The use of carved stone monuments in Scandinavia and the Insular area
First workshop of the “International Research Network Runes, Monuments and Memorial Carvings”, Uppsala 1-2 September 2011

The newly established network “Runes, Monuments and Memorial Carvings” has an interdisciplinary approach. For this first workshop we are bringing together PhD students and early career researchers working on different aspects of Viking Age and early medieval stone monuments in the Scandinavian and Insular areas, e.g. art-historical, historical, linguistic, religious, and archaeological, to discuss various aspects of the use of these carved memorials, grouped under four main themes:

Production and Public
Text and Images
Archaeological Context
Social Function

Format
There will be two keynote lectures and four discussion sessions with two to three presentations per session, followed by discussions. We would like to keep the workshop informal, with a lot of time for discussion. Some presentations will be papers, while other participants will for instance present a work in progress or an idea as discussion starter. Two sessions on Friday afternoon are reserved for a general discussion, coming back to the main themes.

Preparation
The discussion topics and abstracts or outlines of the presentations can be found on this website. This will allow everyone to think about them beforehand in light of their own research in preparation for the discussions.

Program

Wednesday August 31

Arrival in Uppsala
Accommodation has been reserved in Hotell Uppsala Centralstation, www.hotellcentralstation.se

Thursday September 1

Room 16-2041, Stora seminarierummet, Department of Scandinavian Languages, English Park
Campus Centre for the Humanities, Uppsala University.

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<td>9.30-10.30</td>
<td><strong>Keynote lecture</strong> by Lesley Abrams: <em>Stone Sculpture, Identity, and Assimilation in the Scandinavian Diaspora</em></td>
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<td>13.50-15.20</td>
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<td>16.40-17.20</td>
<td>Gaby Waxenberger and Kerstin Kazzazi: <em>Academy Project &quot;The Old English runic corpus&quot; and Old English Runic Stone Monuments in England</em></td>
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**Friday September 2**

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<td>9.30-10.40</td>
<td><strong>Session 3: Archaeological context</strong>&lt;br&gt;Zanette Tzigaridas Glorstad: <em>Memorial and monument. The excavation of the rune stone at Hoggarvik, Mandal, Vest-Agder</em>&lt;br&gt;Gordon Noble &amp; Meggen Gondek: <em>The Fortress of the Men of Stone: recent excavation at the symbol stone site of Rhynie, Northeast Scotland</em></td>
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<td>11.00-12.30</td>
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<td>12.30-14.00</td>
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<td>14.00-15.00</td>
<td><strong>General discussion: The use of stone monuments</strong></td>
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15.00-15.15  Coffee
15.15-16.15  General discussion: The use of stone monuments
16.15-16.45  Funding presentation by Tineke Looijenga: International training networks (ITN)
Discussion of the future of the Network

19.00  Dinner at Restaurant Il Forno a Legna

Abstracts

Keynote lecture day 1:
Lesley Abrams: Stone Sculpture, Identity, and Assimilation in the Scandinavian Diaspora
A common factor in much current scholarship on the Viking Age is the stress on regional variety and local particularity, whether in burial customs, economic patterns, political identities, religious ritual, or dress. The extent to which there was a shared Scandinavian culture alongside these local realities and a transnational identity that linked the homelands and the overseas settlements is a contentious and difficult issue. In this paper I will consider what stone sculpture might contribute to this question: how ‘shared’ and how local was its imagery, form, or ornament? I will then look at the overseas settlements, where sculpture has provided important evidence of cultural interplay and has consequently been drawn into discussion of the process of assimilation. Depending on their location, pagan Scandinavians were absorbed into Christian society in different ways, and stone sculpture reflects the nature – and striking variety – of the interaction between the two cultures. In the Isle of Man and northern England, for example, crosses, grave-slabs, and other stone monuments have for a long time served to demonstrate the contribution made to indigenous conventions by outsiders who brought their own stories, tastes, and traditions of memorialisation with them. In my paper I will extend this perspective to the Scandinavian settlements in other parts of the viking world – Ireland, Scotland, and Normandy– where the immigrants encountered an active tradition of Christian stone monuments. This comparison brings into focus the contrasting experience of Scandinavians in their overseas settlements and the diverse dynamics of the assimilation process.

Session 1: Production and Public
Lilla Kopár: On the Production of Carved Stone Monuments: Methods, Makers, and Patrons
The production of carved stone monuments was a major undertaking that necessitated financial resources, the availability of suitable materials and skilled craftsmen, as well as a certain amount of social standing and influence on the part of the patron or patrons. The present paper explores the process of sculptural production from a technical as well as social point of view. I propose to offer an overview paper followed by an open discussion of the set of questions outlined below. My primary focus will be on insular monuments and the methods and circumstances of their
production, but I hope that other participants will contribute further examples from Scandinavia and the North Sea region.

In my paper I will first identify the main steps of production from the design, construction, and carving of a stone monument to its painting, inscriptions, and other embellishments (and potential liturgical decorations), paying special attention to the variety of monument types across the British Isles. After identifying the steps of production, I will turn to the people involved in the process: the carvers or stonemasons and other craftsmen, as well as the patrons. While in most cases we have very limited information about the makers of carved stones and their methods and practices, a handful of textual sources (including Old Irish legal documents) and some of the insular monuments themselves do offer some evidence (albeit limited) for the social and legal standing of craftsmen and the organization of their work. The question of organization will necessitate a brief discussion of workshops and the interrelation of stone monuments with other media (especially wood). Lastly, I will turn to the role and identity of the patrons and the question of ecclesiastical versus secular patronage in an insular context.

Suggestions for discussion topics:
• What types of evidence (material and documentary) are available for the process of producing stone monuments and the skills and status of the people involved in the production?
• Regional and chronological differences in the production of stone monuments. (Compare, for example, Ireland, Pictland, England, Sweden; early Anglo-Saxon vs. Viking-age sculpture.)
• The categorization of stone monuments by process of production (in contrast or comparison with, for example, function) and its relation to questions of patronage. (E.g., architectural sculpture; large constructed free-standing crosses; funerary slabs and hogbacks; carvings on natural stone.)
• What (and how much) can the choice of imagery/decoration and the location of a monument tell us about its patronage?
• What was the role of women in the production of commemorative and funerary sculpture?

Laila Kitzler Åhfeldt: **Rune stones and Eskilstuna cists in Västergötland: an example of changed mobility patterns?**

In this paper, the relation between rune stones and early Christian grave monuments (Eskilstuna cists) in Västergötland are discussed. The underlying hypothesis is that carving technique is a kind of material culture reflecting the rune carvers’ work, mobility pattern, contacts and relationships. Rune stones and grave monuments have been analyzed by 3D-scanning and groove analysis according to a method earlier developed at the Archaeological Research Laboratory at Stockholm University. The study includes grave monuments at three main sites, namely Husaby, Häggesled and Kållands Råda, and rune stones in an investigation area ranging from Husaby to Sparlösa.

Results show that all rune stones have been carved in a relatively similar way, indicating a dominating norm for the whole investigation area. In contrast to this, the Eskilstuna cists show great variation. The carving technique is clearly differentiated between the sites Husaby, Häggesled and Kållands Råda, which points at the possibility that the carver groups kept to their own respective sites and had very little exchange with each other.
One possible explanation is that the rune stone carvers adhered to a common convention and also had some exchange with each other. The carvers of the grave monuments, on the contrary, appear to have had little interaction with each other and they seem to have worked within a strictly local area. Thus, the evidence would seem to indicate a structural difference in the organization of rune carving with respect to the production of rune stones and grave monuments, at least in this area.

There are several feasible explanations for this difference. One alternative is that there occurred conflicts between families or clans, interrupting contacts between carvers. Another explanation might be that a larger number of runographers became available, making it superfluous to maintain contacts over large distances. The latter might also be interpreted in terms of a more widely spread distribution of runic literacy by the first half of the 1000s. Finally, the change in carving organization may be an effect of the general restructuring of society due to the increasing influence of Christianity. The change in the carvers’ mobility patterns could be yet another indication of how the wide social networks of the Viking Age become more territorialized in the Middle Ages.

Iris Crouwers: **Norwegian cross monuments – regions and varieties**

The circa 150 stone cross monuments documented in Norway are distributed unevenly over the country and vary greatly in type, size and the cross-shapes they display. In this paper I will explore the regional and local differences of these monuments by assessing their typological features, in particular the form of the cross itself. I would like to focus on the role of the craftsmen and the examples on which they might have based their designs. Comparing the Norwegian stone cross monuments with their counterparts elsewhere might shed light on what European regions are most likely to have influenced the Norwegian cross tradition(s). The question arises, however, how significant similarities are when the overall cross-shapes are rather plain, as is the case with the majority of the Norwegian monuments, and occur in many different regions over long periods of time. In addition, it is important to bear in mind that the craftsmen may not only have produced cross monuments, but also other stonework, for example architectural sculpture or baptismal fonts. By comparing the crosses with other stone objects we might discover more about the organization of their production and distribution. Finally, it should be taken into consideration that the appearance of the Norwegian monuments might have been influenced by smaller portable crosses, for instance processional crosses and cross pendants. Parallels in other media will be discussed, as well as whether certain features of the stone monuments could be explained by the possibility that prototypes in other media were translated into stone.

**Session 2a: Text and Images**

Marco Bianchi: **Finding Runic Model Readers**

Historical readers are notoriously difficult to grasp. This is particularly true for runestones, with their short and stereotypically formulated inscriptions and almost complete lack of metatext about reading and readers. In a situation like that, a fruitful way of getting a glimpse of historical readers is by investigating the model readers of the textual artefacts.

Every text contains traces of its context. Texts are written in certain communicational
settings which they refer to in several explicit and implicit ways. One such contextual trace is the *model reader*, sometimes also referred to as the *implicit reader*. A model reader can be described as a reading path or a set of inherent competences in a text. More specifically, the model reader knows everything an empirical reader has to know and does everything an empirical reader has to do in order for the text to be understood the way the author wants it to.

Viking Age runestones are often placed at public locations, making a large amount of different people their potential readers. Some of those readers were probably illiterate, while others were able to interpret the runes and give them linguistic meaning. In my paper, I intend to concentrate on the latter by discussing the model readers of some runestone monuments. My main focus will lie on presuppositions and implicit formulations in runic inscriptions. What kind of knowledge are the readers supposed to have and what seems to be important for the author to point out explicitly?

Maja Bäckvall: **Multiple inscription monuments**
Some runic monuments consist of more than one inscription, either spread out over two or more stones or carved on more than one side of a stone. Perhaps the most famous of these is the Jarlabanki monument in Täby, Uppland, which makes use of a number of uninscribed stones as well as several inscribed ones, but there are many others. In some cases, like Jarlabanki's, all the inscriptions contain the same basic information, while in others, the people mentioned differ between inscriptions. A third possible category are those multiple inscription monuments where, semantically speaking, one coherent text runs over more than one rune stone. In my paper, I would like to discuss the function of multiple inscription monuments, giving a preliminary overview of their number and where they can be found, as well as looking at the distribution of the inscriptions on the monument and what demands they make on their audience.

Magnus Källström: **The runic Swedish noun mærki and its denotations in time and space**
In the Viking Age runic inscriptions the designation for the monument varies. In most cases the simple word *stæinn* ‘stone’ is chosen, but there are also other terms as e.g. *kumbl* or *mærki*. My paper is devoted to the latter word, which is attested in about hundred Swedish runic inscriptions, all carved in stone. The monument marker *mærki* has previously been discussed from different perspectives by scholars as e.g. Else Ebel (1963, 99–101), Rune Palm (1992, 184–188) and Lydia Klos (2007, 221–226).

As pointed out in previous studies, the occurrences of *mærki* is chiefly restricted to the regions around the lake Mälaren (Uppland, Södermanland and Västmanland), but there are also some examples in Närke, Hälsingland and Gotland. Outside this area, the word seems to be unknown in Viking Age memorial inscriptions. In Denmark and Southern Sweden there is a corresponding monument marker *kum(b)l*, which in many cases is used in the same way and to a great extent seems to be synonymous with *mærki*.

In the runic literature *mærki* is often translated as ‘memorial’ (Swedish *minnesmärke*) and it can denote erected stones as well as horizontal slabs. It is also used in carvings cut in boulders or bed rocks. The word occurs in several inscriptions in plural (*mærki pessi* and the like) and it is disputed why this form has been chosen. Some have proposed that the plural might have
referred to the monument as a whole, while others have thought of a monument consisting of several parts. It has also been suggested that a plural *mærki* in some instances might allude to the runic characters in the inscription.

The aim of my paper is to analyze the distribution of the monument marker *mærki* in time and space in order to see if there are any undiscovered patterns in the use of this term. Some central questions are: When and where was it first established in the runic corpus? Are there any changes in the adoption of this term through time? Are the records of *mærki* connected to certain rune carvers or groups of rune stones? Is it possible to offer an unambiguous explanation for the plural forms that often occur in the inscriptions?

**References**

Palm, Rune, 1992: *Runor och regionalitet. Studier av variation i de nordiska runinskrifterna*. Uppsala. (Runrön 7.)

**Session 2b: Text and Images**

Michaela Helmbrecht: **The presence of the invisible: Anthropomorphic images on Scandinavian stone monuments**

My paper focuses on anthropomorphic images on Vendel Period and Viking Age stone monuments in Scandinavia. I argue that the images and what was represented could in some cases have a relationship of mutual influence or even partial identity with each other: a god or other supernatural being was not merely depicted, but was thought to be present in his or her image on the stone. Thus, the images possessed some kind of ”effective power” or agency (German: *Wirkmächtigkeit*). This perspective may even shed new light on the meaning of runic inscriptions.

Martin Goldberg: **Pictish adventus**

Despite a lack of chronological control, Pictish cross-slabs (roughly 7th-9th cent AD) with their distinctive mix of religious and secular iconography, appear to define the early and synchronized development of Church and State apparatus (Driscoll 1992, 19). This paper will discuss the social and ideological implications of the distinctive forms of *adventus* imagery that were developed for display on many of the cross-slabs. *Adventus* ceremonial, inherited from the Roman imperial past, structured the reception of bishops, nobles, kings and even saint’s relics at particular places by subject communities throughout medieval Europe. Comparison can be made with other European examples such as the Gottland stones (Lundin 2007). The recognition of the *adventus* inspiration for the rider and hunt imagery on Pictish cross-slabs means the interpretative leap from iconography to performance can be made, and provides further insights into the places, roles and functions the monuments commemorate.


Gaby Waxenberger and Kerstin Kazzazi: Academy Project "The Old English runic corpus" and Old English Runic Stone Monuments in England

The presentation will introduce the project "Runische Schriftlichkeit in den germanischen Sprachen – Runic writing in the Germanic languages (RunES)", a long-term project (2010-2025), funded by the Union of the German Academies of Sciences and based at the Academy of Sciences in Göttingen. The scientific team consists of research centres at the universities of Kiel, Göttingen, Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, and Munich.

The project deals with the runic script as a writing system within its historico-cultural context in a comprehensive way, focusing in particular on phonemic, graphematic and text-pragmatic aspects. Apart from editorial work, research on runic monuments has hitherto concentrated predominantly on understanding the text of the individual inscriptions and their historico-cultural interpretation. The runes as a writing system (respectively a group of writing systems) with different socio-cultural functions have rarely been in focus. Our project, in contrast, explicitly regards the runic script as a system evolved in various ways over the centuries, fulfilling various communicative functions within the different historical societies it was used in. It is thus the aim of the project to describe and analyse runic writing in a comprehensive way, transcending the boundaries of the three groups of runic writing systems (Older futhark, Younger futhark and Anglo-Frisian fuþorc) traditionally adhered to in runological research and subjecting all three systems to uniform methods of investigation. There will be three modules: Module I Editorial Basics; Module II Runic Graphematics, Module III Runic Pragmatics and Text Grammar. Work in the first module is now concentrating on the editions as well as on theoretical and methodological preparation for the two thematic modules II and III.

The research centre Eichstätt-Munich focuses on the Old English (OE) and Frisian runic inscriptions. Currently, a complete edition of the Old English inscription is being prepared. The corpus of the Old English inscriptions has lately seen some recent important additions in the form of new finds amongst which the Baconsthorpe page-holder is the most important, as it has a new sign.

The inscriptions will be divided into two sub-corpora (Pre-OE and OE) on runological/linguistic grounds: Whereas the older inscriptions are written in the Older futhark, the inscriptions after ca. 600 bear witness to certain sound changes (e.g., i-umlaut), leading to what is termed the Anglo-Frisian fuþorc.

The design of the individual editorial articles for each inscription will be demonstrated with the example of the text on the Watchfield Purse Mount (corpus of the pre-OE inscriptions) and the text on the Caistor-by-Norwich Brooch (the earliest inscription of the OE corpus). The first inscription forms part of the Pre-OE corpus, as it does not exhibit any signs of the developments which are diagnostic for the later inscriptions, evidenced for the first time in the second inscription.

The corpus of Old English runic objects is relatively small (ca. 100 objects) and, additionally, falls into two corpora: a very small pre-OE corpus of 10 inscriptions (ca. AD 400-600) and an Old English corpus (after ca. AD 650). It is, however, surprising that 33 objects in the OE corpus proper are stones including stone crosses, grave slabs, memorial stones and others.

Not only will we look at the purpose of these stones but also at the categories of their inscriptions. These texts range from one-name inscriptions to sophisticated alliterative lines.
Furthermore, the inscriptions are not always exclusively runic but also include Roman letters and, in one case, also twig-runes were added. The analysis of how images/ornaments and texts are placed on the object may lead to new insights as well as the answer to the question of where and when stone-crosses were carved and runic memorial stones set up.

Understanding runic stone monuments in Anglo-Saxon England should not stop at analyzing the facts listed above; rather, such an analysis is only the prerequisite for defining clusters and understanding underlying patterns which, in turn, may contribute to our understanding of literacy in a larger context.

Keynote discussion day 2
Henrik Williams

Session 3: archaeological context
Zanette Tzigaridas Glørstad: Memorial and monument. The excavation of the rune stone at Hogganvik, Mandal, Vest-Agder
This paper deals with the excavation of a rune stone site in Norway. Only one similar excavation has previously been conducted in Norway, in 1872. However, in the autumn 2009 a rune stone from the late Roman period/ Migration period was discovered on a plateau on a hillside at Hogganvik. The following excavation revealed the rune stone’s foundation, a cobbled stone structure and a 6 meter long string of flat slabs. The excavation furthermore showed that the entire plateau had been artificially constructed over a natural ledge, where the string of slabs marked the border between natural and artificial terrain. From the same hill a female burial dating from the early Roman age has previously been excavated, and observations strongly indicate that there has originally been another burial cairn ca. 10 meters behind the rune stone. This suggests that the Hogganvik-stone was not raised as a single monument, but that the hill represented a burial site with older burials. The position of the rune stone gives the impression that it was placed almost like a gateway into the burial site. It is suggested that the word naboR that appears on the rune stone could refer to the artificial plateau on the hillside, as possible translations are “elevation”/ “protruding rock”/ “cliff ledge”. The Hogganvik rune-stone suggests that its significance as monument and meaning was created in an interplay between text, memories and landscape.

Gordon Noble & Meggen Gondek: The Fortress of the Men of Stone: recent excavation at the symbol stone site of Rhynie, Northeast Scotland
Amongst the corpus of early medieval carved stones of Scotland, there are few monuments that are still thought to be in their original locations. The Rhynie Environ Archaeological Project (REAP) has recently completed an evaluation of the immediate context of The Craw Stane, the first modern research excavation of an in situ Pictish Class I symbol stone in Scotland. Amongst the eight carved stones from Rhynie are also two solitary carved warriors; one of these was found metres away from the Craw Stane. There are only a handful of stones in the Scottish corpus that depict large solitary human figures, normally armed men. The archaeological contexts of the stones that make up this distinctive group of monuments have not been explored.
REAP's excavations suggest that several of the stones from Rhynie were set up either in or as part of a high status ring fort. Finds included very rare imported 6th century amphorae from the southern Mediterranean, imported glass and evidence for metalworking. The structural detail of this high status site is very well preserved and it includes a monumental palisade around the site, which may have enclosed a number of timber buildings and inner enclosures. With this new evidence, and the stones’ potential connection to a high status Pictish settlement, it is time to reconsider the Carved Men of Rhynie and other lone figure monuments and their landscapes. This paper investigates this distinctive group of monuments at Rhynie concentrating on the relationships between image, monument, location and landscape with comparison to these other enigmatic carved stones in Scotland.

Session 4: social function
Lisbeth Imer: Early Christian rune stones in Denmark
Currently, I am working on a project concerning the rune stone tradition in Denmark with special emphasis on the Jelling stones. In Denmark, the rune stone tradition probably started in the 8th century and lasted for almost 400 years. Having placed the stone monuments in chronological periods, I would like to focus on the rune stones from the 10th and early 11th century. The stone monuments from this period are divided into two chronological groups on either side of c. 960/70, or the time of the conversion in Denmark.

In the first half of the 10th century, the number of erected rune stones is very small (Map 1). The distribution is limited to the western part of Denmark, indicating the political importance of this particular area in connection with the attempts of gathering the Danish kingdom in the run of the 10th century. The red dots on Fyn and Sjælland can all be ascribed to the rune carver Sote, who worked for the magnate’s wife Ragnhild, erecting the Glavendrup and Tryggevælde monuments.

![Map 1. The distribution of rune stones in Denmark c. 900-960/70. Red dots are securely dated monuments. Pink dots insecurely dated monuments.](image1)

![Map 2. The distribution of rune stones in Denmark c. 960/70-1020. Red dots are securely dated monuments. Pink dots are insecurely dated monuments.](image2)

Just after the time of the conversion and the erecting of Harald’s runic monument in Jelling, there was a boom in the erecting of rune stones in Denmark (Map 2). With the adoption of Christianity, the magnates’ possibility of manifesting and maintaining old boundaries by lavish and costly funerals at the existing grave fields vanished, and therefore the custom of
erecting runestones became popular. Erecting runestones was an old and distinguished custom, yet flexible; the runestones could be placed wherever necessary, and the textual content could be adapted to the new Christian ideology.

At the workshop, I would like to discuss the chronological and regional setting of the runestones, as it changes over time. What are the reasons for this chronological development, and what methods do we need to use in order to explain it?

Lydia Carstens (Klos): Remembrance through monuments – Runestones and the cultural conscience
There is no doubt about runestones to be monuments of remembrance. They were made to be seen, they were erected to last and because of the weight and height intended not to be moved. Placed on a carefully chosen spot and interacting with the surrounding landscape they spread their message, which was carved into the stone as a well-known formula with some personal remarks and enhancements. This was about people and their achievements, but also about those, who raised the stones.
Monuments are often raised in a desperate need for identity and cohesion in times of change. The main topic of my paper will be the discussion of the following questions:
- Which cultural changes took place, which influenced and even altered the runestone fashion in Sweden?
- Which conditions made such a great number of monuments needed?
- Are there differences in time or do the runestones in the Older Futhark react on the same type of events as the runestones in the younger futharks do?

Kristel Zilmer: Tradition and Individual Variation in Swedish Rune Stone Inscriptions
The point of departure for this paper is a broad communicative approach to runestones. Characterizing runes as artefacts of verbal, visual and material culture, it will be discussed to which extent these monuments reveal a discourse between tradition and individual variation. Special attention will be given to the level of verbal formulations and the ways of highlighting various agents involved in the making of runestones and the strategies of marking their presence in this process.
As monuments that were raised after deceased family members, runestones reflect a level of private engagement and attest individual approaches to the process of producing a commemorative stone monument. At the same time, they emerge as collective monuments with extended public functions, also shaped by the overarching conventions of the memorial culture in Scandinavia.

General discussion: The use of stone monuments

Funding presentation by Tineke Looijenga: International training networks (ITN) across the EU funded by the Marie Curie programme
This is a fitting programme for young researchers. There is a Call open in July, closing January 2012. The funding will support selected networks of organisations from different countries engaged in research training. The networks will be built on a joint research programme.
Discussion of the future of the Network

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We are grateful for the financial support we have received for this project from:

Nordisk Kulturfond

LETTERSTEDTSKA FÖRENINGEN

Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala