

Crofters, Thieves and Workers

The Social History of the Inhabitants of a Group of Nineteenth-Century Settlement Remains

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Abstract

Lind, Hans, Holmgren, Ingela, Svensson, Eva and Emilsson, Stig. 2002. Crofters, Thieves and Workers. The Social History of the Inhabitants of a Group of Nineteenth-Century Settlement Remains. Lund Archaeological Review 8-9 (2002-2003), pp. 77-87.

The many remains of 19th-century crofts are often regarded as an anonymous mass material in the landscape. In this article the scientific and antiquarian value of the late settlement remains is put forward. As a case study, a group of croft remains, known as *Pinotorp*, from the late 19th century are studied with archaeological methods, including an attempt to capture the non-material and communicative aspects of the remains. The croft remains turned out to be quite different in character. The inhabitants of the crofts were referred to as *Pinotorpare* and considered to be poor people. It was discovered, however, that the group of *Pinotorpare* included persons of varied social and economic status. When compared, the testimony of written sources and the remains of the crofts corresponded fairly well. The spatial organization of *Pinotorp* demonstrates that, despite the social differences, the *Pinotorpare* formed a unit.

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Late settlement remains in an antiquarian perspective

As they are many, as they are visible and as they often are known by name, settlement remains from the 18th and 19th centuries constitute an important part of the Scandinavian landscape. Among other qualities, they contribute to giving the landscape its structure. For many people, narratives and traditions about these settlements function as a recognizable and identity-giving local history. But the vast number of late settlement remains from the late-modern period in the Swedish landscape constitute a problem, from an antiquarian perspective at least. Although they appear like anonymous mass

material, seemingly without any significant value as archaeological source material, they still play an important role in the mind of people in general. However, for many local inhabitants, the 19th-century crofts and dugout dwellings are considered at least as important as the more ancient "ancient monuments" (e.g. Zachrisson 1997).

It is the view of the authorities that is manifested in the antiquarian legislation. Nineteenth-century settlement remains are rarely encompassed by the Ancient Monuments Act (KML). As a consequence, the late settlement remnants are relatively seldom subjected to archaeological excavations in connection with rescue projects. The most important argument

for excluding the late settlement remains from the protection given by the Ancient Monuments Act is the claim that they lack significant archaeological value. It can be argued that the existence of other kinds of source materials such as written records, historical maps, photographs, standing buildings etc. renders the testimony of the remnants of a particular dwelling, if not unnecessary, then at least less important, for a historical understanding. Thus, the late settlement remains have found themselves in something of a Catch 22 situation. Since archaeological excavations are seldom conducted, few, if any, arguments can be found to support the idea that late settlement remains contain any value as archaeological source material. And since, with some important exceptions (see e.g. Hansson 2000; Rosén 1999; Welinder 1992a, 1992b), there are few good examples of innovative archaeology, there is no reason to make any reconsideration concerning the question of antiquarian protection. It is also reasonable to question whether a representative selection of the houses and buildings of non-propertied people is preserved standing in the landscape today.

At the same time this category of settlement remains is threatened by various forces in modern society. One factor, important to the project presented in this article, is modern forestry. Many settlement remains can be found in what today is productive forest, and modern forestry is indeed a highly rationalized and mechanized business. During the rotation period of a modern forest, 80–100 years, any given forest is repeatedly exposed to heavily mechanized measures such as thinning, final felling and scarification, all constituting a threat to any ambition to preserve the settlement remains for the future. The forest policy of today, codified in the Forestry Act, gives general protection to the cultural environments in the forest. There is, however, reason to discuss whether this protection, given by the legislation and its application, is enough (see further discussion in Lind & Svensson 2001).

The Pinoberget project

The presentation of the project and its results, unless otherwise stated, is based on Lind *et al.* 2000 and 2001 with references.

Despite the fact that we have seen some archaeological projects concerning recent settlement remains in the last few years, we still lack an explicit agenda for this category of “historical monuments”. The Pinoberget project was intended as a contribution to the discussion of whether there is a need for such an agenda, and, if so, how, and to what extent, remains from late-modern settlements can be considered to be meaningful and applicable archaeological source material. The project was also intended to discuss what values, besides the traditional archaeological values, this category of settlement possesses. For example, to what extent do they hold non-material, biological, aesthetic and educational values, relevant for an antiquarian discussion? Since there are few examples of projects of a similar kind, it seemed reasonable to make a pursuit like this as broad as possible. By addressing a number of problems, using a variety of source materials and methods, within the framework of a limited project, we hoped to contribute to a constructive discussion concerning late settlement remains.

The reason for selecting Pinoberget as a study area was that we found here within a clearly defined area settlements that, in relation to what could be expected, demonstrated both typical and atypical architectural features. As a group, the settlement remains also seemed to be both homogeneous and heterogeneous. Side by side with urban-looking houses on top of ostentatious terraces is a pair of dugout dwellings “hidden” on the parish border. Another important factor was that the local historical society equipped us with information about persons who could be located in various written sources and who had lived on the individual settlement sites. This made it possible to link individuals, often with some information on their social and economic status, with particular

crofts and their architectural and landscape features. Pinoberget as a settlement area was also associated with interesting local traditions, and it seemed fruitful to set this local, popular historiography in contrast to the results of the academic endeavour.

To address the overall purpose of the study, to discuss whether, and if so, how, remnants of late modern settlements can function as archaeological source material, they were *a priori* regarded as social-historical documents with an archaeological potential, and as such, as an independent and important source of information alongside other source materials, more established for this historical period. The question was asked if the settlement remains, which are relatively well-preserved, especially by European standards, can serve as entrances to the study of less propertied and non-propertied classes.

Spatial and chronological aspects can be related to social action by theories of social conduct as a device to explain why, and how, societies evolve in a certain way. According to the theory of structuration people's repeated and regular actions lead to the creation of social structures. Since the social structures have repercussions on the individuals, the situation is in a state of constant change (Giddens 1984). Further, it should be emphasized, produced and reproduced routinized actions and different phenomena leave physical marks. As a consequence, the landscape can be seen as a medium for, and a result of, the daily activities of individuals and groups of individuals. The individual has an impact on the physical surroundings, and thus, the space in which he or she lives and acts.

The study was composed of three main elements. The study took its departure from the information given by the local historical society and its inventory of crofts and local oral traditions concerning Pinoberget. In a field study, consisting of a field survey, detailed mapping and archaeological excavations, the physical remains were studied. The third component was a study of archives and written documents, such

as the historical maps, parish registers, court records, registers of landed property, accounts and prison archives. In order to test the quality of the independence of the physical remains compared with the written sources, we began with the fieldwork, and based on the data and interpretations produced during this phase we formulated some explicit hypotheses about the different settlement units. In the next step we tested these hypotheses against the results of the study of written documents.

The settlement units were surveyed and mapped in detail. Besides the physical remnants such as house foundations, fields and haymaking areas, we also studied non-material/communicative aspects. From concepts such as manifestation, architectural charisma and orderliness, we tried, in an explicit intuitive and subjective way, to describe each settlement unit and its setting in the landscape in order to understand how the settlements could have been perceived in their own time. We simply visited the different localities and discussed the impressions they made on us.

We also made an attempt, in a discussion of the value of preservation, to describe the aesthetic and educational value the remnants represented today. In connection with this, possible biological values on each site were surveyed and described. This was done partly as a way to find cultural-historical information, partly because we wanted to add biological values to a discussion of preservation.

Pinoberget in geography, tradition, written documents and archaeology

The settlement area of Pinoberget is situated on the border between the parishes of Älvsbacka and Övre Ullerud, approximately 2.5 km from the Älvsbacka iron works in Värmland. The geographical position in between the ironworks of Älvsbacka and the farming community of Butorp in the parish of Övre Ullerud was of

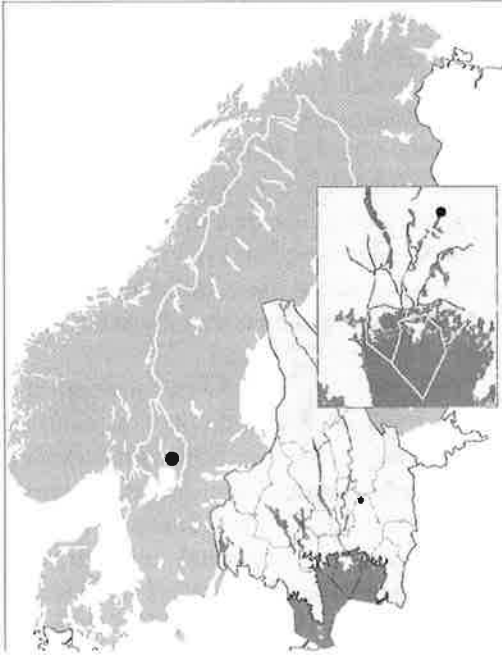


Fig. 1. The geographical location of Pinoberget.

great importance to the constitution of the settlement area of Pinoberget, as the inhabitants appear to have related to either one or both of these establishments. It should be borne in mind that all but one of the crofts, Bogberget (see below), were established on land belonging to the farmers of the Butorp area.

The name, *Pinoberget*, is not recorded on any maps, and it is exclusively known as a local, oral tradition. Therefore, there can be different opinions when the geographical extent of Pinoberget is described. Studies of historical maps and real-estate archives indicate that the settlement units at Pinoberget probably were established in the 1860s and abandoned in the early 20th century.

When it comes to the origin of the name, *Pinoberget*, it seems plausible that the area was named after the croft Pino in the southernmost part of the area. The suffix *-berget*, simply means hill or mountain. The meaning of the prefix, *pino-*, in this context, is unclear, but in Swedish it is easily associated with the word *pina* which

means something like torment, pain or torture. According to the Survey of Ancient Monuments, Pinoberget contained 18 settlement remains, 14 of which were included in this study. Four were excluded because the remnants could not be identified or were from a later period.

Local traditions

A few local traditions, or perhaps better, stories, have appeared around Pinoberget. Apart from a school project, these traditions are not recorded and live on only as oral traditions. From the beginning we were under the impression that these traditions were more established and more widespread among the local inhabitants than they proved to be on closer examination. One tradition, or story, recorded in a school project, told that there were three categories of people who worked in Älvsbacka ironworks: land-owning farmers, crofters and *Pinotorpare*. The *Pinotorpare*, according to this tradition, were heavily dependent on the ironworks, with little chance of supporting themselves on their small crofts. The *Pinotorpare* disappeared, according to this tradition, from the area when the Älvsbacka ironworks went bankrupt in 1893. In this tradition the *Pinotorpare* not only appear as a delimited group defined by its geographical origin, but also as a socially defined and homogeneous category of people who were especially poor and subject to the whims of others. According to another, orally retold, tradition, the inhabitants of Pinoberget were forgemmen at the ironworks in Älvsbacka. They choose to live outside of the domains of the ironworks company (on the other side of the parish border), and in this way were able to preserve some independence. This tradition gave the impression that the settlement area of Pinoberget should be understood as a proud endeavour of independence: a social resistance manifested in the landscape, as it were.

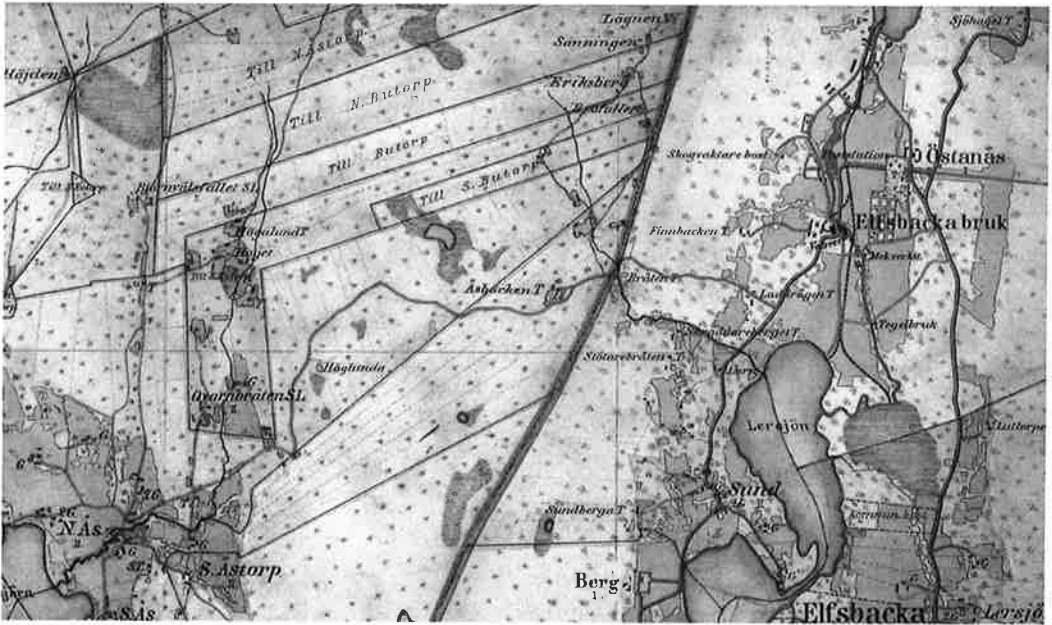


Fig. 2. The settlement units at Pinoberget. From the economic map from 1888.

The results

In this case a careful inventory, combined with detailed mapping, substantially complemented the information given by the historical map. The economic map of the late 19th century (fig. 2) gives only a rough notion of what to find on a particular croft with a dwelling house and a stereotyped field mapped.

Altogether 14 settlement remains were mapped (fig. 3), and three of them were also objects of minor excavations. All settlement units, probably except Baggannas, had fields and/or meadows/cleared areas probably used for haymaking etc.

Fallet/Nybacks consisted of the foundations of a dwelling house and the remains of a free-standing cellar (Swedish *jordkällare*). The site gave an "ordinary" impression, but the dwelling house had a fairly manifest location.

Nedre Granhult was the most impressive site with the well-built foundations of a dwelling house located in a prominent position on a built-up terrace. It was easy to imagine that the

terrace had been used as a leisure area with garden furniture. The foundations of an outhouse and two free-standing cellars were located. A minor excavation yielded plenty of finds; several different kinds of bottle glass, window glass, fragments of another glass object, porcelain buttons, clay pipe, lead seals, ceramics, porcelain, buckle and a rich assortment of iron objects.

Övre Granhult was located on a hill, which gave the site a rather manifest position. The site consists of the remains of a fairly ordinary dwelling house and a free-standing cellar.

Bogberget consisted of two dugouts, one with the remains of a stove. A minor excavation revealed everyday finds, indicating that both dugouts had been used for dwelling. The finds from the excavation consisted of a porcelain button, a clay pipe, porcelain, ceramics, bottle glass and iron objects. The dugouts were located in a hidden position on the parish border.

At *Skinnars* a well-built terraced foundation of a dwelling house, two free-standing cellars, one of which was well built and well preserved, were found. The remains gave the impression of

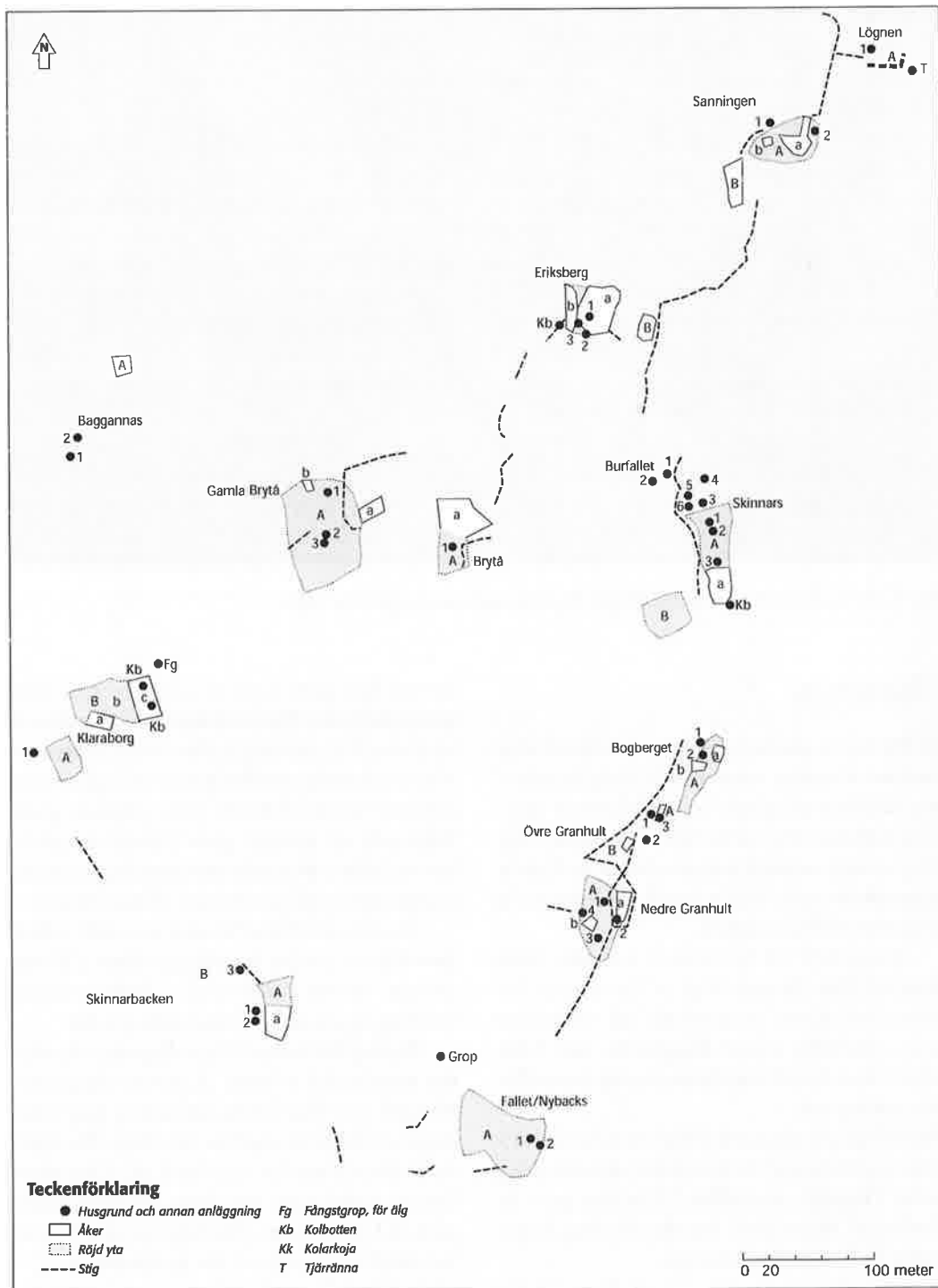


Fig. 3. The settlement remains at Pinoberget, mapped by Hans Lind, Ingela Holmgren & Eva Svensson, May 2000. Husgrund och annan anläggning=house foundation, Åker=field, Röjd yta=cleared area, Stig=path, Fg=pitfall for elk, Kb=charcoal stack, Kk=charcoalers hut and T=tar production site.

once having been created by relatively well-to-do persons.

Burfallet consisted of the foundations of a dwelling house, the remains of an outhouse(?), a pit and two free-standing cellars. The site gave a humble impression.

Eriksberg, being located in a fully grown, well-tended forest, gave a striking impression, but it turned out that the site was quite disturbed by later activities. The remains of a dwelling house, an outhouse and a free-standing cellar were located. The site gave a well-ordered and symmetrical impression.

Sanningen consisted of the foundations of a dwelling house and a free-standing cellar. The minor excavation carried out on the site yielded relatively sparse finds, a few sherds of bottle glass and iron and wooden objects. The settlement unit gave a simple but orderly impression.

At *Lögnen* a foundation from the dwelling house and a tar production site were found. The site gave a rather ordinary and withdrawn impression.

Brytå and *Gamla Brytå* were two settlement units of an "ordinary" character. Foundations of dwelling houses were located at both sites, and at *Gamla Brytå* also two free-standing cellars.

Baggannas differed in character from most of the settlement units in this study. The remains of the dwelling house consisted of a small cellar pit and small stove. The dwelling house was situated on a slope in a modest position. Another possible cellar pit was also located.

Klaraborg consists of a foundation of a dwelling house modestly built and located. The site was probably disturbed by later activities.

Skinnarbacken was one of the most impressive sites in the Pinoberget area. The remains consist of a large, well-built and terraced foundation of a dwelling house with an adjacent free-standing cellar. The terrace gives the site a manifest character.

According to the written documents *Baggannas* and *Bogberget* were inhabited by very poor people, *Nedre Granhult* and *Skinnarbacken* by far the most prosperous

Pinotorpare and the other by more average *Pinotorpare*.

The more closely the settlements were examined during the fieldwork, the more heterogeneous they appeared, especially with regard to the communicative aspects. But they also displayed some common features. The remains of the hearths and chimneys, except in the deviant *Bogberget* and *Baggannas*, were built with natural stones with the addition of bricks, which gave a relatively homogeneous impression. This can be interpreted as a common building tradition when it comes to fireplaces, a tradition that is not necessarily unique for *Pinoberget*. This can be contrasted to the house foundations, which exhibited more architectural variations in size, the build-up of the foundations etc. There were also differences in how the buildings were located in the landscape. Some of the dwelling houses had been placed in rather prominent positions in relation to both the topography and the tracks. The fields and meadows were cleared of stones in a similar way, with the stones being gathered in wall-like cairns, perhaps indicating a common notion among the inhabitants about how the infield should be cleared of stones.

The limited archaeological excavations which were conducted should be regarded as experimental peepholes. The trenches measured 1 x 0.5 – 1.5 x 0.5 m and were all situated in the vicinity of fireplaces and exits, in the hope of excavating areas with rich culture layers. The artefacts were collected in 0.5 x 0.5 m squares. A few bones were collected but were not subjected to any osteological study. There are, of course, a number of source-critical problems to consider. The culture layer most probably represents a summary of activities conducted for several decades and perhaps, at least in one case, generations. Different patterns of behaviour, for example concerning hygiene, also constitute a potential source of error. Nevertheless, some results worth mentioning were produced. The two dugouts at *Bogberget* both proved to have functioned as dwellings. This was not self-evident

since one of the dugouts showed no trace of a stove or hearth. The fact that both turned out to be dwellings was, if not unexpected, at least notable since there are, as far as we know, few, if any, examples of double dugout dwellings in Värmland. At least this seems to be an unusual feature outside the Swedish mining district, Bergslagen, where dugout dwellings can be found in great numbers.

An unexpected result was that the finds collected at the allegedly poor settlement of Bogberget and at the supposedly prosperous Nedre Granhult, were quite similar in quality but not in quantity. The finds from both places indicated that a great deal had been bought in a shop and very little was home-made. This suggested that the inhabitants in both places shared a common pattern of consumption. Perhaps it also indicates the importance the company store at the ironworks at Älvsbacka had for local consumption. A surprising find was the pair of horseshoes found at Bogberget. Horses are otherwise not associated with the poorest of people. Perhaps the horseshoes were used to bring luck to Bogberget. The finds from Sanningen differed from what was found at Bogberget and Nedre Granhult, being poorer, and there were probably a considerable number that could have been home-made. Perhaps this could be understood as a different pattern of consumption, with the company store playing a lesser role for the inhabitants of Sanningen.

At the beginning of the study we roughly identified three groups of settlement remains in the material. This categorization was based, as we perceived it, on the relations to the surrounding world. Our understanding, was, in turn, partly based on the local traditions and partly on our understanding of the physical remnants in their physical surroundings: (1) More agrarian settlements whose inhabitants were more related to the agrarian community of Butorp than to Älvsbacka ironworks; (2) forgemmen at Älvsbacka ironworks; and (3) the poorest people. As a result of the field study, especially after considering the communicative

aspects, we thought we could distinguish four different groups among the settlement units regarding social and economic status and degree of "manifestation" in the setting. A basic thought behind this analysis was that there was a close and interdependent relationship between, on the one hand, different economic conditions and degree of social self-esteem among the inhabitants, and on the other hand the architecture and choice of location of the settlement units.

One settlement unit, Nedre Granhult, with its urban look, was conceived to be in splendid isolation. On the other end of the scale we identified two settlement units, Baggannas and Bogberget, representing the poorest. In between these two categories there seemed to be two groups tentatively constituting a higher and lower "middle class" of Pinotorpare.

This categorization was, of course, based on impressions given by the physical remains. As mentioned earlier, the classification was intended to function as hypotheses that could be tested against the written records. The basic idea was, naturally, that there should be some concordance between the physical remains and the people once living there according to the written documents. And the comparison actually showed a great degree of concordance between the testimony of the two kinds of source material.

The result of the fieldwork suggests that the physical remains did have an independent value as source material, in this case as source material in a social historical study of non-propertied classes in the second half of the 19th century. The ruins one finds today hidden in the full-grown forest or overgrown by raspberry bushes on the clear-felled area do have important information for anyone who bothers to seek it. Combined with the information from other sources it is possible to make a more complex study of the social history of the Pinotorpare.

Social history

The settlement units of Pinoberget were established during the second half of the 19th century. A little less than 100 people lived and worked here to the beginning of the 20th century. Possibly this was the first (and possibly the last) time in history people chose to live here. They lived here under various conditions. Some lived here as crofters without planting grain (Swedish *backstugusittare*), probably heavily dependent on the landowner, while others had contracts with the landowner, giving them the right of possession for fifty years with a loan to the landowner in return (Swedish *förpantningskontrakt*). It also seems that at least some settlements were freehold properties, while the dugout dwellings at Bogberget even could have been an illegal settlement.

There seems to have been great mobility among the habitants of Pinoberget. Often the settlers lived here for a short period before moving somewhere else, just to return at a later stage. The written records show that the inhabitants were related to one another and that geographically defined groups of settlements can be related to different groups of kinship (fig. 4). They were related by blood or marriage. They were sons and daughters, cousins, uncle and aunts, and sisters- and brothers-in-law. Kinship, and its importance, is hard to study only through the archaeological record, and in this case the written documents added important information for understanding the spatial structure of the Pinoberget settlement area.

The people at Pinoberget had different relations to the ironworks at Älvsbacka and the peasants of the farming community of Butorp on whose land they lived. Some of the Pinotorpare worked at the Älvsbacka ironworks before it was shut down in 1893, but this is not the case for all of them. Others seem to have been more oriented towards Butorp in the west, perhaps finding their livelihood working for the peasants in this area.

In spite of the Pinotorpare being divided into different kinship groups and working for different employers, there still seems to have been a sense of community within the group. Perhaps this is seen in the uniformity of fireplaces and the way they cleared their fields? In any case this is clearly illustrated by the path linking the settlement units at Pinoberget (see figs. 2, 3 and 4).

The traditions versus the academic interpretation

One of the traditions told that the people living on Pinoberget were forgemen at the ironworks. This tradition was interesting since the forgemen in charcoal forging were considered to be a “clog nobility” living in superior social and economic conditions compared to other categories of workers (Bursell 1983). This tradition proved to be wrong. The accounts of the Älvsbacka ironworks company showed that no one among the Pinotorpare worked as forgemen in the ironworks. It seems, though, as if one man came back to the area for a period after he had worked as a forgemen in another ironworks. The tradition that pointed out the Pinotorpare as an especially poor and vulnerable social category is also problematic. As has been stated earlier, they seem to have lived under varying social and economic conditions and their marginal setting in the forest, between the settled areas in two parishes, does not necessarily mean that they were all socially marginalized. Nor did they constitute a special social category. Probably there were people in the vicinity who lived in similar social and economic conditions. The first tradition can probably be explained as a confusion of concepts. It appears that, for posterity, the forgemen represent all categories of workers at an ironworks.

The second tradition can be explained by our 21st-century notion of the 19th century. Every historical period carries its own clichés. The Palaeolithic period has its Neanderthal in

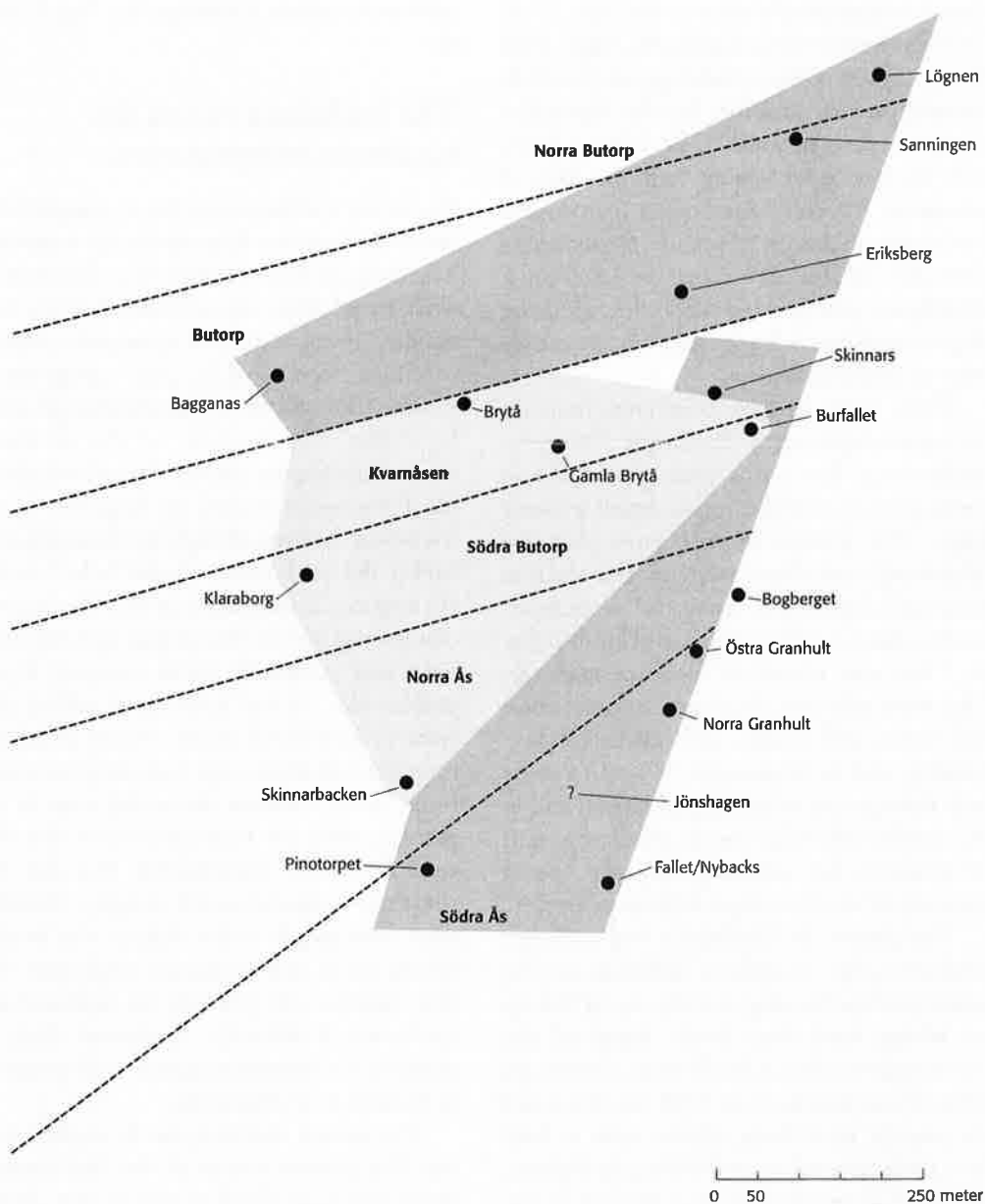


Fig. 4. The settlement areas of the different kinship groups at Pinoberget.

the cave, the Viking Age is, of course, represented by the fierce Viking, and the Middle Ages has its Catholic darkness and chanting monks. For the 21st century the 19th century has a function. Our own age, characterized by comfort and material affluence, is regarded from, contrasted with and, to a certain extent, explained by the 19th century, full of suffering and hardship. It is interesting that the poor are of such interest when it comes to the 19th century. In earlier periods, much more interest is invested in chiefs and the higher strata of society. The medieval castle or the monumental Bronze Age cairn call for our interest. But when we arrive in the 19th century the tide turns. Now we are more concerned with the "poor unfortunates" of yesterday, and we ask ourselves: *How could they survive?* Why is that?

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