a word that means something like 'the fiery one' (cf. aisl. *gim* n. 'fire'), a name that is obviously best interpreted as referring to the hot, burning sun (cf. F. Jonsson, *Lex. poet.*). Here, too, the explanation agrees primarily with Mithrian astrology <sup>2</sup>.

9. The ninth letter *i* was associated with Ananke, the goddess of fate. As we know from several ancient texts, Ananke was particularly revered by the Mithraists. She was identified with the ether and the <sup>nigh</sup><sup>3</sup>. The 9 is also the magic number  $\kappa \alpha \tau' \acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\chi\eta\nu \text{ i n}$  magic since Sumerian times. In Mithraic cosmology, the region outside the eight spheres, i.e. the ninth, belonged to Ananke. The fact that the goddess of destiny was magically and mystically linked to the number 9 can be seen from a late antique alchemical text, among other things, in which the number 9 is mentioned in relation to a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. FALK, *Heidersskrift* etc., 1925, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> FALK, *Heidersskrift* etc., 1925, p. 37, refers *Gimir* to the planet Mars because it is red and was called  $\tau\eta\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  by the Greeks, among others. However, the sun was to a much higher degree a planet of heat and fire (cf. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *L'astrologie grecque*, 1899, p. 90). On the Mithrian cosmology see CUMONT, *T' & 3/*, I, 117 ff., and *AGRELL. ^ Senantik mysteriereligion*, 1931, p. 54 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung der Runennamen*, 1928, S. 19.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Lapptummor och runmagi*, 1934, pp. 35-38. Cf. also OV<sub>1</sub> DIUS, *Metamorphoses*, VII, ?61 (3 + 3 + 3 in the magic of Medea); SAHLGREN, *Namn och bygd*, 1915, pp. 107 f. and p. 112.

The following is said of a demon originating from Persia ("gone forth")<sup>1</sup>: "the elements (= letters) of his name are nine in number . . . according to the purpose of destiny (= the goddess of fate)": *Εἰοῖ δε τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ ονόματος αὐτοῦ ἐννέα . . . κατὰ τὸν τῆς εἰμαρμένης δρῶν*. The solution to this letter puzzle is probably given by the name *Ἀριμάνιος* (ev. *Ἀρειμάνος*). This word contains nine letters and, as is also required (*τῆς διφθόγγου σὺ ζομένης*), a diphthong (*10*, ev. *ει*). The same is the case with the name *εἰμαρμένη* (= Ananke). According to Psellos, the place of the Throes was the Ananke below the planetary spheres (cf. Hopfner, OZ, I § 286). According to the astrological view, the 9th sphere was naturally located both above and below the 8 inner spheres. - The very interesting fact that in the <sup>^</sup>"Za-poem discussed above it is said of the ninth heaven: "it is beyond all worlds" (*hann es titan / alla heima*) is consistent with this idea. This heaven is called *Skatyrnir* (ev. with *y*). Falk suspects a connection with Norse dial. *skal*, Swedish dial. *skate* 'treetop' and a reference to the planetary name *Satarnas*. M. E. the original name probably referred to the top (or tops) of the world tree (*Skatyrnir* may originally have meant 'the rich in tops' and may be connected with the adj. *yrinn* 'numerous'; for the 12 branches of the world tree see SA, p. 14). The Norns, the rulers of the 9th sphere, who "create necessity (*naud* = *ἀνάγκη*)"<sup>2</sup>, were undoubtedly connected with this tree (*Yggdrasil askr*) (cf. p. 40 f.). The fact that the number 9 was connected with the w-rune (aisl. *naudr*, *naud*), the 9th sign of the Uthark series, is attested by two magical inscriptions<sup>3</sup>. The amulet from Sigtuna reads

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BERTHELOT, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, 1888, II, P. 232, III, P. 225.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. pul IV h 5 : *nornir heita pcers nanÖ skapa*. Cf. also Fä-f. nismäl 12.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. IVAR LINDQUIST, *Religiösa runlexter*, I, 1932, pp. 22, 43 f., 65 and 67; *Fornvännen*, 1936, p. 41; AGRELL, *Bidrag till nordisk filologi till ägnade Emil Olson*, 1936, pp. 307 ff. (especially p. 311), Über eine noch deutlicher Verwendung eines Zahlwortes statt eines Runennamens ibid. p. 304 ff.

*niu nopm* in a sentence that can be translated as "have nine needs (ninefold need), wolf". On the rune stone of Stentoften there is a partially cryptographic passage where the word *niu äls = naudR* 'magical c o m p u l s i o n , magic power', which appears twice, has been interpreted by me \*.

10. The tenth letter  $\kappa$  was associated with death, old age and illness associated. The idea of the number 10 as being associated with misfortune and death comes from the foreground.

Asia and is still present in India <sup>2</sup>.

the fact that in the Bundelesh the number connections 10

X 100 or 10 X 1000 just occur in connection with death and disease : Angra Mainyu sends 1000 death-bringing Daevas (= demons) over Gaya maretan (the pure man, ch. 3), and the evil god has created 10000 kinds of diseases (ch. 9). A striking confirmation of my view that the 10th rune in the Uthark series, whose name has the meaning 'ice' (cf. aisl. *iss* etc.), referred to killing (cf. above p. 78), is given by a cryptographic explanation of the 10 magical runes on the Björketorp<sup>3</sup> stone that I have recently found. The secret meaning, which is revealed by a simple shifting of the signs, is the curse: "ten stinking oaths" (cf. "hab neune Nöte" on the amulet of Sigtuna). Anyone who damages the runic stone is threatened with death by sorcery (*wela- dAude*) in a profane inscription on the other side of the stone. The number 10 is to be understood here as the symbol of the rune with the name 'ice', the magical sign of death (cf. *niu* on the stone of Stentoften above line 2 ff.). An indication of the harmful effect of 10 runes in the Egill saga (ch. 72) is consistent with this. On the amulet of Sigtuna there is a row of three, one

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Bidrag till nordisk filologi tillägnade Emil Olson*, 1936, p. 311 (cf. also 307 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Runornas talmystik*, 1927, p. 74; on the role of the number 10 in runic magic and in later Nordic folk beliefs, see AGRELL, *Lapptrummor och runmagi*, 1934, p. 39-44.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Bidrag till nordisk filologi tillägnade Emil Olson*, 1936, p. 303 ff.

The ice runes forming the monogram are carved in the centre, followed by a group of 3 X 10 characters b M . E. these runes have the purpose of killing the "wolf" (probably a disease demon) (cf. tiber "kalt machen" =kill' above p. 37 and p. 78).

11. The eleventh letter  $\lambda$  was linked to the plants (*βοτάνων ἐκ β λ ά β τ η ο ι ς*, cf. above p. 38 and SA, p. 13). A reflex of the numerical mystical view that the number 11 is connected with growth is probably preserved in the Bun dehesh. Here it is said (ch. 10) of the killed primordial animal, the "native bark": "When it had died, 55 kinds of grain and 12 kinds of medicinal plants grew from those very limbs of the bovine because of the plant insemination.

same plants from the earth" <sup>2</sup>. because the number 55 (11 X5)

contains the number 11, it is probably to be expected that the number 11 was originally mentioned in the older tradition, from which the larger number 55 eventually emerged, because 5 limbs of the body w e r e reckoned with: 4 legs and the tail. The very common Roman-Mithraic representation of the death of the bull usually shows us how the tail is transformed into a majority of ears of corn.

begins.<sup>3</sup> In the old Scandinavian religion, the number 11 was with the god of growth, Frey, is linked. Also in a Swedish fairy tale, the number 11 is used in connection with the connection with the growth mentioned.<sup>4</sup> On the magic wand from Roskilde<sup>5</sup> can be found is a magical inscription, which from

consists of *u*- and  $\wedge$ -runes. The number of  $\wedge$ -runes on each of the three sides A, C, D of the object is always 11 (the 4th side, B, is somewhat damaged - three runes are erased in the centre -, all probability speaks for itself).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. IVAR LINDQVIST, *Fornvännen*, 1936, p. 31 with footn. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. JUSTI, *Der Bundelesh*, 1868, p. 11. Cf. *Sacred books of the East*, Vol. V, 1880, p. 31: "from every limb of the ox".

<sup>3</sup> Cf. HAAS, *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte*, 15th edition, *Die Religion des Mithra*, 1930, fig. 16 f. Cf. also SAXL, *Mithras*, 1931 (with many illustrations, e.g. 66, 83, 84, 190).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Lapptrummor och runmagi*, 1934, p. 44 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. MOLTKE, *Nordisk tidskrift*, utg. av Letterstedtska Föreningen, 1934, p. 439, where there is a transliteration of the runes (but the meaning of the inscription is not interpreted in any way).

but for the fact that the number of ^-runes on it was once also 11). Side B and side D both have 22 (2 X 11) runes (2 = *purs*, 11 = *âr*). As is well known, magic wands and

a. used to produce good growth of the grain \

12. The twelfth letter  $\mu$  was associated with the trees (i.e. with the strongest vegetation). A reflection of this numerical mysticism can be surmised in the passage from the Bundelesh quoted above. It is spoken of

"12 species of medicinal plants" (in the English translation "twelve species of medicinal plants"). In chapter 27, where there is again talk of "55 kinds of grain" and "12 kinds of medicinal plants", it is obviously the one with

The word "plant" has a very broad meaning. It says: "There are the following types of plants: trees (wood), fruit plants, cereals, flowers" etc. Thus, a fruit tree could also be counted as a "healing plant" (cf. *ζύλα καρποφόρα* in connection with the

12th letter of the Greek Coptic alphabet mysticism, SA,

S. 14). Chapter 3, for example, speaks of a "medicinal fruit". Originally, ordinary food plants and medicinal plants were probably regarded as two different categories. -- In the Uthark series we encounter a name relating to food plants as the designation of the 11th rune (aisl. *tir* 'good year'), immediately before a tree name as the designation of the 12th rune (ags. *eo**h*). Only in the series of runes on the stone of Kylver does this rune not come immediately after the first one.

In a work published in <sup>1934</sup>2 I have summarised my

in the paper SA, p. 13 ff., and previously presented view changed. The runic series of Kylver, although somewhat older, cannot well represent the original alphabetic tradition, which may rather be preserved in the somewhat younger runic series of the bracteates (of Vadstena, Grumpan) and the pillar inscription of Breza<sup>3</sup>. The runes

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BERTSCH, *Weltanschauung, folk legend and folk custom*, 1910, p. 290 f.

<sup>2</sup> AGRELL, *Lapprummor och runmagi*, 1934, pp. 7-14.

<sup>3</sup> I am now of the opinion that the Breza rune (cf. SA, p.

on the Kylverstein are actually rather careless in their execution, probably because **t h e** carver carried out his work in a hurry. This is a case of death magic (the stone was in a grave). It is conceivable that the magical carving was carried out at night shortly before dawn (cf. on the Eggjum stone: *ni s solu sot* etc.). Confirmation of this new view of the original sequence of the characters C), γ, Y is provided by a solution I recently found to a cryptographic puzzle k

13. The thirteenth letter ν became Hecate, of the goddess of the night and of the underworld, connected (cf. above p. 41 ff. and p. 81). According to Firmicus Maternus<sup>2</sup> by the Mithraists, a goddess of the goddesses identified with Hecate Underworld worshipped alongside Ahriman-Pluto. Strabo<sup>2</sup> also speaks of a fire goddess who was triune (a fusion of Athena, Artemis and Aphrodite). In the Greek magical papyri, as I have mentioned several times above, there is a particularly frequent mention of Hecate is mentioned particularly often. According to her mythical father Perses, Hecate was called *Περσία (Περσειή)*. This designation must undoubtedly be due to folk etymological interpretation finally as the name of a Persian deity (cf. Cumont, T & M, I, p. 141). Hecate is also mentioned in the inscriptions of the Roman Mithraists: *sacerdos deae Hecatae; Dei Brontontis et Aecate* etc. (T & M, II, p. 534). It is thus well attested that Hecate worship was present in the Mithraic cult of the Roman Cairo period. present was present. In the Mithraic magic of the late antiquity can be Hecate therefore not have been missing have been missing. Many magic papyri in which she is invoked also show clear reflections of original Mithraic ideas,

49 together with fig. 5) must have originated from the older form L : a new vertical line is only added for the sake of symmetry.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Bidrag till nordisk filologi tillägnade Emil Olson*, 1936, p. 311 below 3) s etc. and 4) t etc. On the number 12 cf. AGRELL, *Lapptrummor och runnagi*, 1934, p. 47 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. CUMONT, *Die Hysterien des Mithra*, 1923, p. 100. On Strabo see also BENVENISTE, *The Persian Religion*, 1929, pp. 50-68.

above all the great Parisian magic papyrus (where Mithras is mentioned, as is well known). Here it says, for example: "Herzu, Hecate, gigantic, reigning over Dione, Persia (Περσία), Baubo" etc. (PGM, P IV, 2714 f.). In the same passage she is also called "arrow-sender" (*Ιοχέαιρα*), and the magic action is to be performed on the thirteenth<sup>1</sup> and fourteenth day of the lunar month. (Z. 2710). In the Avestan-Persian calendar, the 13th day of the month was dedicated to the star deity Tishtrya, i.e. Sirius (cf. T & M, I, p. 136). On Roman soil, Tishtrya was identified with Diana-Artemis, the "arrow sender", probably because both had arrows and bows as attributes (Sirius was also called the arrow star in Pre-Asia). Artemis-Diana was identified as *Diana triplex* by the Mithraists with Proserpina-Hecate (cf. T & M, I, p. 140), and in the astrology of the 4th century Sirius was actually labeled as Hecate<sup>2</sup>. It is therefore highly probable that Hecate was associated with 13, originally the sacred number of Sirius (Tishtrya), in Roman-Mithraic magic. If this number (cf. p. 11 above) was already a number of the Titans or the underworld for the Greeks, the assimilation of the deities was further strengthened by this circumstance. - The 13th Uthark rune must originally (cf. above) have been the p-sign<sup>3</sup>. The oldest phonetic form of the name of this very little-used rune cannot be reconstructed with certainty. In any case, the rune name must have started with *per-* - just like Persia (cf. got. *pertra*, ags. *peord*). It is conceivable that once in the language of the Greek Mithraists, as a result of the above-mentioned folk etymology

<sup>1</sup> Cf. that in another papyrus (PGM, P VII, 776) it is said of the name of the moon goddess: the thirteenth a sound of compulsion (*φῶδόννοξ Αναγκαστικός*).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. GUNDEL, *Dekane und Dekansternbilder*, 1936, p. 72. The text, where Sirius is also called Hecate, is by BOLL (C. C. A. VII 210 ff) published.

<sup>3</sup> On the role of the number 13 in North Germanic folk belief see AGRELL, *Lappttrummor och runmagi*, 1934, p. 52-54 (Hekate-Selene was also a birth goddess see II: 19).

The name Π ά ρ υ η or Πάρυα = 'the Parthian' has changed from the interpretation with the Hecate name Περσία. The oldest name of the />-rune may be based on a contamination of the two Greek names. Norse mythology links the 12 with the main gods, the 13 with the underworld: 12 rivers flow through the land of the Aesir, 13 others into the realm of the dead (cf. Gylfaginning 38 and Grimnismäl 26-28, with 2 interpolations).

14. The fourteenth letter ζ was linked to the stars (cf. p. 44 above). As far as I know, there is no direct evidence that the Mithric mysticism of numbers somehow linked 14 with the stars. However, it is highly probable that a Mithric-influenced Greek alphabet mysticism united stars, sun-moon and Mithras next to each other as nos. 14, 15 and 16 with the series of letters ζ, ο and π. These representatives of the astral world belong closely together. We also know that the Greek alphabet mysticism linked the stars with a letter close to that of the sun. The fact that the Greek Coptic system (cf. SA, p. 11 and p. 16) indicates the 13th letter ν as the sign of the stars (φωστήρες) is in all probability dependent on the fact that the two double signs ζ (no. 14) and ιρ (no. 23) were eliminated in order to obtain a series of only 22 letters (cf. SA, p. 34 above). Accordingly, we have to reckon with the fact that what was combined with no. 14 ζ in an original that had an alphabet of 24 letters was united with no. 13 ν in the new system\*, because the stars obviously cannot be missing in a creation story (cf. SA, p. 34) and must appear here alongside the sun and the moon (ήλιος και σεληνη, cf. SA, p. 11). Very interesting is the fact that a reflection of an Iranian model is attested by the fact that the conspicuous sequence (stars, then sun-moon) with the Persian

\* The original probably linked the 13th letter with Sirius, the leader of the fixed stars (cf. HENRY, *Le parsisme*, 1905, p. 50), and the 14th with the stars in general or with a certain constellation as their representative (e.g. Taurus of the Zodiac).

creation myth (cf. Bundehesh, ch. 2). According to Genesis, chapter 1, however, Elohim first created the great lights, i.e. the sun and moon, then the stars<sup>1</sup>. On the 14th Uthark rune cf. above p. 88 f. It can also be emphasised here that the 14th day in the Avestan-Persian monthly calendar was dedicated to "the soul of the bull" (Avestan *Gaush urvan*<sup>2</sup>). It is conceivable that the Persians worshipped a constellation, e.g. that of the bull in the zodiac, as the soul of the slain primordial bull. Because the deity of the 13th day was a great star, Sirius (Tishtrya), the deity of the 14th day could easily be interpreted astrally, primarily as a representative of the zodiacal constellations<sup>3</sup>. If we assume that the 14th Uthark rune had a name with the meaning 'elk' (ags. *eolh* in *eolhx*), then there is a good correspondence here with ancient Iranian numerical mysticism. The male elk, like the aurochs, is a very large bull.

15. The fifteenth letter o was mainly associated with the sun (next to it also with the moon, cf. SA, p. 16 f., and here above p. 47). In the end

\* I have dealt with this question, which is very important for my theory, in more detail in my work *Laptrummor och runmagi*, 1934, p. 54-68. Here (p. 55 f.) new material is also given concerning the original meaning of the runic name and it is shown that it may have referred to something astral.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HENRY, *Le parsisme*, 1905, p. 108 (cf. also p. 51 f.). Above *Goshurvan* cf. in Bundehesh ch. 4 and ch. 10; cf. also SAXL, *Mithras*, 1931, p. 88 f.

<sup>3</sup> Bundehesh, chapter 4, relates that *Goshurvan* (= the soul of the killed primordial animal) "ascended to the sphere of the stars and lamented *o n c e* more; he ascended to the sphere of the moon and lamented likewise; and he ascended to the sphere of the sun" (cf. SAXL, *Mithras*, 1931, p. 88). Because, according to Mithraic cosmology, the sphere of the fixed stars is *l o c a t e d* above that of the sun, this passage cannot correspond exactly to the original description. Because the lower planetary spheres *w e r e* thought of, the sphere of the stars was mentioned too early. Originally, this myth described, how the soul through the 7 planetary spheres in order to take up residence in a constellation (that of the *b u l l*) in the 8th sphere. On the "house" of the bull in the *m y t h i c a l* sculpture see SAXL, *Mithras*, 1931, p. 56 and fig. 142).

this letter-mystical idea could originate from the alphabet speculation of the Semites (on Hebrew *'ajm* cf. SA, p. 18). A passage in the Bundehesh indicates that this idea was also present among the Iranians. In chapter 15 it is said of the creation of humans: "Gaya maretan left seed when he died. This seed was rung by the revolution of the light of the sun ... 40 years (later) (the first humans) grew out of the earth as a rivast shrub, with one stem, fifteen years old, fifteen leaves (as the shrub bore 15 leaves, so the first humans had the appearance of fifteen-year-olds), in the month of Mithra on the (feast day) Mithragan" . . . This passage <sup>1</sup> is difficult to interpret. However, it is quite obvious that the number 15 has a symbolic meaning here (in the Bundehesh there is a whole series of analogical cases, cf. above under 2, 5, 10, 11, 12 and below under 17, 19 and 20). Since the sun was mentioned immediately before as the promoter of procreation, it is reasonable to assume that the number 15 refers mystically to the sun as a generative power. (In the calendar, the 15th day of the month was <sup>dedicated</sup> to the god of light Ahura Mazda <sup>2</sup>). - About the 15th Uthark rune <sup>3</sup> with the name 'Sun' (aisl. *sol* etc.) cf. SA, p. 18.

16. The sixteenth letter  $\pi$  was associated with Mithras (or in Egyptian-Greek magic with the corresponding "unconquered" god Serapis, cf. above). As I have already mentioned earlier (cf. above p. 47 ff. and p. 87), the number 16 belonged to Mithras because the 16th day of the month in the Avestan-Persian calendar was dedicated to him (also in the calendar of the Roman Empire).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Sacred books of the East*, Vol. V, 1880, pp. 52 f. In order to be more comprehensible to German readers, I have quoted mainly from JUSTI, *Der Bundehesh*, 1868, p. 19, although the English translation may be somewhat better. Cf. also HENRY, *Le parsisme*, 1905, p. 88. On the variant in the Great Bundahisn see REITZENSTEIN & SCHAEDER, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, 1900, p. 225 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In the L Yasnahymnus, the sun is called his eye.

<sup>3</sup> On the role of the number 15 among the North Germanic peoples, see AGRELL, *Lapptrummor och runnagi*, 1934, pp. 62-64.

mish Mithraists this was the <sup>case</sup><sup>1</sup>). Certain pictorial symbols that appear together with the name of Mithras refer to the number 16, e.g. a 16-rayed star above the name *MEIΘPΑΣ* on an agate (cf. Cumont, *T & M*, II, Fig 405); of the rays, 8 are large and 8 are small (just like on the Tarot card discussed on p. 91, cf. Fig. 63). This is a case where the connection with Mithric mysticism cannot well be doubted. The 16th Uthark rune (aisl. *Tyr* etc.), which was associated with the name of the Germanic god of victory, is consistent with this <sup>2</sup>. Mithras was invoked by the warriors, as we know, before the start of a battle <sup>3</sup>.

17. The seventeenth letter  $\rho$  was linked with the feminine and the fertile (cf. p. 49 ff. above). According to the Bundeshesh, the number of "fliissitudes" is 17. In chapter 21 it is said: "17 kinds of fliissitudes are mentioned in the Holy Scriptures". Most of these 17 types are then specifically mentioned, e.g. "liquid in plants", "seed of animals and humans", "urine", "sweat", "Tears", "blood", "saliva", "milk", etc. The types of liquids mentioned represent the vegetative-animal life. In the same chapter it is further said:

"all these (moistures) mix together as they grow  
or with the affected body <sup>4</sup> again with the moisture".

The cause of animal and vegetative growth is therefore the 17 fluids (humidities). Among the Germanic peoples - as well as among the Finns and the East Germans, for example - a symbol of the female vegetative power is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. CUMONT, *T & M*, I, p. 303; *The Hysterias of Mithra*, 1923, p. 9, 116 and 154.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Lapptrummor och runnagi*, 1934, p. 67 f., where the role of the number 16 in the folk beliefs of the North Germanic peoples (especially in Icelandic magic) is also discussed.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. BENVENISTE, *The Persian Religion*, 1929, p. 54 f.

<sup>4</sup> The text then explains: "the (expression) 'realised body' and 'growing' are one and the same". Cf. in the English translation (*Sacred books of the East*, Vol. V, p. 83 f): "All these, through growth, or the body which is formed, mingle again with the rivers, for the body which is formed *and* the growth are both one".

Slavs - the birch (and the birch branch)'. It is therefore of great significance that the 17th Uthark rune has a name with this meaning (ags. *beorc*, aisl. *biarkan*, cf. SA, p. 21 f.). The Avestan god Srao-sha, the brother of Mithras, has as an attribute a twig-bundle (*baresmaif*). The 17th day of the month was dedicated to him.

Why Sraosha was imagined with this bundle is not yet not completely explained. Perhaps had he according to a lost myth, he had a relationship with the life-promoting fluidity and the growth? However the theologians of Parsism have seen a symbol of the power of vegetative life in the branch bundle (*baresman*, *barsom*)<sup>2</sup>. It is Sraosha who leads the souls of the good into paradise. He was also called "the one who promotes the world"<sup>3</sup>. It is therefore quite possible that this branch was interpreted by the Germanic-Roman worshippers of Mithras as a symbol of fertility<sup>4</sup>.

18. The eighteenth letter  $\sigma$  was associated with certain deities of the underworld, u. a. with Hermes as the leader of the dead (cf. above p. 51 f. and p. 82 f.). My assumption, that the 18. Uthark rune (ags. *eh*) the god Odin-Wodan belonged to and the fact that a whole series of examples a connection between Odin (later the devil) and the number 18<sup>5</sup>. According to the Avestan-Persian monthly calendar, the number 18 was dedicated to the god Rashnu, the second brother of Mithras. Rashnu is above all the judge in the underworld and therefore - like Odin and Hermes - a god who commands the dead<sup>6</sup>. Cf. above p. 82 f.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung der Runennamen*, 1928, p. 33 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HENRY, *Le parsisme*, 1905, p. 165 ("incarne les vertus de la vie végétale").

<sup>3</sup> Cf. CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, II, 1925, p. 224.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Lapptrummor och runmagi*, 1934, pp. 68-73 (especially pp. 70 f.) and pp. 126 ff.

<sup>5</sup> On this in detail AGRELL, *Lapptrummor och runmagi*, 1931.5.73-81.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung der Runennamen*, 1928, p. 36 f.

19. The nineteenth letter  $\tau$  was associated with the human being - viewed as a microcosm (cf. p. 52 ff. and p. 95 f. above). Among the remains of Roman-Mithraic sculptures there are many depictions of the human body with zodiacal signs applied to it (cf. also here Fig. 68). On the other hand, it is well attested by late ancient authors that, according to the Mithraic speculation, various parts of the human soul were in correspondence with the 7 planets in sequence. The magical number of the human being was therefore probably - probably following the Babylonian astral doctrine

-The number 19 (12 + 7). In Babism, where ancient numerical mystical ideas of the Orient are undoubtedly preserved, 19 is still regarded as the sacred "basic number of the cosmos"<sup>2</sup>; it must therefore have once been the number of the macrocosm. And the number must be the same for macrocosm and microcosm according to the ancient macrocosm.

cosmos-microcosm doctrine<sup>3</sup>. A reflex of this zahlenmy-  
stical view was allowed itself in the bundlehesh

was found.

In the

Ch. 31<sup>4</sup> it is said that all deceased people "in 57 years" will be resurrected. The number 57 (3 X 19) is just the triple product of the number 19, and according to the text the resurrection will take place in three periods (1. Gäyōmard, 2. Māshya and Māshyōi, 3. the tibrigen people). Rigveda 10.90 speaks of the human Purusha (= macrocosm). In stanzas 12-14 it is described how the world is created from 12 parts of the body.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Zur Frage* etc., 1928, p. 37 f. In a Middle Persian text published by NYBERG, *Journal asiatique*, CCXIV, 1929, p p. 198 f., according to the editor's translation: "Tout bonheur et toute adversité qui atteignent les hommes . . . proviennent des Sept et des Douze". Cf. also CCXIX, 1931, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. GUNKEL & ZSCHARNACK, *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, I, 1927, sp. 698.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. e.g. darter LOBECK, *Aglaophamus*, 1839, p. 921 ff.; BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *L'astrologie grecque*, 1899, p. 76 f.; ADOLF MEYER, *Wesen und Geschichte der Theorie vom Mikro- und Makrokosmos*, Diss. Bern, 1900, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> In JUSTI, *Der Bundeshesh*, 1868, in the English translation, *Sacred books of the East*, Vol. V, 1880, Chapter XXX.

is. In the 15th verse, the number 7 is mentioned. It is true that the 19th Uthark rune had a name meaning 'man' or 'human' (cf. ags. *inan* etc.). On the number of man (*άνθρωπος*) in Hermetic speculation, see SA, p. 31 ff. and above p. 31 ff. and p. 96.

20. The twentieth letter v was associated with water (cf. p. 54 f. and p. 84 f. above). Because the Greek word for water, *ὕδωρ*, begins with this letter, one might be inclined to see the cause of the link exclusively in this circumstance. Even in the older Greek speculation, however, the number

20 is connected to water. According to Plato, the shape of this element was an icosahedron, i.e. a twenty-sheet. Chapter 7 of the Bundeshesh deals with water. It speaks of 20 different rivers: "When these two streams" (i.e. the two main streams of primeval times, Rangha and Vanguhi) "flowed forth, 18 navigable rivers flowed into them from the same primeval sources" (i.e.  $2+18 = 20$ ). Was Plato influenced by Iranian speculation - or is the Bundeshesh dependent on Greek-Mithraic numerical mysticism? Both **a r e** actually possible. P l a t o 's philosophy definitely contains certain Iranian elements.

mente<sup>2</sup>, on the other hand, the Bundeshesh is a medieval compiled work, that some from the late antique speculation recorded has<sup>3</sup>. Among all conditions we have we have sufficient reason, to to that the Greek-Mithraic mysticism of the late antique period associated the number 20 with the

<sup>1</sup> "Seven served them as enclosure timbers, and three times seven as firewood there". Cf. DEUSSEN, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie, I: 1*, 1906, p. 157 f. (cf. also p. 150 ff. and p. 288 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> JAEGER, *Aristoteles*, 1923, p. 133, has analysed the relationship between the Platonic Academy and Oriental speculation even before Alexander's accession.

-38, cf. also BENVENISTE, *The Persian Religion*, 1929, pp. 16-21.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. AUTRAN, *Mithra, Zoroastre et la préhistoire aryenne du christianisme*, 1935, p. 30 : "Ardashir Papakan, fondateur de la monarchie nouvelle, 'refait' un *Avesta* plus ample, avec l'aide de son grand-prêtre Tansar. Shahpur 1<sup>er</sup>, successeur d'Ardashir, y insère, d'après la tradition persane, des éléments étrangers empruntés à l'hellénisme et à l'Inde.- Cf. also p. 34 - On Gnostic ideas - and p. 144.

water \ As I h a v e already shown earlier (cf. SA, p. 23), a Greek text, which is undoubtedly dependent on late antique alphabet mysticism, actually links the letter v with water. The fact that the 20th Uthark rune was labelled w i t h a name meaning 'water' (ags. *lagu* etc.) is consistent with this <sup>2</sup>.

21. The twenty-first letter  $\varphi$  was linked to the male procreative power ( cf. above p . 55 f . and p. 94, as well as SA, p. 23 f.). Because the Greek word *φαλλός* 'phallus' begins with the 21st character of the alphabet, one might also be inclined in this case to seek the cause of this alphabet-mystical combination in a purely linguistic circumstance. According to the Iranian monthly calendar, however, the 21st day was consecrated to a male fertility god: Rama Hvastra ( pers. *Rām*). Thus, the alphabet-mystical connection may have been caused by the Persian-derived Mithric number symbolism. It is also true that the 21st Uthark rune was labell e d with the name of a fertility god: ags. *Ittg* (cf. SA, p. 24). The fact that the god Ing was associated with the number 21 in southern Scandinavia, where he was particularly worshipped by the East Danes, is shown by the secret runes of the magical inscriptions on the stones in what is now Blekinge <sup>3</sup>.

22. The twenty-second letter / was replaced with to the property (see above p. 56 f.). With regard to this function, the sign  $\chi$  could be linked to the Greek word *χρήματα*. In my opinion, this letter may have taken over the role of the 22nd in the Semitic alphabet (cf. SA, p. 26). As I have already mentioned (cf. above p. 100 with fn. 4), the main language of the Near East was the Semitic alphabet.

<sup>1</sup> The 20th day in the Iranian monthly calendar belonged to the god Verethragna, identified with Hercules on Roman soil. Cf. AGRELL, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung der Runennamen*, 1928, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> On the number 20 in Scandinavian water magic, etc., see AGRELL, *Lapptrummor och runmagi*, 1934, pp. 84-87.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Bidrag till nordisk filologi tillägnade Emil Olson*, 1936, p. 309 ff ( especially p . 310). Cf. also AGRELL, *Lapptrummor och runmagi*, 1934, p. 88 f.

atic Mithriast (especially in Asia Minor) the Aramaic. On the 22nd Uthark rune whose name in the meaning 'landed property' (ags. *épel* = aisl. *ádal*, schw. *odal*) fits well into this context, see SA, p. 27.

23. The twenty-third letter  $\psi$  was associated with Zeus (cf. above p. 57 f. and p. 88). The Jupiter Caelus of the Roman Mithraists corresponded to the Iranian Ahura Mazda (in Greek texts *Ζευς Ὠρομάσδης* ge-

<sup>2</sup>, cf. Cumont, T & M, I, p. 137). The highest light and sky god in the Iranian calendar was, among others, the 23rd day of the month. The fact is right, that the 23rd Uthark rune <sup>1</sup> has a name with the meaning 'light, day' had as its original denotation: ags. *c/crg*; for the meaning cf. schw. *dager* = 'daylight' (cf. SA, p. 47 f.).

24. The twenty-fourth letter  $\omega$  was associated with profit, wealth, etc. (cf. p. 59 above). The cause of the alphabet-mystical function can be found in the fact that the number 24 was the highest in the series of magically used numerical values of the letters ( $\alpha=1$ ,  $\omega=24$ ). However, it is possible that in this case too, as with so many other signs in the last half of the series, there was a connection with the Mithric calendar. In the Avestan-Persian monthly calendar, the 25th day was dedicated to the goddess of "good wealth" (Avestan *Ashi Vanuhi*, Middle Persian *type*). On the other hand, we know that in the Roman cult of Mithras, the 25th day of December was dedicated to the newborn Mithras. and *the Natalis Invicti* was called <sup>3</sup>.

Change in the Mithrian calendar (at least outside the

<sup>1</sup> The fact that the o-rune as no. 22 stood before the rf-rune as no. 23 in the Uthark series is attested by the solution of two different cryptographic rune groups on the stone of Stentofen, cf. AGRELL, *Bidrag till nordisk filologi tillägnade Emil Olson*, 1936, p. 308 (bottom) and p. 311 (bottom) with the d i s p l a c e m e n t s 6) *l, ti, o > d* and 5) *u, f, d > o*.

<sup>2</sup> " En effet, quand le nom de Zeus est appliqué par le Grecs à un dieu iranien, c'est régulièrement d'Ormuzd qu'il s'agit", NYBERG, *Journal asi- atique*, CCXIX, 1931, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. CUMONT, *Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum*, 1931, p. XI and p. 206 f. (with references).

Persia). For the sake of symmetry, this may have consisted of the 24th day of the month being dedicated to the goddess of wealth, together with her two stars Daena, "the true religion", and Cista, "wisdom", to whom it had already belonged earlier, \ in order to dedicate the 25th day entirely to the memory of the newborn Mithras, *ὑεός ἐκ πέτρας* <sup>2</sup>. Nothing forces us to assume that the Mithric calendar in the Roman Empire of the Late Antique period was in agreement with the Avestan-Persian calendar in all respects: at least in one case we know that this was not the case (with regard to *this Natalis Invicti*, cf. above). - On the 24th Uthark rune, whose name with the meaning 'wealth' (aisl. *fé* etc.) fits perfectly into this context, cf. SA, p. 51. Numerous runic inscriptions as well as certain information in Icelandic dictionaries etc. indicate that the very frequently occurring number 24 referred to <sup>wealth</sup><sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HENRY, *Le parsisme*, 1905, p. 57 ("Cista, 'la Sagesse' religieuse, occupe dans le mois le même jour que Daena"), A duality may thus have been replaced by a trinity, and the goddess of wealth could very well have been invoked on this day in particular.

<sup>2</sup> For another possibility (numerical mystical connection with the number 24 as the number of Pluto-Ahriman in black magic) see AGRELL, *Lapptrummor och runmagi*, 1934, p. 99 (pp. 101 ff. in detail on the role of the number 24 in the magic of the North Germanic peoples). Cf. also Benveniste, *The Persian Religion*, 1929, on Ahriman and the number 24, p. 71 (see also p. 74).

<sup>3</sup> On the old Iranian monthly calendar, see HENRY, *Le parsisme*, 1905, p. 107 f., and NYBERG, *Journal asiatique*, CCXIX, 1931, p. 128 ff. - chap. 1 of the *BundahTin* in the so-called Iranian version, where the 30 days of the month are mentioned, was published together with a translation by Nyberg ibid. (CCXIV, pp. 206-229, cf. especially 228 f.)

<sup>4</sup> A case of runic magic, where the /e-rune and its numerical value 24 obviously play a leading role, is the magical inscription on the stone of Gummarp, cf. AGRELL, *Bidrag till nordisk filologi tillägnade Emil Olson*, 1936, p. 313 f. (Here it can be emphasised that, if one sees with me in a sign not previously interpreted as a rune the remainder of a  $Zw^{\wedge}$  rune, t h e r e are actually 24 runes on the illustration (the stone has now disappeared) in addition to the 3 /d runes, which form a group in themselves (cf. the reversed position). Cf. the 3 tss runes and 3X10 signs on the amulet from Sigtuna discussed above p. 109 f. The magician

The main result of the present study is that there is a whole series of facts which are in good agreement with each other and which together provide evidence that late antique alphabet mysticism is genetically related above all to Mithric-Persian ideas.

The dependence of rune magic and its foundations, the secret original order of the old Germanic series of letters (theitparh sequence), from the late antique mysticism of the period was also here a connection exists however not with the Latin, but with the Greek form of alphabet mysticism in the Roman empire the first hundreds of years of our era. This result is of great importance for the question of the origin of the runic script. There are two possibilities to consider: Either the series of runes consisting of 24 characters is a reorganisation of the Greek alphabet (in this case probably based on the pattern of a partially cryptographic form of the same alphabet, (cf. SA, p. 55 f.) - or certain pre-existing letter characters, which were used in the Greek alphabet.) - or certain already existing letter signs, which were not of direct Greek origin, were put together to form a whole (the Uthark), modelled on a Mithrician-Greek alphabetic-mystical system, whereby a few new signs, which were not absolutely necessary phonetically, were added to the Greek script in order to obtain a sequence of 24 letters\*.

probably scratched *hApuwolAfA* without ", because before *sAte* the  $\Lambda$  sound was not pronounced in his language due to the effect of Sandhi.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, 1927, pp. 97-109: "Der Ursprung der Runenschrift und die Magie". This essay was written in September 1926 (cf. p. 109) and submitted to the editor of the archive, Professor Axel Kock. The article was printed in March 1927 and appeared in the first issue of the year. Already in the autumn of 1925 I gave a lecture on my Uthark theory at the "Philological Society" in Lund, and immediately afterwards a detailed paper written by me appeared in the newspaper *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*. In June 1927 my work *Runornas talmystik och dess antika förebild* was printed. It was only after this that CARL J. S. MARSTRÄNDER emerged, whose treatise "Om runene og runenavnene oprindelse" was published in the spring of 1928 (without consideration of

In my opinion, the first alternative, a modification of Friesen's theory, is preferable h

There can be no serious doubt that late antique Mithriazism must once have had an influence on the Germanic peoples of the pagan period. Years ago, sufficient material on this problem was brought together to answer the question in the affirmative <sup>2</sup>.

z. For example, a researcher like Gustav Neckel, who himself once reckoned with the influence of the Adonis cult, can almost ignore Mithri-azism. In the Roman Empire, these two mystery religions existed side by side, almost in symbiosis<sup>3</sup>. Incidentally, it must be obvious to an unbiased eye that the proud and masculine doctrine of Mithras, once the most important religion of the Roman army, must have made a much stronger impression on the Greeks than the cult of Attis and Magna Mater, which was cultivated by women and weaklings<sup>4</sup>.

my explanations). Accordingly, I cannot have been influenced by him in the slightest. Interpretations such as *naiidr* = *ἀνάγκη* etc. are my personal property. I am unfortunately prompted to make this remark by *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, vol. VII, 1934, p. 421. On my position on Marstränder see also *Bidrag till nordisk filologi tillägnade Emil Olson*, 1936, p. 303, footnotes, and AGRELL, *Senantik mysteriereligion*, 1931, pp. 165-68, and *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung der Runennamen*, 1928, pp. 11 ff. and especially pp. 45-49 (to which Marstränder never gave a f a c t u a l answer).

<sup>1</sup> While travelling in Italy in 1933, I discovered new material (especially in Milan). Many old manuscripts with Greek cryptography can be found in Athens (for the time being I only know these cryptograms from reproductions).

<sup>2</sup> FRANZ ROLF SCHRÖDER, for example, dealt with this question in parallel with me.

The influence of Mithriazism has recently been emphasised by JAH DENRIES, *Altgermamsche Religions- geschichte*, I, 1935, pp. 315 f. ( cf. also pp. 159, 161 f. and 249), following my research on Roman magic. Earlier, another historian of religion who is particularly f a m i l i a r with Greek late antiquity, MARTIN P: NILSSON, *Folkminnen och folktankar*, 1931, pp. 178-82, spoke out more extensively and even more decisively in the same direction.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. NECKEL, *Die Überlieferungen vom Gotte Balder*, 1920; AGRELL, *Senantik mysteriereligion*, 1931, p. 20 f.; on Neckel as a runologist ARNTZ, *Handbuch der Runenkunde*, 1935, p. 69 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Much of the Edda is also best understood as a reflection of the mithri

My runic theory therefore stands on the firm ground of generally recognised historical facts. The rune texts and the later magic tradition also speak in favour of my opinion (cf. above about the Uthark runes no. 9, 10, 11, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21 and 24). Geometric calculations of the runic groups also agree with the Uthark theory. Certain inscriptions show an extremely complex gematria, e.g. the one on the Lindholm amulet (the number 24 is constantly repeated in the combinations:  $alu = 24$ ,  $aaaaaaaa = 24$ ,  $/// = 48 = 2 \times 24$ , the whole line =  $216 = 9 \times 24$  etc. \ Other very striking evidence is provided by the inscriptions of Gallehus<sup>2</sup>, Charnay, Thames, Istaby etc.). Of course, it is not always possible to say with absolute certainty which inscriptions are gematric<sup>3</sup>. If only smaller numbers are hidden in the runic combinations, it is almost impossible to prove the application of the gematria. However, the fact that very high numbers (53, 24, 17 etc.) occur in a long series of cases can only be explained by the fact that many runic inscriptions with a magical purpose **w e r e** executed according to a system of numerical values operating with the Uthark series. We therefore have a means of familiarising **o u r s e l v e s w i t h** the technology of the oldest magical runic art and thus gradually understanding the meaning of magic. Undoubtedly, actual, unexpected mathematical regularities can now and then arise purely by chance. But by pointing to this (generally known) fact, it can never be proven that we are not primarily dealing with an intention of the runic magicians.

for (not the Christian) religion interpret, cf. AGRELL, *Senantics mysteriereligion*, 1931, p. 61 ff. On "the nine worlds" cf. above III: 8, 9.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AGRELL, *Senantik mysteriereligion*, 1931, pp. 235-41.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. on this inscription AGRELL, *Laptrummor och runnagi*, 1934, p. 53 f.

<sup>3</sup> I emphasise here that in my work *Runornas talmy stik*, 1927, p. 147 ff., never s a i d that all ancient Germanic runic inscriptions were intentionally executed in gematria. I only calculated the numerical values of the most important inscriptions and pointed out the probability or the possibility of calculating numerical values (gematria).

have. With reference to the game of chance, someone could just as well claim that there is no mathematical art of writing at all in the entire history of mankind.

A truly grotesque example of this naïve hypercriticism was given by an American philologist<sup>1</sup>. He wrote his name in runes and then wrote it in the three curious runic groups: <HM^TMk fMWf X2ΠΠM (sic!) by gematric calculation ( $\beta = 1$  etc.) to find the magic number 24 twice (as well as the number 12 in all three, which is apparently mainly dependent on the fact that  $24 = 2 \cdot X$  is 12). Firstly, however, it should be noted: The only proof used by this critic is not a graphic fact, but merely a false construction created at the writing table - just as impossible and ridiculous as if Mr Chester Nathan Gould wanted to render his three names with Greek letters as follows: *Kχεστερ Νατχαϊ<sup>2</sup> Γοβλδ*. The runic series does not correspond to the Latin alphabet in many respects: Mr Gould is forced to link *c*, *k* and *q*; *s* and *s*; *i* and *y* with the same numerical value and to consider *.v* as *ks*. Accordingly, his method can never be applied consistently when dealing with larger material, and in his first and so far only attempt there is such a fatal case of pure arbitrariness right at the beginning (*c* is calculated as 5, although the Latin *k* belongs together with the *Å* rune). Obviously, the newly minted mathematical calculator was looking for a makeshift solution in the runic script because he had previously been unable to experiment with the Latin alphabet (" $=1, 5 = 23$ )<sup>3</sup>. - Finally - and this is the most important thing

<sup>1</sup> CHESTER. NATHAN GOULD, *Modern Language Notes*, XLV, 1930, p. 468.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of *Ναῖαν* (cf. the runes γH instead of |>).

<sup>3</sup> The result of such an operation is: *Chester = 10, Nathan = 55, Gould = 56*. This means that only the very small number 5 returns once. This is a combination which, according to the theory of probability, must occur in one of 25 possible cases. Cf. AGRELL, *Eranos*, XXVI, 1928, p. 26 ff., where the problem has been treated mathematically and statistically; among other things I have, in order to provide comparative material

an example proves nothing, even if it were completely flawless. In order to be able to draw a conclusion, you have to have a whole series of words that really belong together. (At least this was understood by Hugo Pipping, who analysed the names of a number of Nordic philologists gematrically. His result is worthless, however, because although he operates with Latin letters, he uses his own *ad hoc* enlarged alphabet of no less than 29 letters instead of 23 (*i* and *j*, *u* and *v* and *w* etc. + *d*, *ä*, *ö*) and his own alphabet of no less than 29 letters. + *d*, *ä*, *ö*) and reproduces the names with likewise *ad hoc enlarged* contractions (e.g. *v*. = *von*) etc.: Adolf Noreen becomes A. Noreen, Bengt Hesselman remains Bengt Hesselman, other gentlemen are given two first names or initials etc. \*)

Those who brusquely reject my mathematical explanations, leave by the way all completely disregard that a considerable series of magical magical runic inscriptions and in magic beacons preserved runic formulae<sup>2</sup>, in which two-fifths the number of characters play the main role, in favour of my theory. Most of the inscriptions of this type belong to a fairly late period (e.g. the amulet inscription from Sigtuna) or were created during a transitional period (e.g. the runic carvings on the stones in Blekinge). In my work "Runornas talmystik" (1927) I already reckoned with the fact that parallel to the gematria (e.g. B. on the stones of Björketorp and Istaby, on the amulet of Lindholm etc.) also the number of signs (10

two different non-mystical Greek texts. Gould had no idea about this study in 1930.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Nya Argus*, 1931, p. 123 f., and my answer *ibid.*, p. 157

-9 and p. 174 f. (a misprint is "Mer spår" st. "eller spår") With regard to PIPPING, *Acta Philologica Scandinavica*, 1935, p. 81 f., I must emphasise that what he quotes from me on p. 81 **r e f e r s** to Pipping and Consorten (and not to myself), and that what he says of me on p. 82 is also wrong: it does not even agree with the quotation on p. 81 (cf. *Bidrag till nordisk filologi tillägnade Emil Olson*, 1936, p. 313, footn. 2).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 17 runes in the formula *kvennagaldur*, 16 signs in formulae **r e f e r r i n g** to victory and battle with enemies, (cf. AGRELL, *Laptrum mor och runmagi*, 1934, p. 67 f.) etc.

runes, 24 signs etc.) was taken into account. In the last period of development of runic magic <sup>1</sup>, the intricate gematria associated with the old series of runes was probably forgotten and only simple numeration was continued for some time (cf. e.g. the account of the 10 harmful runes in the Egill saga). Furthermore, the same critics close their eyes to the fact that both written evidence of Germanic number speculation (e.g. Liöðatal, where 18 is the number of Odin, 9 is linked to *naudr*, etc.) and the numbering system that is supported by folklore are still in existence.), as well as the younger folk beliefs known through folkloristic research, provide material <sup>2</sup> in which the numbers are often used entirely in accordance with the number system of the Uthark series <sup>3</sup> (the 2 is demonic, the 3 divine, etc.). Likewise, this hypercriticism (almost exclusively advocated by Germanists) is completely blind to the evidence I have discovered in the alphabet-mystical documents of late antiquity: *graeca sunt, non leguntur* <sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my article "Runmagi", *Svensk uppslagsbok*, vol. 23, 1935, pp. 411 ff. In the above-mentioned encyclopaedic work I have written a whole series of articles on magic, letter mysticism etc.: "Bokstavsmystik", "Gematri", "Nio", "Sexhundrasextiosex", "Sju", "Talmystik", "Tre", "Tretton", "Uthark" etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. especially AGRELL, *Lapptrummor och runmagi*, 1934, and *Bidrag till nordisk filologi tillagnade Emil Olson*, 1936, p. 305 ff. (Über *tvåa* etc.).

<sup>3</sup> If, on the other hand, someone seeks a reference in the Futhark series, everything becomes confused: the 1 should be the number of wealth; the 3 should be a demonic number, the 4 a divine number; the 10 was to be linked with compulsion, the 11 with death; the 19 should be the number of Odin (not 18 as in the Edda), the 21 should occur in water magic, etc. Cf. AGRELL, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung der Runen-namen*, 1928, p. 61 ff. (also p. 49 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> ARNTZ, *Handbuch der Runenkunde*, 1935, does not even seem to be my Schrift *SA*, 1932, in his hand. He does not mention, for example, in which publication the work appeared (cf. p. 300); if he had only seen it, he would not be ignorant of the appearance of an inscription as important for runic studies as the Futhark carving of Breza: this carving is reproduced by me (p. 48) as Fig. 5 and is discussed in detail on pp. 49 f. I would like to emphasise in this context that v. FRIESEN does not take my work *SA* into account in *Runorna*, 1933, because *Nordisk Kultur VI*, although published in 1933, was written much earlier.

### Abbreviations for works cited here particularly often:

- AGRELL, SA = Die spätantike Alphabetmystik und die Runenreihe, 1932 (K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundets i Lund årsberättelse 1931 - 1932, VI).
- AUDOLLENT, Z)7'= Defixionum tabellae, Diss. Paris, 1904.
- CHAMPOLLION, = Dictionnaire égyptien en écriture hiéroglyphique par J. F. Champollion le Jeune, 1841.
- CUMONT, T & Jf=Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra, I, 1899, II, 1896.
- ERMAN = Egyptian grammar by Adolf Erman, 1911.
- GARDINER = Egyptian grammar by Alan H. Gardiner, 1927.
- HOPFNER, OZ = Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber, I, 1921, II, 1924 (Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde, ed. by C. Wessely).
- PGM = Papyri Graecae Magicae, ed. by K. Preisendanz, I, 1928, II, 1931.
- ROSCHER, Lex. = Detailed lexicon of the Greek and Roman Mythologie, ed. by W. Roscher, 1884 ff.
- WIIINSCH, 4Z = Ancient magic device from Pergamon, 1905 (Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Ergänzungsheft VI).
- WCNSCH, SF= Sethian curse tablets from Rome, 1898.

and was partially printed. SA appeared only a few months before *Runorna* (where my work is discussed p. 35 ff.). For researchers who reckon with my Uthark theory as a correct or acceptable hypothesis, see SA, p. 2, footn. 2, and *Bidrag till nordisk filologi tillägnade Emil Olson*, 1936, p. 315, footn. 2 (EMIL OLSON, O. v. FRIESEN, W. H. VOGT, F. MOSSÉ, IVAR LINDQUIST, SUNE LINDQVIST, JAN DE VRIES, R. C. BOER, E. HELLQUIST, A. BUGGE, C. C. UHLENBECK, F. R. SCHRÖDER, VAN HAMEL, MARTIN P. NILSSON et al.; p. 303 Über SOPHUS MULLER U. a.). GOLTHER, *Literaturblatt f. germ. und rom.- Philologie*, L, 1929, pp. 345 f., may also be mentioned here; like ARNTZ, *Handbnch der Runenkunde*, 1935, pp. 267 ff, he seems to occupy an intermediate position, which, however, was more understandable in 1929 than in 1935. Anyone who compares the above with Arntz's presentation of the critical reviews of my runic theory (p. 271 f.) can see how incomplete and unclear it is. On the positive side, one only gets to know that GUNTHER IPSEN and v. FRIESEN have expressed agreement in the main. R. C. BOER, H. (wrong for E.) HELLQUIST and E. OLSON are mentioned, but in such a context that every reader must think that they are opponents of my theory. - HANS KUHN, *Literaturblatt f. germ. und rom. Philologie*, LVI, 1935, p. 476 ff., also takes up a proper intermediate position. The material in my work SA is mainly referred to by him in a mumbled form that makes all understanding impossible, and what I have emphasised (SA, p. 52) as the most important remains almost unnoticed. Only ἥλιος - 15 is taken into account. Other cases - such as βότανών - 11, ὄθωρ = 20 etc. - are completely ignored.

ÅRSBERÄTTELSE (Bulletin):

- 1930-31: *E. EKWALL*, Studies on English Place- and Personal Names.  
/. *LINDQVIST*, Apropos d'une inscription de la fin de la période mycénienne.  
*A. WIFSTRAND*, *Εἰκότα*, I.  
Meddelanden från Lunds universitets historiska museum. Notices from the Lund University Historical Museum, Resiimees.
- 1931-32: *H. SKÖLD*, The earliest known name of the Sakas.  
*K. HANELL*, The menologium of the Liber glossarum.  
*Jon. LINDBLOM*, On the question of the origin of the alphabet.  
*S. B. LILJEGREN*, Harrington and the Jews.  
*S. BOLIN*, The Chronology of the Gallic Emperors.  
*S'. AGRELL*, The late antique alphabet mysticism and the runic series.  
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- 1932-33: *A. WIFSTRAND*, *Εἰκότα*, II.  
*M. P. NILSSON*, Zeus with the scales of fate on a Cypro-Mycenaean vase.  
*M. P. NILSSON*, A new black-figure anthesperia vase.  
*O. HOLMBERG*, The motif of curiosity in the paradise myth. Meddelanden från Lunds universitets historiska museum.  
  
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*I. LINDQVIST*, The God Lobbonus.
- 1933-34: *N. VALMIN*, The Zeusstoa on the Agora at Athens.  
*N. VALMIN*, Rapport préliminaire de l'expédition en Messénie 1933.  
*T. CHRISTOFFERSSON*, Remarks on Dion of Prusa.  
*A. WIFSTRAND*, *Εἰκότα* III.  
*O. HOLMBERG*, David Hume in Carlyle's Sartor Resartus.  
*A. W. PERSSON*, Iron and iron production in ancient times.  
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- 1934-35: *N. VALMIN*, L'expédition en Messénie 1934.  
*A. WIFSTRAND*, Aus der Papyrussammlung der Univ.-Bibl. in Lund.  
*N. TÖRNQVIST*, On the history of the word rhyme.  
*K. HANELL*, The collection of inscriptions of Konstantinos Laskaris.  
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*R. JOSEPHSON*, Arkiv för svensk dekorativ konst.
- 1935-36: *S. CAVALLIN*, Zum Bedeutungswandel von lat. *inide* und *mde*.  
*S. CAVALLIN*, A new manuscript of the Vita Caesaris Arelatensis.  
*B. AXELSON*, On the Alexander Romance of Iulius Valerius.  
*S. AGRELL*, The Pergamenian Magic Disc and the Tarot Game.  
*K. HANELL*, On the interpretation of the Ara Pacis.  
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SKRIFTER (Acta):

- I. *MARTIN P. NILSSON*, PRIMITIVE TIME RECKONING.
  - II. *A. H. SALONIUS*, VITAE PATRUM.
  - III. *C. ZANDER*, PHAEDRVS SOLVTVS VEL PHAEDRI FABVLAE NOVAE XXX.
  - IV. *A. MOBERG*, LA GRANDE GRAMMAIRE (LE LIVRE DES SPLENDEURS) DE GRÉGOIRE BARHEBRAEUS.
  - V. *E. WALBERG*, LA VIE DE SAINT THOMAS LE MAR- TYR PAR GUERNES DE PONT-SAINT-MAXENCE.
  - VI. *E. EKWALL*, ENGLISH PLÅCE-NAMES IN -ING.
  - VII. *A. MOBERG*, THE BOOK OF THE HIMYARITES.
  - VIII. *H. SKÖLD*, THE NIRUKTA.
  - IX. *MARTIN P. NILSSON*, THE MINOAN-MYCENAEAN RELIGION AND ITS SURVIVAL IN GREEK RELIGION.
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