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Back Danielsson, Ing-Marie

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LUND UNIVERSITY

PO Box 117
221 00 Lund
+46 46-222 00 00

Ut ur labyrinten

En vänbok till Jes Wienberg

Redaktörer:

Mats Roslund

Ingrid Gustin

Kenth Hansen

Martin Hansson

Mattias Karlsson

Boken har tryckts med stöd från:
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Redaktörer:
Mats Roslund, Ingrid Gustin, Kenth Hansen, Martin Hansson & Mattias Karlsson

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Folded to fit

New adventures of the Viking Age woman Estrid

ING-MARIE BACK DANIELSSON

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This paper revisits the doll Estrid, a reconstruction of a Viking Age woman that was excavated by archaeologists in the mid-1990s in Täby, Vallentuna parish, Sweden. The woman was shortly after the excavation attributed to be Estrid, a woman's name mentioned on rune stones in proximity of the excavated burial. After this 'identification', the Estrid phenomenon has taken different shapes and paths, both literally and figuratively, with various effects and affects, in archaeological, museum and political arenas. Pivotal in

these have been the reconstructions of the Viking Age woman Estrid at different ages. This contribution discusses Estrid and the unfolding narratives in the present in which she/it participates. It reveals the ways in which a reconstruction's hybrid character, having both factual and fictional components, contributes to the Estrid phenomenon being easily folded to fit a number of contemporary, educational and political purposes.

Introduction

Reconstructions of people for all sorts of purposes have occurred in human history for a long time. A reconstruction of a human being captures through its mere presence the supposedly opposing concepts of fiction and reality. Fiction is something made up, while reality must reflect facts, i.e. reliably established facts. A reconstruction is not a real person, but an object that has been made of various substances, such as, for example, silicone and plaster. The making of a reconstruction departs from certain given, factual parameters with the aim of imitating and re-presenting a certain, probably no longer present, person. Through its creation, the object has its own life and its own object biography (Kopytoff 1995), or object itinerary (Joy 2009; Joyce & Gillespie 2015), which differs from the life it is intended to represent. This paper focuses on a specific reconstruction, that of the late Viking Age woman Estrid, that allegedly was excavated in Täby, Vallentuna municipality, Sweden, in the mid-1990s. Three dolls were made of Estrid, that came to have different object itineraries. Not only the material dolls become active after their making, but also Estrid as an (immaterial) phenomenon. They become employed in a variety of contemporary narratives in political and educational spheres on different levels. In the following, the rhizomatic itineraries of the dolls and the Estrid phenomenon are presented, after which follows a discussion and concluding remarks on the possible politics and consequences of Estrid's unfolding narratives.

Estrid as a folded object

The background to the reconstruction of Estrid can be found in an antiquarian inspection of Broby bro in Täby, Vallentuna municipality, Sweden, which the Stockholm County Museum did on behalf of the County Board in the mid-1990s. The inspection was prompted by the suspicion that prehistoric remains would be affected by road work. The suspicion was confirmed by archaeologists through the almost immediate discovery of three prehistoric inhumation graves. A bone expert later assessed that it was a skeleton of an elderly woman, an elderly man and a child, who all had lived during the late Viking Age, in the eleventh century CE. Judging from grave gifts and the design of the grave, the older woman seemed to have been important and powerful. The stories about Estrid begin with the archaeological excavation in Broby bro, and continue later when she is reconstructed, and continue onwards to this day (and beyond). At the same time, several municipal-political activities are carried out that connect Estrid and the stories surrounding her with Vallentuna and Täby municipalities, whereby past and present intersect or meet. Michel Serres and Bruno Latour aptly describe in their work on science, culture and time that such encounters can be described as 'topological folds' (Serres & Latour 1995: 60). An analogy to describe such a fold could be when two far apart points, for example on a handkerchief or a piece of dough, suddenly meet by folding the handkerchief or kneading the dough. The science of proximity and folds is called topol-

ogy by Serres and Latour. While linear time is coupled to geometry, topological time behaves differently. It can, like a handkerchief or dough, be wrinkled and folded in many different ways. In an object, or a reconstruction like Estrid, time is like that. This means that Estrid is polychronic or multi-temporal: she has several different layers of time within her, which gather or meet through multiple folds. Amade M'charek has shown that objects, such as reconstructions, can be described as folded objects, in which times, that are usually considered to be far apart, meet (M'charek 2014). An effect of the topological time is that it is possible to read out the histories of a folded object, and thus by extension also the politics the object expresses (M'charek 2014: 32; see also Bünz 2015 and Engström 2015).

The excavation and identification of 'Estrid'

The man who was unearthed by archaeologists in Broby bro in 1995 had basically no grave goods in his coffin. In the child's grave, however, a comb and two coins were found, among other things. The woman was found in a coffin with her head turned towards the west in a Christian fashion. The osteological examination of the woman's skeleton showed that at an older age she was crooked and also had inflammation in her teeth. To the left of her feet a casket was found, which was probably made of linden. The objects in the casket consisted of two silver coins and three weights, which archaeologists believe show that the person buried was an important person with power. One of the coins had been minted in Basel, present-day Switzerland, between 1025 and 1040 CE (Andersson 1999). A knife lay next to the casket. It is thus this older woman who has been interpreted as Estrid, through a multitude of assumptions and a long chain of circumstantial evidence that I will now briefly account for.

In the Stockholm County Museum's reports from the excavation and on the museum's website, the burials are stated to be contemporary to the rune stones in the surrounding areas (Andersson 1999, 2011). Runestones are usually memorial stones for the deceased, and they usually belong in time to the late Viking Age. They are also memorial stones for people of Christian faith. Near the excavated graves are six runestones, three of which are complete and the rest are in fragmentary conditions. Only one rune stone is considered to be in its original location. From the three complete runestones it appears that a person named Östen had a mound and a bridge built in his memory by three sons (runestone U135), that a certain Östen went to Jerusalem, died in Greece and then had stones raised to his memory of his wife Estrid (U136) and further that Östen together with Estrid raised stones in memory of his son Gag (U137).

Estrid is known in archaeological and runological research as the grandmother of one of at least two Jarlabanke known to have lived in the area during the late Viking Age and early Middle Ages, namely Jarlabanke

Ingefastsson. He appears on runestones as anything but modest. Among other things, he has a stone erected after himself during his lifetime and announces on the same stone that he has established a court and alone owns an entire 'hundare'. 'Hundare' reflects an older way of dividing the landscape. In more recent times such divisions and regions came to be called 'counties'. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, runologists and archaeologists have made family trees of the Jarlabanke family and come up with various suggestions about how the people mentioned on runestones related to each other in kinship terms (e.g. Lindqvist 1923). Since one of those buried in Broby bro, Täby, was an elderly woman, and nearby rune stones mention Estrid, it does not take long until the three excavated bodies are presented as to be part of the famous Jarlabanke family (Andersson 1999). The old woman *becomes* Jarlabanke Ingefastsson's grandmother.

However, the quest of archaeological research to provide additional facts, and thus identities, to the buried individuals does not stop there. A German source from a well-known monastery from the late eleventh century mentions the pilgrim guest Hestrit, who possibly travelled with two men named Östhein and Suein, just as two of Estrid's sons were called, according to runic inscriptions in Uppland (Edberg 2006; cf. Naumann 2009). This information, combined with the elderly woman's grave gifts, form the basis for a portrayal of Estrid, in archaeological texts, and later in museums and public media, as a well-travelled, well-to-do woman and true Christian. The pilgrim coin found in the woman's grave is considered to strengthen the hypothesis that Hestrit, who is mentioned in the German source, is the Estrid mentioned on rune stones. The child's grave found at Broby bro, next to the woman's grave, is just as quickly interpreted as harbouring the child Gag, in whose memory Estrid and her first husband Östen raised a runestone (U137). Later DNA analyses however revealed that the elderly woman lacked any kinship with the child (Andersson 2011).

More than ten years after the excavation in Broby bro, in 2009, the Stockholm County Museum wants Estrid's appearance to be reconstructed for an upcoming exhibition. This is the first of three commissioned dolls, and the first doll is to re-present a middle-aged Estrid and is made by doll maker Oscar Nilsson.

Middle-aged Estrid doll

Reconstructions of people's appearance, especially the face, have long been used in what is called forensic science. In forensic science, reconstruction is used as a method for identifying missing people or crime victims, for instance. A retrieved human skull is used to provide an image of the deceased's face, an idea of how the person looked in real life. Identification is facilitated if the reconstructed person is presented in as neutral a facial position as possible, i.e. as s/he would have looked like, for example, in a passport photo. This facilitates identification. Based on a sorting of people's bodily characteristics, tables have

been compiled within forensic medicine, that shows how thick the tissue is in 32 different places of the face, for different categories of people. Depending on what the forensic tables show, pegs of different lengths are inserted in 32 places on the front (face) of a skull. From this, a doll maker then sculpts the muscles and appearance of a face. Estrid's face is sculpted by doll maker Oscar Nilsson according to the method above. For the remaining part of the body, the excavated skeleton is not used as a template for the reconstruction. As for the hands, the doll maker's own hands are often used; for a full-body reconstruction, a friend might stand as a model for the cast. Oscar Nilsson himself is very clear about the fact that the reconstructions he makes are expressions of artistry and his personal interpretations of the buried person, his/her body and his/her contemporaries (Larsdotter 2003).

Oscar Nilsson is commissioned to make three Estrid dolls in total. First one doll presenting a middle-aged character (owned by the Stockholm County Museum), then a doll presenting Estrid as elderly (owned by Täby Library) and finally Estrid in very young years (owned by Vallentuna municipality). The middle-aged doll Estrid featured in an exhibition at the Stockholm County Museum in 2010, and was called 'Estrid – a real Viking!'. After the exhibition, the doll held a prominent place in the museum, and came to be described as the museum's portal figure, that met and greeted visitors with a firm, scrutinizing and impudent gaze (fig. 1) (Back Danielsson 2017: 202).

The reconstruction has been provided with bluish eyes, light skin and red-blonde, combed back hair. In this context, it can be noted that Estrid's eyebrows have a plucked appearance, that the eyelids look slightly red-tinged and that her lips have a more than natural red colour, i.e. that they can be perceived as lipstick-coloured. Of course, these elements constitute interpretations, which were made when the object, or reconstruction, was created. It is worth pointing out that, based on excavated materials, it is usually not possible to obtain information about how the various attributes of the body were culturally shaped, for example whether scalp hair was short, long, shaved or curled, whether a person had scars, tattoos, piercings or wore make-up, was bald, had acne, warts, burn marks, birthmarks or, for example, scars on the skin after accidents. How the person dressed on a daily basis might not be known either, since it might be the case, if any clothes were used and if traces of them still remain in the grave, that the person was dressed in specific burial clothes. Possible overweight, underweight and the skin's wrinkling factor over the years are also characteristics that can be difficult to read from an excavated body, although the carried body weight may be partly reflected in the skeleton.

The middle-aged doll Estrid and the 2010 exhibition texts around her built up stories about a correct ethnicity and social class, which were subsequently used as foundations for affirming both regional and national identities. Through attributes such as smooth and fair skin, slightly coloured eyelids, plucked eyebrows and painted lips, she also got a femininity that we recognize and accept today.



Fig. 1. Middle-aged Estrid doll at Stockholm County Museum. Photo: Anna Wilson. Source: *Mitt i* 2010.

The power that the woman Estrid manifested through her burial gifts was perhaps more difficult to accept, and had to be packaged in a more digestible way. This was done by transferring Estrid's high social status and trade activities partly to a male sphere, through exhibition texts exclaiming: 'Estrid – one of the boys!', and partly to the always enticing term 'Viking'. Vikings have since the nineteenth century been associated with a primordial Swedish and Scandinavian identity, also evident through the exhibition title 'Estrid – a real Viking!' (*Sw.* 'Estrid – en riktig viking!').

Estrid's popularity might have reached its height when the museum on its website invited people to contact Estrid by calling her on the phone (Back Danielsson 2017: 204). The middle-aged doll Estrid vanished from the public eye in 2019, when the Stockholm County Museum was transformed into a digital-only museum (Walan 2024). The museum product Estrid has, however, continued to be in use in different spheres (see below). She/it has also been folded to fit into a travelling exhibition called 'The Viking Age with Estrid'. It is aimed for a school audience, specifically pupils in the ages of c. 9–13 years old. The exhibition components are delivered by the County Museum in a handy, easily transportable box on wheels. Despite this, it has been quite a while since anyone showed interest in it (Walan 2024). While the County Museum's middle-aged Estrid doll seemingly has lost its attraction, elderly Estrid and the Estrid phenomenon as such are still in circulation in society.

Elderly Estrid doll

The reconstruction of an elderly Estrid arrives at Täby's main library at about the same time that middle-aged Estrid is presented at the Stockholm County Museum

in 2010. Commissioned by the Täby municipality, she was part of a permanent exhibition at the main library, and stood in a glass case for viewing for a number of years. Next to the doll was also information about rune stones, and another information stand showed the findings from the excavation in 1995. As recounted above, the rune stones form an important part of the stories about Estrid, because they also inform of the fact that she was the grandmother of the famous Jarlabanke, mentioned on other rune stones. Estrid can thus fit into narratives that make her a prosperous progenitor of the region or even on a national level, due to various media coverage. She becomes 'our' ancestor.

The elderly Estrid doll is not always confined to the glass case at the Täby library. During the library's two-year renovation, from 2018 to 2020, the elderly Estrid was transported to the Viking Museum in Djurgården, Stockholm. Here the doll, with various accoutrements and not confined to a glass case, was part of the exhibition 'Viking life'. When brought back to the Täby library (fig. 2), Director of Culture, Lina Browall, said excitedly to media (my translation):

We are overjoyed by the fact that she is back, she has meant so much to Täby municipality. Of course, you can read about the rune stones in the area, but we wanted to present her as an embodiment. In that way, it becomes more fun for the children, and easier to understand our past history. (Svensson 2020)

Seemingly, the doll, with its fictional and factual components, becomes a metaphorical hanger, that is supposed to carry 'our past history'. Below I discuss further how much and what kind of 'weight' (past history) such a hanger/doll/folded object actually carries and conveys.

Estrid as a phenomenon

In the wake of the excavated burial and reconstruction of Estrid, the Stockholm County Museum, together with Täby and Vallentuna municipalities, also created the idea or project 'Runriker' (the Kingdom or Realm of Runes), which was launched in 2006. This realm is intended to be a destination for those interested in history who want to see and experience runestones in various places around Lake Vallentuna. At the rune stone monument known as Jarlabanke's bridge, an outdoor exhibition and a theme park for all ages have been created. The goals for 'Runriker' are among other things, that people from the entire Stockholm region should feel that Runriker is 'theirs' and constitutes an important part of our own historical identity in our part of the world, that 'Runriker' should also attract national and international tourism, and that it should be accessible to all groups in society. In the Vallentuna municipality, work was also actively made to reach schools with information on 'Runriker', and among other things, offer opportunities to row in a Viking boat on Lake Vallentuna (Back Danielsson 2017: 207 with references).

In Täby and Vallentuna, Estrid is mentioned in political discussions of the millennial entrepreneurial spirit in labour market issues of the regions, and Täby municipality distributed a newspaper called 'Estrid' to all its citizens for a number of years. Further, the city centre of Täby nowadays has a square called the 'Estrid square', and an adjacent housing cooperative (*Sw.* bostadsrättsförening, in short 'brf') is aptly called 'Brf Estrid'.

In 2019, Vallentuna Cultural Centre and library celebrated Estrid Sigfastdotter's birthday; an extraordinary birthday marking Estrid's one thousand years of existence. The announcement on Facebook had the hashtags 'Onethousandyearsofwomenpower' (my translation) and 'Runriker'. To the left of the celebratory cake is a mini-poster with contemporary formidable women (e.g. Stina Wollter), and, of course, a photo of reconstructed middle-aged Estrid (fig. 3). Also note that the cake-cutter has a band across her torso, with a big letter 'R', and underneath the R-logo one can read 'Runriker'.

In sum, the Estrid phenomenon thus generates a number of identity-creating activities on several different levels, locally as well as regionally and nationally, and also to different age groups and perhaps emotional communities (see Rosenwein 2006).



Fig. 2. Elderly Estrid doll at Täby main library. Source: Täby bibliotek 2020.



Fig. 3. Celebrating Estrid 1000 years, and other contemporary women, in 2019. Source: Vallentuna Kulturhus och Bibliotek 2019.

Discussion and concluding remarks

From the above it is clear that the reconstructions and the Estrid narratives are a mixture of facts and fiction. By taking into account the history and temporality of these, it is possible to reach insights into the politics they express. The rune stones form a crucial component in the stories of Estrid. Their spatial location in close proximity to the excavated burial with the late Viking Age older woman, and the reasonable consistency in time, likely made it irresistible not to connect the woman in the grave with the narratives of power, ownership and kinship, already available through earlier runestone research. Another reason why the runestones are allowed to play such a large part in the stories, may be that they constitute our culture's earliest written, and – importantly – Christian, documentation. By our culture I refer to the fact that that we live in a literate society, and that Sweden's majority population still is Christian. It is thus about having found our earliest Christian history, our religious and/or cultural origins. As an additional, equally irresistible ingredient, mentioned above, it is possible to connect the grave and the Christian and written documentation to the Viking Age. It can be concluded that to a large part, it is possible to argue that the reconstructions of Estrid have little to do with prehistory, but rather reflect a modern interpretation, indeed an ideal and stereotypic image of what a woman who lived during the late Viking Age should look like and be doing.

Estrid is presented by museums, media and municipalities as being 'ours' and the unfolding narratives as

expressing 'our' history. Although used in a fairly diverse set of circumstances, the Estrid dolls can be described as the opposite of Waldorf dolls, that are supposed to be simple, without a lot of details, and hence open ended in character, offering many affordances (see Gibson 1979), and hence stories. Estrid is used for contemporary purposes that are limited in scope, since Estrid never can be a failure, sad, angry or ugly, or indeed be in pain (her body did have a crooked character, she had an inflammation in her teeth and she lost at least one child [Gag]). Estrid is only materialised as a happy and healthy success story. The doll presents a well-to-do, good-looking, ethnically correct, well-travelled first literate Christian, not forgetting that she is a Viking, equally with the ability to procreate, thus being a progenitor of future generations (us!), all rolled into one. Is this really what 'our' history is? Despite its allusions to wealth, health and success, it can be argued to be rather poor, unimaginative and, frankly, dull. Why are the *fictional* components so boring, and also in tune with today's prejudices on the roles and looks of women? Why are the *factual* components not there? (E.g. pain and sorrow). Is this all we can offer as archaeologists? I am beginning to think that the children in the ages of c. 9–13 years old are on to something, when they are not interested in borrowing 'The Viking Age with Estrid' exhibition, despite it being folded to fit a transportable box on wheels.

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