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## Homeland :: hostland – An 11<sup>th</sup> century micro geography southeast of Arlanda Airport.

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**ABSTRACT.**

Herschend, Frands. Homeland :: hostland – An 11<sup>th</sup> century micro geography southeast of Arlanda Airport.

This case study is a dolly shot that eventually stops and zooms in on the small settlement area defined by the adjacent settlements Torsholma and Rolsta in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It starts with an overview of the larger string of settlements of which Torsholma-Rolsta represents the eastern end. Secondly, it discusses the entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (E-version) for the year 1025 and this analysis corroborates Bo Gräslund's 1986 identification of Helgå in Frösunda as the sacred river referred to in medieval sources on the war between Olav den helige (Saint Olaf), Anund Jakob and Knut den store (Canute the Great). However, in this micro-geography case study, only the possible bridgehead is in focus. The relation between Knut's army and the local families is understood to reflect an interaction between a homeland and a hostland. Originally, Frösunda and Orkesta made up the homeland. Finally, the post-1025 runic inscriptions related to this interaction are seen as fragments of a rhetorical historiography of a near past.

**KEYWORDS:** Human geography; micro geography; runic inscriptions; Helgå; Knut den store and 1025; the conceptual Homeland :: hostland interaction.

# Homeland :: hostland – an 11<sup>th</sup> century micro geography east of Arlanda Airport

## A discursive approach

Owing to general patterns among 11<sup>th</sup> century runic inscriptions pointed out in the beginning of the 1990s, a micro-geographical approach in the Lake Mälaren region has lent itself to case studies in the sociology of the 11<sup>th</sup> and early 12<sup>th</sup> century (e.g. Zachrisson 1998:186-94; Andrén 2000; Ljung 2004; Herschend 2017A, and Eriksen 2019:212-13 on aspects of Viking Age sociology). From the late 10<sup>th</sup> to the early 12<sup>th</sup> century, runic monuments changed when it comes to chronological styles, as discussed by Gräslund (1991; 1992; 1998 & Lager 2002), as did text, design, sponsors, cavers, etc. as well as their situation in the landscape (e.g. Ljung 2016:171-80).

In this century-long perspective, even prayer and bridge stones, i.e. thematic expressions with a link to Christianity, form series of large-scale patterns of change (see e.g. Herschend 1994:29-48; Nordberg & Andersson 2009). In the Mälaren region, these patterns are often like a wave starting in the southwest and ending in the northeast.

Typically, inscriptions mentioning a bridge, i.e. a piece of infrastructure, and a passage to Paradise for the soul, come in two distinct waves in Denmark and Sweden. In the south, the first wave is the stronger, north of the Lake Mälaren, the second wave is stronger. The first wave crest dates to just after 1000 CE., the second vogue peaks just before 1100 CE (Nordberg & Andersson 2009; Herschend 2009:93-5).

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Generally speaking, the wave crests represent mission, the thorough consolidation, setback or indeed in the late 11th century, a “pagan revolt” (Ljungqvist 2018:225-26). Yet looking in detail at the geographical distribution of prayer or bridge stones, small clusters start to appear (Herschend 1994 Figs 21 & 22). Going one step further looking at specific prayers, clustering becomes even more prominent (Herschend 1994: Figs 30 & 32).

Should we continue our small-scale approach and look at specific runestone designs, they too may define a local area (e.g., Hansson 1993: Fig. 47, Familj 1). Likewise, designs by a popular carver such as Öpir tend to cluster in some areas while they avoid others (Raä runor: Runsvenska “Öpir”). It so happens that some of Öpir’s designs, for instance, three-looped carvings [treögleristningar] have two geographical clusters (Sundquist 1996). These specific designs, rather than general trends, mirror a sponsor’s preferences and the interaction between carver and client, see discussion in Gräslund (2005:28-35). It is fair to say that these clients saw their monuments as relatively straightforward memorials that, nevertheless, refer to a variety of social backgrounds and identities. This phenomenon calls for discursive analyses favouring argumentation and reasoning as well as digression, not least while digression or even whim is inherent in 11<sup>th</sup> century runic inscriptions and their contexts.

Complex small-scale geographies may be illustrated by islands (Herschend 2017A); in the present case even by three examples related to an East-West route of 11<sup>th</sup> century communication over land from Husby-Ärlinghundra, through the woodlands south of today’s Arlanda Airport into a string of settlements east of this modern hub and the bridge stone at Måby.

An overview of the topography of runic inscriptions c. 1000 to 1125 CE can be obtained if they are mapped in relation to the present shoreline and the one that represents the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, see Fig. 1. This shoreline is a proxy for the topographical definition of wetlands, meadows, grasslands and fields added to the agricultural landscape prior to and during the late runestone period. Typically, many inscriptions are situated close to and above the 6<sup>th</sup> c. shoreline, see Fig. 1. Their distribution simply means that isostatic uplift created fertile grounds that could be developed by farmers. In part, this means that quite a number of settlements had direct access to the Baltic Sea. Lake settlements were also popular, and some settlements could use small rivers, brooks or boat tows to access to the salt sea. Usually, inscriptions situated below the shoreline suggest that they were connected to bridges in the wetlands. Some of these inscriptions do not mention “bridge”, but their low altitude and connection with road constructions and water courses give them away as linked to infrastructure. Some low-lying inscriptions are carved on rocks that raise above the water.

In addition, some rune stones have been moved from their original situation upwards or indeed downwards in the landscape. The many stones found in the low-lying church at Skånela during its restoration in the 1950s is a case in point. This church was built on dried-up land between the late 12<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century, and thus the 11<sup>th</sup> century stones, rather than standing in water, would have been moved to the church when it was built. Directly, or eventually, they were included in the church walls (Stenberg & Kilstöm 1974:3-9; in general Wilson 1994; Anglert 1995; Kyhlberg 2017:112-3 with

refs). In addition, many inscriptions at higher levels belong to the older agricultural landscape further away from fairways, lakes and rivers.

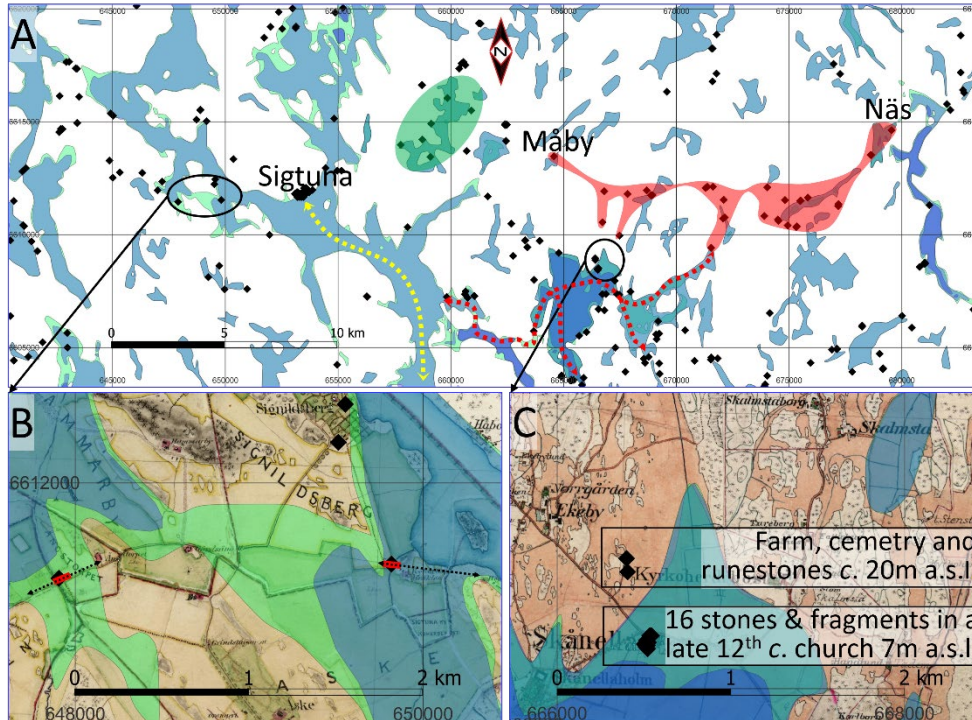


Figure 1A-C. Figure 1A. Runic inscriptions in the Lake Mälaren region between Sigtuna and Torsholma in relation to the shorelines c. 500 & 1000 CE. See Historiska kartor; Raä Runor; SGU. Yellow arrows mark passages to the salt sea. Red arrows mark passages from lakes to the yellow fairways. Green shadow exemplifies settlements by lake and wetland. Red shadow marks the settlement patterns discussed in this paper. Figure 1B. Black oval exemplifies runic stones at bridges, Figure 1C. Black circle exemplifies moved runic stones.

## Three micro examples

The Ingvar inscriptions in Uppland form a small cluster of five early 11<sup>th</sup> century inscriptions in the vicinity of Sigtuna (Fig. 2; Larsson 1990; updated map and discussion in Gräslund 2005). Four of these are situated at waterways, but when it comes to international shipping, only the one at the Steninge manor, U 439†, stood at a good landing place. From here Sæbjörn steered his ship eastwards to Eistaland or Särkland with Ingvar. Contrary to those commemorated in the other four inscriptions, Sæbjörn's death is not mentioned. Together, this small distribution would seem to mirror the socially flattering fact that men who lived by these waterways were among those who went with Ingvar to the East. The most prosperous of those who went abroad, the Sæbjörns, reflect a waterway geography in the Mälaren region (Larsson 1997; Herschend 1999).

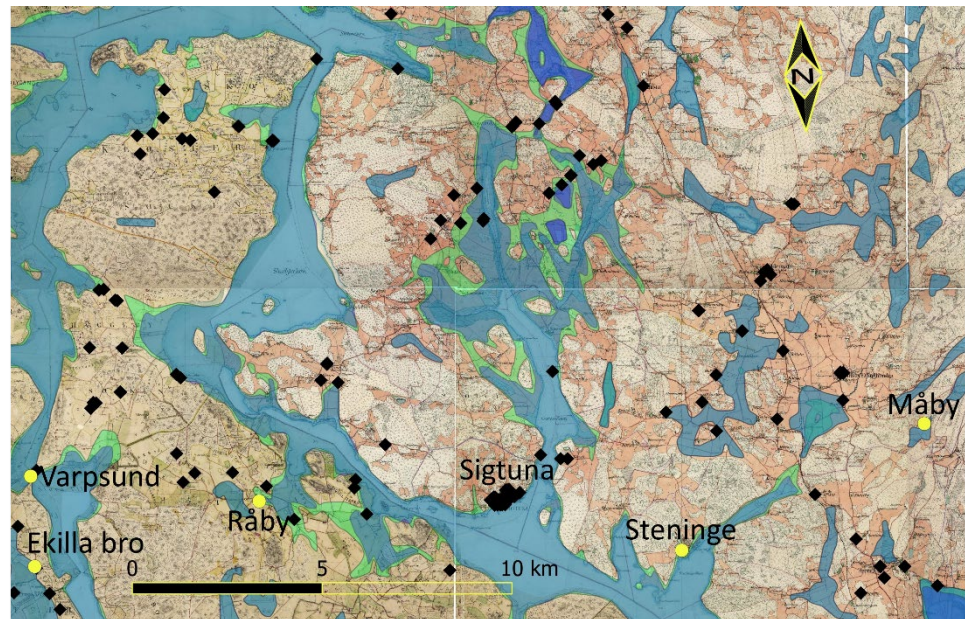


Figure 2. “Eastwards with Ingvar” among the runic inscriptions in the Lake Mälaren region and around Sigtuna. See Raä Runor; Historiska kartor; SGU. All inscriptions, except Måby, are maritime monuments.

The fifth inscription, the bridge stone at Måby and Arlanda Airport, stood on the west side of a small stream and wetland on the road between two typical farm-and-cemetery clusters (Figs 2 & 3; Snædal 1992; Fornsök: L2016:1571). In this text, three brothers commemorate a fourth:

Gunnarr and Björn and Þorgrímr raised this stone in memory of Þorsteinn, their brother; He was eastwards, dead with Ingvar, and (they) made this bridge.

If you were acquainted with the waterways around Sigtuna, you were probably aware of the other four “Ingvar” inscriptions and of the notion of “going eastwards with Ingvar”. Proceeding eastwards crossing the Måby bridge you leave the social geography in which people from the Lake Mälaren region sailed with Ingvar. On the other hand, arriving from the east, the notion of entering a social geography of waterways that link in with the East is evident. The “Ingvar”-tag on the Måby stone – a clever digression from what one expects in the woods of the backland – is a preamble for those who enter the social landscape.

There are several significant landscapes at work here: The general sailing-with-Ingvar landscape, an east-orientated local landscape, in which Sigtuna is a hub, and the carefully constructed check-point landscape in the woods less than a kilometre south of Arlanda. Riding westwards from Måby towards Sigtuna, the next stone is in Broby at a small stream. This is the entrance to the settlements in Husby-Ärlinghundra and Odensala that surround the wet grasslands in the centre of these parishes east of Sigtuna.

If, instead, we proceed eastwards along roads and bridges past runic inscriptions and cemeteries at Stensta and Kimsta, we eventually arrive at the westernmost cemeteries in the Markim settlement area and the by-road to Snottsta, see Figs 3 & 4. On this estate, there are three inscriptions next to the road and by the bridge that leads up to Snottsta, while the fourth and last



inscription in the series is carved on a gently east-sloping rock outcrop in the village. These texts refer to the near past of a landowning family:

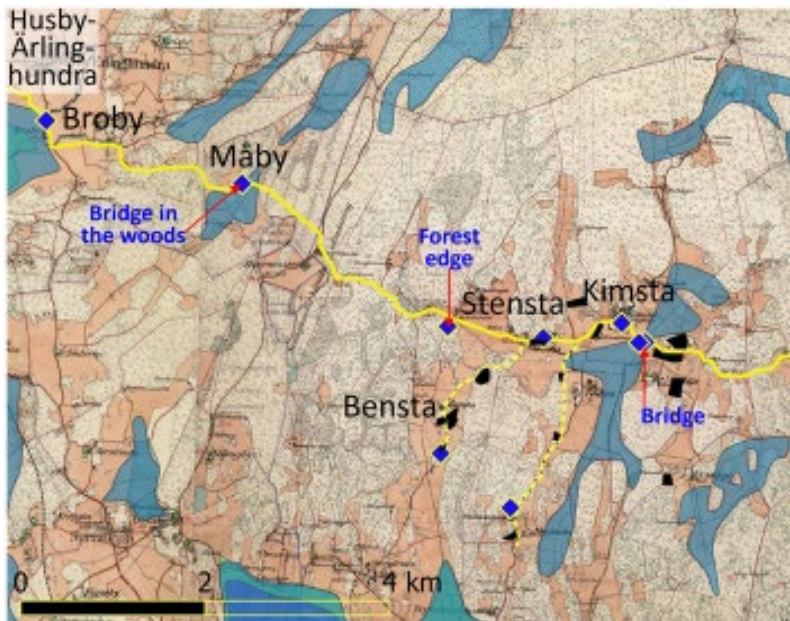


Figure 3. The Måby bridge was built in the forested backland. The bridge was marked by a runic inscription just west of the bridge and north of the road. The Måby bridge sits between the settlements in Husby-Ärlinghundra and Ben- Sten- and Kimsta. When you reach the forest edge at Stensta you enter this settlement cluster. When you pass the bridge at Kimsta you leave it. Blue diamonds mark rune stones. Cemeteries are marked as black dots and suggested roads are yellow. Background maps, see Historiska kartor; Raä Runor; SGU

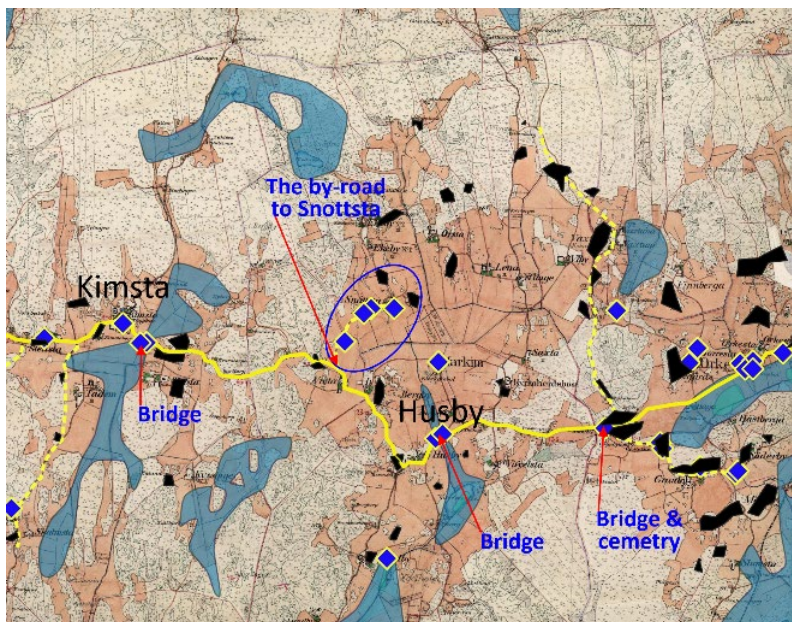


Figure 4. Following the road eastwards from the bridge and the cemeteries at Kimsta two odd kilometres through the woods you arrive at the by-road to Snottsta and the Markim cluster of inscriptions. If you proceed past the cemeteries at Vreta, Berg and Husby over the bridge and along the forest edge you arrive at the bridge and cemetery at Yttergårde where by-roads cross the cemetery and the main road in a number of parallel north-south sunken lanes. Blue diamonds mark rune stones. Cemeteries are marked as black dots and suggested roads are yellow. Background maps, see Historiska kartor; Raä Runor; SGU

On U 332, at the by-road to Snottsta, it says:

Inga raised the staff and stones in memory of Ragnfastr, her husband. She came to inherit from her children\*. (trans. SR).

\*This last sentence is an addition to the original text.

On U 329, at the beginning of the bridge, is says:

Inga had these stones raised in memory of Ragnfastr, her husbandman. He was Gyriðr's and Ástriðr's brother. (trans. SR).

On U 330, at end of the bridge it says:

Inga had the stones raised and the bridge made in memory of Ragnfastr, her husbandman. Qzurr was his housecarl. (trans. SR).

Finally, in the village on U 331 it says:

Inga had the runes carved in memory of Ragnfastr, her husbandman. He alone owned this estate after Sigfastr, his father. May God help their spirits. (trans. SR).

Following the road and reading the inscriptions as a series of Inga-statements, they demonstrate linear progression in a manifest way: Ragnfast and Inga are mentioned in all texts, but they are joined by his sisters and steward. At home, he joins his diseased father.

The four stops of the procession represent a household in mourning. In Nygaard & Murphy's terms (2017) it is a linear hierophoric-functional procession comprising pre-Christian and Christian elements. First comes the married couple, Inga next to Ragnfast and their children, added only after they had died. At the bridge his sisters link up and at the edge of the farm the mourners are joined by the steward. Moreover, when the participants have read the last text and its prayer in the very rock before their feet and raise their heads, then they look at the village cemetery. One hundred metres ahead of them they would have seen a mound. In the remains of this mound, a Viking Age sword was found in the 1920s (Fornsök L2016:5915 or Ambrosiani 1961:12). In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, therefore, a procession of living and dead walks towards the deep past of the farm and its 11<sup>th</sup> century owner family. It passes the "bridge" walking from traditional staff ritual to prayer. Settlement, cemeteries, staff and texts define a small specific social landscape with a procession route and a history. See also broader discussions in *i.a.* Svärdström (Svärdström 1970; Zachrisson 1998:186-94 and Källström 1999, with references).

While solitary graves have few specific links to settlements, cemeteries have many, as have runic inscriptions, if they are connected to cemeteries or refer to settlements. In figs 5 & 6, runestones at streams and inscriptions referring to bridge building are considered to be indications of 11<sup>th</sup> century roads. Since cemeteries and runestones are also located along pre-19<sup>th</sup> century roads this string of stones and cemeteries may be said in general to reflect the 11<sup>th</sup> century settlement. In the predominantly forested landscape, the settlement pattern as well as that of the runic inscriptions are linked to roads, but some lakes have also attracted inscriptions, albeit often combined with the road-and-bridge pattern. In the two eastern-most parishes, Orkesta and Frösunda, the lake pattern is more genuine. The most significant trait, nevertheless, is the inscriptions related to bridges and streams. The importance of building bridges and putting stones by them is evident.



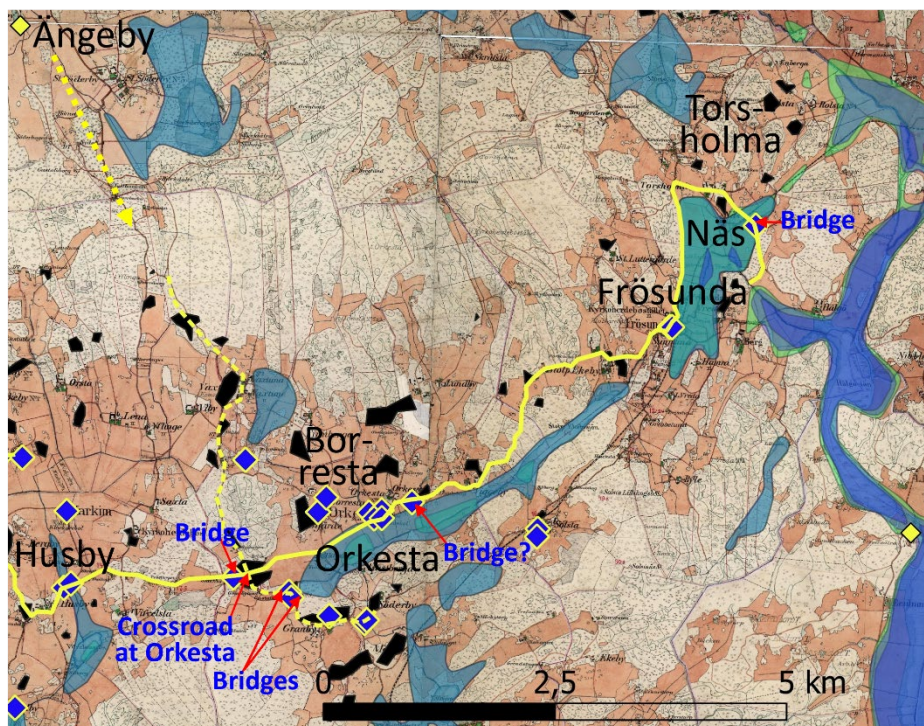


Figure 5. In the westernmost part of the Orkesta settlement cluster bridge, cemetery and crossroad divides the settlement into two: An area north and an area south of the wetland. North of the wetland the road runs past the church and the bridge over the brook between Orkesta and Viggeby. Here it leaves the cluster and runs towards the two inscriptions at Frösunda church and the final bridge inscription south of Torsholma and Näs. The road continues another 600m southwards to the remains of a small Late Iron Age and Early Medieval settlement. Blue diamonds with a yellow contour mark runestones. Cemeteries are marked as black dots and suggested roads are yellow. Background maps, see Historiska kartor; Raä Runor; SGU.

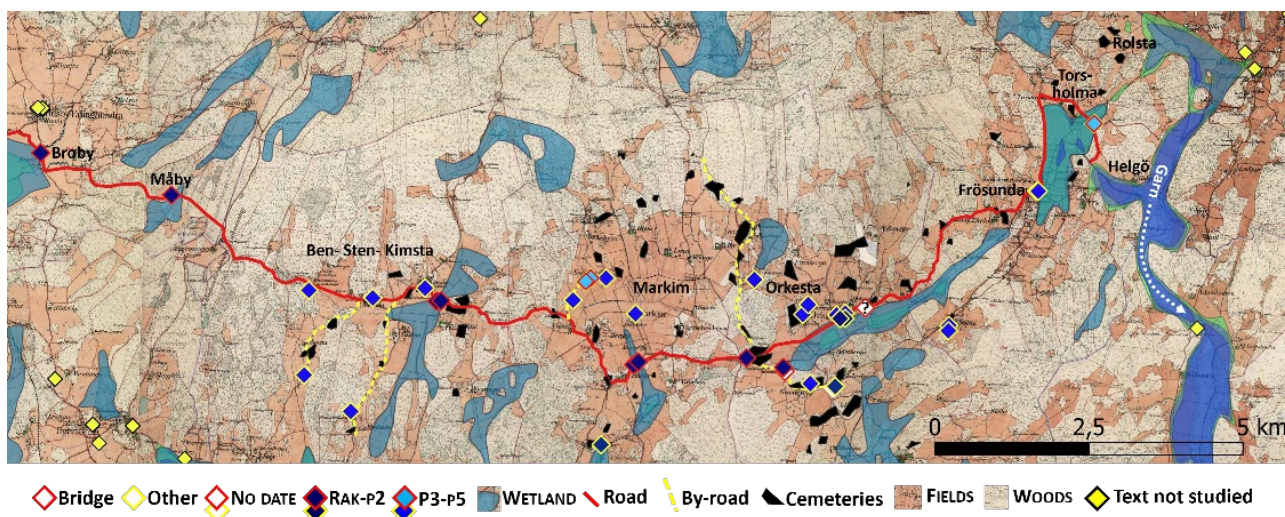




Figure 6. The spatial and chronological distribution of the runic inscriptions between Broby and Näs in relation to cemeteries and possible roads. For background maps, see Historiska kartor; Fornsök; Raä Runor; SGU.



A		'rahnfrīpr ' lit <b>rasa</b> stain þino ' aftir biurn ' sun þaira kitilmuntar		U 356
A		'rahnfrīpr lit <b>rt</b> stain þino ' aftir biurn <b>o</b> sun þaira kitilmuntar		U 346
C	B	D		
kup mialbi hons (a)nt auk kuþs (m)uþir ' hon fil a uirlanti ' <b>in</b> osmuntr <b>ll</b> markapi				U 356
B	C	D		
hon ' fil a uirlanti ' kup hialbi hons ant auk kuþs muþir ' osmunr mar'kapi <b>runar ritar</b>				U 346

The differences between the two inscriptions may be explained as caused by:

**h**: space, **rt**: variation, **o**: mistake, **kuþ hon**: layout, **in**: grammar. & **ll**: word wrapping

Translation : »Ragnfrid had this stone raised/set right after Bjorn their son Kätilmunder's. He fell in Virland. God help his soul and God's mother. Asmund marked the runes right.» (SR)

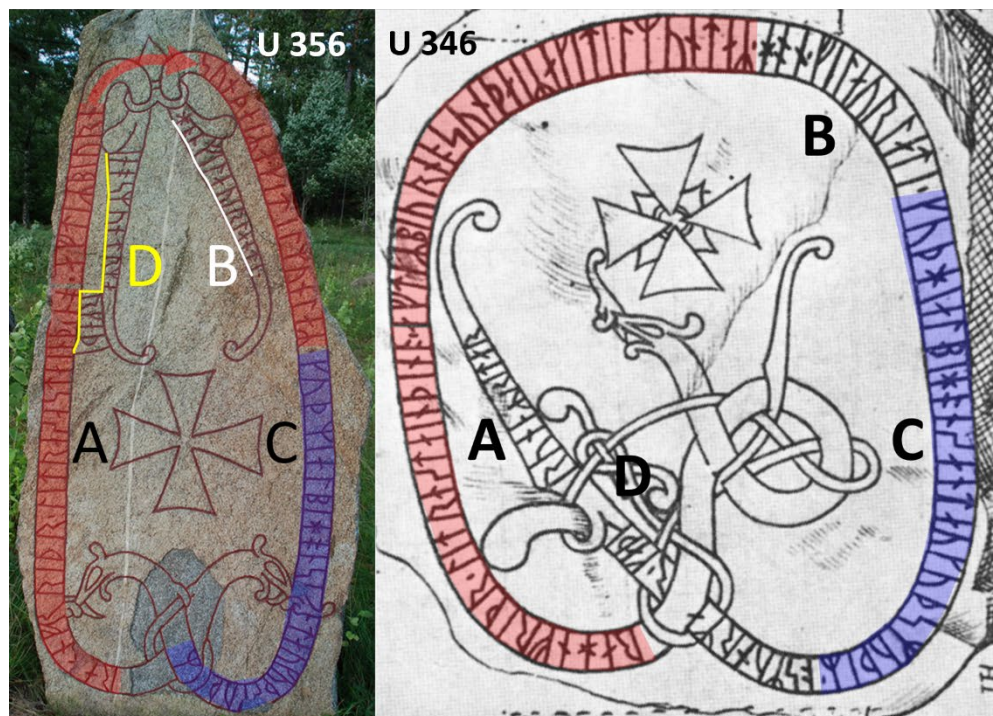


Figure 7. The relation between lay-out and text on U 356 and U 346.

The churches at Orkesta and Frösunda are situated by the road and we may expect that in Orkesta, monuments once raised, for instance, in the northern part of the parish, where there are several cemeteries, but no runic inscriptions, were secondarily moved to the church sometime after the 11<sup>th</sup> century. One stone, U 344, that originally formed a pair with U 343, was definitely moved in from Borresta and has been put back on the map.

This brings us to the third micro-geography, the deviant case of the inscriptions at Frösunda church. Only two inscriptions are associated with the present 15<sup>th</sup> century church. Surprisingly, one (U 346) is an almost

contemporary copy of the text on a stone still standing on a cemetery at Ängeby (U 356), see Figs 5 & 7. If we take layout and space into consideration and allow for one cutting error, we can reconstruct the original text with just one variation: Ängeby “let raise” and Frösunda “let set right”, see Fig 7. In these texts *raisa* and *rétta* are synonyms, but one could argue that *raisa* (at home) drifts towards ritual practice while *rétta* implies craftsmanship (not at home). This conclusion is supported by the minimal chronological difference in design. U 346 is slightly later than U 356 because the upper and lower lines of the eye of the rune animal are more parallel to the lines of its skull and upper jaw. Moreover, the distance from the back of the ear to the corner of the eye is proportionally longer on U 346 than on U 356. On U 356 the design chosen by the sponsor, that is, the father animal juxtaposing the son animal, made it difficult for the text to get room. On U 346, this visual meaning does not exist, and the text is easily fitted into the double-looped rune animal. Between U356 and U 346 design has been separated a little from the text. This separation is what one would expect as design is changing from the late 11<sup>th</sup> towards the early 12<sup>th</sup> century.

U 356 and 346 are 7.7 km apart as the crow flies. In reality, travelling from Ängeby to Frösunda is a 15 km ride down to Borresta where you turn left and pass Orkesta before you arrive at Frösunda Church. The stone was hardly moved; instead the craftsman Ásmundr went to Frösunda, found a suitable stone and made the monument.

Many runestones may have been moved to parish churches, such as in Skånala and Orkesta. However, making two identical memorial texts in contemporary designs, the first for the old cemetery at home in Ängeby, the second for Frösunda where there are no ancient monuments within 600 metres from the church, let alone any pre-Christian cemeteries, suggests that there could be a church place at Frösunda already in the late 11th century and thus a point in making a second version of the memorial stone for Björn from Ängeby. Although he, who fell in Virland, had no grave, he was important enough to be remembered in Frösunda.

Indirectly, the church-place hypothesis is strengthened by the second inscription from the Frösunda churchyard (U Fv1993:231). This stone is a thin cover slab from an inhumation grave on a churchyard (Snædal 1993:232). On it is stated that Hultrik, “Rich in copse”, had this mark made after his father Fülñir, “the Ugly” (Peterson 2007:72 & 124). It dates to c. 1100 and a decade or two later than U 346. Since there was a Christian burial ground c. 1100 at Frösunda, it would have been reasonable to put up a memorial stone in this context at about the same time, inasmuch as Björn, who fell in Virland, was a Christian<sup>2</sup>.

Taken together, the three inscriptions (U346, U 359 & Fv 1993:231) speak in favour of an early Christian Frösunda community. Although a number of inscriptions could come to light, were the 15<sup>th</sup> century church to be

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<sup>2</sup> If we speculate that Hultrik’s mother married Alrik after the death of his father Fülñir, and that she gave birth to Helgi and/or Audin, then Hultrik in neighbouring and contemporary Kårsta U 505 east of Garn, could be the same as Hultrik in Frösunda. Anyway, these names are the only Hultriks known to us among c. 1400 different names (Peterson 2007:11).

demolished, the Frösunda example stands out as odd. The case, nevertheless, is important, since it suggests that even at the end of the road, church-centred congregational Christianity could be early. This is true, despite the fact that the runic inscriptions are few, far apart, deviant and late. Consequently, cultural change is not only dependant on following the general cultural flow from the southwest to the northeast. Nevertheless, there are examples of such contacts in Markim and Orkesta, see Fig. 8.

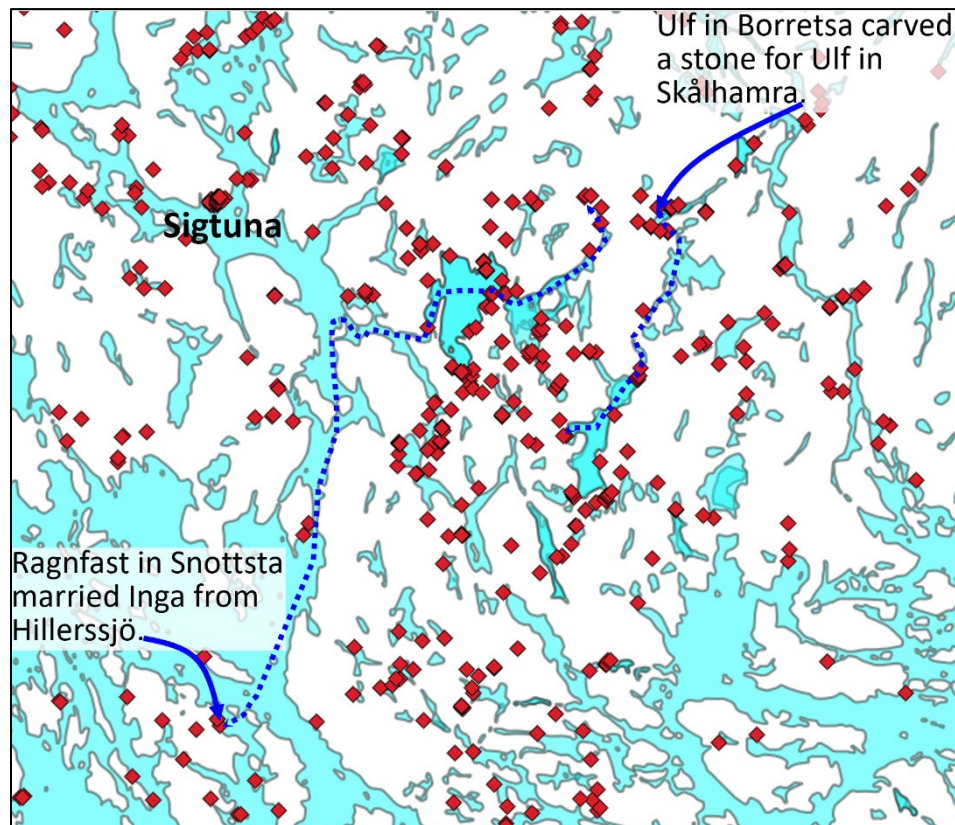


Figure 8. Prominent 11<sup>th</sup> c. Southwest – Northeast travels to and from the Mårby-Torsholma road settlement. See Raä Runor; SGU.

In sum: Since there are different kinds of social geographies behind ancient monuments, an analysis based on few categories and many commemorative texts in large areas soon comes to an end – at best with a general statement. This has to do with the social spheres to which the monuments belonged. Large spheres overshadow in-depth analyses of smaller intricate social contexts. Small contexts in their turn are marked by the continuous recasting of symbolic values (Herschend 1994:101-03).

The relative lack of discursive analyses of small geographies triggers a methodological predicament: the small geographies singled out above suggest that small areas are marked different social discourses. This is difficult to lay bare when analysing larger contexts. For that reason, one may choose to refrain from trying to find small geographies that can be understood in overarching as well as specific terms. One could, for instance, see the bridge stones at Snottsta as exponents of the general bridge theme, rather than a part of a commemorative procession road.

Seemingly never-ending digressions are indeed tiring, but from a theoretical point of view, refraining from claims to an important part of the cultural heritage, is difficult to accept. The analysis of small and complex social geographies is bound to be discursive in the popular as well as philosophical meaning of the word: discursive analysis although marked by reason and argument is also digressive. Since we know little about the social discourse in small societies and families, the analysis may well go astray. Or it may follow alleys that benefit from being left open, even though future research may find them blind. This problem is inherent in the discursive approach, inasmuch as it seeks to resolve complex fragmentary expressions into simpler ones by means of analytical reasoning. Nevertheless, analyses leading astray are a minor problem as long as the discourse is transparent. A discursive analysis is not primarily employed in order to finally reconstruct the past; rather, it is a way of presenting a series of arguments that may or may not be incorporated into future historical narratives.

## The Torsholma area – the end of the road

If we look at the inscriptions stretching from Näs in Frösunda to Broby in Ärlinghundra, most of the early inscriptions, that is, 8 of the 12 belonging to the first part of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, are inscriptions connected with bridges, see Fig. 6. Bridge stones come in two waves and those in this string of settlements belong mostly to the first — 8 of 11 dated inscriptions. This indicates that when the runestone vogue reached this part of Uppland, probably from the southwest heading towards Orkesta, east-west communications became important. When the vogue spread within the settlement, communications continued to play a role when a place was selected for a runic inscription. South of Runway 1, the stone by the bridge in the backland testifies to east-west communications with more densely populated areas. Despite the links to the south, the settlement between the Måby bridge and Näs is primarily an East-West orientated settlement.

In terms of communications, Näs in Torsholma at the end of the road is connected southwards with the salt sea by the Garn. By the Långhundraled it is also connected northwards with more central parts of Uppland. On horseback, the east-west track took the Torsholmers all the way to the Sigtuna area, and on their way, they may turn southwest, board a vessel and use rivers, lakes and the Lake Mälaren for transportation. Ulf in Borresta as well as Ragnfast and Inga in Snottsta did just that in order to keep in touch with friends and family. In a southwest to northeast perspective, nevertheless, the Näs-Måby string settlement is a marginal east-west area bordering on woodlands in the north, see Fig. 6.

The end of the road is a few square kilometres comprised by Torsholma and Rolsta, that is “Famous’ place” in Frösunda (Peterson 2007:314). If we map Iron Age cemeteries and runic inscriptions in Frösunda, we find only three inscriptions and none at the cemeteries. The church at Frösunda has attracted two stones and in Torsholma (at Näs), there is a bridge inscription on two rock faces next to the southern end of the bridge. This bridge linked Torsholma to a small Late Iron Age and early medieval settlement on today’s Helgö. This settlement is comparable to a croft, see discussion below.



This means that the Torsholma area is situated at a bend in the Långhundraled (Ambrosiani 1961; Gräslund 1986; Selinge & Gustavson 1988; Alm & al. 2011). This important waterway ran at an angle with the East-West settlement string. Together they form a kind of ↑-junction. One might have thought that this junction would have created a hub full of settlements and inscriptions. It did not. Society remained rural and its odd runestone tradition lasted only 30-40 years, primarily in the late 11<sup>th</sup> century.

## Cemeteries and settlements

Although the Torsholma area remained a countryside, there is an anomaly in its settlement pattern. While graves monumentalize the Iron Age landscape in several ways (Herschend 2009:31-127), most cemeteries on a permanent estate or settlement mirror its social character. This too may be done in many ways, for instance, by investing in grave monuments. Some are more expensive than others and until the end of prehistory most people never got a visible sepulchre (Herschend 2009). Thus, we may argue that, on average, mounds are more expensive than round stone settings. In general, moreover, the often relatively small three- or four-sided stone settings are less expensive than the round ones. The three and four-sided settings were popular in the later 10<sup>th</sup> and early 11<sup>th</sup> century (c.f. Thérus 2019 with references).

Looking at graves on the road-related settlement cemeteries in Frösunda and Torsholma, we would expect these three monumental categories to form a relatively constant pattern. They do, but the Torsholma cemeteries are deviant, see Fig. 9. If investments in graves mirror the economic strength of the those who invest in them, then the mixture of graves mirrors a socio-economic stratification in the settlements. It seems, therefore, that if a settlement, measured as a number of graves, is relatively large, the will to invest in a mound is also large, see Fig. 9, Ekeby+Rolsta. On the other hand, if the settlement is small, inexpensive graves are more common than the expensive ones, see Fig. 9, Luttergårde+Berg. Thus, the overall economic strength of an estate seems to influence investments in graves.

Torsholma does not fit the general pattern. Although there are many graves, there are no simple ones and thus little need for investments in mounds either. The socio-economic pattern is the simplest of pyramids with one tenth of the graves being mounds. This means that mounds are relatively rare, but also that their significance is greater than elsewhere. This follows from the fact that if there are inexpensive monuments on a cemetery, investments in expensive monuments will grow and mirror a somewhat more stratified social situation. Torsholma, nevertheless, is binary: many are buried in ordinary graves, few in mounds, see Fig. 9.

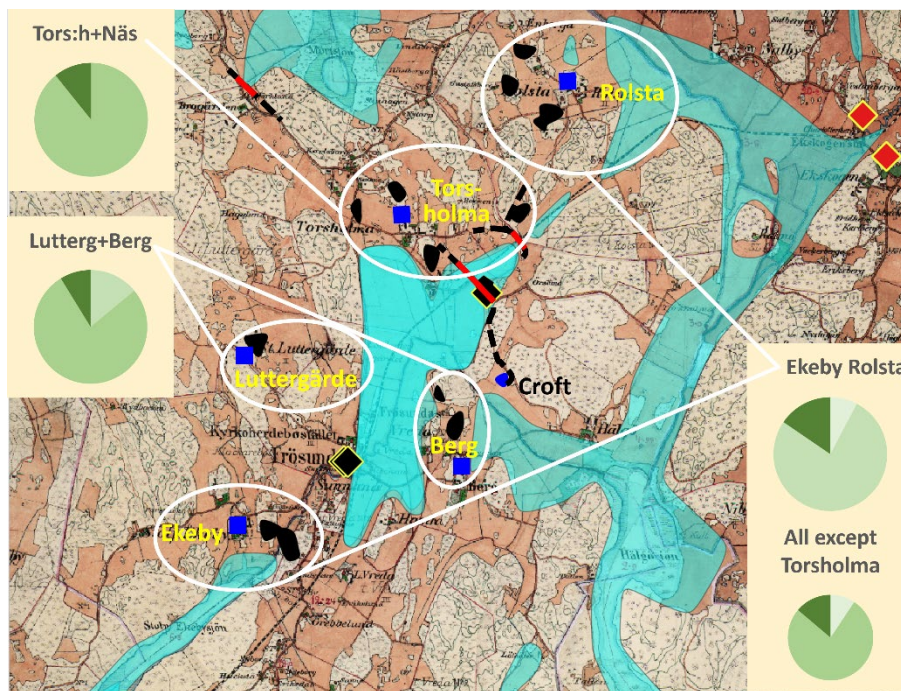


Figure 9. The balance between different outer grave forms in Frösunda. See Historiska kartor; Fornsök; Raä Runor; SGU

## Relation to wetland and water

If we illustrate the balance between rural and maritime parts of the area, mapping mounds, which are typical Late Iron Age monuments, we detect two social topographies, see Fig. 10: (1) There are mounds at important settlements in the rural landscape, see mound symbol with a light green contour. (2) There are mounds at border points between the maritime and the rural zone, see mound symbols with a red contour. In some contexts, both monuments are present. Monumentalizing the landscape, understanding it as areas with symbolic points spread out in space and deep time, is central to pre-Christian times. Later, the human settlement landscape may materialise itself as church and churchyard symbolizing hall and homesteads, lord and congregation, in a town-like context (Herschend 2001:62-4, with reference to Andrén 1999). In this sense, the Frösunda church has post-Christian denotations rather than pre-Christian roots.

The forested backlands – neither agricultural nor maritime – make up the third landscape. This is difficult to map, but in the present case, the 1.8 m deep pothole at the highest point on Helgö 50 m.a.s.l. is worth mapping as a significant uncommon natural phenomenon difficult to explain. It was created on top of a bare rock in an archipelago between 8000 and 7000 years ago, and its deviant character may have been enough to designate the island as sacred, for instance, when c. 4000 years ago the sea level was at 25-30m above the present sea level (Figs 10 & 11; Risberg & Alm 2011: Fig. 9). From the Early Late Bronze Age and onwards, the pothole could have given the island a specific identity. Likewise, the sacrificial spring close to Torsholma belong to the sacred landscape in an area made up by traditional components.

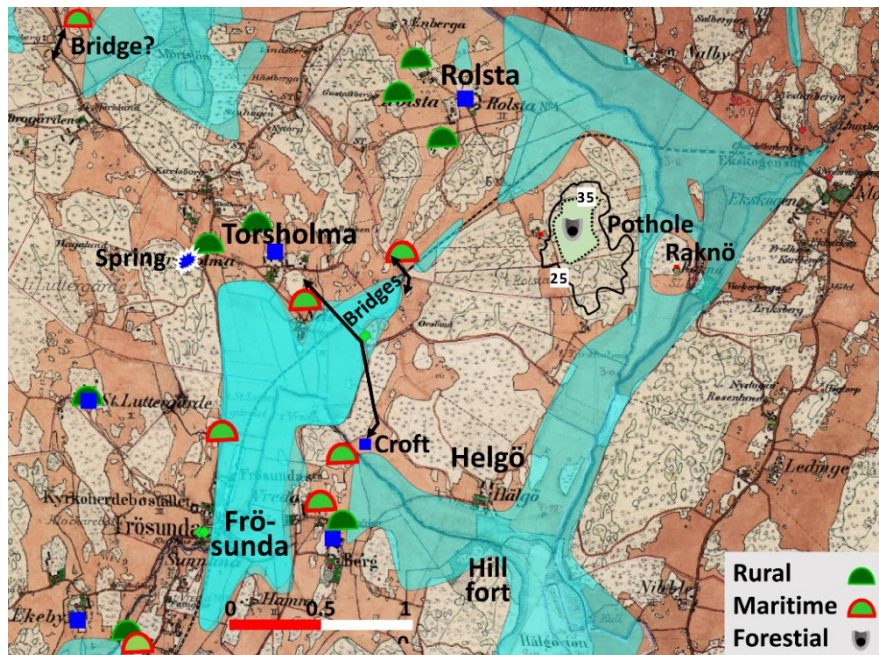


Figure 10. Rural, maritime and forestal elements of the cultural landscape at the end of the road in Frösunda. There is a need to define border zones as well as farms by means of mounds. However, in settlements close to a waterfront the distinction between rural and maritime mounds is difficult to draw. But the number of mounds is larger in areas where both types of monuments are needed. See Historiska kartor; Fornsök; Raä Runor; SGU.

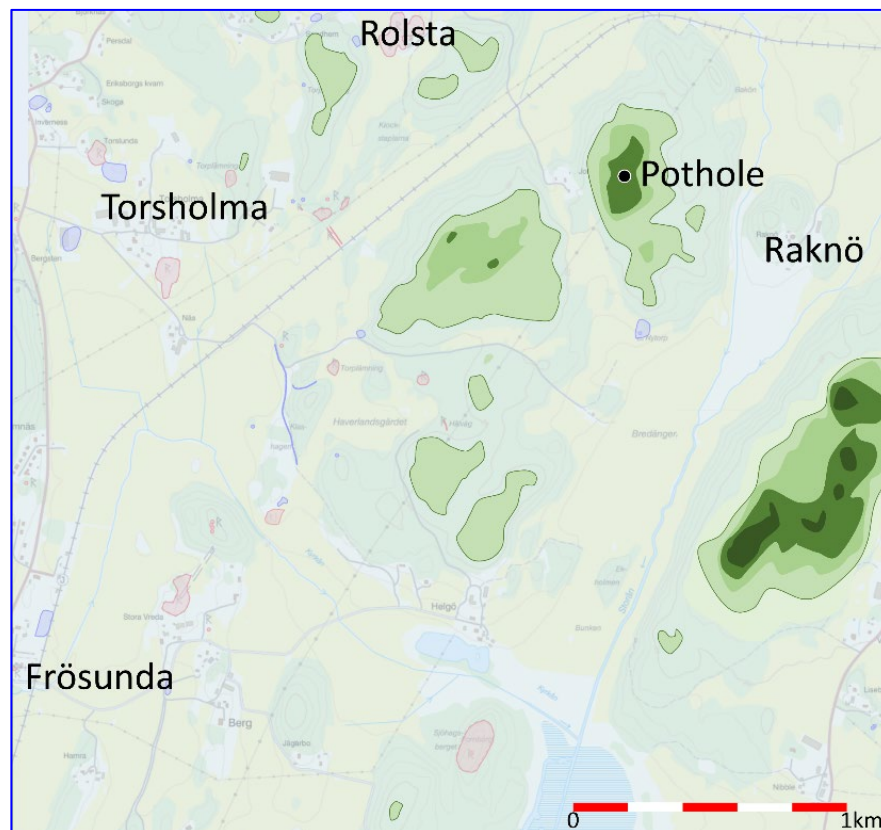


Figure 11. The pothole island in the archipelago of the Late Stone Age – Early Bronze Age. See Fornsök, topographic map.



In the first part of the first millennium CE, the settlement area is guarded by a hill fort (Olausson 1995:119-130). It defines the border in a much more potent way than the mounds. Yet to begin with in the Late Bronze Age a stone setting, eventually enclosed by the fort, defined the border on a low headland. Little by little, from the Bronze Age and onwards, the future Torsholma-Rolsta settlement combines rural, maritime and forestial landscape elements defined by border points and places. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, two settlements had cemeteries. The graves at Rolsta represent the expected pattern, while Torsholma is deviant.

## Place names

There are mainly four place names to take into consideration. Per Vikstrand, (2001:83), has discussed Frösunda and argued convincingly that it designates a place next to water (-*sunda*). Referring to Rostvik, Vikstrand points out that the first element, the adjective *frö*, refers to the fertility of wetlands rather than to the god Frö (Rostvik 1969:49). Vikstrand's conclusion that Frösunda refers to an economically prolific Iron Age situation is strongly supported by SGU's new shoreline model, see Fig. 5.

Concerning place names, there are two kinds of sources: the documented tradition and two early literary statements that refer to the area. Vikstrand discusses the traditional material and the runic inscription U 347-48. This inscription mentions Torsholma and Rolsta in context. Vikstrand dates this inscription to *c.* 1100 (Vikstrand 2001; v. Friesen 1930:103; Wessén & Jansson 1943-46:94).

Per Vikstrand also discusses Torsholma and Helgö. He agrees with Calissendorff that Torsholma is the original name of what is today called Helgö and discusses the relation between the name \*Helgå and Helgö indirectly suggested by the village name Helgåby in Skeppstuna some ten kilometres further up the Långhundraleden (Vikstrand 2001:246-7, with ref to Calissendorff 1964:135-38; see also Gräslund 1986:221).

Given the present shoreline model it would seem that this river fell into the fairway Garn, that is, the lower part of Långhundraleden, between 3- and 700 metres Northwest of Helgö during the Late Iron Age. Vikstrand concludes that the easiest way to explain the name Helgå is to judge it as secondary to *hel-* in Helgö. The relative order between the names is thus as follows: “a sacred holm” > Torsholma > Helgö > Helgå > Helgåby. However, Vikstrand also points to the possibility that Helgö and Helgåby, respectively, are secondary names in relation to Helgå. Even Calissendorff was cautious when she drew the same likeliest conclusion as Vikstrand (Vikstrand 2001:247).

The two literary contexts, an entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the runic inscription will be discussed in detail below. However, there is already reason to agree with Moberg and Gräslund that the expression in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (A-S C) for the year 1025 *at þam holme at ea þære halgan*—“at the holm by the holy river” aimed at defining an environment where a battle took place (Moberg 1985; 1987; Gräslund 1986). Moreover, there is reason to agree with Gräslund, but not with Moberg that the description in the A-S C refers to Helgå in Frösunda and to a part of the Långhundraleden as suggested by Calissendorff. Although the sacredness is obvious, the A-S C describes a place in a contextual way that even a non-local can understand. Local place names

are not useful to the chronicler, perhaps because from his point of view, they may be ambiguous. The author or his informant, therefore, went for the following solution: he pointed to *pam holme* “that holm” (which sits) by the holy river, that is, not *in* the river. If you are looking for a holy river you have come right *if next to it*, that is, at its estuary you also find a “holm”. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, this would seem to be correct in Frösunda. If the place described also had a “Helgö”, the chronicler avoided mentioning it, for instance, because it could be mixed up with Helgö in the Lake Mälaren. Anyway, speaking of the end of the road in 1025, it sufficed to point to a holm and to the sacred river, that is, a Helgå in this part of Uppland, see further discussion below. This does not rule out that there was a Helgö in the environs, but there was not any autonomous settlement name on today’s Helgö to differentiate it from Torsholma. Vikstrand point to the small Late Iron Age settlement as a possible harbour, but trail excavations have only documented rather insignificant settlement remains, i.e. a croft and quite possibly a landing place (Brunstedt 1966 & below foot note 4).

When it comes to human geography, the runic inscription U 347-48 comments on the relationship between the two settlement units Torsholma and Rolsta. The text indicates that the owner of Torsholma had some influence over Rolsta, inasmuch as he was served by those who live there (Wessén SRI bd. 7:91). The central part of these two settlement areas are defined by cemeteries and mounds, see Figs 9 & 10. The use of mounds and cemeteries, moreover, shows that the wetland just south of Torsholma was once considered a border zone. The two bridges and the roads that link Torsholma and Helgö show that Torsholma, more than Rolsta, has been annexing Helgö and especially the croft/landing place. The lack of an autonomous settlement at Helgö is significant.

The short bridge, situated on the border between Torsholma and Rolsta, shortens the distance from Rolsta to the croft, see Fig. 12. We may see it as a Torsholma investment in Rolsta. On a 17<sup>th</sup> century map, the bridge and a small part of the road on Helgö are still visible as is the beginning of a footpath towards Rolsta from the northern bridgehead, see Fig.12. Torsholma stands out as the dominant settlement at the end of road. It may have included the farm later called Luttergårde, that originally included the land of the vicarage. The pre-Christian roots of this farm are indicated by the “rural” mound at the farm and “maritime” east of it by the water that became ‘Frösunda’. Thus, we gather that *pam holme* was precise enough in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

Not until 1287, October 7<sup>th</sup>, do we hear of a settlement called Helgö situated where we find it today. By the 14<sup>th</sup> century, this was a most reasonable place to establish a manor if you could break up the Torsholma estate. Even in 1305, 1324 and 1638, Helgö is a settlement name that does not *per se* refer to what was once the island Torsholma (Gräslund 1986:221 note 30; Rahmqvist 2011).

The two early literary sources strengthen Calissendorff’s and Vikstrand’s primary interpretation: Torsholma refer to an island that eventually gave its name to the whole estate. The A-S C, on the other hand, suggest that Helgå like Holm is a primary name while Helgö in relation to Helgå may be secondary as well as primary or chronologically on par with the other (Vikstrand 2001:247).



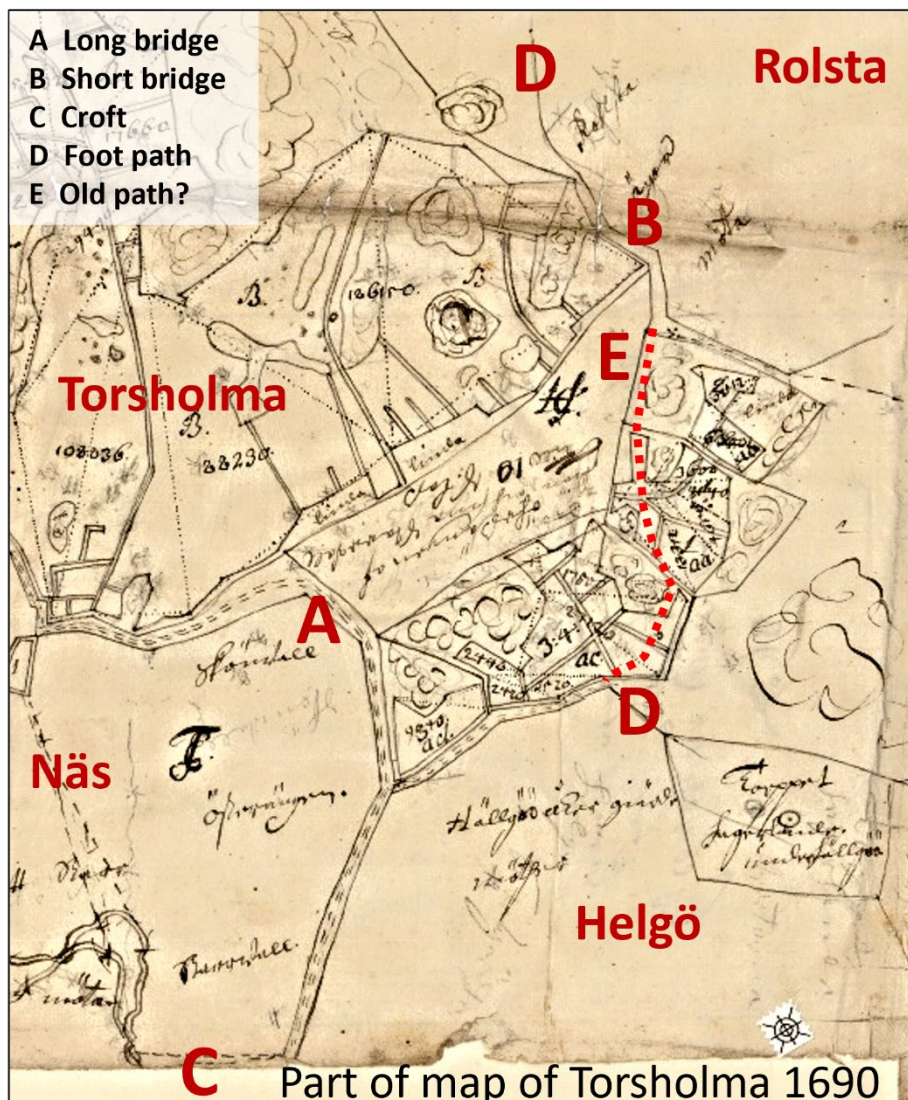


Figure 12. Echoes of a late 11<sup>th</sup> century situation between Torsholma/Rolsta and Helgö. Background map Historiska kartor, Torsholma 1690.

For the present discussion, “Helgö”, if it was indeed a place name, is unimportant. Instead, it is *-holm* in Torsholma, that is, the estate itself that matters as a locally important estate defining “the end of the road”. The specific character of this settlement area and junction is by no means a new insight (e.g., v. Friesen 1930; Calissendorff 1964; 1995; Gustavsson & Selinge 1988; Gräslund 1986; Vikstrand 2001; Alm & al. 2011).

Downstream from Torsholma the fairway is called Garn. The hill fort that was destroyed before 700 CE (Olausson 1995) was the northernmost point of the Garn fairway in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Fig. 10.

Three hundreds, Seminghundra (the road) Långhundra (Helgå) and Vallentuna (Garn) meet just here (see Calissendorff 1964). Torsholma-Rolsta’s mixture of rural and maritime landscape is rooted in the history of the settlement niche and represents the transition from ‘wide’ Garn to ‘narrow’ Helgå with its potential hindrances ultimately caused by the isostatic uplift

(Gräslund 1986:235, note 30; Rahmqvist 2011). If you know about this maritime landscape and how to get there, then Torsholma is an obvious place to land with a fleet and establish a bridgehead. On the same empirical background, Calissendorff and Gustavsson & Selinge see the area as a meeting point in the “ledning” system, that is, the maritime defence system (Calissendorff 1964:136-7; Gustavsson & Selinge 1988). Torsholma is a specific place, a junction where the E-W road meets the divide between Helgå and Garn on the NNW-SSE Helgå-Garn fairway.

## The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 1025 CE

In 1986, Bo Gräslund discussed the battle of Helgeå and argued that contrary to what one would have taken for granted from the 12<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century and onwards that the battle was not fought in Scania, rather it took place in Uppland referring to the Torsholma-Rolsta area. Here Knut den store attacked Sweden and succeeded in securing for himself, albeit for a short while only, the power over at least a part of the country as suggested by the preamble of his letter from Rome 1027. In this letter, Knut says the he is on his way back from Rome and comments upon battles in 1026 rather than 1025 (Wolf 2009:24-25).

Knut seems to have had control of the Sigtuna market where Anund Jakob's coins already before 1025 copied Knut's coinage. We may infer this from the fact that Knut was able to use a reverse, cut by one of Anund Jakob's mint masters, to produce coins with his own king-of-Sweden obverse. The obverse +CNVT REXSP was combined with the reverse +ÐOR·M·O·ÐON:SIH already used with Anund's obverse stamp +ANUNREXZ (Malmer 1974:17-20, Fig. 5; Gräslund 1986:214-15). Knut's obverse was probably produced in Lund (Malmer 2010:86). This makes good sense if propaganda and controlling/supporting the Sigtuna market was a prime option. Moreover, it indicates that his presence in Sigtuna, his special operation, was too short to produce more stamps.

In connections with his campaign, Knut was attacked at a place described in the A-S C for the year 1025 AD. The description refers to events prior to his Sigtuna coinage:

1025 *Her for Knut cyng to Denmearcon mid scipon to þam holme at ea þære halgan. 7 þær comon ongean Vlf 7 Eilíf. 7 swiðe mycel here ægðer ge landbere ge sciphære of Swaðeode. 7 þær was swiðe feala manna forfaren on Knutes cynges healf. ægðer ge Deniscra manna ge Engliscra. 7 þa Sweon beafdon weallstowe geweald.* (A-S C, E-version) – This year King Knut went to Denmark with ships to the holm by the holy river. And there came against him Ulfr and Eilíf. And very large armies both land armies and ship armies of Swedish people. And there very many men were lost on King Knut's side. Both Danish men and English. And the Swedes had the power of the battle ground (A-S C, E-Version).

A standard phrase for winning a battle when armies clashed is: *abton wælstowe geweald* – ‘they *owned* or *possessed* the power of the battle ground’. We find it ten times in the A-version and in eight out of nine cases in the E-version of the A-S C. But in 1025, in the E-version, copied from a Kentish original in one go up and until 1121, this was not the case (Ker 1957; Swanton 1966). Instead, the Swedes *had* the power of the battle ground’— *beafdon weallstowe geweald*.

The standard expression usually tells us that the aggressive attackers, in effect Danish armies in England, won a certain battle and thus they possessed

or came to own the very ground upon which the armies had clashed and consequently the spoils that fell to that ground. As it were: Ownership of the actual ground changed from defenders to attackers and with it what was there. The unusual 1025 expression does not refer to a change. Instead, it points out that the Swedes *had* the battle ground – since they were at home – in that respect, the battle changed nothing.

Parallel to *walstowe geweald*, one may refer to victory, that is *sige*, in several ways using the verbs to ‘take’(10), ‘become’ (1), ‘have’(4), and indeed ‘own’ (1). Thus, in 823: (*Ecgberrht*) *sige nam*; 1106: *se sige wearð þæs cynges*; 890: (*Bryttas*) *hæfdon sige*; 871: (*Æðered 7 Ælfred*) *sige abton*. At first, in this latter case, the Danes whose army was split into two parts fled. But they came back and at the end of the day as the armies clashed, the Danes ‘gained possession’ of the battle ground. Even in this case *abton* — own, refers to change.

These different expressions suggest that *abton walstowe geweald* is specific while the *sige* expression is general. Formally, therefore – *heafdon weallstowe geweald*, does not point to a complete victory and possession of a specific battle ground. This means that we are not told whether Knut or Ulfr and Eilíf definitely won or lost. Nevertheless, *if* Ulfr and Eilíf were victorious and *if* they possessed the battle ground when they clashed with Knut, then why not say so? It would seem that the A-S C has an agenda.

Thanks to Moberg’s in-depth analysis, Ulfr and Eilíf stand out as two historical figures, the sons of a man called Ragnvald, a Swedish chieftain with Norwegian relatives. Ulfr seems to have been important in reconciling Norway and Sweden, and in some way or other, Eilíf could well have been instrumental in this as well.

All in all, it would seem that the Anglo-Saxon chronicler had access to primary or secondary information from local insiders, who considered it important to point out the locality and the holiness of the place where Knut’s invasion took place. In a congenial way, the chronicle points out two lesser Swedish leaders as Knut’s opponents rather than the kings, Olaf and Anund Jakob. Since the expression *7 þa Sweon heafdon weallstowe geweald* stands out as ambiguous, the chronicler does not directly tell us the consequences of the battle; nevertheless, he does say that a battle between Knut’s army and a Swedish army took place (more or less) at the holm by the holy river. The Swedish defence stands out as the most competent.

In the present case-study, neither the battle nor its outcome is important, because in practice, Ulfr and Eilíf did not stop Knut. The significant information simply points out that Knut went to Denmark, that is the non-England part of the kingdom, and with a fleet he sailed to the holm by the holy river where Ulfr, Eilíf and the Swedes fought against him. Ove Moberg (1985; 1987) as well as Gräslund (1986) each argues convincingly that Knut in effect did win the battle. Moberg argued that it was fought in Scania. In my opinion, however, Gräslund’s analysis that a battle took place in Uppland is convincing. Today, Danish short-term presence in and around Sigtuna may not even be very controversial (Lindkvist 2008:670).

In 2009, Lars Wolf thoroughly discussed Knut’s campaigns in Scandinavia and concluded that the entry in A-S C for 1025 agreed with Gräslund’s analysis of the Upplandic context. Wolf concludes that the entry does not concern the battle at Helgeå in Scania; this battle took place in 1026 (Wolf 2009: 24-5 & 34-

5). In fact, the A-S C does *not* write about Knut's Scandinavian campaigns; from its annalistic English point of view it is rather stated where, when and how it began. In principle, therefore, Knut's coinage, the early description in the A-S C and Knut's letter from Rome should be taken for granted: when Knut launched his Scandinavian campaign, he did so with a fleet sailing to the/that holm, which sits by the river, the holy. The central point is the holm.

Based on Karin Calissendorff's research, Gräslund's identifies *ea þære halgan* as Helgå, today called Holmbroån, and argues that the settlement Holm, which has now disappeared, was referred to by the expression *to þam holme* (Gräslund 1986:218-22). One may, however, argue that the place name Holm is more precisely related to the description in the A-S C.

Sometime before 1574, today's Raknö<sup>3</sup> was probably called Holm. We gather this from the series of farms that in 1324 were ordered to cleanse the river between Närtuna in the north and Helgö in the south of their fish traps, because they blocked the river. From north to south the farms in-between are sequenced: Lövhamra, Billsta, Sundby, Fågelsunda, Rolsta, Salby, Holm and Torsholma (Gräslund 1986 note 30). The only difference between the series of farms at the river in 1324 and today is that between 1324 and 1574, Holm changed to its present name Raknö. In 1324, the river discharged into Garn, today's Lake Helgö [Helgösjön] at Helgö. This leaves us with two outcomes. (1) Holm in 1324 could be a settlement "holm" in its own right, today's Raknö. (2) In addition, owing to its proximity to the old "pothole holm", Holm could also refer to a Holm on the Torsholma estate. In both cases, Holm refers to a holm once situated by the holy river (Figs 9-10).

It would seem, therefore, that the 1025 description is very apt, when it comes to pointing out a locally well-known area where, at least to begin with, people like Ulfr and Eilíf rather than kings may meet up with a fleet and an army (Wolf 2009). From Knut's point of view, when he intended to land in the southern part of Uppland, the 1.2 square kilometre holm, which rose 40 m above the level of the river, 20 km up the Garn and 30 odd kilometres east of Sigtuna, is not a bad choice. It was a significant place in the landscape and the holm could serve him as a strategic bridgehead in a sparsely settled area with a road to Sigtuna. Be this as it may, Torsholma-Rolsta is a specific place in the landscape, where most likely the Holy River meets the Garn.

## Knut and England in the Mälaren region

The four runic references to Knut den store are flattering and so are, as far as we know, the additional 26 references to England, while the twelve to men called Knut are just matter-of-fact or insufficiently preserved inscriptions that lack textual precision (Raä Runor). In general, the inscriptions refer in a positive way to Knut and to going to England. No Pr4 or Pr5 inscriptions, that is, inscriptions from the late 11<sup>th</sup> and early 12<sup>th</sup> century, mention Knut or England, but four slightly earlier Pr3 inscriptions do (for styles and chronology,

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<sup>3</sup> See Historiska kartor, <https://historiskakartor.lantmateriet.se/> 'Sök via karta', Raknö: 1707, Ägomätning, Frösunda socken Raknö nr 1, Page 1.

see Gräslund, Anne-Sofie 1998). One inscription along the Garn, U 241, refers two generations back to the youth of a grandfather, who took two payments in England. One, U 344 in Borresta, refers to a father, who was paid thrice, the third time by Knut. In a third inscription along the Garn, U 194, a man describes himself as one who (in his youth) took Knut's payment in England. Finally, the inscription Vs 9 refers to a son who died in England. This means that out of circa 40 inscriptions only one deadly experience in England, Vs 9, would seem to refer to a situation *after* 1050. The rest, refers to the days of Knut den store and possibly Sweyn Forkbeard, that is, to glorious *bygone* days in the history of the runestone families.

The two larger text categories are distributed in the same way in Sweden. There is a tendency for inscriptions to cluster in those parts of the Mälaren Region that interested Knut and this is true not least of the small third group that explicitly mentions Knut. Some dense runestone areas such as the one around Uppsala and in Västergötland have few inscriptions. If we zoom in on the distribution in the Lake Mälaren region, it becomes apparent that the inscriptions cluster in relation to water ways, Fig.13A&B. Sigtuna is part of the largest cluster and Garn is related to a small dense cluster that contains two of the four inscriptions mentioning Knut den store, U 194 & 343-44 together with the grandfather who took payments in England, U 240-41.

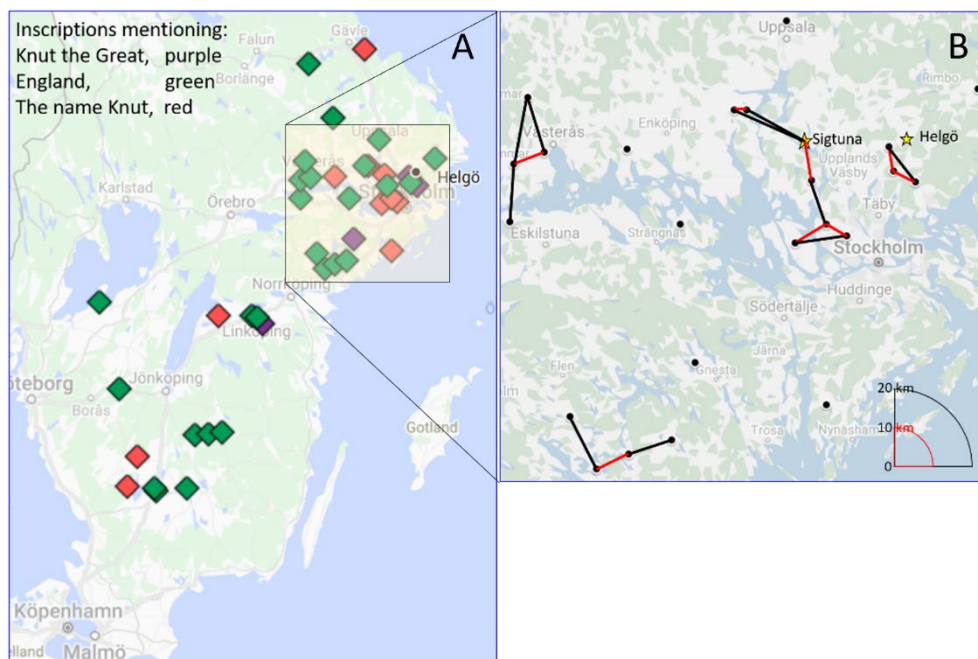


Figure 13A&B. A. »Knut» and »England» inscriptions. B. Clusters of texts less than 10 & 20 km apart, red and black lines respectively. See Raä Runor; Google maps.

With hindsight, Knut's Sigtuna coinage suggests that he had some limited initial success, and given his willingness to pay for services rendered, it makes sense that the distribution of names in the Lake Mälaren region links in with pro-England and pro-Knut attitudes. The distribution, therefore, suggests that Edberg's critique of Gräslund, based on numismatic references, is not



convincing, inasmuch as the numismatic evidence does not speak against a temporary Knut coinage in Sigtuna. If anything, it suggests a limited and temporary success (Edberg 2011).

It is striking that the commemorative inscriptions by the Garn fairway include no less than 7 stones:

U 343. Karsi and ... they had this stone raised in memory of Ulfr, their father. May God help his ... and God's mother. U 344. And Ulfr has taken three payments in England. That was the first that Tosti paid. Then Þorketill paid. Then Knútr paid. (A monument consisting of two Pr 3 inscriptions, c. 1050-80, see SR)

U 240. Danr and Húskarl and Sveinn and Holmfríðr, the mother and (her) sons, had this stone erected in memory of Halfdan, the father of Danr and his brothers; and Holmfríðr in memory of her husbandman. U 241. And Danr and Húskarl and Sveinn had the stone erected in memory of Ulfríkr, their father's father. He had taken two payments in England. May God and God's mother help the souls of the father and son. (Two inscriptions of a monument that originally comprised no less than four Pr 3 inscriptions, c. 1050-80, see SR).

U 194. Alli had this stone raised in memory of himself. He took Knútr's payment in England. May God help his spirit. (A one-stone Pr 3 monument, c. 1050-80, see SR).

The importance of these three texts was observed already by Brate (Wessén & Jansson 1943-46:83-85 with refs). Moreover, they add a perspective on inscriptions by the Garn. U 194 & 344, which refer directly to Knut, are the earliest inscriptions, while U 241 is probably closer to 1080 than 1050. When the brothers in this inscription remember their Grandfather Ulfríkr, they go back *c.* 50 years or so to point out his successes in England and thus to the days of Knut. When Ulf in Borresta, U 343-44, was commemorated in *c.* 1060, he was probably in his 60s or 70s, since he carved U 161 in the beginning of the century. All three inscriptions are Knut-biased in a positive way, taking the opportunity to link Garn to England and to Knut. However, they did so decades *after* Danes and Englishmen landed their failed special operation at the holm.

## Inscriptions along a fairway

The area sectioned by the Garn has a significant distribution of runic inscriptions. In general, in this part of the Mälaren region, when the vogue spreads, it was governed by the topography of the landscape. Many lakes and valleys extend from the southwest to the northeast, and settlements as well as inscriptions tend to follow topography. Inscriptions are dense in the southwest, less so in the northeast and completely missing in the southeast. Here, rather than a dense population similar to the one in the southwest there is but a sparsely settled archipelago. Within this general pattern there are exceptions. The first is the clustering settlements between Måby and Näs. The second is the Garn-Helgå transection.

Compared with the general distribution, Garn stands out. If one counts the number of inscriptions in four formal zones along this corridor, the pattern looks like Fig. 14. Instead of the expected dwindling west-east distribution density, the first zone along the east side of the fairway is as dense as the first zone west of it. The distribution goes against the expected. It defines the corridor as a maritime social landscape in its own right, yet integrated into the larger region.

#### Inscriptions in the Helgå & Garn zones

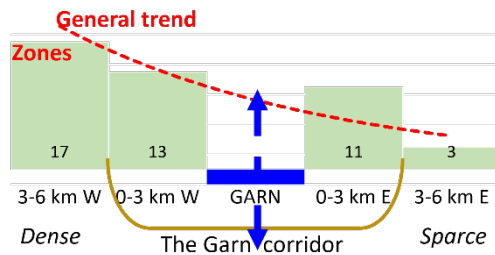


Figure 14. In relation to the density of runic inscriptions the Garn fairway is not simply a border. Rather it stands out as a runestone corridor at right angles with the diminishing runestone density.

As expected, inscriptions referring to Knut and England belong to the two zones west of the fairway and one, U 344, moreover, to a cluster in east-west settlement string. Consequently, there is reason to suggest that west of the fairway, people understood inscriptions 3 to 6 km from the Helgå-Garn corridor as carved in a hinterland. And we may suggest that there were land owners in Borresta, attested on U 336, 343 & 344, who backed up at least some of those who lived by the fairway, for instance, when people from Borresta wished to go to England rather than eastwards with Ingvar.

So far, the situation in Frösunda and Torsholma by Helgå fits the entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the idea of landing at a backdoor. The description in the chronicle has come to stand out as locally rooted, referring to a socio-religious time depth. Moreover, three runic inscriptions referring to the near past testify to close relations with Knut den store and England along the Garn fairway and the east-west road settlement. Indirectly, by means of this maritime corridor transecting the rural landscape, these inscriptions link a peripheral area in Uppland to Anglo-Danish power structures. The runic texts corroborate the description in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. They do so, because the kind of men with local and foreign experience mentioned in the inscriptions could be Knut's intelligence and informants behind the chronicler's entry.

## Torsholma and Rolsta

It is commonly agreed that the bipartite inscription U 347-48 refers to a social context made up by the two villages Torsholma and Rolsta, as hinted in the inscription (v. Friesen 1930; Jansson & Wessén 1943-46; Calissendorff 1964; Gräslund 1986; Varenius 1998:169-76; Vikstrand 2001; Rahmqvist 2011). In a social context, the text honours piety, prowess and success. The inscriptions can be seen as two texts or a string of text cut in two for thematic reasons. It is natural to approach it from the north and read U347 before U348.

Although there are some oddities when it comes to orthography and grammar, the rune text runs:

U 347. *Hlífsteinn let gærva sér til sialu botar ok sinni konu Ingirun ok sinum sunum Iarundr ok Nikulas ok Luðinn broar*

Hlífsteinn let there be made, for himself to soul's cure and for his wife Ingirún and his sons Jørundr and Nikulás and Loðinn, bridges.

We might have expected that the direct object, *broar* – bridges (pl. acc.), was placed just after the predicate *let gærva* — let (there) be made (Wessén & Jansson 1943-46). It is, nevertheless, fair to conclude that Hlífsteinn chose his

word order to emphasize that there were at least three bridges: *one* for himself, *one* for his wife and *one* for their sons. Similarly, we infer that each bridge was *tíð sialu botar* – for soul’s cure with reference to each of the five souls. Thus, he did for everyone what he did for himself while pointing out his nuclear family. Today, as discussed by Wessén & Jansson, two of the bridges mentioned in the inscription may still be located, the one next to the inscription and another one c. 450m northwest of the first. Owing to topography and hydrology a third bridge may conveniently have been located north of modern Brogård, see Figs 9 & 10.

The short text has similar orthographic and grammatical irregularities, but reads:

U 348: *Hann átti bú í Þorsholmi ok í Hrólfsstaðum skiplið*

He owned homestead in Þorsholmr and in Hrólfsstaðir (he owned) ship's retinue. Both texts were cut at the southern end of the long bridge that conjoins Torsholma with a part of the “holm”. From the bridge the road leads further south to the croft. Owing to the division into U 347 & 348 and to the preterit in U 348, *átti* rather than the present *á* – *owned* rather than *owns* – this short sentence may have been added after Hlífsteinn had died.

If there already was a church place at Frösunda, it could explain why neither the longer text U 347 nor the shorter U 348 are traditional commemorative texts. Moreover, if U 348 is the later text, the original, U 347, would have read equally well irrespective of whether we approached it from the north on the bridge or from the south on the road from the croft. Indirectly, both texts attest to the positive causal relation between pious disposition and economic prowess.

The possibility that there was an early church in Frösunda has been suggested since von Friesen in 1930. He dates the inscription U 347-48 to the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century with reference to orthography and the name Nikulas. These arguments rely on a Christian influence developing the rune alphabet and on the introduction of the saint’s name, Nicolaus (von Friesen 1930; Wessén & Jansson 1943-46:94). There is reason to revise this date because these earlier discussions could not draw upon Fv 1993:231. This inscription suggests a late 11<sup>th</sup> century date for a church. Moreover, the Pr3 or Pr4 inscription U 631 mentions a Nigulas, whose father Syhsa “Noisy” had a Scandinavian name. This text dates to the late 11<sup>th</sup> century (Larsson 2001; Raä Runor, signum U 631; Wessén & Jansson 1949-51:68-70).

In sum, late 11<sup>th</sup> century runic inscriptions, bridge building and early Christian graves characterise Frösunda-Torsholma. This period overlaps that of the England inscriptions, which came to an end with the great grandfather stone U 241.

Hlífsteinn owned Torsholma and controlled Rolsta. The latter produced and sustained at least some of the people he needed to form his maritime retinue: farmers, weavers, sailmakers, carpenters, sailors, soldiers etc. who maintained and sailed his ship or ships making *Hlífsteinn Shipping Int.* possible. Varenius points out that the settlement situation in general was similar to the one discussed by Stefan Brink. Varenius pointed out a *sta*-village tuned *lið*-village, that is, a village with a function similar to a *karl*-by in Brink’s discussion. Although Rolsta has nothing to do with the new social order that Brink discussed, it echoes a similar kind of dependency. Hlífsteinn in

Torsholma has come to dominate a large rural area and the Rolsta village at least when it comes to economy and social duties (Varenius 1998; Brink 1998:389-437.

The way he builds embankments and bridges is a sign of investment in ideology as well as in estate. This quest includes the road south of U 347 that ended in a small settlement broadly dated to the Late Iron/Viking Age and later periods<sup>4</sup>. In effect this croft annexed or colonized the hitherto unsettled holm – a traditionally speaking holy place, on behalf of the Christian owner of Torsholma. It may look like overdoing it to build the odd kilometre infrastructure for the benefit of a small croft and to commemorate this endeavour oneself with a runic inscription. Yet, in the present context, if the end of the road was a landing place, it makes sense to make landfall and ride or transport goods 1.3 km to Torsholma. Reading the statements in the rock

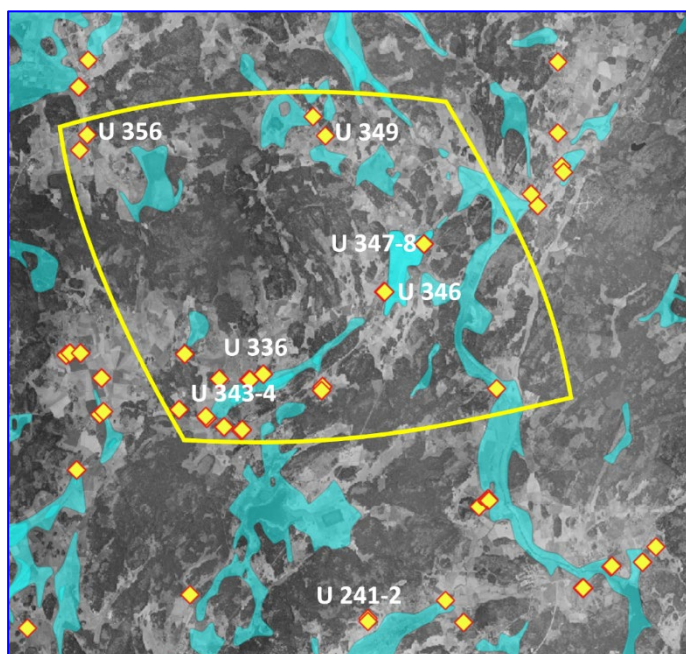


Figure 15. Except for the four highly fragmented inscriptions, half the texts within the yellow frame in Frösunda and Orkesta, that is, around the forested area, concern people who have been abroad. This area represents a recruitment area. See Fornsök; Raä Runor; SGU.

<sup>4</sup> Accession text for SHM 33806: In 1982 Riksantikvarieämbetet UV Stockholm carried out a trail excavation and phosphate mapping of RAÄ 133, Helgö 1:1, Frösunda sn, Up. The project leader was Lars Sjösvärd. The aim of the investigation was to clarify the possible status of the site as an ancient monument and what additional investigations were needed. The excavation revealed settlement remains from the Late Iron Age, Late Middle Ages and the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Among the finds there was an iron knife, ceramic sherds and bones. The Accession has taken place after a decision taken by RAÄ in accordance with KML. (Brunstedt, S. 1996. Smärre undersökningar i Uppland 1982-1989. UV Stockholm rapport 1996:120 SHM dnr 602-458-2000 RAÄ dnr 871/82 Handlingar i ATA Nina Persson 2013-01-23. (My translation). See also Vikstrand 2001 for a survey of an adjacent field.

halfway just before crossing the long bridge highlights Hlífsteinn's shipping. In practice, it defines his estate as consisting of the Christian family and its business – in Torsholma, in Rolsta and at the croft on the "holm".

We can follow the importance of shipping and foreign contacts a bit further in the local runic inscriptions, see Fig. 15. North of the woods in Frösunda and Orkesta, on U 356 Björn fell in Virland and on U 349 Eysteinn perished on board with all the seamen. South of the woods, U 346 and U 347-48 are also related to the east. The sad fates of the first three inscriptions should be compared with positive note of U 347-48 and the fact that Hlífsteinn's second son was called Nikolas. In this case it stands to reason that the name of this second son refers to the patron of sailors and it is not unlikely that perished seamen in the early part of the century and Christianity in the East, inspired Hlífsteinn's choice of name and of Christianity. He called his first son Jörundr (Peterson 2007). This name is a compound of "fight" and "wind" and it would seem that "Fight wind" and "Patron of Sailors" match Hlífsteinn's quest for endeavour and divine protection in shipping.

Hlífsteinn's attitude becomes even more significant when we compare his inscriptions to the ones on U 240-41 and U 343-44. They refer to successfully going west as a mercenary. That makes even them more significant, inasmuch as it means that when it comes to geography and inscriptions, we have at least two important estates in the area, Borresta (U 336, 343 & 344) in an agricultural area and Torsholma (U 347 & 348) in a maritime hub. The texts linked to the former are meant to represent family estate and home emphasizing martial success and external acquisition, the latter point to family, successful shipping and a home port.

In the present perspective, the Helgå-Garn fairway is seen as a border, which in some sense it is, but the *raison d'être* of the Torsholma-Rolsta estate may also be found elsewhere along the fairway. In Kårsta just northeast of Torsholma on the eastern side of the fairway, the runic inscriptions are more conventional with a limited focus although they do mention estate and bridge building (Rahmqvist 2011:111). Nevertheless, the economic importance of trade is seen in a coin hoard found at Gillberga. This hoard consisted of 553+ coins, 483 *penningar* (pennies) of which were Knut Eriksson's (1167-1196 CE), while 69 were Gotlandic (c. 1130-1220 CE.) Since this hoard was collected and forgotten a hundred years after the Hlífsteinn inscription was carved, it suggests that foreign trade was important even in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Fornsök L2017:9557 Gillberga). This indicates that in 11<sup>th</sup> century, the social geography in Torsholma-Rolsta has snapshot qualities in an area with longstanding maritime components. Torsholma was a large estate and the names on the rune stone U200 in neighbouring Benhamra, just south of Torsholma, suggest that landowners Finnvid and Tjälve, whose high nobility namesake descendants we probably meet in 13<sup>th</sup> century letters, were building up large estates already in the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Rahmqvist 2011:113-15).

## A homeland geography

Although isostatic uplift is slowly making the Helgå-Garn fairway less important, the Torsholma-Rolsta hub seems to prosper in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Along the fairway, the social landscape is made up of a rural hinterland and a maritime front or interface with the world. The runic inscriptions indicate



contacts with eastern as well as western Europe. They point out the ability of the Torsholma estate and its neighbours to sustain and supply the necessary workforce – mercenaries and seamen.

Owing to the riverine bend around Torsholma-Rolsta, the maritime stock landscape is complex and at Rolsta, the fairway becomes quite narrow. Sea-going 11<sup>th</sup> century fleets or cargo ships would have had difficulties going further up the fairway than Torsholma. But still in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the significant quality of this inland hub is the fact that 20 odd kilometres up the fairway from *Trälhavet* and the Baltic, you find a harbour at the end of a road that takes you westwards.

The outcome of the present analysis is first of all an example of a success in terms of social and probably economic pride among the successful in a small society marked by social stratification and an economy enhanced by shipping. In terms of economy, what has emerged is an international trade economy based on transportation and some external acquisition. Everything is based on a surplus in a rural economy that makes it possible for a lord to engage in shipping. This is done without any local urban settlement. There is so to speak no Sigtuna on Helgö, but Hlífsteinn seems to have elbow room when he engages in shipping and cultural interaction.

In essence, nevertheless, he is an Iron Age role model on his way to become an anachronism. Torsholma and its Hlífsteinn will eventually lose out to Stockholm, when it comes to economy, and to the archbishopric, when it comes to ownership of land (Helmfrid 2011:62-3; Rahmqvist 2011).

The most interesting political question in this small part of 11<sup>th</sup> century Sweden is simple enough: Why would Knut send a fleet to Holm by Helgå if he aimed at controlling the Sigtuna market, and with it, a part of Sweden? One might suggest that he saw Torsholma as a backdoor to Uppland, and perhaps even to Sigtuna (Gräslund 1986).



Figure 16. A possible road from Torsholma over Broby to Sigtuna. See Historiska kartor; Rää Runor; SGU.

The settlement pattern between Näs in Frösunda and Broby in Husby-Ärlinghundra speaks in favour of that possibility, although it is difficult to say precisely how Knut's soldiers would have advanced from Måby to Til and Sigtuna, see Figs 2 & 16. As indicated by the bridge stones and the transfer at Til, the ride on the track from Torsholma to Sigtuna is 30 odd kilometres, a day's ride for a horseman. Nevertheless, in the 10<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> century, it might have been relatively difficult for soldiers to pass by Til, which seems to have controlled a passage to Sigtuna (Seiler & Beronius-Jörpeland 2020). However,

as suggested by the  $^{14}\text{C}$ -dates, the 11<sup>th</sup> century, especially the first part, stands out as a marked-down period in the settlement between its Phases 4 and 5, Fig 17 (Seiler & Beronius-Jörpeland 2020). One may even venture to say that the place was restored and developed *after* what might have been a short Danish stay.

This situation must be balanced by the fact that there is no point in camping an army at Torsholma and support it while you wait for Ulfr and Eilíf to arrive and many to die. Instead, if possible, the point must be to send army units northwards or westwards to occupy Til, Sigtuna and its hinterland. However, before Knut attempts to land at Holm by Helgå for strategic reasons, he must know that it exists, be allowed to row up the Garn and to land his army before Eilíf and Ulfr get wind of his intentions.

Secondly, therefore, we must ask ourselves whether Knut's army was welcomed at Torsholma? An answer in the affirmative is indirect and has to do with the dating of the three Knut-and-England inscriptions that commemorate achievements of the near past. These three inscriptions were carved after the death of Anund Jakob in 1050, and they celebrated local heroes from the days of Knut den store. The texts could of course have been written down already in the 1030s, but given that Knut's rule was most

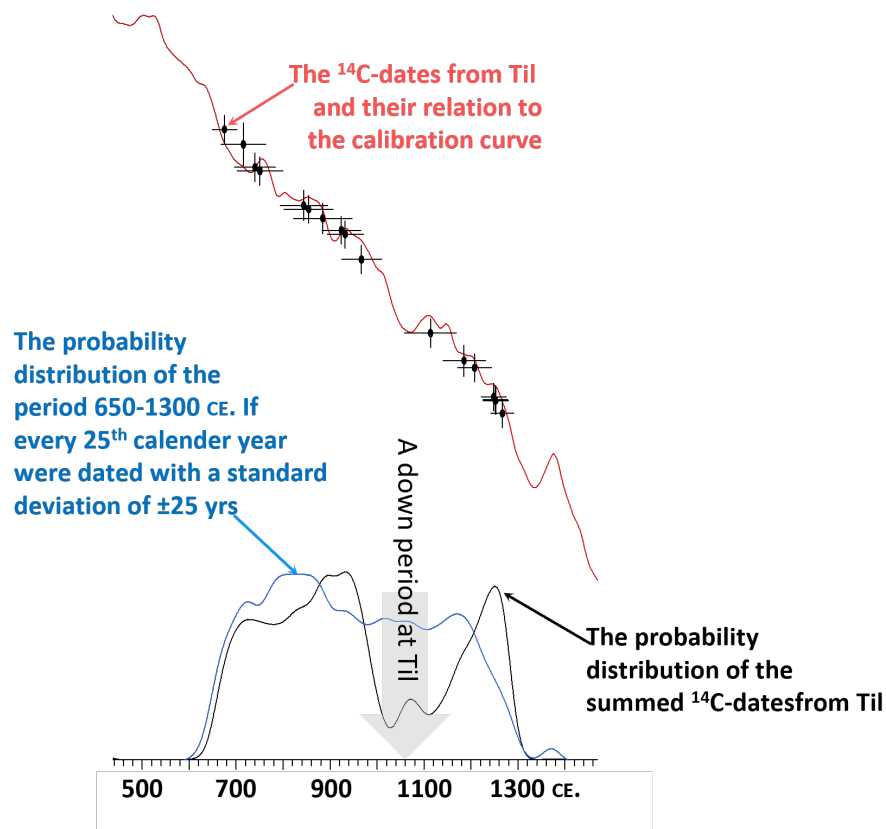


Figure 17. The chronological spectrum of the  $^{14}\text{C}$ -dates from the Til settlement just east of Sigtuna. It can be seen that the cultural time at Til, that is, the number of possibly dated years of the Common Era are not as evenly distributed as the astronomical time. Indications of cultural time are sparse in the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE. Based on Seiler & Beronius-Jörpeland 2020; Calibration: BCal.

temporary and that Anund Jakob was reinstalled, it stands out as a sign of sensible precaution to wait till after Anund's death to commemorate good relations with Knut. In particular, the three-payment inscription from Borresta, U 344, stands out as reassuring only in the event of Anund Jakob's death. The inscriptions testify to the importance of England and the near past even in the 1050s. Moreover, the inscriptions indicate that Knut's military leaders could have had access to intelligence about Torsholma as a landing place, for instance, from the likes of Ulf in Borresta.

It is the autonomy of the Helgä-Garn corridor and its hinterland that stands out. In a miniature perspective it reminds one of a Gotlandic scene, a form of decentralized autonomous Iron Age land with an economy and indeed a foreign policy of its own. The bipartite Torsholma-Borresta hub is built more or less like any centre, be it a king's court or an earl's or indeed any Iron Age centre. It echoes the hub structure of the networks of halls in the hall-governed Scandinavian society. All hubs are composed of the same major components: economic, political, social and ideological – be it Knut's court in England or Hlífsteinn's parish-size Torsholma estate. This latter kind of land and its original estates will eventually be quelled to benefit the birth of a medieval Swedish nation. However, when Knut was king of England, the idea of the world as a network of hubs was still viable, and probably the network in itself is something to have in mind when you seek to conquer Sweden – even if you fail as Knut did. Although Knut's army in all probability was at the holm by the holy river, we cannot be sure that it ever made it to Sigtuna. But if it intended to occupy Sigtuna, it is not a bad idea to establish a bridgehead at Torsholma or Borresta. In itself, Torsholma is not much to conquer.

## The homeland :: hostland interaction

From 1997-2018 Routledge published the book series *Global Diasporas*, eight monographs and an introduction, as well as a handbook (Cohen 2008; Cohen & Fischer 2018). This effort was just one of many that sought to broaden the concept of diaspora. Since the 1980s, this concept has come to represent a trendy intersubjectivity among sociologists engulfing concepts such as migration, immigration or emigration and the social groups involved. Originally, the noun diaspora comes from a Greek compound δία (across) + σπείρειν (to sow seed). The compound meant 'scattering'. Thus, the present sociological usage is very different from the original meaning (Dufoix 2008:59-62; Dufoix 2018). Predictably, this trend resulted in a need for structuring ideal types (Cohen 2008:159-61; Dufoix 2008:62-66). Robin Cohen found it useful, therefore, to list nine common, albeit not necessary 'features' characterising 'diasporas' (Cohen 2008: Tab. 1). These Weberian types serve as academic lifeboats saving you from a devastating intellectual inflation.

Lesley Abrams discussed Viking Age Scandinavian diaspora in England under an umbrella of royal and lordly courts, regional interaction between them and possible overlapping identities (Abrams 2012:21). Her point of departure was Robin Cohen's nine attributes. Seen in relation to the social pyramid in England and inspired by Abrams and Jesch, Jane Kershaw added the family, in Simmel's words the "first social circle", and in her own words signified by 'women as the bearers of cultural tradition' to the spectrum of a

Scandinavian diaspora in England (Kershaw 2021:109-11; Abrams 2012; Jesch 2015). This diaspora resulted in a hybridity that allowed several generally speaking Scandinavian spheres to interact with Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish England.

The expats from the Garn corridor who took payment in England represent a “diasporic homecoming” perhaps repeatedly and as such, they have a given place in today’s research (e.g. Tsuda 2009). Indirectly, even Nikolas, Björn and Eysteinn testify to the homeland :: hostland dyad. When it comes to understanding the past, it is important to point out that both the micro-level Borresta-Torsholma example and the macro-level hostland court in Rouen add to the world stage significance of the homeland :: homeland interaction in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century (e.g., van Hoots 1983; 1992; 2000). Rapidly, in Rouennais, the initial interaction between Scandinavian and French successfully developed into a new Norman identity rooted in, but also lifted out of the homeland :: hostland past (see discussion in Webber 2005:18-40).

Table 1. A check of Cohen’s, 2008:18, nine attributive points from a homeland perspective in Borresta-Torsholma.

√	1)	dispersal from an original homeland to two or more foreign regions;
√	2)	expansion in search of work, in pursuit of trade, or to further colonial ambitions;
√	3)	a collective memory and myth about the homeland, real or imagined;
√	4)	an idealization of the homeland and a collective commitment to its thriving;
√	5)	a movement to return to or at least maintain a connection with the homeland;
√	6)	a strong ethnic group consciousness, maintained over time;
√	7)	a troubled relationship with the host society;
√	8)	a sense of empathy and co-responsibility with co-ethnic members in other countries;
√	9)	the possibility of an enriched creative life in the host country

1) England, Virland; 2) Shipping and payments, England, Virland; 3) The idea of »the holm at the holy river»; 4) The reason why Knut chose to land at the holm; 5) See U 194, U240 & U344; 6) the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: ‘Danish men and English’ died; 7) getting killed in Virland U346/56; 8) In principle solidarity with Tosti, Þorketill & Knútr U343; 9) In principle embracing Eastern Christianity calling your son Nikolas signals an enriched creative life in the East, see U 347-48. Becoming one of Knut’s men signals the same in the West.

The people in the minimal Torsholma-Borresta homeland ticks all the boxes in Cohen’s table, see Table 1, but in the present case-study situation “diaspora” and “ideal types” are of little importance compared to the basic homeland :: hostland interaction. This is not to say that ideal types are not involved. For instance, to catch a glimpse of a possible ideal type we may consider the following: as a hub in the social pyramid, the social circles



represented by Torsholma-Borreata are rooted in the Late Iron Age social pyramid. The hub is above the level of the traditional family, represented for instance by female commemorators in runic inscriptions, such as Inga in Snottsta. Yet it sits below the earl's court level in an Anglo-Saxon sense of that concept, but not necessarily in relation to the Early Iron Age Scandinavian concept (Herschend 2020:461-2).

The Torsholma-Borreata "homeland", represented by Ulf in Borresta and Hlífsteinn in Torsholma, is hall-centred, mixing family, orality and literacy with estate and power. The exact social position of such hubs in a north European perspective is of minor importance in view of Knut's military project, as long as the hub demonstrates power in the area and control of the possible bridgehead. More importantly, this rhetorical runic historiography of the powerful in a given hub during a few generations allows the Ulfs and Hlífsteins on a personal level to interact with the powerful of other hubs. One simply benefits from the contextualisation of the network that signifies the hall-governed society, which in its turn drove Scandinavian migration, diaspora, expats, networks etc. Or to rephrase: the ideal type in question suggests that if King Alfred can talk to Ottar of Helgeland (Fell 2003), then Knut or one of his earls can talk to a Hlífsteinn or an Ulf. Moreover, if Knut arrived at Torsholma, he might have recognized Ulf in Borresta, who would seem to have played a part in the conquest of England less than 10 years before.

Compared to an English *hostland* approach, the analysis of Torsholma-Borreata adds a social psychological *homeland* perspective, which is primary in relation to Knut's ambitions. We owe this also to the symbolic qualities of the description in the A-S C of the holm by the holy river as a landing place. Had clarity been cardinal, the chronicler could just have written: Sailed up the Garn and landed at Rolsta. The runic inscriptions in the hub, that is, the family-orientated rhetorical and Christian historiography of the near past, is equally important, because it allows us to talk of a political homeland :: hostland interaction in the near past. In this perspective, the runic inscriptions represent the tiniest of supports for the homeland in the homeland :: hostland interaction. In the same day and age, it is in Normandy and England that the Scandinavian homeland plays its most vital historiographic role. This role is signified by a formidable development in fictional history concerning Scandinavians, see *Encomium Emmae Reginae* (1040-42/43 CE.) and Dudo's *Historia Normannorum* (c. 1015). Both books are encouraging examples of identity building and frustrating examples of fictional historiography (Tyler 2005; 2017; Orchard 2001; Webber 2005; Pohl 2015; Christiansen 1998).

These histories, of Knut den store and his queen Emma and of the first dukes of Normandy, have many purposes, not least to promote Scandinavian heritage. In principle, they do not abhor facts, but facts qualify as such only if they fit the fictional narrative. In the *Encomium* most of what is presented as facts is metaphoric: truth with modification and fiction. In its context, nevertheless, the *Encomium* is easy to understand especially when it can be checked with the real facts.

Together with a contemporary dialogical play, *Semiramis*, in which Emma (the heroine) is presented as the whore of Babylon and justified, the *Encomium*

speaks in favour of Emma and reflects the life of a powerful 11<sup>th</sup> century woman (Herschend 2017B:92-3 with refs).

In the 1970s, Richard Southern wrote four essays on *Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing* (Southern 1970). The first discussed ‘the classical tradition from Einhard to Geoffrey of Monmouth’. This period. *c.* 800 to 1150 CE., saw the culmination of historiography as a rhetoric art form based on Classical authors, poetic references and even illustrations (Pohl 2015:165-197). Especially, when it comes to the near past, this art form simply puts moral and history above facts, as already Einhard did when he wrote about Charles the Great (e.g. Herschend 2022:235-6). It is easy to see the runic inscriptions commenting upon their near past as examples of rhetorical homeland historiography, even if the facts are correct.

TO SUM UP: The situation in Torsholma and environs may be described in the following way: during the first millennium CE., a small landscape has been monumentalised in order to mark its character and stress “presence” as visibly rooted in the past. Owing to its situation on the fairway where Helgå meets Garn, the economic landscape benefits from inland resources and shipping in an otherwise sparsely populated settlement area. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, when seagoing sailing ships may still traffic the Garn, communications become more important. When the Danes land at Torsholma it gives rise to a homeland :: hostland interaction, which manifest itself in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as well as in a number of runic inscriptions. At least some of these latter examples of rhetorical historiography were composed 30 odd years after Knut’s short-term presence in this part of Sweden and after the death of Anund Jakob in 1050. It is understandable that the families in this small marginal society value their autonomy and embrace Knut’s campaign. And it is a sign of their interaction with the Anglo-Danes that they manage to get the holiness and the historical roots of their landscape pointed out in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. On the political scene, the people at Torsholma-Borresta lost. Yet their runic inscriptions, their fragments of a rhetorical historiography of the recent past, rings a bell:

TEMPLE: Temple Drake is dead.

STEVENS: The past is never dead. It’s not even the past. (Faulkner 1953:85).

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## Figure texts

Figure 1A-C. Figure 1A. Runic inscriptions in the Lake Mälaren Region between Sigtuna and Torsholma in relation to the shorelines *c.* 500 & 1000 CE. See *Historiska kartor*; Raä Runor; SGU. Yellow arrows mark passages to the salt sea. Red arrows mark passages from lakes to the yellow fairways. Green shadow exemplifies settlements by lake and wetland. Red shadow marks the settlement patterns discussed in this paper. Figure 1B. Black oval exemplifies rune stones at bridges, Figure 1C. Black circle exemplifies moved rune stones,

Figure 2. "Eastwards with Ingvar" among the runic inscriptions in the Lake Mälaren Region and around Sigtuna. See Raä Runor; *Historiska kartor*; SGU. All inscriptions, except Måby, are maritime monuments.

Figure 3. The Måby bridge was built in the forested backland. The bridge was marked by a runic inscriptions just west of the bridge and north of the road. The Måby bridge sits between the settlements in Husby-Ärlinghundra and Ben- Sten- and Kimsta. When you reach the forest edge at Stensta you enter this settlement cluster. When you pass the bridge at Kimsta you leave it. Blue diamonds mark rune stones. Cemeteries are marked as black dots and suggested roads are yellow. Background maps, see *Historiska kartor*; Raä Runor; SGU.

Figure 4. Following the road eastwards from the bridge and the cemeteries at Kimsta two odd kilometres through the woods you arrive at the by-road to Snottsta and the Markim cluster of inscriptions. If you proceed past the cemeteries at Vreta, Berg and Husby over the bridge and along the forest edge you arrive at the bridge and cemetery at Ytterärde where by-roads cross the cemetery and the main road in a number of parallel north-south sunken lanes. Blue diamonds mark rune stones. Cemeteries are marked as black dots and suggested roads are yellow. Background maps, see *Historiska kartor*; Raä Runor; SGU.

Figure 5. In the westernmost part of the Orkesta settlement cluster bridge, cemetery and crossroad divides thvides the settlement into two: An area north and an area south of the wetland. North of the wetland the road runs past the church and the bridge over the brook between Orkesta and Viggeby. Here it leaves the cluster and runs towards the two inscriptions at Frösunda church and the final bridge inscription south of Torsholma and Näs. The road continues another 600m southwards to the remains of a small Late Iron Age and Early Medieval settlement. Blue diamonds with a yellow contour mark rune stones. Cemeteries are marked as black dots and suggested roads are yellow. Background maps, see *Historiska kartor*; Raä Runor; SGU.

Figure 6. The spatial and chronological distribution of the runic inscriptions between Broby and Näs in relation to cemeteries and possible roads. For background maps, see *Historiska kartor*; Fornsök; Raä Runor; SGU.

Figure 7. The relation between lay-out and text on U 356 and U 346.

Figure 8. Prominent 11<sup>th</sup> c. Southwest – Northeast travels to and fro the Mårby-Torsholma road settlement. See Raä Runor; SGU.

Figure 9. The balance between different outer grave forms in Fröslunda. See *Historiska kartor*; Fornsök; Raä Runor; SGU.

Figure 10. Rural, maritime and forestial elements of the cultural landscape at the end of the road in Frösunda. There is a need to define border zones as well as farms by means of mounds. However, in settlements close to a waterfront the distinction between rural and maritime mounds is difficult to draw. But the number of mounds is larger in areas where both types of monuments are needed. See Historiska kartor; Fornsök; Raä Runor; SGU.

Figure 11. The pothole island in the archipelago of the Late Stone Age – Early Bronze Age. See Fornsök, topographic map.

Figure 12. Echoes of a late 11<sup>th</sup> century situation between Torsholma/Rolsta and Helgö. Background map Historiska kartor, Torsholma 1690.

Figure 13A&B. A. "Knut" and "England" inscriptions. B. Clusters of texts less than 10 & 20 km apart, red and black lines respectively. See Raä Runor; Google maps.

Figure 14. In relation to the density of runic inscriptions the Garn fairway is not simply a border. Rather it stands out as a rune stone corridor at right angles with the diminishing rune stone density.

Figure 15. Except for the four highly fragmented inscriptions, half the texts within the yellow frame in Frösunda and Orkesta, that is, around the forested area, concern people who have been abroad. This area represents a recruitment area. See Fornsök; Raä Runor; SGU.

Fig. 17. The chronological spectrum of the <sup>14</sup>C-dates from the Täl settlement just east of Sigtuna. It can be seen that the cultural time at Täl, that is, the number of possibly dated years of the Common Era are not as evenly distributed as the astronomical time. Indications of cultural time are sparse in the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE. Based on Seiler & Beronius-Jörpeland 2020; Calibration: BCal.



## Table

Table 1. A check of Cohen's, 2008:18, nine attributive points from a homeland perspective in Borresta-Torsholma.

✓	1)	dispersal from an original homeland to two or more foreign regions;
✓	2)	expansion in search of work, in pursuit of trade, or to further colonial ambitions;
✓	3)	a collective memory and myth about the homeland, real or imagined;
✓	4)	an idealization of the homeland and a collective commitment to its thriving;
✓	5)	a movement to return to or at least maintain a connection with the homeland;
✓	6)	a strong ethnic group consciousness, maintained over time;
✓	7)	a troubled relationship with the host society;
✓	8)	a sense of empathy and co-responsibility with co-ethnic members in other countries;
✓	9)	the possibility of an enriched creative life in the host country
1) England, Virland; 2) Shipping and payments, England, Virland; 3) The idea of "the holm at the holy river"; 4) The reason why Knut chose to land at the holm; 5) See U 194, U240 & U344; 6) the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: 'Danish men and English' died; 7) getting killed in Virland U346/56; 8) In principle solidarity with Tosti, Þorketill & Knútr U343; 9) In principle embracing Eastern Christianity calling your son Nikolas signals an enriched creative life in the East, see U 347-48. Becoming one of Knut's men signals the same in the West.		