Edited by
Magdalena Naum and
Fredrik Ekengren

Facing Otherness in Early Modern Sweden

Travel, Migration and Material Transformations, 1500–1800

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IN EARLY MODERN SWEDEN

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Edited by
MAGDALENA NAUM and FREDRIK EKENGREN

THE BOYDELL PRESS

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PREFACE

The majority of papers in this book emerged from a conference "Encountering the 'Other' – Understanding Oneself: Colonialism, Ethnic Diversity and Everyday Life in Early Modern Sweden and New Sweden" organized at Lund University in 2013 within the "GlobArch" network and with the support of the Crafoord Foundation, the Swedish Research Council and Elisabeth Rausing Memorial Foundation. The conference created an interdisciplinary and international forum to discuss social and cultural developments in early modern Sweden, especially its multifaceted involvement in colonial expansion – as a country having colonies of its own, procuring, exchanging and consuming colonial goods and sharing ideologies of European supremacy. The main theme of the conference was the reaction to the broadly understood newness brought about by the expansion and rise of intercontinental connections as well as the construction (ideological and material) of otherness and sameness in early modern Sweden, New Sweden and other colonies.

The conference and this collection appear at an exciting time, when the traditional national framework of research and focus on political and economic history of the Swedish "Era of Greatness" shifts towards transnational history writing, scrutinizing Sweden's entanglement with the European and global world. This shift is coupled with a greater interest in materiality within the field of history. It is also accompanied by a rapid development of post-medieval archaeology in Sweden and Finland, which offers new perspectives on a range of interesting questions, such as the characteristics of early modern culture, multiculturalism, self-fashioning through material objects, the selective nature of consumption, the rise of modernity and material engagements with novelties and imports. The collection reflects the wide-ranging research directions taken in the fields of history and historical archaeology, and their potential to rewrite the history of early modern Sweden. Our goal is to present, with an international audience in mind, a picture of early modern Sweden that is rarely considered in the available general English-language works on the kingdom: an image of an early modern Swedish society and culture deeply affected by cultural transformations, mobility and connections with the increasingly global world of the 17th and 18th centuries; a country, society and culture not left on the margins of Europe, disengaged from contemporary currents, but rather drawn into and developing dialogical relationships with the rest of Europe and the known world. Set in the socio-political context of a rapidly growing and changing early modern Sweden, the essays in this book consider the character of contemporary encounters with novel ideas, commodities and people within and beyond of Sweden's borders, and their impact on identities and both popular and learned culture in Sweden. They discuss how these intercultural meetings, transformations and novel material culture were perceived and mediated in everyday life and how they impacted on discourses of the familiar and the foreign, the same and the other. The subjects of the essays range from the state's ideology and technology of control to appropriation

of classical architecture and urban planning; from interactions in colonial New Sweden and Sápmi to cultural encounters in Africa, South America and Asia; from the appropriation of imports and foreign culture in urban environments to engagement with novel fashions in aristocratic circles; from the translocal connections of Dutch, British and German merchants residing in Sweden to the experiences of peasants moving within the kingdom's borders. By taking this broad and interdisciplinary approach and by departing from traditional themes of political and social history, the collection offers a different and progressive view of early modern Sweden.

This anthology would not be possible without the generous support of the Society of Post-Medieval Archaeology and Boydell & Brewer. We are particularly grateful to Audrey Horning and Francis Eaves for their insightful commentary and copy editing and to Rohais Haughton for making production of this book such a smooth process.

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ABBREVIATIONS

GLA	Landsarkivet i Göteborg, Gothenburg
GUB	Gothenburg University Library, Gothenburg
HB	Hagströmer Medico-Historical Library, Stockholm
KVA BBS	Bergianska brevsamlingen, Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, Stockholm
LAV	Landsarkivet i Vadstena, Vadstena
LSL LC	Linnaean Correspondence, Linnaean Society of London, London
LUB	Lund University Library, Lund
RA	Riksarkivet, The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm
RADK	Rigsarkivet, The Danish National Archives, Copenhagen
RJB	Archivo del Real Jardín Botánico, Madrid
RR RA	Riksregistraturet, The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm
SSA	Stockholms Stadsarkiv, Stockholm
TKUA	Tyske Kancellis Udenlandske Avdelning, The Danish National Archives, Copenhagen
TNA	The National Archives, London
ULA	Landsarkivet i Uppsala, Uppsala
UUB	Uppsala University Library, Uppsala

I

Material Transformations

Introduction

Magdalena Naum and Fredrik Ekengren

The first chapters of this book focus on material transformations in early modern Sweden. Ideological and cultural currents, such as Lutheranism, Classicism and the Enlightenment; the political and economic currents of European colonial expansion, in which Sweden played an active part; the growth of intercontinental trade and Sweden's ambition to shed the image of a backwater: all these factors had implications for consumption and the engagement with material culture. Between the beginning of the 16th and the end of the 18th century, the material world, practices and habits of Swedish citizens underwent considerable shifts, though the dynamics and effects of these changes were not even. The court and aristocratic circles were quick to embrace and adopt diverse European fashions and ideas. One of these was the passion for furnishing private museums, collecting and displaying souvenirs, specimens of flora, fauna and curiosa from the near and far corners of the world. Colonial expansion and growing participation in trans-oceanic travel provided eager collectors with ever-growing supplies of marvellous objects for their collections. As argued by Jonas M. Nordin, these cabinets of curiosities were not innocent sites. Displaying one's own interests, knowledge and erudition through the coveted material culture of the world signalled, in symbolic and literal terms, one's own power and supremacy. The fashion for collecting exotic objects reflected and expressed in visible form the hegemonic European aristocratic worldview, which distinguished between the "self" and the "other".

It was not only collectables that the colonies supplied, however. An array of colonial and exotic commodities, such as tobacco, sugar and porcelain, made their way into Swedish households. These and other novelties established a visible presence in large towns located at the intersections of international trade, while their reception was often slower and more selective at locations further from commercial and cultural centres.

The material transformations experienced in early modern Sweden were reflections of the increasing connections with the culture and markets of continental Europe stimulated by the kingdom's rise on the political stage. This, in turn, required a certain level of cultural openness and a promotion of foreign influences. However, the adoption of novel materials and ideas depended on a willingness and desire among different groups in society to embrace the new. One can call this process a negotiated response to newness, which included acceptance, manipulation and reworking of new objects to fit established practices. Some of these complex engagements are described by Anna-Kaisa Salmi, Annemari Tranberg and Risto Nurmi in their chapter on foodways in Tornio. The inhabitants of this northern town, which was established in the 17th century, responded to the new material culture and cultural impulses by selective acceptance, appropriation

and improvisation, creating an urban culture that was a hybrid and dynamic mix of different traditions. A range of different attitudes to traditional and foreign foods is also discussed by Jens Heimdahl. The methods of beer brewing investigated by the author remained relatively stable and conservative in the countryside, but might have been less so in the urban centres, which were more open to foreign influences and hosted sometimes sizable migrant communities.

The new commodities and changing relation to material culture affected not only the sphere of consumption. Material practices proved to be viable ways to intervene in the lives of ordinary citizens, to instil ideologies and new values, by the state apparatus. Through the 17th and 18th centuries, numerous novelties were introduced to facilitate the processes of ordering, overseeing and controlling the population of the kingdom. By the mid-18th century, all citizens were annotated in the appropriate statistical column; their property was measured, mapped and valued; their taxes calculated; their social position and obligations fitted into a strict hierarchical structure. The state imposed a commodifying, mechanical and objectifying view of people and nature and tried to disentangle their former relationships. The advances of modern state bureaucracy, redesigning of landscapes, experiments in social engineering and processes of rationalization are described by Per Cornell, Christina Rosén and Göran Tagesson. Maps and town plans are examples of material artefacts that visualized landscape (and people in it). These two-dimensional representations of space, produced in abundance throughout the early modern period, were reductive: they projected ideas of order and rationality, abstracting away people's intimate relationships with places and obscuring deep emotional and cultural connections to them. Göran Tagesson, taking the example of the town of Kalmar, illustrates how a Lutheran ideology of hierarchically structured society, and contemporary ideals of order and symmetry, influenced town planning, division of urban space and town architecture. The ideal sketch of the town plan and its materialization emphasized a social ideal – a society in equilibrium, where everything was put in its proper place in order to achieve balance and harmony.

The two themes that unify these chapters are the connections between material culture and identity, and transfigurations of material objects and the ideas they represented. Physical artefacts, whether buildings, house furnishings, everyday objects or drawings and maps, were actively used to project self-images, to negotiate values and tastes. They were also manipulated; fitted into existing practices, traditions and norms.

1

Tracing *Other* in 17th-Century Sweden

Per Cornell and Christina Rosén

No single concept can convincingly describe 17th-century Sweden. We suggest an approach with focus on variability to get a better grip on the socio-economic processes, and search for new kinds of connections and relations, in which we address the other; the socially defined otherness; the ascribed otherness. But we also search for Other, alterity and difference as such, in the frame of the Swedish "heartland". We focus mainly on the large variability in settlements, on ways of transforming settlements, on the making of new settlements and the ways of representing settlements.

Addressing the 17th century is no easy task. There are so many different kinds of society, of human (and, we must add, non-human) lives. The roles of European superpowers in this period were not straightforward, nor are they easy to comprehend. There has been and still is a tendency towards Eurocentric history writing, which makes us think from a European perspective. The violent history of the colonies in the Americas is a tragedy, and this traumatic experience is, most certainly, first and foremost the result of European expansion. But life in the Americas cannot, and this is important, be *reduced* to the European. The history of the Americas is far more complex and intricate, and we are only starting to grasp this interesting theme.[1] Africa was violently tapped into via the slave trade during the same century, which also had a wide range of long-lasting effects. The 17th century is also marked by the fall, in 1644, of the Ming dynasty, a dynasty which had been powerful and influential far beyond the borders of China. The Moghuls still dominated much of south Asia. And along the eastern and southern borders of Europe this was a period in which the Ottoman Empire, although weakened, continued to play an important role. It was the time of the horrors of the Thirty Years' War in which Europe became the scene of a destructive, partially anarchic and protracted era of violent conflict. This era of horror ended with the peace treaty at Westphalia, which established new political rules of lasting importance. The 17th century was also an era of technical developments, socio-economic change and fervent religious activities.

It is against this background we must address developments in the Swedish realm, a sparsely-populated kingdom in the far north. In traditional Swedish history writing, this era is often called the Age of Greatness. As can be seen from a map from this period (Fig. 1.1), the borders of the country were quite different from those of today. In terms of general politics, Sweden tried to play a role in the larger conflicts on the European continent, not least during the Thirty Years' War. Sweden also developed a particular interest in expansion eastwards, which is a salient feature of the kingdom. The end of

the Thirty Years' War was not the end of the Swedish wars, which were a recurrent feature throughout the 17th century.

Much could be said about the Swedish possessions in the Baltic, in the northern parts of today's Poland and Germany, and the small colonies in *Other* parts of the world. The activities of the Swedish army, in different parts of Europe, is an important topic, and much research on the subject is still to be done. Recently, the importance of women in the military campaigns has been discussed in an interesting way.[2] But in this short contribution we wish to address questions related to the perception and construction of landscape in what could be construed as the heartland of the Swedish realm at the time. The intention is, above all, to point to some potential areas for future research and to suggest some possible lines of investigation.

THE QUESTION OF *OTHER* AND THE SWEDISH REALM IN THE 17TH CENTURY

Was there *other* or *Other* in 17th century Sweden? What actually is *Other*? These questions are not easy to address, still less to answer. The intricacy of the term *other* and its highly varied uses make it necessary to consider certain theoretical and methodological issues. Tzvetan Todorov,[3] for example, used the term *Other* in relation to Columbus's arrival in the Caribbean and in relation to the conquest of the Americas in general. One of his arguments has to do with Cortez and the conquest of the allied states in the Mexican highland, and the tremendous Aztec city of Tenochtitlán. In this case, the Europeans were initially greatly impressed and inspired by this huge and highly regulated city, which was illuminated all through the night. Later on, the conquerors were more inclined to downplay this grandeur. In a sense, the initial positive surprise related to the experience of profound difference, as the Aztec world was unlike the familiar sights of Spain or Europe in general. It was, at the same time, something to which it was possible to relate, with its grid-plan cities, agrarian-based economies and unequal societies with an advanced political form. There were points in common between the worlds apart. With the process of conquest, large segments of the elite among the conquerors developed a rhetorical form whereby the conquered were regarded as not only different, but also distinctly inferior. Cortez, argues Todorov, was astute, in the sense that he understood the importance of learning local habits and customs, which turned out to be helpful in the process of conquest. The Cortez family became an important component of Spanish colonial power in the region, and the family held on to seigneurial power in Oaxaca up to the Mexican revolution in the 20th century. Todorov argues that the capacity to understand difference, what he terms *the other,* is a powerful tool, which can be used to be benign and friendly, but can equally facilitate a bloody conquest.

The term *other* has been much in use in certain brands of social theory during recent decades. It frequents postcolonial debate, but is not limited to that field of scholarship. In some schools of philosophy, psychology and psychoanalysis, *other* (French *autre*) was used to denominate what is common: "normality". Such a use can be identified, for example, in the works of Lacan in the 1950s.[4] The *I* develops and grows, according to this famous structuralist and psychoanalyst, in relation to *the other*, which is, in this case, the "normality" (e.g. language, structural patterns) within a given "Symbolic

Fig. 1.1 Sweden, Denmark and Norway in 1645 (map by Joan Blaeu).

Order". In later debates there was a conceptual shift, and *the other* became what is distinctly *not* normal, in relation to a certain "population".[5] This significant shift in the use of the concept is important and should be kept in mind.

The French philosopher Emmanuel Levinas played an important role in redefining the concept of *Other*. Levinas initially showed an enthusiastic interest in German scholars such as Martin Heidegger and Hans-Georg Gadamer. Inspired by this reading, he developed an argument about the infinite difference, to which we return below. However, he also became increasingly sceptical of, and avoided to a certain extent, the way of thinking espoused by these scholars; he considered it "Greek" thinking (which, in the case of these philosophers, according to Levinas, includes the Biblical tradition). Instead, Levinas looked to the Hebrew tradition.[6] He questioned the attention given to Ulysses and the subject of eternal home return in European tradition. While Gadamer talked of *Heimatlosigkeit* (lack of *Heimat*, of homeland),[7] Levinas favoured a discussion of Abraham (the Abraham of the Hebrew tradition), who set out on a journey searching for a new land, never to return to the point of origin, never to *hope* for a return. The land of Canaan is the hope for humanity, to Levinas's way of thinking. Here lies the difference between Gadamer/Heidegger on the one hand, and Levinas, on the other: while the former celebrate belonging to a known, age-old traditional intentional space, Levinas celebrates the creation of a new land. And, of course, we must add, this new land is, actually, the *colony*. Both themes – of the importance of homeland and the importance of the colony – can, of course, be found already incipient in early modern Europe. The period saw a considerable increase in European colonies across the world. There is also an interesting link between homeland and colony, whereby the colony is, in a sense, transformed into a new homeland.

There is, however, a theme common to Gadamer and Heidegger and to Levinas: the quest for a kind of "absolute" sameness. The particularity in Levinas is the introduction of *Other* as the unknown. Levinas's argument can be roughly summarized as follows. There is an Ego which is the same, in identity with itself;[8] that is, entirely coherent with itself. But there is also *Other*, which is the Infinite difference. The advent of a dialogue, a positive relation, a relation between same and *Other* which has no disdain, disregard, no possession, is, according to Levinas, an extremely rare occurrence: it is "metaphysics", in his terms.

Levinas's general argument inspired the French philosopher Jacques Derrida, who worked extensively on questions of the infinite Other.[9] Derrida criticized the idea of Ego as the absolute same, and as a coherent *one*. He looked at this problem as yet another example of philosophy of the absolute presence. Like so many western philosophers, Levinas saw speech and sight as prime senses. They are pure, and non-destructive, almost as if they were outside of history. In looking into each Other's faces and listening, there is a possibility for the metaphysical, according to Levinas. For Derrida, there is no time/space outside "history", and thus no horizon for an "un-polluted" same or an "un-polluted" other, no origin of meaning "before history".[10] Further, this history must always, for Derrida, be contextual; it cannot be completely lifted from its teleological or eschatological horizon.[11] Thus, *if* the term "metaphysics" should be used in this context, contrary to Levinas's pure metaphysics, it would imply an economy and the possibility of the existence of violence.[12] It is in this economy, by its opening, that an access to

the other and Other will be determined.[13] This general economy, in Derrida's terms, is *différance*.[14]

Derrida's arguments have played an important role in postcolonial debate and find echoes in the works of Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's. Spivak stressed the "impossibility" of communication between the colonizer and the colonized, while Bhabha suggested the existence of a "Third Space of Enunciation", a short-lived opening for a kind of communication, which often implied using cultural elements from the others as a tool or even a weapon against them. The use of the third space is not limited to the colonizers, argues Bhabha; it can also be used by the colonized against the colonizer.[15]

Derrida made also a crucial distinction between *autre* and *autrui*, which has been translated from French as *the other* and *Other*. The difference is fundamental, *the other* being what is defined as different, what is considered to be the difference in a particular social setting; the ascribed otherness. This ascribed otherness may, in certain cases, affect the social setting and transform social relations and conditions. *Other*, on the other hand, signifies alterity, what is truly unknown. Given the idea of difference in Derrida's philosophy, the same is never pure. From this it follows that alterity can be found also within our own society, and at times in ourselves. All of us have some *Other* in us, of which we are little or not at all aware. *Radical alterity can thus already be in place, residing in ourselves; it does not only arrive from the "outside".*

Bhabha has pointed, in his discussion of the Third Space of Enunciation, to the existence of an in-between field. At this point, we might recall Lacan's argument about the *Other* as the norm, and Levinas's distinction between sameness and *otherness*; us and them. In both cases, the social is understood as made up of two elements. But, as has been stressed by several scholars, ranging from Peirce to Marx, society requires three constituents. And, as discussed by Derrida in his work on dissemination,[16] there are always more than three elements (the fourth is paramount to him); there is simply a wide field of social, economic, political, and cultural variability and similarity.

Another relevant point is the question of what could be other and *Other*. The human encounter must, of course, be the focus of our attention. But the appearance of hitherto unknown phenomena can often precede the human encounter. In the case of the Americas, what the indigenous population first met of "Europe" was often an animal or an object, or a particular disease, rather than an actual human being. But we must not exaggerate the role of materiality in a *social* sense. The material culture in general may have several immediate effects, and human constructions may also carry certain human social traces. But it is mainly through the wider encounter, beyond the individual, beyond the *two*, that a deeper social effect is produced.

Let us be explicit. Insisting on the importance of complexity, of looking closer, of going into details at times, is not to state that there is nothing general, or that broader views are irrelevant. Quite the opposite. By paying more attention to details, by means of a critical perspective, by looking closer at variability, we will certainly find not only distinct differences but also more evidence of similarities, and new assemblages, which were previously difficult to observe.[17] It is such an approach we would suggest for studying 17th-century Sweden. But it is an early beginning, a search, an effort, almost a prelude to a fascinating field of study.

SWEDEN DURING THE 17TH CENTURY

It is difficult to describe Sweden during the 17th century. The country did not rely upon just one but upon several sources of power. Simple models looking at the state as the only source of control, complete totalitarian rule, do not work at all. Furthermore, there were differences over time in the relative power of the state, and state institutions became more developed towards the end of the century than they were at its beginning. The parliament convened more frequently as the century progressed; and although it was dominated by the elite, it included representatives of other sections of society, among them certain categories of peasant (excluding, however, the landless).

During long periods of war, the state depended on the nobility, compensated for its support and financial credits by landed estates. Peasants who owned their own land and who were not subordinated to a given landlord constituted a large group and had a relatively strong position in Sweden. Protracted warfare meant however that they were under constant pressure of conscription, and a large number of peasants opted to give up their independence and become subject to a landlord, which lowered the threat of being drafted. As a result, the strength of the nobility increased further. The state finally reacted and embarked upon a complex process of power reduction, confiscating the land of certain noble families.[18] The role and power of the state thus varied considerably and was affected too by conflicts within the royal family, within the nobility and between the royal family and the aristocracy. The clergy and the Church in general were central to elite control over vast resources. This group was not homogeneous. While some clergymen were exceedingly wealthy, others had only marginally better living conditions than the peasants.

Special production activities – for example mining, wood processing and metallurgy – played an economic role, and were dominated by particular rich families[19] or the state. Certain mercantilist manufacturing activities also existed, initiated both by the state and by private entrepreneurs.[20] These activities were reliant upon the work of unskilled labourers and skilled artisans, who were semi-autonomous, recruited and employed at various projects. A minority of Swedish society consisted of traders and merchants of different kinds living in the rapidly developing urban centres. At the other end of the urban spectrum were the poor, whose lives were ridden by insecurity. The majority of the population lived in the countryside. The social and economic position of peasants varied significantly, ranging from formally free peasants (paying taxes to the king), to peasants subject to landlords, to landless labourers and helpers.

Sweden was not uniform in terms of culture and ethnicity. It encompassed numerous ethnic minorities, immigrants (with varying degrees of wealth) and other groups, including Sami populations. Treaties and colonial advance extended the borders of the realm, adding to its cultural complexity. Expansion northwards is sometimes described as colonial in intent and execution, and the silver mining projects in those parts of the country are occasionally compared to colonial exploitation in the Americas, particularly the Caribbean.[21] Finally, it must be stressed that regional differences within Sweden were considerable, even in terms of basic demographics.[22]

THE DANNIKE WOMAN – AN OTHER WOMAN, AN OTHER LANDSCAPE?

Human-made landscape plays an important role in creating boundaries and can reinforce exclusion of the predetermined other. But the landscape also plays a role in relation to the unknown, and may make Other almost invisible; or, in the case of an actual encounter with Other, an unknown landscape may be of key importance. The early modern landscape in Sweden was far from homogeneous. There was, as should be evident from the examples in this chapter, a wide range of different settlement and landscape forms, and space was physically and mentally categorized. The core was visualized as a built-up area, plots with farm buildings, common spaces, cabbage patches and small pasture areas. It was surrounded by the infield area with fields, meadows and some pasture. The outland (*utmark*) was furthest away from the settlement, but still played an important role in the economy. It was an area for pasture and for the extraction of various resources, such as iron, timber and peat, but it was also connected with the supernatural, with dangers in the forms of imaginary beings. People were not supposed to settle in the outland, with the exception of the very poor and landless and outcasts. This is a part of the landscape that can be considered an *other* area.

This is not where you would expect to find a burial from the early modern period. But in a peat bog in the parish of Dannike, in the province of Västergötland, an interesting discovery was made in 1942. A coffin with the remains of a woman in her twenties, dead from unknown causes and buried at some point between 1680 and 1720, was uncovered. She was physically handicapped and must have walked with a limp. The woman was wrapped in a man's jacket, clad in a pair of woollen stockings and a pair of shoes specially constructed to compensate for her limp. Her head was severed from the body, but it is unclear whether this happened when the body was found or at an earlier stage.[23] In the coffin a few objects were also found – a clay pipe and four Swedish copper coins of low denominations.

This woman was evidently denied a burial in the churchyard. In this respect at least she was outside official society; she was evidently *the other,* in the most negative sense. She was placed in an*other* landscape; she was removed from the parish and put to rest out of sight in the *utmark.* The Dannike woman might have been considered a witch or a criminal. She might have been killed and the body hidden in the bog. However, no record has been found of her death, nor of any trial. And the burial itself raises many questions. Whatever her status she was nonetheless considered a member of society in some sense, insofar as she was given a burial in a coffin, resembling a proper churchyard burial.

The most important question to ask is whether or not this is a singular event. Could there be more cases of similar exclusion, of which we are not aware? We cannot answer these questions here. But this case clearly illustrates the exclusion and the other, and also, perhaps, provides a hint of *Other* in this woman.

17TH-CENTURY LANDSCAPES AND MAPPING

Moving from this particular case to a larger perspective, let us address map-making and landscape change. In certain approaches to (colonial) landscape production and map-making, it is argued that the change of a landscape made by a colonizer entirely destroys any prior elements. Such is the argument in a famous study by John Noyes on the German colonies in South-West Africa (today Namibia) in 1884–1915. He illustrates how the inhabitants of the region at the beginning of the German colonial project were considered as "without cultural space" (*Raum*), and how the colonizers worked hard to define, or rather create, tribal territories.[24] Noyes also gives examples of German rhetoric in conquering new territories: the space had to be mapped, "written" in German blood.[25] The making of grave-fields for Germans was also part of the strategy of taking possession of the land.[26] This aspect of the newness and the lack of communication with or respect for the existing landscape and its meanings is an important aspect of many colonial endeavours. Noyes, inspired by the French philosopher Deleuze, pushes his argument to an extreme, insisting that the German mapping project created an entirely new landscape. To some extent World System models like that of Immanuel Wallerstein similarly tended to describe the new World System as a new form, which entirely obliterated any prior elements.[27] Perhaps this kind of argument goes too far. Generally, the reorganization and reconceptualization of landscapes is not total; there are certain traces of prior forms, and of parallel developments, rests or "cinder" as it is termed by Derrida. Thus, when discussing 17th-century landscape and map-making, we must see the new, the change, but we should not forget to look for the traces of *Other*. One important aspect here is that *Other* does not always relate to age-old traditions, but can also be *Other* kinds of newness, innovations introduced parallel to those planted by a colonizer.[28]

The *Lantmäteriet* (the Swedish mapping, cadastral and land registration authority) was founded in 1628, during the reign of Gustavus Adolphus. Between 1630 and 1655 more than 12,000 cadastral maps were produced, with detailed descriptions of farms, hamlets, villages and towns. These early maps were mainly used as an inventory of the assets of the Swedish realm, a kind of illustrated cadastral register. In the later 17th century, maps were produced mainly for taxation purposes. They were also made when land was sold or otherwise transferred to new owners. These maps give us a unique insight into certain aspects of the cultivated and inhabited landscape and its organization during the 17th century and subsequently.[29] The surveyors were instructed to register in great detail the arable land, meadows, pasture, woods and forests, fishing waters, mills and other resources as well as boundaries and to record all these features on the maps. The selection of what was relevant to include was mainly (though not entirely) related to the particular interests of the individual map maker. One can note that different kinds of settlement are drawn in the same way: a small town is recorded in a fashion similar to that used for a hamlet or village. The Falköping/Kungslena example (see below) illustrates this.

Map-making introduced a new way of looking at and using landscapes. The maps were part of the collections of books, exotic objects and various paraphernalia that were "must-haves" for the ruling classes. They also served particular systems of control,

related to taxation, for example. But their production and use also had other immediate implications. Knowledge of the landscape and how to work it, and the rights to fields and to commons, were all deeply embedded in daily practices and rooted in tradition.[30] Well into the 18th century we can see that, in conflicts over boundaries and access, the oldest men in a village played an important role in explaining how it "had always been done", according to their memories.

Drawing a standardized image of a landscape meant taking out the feel, look and smell of it, transforming it into a piece of paper, looking at it from above. What was lost in the process was the connection between the landscape and the people that lived on and in it. On the ground, there were inscribed not only clearly visible features like fields and pasture but also less evident elements, socially significant boundaries, tales and stories of the past, aspects that were not of major interest to surveyors. By disconnecting parts of the landscape in its transformation into a two-dimensional image, a path was cleared for later re-makings, like large-scale enclosure and the subsequent alienation of the peasant from the land.

The map itself, the artefact, can then, in a sense, be viewed as "other" in relation to the actual landscape. But we should also remember to look closely at the maps for traces of *Other*, for the things present in them that may be overlooked yet in some way carry an alterity. There are certain unexpected features, which have been registered by certain surveyors, and these are, of course, highly relevant. This particular field of study has hitherto been little explored. What has been addressed are mainly references to a distant past, in the form of indications of particular kinds of monuments which aroused interest among members of the elite.

ENCLOSURES AND NEW LANDSCAPES

Enclosures and other new elements, such as a town or a palace introduced in a landscape, enforced several changes in the existing relationship to places. New buildings and other arrangements were sited "on top" of existing structures, which were then demolished or incorporated into the new structures. These older layers could be viewed as obsolete and taken out completely, or put to new use (with some rearrangements), but they could also be used as a bridge between the old and the new: older forms might be iterated to form a connection between already accepted structures and the new ones.

Putting new structures into a landscape can also result in the disconnecting of previously linked nodes within it. Cutting off roads, fencing in gardens or hunting grounds, digging a town dike, building a toll fence around a new town, consolidating arable land: all these force people to choose new ways of moving around the landscape. New patterns are formed. A landscape, then, can be viewed as a palimpsest where the activities of previous generations can be discerned under the traces of later activities. The arrival of other scrapes some of the older "text" off the landscape, but does not wipe it out completely.

Large scale enclosure did not happen in Sweden until the later 18th century. However, in the 17th century some newly-formed estates or old ones given as fiefs to new owners were enclosed, the peasants being forced to move out and new agricultural practices implemented. The case of Sperlingsholm in the province of Halland is a good example

of how otherness was imposed on territories coming under Swedish rule in the 1650s. The estate was formed around 1650 when the medieval hamlet of Klockerup with seven farms was acquired by the first Swedish governor in Halland, Baron Caspar Otto Sperling. Sperling (1596–1655) was born in Mecklenburg and arrived in Sweden in 1612 to serve in the army. As governor in Halland he was responsible for enforcing Swedish rule in the recently acquired province. He wiped out the hamlet with its farms, and enclosed the land to form a single estate. A manor house was erected with a formal garden. Traces of the farmland of the former hamlet can still be seen in the landscape in the form of strip parcelled fields (*bandparceller)* underlying the 17th-century enclosure.[31]

HAMLETS, VILLAGES AND TOWNS

When addressing settlements, it is important to avoid rigid concepts and models in the first step of analysis. When looking at the distribution of settlements based on certain selected variables, repeated patterns will be detected which can then be regarded as major elements of that particular cultural landscape. Not only houses or living quarters will be discussed, but other kinds of uses of the landscape as well. The choice of variables we study is of course of major importance, and will depend on certain general theoretical concerns. Among relevant variables we might mention settlement size, settlement density, and repeated spatial patterning in the distribution of different elements, like houses of different kinds. Working this way, certain traditional concepts – hamlet, village, town – will often turn out to be problematic. In the case of 17th-century Sweden, there were large differences between regions and subregions, and these differences are not irrelevant details, but rather key points, even if we attempt to construct a broader general perspective. It is indeed through the study of such variation, and through detecting similarities and differences on a micro-scale, that it becomes possible to make general observations. In Sweden, the base for agricultural activities was an individual small farming unit, but in general more than one family could operate in the same location, in a particular hamlet. A unit that was termed a "farm" in cadastral registers was not infrequently inhabited by several adult individuals, often organized in different households, often with separate housing arrangements and collectively responsible for the paying of rents. Our knowledge of the spatial arrangements in such farms and small hamlets is still limited, and more archaeological fieldwork at such locations would help to elucidate our understanding of everyday life and work. The early modern Swedish landscape was also dotted with larger villages, some quite substantial in size and population. Many contemporary towns consisted of fewer than 50 households: these have been termed "micro-towns" by historian Sven Lilja.[32] There were also other kinds of settlements, such as sites oriented towards a manufacturing activity or special production (*bruk*), for example metallurgical works. These settlements were in some cases comparable to smaller towns in terms of area, population size and built structure. Landed estates of various sizes may also be mentioned, like the large Läckö castle in Västergötland.

Looking more closely at these different forms of settlement one can notice that villages or towns, and even other settlements such as mining sites, were in several cases fairly similar as regards spatial organization. The two maps in Fig. 1.2 show the settlements

Fig. 1.2 Falköping in 1645 and Kungslena in 1650 (maps courtesy of Lantmäteriet, corrected and redrawn by Christina Rosén).

of Falköping in 1645 and Kungslena about 1650, both in the province of Västergötland and around 60 km apart. At this time Falköping had about 40 plots, Kungslena over 30 plus some crofts. In both cases we see a single, enclosed settlement area with gates. The church has a prominent location and the buildings are surrounded by fields and meadows. We see two settlements, topographically and in terms of spatial layout similar in many ways, but which represented two distinct phenomena in a formal administrative and judicial sense: Falköping was a town, Kungslena a village. One major difference between these settlements was legislative, regarding the specific rights in terms of trade and taxation in force in the two locations.

Archaeological investigations in the smallest towns often reveal very few traces of buildings, objects and other aspects of material culture. Various reasons for this have been cited, including sparse populations, large unbuilt areas within towns, and taphonomic conditions.[33] From one point of view these "micro-towns" can be seen as not distinctly different from agrarian hamlets or villages. Many inhabitants farmed to a great extent and had farming as their main source of income. But from another point of view we can see that an urban setting often incorporated certain differences as to the details concerning the construction of dwelling houses, foodways, cooking and eating utensils and gardening. Both inventories and archaeological findings show that some types of object were found almost exclusively in urban environments. A general picture emerging from probate inventories is that kitchenware and cookware were more varied in urban environments, which might be associated with more differentiated food consumption in towns; this has not been systematically investigated, but deserves further study.[34] The role of trade is certainly a possible key factor here, but we should perhaps take into consideration and include in systematic studies other variables such as individual wealth and occupation. Above all, more fieldwork is necessary, not least in larger villages. The extent of general distribution of particular material elements in smaller "towns" is still not entirely known, as is the material variation at "village" sites. Further, regional differences must be addressed in more detail. The variations between regions in general terms, irrespective of settlement type, may well be far greater than the differences between two settlement types in one region.

It is not thus always entirely obvious whether a given location should be defined as urban or rural. Several very small towns lost their town rights for various reasons: at times formal factors (population decline, for example), at times for more political reasons such as competition between towns regarding trade.[35] There are also examples of towns being moved to new locations, sometimes permanently, but in at least one case returning to the old site after a while: Nya Lödöse moved to another location in 1547 and was then re-established at its former site around 1570. What where the consequences of such relocations for the people who lived in these places? Did they continue to live as before, or did something change – and if so, what? Would it be possible to discern changes in such items as material culture, cultivation and food habits? How did older structures survive and change when a place changed its (formal) function? These questions need to be further investigated.

Beyond these issues, we could ask whether the pre-defined ideas of "village" and "town" are, in some ways, obstacles to research. It could well be that these traditional concepts are of no or of low operative value, and that we actually lack a serviceable basic

terminology. The term "micro-town" is hardly an ideal choice, for example. We probably need new categories. Starting afresh might help us to find new kinds of patterning, allowing us to develop a somewhat more nuanced knowledge of 17th-century Sweden, and perhaps introduce some unknown *Other*.

WHO ACTUALLY TRADED? PEASANT TRADESMEN IN NORTHERN BOHUSLÄN

To make things even more complex, formal regulations concerning trade were not always followed and exceptions were allowed. Trade and non-agrarian manufacture were normally confined to urban environments, but some trading, which could be on a considerable scale, took place outside the towns. During the 17th century, contacts between the Netherlands and the Norwegian-Swedish coastal province of Bohuslän were intense. Sailors from North Bohuslän served in the Dutch East and West India companies and Dutch merchants shipped large quantities of wood and timber from the forested areas around the present-day border between Norway and Sweden. Between 1616 and 1619, foreign ships visited harbours in North Bohuslän 67 times, to cite one example.[36] Sailors brought back continental goods to their homes in North Bohuslän, including ceramics, shoes, cloth, salt and herrings. Excavations have produced several kinds of pottery such as Dutch faiance and whitewares, which are normally not found in agrarian settings, and early 17th century clay pipes of Dutch and English origin.[37]

Close contacts between Holland and North Bohuslän are documented at least since the early 1600s. There were several small harbours in the North Bohuslän area but no town before 1676, when Strömstad was founded at one of these harbours. According to Swedish law only a few towns and cities were allowed to engage in foreign trade, and after Bohuslän came under Swedish rule in 1658 the trade with Dutch skippers was prohibited. The prohibitions seem to have been quite effective, since there are very few post-1658 Dutch finds in the archaeological material. Probate inventories on the other hand show that Dutch objects stayed in households for several generations.[38] These can be viewed as non-human *other*, in the form of faïence plates and fancy clothing, coming from abroad but given a role and a meaning in the rural households of North Bohuslän.

Other examples from the archaeological record indicate instances in which certain rules and regulations were not always respected. There were strict regulations in the 17th century as to slaughtering, which was prohibited in towns outside specially designated areas. However, the archaeological evidence from the town of Jönköping demonstrates fairly clearly that this general rule was not adhered to, and that slaughtering was conducted in several individual homes.[39] Similarly, evidence from written sources and archaeological evidence from the town of Nya Lödöse demonstrate that hazelnuts (a product in high demand especially in the Netherlands) were illegally traded with neighbouring peasants.[40]

OPEN RESISTANCE

Non-compliance with official rules could lead to forms of open resistance against the elite and the state. The territories conquered from Denmark developed something like guerrilla warfare against the Swedes. But resistance also occurred in the traditional domains of the Swedish king, occasionally manifesting itself as armed rebellion, but in general taking the more peaceable form of failing to fulfil taxation demands. This resistance has been addressed in Swedish historiography employing a variety of rhetorical formats.[41] In 1980, Silvén-Garnert and Söderlind entitled their book on the topic *Another Sweden.* Linde has produced a study on Dalarna, one of the regions with high levels of resistance,[42] which, as demonstrated by Lars Ersgård,[43] saw major changes in settlement organization in the 17th century. This was an area with strong and independent peasant groups, which had developed new strategies for dealing with changes imposed from outside. It was not a question of it being a "backward" area; rather it was a highly developed region that resisted certain forms of state directive, such as the organization of settlement for taxation purposes, and enclosure.

NEW KINDS OF SETTLEMENT

The period from *c.* 1050 until the end of the 13th century was marked by a significant trend involving the development of new kinds of site and increased urbanization. Most Swedish towns of the historical era (i.e. since *c.* 1000 AD) were established during this period, mainly in the south. But we must not forget that the years from 1500 to 1700 also saw many new towns being founded, mainly in the western and northern parts of the realm, including Finland (which was part of Sweden until 1809). The number of towns increased from 69 in the 1570s to 102 in the 1650s. Even more towns were added after 1650; in several cases older towns were relocated to new sites, and some existing towns were restructured according to new grid plans.[44]

The *intention* behind establishing and reorganizing early modern towns was often economic and/or military control. Locating a new town in a landscape meant introducing other in the form of officers, state officials and new regulations. But the individual cases were all different. Much can be said about the way in which a new town or town plan was received and how the people affected by the change acted and reacted: for example, the loud protests of the wealthy burghers in Halmstad when the town was reconfigured in 1619 after a fire and the reorganization meant the loss of their former prestigious plots near the square. Other inhabitants did not have the means to protest, but we can see that they rebuilt their houses on their old plots shortly after the fire despite explicitly being told to wait for the king's engineer to mark out the new grid plan.[45] In other places, the building of a new town meant rearranging an existing agricultural landscape to make way for the town, and ensuring that the townspeople received enough farmland to provide for their own needs.

GOTHENBURG AND BORÅS: CONTRASTING SETTLEMENTS

Gothenburg in 1644 (Fig. 1.3) was a young city, founded around 1620, designed to be a fortress, a harbour and a place for commerce. It was built on the shore of the Göta River, on marshland that was drained by means of Dutch technology. The city combined the functions of the earlier towns in the area as well as the older Älvsborg fortress, twice conquered by the Danes (1563 and 1611) and returned to Sweden in exchange for a very large ransom. The plan was drawn by military experts and the image and idea of the city are what we could call – for want of a better word – "modern". We may note that the map shows only the city itself and we are told nothing about its surroundings. It looks like an island in the middle of nowhere.[46]

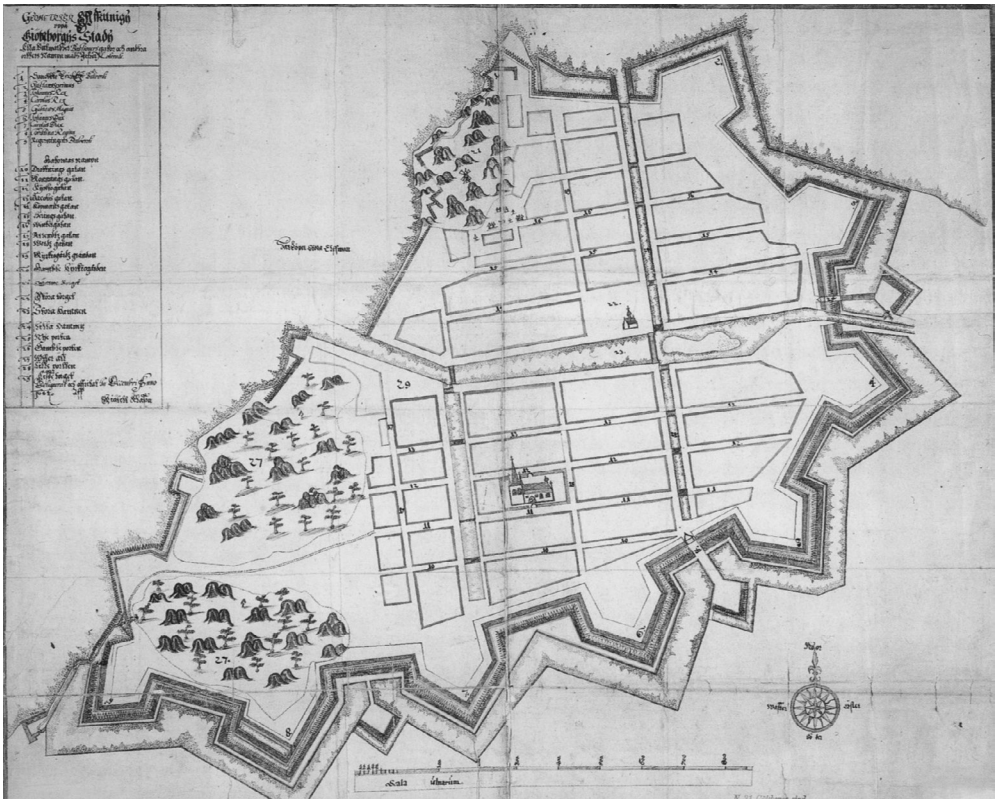

Fig. 1.3 Gothenburg in 1644 (map courtesy of Gothenburg City Museum, after Bramstång and Nilsson Schönborg 2006, Fig. 19).

Approximately 60 km to the east of Gothenburg, Borås was also founded in 1620. This town was not designed for military purposes, but to control the thriving commerce in the area. Here, a flourishing trade in iron objects, textiles and turned wooden objects took place at least from the 16th century, carried out by peasants who travelled over large areas of Sweden (and sometimes Norway, when prices were better). Conflicts between

peasants and authorities are documented, as well as complaints from the Swedish mining area of Bergslagen when peasants chose to take their commodities instead to Norway.[47] This type of trade was in fact forbidden, but commonplace nonetheless. Protests from nearby towns, especially the small town of Bogesund, in the middle of this area, increased from the late 16th and early 17th century, however. The towns wanted the neglected regulations to be upheld and the peasants' trade stopped. At the same time a growing Swedish administration needed money. By building a town and imposing strict regulations on the rural trade, the Crown would gain income as well as greater control in the area.[48]

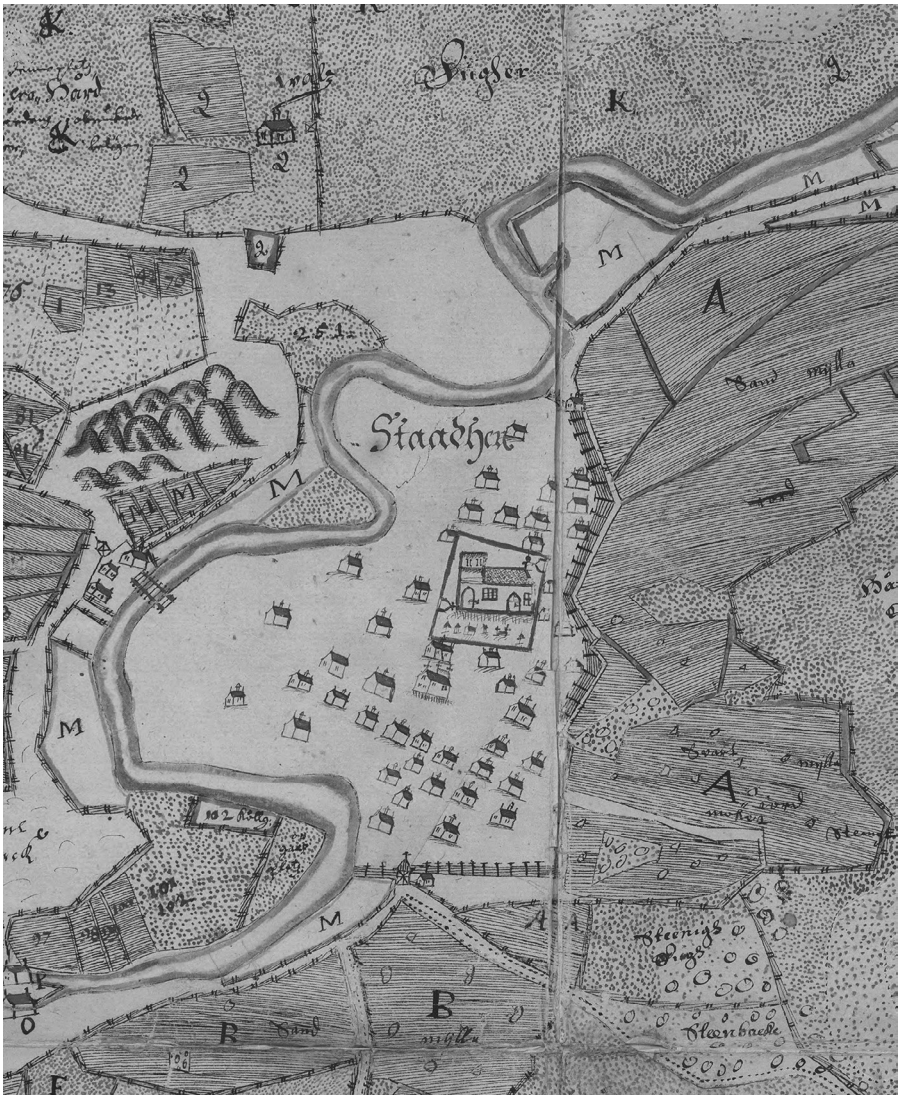

Fig. 1.4 Borås in 1646–7 (map courtesy of Lantmäteriet).