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# King's Rune Stones

## A Catalogue with Some Remarks

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For those who are interested in Danish history the Jelling dynasty from the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century to 1042 has had a special meaning. The successive 6 kings, i.e. Gorm the Old (–958), Harald Bluetooth (–987), Swein Forkbeard (–1014), Harald (–1018), Canute the Great (–1035), and Hardecnut (–1042), transformed a small Danish kingdom into one of the most influential states in Northern Europe in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup> After Gorm and Harald made steadier the foundation of the kingdom the following kings expanded their stage of activity westward to gain booty with their army. In 1013 Swein conquered England to take the crown into his hand and, after his sudden death, his son Canute reconquered the kingdom to be the king of England in 1018 and king of Norway later in 1028. At the time the Jelling dynasty reigned over three kingdoms which surrounded the North Sea.<sup>2</sup>

While it is important to reevaluate the rule of the Jelling dynasty from the viewpoint of European political history, we should remember another important activity by the Danes: raising rune stones in memory of the dead. According to Sawyer's catalogue, the corpus consisting of 200 rune stones is left to the present days as stones themselves or drawings in early modern age in the territory of medieval

1 Concerning the basic information of the Jelling dynasty, see Thorkild Ramskou, *Normannertiden 600–1060*. København 1962, pp. 415–; Aksel E. Christensen, *Vikingetidens Danmark paa oldhistorisk baggrund*. København 1969, pp. 223–241; Peter H. Sawyer, *Da Danmark blev Danmark. 700–1050*. København 1988; As a perspective on richer archaeological data, see Else Roesdahl, “Denmark—a thousand years ago”, Przemyslaw Urbanczyk (ed.), *Europe around the year 1000*. Warszawa 2001, pp. 351–366; Id., “The emergence of Denmark and the reign of Harald Bluetooth”, Stefan Brink (ed.), *The Viking world*. London 2008, pp. 652–664. As an example in a European perspective, see Niels Hybel, *Danmark in Europe 750–1300*. København 2003.

2 Because of the conquest of England, Swein Forkbeard and Canute the Great have been the object of another research historiography. M. K. Lawson, *Cnut: The danes in England in the early eleventh century*. London and New York 1993; Alexander Rumble (ed.), *The reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*. London 1994; Niels Lund, *De hærger og de brænder: Danmark og England i vikingetiden*. 2 ed. København 1997; Niels Lund, “Cnut the Great and his empire”, Brink (ed.), *The Viking world*, pp. 665–667; Timothy Bolton, *The empire of Cnut the Great. Conquest and the consolidation of power in northern Europe in the early eleventh century* (The Northern World 40). Leiden 2009.

Denmark including Bornholm.<sup>3</sup> As I noticed in another paper, raising rune stone—which demands much resource—was a kind of political activity for the contemporary landed magnates to demonstrate their power.<sup>4</sup> The richer magnates could have raised the larger and more impressive stones in more appealing sites to others. As the famous Jelling stones testified, the members of the Jelling dynasty also took part in the social movement of raising rune stones.

The aim of this paper is to survey the rune stones concerned with the Jelling kings as a preliminary stage to elucidate the social function of the memorials in the Jelling dynasty.<sup>5</sup> In the following the corpus is divided into three types of stones, i.e. (1) stones raised by kings, (2) stones raised by king's *familia*, and (3) stones referring to king's name. All texts and figures are taken from the national editions of runic inscriptions, i.e. *Danmarks Runeindskriffter*,<sup>6</sup> *Norges Innskrifter med de yngre Runer*,<sup>7</sup> and *Sveriges Runindskriffter*.<sup>8</sup>

### (1) Stones raised by kings

In this category we can find three rune stones raised by kings themselves: DR41, DR42, and DR3. In addition to them DR217, which is not king's stones but a landed magnate's, will be referred to as comparative example to king's stones.

DR41: Jelling stone 1, Tørrild hered, Vejle amt

Side A: kurnR : kunukR : ʔ : k(ar)þi : kubl : þusi : a(ft) : þurui : kunu

Side B: sina tanmarkaR but

Tr.: King Gorm made this monument in memory of his wife Thyra, Denmark's adornment

3 Birgit Sawyer, *The Viking-Age rune-stones. Custom and commemoration in early medieval Scandinavia*. Oxford 2000, pp. 189–262.

4 Minoru Ozawa, “Rune stones create a political landscape: Towards a methodology for the application of runology to Scandinavian political history in the late Viking Age”, *HERSETEC: Journal of Hermeneutic Study and Education of Textual Configuration* 1–1 (2007), pp. 43–62, & 2–1 (2008), pp. 65–85.

5 Recent books on runology are shedding light on contextual approach to runic materials in order to understand the social function of rune stones. For example, Lydia Klos, *Runensteine in Schweden. Studien zu Aufstellungsort und Funktion* (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 64). Berlin–New York 2009; Marco Bianchi, *Runor som resurs: Vikingatida skriftkultur i Uppland och Södermanland* (Runrön 20). Uppsala 2010. Here we should remember that “*Runes in Context*” was employed as the title of *The Seventh International Symposium on Runes and Runic Inscriptions* held in Oslo in 2010.

6 Lis Jacobsen & Erik Moltke (eds.), *Danmarks Runeindskriffter*. 2 vols. København 1941–1942. The abbreviation is DR.

7 M. Olsen & A. Liestøl (eds.), *Norges Innskrifter med de yngre Runer*. 5 vols. Oslo 1941–1960. The abbreviation is NlyR.

8 Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitetsakademien (ed.), *Sveriges Runinskrifter*. Stockholm 1900–. The abbreviations of each province are: Sm (Vol. 4, R. Kinander (ed.), *Smålands Runinskrifter*, 1935–61), Ög (Vol. 2, Erik Brate (ed.), *Östergötlands Runinskrifter*, 1911–18) and U (Vol. 6–9, Elias Wessén & Sven B. F. Jansson (eds.), *Upplands Runinskrifter*, 1940–).

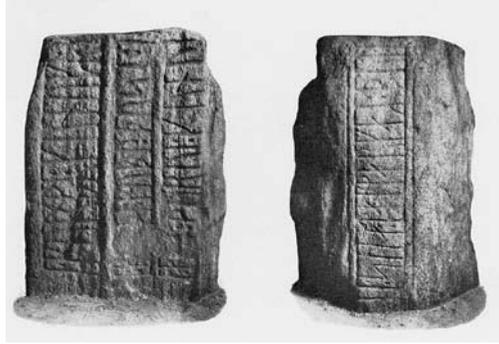


Fig. 1 (DR41)

Comment: DR41 stands on the Jelling church yard in Tørrild herred in Vejle amt in Northern Jutland. It is 139 cm high, and the inscription whose layout style is vertical band reads from side A through the top to side B (Fig. 1).<sup>9</sup> The stone was raised by Gorm, the first king of the Jelling dynasty, in memory of his wife Thyra.<sup>10</sup> It is highly probable that Thyra was a daughter of one of the most powerful landed magnates in contemporary Denmark, and that the marriage between the king and the noble woman resulted in the abrupt command of political power over western Denmark by the Jelling dynasty.

DR42: Jelling stone 2, Tørrild herred, Vejle amt

Side A: **haraltr : kunukR : baþ : kaurua kubl : þausi : aft : kurmfapursin aukaft : þaurui : muþur : sina sa haraltr (: ) ias : saR uan tanmaurk**

Side B: **ala auk nuruiak**

Side C: **auk tani (karþi) kristna**

Tr.: King Harald ordered this monument made in memory of his father Gorm and his mother Thyra; that Harald who won for himself all of Denmark and Norway and made the Danes Christian

Comment: As DR41 does, DR42 also stands at the Jelling church in Tørrild herred in Vejle amt in Northern Jutland.<sup>11</sup> It is 243 cm high and of triangular form. The inscription whose layout style is horizontal band reads from side A (Fig. 2) through side B (Fig. 3) to side C (Fig. 4).<sup>12</sup> In addition, on each of the surface of side B and side

<sup>9</sup> Sawyer, *Viking-Age rune-stones*, p. 200.

<sup>10</sup> DR col. 65–81; Erik Moltke, *Runes and their origin. Denmark and elsewhere*. København 1985, pp. 202–.

<sup>11</sup> There are vast amount of study on the Jelling stone 2 and the Jelling monunet. DR col. 65–81; Moltke, *Runes and their origin*, pp. 202–; K. J. Krogh, “The royal Viking-Age monuments at Jelling in the light of recent archaeological excavations,” *Acta Archaeologica* 53 (1982), pp. 183–216; Egon Wamers, “... ok Dani gærði kristna ... : Der große Jellingstein im Spiegel ottonischer Kunst”, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 34 (2000), pp. 132–158; Jörn Staecker, “Jelling—Mythen und Realität”, D. Kattinger et alii (eds.), *Der Ostseeraum und Kontinentaleuropa 1100–1600. Einflusnahme—Rezeption—Wandel*. Schwerin, 2004, pp. 77–102.

<sup>12</sup> Sawyer, *Viking-Age rune-stones*, p. 200.



Fig. 2 (DR42A)



Fig. 3 (DR42B)



Fig. 4 (DR42C)

C have the pictures of the Jelling beast and the crucified Christ that were decorated with plant ornament. The stone was raised by king Harald Bluetooth in memory of his parents Gorm the Old and Thyra. To my opinion DR42 is self-commemoration stone rather than the stone that aims at commemorising the dead as rune stones normally function.<sup>13</sup> Harald Bluetooth constructed a monument as the memorial site of the Jelling dyasty by connecting DR41 and DR42 with two mounds and wodden church.<sup>14</sup>

DR3: Hedeby stone 3, Hedeby herred, Gottorp amt

Side A: : **suin : kunukR : sati : stin : uftiR : skarþa sin : himþiga : ias : uas : farin : uestr : ian : nu :**

Side B: : **uarþ : tauþr : at : hiþa : bu**

Tr.: King Swein placed the stone in memory of his retainer Skarde who travelled to the west and then died at Hedeby

Comment: Probably DR3 stood in or near Hedeby, an emporium in the Viking Age, in Hedeby herred in Gottorp amt in Southern Jutland.<sup>15</sup> It is 158cm high. The inscription whose layout style is vertical band reads from side A to side B (Fig. 5).<sup>16</sup> The stone was raised by king Swein in memory of his retainer Skarde. Although we can find two kings named Swein, i.e. Swein Forkbeard and Swein Estrithsen, in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, more researchers seem to regard this Swein as the former on the ground that the type of inscription of DR3 belongs to the times around 1000 rather than those in the latter half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>17</sup> That Skarde was one of the retainers that Swein

13 Minoru OZAWA, "In the shadow of the son: contextualizing the Jelling rune stones", Preprint in the webpage of the 7th international symposium on runes and runic inscription "Runes in context", Oslo 2010 (<http://www.khm.uio.no/forskning/publikasjoner/runenews/7th-symp/preprint/ozawa.pdf>).

14 Klaus Randsborg, "King's Jelling: Gorm and Thyra's place—Harald's monument—Svend's cathedral", *Acta Archaeologica* 79 (2008), pp. 1–23.

15 DR col. 9–10.

16 Sawyer, *Viking-Age rune-stones*, p. 200.

17 Aksel E. Christensen, & Erik Moltke, "Hvilken (kong) Svend belejrede Hedeby?", *Historisk Tidsskrift* 11r. 12 (1971), pp. 297–326. Concerning the Hedeby stones, see Michael P. Barnes,



Fig. 5 (DR3)

kept for his own.<sup>18</sup> According to the information given by the inscription, he travelled to the west, i.e. to the British Isles, probably for the ravage with Swein Forkbeard, and after that died in battle at Hedeby. We cannot know in which battle Skarde died at Hedeby, but some sources tell us that battles sometimes broke out near Hedeby probably because the emporium, one of the largest in Northern Europe, had much political and economic importance to the political units which had interests in the North Sea and the Baltic Sea.<sup>19</sup> The text of DR1 should be interpreted in connection with that of DR3.

The following DR217 is not king's rune stone, but here it should be consulted because the commemorated person in this stone was nearly as powerful as or maybe more powerful than the early Jelling kings at the same time.

DR217: Sædinge stone, Fulgse herred, Maribo amt

Side A: þurui : kat : kauruan (:) stain : þansi : xxx (kruk)

Side B: uiar [:] sin : ian [:] han (:) uas xxalra triuux...

Side C: sutrsuia [:] au(k) [:] subrtana kuaul : at [:] ha [x] afnur minumsam

Side D: baistr : hanuas ... sutrsuia [:] [x] uk

Tr.: Thyra got this stone made ... her husband Krog, and he was the most powerful of all the Sær-Swedes and South Danes...<sup>20</sup>

"The Hedeby inscriptions, the short-twig runes, and the question of early Scandinavian dialect markers", Klaus Düwel, Edith Marold & Christiane Zimmermann (eds.), *Von Thorsberg nach Haithabu. Sprache und Schriftlichkeit eines Grenzgebietes im Wandel eines Jahrtausends: Internationales Kolloquium im Wikinger Museum Haithabu vom 29. September – 3. Oktober 1994* (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde 25). Berlin–New York 2001, pp. 101–109; Marie Stocklund, "Die Inschriften von Ribe, Hedeby, Schleswig und die Bedeutung der Schwedenherrschaft", *Von Thorsberg nach Haithabu*, pp. 111–126; Michael Lerch Nielsen, "Swedish influence in Danish runic inscriptions", *Von Thorsberg nach Haithabu*, pp. 127–148.

18 Niels Lund, "The armies of Swein Forkbeard and Cnut: leding or lið?", *Anglo-Saxon England* 15 (1986), pp.105–118.

19 Klaus Brandt, Michael Müller-Wille, & Christian Radtke (eds.), *Haithabu und die frühe Stadtentwicklung im nördlichen Europa* (Schriften des Archäologischen Landesmuseums 8). Neumünster 2002; Herbert Jankuhn, *Haithabu: Ein Handelsplatz der Wikingerzeit*. 8 ed. Neumünster 1986.

20 I only translate into English the text until a word **subrtana** inscribed in Side C. It is difficult to



Fig. 6 (DR217AB)



Fig. 7 (DR217BC)

Comment: DR217 stands at Sædinge in Fuglse herred in Maribo amt in the island of Lolland.<sup>21</sup> It is 174cm high. The inscription whose layout style is vertical band reads from Side A through Side B and Side C to Side D (Fig. 6 & Fig. 7).<sup>22</sup> This stone was raised by Thyra in memory of her husband Krog. This stone is interesting because, though he was not called king, Krog is mentioned as the privileged person with the fame of “the most powerful of all the Sær-Swedes and South Danes”.

## (2) Stones raised by king's *familia*

In this category we can find two stones: DR55 & DR1. To compare with these two stones DR4, which does not belong to the Jelling dynasty, will be referred to.

DR55: Sønder Vissing stone 1, Tyrsting herred, Århus amt

tufa IEt kaurua kubl mistiuis tutiR uft muþur sina harats hins kuþa kurms  
kuna sunaR

Tr.: Tove, Mistivoj's daughter, wife of Harald the good, Gorm's son, had the monument made in memory of her mother

Comment: DR55 stands at Sønder Vissing church in Århus amt in Northern Jutland.<sup>23</sup> It is 245cm high. The inscription whose layout style is vertical band reads on one-side (Fig. 8).<sup>24</sup> This stone was raised by Tove, wife of king Harald Bluetooth, in memory of her mother. Tove was a daughter of Mistivoj, prince of the Obodorites, one of the Slavonic peoples situated possibly around medieval Mecklenburg.<sup>25</sup> There are two

understand what the latter part means.

21 DR col. 264–267.

22 Sawyer, *Viking-Age rune-stones*, p. 202.

23 DR col. 93–95.

24 Sawyer, *Viking-Age rune-stones*, p. 200.

25 As the basic information on the Obodorites, see Bernhard Friedmann, *Untersuchungen zur*



Fig. 8 (DR55)



Fig. 9 (DR1A)



Fig. 10 (DR1B)

points of discussion concerning this stone. First it is noticed that the name of the commemorated person, mother of Tove, was not inscribed on this stone. This fact inclines us to remember the possibility that another stone connected with DR55 was raised by Tove or another. Second Tove was a woman of Slavonic origin who had in common no practice of raising rune stones. Tove might have been willing to belong to the community of the Danes by raising rune stones.

DR1: Hedeby stone 1, Gottorp amt

Side A: þurlf risþi stin þansi himþigi suins eftiR erik filaga sin ias uarþ

Side B: tauþr þa trekiaR satu um haiþa bu ian : han : uas : sturi : matr : tregR  
harþa : kuþr

Tr.: Thorulf raised this stone, Swein's retainer, in memory of Eric, his companion, who died when valiant men besieged Hedeby; and he was a captain, a very good valiant man

Comment: Probably DR1 stood at or near Hedeby as DR3 did.<sup>26</sup> It is 210cm high. The inscription whose layout style is vertical band reads from side A (Fig. 9) to side B (Fig. 10).<sup>27</sup> This stone was raised by Thorulf, a retainer of the king Swein, in memory of Eric, his companion. DR1 and DR3 should be connected in terms of their

*Geschichte des abodritischen Fürstentums bis zum Ende des 10. Jahrhunderts* (Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen, Reihe I: Giessener Abhandlungen zur Agrar- und Wirtschaftsforschung des europäischen Ostens 137). Berlin 1986; Wolfgang H. Fritze, "Probleme der abodritischen Stammes- und Reichsverfassung und ihrer Entwicklung vom Stammesstaat zum Herrschaftsstaat", Helbert Ludat (ed.), *Siedlung und Verfassung der Slawen zwischen Elbe, Saale und Oder*. Giessen 1960, pp. 141–219; Erich Hoffmann, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Obotriten zur Zeit de Nakoniden", E. Hübner, E. Klug & J. Kusber (eds.), *Zwischen Christianisierung und Europäisierung: Beiträge zur Geschichte Osteuropas im Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit. Festschrift für Peter Nitsche zum 65. Geburtstag*. Stuttgart 1988, pp. 17–49.

<sup>26</sup> DR col. 5–9.

<sup>27</sup> Sawyer, *Viking-Age rune-stones*, p. 200.



Fig. 11 (DR4A)



Fig. 12 (DR4B)



Fig. 13 (DR4C)

inscription informing us of the siege of Hedeby.

The following rune stone DR4 was not the Jelling kings' stones. However it would be important to compare the other stones with DR4 because it was raised at nearly the same time as Gorm the Old.

DR4: Hedeby stone 4, Hedeby herred, Gottorp amt

Side A: **asfriþr karþi kubl þausi tutiR uþinkaurs aft siktriuk k**

Top: **unu**

Side B: **k sun sin auk knubu**

Side C: **kurmR raist run(aR)**

Tr.: Asfrith, Odinkars daughter, made this monument in memory of king Sigtryg, her and Gnupa's son. Gorm carved the runes

Comment: DR4 stood at Hedeby in Gottorp amt.<sup>28</sup> It is 124cm high. The inscription whose layout style is vertical band reads from side A through side B to side C (Fig. 11, Fig. 12, & Fig. 13).<sup>29</sup> Gnupa and Sigtryg belonged to the Olavian dynasty situated around Hedeby in the first stage of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, which was different from the Jelling dynasty, i.e. "Hedeby kingdom".<sup>30</sup>

28 DR col. 10–16.

29 Sawyer, *Viking-Age rune-stones*, p. 200.

30 As selected bibliography of Hedeby kingdom, Walther Schlesinger, "Unkonventionelle Gedanken zur Geschichte von Schleswig / Haithabu", *Aus Reichsgeschichte und Nordischer Geschichte: Festschrift für Karl Jordan*. Kiel 1972, pp. 70–91; Niles Lund, "Svenskevældet i Hedeby", *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie 1980* (1982), pp. 114–125; Erik Moltke, "Det svenske Hedebyrige og Danmarks samling", *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie 1985* (1986), pp. 16–28; Egon Wamers, "König im Grenzland. Neue Analyse des Bootkammergrabes von Haidaby", *Acta Archaeologica* 65 (1994), pp. 1–56.

### (3) Stones referring to king's name

In this category we can find 6 stones: Sm42, NIyR184, Ög111, U194, and U344, including a monument consisting of DR295, DR296 and DR297 with a probability.

Sm42: Tuna-Lynnag stone, Ryssby parish, Sunnerbro härrad

tumi×risti : stin : þansi : iftiR asur : brupur×sin×þan :  
aR : uaR : skibari : hrhls : kunuks

Tr.: Tumm raised this stone in memory of his brother Azur who was king Harald's crew

Comment: Now Sm 42 stands at Tuna-Rynnag in Ryssby parish in Sunnerbo härrad in Småland.<sup>31</sup> It is 200cm high. The inscription whose layout style is vertical band reads on the one-side with the mark of cross (Fig. 14).<sup>32</sup> This stone was raised by Tumm in memory of his brother Azur. The inscription tells us that Azur was a crew (skipari) of Harald, probably the Danish king Harald Bluetooth.<sup>33</sup>



Fig. 14 (Sm42)

NIyR184: Evje parish, Galteland, Evje hered, Aust-Agder fylke

A: arn :[stin]: risti : stin : þi[na]: iftir : bior :[s]un : sin :[sa : uar]  
tuþr : iliþi : þ[(a)s : knutrsoti : iklat]

B: inis : ko[þ]

Tr.: Arnstein raised this stone in memory of his son Bjor who died as the retinue when Canute attacked England. God is one

Comment: Probably NIyR184 stood in Evje parish, Galteland, in Aust-Agder fylke in Southern Norway.<sup>34</sup> The reconstruction of the fragments of this stone could suggest that it would be 189cm high. The inscription whose layout style is vertical band reads from side A to side B (Fig. 15).<sup>35</sup> NIyR184 was raised by Arnstein in memory of his son Bjor. Bjor belonged to the retinue of Canute the Great probably when, as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells, the king attacked Wessex in England in 1015. He died in battle with the army of England.



Fig. 15 (N184)

31 R. Kinander (ed.), *Smålands Runinskrifter*, vol. 1. Stockholm 1935, pp.130–135.

32 Sawyer, *Viking-Age rune-stones*, p. 213.

33 Concerning the word *skipari*, see Judith Jesch, *Ships and men in the late Viking Age. The vocabulary of runic inscriptions and skaldic verse*. Woodbridge 2001, pp. 184–186.

34 M. Olsen & A. Liestøl (eds.), *Norges Innskrifter med de yngre Runer*, vol. 2. Oslo 1954, pp. 109–111.

35 Sawyer, *Viking-Age rune-stones*, p. 207.



Fig. 16 (Og111)

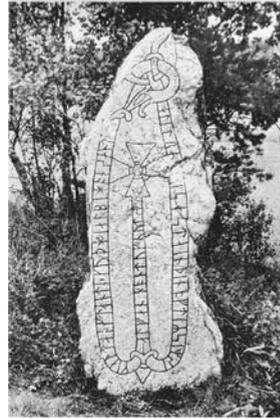


Fig. 17 (U194)

Ög111: Land church stone, Landeryd, Hanekind härad, Östergötland län  
**uirikR : resti : stan : eftiR : þialfa : bruþur : sin : trak : þan : aR uaR miR : knuti**

Tr.: Væring raised the stone in memory of his brother Sjalfi, the valiant man who was with Canute

Comment: Probably Ög111 stood at or near Land church in Hanekind parish in Östergötland.<sup>36</sup> It is 260cm high. The inscription whose layout style is single serpent is one-sided with the drawing of a mask (Fig. 16).<sup>37</sup> This stone was raised by Væring in memory of his brother Sjalfi. He was with Canute the Great probably during the process of conquering of England.

U194: Väsby, Vallentuna härad, Uppland län  
**alit raisa stain þinoftiR sik sialfan hontuknuts kialt anklanti kuþ hialbi hons ant**

Tr.: Alli had this stone raised in memory of himself. He took Canute's payment in England. May God help his soul

Comment: U194 stands at Väsby in Vallentuna härad in Uppland.<sup>38</sup> It is 210 cm high. The inscription whose layout style is single serpent is one-sided with the drawing of the cross (Fig. 17).<sup>39</sup> This stone was raised by Alli in memory of himself, which means that DR194 functioned as a self-commemoration stone. This man obtained money, i.e. danegeld, from Canute the Great probably in 1018.<sup>40</sup>

36 Erik Brate (ed.), *Östergötlands Runinskrifter*, vol. 2. 1911–18, pp. 109–111.

37 Sawyer, *Viking-Age rune-stones*, p. 230.

38 Elias Wessén & Sven B. F. Jansson (eds.), *Upplands Runinskrifter*, vol. 1–2. Stockholm 1940–43, pp. 294–296.

39 Sawyer, *Viking-Age rune-stones*, p. 240.

40 Concerning the danegeld, see M. K. Lawson, "The collection of danegeld and heregeld in the



Fig. 18 (U343)



Fig. 19 (U344)

U343: Yttergårde, Orkesta parish, Seminghudra härad, Uppland  
**karsi uk ... -rn þaiR litu raisa stai- þino aftiR ulf faþur sin kuþ hialb hons ...  
 auk kuþ muþi**

Tr.: Karsi and ... they had this stone raised in memory of their father Ulf. May God help his ... and God's mother

U344: Yttergårde, Orkesta parish, Seminghudra härad, Uppland  
**in ulfr hafir onklati • þru kialtakat þit uas fursta þis tusti kalt • þa[kalt] þurkil • þa  
 kalt knutr**

Tr.: And Ulf has taken three payments in England. That was the first that Tosti paid. Then Thorkell paid. Then Canute paid

Comment: U343 and U344, both of which originally stood at Yttergårde in Seminghudra härad in Uppland, are connected stones in terms of their inscriptions.<sup>41</sup> The former is 250cm high and its inscription whose layout style is two serpents reads on the one-side (Fig. 18) while the latter is 170cm and the inscription on single serpent also reads on the one-side (Fig. 19).<sup>42</sup> These stones were raised by Karsi and other(s) in memory of their father Ulf. This Ulf took three payments (probably danegeld) in England. We can find the names of these famous leaders in each payment, i.e. Tosti, Thorkel and Canute the Great.

There can be found no rune stones with the name of the Jelling kings except the aforesaid stones. However several stones tell us without referring to any name of the kings that Scandinavians traveled to the British Isles for gaining booty.<sup>43</sup> Probably

reigns of Æthelred II and Cnut", *English Historical Review* 99 (1984), pp. 721–738.

41 Elias Wessén & Sven B. F. Jansson (eds.), *Upplands Runinskrifter*, vol. 2–1. Stockholm 1943, pp. 79–86. Now U343 was lost, but the drawing by Peringskiöld remains.

42 Sawyer, *Viking-Age rune-stones*, p. 243.

43 Jesch, *Ships and men in the late Viking Age*, pp. 70–80.



Fig. 20 (U240)



Fig. 21 (U241)

some of them were with the Jelling kings, Swein Forkbeard and Canute the Great. The following U241 is a good example.

U240: Lingsberg, Vallentuna härad, Uppland län

**tan auk huskari auk suain auk hulmfrþr þaus miþkin litu rita stin þino aftiR  
halftan faþur þaiRa tans auk humfriþr at buanta sin**

Tr.: Dan and Huskarl and Swein and Holmfrith, the mother and the sons, had this stone raised in memory of Halfdan, the father of Dan and his brothers; and Holmfrith in memory of her husband

U241: Lingsberg, Vallentuna härad, Uppland län

**n tan auk huskari auk sua(i)n l(i)tu rita stin aftiR ulfrik faþurfaþur sino hon  
hafþi onklanti tuh kialtakit kuþ hialbi þiRa kiþka salukuþs muþ(i)**

Tr.: And Dan and Huskarl and Swein had the stone raised in memory of Ulfrik, their grandfather. He had taken two payments in England. May God and God's mother help the souls of the father and son

Comment: U240 and U241, both of which stand at Lingsberg in Vallentuna härad in Uppland, are connected stones in terms of their inscriptions.<sup>44</sup> The former stone is 260cm high and its inscription belongs to single serpent with the mark of cross (Fig. 20) while the latter is 176cm high and the inscription whose style is 8-shaped serpent with cross (Fig. 21).<sup>45</sup> DR240 was raised by Holmfrith and her sons Dan, Huskarl and Swein in memory of the Halfdan who was husband for Holmfrith and father for three men. DR241 was raised by the same sons in memory of their grandfather Ulfrik. DR241 tells us that this Ulfrik took two payments in England.

44 Elias Wessén & Sven B. F. Jansson (eds.), *Upplands Runinskrifter*, vol. 1–2, 1940–43, pp. 399–404.

45 Sawyer, *Viking-Age rune-stones*, p. 242.



Fig. 22 (DR295A)



Fig. 23 (DR295B)



Fig. 24 (DR296)



Fig. 25 (DR297)

Who paid to him is unknown, but there is a probability that it was the danegeld by Swein or Canute.

DR295: Hällestad stone 1, Torna härad, Malmöhus län

Side A: **askil : sati : stin : þansi : ift [iR] : tuka : jurms : sun : saR : hulan : trutin : saR : flu : aigi : at : ub : salum**

Side B: **satu : trikaR : iftiR : sin : bruþr stin : a : biarki : stuþan : runum : þiR :**

Side C: **(kurms : tuka) : kiku : (nist) [iR]**

Tr.: Askell placed this stone in memory of Toki Gorm's son, to him a faithful lord. He did not flee at Uppsala. Valiant men placed in memory of their brother the stone on the hill, steadied by runes. They went closest to Gorm's Toki

DR296: Hällestad stone 2, Torna härad, Malmöhus län

**: askautr : ristþi : stin : þansi (:) (:?) (i)ftiR : airu : bruþur : sin : ian : saR : uas : him : þiki : tuka : nu : -: skal : stanta : stin : a : biarki :**

Tr.: Asgaut raised this stone in memory of his brother Erra. And he was Toki's retainer. Now the stone will stand on the hill

DR297: Hällestad stone 3, Torna härad., Malmöhus län

**: asbiurn : him : þaki : tuka : sati : stin : þasi : iftiR : tuka : bruþur : sin :**

Tr.: Asbjorn, Toki's retainer, placed this stone in memory of his brother Toki

Comment: Probably each of DR295, DR296 and DR297 stood at or near Hällestad church in Malmöhus län in Scania (now used as a part of the church material).<sup>46</sup> They are 133cm, 122cm and 138cm high. The inscription of DR295 whose style is vertical band reads from side A through side B to side C (Fig. 22 & 23), and DR296 with

46 DR col. 347–350.

vertical band (Fig. 24) and DR297 with arch band (Fig. 25) have one side.<sup>47</sup> DR295 was raised by Askel in memory of Toke Gormsen, his lord. DR296 by Asgaut in memory of Erra, his brother and Toki's retainer, and DR297 by Asbjorn, Toki's retainer, in memory of Toki, his brother. These three stones are connected by way of the name of Toki Gormsen. Here who Toki actually was is an important problem. According to Timothy Bolton, there is a possibility that this Toki Gormsen is a son of Gorm the Old, the founder of the Jelling dynasty.<sup>48</sup> Although no traces of the name Toki as a son of Gorm can be found in any written sources, the facts that Toki was called a lord (*drottin*), and that he took part in the battle of Uppsala (probably the battle in the field of Fyrris near Uppsala between Eric the Victorious and his nephew Bjorn in 985), and that Harald Bluetooth, another son of Gorm, helped Bjorn at the battle suggest that Toki was one of Gorm's sons.

47 Sawyer, *Viking-Age rune-stones*, p. 204.

48 Bolton, *The empire of Cnut the Great*, pp. 203–.