§ 2. Runological. Three important runic inscriptions are known from a very concentrated part of the area called *Lister:* the runestones from Gummarp, Stentoften, and Istaby, respectively (3, 114–142; 9, Nr. 98). They have usually been dated to the 7th century, an intermediate period between

the oldest runic corpus and that of the Viking age. Various unsatisfactory attempts have been made to explain the orthographical variation (cf. 1; 5, 194–197). Also geographically the monuments occupy a transitional position (see below). The L. stones comprise a unique type of monument, among them is found the first true runic memorial inscription, and they seemingly involve the same group of people.

The approximately 0,6 m long Gummarp stone is first mentioned ca. 1627, lying in a field close to Sölvesborg's castle. It was taken to Copenhagen and disappeared there at the fire of 1728. Its inscription according to older drawings was: **(h)ᚨþuwolᚨfᚨ / sᚨte / (s)tᚨ(b)ᚨþria / fff**. The translation is: "HaþuwulfR placed three staves: f, f, f". The lack of a nominative marker on the name might (if not due to a misreading) mean that the monument is rather commissioned in memory of HaþuwulfR, in which case the inscription would be incomplete (see below). The three staves are generally understood as ideographs (see below) and to refer to the following runestaves, the **f**-runes, probably part of a fertility charm or ritual formula. The proposed meaning 'staff, pillar' would also give good sense (15, 163), but seems unlikely because of the presence of the ideographs.

The Stentoften stone, first known from ca. 1830, also stems from the estate of Sölvesborg's castle and was once possibly surrounded by five bautas (→ Bautastein). The 1,2 m high stone was moved to the church of Sölvesborg in 1864. It reads: **niuhᚨborumR / niuhagestumR / hᚨþuwolᚨfRgᚨfj / hᚨriwolᚨfR-ᚨ(gi)usnuh(i)e / hideRrunonofel--ekᚨhed / erᚨginoronoR / heRᚨmᚨlᚨsᚨRᚨRᚨ-geuwe(lᚨ)dudssᚨþᚨt / bᚨriutiþ** (reading by the author in July 1997. The end of the fourth line is most difficult. A preferable reading is **(e)ᚨ-(i)u**, although the first of these runes may just possibly be **m**. Due to the damage no certain interpretation may be offered of this part). The most recent interpretations respect the spelling and persuasively see the first three lines as referring to a sacrifice, with constructive results (13; 14; 4, 352 f.; 5, 160–166; 15, 146; The interpretation of the concluding part is taken from Moltke [12, 140] but cannot be considered definitive): "With nine rams, with nine stallions HaþuwulfR gave good growth. HariwulfR ... I master of the runes (?) bury here potent runes. With no cessation of sorcery, a malevolent guile's death for the man who breaks it (the memorial)!".

The 1,8 m high Istaby stone is reported from 1748 onwards as placed in the village of Istaby close to Sölvesborg. When moved in 1878, eventually to Statens historiska mus., Stockholm, a square stone with a hole was uncovered, possibly an urn. The inscription clearly reads: **ᚨfatRhᚨriwulafᚨ / hᚨþuwulafRhᚨeruwulafiR / warᚨitrunᚨRþᚨiᚨR**, which with modern word order can be translated as "HaþuwulfR of HeruwulfR's family (Kousgård Sørensen prefers 'relative of' to 'son of': 8) wrote these runes in memory of HariwulfR". Thus HaþuwulfR for the third time initiates a runic monument. From the L. stones one may draw a number of important conclusions, of which eight may be singled out.

1. HaþuwulfR must clearly have been a very important person in 7th century Blekinge, most likely a king or chieftain. He is certainly the acting agent in the Istaby and Stentoften inscriptions. This strengthens the case for him being so also in the Gummarp inscription, which anyway does not give the impression of being commemorative. Thus HaþuwulfR would be engaged in cultic acts in the two latter cases.
2. Support is given to the concept of the Germanic ruler as a protector of the cult and commissioner of sacrifice, possibly also human (recently 16, 160–194). That numbers did play some role also seems evident from the use of three repeated ideographs in the Gummarp inscription and the mentioning (twice) of nine sacri-

ficial objects in the Stentoften inscription: "It is most likely that the numeral nine was associated with Scandinavian sacrifice rituals" (15, 166).

3. It is clearly demonstrated that runic monuments had a degree of officiality already in the 7th century. There is no reason to believe that the L. stones were inscribed by the same person. Hence it is likely that one high-ranking individual could commission several monuments, serving different purposes.
4. The Istaby stone is the first runic monument with a truly memorial formula. This can be no coincidence, since it stands on medieval Danish soil but within present-day Swedish borders and thus straddles the North Scandinavian area with the oldest runestones and the South Scandinavian territory with the strongest early runic tradition and where the fashion of runic memorials first blossomed.
5. The Stentoften inscription quite clearly ends with a curse formula (6), virtually identical to the one on the Björketorp stone (some scholars see two versions, cf. 5, 169–194), Listerby parish (at least 50 km North East of Sölvesborg). The latter, a contemporary, 4,2 m high monolith, still stands in its original location on a gravefield and is flanked by two bautas. It lacks a memorial formula but completes the curse by the legend **uþarabasba** 'profecy of destruction' or 'I profecy destruction' (recently: 2).
6. Name giving traditions among the early Scandinavians are often illustrated with the L. family members. Two out of three naming principles were put in use, i. e. allitteration and variation of a name element (11, 11): *Haþuwulfʀ* (Old Norse *Hálfr*?, Old High German *Haduwolf*, *Hathowulf*), *Hariwulfʀ* (Old Norse *Herjólfr*), and *Heruwulfʀ* (Old Norse *Hjǫrólfr* (7, 76–78; and cf. 10, 549). Both *Hálfr* and *Hjǫrólfr* are otherwise in Old Norse sources only known as names of mythical kings (and brothers!), but *Herjólfr* was common. The two former names illustrate the problem of defining what is a truly "fictional" name in the literary sources and what is not. It seems likely that far fewer names which have been considered to be fictional really are so, given the fact that some occur in ordinary Viking Age runic inscriptions (18, 607). There is thus no reason to believe that the persons mentioned on the L. stones are fictional.
7. The **j**-rune on the Stentoften stone and the three **f**-runes on the Istaby stone are among the few truly convincing ideographs (→ Begriffsrunen). The meaning of the latter is derived from the designation of this particular rune which was Germanic **fehu* (Old Norse *fé* 'cattle, wealth'). The single **j**-rune on the Stentoften stone clearly signifies its Germanic designation **jāra* (Old Norse *ár* '[good] year'). The ideographs would have their syntactically expected case forms if spelled out; in both cases the accusative is homonymous with the nominative at the time.

The Stentoften **j**-rune in the form ᛃ may be contrasted with its typologically later developments, ᛋ and ᛦ, which are transliterated with the **a**-rune in the L. inscriptions and there used for /a:/ (and /a/?). The original **a**-rune, ᚨ, is instead used for /ã:/ (and /ã/?). Older interpretations erroneously ignored this distinction and therefore did not take the different spellings of **niuhA** and **niuha** into account; the **a**-rune is also used in the Istaby inscription for epenthetic vowels, as is the **a**-rune on the other stones (17, 35 f.).

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H. Williams

Litauen, Litauer. Die zum balt. Zweig der idg. Sprachfamilie (→ Baltische Sprachen und Völker) gehörenden Litauer waren das einzige Volk im Baltikum, das sich im MA der Unterwerfung durch die Kreuzfahrer aus dem W oder die russ. Fürsten aus dem O zu widersetzen, die polit. Einigung der verschiedenen Stämme zu erreichen und einen Staat aufzubauen vermochte. Zugleich waren sie das letzte Volk in Europa, das christianisiert wurde (1386/87; vgl. 12; 13). Als entscheidend dafür müssen die Entstehung kleinerer und größerer Herrschaftsgebiete auf der Basis großer Reichtümer und milit. Gefolgschaften, die Fähigkeit einzelner Familien oder Persönlichkeiten, sich unter den lokalen Fürsten durchzusetzen, aber auch die Einsicht der lokalen Fürsten, nur gemeinsam gegen äußere Feinde handeln zu können, sowie die Verwicklung in die inneren Verhältnisse der russ. Teilfürstentümer an der Grenze des eigenen Siedlungsgebietes angesehen werden. Auf dem Höhepunkt seiner Macht (1430) umfaßte das Großfürstentum Litauen neben großen Teilen balt. Siedlungsgebietes auch die sw. Hälfte der alten Kiewer Rus (heutiges Weißrußland und Ukraine) und reichte damit von der Ostsee bis zum Schwarzen Meer.

Die o-balt. Stämme, aus denen sich das lit. Volk herausbildete (vgl. dazu 11; 18), wiesen große Siedlungsstetigkeit auf; größere Wanderungsbewegungen sind nicht zu verzeichnen. Die eigtl. Litauer (lit. *lietuviai*) waren wahrscheinlich ein Stamm, der zw. den Flüssen Nemunas (dt. Memel) und Neris bis in das nw. Weißrußland hinein siedelte. Der Gebietsname Litauen, in der slaw. Form *Litua,* wird zum ersten Mal im Zusammenhang mit der Missionsreise und dem Tod Bruns von Querfurt bei den → Prußen 1009 in den Quedlinburger Ann. erwähnt. Der Name dürfte auf einen GewN zurückgehen, den Namen eines Baches, der unweit von Kernavė in den Neris fließt. Später wurde er auf die anderen Stämme und das entstehende Großfürstentum Litauen (lit. *Lietuva*) übertragen.

Nw. von den Litauern, zw. den Flüssen Neris und Nevežis, siedelten die Aukschtaiten (lit. *aukštaičiai*). Der Gebietsname Aukschtaiten (lit. *Aukštaitija*), abgeleitet von *aukštas* (‚hoch') und zur Bezeichnung der Bewohner des Hochlandes gebraucht, kommt erst in Qu. des 14. Jh.s in Gebrauch.

Wiederum nw. von Aukschtaiten, zw. den Flüssen Nevežis und Nemunas, liegt Schemaiten (lit. *Žemaitija*). Seinen Namen, der von *žemas* (‚niedrig') abgeleitet ist, erhielt dieses Gebiet von der Ebene in seinem ö. Teil. Erst in frühgeschichtl. Zeit erfolgte die Einwanderung von Schemaiten (lit. *žemai-*

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