Birgit Arrhenius & Torstein Sjøvold

THE INFANT PRINCE FROM THE EAST MOUND AT OLD UPPSALA

This paper deals with the finds from the East Mound at Old Uppsala. Sjøvold has been able to show that the human jaw still retaining one tooth indicates a twelve-year-old. Previously, the remains of embossed sheets from the decorated fringe of a helmet had indicated that the owner was a young person. Several fragments of gold filigree from the chape and handle of a small seax seem also to have been included among the belongings of this child. Furthermore, a fragment of a carved bird figure, probably a dove, may have come from the crest of a sceptre. It is proposed that this child was a prince of the royal family seated at Old Uppsala. The odd finds of a make-up palette of stone and a fragment of a mirror of eastern type could have belonged to the older person whose cremated remains were also found in the grave. Such grave gifts are typical for female burials, but as she is buried without her own jewellery, she is most probably not the mother of the prince, but a servant, perhaps originally belonging to his mother's retinue.

Introduction

At Uppsala University around 1835 discussion arose mostly among natural scientists concerning the possibility that the mounds at Old Uppsala were not man-made but of natural origin. This prompted the crown prince (later King Charles XV) to donate money for an investigation under the leadership of Bror Emil Hildebrand, director of the Central Board of Antiquities (this, and the following record of the excavation, are taken from Lindqvist 1936).

The investigations began in August 1846. Hildebrand made a preliminary report to the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, summarizing the results as follows: "Det säkra är att högarnes uppkomst infaller under morgongryningen af vår historia. De äga därigenom stort värde både vetenskapligt och poetiskt ej blott för Sveastammen utan för hela Sverige och hela Norden - så vidt som Odins rykte och lära blifvit utbredda". (It seems certain that erection of the mounds took place at the dawn of our history. They hold therefore great value both scientifically philologically, not only for the Svea tribe but for all Sweden and all Scandinavia - as far as Odin and his cult extended.) Hildebrand believed that the mounds were erected for the Asa gods Odin or Frey. He however changed this view after excavating the West Mound in 1847. He now believed

that the mounds were erected for women, as no weapons were found in the graves. The discovered fragments, though including gold ornaments, in his opinion could not suit the graves of great men.

The excavation of the East Mound is carefully reported in Hildebrand's diary. A trench was set from the eastern side of the mound to its centre in the shape of a gallery. The mound fill appeared to consist of gravel and there was constant risk of the trench collapsing in. At the centre they met an impressing cairn of large stones. The trench was now enlarged and a proposed cross-section into the cairn was commenced. However, new gravel



Fig. 1. Earlier drawing of the jaw fragment from the East Mound with adhering pieces of iron, charcoal and bone, among which was a carved bird figure. Scale 1:1. After Lindqvist 1936, fig. 94.

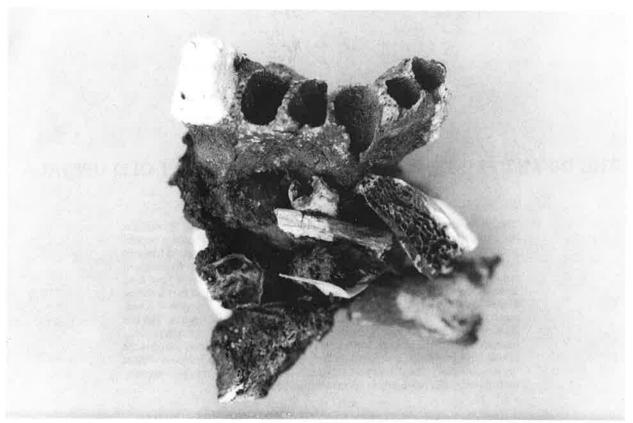


Fig. 2. Photo of the jaw from the East Mound with its present adhesions. Scale 2:1. Photo Bo Zachrisson.

collapses and bad weather forced the excavation to cease for that year (on the 26th of September). The following year, in 1847, excavation started already in June, and the cairn was further explored. At the centre of the cairn lay a heap of smaller stones within which ash, charcoal and cremated bones were found. Around 40 *kappar* (184 litres) of this cremation layer was sieved and fragments of gold, bronze and iron were found. A ceramic vessel was discovered, covered with a flat stone. When the cover was removed, it transpired that the pot was filled with cremated bones, rivets, thin pieces of bronze, and a piece of a flat stone with a sticky mass on its surface. A piece of a human jaw with a tooth still remaining *in situ* and a carved bone bird figure were attached to one of the iron fragments (figs. 1–2).

The situation in 1992

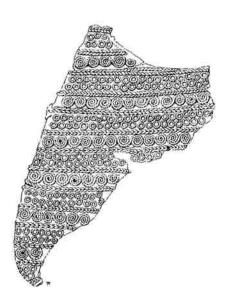
In connection with a detailed analysis of the small ornamented embossed bronze-sheets, so-called *press-bleck*, it appeared that these could be definitely determined as belonging to the decorated fringe of a helmet (Arrhenius & Freij 1992). The helmet itself was however not made of iron but consisted of a leather cap decorated with these *pressbleck*. The helmet also appeared smaller than was usual for the *pressbleck* ornament on the so-called "Vendel helmet". An approximate reconstruction – calculated off the size of the *pressbleck* panels on the fringe – suggested that the original helmet would have

been only 77% the size of a standard helmet. The greatest length of a standard "Vendel helmet" lies around 25 cm (Arwidsson 1977:21ff), and the length of the Uppsala is helmet approx. 19 cm. This measurement is however not to be compared with head size, as the helmets always carried substantial padding. However the fact that this helmet was meant for a minor is not only evidenced by the size of the fringe with its *pressbleck* decorations but also by the size of the mount, in the shape of an animal head, connecting the nose piece to the crest. This mount is almost 50% the size of the equivalent mount in Vendel XIV (Arrhenius & Freij 1992:figs. 14, 63).

Renewed examination of the human bones by Torstein Sjøvold

These observations made it necessary to re-examine the fragments of cremated bone found in the mound. An old but very carefully conducted investigation of the bones had been done by Elias Dahr and published by Lindqvist in his book *Uppsala högar och Ottarshögen* (1936). The small jaw fragment attached to the iron nail, however, was and still is kept separate from the other bones on account of its iron adhesion and is stored in the Late Iron Age collections in the Museum of National Antiquities in Stockholm.

Lindqvist had requested the well-known professor of anatomy, Carl Magnus Fürst, to make a special examination of the jaw fragment.



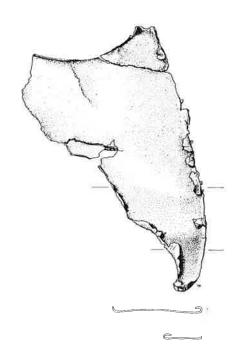


Fig. 3. Drawing of gold sheet with filigree belonging to a seax chape, found among the cremated bones from the East Mound at Old Uppsala. Note the small turn-over at the edges at the back of the sheet. The upper triangular part to the right (to the left on the front) was already broken when placed in the grave. On the right a piece is missing. Note the drawn out tip at the bottom, which is original. Scale 2:1. Drawing T. Fredriksson.

Fürst provided the following description of the fragment (in translation): "The largest bone fragment is the anterior part of the left upper jaw, in which the first permanent molar remains, which obviously has had a rather worn crown. The other teeth have fallen out from the tooth sockets after death and all indicate, as far as I may possibly judge, small permanent teeth. As the upper jaw has been split along the median line, an approximate estimate of the dimensions of the jaw may be obtained, that is, the anterior width seems to have been so small that it seems probable that the owner was a female rather than a male." (Lindqvist 1936:199), Fürst also refers to a small, broken incisor, not attached to the jaw, as not contradicting the impression of a female.

Fürst, however, seems to have overlooked the fact that the remaining permanent molar, around which the jaw bone showed a whitish tinge because of the cremation, was free from enamel. This whitish region around the tooth was restricted to the part of the maxilla directly connected to that molar. The tooth sockets of the premolars, the canine and both incisors were brownish and apparently unaffected by fire, whereas the bony septum separating the tooth sockets of the first and second molar was whitish. The white colour also indicates that the fragment had been protected and had not lain in a sooty layer. Since the crowns of the teeth when erupted generally are unprotected, the influence of heat caused by fire cracks the enamel, revealing the sculptured structure of the inner dentine.

That is in fact what has happened in this case. The "occlusal" surface of the dentine of a permanent molar looks rather worn, though it actually concerns the relief of the

enamel forming the base of the enamel cusps and fissures of the molar. In a normal, functional molar, only when the occlusal surface of the molar is abraded through to the enamel, does the relief of the dentine tend to change because of continuing wear not only on the enamel but also on the increasingly exposed area of the dentine. No indication of actual wear on the dentine existed in this case.

The complete tooth sockets of the premolars, the canine and the incisors showed no signs of periodontal retreat, and all gave the impression of the teeth being fully developed. The apical parts of the tooth sockets could not be studied because of light conditions, but since the corresponding teeth were missing, the direct evidence indicating if the roots were completely fused at the root apex was anyway missing, so the possibility that the apical parts of some of the anterior teeth were still in fusion can not be completely ruled out. There were no signs of any tooth loss or any inflammatory processes in the tooth sockets which would eventually have led to tooth loss.

A particular observation was made concerning the existing, mesial side of the tooth socket of the second left molar. The lingual and buccal sides of that tooth socket were broken off and the floor of the left maxillary sinus was broken open in continuation of the mesial side of the tooth socket. The impression or shape of the tooth on that side was broad, not tapering very much in the apical direction of the root. A permanent molar in the upper jaw has three roots, one inner, or lingual, and two at the outside of the jaw, or buccal, and the tooth sockets form around the roots as a three dimensional mirror image of the roots. In some cases there is not very much distinction between the lingual and the mesial buccal roots of

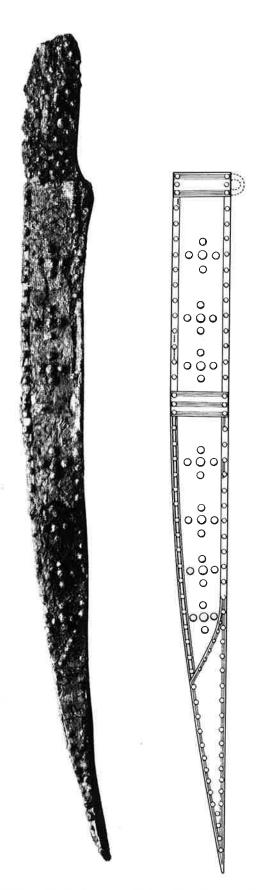


Fig. 4. Photo of one of the seaxes from Valsgärde 7 and drawing of its scabbard. After Arwidsson 1977, Taf. 17. Scale c. 1:3.

the second molar, but in general they are separated apically, and normally separated from the floor of the maxillary sinus. In this particular case, however, there was a small, transverse ridge at the coronal end of the mesial side of the tooth socket, and the impression of the tooth was rather even, showing hardly any sign of an apical division into two roots. This gave the impression of a tooth in eruption rather than a fully erupted tooth.

Other cremated remains were not identified by Fürst. Additional remains from the grave mound had been identified by Elias Dahr, who wrote as follows about the human remains: "A. Unburned. Fragment of the right thigh bone (caput and a part of collum)... Three fragments from long bones. B. Burned (from the ash layer around the urn). These remaining parts of the bone material consist of numerous cremated remains, which have been fragmented and deformed due to the fire, so that an exact determination has only been possible to make in some few cases. Human remains: A number of fairly unimportant bone fragments, in part from the cranium, and in part from the long bones of the extremities." (Lindqvist 1936:198)

The fragment of the uncremated right femur has been identified during our renewed study. This clearly derives from an adult individual, since the epiphysis and diaphysis are completely fused.

The cremated remains in the ash layer outside the urn were also re-examined. According to the find label, the find bag should have included human remains and teeth, but no teeth were observed. Some few bones which appeared to be fragments of animal bones were left aside. Two cremated fragments of a human frontal bone showing the supraorbital ridge were identified, along with one fragment of the parietal bone attached to a small part of the frontal, as evidenced by a short part of the coronal suture. One of the fragments of the frontal bone showed a part of a minute frontal sinus. Though cremated, the fragments were remarkably thin. The fragments of the frontal bone indicated a thickness of approximately 2 mm, and the fragment of the parietal bone a thickness of approximately 3 mm, corresponding to the lowermost range for the skull vault thickness of females according to Gejvall (1948). Exactly in this region, concerning wall thickness of a skull in a cremated state, there is a great risk for mistakenly identifying a female instead of a subadult male. In this case, the even thinner fragments of the frontal bone would indicate a subadult or a child.

In another find bag badly marked but containing sufficient information to ascertain the authenticity of its contents originating from the correct mound, four cremated human fragments were identified:

- 1. A fragment of the right parietal bone with asterion, ca 1 cm of sutura mastoidooccipitale and ca 2 cm of sutura lambdoidea. The diploë was very thin, indicating a young individual.
- 2. One fragment of the left half of *atlas*. A small area of the cranial articulation was not completely de-

veloped, indicating again a young individual.

- 3. The corpus of a cervical vertebra (C3-7) with marked formation of osteophytes along the lateral, caudal rim. This indicates an older, fully grown individual.
- 4. A fragment of the sphenoid bone with the base of the pterygoid process.

Adding these finds together, it is clear that one young and one older individual are present among the cremated bones. No definite sex determination may be given based on the osteological evidence alone, but the archaeological artefacts tend to indicate a boy and an older female. The age of the older female may remain inconclusive, apart from the fact that some degenerative changes of the cervical vertebrae had been acquired. As for the boy, the inferred state of tooth eruption indicated that the permanent incisors, the canines, premolars and first permanent molar were completely erupted, though the apex of the roots may not have been completely closed. The second permanent left molar seems to be in eruption, but not yet fully erupted. According to the dental developmental scheme proposed by Ubelaker (1978), this would correspond to an age of 12 years ± 30 months, or a boy roughly between 10 and 14 years of age.

This means that the boy had hardly reached puberty. At this age, the facial skeleton is not yet fully developed, which takes place approximately from the age of 14 and during the next three or four years. The dental arcade was still not completely developed, but would extend in length, creating space for the eventual eruption of the third permanent molar from the age of about 16 and onwards. Finally, the skull would have ceased to develop at about the age of 20–22 years. This may be another explanation for Fürst's impression of a small upper jaw.

As for the size of the head, studies on the capacity of skulls from identified individuals from the last two centuries of the Hallstatt village (which also has lent its name to the Hallstatt Culture) in Upper Austria revealed that the capacity of a seven-year-old was most often already within the adult range of variation of skull capacity, whereas the thickness of the skull bones and the transverse, longitudinal and horizontal circumferences of the skull continued to increase for at least some 10-12 years. A practical effect of skull capacity may be demonstrated by the acceptance of 6-7 years as the normal age for entering school to begin education in a systematic fashion.

Renewed examination of the archaeological finds

by Birgit Arrhenius

It is thus quite clear that the remains of two cremated persons existed in the East Mound. (It should perhaps also be mentioned that in the outer fill of the mound some uncremated human bones were found. These most probably are the remains of a secondary, fairly recent, burial or deposition.)

The occurrence of more than one person in large cremation graves is not a new experience but has been discussed previously (Sten & Vretemark 1988; Sigvallius 1994). The religious concepts behind such double burials which possibly should be understood as human sacrifices is latest discussed by Nordenstorm (1994).

In some cases, as in the recently excavated mound burial from Husby-Långhundra (Arrhenius et al. forthcoming), there was a definite segregation of the buried persons where all the grave goods were designated to a mature male and the cremated bones of a young girl were placed in one of three pots found.

As has been referred to above, the size of the helmet fragments in the Old Uppsala East Mound already indicated that the helmet belonged to a small person, most probably a child. It is also of certain interest that the jaw of the 12-year-old examined by Sjøvold gave the appearance of having been cremated at a low temperature since its patination was light brown rather than white. Per Holck (1986:144) has shown that cremation graves often contain bones that had been exposed to lower temperatures. It might be that low temperature burning of the jaw was caused by the helmet slipping forward and protecting the jaw during cremation.

Other items found in the grave include fragments of what probably once was a small seax. What remains are parts of the stud or "button" at the top of the handle (see below), and a gold triangular mount with filigree ornament which belonged to the chape (fig. 3).

This type of triangular mount with an inward curving side and a long narrow tip, made in gilt bronze and decorated with animal ornament is a very characteristic detail of the seaxes from Vendel, Valsgärde and Gotland (fig. 4). Olsén who devoted his doctoral thesis to these seaxes, concluded that the seaxes from central Sweden differed in size and shape from those found on the continent. The





Fig. 5. Disclets of bronze from the East Mound. Scale 2:1. Drawing T. Fredriksson.



Fig. 6. Part of a triangular cloisonné setting of silver, probably belonging to the seax button from the East Mound. Scale 2:1. Drawing T. Fredriksson.



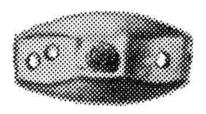


Fig. 7. Seax from period VII:1 found at Lilla Bjärges, Lau parish, Gotland. Scale 1:2. After Nerman 1969, fig. 482. Enlarged detail of the pommel, scale 2:1.

seaxes from Valsgärde, graves 5, 6, 7 and 8, have a length of 52-64 cm and a width of 3.5-4.2 cm. On Gotland, seaxes from the early Vendel Period (i.e. AD 550 to c. 600) are slightly shorter (c. 45 cm) but have the same width (Olsén 1945). The singularity of the central Swedish seaxes is of special interest as on Bornholm seaxes follow the continental scheme (Jörgensen 1990:50ff). Thus, the singularity of the central Swedish seaxes is distinguished both by the seaxes themselves, and also and perhaps most distinctly, by their scabbards, which lack any direct parallels on the continent or on Bornholm. The forerunners to the seax which Olsén (1945:48ff) pointed to in Sassanian and southern Russian material all have a different type of scabbard which is almost rectangular, is suspended from projections off the scabbard frame, and have a U-shaped chape. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Arrhenius 1985:107), seaxes which are possibly Byzantine, also have scabbards of this type.

The chape mount from the East Mound at Old Uppsala might probably be the oldest testimony of the production of seaxes with scabbards of central Swedish type. This chape mount is however much smaller than its counterparts in Valsgärde and Vendel, being only a fourth the size of its closest counterpart, the chape mount from Valsgärde 7 (fig. 4), though in width it is however close, as the Valsgärde 7 chape seems to be only 1.2 times wider than the chape from the East Mound.

There seems also be another difference between the seax scabbards of Valsgärde type and the scabbard from the East Mound in that the latter is made out of leather and not of wood as are the ones from Valsgärde. The scabbard mount from the East Mound cannot have been fixed to wood as there are no traces of attachment. Instead one can see on the back of the gold filigree sheet (fig. 3), a fine turned edge which indicates that the sheet

was fastened to a very thin underlay, most probably leather.

The find of two small disclets of bronze, which as remarked already by Lindqvist (1936:171) must have been set on a soft backing, most probably also belong to this scabbard. They may have served as a reinforcement of the scabbard attachment (fig. 5).

The pommel of the seax is almost totally destroyed, which indicates that it originally had a core of wood. The use of wood in connection with swords and seaxes both as scabbards and as handles is quite a common feature, noted in the boat graves both from Vendel (cf. Stolpe & Arne 1912:pl. XLIII:13) and Valsgärde (cf. especially Arwidsson 1977:39ff) as well as in inhumation graves from Gotland (Nerman 1969:478, 489). The combination of wood and metal mounts is also well known, as documented in the above cited references. It should also be noted that most probably Migration Period gold buttons with filigree ornament must have had an inner core of wood as they would otherwise have been very fragile. The shape of the button from the East Mound, judging by the shape of its cloisonné setting (fig. 6), seems to be of triangular form and in size closely resembles one found on Gotland (fig. 7). The cloisonné setting is missing all its garnets and is badly damaged. Its cell walls were of silver and silver foil. Although triangular pommels are quite typical for the early seaxes found in Sweden, none are known to have cloisonné settings on the pommel. It should however be remembered that on the continent, seaxes like those found in Childeric's grave, in Apahida. as well as Pouan and Nemetker, all had pommels with garnet cloisonné (cf. Arrhenius 1985:figs. 114, 115, 146, 147).

Finally, it is possible that another tiny piece of filigree work found in the grave also belonged to this button. When found, the piece was somewhat larger and triangular in shape (fig. 8). Now only a small part of the filigree animal is left (fig. 8). In size the piece would fit one of the triangular sides of the seax button, where the other side would have held the cloisonné. It is not uncommon that a button in this way could have different sides; on the button from Glafsfjorden (cf. Arrhenius 1971:figs. 176–77) for example, one side consisted of filigree and one of cloisonné.

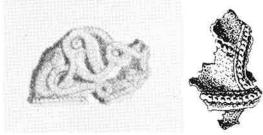


Fig. 8. Gold filigree sheet with animal decoration from the East Mound. (Left) Earlier drawing of the complete sheet. Scale 2:1. After Lindqvist 1936, fig. 84. (Right) The only surviving piece, showing the jaws of the animal. Scale 5:1. Drawing T. Fredriksson.



Fig. 9. Mounts of gold with filigree and garnet cloisonné found in a cremation grave at Lejde, Skultuna parish, Västmanland. Note rivet holes on the large filigree mount which indicate that this has been fastened to a wooden reinforcement on the scabbard. Scale 2:1.

The closest parallel to the gold seax mounts from the East Mound at Old Uppsala are the gold filigree and garnet cloisonné mounts found in a cremation grave from Lejde, Skultuna, belonging to the early Vendel Period (fig. 9). As I have published elsewhere (Arrhenius 1971:139), the Lejde grave also produced a small piece of the actual seax (fig. 10) which was a small weapon (width c. 3 cm) with engraved decoration. When I published the grave from Leide, I was unaware of the close parallel in the East Mound at Old Uppsala and I therefore compared Lejde to the jewelled knives known from continental graves (cf. Werner 1968). Such knives however lack the pointed chape which distinguishes both mounts from Leide and the East Mound at Old Uppsala and which I consider as an important trait for a seax, as it can be found on all later seaxes from central Sweden. It is also of certain importance that the filigree on the chape mounts from Leide, as those from Old Uppsala, have ring-shaped decoration in an uncommon type of filigree ornament for Sweden at this period.

The seax from Old Uppsala is probably the oldest known seax from central Sweden and might have been the model for later seaxes, such as the one from Lejde and those from Gotland, Vendel and Valsgärde.

That the seax and the helmet comprised grave goods belonging to the infant prince seems to me be evident.

Among other finds belonging to the child, I would include the small bird figure (fig. 1) in the shape of a dove and cut in bone in a manner characteristic of Late Roman art (cf. Arrhenius 1995). As I argue in another paper (Arrhenius 1995), the small dove probably adorned the crest of a small sceptre.

More dubious as grave goods for the infant prince are however two items which I have described in an earlier paper (Arrhenius 1982), namely a part of a mirror of eastern type (fig. 11) and a stone palette (fig. 12) with original traces of what perhaps could be face make-up paint (Lindqvist 1936:176). The mirror of eastern type, a so-called "Nomadenspiegel", is a typical female grave gift in eastern Europe (cf. Germanen, Hunnen und Avaren 1988:342, 344, 415). The mirror made of a bronze alloy is clearly badly affected by the cremation but its mutilation seems to be of a more severe character than such alone would cause. Finds of mirrors in east-European graves also show a form of mutilation which seems to be determined by a habit or superstition based on the classical tradition (cf. Thomson de Grummond 1983:184; Wiman 1990:244) that a mirror is a part of its owner and cannot be used by another after death. The make-up palette is also an item belonging to females (among others in Roman graves) known from Frankish Migration Period grave finds (cf. Arrhenius 1982:75).

As referred to above, Sjøvold has confirmed earlier osteologists' identification of a second, mature, person in the grave. The cremated bones could not indicate which sex, but it seems to me quite plausible that this person was a female and the owner of these two items. The lack of other items indicative of a female, such as brooches, however hints at the female in this grave being probably a servant rather than the mother of the child. Perhaps even these two items of toilette in fact were meant for the prince but used by his female servant who carried out his grooming. In any event, it could be of certain significance that only one comb (fig. 13) was found in the grave. In Roman times the ornatrix, i.e. the females preparing the toilette of the matrons, were important persons (cf. Carcopino 1984:174). That a child had a servant is probably due to his high rank and this su-

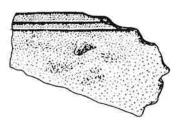


Fig. 10. Among the other finds from the grave from Lejde, Skultuna, was a part of the iron blade from the seax. After Arrhenius 1971, fig. 118. Scale 1:1.

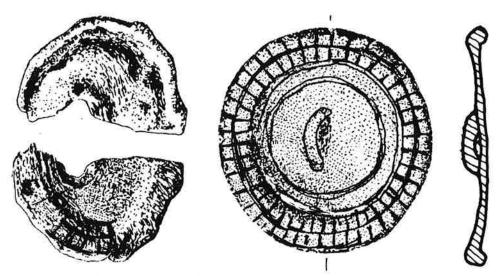


Fig. 11. (Left) Part of a mirror of eastern type from the East Mound at Old Uppsala. The piece is mutilated not only because of the cremation fire, but most probably also deliberately so. (Right) Reconstruction. After Arrhenius 1982, fig. 8. Drawing T. Fredriksson.

premacy most probably also involved his having a special person to groom him. In Migration Period graves from Sweden, toilet items such as pairs of tweezers are known but hitherto no mirror has been found. The east-European origin of this mirror is of special interest as it seems to have been handled, i.e. mutilated, in the east-European way. Maybe this means that the servant was of east-European origin. Perhaps we might dare to draw the conclusion even further and suppose that the mother of the prince was from eastern Europe (such marital alliances were not uncommon in the period, cf. Arrhenius 1985), and that she had brought with her this servant, which she let follow her child at his death.

The other finds in the grave comprise glass from a glass beaker or beakers, severely damaged by fire and the identification as a clawbeaker made by Lindqvist (1936) is not reliable (Näsman 1986:66), and gaming pieces and pieces of a honestone (cf. Lindqvist 1936), which are all grave goods typical for a male grave of high rank.

The sceptre, the helmet and the seax with its gold and garnet mounts are all strong indications that this male was a infant prince, which in this case must have meant belonging to the Uppsala royal family. The dating of the

grave is provided by the helmet and seax, both items which occur fully developed in the early Vendel Period graves from Vendel, Valsgärde and Gotland. The occurrence of Salin's style I in filigree work as well as the gaming pieces containing two or three holes on their base are items most often found in graves from the Migration Period (cf. Lindqvist 1936:234). However with regard to the sceptre and helmet, I am inclined to date the grave somewhat later than Lindqvist, i.e. after Ottar's Mound at Vendel. The grave seems to belong to the transition to the Vendel Period, i.e. AD 525–550, whereas Ottar's Mound can be dated at the latest to c. AD 500.

The East Mound at Old Uppsala thus seems to have been erected for an infant prince who brought with him a female maid-servant equipped with toilet items from eastern Europe. The infant prince was accompanied by all the richness witnessing high rank. The established literary tradition by which this grave should be the grave of Ottar's father, Egil (cf. Lindqvist 1936), or even of Aun, his grandfather, receives no support in this re-evaluation. Nevertheless the prestigious grave goods given to this little boy, indicate a kingdom of great wealth.

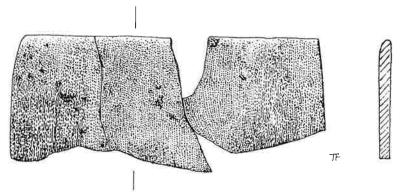


Fig. 12. Palette made of schist; probably a make-up palette from the East Mound. Scale 1:1. After Arrhenius 1982, fig. 11. Drawing T. Fredriksson.

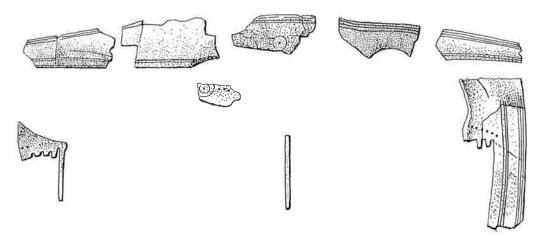


Fig. 13. Fragments of an antler comb from the East Mound. Scale 1:1. Drawing: T. Fredriksson.

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