

## The story of the great Elven in Jämtland

**with documents from the area's church history since ancient times.** edited by Jan Nilsson

My interest in my ancestors' practical and purely tangible activities from the beginning of the 19th century in my home parish Kyrkås ecclesiastical affairs has now given me a reason to look more closely at where they may have acquired their apparently documentary-founded knowledge of the church and religious history of their own and surrounding parishes. There are several documents and maps from old archives, which suggest that their documentary knowledge could stretch as far as a thousand years back. And they worked seriously on different traces to reveal more of a hidden history.

### **Latest new church in Kyrkås annexe parish and the Churchwarden Jon Johansson**

The first of my famous ancestors to get involved in the search for influence on local church history was the too early deceased farmer and churchwarden Jon Johansson in Lungre, Kyrkås.

Jon was born in 1792 in Rödön, and died in 1848, 56 years old and only three years after he together with his pair horse in Kyrkås, the parish writer Anders Larsson in Kläppe, had been involved in the opening of Kyrkås new church.

Jon was employed by a farmer without sons in Lungre, Kyrkås as a farmhand in the 1810<sup>th</sup>, married the farmer's one daughter 1818, and was now established in Kyrkås.

So was also his comrade and farming colleague Anders Larsson, Kläppe with a similar story. Born 1796 on a good farm in Lit parish and employed by Kläppe's first farmer, also without a son, but a daughter whom Anders married 1822.

Jon and Anders had previously from 1835 collaborated successfully for ten years time as informal developers for both planning and implementation of the construction for a new Kyrkås church. According to the writings hitherto, the pastorate of the main congregation in Lit took care of the management and acquisition of traditional architect drawings from the Superintendent's Office..

The final results of our local developers deviated on many essential points from the architect's proposal, which was never commented on in written form from the pastorate. It is therefore likely that recent church scholars never dared to seek alternative explanations for the deviations..

Two of the said developers **Jon Johansson** and **Anders Larsson** paid tribute to Jon's closest neighbour, the bachelor **farmhand Ivar Pålsson with the memorial plaque above the church gate as being the practical builder** for a much more grandiose church building, than originally intended. And everyone was happy because the whole thing was also almost entirely carried out with one of the county's smallest parish's own resources and without any sour elaborations – the balance in the church treasury were the same after the inauguration as it had been before construction started. All details are presented in (swedish language) <http://www.busvebacken.se/Kyrkorna/Kyrkås>

Jon Johansson was probably the one who read the most books of these three men, and it came as a result of the fact that he himself was born and grown up on a good farm in Häste, at Rödön, one of the county's largest parishes. The family moved while Jon's growing up to Wike, Rödön, which was much more near to the Rödö strait towards Frösön than the village Häste. Geography is described on map images on pages 7 and 35.

With a short but important boat or ferry crossing to the Frösö side, the old Västerhus was near and beyond that the village Stocke with Kungsgården and Frösö Trivial School, where it was widespread tradition among well-situated Rödö farmers to send their boys to "continuation school" regardless of whether they later intended to study at gymnasium in Härnösand or return home to the farms.

Jon had several brothers who "grew up" as county councillors, which also indicates that the boys in the family of farmer Johan Nilsson in Wike, Rödön got a longer school education than the usual elementary school at the time.

#### **What really happened in Kyrkås during the 19th century?**

I have not seen any records of Jon's own schooling, but we know that he as an established family man in Lungre, Kyrkås, sent his only fifteen-year-old son Per to Frösön at two winters trivial school (1838-39) on to bargain of the maximum three years itinerant small school that was given in Kyrkås.

Per also had a two year younger sister, Brita Jonsdotter, whom we recognize as the future wife of Hans Andersson, parish writer Anders Larsson's eldest son in Kläppe.

It strikes me now that Brita was also at an age at Pers schooling on Frösön, that at home she has very well been able to follow parts of the knowledge acquisition that Per and probably also their father Jon had received at Frösö trivial school and which she later in life was able to convey to all her own children that showed so very inquisitive and gifted.

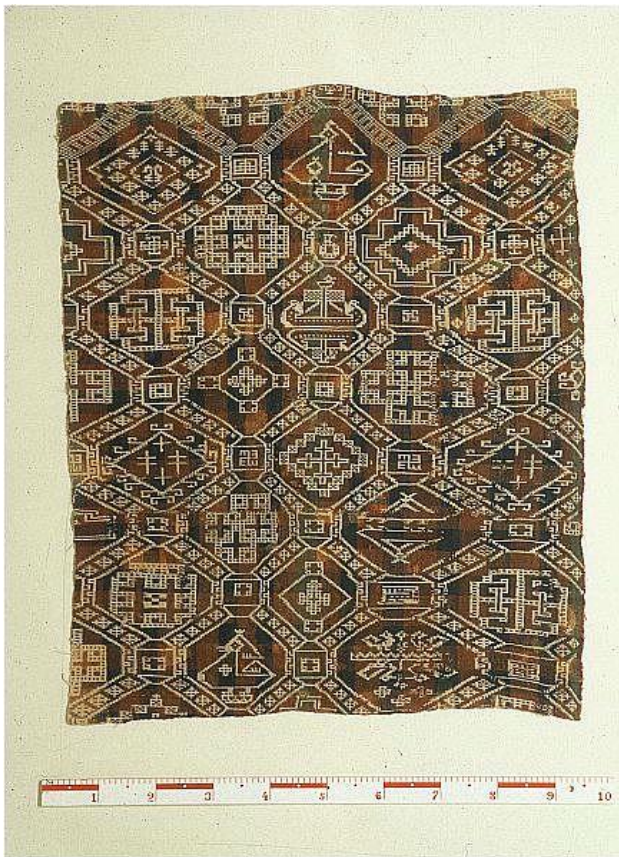
During Per's school period, planning and starting the large church building at home on their own farm was underway, which also became an interesting and imaginative adventure to follow in the future for the youngsters Per and Brita.

Perhaps it was not just a coincidence that their father Jon in the same year (1838-39) that Per went to trivial school cashed in a mortgaged agricultural property, part of Bringåsen village, during the current legal shiftings of farm land, and could thus immediately request a change of his purchase to a hitherto undeveloped land on the village's outskirts towards Lungre village. Several generations after my ancestor Jon, that recently reclaimed and cleared farm land also became the site of my own birth and later professional life together with my wife.

Jon knew for sure before from old maps (see further down) that his new land had medieval historical ancestry both as an agriculture and as a church site. He also knew that the stone church in Kyrkbyn, for which he was now a churchwarden, had several different objects in its inventory with a high medieval ancestry.

The oldest and most prominent of these artifacts was the so-called Kyrkåstäcket (The Church cloth), which from the early youth of her daughter Brita and until her death at the age of 96 came to be associated with her own and her daughters' for several generations inherited art weaving interest and know-how.

The most recently published account of Kyrkåstäcket's legendary history was written by Britas daughter Christina Mattsson: *Vikingatida spår*, in *Årsboken Jämten* 2010.



The picture above shows the original of the so-called Kyrkåstäcket, which was among unrecorded furniture in the stone church in Kyrkbyn in the 19th century. With its contemporary dating from the 12th century, the tissue has most likely been used in a medieval church building on Bodsvedbacken <http://www.busvebacken.se/Kyrkåstäcket> and is considered one of the country's oldest preserved textiles of its kind.

The large sailing Viking boat in the middle of the pattern with many board openings for oars and checkered marking for a sail may have several meanings, but one of them could be to

Kommenterad [JN1]:

present the importance of the shipping which soon was in progress to all who walked the trail here past the Alvarbölet in Bringåsen.

The Stone church's current furniture also includes a so-called iron ship candlestick that can be from the same era.

My digitized copy on this website has been named MattssonsStory.

<http://www.busvebacken.se/MattssonsBerättelse>

Christina was at the time the first female ruler of the Nordic Museum Foundation, which until 2013 had mainly managed the cloth, after Hans Andersson and Brita Jonsdotter, at Nils Månsson Mandelgren's request, shipped it to Stockholm probably in 1871. In 2013, the tissue came back "home" to Jamtli's museum.

So we have also found overlooked documents that to some extent change some of the earlier stories around the church's "recovery" in the mid-19th century, as I describe in Litsboken 2019 in TidsaxelKyrkås

<http://www.busvebacken.se/KyrkornaiKyrkås?action=AttachFile&do=get&target=TidsaxelKyrkås.pdf>

#### **Brita Jonsdotter's knowledge from the father's legacy**

Brita Jonsdotter and her husband Hans Andersson (son of the "church builder" Anders Larsson), as well as Brita's brother Per Jonsson, came in adulthood to play a crucial role in the further development of the Kyrkåshistoria that I collected documentary under several different headlines on my website [www.busvebacken.se](http://www.busvebacken.se).

When Hans became a Member of Parliament in 1870, a position that lasted 20 years, an intense series of correspondence begun between the two during all the parliamentary semesters that lasted from January to May each year, when Brita herself held the positions at home on the farm, where all the six children were minors at the beginning.

The letters put the reasoning between Hans and Brita on an equal footing, suggesting that Brita was also well-read and knowledgeable far beyond the junior school level for that time.

Another interesting church's historical comment I have found in a letter that Brita Jonsdotter's youngest daughter Brita Kristina wrote in 1901 to her brother A J (Ante) Hansson. Brita Kristina was now the wife of Lars Eriksson in the neighboring farm of her grandfather Jon Johansson's homestead at the new Church, which at that time was used by Brita K's brother, Jonas. She wrote the letter from a bath- and recreation trip to Malviksgårde outside Trondhiem with her first child and Ante's children. The sister-in-law, Ante's wife Ingeborg, was admitted to the sanatorium in Mörsil for the TB that would soon end her life. Hans, mentioned in the letter, is Ante's eldest son, about 13 years old.

*" Today has been "präka"(Divine Service as we call) here in Malvik, here was performed children's baptism, burial, and communion which is kept all the times here is the präka, and everything goes on very Catholic, Hans began to draw on grin when the great Nordtömme (the preacher) appeared to in front of the altar wearing his messshake" (. The church is not painted inside but much like a hay barn. "*

The commentary and her observations suggest that there was a rather deep insight within the family about the church heritage of the old Nordic Saint Olaf cult, which she could see here the remaining traces of in the vicinity of Nidaros Cathedral.

It showed that the same Catholic St. Olaf's trail had been before the eyes of both their, mine and all-time visitors of The Old Church of Kyrkås for several hundred years and to this day, to which I return to at pages 40 - 41.

Jon Johansson had at least in his youth been able to acquire a network of contacts and knowledge that, among other things, revolved around Västerhus and its old church history, but also knowledge of the contemporary construction projects that could be conveyed by staff of teachers at the trivial school and the adjacent officers at Frösö army camp – knowledge that I now believe came in handy even in the church construction on Jons donated church plot.

#### **The inspiration behind the new construction of the new church of Kyrkås.**

We are now maybe beginning to understand how the Church warden Jon Johansson himself could acquire new drawings from sources far away from the architectural drawing the pastorate in Lit had acquired from Stockholm.

The new church was given both an untraditional design and a new type of sliding molded lime mortar masonry, which according to available documents was patented during the period when this church was built. The technique involved building the walls by casting an approximately 2 dm thick layer of lime mortar with stone padding at a time, lap after lap. When a layer hardened, the mould of the next layer was moved up step by step.

In this way, the construction could directly bring together the various simple raw materials of this "stone-rich" area consisting of local labour, water, forest (woodfuel, boards and not least forest fodder to horse-drawn power) and field blocks where the limestone material was sorted out for burning to lime mortar and the rest used for ballast filling.

The profit with the new technology was, among other things, in short advances and that the very laborious elements of forming into traditional masonry blocks of either carved stone or burnt clay bricks were avoided.

Now I have found a contemporary connection to a, with Jon peers and in many respects versatile and freelance technically interested military, writer and eventually in 1841 county governor of Östersund named Gustav Adolf Montgomery, who during the first years of church construction stayed in Östersund. He was an active idea spreader who had the potential to convey this new technology to the unexperienced church builders Jon, Anders and Ivar in Kyrkås.

Previously, Jon and GAM may have first met, for example, in 1818 when GAM served a period at Jämtland's army regiment on Frösön.

During the intervening period GAM had a variety of military services and assignments around the Nordic region, where he should, among other things, at his service at the General Staff in Stockholm, should have been involved in the planning of the large new

construction of the grand central Karlsborg Fortress at lake Vättern (between Stockholm and Gothenburg).

In 1836, a proper examination of a new casting building technique was started in Karlsborg in connection with the construction of a barracks that is still standing. (see [http://www.busvebacken.se/Kyrkorna/Kyrkås#Nypatenterad\\_giuthusteknik](http://www.busvebacken.se/Kyrkorna/Kyrkås#Nypatenterad_giuthusteknik) )

G A Montgomery in his post at the General Staff in Stockholm, may have been involved in the planning process for Karlsborg at an initial stage, but was then employed as a trustee at the state-owned copper plant in Huså, Kall between the years 1837 to -41.

It was a period when he probably often had affairs to do in the Östersund area and there he could have been available for technical consultations and construction assignments, which was based on his very early inside information about the yet unfinished Karlsborg construction, which was printed in 1842.

Perhaps Montgomery also co-designed the Zetterström library building on Frösön, which was built with unclear documentation in the 1830s?

GAM remained in Östersund until the end of 1842 when he was transferred to a heavier county governor's chair in Umeå, so he undoubtedly had great opportunities to participate in the start phase of the church construction in Kyrkås and also to give the new elected builder Ivar Pålsson hand-grasping instructions in place.

This u-turn in the building plans may also have been a reason for the break between Kyrkås parish and the originally hired builder from Östersund, who may not want to deviate from his old ingrained patterns, or move away from the pastorate's traditional drawing proposals. Ivar Pålsson now had to take over the baton, which should also have given economic advantages for the parish on the salary side.

After these reflections on the latest church construction in Kyrkås, I now turn to the older building history.

#### **Fale Burman's travel diary for 1799**

My document search begun with a careful study of Härnösand's lecturer Fale Burman's records in the travel diary he wrote in the very last years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. He had strong personal connections to Västerhus and Kungsgården on Frösön in that he in his youth had been sent to Frösö trivial school which was located in the same area. Fale Burman was born and raised at the mine in Huså, where his father was the manager for a period.

It should also be pointed out that the complete diary in typewriter printing that I have now been able to read, wasn't published and readable in full text until after 1928, and nothing indicates that my history researching grandfather A J Hansson could take note of this before he died in 1932.

Also it was not available for the builders of the new Kyrkås Church, Jon Johansson and Anders Larsson, who themselves went to Kyrkås as farmhands after Fale Burman's death in

1809. Burman's left over notes were then unprocessed in Härnösand, and perhaps also his sources in Kläppe (see page 8) gone.

In the following excerpts that were written when Fale Burman was at Ås Church, he describes some phenomena from the Catholic era or which he often said, "the Pope time", but also talks about a "confirmed road of a Swedish mile in length to serve for fiscal legislation" between Ås and the demesne of the Crown on Frösön.

The one end point would be a "pilgrim's well" in Ås which, according to his description, should be in the hollow between Trättgårde and Kännåsen. If you draw as the crow flies from there to the western part of Frösön, an old Swedish mile of about 10.6 km lands in the area between Västerhus (R-sign on the map) and Bynäset where there was an old Demesne of the Crown.

The physical stretch of road is mainly waterway, which during Sweden's medieval period has been the preferred point for all transports (where possible) according to my following sources. The distance measurements may have been carried out with trigonometric map angle measurements and were calculated between different, simultaneously visible points and churches on Frösön, Rödön and Ås.

#### **Entrance port to Vesterhus at Bynäset?**

The most protected entrance to the administrations in neighborhood at early Vesterhus (above Västbyn, Frösön NW) should have been by boat from all directions on Lake Storsjön to harbours inside Bynäset on the map.

From Ås, Fale Burman & co continued over Kännåsen-Nifsåsen to the nearest village in Kyrkås parish, Kläppe on the right edge of the map. On map edge S of Kläppe is a vague text "Gällsjön", which is the lake Jellsjön near south of the Stone church in Kyrkbyn, Fale Burman is visiting in the following Diary excerpts.

Straight on from lake Gällsjön and down to Torvalla on the shore of lake Brunfloven runs the old wagon road crossing the Busvebacken/Stugun trail on the place, where someone built the stone church. The wagon road continued past Lungre to Lit church.



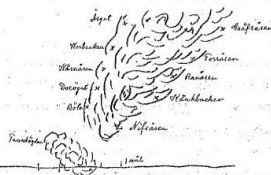
## Diary from visit to Ås 1799

som solterrakt genast föres in.- Skärtorsdagen fordom egentl. firad;  
Långfredagen hölls blott för en (Dies Profestus) af Dies Profesti till  
Påskhögtiden.- Hemvuxna ärter, de bästa till utsäde - mogna skyndsaföre, 120  
än Sädes-ärter från andra ställen.- Vaka Iul - Påsk och Mid Sommare-  
nätter, är en lemning af de så kallade Vaktugor, hvilka under Påfve-  
skmet hällas, dessa nätter. Skref af gamla Kyrkoråningar - promenade  
till Stockbrunn, Skrapa och Pip Kallorna. Den förra isynnerhet rykt-  
bar.- Ordalier per immersionen, där skedd under Påfviska tiden. Varit  
bygd väg mellan Åsensamma, och Kungsgården på Frösn, af en mils längd;  
som skulle tjena till rättelse vid Skattmätlars utstakande. Dessa Kal-  
lor äro belägna i Kyrky-drolet, som har ypperl. god myrjord, och som  
ännu mera kunde förbättras genom blänning af stalaktit grus från näst-  
liggande upphöjda ställen, s.e. vid Pip-Kallan.- Mata- eller Kobb-my-  
gor, syntes i dag. Komma då Kornet som bäst matas ( får Kärna) - Län-  
ga och svåra Vattuvägar, i Ås. Höfärgade tak och byggningar af en del  
börjat brukas.- Rytteren Olof Tengman, blifvit Hof Inköpare.- Folket i  
Ås Sooken ibland de mest sediga i Landet.

Onsdagen, d. 8 Aug. Klart, Varmt.

Natten diarh.- Erik Eriksen i Bredbyn i Offerdal har i Pastorn

## Diary Fale Burman's trip to Kyrkås in 1799



Reste med G. Ågerberg till Kyrkås.- Kalk-Ballearten eläts i Hife-lu-  
huen - många broar i vägen - illa vid magthollus.- Hifehuen blifvit  
860, för ett mord, som skett i en Källare, hvarefter grep ännu synes.-  
Stenrösen lagda i ovanl. ordning, lags ned efter lågdarne.- Skän ut-  
sigt.- I Kleppen finnes ännu Nordstoms släkten.- Gollanden.- Stora och  
frodiga Rennar där planterade.- En del af Gunnlebbule, blifvit skänkt  
till Kyrkoplats, och ett litet Prestbord, för Kyrkås Kyrka - det öfriga  
är ännu en Fåhedvall - i hvilken Häster Sen, äger det mesta - förf-  
rigt hafva och Hälskagen, Ösa samt Lungrö Ryemän, sina andelar.- Kyr-

† Mellan Hife-lu-huen, och Åspås Kyrka - finnes på Skogen i stora Ge-  
schleben, en hård Sandstens art, med liksom svårta Kilar af samma  
Gry.- Sandsten i iemtl. nog sällsynt.

kan liknar till belägenhet en eremitage: är liten, men snygg! Gamla Kyrkan, eller Capellet, har legat på Alvar bölet. - Bursveds Backen, mel. Kyrkan och Bringsås. Stapeln nybyggd, med en slags löndör, till ingång. Mindre Klockan är guten af Hilleström 1760 ( Rockmans Gesäll) den större af Lindberg 1787 - skulle pråla med Lindholms. namn. I Sakristian anmärktes Palladii Handbok tryckt 1602. Bildthuggeriet på Altartafeln är af Edlers yngre arbeten, och i singulier, dock ej obehaglig stil. Snyggt tak - 2:ne läktare - fenster på garfveln under taket göra Kyrkan ovanlig. På Kyrkogården var en grafsten, hörande till Bringsås af Brunflo Marmor, med årtalet 1684.

Hälfva Svens-kyrkan hör till Klepp i Kyrås; den andra hälften till Onsala. - Hälfvarn. V. om Kläpp-Sjön, är skiljemärke mellan Nifsåsen ( i Ås) och fjörändade Klepp. - På grund åker, hållst där någon halla är i botten, kommer snarast efterrånn; den lider dock mest af torrka och starkt Sol-sken - blir sås sednare, och jorden höjes. - Om Knutar sammanfogas med ened inhuggning, blifva byggnader varaktigare - Äfvenså om Väggar ej flätthäljes. - I Klepp omväxlande Hälle-arter - Ibland den Hälleflinta. - Ribes Alpinus /Tre-Stickel-vod/ - Kruter sådes där sällan blifva fullmog-na. - Klepp Sjön förden blifvit kallad: Ljus Sjön. - Kläpps Åger gränna mot Sax Kyrkesocknars - Bursyn - Stegel Stubben skiljemärke mel. Sax, och Nifsåsen. - På sednare stället och i Klepp, ej Kalksten. - Nattdägar på Gästgäfv. gården i Kläpp.

Torsdag d. 9 Aug.

During the visit to Kläppe (Klepp in local talk), Fale Burman first notes two family names – firstly, the living family Nordström, the last one of two generations of Dragoons who died in 1803 as a farmer at Kläppe No. 4. Then there was a daughter on the farm who married to a new family name. The same family currently has the surname Broman.

The other family that FB called Collanden was a son of Nordström who according to notes in my family records had studied.

At the so-called Aron-farm in Kläppe is the old guest house where the gentlemen on this trip had their night camp. At the time, Aron farm's Olof Olovsson had a mother and grandmother as descendants of Jöns Ersson Agerberg, who two generations earlier came from a farm in Brunflo to Kläppe in 1720, and who should have had good knowledge of ownership relations with the Crown land of Gunnilsböle, from where in the 16th century the property for the new Stone Church was cut off in Kyrkbyn.

There is also a possible connection to Fale Burman's travelling companion, C. Agerberg from Ås, who could also be a possible informant because he was also a later relative of Jöns Ersson Agerberg.

This Agerberg family is still living at the KarlLars-farm in Kläppe, although in my generation under the name Margaretha Andersson b. Larsson. My own grandmother who "immigrated"

under name of Maria Eriksson Agerberg to Busvebacken in 1905 was also born in 1870 from the same Jöns Ersson Agerberg branch at the farm Rösta in Ås.

### **The Stone Church in Kyrkbyn is post medieval**

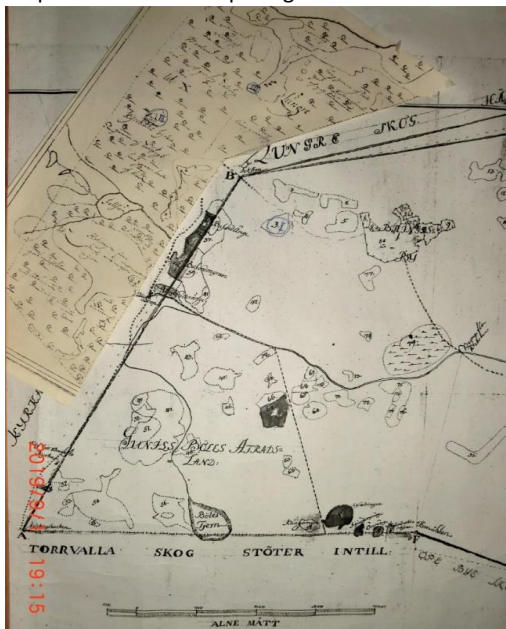
The most interesting notes here apply to Kyrkås Church, which was then the only church in the parish. For the sake of simplicity, I have named it the Stone Church in the early stages of the text. So far, it has been considered a medieval church at least from the 14th century, or older, in all history books. Officially it is named the old church in the church village (Gamla Kyrkan i Kyrkbyn).

Fale Burman notes that the lot for "a church and a small parsonage" had been donated from the Crown's land Gunilsböle, that the church is small but stylish and is located as a hermitage on an uninhabited pasture, which is also to some extent part of the Ås farmers's hired Crown's land, although it was in 1799 located within the Lungre village's boundaries.

The whole situation is clearly shown on the map montage with Stenklyft's Lungre map from 1693 against Törnman's Bringåsen map from 1776.

It should also be noted that the full Lungre map has several other village sections enlarged and that the inhabited village is located on a separate sheet with virtually all the houses on the farms, fences around and the stone cairns on fields drawn out – on this map part only the three farms of the village appear as small dots in an open area just to the left of the village name Lungre while the church stands alone, surrounded by trees and a single housemarking for the new "small parsonage" according to Fale Burman.

Map art documents depicting the old church from the 1540s



Note that the maps are centered around the border knee between the villages. I displaced the pictures here to a widened borderzone to include the interesting blackened Bodsved properties on the Bringåsen map that was inside Lungre's village border.

An hitherto unanswered question here is at what point the village boundaries were set out and the geographical location and distribution of the parish was determined?

The map scales differ about 50%. The proportions are shown by the fact that the distance from the border knee to the outlet from Lake Jellsjön is staggered between the map images at the border crossing. Each part of the alnline is 1000 aln = 600 meters on the right Bringåsen map and corresponds to about 1200 meters on the left Lungre map.

*The stone church that Fale Burman saw and collected local data on was built according to new C14 dating around the year 1545. According to the map, the church site was placed on overgrown fields in a deserted village that for the time was classified as part of the Crown's land Gunilsböle.*

Gunilsböle was apparently in the 16th century counted to Brunflo parish's Crown land. The close links with Brunflo could also mean that the stone material for the Stone Church was taken from Brunflo's old limestone quarry, which should have been active even when the fortress tower at Brunflo church were built with similar stone walls in the Middle Ages.

#### **Origin to the name Hjellsjöås and the name change to Kyrkås**

Since we can now perhaps agree that there was no church in Kyrkbyn before 1545, there must also have been another name for the medieval village with relatively extensive fields that lay here.

In this context, a possible proposal is to start from the name of the old maps on the nearby lake, Hjäll or Jell. Could it simply have been the name of any early settler on the site? The recent name forms Gällsjön, Gillersjön and Gillran for the outlet creek have, as I understand it, emerged as euphemisms made by modern surveyors.

If this is the lake where the first settler began to scorch and settle, it will be quite natural for an outside church leader to call the ridge from Ljusberget in Kläppe to Brynje along which the entire parish (except the village Skjör) according to a common Jämtlandic pattern stretches, for Hjellsjöås after the name of the nearest settler.

It can also be noted that anyone who in the High Middle Ages looked to the "Bodsved Chapel" from Frösö's perspective (via Rödö strait) and/or perspective from Ås saw a clear link between the lake Hjellsjön you passed on the road over Kläppe before reaching it just beyond located Alvarbölet with the Chapel.

Note that Bodsved is a later periods name for Alvarböle as someone's deserted elderly homestead property! The relations between the two different Frösö church and Västerhus church on the island of Frösön was unclear and complicated during the medieval times. More on this later on.

The second stretch south from Lit's church goes via ferry or bridge at Klösta over Hölje to Kläppe and then connects to a road cross in Kyrkbyn, from where you can continue to

Brunflo on the old Brunflo road, which can be seen on the map above, stretch along the village border between Bringåsen and Lungre. Then you will come across the village of Gräfsåsen down to Torvalla on Storsjön's shore, and can from there continue the walk along a 10 km path on land to Brunflo or choose boat facilities to optional boat stops around the whole of Storsjön.

In 1303, the proceeds of a former priest's estate in the village Hölje, Lit to the "soul house" in Stugun's disposition, were transferred thru The Archdiocese. The natural communication route between Hölje and Stugun at that time must first have to follow the above-mentioned church route to Kläppe, and then to go largely after a straight line over Bringåsen – Brynje – Mellansjön - Lillsjöhögen to the nearest boat harbor at the great Elven, the old place Näveredestadh below the Näverede rapids, from where goods and people can be loaded on boat for further journey down to Stugun. The river between Lit and Näverede was not navigable by boat on the entire stretch between Fjäl and Näverede because of several smaller rapids.

Could the name change in the Kyrkås parish have to do with the shift to a new and stronger mother assembly, after the Black Death had weakened the parish of Frösö?

The old annexe parish's name Hjällsjöås is last mentioned in 1407 in court documents, which was printed in Näskott (north of Rödön) and about 20 years later the name Kyrkås appears in several different sales documents that were written in Lit.

The new name Kyrkås appeared a hundred years before the Stone Church was built, and therefore cannot be linked to the Reformation and the consequent construction in Kyrkbyn.

#### **Who built the Stone church?**

Curiously, no one has so far found any contemporary notes about the new Stone church arrangements in Kyrkås from the clergy of all six neighboring parishes to Kyrkås. The change of parish arrangements was done at a fairly late time when there were lots of literate priests and bailiffs in the county, in the Diocese of Härnösand and in the Archdiocese of Uppsala, all of whom had different interests in this matter.

In the absence of known local patrons in Kyrkås it is also questionable if the fairly well known but few registered homesteads in Kyrkås parish could make enough recovery for their agricultural production in the "little ice age" that still prevailed, to manage a stone building enterprise, when, for example, the Belts and the Öresund strait far to the south could freeze and carry an entire army with horses to travel between Sweden and Denmark.

Could the stone church otherwise have been created by the support of the parish initiated by the so-called "Jämtland dean" Erik Andersson, who lived in Oviken, but who had also at this time steered several married gulls as vicars into the neighboring parishes?

The dean Erik now eagerly supported Gustaf Vasa's ban on saint worship after the Reformation and should have an interest in obliterating the old geografic sign of a Bodsved chapel along the trail between Stugun and Ås-Västerhus, and instead mark for a more modernized stretch of road from Brunflo-Torvalla past the Stone Church and further north towards Lit and Hamnerdal?



The first well measured map of the whole of Jämtland was printed and published in 1763, but was mainly measured and drawn by Stenklyft and completed in 1686.

The measurements were made in a very wary period when the national border with Norway, which looms in the upper left corner, switched its name to the county border with Trøndelag every two years until 1814 when it finally became the Union border with Norway for nearly a century until 1905.

This map also gives a bottom for the village borders of Lungre and Bringåsen showed on p 10.

It is noteworthy that Kyrkås old stone church is missing from this so detailed map. That church had, as we now know, been around for 140 years when the map was first published and it is mentioned on the year 1645 map (p.16). Could this situation have anything to do with the Reformation, and that the church was built as a Lutheran church at the Archdeococes request s a s outside the ordinary accounts and in a more hidden place than the more conspicuous older Chapel on Busvebacken?

In this cutout the north arrow is directed towards 2 o'clock.

In the lower right corner we have a small piece of the large river Ångermanälven with the Faxälven river's inflow just north of Sollefteå.

When you follow the bottom of the map to the left, perpendicular to the river valleys, lake Graningesjön is crossed first, then the Indalsälven river at Liden, Ljungån?, the Ljungan river at lake Stödesjön and at the far left the bottom of the map crosses Ljusnan river at the height of Kårböle/COGERBELA.

The dotted lines show the then existing land roads that were only paths until well into the 19th century.



Here I show the entire original map, where it is clear that the surveyor has produced the geography of Jämtland and Härjedalen as a communication system built around four parallel river's valleys or catchment areas - Ljusnan, Ljungan, Indalsälven and part of Ångermanälven, which here drains Ströms vattudal (Flata) in northern Jämtland, but has a large part of its lower race within Ångermanland and eventually flows into the diocese of Härnösand.

This map is still a path and water route map with the old system of churches with associated push lines and inns intact

The dotted old main footpaths actually lead everyone towards the same end goal outside the center line of the map – namely, now Trondhjem and Levanger, which have long been administrative and commercial centers for Jämtland-Härjedalen inhabitants.

An important notice is that the Carta Marina, published 150 years earlier, had placed the main Catholic guide churches along the Stugu trail in their proper "GPS positions". The Stugu trail was well-known and important for the early medieval catholic life from a central Swedish point of view.

**T. K:son Hedraeus's map Jämtland-Härjedalen**, a much worn copy made **1645** (at the end of the danish-norwegian time). Here a part of the Indalsälven watershed.



Probably the first map of Jämtland with fairly proper placing of inland waters in a roadless country. Human activities is marked with simple church symbols. Notable is that contrary to the last map above here is a church at Kyrkås (below the hook of Indalsälven in the mid upper part of the map).

#### **Medieval necessity of boating inland and on the seas**

The importance of the boat routes for the Danish Viking age traffic on the Danish islands around the year 1000 was described in detail by Adam of Bremen. He then noted that the same distance that could be completed on a day's boat trip would take 3.5 days to travel on land.

From the middle of 1700 and one hundred years onwards, copper mining at Åreskutan (Fröå and Huså) was Jämtland's largest export industry before the forest took over. Until 1835 all their production had been transported across Storsjön to Brunflo and then alternately lake and land crossings down to Sundsvall and Stockholm for export.

Then came steamboat freight on Kallsjön over Anjan and road freight down to the fjord in Norway for a period, before in 1867 the completion of Jämtland's communications company and its infrastructure with steamboat traffic, ports and country roads in a coherent system from Sundsvall over Storsjön to Skilstugan and Levanger.

Now, however, the time was soon over for ore boats on the lakes with the railway's entry and the trail freight company went bankrupt after only two years. Mining also limped in the future, and the new steamboats spread across the landscape as tow trucks for timber rafting on still water lakes.

### The name of ELVEN

Historians has probably rightly complained that the river Indalsälven has different local names on maps depending on the place that it is passing. Finally folks at the river end named it as originating from the banks of a small place Indal quite a few km outside the Sundsvall's city borders.

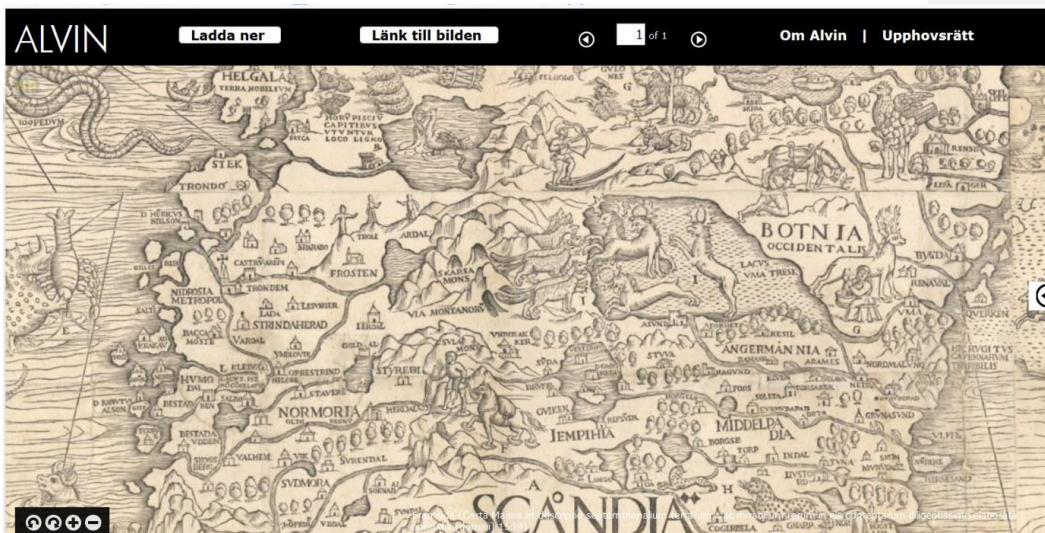
In my father's first home place at Stugun the river locally was simply called Å'a, an abbreviation for the great river (Storån), which I think is the case in all parishes along the entire stream, i.e. Älven / ELVEN which also corresponds to Carta Marina's exposed old name below. The name Storån also becomes a reasonable derivation from the name Storsjön, which the river geographically flows thru. All other name suggestions may well be attributed to the various map surveyor's lists of proposals.

### Pre mapping history

An early survey of Catholic church memories is described in Olaus Magnus large and for churches very detailed Nordic map works Carta Marina that I have now given a careful look into. The map Carta Marina is connected with a written History of the Northern peoples by Olaus Magnus.

<http://www.busvebacken.se/Kyrkorna/Kyrkås?action=AttachFile&do=get&target=Carta+Marina+and+De+Nordiska+folkens+historia.pdf>.

I have collected history of their lives and excerpts from the brothers Olaus and Johannes Magnus's activities in the 16th century.



But the map above also suggests what in Olaus Magnus' original version of Carta Marina was important in the Nordic landscape, where the patriotic Olaus Magnus in his autobiography expressed that he wanted to **show the Catholic world what** a significant and

**magnificent area that was built up after Christianity, but which the Vatican now lost after the Reformation.**

The second, and perhaps more important conclusion from the study of Carta Marina, is that the map plant from the mid-16th century is a very seriously elaborate production of a near millennial Viking traffic from the Nordic countries and out into the world.

In other words, it is a detailed marine chart that will show different alternative starting points from the sea and into most catholic churches, a few paths and sites known at the time, which in the hinterland could be reached with a combination of walking and local boating where is possible, gave 3 – 4 times longer daily distances than could be performed on land path with walking and accompanying ride and pack horses. At that time had nobody done a map of the nothern inland, so medieval travelers had to trust local guiding and protection

#### **When did STUVA/Stugun become a central key for medieval traffic?**

The archbishops of Uppsala had also realized in the latter part of the 1200th century that the shortest, the cheapest and most efficient inland trail from the innermost coastal harbour of Trondhjemsfjorden, where NIDROSIA METROPOL is located at the west side of SCANDIA, should go almost due eastwards over the mountain pass towards mount Åreskutan, from there on ELVEN past the Rödö strait in Storsjön, Jämtland, to the nearest Baltic bay harbour, which was actually in practice located at today's Sollefteå (SOLETO at Carta Marina).

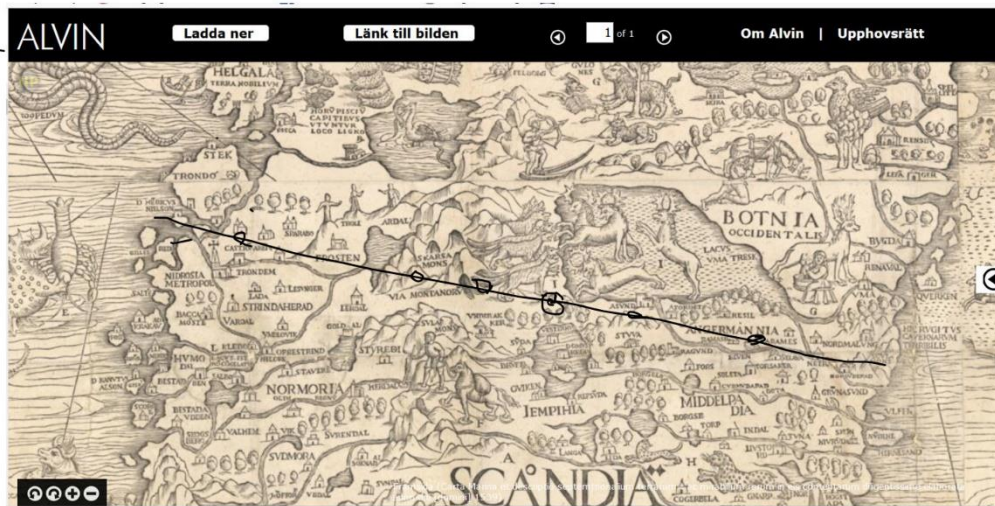
In Sollefteå you could land from seagoing longboats after 7 – 80 km of rapid-free sailing or rowing upstream from the river Ångermanälven estuary at Härnösand.

The outlet of the Ångermanälven river was most easily found if the Baltic seagoing ships searched the landmark for Härnösand /HERNESAND and then from there switched to the river's local boat traffic.

It appears from OM's marking on the map that you could also aim from the sea side at Ulvön/ULVEN and from there go ashore at the churches in Ullånger or Nordingrå and hike a few miles over land to boat apartment in Torsåker/TORSAKER at Å-älven.

The obstacle to the realization of this project was that in the 13th century there was no fuel station and resting place for people and fencing in the middle of the ten-mile deep and unpopulated Ragunda Forest, where the ELVEN offered a total navigable boat distance of about 30 km with a short rapids section precisely at the place chosen as the "soul house"/själstuga.

There was also a short and suitable ferry crossing just above the rapids, where Stugun village then emerged.



Biskoparna Johannes och Olaus Magnus karta över 1300-talets kortaste öst-västra pilgrimsled Sollefteå-Vesterhus-Nidaros i ett väglöst landskap. Startpunkt vid kusten Ångermanälven från HERNESAND (eller ULFEN till Ullånger och sedan TORSÄKER) till SOLETA. Växelvis båt och land till FÖRS – RAGUND – STUVA – VESTERHUS – UNDERAKKER – VIA MONTANORUNG – LERDAL – TRONDEM/NIDROSIA METROPOL (De ledutmärkande kyrkobyggnaderna ligger 2-3 cm under den öst-västra linjen och följer Indalsälvens roddbara dalgång/ELVEN från Förs till Kölen. Landsträckorna förbi försarna motsvarar här Börje Sandens noterade dragställen för vikingaskepp mellan de ryska flodsystemen. )

On the map above you can draw the shortest route from Nidaros to the Bothnian Bay through the pass "VIA MONTANORUNG" past the churches UNDERAKKER (Undersåker) – SUDA (Sunne)- VESTERHUS and DOMUS REGIA(Kungsgården on Frösön)-STUVA(Stugun)-RAGUND-FÖRS(Bispgården)-SOLETA(Sollefteå)-ULVEN/HERAND.

With Härnösand or Ulvön as a landmark for the inland journey to Vesterhus and Nidaros or just to the archdiocese's bishop's farm and salmon fishing below Storforsen (later Dead Fall) in Förs, you can reduce the summer time hike to no more than half and travel the rest of the journey by waterway transports. It was much more convenient, faster and safer. Probably also most profitable in the long run for the joint's supreme protector – the Pope.

#### Early christianization and converting period in Jämtland

The following abstract tells an evident but quite brutal history from the time of converting which lasted for centuries and also incorporated a fight between Danes who converted Sweden from south, and all the way along the east coast from Hälsingland up to Torneå and the Norse with base in Trondheim an Bergen who also converted the Norwegian counties Jämtland and Härjedalen.

Doctoral thesis from University College London 2002, revised 2003

## ABSTRACT

Sanmark, Alexandra 2004. Power and Conversion - a Comparative Study of Christianization in Scandinavia. *Occasional Papers in Archaeology* 34. Uppsala. 322 pp., 5 maps, 13 figs, 4 diagrams, 1 table.

ISSN 1100-6358, ISBN 91-506-1739-7.

This book examines the Christianization of Scandinavia with the help of comparative material from Anglo-Saxon England, Old Frisia and Old Saxony. It is shown that Christianity spread from secular rulers and aristocracy downwards in society. In order to achieve widespread acceptance of Christianity, rulers employed specific measures, mainly legislation and material support to clerics. It is clear that in the conversion process, missionaries were necessary, but subordinate to secular rulers.

Various kinds of pressure were present in all conversions covered by this study, ranging from mild inducement to brutal force. The conversion of Saxony was particularly violent. While not as harsh, the conversion of Norway belongs in the same part of the spectrum. Forceful conversions included the use of military force, but also the introduction of strict laws and rigorous control systems. Rewards of social, political and material nature were however also significant.

Most important among the new laws were those that regulated the daily life of the population according to the Christian calendar, requiring observance of the seasonal fasts, Sundays and feast days. Other early decrees concerned baptism, churchyard burial and marriage regulations. Early Christian legislation, furthermore, provides a different picture of the Scandinavian pre-Christian religious custom than the Icelandic sources, suggesting that this was mainly a 'nature religion'. The eddaic gods seem to have been either essentially literary creations, or of little significance for the wider population. The popular cultic rituals appear to have focused on other supernatural beings and magical practices.

According to many contemporary Viking studies throughout Europe, christianity in Trøndelag, Iceland and thus probably also in Jämtland has now, according to many contemporary Viking studies throughout Europe, taken its Christian influence and had it renamed via Northern Norwegian Viking traffic against Celts in Ireland and York via Scotland-Orkney-Shetland in the northern part of the British Isles.

The Northern Norwegian Vikings were in constant conflicts with the Danes, Danish-led Vikings, who were inspired by the monk Ansgar's missions from Hamburg, Germany (the Old Saxony region) which reached the Christianity of Svitjod in the Uppsala area Sigtuna and from there up along the coast of the Bothnian bay.

One of those historically important conflicts was the battle of Hastings ad 1066 and it's contemporaneously documented story on the famous Bayeux tapestry, whose images have left significant traces in the ancient wovnen fabrics found in a couple of northern medieval church buildings of Sweden too.

### **The Saint Olaf story**

Olav Haraldsson, later Saint Olaf, sailed as a young man all the way down to Normandy in France and had his name baptized there in 1013. A few years later he conquered the crown of The Kingdom for Norway for about twelve years, before Olaf was defeated by Danes and had to go exile to the prince of Novgorod for two years.

Prince Jaroslav was married to a sister of Olaf's wife and of Russian Orthodox faith, which makes it likely that Olaf here brought with him some of the Byzantine (Orthodox) signs and marks that could be found on the ecclesiastical art tissues from the early Middle Ages that were preserved and found in several medieval church sites at the various Middle Nordic church trails, including at Kyrkåstället.

Olav Haraldsson, according to history, travelled back from Novgorod across Jämtland to Stiklastad at Trondhjemsfjorden, with a company of vassals, met his fate in 1028 and was posthumously rewarded with the appointment as the most important saint of the Nordic region, Saint Olaf.

In reality Olav Haraldsson did the last march in his life ending the last part of a long journey from a two year long exile stay at the related power family in orthodox catholic Novgorod in Belarus, bringing a company of vassals on land at Selånger, Sundsvall.

From there his little army probably forced their way anyways as the crow flies up over central Jämtland and Undersåker to Stiklastad in order to defend his earlier power networks in Nidaros, and fell.

It is a more than a thousand years old cultural influence with religious contradictions that historians now believe can explain some of the cultural differences that may be behind the talk of "The Republic of Jämtland" and is also seen as clarifying the 16th century ecclesiastical and image storms that ravaged right here.

### **Geography of the joints**

I would now like to examine the hypothesis that the systematic network of relay stations and the associated road signs of churches and chapels could be necessary tools for both the local and the pervasive transport of these Viking age cultures, which since a few hundred years earlier, among other things, have been christianized.

The Christianity in Jämtland and Härjedalen was influenced from Trøndelag on the Norwegian side of the travelling Norwegian Viking leaders, on the bustling sea trade Trondheim-Bergen, Shetland – Orkney – Scotland - Ireland, which have been baptized somewhere in the British Isles or in Normandy (also with old Northern influences). Olav Haraldsson was one of them and was elevated to Saint Olav after his death at Stiklastad at the inside of the Trondhjem fiord.

### **Hard mountain passages**

According to Carta Marina, when you would take a short trail from the Baltic coast to Nidaros, you had to start and follow the journey near the same Nidaros latitude. Then there is the possibility to cross the mountain range (which Olaus calls Dovre in the texts) best in

two places, north of Sylarna/SULA MONS and south of Skarsfjället/SKARSA MONS. On the map he has wrongly placed Skar's mountain north of the Sylmassif instead of south of.

In Olaus Magnus' great book "History of the Nordic peoples" published fifteen years after Carta Marina, Olaus gives vivid and probably realistic images of the tribulations that awaited travelers who wanted to cross the mountain range both winter and summer time.

The described hardships are undoubtedly about the current Swedish St Olavs trail that passes Undersåker over Enaforss - Storlien - Verdal - Trondheim.

The modern road through Kölen was built as late as 1958 – before that there was only the railway from 1879 – and I remember myself the newspapers' descriptions from the highway construction, that you had to get thru The Great Hell when you were going to the mountain pass at the national border.

### **The Stugun trail's importance for Sweden and the Papacy in Roma**

"Stugun" was the important key that unlocked the entire possible thoroughfare through the Ragunda forest.

In the beginning of the long path trail from Storsjön to Ragunda there was apparently also a hard-to-force forest in the area between Lit and Frösön with a push station and guesthouse in Kyrkås.

As well there is another forest between Bräcke and the river Ljungan valley at Borgsjö, where there is a push station at the county border in Jämtkrogen with an uncertain history from earlier times before the Brömsebro treaty.

Important note is about Ragunda as the place for the early Uppsala archdiocese's important salmon fishing property Bispgården (bishop's property), which was hard-to-reach even from the Baltic Bay. Krog is an old Danish word for sort of pub and guest house)

The new inland trail started from landing in one of the inner bays at the High Coast or in the bay that reached all the way up to Sollefteå, connected on the old River in the Ragunda area and then passed by Stugun, "old Kyrkås", Ås, Västerhus/Rödö strait area, Undersåker before leaving the ELVEN for the passage across the border mountains down to the fiord of Trondhjem in Frosta and Nidaros.

All the sites were part of the long-distance communication system that had to be maintained between the Center of the Papacy on the Mediterranean and newly Christianized Sweden.

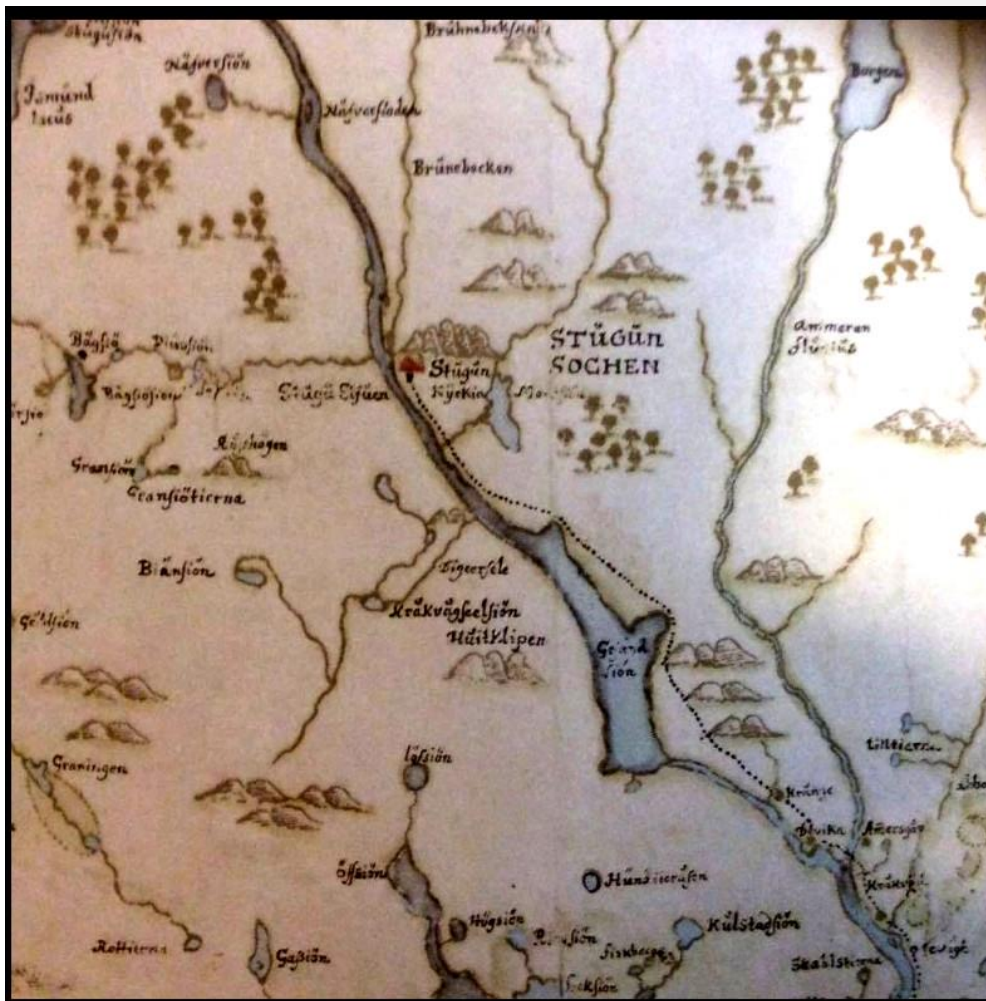
The first document that ordered the start of Stugun was written in 1290 from the Archdiocese of Uppsala (a little over 100 years after both Sweden and Norway received their first archdiocese), which at that time was situated in the marine bay of Mälaren.

It was followed throughout the rest of the Middle Ages by new archbishop's letters that governed the appointment of new directors of Stugun and their tax rights when the previous ones fell away.

### The Busvebacken study about the creation of Stugun

In 1926, A J Hansson from Bodsved/Bringåsen in Kyrkås parish wrote a study of Stugun's creation in <http://www.busvebacken.se/StuguBoken> that still lasts.

When the Stugun trail was expanded, the total distance had been substantially shortened. between the boat towns at Trondheim and at the equivalent of the Bothnian Bay in the area between Sollefteå and Kramfors/High coast to about 400 km, of which at least half could be travelled by inland boats, compared to elder alts of up to 600km.



Surveyor Stenkyfts first map over Stugun parish from 1683, wich is a bit earlier than his above mentioned first map over Jämtland county from 1686 (p 13 – 15).

The following is a short abstract of A J Hansson's book story.

### **Many letters to Stugun from the archbishops of Uppsala 1290 to ~1500**

Anno 1290, in order to prevent waste of working time, man's waste and travel expenses, Uppsala's archbishop wrote a letter addressed to an unnamed place in the center of the vast Ragunda Forest. This letter provided a man named Gjurd with the necessary resources to establish a soul house (själstuga, selohus), incorporating facilities for guest housing, push station and overpass ferry plus ordinary boat services, at a strategic place above a short stretch of rapids of the ELVEN in the middle of the wide and undeveloped Ragunda Forest (according to previous Norwegian patterns?).

Gjurd was in modern times surnamed "Bodakarl", where bod was late generations notion for one in this case since long ago wasted "soul house" or chapel.

Karl is Swedish for a male.

Gjurd's contemporary title was Stugukarl, where Stuga had the same signification, which after long times passing transferred to the meaning of bod. Olaus Magnus named it STUVA in latin text on his map (p 16-17). The modern meaning of stuga is normally a small repainted and poor cottage in the landscape outside the villages.

Gjurd was thus given a free hand or, in other words, a save over a multi-square-mile tax-exempt landscape where he himself must organize the supply of all the feed and food needed to fulfill the mission of the soul house.

With growing traffic the continued issuance of the aforementioned leases to new generations of "stugukarlar" showed that this post by the archbishops of Uppsala must be secured the assets of ever larger areas of land in order to fulfil their mission.

Thus, an important Catholic transport company was founded that received a central place marking under the proud name of STUVA at Olaus Magnus Carta Marina.



Pål Per church (from 1794) in Stugun not far from the old Soul House with "the mountain ridge" at right.

The Carta Marina map shows a substantial character building, which can symbolize, among other things, the chapel mentioned in a letter dated 1333. As well there is a small mountain ridges (Stuguberget) behind that is a typical horizon seen for the water bound spectator towards the narrow river valley's north side behind of Stugun's old church site. In reality they are quite small rocky hills but it proves to me that Olaus Magnus had strong impressions from seeing this place together with the characteristic soul house building he saw in person ad 1518-19.



Painting 1800<sup>th</sup> with Pål Per's church and the ferry road from farms just in front of the mountain's wall.

Here it can be mentioned that the old chapel site on the Busvebacken hill actually has a clear view westwards all the way to Åreskutan (Undersåker) and to the east on the horizon to Lillsjöhögen. I have not checked, but it is possible that from some height on Lillsjöhögen you can also see Stuguberget, which has gained a prominent place at Carta Marina just N of the old soul house, and vice versa.

For pilgrims who had no knowledge of different routes, it was only necessary to find out which coastal port one should choose to start from. Then they went after oral advice from one church or soul house to the next with or without escorts of pack horses and above all with boat transports on the many and long stretched still waters that exist in the landscape.

Unaccompanied pilgrims who for various reasons had the bishop's requirement to make the trip, could also receive pilgrim passes that entitled the travelers to food and night lodgings along the way. From one site to the next you had to ask for the most appropriate route to the next night's accommodation in the direction of the final destination at Nidaros.

From start, after landing in Sollefteå, the main course was simple – travel towards the sun's position in the west at 18 o'clock. When you could not follow uninhabited river valleys, the

driest and most passable trails were found on the ridges between the rivers, which also facilitated the course keeping between suitable sight marks.

It should also be noted that the only watercourse in Scandinavia that has been named on Carta Marina is ELVEN where the surveyor quite certainly intended to stress the Indalsälven's passage thru the hard-to-force Ragunda forest. More about the name later on.

In his historical text, Olaus Magnus often keep talking of the medieval Northerners great dependence on different kinds of boats, and also in their skill with the manufacture.

#### **Traditional boat and ship knowledge and proficiency**

This also reinforces the view that my late Stugun ancestors brought to my knowledge of boat building (see further down) and boating has very old traditions, which still live on different parts of the world in almost unchanged form in similar environments

Compare Olaus Magnus' stories of Viking boating

<http://www.busvebacken.se/KyrkornaiKyrkås?action=AttachFile&do=get&target=Carta+Marina+och+De+Nordiska+folkens+historia.pdf>

Church boat rowing in a big boat with many oars on lake Siljan still occurs as a transport on festive occasions and also serves as a touristic activity.

Touristic activities in the wetlands of Amazonas today also use long boats which are paddled with single paddle by two locals in each boat, one in the bow and one in the stern, which had full control and could silently trick the boat in narrow overgrown natural canals and swamps.



This modern one ready for two paddlers and nine passengers.

The northerners of Scandinavia rowed similar vessels thru the Ragunda Forest in the High Middle Ages, which was documented in Olaus and Johannes Magnus books.

Only human physics can be able to propel such a vessel while both steering and being the tour leader – an unbeatable combination that even the Pope used for his people at the Stugun trail in Jämtland a thousand years ago.

On page 41 is a video description on how to build a traditional Stugun boat from cradle to testing it with oars.

### **Compare shipping with horse-supported land movement with hoof horses**

Adam of Bremen made such a comparison around the year a d 1000 for the traffic that was conducted around the Danish islands, where there was often a choice between the shortcut on trails over land or a longer detour with rowing boats. Here he noted that the distance you could then take on a day by boat required 3 1/2 days to make on foot on land.

The horses was at this time perhaps most important as war tools (carrying armoured riders with weapons, dragoons), but also were pack horses used in the transport industry on bare ground to carry weak people and packing.

Snow shoes (shown on the map) was also used on both horses and humans except in deep snow, when you needed to take way over the unruly marshes.

The information from the map pictures shows very clearly that it wanted to describe different possibilities to travel to and from the Nordic region's only high-medieval metropolis, Nidaros, and its Church of St. Olaf, from different locations in the Nordic countries and Europe.

Carta Marina is a map for transports aimed primarily at the service assignments of ecclesiastical leaders and dignitaries, as well as for the ecclesiastical tithing collection. Perhaps really also how the conditions here had looked and worked in the High Middle Ages before the Black Death.

I have calculated from the careful calculations of my ancestors that the railway revolution in Jämtland saw in 1882. Long-distance transport costs fell by 80-90% compared to horse time, which can also say something about the real costs that applied to the pilgrims' horse help on the forest and mountain trails.

### **ELVEN has always been an artery in the county**

It is quite likely that large parts of the pilgrimage traffic in the Nordic countries ceased under, and some time after the Black Death – both out of fear of the plague, but above all because large parts of the necessary fuel supply in the form of surplus production of food and horse feed ceased.

It will be wrong to look for commercial trade routes on these maps, since all trading in the northern parts of Scandinavia took place in winter when, in the most energy-efficient and fastest way, heavy goods could be transported on horse-drawn sleds all over the inhabited territory. But even then it was required to have access to a pre-known network of accommodation places and opportunities for forage for both people and draft animals with relatively short intervals in time and distance for the need for the horses.

Especially in the provinces of Jämtland/Härjedalen, this was well developed since at least the early Viking age in the so-called forbondetrafiken (farmers long-distance trading by horse sleds), which was the county's only long-distance transport facility on land until 1882 when the railway connections to sea ports both eastwards and westwards from Östersund were inaugurated.

But for summer traffic, it was at all times for the Nordic inhabitants to have boats on hand where possible shipping lanes were available on Jämtland's many waterways.

In this way, Stugun was invested for the first time in history in this important artery for Jämtland.

The continued development also showed that ELVEN retained its importance to the county by making repeated revaluations and new investments for energy-connected infrastructures as the old ones were overrun and new needs arose. I will come back to this later in the text.

#### **St Olav's trails needed boats for many reasons**

I read in an old historiography about pilgrimage, that one regarded Saint Olav's trail if started from Selånger at Sundsvall, as the most frequented main road. It is problematic! It went along Ljungan's valley up towards Borgsjö, then thru the forest passing Jämtkrogen to lake Revsund -Brunflo-Östersund-Frösön and further over Kölen Mountins to Nidaros. A walking adventure all the way of nearly 600 km in a network of paths, without signs, maps and organized luggage transport at the beginning of christianization?

Today, this trail is designed as a possible walking tour for individuals all the way, which is not in line with Börje Sandén's description of the transport possibilities of the Viking times and the High Middle Ages in the roadless and war-torn countrysides of the time. (in my link above: "De+Nordiska+Folkens+Historia" p. 26)

It was not practical to carry with you such a pack that lasted for a whole trip, a travel cash on a single traveler was a strong incitement for robbery, and that a larger number of penitents could travel and visit along the way on people's generosity just does not work in reality. Everyone (or at least most!) must, in one way or another, do the right thing in everyday life for a civilization to function and develop. The old Vikings in this environment had previously solved their long-distance travel expenses with a combi of robbery and perhaps honest trade, but it was not possible options here according to the Catholic philosophy.

It cannot be ignored either that the majority of the offered pilgrimage traffic at the beginning applied to church leaders and small kings at all levels, and that these people in the summer came with ships from different Baltic sea ports, to which in the High Middle Ages also was counted Uppsala, Västerås, Arboga and Strängnäs inside (nowadays lake) Mälaren area.

In all summer traffic, shipping with rowing and sails was a necessity and energy gain wherever it was practically possible.

Bishop searches to many parish churches were preferably performed in winter judging by bishop's letters issued. Then you could travel quickly and comfortably with horse sleds that took place on both ice and forest trails, but here too you were completely dependent on the church sites also being associated with a well-built network of push stations and inns at suitable horse-changing distances of between 10 á 20 kms length. The distance was adjusted to achieve the least possible time wasted by switching the tired and, above all, hungry horses to new rested and fed horses, which can run in a stretch about two hours to the next food and rest area. This is the horse's weakness compared to pack animals with ruminant traits (e.g. camels), which can last much longer between breaks.

All political and spiritual leadership activities are based on subjects and peasants paying a certain portion of their production or work salary to tax, which must be assessed, collected and distributed upwards throughout the leadership hierarchy. That is, in the Catholic leadership system, to ensure that a fair share of tithes, fines and offerings reach the Vatican without being wasted along the way, for example on unnecessarily costly and time-wasting transport routes. Perhaps the typically Jämtland location of many churches and farming villages perched on ridges was part of this created Catholic network to connect between the more natural settlement concentrations on the sediment deposits in the valleys along the banks of the great Norrland rivers ?

The richest areas in Jämtland are by nature located around the only summer and winter communication system, Lake Storsjön, which in the Catholic and high-medieval perspective is surrounded by a number of obstacles to the journey, where I first want to count the mountain chain Kölen (borderline divide between the reigns of Sweden and Norway as well as between the counties of Trøndelag and Jämtland – Härjedalen), and on the opposite side the vast and empty Ragunda forest.

All in all that Nidaros latitude shows up many times as a very important (and well known) line for the story telling backwards in this whole narrative, as I will show later.

If we correct the Skar mountain fault, Carta Marina's mountain pass in the middle of S in SCANDIA is true with the modern map's trail over Funäsdalen-Fjällnäs to Röros in Norway. On the map's old Norwegian side is closest to SUNDAL and SOKNADAL while we mainly in SCANDIA find LANGA /Långå a little further down the Ljusnan valley.

There was also a more difficult crossing that followed Ljungan past Storsjö Kapell, up to Nedalsjön at Sylarna and then followed Neandalen in Norway down to Nidaros (which got its name from Nean). Carta Marina's horse picture with snow shoes on man and pack horse can probably refer to this trail.

Ljusnan reaches the sea at Söderhamn, a trail that in total length could correspond to the Selånger trail from Njurunda along Ljungan-Storsjön over Storlien or Skalstugan, which was one of the northern roads through VIA MONTANORUM that I will show more closely later on.

### Three Swedish Sankt Olof trails followed the rivers Ljusnan, Ljungan and Indalsälven

#### Ödekyrkor

De kyrkor som genomlevde denna omdaningsperiod med största delen av sin medeltida karaktär i behåll var de som övergavs och blev ödekyrkor. Efter ombyggnaden av Ullångers (Ångermanland) 1909, återstod 35 medeltidskyrkor i Norrland. Drygt en tredjedel hade bevarats som ödekyrkor. De är tolv stycken, fördelade på fyra landskap:

*Hälsingland:* Enånger, Trönö

*Ångermanland:* Högsjö, Ramsele, Vibyggerå, Ytterlännäs

*Jämtland:* Kyrkås, Marby, Ragunda, Åre

*Medelpad:* Alnö, Liden

Av dessa övergavs Högsjö redan på 1700-talet, de övriga på 1800-talet. Men rivnings- och nybyggnadsvågen drabbade naturligtvis inte bara medeltidskyrkor. Flera yngre kyrkor övergavs likaledes. Till yngre ödekyrkor räknas bland andra *Ålvros* kyrka i Härjedalen, som fick sitt nuvarande utseende på 1700-talet



On Anna Elmen Berg's map from the thesis "Five desert churches in Norrland" where she inventoried a number of medieval deserted churches and church ruins, I can see a clear pattern with clusters of these ancient monuments at three large northern river mounds, and above all a concentration of church sites around all the river outlets on the coast.

The common final destination for all the routes is Nidaros at the west coast, which is at the corresponding latitude as Åre and Undersåker on Anna's map.

Common to these three rivers is that all the seaports are more or less far south of the latitude of Nidaros, but also that the southernmost of them start so far up the coast of the Baltic Bay that it would pay off with sea sailing from the inner nowadays lake Mälaren compared to going some inland trail. The increased efficiency is due to the fact that boat transport these times won about four times more distance a day than trips over land.

But the closer Nidaros latitude you get on the bottom fold side, the shorter and faster the journey over the land sections.

Alternatives from the interior of Svealand and Götaland would be to seek a land route thru inner Svealand up to the river Dalälven and Siljan and from there go far over the mountains towards Gudbrandsdalen in Norway and further up to Nidaros.

Speaking of a journey from Gudbrandsdalen, my grandfather wrote about an occasion around 1890 when he travelled with a couple of farmer colleagues from Östersund to Gudbrandsdalen's famous horse breeder to buy some stallions. After the deal, the company must walk or ride a several days march about 200km distance with the horses up to Trondheim in order to be able to load the expensive purchases at the new irontracks and take the train in a few hours back from Trondheim to Östersund. The horse buyers from Kyrkås must have gone by foot from Trondheim to Gudbrandsdalen on the journey onto it as well.

The medieval churches on Anna's map clearly mark out three main options for the early medieval traffic, which was a prerequisite for the Catholic supremacy of northern Skandinavien, especially in times of war when the Danish kings blocked the Swedish exits to Europe thru the Kattegat and the southern Baltic Sea.

1. From the south we can first follow the river **Ljusnan** from Skog, Mo, Trönö on the Hälsinge coast, then in a north-westerly direction towards Nidaros crossed Undersvik and Älvros. This route leads further on Carta Marina past LÅNGÅ/Långå up to Carta Marina's mountain pass in Härjedalen between Fjällnäs and Röros. The furthest and even probably the first and the oldest trail.
2. The next option follows the river **Ljungan**, which could be found from the sea side via landing in Njurunda or on Alnön, further up past TORP to BORGSE/Borgsjö where Ljungan turns off to the west.
  - a. With the first part the goal to reach Storsjön's large waterways, you could choose from Borgsjö to go towards Bergsviken for a western passage, pause in OVIKEN or walk on the land side past the old stone church in Marby, Hallen. Marby is also a boat town for ferry services across Norderön to SUNDA/Sunne and VESTERHUS on Frösö.
  - b. The current St Olafs trail for modern pilgrimage, which is now being launched by tourism organizations in the counties Jämtland and Västernorrland, has chosen to invest in the eastern Great Walk that starts in Selånger and continues from Borgsjö over Jämtkrogen – Bräcke - REVSUNDA – Pilgrimstad to BRUFLO at Brunflo bay's southern tip (which cannot be located at Carta Marina!). Then on to Östersund - Frösön - Rödön - Alsen – Undersåker.

The continuation of these Ljungan trails, whether on foot or with possible boat apartments from Storsjön, must first pass UNDERAKER/Undersåker at the upper river Indalsälven before choosing either side of mount Åreskutan in order to cross the pass in the mountain chain on Carta Marinas latin road VIA MONTANORUng and reach the inner Trondhjem fiord.

The total stretch of the "New Saint Olof's trail" is intended as hiking and is reported to be about 550 km long.

3. The third and latest of the early medieval routes followed the direction of the entire area of the **Indalsälven** river watershed except for the bottom part after Bispfors (Salmon fishings and nowadays Dead falls) with several difficult rapids on a stretch extended by an unfavourable south-east angle compared to going straight east from the Bispfors area towards navigable seawater.

It was hardly a coincidence that Olaus Magnus in the 16th century showed so much interest in this particular area in his map drawing. This trail, which I can call the Stugun trail covers the area where Olaus Magnus lived and sold indulgences from spring 1518 to spring 1519.

His "kjärelskelige broder" Johannes Magnus made his last visitation as a Catholic archbishop from Uppsala in the same Jämtland area in the spring of 1526, shortly before King Gustav Vasa forbade the Catholic doctrine in Sweden, the will forced the brothers' immediate exile for the rest of their lives.

#### **The parish Kyrkås a consequence after the soul house and later a parish at Stugun?**

The map image is assembled with the medieval chapel posted, and the existing path trail past Bodsvedbacken east towards Stugun is showed to the right on the Bringåsen map from the 1770s.

The continuation of the Bodsvedbacken trail that will go on further westwards on the Lungre map (from 1693) is missing on the Lungre map. The trail should pass the stone church and continue to Kläppe-Ås-Rödösundet, or alternatively send a branch north towards Hölje and the church in Klösta, Lit. Several parts of that trail are still possible to follow, and all old trails for the whole parish can be seen on the green map p 33.



The buildings on Busvebacken were for sure built of wood, which decay quickly if they are left standing without maintenance, for example during a man's age. If, moreover, the chapel before the Black Death was a patronate church, it was even more vulnerable if the farm people died away when the plague came.

According to the sales documents reported above, the parish began to be activated again in the early 15th century and that the chapel on Backen had been renovated and perhaps even gained church status in connection with the change of the mother parish from Frösön to Lit, could be a reason for new parishioner church leaders to change the parish name to Kyrkås. (see page 10-11)

The Bodsved bogs has kept up as a name (bodsvedmyren) on the map right up to the 20th century's General Staff maps, and that moss was cultivated again around 1910 for a short period by my grandfather AJ Hansson.

I myself have newly cultivated (actually recultivated) the area at what is called Busvedänge (lays) between the years 1980 -1990.

According to Fale Burman's sourcers, the Bodsved area is the same as Alvarbölet in Bringåsen, which may have been mixed up with the deserted farm that became the supposed Viking age Elfvensböle, where the county antiquarian Eric Festin made archaeological excavations around 1920 at the village Kyrkbyn.

At the time, everyone thought that the old stone church here had a high medieval origin.

Olof Holm wrote in a work in 2010

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Kyrkås	"Alvarbölet" [nuv. Åslägden, equivalent. V half of Kyrkbyn]	forerunner of the parish church	ödesböle	Burman [1793-1802] 2010, s. 118
Kyrkås	1/8 mil Ö about the parish church [i.e. in Busvedbacken at Bringåsen]	old chapel	ödesböle	Hülphers 1775, p. 190; see Lindberg 1937, p. 101, 108 f.

*Next to the road on the desert edifice "Alvarbölet" or Åslägden in Kyrkås parish there used to be an archaic building foundation and here, according to the locals in Burman's time, there had once been a precursor to the nearby parish church. However, when the building was examined archaeologically in 1916, it proved to be the foundation of a residential building, probably from the end of the Viking age*

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Several misinterpretations of the old map material have taken place here:

In the Burman notes's recent (1928) machine printing there is a hyphen between the names Alvarbölet – Bursvedbacken. (see excerpts p 8-9)

Surely this means that two different names were used for the same place, and that the subject "bod" was referring to the memory of a significant building that had stood on the previously active Alvar's homestead?

Åslägden is a self-contained property next to the priest's table – has no connection to either the Alvar homestead or to the stone church. The building basis mentioned relates to the Elfvensböle which Festin examined. It was located on so-called Thorhus real estate west for Åslägden. Elfvensböle was judged by Festin 1920 as a Viking-era longhouse?

The Thorhus homestead was built at the end of the 19th century by the Lungre-born and history-interested bachelor Hans Jonsson, who then named his homestead Lundhem.

I think it would be of a great historic interest to do modern surface and deep scans for remains of the early medieval villages which one might think to have surrounded the bodsved chapel and the forested areas in the triangle between the Chapel hill to lake Jellsjön to Kyrkbyn's stone church.

If my documents concerning the Bodsved Chapel are evident, there must be remains from burial sites somewhere around too.

### **The old Chapel's prehistory**

Here we have come to the conclusion that there have been high medieval church buildings, which were located on a desert edifice between the old villages of Kläppe, Lungre, Bringåsen and a devastated ancient village just north of Lake Jellsjön.

My conclusions here also suggest that the ancient village with several farms on Lake Jellsjön should have had its own identity and name in the High Middle Ages - maybe something with Elfven?

Another conclusion could be to presume the first church building from early times to be a chapel of ease to a more prominent and important one in the neighborhood.

The old patron chapel had most likely used a very early made image fabric that was later detained and probably used even in the later 16th century church too. When that church was replaced with a third parish church in the 19th century, the old fabric of origin was determined to be transferred to museums as "Kyrkåstäcket".

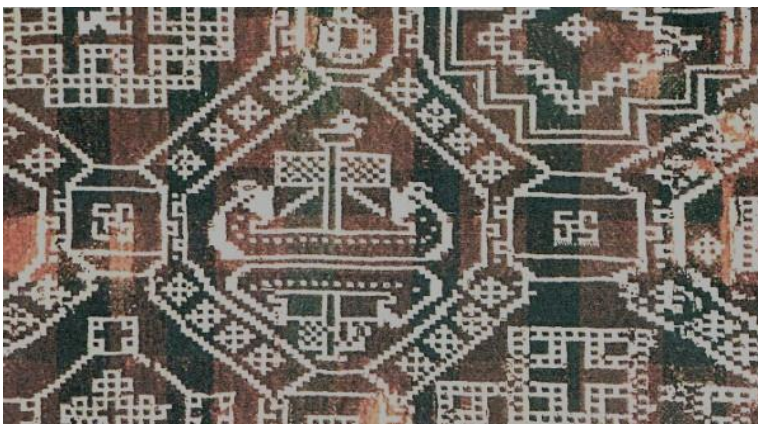
Probably there are good reasons to assume that the imagery of the tissue in its use has roughly the same purpose as the murals of the Catholic churches – namely to convey different Christian messages, rites and history to an analphabetic congregation.

From the archdiocese's point of view they could have had a desire with those fabrics to affix a seal to mark for the status of the fairly short live buildings along the trail to make sure for the visitors security too? So they didn't get lost in the wild forested landscape.

The production of Kyrkåstäcket has now been dated to the 12th century in wool, flax and plant paints that are believed to come from the region. Similar old image weaves with figures of people, animals, boats (in some cases even pre-Christian symbols) and crosses and swastikas have also emerged from the parishes Överhogdal in Härjedalen, Marby and

Revsund in Jämtland and from Skog's church (SKOKIRKIA on the Carta Marina) at Ljusnan's outlet in Söderhamn, Hälsingland (Anna Elmen's map p 27). More information and pictures of all I have collected in the link [www.busvebacken.se/KyrkåsTäcket](http://www.busvebacken.se/KyrkåsTäcket)

#### Kyrkåstäcket's typical Viking time boat



Are there any common denominators for these different parishes? Perhaps these early church sites were created as a kind of early patron churches before the organized parish system? A denominator that has now been much talked about in modern times and which is being revived in many places in Europe is the Catholic pilgrimage to holy sites and saintly monuments.

Such a saintly memory existed or perhaps rather was created in Nidaros St. Olaf's Church. During the Catholic Middle Ages, a variety of pilgrimage routes from all over the Nordic countries led here.

Now we come to the question of how to most easily move a variety of early travelers and pilgrims from Stugun to Vesterhus and further on to Nidaros.

#### The Stugun trail past Kyrkås

Could it just be a coincidence that we find the small modern parish Kyrkås stretched out as a narrow band on the ridge, which in Kyrkås runs along after the aforementioned next straight Stugu trail from Nidaros over Vesterhus-Stugun-Sollefteå to Ulvön or Ångermanälven's outlet at Härnösand?

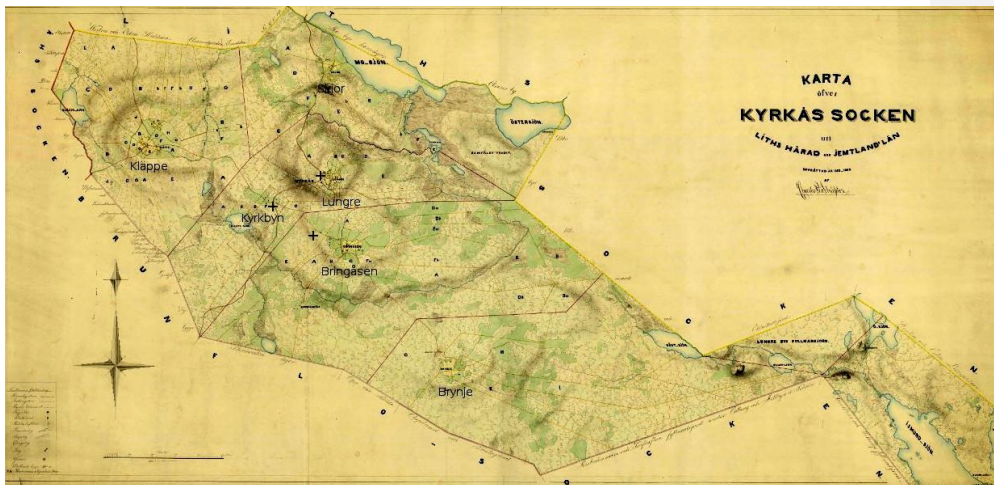
At the green Kyrkås map from 1855, you can easily zoom in and see the old paths that branches in Kläppe towards Lit, Ås and the Östersund strait, while the path in the right direction reaches Lillsjöhögen just outside the right edge of the map. On the next old Stugun

map (p 21) Lillsjöhögen is just outside the upper edge, and a not visible path passed the lake Näversjön to a well marked Näveredestadh at Stugulfven, where you had boats to Stugun from where you continued to Ragunda just outside downside edge by boat or by a marked road. There is a very good coincidence with mapped details along that trail on these maps.

From the intersection in Kyrkbyn can we see how the old road to Brunflo follows the village border line Lungre-Bringåsen SW to Storsjön, while it continues north towards Lungre and Skjör – Bye - Hökbäck, Lit.

Map over Kyrkås parish with three different church sites, made 1855 (village names and church crosses inscribed by Jan Nilsson).

From Lillsjöhögen it is a good 10 km walk to the still waters below the Näverede rapids and another 10 km to row or walk along the river bank down to the ferry station and the soul house in Stugun.



Moreover, the map clearly shows that the now current and more heavily marked thoroughfare in Kyrkås comes from the southwest from the village Torvalla, goes up towards Kyrkbyn past the stone church, then further a turn past Lungre and the new church before it pulls on past Skjör and lake Mosjön to Lit. (None of the churches were exposed on this original map)

#### **Sources of bioenergy were color marked**

The colors on the map give a fantastically clear picture of the different energy suppliers that applied in all parishes just before the effects of the legally shiftings (19<sup>th</sup> century) of land with the new property boundaries posted, broke through. The map shows quite precisely the green marked areas for the large volumes of bioenergy for horse feed, which was used, among other things, to carry out the new church project which was completed ten years earlier.

In detail, fenced home fields under plough for cereal cultivation in each village are yellow marked, while the approximately fifty times larger deforested areas for cutting of forest and moss hay for almost all the hay needed for horses and cows are well-laid out and here green marked. The rest is growing forests that before the shift only left wood and building materials to the village, and bog impediments, where some peat litter and black soil were taken out for inclusion in the manure.

Map of a central cross section through Jämtland's old parishes, where Kyrkås parish in earlier times (see green map before) reached the nearest border knee towards Stugun and the villages Lillsjöhögen and Ismundlandet according to the green map above. Here we see the old parish boundaries (slightly mutilated in Kyrkås east), so the larger rivers marked.

#### Maps over central Jämtland 20th centenium



On the parish map for Jämtland you can see here how the trail over Kyrkås directly connects Stugun with Ås. Birka just below Ås church was the nearest medieval boat port at the shore of the lake Storsjön for traffic across the bay Åssjön towards Rödö strait and Västerhus (inside Bynäset).

My thought after this discovery then come, that Kyrkås parish might be organized and constructed as a needed staging point for the Stugun trail through the forests between Lit and Frösön. There was no need to take a long and expensive detour past Lit's church if you didn't have an errand there. This route has often been presented as the usual pilgrimage route from Stugun to Frösön..

Kommenterad [JN2]:



Västerhus church was situated near the village “Västbyn” at NW end of airstrip to “Frösöns flygplats”. Rödö strait (Rödösundet) is the passage north over the lake from Ås church to the ports inside Bynäs et to Vesterhus, to Rödön (which is actually a peninsula) and to all ports around the large, main area of “the Great Lake” Storsjön. The latitude of Rödö strait continues on the west shore of the lake with upper Indalsälven’s inflow, from where you can run boat trips up to the old churches of Undersåker and Åre. Rödö church lies W of R in “Rödön”, and Ås church below Å in “Ås”. The cross on the right upper edge stands for the cross mark of the medieval wooden Bodsvedbacken Chapel (pages 31 and 41).

#### **Bodsvebacken chapel from the High Middle Ages**

During a visit to Kyrkås in 1799, senior lecturer Fale Burman sought information, which he wrote down in his detailed diary, which was finally written on the machine in 1928 before it became publicly available.

The information from Fale Burman fits well with Abraham Hulphers's note according to A J Hansson: *Abr. Hulphers says in his statement that Jemtland (published in 1775) "that remnants after an old chapel or church building have been visible 1/8 mil in the east from the old church," thus on Bosvedbacken. After these remnants, there now seems no trace.*

This diary by Fale Burman did not become public before AJ Hansson died, so he could not take a position on the new tasks, but he also lacked the modern-day C14 dates to be able to place the old stone church right in time.

Reste med G. Agerberg till Kyrkås.- Kalk-Hällearten slöts i Nife-ås  
höen - många brear i vägen - illa vid magtholma.- Nifsaen blifvit  
öde, för ett mord, som skett i en Källare, hvarefter grov ännu synes.-  
Stenrösen lagda i ovanl. ordning, längs med efter lögdarne.- Skön ut-  
sigt.- I Kleppe finnes ännu Nordstoms släkten.- Collanden.- Stora och  
frödiga Rönmar där planterade.- En del af Gunnilsböle, blifvit skänkt  
till Kyrkoplatz, och ett litet Prestbord, för Kyrkås Kyrka - det öfriga  
är ännu en Fäbodvall - i hvilken Wäster Sen, äger det mesta - förfö-  
rigt hafva ock Hårdekagen, Ösa samt Lungre Byemän, sina andelar.-Kyr-

kan liknar till belägenhet en eremitage: är liten, men snygg! Gamla  
Kyrkan, eller Capellet, har legat på Alvar bölet.- Bureveds Backen,  
mel. Kyrkan och Bringås. Stapeln nybyggd, med en slags löndär, till  
ingång. Mindre Klokan är guden af Hilleström 1750 (Rookmans Gesäll)  
den större af Linderberg 1797 - skulle präla med Lindholms, namn. I Sak-  
ristian anmärktes Palladii Handbok tryckt 1602. Bildthuggeriet på Al-  
tartaflan är af Edlers yngre arbeten, och i singulier, dock ej obehaglig  
stil. Snyggt tak - 2:ne läktare - fenster på gäfveln under taket göra  
Kyrkan evant. ljus. På Kyrkogården var en grafsten, hörande till Bringa-  
ås af Brunflo Marmor, med årtalet 1694.



The chapel site and my family's farm are located at the inked number 3 under the text "Lungre". (see Google earth view p 39)

The area above number 3 has the number 7 and is called in the text appendix of Blomsterloken (flower pond). In the modern satellite photo below, the word källa (well)

stands on the site of the said number 7, and the existing field there has always been called Loken in my lifetime. The number 6 is placed on part of Hans Hansson's property (steinsve).

Anders J Hansson and Hans Hansson were second generation owner to the Bodsvedbacken properties "shaped" by their historic minded grandfather The Churchwarden Jon Johansson in Lungre (See start p 1)

The old Bringåsen village straight right is fenced, while the old stone church from 1545 is ink marked diagonally up to the left upper corner as (Kjyrkiåhs kyrkia).

The village of Lungre is located far up to the left, where the new church is plotted above L in "Lungre".

#### **How do maps match the perceptions of reality in different times?**

Events concerning Kyrkås and related to the St. Olafs cult and the former "Viking" Olof Haraldsson.

Year 1000

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Olaf Haraldsson was baptized in Normandy around a d 1000. He fell at Stiklastad 1030.

The concept of individual Christian belief did not become widespread until centuries later. Christianity was, moreover, introduced into a collective society, and it is therefore only natural that this religion, in the same way as the old religious custom, was mostly collective.

Why doesn't anyone mention anything about individual pilgrimage in these studies about early religious customs? Answer is probably that pilgrimage of our days sense was not possible in early Swedish medieval times.

It describes the early Catholicism of the Nordic countries as a centuries-long period of collective "upbringing" of the congregation with new religious rites, which could still contain elements of old pre-Christian traditions.

The new faith came to every local area of "Viking kings" or leaders who had been baptized and retrieved their new faith from ancient Christian areas in Saxen, Normandy or the British Isles. From there, they also included priests and missionaries to support the building of the new faith in their Nordic home areas, and here they built the early type of farm churches as support points for the new rites.

According to this declaration, the personal beliefs and beliefs of individuals didn't become essential until several generations after the first Christianization, when they began to demand sin confessions, penance, and saintworship with the emergence of individual pilgrimages to holy sites.

There is also a possible explanation of function and use for the various very early church tissues, where Kyrkåstället is one of several examples.

The permanent organization with clear parishes and parishes around each parish church later came in connection with the legislation over larger areas to distribute power and tax collection between church and worlds power.

### Alvarbölet – Bodsvedbacken and the Chapel

Alvarbölet with its chapel in the middle of the triangle should, in an overall interpretation of the prevailing circumstances from the first time period after Christianing, have been a patron church in the style of Västerhus and also with Stugun. Alvar could then be assumed to have been one of many far-fangel early Viking leaders who had been baptized somewhere in Europe and then as vassals to great men in Nidaros or Uppsala established one of many early seal houses along the newly established Stugun trail.

The Stugun trail became necessary for all early Swedish Christianity at maybe centenaries when the conflict between the Danes and the Norse "Nidaros people" claims to power, which led to the exit through the Kattegat being blocked by the Danes in order to prevent the administrative traffic of the Catholics from the Swedish mainland to the Vatican in Rome.

It also reinforces the notion that Gustav Vasa pushed to wipe out the remains of the pilgrim routes that became more topical in the late Middle Ages. In the case of Kyrkås he failed in that the parish apparently managed to hide from, among other things, the church altar cover and parts from some altar cabinet (wooden figures and pilgrim's shells) that later became Catholic parts of the altarpiece of the reformation stone church despite the Jämtland dean's intentions.

### The altarpiece of old Kyrkås church

This altar set speaks a completely different language about the church's antiquity care than the one that the Lutheran-friendly "Jämtland dean" Erik Andersson from Oviken probably tried to enforce by moving the construction of the first genuine parish church to a new place in Kyrkås.



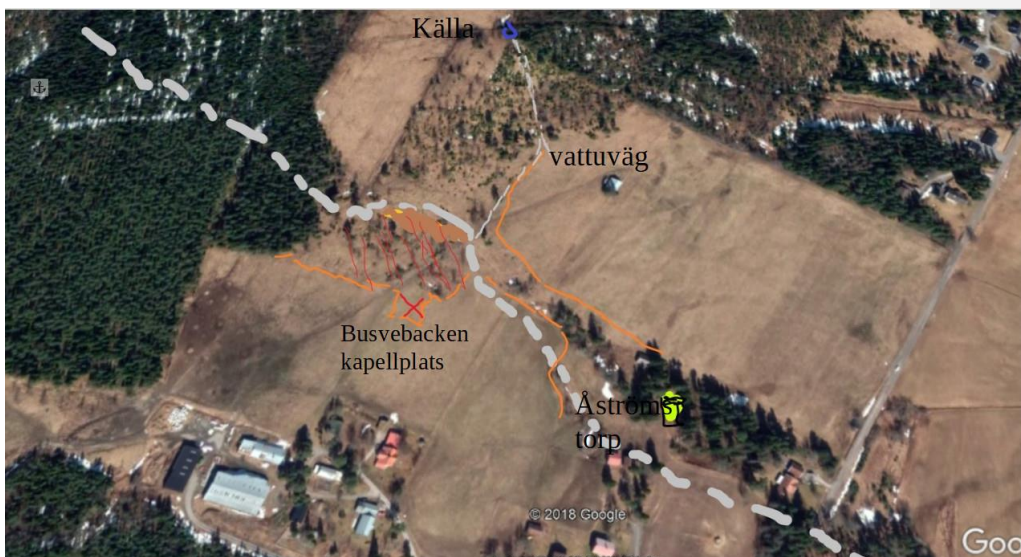
The altarpiece of the correct decoration of a Lutheran church in the era of the image storms should have consisted of a simple square textboard with excerpts from the Lutheran catechism – a catechismus board .

It should also be noted that in these saintly memories of the old church, the old church should have been in the early middle of the period with a more lively pilgrimage than the more famous Church Ridge Cover, whose creation dates back to the very earliest period of Christianity in the county.

It would be exciting to see a dating of the true age and possible origin of some of these objects.

Given that the excursions of the old Vikings never really had any geographical limitations, and had been going on for several hundred years before the Christianity of the Nordic peoples, it can probably be assumed that at least parts of these artifacts may also have been moved far in both time and space.

#### **The Chapel site on Bodsvedbacken with surroundings**



Satellite photo early spring 2015 over the chapel site marked with a red cross and the medieval path's route white-dashed. Distinct traces of the ancient road can be seen from the red cross and up to the left corner and can be followed all the way to the homestead in Kyrkbyn. The modern homestead Busvebacken is seen down to the left.

The area between the red cross and the open well (källa) is relatively untouched and should be further investigated with regard to ancient remains.

#### **Guesthouse memories**

I conclude with some photos from the family archive showing that my dad's very old

relatives from innkeepers and tour guides for pilgrims in Stugun, are still alive. The ancestry is so far genetically determined back to the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Stugun is now eagerly working to find genetic traces that can bridge the gap left by the Black death and prove the kinship from 1290 to Gjurd mentioned, which has later been given the sur name, Bodakarl.

#### **The Näveredestad place nowadays**



On this picture from about 1940, some of my cousins sit in a small "training rowing boat" that my grandfather built for his grandchild Nil-Erik four-years old. They row in a small pond on my aunt Elma's farm Åbacken in Näverede where they landed in Näveredestad in the 13th century after rowing the transport of pilgrims on the river from Stugun. Behind the house corner on the other side of the river are the farms where both my father Nisse, Aunt Elma, grandmother Katarina and grandfather Nils grew up. I myself took my first rowing grips here also on my early visits to Aunt Elma.



From Åbacken you could then walk to Lillsjöhögen at Stuguns parish border with Kyrkås and Lit. In the autumn of their years, my grandpa and grandma bought the inn here at the "Högen" in 1935 and ran guest houses together with some of dad's siblings. The picture shows some of the brothers on leave from the war preparedness in 1940 and the guest house sign is visible on the corner.

#### **Otto the boatbuilder**



Here stands one of my grandfather's seven sons, Otto, in his workshop at Lillsjöhögen and shows how all in the family can build a traditional stugun boat, similar to the children's boat above, everything from standing trees to test tour. It appears in a small videofilm in 20 minutes from the 1980s called "Otto the Boatbuilder".

[http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player\\_detailpage&v=mCeeJLcrwQE](http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_detailpage&v=mCeeJLcrwQE)

Here, grandpa also made the small boat on the previous picture. Boat building of the Stugun people has been developed and inherited since time immemorial..

### Lillsjöhögen stave church

Otto's son Göran, who in 2010, together with a neighbouring group of craftsmen, put together this creation, which is also on the same property as the boat shop and the old inn. The famous church builder Pål Persson from Stugun's 18th century has perhaps also been an inspirer here? (see Stugun church p 22)



The chapel also includes a bell tower, and the year 2019 the facility has been supplemented with an ash burial grove where villagers can request that Lit's congregation bury relatives' ashes.

Despite the name, the stave church is not inaugurated but should be regarded as religiously independent, and can thus be used for gatherings for all interests in the village.

There is also a legend here about a pilgrim's well located at the southern tip of Lake Ösjön on the ancient road towards Kyrkås..

The largest and longest river through Stugun in Jämtland, which also fills and drains Sweden's fifth largest lake Storsjön, has been included in my entire story as a red thread or artery for transports of all kinds. Throughout history, it has fascinated the political leaders and community builders in the county, who have realized the importance the river always has had for the central parts of the kingdom. As we have seen, the political interest and dependence on Älven has also existed in my home town of Kyrkås.

The narrative may end with some of the efforts made by M P Hans Andersson i Bringåsen (His letter address in Stockholm) during his time in the Second Chamber of the Swedish parliament). Hans Andersson is mentioned at p 4.

### **Railway construction 1876 - 1882**

The first major issue on the the parliament's programme and the one on which Hans Andersson probably put the most work on, was railway construction in northern Sweden. This was, of course, an extremely important issue for the Jämtland residents, who until now have only been referring to long-distance transport by horse sleds on snow for their supply of goods from outside and for their personal journeys. In summer, the communications by sea went to the nearest ports, Sundsvall and Trondheim, but even from there the overland road was long to the whole of Jämtland, and all heavy and long transports were preferably carried out in winter on sleds before. (Compare the comments in most all winter letters about the quality of the sleigh. But in winter the Bothnian Bay froze, shipping to Sundsvall ceased and then only horse for transport and travel all the way down to Uppsala at the beginning of the 1870s - a journey that took about 7 days from the Östersund area - note, only if you drove yourself with a light sled and could afford to change horses every two hours as long days as you would drive.

For most of the 1870s (HA's first parliamentary term) the struggle in the Riksdag was ongoing over how the railway network north towards primarily Sundsvall, Östersund and Trondheim would look, and not least be financed. In the following ÖP article from 1979 [JämtländskaRiksdagsmän](#) gives the old history lecturer at the grammar school in Östersund, Hans Jacobsson, a summary of HA's parliamentary time and, among other things, the consideration of the railway issue.

It is probably doubtful whether Hans Jacobsson's claim that HA was knocked out at the 1890 general election is true or whether he resigned voluntarily, which he at least clearly considered according to the correspondence from that time. However, he was eliminated at the 1884 elections, but that was due to trouble with the vote count that disadvantaged HA, and he returned after the next election in 1887.

### **The river and the forestry**

The Railway brochure below I think HA printed as information sheet at own cost. He was also not satisfied with the first edition, which contained a lot of typographical errors, so he also made a reprint. It contains a comprehensive study with interesting statistics on the county's forestry and log-driving activities on the River (Å'a på stugumål) and also the costs of rail transport in other parts of the country at this time. HA's alternative attraction option for the main line past Torpshammar - Håsjö across the River at Dusenäsviken in Näverede and then followed the north side of the river up to Lit. From here it went to Krokom and connected to the projected cross-track to Trondheim in Näskott.

The location north towards Umeå-Luleå would then be branched off in Ragunda, instead of as now in Bräcke, which would have been a considerable reduction of the northern main line compared to the victorious Bräcke alternative, which we still live with today. The weakness was that Östersund then had to be connected with a branch line from Lit, i.e. the same system that was then implemented in practice for both Umeå and Luleå on the northern main line.

In 1876, Hans Andersson wrote the railway brochure [JärnvägsBroschyr](#) with "Thoughts on the proposed railway tracks in Norrland". He used the brochure as part of the argument for his motions for a decision on the route of the northern trunk railway. His proposal was lost in competition against stronger interests from the Sundsvall region and to some extent also from Östersund city, but the publication contains a very clear-sighted vision of the future of society's need for cheaper transport and communication.

It also presents a very detailed analysis of the rapidly growing role of the forest industry in Northern Sweden and future needs for more efficient transport.

In practice, it was probably the case that the labor-intensive and slow log-driving that the transport industry had already built itself into an oversized and complex structure for industrial interests to be prepared to question its existence, so Hans Andersson's visions were not realised until almost 75 years later when the power plant expansion in the log-driving rivers had made it more or less impossible to continue as before.

The wood industries continued to remain mainly on the coast where they once started, but from now on all raw material transport was eventually distributed on Hans Andersson's old railways and the much later added trucking transport industry.

In Hans Andersson's later parliamentary work after the opening of the main line in 1882, forestry and especially forest management took a larger place. HA gave proposals in Jämtland County Council about forest protection law for the county in 1886. The aim of the legislation was primarily to tackle "deforestation", a concept often mentioned in letters throughout HA's parliamentary term..

In a letter (25 June 1897) between old retired Parliamentarians, it is clear from the content, that they were still involved in forest policy, and that a state forestry committee was now working and it was probably the one that resulted in Sweden's first national forestry law in 1903. A few years later, his son AJ Hansson was also a member of the first national forestry board.

**The river and the electricity** of Jämtlandsälven's continued role in Swedish business became now after the 1950ties closed log-driving era to be a significant supplier of electric power instead of bioenergy in forest products to the country's central and southern parts. It is a role that is very much alive and well in our modern and rapidly changing energy policy.

