

Summaries

Tore Nyberg

Adam of Bremen and the “Florence Provinciale”

In attempting to link the details given by Adam of Bremen about the mission to Scandinavia with the information collected for the establishment of the Scandinavian ecclesiastical province around 1103–4, the historian must bridge a gap of about one generation, the period ca. 1070–1100, with no available sources in which to observe the development of church organization between these two points in time. If we bear in mind that one of Adam’s most important informants, King Sven Estridsen, had a knowledge of Sweden deriving from a lengthy stay there before 1050, then the distance in time between the two sources — as regards conditions in Sweden — grows to almost half a century.

This study is based on the *provinciale* — a list of episcopal sees — which was included in a manuscript in Florence around 1120, and to which details were added of eight Danish, three Norwegian, and seven Swedish diocesan sees, with an addendum covering Swedish provinces and a number of fringe areas. With the details about the ecclesiastical provinces of Poland and Scandinavia, a change occurs in the formulaic system of the *provinciale* which allows one to conclude that this information was added in conjunction with the establishment of these two provinces shortly after 1100. The Scandinavian list, according to Carsten Breengaard, can be assumed to reflect the negotiations at Kungahälla in 1101 about the future ecclesiastical appearance of Scandinavia. A distinctive feature of the list is that it records not only the name of the archbishop’s city of Lund but also the names of the three Scandinavian kingdoms, of which the last two — Norway and Sweden — are preserved in the Florence transcript, whereas I argue that the first kingdom — Denmark — was in the original source but was omitted by the copyist, with a consequent displacement of all the other headings. The list in its original appearance would therefore have comprised Lund as well as the eight Danish, three Norwegian, and seven Swedish dioceses which were to be included in the future Scandinavian ecclesiastical province around 1100. A series of 15 added names of areas proves to be divisible into two series of eight and seven names respectively; the first series can be assumed to have had seven names originally. In my view, the first seven names represent areas which, in the impending division into dioceses, were supposed to orient themselves towards one or more of the Swedish dioceses which are clearly enumerated in geographical order in three units, located in the southern provinces (Götaland), in the Mälaren-Hjälmaren area with Dalarna and Hälsingland, and in the three *folkland* which later became Uppland. In my analysis I try to show that the same geographical sequence is followed in the enumeration of regional names as in the list of the seven diocesan sees. The concluding list of seven names is also shown to follow a coherent geographical sequence — as befits the heading *Nomina insularum de regno sueuorum* — of island names, in the sense of “areas accessible by sea”. I argue that this too follows the same geographical sequence, so the conclusion is that the names Skara, Ljunga, and Köping refer to the provinces of Götaland, to which Gotland, Varend, and Finnveden from the last series of names are related as “mission areas” for the future bishops of these dioceses; that the names Tuna and Strängnäs designate the episcopal sees in the Mälaren-Hjälmaren area, to which Estonia, Hälsingland, and Värmland are related in a corresponding way; and that the names Sigtuna and (Östra) Aros designate the episcopal sees in the three *folkland* (later Uppland)

to which Tjust is related as a fringe area.

Other, more far-reaching interpretations, such as equating Guarandia with Åland, Fin dia with Finland, and Guarmelande with Bjarmland, are not necessary for a reasonable interpretation of the list. The two dioceses of Skara and Sigtuna in Adam ca. 1070 persist unchanged at the establishment of the Scandinavian ecclesiastical province ca. 1100, whereas I conclude that the dioceses of *Halsingland* and Birka mentioned by Adam undergo a change of name to the Tuna and Köping of the *provinciale*. The *provinciale* also shows a division of Adam's dioceses, with Strängnäs and (Östra) Aros detached from the diocese of Sigtuna and Ljunga detached from the diocese of Skara. My claim of the identity of Tuna with Adam's diocese of *Halsingland* is based on Adam's statement that it came into being for the sake of the "Skritefingi", and that these were settled between the Värmlanders and *Halsingland*.

Finally, I put the course of events around 1100 in a historical context, showing how state/church planning in theory may have been modified by practical conditions and personal relations among the bishops working in Sweden. One can safely assume that all the places planned as Swedish episcopal sees around 1100 must have had a Christian congregation of a certain size to have merited consideration as a bishop's seat, and that the pattern as a whole must have been regarded as acceptable to the bishops working in Sweden at the time.

Translated by Alan Crozier

Harald Gustafsson

State-making and territorial integration

Aspects of recent research, a Nordic approach, and a contribution to the political geography of sixteenth-century Sweden

The first part of this article discusses recent research on the state, particularly in early modern Europe. There is today a renewed interest in political history, although not the traditional political history of wars, kings and political intrigues. Rather, structural and cultural aspects of the political dimension in society are studied, often with references to Max Weber and Otto Hintze — i.e. not to Marx. Theda Skocpol is a good advocate of this trend.

Concerning the state-making process in early modern Europe, the contributions of Anthony Giddens and Charles Tilly are discussed in some depth. Both shows the necessity to give room for the state in an overall picture of the development of the modern world. Especially Tilly gives clues to further research in fields like the role of the armed struggle for power, the position of the local elites, and the unintended homogenizing consequences of the state's search for resources. Common to most theoreticians in this tradition is a strong underlining of the importance of territorial centralization and integration.

In the second part, the above-mentioned theories are used to problematize state-making in the Scandinavian kingdoms of the early modern period. It is argued that this process has been neglected by historians, who have had an anachronistic view of the five countries that have emerged as the present Nordic states. There is no reason to believe that these five entities were the most important units also within the two monarchies of Denmark and Sweden, who divided the Nordic area between themselves after the dissolution of the Union of Kalmar. Especially the territorial integration has to be reexamined. Was Sweden a "Sweden" already in the sixteenth century — and if so, what was Finland? What happened in the provinces that changed hands between Denmark and Sweden? Did the process of territorial integration follow the military development, as Tilly argues?

In the third part of the article, which deals with concepts of political territoriality in sixteenth-century Sweden, only a few of these questions are given a tentative answer. A study of political meetings 1523—1592 reveals a concentric pattern. A "hard core" was formed by the towns of Stockholm and Uppsala, the preferred venue for diets and meetings of the nobility. The wider core area consisted of east-central Sweden: the Mälaren Basin and Östergötland. The political periphery can also be divided into two. In the south and south-west, Småland and Västergötland, meetings could be held when it was suitable for particular reasons, but they were never held in the western, northern, and eastern parts of the kingdom, in Dalsland, Värmland, Dalarna, Norrland, or Finland.

A study of four rebellions between 1529 and 1568 focuses on how concepts of territories were used in the political actions by the rebellious and the kings. The local and regional assemblies (*häradsting* and *landsting*) were important for the legitimacy of the rebellious actions but were also used by the king. The unity of the realm is taken for granted by all parts, but for the local elites that meant a federation of thing districts (*häradar*, *landskap*) rather than the centralized state preferred by the king. During the period, the latter concept gained ground. The power of the crown became less dependent upon the local peas-

antry and the king could use mercenaries to put down local unrest. The idea of the local thing districts as political subjects is, however, still important at the end of the period, not the least in propaganda. The territorial integration was not accomplished once and for all by Gustav Vasa, as one might believe from traditional literature, but was a process that went on for many centuries and must be studied over a longer time span than has been possible in this article.

Ole Georg Moseng

**Some source problems in Swedish population history
in early modern times**

Experiences from studies of a demographic crisis in north-west Skåne

Both parish registers and examination lists (used for the priest's test of his parishioners' religious knowledge) are today reckoned to be reliable sources for calculating the population of Sweden in early modern times before 1749. The examination lists in particular are often considered equivalent to census records. The author of this article tries to reassess these sources in the light of the last epidemic of plague in Scandinavia. It is well known that serious demographic crises can put administrative systems under stress, thus the keeping of population and fiscal registers during a demographic crisis makes great demands of quality.

This article is a detailed study of Allerum 1690–1712, a parish in north-west Skåne, where mortality in 1710 and 1711 was between 8 and 14 times the normal rate. The main problem is to test the reliability of this source material in times of crisis, and to evaluate whether a disastrous demographic crisis can be a fruitful factor in the analysis.

The conclusion is that both the parish registers and the examination lists in Allerum can initially be judged to be of high quality. These sources from Skåne are not inferior to those from "Sweden proper", which are deemed to be highly reliable in comparison with the rest of Scandinavia.

Problems arise, however, when the data about the inhabitants of Allerum in the examination lists are compared with the details in the parish registers of those who died during the plague. For many villages the parish registers recorded many more deaths than the number of inhabitants according to the examination lists. In several places there are up to twice the number of deaths as there were recorded inhabitants.

As a methodological experiment the author tries to calculate the number of inhabitants in a single village. The examination list for 1698 records 5 inhabitants. The author finds it probable on the basis of the data in the parish register that there could have been at least 8 adults in this village at this time. Calculations of the reproductive potential suggest a probable 3 children in addition. These figures agree better with the statement in the parish registers that ten people died in the epidemic. The examination lists prove to be unreliable as a basis for the calculation of population.

Nor can the parish registers be said to give a trustworthy picture of the population. A check of the register's figures for mortality and nativity give such low rates as 1.49 and 2.17 per cent respectively in normal years. These are figures which we have to come down to the twentieth century to equal, and they may be dismissed out of hand as unacceptable for this period.

Attempts to calculate the population in 1698 on the basis of different categories of sources give minimum and maximum estimates of 780 and 1260. Continued hypothesizing and analyses of problems requiring reliable calculations of population will have to demand clarification of the extent to which aggregates are representative of the target groups.

What primarily distinguishes this study from other studies of Swedish population history is that it starts from a catastrophic mortality crisis. It is largely the aggregates of

the people buried during the critical years 1710–11 which have made it possible to detect the incompleteness of all the source types. The insufficiency of the data from Allerum is evident primarily in the great number of deaths of persons who are not otherwise recorded. In a normal situation a dark figure like this could be part of a normal margin of error, but during this crisis the number of otherwise unregistered dead people is so large that it cannot be ignored.

The study of the Allerum material has revealed that the parish registers and examination lists are poorer sources for the analysis of population than has hitherto been realized. The analysis has also shown that it can be useful to start from extreme changes in population structure when checking the representativeness of demographic sources.

Translated by Alan Crozier

Ulla Rosén

**Private property and land distribution
On the emergence of agrarian capitalism in England, Denmark,
and Sweden**

This essay compares changes and variations in the meaning of ownership and the distribution of land, as regards both owners and users, in England, Denmark, and Sweden at the time when agrarian capitalism was emerging.

One point of departure is Eric Hobsbawm's statement that there were obstacles in pre-capitalist society which had to be overcome for capitalism to be established: these obstacles were tenurial, organizational, and technical. Another point of departure is Christer Winberg's division of ownership into distinct "levels": the right to control production, the right to farm the land independently, and the right to sell land. Ownership can be analysed even if it involves just one or two of these levels, but more dimensions of ownership must be included if it is to be considered total.

In England the landowners were few in number and had large holdings of land. Most of the land was owned by *landlords*. Farming was organized on the basis of estates known as *manors*, where the lord's *demesne* was farmed by *villeins* and the rest of the land by *customary tenants*. From the fifteenth century there was a gradual change in estate management. The conditions for customary tenants were set down in writing and were valid for a limited period only; the term *copyholder* became general. The landowners' own land was leased to tenants, and the interest in organizational changes increased. *Private enclosures* led to a large proportion of the cultivated land being enclosed to become pasture. The proportion of *freeholders* was low, but it varied from region to region. From an early stage, however, the freeholders enjoyed virtually all the dimensions of ownership.

Capitalism brought limitations in the peasants' influence over production. Fewer of them farmed the land, and those who continued became wage labourers.

From the end of the seventeenth century there appeared a new group of landowners, people who placed their capital in land. Many *landed families* were forced to sell owing to financial difficulties. Land ownership was further concentrated, and a general interest in productive agriculture emerged. With *parliamentary enclosure* came the final phase in a very long process. There was no change in the distribution of land, however, but redefinition and individualization were the basic prerequisites for the establishment of the capitalist mode of production.

In Denmark the land was owned by a few lords, and farming was organized as estate management with contracting tenants known as *fæstebønder*. The number of freehold peasants was very low, and although they were regarded as owning their land, there were limitations in the form of certain obligations to the manors. In Denmark there were few regional variations, which may explain the rapid transformation of the feudal structures in the direction of capitalism. Many of the large landowners sold land to their subject tenants, and the proportion of freehold peasants grew. They were nevertheless still tied to their former landlord, since he often financed their property purchases by loans. The peasants helped in large measure with the implementation of the enclosures at the end of the eighteenth century. There were no great changes in the distribution of land; in Denmark too the preconditions for the emergence of capitalism lay in the redefinition of ownership.

In Sweden there had long been a large group of freehold peasants. The crown was another large landowner, but there were also noble landlords (*frälsemän*) who managed their land in estate form with subject peasants. These noblemen owned at most two-thirds of the tax-assessed land in the mid-seventeenth century. It was then that the first efforts were made to redefine ownership. In contrast to development in England and Denmark, the Swedish freeholders succeeded in strengthening their position.

This process, however, meant that the Swedish peasants were differentiated: the *frälsebönder* (tenants on the noble estates) and the *kronobönder* (peasants who owned their farms but paid dues to the crown) had their customary rights curtailed and were reduced to the same level as the English *copyholders* and Danish *fæstebönder*. The transformation of these rights meant that the informal feudal and patriarchal features were replaced by written agreements in legalistic terms.

With the transition to capitalistic conditions of production, social relations were changed and with them also the meaning of the concept of ownership. The landowner was expected to enjoy and control all the dimensions of ownership. In the general form of this process, those who already had feudal rights could transform the legally unspecified concept of ownership and to some extent retain the privileges associated with ownership. They obtained a greater economic power over those who farmed their lands, who became wage labourers. The dividing line between owner and user came to coincide with the right to sell land.

Another prerequisite for the emergence of agrarian capitalism was the redistribution of land. The integration of land in a capitalist market economy meant that capital was created both from what was produced on the land and from the fact that the land itself increased in value. One way in which this process influenced the organization of farming was that the extent of cultivated land was expanded and the number of farming units decreased. Land ownership was concentrated, and there was a polarization of the land-owning population.

What was specific to the growth of agrarian capitalism in Sweden, when compared with England and Denmark, was the size and strength of the Swedish peasant class. When the peasants were recognized as freeholders, it was an important confirmation of a *peasant bourgeoisie* in the making.

The occurrence of a freeholding, self-assured peasant class is considered difficult to integrate into the general picture of the growth of capitalism. Hobsbawm has asked the rhetorical question of whether there was "an alternative peasant road to capitalism", based on the economic and social differentiation of the peasant class. He thus emphasizes what is specific in the emergence of capitalist conditions of production in a social formation where the agrarian sector was not "industrialized" but instead the agrarian structures were preserved but with the development of agricultural production conditions in the direction of capitalism. This process, however, cannot be understood solely in economic and social terms; we must also regard the people as acting subjects.

Translated by Alan Crozier

Lars Herlitz

Civil society and the underdevelopment of Sweden
Anders Bachmansson Nordencrantz from *Arcana* to *Anatomia*

Anders Bachmansson (1697—1772, ennobled as Nordencrantz in 1743) was a prolific writer in Sweden's Age of Freedom. More than 80 per cent of his publications were part of his political and personal campaigns from 1759 onwards, when he figured prominently in Swedish politics. They dealt with questions of constitution and monetary policy that were among the most controversial in the parliamentary struggles of those years. With a rich store of the ideas of the contemporary European Enlightenment, Nordencrantz was in the late 1750s an audacious critic of Swedish society and government. The influence that he exerted on younger writers at more than 60 years of age was in no way due to style or eloquence but all the more to the force of his argument, conviction, and perseverance. Some thirty years before, however, he had participated by word and deed in the introduction of that mercantilist policy of favouring and protecting domestic manufactures, which he was to denounce in the 1750s. His different positions are well known, but how he came to change his mind has not been ascertained out.

His *Arcana oeconomicæ et commercii*, printed in 1730, contained much conventional mercantilism derived from several English writers, particularly Mun and Davenant. The importance of social saving by means of foreign trade balances, as well as the preference of trade, of domestic manufactures and of artificial labour, are duly stressed. From his voyage to England in the early 1720s, Bachmansson was deeply impressed by the power and prosperity of England's economy, the constitutional freedom of its people, and the economic and political underdevelopment of his own native country. Consistently, as member of the Estate of the Burgesses in the diet of 1726—27, he tried to arm the rising tide of industrial protectionism in Sweden with the ideological weapons of its superior competitor. Several memorials written to this end for the Estates were later printed in *Arcana*. But the conditions or interests of many small Swedish towns and of their modest burghers called for some peculiarities in Bachmansson's mercantilist discourse. *Arcana* defended the Swedish import of salt against designs on domestic salt production, and ranked fishing above iron mining with regard to national profitability. Burghers and peasants were designated as "workers", whereas the "idlers" belonged to the orders of warriors and preachers. Sweden's economic backwardness was explained also by a public underestimation of trade, productive work, and private property in relation to martial exploits and public service. When arguing for a rehabilitation of civil merits as against martial ones, Bachmansson referred to Bernard Mandeville — quoted more frequently than any other author in *Arcana* — whose defence of *The Fable of the Bees* in 1723 he might have followed on the spot. The frank style of Mandeville, his naturalist conception of Man, and his irreverence towards all noble values must have appealed to Bachmansson, and the influence proved lasting.

A few years later Bachmansson despaired of the efficiency of economic policy in Sweden and turned to a critical enquiry into the Swedish "constitution", in a very broad sense. A voluminous manuscript, *Anatomia et scrutamen status politice et oeconomicæ suecane*, was written in the first half of the 1730s but never printed. It anticipates many ideas of his later publications but is more radical and consistent.

Swedish poverty and backwardness were here conceived of as institutionally conditioned. The society had been ruptured into orders of irreconcilable interests. The reservation of privileged land and of higher public offices for the Nobility impeded agricultural progress and drained all the trades of knowledge and wealth. Conversely, the destitute state of all productive occupations sharpened the competition for land or public employment. The legislature was paralysed by its division into Estates, by the strong influence of bureaucracy, and for want of propertied and independent men. As for the causes, Bachmansson made the priests responsible for the division of the people into mutually hostile orders, and he interpreted parts of Swedish history in the light of the struggles between patricians and plebeians in the Roman republic. No progress was possible without radical institutional change. To begin with, Bachmansson thought that all taxes and other public charges on land should be abolished, thus robbing the Nobility of their privileges, and depriving the lands of the Crown of their value.

England remained an example, and English literature still provided some basic ideas. The conception of property as the natural basis of political independence and republican virtue originated within the tradition of civic humanism. From Mandeville derived the idea that the true task of the constitution was to render human vices and passions useful to the common weal, and of course, more generally, the institutionalist approach. But Mandeville, from the attitude of the sceptical observer, conceived of institutions as being socially functional and, besides, developing slowly through a long process of learning and adaptation. Bachmansson, who argued for rapid social change, had to deviate towards moralism and voluntarism, and entertained also more illusions about civil society.

From his new point of view, mercantilist policy became rather irrelevant. Bachmansson was successively to lay greater stress upon what seemed to be the fundamental weaknesses of Swedish economy, the poverty of its agriculture and the paucity of its population, and to argue for freedom against privileges and prerogatives in economic life.