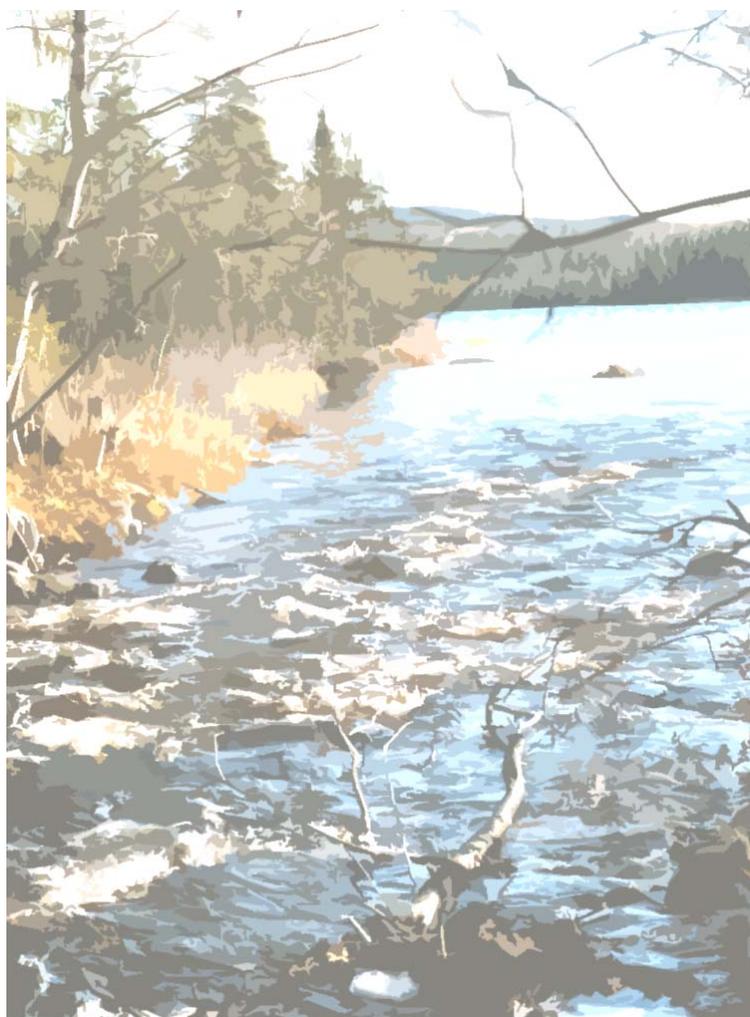


ARKEOLOGI I NORR 10



ARKEOLOGI I NORR 10

UMEÅ UNIVERSITET
Institutionen för arkeologi
och samiska studier



UMEÅ UNIVERSITY
Department of Archaeology
and Sámi Studies

Tryckt med bidrag från Vetenskapsrådet

Omslagsbild:

Utlopp i sjö - där världar och resurser möttes.

Utgivare och distribution:

Institutionen för arkeologi och samiska studier, Umeå universitet
SE-901 87 Umeå, Sverige

Redaktör:

Per H. Ramqvist
epost: per.ramqvist@arke.umu.se

Grafisk form, lay-out och omslag:

Per H. Ramqvist

Engelsk språkgranskning (ej Bergman och Loeffler):

Sees-editing Ltd, UK.

ISSN 0284-558x

Tryck:

Orginal, Umeå

2007

Innehåll

<i>Per H. Ramqvist</i> Förord	v
<i>Ingela Bergman</i> Vessels and kettles. Socio-economic implications of the cessation of asbestos pottery in Northern Sweden	1
<i>Mirja Miettinen</i> Fynd av senneolitisk asbestkeramik i Sydösterbotten	17
<i>Asgeir Svestad</i> ”Folk er vanligvis ikke særlig villige til å snakke om de døde”. Synspunkter på materialitet og samisk gravskikk	41
<i>Anders Huggert</i> Fem vapenbilder och dessutom en heraldisk örn i Mörtträsk-fyndet	77
<i>Berit Andersson & Erik Sandén</i> En boplatzvall från äldre järnålder i Torrböle, Nordmaling sn, Västerbotten	93
<i>Lennart Klang</i> Fattenborg som fornlämningsmiljö och forskningsobjekt	105
<i>David Loeffler</i> Archaeological surveys - a few reflections. As exemplified by features and finds from Lake Hångstaörn, Medelpad	137
<i>Per H. Ramqvist</i> Fem Norrland. Om norrländska regioner och deras interaktion	153

Archaeological surveys - a few reflections

as exemplified by features and finds from Lake Hångstaörn, Medelpad

David Loeffler

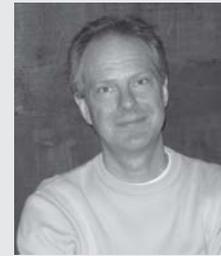
English summary

Lake Hångstaörn has been surveyed on six different occasions between 1949 and 1996. The most recent uncovered 81 previously unknown sites (dating to the Mesolithic and Bronze Ages) including a locale with rock paintings. Why did previous work fail to detect these many and readily detectable remains? It is here suggested that historically conditioned bias prevented surveyors from realising the lake's archaeological potential.

*David Loeffler, Häradsbövdingegatan 30C, SE- 903 31 Umeå, Sweden.
david.loeffler@mepenguin.com*

Introduction

Archaeological surveys are biased. Limited monetary resources only circumscribe the scope and duration of any one project. In the best of cases, what is actually singled out and targeted for documentation is a reflection of the survey's explicit archaeological and/or antiquarian objectives. If ill-defined, then other and unquestioned presumptions and expectations concerning the what and where of ancient remains will guide the attention of those participating in the survey. It is this latter situation that is of interest here, the recursive interdependence between expectations, results and interpretations. This is exemplified by the six surveys undertaken around Hångstaörn, a lake which seemed to merit little attention, situated far from those areas traditionally considered to be cultural hubs, both past and present.



David Loeffler (b. 1954), David Loeffler came to Sweden in 1970. As a field archaeologist he has partaken in excavations and surveys covering all periods, from the Palaeolithic to the present. In his doctoral thesis, *Contested Landscapes/Contested Heritage* from 2005, he shows how Swedish geo-political power structures, prejudices and favouritism influence and/or determine the conception, acceptance and maintenance of what is considered to be valid archaeological knowledge. Since then he has been trying to get a job.



Fig. 1. Map showing northern Hälsingland and the greater part of Medelpad with those place names mentioned in the text.

Hångstaörn and its Surroundings

Located in a remote and out-of-the-way corner near the southern boarder of Medelpad in the parish of Torp, Lake Hångstaörn seems to be surrounded by terrain both harsh and inaccessible, especially in comparison with the central agricultural districts (Fig. 1). The latter are situated on the rich and fertile soils found to the south-east around the Dellen Lakes, toward the east on the rolling coastal plains and northwards along the spacious Ljungan river valley. The antiquity and importance of these present day agricultural centres, with their cultivated and well tended fields, is attested by an abundance of archaic

place names, earthen grave mounds, house foundations, fortified heights and rune stones, all of which date to different periods of the Iron Age (Selinge 1979; Liedgren 1992; Ramqvist 1992:22pp). In contrast, the narrow and stony shores of Hångstaörn are encircled by steep and rugged hills covered by forests interspersed by wet boggy tracts. The prevailing atmosphere of emptiness that hangs over the lake is enhanced by the remains of a few and long abandoned crofter cottages edged around by meagre clearings, most of which have already been reclaimed by the forest.

Toponymy reveals that the suffix *-örn* is a corruption of the word *ören* which means "angular or coarse gravel" (pers. com. Edlund 2006). Hångsta is an agricultural village located on the southern slopes of the Ljungan river valley, a community that might well hark back to the Iron Age as indicated by its *-sta* suffix (Selinge 1977:405; Ramqvist 1992:22pp). Thus "Hångsta's gravel deposit" is a name that could be understood as one further confirmation of Hångstaörn's peripheral position. The appellation is, in either case, a fitting description of the Quaternary till that blankets the surrounding area, which consists mainly of gravel, in places intermingled with sand, but more often with stones and boulders, both small and large (Lundqvist 1987).

About 5 km long (NW-SE) and 1.5 km wide, Hångstaörn is a Y-shaped lake which, together with five others of comparable size, constitutes the main sources of the Svåga river (known by other names in both its upper and lower regions). This minor river system is only about 110 km long, which after leaving Medelpad transverses northern Hälsingland in a south-easterly direction. On the first half of its journey to the Baltic sea it passes regions sparsely inhabited. This changes as it reaches the Dellan lakes and coastal plains, both characterised by rich agricultural lands that have been continuously cultivated since c. 400 BC (Liedgren 1992).

Hångstaörn Surveyed

Hångstaörn has been surveyed on six different occasions within the last five decades. Plans to harness the lake's waters for the production of hydro-electric power initiated the first survey, a one day affair that was carried out by Ingemar Atterman from the Regional Antiquarian

Society of Medelpad in September of 1949. Similar investigations for similar reasons had been undertaken by personal from the Central Board of National Antiquities/Riksantikvarieämbetet (RAÄ), or their representatives, since 1942, work which had clearly demonstrated that sites of Stone Age character did occur in Norrland. Atterman, who conducted his search from a motorboat, especially targeted the sandy stretches of the shoreline, deposits deemed most likely to harbour ancient remains. Despite this, only one feature was recorded, a collection of stones on the small island of Offerholmen (offer = sacrifice/victim, holm = islet) which, according to local legend, is the grave of Hångstaörn's first homesteader (Letter D.nr. 728/49; 2033/49; 4725/49).

Harald Hvarfner, while conducting a salvage survey for the RAÄ along the Ljungan river, visited lakes Hångstaörn and Lillnaggen in October 1956, but this did not result in the discovery of any new sites (Letter D.nr. 5817/57; F5817/57).

Hångstaörn was revisited in 1966, this time in connection with the RAÄ's "first or prehistoric survey" which, in Medelpad, was rapidly concluded during three consecutive seasons starting in 1964. Stone Age sites were not then recorded, the result of a bureaucratic decision that only sanctioned the documentation of features which exhibited perceptible remains on or above the surface of the ground. As far as Hångstaörn is concerned, nothing new was noted nor documented.

The RAÄ returned to the parish of Torp in 1992 and 1993, during which time 7, and then 3, Stone Age sites were registered along the shores of Hångstaörn. Their belated discovery and documentation was the result of a much needed change of policy that had occurred in the interval between the end of the "first survey" and beginning of this "second, revised or cultural-historical survey".

Reflections

Even though Stone Age sites were systematically registered during the second cultural-historical survey, surveying strategies remained basically unaltered, being conducted in accordance with the prescribed and sanctioned "ocular technique" which has been in use since the late 1930's. Test pitting, despite successful exceptions to the contrary,

was considered a hindrance and thus not officially encouraged (Meschke 1977:15pp; Loeffler 1999a:73pp). The ocular method is adequate when features are visible on or above the surface of the ground. However, Stone Age sites are generally inconspicuous. Reconnaissance, when deprived of artificial aids, is severely restricted to those few areas where the ground vegetation has been removed either by human or natural means (Loeffler 1999a:70). Needless to say, this does not conveniently occur on a regular basis in coherence with these sites, and when it does, is seldom to their advantage. Consequently, the ocular technique automatically favours the discovery and documentation of "highly visible" remains. Thus it is hardly surprising that pre-historic graves and other readily perceptible features, either pre-historic or historic, located on, in or near the central agricultural districts constitute the majority of features that have been registered (S. Jönsson 1985; Flink 1990; B. Jönsson 1991; Loeffler 1999a:77). Features located further afield, such as hunting pits and iron-working sites, have traditionally been considered to be an extension of, or to have arisen in response to, the needs and activities issuing from within the central farming communities (Selling 1973; 1977:399pp; 1979). In this light, the area around Hångstaörn seems empty indeed. Even more so when one takes into consideration the few hundred Stone Age sites recently discovered and documented along the Ljungan and Gimån rivers (Loeffler 1992a; 1994; 1999a) or those found and/or excavated along the coastal areas of Helsingland and Gästrikland (Holm 2006).

Hångstaörn Revealed

Five decades of archaeological research seems to have invariably substantiated the marginal status of lake Hångstaörn and its surroundings. There was no reason to call into question this commonly accepted inference, at least as it concerns the Iron Age and subsequent periods, including our own. And yet, was it feasible to assume that this interpretation was equally valid for all preceding periods, a time span of some 6000 years? Results from the earlier surveys seemed to suggest that this was indeed so. Experiences elsewhere have shown that sites of Stone Age character are often and abundantly located on

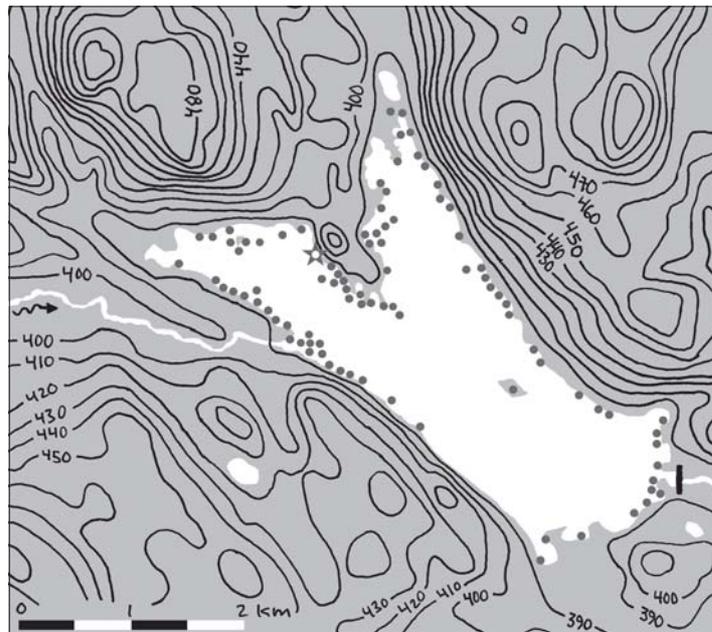


Fig. 2. Map showing the 91 sites (dots) and the rock painting (star) situated in and around lake Hångstaörn, Torp parish, Medelpad. The original surface of the lake was 379 m.a.s.l. After completion of the damn, its water level was raised by just over 7 meters (as depicted here) to 386.20 m.a.s.l.

sandy sediments, either alluvial, lacustrine, marine or glaciofluvial (see Loeffler 1999 and references). According to available soil maps, Quaternary deposits of this type are entirely lacking in and around Hångstaörn. In consequence, one would expect that a re-examination would not uncover anything of significance, great or small. With these thoughts in mind we, Lena Frykholm and the author, decided to take a walk and re-survey the lake. We did so on our own time and at our own expense. The drought summer of 1996 provided the ideal opportunity. The surface of the lake had dropped to c 384.5 meters, not quite 2 meters below its normal level when filled, consequently exposing areas above the original shoreline, now devoid of all vegetation after fifty years of inundation and thus completely open to inspection.

To our surprise, and contrary to all prior assumptions or expectations, we discovered 81 new sites (Fig. 2). Prominent features included hearths, one large semi-subterranean house, two floor-like areas, three, possibly four, stone settings and one site with painted pictographs.

Most of these sites did not harbour distinguishable features that would have been visible on the original ground surface. Some consist of little more than a few fire-cracked stones and/or waste flakes scattering over a few square meters. Others contain an abundance of rubbish spread out across a fairly large area. Assemblages of both types, when found in Norrland, are often and carelessly referred to as "sites of Stone Age character". This is an ill-

defined term that conceals a range of unlike remains that date to different times stretching over many thousands of years. The use of this label imparts more about the plight of research than it does about the society that produced these remains. Its use probably conceals a wide range of activities, for example; aggregation camps, base or residential camps, transient camps, different types of exploitation or field camps, hunting and fishing stations, kill and/or butchering sites, tool processing sites, sacred and ceremonial sites and/or camps, quarries and caches for food, equipment or materials (Forsberg 1985:10pp; Bin-



Fig. 3. Our survey, which took us right around the lake, was completed in 14 days during August of 1996. This site, c 80 x 20 meters large, lies about 1 kilometre east-north-east of the rock painting. In its western half there are a number of hearths. Lena Frykholm points out a handle core and micro-blade found close to a loose collection of fire-cracked stones, the remains of a hearth damaged by erosion. Behind her are the remains of at least another two hearths. This site lies 1-2 meters beneath the surface of the lake when it is filled to capacity. Drawing made from a photograph by the author.



Fig. 4. Lena Frykholm's sharp eye could pick out ancient remains even in the most difficult of terrain. To the right of her there appears to be an area 4 x 2 meters in size that has, in part, been deliberately cleared of stones. Within this floor-like space there are two indistinct concentrations of fire-cracked stones, possibly the remains of hearths, now damaged by erosion. When the lake is filled to capacity, this site is covered by about 2 meters of water. Sketch made from a photograph by the author.

ford 1988:109pp; Gamble 1989:297pp; Loeffler 1999a:69p). Yet one suspects that even these functional terms do not do justice to the social complexity that created these sites (see for example Strassburg 2000).

The hearths occur singly or in clusters throughout the area. Circular, oval or of indeterminable shape, they vary in size from 1-2 meters in length and 0.5-1 meters in width, consisting of a compact layer of fire-cracked stones. Scattered around some of them lie flakes and/or artefacts. Loose aggregations of fire-cracked stones were also noted, most probably the remains of hearths or cooking pits severely afflicted by erosion. (Fig. 3).

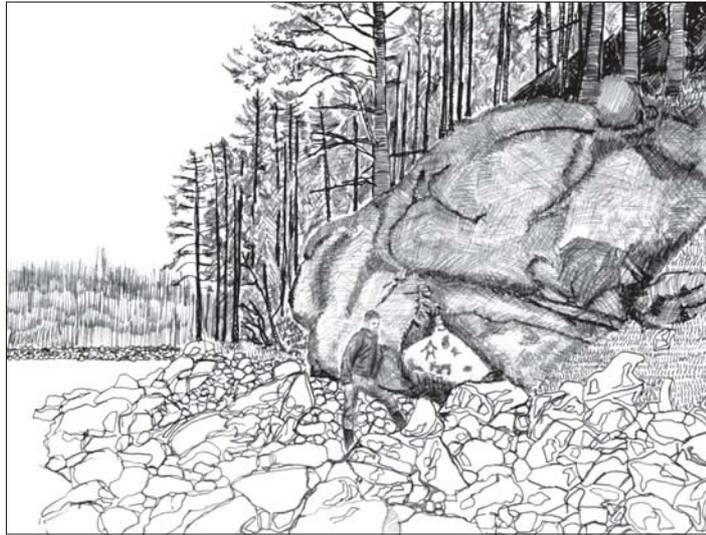


Fig. 5. The paintings, to the left of Martain Tägtström, are situated on a large boulder or portion of exposed bedrock. Hovering above the ground, it seems on the verge of detaching itself from the steep incline from which it springs. Its bear-like facial features, curious oblong shape and dark grey colour add to its highly suggestive and animate-like appearance (see Fandén 2002). Martin, with his great experience from similar sites, was able to point out a number of features not initially noticed at the time of its discovery, including the human figure and the smudges of red ochre painted on its underside. Sketch made from a photograph by the author.

The semi-subterranean house is situated on the western shore of the lake's northern fork. It appears as an oval or rectangular depression c 7 x 3 meters in size and 0.6 meters deep. It is surrounded on all sides by a c 1 meter wide and 0.1-0.2 meter high embankment. Its shape, if not its size, is very much like those found near the village of Vuollerim, in the parish of Jokkmokk, that date to about 4000 BC calibrated (Loeffler 1998, 1999b).

At least two floor-like features were noted. In a region where the ground surface abounds in stones and boulders of all sizes, they appear as small spaces relatively free of both, giving the impression that they were intentionally cleared in order to provide a surface less

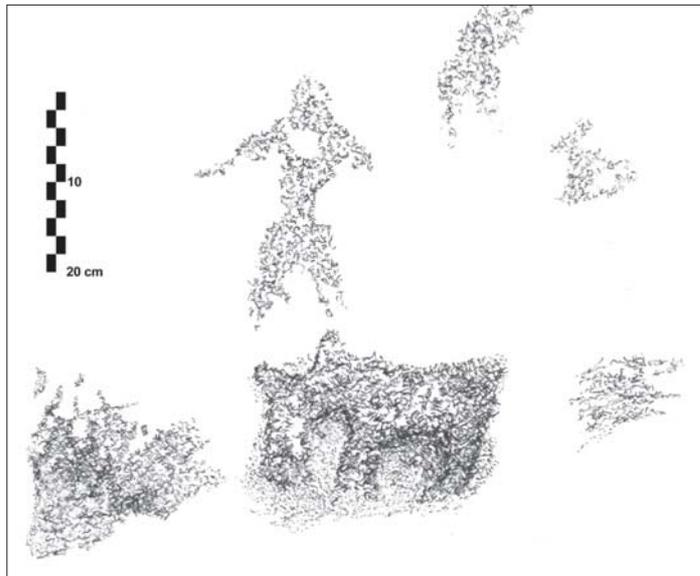


Fig. 6. The author's impression of those motifs which are more or less recognisable. One depicts a human figure, while the other appears to be a painting of a moose. The latter, about 30 cm long, was that which first attracted our attention to this site. It is very blurred and its interpretation controversial. The former, also about 30 cm long, is difficult to see, being much faded. It was discovered by Martin Tägtström who visited the site in May of 2002. Sketch made from a photograph by the author.

unencumbered by obstacles (Fig. 4). One is round, 2 meters in diameter and the other rectangular, 2 x 4 meters large. Waist flakes and keeled scrapers, both finished and un-finished, were found in and around the former. Within the bounds of the latter are what appear to be the remains of two hearths, each consisting of a loose collection of fire-cracked stones.

Three, possibly four stone settings or stone setting-like features were recorded. The use of this term is problematic in that it is usually applied to a type of grave common to the Bronze and Iron Ages. However, recent work in northern Norrland has revealed that this type of grave was being built on "sites of Stone Age character" seven thousand years ago (Liedgren 1994). Three of the four noted here are

oval, 2.5-3 meters long, 1.5-2 meters wide and 0.3-0.5 meters high with a filling consisting of stones 0.1-0.5 meters large. Thus in size and shape they are similar to that previously noted on Offerholmen. The forth consists of an oval shaped layer of fire-cracked stones, 1-40 cm large, that covers an area 2.5 x 1 meter in size. This layer of burnt stones is surround by a 1 meter wide collar or brim of unburnt stones that are 1-5 cm large. Whether this is an elaborate hearth or grave of some unfamiliar kind, or something else altogether, is unknown.

The pictographs are situated on a large boulder, or possibly a portion of exposed bedrock, that is about 5 meters long, 2-4 meters wide and 2-4 meters high, that juts out from the side of a steep slope just a few feet above the surface of the lake when filled to capacity (Fig. 5). About 20 patches of red ochre are visible along the bottom edge of its south-eastern face and on it's underside. The first of these to attract our attention is very indistinct, but would seem to depict a moose. Just above it there is a human figure, very faded, yet much less unambiguous (Fig. 6). The other paintings are no more than indistinct smudges, their motif undetermined.

The age of these sites and features is problematic. However, the occurrence of typologically datable artefacts gives a rough indication. The presence of keeled scrapers, handle cores and micro-blades show that the area was inhabited during the Mesolithic (up until c 4000 BC). The bi-facial points attest to a human occupancy during the Bronze Age (c 2000-500 BC). The intervening period is only represented by one find, a tanged slate point with small oblique barbs that typologically belongs to the Early and Middle Neolithic 4000-2500 BC (Loeffler 1992b).

Further Reflections

Whatever its standing during the last two thousands years, Hångstaörn's marginal status throughout the proceeding seven thousand years can no longer be assumed. This might prove equally true for other areas, small or large, that are today considered peripheral and thus, by extension, pre-historically insignificant. It would be naive to expect that surveyors are immune to this type of historically conditioned bias. The meagre results from previous surveys suggests that they were

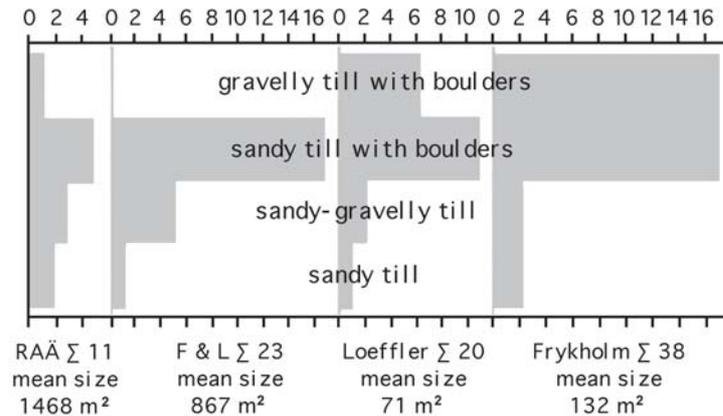


Fig. 7. Surveyors from the RAÄ were proficient in finding large sites located on predominantly sandy deposits (11 sites with a mean size of 1468 m²). Frykholm and Loeffler were jointly and equally capable discovering large sites on sandy deposits (23 sites with a mean size of 867 m²). On the other hand, the author shows a certain dexterity in finding small sites located on sandy deposits (20 sites with a mean size of 71 m²) while Frykholm's talent of detecting sites of modest size among the most difficult of deposits, gravelly till with boulders, is clearly demonstrated (38 sites with a mean size of 132 m²). This graph shows that the largest sites are located on sandy deposits while a significant number of smaller sites are situated on either fine or coarser grained deposits. Previous surveys either missed these sites completely or only noted the very largest, clearly indicating that prevailing methods failed to capture the broad range of prehistoric social behaviour inherent within the confines of this lake. Teamwork and a conscientious survey strategy proved itself to be far more productive.

not. This in turn casts serious doubts on the reliability of the RAÄ's catalogue of ancient monuments as a representative source for research as concerns these earlier periods in Norrland.

Additional conclusions. It should now be obvious that the "ocular technique" is wholly inadequate as concerns the discovery of "sites of Stone Age character". Unless, as in the case of Hångstaörn, we first allow them to be largely destroyed before conducting a survey. The only viable alternative is test-pitting, possibly in combination with other prospecting methods whenever feasible. In light of this, the season during which this work is undertaken, its duration, and the surveyor's expertise are consequential and must be taken into careful

consideration (Meschke 1977:17pp). In conduction with this, three further points should be noted. The use of the soil-map as a predictive instrument as concerns the expected occurrence of sites is useful, but cannot be taken at face value, its diminutive scale circumvents exactitude. The second point encompasses a number of salient particulars conveniently conveyed by the catch-phase "four eyes are better two" as concerns any and all archaeological surveys (see fig. 7 for details). Outwardly trivial, the third and last point is the most important of all; questioning the obvious and/or accepted truths is as essential as searching for new ones.

References

- Binford, Lewis R. 1988. *In Pursuit of the Past. Decoding the Archaeological Record*. Thames and Hudson. New York.
- Fandén, Anders 2002. *Schamanens bergbällar - nya tolkningsperspektiv på den norrländska hällristnings- och hällmålningstraditionen*. Lofterud Produktion HD. Östersund.
- Flink, Gerhard 1990. Fornminnesinventeringen 1987 i Västernorrlands län. *Arkeologi i Sverige 1987*. Rapport Raä 1990:1:197-211. Riksantikvarieämbetet och Statens Historiska Museer. Stockholm.
- Forsberg, Lars L. 1985. *Site Variability and Settlement Patterns. An analysis of the Hunter-Gatherer Settlement System in the Lule River Valley, 1500 B.C. - B.C./A.D.* Archaeology and Environment 5. Department of Archaeology, University of Umeå. umeå.
- Gamble, Clive 1989. *The Palaeolithic Settlement of Europe. Cambridge World Archaeology*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.
- Jönsson, Bosse 1991. Fornlämningar i ett norrländskt kust-, dal- och skogsområde - 1988 års inventeringsresultat. *Arkeologi i Sverige*. Ny följd del 1:215-238. Riksantikvarieämbetet. Stockholm.
- Jönsson, Sune 1985. Hälsingland runt på två år. *Arkeologi i Sverige 1982-1983*. Rapport Raä 1985:5:135-175. Riksantikvarieämbetet och Statens Historiska Museer. Stockholm.
- Liedgren, Lars 1992. *Hus och gård i Hälsingland. En studie av agrar bebyggelse och bebyggelseutveckling i norra Hälsingland Kr.f.-600 e.Kr.* Studia Archaeologica Universitatis Umenensis nr. 2. Institution för arkeologi, Umeå universitet. Umeå.
- Liedgren, Lars 1994. De äldsta gravläggningarna i Norrlands förhistoria. *Odlingslandskap och fångstmark. En vänbok till Klas-Göran Selinge* s. 229-242 (red. Ronnie Jensen). Riksantikvarieämbetet. Stockholm.
- Loeffler, David 1992a. Niotusenfemhundra år i Haverö. Funderingar kring fornlämningar. *Haverö Hembygdsförenings årsbok 1992*:11-24. Haverö.

- Loeffler, David 1992b. Hembygdsgårdar + Arkeologi = Sant. Funderingar kring föremål. *Ångermanland-Medelpad* 1992-1993:8-22. Medelpads och Ångermanlands hembygdsförbund. Härnösand.
- Loeffler, David 1994. Längs Gimåns vattendrag under 8000 år. *Holms Hembygdsförenings årsbok* 1994:17-32. Holm.
- Loeffler, David 1998. *Arkeologisk Undersökning av Norpan 2 (J106.A), Vuollerim, Raä 1292, Jokkmokks sn, Lappland, 1983-1987*. UMARK nr. 13, del 1-8. Institutionen för Arkeologi, Umeå universitet. Umeå.
- Loeffler, David 1999a. Inventeringsmetoder. *Arkeologi i norr* 1995/1996:69-92, nr. 8/9. Institution för arkeologi, Umeå universitet. Umeå.
- Loeffler, David 1999b. Vuollerim. Six Thousand and Fifteen Years Ago. *Current Swedish Archaeology* 1999:89-106. Stockholm.
- Lundqvist, Jan 1987. *Beskrivning till jordartskarta över Västernorrlands län och förutvarande Fjällsjö k.n*. Sveriges geologiska undersökning. Uppsala.
- Meschke, Christian 1977. *Early Norrland Sites on the Umeälven. A Study of a Cultural-historical Survey*. Early Norrland 3. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien. Stockholm.
- Ramqvist, Per H. 1992. *Högom. Part I. The excavations 1949-1984*. Archaeology and Environment no. 13. Department of Archaeology at the University of Umeå, Riksantikvarieämbetet, Stockholm and the Department of Pre- and Protohistory at the University of Kiel.
- Selinge, Klas-Göran 1973. Järnåldersbygd och fångstmark. Till frågan om arkeologisk lokalisering och ekologi i mellersta Norrland. *Bonde-veidemann. Bofast-ikke bofast i nordisk forhistorie. Foredrag og diskusjoner fra XIII nordiske arkeologmøte i Tromsø 1970*:218-234 (red. Simonsen, Povl & Stamsø Munch, Gerd). Tromsø Museums skrifter vol. XIV. Universitetsforlaget. Tromsø.
- Selinge, Klas-Göran 1977. Järnålderns bondekultur i Västernorrland. *Västernorrlands Förhistoria* s. 153-455. Västernorrlands läns landsting. Härnösand.
- Selinge, Klas-Göran 1979. *Agrarian Settlements and Hunting Grounds. A Study of the Prehistoric Culture Systems in a North Swedish River Valley*. Theses and Papers in North-European Archaeology 8. Stockholm.
- Strassburg, Jimmy 2000. *Shamanic Shadows. One Hundred Generations of Undead Subversion in Southern Scandinavia 7000-4000 BC*. Stockholm Studies in Archaeology no. 20. Department of Archaeology, Stockholm University. Stockholm.

Unpublished Sources

- Edlund, Lars-Erik. 2006. Linguist and Professor of Nordic Languages at the University of Umeå, Sweden. Personal communication.
- Letter D.nr. 728/49 on record at the Antiquarian Topographical Archives (ATA) in Stockholm.
- Letter D.nr. 2033/49 on record at the Antiquarian Topographical Archives

(ATA) in Stockholm.

Letter D.nr. 4725/49 on record at the Antiquarian Topographical Archives
(ATA) in Stockholm.

Letter D.nr. 5817/57 on record at the Antiquarian Topographical Archives
(ATA) in Stockholm.

Letter D.nr. F5817/57 on record at the Antiquarian Topographical Archives
(ATA) in Stockholm.

