

the overriding aim: to keep the provinces under the Swedish crown. After formal integration was achieved in the mid-1680s, the authorities became less interested in following up the "Swedification" policy.

Traditionally, the Swedification of the church has been seen as a swift and unproblematic process. In his contribution, Stig Alenäs shows that local sources tell another story. People held on their old customs and traditions. The introduction of Swedish religious literature took some time and was not without resistance. The deans tried to give the bishop a positive picture of change, but in reality, many of them were sympathetic to the traditionalism of the local pastors and the parishioners and did little to implement the new decrees. In the letters of the deans, it is possible to see that they only changed their own language to Swedish under political pressure. Alenäs interprets this not as national feeling for Danish language and customs, but as a traditionalism that valued the old and "right" way of serving God.

Karl Bergman studies the encounter between local society and a royal commission of investigation in Blekinge in 1669. He underlines that the commission did not meet a homogeneous local community. Different social groups had different interests and different political culture. There was a tradition of interaction between local society and central power from the Danish time that continued in the meetings with the commission. Although people could occasionally use national arguments, for example against someone for being a Dane, the authorities did not answer in a national terminology and valued loyalty and continuity more than language and place of birth. The estates of Blekinge were fairly easily integrated into the Swedish political system, and it is symptomatic that a peasant of Blekinge, Olof Håkansson, in 1738 became speaker of the House of the Peasantry at the Diet and one of the leading politicians in Sweden.

Gotland became Swedish in 1645 and was formally incorporated into the kingdom at once. According to Jens Lerborn, its old domestic elite of leading peasant families had already in the preceding decades been threatened by growing centralization within Denmark. This was accentuated when the more bureaucratically advanced Swedish state took over. This centralization and bureaucratization did not only mean more control, but also greater opportunities for new groups to make their voices heard. As the old peasant elite lost its monopoly on communication with the

### Summary

*When eastern Denmark became southern Sweden. Integration, interaction, and identities*

This article contains the results of four studies of the transition of provinces from Denmark-Norway to Sweden in the seventeenth century. Previous research has tended to interpret this transition in national terms: the overriding aim of the Swedish authorities is supposed to have been to "Swedify" the provinces as quickly and as thoroughly as possible. In the light of modern international studies on state formation and identities (Tilly, Smith, Sahlins, Kidd, and others), the present authors challenge such views.

According to Harald Gustafsson's study of the transition of Skåne (Scania) after the peace of 1658, total incorporation in the Swedish kingdom was but one alternative among others. As with other provinces in a conglomerate state, the central power had to negotiate with the local elite. The result was the ordinance of Malmö of 1662, according to which Skåne kept its old (Danish) laws and privileges, but still became represented in the Swedish diet. This particular position, which Skåne had not had during the Danish time, merits the term "Scanification" for the period before the Scanian war.

After the Danish attempt to re-conquer Skåne in the war of 1675-1679 had failed, a period of harsh integration started. This is parallel to developments in Sweden proper, where King Karl XI made himself an absolute ruler in 1680 and introduced several important centralizing reforms. In the years 1681-1683, Scania and the other old Danish provinces were formally declared parts of Sweden proper, and Swedish law, church ordinances and other regulations were introduced. At this time, there was also an "ethnic" element in the rhetoric, stressing Swedishness as a basic factor for loyalty to the Crown. But this Swedishness was instrumental to

central authorities, normal peasants, farmhands and even women begin to appear in the sources. In terms of national sentiments, Lerbom argues that an old Gotlandic identity was under pressure from a growing Danishness in late Danish times, but that the important shift came after the Swedish take-over. Now, it was possible to refer to old customs as the "good old Danish times", and in conflicts, people could articulate an anti-Swedish Danishness.

All in all, the four contributions show that we can not take for granted a simple process whereby "Danish" gradually became "Swedish". There were changing policies over time from the Swedish central authorities, with Swedishness being stressed more in the 1680s than before and after. There were different answers to these policies from different social groups and in different contexts. Identities need to be studied in concrete historical situations and as floating processes, not as absolute entities.

## Referenser

- Alenäs, Stig, *Lojaliteten, prostarna, språket. Studier i den kyrkliga »försvenskningen» i Lunds stift under 1680-talet*, Lund 2003
- Bergman, Karl, *Makt, möten, gränser. Skånska kommissionen i Blekinge 1669–70*, Lund 2002.
- Bogren, Yngve, *Den kyrkliga försvenskningen av Skånelandskapen och Bohuslän*, Lund 1937
- Da Østdanmark blev Sydsverige. Studier i dansk-svenske relationer på 1600-tallet*, red. K.-E. Frandsen & J.C.V. Johansen, Ebeltoft 2003
- Dübeck, Inger, *Fra gammel dansk til ny svensk ret. Den retlige försvenskning i de tabte territorier 1645–1683*, Köpenhamn 1987
- Erlandsson, Alf, *Skånska Generalguvernementet 1658–1693 och dess arkiv. Förvaltnings- och arkivhistoriska undersökningar*, Lund 1967
- Fabricius, Knud, *Skaanes Overgang fra Danmark til Sverige I–IV*, Köpenhamn 1906–58
- Gustafsson, Harald, »Att göra svenskar av danskar? Den svenska integrationspolitikens föreställningsvärd 1658–1693«, *Da Østdanmark blev Sydsverige. Studier i dansk-svenske relationer på 1600-tallet*, red. K.-E. Frandsen & J.C.V. Johansen, Ebeltoft 2003

- Gustafsson, Harald, »The Conglomerate State: A Perspective on State Formation in Early Modern Europe«, *Scandinavian Journal of History* 23, 1998
- Gustafsson, Harald, »The Eighth Argument. Identity, Ethnicity and Political Culture in Sixteenth-Century Scandinavia«, *Scandinavian Journal of History* 27, 2002
- Göransson, Georg, *Canutus Halm*, Stockholm 1950
- Johannesson, Gösta, *Skåne, Halland och Blekinge. Om Skånelandskapens historia*, Stockholm 1984
- Johannesson, Gösta, *Skåne, Halland og Blekinge*, København 1981
- Kidd, Collin, *British Identities before Nationalism. Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World 1600–1800*, Cambridge 1999
- Lerbom, Jens, *Mellan två riken. Integratorn, politisk kultur och förnationella identiteter på Gotland 1500–1700*, Lund 2003
- Rosén, Jerker, *Hur Skåne blev svenskt*, Stockholm 1943
- Rosén, Jerker, *Skånska privilegie- och reduktionsfrågor 1658–1686. Studier rörande Karl XI:s skånska räfspolitik och Skånes försvenskning*, Lund 1944
- Sahlins, Peter, *Boundaries. The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*, Berkeley 1989
- Sanders, Hanne, »Pest och porslän. Regional identitet kring Öresund efter 1658«, *Skånes Renässans. Kulturen 2000*, Lund 2000
- Skansjö, Sten, *Skånes historia*, Lund 1997
- Smith, Anthony D., *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford 1986
- Åberg, Alf, *Indelningen av rytteriet i Skåne åren 1658–1700. Försvarsproblemet i belysning av det militära organisationsarbetet*, Lund 1947