

Hans Torben Gilkær

IN HONORE SANCTI KANUTI MARTYRIS.
KÖNIG UND KNUTSGILDEN IM 12. JAHRHUNDERT

Die dänischen heiligen Könige und die Knutskulte in Odense und Ringsted waren keine isolierten dänischen oder nordischen Phänomene, sondern sind in einem grösseren europäischen Zusammenhang zu sehen. In den germanischen Reichen versuchten die Könige mit Unterstützung seitens der Kirche eine politische und theoretische Grundlage für ihre Position aufzubauen und damit ihre Machtstellung als theokratisch darzustellen. Dieser Umstand trat noch deutlicher im karolingischen Königtum hervor, wo Pippin gesalbt und mit den alttestamentlichen Königen verglichen wurde. Karl der Grosse wurde geradezu als Stellvertreter Gottes und *minister dei* dargestellt und im Jahre 800 zum Kaiser im *imperium christianum* ausgerufen. Aber die Versuche, in Westeuropa ein stabiles und effektives Kaisertum zu errichten, schlugen fehl; seit der zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts begannen die Päpste sich allmählich vom Kaisertum abzuwenden und eine päpstliche Universalmonarchie zu schaffen, in welcher der Papst die Stelle eines Führers von Westeuropa einnehmen sollte. So entwickelte sich nach und nach die Theorie von einer Weltkirche, in welcher im Gegensatz zu kaiserlichen Traditionen der Papst als oberster Leiter den Schutz von Erzbischöfen und Bischöfen übernahm und versuchte, christliche Fürsten unter Umgehung des Kaisers an diese Weltkirche zu knüpfen.

Diese Politik verfolgten die Päpste Dänemark gegenüber konsequent von Svend Estridsen bis zur Waldemarszeit, und sie gaben bereitwillig Garantien für die Stellung und die Rechte von Kirche und Königsmacht als Entgelt für die Einverleibung des Reichs in die Weltkirche. Die Errichtung des dänischen Erzbistums und die Kanonisierung von Knut dem Heiligen und Knut Laward waren Teilstücke einer solchen Politik. Für die dänischen Könige ging es darum, die Königsmacht nach innen wie nach aussen zu stärken, und dazu konnten sie die Hilfe der Kirche brauchen. So leistete die Kanonisation von Knut dem Heiligen und Knut Laward einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur Erweiterung der theoretischen und religiösen Grundlage von Ansehen und Position der dänischen Königsmacht sowohl in Dänemark wie im Ausland. Die dänischen Könige wurden im 12. Jahrhundert als theokratisch, als Könige von Gottes Gnaden, dargestellt. Damit schlossen sie theoretisch Einfluss und Einmischung von seiten fremder Fürsten und des dänischen Hochadels aus. Die Päpste der Hildebrandischen Gruppe trugen also mit ihrer Politik zur Entwicklung einer politischen Theologie in Dänemark bei.

Aus diesem Hintergrund ist das Verhältnis der dänischen Knutsgilden zum König zu verstehen. Den König interessierten die Knutsgilden in erster Linie im Hinblick auf die politische Ausnutzung des Knutskultes in Ringsted; Handelsinteressen können nicht der primäre Grund für das enge Band zwischen König und Knutsgilden im 12. Jahrhundert gewesen sein. Eine Durchsicht der Gildenstatuten zeigte, dass die Schutzfunktion und Solidarität zwischen den Brüdern der einzelnen Gilde gegen die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts erheblich abgeschwächt wurden, obschon die Schutzfunktion zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch nicht völlig ausgespielt hatte. Dagegen wurden die Trinkgemeinschaft und die Gildenzeremonien in derselben Zeitspanne aufrechterhalten. In dem Maße, wie die Schutzfunktion und Solidarität in den ein-

zelen Gilden schwächer wurden, erhielt die Gildeninstitution eine wirtschaftliche Funktion, die um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts mit der Bildung einer eigentlichen Seeversicherungsgesellschaft und der Verlegung der Synode der Knutsgilden auf den schonischen Markt kulminierte. Ein derartiges Hinübergleiten aus einer Schutzfunktion in eine Wirtschaftsfunktion geschah nicht nur in den dänischen Gilden, aber im Gegensatz zu den flämischen und deutschen Kaufmannsorganisationen kamen die Knudsgilden nie so weit, sich zu einem monopolistischen Handelskonzern zu entwickeln. Lauritz Weibulls Hypothese von einer dänischen monopolistischen Handelsgesellschaft unter königlicher Führung ist daher abzulehnen. Waldemar I. trat der Gotlandsgilde nicht bei, um eine osteuropäische Handelskompanie als Konkurrenz zu Heinrich dem Löwen und Lübeck zu bilden. Die deutschen Kaufleute beherrschten zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch nicht den Ostseehandel, und erst seit 1225, nach dem deutschen Handelsdurchbruch und zunehmenden Übergewicht in der Ostsee, ergriffen die dänischen Kaufleute die Initiative dazu, den Charakter der Knutsgilden dahingehend zu ändern, dass diese eine direkt merkantile Funktion erhielten.

Die Knutsgilden trugen mit Geldmitteln zum Bau der ansehnlichen Grabkirche der Waldemare bei dem Heiligenkult in Ringsted bei. In den einzelnen Knutsgilden hielt man Trinkgelage und christliche Seelenmessen für verstorbene Gildenbrüder ab sowie Zeremonien und Messen zu Ehren von Knut Laward, dem Schutzheiligen der Gilden. Ringsted bildete das Zentrum des Heiligenkultes, und rundum in den Städten des Reichs wurden Messen für Knut Laward in den Knutsgilden abgehalten. Dadurch wurde der königliche Heilige weithin bekannt, was nicht nur eine Stärkung des Knutskultes in Ringsted bedeutete, sondern auch der Königsmacht der ersten Waldemare. Die Knutsgilden spielten also in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts zweifellos eine wichtige politische und propagandamässige Rolle. Sie waren um diese Zeit noch Schutzgilden, und es ist wahrscheinlich, dass der König auch diese Funktion in seinen Bestrebungen, seine Stellung zu stärken, ausnutzte; indem er den Gilden beitrug, liessen sich die Schutzfunktion und die Solidarität der Gildenbrüder in den Dienst des Königs stellen. Und den Gildenbrüdern brachte die Mitgliedschaft des Königs ohne Zweifel grosse Vorteile: eine starke dänische Königsmacht, der es allmählich gelang, den Frieden zu sichern und die Rechtssicherheit zu garantieren, schuf gute Bedingungen für die Entwicklung der dänischen Städte und für den Handel im Ostseegebiet.

Im 12. Jahrhundert waren die Knutsgilden immer noch Schutzgilden mit Gemeinschaftsmahlen, kultischen Handlungen und christlichen Seelenmessen, und aus diesen Funktionen konnten die Waldemare Vorteile ziehen bei ihren Bestrebungen, die Königsmacht zu stärken. Es ist auch charakteristisch für die Zeit, dass Waldemar sich zur Festigung der Königsmacht einer uralten Institution bediente, die sich auf die persönliche Bindung und Solidarität ihrer Mitglieder gründete und deren ursprüngliche Funktion bald von der königlichen Zentralmacht übernommen werden sollte.

Aleksandr S Kan

RUSSIA AND RUSSO-SWEDISH RELATIONS IN THE LIGHT OF SWEDISH JOURNALISM IN THE AGE OF FREEDOM AND THE GUSTAVIAN PERIOD

The article follows different trends in the illumination of Russian foreign policy and, especially, Russo-Swedish relations in the 18th century through treatment of Swedish journals and Swedish and Finnish brochures from the Age of Freedom and the Gustavian Period. In the Swedish and, more broadly, the Swedish language publications of the time a peace loving, neutralist tendency stood against, and was confronted by, a militaristic, revanchist one. The former goes back to pamphlets by Russian diplomats in Sweden in the 1720s, the latter to the anti-Russian propaganda already existing at the time of the Great Northern War. The most substantial and well-founded publications advocating peace and friendship with Russia were established in the 1760s by followers of the Younger Caps. The Russophobic propaganda culminated during the Swedish-Russian War in 1788–1790, when King Gustavus III, himself, inspired the propaganda campaign. It is interesting to note that advocates as well as enemies of a policy of good relations with Sweden's Great Neighbor in the East often put forward the same conclusions as those made by western journalists during the Cold War and even in our time – concrete examples are presented in the article (making the USA a partner of the European anti-Russian coalition, speculations about China invading the Siberia, etc.). In the conclusion of the article it is shown that Swedish public opinion overcame the anti-Russian prejudices very quickly, directly after the signing of the peace agreement of Värälä, which was honorable for Sweden.

The sources of the article the author has found in the State Lenin Library of Moscow and in libraries in Greifswald and Stralsund (now in the GDR), which used to belong to the Swedish crown. A continuation of the research on this theme within the confines of the USSR would require the use of the funds of the State Public Library and the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad, and also of the Archive of the Foreign Policy of Russia in Moscow.

Viking Mattsson

NATIVITY AND WET-NURSING IN MALMOE 1750–1850

The investigation's point of departure has been the occurrence of a large number of women registered as wet-nurses in cameral and ecclesiastical sources of the city of Malmö in the 18th and 19th centuries. It has been possible from the source material to establish the families to which the wet-nurses were attached. Consequently, it has been possible directly to isolate in the source material a group of families hiring wet-nurses. It has been possible to demonstrate that this group of families belonged exclusively to the *haute bourgeoisie* of the city.

As certain results indicated that the families which employed wet-nurses tended to have very short intervals between births, the study was focused on studying this phenomenon on a larger source base. The method used in the investigation has involved the reconstruction of the families which hired wet-nurses. For the sake of comparison, families from broader strata of the city's population have also been reconstructed when there was no indication in the source material of these hiring wet-nurses.

This investigation seems unusual in that it has aimed at testing the demographic consequences of nursing by comparing two social groups with each other. Apart from the Swedish material, it has been possible to use comparative results from international historical-demographic research. In demographic studies of historical populations there has usually been found a difference of intervals depending on whether the child died at infancy at the beginning of the interval, or survived. Certain research results indicate, however, that this difference was substantially reduced in those areas where it is known that the mothers avoided breastfeeding their children. Thus John Knodel, in investigating the populations of Schoenberg and Anhausen in southern Germany, found very little difference between the two types of intervals. Here Knodel could note that the mothers had nursed their children for a very short period. In another place, Moemmlingen, Knodel found that the mothers had nursed their children for long periods. Knodel here was able to note a significant difference in intervals depending on whether or not the child at the beginning of the interval had survived its first birthday (see table 2).

The central finding of the Malmö investigation is that the two social categories studied show different demographic features in certain interesting respects. The group which employed wet-nurses has short intervals between deliveries and very little difference of intervals depending on whether or not the child at the beginning of the interval survived its first birthday. In the other group, however, where the mothers certainly were nursing their offspring themselves, the intervals between deliveries are much longer. Here there is also a significant contraction of the interval if the child at the beginning of the interval died at infancy and breastfeeding could not, consequently, stop the mothers from conceiving a new child.

In the *haute bourgeoisie* strata we have, moreover, in spite of the high fertility, found rather large amounts of children surviving already in the 18th century, when infant mortality was still, as a rule, high. That the wet-nurses in this context were a vital factor for the children's survival, we may take for granted. It has been shown at the same time, however, that the group which employed wet-nurses also as a rule

lived under conditions far better than those of the average population. This probably worked in the same direction, as far as the children's survival is concerned.

In all, these results must be considered as a warning against hastily drawn conclusions about family-building patterns in historical populations on the basis of fertility data, delivery intervals and so forth, if the breastfeeding customs are not known. It stands to evidence that the breastfeeding customs, apart from other biological and social factors, have to be taken into consideration in historical analyses of fertility and birth control. It need hardly be emphasized that the occurrence of wet-nurses in historical populations has a social historical dimension which raises several questions about the recruitment of a certain group of women and their conditions of life.

Lars Niléhn

AGRARIAN INTEREST POLITICS FROM BONDEFÖRBUND TO CENTERPARTI

One of the more spectacular features of Swedish politics in the 1950s was the Agrarian Party's (Bondeförbundet) transformation into the allegedly more modern Centre Party (Centerpartiet). The Agrarian Party had long had receding vote figures and had two almost catastrophic elections in 1952 and 1956. In 1957 the party changed its name and at about the same time its image to a party concerned for the wellbeing of the whole country in contrast to the old interest party. In conjunction with this, the party did get considerably more votes in the urban areas in the elections of 1958 and 1960.

There has been some research made about this and although there are different datings of the party's decision to make a serious change to 1956 (and perhaps even before that), 1957 or 1958, there is an accord among researchers that the party intentionally made a swing from an interest party to one of vote maximization.

This feature, vote maximization, has been considered a fundamental aim of political parties. Here, however, it is put that parties cannot act without some regard to their social nucleus among voters. Except in a two-party system of the North American type, all political parties have some such social basis. There is, however, a difference between parties that have a comprehensive ideology and interest parties. The former makes policies which do not make them lose their nucleus, while the latter are interested only in political decisions that are to the advantage of their nucleus.

It is put forward that parties, except for special cases, really do not maximize votes but *optimize* them. The reason for this is that they have to act so that they do not offend or, worse, lose their nucleus. Interest parties are a special case here since they have especially close ties to their social base. When an interest party declines, it has a choice between letting its old policy go and striking off into totally new grounds or of trying to keep its old nucleus and at the same time appeal to new groups. This latter policy is a perfect example of optimization.

The Agrarian Party's own interpretation of the situation in the mid-50s has been accepted by researchers. It was the urbanization of Sweden that made the party lose votes. In addition, the coalition government with the Social Democrats (1951–1957) was unpopular. An analysis of the elections does show, however, that the party not only lost votes in absolute figures; it also lost ground to other parties in the rural constituencies.

To meet the situation, the party had, already in 1952, launched some measures. These were limited to an attempt to appeal to groups that were close to the agrarian interests, such as market gardeners and fishermen. The party also sought the support of small businessmen. That does correspond with the new image of Swedish agriculture in the 1950s. Rationalization did forcefully reduce the number of small farms. From these years the farmers must themselves be said to be small businessmen, with a mechanized form of production for the market.

Not only was the electoral situation for the Agrarian Party full of problems, there were interior conflicts as well. They came to the surface on a number of occasions, most prominently in the debate about the party name, which was considered too

narrow and exclusive by some. There was opposition against the government coalition, and against the party leader Gunnar Hedlund; it even happened that MPs did not vote with their own government on important issues that were connected with agriculture.

Both before and after the change of the party's name in 1957 the agrarian position in the party was extremely strong. Although there were no formal ties, the personal connections between the agricultural organisations and the party were close. Furthermore, even as late as 1960 an overwhelming majority of the MPs were or had been farmers. A number of the newly elected then were even employed as ombudsmän in the agricultural organisations.

In the plebiscite about the pensions system in 1957 the party presented an alternative of its own. This proved to have a comparatively large success and showed that there were votes to be gained. The party now withdrew from the government, and launched a new party programme (the party name had already been changed). But it did not as has been alleged by researchers let go of its agricultural profile. In its name and in part of its image it did that, but not in its policy. It did try to appeal to new groups, but it did not let go of its rural connections. In fact, it was a policy of optimization.

There were changes in party ideology. Between the world wars the party had persistently claimed that its philosophy was in the interest of the whole society, a mild variant of state idealism. It did, in fact, continue this way of reasoning up to 1957–1958. In articles it was said that it had a position of its own outside the left-right spectrum, that it was a new kind of party, that the old ideologies were obsolete, that its policy was action, and so on. It also wanted a great coalition government with all the democratic parties represented. All this was dropped in 1957–1958. The party began to speak of itself as a part of the bourgeois bloc and it adopted economic liberalism, although based on social security.

The considerable success of the party in the elections of 1958 and 1960 have usually been interpreted as the result of a penetration into the urban constituencies. The party did increase its votes there substantially, but its share of the total there was still small. Analysis shows that the essential gains were in the old rural districts. In fact, by and large it must be viewed as a very successful mobilization of the old, formerly sagging, nucleus.

Thus the reform of the Swedish Agrarian Party in the 1950s was really a policy of optimization, with the focus still on the old rural electoral groups. But the agricultural base had a new structure in that it had changed into being more commercial and businesslike. What changes there were in the party were really in the interest of the same groups that had carried the party earlier. This also showed in the elections.

Ingvar Johansson

THE CONCEPT OF PARADIGM AND THE HUMANITIES
AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

The article is divided into four parts. The first presents Thomas Kuhn's famous concept of paradigm, and stresses the use Kuhn makes of the concept of »tacit knowledge». Tacit knowledge is constitutive of so called exemplars. In the second part a distinction is made between schools and paradigms proper. Schools are paradigms proper minus exemplars. It is argued that, trivially, there are schools in the humanities and the social sciences, but also that there are paradigms. In particular, it is maintained that the concept of paradigm does not exclude the simultaneous existence of many competing paradigms, although Kuhn's own writings sometimes give an impression to the contrary. Part three takes up the issue discussed in *Scandia*, whether the Weibull school really was a paradigm in the kuhnian sense. The distinction between schools and paradigms proper is introduced into the discussion, and it is conjectured that the Weibull school was a paradigm proper. The last part contains criticism of Rolf Torstendahl's article *Historical schools and paradigms* (*Scandia* no. 45, 1979). He is accused of using some impossible positivistic conceptions when arguing that the paradigm concept is not adaptable to the humanities.