Between Scotland and Norway: connected cultures and intercultural encounters after 1700

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (AWARDED BY OU/ABERDEEN)

Award date:
2017

Awarding institution:
The University of Edinburgh

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Between Scotland and Norway: connected cultures and intercultural encounters 1700-Present

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at the University of Aberdeen

by

Silke Reeploeg

February 2017
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Abstract

The history and culture of Scotland has been shaped by its relationships with other cultures across Northern Europe, in particular with continental Europe and Scandinavia. This thesis examines intercultural encounters evident in the historical, material and literary cultures of coastal communities in Scotland and Norway, demonstrating the existence of a shared, transnational Nordic/Northern cultural region after 1700.

The main aim of the research contained in this thesis was to establish how transnational cultural regions are created and maintained between Scotland and Norway after 1700. Using local case studies, the research aims to capture intercultural histories and diffuse socio-cultural dynamics, and set them in the context of nation- and region-building during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The analysis has therefore focused both on historical and socio-political conditions, but also the everyday experience of people living in regional communities, and how they participate in the construction of connected transnational memory spaces.

Using an interdisciplinary methodology in order to investigate the relationship between culture and history, this thesis utilises intercultural links in order to relate to wider perspectives of how regions of culture and memory are constructed within Northern Europe.
By examining how intercultural narratives are created and adapted in order to renegotiate national and regional identities over time, the research points to the important role played by entangled histories and transnational frameworks. As such, this thesis makes a significant contribution to the fields of cultural transfer studies, cultural and social history, but also human geography and literature, and other areas of cultural production that create intercultural affinities, identification and belonging in Northern Europe.

**Publications and Public Engagement**

Preliminary research findings were presented in local and national research seminars, international conferences and in relevant, peer-reviewed academic publications. Publications are referenced within the individual chapters and the Bibliography, with published work attached in full in the Appendix of the thesis.

To provide an opportunity for public engagement, an element of research-in-progress was also disseminated through a small book. The publication was the result of a Master’s thesis supervised by the author (Munro, 2011), and carried out as part of a knowledge exchange project co-ordinated by the author in collaboration with the postgraduate student, and a non-academic partner. The project was funded by the Scottish Funding Council through a University of the Highlands and Islands Knowledge Exchange project entitled ‘Small boats of'
Shetland’ (Munro, 2012). Copies of the publication are available to non-academic partners and the public.


Both the research and writing of this thesis was accompanied by a publicly accessible on-line research blog. This, together with social networking tools were used to share preliminary findings and develop a dialogue with relevant local, national and international academic and non-academic audiences.
Acknowledgements

In writing this thesis I would like to thank a variety of people that have helped me form ideas, suggested additional material or perspectives, and helped the development of the thesis into its final stages.

I would firstly like to thank my employer, the Centre for Nordic Studies at the University of the Highlands and Islands for funding this research as part of my staff development activities. I am grateful to Prof Stefan Brink from the Centre for Scandinavian Studies at Aberdeen University for sharing his expertise and generous help during the final stages of the thesis, Prof Ralph O’Connor, University of Aberdeen and Dr Andrew Newby (University of Helsinki) for their initial supervision, supportive conversations and critical suggestions, and Prof Donna Heddle from the Centre for Nordic Studies, University of the Highlands and Islands, for providing advice, direction and organisational support.

My thanks also go to colleagues Dr Kathrin Zickermann (UHI Centre for History), Dr Ragnhild Ljosland (UHI Centre for Nordic Studies) and Dr Andrew Jennings (UHI Centre for Nordic Studies) for useful suggestions on further reading on Scottish History, the Scottish Trade between Norway and Scotland, Scots in Scandinavia and Scottish and Northern Isles history, language and folklore in general, and to Dr David Worthington (UHI Centre for History) for pastoral support.
In Shetland I would especially like to thank staff and volunteers at the Shetland Library, the Shetland Museum and Archives, the Unst Heritage Centre and Boat Haven for their generous help and discussions that contributed to my understanding of objects, literary and oral material, and historical relationships, that all formed part of my investigations. I am also grateful to John and Wendy Scott and Jane Manson at the Gardie House Archives in Bressay for providing me with additional unpublished material and some fascinating conversations related to local fishing tenancies and trade with Norway and Germany. In Edinburgh and Aberdeen, I should like to thank the staff at the Aberdeen University Special Collections Library and the National Library of Scotland for many helpful encounters along the way.

This research would have been impossible without understanding the Norwegian and wider Scandinavian context. I would like to thank the Research Council for Norway (Norges Forskningsråd) for financial support through their Yggdrasil International Mobility Programme, which enabled a research stay at Volda University College in Norway in 2012. Thanks also go to both the Thomas and Margaret Roddan Trust and the University of the Highlands and Islands Student Development Fund for generous travel grants that enabled me to attend a Norwegian language course and access archival resources in Scandinavian locations.
And, last but not least, in Norway, I would to express my special appreciation and thanks to the international co-ordinators at Høgskolen i Volda for their support during my stay as a visiting researcher. I am particularly indebted to the various subject specialists at Volda that assisted me by discussing aspects of Western Norway’s past and present: Prof Inger Okkenhaug, Prof Birger Løvlie, Prof Arnljot Ljøset, Prof Michael Schulte and Prof Stephen J. Walton. My local case studies greatly profited from substantial assistance from local members of Forbundet Kysten, Bjørkedal Kystlag, Tysnes Historielag and Kjell Magnus Økland, who all advised me in specific areas of my research, and provided me with personal contacts, good advice and well-informed translations. The very final thank you has to go to my two proof-readers Marc Chivers and Aaron Leask for correcting invariable spelling mistakes and idiocies on my part.

Any mistakes, inaccuracies or misunderstandings are, of course, my own, as are the interpretations and opinions expressed.
Introduction

1.1 Summary

The history and culture of Scotland has been shaped by its relationships with other cultures across the North Sea and North Atlantic, with Ireland, Continental Europe, Scandinavia and North America. This thesis aims to investigate the cultural links between Scotland and Norway beyond the medieval and early modern periods by putting them in the context of emergent European nation-building narratives, as well as regional and transnational cultural regions connecting the coastal communities of both countries.

Using local case studies, the research in the following chapters captures intercultural histories and diffuse socio-cultural dynamics, setting them in the context of nation- and region-building during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The main aim of the research contained in this thesis was to establish how transnational cultural regions are created and maintained between Scotland and Norway after 1700. The analysis has therefore focused both on historical and socio-political conditions, but also the everyday experience of people living in regional communities, and how they participate in the construction of transnational memory spaces (*Transnationale Erinnerungsorte*) (Aronsson, 2009:71-90). Regional communities are groups of people that live in the same geographical area and share a similar way of life, history and culture. Regions can be both sub-national and trans-national (i.e. crossing established national boundaries). Socio-cultural practices are not always in the form of formal events.
or cultural productions, but are often found in the everyday realm, embedded in informal networks of inter-personal relations. These relationships have traditionally been studied through research into what is considered their place of origin, which can be an ethnic group, geographical territory or common language. However, cultural networks can span different places, which are located in different nation-states, and are therefore often termed transnational. This can be a misleading concept, as it does not take into account the more private sphere of interpersonal relations. Ties based on kinship, friendship or patronage, for example, are transnational when connecting people across national borders. In this, the study aims to contribute new knowledge and understanding about how regional identities in Europe are constructed by analysing the structural and ideological elements of history and culture upon which cultural regions are based.

An important aspect of this study is to demonstrate how intercultural narratives are created and adapted in order to renegotiate national and regional identities over time, but also how this relates to the social history of individual communities. As such, this thesis makes a significant contribution to the fields of cultural and social history, but also human geography and literature, and other areas of cultural production which create intercultural affinities, identification and belonging in Northern Europe.
1.2 Aims and Objectives

The two main objectives of the research contained in this thesis were to relate intercultural links to wider perspectives of how regions of culture and memory are constructed within Northern Europe using ‘symbolic capital’; and to investigate the existence of a transnational ‘region of culture’ connecting Scotland and Norway after 1700.

We can say a good deal about the ‘symbolic capital’ available to historical actors, and we can assess the workings of power in determining how widely and to whom portions of that capital are disseminated. However, social structures and mental worlds are not simply constructed by power, but by a whole host of other factors, down to the practicalities of everyday life, the psychological attractiveness and appropriateness of received ideas, and the day-to-day talk of historical actors (Mandler, 2006:281).

Following Mandler’s suggestion, the research carried out focused on two key themes:

(1) the construction of public macro-identities in Northern Europe, using the ‘symbolic capital’ of Nordic or Northern characteristics and narratives during eighteenth and nineteenth century; and

(2) the lived realities of intercultural contact using examples from local history in regional Scotland and Norway.

By combining the investigation of archival documents and local historiographies with the application of critical analysis from the fields of history and cultural studies, the study aims to take into account multiple historical viewpoints, as well as contemporary critical reflections on how regional identities are constructed and maintained. The resulting overall analysis of regional cultural histories makes it possible to appreciate the complexity of intercultural links between Scotland and
Norway from 1700 to the present, including the multiple layers of identity that arose from them over time. The thesis thus contributes to the fields of cultural, social and economic histories, but also aims to illuminate the relationships between these different subject areas, and how they contribute to the construction and negotiation of public and private identities.

When identifying regions of culture between Scotland and Norway it is often difficult to distinguish between the terms ‘Nordic’ (implying a distinct geographical or linguistic area) and ‘Northern’(implying an ideological space that can be attached to any geographical area or country). The discursive landscape constructed in any ‘Northern’ area of Britain, for example, often incorporates a variety of ‘Nordic’ links, ideas and cultural materials, as well as internal ‘Northern’ perspectives. It is therefore problematic to use the term ‘Nordic’ in the context of modern Scottish culture, as it could imply a form of political belonging that is not there. In the past European historians and cultural critics have tended to focus on conflict and tensions between ethnic or linguistic groups along defined national or international borders. This largely ignored dynamic between regional societies and cultural practices that continuously link across those boundaries. The research in this thesis demonstrates that key concepts such as identity, narrative and culture are not simply static tools which can simply be applied to certain objects of research (i.e. literary texts, material culture) from a fixed geographical or political viewpoint. So, for example, the research demonstrates
that it is important to recognise the ideological context and discourses surrounding specific concepts, such as landscape.

The role of landscape and place in the construction of cultural identities has been recognised by human geographers and archaeologists alike (Jones and Olwig, 2008, Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988), and recent studies have added a new analytical concept of ‘seascape’ as part of our geographical imagination (Redondo, 2012). Here descriptions of the ocean include not only shapes and contours of the sea states, but also technical and metaphorical notations about the place and the appearance of space structure by oceans and waterways. The use and development of markings, milestones or barriers in navigation both precedes and adds to the knowledge of the skipper. They reveal the location of the observer, and also where they are going. As the action of sailing does not involve the navigation of solid space, or a physical alteration of the ocean, it involves a transformation of place and its meanings (Redondo, 2012:271).¹ The difference between land- and sea-based geographies touched upon in the sections regarding maritime knowledge are therefore significant in that they offer additional areas for future research.

¹ My translation. Original text: Las palabras del autor trazan formas y contornos, y las notaciones técnicas y metafóricas sobre el lugar y la apariencia del espacio estructuran el vacío bañado por las aguas. El empleo y la elaboración de marcas, hitos o barreras en la navegación preceden y suceden a un pilotaje de reconocimiento que revela dónde se encuentra el observador y también hacia dónde va. La acción de navegar no implica una construcción o una alteración física del espacio oceánico, si bien lleva consigo una transformación del lugar y de sus significados (REDONDO, 2012:271).
Kenneth Olwig has examined a particular ‘Nordic approach to landscape’ (Olwig, 2003b:213), which seems to have shaped both national and regional identities in a way that differs from other European models created during the nineteenth century. He differentiates between the ‘British pictorial scenic approach’ and the ‘continental approach’ (particularly from Germany), where landscape and national identity are connected to ‘the soil of a particular area of territory’ (Olwig, 2003b:214). The Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) in which the German mini-states and Prussia had to jointly confront France, he argues, led to a national identity (and approach to landscape) much more tied to ethnic and racial consolidation.

Britain’s approach to landscape, on the other hand, had been constructed, in nation-state-form, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A sense of unity linked to territorial bonding within the physical landscape of the British Isles had already supplied the basis for a unified British identity as a state. Here is where ‘countryside scenery became valued for its aesthetic qualities and for the cultural status which it conveyed upon those that possessed an elevated country seat with a commanding view, or who had the standing to be allowed to perambulate within its circumambient space’ (Olwig, 2002:99). The differences in historical circumstances have therefore shaped the way in which landscapes and territory is conceived;

(…) as a result of historic circumstances Norden did not develop, like Germany, into a unified nation-state rooted in blood and soil. Nor did it develop into a unified imperial state, like Britain, bound by the physical landscape of a geographical body, but with a weak sense of unified ethnic and racial identity. Norden, instead, dispersed into separate sovereign
states, that shared a Nordic identity based upon a common culture and a sense of history (Olwig, 2003b:215).

Clearly, the relationship between landscape (both maritime and land-based) and regional identity is complex, and therefore deserves to be part of this investigation. Intercultural links, particularly around perceptions of coastal landscapes, are formed through a dialogue between both tangible and intangible culture. The results of this dialogue can be seen to be continuously adapted and reimagined in the production of cultural landscapes by geographers, historians and cultural heritage practitioners themselves. The overall aim of this thesis is therefore to understand these in relationship to actual situations as experienced by people living in the coastal communities of Scotland and Norway, but also to investigate the wider historical and political contexts, including the history of ideas, in the creation and maintenance of specific intercultural identities.

1.3 Form and Content

The structure of this thesis is roughly chronological, although the differing methodological background between Chapters 3 and 4 means that they use distinct perspectives and sources. Previous scholarship of Scottish-Norwegian regional trade has revealed complexities in the relations between the two countries that point to a need to break down historiographical barriers that restrict intercultural contact to political histories. Following on from Chapter 2, which explains the background and methodology of the thesis, Chapter 3 therefore begins by investigating the creation of public ideologies or the ‘symbolic reserve’
(Mandler, 2006:281) of national and regional identity building processes. This type of inter-regional contact is further explored in Chapter 4, which analyses personal histories, trading links (People), specific artefacts (Objects), and literary narratives.

In order to understand both historical and contemporary forms of identification with Nordic culture, the intercultural links between Shetland and Western Norway offer a particularly relevant and interesting example of an intercultural region (Baldwin, 1978, Øien, 2002, Newby, 2013). The islands therefore form part of a series of case studies for this thesis, with the Shetland Islands and Western Norway as the sources of many of the historical and cultural links examined.

Today the archipelagos of Orkney and Shetland are home to 21,530 (2012a) and 23,210 (2012b) people respectively. During the past 100 years both popular and academic discourses have positioned the islands at the European periphery, but also at the centre of the Nordic world, with its associated wealth of cultural and linguistic heritage (Fenton, 1978 (1997)). Local cultural identities are based around a plurality of cultural influences, with the islands providing a good example of the dynamics and evidence of a transnational cultural region. The case studies investigated in Chapter 4 thus serve to explain specific intercultural links between Western Norway and Shetland, which are situated within specific regional spaces and individual experiences. The description and analysis of local cultural and social contexts and situations in which identity building takes place during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries then leads on to an evaluation of
how these activities relate to established discursive or geopolitical boundaries. Analysing the cultural and historical context of material history, for example, shows objects or cultural artefacts as representing tangible and continuous intercultural links between North European regions.

In Chapter 5, which is the final chapter, these tangible links are related back to the intangible aspects of the identity construction, demonstrating how both intertwine in the production of historically specific, culturally constructed, spatial maps of the ‘Nordic region’. From migration and trading objects to oral and literary narratives, case studies from the Shetland Islands and Western Norway are again used here to illustrate both historical and ideological intercultural links. Having investigated specific intercultural links between Shetland and Western Norway in Chapter 4, for example, existing narratives and discursive strategies within language, literature and history can be seen to relate to narrative practices of both nationalism and cultural regionalism (Augusteijn and Storm, 2012). The final Chapter therefore returns to the evident relationships between the creation of public ideologies in Chapter 3 and the socio-historical evidence discussed in Chapter 4. In this, the final chapter returns to the analysis of the entangled relationship between public and private ideologies. It concludes by suggesting future research directions, including how the study of intercultural links can help us understand different forms of identification, affinity and resistance between peripheral communities in Northern Europe.
Background

2.1 Literature Review & Reflections

Both contemporary and historical attitudes and perceptions influence the way in which people experience the world, including how peripheral regions are constructed and represented. The reinterpretation and adaptation of the past has been a feature of human experience for a long time. It has produced a wealth of narratives that reimagine and transmit the past to the present, ranging from memorial inscriptions and literature, to cultural practices engaging with specific landscapes. So, for example;

Embedded in Rousseau’s anti-civilisational ideology romantic travellers would aim for the North Calotte area and the North Cape in order to experience the sublime solitude of the wilderness and the noble virtues of the peoples inhabiting the periphery (Stadius, 2005:21).

Figure 3: North Cape (Nordkapp) Lofoten Islands, Norway. Photo by the author.
In his public lecture ‘Loss and Gain: The Social History of Knowledge, 1750-2000’ (Birkbeck College, University of London, 09.11.2010) Peter Burke pointed out the significant social processes that have taken place in Northern Europe and across the world since 1750. Reform, quantification, secularisation, professionalization, democratization, nationalization, globalisation and technologisation have all played an important part in the way knowledge has been constructed. However, each one of these social and political changes operated within a system of ‘countervailing trends – the coexistence and interaction of trends in opposite directions’ (Burke, 2010:np). This implies that both the loss and gain of cultural knowledge are determined by a particular climate of social or cultural value which is given to a particular piece of information or area of society or culture. Within the context of this thesis, this means for every national construct, there will be sub-national dialogues. For every new trans-national regionalisation project (i.e. Norden or the European Union), there will be an invisible transnational memory space or Transnationaler Erinnerungsort (Aronsson, 2009:71)) which is either outside or directly opposed to current identification discourses.

The study and interpretation of historical material itself is part of this production of cultural and historical knowledge. It takes place in the context of what Peter Burke refers to as an ‘equilibrium of antagonisms’ (Burke, 2010:np). This means that culturally constructed currencies of stereotypical images and discourses communicate the countervailing trends during particular historical periods (Beller,
The construction and transmission of specific cultural identities is therefore closely related to the historical context in which it occurs.

The North, both as a place and an idea, has been reinterpreted and reinvented multiple times throughout history, including a ‘re-mystification of everything Nordic during the nineteenth century’ (Stadius, 2005:23). A rich cultural history of art, literature, folklore, historical and topographical writing populates the idea of the North (Barraclough et al., 2013, Davidson, 2005), with writers engaging with it as part of both a historical and contemporary reality (Francis, 2008). However, what is included and excluded in the history of the North (such as the iconic Viking period) has changed over time, in line with changes in geo-politics and wider regionalisation projects. Be it the creation of individual Nordic nation-states or the transnational idea of a Scandinavian region. The past, as a historical and cultural discourse, is clearly never static, but constantly in dialogue with the present.

With the rise of nation-state government administration during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and national interests polarising research into neat, state-set borders, it has become an accepted practice to isolate cultural and historical studies within the ‘current’ national or regional borders. So, for example, cultural and historical narratives have both reinforced and resisted imperial discourses in the United Kingdom after the Act of Union (of Parliaments) between Scotland and England in 1707. Romantic nineteenth century literary narratives locate Scotland
(including the Highlands and Islands) firmly as part of North Britain, a country where ‘the physical space we call Scotland (is) overlaid with the psychic, iconic space’ (Kelly, 2010:4). During the late nineteenth century this was supported by an equally active Viking culturology (Church, 1989), which both exoticised and domesticated the ‘Old North’, by making it part of the Victorian reinvention of the British ‘character’ (Wawn, 2002). Within an Anglo-Scottish context, this is what Andrew Newby and Linda Andersson Burnett in *Between the Empire and ‘the North’* present as an example of unionist-nationalism (Andersson Burnett, 2008:38). This term refers to a nineteenth century renegotiation of multiple identities implied by British imperialism, regional patriotism and the newly established, heroic ‘Norse element’ (Andersson Burnett, 2008:53) to Scotland’s past, which associated the Celts with the less heroic connotations (see ‘Goth versus Gael’ (Ferguson, 1998:250-272)). So, for example, during the late nineteenth century a complex system of ideas and institutions used the British state’s decentralised and flexible approach to Scotland (Andersson Burnett, 2008:42) to establish the new identity of the North Briton. This combined Scotland’s heroic Norse past with that of being part of and expanding British Empire.

The island groups of Orkney and Shetland effectively became part of this new ‘Old North’, gaining a historiography that placed them at the crossroads between Scandinavia and Britain. However, as part of both Norwegian and Scottish nation-building narratives during the nineteenth century, antiquarians were keen
to re-construct a common past evident through archaeological artefacts and saga literature. This is evident in the increased antiquarian interest in the islands. Thus the creation of linked chronologies was the result of a wider interest in the North, as well as the work of a network of antiquarians using aspects of each other’s research in order to establish individual national narratives (Newby, 2013). In relation to this national history (and geography) the Shetland Islands become ‘peripheralised’ during modernity although, in relation to their cultural heritage, they become ‘localised’, with specific cultural traditions emerging as uniquely ‘Shetland’. In addition to an emerging British national identity multiple layers of identification can be seen to develop, including a pronounced, and intentional, affinity with the Nordic cultural space as both a real and mythical Heimat or homeland. This affinity is visible both through regional literature, traditions and cultural practices, including the construction of vernacular buildings (Tait, 2012). History and particularly Norse history thus began to represent an important part of the construction of a new British-Norse identity, with tangible proof of the presence of Norse language, customs and laws in Scotland being discovered (Wawn, 2002).

However, in order to allow for individual national histories to emerge, historians on both sides of the North Sea then argued that cultural links with Scandinavia, together with any Nordic identity, rapidly diminished after the Norse period had passed. In the Shetland Islands, for example, this is said to have happened as a consequence of the archipelago’s transfer from the Dano-Norwegian to the
Scottish kingdom in 1469 or, in line with an increased acculturation or ‘Scottification’ (Marwick, 1975 (2000):15), even before then.

In reality, the Scottish Crown continued to be fairly vague when defining its relationship with the Northern Isles. This resulted in complex patterns of loyalty that divided the Scottish Northern Isles, with island groups such as Orkney reasonably firmly under Scottish rule (in the form of local earls) since the thirteenth century, but the Shetland Islands 115 miles (186 km) to the north, ruled directly from Norway until the late fifteenth century (and only slowly adopting Scottish laws, language and culture (Smith, 1990)). The difference between the Orkney and Shetland islands in terms of regular communication with the Scottish mainland perhaps exemplifies this further. By the early eighteenth century Orkney already had regular links with Leith, with a trader taking passengers from Leith to Kirkwall, but any onward travel, or travel between the island groups, only possible via fishing vessels until the establishment of the North of Scotland and Orkney and Shetland Steam Navigation Company in 1875 (Donaldson, 1966).

Nevertheless, the Northern Isles of Scotland are regularly described as one unit, and, although retaining some remnants of Nordic culture, are often represented as having been incorporated into another geo-political territory. The conflation of political and cultural boundaries is heightened by modern language barriers between the Anglophone island group on the one side of the North Sea and the Scandinavian continent on the other. The resulting insular approach to the study
of the culture and history of the Northern isles has since delegated them to the peripheries of the nation-state (be it Scotland or Britain). As a result, most existing historiographies present Scotland’s Nordic links as a closed chapter of the country’s history which, during the post-medieval period, somehow became cut off from cultural influences from that part of the world.

Social, political and cultural historians have generally respected this type of political and/or linguistic boundary, with their work taking place in institutions concerned with establishing and maintaining those very definitions. In his article *Borders in the Political Geography of Knowledge* (1997), Jouni Häkli refers to this process as the production of ‘discursive structures of territoriality’ (Häkli, 1997:9) that function as features of modern (nation) state government, where ‘territoriality has become the privileged form of organisation, and geographical imagination (…)’ (Häkli, 1997:9). It relates closely to the construction of human territories and regionalisation in Northern Europe, as well as the construction of spatial identities and mental maps discussed further in Chapters 3 and 4.

For historians such as Thomas Smout (1998) and Tom Devine (1999), the focus has always been on communicating the history of the ‘Scottish Nation’ within Great Britain (my emphasis). From its birth as a kingdom of the Scotti under an Alban king in 1034 to the sixteenth century, the Scots nation both Scottish and European has been aware of its nationality ‘almost to the point of obsession’ (Smout, 1998:20-21). This homogenous and often emotive Scottish national
image was initially based on stereotypical images of the Highlander, one of the
tropes of nation-building within Britain during the nineteenth century. Scottish
History as a heroic, regional-patriotic history provided one of the foundations to
the British Empire, but was consequently set in stark contrast to the English
Empire, which often represents all of the British Isles, rather than a small part of
it. As a result, the majority of eighteenth and nineteenth century Scottish
historical and literary studies became ‘bound up with myth and a safely remote
and anti-English past’ (Smout 1998:469). At the same time, the association
between Highland tradition and the representation of a heroic Scottish past was
incorporated into the national consciousness both via music and literature (Devine
1999:237). Devine argues that Robert Burns, Sir Walter Scott and James Hogg’s
writings became vital in the negotiation of a contradictory internal relationship
(between Highlands and Lowlands and, to a lesser extent, between England and
Scotland). However, he also admits that the lived realities of the Highland’s
present and recent past were quite separate and distinct from the cult of
Highlandism, a subject we will return to in the next Chapter.

In the field of literature, Carla Sassi, Associate Professor of English Literature at
the University of Verona, has discussed the continuing ‘Glocalisation’ of Scottish
Literature in a recent article (Sassi, 2014). She suggests new strategies of reading
Scottish texts which would offer Scottish literature new opportunities for
development. Adopting a transnational narrative would generate a ‘worldness’
that is able to be in dialogue with both ‘a revised and problematized national
paradigm’, and the plurality available outside the established Scottish-English literary canons (Sassi, 2014:3).

Historical perspectives tied to the nation-state are, of course, not restricted to British historiography, but a feature of eighteenth and nineteenth century nation-building narratives across Europe (and still ongoing). *Norway: A History from the Vikings to Our Own Times* (1998) mentions the Scottish island groups of Orkney and Shetland in a medieval context, or during ‘the migration of the Northmen’ (Danielsen, 1998:21). It then ceases to refer to non-Scandinavian links after the territorial consolidation of the thirteenth century. In practice, this means that high politics often subsumes actual cultural and economic links in historical discourse. Regions are gathered under national territories, and broad overviews and generalisations take the place of complex details. This poses a challenge when researching cultural links between regions that are (or were) part of a larger political entity. When studying Shetland’s regional identity and cultural links to Norway, for example, it is difficult to separate the analysis into national chronological segments or political periods of government that ‘progress’ from Norwegian to British, or from Nordic to Scottish ‘episodes’. Written histories and everyday life often seem to become disconnected when applying historical methods. Cultural artefacts, narratives and practices are often isolated from wider contexts, and exist as abstract bearers of meaning or reflections of underlying (national) structures. However, as historical and cultural phenomena, these practices are the products of complex social and ideological interactions. Cultural
narratives (including histories and geographies themselves) are constantly recast, re-issued and reinterpreted by different people at different times. Equally, cultural links and communities of narrative are not simply a reflection of underlying, separate geo-political areas, but continue to be significant and apparent across national borders as intercultural practices.

2.2 Methodology

As an interdisciplinary study, the research methodology for this thesis reaches broadly across the four academic traditions of history, literature, heritage studies and cultural studies. The review of the literature in the field therefore reflects both on the approaches and perspectives that each tradition brings to the subject matter, but also argues for the advantages of interdisciplinarity itself.

Local history forms an important part of the research methodology for this thesis, as it provides a nuanced methodology to analyse both cultural and historical material in a geographically focused form, and allows connections to be made to wider global contexts (Tretvik, 2004). Both Norway and Scotland’s national historiographies and narratives about the past (including heritage narratives), are closely associated with discourses and cultural regionalisation processes. These relate to actual national and sub-national political and administrative governance, but also to cultural ‘belonging’ to transnational regions. The theoretical background for this research has therefore been informed by Hroch’s studies of
smaller nations and nation-building, especially as applied to North Norway by the Norwegian historian Ketil Zachariassen (2008).

Following the approach of anthropologist Anthony Cohen (1982) the research also demonstrates the tension between public categorisation of cultural and social spaces and the private, everyday reality of intercultural experiences of people living in coastal Scotland and Norway. National or global historical processes and wide geographical areas present a challenge in terms of tracing the ways in which individuals look at things and arranged their lives from day to day. Traditional historical and cultural methodologies often make generalisations that are difficult to maintain when tested against the concrete reality of the small-scale life they claim to explain (Iggers, 1997). The research for this thesis has therefore reduced the radius of the research area to specific localities, the results of which appear in the form of case studies from the Shetland Islands and Western Norway. Through them the lived realities of many of the transnational historical links will be explored and connections made to wider, national and international contexts that affect identity formation as part of a series of historical and cultural encounters.

The research methodology applied in this thesis divides its attention between three thematic areas: Histories, People and Objects. It combines an awareness of macro-historical material (history, ideas, discourses) (Kelleher Storey, 2009) with the study of the history of the everyday life of people or Alltagsgeschichte (Steege, 2008). Along with other forms of social history, the history of the
‘Alltag’ or everyday life is a type of history that seeks to link basic experiences of ordinary people to wider social and political changes. Where previously local history has tended to study the past only in terms of relevance of events to specific local communities or areas, this thesis uses them as case studies for general trends and wider contexts. This allows history to be considered not so much as a single, linear narrative, but instead illuminates multiple viewpoints and events that led to breaks or changes in meaning in society, including the way in which the study of the past itself has changed over time.

So while Chapters 3 and 5 take a macro-historical approach in establishing wider contexts across historical periods, Chapter 4 uses examples from local history in order to focus on specific objects and relationships. Telling the social history of a piece of tangible material culture here presents an opportunity for investigating both the transmission and reception of a cultural product in specific localities, including the intangible cultural heritage produced around this object or place in the imagination of people. Everyday culture is a rich source for documenting both tangible and intangible regional links, with individual regions often developing a common identity that is transnational, rather than linked to nation-states. Intangible cultural expressions, both within and out with local communities, for example, include ideas, styles and fashions, linguistic expressions, knowledge and other artistic expressions, knowledge and techniques (Tretvik, 2011:121). By considering cultural heritage as part of a wider field of knowledge construction the research therefore also examines different examples of how it mediates
between different communities of cultural practice. This includes documentary evidence of wider cultural exchanges in the form of related archival material, antiquarian publications, or evidence of changes in use/adaptation in other periods and places (Bjørklund, 1985, Andersen et al., 1985).

**Class and Gender biases**

When investigating the creation and transmission of historical records and narratives, it is important to recognise the potential deficiencies and biases in the evidence used. When considering examples from both global and local histories available to the researcher it is therefore important to keep in mind both class and gender biases inherent in all historical writing. Political histories were traditionally produced by and for the ruling classes. Historiographers were usually employed by the head of state, and consequently wrote on behalf of the most powerful actors in the state or the church. Historical knowledge, including the ability to read and write them was, traditionally, transmitted from above, creating and mediating the histories of people in power. This changed in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, as historical narratives were increasingly popularised within Northern Europe through the expansion of the publishing industry. The process was accompanied by a further expansion of the reading public in two interrelated ways – downward, to include the lower ranks of middle-class and working-class readers, and outward, to include readers in small towns and rural villages (Murdoch, 1988).
Early nineteenth century Scotland, for example, saw a shift in intellectual leadership from clergymen and professors who wrote formal prose to novelists and essayists, many of whom came from the ranks of the legal profession. At the same time, the education system responded to the new requirements of an industrialised society, both by raising the esteem of the schoolmaster and state education (as the only access to knowledge), and by introducing an element of nostalgia when looking back to previous forms of education. So, for example, the collective memory of the Scottish educational past chose to emphasise the image of the ‘lad of parts’, the individual who escaped from his working-class origins through the classics and a university education (Anderson, 1998). As communitarian groups such as artisan communities declined during the nineteenth century, the ‘lad of parts’ ideal was adapted to suit a newly industrialised society and a stratified education system. Here a basic elementary education for the masses co-existed with a small secondary sector for the middle class; allowing a small number of talented children to cross the barrier, whilst retaining a rather mediocre education for those that were not selected. On the other hand, behind every lad of parts stood the ‘dominie’, the teacher who encouraged him and shared his triumphs. The cult of the ‘lad of parts’ therefore ministered to the growing self-esteem and professional mystique of the schoolteachers, who came to control the keys of knowledge (Anderson, 1998:273). State education thus became part of how both the state and the church were able to transmit national values and ideas to the population, but also how certain regions within and outwith the nation, were constructed.
Political historiographies were traditionally written by and for men, with female experiences included only when a woman was either of high social status or unusual or challenging to a male-dominated society. The emergence of the discipline of history during the eighteenth and nineteenth century itself was accompanied by a rise in the contributions of female historians such as Alice Clark and Eileen Power, as well as writers and advocates for women’s rights such as Sylvia Pankhurst and Mary Wollstonecraft (Berg, 1996, Clark, 1919). So, while the creation of a new, middle-class, public sphere in Britain and Europe after 1700 can be described as enlightened, rational and increasingly inclusive, it was also experienced as ‘restrictive and gendered’, as it aimed to protect literary culture and political control from ‘disorderly outsiders’ who had insufficient social or moral standing (Yeo, 1998:2).

Although conscious of the class and gender biases present in both past and present historical and literary cultures, the research in this thesis also aims to provide insights into aspects of these invisible worlds by way of social history. However, the role of social historians itself is complicated. It all too often risks marginalising women with, for example, labour history overlooking the variety and significance of both paid and unpaid work done by women both in the public and private sphere. Within historical records, women are often excluded from statistical accounts and economic histories, which means discovering new or neglected sources or approaching them in different ways. As with class biases
discussed above, the emphasis within the constraints of this research thesis will therefore be on understanding the creation of cultural discourses as ‘subject to other discourses’ (Munslow, 2000:8), as well as demonstrating the dynamic aspects of human agency (Callinicos, 2006:243). So, while recognising the role of the historian in terms of the creation and maintenance of an exclusive public sphere after 1700, the research will also emphasise ways in which ordinary people (both men and women) experience their lives and produce cultural meaning as historical agents.

**Entangled histories**

Cultural identity often hinges upon ‘belonging’ to a homogenous nation-state, ethnic group or language area. In terms of cross-cultural links, cultural identity is created in correspondence with the strengthening or weakening of perceived cultural connections to and from a homogenous centre or ‘mother country’ over time. This centre-periphery approach was developed during modernity, and has meant that sub-national regions have become peripheral within their nation-states.

Modernity was not just a period of industrialisation and modernisation, associated with the rise of capitalism, but also a period of social and political homogenisation, when cultural and national borders started to be represented as overlapping or co-inciding (Hobsbawm, 1962:21).

So, on the one hand, the term ‘multicultural’ emphasises cultural difference, often linking them to modern nation-state or ethnic borders. Equally, the terms ‘cross-cultural’, or the experience of ‘acculturation’ depend on the way in which

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2 The modification of the culture of a group or of a single individual as a result of contact with a
different cultures come into contact with each other’s distinct systems of norms, beliefs, practices, and values. Both perspectives have been questioned by historians and cultural theorists keen to point to transnational political spaces, and to undermine nationalist perspectives that uncritically accept historically constituted formations (Werner and Zimmermann, 2009). Yet, historical narratives continue to align cultural and territorial borders with those of nation-states, with historians often speaking of ‘the birth of ...’ nations, regions or cultures as if, before that point, no shared or defined cultural identities existed.

The alternative concept of entangled histories or histoire croisée reaches beyond this notion of cultural influence as a simple (one-way) reception of culture. Other methods for transnational cultural history such as cultural transfer (Schmale, 2012) have emphasised how global histories such as the history of imperialism are often entangled across national spaces in a way that cannot always be captured by traditional (cross-national) comparative methods. Werner and Zimmermann have therefore argued for a new approach which uses the concept of entangled histories or histoire croisée as a step forward from transfer studies. Here connections and relations are emphasized, and the back-and-forth negotiations in influences are considered (Marjanen, 2009:244). Applied to the sources within this thesis, the investigation of entangled histories show modern social and intercultural links as continuously crossing established state borders. This approach will add a more complex picture to nation-based research of local identities, and its historical bias

different culture.
towards national historiographies and separatism. The research will, instead, use a combination of methodologies that integrates local history within a globalised world (Tretvik, 2011).

**Intercultural dialogue**

Transnational studies focus on movements and relationships across modern nation-state borders and often find it difficult to capture the complexity and dynamic nature of these diffuse socio-cultural fields. The changing nature of historical borders and territories make it misleading to even use the term transnational, when clear territorial borders are more or less superimposed retrospectively onto a historically and culturally much more fluid area. The term intercultural is therefore deemed more appropriate, as it recognises relationships and exchanges taking place between cultures and people, rather than across territorial boundaries.

Intercultural links have occurred throughout history, and it is possible to discern trends and distinct periods which have given rise to new coherences and connections, often over large geographical areas. Intercultural relationships differ from political or economic links, in that they often ignore geo-political borders, treating them as permeable boundaries through which cultural information flows continuously. Research into what happens when intercultural links are established has generally focused on wider processes and coherences.

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3 *Intercultural,* a; taking place between cultures, or derived from different cultures *Oxford English Dictionary (OED).* Oxford University Press.
such as Colonialism or Europeanisation. However, some studies of cultural transfer have also commented that coherences can remain restricted to local areas, without affecting larger areas. These are usually referred to as regional ‘clusters of coherences’ (Schmale, 2012:np) which can be created by historical and commercial links, such as the Scottish Trade (Skottehandelen) between Scotland and Norway during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The North Sea timber trade (Andersen et al., 1985), for example, stimulated other regional trading networks between the fjord regions of north and north-east of Stavanger (later also including specific districts such as Møre, Trøndelag) and the north-east of Scotland, including the northern isles of Orkney and Shetland. Trading links here often involved repeated contact between generations of specific families at various times through the year (Lorvik, 2003, Lillehammer, 1986). This led to regionally specific cultural coherences such as the mutual intelligibility of timber trade terminology or the exchange of boat building technology (Morrison, 1992).

Regional cultural links are, of course, also influenced by the ‘macro-coherences’ of European and global historical events. This includes the way in which these events are then formed into narratives in order to shape historiographies and cultural narratives. Both regional and national links are important ingredients in the creation and maintenance of cultural affinities and narratives about the past. Although political and geographical borders always impose some sort of structural
constraint, this does not necessarily change the nature or continuity of the relationship.

Migration frequently occurs through personal relationships, and can lead to the emergence of ‘geographically diffuse socio-cultural fields’ (Olwig, 2003a:3). Instead of contributing to varieties of (national) insularism(s), the central methodology running through this thesis is therefore to use an intercultural regional perspective (Passi, 2009). By adopting an intercultural approach, this research seeks to avoid replicating variants of mini-nationalist regionalist theories (Tägil, 1995), or essentialist theories of culture that focus on race, ethnicity or language as a sole cultural marker.

Multi-culturalism is the acceptance of the cultural diversity and uniqueness of certain communities, whereas interculturalism often centres on communication and interaction between various cultural communities. The first definition could be interpreted as a modernist desire for separateness and boundaries. National identities, as such, work within the first definition which constructs and maintains cultural or language borders, from which narratives emerge. These are often shown to reflect an underlying ‘native’ culture, which is often related to ‘national consciousness’ or ‘indigenous culture’. In contrast to this cross-cultural (or cross-national) perspective, the intercultural methodology applied in this thesis follows writers such as Kramsch & Widdowson (1998) and Blasco (2004) in that it recognises social and cultural complexities and differences are communicated
constantly across these boundaries. This perspective also sees the sea around the islands of the United Kingdom not as a protective barrier or source of isolation and particularism (Sundquist, 2012), but as ‘more of a bridge, a link to the world beyond, the world of ships, distant ports, seamen, trade, politics and war’ (Smith, 1984 (2993):323).

**Coastal cultures and connected communities**

The research documented in this thesis identifies both regional and transnational cultural areas that connect Scotland and Norway from 1700 to the Present. As we have seen above, intercultural links are the result of contact between maritime centres and individual coastal communities, and associated trading and personal networks. This creates opportunities not only for further research of historical connections, but also enables the study of the role coastal heritage has played in the development of individual cultural identities.

Maritime cultures and the communities that create them are clearly connected (Holm, 1995:7-13), both regionally and in transnational cultural spaces. The sea connects communities across the North Sea and the North Atlantic: through navigation, fishing activities, boatbuilding, and flows of people, objects and ideas. Coastal communities are therefore the ultimate cosmopolitans, well connected, flexible and open to constant change. Recent studies in maritime history give a voice to both the lives of ordinary seafarers and all aspects of the interaction between mankind and the sea (Day and Lunn, 2003). This approach is
particularly suitable when investigating the way in which the coastal communities of the North interact, not only with the sea, but also with each other.

Poul Holm argues that, within Scandinavia, coastal culture has, since the 1970s, acted as one of the building blocks of both individual national (i.e. Norwegian) and Nordic (‘nordisk/norsk’ (Holm, 1995:9)) identities. This is part of the construction of a Nordic model of conflict-free democratic cooperation, with intercultural links often placed as part of colonisation or un-nordic influences or conflicts. However, coastal culture can also be used as an example of intercultural contact zones that cross both geographical and cultural boundaries.

*Kystkultur* or coastal culture is collective term for the specificities of life along the coast of Norway that creates and is created by its own cultural landscape, where human impact is visible (as opposed to the undisturbed natural landscape, where natural ecosystems dominate). The term *Kystkultur*, in Norway, is perceived in different ways. On the one hand it focuses on the life and activities in the days before industrialisation, especially material culture, such as structures and buildings (Klepp, 1992, Holm, 1995). On the other hand, it rediscovers and reinterprets coastal traditions, folklore and narratives, which have shaped our perceptions of coastal landscapes. At the root of the term lies the belief that life along the coast is not the same than life inland, or even along the fjords or other waterways that connect the land with the sea. So, coastal culture can mean a collection of artifacts that relate to living in this unique environment (where, for
example, fishing may be as important as farming), working descriptions, stories and artistic production.

Coastal culture, as a heritage experience, can be found along the coast in a range of coastal heritage museums, as well as organisations such as Forbundet Kysten, a national network of coastal heritage associations. Here a lot of work is devoted to preserving tangible cultural heritage, such as restoring boats, buildings, cultural landscapes, farm animals and artifacts, but also intangible knowledge is considered, by providing, for example, access to training in traditional craft to new generations. This gives value to coastal culture, which is still relatively overlooked or even presented as 'uncultured' (i.e. factory ships, industrial sites, and aquaculture). Poul Holm differentiates between the international and historically specific entanglement of land and sea-use by people and coastal culture as a concept, covering specific environments and ways of life along the coast (Holm, 1995:9). He argues that Norway’s post-war creation of a ‘kystkultur’ combines a cultural-historical approach with the study of coastal and maritime landscapes and their economic and social context. This human landscape is created by, and maintains, both tangible and intangible cultural heritage associated with coastal societies, landscapes and objects.

Applied within the context of this thesis, coastal communities and cultures will therefore also be approached using the category of mental mapping. Mental maps can be understood in terms of what different scholars define as structures that
define human attempts to give meaning and order to the world. The measure of mapping is therefore not restricted to the mathematical, geographical or similarly scientific activities, it may equally be spiritual, political or moral (Todorova, 2005:65). Peter Stadius (2005) discusses this process in terms of the construction of mental maps of regions and associated images and stereotypes. At image level the change of perceptions about a region’s identity (or one’s own, within that region), often follows a long process, ‘since shifts in the attitudes of mental mapping tend to slowly follow changes in political and social conditions, mixing with philosophical and aesthetic conventions of the time’ (Stadius, 2005:25). The mental maps shared by coastal communities therefore form a central part of the investigation of intercultural connections within this thesis.

2.3 Sources

Research for this thesis has utilised published work from a variety of sources and subject areas, ranging from historical and human geography, to social anthropology, ethnology, cultural history and literary and critical studies. The main sources examined during the research for this thesis were existing publications and published research documents, although relevant unpublished archival sources were also consulted when appropriate. These included historical

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4 For an illuminating review of how in the last decades geographers have moved away from dealing exclusively with the materiality of ‘geographical facts’ and toward the immateriality of historical phenomena, defying, at the same time, the rigid disciplinary borders between history (as the science of time relations) and geography (as the science of space relations), see Chris Philo, ‘History, Geography and the ‘Still Greater Mystery’ of Historical Geography’ in Derek Gregory, Ron Martin and Graham Smith (eds.) Human Geography. Society, Space, and Social Science (London: Macmillan, 1994), 252–258; David Lowenthal and Martyn J. Bowden (eds.) Geographies of the Mind. Essays in Historical Geography in Honour of John Kirtland Wright (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).
archives in private and public collections (including digital archives), unpublished theses, as well as material culture from local and national museum collections in both Scotland and Norway.

When the research has included the analysis of oral history sources and/or interviews (broadcast on radio, television or online, as well as personal communications), appropriate academic regulations have been observed. Full references to existing transcripts or unpublished sources in historical archives, private collections and other types of documentation are provided in the Bibliography or individual footnotes.
Northern Histories and Identities

This chapter provides an introduction to the historical construction of Northern Identities in Scotland and Norway, situating the intercultural links between the two countries within the historical background of the research areas and their individual national historiographies. History continues to play an important role in the construction and revival of political boundaries and alliances. A critical examination of both the historical background and the construction of historiographies will therefore form part of the analysis contained in the first part of this thesis. It will highlight the relationship between the creation and maintenance of multiple cultural identities and regional and national historiographies, as well as lead on to identify the wider contexts of intercultural contact.

Applying the methodology of entangled histories to the discussion of both Scotland and Norway’s national histories, connections between cultural identities and region- and nation-building discourses within Scotland and Norway are investigated. The individual historiographies of eighteenth and nineteenth century Scotland and Norway within British and Scandinavian territorial expansion are then examined and contextualised within the wider European historical, social and political background in which this expansion took place.

The Chapter provides a historical background to the thesis, but also touches on the connection between history and identity construction. Examples of uses of the
past in the creation of shared historical and cultural spaces and connected cultures between Scotland and Norway will be investigated in more detail in the following Chapters.

3.1 Historical Background, 1700-1900

Historical narratives play an important part in the construction of Northern identities (Kelleher Storey, 2009). Regional histories often transcend both local and national boundaries and offer a means of interrogating the temporality of such structures. During the eighteenth and nineteenth century many North European regions were absorbed into national and imperial territories, both geo-politically and culturally. These have their roots in the internal and external colonisation processes of the time, but also in what Benedict Anderson defines as ‘The Dynastic Realm’, which was defined by a monarch at its centre, but had no distinct territorial borders (Anderson, 1991). Geographically and mental, nations were delineated very differently. By examining the complex beginnings of national histories in both the United Kingdom and Scandinavia, are able to see what it meant to become part of a much larger political governance zone such as the British Empire or Scandinavia, or to move from being one large composite state, such as Denmark-Sweden-Norway, to becoming to separate countries (Christer Jönsson, 2007 (2000)).
Entangled Histories: Scotland and Norway

Political links between Scandinavia and Britain go back to the thirteenth century, which saw the Norwegian kingdom expand to include parts of the British Isles, including the Scottish Northern Isles, Iceland and Greenland (Imsen, 2014). Throughout the medieval period, the close connections between the two royal families continued, with the Orkney and Shetland Islands, for example, a part of the Norwegian crown, and a number of royal alliances between Scotland and Norway through marriage. So, for example, King Eric II of Norway married Princess Margaret, daughter of King Alexander III of Scotland, in Bergen in 1281. She died in childbirth in 1283, followed closely by her daughter, another Margaret, Maid of Norway, who died on her way from Norway to Scotland in 1290. Another marriage in 1293, between Eric II and Isabel Bruce, the sister of Robert the Bruce of Scotland, continued the Scotto-Norwegian royal connection, and her only daughter Ingeborg Eriksdottir (1297-1357) married the Swedish king Valdemar Magnusson, Duke of Finland in 1312.

After the death of King Haakon V of Norway in 1319, a descendant of King Olaf, and the last Norwegian king of the Fairhair dynasty, there followed what Norwegian historians generally refer to as a period of decline. However, while it is certainly true that Norway became part of Europe’s periphery (Danielsen, 1998:125) the early modern period in Europe (1500-1800) saw overall economic and population growth, the benefits of which both Scotland and Norway shared. It also led to increasing rivalry between European states, with Norway especially
exposed as a peripheral part of Denmark. With both the Swedish and Danish monarchies being elective, feudal interests and intrigues often outnumbered any national interests. This paved the way for Scandinavian unity on the one hand, and the possibility for the feudal nobility to secure groups of semi-independent fiefs on the other.

Derry (1979) argues that it was ‘the Reformation, not the Renaissance, which spread the most decisive changes among the peoples of northern Europe’ (Derry, 1979:64). However, other factors such as the demographic crisis following the Black Death entering Europe from 1347-51, and its economic and political consequences within Europe cannot be underestimated (Danielsen, 1998:89-103). Both Scotland and Norway were affected by the plague epidemic, which transited across the sea aboard ships travelling from European ports. Norway’s population is said to have been reduced by half, whereas Scotland, where the epidemic was most effective in 1350, lacks historical sources to estimate the number of people affected (Benedictow, 2004:145). The islands of Orkney and Shetland, which were then still part of the Kingdom of Norway, were affected through contact with the port of Bergen and other areas in the North West of Norway (Ballantyne and Smith, 1999)\(^5\).

Both Norway and Scotland share the historical realities of becoming provinces or regions of larger empires, entering the eighteenth century as part of a union of

\(^5\) Although there is not enough historical information available in the islands that would enable an assessment of both the development or the long term impact of the plague on the population at the time.
kingdoms. Scotland had become part of a unitary state with England, which had established a union of Parliaments with Scotland in 1707. They were joined by Ireland in 1801, to form the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Extensive periods of War, industrialisation and the Enlightenment all influenced ideas and perceptions within Northern Europe, and continue to shape subsequent regionalisation movements (Baldersheim, 1999). Similar to other European countries, Scotland experienced a swift growth in its population between 1750 and 1832 (Lenman, 2001:283). This, together with the rise in trade and manufacturing industries meant that by 1800 Scotland was one of the five most urbanized societies in Western Europe, and by 1850 it was second only to England and Wales. The period of unrest during the Jacobite risings (between 1688 and 1746) and the Napoleonic Wars of 1795-1815 reinforced a sense of patriotic common cause throughout the United Kingdom, as did the growth of the British Empire under Queen Victoria (1837-1901). The nineteenth century is therefore generally considered one where Scottish national sentiments were broadly in agreement with the interests of Britain. A growing British Empire created many opportunities for Scots to ascend the career and social ladder, however it also presented a challenge to a unique Scottish cultural identity.

The British Agricultural Revolution meant that the Scottish Lowland Clearances were carried out during the seventeenth century, followed by the Highland Clearances that carried on until the late nineteenth century. The Clearances forcefully displaced a significant part of the Scottish population, and together with
emigration, led to the loss of a distinct way of life and cultural identity. As part of the nineteenth century romantic ideals of looking for unity within the nation state, the search for the origin of the nation thus focused on a historical and ethnic entity that included the natural environment. It concentrated on the local traditions and customs of the area, which included folklore and music that referred to human and natural landscapes, mountains in particular. The re-creation of particular national or regional ‘images’ symbolic of British and Scottish identity in the nineteenth century thus often draw together multiple strands of Norse, Celtic, Highland and Lowland culture.

**Scotland**

Norman Davies in *The Isles, A History* (Davies, 1999) explores the different layers of history and identity contained in the mosaic of different islands that constitute the United Kingdom. He comments on the ‘one islands fixation, embellished with an imperial flourish’ (Davies, 1999:xxviii) of many published histories, noting that this perspective essentially applies an eighteenth century designation to both the preceding and following historical periods. Not only, he argues, is the ‘British Isle’ often presented as *one* island, but British history often treated in isolation from that of ‘the Continent’. This leads not only to a loss of regional historical and cultural context, but also to insular interpretations of key historical events, rather than connected to other European, or transnational, events. Davies provides a useful collection of perspectives that have shaped the way in which ‘the Isles’ are seen. So, for example,
… from the viewpoint of the Vikings coming from the earldom, Sudrland (Sutherland) – the most northerly district of Great Britain – was the ‘Southernland’. [...] In the Norse sagas, Skotland, ‘the land of the Irish’, did not include these northern parts [of Thurso, Scrabster and Wick], but lay far to the south beyond the Breida Fjord (the Moray Firth) (Davies 1999:250).

So, from being ‘the Isles to the West’ to Vikings from the eight to the twelfth century, and via being ‘the Isles of Outremer’ to the Latin-speaking Continentals thereafter, the British isles end up being subsumed under the English concept between the fourteenth and the sixteenth century, when … some of the most interesting and long-lasting changes took place in the realm of language and culture (Davies, 1999:419).

Politically, Scotland had been part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain since the Union of the Crowns in 1603, and that of the Scottish and English Parliaments in 1707 (joined by Ireland in 1801). Before then three kingdoms and Parliamentary systems functioned in the isles, in England, Scotland and Ireland. These were supported by a number of local assemblies, in the City of London, in Cornwall, in Wales, in the Isle of Man, and in the Channel Islands (Davies, 1999:448). This makes for a complex political, historical and social background, with the growth of the British Empire between the eighteenth and early twentieth century incorporating Scotland as part of ‘North Britain’, with Scots, or North Britons, taking up important positions as imperial colonisers at home and abroad.

The key historical themes of the period 1560 to 1707 in Scotland can perhaps be summed up as reformation and union (both of crowns and Parliaments). These
were followed by a period of Union in action, Enlightenment and economic change. In many ways the sixteenth century was the height of the Scottish kingdom, when Scotland was influenced by the Renaissance and had a close relationship with other European countries.

The period covered by this thesis, 1700-1900, saw major economic, social and cultural transformations in Scotland. The Act of Union in 1707, which had brought the two kingdoms of Scotland and England together into a joint United Kingdom, had been partly motivated by the expected benefits it would bring in terms of free trade and political stability (Houston, 2001:265). Alexander Murdoch argues that this reflected the secular Enlightenment values entrenched in the elite culture of those who formed the political nation in 1689. It was in this context where the union settlement was constructed, together with the semi-independent national Scottish politics that sustained it over the course of the eighteenth century (Murdoch, 2007:44).

After the union with Ireland in 1801 the London-based Parliament legislated for all parts of the British Isles (Davies, N. 1999:727). Although in some ways the biggest change in the decades before 1830 had been Scotland’s tendency to become more British and less specifically Scottish, the coming of the railway and the telegraph meant that both the economy and government could be run from urban centres in a more direct way (Griffiths and Morton, 2010). This is important from both a Scottish perspective and from the perspective of the
Scottish islands. With communication by sea becoming more expensive, economic and cultural integration increasingly concentrated on communicating by land. It meant coastal areas and ports, previously the centres of maritime traffic and trade, increasingly became more peripheral and isolated from the commercial centres. As it became easier for Scots to ‘look south’, they frequently migrated to London in order to participate in both political and economic activities (Smout, 1998:485). Careers, ambitions and power, already attracted to London and the royal court before then, were firmly establishing themselves around Westminster during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Bruce Lenman argues that this left the structure of a now provincial Scottish society remaining firmly hierarchical and aristocratic, a feature similar to other European ancient regimes of the time (Lenman, 2001:277).

Mid-seventeenth-century revolution and wars had already entangled Scotland’s history with that of England and Ireland (Houston, 2001:273). At the same time, two complementary upheavals (political and economic) shaped the later part of the eighteenth century, with changes in industry and society gaining momentum on both sides of the Channel (Briggs, 1959 (2000)). However, as the pace of demographic and social change continued to quicken, it became increasingly difficult to contain cultural change within the structure of traditional Scottish society (Murdoch, 1988). Whereas before the 1760s the process of social and economic change in most regions of the rural Lowlands was a story of slow adjustment, the decade that followed began a decisive break with the past. Just as
in other parts of Europe, the face of the countryside was radically altered and the way of life of the people fundamentally changed.

With industrialisation, agricultural methods were rationalised and a modern landscape of enclosed farmland replaced previous strips, rigs and open fields (Devine 1999:134). The combination of administrative and cultural politics, together with the support of basic industries such as whaling and the establishment of schools, combined commerce, trade and patriotism in a Scotland keen to participate in both warfare and empire-building. The Scottish Revolution of 1689 had affected the Parliamentary union between Scotland and England in 1707 in that it seemed to establish and validate ‘inherent English cultural superiority’ (Murdoch, 2007:41). This meant that, although by the 1750s Scots had responded by proactive participation in the British state, the phenomenon of Scots at the centre of British government changed after the end of the Napoleonic wars.

The wider social and political context for these changes can be found in the area of ideas, particularly those associated with the European Enlightenment, which had its beginnings in the seventeenth century, but found its way into eighteenth and nineteenth century historical discourses. It linked ideas of improvement through reason with a system of patriotic values and practices that included a reassessment of the past, often in the form of creation or re-interpretation of national histories (Trevor-Roper, 2008, Kidd, 1993). Commercial market forces
increased in significance, together with the growth of cities and new social structures associated with improvement and colonial commerce. By the late eighteenth century many Scots were profiting from colonial commerce to North America and the Caribbean, but also from service in the army and from trade and office-holding in India and the East Indies. The influence of this new commercial activity could be seen in the growth of Scottish cities and urban areas, and by the last quarter of the eighteenth century, for instance, the counties around Glasgow were ringed by the estates of the city’s tobacco and sugar lords (Devine 1999:145).

Following the American War of Independence and the French Revolution, the new political philosophy of republicanism began to sweep the nations of Europe, taking a firm hold in Ireland and in Scotland. Scots returned from fighting alongside American separatists with a new ‘American republican revolutionary fervour’ (Berresford Ellis, 1970 (2001):54). In addition, many expatriate Scots were living in the French capital, due to their political beliefs, keeping close links with republican-minded Scots in Scotland. Berresford Ellis and Mac A’Ghobhainn argue that for ‘most of the eighteenth century Scottish nationalism manifested itself through Jacobitism, an attempt to re-establish the Scottish monarchy and nullify the Union’ (Berresford Ellis, 1970 (2001):50). At the same time, however, intense localism remained the norm in the more rural and remote parts of Britain, such as the Scottish Highlands, in Central Wales, in Cornwall,

An important ideological transition occurred after 1745, which saw the last of several uprisings or rebellions that occurred between 1688 and 1746. Linda Colley notes that a developing Scotto-phobia in England after 1760 was not the product of a traditional antipathy between two peoples, but a response to these recent Jacobite conflicts (Colley, 1992 (2009):118). This series of internal wars were aimed at returning kings from the Stuart dynasty to the thrones of Scotland and England (or United Kingdom, after 1707). Motivated partly by religious motives, with a Catholic James VII of Scotland and II of England introducing rising numbers of Catholics into the government of the time, he was deposed by the Protestant Parliament during the ‘Glorious Revolution’ in 1685 (Houston, 2001). With the House of Hanover succeeding to the British throne in 1714 the Jacobite (from the Latin Jacobus) risings increased, until the last confrontation in 1745 led by Charles Edward Stuart (the Young Pretender), leading to defeat at the Battle of Culloden in 1746. The 1745 uprising resulted in the Westminster Parliament devising specific legislation to undermine the cultural, political and economic distinctiveness of Scotland, in an attempt to integrate it into the British State more overtly. For a short time the wearing of tartan was banned (except for Highland regiments serving with the British army). At the same time, the Heritable Jurisdictions Act of 1747 substituted royal jurisdiction for the private jurisdiction previously exercised by clan chieftains (Colley, 1992 (2009):120).
Although ending any hope of a Stuart restoration, the conflicts informed a subsequent ‘cult of Jacobite nostalgia’ (Lynch, 1992:336), which constructed battles such as Culloden as a symbol of the death of an old order. It also mythologised the ‘Highlander Prince’, whose journey across Western Scotland to seek a safe exit to exile was reported in the *Scots Magazine* (est. 1739) throughout the summer of 1746. Jacobite nostalgia, which represented the Scottish Highlands as newly domesticated British spaces, no doubt paved the way for the romantic literary narratives that followed, a subject explored in more detail in Chapter 4.

This period of growing nostalgia about Scotland coincides with a period often referred to as the ‘age of improvement’ or the ‘age of enlightenment’ (Briggs, 1959 (2000), Lynch, 1992, Lenman, 2001). Lynch has argued that both these terms are misleading, as it is only in fact in the second half of the eighteenth century that we see real economic improvement (Lynch, 1992:345). It is important to note that contemporary improvers used both the terms ‘improvement’ and ‘enlightenment’ in a much wider sense than agricultural reform or intellectual change. In the area of agricultural improvement, for example, this had been an on-going project throughout the previous centuries. So, for example, improvements such as the drainage of fields, or liming of the soil, can be traced to the 1590s in Orkney (Lynch, 1992:353).
The term ‘Scottish Enlightenment’ conveys the fundamental tension inherent in the movement, at once international and Scottish (Sher & Murdoch, 1988:127-142). Sher and Murdoch argue that the literary and learned culture of eighteenth century Scotland depended on a group of cosmopolitan literati that looked to French philosophers and other enlightened men from the Continent for inspiration (ibid:129). Improvement thus related to an awareness of wider contemporary events, which left their mark on the intellectual, social and economic history of individual nations, but also served as a catalyst to internal changes.

The historical period covered by this thesis saw large European conflicts such as the Seven Years War (1756-1763) and the prelude and effects of the French Revolution. Other events, further afield, such as the American Revolutionary Wars (1775-1783) and an unsuccessful Irish Independence Movement (1798) provided a destabilising context to the new ‘North Britons’ (although bringing Ireland into the Union in 1801). The economic benefits of Union, which had begun to emerge only in the 1740s in tangible form, were inhibited by these overseas wars. So, for example, the above mentioned transatlantic trade, a source of the newfound prosperity of the Glasgow tobacco lords, was thrown into jeopardy with the 1776 American Revolutionary War (Lynch, 1992:346).

Within this rapidly changing historical context, Scottish ‘men of letters’ negotiated their identities as inhabitants of a nation that was not a nation-state. They combined being a citizen of the world with, depending on circumstances,
both being Scottish nationalists and British patriots. This also applied to regional identities within Scotland. Scottish Highlanders, for example, referred to by eighteenth century commentators such as Samuel Johnson as ‘warlike’ and ‘thievish’ (Johnson, 1791), were able to reinvent themselves, through the notion of the Highland military image, which accommodated both their multiple identities as Gaels and Scots, but also that of being British.

Gaels who negotiated the demarcation of territory imposed by London and Edinburgh had already proven difficult to define in terms of nationality. As Aongas MacCoinnich notes when discussing cultural identity in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Scottish Gaidhealtachd (MacCoinnich, 2002), all the evidence suggests that a certain flexibility already existed. So, for example, in April 1594, James Macdonald of Glens in Ireland came to Edinburgh and was knighted by James VI. A contemporary description produced at the Scottish Court stated: ‘This Sir James wes ane Scottis man of bluid, albeit his landis lyis in Yrland. He was ane braw man of persone and behaviour, bot had nocht the Scottish tong, nor na language bot Eirse’ (MacCoinnich, 2002:136). This may be a typical example of the centre, when it suited its own purposes, ready to accept the multiple cultural identities it normally viewed negatively.

However, multiple identities within institutions were also of quite a temporary nature. In the pursuit of a Greater Britain, Scottish institutions and laws were progressively delegated to minority establishments, with new British legislation
covering new areas such as working conditions and healthcare established in the early nineteenth century. Intellectual enquiry and moral betterment of the clubs, Assembly Rooms and journals of the early eighteenth century turned to party politics by the second half of the eighteenth century.

The North British option, originally conceived as polite society without ‘vulgar’ Scotticisms, while remaining distinctively Scottish in both its range of ideas and its common methodology, had gone. A new synthesis, able to accommodate itself to a more uniform British culture, had to be devised (Lynch, 1992: 350).

It is worth discussing the short-lived concept of the North Briton created during the late eighteenth century here, as it shows the impact of various contemporary European movements and events. In response to an emerging English nationalism, as well as the post-1770 onset of a sense of Jacobite nostalgia demanding a return to the spirit of the golden years of the 1750s (Lynch, 1992:345), the short-lived concept of the North Briton was constructed. This form of national identity combined the imperial aspirations of many Scots with the more heroic aspects of Scottish history, while leaving behind the perceived less desirable features of Scots identity. Amongst the victims of this cropping of identity was the Gaelic and, to some extent, Scots languages. The narrative of the North Briton gave rise to the now popularised conception of Scottish history as consisting of ‘vague, romantic myths about clans and tartans, poets and Pretenders’ (Houston and Whyte, 1989 (2005): 1). However, at the same time, the concept of ‘Highlandism’ was created and adopted as a Scottish identity during that period.
As Scotland's social classes changed, social relationships were reorganised around industrialised production and new technologies (Morris, 1990). Within Scotland, a ‘mythical’ perspective developed, that idealized and simplified certain aspects of Scottish society, but also adjusted them to remain in the past, in order to suit contemporary conditions (Kidd, 1993). So, for example, the Scottish education system was still to retain its distinctiveness ‘against the persistent threat of assimilation and ‘Anglicization’’ (Anderson, 1998:272). The adoption of tartan, plaid and other Highland traditions by the Lowland upper and middle classes of Scotland became a feature of a late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. It marked the re-creation of a new Scottish identity through a new and fashionable traditionalism amongst landowners, who simultaneously engaged in the breaking up of the real Highland society through the clearances (Devine, 1999:236). With the Enlightenment rationale of David Hume charting human development from barbarity to refinement, many men of letters began to consider themselves as successful end-products of the Union between England and Scotland. As a result by 1750 most thinking Scots were happy to consider themselves as both British and Scots (Lynch, 1992:343). This means that the political Union did not remove the distinctive identity of either partner or the internal cultural distinctions made within Scotland (Whyte, 1995:298).

Culturally, the two faces of the Enlightenment are never better illustrated than in the ambiguity with which the Edinburgh literati viewed Highland society. With it, the standard North Briton view of a primitive, papist society was still part of
official government propaganda during (and after) the 1745 Jacobite risings (Lynch, 1992:362).

The deliberate adoption of elements of Highland culture very different from the social and economic realities of the majority of the Highland population marks the beginning of the heritage industry we are now familiar with. Cultural identities were (and still are) useful sites for cultural encounters and transformations. The concept of the North Briton was useful at the time, in that it incorporated both the interests of the landed society, and the aspirations of the growing merchant and tradesman class. Highlandism provided a meeting point between the conservative parts eighteenth century aristocratic society concerned with duty and manners, and that of merchant landlords and traders increasingly concerned with capital and trade. Lynch suggests a connection between the eighteenth century development of the enlightened ‘polite society’ of the literati and enlightened thought and the increasing anxiety of what was still a highly aristocratic society. People were still deeply preoccupied with the role of ‘public men’ and their duties to improve politics, the economy and manners (Lynch, 1992:346). This did not change until the nineteenth century, with a society increasingly based on trade and capital, rather than duty and manners.

The Shetland Islands

A well-documented example of both connected cultures and intercultural encounters between Scotland and Norway are the Shetland Islands. Due to their
geographical location, the inhabitants of the Shetland Islands have historically been able to take advantage of one of Europe’s richest fishing grounds and the maritime trading routes crossing the North Sea. The islands have long been at the centre of maritime migration and trading routes, and have a complex history of interaction with both Scotland and Norway, which has produced a set of historical narratives or historiographies particularly relevant to this thesis.

The Orkney and Shetland Islands (often referred to as the Scottish Northern Isles) are two archipelagos in the North East Atlantic, with Shetland forming the most northerly island group in the British Isles. The Shetland Islands, from where the large part of case studies for this thesis are taken, are a 360 km distance from Norway to the east, 365 km from the Faroe Islands, 338 km from Aberdeen (the main port for a daily ferry service between Scotland and Shetland), and 957 km from London (Shetland Islands Council, 2012). The islands have been inhabited since around 4320BC, with Mesolithic and Neolithic traces of human activity found in the South Mainland. The islands were first settled from the south, via the Orkney Islands and beyond, and colonised by Norse settlers from around 800AD (Coull, 1996a, Fojut, 2006). After Scandinavian settlement the islands are said to have experienced a ‘Scotto-Norse’ period, which lasted from the fifteenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth century (Smith, 1978:24), after which time direct contact with Norway officially comes to an end. However, the early modern era from the beginning of the fifteenth century onwards also brought
increasing contact with European traders, particularly with the Hanseatic trading areas of Bergen, Hamburg and Bremen (Zickermann, 2013a).

Both the Shetland and Orkney Islands were part of a kingdom that united Denmark, Norway and Sweden until the islands were transferred to Scotland as part of a royal wedding dowry in 1469 (Crawford and Ballin Smith, 1999, Crawford, 1983:32-48). But, although part of the United Kingdom and Scotland for the past 500 years, aspects of Shetland’s cultural heritage continue to be linked to a Nordic cultural region (Donaldson, 1990). Tangible and intangible intercultural links, particularly with Norway, have persisted throughout the 500 years since the archipelago’s political transfer to the Anglo-Scottish realm. These are frequently remembered at civic events, with both British and Norwegian representatives invited alongside each other. So, for example, the opening of the Shetland Museum and Archives saw both Queen Sonja of Norway and Prince Charles and Camilla in attendance (Shetland News, 2007). In 2012 the new Scalloway Museum was opened by the Norwegian Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberge on Norway’s National Day (17 May) (Riddell, 2012).

In West Over Sea Jon Leirfall notes that ‘the impression often given in Norwegian history is that the islands had already been lost when they were mortgaged – that they had become completely ‘scoticized’ and that their surrender was no great loss’ (Leirfall, 1979:113). From the other side of the North Sea, historian Brian Smith, in Shetland’s Northern Links, Language and History comments that ‘By
1700 the traffic between Norway and Shetland must have been very slight indeed, and the cultural links, other than antiquarian ones, correspondingly tenuous’ (Smith, 1996:35). This suggests a decrease and even loss in contact between the islands and one of their nearest geographical neighbours. Nevertheless, and as discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, there is also a continuing cultural affinity between Scotland and the Nordic countries, and with Norway in particular. This is often expressed in the way the islands of Orkney and Shetland are represented as a Nordic outpost of the United Kingdom, with the northern islanders of today still feeling ‘a distinct affinity with Norway as opposed to mainland Scotland’ (Magnusson, 1980:251).

**Norway**

Politically, Norway became part of a Dano-Norwegian kingdom through the Union of Kalmar in 1397, which united the three kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Norway (Dyrvik, 1999, Wærdahl and Crozier, 2014). Previous to that, there had been a Norwegian-Swedish communal king or *kongefellesskap* (1319-1350). With the Norwegian-Swedish king barely three years old, it had meant a continuing independence for Norway as an self-governing Dano-Norwegian region (Helle, 2003). However, within the union of the three kingdoms of Norway, Sweden and Denmark after 1397, Danish political dominance reduced the roles of both Norway and Sweden. Traditionally, Norwegian historians have described the period following 1536, which saw Norway incorporated as a Danish province as one of decline and fall (Derry, 1968 (1957):68), a period where
Norway had ‘no history’ (Boyesen, 1886 (1900):476). Both Boyesen and Derry argue that the absence of a strong national monarch or governance in Norway, particularly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries allowed for the rise of an increasingly powerful league of German Hanse merchants that dominated Norwegian trade. This has been recognised as a problematic interpretation by contemporary historians, as it concentrates on a very narrow concept of Norway as an independent nation, and attaches simplified and derogative national characteristics to other Northern European nations (Imsen, 2014). This simplified history of Scandinavia, which presents the year 1319 as the end of Norwegian independence, is instead referred to as being part of a republic of Dano-Norwegian noblemen or *adelsrepublic* (1319-1331/32), which was by no means an all-encompassing or strictly defined entity (Moseng et al., 1999 (2007)).

After the official relocation of the Dano-Norwegian royal administration to Copenhagen in 1398, Norway was governed as part of a larger territory. However, internal wars such as the 1434 conflict with Sweden meant that the union lost stability, with Sweden leaving the union under Gustav Eriksson (Vasa) in 1523, effectively ending the Kalmar Union ((Moseng et al., 1999 (2007):336-337). So the years 1537-1660 were characterised by reformation, and the overall political dominance of Denmark within the continuing Dano-Norwegian union. Both had significant impacts on Norway’s social, economic and cultural development. After a period of adjustment, Norway became increasingly integrated into a growing Dano-Norwegian state after 1500, with Danish
becoming the dominant language between state officials from 1450. This included taking part in European conflicts, particularly the Northern Wars (1554-1721), but also developing industries such as the lumber industry and mining (Moseng et al., 2003 (2012):204). A growth in population followed, and as in other parts of Europe, some Norwegian towns became larger and urbanised. So, for example, a silver mine at Kongsberg in 1624 owned by the Dano-Norwegian Crown from 1683 meant the establishment of a town for the 4,000 miners employed there, together with building of the very first carriage road (Derry, 1968 (1957):96). Other mines followed, such as the opening of the Røros copper mine in 1644, which remained active until 1977. In 1769 a census showed that Norway had a population of 728,000, with the largest town, Bergen, having a population of 14,000, rising to 18,100 in 1801 (Dyrvik, 1999:202).

Laws became increasingly based on Danish requirements and practices. Ståle Dyrvik (1999) describes a development from domain state (domenestat) to tax state (skattestat) during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. This meant a transition (for Norway) from being a remote domain to becoming actively involved in supporting Denmark-Norway’s territorial expansion or disputes, both via taxes and military personnel (Dyrvik, 1999:43-58). The period from 1625-1720, for example, consisted of a series of seven shorter and longer wars, and the longest period of war in Nordic history, with Sweden as the main enemy. The last in a series of conflicts between 1660 and 1720 came with the Great Northern War between Denmark-Norway and Sweden (Dyrvik, 1999:164-168).
Dyrvik contrasts this period with the Early Modern Period from 1500-1800 in Britain. Here a period of stable political systems formed during a series of crises during the seventeenth century, which prepared the way for the rapid social and economic change of industrialisation from the 1780s onwards. The main political tendencies in Norway during this period centre on four important points (Dyrvik, 1999:245):

1. growth of population and food supply
2. development of a stronger state and institutions
3. consolidation of a Norwegian social elite
4. foundations of a Norwegian national state.

1687 saw the establishment of a legal code bringing Norwegian law in line with Danish jurisprudence (*Norske Lov*). Significantly, and although it replaced fines with capital punishment and prohibited peasant-owned saw mills, the Norwegian land law, including odal right, was retained, together (and very different from Danish law) with the maintenance of safeguards for tenants against landowners. (Derry, 1968 (1957):103). This is an interesting difference to the Scottish Northern Isles, where the seventeenth century saw Norwegian odal/udal laws brought in line with Scottish land laws, which reduced the safeguards for tenants against landowners (Sellar, 2000).

Dano-Norwegian politics between 1720 and 1814 can be described as one of economic and social integration or *heilstatspolitikken*, although centralised power was, to some degree decentralised, with regional laws and regulations responding to local conditions (Bull and Maliks, 2014). The Treaty of Kiel in 1814 meant that Denmark ceded mainland Norway to Sweden, with the Swedish king
accepting the constitution drawn up by the Norwegian constitutional assembly or Storting. In practice, this formed the basis for increased autonomy for Norway, with a Bank of Norway established in 1816, and a flourishing agriculture and timber industry from the 1840s onwards. From a Danish perspective, the integrating state or heilstat meant the creation of an Oldenburg state-model. This concentrated on the bringing together of kingdom, smaller lordships and other smaller territories under one feudal monarch (Kouri and Olesen, 2016). For Norway this meant a political programme of centralising power in Denmark, rather than on Norwegian territory.

As in Britain, Dano-Norwegian integration or homogenisation strategies coincided with a period of mercantilism, which saw economic gain increasingly as a way to wealth and power (Dyrvik, 1999:167). This led to the development of trading monopolies from the seventeenth century onwards, including the regulation of imports and exports along the Norwegian coast. So, for example, Bergen merchants had a monopoly to trade with Finnmark in Northern Norway since 1680 (although controlled by three merchants from Copenhagen), and Iceland (with trading rights transferred to a company in Copenhagen in 1733), and from 1721 also with Greenland (also transferred to private merchants in Copenhagen in 1729) (Dyrvik, 1999:168). With the official separation from Denmark in 1814, Norway gained a new partner in Sweden, which changed the institutional and political landscape. This made it possible for the changing economic and social structures to grow and access political power, an unavailable
option previously, making a connection between nation and state. Interestingly, during the 1807-14 war the future of Norway was seen either in a union with Sweden or under the protection of Britain. The Napoleonic war can therefore be seen as effectively accelerating Norwegian independence (Dyrvik, 1999:268).

Dutch and Scottish Periods

In terms of previous intercultural historical links, Norwegian history features both a Dutch and a Scottish period (Sogner and Opsahl, 2003:297-315). Christian V had unsuccessfully attempted to ‘replace foreign by native manufacturers’ (Derry, 1968 (1957):104) by setting up a new college of officials and employing a director of commerce from Holstein. Nevertheless, it was not the Norwegian peasantry that were involved in industry and the new economic prosperity, it was Danes, Germans, Dutch and British (including Scots) that were attracted to trade and enterprise in Norway.

The Dutch period (1550-1750) or Hollendartida (Løyland, 2012) is connected mainly with a triangular trade in timber, dried fish, grain and commodities to and from the Norwegian port of Bergen, but also along the whole coast of Norway. Earlier contacts such as the Hanseatic trading networks into Europe and the Baltic are an excellent starting point to look at the development of cultural communities around trading posts. Evidently, this network of small trading centres increased quite considerably during the eighteenth century, stimulated in a great part by migrants to the region. The Scottish Trade (1680-1800) (Lillehammer 1986:97-
111) or *Skottehandelen* (1450-1759) (Heggland, 2012, Heldal, 2007) continued and expanded previous exports of timber and wooden items from the west coast of Norway to Scotland. It also connected with an existing (Hanseatic) triangular trade between the Netherlands/Northern Germany, Norway and the British Isles, which concerned the trade of dried fish in exchange for commodities from mainland Europe (Mehler et al., 2013).

Historical descriptions of a local variant of a feudalism (itself a term only known since the eighteenth century\(^6\)), a Europe-wide medieval social system in which local landlords (rather than king) held both financial and social power, shows the way in which the Danish Empire successfully maintained its power base through decentralisation. Still, the period between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries saw growing trade and commerce in Norway, with main exports from seventeenth century Norway being fish, timber, iron ore and copper. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, the historical and cultural links resulting from participating in cosmopolitan trading communities that included Hanseatic, Dutch and Scottish merchants, also resulted in innovation and improvements within the Norwegian regional trade, rather than decline. Commercial and social contacts often intertwined, contributing to Norway’s cultural and economic development, especially after 1700.

Within the context of this thesis, it is important to note that contact between Scottish and Norwegian ports were quite varied, according to regional contacts on both sides. For example, a comparison between the situation in Ryfylke and conditions in Sunnhordland shows that the two areas were connected to quite different parts of the Scottish coast. Ryfylke had particular contact to the many small towns or burghs in Fife, between the Forth of Tay and Forth of Firth, whereas Sunnhordland had stronger contact with areas further north in Scotland, not least the old Norwegian tax countries Orkney and Shetland (Lillehammer, 2001).

The histories between Scotland and Norway can thus be seen as an example of entangled histories or *histoire croisée*, where numerous parallels, connections and relations can be found. Following both the early and modern negotiations and relationships between the two countries will therefore enable us to consider the influences these historical links have had (Marjanen, 2009:244). Culturally, the partial re-creation and enactment of specific aspects of Highland cultural activity amongst the British ruling classes, such as dressing in the kilt or organising the Highland Games, also connect with wider European contexts of national romantic movements\(^7\). The important difference between Scotland and Norway is perhaps that this was done with the aim to demanding equality within the union, such as retaining religious and educational institutions, rather than with the expressed aim

\(^{7}\) Queen Victoria attended her first Highland Games in 1848, and kilts also featured at the Paris Exhibition of 1889.
to provide a parliamentary challenge by seeking to establish an independent nation state.

This section has examined the historical background for this thesis as well as demonstrated the important role played by historians and historiographies in the construction of political and cultural boundaries and alliances. It has shown the way in which intercultural links have been captured, translated and recontextualised within the national historiographies of Scotland and Norway. The analysis has also started to highlight the relationship between the creation and maintenance of multiple cultural identities and regional and national historiographies, as well as identified some of the impacts of intercultural links on this process. Intercultural links have both a tangible and intangible presence within region- and nation-building narratives. Both Scotland and Norway’s national narratives use aspects of a shared Nordic past in the construction and maintenance of individual (national) cultural identities. The next section will investigate how this historical context has been used to create specific cultural identities across time and place.

3.2 Chronologies and Geographies

The eighteenth-century French physician Jacques Barbeu Du Bourg referred to geography and chronology as the two eyes of history (Wainer, 2005:50). No doubt recalling Du Bourg, David MacPherson, in his 1796 preface to
Geographical Illustrations of Scottish History comments that, ‘If … Geography is one of the eyes of history, it may with great truth be affirmed, that the history of Scotland has in all ages been blind of at least one eye’ (Withers, 2001:248).

History, geography, science and the construction of regional and national identities became even more closely intertwined during the Enlightenment, and as MacPherson’s contemporary comment shows, were seen as essential parts of Scotland’s history and spatial identity. Whereas geographical knowledge of the world had previously been presented to public audiences through a variety of means such paintings, symbolic pageantry, atlases and manuscripts, the activities of antiquarians and naturalists widened an interest in, and access to, knowledge about the past. The rise of regional topographical literature during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries especially popularised the use of maps, which, with printing technology, were also increasingly available to a wider audience. One particular feature of this type of literature about the past, chorography, also became a significant source of regional and national identity, with both writers and readers able to create a new, personal relationship between landscape, history and people.

The role of Chorography

Chorography, at its most basic level, is about the representation of space and place. It has a fundamental focus on representation, which suggests and leads to an inherently multi-media approach that incorporates both image and text. Chorographical material therefore often includes written description, together
with multiple modes of visualization, in a codified performance that unites textual
and visual evidence available to the map reader of the time. Chorography, or the
writing about place (from the Greek khoros = place, graphein = writing) is the
geographical description of regions. The ancient geographers Ptolemy and
Pomponius Mela were chorographers. In his text of the Geographia (2nd century
CE) Ptolemy defines geography as the study of the entire world. Chorography, on
the other hand, is the study of its smaller parts, such as provinces, regions, cities,
or ports.

Chorographical practice and vision were revived during the fifteenth century,
referring both to the descriptions of particular regions and representations of place
through mapping. Chorography, as a description of place, is therefore separate to
Chronology, which is the description of time (Helgerson, 1986). In the English-
speaking world, chorography came to be associated with antiquarian descriptions
and reports, but also county or provincial maps, the visual representation or
illustrations that often accompany antiquarian and topographical descriptions.
During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the term chorography was slowly
superseded by topography or cartography, although its characteristic approach
remained current and relevant (Rohl, 2011:3). So, for example, Samuel Johnson’s
Dictionary of the English Language (1755) already makes a distinction between
geography, chorography and topography. He defines chorography as ‘the art or
practice of describing particular regions, or laying down the limits or boundaries
of particular provinces’ (Johnson, 1785:379), placing it as a practice somewhere
between geography and topography. As Darrel Rohl explains, chorographic thinking continued, especially in the activities of Scottish antiquarians, who produced maps as part of a series of chorographical activities during the eighteenth century (Rohl, 2011:6).

**The Idea of the North**

The transformation of the image of the North within Northern Europe has close connections to the reformation and consequent changes in the history of ideas. Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth century presents a picture of conflict and change, but also continuity. One important factor in the desire for the development of distinct and homogenous nations can be found in the rationalisation of ‘the other’ which, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, manifests itself most obviously in the presence of conflicts about territory, particularly wars between France and both British and Scandinavian rulers. These conflicts affected all of Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, starting with the Thirty Year War (1618-1648) and the Great Northern War (1700-1721), continuing with the Seven Year War (1756-1763), the French Revolutionary Wars (1792-1802) to the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815). Each of these wars in some way redefined social, economic and political contacts between Northern Europeans, with existing links between cultures and ways of life both disrupted and transformed.
Britain's separation from the rest of Europe is here often taken for granted, with British historians often presenting their nation’s history as exceptional and different from the Continent (Colley, 1992 (2009)). In recent years an emphasis on the British Atlantic world (Armitage and Braddick, 2002 (2009)) and other imperial aspects of British history, and on the importance of the nation and national identity, has made Britain and Ireland seem even more distant from the rest of Europe. Yet, although both Britain and Ireland were part of a much wider imperial and colonial network, connections with the rest of Europe, and in particular with nearby Nordic neighbours, cannot be underestimated. In terms of the construction of Northern European identities, and as Stephen Conway acknowledges in his study of Britain, Ireland and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century (2011), although both British and Irish thought and acted in national terms, they were also able to see themselves as Europeans.

Through education and cultural activities such as the Grand Tour, particularly the British upper and emerging middle classes were, in fact, encouraged to think of themselves as part of a cosmopolitan European society. This encompassed a shared commitment to the law of nations, especially during warfare, which involved confronting other states on the continent, but still referred back to a common, internationally accepted military system. Similarly, the construction of regional and national identities responded to wider movements in European thought, such as the change in how the European North (and regions within it) was perceived. During the eighteenth century the North, as an idea, underwent an
improvement in terms of how people (in the South) perceived it and incorporated it into their private and public perceptions. Traditionally seen as a barbarian and unrefined counterpart to the civilisation heartland of Europe, the North increasingly defined what was seen as truly European (Stadius, 2001). This was mainly due to an Enlightenment discourse that would find its ideological counter-image in the baroque and Catholic south. Whereas Montesquieu’s famous climate theory developed in *De l’esprit des lois* (1748) mainly focused on improving the status of England and the protestant societies at large (Stadius, 2005:20-21), the Scandinavian north moved from being a ‘paradise-like land’ to a ‘general idea of a non-civilised periphery’ (Stadius, 2005:18).

**Northern Geographies: Arranging Space and Place**

In order to further examine the construction of northern geographies during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it is important to understand the close link between mapping and historiography. Mapping is part of a series of chorographical practices that have an important function in terms of regionalisation processes, more specifically in terms of producing national territories (Withers, 2001, Whitfield, 1996, Häkli and Paasi, 2003). These include both the actual practice of producing maps, which become more professionalised and accessible to the public, but also that of describing qualitative aspects, such as cultural and natural conditions, both on land and sea (Redondo, 2012). It is therefore important to example how these changing perceptions of space, landscape and place were articulated and by whom.
The eighteenth century in particular marks the beginnings of a professionalised and standardised approach to cartography in Northern Europe. In Denmark-Norway, for example, the year 1784 sees the establishment of a Maritime Map Archive (Sjøkortarkivet) in Copenhagen. Here a committee was set up by General Wilhelm von Huth, with the royal resolution to provide maps and descriptions of the coast of Norway. Dutch mapmakers such as Blaeuw had already provided some of the outlines of North Sea mapping during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The atlas Dell’Arcano del Mare from 1646-47 by the English cartograph Robert Dudley provides a good example of a map showing a specific area from Bergen to Malangen (near Tromsø), featuring the Faroe Islands and Shetland Islands, as well as parts of Iceland. Now special emphasis was put on adding navigational information, as well as names of commercial and political centres and administrative regions such as Bergen Stift.

Before the popularisation of the compass, sailing directions and pilot books were vital to the traders and travellers of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, particularly in the unpredictable and dangerous coastal waters of the North Sea. In Norway we can still find copies of fallboka, a type of historical description that documents particular landmarks or méd for important farleiene (travel routes) by taking a krysspeiling (cross-measurement) either in, from or out to the open sea (to and from fishing grounds, trading posts or other coastal destinations). Méd landmarks are commonly used by coastal communities to mark good places for
fishing, with knowledge of these navigational aids often passing from father to son orally (Simpson, 2010, Hovda, 1961). Maps and visual depictions of coastal profiles from around 1770 show méds and fishing grounds (sø grunde) in the coastal area of Sunnmøre on the Norwegian west-coast which, together with written sailing directions, were the tools available at what are the beginnings of modern cartography and navigation (Døssland and Løseth, 2006). However, topographical and geographical accounts, together with antiquarian and archaeological documentation, changed perceptions of the coastal regions bordering the North Sea from the eighteenth century onwards. Territories perceived as peripheral, but also under-explored areas for commercial and political expansion were mapped, measured and displayed on maps and charts.

Peter Burke’s statement at the beginning of this thesis (‘Loss and Gain: The Social History of Knowledge, 1750-2000’) relates very well to what happened to the relationship between representations and descriptions of landscape and place during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Cultural production was influenced by the history of knowledge, and vice versa. It is therefore important to investigate how images and activities such as map-making impacted on the way Northern European regions were constructed and represented in the public imagination (Harley, 1987, Harley, 1988).

Kenneth Olwig traces the fundamental differences that developed between Continental and Nordic landscape geography, and their related landscape polities
(Olwig, 2002). He explains how different polities perceive and conceptualise landscape by using the work of two prominent nineteenth century geographers, Frederik Schouw (1789-1852) and Henrik Steffens (1773-1845). Their work illustrates a distinctly ‘Nordic’ approach to landscape (Olwig, 2003b:216). This is characterised by conceiving of it as shaped by human activities and policies (social and economic). So, for example, Schouw argued against the idea that societies or nations were determined by nature, and the blood-and-soil nationalisms of Germany and France that grew out of this environmental determinism. For Schouw the Nordic landscapes have more in common between them, culturally and socially, than the nation-states that divide them (Olwig, 2003b:219).

Henrik Steffens partly agreed with the unity of natural landscapes across national borders, although his interpretation of the same basic idea led him to a conclusion quite to the contrary of Schouw. Inspired by the German Romantic movement, Steffens brought similar ideas back to Denmark, and gave expression to an emerging concept of landscape as pictorial scenery, built up in layers, as on a stage, in which nature is the foundation of culture. For Steffens nature provided the foundation and stage on which human existence was played out, a scenic space where nature and culture were bound into a single national unity.

The scenic or pictorial representation of landscape, in turn, emerged from the need of the state of the monarch/prince to ‘represent its legitimacy in a way that could
compete with the representative polity of the ‘Landschaft’/landscape’ (Olwig, 2003b:223). This approach was not just restricted to cartography and sciences such as geology, but were also transmitted and reinforced by cultural production. Initially, the development of surveying and mapping techniques facilitated the regulation of ‘land’ under the regent’s domain into regions. This, in turn, helped the transition in the meaning of land and landscape from designations for a polity, to the designation of a geometric area of territory or property (as in six acres of land) (Olwig 1993 & 2003b:223, author’s italics). Mapping technology, such as surveying and the construction of pictorial representations of the map, chart and atlas ‘contributed to the impression of godlike rule cultivated by Renaissance rulers through the use of such ‘landscape’ representations as the backdrop for theatrical productions’ (Olwig, 2003b:224).

Pictorial approaches used landscape scenery to represent and legitimate state power. Steffen’s reconfiguration of the conception of landscape itself to an imagined pictorial unity of citizen and nation set the scene for the emergence of monolithic nation-states. This idea was essential in order to visualise modern nations as united territories. Even the diverse collection of islands that were part of Britain could then be united ‘as a physical geographical body, equivalent to the body politic of the regent, under him as its head of state’ (Olwig 2003b:224). The Nordic approach to geography, which Olwig identifies with Schouw, is characterised by a concern with history, custom/law, and language and culture as they work together in forming a landscape polity and its geographic place (Olwig,
A Nordic historical approach to landscape is therefore concerned with settlements patterns, administrative divisions and legal traditions, which can cross national state boundaries, and consciously engage with the ideological constructions of landscapes over time. Embedded within this perspective of landscape is the view that the history of Norden precedes that of the modern Nordic states, but also transcends the boundaries of those states.

It is important to keep these two models of constructing and perceiving landscape in mind when considering early northern geographies in Britain and Scotland, particularly during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Both show an impetus towards presenting a unitary nation-state through pictorial landscape mapping, but also the counter-hegemonic practice of detailed topographical description is evident. The same applies when considering Dano-Norwegian geographical descriptions and maps, where similar practices are at work, with the attempt to develop unitary landscapes and peoples based on environmental determinism, as well as the human landscapes shaped by social and economic change.

When investigating the history of map-making, we can thus see that geography and mapping themselves are complicit in a homogenizing historical narrative that seeks to incorporate the region into the nation. During the eighteenth century, landscapes were increasingly quantified and re-arranged through enclosures and changes in land use. Nature was no longer seen as only God’s creation and subject to his will, but also a secular space. Topographical literature became more
economically oriented, and moved from having focused on a nostalgic past towards the mapping of resources and industries as a major step to increase a country’s prosperity (Halle, 2009: 9).

Map-making in the Nordic countries after 1700 shares a lot of these important changes that took place during the European Enlightenment. Firstly, it provided intersections between maps and scientific inquiry, and the integration in the work of the newly created, state-sponsored scientific institutions, such as the Royal Society (London, est. 1660), the Académie Royale des Sciences (Paris, 1666), the Royal Society of Edinburgh (est. 1783), or the The Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters (Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab, est. 1760). Secondly, the integration of mapping into Government and administrative institutions made it easier to regulate and control territories. Surveys were frequently undertaken in order to provide civil and military authorities at home and in colonial settings with topographical information, although this remained very much an ad hoc process until about 1800. Thirdly, economic stability and growth after 1650 in turn leads to increased literacy and opportunity to access/construct new knowledge, which led to increased map consumption.

Just as other discourses or narratives discussed above, maps and cartography, then are part of a culturally constructed ‘currency’ of stereotypical images and discourses or ‘territorial imagination’ (Häkli, 1997:11). They communicate both the social and political changes and the countervailing trends during particular
historical periods (Stadius, 2005). As maps and statistics increasingly become part of the multiple relations between population and territory from the sixteenth century onwards, they become the dominating official and officially validated representations of the kingdom and its different parts (Häkli, 1997:11-12). Politicians and historians in particular utilise maps to redefine territorial ownership, often adapting and incorporating local knowledge in order to document specific regions. The practice of mapping thus not only demonstrates the re-negotiation of complex sets of perceptions of space and place.

When comparing the examples of maps from the Scottish Northern Isles and Norway’s coastal regions, the close links between chorography and historiography become apparent, with different landscape polities constructed and applied. Regional map making seems to counterbalance a trend towards homogenisation of the national territory, with intercultural maps telling the story of much more diverse regional spaces and places (Reeploeg, 2015:24-48).

**Historical Geography: regionalisation and regionalism visualised**

During the eighteenth and nineteenth century Northern European ideas about the progress of humanity through economic activity taken from the Scottish Enlightenment can be seen to infiltrate and motivate the way in which landscapes are constructed on maps. At the same time, the cultural conditions and practices around cartographic representation themselves inform and shape ‘mental maps’ (Stadius, 2001). Map-making, as a cultural activity, not just a series of
measurements and calculations, becomes part of a changing ideological landscape that unifies and homogenises territories. Thus map making becomes a regionalising practice, which draws together smaller, heterogeneous physical and cultural landscapes, into the national (political) territory. Two cultural processes that are sometimes complementary, sometimes in tension with each other can be associated with map- and chart-making historically:

1) regionalisation (the process by smaller spaces are joined together to form larger territories), or

2) regionalism (a way in which very specific places are described and represented in detail through chorographic practice)

An interesting feature of eighteenth century mapping in particular is the way in which the map (of land) and the chart (of navigating between landmasses) have different professional traditions and stylistic approaches. Land-based maps are often produced by antiquarians or historians, in connection with specific works such as regional histories or travel descriptions. Sea-charts, on the other hand, are created and used by the professional navigator, often from a military background or naval training. Both the map and the chart are usually accompanied by a detailed description, a narrative account or report. Topographical descriptions often catalogue important cultural, natural and economic information and, in the case of sailing directions and coastal descriptions accompanying a chart, show detailed aspects of the coastal landscape, including place names, historical and commercial information. So the map, or chart, is an addition or appendix to these descriptions or reports, rather than a document in its own right. This aspect of
describing place, or parts of the world, in detail, is often referred to as chorographical practice.

**Arranging sea and land: coastal chorography**

The following examples of maps and charts of regional Norway and Scotland will show chorographical practices in action, with a clear link between mapping, chorography and historiography, but also other motivations and narratives (such as commerce or travel literature) that impacted on the practice of coastal mapping and cartographic work. Both the topographical description and the report use chorographical practices or discourses. They express both the aim of mapping a place in terms of visually representing its area and topography, but also enriching this with qualitative information, by adding cultural and economic detail.

A good example from coastal Norway is Hans Strøm’s *Description of the district of Søndmør* (1762) in Western Norway. Here the author supplies an extensive chorography (more than 780 pages of material, collected in two volumes published in 1762 and 1766). The volumes consists both of a descriptive text, or catalogue, of both the people and natural environment of the region. Strøm describes the topography, plants and animals found, as well as regional cultural aspects and commercial activities (i.e. what type of fisheries or farming activities take place, what kind of boats people use, even what kind of wind to expect in the fjords!). And, of course, he supplies a map (Figure 4).
Hans Strøm is one of the ‘big four’ historical figures in the Sunnmøre region, who were all active in collecting, preserving and transmitting regional history, antiquarian information and language during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (the others are Ivar Aasen, Peder Fylling and Olaus Johannes Fjørtoft).

Strøm was born in 1726 in Borgund Sunnmøre, and took a degree in theology in 1745. He lived at home with his mother in Borgund 1745-1750 and taught Orthodox pietistic and philosophical literature in his father's library. He was then chaplain at Meldahl in Borgund for 14 years (1750 to 1764), and Vicar in Volda 1764-1779. In 1750 years Strøm discovered Pontoppidan’s natural history and
Linnaeus' botanical work, which inspired him to start a series of travels and investigations of the nature and environment around the Sunnmøre area. The results were published in *Physisk og Oeconomisk Beskrivelse over Fogderiet Søndmøre I-II* (København, 1762-1766), a work that established him as a scientific authority in the field of natural history.

Typically of the period, Strøm’s work spans several disciplines (natural sciences, theology, social sciences), including another description the *Physisk-oeconomisk Beskrivelse over Eger-Præstegiæld i Aggershuus Stift* (1784) and a large volume of sermons for Aggershuus Stift (1792). In his introduction to a new edition of Strøm’s works published in 2001, Stein Ugelvik Larsen comments (Larsen in Strøm, 1762: VII) that Strøm divides his work between nature (including topography and a map) (Volume I) and the ‘besønderlige’ (extra-natural or additional), which is the focus of Volume II. Strøm moves from mapping and observations of natural phenomena to that of people and cultural aspects. Characteristically, he gathers statistical information, region-specific names and details, as well as topographical descriptions (Strøm, 1762, Kort over Søndmør, Band II). Strøm can thus been seen as a typical representative of the second part of the 1700s, the period often called Enlightenment, but also as a chorographer, in terms of his methodology. Volume I includes a detailed regional map featuring:

- coastal landscape enriched with cultural information, such as place names, which
- arranges the land and sea (*Vesterhavet*, the Western Sea, visible)
- names the islands and fjords reaching into the sea
- distances, and roads in the area, i.e. how to navigate this landscape
- shows location of churches, larger farms and commercial centres.
In terms of cultural information, Strøm not only supplies place names, but also adds locations of farms and churches or chapels, and locations of Trading Centres or *Kiøbsted*, as well. The most eye-catching element of this map is probably its regional detail in terms of place names. It seems very important to the author to catalogue and transmit the names of the coastal landscape (i.e. islands and fjords), although he seems a bit vague on mountain names. Strøm thus shows the interplay between nature and human activities, as well as giving us a visual representation of a ‘regional, unitary area’ (Larsen in Strøm, 1762, Band I: XVII):

'Beskrivelsen', and especially Part I, represents an excellent example of what I want to call an 'almost-theory' of ecological interactions. This was possible because Strøm treated Sunnmøre as a regional, unitary area, where the interaction between nature, industry and culture was in a particularly dense interplay (Larsen in Strøm, 1762, Band I: XVII).

As a geographical description of a region between two major trading centres, Bergen and Trondheim, the motivation behind both the description and the map is easy to see: to show a region with political and economic potential supported by Strøm’s detailed lists of natural and human resources. Marit Lovise Brekke (1996) thinks this method of listing and cataloguing produced a selection of significant phenomena. The intention, at the time, was for it to be used both as a reference or lexicon, and a guide to the area (Larsen in Strøm, 1762 : XVIII). It is also important to note that Strøm’s intended readership is both the King and

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representatives of the state, but also a scientific readership independent from the state, which he addresses separately in the introduction.

Scottish Chorographies: a case study from Shetland

Figure 5: Gifford, T. (1733) The Isles of Zetland, it’s Extent and Division into Parishes, Shetland Museum and Archives, P00191. For a larger version, see Appendix I.

Rosemary Sweet notes the multiple levels on which identities operated in eighteenth-century Britain, with local, regional and national identities being created through a sense of history, tradition and continuity. She focuses on the landed elite of England, and how ‘the county’ operated as a powerful ‘imagined community’, alongside metropolitan culture and the national press (Sweet, 2004:43). The county provided the focus for topographical writing and a
chorographical tradition, where the history and local traditions were used as a source of regional patriotism.

Scotland’s chorographical tradition is based on a different type of historic-cultural territory, which did not have the same historical and administrative presence as the English county. Nevertheless, in terms of geographical, economic and socio-political description, there already existed a considerable regional/national historiography, which tended to divide between a Scandinavian past and a Scottish present. This division often concentrates on internal socio-economic progress as part of the peripheral region of the Highlands and Islands, within the borders of the United Kingdom or Scotland, rather than cultural and historical links to other geographical regions, or (chronologically) beyond the fifteenth century.

Texts covering pre-historic, medieval and modern periods of the history of the Shetland Islands range from early topographical and natural descriptions by writers such as Martin Martin\(^9\) to Patrick Neill’s *A Tour through some of the islands of Orkney and Shetland* (1806) and Robert Cowie’s graduate thesis *Shetland: Descriptive and Historical and Topographical Description of that Country* (1874) – all of which offer to ‘locate’ and describe these remote islands to an external audience.\(^10\) Up until the introduction of a regular steamship service

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\(^9\) MARTIN, M. 1703. *A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland circa 1695, to which is added, a Brief Description of the Isles of Orkney and Shetland*, London, printed for Andrew Bell, at the Cross Keys and Bible.

\(^10\) For an eighteenth century catalogue of topographical literature of Britain see GOUGH, R. 1814.
from the Scottish mainland in the mid-nineteenth century, the Shetland Islands were almost unknown to the Scottish geographers. The first eighteenth century local description of the islands was written by Thomas Gifford from Busta and entitled a *Historical Description of the Zetland Islands in the Year 1733* (1786 (1879)). It included a map (Figure 5) which showed place names and topographical features.

Another detailed description of the flora and fauna of the Orkney and Shetland Islands was produced by the Rev. George Low, who travelled through the islands in 1774. George Low was born in Edzell, Angus, in 1747 and educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and then at St. Andrews University (Seccombe, 2004). In 1768 Low moved to Stromness on the Orkney Islands to work as a tutor. With a keen interest in the flora and fauna of the islands, Low studied the natural history of the Orkney Islands for the rest of his life. In 1772 he met the explorer and naturalists Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820) who visited Orkney in the company of the Swedish botanist Daniel Solander (1736-1782), and physician James Lind (1716-1794). In 1774 he was confirmed as a Minister in Orkney, and began a tour of the south islands of Orkney and the whole of the Shetland Islands, enabling him to complete his *A tour through the islands of Orkney and Schetland: containing hints relative to their ancient modern and natural history collected in 1774* (1879). However, Low’s account was not published until the nineteenth

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century, with some content consequently transferred to Pennant’s Arctic Zoology (Hibbert 1822:Notice xii).

An author from Shetland, Arthur Edmondston, who wrote *A view of the ancient and present state of the Zetland Islands: including their civil, political, and natural history; antiquities; and an account of their agriculture, fisheries, commerce, and the state of society and manners* (1802), notes down his motivations for this type of chorographical writing:

> A wish to rouse, by candid enquiry, those who possess influence in this country, to a just sense of their relative situation, and to the study of their true interests, by embracing more enlarged and liberal views of political economy than have yet existed generally among them (Edmondston 1809:ix).

Edmondston’s account was followed by *A description of the Shetland Islands: comprising an account of their geology, scenery, antiquities, and superstitions* by Samuel Hibbert (1822). Hibbert not only paid attention to the scenery and antiquities, but also produced a specialised geological map of the islands. With difficulty, as he explains in the preface:

> my labour was so much impeded, by the wretched charts of these islands that have been published, so that I was obliged, with the aid of nothing more than a pocket compass, to climb almost every point of high land in the country, in order to obtain a new draught fit for purpose (Hibbert 1822:viii).

While visiting eighteenth and nineteenth century writers prefer to focus on the geographical and historical descriptions of the island groups in terms of a territorial asset and potential resource, some also comment on the primitive
aspects of the islanders’ language and culture. A notable exception is Samuel Hibbert’s *A Description of the Shetland Islands* (1822) which shows a clear interest in the contemporary culture and language of the islanders.

In terms of chorographical practice, the island groups remain of interest to geographers, archaeologists, historians, anthropologists and others throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century, with currently over 60 academic theses held at the Shetland Archives that deal with the Shetland Islands. Significant contributions to charting Shetland’s own history, as part of national political and economic geography, have been published by John H. Ballantyne and Brian Smith. Their two volumes of *Shetland Documents, 1195-1579*, and *Shetland Documents 1580-1611*, for example, contain an edited collection of local court records and related documents from Scandinavia, Germany and Britain (Ballantyne and Smith, 1994 & 1999). Shetland’s medieval and modern social history, society and political economy have also been documented in Brian Smith’s *Toons and tenants: settlement and society in Shetland, 1299-1899* (2000),
The nautical chart: arranging the sea

Figure 6: Historical Chart Sjøkart over Nordsjøen og Kattegat, 1796. Stavanger, Statents Kartverk Sjø [Online] Available: http://commons.wikimedia.org/. [Accessed on 22 March 2016]. For a larger version of this chart see Appendix I.

Another area where we also see instances of chorographical practice is the nautical chart and sailing directions. In contrast to a map, which emphasises landscape and topographical features, but perhaps represents the shoreline and the sea less accurately, the nautical chart provides a very detailed and accurate representation of local coastlines and the sea. Modern charts take into account
varying tidal levels and water forms, critical to a navigator. A topographical map, on the other hand, emphasizes landforms, with the shoreline represented much less accurately. A chart is also continuously updated, as it is used by navigators to plot courses, whereas a map is a static document, used as a reference guide.

The production of detailed printed charts for Scotland’s coastline really only started after 1700. Of course, there had been charts of the East Coast of Scotland, Orkney, and the Hebrides before 1700. The first printed ‘rutter’ (pilot guide) of the Scottish Coast was produced in 1540 by Alexander Lindsay for King James V’s voyage around the north of Scotland to the Hebrides. This was followed by charts printed around 1600 either in Amsterdam or Calais, with Dutch and French map- and chart-makers domineering the production of sea-charts and nautical aids. Whereas shorter coastal maritime passages were known well (i.e. where cattle were swum across), actual charts for longer passages were not mapped and drawn up until the early eighteenth century (Aldridge, 1992). Even then, the coverage was mainly focused on Scotland’s North East mainland, with John Adair producing five maps of the East Coast by 1703, but nothing for the North. A Dutchman, Herman Moll, using some of Greenville Collins’s plates of the 1680’s, and some of Adair’s material to produce a map of Scotland in 1714 also included a revised positioning for parts of the Hebrides. The Peterhead coast, which was to feature prominently in the Jacobite rising of 1715, was not surveyed until 1739, whereas Murdoch Mackenzie’s survey of Orkney and Shetland was not completed until 1750 (Aldridge, 1992:79).
In terms of chorographical practice, regional charts from the eighteenth century feature an interesting mixture of cultural, topographical and commercial information. As regional maps, regional nautical charts during the eighteenth century are accompanied by a description (sailing directions) which contain information on water depth and places to anchor. An official chart giving an overview of the North Sea and the Kattegat is the chart *Sjøkart over Nordsjøen og Kattegat* (Figure 6). This is a combination of a French chart published in 1777 and then in London in 1796. With longitude only recently available as a measurement (the publication of the Nautical Almanac starting in 1767), we can see on the lower left hand side that longitude determination is still a work in progress. Instead of an empty sea, it now contains descriptions of the sea base, fishing grounds, and, of course, coastal place names, including additions of ‘called by the French and Dutch’, an international cultural space. So, for example, the landmass projecting out from Mandal on the Norwegian Coast is called Lindesness and carries the comment ‘called by the Dutch and French THE NAZE’. So what, to a map maker such as Hans Strøm would be empty, unknown, ocean, is arranged into defined spaces, that have flexible place names, different, depending on your language. When looking at regional coastal charts, they often include both sailing directions in textual format, as well as coastal profiles that accompany the chart, or, in this case, are incorporated into the chart.
A marine chart of the Shetland Islands, for example, offers more information about the sea, than the land. So, for example *A new hydrographical survey of the islands of Shetland* (Preston, 1781) shown in Figure 6 displays an interesting combination of visual and textual information, such as coastal profiles and landmarks, often taken from multiple sources.

Figure 7: Preston, T.A. (1781) New Hydrographical Survey of the Islands of Shetland, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. For a larger version of this chart see Appendix I.
Coastal profiles

The views and landmarks of Preston’s chart (Figure 6) are taken both from English sources and from new drawings made by Danish surveyors, as well as Greenville Collins’ *Great Britain’s Coasting Pilot* of 1693. The ‘views’ of the coast of the islands of Shetland are a good example. They integrate information from a Danish ‘Report on an improved map of the Shetland Islands, together with three pages on landmarks and a special map of ‘Valey Sund in Shetland’¹¹, published by the Royal Naval Charts Archive or Kongelige Sjø-kaarte Archiv in Copenhagen (Löwenörm, 1787). This account was compiled by Captain-Lieutenant Paul von Löwenörm for the Danish King, using notes by a French hydrographer, Bellin (*Essai Geographique sur les Isles Britanniques*, 1757).

Both Preston and von Löwenörm were Captains in the Navy and experienced navigators. From 1778 to 1782 Paul Löwenörm was in the French Navy, and he also fought in the American War of Independence, and several European maritime conflicts (Zach von, 1801). Towards the end of his time in France he started to concentrate on navigational studies and prepared himself for a planned expedition to the West Indies from Denmark to test chronometers. During this time he also met several people that stimulated and mentored his interest for cartography and map making. When he returned to Denmark in 1783 he became the skipper of a scientific expedition ship, the *Prøven* and, in 1784, initiated and became the first

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director of the Royal Danish Nautical Charts Archive (*Det Kongelige danske Søkortarkiv*). He also continued to undertake survey missions to Sweden, carried out an expedition to Greenland and led a diplomatic mission to Morocco (Marcussen, 2006).

In *Beretning om et forbedret kaart over de hetlandske øer* (1787) von Löwenörn refers explicitly to the fact that his aim is to provide improved sailing directions between *Hetland* (Shetland) and Norway, especially to determine their distance from the Norwegian coast. A short inscription to the Danish version of the account states the intention of providing Nordic seafarers (*nordiske Søemænd*) with an accurate chart of these well-known islands, as previous ones have been unusable or inaccurate. So, for example, he notes that on older Dutch chart the distance is stated at 30 to 40 Mil westerly, whereas Danish chart show the islands as being at over 50 miles distance and more northerly, and the English chart stating around 50 miles, all inaccuracies that could lead to the loss of ships.

It is not just important for those that sail either from *Norway* to *Shetland*, or from there to *Norway*, that its location is noted down correctly, not only in terms of the separate elevations in the area, but more especially to its distance from the Norwegian coast, in which the General Charts of the North Sea, provide so odd and significantly different information. The old Dutch Chart puts Shetland some 30 and 40 Mile, nothing less or more, west of the Norwegian coast; I believe, as far as we can determine enduring that 43 and 44 are more correct. The distance between *Hangcliff* and the Norwegian coast across contrast with the newer ones, such as the *Higher* Danish one, which puts the southern stretch of *Shetland* over 50 Miles from Norway, placing the North more Easterly; but the area does not have this formation. In the latest English the distance is also around 50
Miles, a significant and more dangerous mistake, that may have caused the loss of more than one ship (Löwenörn, 1787:10)\textsuperscript{12}.

Von Löwenörn’s comments give an interesting insight into the dangers of poor charts and the challenges of amending existing charts. When his own measurements do not agree with those on the existing (English) chart, he is quick to consult local fishermen, noting down the variations in tides and currents that may affect measurements in certain areas. However, after also noticing the fact that is was full moon, which would lead to extreme variations in the sea state anyhow, he returns to the English chart as being correct (Löwenörn, 1787:10-11). In some instances he notes down detailed sailing directions, both for leaving the Lerwick harbour and to enter Valey-Sund (Vaila Bay) in the north-west of the islands. Here he points out suitable markers such as the nearby island of Linga, where to drop anker and the ancient structure of an iron-age stone-tower (referred to as the old ‘Picts Castle’ (gammelt Picts Castel)) (Löwenörn, 1787:12).

Picts, an ancient war-like people, who settled in Scotland, and the Orkney Islands, and built these towers, for refuge or defense during their internal wars (Löwenörn, 1787:12)\textsuperscript{13}.

\textsuperscript{12} My translation. Original text: Det er ikke vigtigt for dem, som seile enten fra Norge til Hetland, eller fra dette til Norge, aqt dets Beliggenhed er rigtig fastsat, ikke alene i Henseende til de særskilte Hukker paa Landet, men i Særdeleshed til dets Frastand fra den Norske Kyst, i hvilket de General Kaarter over Nord-Søen, foruden at de paa saa forskiellige Maader vanskabe Landet i sig self, ere saa ulige og betydelige forskiellige indbyrdes. De gamle Hollandske Kaarter lægge Hetland nogle og 30 til 40 Mile, noget mere eller mindre, Vesten for Norske Kysten; jeg troer, saavidt man endu kan bestemme det, at 43 til 44 er paa det nærmeste den rigstige Distance imellem Hang-klippe og Norske Kysten tværs for; derimod de nyere, saasom Höegs Danske, lægger den sydlige Strækning af Hetland over 50 Mile fra Norge, dog lægger han det Nordlige mere Østlig; men Landet har ikke den Dannelse. I de nyeste Engelske er Afstanden ligeledes rundelig 50 Mile, en betydelig og meget farlig Feil, og some kan mueligen have foraarsaget meere end eet Skibs Forliis. (LÖWENÖRN, P. 1787. Beretning om et Forbedret Kaart over de Hetlandske Øer, tilligemed trende blade med landtoninger og et speciel kaart over Valey-Sund paa Hetland. Report and map of Shetland Islands, including sailing directions, coastal profiles with landmarks and a regional map of Valley Sund (Vaila Sound). ed. Copenhagen: University of Aberdeen. Special Collections Centre, University of Aberdeen.).
His instructions on sailing out of Lerwick harbour include an interesting collection of place names, not all of which are still in use on modern charts and maps.

Straight north between the Brassa isle and the Mainland elevation which is called the noul of Esvick, there is a bay, where you will find four good harbours, Deals-Voe, Laxfirth-Voe, Vadbester Voe, and the most northerly, Catfirth Voe, which is the largest and best (…) It is not difficult to enter the bay; one can proceed between Brödrene og Greenholm (...); you must then beware of a rock to the larboard, Toagroad; that may be seen within half waters; you can and go to Green Holm, between this and Glitues island (Löwenörn, 1787:14)14.

Von Löwenörn includes an explanation of local place names such as Voe (meaning a bay or inlet from the sea), Holm (a little island), Skerry (a cliff), Stack (a high, sharp cliff which stands clear in the water), as well as the words Muckle and Stour (meaning big). He also attaches what he calls ‘an interesting vignette’ with an illustration depicting seabird hunting taken from Pennants Arctic Zoology15.

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13 My translation. Original text: (5) Picts, et gammelt krigersk Folk, som beboede Skotland, og Orcaderne, og byggede saadanne Taarne, for Tilflugt og Forsvar i deres inbyrdes Krig. Ibid.

14 My translation. Original text: Strax Norden for Æen Brassa er imellem den og den Huk paa Mainland, som kaldes the noul of Esvick, en Bugt, i hvilken der findes fire gode Havne, Deals-Voe, Laxfirth-Voe, Vadbester Voe, og den Nordligste, Catfirth Voe, som er den største og beste, hvor man ligger sikker for alle Vinde fra 3 til 14 Favne, eftersom man er Landet nær. Indløbet til Bugten er ikke vanskeligt; man kan gaæ midt imellem Brödrene og Greenholm, saa man har denne om Styrbord; man maae dernæst vogte sig for et Skiær om Bagbord, Toagroad; det kan sees med halv Vande; man kan og gaæ over for Greenholm, imellem denne og Glitues-Øe (Ibid.).

A motivating factor for both Preston and Löwenörn seems to be to document the direct navigation to the island of Vaila (*Valley Sund*), which seems to represent an important Shetland port for both of them. The island was owned by a Norwegian family until the sixteenth century, which may explain the attention paid to this area as an established point of contact (with sailing directions into Vaila appearing on Preston’s map too). It also demonstrates the way in which significant trading contacts were maintained through the practices of mapping and charting, which would document and transmit this information to the Scottish/British administration.

As we can see above, throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, European perceptions changed - from thinking about medieval regional boundaries or provinces, to the now naturalized concepts of the nation and state (now merged into one homogenous idea). These ideas are evident in the chorographical practices examined above, but also the modern disciplines of historical and political geography. The authors of *Organising European Space* identify three ‘networks’ central to how European regional identities are created: the physical, institutional and socio-cultural. These operate within what they call a “territorial field of tension” (Christer Jönsson, 2007 (2000):51). The work of antiquarians, literary and scientific societies, networks and publications, offers another interesting area for ideological analysis here, providing further
opportunities for the geographical construction of the Romantic North in the European imagination.

**Northern Encounters**

Angela Byrne, in a recent study *Geographies of the Romantic North* (Byrne, 2013) investigates the role of ‘men of science’ in the geographical construction of the Romantic North in Britain during the late eighteenth and nineteenth century. By examining the relationship between late eighteenth century science, antiquarianism and ethnology, the construction of romantic visions of the North can be investigated and related to the history of European thought. Romantic visions of national roots formed the basis for European movement of romantic nationalism, where literary and historical narratives were used to create or re-invent individual national narratives in Scandinavia and Northern Europe (Leerssen, 2006). As we have seen already, the northern parts of Britain became part of a romantic imagination that identified ‘Aboriginal districts’ such as the Scottish Highlands or the Northern Isles. There the shared, traditional roots that united all Britons could be found, including antiquities and the remains of ancient languages such as Gaelic or Norn, a version of Old Norse (Wawn, 2002).

A romantic vision of the North remained part of the modern identity of the Northern Isles, as a part of Scotland that retains the indigenous part of Scotland’s traditions and customs. James Hunter, in his book *Last of the Free: A Millennial History of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (1999), goes so far as comparing
the modern cultures and societies found in the Highlands and Islands to Indian Reservations in Montana. He points to ‘entire value systems, together with a whole mass of traditional beliefs and practices, […] labelled useless, ignorant, backward and outmoded’ (Hunter 1999:303) during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The conceptual shift from exciting strange lands to institutional periphery during this period has also affected Shetland’s geographical location - as noted by visiting journalist W. P. Livingstone in Shetland and the Shetlanders (1947):

On maps of Scotland the islands are not as a rule shown in relation to the mainland. They may be placed in the Moray Firth, or imposed on the north of Ireland, or left to the imagination. They are classed with Orkney, both being considered a unity, although the two groups lie far apart and have no direct connection or any community of interest social or economic. All they have in common is Parliamentary representation, a century-old arrangement (Livingstone, 1947:1).

Livingstone comments on the prevalence of Norse links, contrasting this focus on the past with the absence of a museum or library (as real symbols of modernity and progress):

Why revive a sentiment for the Norse tongue and a Shetland culture based on only Norse lines? […] The Norse occupation was a passing phase, as it was in Scotland and England. It may be a suitable subject to include in history lessons […] and for antiquarian study by societies, but it hardly constitutes a basis for a new social and economic life (ibid:226).

Twentieth century descriptions such as O’Dell’s Historical Geography of the Shetland Islands (1939), and Hance D. Smith’s The Making of Modern Shetland (Lerwick, 1977) and Shetland Life and Trade, 1550-1914 (Edinburgh, 1984 (2003) have continued this focus on modernity as being equivalent to progress
(within a national or regional socio-cultural framework that considers Nordic links as a thing of the past or even an obstacle to modernity). Other writers present a strong link between the island groups’ insistence on their Scandinavian identity and the desire for their own modern history – and more cultural and political autonomy - from central government (Hunter, 1999:334-335). James Hunter argues that, although, compared to Faroe, Iceland and Norway, the islands never acquired complete (national) independence, Nordic regional identity still gives ‘expression, in a manner simultaneously assertive and enjoyable, to a deep-seated conviction that Highlands and Islands communities possess, in relation to the rest of Scotland and of the United Kingdom, ‘characteristics which make them unique’ (Hunter 1999:337). On the one hand, Hunter’s representation of the Highlands and Islands communities as a living museum of lost civilisations is problematic, as it does not communicate the multiple layers of history and contemporary economic and social development that exist side by side in these areas. However, Hunter captures very well the both the positive and negative side of this ‘unique character’, with space and place often arranged according to a pre-conceived cultural landscape that was first constructed by antiquarians.

The past re-constructed: the role of Antiquarians

Throughout Europe, the establishment of national institutions such as publicly accessible archives, libraries and museums owes a huge debt to small, international networks of historians, writers and associates. These individuals and groups believed that a patriotic, communal memory could be achieved through
these institutions, as well as a democratic, liberal citizenship, which would implement national ideas (and ideals) locally. Patrick Joyce notes that there has been ‘relatively little recognition in Britain of the archive as a political expression of the nation-state (…).’ (Joyce, 1999:36) If the archive which produces history is also the product of history, this means the people creating the archive, their influences and ideas, deserve our attention. Within the context of this thesis, the examination of the entangled histories and transnational frameworks of antiquarian networks demonstrate further how intercultural narratives are created and adapted in order to renegotiate national and regional identities.

The development of Scotland’s national collection of antiquities (later the National Museum of Scotland) was closely connected to personal and professional links with Scandinavian antiquarians and historians. The first volume of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* (1851-1854) included contributions by the Norwegian historian Peter Andreas Munch discussing the Orkney Islands (Munch, 1852). The volume also features a ‘Shetland Ballad’ described as ‘A graceful record of Scandinavian romance’ (Thomas, 1851-1854). Both Danish and Norwegian ideas about reconstructing a national past through material culture and historical narratives had a strong influence on how Scottish approaches to their own national historiographies. The archives and collections of material and oral culture produced by antiquarians and historians during the nineteenth century in particular formed the basis for both national and local museums. In terms of chorographic practice, they also offered spaces for civic identity formation, where
‘local people could both produce and consume the material evidence and narratives of the particular qualities of their own place’ (Hill, K. 2013:55).

Communal memories and identities connected to individual Scottish and Norwegian national spaces were increasingly based on a common (Norse) past. This was re-constructed via a new scientific system for the classification of material culture connected to this past, which was then communicated and shared through a social network of Northern Antiquarians. Previously Antiquarians had focused their attention primarily on the physical ‘fragments of the historical shipwreck of time’ (Sweet, 2004:8). Collections of natural objects and curiosities connected to the history of the Roman Empire, such as coin or inscriptions on monuments formed the main basis of pre-eighteenth century Antiquarians’ attempts to reconstruct past societies. This changed with the establishment of the philosophical and scientific societies of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. These scholarly communities increasingly brought together people interested in a wide range of sources, not merely restricted to documents and manuscripts found in libraries and archives.

The rise of antiquarian tradition and its rediscovery of the past during the eighteenth century is connected closely to the purpose of intellectual enlightenment through scientific practice (Sweet, 2004:10).

Material culture was increasingly seen as a valuable supplement to historical texts, which could be rewritten or even forged according to political or religious influences. Artefacts, on the other hand, offered what were seen as ‘incorruptible’ (Sweet, 2004:14) evidence provided through the truthful interpretation by the
antiquary. Thus providing both a systematic collection of antiquities and an interpretative narrative that related to the evolution of human society increasingly formed the work of a network of eighteenth century antiquarians.

However tangible objects also offered a very personal contact with the past or ancient customs, which allowed a more intense response to the narrative of history and the construction of place. The study of domestic antiquities was therefore encouraged, as it was available to all, whereas travel abroad was not. Antiquarians were thus instrumental in the creation of a new type of democratised history-writing which was aimed at a reading public within Britain, and encourage a ‘social circulation of the past’ (Sweet, 2004:79). This was increasingly based on a patriotic agenda which encouraged the articulation of a national consciousness.

Within the context of chorographical thinking and practice, the writing of county histories became a very important aspect of antiquarian literature. By supplying a historical evidence of inheritance (often incorporating family genealogies) the county history secured property rights and tenure income, celebrating an identification of landed elite, landscape and personal honour. As such topographical writings formed the building blocks of the growing literature on national ownership and regional/national identities. William Ferguson examines the important role of antiquarians in the formation of new national attitudes after the Union of the crowns in 1603, and the vital part played by new interpretations of the past (Ferguson, 1998). Antiquarians of the Renaissance had been primarily
occupied with classical history (before the fall of Rome) as found in the artefacts of the written word, studying coins, manuscripts and ancient inscriptions. This left the task of supplying a chronological account or narrative of historical events to the historian, who saw his work as being of a philosophical and ethical nature, rather than supplying mere facts. Antiquarians became interested in literary texts during the seventeenth century, with the roles of the historian and antiquary becoming increasingly complementary to each other during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Sweet, 2004). Sharing common interests with natural historians meant that Antiquarians focused their studies on collections of objects, often displayed in private curiosity cabinets of both man-made and natural artefacts.

The establishment of a Society for Antiquarians in Scotland in 1780 marked the first step towards a national collection of unique artefacts kept for public rather than private viewing. It relates closely to the establishment of learned societies across Europe, with the establishment of Académie Française (1635) and the Académie Royale des Sciences (1666) in Paris, the Royal Society (1662), in London, and the Society of Antiquaries of London (1751), the Real Academia Española de la Lengua, devoted to the Spanish language (1713) Madrid, the Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab (1760) in Trondheim and Académie Royale des Sciences and Belles-Lettres in Berlin (1744) (McClellan, 1985). Links between Scottish and Scandinavian scholars developed through this society also made a major contribution to ideas and practical approaches in terms of creating a
Scottish national collection. Vice versa, a revival in historical and archaeological interest in early nineteenth-century Scandinavia attracted an increasing number of Danish and Norwegian scholars to Scotland to look for the remains of Norse and Viking settlements and historical manuscripts in order to rewrite their own national narratives (Bell, 1981).

As a result, both official and personal links developed between ‘men of letters’ in Scotland and Scandinavia with, for example, Grimur Thorkelin in 1783 becoming the first Scandinavian to be elected to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. In return, there were visits by fellows of the society to Scandinavia, such as several journeys to Denmark, Norway and Sweden by the Orcadian Samuel Laing during the period 1819-58 (Laing, 1836, Jones, 2013). Formal relations also developed, with an official link between the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and the Danish Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians (Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab, also known as La Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord) established in 1829. David Laing, in particular, is a pivotal figure in creating lasting social and professional networks. His father’s bookshop in Edinburgh became a gathering place for such luminaries as Walter Scott, Thomas Thomson (first Deputy Clerk Register), the antiquary George Chalmers and John Jamieson the lexicographer (Ash, 1981:87).

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland was established in 1780 by David Steuart Erskine, the 11th Earl of Buchan (1742-1829), with the intention of concentrating
contemporary antiquarian interests and ideas in an institution. Its aim was to study of the Antiquities and History of Scotland, more especially by means of archaeological research. Proceedings such as the *Archaeologia Scotica*, the *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, were published from 1790 onwards (Bell, 1981). As already discussed above, the desire of the Society to establish a museum as a public institution was influenced by the work going on in other parts of Europe, but in particular Denmark, where a national collection of artefacts had been reorganised, catalogued and rehoused under the direction of C.J. Thomsen\(^\text{16}\). Visiting Copenhagen in 1819 to purchase the library of Thorkelin, David Laing met a number of scholars, with whom he stayed in touch. In return, Laing became a regular point of contact in Scotland for visitors like Sven Grundtvig, Jens Jacob A. Worsaae and Peter Andreas Munch (Ash, 1981: 92-93).

One particular point of inspiration was Denmark, where the new laws governing compensation paid to those finding valuable archaeological material. In Scotland no compensation was due to the original finder under the treasure trove legislation, which determined that any newly discovered ancient objects belong to the Crown. This meant in practice that less material was added to antiquarian collections, which were all in private hands, and that finders frequently attempted to hide or sell theirs finds. Denmark, on the other hand, had introduced a law in 1752 that promised full compensation for the value of the artefact or coin found.

\(^{16}\) Christian Jürgensen Thomsen (December 29, 1788 – May 21, 1865) was a Danish antiquarian who was appointed head of the antiquarian collections in Copenhagen in 1816. He developed the three-age system of pre-history into stone, bronze and iron.
A visit by the Danish archaeologist Worsaae in 1846 served as a motivator for the Society to seek a reform of the treasure trove laws along Danish lines, but also promote the transfer of ancient artefacts into the hands of a similar national collection. Further visits by Society members and associates to Denmark and Sweden followed, with papers presented to the Society reporting on antiquarian artefacts and collections there.

A central and pioneering figure of nineteenth century archaeology, Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae had travelled widely in Germany, France, England, Ireland, Hungary, Russia and elsewhere, and became Professor of Archaeology at the University of Copenhagen and the second Head of the Royal Museum of Northern Antiquities (following on from C.J. Thomsen). His first book *Primeval antiquities of Denmark* (1843)\(^\text{17}\) was translated into German and English, and subsequent to his visit to the United Kingdom in 1846 in order to seek evidence for a Viking presence, he wrote *An Account of the Danes and the Norsemen in England, Scotland and Ireland* (1852). As other social philosophers of the Enlightenment, Worsaae argued that cultural development was conditioned by the state of Society, i.e. roughly similar societies produced roughly similar artefacts and structures, connecting it to an overall philosophy of human evolution (Ash, 1981).

Worsaae inspired Society member Daniel Wilson, who was the first of a new archaeological breed determined to put the Society and its collections on a more public and scientific footing. Rather than traditional antiquarians such as Laing, who were interested in a holistic history of humanity, Wilson wanted to connect to social and historical context with patriotic aims. In that his interests coincided with those of Worsaae, who wanted to popularise Thomsen’s tripartite division of prehistory into Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages, and encourage local (national) applications of it. The concern with comparative exhibits is stressed by a letter to Wilson (probably from Robert Chambers) in which the writer tells him to locate Scandinavian objects in the Museum ‘so that they may be contrasted as well as compared with the analogous or rather similar objects drawn from Scotland’ (Ash, 1981:103). Importantly, for the historiographies of Scotland and Ireland, the stone and bronze periods were to appear under the general header ‘Celtic’. This formed the basis for other regional divisions into pagan, Celtic, Scandinavian used by later antiquarians such as Gilbert Goudie in his *The Celtic and Scandinavian Antiquities of Shetland* (1904).

The establishment of connected scholarly communities and international systems no doubt strengthened the national character of both Scottish collections. The aim was to create a national archaeological museum of Scotland, to be transferred into the hands of the government (achieved in 1851). This was complemented by the publication of printed proceedings dealing not only with the activities of the Antiquarian scholars, but with Scottish archaeological matters in general. The
new archaeological journal *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* first appeared in 1854, continuing to the present day as the major Scottish archaeological journal.

Daniel Wilson remained a major influence on Scottish scholarship, but also on North American and Canadian ethnology. Spending the second half of his life in Canada, first in the Chair of History and Literature at the University College of Toronto (1853), later becoming President of the University of Toronto (1880). A Norwegian addition to the expanding Scandinavian network of the Society for Antiquarians in Scotland occurred in 1849, when the historian Peter Andreas Munch visited Scotland. He also met David Laing, and was later elected an honorary member of the Society, contributing two papers: ‘Why is the mainland of Orkney called Pomona?’ (Munch, 1852) and ‘Concordia facta inter Anglicos et Scotos, 3rd January, 1322-3’ (Munch, 1859). Bjørn Bandlien notes that Munch’s visits to Scotland, Orkney and London between 1849 and 1850 were financed by the Norwegian government and motivated by a desire to ‘rewrite history’ (2013:98) in that they were aimed to gather evidence for Norway’s independent contributions to Scandinavian history. Peter Andreas Munch and Daniel Wilson became close friends, with Munch having a major influence on Wilson’s *The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* (Wilson, 1851) which introduced the word ‘prehistoric’ into the English language.

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18 Along with another two Norwegians, Christian Lange, keeper of the Norwegian Archives in Christiania (died 1861) and Prof Rudolf Keyser, University of Christiania, joint editor with Munch on a collection of the old laws of Norway *Norge Gamle Love indtil 1387*, published in Christiania (Oslo) in 1846. Munch’s influential *Det Norske Folks Historie* followed in eight volumes between 1851 and 1863.
Munch shaped Wilson’s interdisciplinary approach, by suggesting that the past could only be reconstructed by a thorough knowledge not only of the literary sources, but also of other evidence such as place names, inscriptions and field monuments. As a Norwegian patriot, Munch also influenced Wilson’s terminology, refusing to follow the fashion for calling anything from the prehistoric period ‘Danish’, but instead recognising the complex nature of Norse settlements in Scotland. This included considering the value of native, non-Roman, artefacts and structures in pre-historical terms, and incorporating them as part of Scotland’s past.

Although against value-judgements in history, Wilson saw the new national Museum in Scotland as not only embodying a new view of the past, but also the source of pride for encouraging patriotic sentiments amongst Scots. This unifying identity should be based on cultural links with, but also differences from, the newly developing Scandinavian nations. In turn, Munch published Wilson’s ideas in Norway as ‘Wilson’s Archaeology of Scotland’ and, while in Orkney, deposited a set of the old medieval laws (Norges gamle Love indtil 1387) with the archives there. In 1865 Munch sent some of his own books to the newly established library of the Shetland Literary and Scientific Society in Lerwick. This was done with the intention of raising the islanders’ consciousness about their past as part of Norwegian history. A new historical narrative of the powerful and glorious past
of Norway (*storhetstid*) connected to the settlement and rule in the northern British Isles was thus a lasting inheritance from Munch (Bandlien, 2013).

The entangled histories established by Scots and Scandinavian antiquarians also left a lasting impact on Scottish and Norwegian historiographies and institutions. After his return to Norway, Munch published *Det norske folks historie* (1862) which is said to have been instrumental in the establishment of an independent Norwegian state. And, although Wilson and Worsaae never met, they corresponded by letter, and Wilson often quoted Worsaae’s work, especially *The primeval Antiquities of Denmark* (1849). Wilson’s use of the term ‘prehistoric’ revised Scottish-Scandinavian relations as, when describing artefacts from that period the influence of Danes was rejected in favour of Norse. In doing so Wilson was probably doing the same in Scotland as Munch had done in Scandinavia – revising what they felt were old misconceptions that all achievements of the Scots or Norwegians were Danish.

These intercultural links also formed the basis for future contact, collaborations and influences. So, for example, the Shetland author and antiquary Gilbert Goudie (1843-1918) continued Munch’s focus on the medieval historical and

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19 Interestingly, and in a period of various nationalist movements, during the Danish-German political tensions of the mid-nineteenth century, Munch had argued that Denmark had originally been occupied by Germans, whereas Worsaae maintained that pre-historical and modern peoples could not be identified with each other due to the sheer timescales involved (see ROWLEY-CNWY, Peter (2006) ‘The Concept of Prehistory and the Invention of the Terms ‘Prehistoric’ and ‘Prehistorian’: the Scandinavian Origin, 1833—1850’, *European Journal of Archaeology* 9:1,103–130).
literary links between the Scottish Northern Isles and Norway by commissioning the translation of ‘The Orkneyinga Saga’ (Goudie and Hjaltalin, 1873). Goudie produced a historiography of the Shetland Islands based on the Three Age System, as well as a biography of David Laing (Goudie, 1913) and collaborated with the Faroese linguist and scholar Jakob Jakobsen on his ‘Etymological dictionary of the Norn language in Shetland’ (Jakobsen and Horsbøl, 1928).

Within this Scottish-Scandinavian antiquarian network, it is perhaps Munch and Worsaae who made the biggest impact in Scottish historiographies. Together they can be credited for a continuing legacy of providing the inhabitants of Scotland, and the Scottish Northern isles in particular, with evidence of historical and cultural links with Scandinavia. These became the basis of an enduring affinity with the Nordic countries, but Norway in particular. The next section will explore the impact this had on nation-building narratives in both countries.

**North-men: Northern Histories and Cultural Nationalism**

**Norway**

The Norwegian historian Ole Georg Moseng has argued that it is not until the period after 1800 where elements of a distinctive Norwegian national identity can be identified (Moseng, 2003:322-323). In terms of national identity, the Dano-Norwegian state before 1700 can probably be best described as a series of overlapping forms of local, regional and civic identities. With wide variations in languages and way of life across Norway, strengthened by geographical distances,
Norwegians in the period after 1700 primarily identified themselves within a combination of local and regional cultural identities. There were, in fact, two notions of Norwegian identity and nation in the period 1537-1814, with Norwegian regional ethnic or patriotic identities in parallel to the construction of a more homogenous Norwegian national identity. Ideas were certainly developing around unifying institutions such as a state, a unifying system of symbols and rituals, and a common culture that ranges from literature and music to folk culture (Døssland, 2003). However, the union between Sweden and Norway increasingly showed a growing divergence in interests between the two countries. Norway’s economy depended on foreign trade, which disagreed with the increasingly protectionist stance adopted by Sweden. In addition to this, the Norwegian constitution (established in 1814) remained in place, which meant an increasingly powerful internal political class with its own Parliament, laws and executive powers.

Iver Neumann suggests that Norway had three major representations of the nation during the eighteenth century. The ‘statist’, ‘romantic nationalist’ and ‘populist nationalist’ defined different ways in which the nation ought to be linked to the state (Neumann, 2000:239). One approach taken by the authorities was to adopt existing European Enlightenment thinking, with civil servants becoming the focus of state-formation in 1814. This is why Norwegian authorities arranged a constitutional gathering with popular participation that managed to confirm a Parliament and to produce a fully-fledged Constitution (Neumann, 2000: 241).
The creation of a civil servant state according to a constitution and a state of law was initially met by two types of dissenting discourses coming from the direction of national romanticism and the populace (Berggreen, 1989). Neumann traces the uneasy coexistence of national romanticism that celebrated people’s innate qualities and European Enlightenment discourse, which focused on learning and development through reason (Neumann, 2000:239).

Norwegian intellectuals and artists such as Henrich Steffens, who lectured to students on Romanticism in Copenhagen as early as 1802-03, and Nicolai Wergeland, who argued that the 400 years of Danish rule had suppressed and usurped Norway and the Norwegians, suggested the populace (almuen) and ‘the people’ (folket) as the main actors of Norwegian history and identity construction. These two terms would go on to become explicit markers of the two opposing representations of Norway (Neumann, 2000:243). Meanwhile, the political and cultural movement of pan-Scandinavianism was initiated by students in Denmark and Sweden in the 1840s and remained a significant force from 1845 to 1864. It clashed with Pan-Germanism over the disputed territory of Schleswig-Holstein, and Swedish and Norwegian volunteers joined the Danes during the Schleswig War (1848–50).

During the eighteenth and nineteenth century the populace represented a more negative concept of the population than the folk or people, which were associated with the resurrection of a culturally and ethnically defined (as defined by the civil
servants) peasant culture. This meant the adoption of the Danish idea of a patriotic people’s high school, and the educational movement founded by Grundtvik in Denmark. The people’s high school (folkehøyskole) was characterised by a typical cultural nationalism, and established itself in Norway by teaching traditional skills as well as national poetry and history. However, Norway could only take its rightful place in the line-up of European nation states as a ‘European project’, which meant an alliance between romantic nationalism and populist nationalism during the second half of the nineteenth century. The conditions for a growing Nationalist movement were right, with public opinion growing in favour of Norwegian self-determination. With a growing movement for national independence, the year 1882 saw growing demands by the Norwegian Parliament, which culminated in Norway becoming independent in 1905 (Danielsen, 1998).

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for Norwegians, were therefore not just a linear movement towards independence, but a period in which questions of identity became increasingly important, both in a national and trans-national sense. A very specifically Norwegian form of history developed during the same time which favoured the Viking Age and the period after 1814, leaving the period as part of Denmark as ‘no more than a bad piece of welding, which it should be the job of historians to remove’ (Neumann, 2000:243). As we will see below, this would have curious consequences, with Norwegian historians exporting their own patriotic historiographies to previously ‘Norse’ territories, including parts of
Scotland. With it, the history of the Orkney and Shetland Islands became an
important part of the Norwegian national identity construction. It represents the
islands as an important part of the history of Norse settlement outside
Scandinavia, constructing a uniquely ‘Norwegian’ historical and cultural territory.

Scotland & The Shetland Islands

Some scholars have argued that the period between the middle of the eighteenth
century and 1830 can be referred to as a ‘Golden age of Scottish Culture’ (Smout,
1998:452). Scots such as David Hume, Thomas Reid and Adam Ferguson
provided important foundations to future philosophical, historical and sociological
perspectives. However, at the same time that Scotland’s scientists, architects and
engineers were distinctly forward-looking and innovative, writers such as Robert
Burns and Sir Walter Scott created a literature that looked to the past for
inspiration. On the one hand Scots such as Adam Smith and John Hume are seen
as Scottish icons, but they can also be seen as British figures, proof of the success
of the union. Arguably this is how they saw themselves. On the other hand,
Victorians deliberately placed Scottish history beneath a rose-coloured glass.

Harvie and Walker (1995) comment on the lack of social analysis available about
late nineteenth and early twentieth century Scotland, with Scottish popular culture
which ranges from ‘what the Scots did when they weren’t drunk’ to descriptions
of the ‘human misery and social deformity associated with industrialisation’
(Harvie, 1995:337). Popular culture during nineteenth century industrialisation
and urbanisation was created by realigning previous cultural patterns in Scotland’s place-culture, work-culture and folk culture. As Neumann, Harvie points to the importance of the re-invention or adaption of a sense of community and tradition during times of social and economic change. This often occurred in the service of social control through the state, and was complemented by the creation of a controllable, and thus partly invented past (Harvie, 1995). As a result, everyone who beheld Scotland’s romantic version of history was expected to exclaim ‘here’s tae us, wha’s like us’ (Smout, 1998:469).

Similar movements can be observed throughout Europe, including Scandinavia, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In industrialised Germany, for example, it happened towards the end of the nineteenth century, with the expression of local cultural identities through the introduction of local church parades and pre-Lent carnivals during the 1870s and 1880s. Peasant clothing, folk customs and festivals were revived, mostly as a reaction to the impact of industrialisation (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2003 (1983)). Christopher Harvie (1995) relates these nineteenth reinventions of local cultural traditions in Scotland to social and economic control. So, for example, in the Shetland Islands, in the 1880s, the existing Old Yule/New Year custom of rolling blazing tar barrels through the streets of Lerwick was changed to an event taking place at the end of January, and reinterpreted as the Viking festival of Up Helly Aa (Harvie, 1995:354). Harvie argues that the reason for this change was to reintegrate existing customs into a new capitalist annual calendar of economic activities.
However, organisers of the new Viking custom were also motivated by social and political reasons when choosing to adapt and reinterpret their Norse past for the present and the future. So, for example, Brydon Leslie has noted in *Borgar Jarl: J.J. Haldane Burgess and Up Helly Aa* that romantic cultural revival and social control were closely entwined when aimed at controlling alcohol-fuelled disturbances in Lerwick during Christmas and New Year (Leslie, 2012:31). One of the main sources used for the creation of a more Norse-themed celebration was local author and poet James John Haldane Burgess. As a well-known socialist with an interest in Nordic languages, Norse history and mythology, he created the initial vision for a torch-lit procession of working men, led by a Viking jarl, who gather to burn a longship or ‘galley’. The festival, as an established yet evolving ritual, has changed ever since. And, although Norse motifs and narratives have remained, it continues to combine contemporary social and political aspects with a communal celebration of local identity (Leslie, 2011:5). As we will see in Chapter 4, the importance of literary narratives in the construction of Northern Histories and Identities cannot be underestimated. Victorian writers were keen to connect the Viking legacy with the construction of a new British Nation - as a brotherhood of nations with common roots in the Old North. As shown by Andrew Wawn in *The Vikings and Victorians* (2002), this perspective was used to legitimise various contemporary causes, from imperial expansion to women’s rights.
An important factor in the creation and transmission of a Nordic/Northern cultural identity in Shetland has been a persistent and active ‘Shetland culturology’ (Church, 1989:202), initially promoted by a ‘Nordophile Network’ (Cohen, 1983:II) in Lerwick during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Just as Norwegian historians of that period, irked by the union with Sweden, idealised the independent Norway of the middle ages, Shetland antiquarians, confronted with the squalid details of local landlordism, looked back to the quite unrecorded Shetland of the twelfth century (Cohen, B. 1983:484). Sebastian Seibert provides a similar chronology of ‘nordophile enthusiasm’ (2008:166-171) within the intellectual circles of the Orkney Islands. He traces a journey of identification from ‘Early Old Northermism’ during the Scottish Enlightenment, via Scott’s romantic representation of Norse culture in his novel The Pirate, and the ‘Viking Enthusiasm’ of the Udal League during the 1880s, to the ‘Golden Age of Antiquarianism’ which provided the historical basis for twentieth century patriotism (Seibert 2008:166).

Angela Watt, in her doctoral thesis entitled The Implications of Cultural Interchange in Scalloway, Shetland, with reference to a perceived Nordic-based Heritage (2013) has investigated this issue with particular reference to Shetland’s ‘ancient capital’ Scalloway. Watt relates cultural interchange to the development of a localised cultural identity in the village that is conceptualised from a particular standpoint that favours Nordic visual and narrative histories. This also complements another, ongoing, cultural bias towards exceptionalism, where the
landscape and people of the Shetland Islands are represented as ‘a place apart’ from Scotland (Malm, 2013). Angela Watt argues that this is a bias, rather than identification, as it is a periodic expression in the ornamentation of culture, rather than a permanent identity. The past is thus not only evoked for specific purposes, by local communities in the construction and contestation of identities, but also in periodic issues that relate to land tenure and landscape in Orkney and Shetland (Jones, 2012).

Shetland’s geographical position has played an important role in historical narrative of political tensions, cultural interaction and the diffusion of ideas. Although the islands have been under the control of Scottish institutions since the fifteenth century, a continuous reinterpretation of a Norse past has consistently provided a counter-cultural claim to Scottish influences. From the evidence collected in Watt’s research, it is apparent that the ‘Norseman’s Bias’ is not merely a political or historical phenomenon. It retains and transmits meaning through a learned, experiential process, which is interconnected with landscape, community and social structures (Watt, 2013:256). Clearly, ‘contemporary circumstances influence peoples’ perception of the past, the factors that contribute to the construction and perpetuation of past relationships.’ (Cohen, 1983:484).

Jon Leirfall (1979), on a visit to Shetland in the 1970s, lists the long and varied cultural symbols of Shetland’s links with Norway. From the welcoming placard
at the Lerwick harbour bearing words from the Gulating Law\textsuperscript{20}: ‘\textit{Med Logum skal Land byggja}’\textsuperscript{21}, to street names and Norwegian symbols ‘in patterns on silver, in advertisements and in names of firms’, the annual fire festival \textit{Up Helly Aa}, which culminates in the burning of a re-constructed Viking galley by men dressed in Viking costumes and singing a song entitled ‘\textit{The Norseman’s Home}’ (Leirfall, 1979:158). Leirfall also translates a nursery rhyme from Western Norway, which recalls the fishing in Baltasound, in north Unst by Norwegian fisher: ‘Row, row to Baltaskjer, Caught you many fishes there?’ (Leirfall, 1979:154). To him and others it is clear that ‘the northern islanders of today still feel a distinct affinity with Norway as opposed to mainland Scotland’ (Magnusson, 1980:251). But on what historical evidence is this cultural affinity based? Nostalgic ‘Viking Waffle’ promoted by a ‘pro-norse clique on the County Council’ (Wills in Cohen, 1983:482)? Or even a ‘anti-Scottish theory of modern Shetland history, a theory of biological or racial determinism’ (Smith, B. in Cohen, 1983:482).

The Northern Isles of Scotland, although retaining some remnants of Nordic culture, have essentially been incorporated into a different geo-political and cultural territory. This has led to an ‘insular’ approach to the study of the culture and history of the Scottish Northern Isles, that delegates them to the peripheries of the nation-state (be it Scotland or Britain), and only permits the acknowledgement of a unique cultural identity in the area of antiquarian or archaeological interest.

\textsuperscript{20} One of the first regional Norwegian legislative assemblies established in Gulen, north of Bergen, on the West Coast of Norway (900-1030 AD), and covering an area as far as the Faroe Islands (including Shetland). See Robbestad, Knut (1969) \textit{Gulatingloven}. (Oslo: Norrøne bokverk. Det Norske Samlaget)

\textsuperscript{21}With laws shall the land be built.
As we have seen above, this view can be traced back to mid-nineteenth century historiographies generated by both Scandinavian and British scholars, and popularised through publications by authors such as John Beddoe, a Fellow of the Ethnological Society of London and Resident Physician to the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, who writes in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (1851-1854).

A good deal of authentic history, almost the whole of the local names, and the universal prevalence of the English language, which has superseded the kindred Norse tongue, combine to prove that these populations were Scandinavian centuries ago. In spite of the introduction of multitudes of Scotch officials and traders, the Norse elements still greatly prevail in the islands (Beddoe, 1851-1854:255).

Bedoe goes on to remark that he thinks the inhabitants of Caithness and the Hebrides, and to a lesser extent, the Orkney and Shetland Islands, had been almost cut off from contact with their ‘Norwegian kindred’ after the thirteenth century. This has meant that the Celtic influences (from Ireland and Scotland) became stronger, although ‘the Orkney and Shetland people very much resemble each other, and have something ‘very English about their aspect, speech, and bonhomie of manner’ (Beddoe, 1851-1854:255).

One of the major figures in terms of providing a Norse historiography of the Orkney and Shetland islands has been the Norwegian historian Peter Andreas Munch (1810-1863), who was also a major figure in Norway’s nation-building movement. Using translated texts from the Icelandic sagas, Norse place names
and runic inscriptions, both the Orkney and Shetland Islands were shown to form a cultural unit with Norway until their transfer to the Scottish Crown.

In *The Northern Isles – between two nations* Torhild Øien outlines the motivations for the Norwegian interest for this interpretation as a basis of their own national historiography (2002:80-104). She notes that Munch was one of the first people that, during a visit to Orkney in 1849, had the opportunity to investigate the runic inscriptions at the Maeshowe burial chamber, and to see traces of what he considered the everyday folk or ‘almuesfolkene’ (Øien, T., 2002:36), the authentic ancestors of the Norwegian essence. In his search for the historical origins of the Norwegian ‘folk’, Munch then devoted Chapter 75 of *Det Norske Folk's Historie* to ‘Orknøerne, Hjaltland og Island’, focusing on political and historical events in the period following 1353 (Munch, 1852:914-915).

Other Norwegian historians that succeeded Munch concentrated their research into either linguistic or archaeological specialist thematic areas, when looking at the Orkney and Shetland islands. So, for example Anton Wilhelm Brøgger (1884-1951) focused on Norwegian emigration to Orkney and Shetland from the eight to the tenth centuries, whereas Alexander Bugge (1870-1929) studied Orkney and Shetland’s connections to other regions of Europe during the Middle Ages. This concentration on early Norse settlements and the medieval period as the only connecting timeframes constructs the islands as quite static locations, where links to the Nordic countries have ceased long ago. They are placed in Norway’s
medieval history, along with other tax provinces (*skattland*). At the same time as they disappear from Norway’s political territory, the islands no longer appear in (national) historical discourse, for example during the union with Denmark or thereafter (Øien 2002: 39).

This multi-layered approach was also integrated into Scottish historiography, where the islands of Orkney and Shetland quickly become a homogenous unit as ‘the Scottish Northern Isles’. As in the Norwegian national narrative, the islands serve to provide a Norse element to Scottish history, agreeing with Norwegian historians in that ‘cultural impulses were channelled in a one-way direction from Norway to the Northern Isles’ (Øien, 2002:100). Attention noticeably decreases after Munch’s time, with a disinterest in the islands from the 1920s onwards, and Scandinavian researchers no longer coming into contact with what was previously considered a central part of Norwegian history (Øien, 2002:36). The islands are, instead, considered separately and often within strict thematic perspectives.

In terms of Scottish chronologies and geographies, Gilbert Goudie’s *The Celtic and Scandinavian Antiquities of Shetland* (1904) is the first text after Gifford (1786 (1879)) and Edmondston (1809) to provide a connected history of Shetland. As other European scholars of the time, he divides Shetland’s history and culture into distinct periods: Pagan, Celtic and Scandinavian. It is important to understand that this particular chronological structure left scholars invariably searching for the ‘remains’ of cultures past. These remains were to be found in
either Celtic or Scandinavian cultural ‘traces’ in the landscape and language of the islands. Using Shetland antiquarians Gilbert Goudie and Edwyn Seymour Reid Tait as his starting point, Andrew O’Dell’s *Historical Geography of the Shetland Islands* (O’Dell, 1939) added an additional sub-division of Shetland history from a Scottish perspective: ‘The Pre-Scottish Period’ (see Part III, which includes Pre-Norse, Brochs and Norse Settlements), ‘The Period of Scottish Penetration 1612-1712’, ‘The Rise and Decline of the Dutch Fisheries and Merchants 1712-1795’ and ‘The Rise of the Landmaster-Trader’ (O’Dell, 1939: Introduction). This left aside any continuing, post-medieval, cultural-historical links with Scandinavia, and a mere five pages for dealing with the nineteenth century and after. However, O’Dell lists an extensive list of around 60 maps from 1555 to 1933 – provided, mostly, by the Royal Scottish Geographical Society (and now to be found at the Scottish National Library). 22

Significantly, O’Dell establishes the subsequently often-repeated mantra that ‘The residual links with Norway were being rapidly broken as new links with Scotland were forged’ (O’Dell, A.C. 1939:285). This leaves students of Scandinavian cultural links in the Viking age, and students of modern history and cultural development linked primarily to Scotland and the British Isles. Studies of Shetland’s culture and history have generally followed this normative trend, with

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22This selection excludes any maps from non-Scottish sources such as, for example, the early ‘Mapa Maritima’ of Olaus Magus’ *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus (History of the Northern Peoples)* published at Rome in 1555, which features Orkney and Shetland as part of a Nordic geography (and chronology). Interestingly, this was a historical source the antiquarian Gilbert Goudie was well aware of, as he cites it as part of his ‘Miscellaneous Papers’ (Goudie, 1904:288).
folkloric research of specific cultural traditions investigated as remnants of a lost civilisation, rather than continued adaptations and recontextualisations.

Research documenting links (prior to becoming part of Scotland’s history) are plentiful, and concentrate on pre-history (see Smith, Brian (ed.), *Shetland Archaeology*, Lerwick, 1985, Ritchie, J.N. Graham, *Brochs of Shetland*, Aylesburgh, 1988 and Fojut, Noel, *A Guide to Prehistoric and Viking Shetland*, Lerwick, 1993), quickly followed by an impressive quantity and quality of research about past Scandinavian links: Magnusson, Magnus, *Vikings*, London, 1980 and Donald J. Withrington (ed.) *A Northern Commonwealth: Scotland and Norway*, Edinburgh, 1990, Barbara E. Crawford ‘The Pawning of Orkney and Shetland’, The Scottish Historical Review, 48, 1969 (in *Essays in Shetland History*, Lerwick, 1984), or titles such as *Scandinavian Scotland*, Leicester, 1987, *Northern Isles Connections: Essays from Orkney and Shetland*, Kirkwall, 1995 and *Scandinavian Settlement in Northern Britain*, Leicester, 1995.23 One or two studies refer to modern history and continuous international contact such as *Hollanders in Shetland* (Beenhakker, Adrian J., Lerwick, 1973) and *The Shetland Bus* by David Howarth (London, 1951) although again, they focus on specific periods or events that ‘required’ contact, such as the Second World War. Cultural links are dealt with, again, within the medieval period and discuss a cultural

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landscape that, although influenced by past intercultural links, has now become distinctly static, national, and ‘Scottish’. ²⁴

**Conclusion**

Modern history is often equated with narratives of modernity - linear progress and economic change, trade and development – and, in Shetland’s case, associated with fish and oil industries. This chapter has explore the fascinating relationship between national and regional cultural regions, and the construction of chronologies and geographies within these, and other, ‘imagined communities’ (Anderson, 1991). In terms of maintaining links with Norway, in particular, both Smith and Fenton in *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland* (Fenton, 1978 (1997)) makes a good case for intercultural dialogue being closely connection with trade. He notes that trading links remained strong until the nineteenth century, providing the islands with essential timber for boats and to some extent for house-building and tools. Trade was a means of maintaining and renewing culture contacts with Norway long after 1468-9 (Fenton, 1978 (1997):3), demonstrating how the sea acted as ‘a link to the world beyond’ (Smith, 1984 (2993):323). The next section will investigate the significance of this intercultural history and how specific spatial identities are constructed around them.

3.3 Spatial identities and connected cultures

This section examines a variety of private and public memories and identities created through the connected histories and geographies of Scotland and Norway during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It analyses the role played by ideological and institutional contexts of region-building in the two countries under investigation, and applies the concept of an intercultural region. The impact of intercultural links on religious, linguistic and economic concepts and structures are investigated, particularly in terms of constructing a spatial identity (Häkli and Paasi, 2003). Using the approach of entangled histories, it will discuss similarities and differences in the development of landownership in coastal Scotland and Norway. This makes it possible to trace the development of spatial identities over time, as part of long-term development of the Norwegian and Scottish economic cultures.

Spatial identities

In terms of constructing regional identities or ‘spatial identity’, Häkli and Paasi (2003) compare the process to the creation and maintenance of ideologies and discourses on an institutional and moral level. Using Althusser’s framework of the ideological state apparatus Häkli and Paasi argue that spatial identities are given a tangible form through social practices and rituals (Häkli and Paasi, 2003:146). These perform a set of ideas and beliefs, but also manifest themselves in the institutional arrangements operating in modern societies. Spatial identities are therefore the result of (political and institutional) regionalisation processes in
dialogue with local cultures and practices, which develop their own, regional, characteristics.

The term region often refers to distinguishing features, which can be either geographical or cultural. The word can thus refer to another ‘spatial level next to that of the nation state’ (Schrijver, 2006:22). Previous research on ‘regional northern identity’ (Zachariassen, 2007) differentiated between the concepts of regionalisation and regionalism. Whereas regionalisation points to a state’s effort to integrate the region within the state and control it (Zachariassen 2007:2), regionalism represents the effort to create a consciousness and political ideology within or on behalf of the region, but without having full independence and separation as a goal. Similarly, research documented in *Regionalism after Regionalization* (Schrijver, 2006) has focused on the contemporary interaction between cultural regionalism (a strong sense of regional identity) and institutional regionalisation (or ‘devolution schemes’). Schrijver et al. also point to the importance of differentiating between territory or geographical entity, and ideologically or culturally defined areas. Just as there is a difference between the concept of nationalism and nationalisation, the first referring to a belief, ideology or movement and the second placing land, property or industry under state control or ownership, a distinction should be made between regionalism and regionalisation.
Althusser’s distinction between various ideological state apparatuses (Althusser, 1970) gives us the opportunity to consider cultural identities as part of a network of ideological systems. Häkli and Paasi divide them into the following: religious (the system of various churches), educational (private and public schools), the family, jurisdictional, political (the political system and parties), professional, communication (the media) and cultural (literature, art, sport)’ (Häkli and Paasi, 2003:146). This leaves aside the shared economic systems or landscapes uses that shape the cultures of many societies, although perhaps these fall under ‘professional cultures’, but equally link back to Mandler’s ‘symbolic capital’ (Mandler, 2006:271-297) and the public macro-identities identified in the previous section.

North European coastal communities share a historical space, but also a set of environments and cultures that are different from inland areas, often shaped by a combination-economy of farming and various ways of using the sea and coast. Underwater topographies, for example, together with changes in temperature according to the time of the year, determine the production of plankton, which affect the quantity of fish in a particular area. Intangible knowledge about the sea and the land, the offshore fishing grounds and the coastal environment is therefore a critical part of the economic and cultural capital of coastal communities. These connected identities are visible in tangible objects such as settlements and harbours, material culture such as boats and coastal buildings (Schjelderup, 1995:35-65), but also intangible knowledge about the cultural landscape of the
coast. This includes boatbuilding (Christensen, 1984:85-95), navigation (Redondo, 2012) and fishing meds\textsuperscript{25} (Klepp, 1992:13, Simpson, 2010).

A shared, diverse, but similarly sea-focused cultural landscapes exist across the coastal areas of the North Sea and the North Atlantic that informs the way in which national and regional cultural identities are shaped and maintained (Rian, 1997). They also form the basis of ways in which coastal communities interact across the North Sea in transnational cultural regions or ‘sub-national regions crossing international boundaries’ (Winge, 2001:48). The study of culture (alongside histories and political changes) ‘may thus give us a key to a richer understanding of the present world and explain the feelings of mutual relationship among the coastal inhabitants of the North Sea’ (Bjørklund, 1985:151-166).

\textbf{Regional Identities}

Modernisation theories associated with nation-building definitions developed during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries assumed that regions were nothing more than necessary pre-conditions for nation-building. Regions, particularly in France, Germany and Spain, were seen as chronologically preceding and/or intermediate expressions of nationalism. Beyond that they were to be considered as opposed to the modernising (and, implicitly, progressive) forces of nation-building (Rhodes, 1995, Augusteijn and Storm, 2012). This perspective is embedded in much of European historical research, although some

\textsuperscript{25} A combination of inland and offshore orientation to located fishing grounds, safe anchorages and other underwater landscape features.
areas have, at different times, retained a diversity-within-unity approach, by maintaining national, regional or territorial diversity (Schrijver, 2006, Murdoch, 2007, Newby, 2012). Nevertheless, within nation-building narratives, regional identity is often referred to as a weak or unsuccessful attempt at nationalism or separatism, with the consequent survival of sub-national identities, that are experienced as tensions between the national centre and its peripheries (Tägil, 1995, Häkli and Paasi, 2003, Zimmerbauer and Paasi, 2013).

As Steve Murdoch (2006) has shown in his studies of early modern commercial and personal networks between Scotland and Sweden, identities and networks of place, region and nation, are not always relatable across nations. Neither do they, necessarily, have an impact on identities adopted or expressed abroad. So, for example, early modern Scots maintained a variety of internal local and regional identities which could, but not always did, have a bearing on networking abroad (Murdoch, 2006:50). Yet Highland and Lowland identities often dominate historical discussions, as they have frequently been assumed to be entirely separate and mutually exclusive (both when expressed at home and abroad) until long after the Union of Parliaments of 1707. These regional identities were often assigned to people by external commentators, and give only a limited insight into the subject. They also obscure the complexity of lived realities. So, for example, it would be wrong to assume that an eighteenth century ‘Highlander’ from Angus would feel more affinity to another ‘Highlander’ from further afield, rather than to

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26 For example, within the United Kingdom, the three countries of Scotland, Ireland and Wales could be defined as regions. Equally, within Scotland areas such as the Highlands, or individual island groups, could be defined as cultural micro-regions.
their fellow ‘Lowlander’ from the south west of Scotland. Yet, anyone living north of the river Tay was often described as a ‘North Country Scot’ (Murdoch, 2006:51).

For the people living in the various parts of Scotland the region played an important part, with complex layers of lordship, lineage and locality often competing with a wider sense of patria. However, regional or local identities often gave way to more ‘national’ expressions, particularly when individuals or communities operated abroad (Grosjean and Murdoch, 2005). This led to ‘supra-national and multiple identities’ (Murdoch, 2006:72) being created and performed alongside a highly flexible concept of being ‘British’. This was already current both at home and abroad, and ‘bought into by some Scots, some Welshmen and some Englishmen’ (Murdoch, 2006:72).

Both regionalism and regionalisation processes have thus been part of a long historical tradition, and can, of course, be found in cultural and political discourse today. So, for example, since the 1960’s, the Shetland Islands have been regionalised into Scotland’s periphery – the region of the Highlands and Islands – following the adoption of the islands into ‘the Highland Experiment’. This came about with the creation of the Highlands and Islands Development Board in 1965, which aimed to bring economic development to the Scottish peripheral regions in
the form of limited autonomy. As most successful regionalisation concepts, it can even be applied retrospectively, with leaders of the movement likening it to a revival of cultural and political activities that took place during the nineteenth century (Hunter 1999:337). However, this perspective, to some extent, removes unique and enduring historical and cultural links belonging to the different areas that constitute the Highlands and Islands.

Both Sven Tägil (1995) and Christopher Harvie (1977) describe regionalism as the dynamics of being part of a nation, but also being part of a network of European regions, often seen as peripheral by that very nation and using their very difference from that nation as a source of resistance within the existing power structure. Analysing regional narratives in terms of plurality, and, more specifically, their intercultural then becomes a significant factor in terms providing a basis for self-determination and de-centralisation projects that are an alternative to reactionary forms of regionalism (Råberg, 1997) based on essentialist geographical, ethnic or racial notions of ‘the native’.

Regional identity also creates a sense of cultural community and solidarity. Some regions that are based on historical administrative areas, such as the medieval baronies in South West Germany, others are based on economic commonalities of

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interest, such as the Ruhrpott\textsuperscript{28} or Interregio\textsuperscript{29}. In Northern Europe issues involving ethnicity and nation building have shaped various types of cultural-political regions. Territorial divisions in the earliest Nordic state formations, for example, were derived from prehistoric settlement structures, a pattern that applies, in principle, to all the main areas of settlement in the Nordic region.

Cultural or linguistic particularities often become the basis for cultural regionalism. Annsi Paasi distinguishes between old and new regionalism, with old regionalism typically conceiving regions as entities that have become institutionalised over time and respectively have a certain historical depth (Paasi, 2009). New regions, on the other hand, are part of a de- or re-institutionalisation dynamic, which can consist either in an amalgamation of existing regions, or the resistance to the amalgamation through regional identity discourses that seek to mobilise resistance identities (Castells, 1997). Zimmerbauer and Paasi (2013) argue that, in these cases, regional identity discourse may be an important element of resistance for those who struggle against spatial restructuring and deinstitutionalization but also for those who support regional changes. This kind of discourse usually transforms the past, the current situation and even future expectations related to the region to elements of resistance (Zimmerbauer and Paasi, 2013:31). Elements of this discourse are then associated with various social practices, values and ideals, such as self-governance/autonomy, rurality,

\textsuperscript{28} A colloquial expression for an industrialised region centred on coal mines along the river Ruhr in Nordrhein-Westfalen in the north west of Germany.

\textsuperscript{29} A shared area created by the European Union in the late 1980s, which was aimed at bringing together the economic, social and infrastructural policies of neighbouring federal states and regions of Germany, Luxemburg and Belgium.
independent service production, or concentration/decentralization. Struggles over regional identities thus bring together multiple interests, and different factions may use diverging rhetorical and discursive devices and tactics in articulating their interests.

Externally, regions are often perceived as peripheral satellites or sub-national entities. However some regions use their very difference from that nation as a source of cultural (sometimes political) resistance to the existing nation or trans-national region. And although some administrative or trading regions come to an end through the deinstitutionalisation of a region (where a historical region is dissolved), divided into smaller units or merged with another region, it nevertheless may still have an important role as regional consciousness (Zimmerbauer and Paasi, 2013:31).

**Connected cultures**

Historically, regionalisation can be seen to occur as a result of changes in national political and religious administration systems, which then impact on the social and cultural life of regional societies. Ståle Dyrvik (1999) explains the changes in local administration in Norway after 1660, when Norway was divided into four Stiftamter30 (Akershus, Kristiansand, Bergenhus and Trondheim) as part of the

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30 A Stift is a geographical area of the administrative jurisdictions of the diocese (stift) and the county governor (stiftamt, stiftamtmann), effectively a district belonging to the church, but under secular administration. Norway was divided into 25 counties (fylker) in the twelfth century, each falling under a legislative assembly or Thing. Not every county was attached to a Thing, so for example the Norwegian tax counties (skattlande) of Finnmark, Faroe Islands, Hebrides, Isle of Man, Orkney, Shetland, Iceland and Greenland all had their own regional assemblies. From the
development of a more centralised government system under the Danish King. This led to the establishment of a new local governance through four royal officials: the pastor, the sheriff, the magistrate and the local military commander (Dyrvik, 1999: 41). The pastor represented the king’s authority by belonging to the stift, which was itself connected directly to the bishop as representative of both god and the king. The Sheriff dealt with the farmers’ taxes, public prosecutions, police and penalties. The magistrate both assisted the Sheriff and farmers with contracts, heritage disputes and the transfer of property, as well as being a contact to the state authorities. The military commander signed up farmer’s sons for military service, provided training and, together with his officers, provided supervision with weapons and provisions. The most important aim of the introduction of these new civil structures during the 1660s was the more effective collection of taxes and other charges to the state. Until then local landlords used their personal powers and contacts to collect taxes and administer laws. With the new administration, the local sheriff became responsible to the state and king, rather than to their local landlord. These seventeenth century changes thus paved the way for a more centralised governance, directly from Denmark, which would characterise Norwegian society and culture for the next 150 years (Moseng et al., 2003 (2012)).

end of the twelfth century Norway was divided into syssel districts, and from c. 1308 into administrative districts called len. With the introduction of Danish rule from 1662 onwards, each of the len districts in Norway were designated a Danish amt or office. This continued until a reintroduction of the fylke districts after Norwegian independence in 1919 (DANIELSEN, R. E. 1998. Norway : a history from the vikings to our own times, Oslo ; Boston, Scandinavian University Press.).
Cultural regions can also have a homogenising effect, with every region characterized by ‘similar or nearly similar living conditions in all the associated communities’ (Winge, 2001:42). Typical examples in Norway are farming districts like Jæren or Romerike, or fishing districts along the coast. Here Winge uses the term ‘integrational diversity’, which homogenises what are often very diverse areas, by which communities complement each other in such a way that together they make up an interdependent, coherent unit (Winge, 2001:42). This can be in terms of sharing natural resources such as wood in exchange for fish. This is a regionalising process which is different from, but can be combined with, state-administrative regionalisation processes, or with economic or commercial region building, such as between the Norwegian city of Bergen and Northern Norway, which for centuries maintained close economic contact, but nevertheless remained culturally widely separated (Winge, 2001:49). The latter is an example of a hidden, geographically non-adjacent region, where a more or less hidden system of relationships may exist in an area. This hidden region is discernible only through analysis, contemporary or historical, of the distribution of cultural elements.

Hidden regions may have become so through a change in regional socio-economical patterns, such as alterations in trade and markets, migration, fish stock and migration, climate, or a combination of all of the above (both cod and herring fisheries fall into this category). Analysing historical regional narratives in terms of plurality, and, more specifically, their ‘interculturality’ thus becomes a
significant factor in terms providing a basis for self-determination and de-centralisation projects. One example of a hidden intercultural region that connects Scotland and Norway in this way are the way in which landownership cultures developed in the geographically adjacent areas of Western Norway and Shetland Islands.

**Landownership and Udal Law**

Previous scholars have often argued that 1469 has been seen as a far more significant date in the history of Shetland than 1468 in Orkney. Whereas Orkney had been under Scottish influence for a long time, administered by Scots for centuries, Shetland had been governed by Norwegian officials directly from Norway from 1195 until 1469 (Withrington, 1983). In order to understand this difference between the Orkney and Shetland Islands the history of administrative regions and landownership in this region must be considered.

Attempts to consolidate Norway into a single kingdom in the tenth century resulted in a number of geographic regions that had their own legislative assembly or Thing, such as the Gulating (Western Norway) or the Frostating (Trøndelag) (Dyrvik, 1999). The second-order subdivision of these regions was into fylker, such as Egdafylke and Hordafylke. The historical term fylke was brought into use again in 1919 to replace the term amt which had been introduced to designate a county during the union with Denmark (Winge, 2001).
Finnmark, the Faroe Islands, the Orkney and Shetland Islands, the Hebrides, Isle of Man, Iceland and Greenland were all Norwegian tax areas (skattland), but did not belong to any known assembly areas. This meant that their administrative relationship with Norway was primarily around landownership and the collection of tax, with areas of governance or legislature left to regional administrators and confirmed by the court in Bergen. So, despite 1469 presenting us with a written document that shows a transfer in ownership of the islands from one king to another, in reality there were still close connections maintained between Shetland and Norway (Crawford, 1983). The option to use both Scottish and Norwegian systems of taxation, governance and legislation seems to have been applied quite flexibly for some time, with Shetlanders continuing to go to Norway long after 1469 to have legal sentences confirmed and land transactions dealt with (Smith, 2009).

In the British Isles udal landholding can be found in Scotland and on the Isle of Man. As a Norse-derived legal system it is related to the ancient Scandinavian property law odelsrett (Norway), and has existed until recently in Sweden as bördsrätt (Ryder, 1988). Udal law was codified by the Kings Magnus I and Magnus IV in the tenth and thirteenth centuries. Land was owned outright (in allodium) by the family, and was not supposed to be disposed of without the expressed agreement of family members. So, for example, the oldest regional law in Norway, the Gulating law, stated that for a farm to become allodium property it would have to be with the same family for over six generations (Kjelland, 1996).
If a farm was sold during that period it could still be redeemed by a member of the previous owner's family. Both sons and daughters could inherit allodial rights, including the right to buy back land that had been sold to male relatives who were not direct successors. Until the end of the seventeenth century several changes were made to the Norwegian allodial system, reducing the period of being able to gain allodium and redeem it, with an unsuccessful attempt made to remove it altogether in 1811. Allodium was finally reconfirmed as ‘everlasting’ by the Norwegian constitution of 1814.

It is worth noting the similarities and differences between this type of land tenure in Norway and Scotland, which continued to develop. One particularly interesting question in terms of the udal law in the Scottish Northern Isles is why some aspects lasted until the twentieth century, while others disappeared (Waugh, 1996). Historically, Scots law was a mixed system that combined common law and civil customs (Sellar, 2000). Many of these codes remained in force in Norway until 1604, which meant they were applied until almost the end of the period (1611) when the Norse laws were in force in Orkney and Shetland (Ryder, 1988). After 1611 there is evidence of the rapid decline of udal landholding in the Scottish Northern Isles, with udal lands being bought and converted into feudal estates by Scottish landowners, often without the knowledge of the Scandinavian proprietors (Smith, 1978). Frances Shaw (1980) notes that this last provision (giving the Earl of Orkney the advantage of first offer on buying any udal land) is
not to be found in any of the Norwegian codes and appears to be a ‘local innovation’ (Shaw, 1980:35-36).

Even after the official abolition of Norse laws in Scotland in 1611, there is ample historical evidence for the continuation of udal laws in Orkney and Shetland in both custom and practice (Ryder, 1988). In some cases udal laws and customs were gradually replaced by feudal practices. Feudal phrases were often used in legal documents intentionally by existing feuars and Scottish notaries, to ensure that they were not under odal restrictions in future. Shaw argues that in these instances it seems more likely that the phrasing was chosen ‘on the initiative of the notaries who drew up the charters and sasines, whose Scottish legal training would have been based on feudal usages, and would be very conscious of the 1611 act which had abolished the Norse laws’ (Shaw, 1980:39). However, and although often seen as a surviving feature of customary land tenure within the existing Scots law, there have been claims that it should still be identified as a separate, if not competing, system of law (Jones, 2012).

Norwegians continued to own land in Shetland post-1469 and vice versa. They were udallers, tenants and owners of big estates in both Western Norway and Shetland. So, for example, the Mowat family owned estates across various parts of the Shetland Islands and Norway. During the sixteenth century they became the largest landowner in Western Norway, with estates that formed the basis of Norway’s only barony (Rosendal) created in 1678 (Sunde, 2009). Yet, in 1485
we hear of the ‘plundering of the Lords of Norroway and their agents’ (Ballantyne, 1999:21-23), which are mentioned in several Shetland sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These Norwegian landowners were said to be members of aristocratic families based in (Western) Norway, who were inheritors of a big estate that a lady of Shetland origins, Herdis Thorvaldsdatter had amassed until her death in 1363 (Ballantyne and Smith, 1994:19-23). Herdis was the daughter of herra Thorvald Thoresson, the king of Norway’s local governor in Shetland in the 1290s. The nature of her estate(s) illustrate the complex nature of late-medieval landownership in Shetland, with geographically distributed clusters of land attached to larger properties in multipolar estates after the Norwegian model (Stylegar, 2007).

Frans-Arne Stylegar (2007) argues that even if these estates were then bought or inherited into even larger estates, they were regularly organised as micro-estates, with a central manor surrounded by smaller, dependent farms and with other attached properties at a greater distance. This way of regionalising large estates, even if it was just for collecting the yearly rent – in a time and place with relatively modest means of communication – may have be looked upon as the best way of structuring. So, for example, Lady Herdis’ Shetland estate was a multipolar one, in that it was comprised of three, discrete estates, probably with different origins, and each perhaps having once been independent holdings (Stylegar, 2007).
As we can see in the case of udal law, certain symbolic and institutional elements of the region may exist long after formal abolishment of it. This is not always done in order to achieve political, linguistic or cultural independence – it can be an on-going dynamic as part of the hegemonic project of nationalisation and regionalisation, or different forms of resistance to perceived centralisation or identity management from above/outside the region. The social construction of spatial identities in the Scottish Northern Isles is strongly intertwined with the significance given to these types of connected landownership cultures. In both the Orkney and Shetland Islands, for example, udal law is closely connected to the construction of a shared regional identity, which has given rise to contested histories of landownership in the islands. Interpretations of udal law and attached customary rights varied during the eighteenth century and beyond, according to personal circumstances, political views, and position in the landowning hierarchy. And, despite Scottish influence, udal law continues to play a vital role in sustaining debates about the relevance of a Norse historical past (Jones, 2012:14) and acts as a spatial identity that connects Norway and Scotland. It has also played an important part in the origins of crofting (Hunter, 1976 (2010)), where it joins other legal, topographical, historical and fictional literature in the social construction of regional landscapes (Jones, 2012).

**Economic cultures: sharecropping**

Many parallels, but also differences can be seen when comparing Norwegian with the Scottish economic cultures. Whilst previous scholars have often concentrated
on the unique origins of crofting in Scotland, fishing tenancies can be seen as another example of connected economic cultures that influenced the mixed fishing and agricultural tenancies that followed.

Hunter points out the connection between late eighteenth century *kelping* (the production of an alkaline seaweed extract used for bleaching textiles), which established a system of agricultural tenants locked into a system of being both subsistence farmers and factory workers. This system was a prerequisite for the crofting system in the North of Scotland. The kelper remained an agricultural tenant who lived on the land, which meant that his landlord was able to draw on the kelper’s labour during the kelping season, while leaving him to his own devices (although paying rent) for the rest of the year (Hunter, 1976 (2010):52).

By the 1790s there was a growing movement in favour of abolishing the traditional agricultural structure in Scotland, and replacing it by a system consisting of holdings occupied by individual tenants. This method of landholding was convenient both to improvers and able to provide a profitable kelp industry (Hunter, 1976 (2010):53). In the Scottish Northern Isles, scholars have often commented on a unique feature of this region’s economic culture during the eighteenth century, which defined the relationship between fishers and landowners. Brian Smith (1992) describes how eighteenth century landlords and tenants were part of an extensive commercial fishing economy that depended on the principle of sharecropping. The ‘Zetland method’ (Wills, 1984) compares
well with the socio-economic system in the North of Norway, where fishers ‘lived within a social-economic system based upon a triangular relationship between fisher, merchant and landlord (Thowsen, 1970:166). However the terms and conditions offered to the fishers in both countries were very different.

Sharecropping is a general term given to a variety of arrangements whereby landowners receive a portion of the harvest (share of the crop) from those whom they allow to work their land (Marshall, 1998). This widely recognised system has been used across the world, in a variety of societies and historical contexts, with agreements based on either tradition or law. Elizabeth Griffith and Mark Overton have rediscovered the practice for English rural historians (2009), with sharecropping identified as a practice in seventeenth century Norfolk estates, but disappearing from documents in the eighteenth century. In Scotland, as in the rest of Northern Europe, the system went hand in hand with enclosures, whereby communal land was converted into enclosed agricultural land in private ownership.

Susan Knox (2003 (1985):6-19) has traced the transition in Shetland’s landscape ownership and divisions from the land of informal scattald and communal areas to a landscape formally divided and enclosed for the market economy. Up until the late eighteenth century land ownership in the Northern Isles was defined by merchant lairds whose main interest was the fishing trade. Shetland landlords essentially attracted fishing tenants by providing small farms and extensive
pastures, the scattald, for them. From the late seventeenth century onwards, after a century of famines and depopulation on the islands, and the transfer of local government to the landowners (rather than the previous mixture of Norwegian and Scottish administrative systems), several local merchants, in a matter of a few years, bought up and leased bankrupt estates in Shetland (Smith, 1992:99). This meant that fishing became a priority for local landowners, as they took over the fish trade and started to arrange fishing tenures, which up until then had not been part of the landlord-tenant relationship.

As noted both Brian Smith (1992), the unique feature of the implementation of sharecropping in the Shetland Islands was that Shetlanders did not give their landlords a fixed proportion of one crop, the norm in sharecropping; they gave them the whole proceeds of their summer fishing (Smith, 1992). Added to this were, in some instances, rent payments for the land paid in farm produce, which meant that the ‘Zetland method’ (Wills, 1984) was more complex than simply giving a fixed amount, depending on the variable farming outputs produced by the rented land. The fishing contracts, in some cases, extended to the leasing of all equipment (including boats and nets) from the landlord, and an obligation ‘to fish or leave’ (Smith, 1992:106), i.e. be evicted from their rented land (croft). This, combined with a truck system, where crofter-fishers were obliged to use merchant outlets owned by the local merchant-landlord, meant that these bonded fishers were locked into an economic model that combined sharecropping with a cashless bartering system controlled by the merchant-landowner (Goodlad, 1971:97).
Alistair Goodlad (1971) identifies three main tenure agreements that alternate the role of the merchant-landmaster from being the preferred buyer for fish and produce at a fair price, to paying higher rent in either money or produce (with the tenant fishing freely), to paying a high rent and selling fish and other produce to the landowner at a lower price (Goodlad, 1971:96-100). Ironically, the latter ‘Zetland method’ (Wills, 1984) encouraged clandestine trading between bonded fisher and small merchants located around the islands. This helped the growth of the merchants until eventually they overtook the landowners as fish traders, which led to the eventual demise of the truck arrangement (Smith, 1992).

However, and as is apparent from the Gardie House archive on the island of Bressay (GHA, 1810), the ‘Zetland method’ of sharecropping is a much more complex and varied system, that really had no specific norm and was highly flexible when it came to the needs of individual tenants. Documents show that sharecropping was implemented differently by landlords and tenants in different parts of the Shetland Islands, or even on the same island, with different tenants. Free fishers remained in existence, as well as some tenants coming to a variety of arrangements with the landowners, including not fishing at all, leaving for parts of the time to work at a Greenland whaling station or paying higher rents when not fishing. The following examples illustrate the variety of circumstances on the island of Bressay alone.
The Gardie House Archives on the island of Bressay in Shetland contain a report, or the appendix to a report, which formed part of proceedings against the local Minister in 1810. Here the tenancy conditions for the islanders for that year are set out in detail with, for example Francis Gifford in Midgarth, in the Island of Bressay, who ‘depones that the half of Midgarth in Hoversta, which consists of five merks of land as a tenant at will under Mr Hughson the principal tacksman’ is due to pay a yearly rent of ‘9s. each merk’. Gifford also fishes, including having to fit out ‘the fifth share of a six-oared boat at his own expense’, with the fish caught deliverd to the tacksman’ – the principal tacksman Mr Hughson (GHA, 1810:3). So far, all according to the ‘Zetland Method’. His neighbour Jeremia Hunter ‘in the Maill of Hoversta, in the Island of Bressay’, who has three merks land, is due to pay 20s. yearly for each merk land, with the addition of ‘days’ works and poultry equal to his neighbours possessing an equal number of merks’. However, Hunter does not fish or own a share of a boat, instead he pays a higher rent and ‘goes to Greenland and other places across the seas as he inclines, and that his lands lie run-rig with those of the other tenants in Hoversta. &c.’ (GHA, 1810:4). Another tenant, Gilbert Laurenson at Uphouse in Hoversta, ‘neither pays poultry nor days work to the proprietor, and is under no obligation to fish’.

Instead, his rent is paid in corn and ‘casual teinds he pays three days work yearly to the minister. (…)’ (GHA, 1810:4). William Smith in Croetown, has been ‘freed from that obligation’ (to fish), paying a higher rent instead (‘£1,5s. for the said outset of Croetown yearly, but now … he pays £2,15s) (GHA, 1810:4). No fishing either for John Halcrow, tenant at Gardie in Bressay, who ‘depones that
his farm which he holds under Mr Hughson the tacksman, consists of half the inclosure adjoining to the mansion-house of Gardie, for which and an office-house that he lives in he pays the sum of £2 yearly, and that the tenant occupying the other half, which is of less value, pays £1,15s.’ (neither of them are under any obligation to fish, and neither pay days works nor poultry) (GHA, 1810:5). On more than one occasion the payment of rent takes into account the presence of a widow, as well as the inability of the tenant to fish, although it is clear that a higher rent was payable, which may be interpreted as a ‘pay or leave’ rather than a ‘fish or leave’.

James Tulloch, tenant in Setter, fishes in addition to the rent of his three merks, fitting out ‘the sixth share of a six-oared boat in the ling fishing, delivers the fish to the tacksman, and is paid for them at the rate of 4s. per quintel of ling and large tusk, and 3s. per quintel of cod and small tusk’. His other three merks in the same room are, however, ‘occupied by the widow of a late fishing tenant’ (GHA, 1810:6). Already two merchants’ interests are present within the above 1810 document, William Ross and Charles Ogilvy, both merchants in Lerwick. William Ross rents a croft named Troubletown, paying a yearly rent of 18s. 6d. sterling (GHA, 1810:9). Charles Ogilvy, on the other hand, provides guidance prices such as the medium value of butter at 9s.9d. sterling, per listpond of 24 merks, and a can of oil at 1s. 2d. sterling (GHA, 1810:12). By the 1820s Shetland landlords had more or less given up these complicated and difficult to administer annual fishing tenures, and leased their estates and fishing tenants to merchants.
Instead. They now started to pay more attention to their estates, with some enclosure for sheep farming taking place, which were seen as an alternative to fishing tenures.

_Nessekonger^{31}_

Similarly, in Northern Norway, the early nineteenth century saw local landowners and merchants buying real estate in the fishing villages, as well as building and renting out accommodation for visiting fishermen. These landlords were given exclusive buying and selling rights under the Lofoten Act of 1816, which gave them control and proprietary rights over both areas of the sea and the fish. The Lofoten Act (Lofotloven) regulated the time when fishing could begin in the morning, and divided the seas off the shore of each fishing village into permanent areas for long lining and gillnetting.

Owners of these fishing estates were referred to as ‘Kings of the Headland’ or _Nessekonger_, and were usually landowners charged with implementing the Lofoten Act, determining the price of the fish they bought and of the goods they sold to the fisher. Similarly to the ‘Zetland Method’ they rented out fisher cabins (rorbu) in order to secure a regular supply of fish, owned any local equipment and shops, and were represented on all major public committees and local councils. Their ‘right of control’ over the fishing was eventually diminished by the Lofoten Act of 1857, which paved the way for free market fishing with public fisheries.

^{31}_‘Kings of the Headland’ (my translation).
inspection. Nevertheless, it was not until the Raw Fish Sales Act of 1936 when the rights of local landowners and fish merchants to determine fish prices were replaced by that of the fisher’s own sales organisation, the Raw Fish Sales Association (Josephson, 2002).

As in Shetland, the local landowner-merchants established themselves and grew more powerful throughout the nineteenth century. In order to bind the fisher to their fishing stations and ensure a regular supply of fish, this ‘new nobility’ built a large amount of rorbu cabins. The word rorbu is derived from the Norwegian word for rowing - ror - and bu (to live or stay), and still refers to the accommodations in a fishing village where visiting fisher lived while they were staying here to fish from their rowing boats. The first permanent accommodations in the fishing villages were probably turf huts, as described by Heinrich Steffens in Was ich erlebte. Aus der Erinnerung niedergeschrieben (1841) where he notes the window-less, conical shape of fishing huts along the shore near Bergen (Steffens, 1841:36). With the building of fisher’s cabins, landowners in Norway were in a powerful position (as rorbu owner, fish buyer and merchant) and fishers often felt exploited. However, both landowners and fishers had a common interest: to benefit from fishing. This meant that local landowners often helped fisher’s families during hard times, supplied food and fishing gear, often also owning the fishing boats themselves.
As we can see from the examples above, both Norwegian and Scottish coastal communities apply similar methods of share-cropping during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These were economic systems that exploited the fisher, passing on the benefits to the landowner, who was also the merchant. However, during the eighteenth and nineteenth century these relationships underwent another transition, with increasing government and civic influences, but also more centralised ideas of improvement. This also had an effect on education and language, which continued to develop as an aspect of regional identity in both Scotland and Norway.

**Intercultural contact and language**

Leading up to the Union of the crowns in 1707 a combination of geographical and linguistic differences, as well as economic activities meant that there were a number of very different cultures in Scotland between 1707 and 1832. A constant flow of influences from Ireland, England, Europe and beyond mean that a plurality of cultures existing side by side, creating a complex and varied Scottish culture (Lenman, 2001:327). The main cultural divide has often been defined as being that between the Gaelic of the Highlands and (Western) Islands and that of the Scots-speaking Lowlands. Lenman adds a third cultural zone, which consists of the Orkney and Shetland Islands and Caithness. This is ‘where an originally Scandinavian culture, operating in physical settings much like the Gaelic Highlands and Islands than the Lowlands, was being steadily assimilated into a
wider Scottish and British context by an elite of Lowland origins’ (Lenman, 2001:328).

After the reformation in the early sixteenth century, both Scotland and Norway became protestant. In Scotland Calvinist Protestantism developed, whereas Norway became Lutheran. Religious education increasingly played a big part in the transmission of what were seen as necessary skills (including literacy and language) for preparing children for entry into their faith communities, and citizens of a state increasingly dominated by civic, rather than royal, duties. With religion and literacy closely connected through religious education, this also affected the use of official languages, particularly written forms.

Religion and literacy have traditionally been closely connected across Northern Europe, where schools were often established and run by the Church. The Lutheran Reformation in 1536 aimed to use the national language as the ecclesiastical language, which had a significant impact on education across the Scandinavian regions. As Norway was part of Denmark during reformation, Danish took on this role, with Christian III’s Danish Bible used in church services. Danish was also considered a norm for the written language, with no Norwegian translation of the Bible until modern times. After 1536 the only Norwegian texts still in use were old law texts dating from the thirteenth century, which all were translated into Danish by around 1600 (Johnsen, 1992:56).
The introduction of obligatory confirmation in 1739 in Norway meant that education in literacy in Norway was implemented primarily in Danish. Although Norwegian, as a written medium was essentially replaced by Danish, Norwegian dialects continued to be spoken, and attempts to impose the notion of standard spoken Norwegian were never successful. Regional dialectal differences that had arisen during the Old Norse and Middle Norwegian periods, in fact, increased, due to topography and traditionally poor internal communications. For the history of Modern Norwegian writing this means two strands of promoting Norwegian literacy developed: the attempt to resuscitate Norwegian, and the attempt to Norwegianize written Danish.

Although Norway had its own constitution since 1814, it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that the connection between nation and language became decisive. In 1853 Ivar Aasen, a self-taught linguist who had been studying the Norwegian dialects, proposed a language reformation, later called Aasen-normalen (The Aasen-norm) (Johnsen, 1992). Aasen’s initial aim had been to find the roots of the Norwegian language, and to base a new written language named laandsmal (later Nynorsk or New Norwegian) on the dialects that had developed directly from Old Norwegian (Johnsen, 1992:72). The other option was to keep Danish spelling and grammar, adapting it to a Dano-Norwegian later named riksmål. Inspired by the cultural ideals of the period, Aasen’s proposal was initially the preferred option. From about 1880 discussions about national politics and the union with Sweden intensified, with the new radical Parliament
acknowledging Aasens landsmaal as an alternative to riksmål in 1885. 
Landsmaal (the language of the country) was initially popular in the rural areas, especially in its core area of western Norway. However, different parts of Norway adopted the two types of written Norwegian with varying enthusiasm, especially in the period 1890-1920, when the renamed Dano-Norwegian bokmål became dominant. Although the preference of bokmål over nynorsk has continued in most parts outside the West Norwegian core area, users of nynorsk practise it as a symbol of regional identity and regional pride in their (usually rural) area (Vikør, 2001).

The Scottish language situation shares many similarities with Norway, including discussions over the linguistic, historical and social status of Scots as a language or dialect. Today Scots is sometimes considered as a distinct language, in the same way than Norwegian is connected to, but separate from, Danish and Swedish. To distinguish it from Scottish Gaelic, which is Celtic language spoken in parts of the Highlands and the Hebrides, Scots is sometimes referred to as Lowland Scots. Up until 1700 written Scots was increasingly influenced by the emerging Standard English, and the developing royal and political interactions between Scotland and England. The protestant Church of Scotland had adapted the authorised ‘King James version’ of the bible in 1611, which was written in English. After the Union of Parliaments in 1707, and with more and more printing in Scotland available in English, both the written and spoken Scots began to loose social prestige. As discussed earlier, Scots increasingly wanted to see
themselves as North Britons, as part of the British nation-building process (Millar, 2005). This included changing aspects of spoken Scots, which gave rise to a written and spoken Scottish Standard English – although Scots remained the vernacular of both rural and urban eighteenth century Scots (Jones, 1997).

However, the eighteenth and nineteenth century also saw a revitalisation of literary Scots by prominent writers such as Robert Burns, who established a cross-dialect literary norm. However, unlike Norway, no institutionalised language policy with a standard literary form was established, leading to English being the dominant written language across Scotland (Trudgill, 1984). When it comes to the spoken word, however, Scotland’s regions remain immensely rich in regional dialects and identities during the eighteenth and nineteenth century and beyond. Within the context of this thesis, it is again useful to investigate a relevant example of how intercultural contact has shaped a local language situation.

**Language and landscape**

As we have seen the discussion around udal law, Shetlanders continued to have particularly close relationships with some elements of Norwegian administration, such as the Norwegian legal system long after 1469 (Donaldson, 1990:8). This required a continuing knowledge of a type of Dano-Norwegian language, as well as a familiarity with associated social and cultural networks. Some scholars have suggested that the modern Shetland dialect reflects the importance of being a sixteenth century Scottish settlement, in that it contains many examples of sixteenth century Scots, a language which has not been superseded since
However this would mean that aspects of the language of the Scottish Northern Isles somehow culturally remained in the sixteenth century, which is not true. It is important to recognised the flexible nature of the language situation on the islands, with no one language being deliberately superimposed upon or ousting another (Fenton, 1978 (1997):616). As many other eighteenth and nineteenth century visitors to the islands of northern Scotland, Samuel Hibbert comments on the language spoken in the Northern Isles as retaining many Norwegian terms and ‘along with these their own national accent’ (Hibbert, 1822:99). Referring to George Low’s previous Tour through the Islands of Orkney and Schetland Hibbert he notes the flexible language use of the islanders, who ‘speak Danish and Norwegian when required, but Dutch with great fluency’ (ibid).

Fenton, when discussing seventeenth-century sources from Shetland also suggests a nuanced language situation on the islands, with people speaking Norse amongst themselves, but ‘because of trading links could readily speak Low Dutch. Several of the udallers, many of them men of substance, spoke Scots, and some of the incomers learned to speak Norn’ (Fenton, 1978 (1997)). Michael Barnes has shown that Norn was replaced as a distinct language in the Scottish Northern Isles with a Scots dialect, which just as other types of Scots, used Norwegian lexical resources, but otherwise integrated other contact-languages such as Dutch, Frisian and English (Barnes, 1998). Although records suggest a relative close link between Norn and Norwegian, Faroese and Icelandic, it did not somehow dissolve
or deteriorate into the Shetland dialect, as assumed by early antiquarians and philologists. A previous language shift from the Scandinavian language of Norn to Scots has shown to be the result of pragmatic, but also dynamic choices by the population in response to ongoing social and economic change (Knooihuizen, 2010). Just as other cultural aspects, the linguistic situation is therefore the result of continuing intercultural contact, rather than some kind of Scots or English takeover (Stenroos, 2012). However, in many ways, the Norn-to-Scots takeover argument replicates a particular historical perspective applied to the relationship between Scotland and England after the Parliamentary union of 1707.

As we have already seen, under the influence of a degree of ‘Nornomania’ (Melchers, 2012:213-230) researchers of the language and culture in the Scottish Northern Isles often prefer to focus on the Scandinavian aspects, while ignoring other modern influences. The idealisation of Norn, for example, has clearly contributed to both romantic and pessimistic interpretations of the ‘Norse Golden Age’, with the modern Orkney and Shetland dialects often presented as a diluted or eroded form of the Norn vocabulary (Nihtinen, 2011:196). However, the idealisation of the Norn language and its reinvention within nineteenth and twentieth century cultural discourses also plays a significant role in the emergence of modern Shetland self-understanding (Nihtinen, 2011). Again, this historical and spatial identity is not accidental, but created through a shared system of ideas, which uses shared ethnic origins and intercultural links as its main resources in constructing connected identities.
Shetland historian Brian Smith (2004) has argued that this attitude towards the dialects of the islands has its cause in the Scandi-patriotic perspectives of people such as Jakob Jakobsen (Jakobsen and Horsböl, 1928). Jakobsen’s attitude towards the modern Shetland dialect as a diluted and therefore inferior type of language that had been corrupted by Scots was adopted by many twentieth century writers worried about the Anglicisation of the modern Shetland dialect. In Jakobsen’s case, Smith thinks his views may have come from an unrealistic concept of language death, and confusion about the relationship between Norn and the modern dialect spoken in the islands in the nineteenth century and beyond.

Modern linguists tend to agree. Orkney-based socio-linguist Ragnhild Ljosland (2012) has provided an overview of the societal factors (especially education) on the establishment of both Orkney and Shetland dialects as a dialect of Scots, rather than English. She argues that Scots was already firmly established in Orkney between 1468 and 1560, rather than being the result of an erosion and replacement of the native Norn in subsequent years through the influences of religion and education (Ljosland, 2012). Her research is based on more recent studies on the linguistic relationship between Scotland and the Northern Isles (Millar, 2007). These studies have taken a much wider and dynamic approach to both language death and language shifts in the Scottish Northern Isles, and the pragmatic nature and social context of language shifts can often be seen.
So, for example, when discussing the sea-language of fishers, the shift from one lexical resource to another can be observed. Fenton notes that many words from the ‘sea language’ of fishers are of Scots origin. Some place names are seemingly Scots translations of Norwegian place names, although they may also be mistranslations or ‘jocular terms of purely local significance’ (Fenton, 1978 (1997):619). He points out the words for parts of a boat such as ‘horse-leg-been’ and ‘keel-root’ are likely to be Scots translations of the Norwegian place names Folafoten on Hirsøy, and Kjølrota, an off-lying skerry in the Sognefjord area. However, he also notes that a high proportion of these words are of Dutch or Low German origin, with words such as claedin (for clothes) being sea-names (only to be used while at sea). Individual items with sea-names were stockings, breeches, mittens, dags, handibodeks, muliaks, a hat, an outer coat, furtail, a skin coat, skinfell or fübester, and a flannel shirt or similar covering, wily coat. Shoes are ifareks, and waterproof sea-boots, to which Shetlanders seem to have been partial, were derteks, lers, stenglins, stenkels, stivalirs, or stavalirs’ (Fenton, 1978 (1997):622).

These linguistic encounters between the islands’ dialect and various European languages were no doubt due to trade contacts with the Dutch fishing fleet, a link of great importance in the economy of the Low Countries from at least the twelfth century. More recently historical socio-linguist Remco Knooihuizen (Knooihuizen, 2010) has used the same examples to attempt to analyse the eventual death of Norn as a spoken language in Shetland. He argues that earlier
researchers such as Jakobsen focused on a very specific lexical selection of words, which all had an association with traditional or older ways of life. In addition, it was the very existence of a taboo language amongst fishers that created the conditions for the adoption of strange sounding or foreign words or phrases in coastal communities (Knooihuizen, 2008). In many cases they were taken from several linguistic areas or sources, and can thus not be used to date either the death of Norn or the Norn-to-Scots language shift. Instead, Knooihuizen follows Robert McColl Millar (2005:16-36, 2010) in arguing that the Scots spoken in the Northern Isles is a new dialect that has consistently accommodated other languages and dialects over time.

Insular Scots is clearly not the consequence of one simple language shift, but the outcome of continuous adaptation to changing intercultural links, including migration, both within and out with Scotland. This interpretation allows for a combination with earlier explanations that supported the survival of ‘remnants’ of Nordic lexical or phonetic linguistic resources for Insular Scots. As a dynamic part of lived culture, the insular dialects are thus flexible enough to have their very own phonetic, phonological and lexical variations, but these continue to change not only due to linguistic, but also social and economic influences.

**Landscapes and spatial identity**

Human activity is part of a cultural landscape that is itself embedded within a historical context. So, having investigated the connections between Scotland and
Norway’s people after 1700, the focus will shift to the connection between landscapes and spacial identities in the last section of this Chapter. On a local level, for example, vegetation or agricultural change can be contextualised historically, by supplying detailed analysis of land use, husbandry. On a macro-historical level, on the other hand, this means considering political divisions, local and national land reforms, inheritance systems and old and new cultivation methods. These lead to significant landscape transformations and regional identification at different times that is area-specific and not always chorological. A historical-geographical perspective thus offers ‘an alternative to the worn-out dichotomisation of the landscapes as either ‘modern’ or ‘traditional’ (Lundberg, 2008:348).

Anders Lundberg has suggested that to be able to understand the way in which Nordic regions are shaped we need to understand them as cultural entities that change through the course of history (Lundberg, 2008:366). This means understanding biophysical regions as both including natural features such as climate, topography and vegetation, but also incorporating human activity, which involves both tangible and intangible cultural production. Lundberg argues that the Western Norwegian landscape is different from other areas, in that, for various topographical, climatic and historical reasons, remains a ‘hand dug landscape’ until the twentieth century. As across the North Sea in the coastal communities in Scotland, access to seaweed meant that rotation between arable and meadow was practically unknown, unlike many other areas of northern Europe (Lundberg,
Across Northern Europe, different types of common property and common management were practiced up until the early nineteenth century. Farmers then had access to different plots or strips of the field in a three- or four-year cycle, depending on the number of farmers in the farm cluster (Griffiths and Morton, 2010). Lack of mechanisation, industrialisation and taking advantage of a very specific coastal land use meant that until the twentieth century coastal communities in Norway and Scotland shared the same cultural landscape, with similar working environments, their ancestors and neighbors, and the physical and social setting for memories, recollections, and cultural heritage.

Landscapes and spatial identities are thus intimately connected in that geographical and cultural location are created within a contemporary context that mixes historical narratives with local and national interests. Charlotta Malm’s *A Place Apart?* (2013), for example, discusses the contemporary role of the landscape of the Shetland Islands in relation to several contested issues, ranging from landscape management and nature conservation to place branding and island stereotypes (Malm, 2013). It is important to add to this ‘descriptive landscape’ of what are often considered culturally and socially peripheral regions within the United Kingdom and Europe (Turnock, 2003:2). This adds to our understanding of how a region's identity changes within a variety of sub- and transnational modernisation and development projects. Without understanding the mental maps constructed by the people living there, how can we understand the cultural and political dynamics that interact with these changing spatial patterns?
The way in which the sea, for example, is conceptualised a connection point and source of livelihood, rather than one of isolation and barrier to external influences, is central to human existence in the North Atlantic environment. It is therefore not surprising that maritime history and culture have played such a pivotal part in the construction of regional identities in the coastal communities considered in this thesis.

**Conclusion**

This Chapter has examined a variety of public memories and identities created through the connected histories and geographies of Scotland and Norway during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It has analysed the role played by ideological and institutional contexts of region-building in the two countries under investigation. The impact of intercultural links on economic and linguistic structures and perceptions were investigated, particularly in terms of constructing spatial identities (Häkli and Paasi, 2003).

Geo-spatial identities perform a set of ideas and beliefs, but also manifest themselves in the institutional arrangements operating in modern societies. A focus on ‘professional cultures’ within the context of historical patterns of landownership in coastal Scotland and Norway showed a pattern of connected identities arising from the interaction between environment and institutional and legal arrangements. Particularly the social construction of udal law showed the
links between systems of landownership, but also subsequent region- and nation-building in both Scotland and Norway. This was particularly evident in peripheral parts of Scotland such as the Shetland Islands, where udal law has often been presented as a traditional alternative to modern, feudal landownership, brought to the islands by Scottish landowners. A discussion of the shared economic culture of sharecropping set the islands’ ‘Zetland method’ within the context of the wider world, as well as showing to be a much less isolated and more complex example of sharecropping than previously assumed. This made it possible to understand sharecropping in Scotland and the Northern Isles as part of long-term developments in the Norwegian and Scottish fisheries industries, which nevertheless retained their own, regional, cultures.

Other spacial identities that connect Scotland and western Norway, were then considered, such as landownership, udal law and landscape use. Along with other macro- and micro-cultural conflicts both within Scandinavia and the wider European context, the intercultural contact between Scotland and Norway during the nineteenth century clearly supported a growing movement for independence. A shared culture of exceptionalism between Norway and Scotland also found its counterpart in the role of language, which was discussed both in terms of its historical and social significance. Returning to Häkli and Paasi’s systems of ideologies, the role of regional speech and national writing in Scotland and Norway was discussed with regard to the creation and maintenance of spacial identities.
Whilst intercultural links and languages are undoubtedly intertwined, both in everyday communication and cultural production such as literature, both Norwegian and Scottish examples have demonstrated the importance of real and imaginary lexical resources. The establishment and maintenance of regional spatial identities in Scotland is evidently not accidental. It is created through a shared system of ideas, which utilises Nordic intercultural links to produce connections to Nordic cultural spaces. The construction of Northern identities in Orkney and Shetland incorporates a certain ‘Nornomania’, or bias towards Norse and Nordic culture, which often ignores modern social and cultural developments. However, this should not mean the lived, modern reality of links between Scotland and Nordic world can be dismissed or ignored.

To sum up, during the nineteenth century Northern Histories and Identities were constructed as part of new, sub-national regions, such as North Britain, as well as that of the growing British Empire. Overall, the relationship between nationalism and regionalism, however, remained highly flexible across Northern Europe, with regional identities established and maintained seemingly independent from established political centres. So, for example, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries represent a historical period in which both Norway and Scotland are part of a greater whole, governed from the distance by separate political elite. In Scotland’s case, as we have seen above, this represented an intensification of what
had already been happening in the preceding century, with the Scottish landowning and merchant elite gravitating towards London as the centre of power.

However, the European Enlightenment inspired ideas of civilisation and improvement that did not only apply to nation states. Activities such as antiquarianism democratised historical and topographical knowledge, which enabled the construction of regional identities. Imagined communities such as the medieval Scottish/Norwegian ‘commonwealth’ could now be based on scientific or historical fact. Peripheral regions could either draw strength from being part of a greater whole but could also, at the same time, have an ambiguous relationship with the centre. This also applied to Nordic cultural heritage, which was reinterpreted in order to construct communal historiographies both within and out with the Nordic countries.

The next Chapter will relate the public ideas and spatial identities created through histories and geographies to the private movement of people and ideas across the changing cultural landscapes of Scotland and Norway in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The role of migration and trade in the creation, maintenance and transmission of culture will be discussed, from the transfer of material culture, to that of oral and literary narratives.
**Sievägin**: Flows of People, Objects, Narratives, 1700-

Present

The movement of personnel, commodities, and cultural practices across world regions between 1500 and 1800 was vast and increasingly complex. Structural features across regions account for striking similarities in the timing of regional transformations. (...) While global processes shaped regional trajectories, peculiar local variants in turn influenced global change (Benton, 2002 (2009):288).

This chapter develops the research gathered in Chapter 3 by investigating specific examples of overseas contacts through flows of people, objects and narratives. It gathers examples of eighteenth and nineteenth century interregional contacts between the Scotland and Norway in the form of historical and cultural evidence for intercultural spatial identities. It also extends the historical period of investigation for this thesis by including contemporary examples, especially from the fields of literature and heritage studies. Cultural influences often travelled alongside economic networks, so the role of Scots in Western Norway is discussed in more detail, but also other personal and professional networks are explored, for example with Denmark, Sweden and Northern Germany.

Aspects of nineteenth and twentieth century Shetland language and literature illustrate the complex relationship between history, cultural memory and representation. Following the many varied facets of *sievägin* or seafaring links, the chapter will discuss examples from eighteenth and nineteenth century material

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33 Shetland dialect term for seafaring or maritime travel/trade.
culture as well as cultural practices, narratives and ideas that have linked Scotland and Norway from 1700 to the present. So, for example, the title for this chapter is taken from a poem in Shetlandic by Robert Alan Jamieson in his book *Nort Atlantik Drift* (2007), where he describes both the tangible and intangible connections derived from maritime travel, trade and migration.

SIEVÆGIN

Beyond the flat earth of the
boundaries of sense,
he knows –
the world is just
a round blue ball people circle
in order to work and live:
a global awareness.
If you spit in the ocean,
that drop might reach Eshaness.
But hoist a sail,
and you go where you please,
to new found land
Eshaness. (Jamieson, 2007:113)

4.1 People

As seen in the previous chapter, intercultural relationships have existed between Scotland and Norway for long periods of time, and have historically been part of the wider links between Northern Europe and Britain (Simpson, 1990). When explaining maritime connections, historians and archaeologists have traditionally focused on the territorial expansion of Norse settlements from the eight century onwards (Magnusson, 1980), or the changes in early societies during medieval period. This is when connections between Scotland and Norway were based primarily on governance or administration. Together with geographical
proximity, this led to a variety of trading links (Donaldson, 1990, Magnusson, 1980), such as the Scottish-Norwegian timber trade (Thomson, 1991, Smout, 1998). These historical links involved the movement of people (Pederson, 2005) and technology (Lillehammer, 1986), but also cultural connections such as language contact (Lorvik, 2003), folklore (Anttonen, 1993) and music (Ronström, 2010). During the timeframe covered by this thesis frequent intercultural contact, either through physical migration or the circulation of material culture, became the norm across the globe. But repeat migration did not just take place across the Atlantic world, where it shaped the emergence of new cultures, in the cities and towns of the colonies. In Northern Europe inter-regional migration and mercantile relationships actually increased between some regions in Denmark-Norway and Scotland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This was based on a new vocabulary of market oriented commercial expansion and profitability imported from other regions in Northern Europe, which continued and strengthened during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

**Social Change and Trade**

The increasing use of the term ‘Englishmen’ as an all-encompassing term for people from the British Isles, often masks the fact that Scottish networks played a far more significant role in British-Scandinavian commerce than previously understood (Murdoch 2006:247). When considering examples from Western Norway and the North-East coast of Scotland (including the Orkney and Shetland
islands), a strong argument can be made for the continuation of regional Scots commercial networks during the eighteenth century.

During the early modern period Scots influence in Scandinavian regions had often been hidden in covert commercial structures, which benefited the region hosting the industry and repatriated capital back to Scotland (Murdoch 2006:4). A comparative practice can be seen in Scots working within the colonial networks of the seventeenth century. Here a Scotsman working for a commercial mission to the Dutch East Indies can be seen redirecting his wages straight back to Scotland, even while the employee was at the other side of the world (Murdoch 2006:228). The continuation of Scottish migration to, and trade with, Norway thus demonstrate regional examples of global links throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This contrasts with the view that after the Union in 1701 Scotland became commercially and socially more isolated and solely focused on its relationship with England, Britain and the Atlantic and West Indian colonies (Smout, 1998, Armitage and Braddick, 2002 (2009)).

As in the case of colonial trade, the movement of capital often followed complicated routes, which is a complex feature of Scotland’s place in the context of British-Scandinavian economic growth. Numerous localities and institutions in Scotland were enriched through the co-operation and opportunities offered by personal and commercial networks between Scotland and Scandinavia. While this introduced increased benefits to the host societies in terms of business
opportunities, it also resulted in a subtle transfer of capital, goods and cultural commodities back into Scotland (Murdoch 2006:248). Eighteenth century Scots migrants from the North-East coast of Scotland played a similar role, only on a more inter-regional level. So, for example, their influence was pivotal in the establishment of a commercial dried and salted fish industry in Western Norway, with much of the profits made repatriated back to Scotland and the rest of British economy. Arne Odd Johnsen traces the impact of Scots (although referred to as British) in *Den Britiske Innflyttingen til Nordmør på 1700-tallet* (1938-41).

Eighteenth century Scots migrants brought with them commercial networks and expertise to the area of Nordmøre, around Kristiansund (then known as Fosna), which became a centre for the commercial production of dried and salted cod (*klippfisk*). These connections were not merely restricted to doing business, but a whole variety of internal social and political changes were influenced by what became an embedded Scots community (if only temporarily) within Norwegian society.

However, before we can focus on the significance of the Scottish-Norwegian trading links in terms of economics and politics, it is important to examine the wider background in both countries, in order to understand the social context in which these connections took place. One of the most significant social changes in Norway taking place between 1540 and 1640 is the emergence of influential *borgars* or town citizens as a social class. Merchants, wealthy farmers and town citizens generally paid a number of taxes, but also had special privileges, which
became a basic element of the development of townships in Norway. Town citizens (*borgar*) had rights over Norwegian warehouses, which put local capital into domestic hands, and the right to own warehouses was expanded to apply to all Norwegians. In simple terms: every single farmer had the right to sell, buy and vouch just like any merchant could do. This meant that a Norwegian merchant was able to own capital and have the authority to build up a domestic trading centre. However, this did not apply to exports of fish, as these were controlled by Bergen merchants keen on the profit to be made by selling dried fish at a higher price to export markets in Holland and Spain.

The first change in Bergen’s *de facto* monopoly on foreign trade in fish products came in 1742, when the small trading posts (*ladesteda*) Lille Fosen and Molde in the Norway’s North-Western district of Nordmøre and Romsdalen were awarded township (*kjøpstad*) status. Molde (Romsdal) and Lille Fosen (Nordmøre) had already been part of Trondheim’s trading area for some time, but Bergen had had dominion over both the internal and external fish trade, as the major part of fishing merchandise from Trondheim was brought to Bergen for export too. Merchant town privileges (*kjøpstadprivilega*) were important for the development of the west-coast trading post Molde and, in particular, for Lille Fosen (today Kristiansund). Here Scottish and English migrants had been taking care of almost all fisheries trade and production activities since the early eighteenth century (Johnsen, 1949).
The role of women

When considering the impact of social change and trade on intercultural links, it is important to return to the role of gender. The primary sources used in the previous Chapter are almost exclusively male, reflecting both the contemporary social contexts in which they were written, as well as those of place. The coastal communities that encountered each other in Norway and Scotland were clearly structured along gendered lines. So, for example, seafaring and trade itself, the primary means of intercultural encounter, were almost exclusively male roles. The existence of different female perspectives thus needs to be acknowledged.

Up until the middle of the nineteenth century the role of women within Northern European society was defined as being primarily within the domestic sphere. This meant that women were considered incapable or minor of age, and could not hold property, enter into agreements, control money or travel without the agreement of their family or husband. Women (except those of high social status) were not entitled to education, and could only be placed in employment under the authority of a guardian. In this, as Margaret Hunt notes, Protestant Europe was, in fact, quite far behind other regions.

The first Married Women’s Property Law in Christian Europe was promulgated in 1753 in Orthodox Russia, a century or more before such laws were passed in Protestant Europe, while the country in western Europe with the most advantageous property laws for women (along with other legal benefits) was probably Catholic Portugal, and Iberia more generally (Hunt, 2010:13).
In Britain and Scandinavia these types of laws were not passed until the mid-to late nineteenth century. In Scotland, as in the rest of Britain, both Reform Acts of 1832 and 1862 actually confirmed the exclusion of women from the electorate, with only the 1870 Married Women’s Property Act allowing women to be legal owners of money and to inherit property. This meant that wealthy women could vote after the 1894 Local Government Act and paved the way for extending equality demands to working class women thereafter34. Similarly, the Norwegian Association for Women’s Rights was only established in 1884, with married women gaining majority rights in 1890 and universal suffrage adopted in 1898, although again attached to having an independent income.

However, although the social structures of eighteenth century societies in Britain and Scandinavia meant that women overall had a subordinate position, this did not necessarily restrict their historical agency. Throughout the modern period, the most visible aspect of women acting independently is perhaps the use of law courts and litigation to demand rights and settle disputes with men. They sued men for breach of promise, brought complaints against absent fathers and settled property disputes (Hunt, 2010). As we have seen in Chapter 3, udal law meant that Norwegian women such as Lady Herdis were able to inherit large properties that included lands both in Shetland and Norway. Women also successfully made a living from a range of employment, from selling food and drink or domestic service, to textile production and millinery, from taking over businesses from their

husbands or fathers and investing in property, to begging and prostitution. Marriage partnerships meant that women were active economically beyond the domestic sphere as Entrepreneurs, Tradeswomen and Women Merchants. Women also often acted as intermediaries, both in terms of the maintenance and transfer of family assets, and to secure or advance a family’s social status (Ågren and Erickson, 2005).

The eighteenth century offered both men and women in Northern Europe an opportunity to apply their talents abroad, using either family connections or the developing economic networks that linked international merchant communities. Hans Carl Knudtzon, for example, came from Northern Friesland in Schleswick to Trondheim as a 16 year old in 1767 (Williamsen, 2012). He later married Karen Mueller, the daughter of the head of the Trondheim garrison, Major Frederik Mueller. Knudtzon took over a company from his patron Hr. Hofagent Lysholm, naming it Hans Knudtzon and Co., which the family ran until the 1870s. His shipping and wholesale company dealt with the import of corn, salt, hemp, sugar and coffee, exporting fish, wood and copper. In 1800 his fleet consisted of 25 ships, three fregats, six barks, 14 brigs, one galeot and a few smaller ships, owned in partnership with Meincke and Lorck. The biggest part of trade was with Britain, Ireland, France (wood), Holland (copper and fish), the Mediterranean countries and the Baltic (Knudtzon, 1993:24).

The tax records for Trondheim in the years 1814 to 1820 document that Hans
Knudtzon & Co. as the biggest trading house, with interests in foreign trade, finance and shipping. However, the family was also very influential in terms of art, culture and science, with a social network of associates that played an important role not just in Trondheim (Knudtzon, 1993:26). One of the Knudtzon sons, Christian, was for many years the director of the Røros copper mine in the centre of Norway, and the family also had interests in Trondheim’s sugar refinery, regional trading and fisheries. Another son, Jørgen (1784-1854), enjoyed an independent income and, like many young men of his social status, travelled widely. In 1806 he joined an English ship on its way to Jamaica and met one of the other passengers, the Scot Alexander Bailie from Aberdeenshire. They started a lifelong friendship and travelled together over large parts of Europe and the Orient, spending the winters with Jørgen’s family in Trondheim (1806/07). Their extensive cosmopolitan personal network included the poet Byron, and Broder Lysholm Knudtzon, another son, assembled an impressive private library of over 2000 books. These included works in French, English, German, Italian and Danish, which were all donated subsequently to the The Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters in Trondheim in 1860 (Williamsen, 2012).

Clearly the personal and commercial networks of migrants from across Northern Europe to Norway increasingly merged with each other during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, with a variety of formal and informal cultural exchanges taking place. As personal friendships such as that between Knudtzon and Bailie show, the social and cultural impact of this cosmopolitan merchant class on the
developing urban regions cannot be underestimated. With it came the formation of scientific and literary collections that passed into the Norwegian public sphere during the late nineteenth century, forming part of a national patrimony that had a firmly cosmopolitan basis.

**British coastal trade**

Before considering specific trading links in more detail, the wider context of eighteenth and nineteenth century coastal trade should perhaps be outlined. John Armstrong (2009) provides an overview of British coastal trade 1700-1930 and defines as coastal trade all internal trade between the British Isles. In other European countries coastal trade was primarily carried out by ships of that country (or registered there). This was due to the fact that coastal trade in Britain was only opened to outside competition in 1853, having been protected by the Navigation Act of 1660 until then. During this period of liberalisation of trade in Britain British shipbuilders and traders were already in a technologically and organisationally strong position (Armstrong, 2009:3).

Coastal shipping, despite the advent of the railway, was crucial in the development and spread of industrialisation. It supported urbanisation, the building and population of larger towns and the movement of large amounts of bulky raw materials over long distances. Through the canal and river systems, as well as along the long coastlines of the British Isles, coastal shipping managed to distribute large amounts of resources around the country. However, coastal
transport was also somewhat unpredictable, as it was weather and tide dependent, as well as vulnerable to piracy and war, especially during the late eighteenth century when Britain was at war with at least one maritime power (Armstrong, 2009:10). This changed in the nineteenth century, with steam coastal liners running to scheduled timetables. However, the 1850s brought the emergence of a national structure of railway lines, slowly bringing the dominance of coastal trade to an end. Armstrong (2009) highlights the significance of coastal trade in the United Kingdom between 1500 and 1830, with coastal trade carrying much more than road transport in terms of ton-mileage. However, Turnbull (Turnbull, 2009:56-57) shows that, for example, John Wilson of Leeds found road transport a good alternative to coastal freight services for linen cloth brought from Scotland. Again, war or its threat or aftermath still made coastal transport along the east coast more risky.

When there was no war disruption, the preferred method of transport for textiles was by sea, using major ports with regular coastal sailings such as Leith, London and Hull. As each of the large ports engaged in substantial foreign trade, coasters were used both to assemble export cargoes and to distribute high-value imports such as fish. So, for example, eighteenth century Scotch salmon was brought to London more or less regularly by sailing smack, and meat was sent from Aberdeen to the London market the same way (Turnbull, 2009:57). By the late eighteenth century the Scottish East Coast also saw an increase in ship ownership, which was becoming a more exclusive activity, rather than a side-line for
merchants. This was part of a general change, whereby the chartering of ships by merchants for specific voyages to carry goods at a specific freight rate became a separate commercial activity (Armstrong, 2009:367).

In comparison, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries also saw regular regional commercial contacts established along the Norwegian coast. Fish were gutted and salted on board, then dried when boats returned to their home harbour. Some communities specialised in Nordlandsfarten (literally ‘driving north’) to the far Northern coasts of Norway; others went to buy herring (which was exported in barrels, rather than dried). The typical boat types involved were jakts, galleons, kutters and skøyter, due to their ability to store large amounts of fish and cover long distances. Later small steamers were introduced with crews of five people, which were economically more advantageous, compared to the 6-12 crews necessary for the sailing ships (Gøthesen, 1980).

**Scots in Norway**

One of the first historical narratives systematically documenting the links between the Scottish Northern Isles and Norway is Shetland antiquarian and historian E. S. Reid Tait’s translation of a paper About Contacts between the Orkneys and Shetland and the Motherland Norway after 1468 (Daae, 1953 (1895)). In it, the Norwegian historian Ludvig Daae notes the connections between Shetland and ‘the motherland’ Norway during both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with evidence of Shetlanders settling in the town of Bergen. He goes on to
suggest that ‘testimonies go to prove that there was in Bergen a constant influx of young people from the islands and that the Governor of Bergenhus looked after them and disposed of them in a sort of patriarchal manner’ (Daae, 1953 (1895):4). Daae mentions Shetlanders settling along the Norwegian coast during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, especially fishing districts, and notes the fact that many islanders took citizenship in Bergen, rising to important posts.

One of the town’s first Burgomasters in reformation times was one Lille Jon, a Norwegian though born in Orkney, a godly, pious upright man. In 1593 mention is made of a burgess Johan Shetlander (Daae, in Reid Tait:6).

Ludvig Daae and Reid Tait’s interest in, and ability to, trace continuing contacts between Shetland and Norway well into the eighteenth century, provides a significant regional history to intercultural links between Scotland and Norway.

So, for example, although Daae notes that eventually ‘communications with the motherland were very little’ (Daee in Reid Tait, 1953:8), he then goes on to mention the north country folk poet Petter Dass who, in one of his elegies over the burning of Bergen (1702), mentions Shetlanders as still being a distinct group among the British visitors and migrants to Bergen:

Ye can meet Zeelanders, Hollanders and Frieslanders,  
Look ye on them eating sweet milk cheeses.  
Ye can meet Shetlanders, Englishmen, Scotchmen,  
Pour out for them puddings in pots.  
Ye can meet Frenchmen who roast themselves frogs.  
Ye can meet Norwegians as they boil themselves cod.  
(Daae, in Reid Tait, 1953:8)
So, although actual contact between Shetland and Bergen may have decreased, the islands are still part of a cultural memory, which is transferred within literary and oral narratives.

Daee’s example of ‘Lille Jon’ who was ‘a Norwegian though born in Orkney’, and rose to a high civic position as a citizen of Bergen, gives an indication of the development of a second trading community there. This added to the existing community of (German) Hanseatic merchants, which slowly came to an end during the late sixteenth century. Their presence demonstrates that Scotland was effectively still part of an active and well-connected trading community across the North Sea, and that they integrated into an already established merchant society.

Daeel’s examples trace Shetlanders taking part in both the respectable and not-so-respectable aspects of living in a typical North European trading centre.

Many of the islanders were cooperers and weavers. Family names appear seldom: they are indicated by fathers’ names such as Sandersen, Thomessen etc. From the year 1554 there is preserved an account of a Shetlander Peder who appears to have been a well known man in Bergen, but who had descended to the most disgraceful of all trades. He was charged with, namely ‘as having a couple of houses in which he had loose women’, and was punished with the very stiff fine of 8 ertuder and 13 marks (Daeel in Reid Tait, 1953:7).

Daee also describes a visit to Shetland by Norwegian student Mathias Bonsach Krogh in the eighteenth century.

35 Krogh was born in Finnmark, and grew up in Vesterålen and Lofoten, where his father was a fogd or sheriff. He studied theology in Copenhagen and became the first Bishop of the newly founded bishopric of Northland and Finnmark now Tromsø, as well as the first Nordland representative to the newly established Norwegian parliament in 1815-16. Previous to that he was also awarded the Order of the Dannebrog (1810) and was a member and leader of the Swedish
In 1774 it so happened that a twenty-year old Norwegian student on a journey from Bergen to Copenhagen was driven over to Shetland and wrecked there. He met on the Mainland with the friendliest reception from several possessors of property there, particularly one J. T. Henry (footnote: This is most certainly John Thomas Henry of Forawatt, Walls) (Daae, 1953 (1895):9-10).

The Norwegian Biographical Lexicon documents this ‘adventure’ as follows:

Høsten 1773 reiste Krogh hjem for å besøke foreldrene, men forliste ved norskekysten, tok seg frem til Bergen og nådde ikke hjem til Vesterålen før neste vår. På vei sørover igjen ble skipet drevet over til Shetland og måtte bli der vinteren over. Denne tiden nyttet Krogh til å lære seg engelsk godt (Ellingsen, 2009).

(In the autumn of 1773 Krogh travelled home to visit his parents, but was shipwrecked along the Norwegian coast, made his way to Bergen and did not reach home in Vesterålen before the next year. Heading south again, his ship was driven across to Shetland and had to stay there all winter. This was time that Krogh used to teach himself English quite well (my translation)).

Other, less accidental, connections point to the Scottish Trade (Skotethandelen), and presence of Scots migrants in the area south of Bergen. So, for example, the 1752 church records for the island of Tysnes show the birth of a boy with the parents stated as Samuel Skaale, describing himself as a ‘Hilænder’ (Shetlander) and the mother as Kari Alexander's daughter. It is difficult to say whether they stayed in the region permanently, but it has been suggested that he was a skipper from Shetland who had taken his wife with him (Kirkebok, 1752).

Another good example of a continuous and long-lasting inter-regional family connection between Scotland’s Northern Isles and Western Norway is the Mowat family (Sunde, 2009). Andrew Mowat (c.1535-c.1611) was a Scottish merchant, Nordstjärneorden (1815-1817).
who, via his first wife Ursula Tulloch, acquired an estate in the Shetland Islands during the sixteenth century. After the death of Ursula, he married the Danish-born Else Rustung (daughter of the Admiral of the Danish-Norwegian Navy Kristopher Trondsson Rustung) in 1587, who owned lands in Sunnhordland in her own right. This meant that Andrew not only became an important landowner in Norway, but also served as an admiral in Christian IV’s navy, as well as continuing as trader between Norway, Scotland and England (MacKillop & Murdoch, 2003:5). As well as land in the Hordaland district, the family also continued to own property in the Shetland Islands. After moving to Hovland their son, Axel Mowatt (born ca. 1592), continued to be involved in the trade between Shetland and Norway, with his descendants becoming one of the largest property owners in Western Norway. His daughter Karen Axelsdatter Mowat married Ludvig Holgersen Rosenkrantz, a Danish nobleman who inherited a large estate, building the castle Rosendal (1665) now known as the Baroniet Rosendal, a barony (the only one in Norway) set up in 1678 by King Christian V of Denmark-Norway (Moseng et al., 2003 (2012)).

For the period covered by this thesis, and as already mentioned, the North-Western coastal region around Nordmøre stands out as a particularly relevant example of eighteenth century Scottish migration and intercultural connections with Norway. The klippfisk (dried and salted fish) industry along the coast around the Nordmøre region in Western Norway, started initially by a Dutch migrant, was developed further and commercialised by incomers from Scotland’s north east
coast. Up until 1750 Nordmøre had already developed into a successful collection region for Bergen’s dried fish export market. In 1737 John Ramsay from the North East of Scotland bought fishing villages on the islands just outside Fosna (later Kristiansund). Originally from Banffshire on the North Eastern coast of Scotland, Ramsay (1701-1787) had previously migrated to the area, buying the fishing village Grip on Veidholmen. Working with two other Scottish associates William Gordon (1669-1755) and George Leslie (1713-51) (both also from North-East Scotland) Ramsey ran a successful business in salted and dried fish (klippfisk) for the next 20 years, laying the foundation for what is still today the region’s main export industry - and returning to Scotland a rich man (Bryn, 2009b). He was not on his own. Around 1750 several Scots entrepreneurs can be documented within the district with the largest cod fishery in the country apart from the Lofoten Islands (Bryn, 2009b). In 1754 nearly 30% of all dry fish exported from Bergen was of Nordmøre origin (Johnsen, 1949).

Historian Arne Odd Johnsen (1938-41) has investigated the reasons for the presence of particularly British migrants during this time, pointing to what effectively were headhunting activities by the Dano-Norwegian monarch for protestant business people to come to the area. A variety of advantages were offered to the incomers, including, to some extent, freeing them from the normal citizen (borgar) obligations, such as paying taxes. Scottish and English migrants brought their own regional business networks with them, as well as their particular brand of entrepreneurship and religious and cultural norms (Vollan,
The resulting professionalisation of the fisheries activities of the region can thus, in part, be attributed to Scots merchants. During the 1740s Scots merchants hired a number of Romsdal and Nordmøre locals and trained them both in dried and salted fish production and trade. These associates were then equipped with vessels loaded with salt and sent to the fjords to buy raw fish against cash payments. They also, in turn, hired and trained people to turn raw fish into dried and salted fish. The associate merchants were very successful, as fisher and farmers were paid almost double compared to before, and worked to prepare the fish sold to the regional merchant, rather than having to arrange for it to travel to Bergen. The influence of Scots merchants thus changed the working conditions for Norwegian peasants along this part of the coast, as well as how regional commercial centres such as Møre and Romsdal developed during the eighteenth century and beyond (Døssland et al., 1990). The commercialisation of the production and trade in dried and salted cod thus became basis for the formation and success of the town of Kristiansund, still an important klippfisk trading centre today (Williamsen, 2012). But why, apart from geographical proximity, did Scots choose to migrate to Norway during the eighteenth century? Two entwined factors explain why Scots and similar types of economic migrants made the move, at that point, to this area of Norway: religion and taxes.

King Fredrik IV’s orders around the reformed church during the 1700s stipulated that people that moved to the kingdom and that were protestant were to have a number of privileges. These privileges were reconfirmed in 1714, 1717, 1747 and
1748, which demonstrates their success, and the support they enjoyed from the king (Johnsen, 1938-41). The privileges for migrants belonging to the reformed church (i.e. Lutheran or Calvinist), when settling in trading centres, included having a period of 20 years in which they did not have to pay tax or have any specific obligations towards the state or commune they were residing in. Instead, they should be able to trade, manufacture and ship their goods as well as they could (Johnsen, 1938-41:305). Once those twenty years had passed, the person was either to leave the country, or pay dues to the King.

A list of some of the most important merchant families in the area during the period 1730-1814 shows them being of Scottish origin, with others coming from the North of England: John Ramsey, John Ord, John Matthewman, John, George, Isaac and Thomas Moses, William Gordon senior and junior, George, William and Patrick Leslie, Robert Smith, Archibald Bortwig, Alexander Abercrumby, Michael Mathern, Robert Gilroy, James and Walter Miln, and the Christie, Dall and Allan families (Johnsen, 1938-41). This puts Scottish and English businesses and their activities at the heart of economic, but also socio-cultural development in Nordmøre. Not only did Scots exploit the fisheries resources, they also brought with them a new perspective in terms of finances and business based on mercantilism. This differed from that of the established Danish-Norwegian state and mercantile leaders, who thought that the country’s riches were to be found in the export of metals and raw products, rather than the state-regulated foreign trade of finished products.
Until the eighteenth century, only France, the Netherlands and Britain were putting mercantile ideas of government control of foreign trade into practice as part of a European economic mercantile movement (Johnsen, 1938-41:303). This marked a transition from isolated feudal estates to centralised nation state via a system of political economy that encouraged exports, but discouraged imports. This mercantile system, described by Adam Smith in 1776 (Smith, 1776 (2008)), effectively led to economic nationalism – an economic system aimed at building a wealthy and powerful (nation) state (LaHaye, 2008). In terms of territoriality, trade also increased the spatial extent of rule in direct ways, and was part of a shared, transnational, vocabulary of identification and distinction (Braddick, 2009). This type of trading culture included both a marked convergence in elite culture across Europe, and the development of a new form of social distinction: the establishment of a middle class distinct from landed society. In this, the Dano-Norwegian context is connected to the wider world of European and transatlantic migration, which supplied novel, shared systems of civility and authority, but also added new social groups.

In Northern Europe and Scandinavia, in particular, a new socio-economic network of skipperborgere started to form that often attracted merchants from abroad. As we have seen, the region around Kristiansund attracted people from the north of the British Isles in particular. A Scot born in America, William Main, took skipperborgerskap (merchant skipper citizenship) in Kristiansund in 1779,
followed by David Fothingham from Orkney, Edward Wookelye from Newcastle (both in 1781), and David Rodgers from Scotland in 1792 (Johnsen, 1938-41). As other Scots migrants before them, these men arrived with no workforce, recruiting instead from the surrounding population, and employing them in companies such as Geo. Moses and Co (Johnsen, 1949). And, as already discussed above, the milieu or business culture that these merchants created had a significant cultural and political impact on the host societies, with a combination of professionalization, new technologies and processes, but also social and cultural norms, which increasingly extended to local political influence.

Issac Moses’ son John Moses (Bryn, 2009a), for example, not only took over his father’s business in Kristiansund, but also became a politician and ships agent. From his papers it is apparent that he even provided a kind of training manual for his nephews, in order to prepare them better to take part in the family’s business (Johnsen, 1949). In letters written by John in 1768, they are, for example, instructed to take special care of financial resources through good book keeping, but he also instructs them to learn to read, count and write both in English and Norwegian. Part of the instructions are aimed at ensuring the success of the company and good communications with their host country and workers, but they also include suggestions to take regular exercise and limit the consumption of food, drink and tobacco. Based on the central values of temperance, sobriety, diligence, honesty and religious observance, a new working culture that combined economic efficiency with moral values can thus be seen to emerge.
Moses & Co. and other Kristiansund companies followed four important principles, which were central to their success in terms of working with the local population. They always gave farmers and fisher a good price, the so-called kjobstadspris or merchant town price, for their fish; they made sure they could supply bread and other cereal for a good price; they paid with money, rather than offering bartering or exchange; and, lastly, they never gave credit, but insisted on money payments for purchases. As a result, during the 1750s the export of dried and salted fish already overtook that of the traditional dried fish. Shipping in Western Norway, which had been dominated by the Dutch, now became increasingly dominated by British ships. Encouraged and financed by the Kristiansund traders, this led to increasing links with Northern parts of Scotland.

However, the disparate status of local and migrant merchants could also lead to conflicts with local Norwegian families, who were frustrated with an economic system that put them at a disadvantage in terms of tax payments and other obligations towards the Dano-Norwegian crown. The Kristiansund court records from April 1749, for example, register a business dispute between John Ramsey and Jens Kaasbol, which seems to have ended in a physical altercation (Johnsen, 1949). However, there are also instances of cooperation and business partnerships between the two groups, and descendants of the Scots and English merchants generally became embedded as part of the middle- to-higher social classes in their respective trading centres. The royal privileges awarded to protestant incomers
meant that they were freed of most citizen obligations (borgerplikten), which meant freedom from both local civil and voluntary communal obligations. However, it also restricted their ability to engage with local politics. In terms of religion, and although both Scots and English incomers were required to be from a reformed (protestant) background, their culture and way of life was sometimes seen as being very different, if not immoral, compared to the local population.

The Kristiansund church register shows a large group of illegitimate children born to Scots or English fathers (Johnsen, 1949). Locally, this was seen as a sign of an immoral lifestyle. However, the lived reality of the royal privileges for incomers specified that, should an incomer get married to a Norwegian, they would be liable to pay tax, as well as an additional 25 per cent of their income, should they then leave the country. A clear motivation to stay unmarried, and perhaps just cohabit long-term, was a resulting practice that was common amongst Scots and English migrants, but caused conflict with the Norwegian church. However, towards the end of the eighteenth century, both Scots and English migrants were increasingly assimilated, with intermarriages to Norwegians taking place36, as well as joining the local Lutheran, faith. Of the Scots community in Kristiansund, John Moses was perhaps the most influential politically, as he was elected to the town’s council and even represented the region at constitutional assembly at Eidsvoll in 1814 (Bryn, 2009a).

36 This was not always done freely. In 1801 John Moses (the younger) was taken to court for fathering Isaac Christian Moses, out of wedlock. He eventually married another woman, Anna Holck Tordenskjold in 1804, a marriage which was annulled on his return to Britain (JOHNSEN, A. O. 1949. Kristiansunds historie, Berman og Sverdrup.)
Cultural influences

As we have seen, it was not just in commercial relationships that the influence of Scots migrants is evident in eighteenth century Norway. Technical innovations, farming and fishing practices, but also art and literature from European centres came to Norway via Scots and English influences. The ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment, for example, entered the Dano-Norwegian intellectual sphere in regional Norway. Scots migrants clearly added a cosmopolitan perspective to their capital investment and business practices. Migrants often brought with them, or acquired, extensive art and book collections, consisting of works of international significance. Books were read in a variety of languages such as French, Latin, English and German, and artworks often included popular British paintings of the time. So, for example, the Kristiansund merchant Walther Miln left behind a collection not only of paintings, but also a small astronomic observatory, furniture, and even an English garden. The Scot Jon Roberten Brandt37, who came to Kristiansund from Grangemouth as an employee of John Moses, settled as the manager of the fishing village of Storholmen in Hustad (Arkivverket, 1867-1886). He encouraged and improved the technique for the growing of potatoes, receiving both the Prince Frederik medal and a prize from the Scientific Society in Trondheim (Johnsen, 1938-41:323).

37 ‘Jonny (or Jon) Robertsen Brandt was born in Grangemouth in Skottland in 1714. He was married in Bud(?) kirke den 21/11 1769 to Ingeborg Steffendsatter Farstadberg, and they had 6 children. He is buried at Hustad graveyard.’ (Arkivverket, Digitalarkiv, Klokkerbok i Hustad 567C02 (1867–1886):257).
The ‘British period’ in Kristiansund’s history came officially to an end in 1814, with the establishment of the Norwegian National Constitution, which removed many of the royal privileges that migrants had enjoyed up until then. This, together with a succession of European wars, had a major impact on the commercial enterprises run by Scots in Norway. John Moses’ business enterprises were bankrupted by the economic crisis that followed the Napoleonic war. After going into administration in 1818, we find him living in London during the 1820s, with his marriage to Anna Holck Tordenskjold annulled in 1823 (Mardal, 2009).

**Migrant networks**

Scots, of course, were not the only migrants to Norway in the eighteenth century. Intercultural relationships did not just take place between one migrant group and their host country, but also led to the creation of migrant networks, with connections between various migrants that met within a specific region or developing commercial centre. Just as the relationships between the Scots and English merchants in Kristiansund, links with other migrants such as those from northern Germany became an important part of the economic growth of towns such as Trondheim, which became a storage- and transit-centre for fish, timber and copper destined for export during the eighteenth century (Supphellen, 1997).

In parallel with Danish, Scots and English migrants in other parts of Norway, German migrants not only ran successful businesses, but they also contributed
significantly to the social and cultural development of the area (Støren, 1975:157-162). Only a few of these merchants brought capital in monetary investment, instead they brought with them their experience from international trade through generations, and their contacts to international networks (Bull, 2002). Significantly, they also brought social and cultural capital as a result of their upbringing in a cosmopolitan merchant family, which often included an education connected to a wider international network. They brought family connections and social relationships, as well as ideas and cultural influences from other cities or regions in Europe, often integrating several migrant families into a local elite (Bull, 2008:49-66).

Families such as the Angells from Slesvig, then a duchy in union with Holstein, and part of Denmark, for example, already had commercial interests in Norway during the seventeenth century. Lorentz Mortensen Angell (1650-1767) from Angeln in Holstein, was a merchant and owned parts of the copper works in Røros in the Sør-Trøndelag district of Norway. He had settled in Trondheim in 1650, becoming town councillor in 1670 (Bull, 1992). Angell was followed by fish exporters and merchants Henrik Hornemann (1667-1788) and Henrik (1730-1830) and Hilmar Meincke (1710-71), all from Flensburg (then also part of Holstein/Denmark). These Trondheim migrant families can be seen to collaborate with each other, forming intermittent and long-term personal and commercial relationships, be it through marriage or business partnerships. As some Scots and English families, they also integrated with the existing civic society, where
political ideas and social contacts could be exchanged, and social capital converted into commercial advantage.

**Illicit networks**

Not all movements of people and goods were connected with official business. With a long coastline and the greatest part of the population living along it, the seventeenth and eighteenth century saw Norway develop into one of the biggest seafaring nations in Europe (Dyrvik, 1999:111). As in Britain (Armstrong, 2009), both local and international freight transport in Norway was by sea, with coastal communities further developing already existing competencies around freight transport and mercantile activities. While at the periphery of European trade, the Scottish Northern Isles continued their links both with their Scandinavian neighbours and the Hanseatic links established earlier (Zickermann, 2013b). One of the effects of regular and extended wars in Northern Europe, together with increasing customs duties imposed by various governments on essential goods, was the increasing conversion of official trading activities into unofficial smuggling, both with ports on the Continent and Norway (Wilkins, 1995). The Norwegian historian Ludvig Daae comments on the practice of clearing customs to sail to Norway, but then sailing directly for Holland, which was then part of France, and then at war with Britain.

At the time when Holland fell under Napoleon and the regular communications with that country were cut off, there was carried on frequent smuggling from Holland to Shetland. The method was to clear at the customs (at Lerwick) for Norway but to sail direct to Holland and thence steal back home to one of the outlying islands and discharge tobacco, etc., on shore there, and only then go to Norway and give out on
return to Shetland that the vessel had been there the whole time (Daae, 1953 (1895):9)

Up until the 1770s, the lairds or landowners of properties along the Scottish coast controlled smuggling. So, for example, in Shetland smuggling was an extension of their normal trading links with Hamburg and Bergen, with local merchants documented as taking part in illicit trade as part of their everyday activities (Wills, 1984:175). Both local merchants and parish priests often took part in the concealment of spirits such as Dutch gin, or other goods considered necessary for the *haaf* or deep-sea fishing such as tea and tobacco (Smith, 1984 (2003):80-81). And, as duties rose and the fisheries expanded, organised smuggling activities increased from the 1770s to the 1780s, with busy shipping lanes providing opportunities to trade with Dutch busses, which would often shelter around the islands with their cargos of smuggled gin en-route to the Faroe Islands. This type of smuggling formed a vital part of Shetland’s economy, and continued until the twentieth century.

Local merchant families accepted smuggling as part of their commercial activities with, for example, the Lerwick-based Hay family making it part of their everyday trade. James Hay was the largest buyer of fish and general trader, making him also the most important smuggler for nearly forty years; ‘Merchant is used here in its true sense’ (Smith, R. (1986):187). The outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars in the 1790s meant a disruption of trade crossing the English Channel and parts of the North Sea. Both trade and smuggling therefore diverted along the northern
shipping route passing the Ireland and the Western and Northern Isles of Scotland. This meant that smuggling developed into a major business within the Scottish coastal communities, but especially in the Northern Isles.

Frances Wilkins in *The Smuggling Story of the Northern Shores* (Wilkins, 1995:83-84) has traced an example of one of these smuggling journeys through custom house letters from September 1795. The accounts concern the appropriately named sloop the *Happy Return* of Lerwick from Shetland, on a possible smuggling mission from Holland as described by Daae. Coming from Bergen, Norway, under its master Peter Leslie, the vessel was observed going into Whalsay Bay and then proceeding northward after having taken aboard a pilot, to land ‘some spirits and tea in Mid Yell Voe’ (Wilkins, 1995:83). According to the customs accounts, the vessel was then intercepted and brought down to Bressay Sound, where she was searched, with only a small quantity of tea recovered. Having successfully delivered the illicit cargo and evaded payment of tax, customs officers were merely able to register the fact after the event.

The newly established cod fishing was often used as a cover where, after off-loading fish, the vessels would typically continue onto Norway for timber or gin, proceed to London and then onto Rotterdam for a cargo of gin, before returning to Shetland. The British blockade between 1807 and 1814 temporarily interrupted smuggling activities, which resumed only after the blockade was removed. The economic gains of illicit trading activity were no doubt reinvested into the existing
local industries, with the Hay family instrumental in the development of the
Shetland fishing industry from 1755 onwards (Ballantyne, 2014, Gear, 2016:8-9).
James Hay and John Ross of Sound, were the first to invest their illegal earnings
in cod fishing around 1815, followed by herring fishing a decade later (Smith,
1984 (2003):110). In 1820 James Hay established the Zetland Herring Fishing
Company, with two boats built in Orkney for the syndicate, and two men from
Leven brought north to instruct Shetlanders in the art of herring fishing. James
died in 1831, with his son William, with partners from the Ogilvy family,
developing the port of Lerwick, and its quays, docks and warehouses, as well as
establishing a fishing station and deep-water quay in Scalloway (Nicolson, 1982).

Other aspects of reinvestment by merchant-traders such as Hay can be seen in the
area of shipbuilding (‘half-deckers’, to replace the sixerns), import and export
trade, and the development of Herring curing stations in many parts of Shetland
(Ballantyne, 2014). Hay and Co. also acted as agents for English and Scottish
whaling companies which recruited Shetlanders each summer. From 1755 to
1775 50 to 90 Whaling vessels a year were passing through Lerwick, growing to
as many as 253 in 1788. In 1793 one laird Thomas Mouat, a major landowner in
Unst, felt strongly enough about the loss of tenants to the whaling ships to send a
petition to the Commons (Smith, 1986:198).

Whaling removed men from fishing for the lairds, as well as from supplying the
Royal Navy – both kept in check by government legislation that only allowed a
certain quantity of Shetland men per ship. Smith also notes a connection to evictions, rather than the courts system, where landlords used ‘traditional and informal forms of social control [...] against those that had broken their fishing contracts’ (Smith, 1986:232). The whaling industry thus effectively became a form of denying the landowner complete ownership of the islanders’ labour, as it removed people from what was a closed socio-economic system based on non-monetary exchanges (share cropping) to a cash-based activity based on earning a wage. The numbers of Shetlanders working on whaling vessels dipped during the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), but soon revived, with around 600 Shetlanders involved as ‘Greenlandmen’ in 1808. By 1825, 1400 Shetlanders were working aboard 70 whalers. The Greenland whaling declined in the 1860s, with only 600-700 Shetlanders on whalers in 1874, and by 1888 only 7 vessels arrived in Lerwick to complete their crews (Smith, 1986). At the same time, Shetland became fully integrated into the wider Scottish/British herring industry. The port of Lerwick, in particular, saw migration from the east coast fishers, creating the ‘Lerwick Scotties’ a social group that is still seen as being distinct today (Smith, 1986:267).

**Conclusion**

As we have seen in this section, a variety of trade and migration networks connected many modern Scots communities to those in Norway. These ranged from personal and family connections, to commercial networks established through trade, to covert associations or ‘informal networks deployed to undermine
a particular orthodoxy, be it political or ecclesiastical.’ (Murdoch, 2006:5). It is important to recognise the significance of these networks on intercultural links, as social networks in practice represent linkages along which various social and cultural influences could travel (Murdoch, 2006:4). Practical considerations are also significant, such as the fact that the sea journey from Scotland to Scandinavia and the Baltic was shorter than from any of the more developed parts of eastern England. As a consequence, Scots were able to access northern Germany, Poland and Russia much more easily, and they assumed a dominant position in the English-speaking colonies (Cullen, 1989:227).

Regular trading links between Scotland and Norway meant the opportunity for people to not only maintain and extend a variety of social and trading networks (Murdoch, 2006, Smout, 1992), but also to settle permanently (Grosjean and Murdoch, 2005). Scottish migrant communities often developed from earlier links, in the developing trading centres along the coast of both Scotland and Norway, but also with northern Germany (Zickermann, 2013a). As illustrated by Nina Pedersen (2005:135-167), the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw a variety of people, including Scots, migrating to expanding trading towns or handelstede such as Bergen, which was Norway’s trading capital at the time (Pederson, 2005:135-167). However, this was not the only place where this migration took place. Along the whole Nordland coast regional trading communities and networks appeared by the late seventeenth century (Johnsen, 1938-41). These laid the foundation for a variety of coastal settlements and
buildings, which even today can be readily recognised (Klepp, 1992:7-16). The tangible aspects (material culture, buildings) resulting from these periods of migration and trade will be investigated in the next section.

4.2 Objects

As the previous section has demonstrated, maritime links are essential to people living in areas with limited resources or opportunities for agriculture, such as the coastal communities of Scotland and Norway. Connected communities of landownership, fishing, boatbuilding and related traditions make this a perfect area for investigating Scottish-Norwegian spatial identities, but also to study these cultural encounters as a basis and context for coastal cultures in general. As a scientific discipline, maritime history and coastal culture are closely entwined. Both document and mediate specific relationships between humanity and the sea. These practices give rise to buildings or different types of constructions along the coast (including settlements and towns), transport and commercial networks, marine resources (fish and seals), and ship building. They also give rise to an understanding of the sea, both as a practical resource and a basis for a unique mentality or way of life (kystbomentalitet (Holm, 1995:8)). The following section will investigate the objects that both demonstrate the connections between people and places, through the cultural impact of fishing and trade, but also how people then interpret their own coastal identities through heritage museum collections in both Scotland and Norway. The research will show that material culture
embodies or gives physical form to everyday intercultural contexts. Linking
eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Shetland fishers and landowners with
craftsmen and traders across the North Sea and beyond, objects can take on very
specific roles within modern Norwegian or Scottish regional and national
traditions.

**Connected places: the cultural impact of fishing**

The complex interaction between international, national and local economic
activities is of particular interest for this section, with the history of Anglo-
Scottish trading relations as important as trade across the North Sea.

Events which have previously been interpreted as “political” had
significant economic and commercial influences (Greenhall, 2011:315).

Changes in maritime trade as a result of the political Union between Scotland and
England in 1707 can be traced in the Scottish coastal communities such as the
Shetland Islands. So, for example, Richard Smith (1986) shows that the islanders
restructured their trade significantly in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. He
suggests that this restructuring was instrumental in a shift of control of trade from
lairds to merchants (Smith, 1986:187). Another important factor in terms of local
economic opportunities was the Greenland Whaling industry (1780-1872) which,
as a major employer of Shetlanders, also was one of the major avenues through
which Shetland was integrated into the general course of British industrial
development (Smith, 1986:191).
When considering material culture as part of this context, a more extensive area of influence must therefore be considered. Ian Tait (2012) and Natascha Mehler et al (2013) have noted that there are a number of parallels and similarities between the material cultures of North Atlantic and North Sea fishing communities, particularly in the area of vernacular coastal architecture. Hance Smith (1978:25) notes a relatively high degree of continuity of material culture between Shetland and Scandinavia during the modern period, with wooden goods purchased from several small ports south of Bergen. So, for example, he points out a lively trade in Norwegian-made kit-boats and timber up until the late nineteenth century (Smith 1978:25).

Tait (2012) has compared the vernacular architecture of coastal buildings such as boat shelters (nust/nost/noust, Orkney: noust) and general storage or trading buildings (bød), sea marks (landmarks used for positions at sea, mid or meid) and fishing stations to their Hebridean, but also Norwegian and Faroese counterparts. Tait argues that the availability of timber determined whether, for example, a Norwegian building form was exported to places such as the Faroe Islands, or whether local forms of buildings or adaptations better suited specific surroundings (Tait, 2012). So, for example, the lack of timber in Shetland meant that turf-roofed stone shelters were built instead, whilst retaining Scandinavian linguistic and place name links. In contrast, the commercial nature of eighteenth century fisheries meant that temporary accommodation was built for fisher by the merchant-landlords. Although using vernacular techniques based in indigenous
traditions, it meant a slightly different style or ‘Scottification’. Equally, farmstead structures became increasingly Scottish in architectural styles, whereas ancillary structures, along with tools, techniques, and language, continued to demonstrate strong Scandinavian origins (Tait, 2012:502-523).

The eighteenth century saw the beginnings of organised and commercial trading along the coast of northern Norway in particular. Trading posts were established, some based on earlier activities, some new, some developed into towns and were awarded merchant town status (kjøpsted) during the latter part of the eighteenth century and beyond (Døssland, 2003). The foundation for modern commercial centres such as Trondheim and Stavanger can be found during this period, although other centres were of a more temporary nature.

Eighteenth century trading posts along the Norwegian coast often consisted of a farmhouse, a courtyard, storehouse and barn (Munksgaard, 1980). They were positioned so they could be seen and located easily from the sea, but also so the trader had an overview of the activities around the sound and the harbour, the pier, the general store and other boats around the bay. The buildings had a logical arrangement for trading activities, with buildings such as sea quays, wharf and warehouse, boathouses and warehouses, a general store, perhaps a tavern and living quarters for visiting fisher. Around the main building there was generally housing for retired farmers and servants’ quarters, wash house, storehouse, smokehouse and bed bows, with other farmer buildings a little further away.
Some places had their own type of buildings for seine fishing (*notbruk*), with access to a quay (*notkai*) and racks (*notjell*) for drying fish. Many trading posts also set up lodging house for coastal fisher who were on their way to or from the Lofoten Islands in the north. The general store at the merchant was usually the center of a small group of islands or an entire fjord district. Here fish was processed; people met and discussed their fishing luck, weather, fish prices and rumours of fish migration. Regional coastal trading was thus defined by fishing and seasonal transport from Western Norway to the Northern parts of Norway (*jektebruk*).

Norwegian coastal trade (*jektefart*) took place over a long period, from the late medieval period to the early twentieth century, with one of the main routes connecting fishing/trading settlements (*fiskevær*) between Bergen and fishing posts from Helgeland to Finnmark (L'Orange, 1989). The main goods were corn and other farm goods (going north) and dried cod (going south). This continuous coastal trade meant strong connections between settlements and traders along the North Norwegian coast and Bergen, which acted as a connection point to markets outside Norway, such as the Scottish timber trade.

**The Scottish-Norwegian Timber Trade**

In an area with scarce resources of wood, one of the most important materials and resources imported from Norway to Scotland were timber and other wooden articles. The trade in timber in Scotland was of strategic importance for the
Scottish economy, with Norwegian timber merchant Bernt Anker writing to his Scottish correspondent in 1787 ‘in human society wood is as necessary as bread’ (Thomson, 1991:v). One of the primary export articles from Denmark-Norway from the sixteenth century onwards had been timber (Lillehammer, 1986, Espeland, 1921), with numerous Scottish communities engaged in the timber trade around Stavanger, Bergen and Trondheim (Murdoch, 2006). With the above mentioned dependence of Scotland on Norwegian timber, it is therefore worth concentrating on Scotland’s timber trade, as it provides a valuable insight into the growing sophistication and complexity of Scottish trade practices during the latter part of the eighteenth century (Thomson, 1991:267).

After 1717 Anglo-Norwegian timber trade diminished greatly, partly due to a royal decree that stipulated that timber had to be taken to Stavanger first, instead of being exported directly. Formal regulations about the use of saws and sawmills were introduced in Norway from 1662 (Dyrvik, 1999:110-111), as well as the association of merchant town privileges with the control of export by the citizens of towns (borgar), rather than local farmers (giving certain towns a monopoly on channeling timber exports from the regions). The state-regulation of sawmills in 1688, especially for the fjord regions, but also for Austlandet and Agder was also aimed at regulating the deforestation, with farmers being able only to cut wood for their own use. These sawmill-privileges led to a fall in exports from 1730-50, and a slow recovering during the rest of the eighteenth century (Lillehammer, 2001).
Initially timber was transferred directly to the fjords of Sunnhordland, the area lying north of Ryfylke, and south Bergen, western Norway’s main port (Thomson, 1991:15). This lead to Sunnhordland becoming the leading source for timber exports to Scotland. So, for example, in 1731 38 per cent of all vessels sailing between Norway and Scotland did so carrying timber between Sunnhordland and the east Scottish coast (Thomson, 1991:5). The timber trade also interacted with a new, semi-official, tri-angular trade between the Netherlands/Northern Germany, Norway and the UK, i.e. the export/import/trade of dried Stockfish and salted-dried *klippfisk* and import of commodities from mainland Europe.

However, during the period 1680 to 1800 Scotland’s timber trade saw significant changes. The source of timber shifted from Western Norway to the Baltic, with Norway declining as a source of timber due to overexploitation and resulting reduction in exports (Thomson, 1991:263-264). From 1787 onwards import duties for certain sizes of timber increased in Scotland, which favoured the larger lengths of deals and battens supplied by the Russian sources through the Baltic (Thomson, 1991:266). The rapid growth of the Scottish timber trade thus provides a valuable insight into the rapid industrialisation of the Scottish central belt during the eighteenth century. However, it also highlights the regional duality within Scotland, with both the Orkney and Shetland Islands continuing to import timber and wooden items from Norway.
As Alistair Goodlad (1971) points out, limited knowledge of markets, small working capital, and obstruction by German merchants in the traditional markets of Northern Europe had initially been a big challenge to the transfer of commercial relationships from the German/Hanseatic traders to the Scots landholders during the modern period (Goodlad, 1971:91). This, together with frequent wars during the early part of the eighteenth century, and the preference by Shetland fishers to trade with existing, smaller merchants around the islands, presented significant difficulties to the landmaster traders. However, things quickly improved during the 1740s, with a change to commercial deep sea or Haaf fishing. This was encouraged by an export bounty on all Scottish cured fish (Goodlad, 1971:92), an important incentive for Scottish coastal landowners (Coull, 1996b:87).

As in Norway, it is interesting to note the effect of the Union of Parliaments in 1707 (and related national legislation) on the fisheries and related trades and landlord/tenant arrangements. Goodlad (1971) argues that it disrupted the existing international trading network around the Scottish Northern Isles by imposing laws based on national political considerations rather than to make possible the rational international exploitation of resources around the islands. Earlier seventeenth century prohibition acts had already been put forward to prevent ‘strangers’ from fishing and trading near Shetland. However the 1662 act by the Privy Council of Scotland to banish all foreigners was contested, and subsequently repealed (Goodlad, 1971:70). German and Dutch merchants
continued to fish and do business around the islands until the early eighteenth century, with the salt tax of 1712 putting an end to Shetland’s ‘Dutch period’.

External factors thus increasingly shape regional contact between the coastal communities of Scotland and Norway. However, economic and social contact leads to both tangible and intangible regions of cultural exchange. These intercultural contact zones depend on the intensity of contact, but also develop within a shifting political, economic and social context. A good example of the cultural impact of this inter-regional contact can be found in boatbuilding and wooden objects, which will be discussed next.

**Connected Boat Building Traditions**

As discussed previously, Norwegian timber was sold and transported to markets across the North Sea, with continued previous patterns of trade, and particularly so when it comes to the Scottish Northern Isles (Christensen, 1984, Fenton, 1978 (1997)). Trade between Scotland and Norway was not restricted to raw timber, but also included ready-made wooden items, such as boats, tools and wooden household objects. However, the boat, in particular, represents an important part of the technological basis for a Europe and a world in transition; ‘The ships and their men brought with them not only goods but also new technology and cultural impulses’ (Bjørklund, 1985:151).
Thowsen (1970) refers to a report from 1714 and a local account from the vicar of Tysnes from 1743 which mention the export of boats from Godøysund in Tysnes. Ships from the Shetland and Orkney Islands, as well as other Scottish eastern coast ports such as Fraserburgh, would come to this particular area in order to load timber, and finished wooden items such as boats, masts, oars, and other household items. For the nineteenth century more detailed information about the Norwegian export of boats to Shetland is available from both Scottish and Norwegian sources. In the Tysnes county prefect’s official report from 1836-1840, for example, it is reported that the boat builders in Tysnes construct some larger boats under the name Jæltebaade (i.e. Shetland-boats), with all the boat’s materials (keel, frames, planking etc.) are made ready for clinking, the different parts are numbered and transported to Bergen for further export (Thowsen, 1970:155). However, a marked decline in imports followed during the mid-to late nineteenth century. This seems to be related to both the fact that timber was increasingly available from the Scottish mainland, but also the general decline, towards the end of the nineteenth century, of the use of dangerous traditional open boats in Haaf (deep sea) fishing, with the introduction of motorised fishing vessels (Thowsen, 1970:157). Another reason for the decrease in imports, and resulting increase in local boatbuilding was the centralisation of customs and duty payments in Bergen, which meant increased price for wooden boats bought from Norway.

38 Beskrivelse over Bergen Stift, Bergen, 12 Juni 1714, Manus. in the Royal Library in Copenhagen: Kallske Saml. no. 209 Fol.
From Shetland we have records of one of the local merchants purchasing boats and fishing equipment to rent to the local fisher. James Fea writes in 1775, in his *Account of The New Method of Fishing Practised On The Coasts of Shetland* (1775 (1884)):

> At the most convenient, as well as customary places of landing are Booths built, where they throw their fish, and where the Boat men are supplied with necessaries for the undertaking. - Here they bring, commonly, if not always, from *Gieue-Sound* in Norway, Boats of different sizes. From this market, they are brought in boards, with their In timbers properly marked, so that on their arrival, there is nothing to be done, but to put them up by the Carpenter; and they are then sold at fixed prices, according to their size (Fea, 1775 (1884):134-136).

We can assume that ‘Gieue-Sound in Norway’ is Godoysund near Tysnes, an area south of Bergen, from which boats have been exported from Norway to the Scottish Northern Isles since the sixteenth century (Osler, 1978, Thowsen, 1970). So Norwegian boat builders not only exported their own regional boatbuilding designs, such as the Oselvar, but also adapted them to different requirements sought by buyers across the North Sea. Equally, Scottish boat builders adapted Norwegian boat designs for their own coastal conditions, creating their own cultural and environmental knowledge (Christensen, 1984). Charles Sandison (1954) has traced the history of the ‘Shetland model’, the sixareen, to a mixture between history, environmental and social factors. In terms of environment, wooden boats (*midtvestlandsbåtene*) from the coast south of Bergen, follow a similar adaptation than those in Shetland. Masfjord and Osterfjordboats from Hordaland, Sogneboats, Sunnfjordboats and Nordfjordboats from Sogn and
Fjordane – with Nordfjordboats primarily designed for deep-sea fishing, and the other types for inshore or fjord-fishing (Henderson, 1978).

Some historians have argued that the boats would have arrived in kit-form and then assembled by a local (or visiting) boat builder or craftsman, a practice that could exert a strong Norwegian influence on local boat building traditions (Miller, 2008:104). Shetland boat historian Thomas Watt in The Shetland Ness Yoal (1999) agrees, and traces local adaptations of Norwegian designs to boat builders in the south of the Shetland Mainland. He suggests that it was not until the nineteenth century that local boat builders felt they had to make amendments to the Norwegian shapes. Recent research has questioned the assumption that it was not until the nineteenth century that boat building for the Shetland market was gradually taken over by local boat builders (Chivers, 2015). Chivers suggests that boatbuilding has a much longer history in Shetland than previously thought, making the Norwegian influence one of many, rather than the only source of boatbuilding materials and designs. In Traditional Fishing Boats James Miller (2008:103-123) suggests that the influence of Norse boat design was ‘so strong, and obvious as to overshadow any lingering inheritance from non-Norse sources’ (Miller, 2008:103). However, boat building traditions need to be considered in the context of development that embraced the whole Atlantic seaboard. Is is also important to understand regional connections, particularly those based on continuous contact due to existing social and economic links.
So, for example, Arne Emil Christensen in *Boats of the North. Boats and boatbuilding in Western Norway and the islands* (1984:85-95) suggest that the types of *yole* (Dutch/Danish term, in English: yoal) found in the North of Scotland (including Orkney and Shetland) were adapted from a particular regional Norwegian boat type, the Sunnhordland boats, and so show a clear interregional link. However, the exact origins of the traditional boats that evolved in all the coastal and island communities of Scotland will never be fully known. As with many other technologies practised by local craftsmen, knowledge and skills were passed orally and in a hands-on fashion from generation to generation without any permanent records being made (Miller, 2008).

Mikal Heldal in *Mot vest med flatpakka båt* (Heldal, 2001:67) lists around 10 boat builders active in the Tysnes area between 1850-1870, with 36 out of 52 boats exported from Sunnhordland built at Tysnes. Earlier historical records from 1776 show that boats were then delivered to Alexander Wallace and Son in Bergen, to be delivered to Gideon Gifford, the largest proprietor in the Shetland Islands. Between 1755 and 1757 seventy-five boats a year were exported from Bergen to Scotland and the Northern Isles (Fenton, 1978 (1997):554-562). Boats and cultural and technological information contained in boat designs were thus brought to the islands via an already established trading link from the sixteenth century onwards (Christensen, 1984, Økland, 2016 (forthcoming), Smith, 1984 (2003), Fenton, 1978 (1997)). These brought wooden items and timber to the largely treeless Northern Isles until well into the nineteenth century.
Shared objects, different contexts

Boat designs changed due to fishing conditions and fishing supplies, but also due to local innovation (Morrison, 1992), with the slender, flexible yoal more suited to inshore fishing in rough water, and larger, deeper, more sturdy and stabile boats required for off-shore *haaf* fishing (Goodlad, 1971, Watt, 1999:21). Before the 1740s the predominant boat type used for fishing was the six-oared boat or *sexæring*, as fishing grounds, as along the Norwegian coast, were close to land. These in-shore coastal fishing grounds were referred to as ‘*sæts*’ (fishing place) (Goodlad, 1971:101). Other inshore fishing areas, beyond the *set*, were known as ‘*reiths*’, and located a system of ‘*meiths*’ using on-shore landmarks to generate cross bearings. Goodlad notes the Norwegian origin of this tradition, which not only accurately defined an inshore fishing area, but could also locate certain areas of the seabed of interest to fishers (Hovda, 1961). This system has been used by fishers on both sides of the North Sea until today, although the names of the fishing grounds may have changed through time (Simpson, 2010, Hansen, 2006).

Norwegian fisheries historian Atle Døssland discusses the Norwegian coastal fisheries and fishing areas, with early topographers such as Melchior Falch documenting eighteenth century fishing grounds around the coast of Sunnmøre (Døssland and Løseth, 2006). As fishing grounds further afield were explored, the landmarks used for *meiths* ‘sank out of view’ (Goodlad, 1971:102), although this seems to have been unimportant as fish in the more distant grounds were also
more evenly distributed and found in greater quantities than inshore. Distant, deep-sea fishing grounds were known as ‘haf’ or ‘haaf’ (Norw. Hav) were traditionally named after the island or district from where the fishers came from. In the absence of landmarks or during bad visibility, navigation was usually by ‘ært’ (wind direction) and using the Atlantic landward swell known as the mother wave or ‘møderdai’ (Goodlad, 1971:103).

Navigating this new oceanic environment required not only larger boats, but boat with different proportions, with Shetland boats showing adaptations to the new sea region and increased intensity of the fishing effort (Goodlad, 1971:105). This applied to the boat itself, as well as oars and sail. Goodlad points out the difference to the Lofoten Islands in Northern Norway, where the economic stimuli present in Shetland was lacking (Goodlad, 1971:106). This meant that boats showed no such developments. The specialist ‘haaf boat’ or sexæring developed thus represents a unique example of regional adaptation and innovation (Morrison, 1992, Goodlad, 1972), although initially based on a regional design imported from the West Norwegian coast.

It is clear from historical sources that the Scottish market imported larger vessels in the nineteenth century, although they were also increasingly produced in local shipyards, using Norwegian, but also German timber. James Nicolson (1982) notes that nineteenth century Shetland merchants Hay and Company imported

40 Hay & Company is the best known of Shetland firms, founded in 1844 by William Hay and two
both larger (19-20 feet in the keel) and smaller (10-12 feet in the keel) boats, as well as materials for local boat builders from Bergen until the late nineteenth century. A mixture of imports and own-builds seems to have continued for some time. The fact that crooks of fir and oak for building boats were bought to Norwegian measurements and styles meant that this particular technological and cultural link continued well into the nineteenth century. However, Fenton (1978 (1997):567-570) lists English, Old Scots, Old Norse, Norwegian dialectal, Dutch, Faroese, Icelandic and Low German equivalents for Shetland boat terms (both in the construction and general terminology).

Arne Emil Christensen (1999) notes that the motorising of the Norwegian fishing fleet in the 1900s also meant that older boat types in Western and Northern Norway were seen as old-fashioned, difficult to modernise, whereas the eastern Norwegian boat types could be motorised without any big problems. In addition, regional variation in the locations of fish stock meant that some North Sea coastal communities could continue to fish in the same area (continuing their existing boat design), but some could not. Christensen also comments on a socio-cultural aspect in the building of wooden boats in Norway, with a strong cultural tradition and social controls associated with local patriotism ‘bygdepatriotisme’ (township
patriotism) concerning certain boat types. From Rogaland to Finnmark, an important part of the coastal identity was to have ‘your’ boat type that was suitable for the conditions in your particular area, especially when introducing new boat designs to dangerous sea conditions.

In terms of naming boats, the Norwegian historian Atle Thowsen (1970) has noted that there is a distinct link between the Shetland sixareen and the seksæring of the western-Norwegian type (the area between Stavanger and Bergen). Distinct regional differences exist in the naming of types of Norwegian open boats.

The same small double-ended boat was called snekke in the Oslofjord-area, kogg on the coast of Telemark, and sjekte at the southernmost coast. In western Norway, such a boat would be named after its number of oars – for instance faering was a four-oared boat. To make the confusion complete, in northern Norway boats would often be named after the number of ‘rooms’, the space between the frames or the thwarts (Brooks, 2006:34).

Changes in North Sea fisheries can be traced through changes in boat design, with fisher expanding their fishing grounds to further away from the coast. This not only required larger boats, but also the services of a sloop, towing the boats to their fishing grounds:

Of late, years, they are obliged, as it were, to go to a greater distance (- to the Haaf - rula). Many of the Country Gentlemen, as well as of the Strangers who fish off their Coasts, have Sloops of 50 or 60 Tuns, which commonly take in Tow, or in Charge, sometimes for every third fish, four of these boats. By these Sloops, the boats are towed to the distance of 15 Leagues from Land, arriving at the fishing ground about Sunset (Fea, 1775 (1884):141).

A contemporary Norwegian ethnologist, Eilert Sundt provides both descriptions and oral histories of both regional boatbuilding and uses of boats in Om Husfliden
In Norge (Sundt, 1867-68 (1975)). Sundt gives us a detailed study of a regional boat type, the Søgneboats, built and used near Søgne, a coastal town between Christiansand and Mandal. An interview with the local teacher J.Th. Storaker describes the export of boats to Holland during the previous 120-130 years (1730 onwards).

What prompted the development of this was the coming of the Dutch to Norway. Back then a quantity of Dutch smacks came up here to load stone and timber, and to them also a significant number of boats were given. These mainly consisted in dinghies (skibsjoller), but it there were boats of all sizes - on the whole, however small - that were bought by the Dutch, and which, one assumes, were again sold in the Netherlands. Sale and collection happened in ports all around, chiefly Flekkerø, Hellesund and Udø. That is where you went with your boats and sold them (Sundt, 1867-68 (1975):35).

The same informant also discusses the development of boatbuilding skills in the area with bigger, decked boats (storbåde og dæksbåde) bought from a boat building factory in Grimstad, whereas smaller boats built locally.

40 years earlier (1820s) a change to mackerel fishing had started, which required larger vessels. Local boat builders were now able to transfer their skills from building smaller boats, and knowledge from using larger Grimstad boats, to building Mackerel boats (makrelbåde) based both on the Østlandsboat or skøiterne construction from along the eastern Norwegian coast. Other nineteenth century boat types from the area include Herring boats (sildebådene) used for the

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spring herring fisheries, lower-lying (in the water) Lister boats, and higher Søgne boats for use in the sognet or fjord area and nearby coastal localities.

Boat builders often also produced other wooden items, such as violins, with Sundt recording Gjert Gundersen, who lives at Tangvald in the parish of ease, and builds Lister boats and Hardangerboats or skjægter - ‘(...) just as he worked with many violins which he sold (Sundt, 1867-68 (1975):40 footnote)\(^{42}\). Sundt also records that in a five-year period, from 1861-65, seven boat builders in the Sognet parish built seven ‘Denmark boats’ (Danmarksfartøier), three decked freight boats (lodsskøiter or dæksbåde), fifty-three mackerel boats (makrelbåde) and seventy-seven small boats (småbade).

As a contemporary source to comment on the complex intercultural connections between the boat designs of Norwegian, Dutch and Scottish types, Sundt uses the example of Hvaløerboats. He notes that this type of regional boat type derives many of its characteristics from contact with Dutch and Scottish boats. He writes:

In the last half of the seventeenth century and well into the eighteenth century there were in fact not insignificant herring fisheries here, and in the first period the fisheries were chiefly driven by Scots and Hollanders, who came here around autumn and wintered in the islands. It was at that time, that the Hvaløerne were settled, with people, that every winter flocked there to derive profits in the fishery, since piloting became more developed, the boats became better and better, with the need to fish further

\(^{42}\) Original text (my translation): ‘Om Gjert Gundersen, Listerbådens fader, veed man at berette, at medens han boede på Tangvald her I sognet lod han bygge en hel del Hardangerbåde eller skjægter. (...) Ligeså lod han arbeide en mængde violiner til salg’. (Ibid.).
offshore and stay a sea longer occurring (Sundt, 1867-68 (1975):44, my translation)\(^43\).

The Vestlandboat

In order to illustrate regional difference and the complex variety in boat uses and designs, it is useful to focus on one part of Western Norway (Vestland) in particular. In the district of Sogn and Fjordane alone, for example, three main types of boats can be identified: Sunnfjord boats, Northfjord boats, and Sognefjord boats\(^44\). Sognefjord boats were mainly used along the long Sognefjord, which is Norway’s longest fjord with a length of 204 kms, although the Nordfjord boat type also became popular during the nineteenth century. Some boats such as the 4-keiping are named after the number of rowing oar loops (keipar) there are on each side. So, for example, the biggest of this boat type is the 6-keiping, which would require 10 to 12 rowers (6 on each side). These are also called vengebåt, and have a small cabin or laust hus at the back of the boat. All of these boats were able to sail and were traditionally built of fir or pine.

The Sunnfjord boats were built from Bremanger to Dalsfjorden, and were flatter than other fishing boats, in order to provide storage for farmed goods and transport of farm animals, rather than primarily for fishing. Awkward handling in

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\(^{43}\) Original text (my translation): I det 17de århundreds sidste halvdel og til langt ind I det 18de århundrede var nemlig et ikke ubetydeligt sildefiskeri her, og i den første periode blev fiskeriet drevet fornemmelig af skotter og hollændere, som kom hertil om høsten og overvintrede på øerne. Det var ved denne tid, at Hvaløerne først blev rigtig bebyggede, af folk, som hver vinter strømmede til for at søge forfjendeste under fiskeriet, eftersom lodsvæsnet blev mere udviklet, blev vel både bedre og bedre, som trangen til at fiske længer til havs og holde søen opstod (Sundt, 1867-68 (1975):44).

\(^{44}\) Sunnfjordbåter, Nordfjordbåter and Sognebåtar.
high winds or strong sea made it less popular, although they were used during the herring fisheries before 1870. With the change in herring fisheries (which, as along the Scottish coasts, retreated to the open sea during the late nineteenth century), fishers changed to line fishing away from the fjord. This meant the need for a more seaworthy Nordfjord-boat, which became the dominant boat type in the area. From 1870-1880 boats were built in Gloppen by farmers with extensive forests nearby and who, due to high demand, were able to specialise in building ten to twelve boats per year (rather than the five or six they would have built usually). They could often be seen in spring time, pulling their boats tied to each other towards Bergen for sale.

**Boats and knowledge transfer**

As we have seen, what seems at first simply as an imported piece of material culture is evidently part of a collection of cross-cultural objects and practices of historical and social significance. Wooden boats thus represent an opportunity for intercultural interpretation that rediscovers links between communities and cultures across the North Atlantic region and Northern Europe. The objects tell us about the flows of objects and people, but also about linguistic and cultural contacts, and social and cultural practices within the different social and historical contexts of Scotland and the Nordic world. Material culture becomes a medium not only for physical transport, but also for cultural encounters and sources of narratives about cultural continuity.
Gunnar Eldjarn in *Nordlandsbåten og dens plass på en akademisk institusjon* (Eldjarn, 1998-99) discusses in more detail the complex aspects of knowledge transfer that lie at the centre of the above changes in fishing and boatbuilding, which follow the more general development of a money-based economy, specialisation and capitalisation between 1800 and 1860. The transmission of pre-industrial designs, and associated boatbuilding traditions are particularly relevant in terms of considering boats as pieces of maritime heritage. Once a boat builder could not find a son or relative to take over his *kunnskapen* (consisting of both intangible knowledge and tangible boat building skills), he was prepared to teach someone like him – outside his traditional cultural knowledge transfer *miljø*. In order to continue this transfer of tradition, and so preserve and develop an important *kunnskapen*, the University of Tromsø, for example, has developed a course that has three bases: the exercise of traditions (*tradisjonsutøvelse*), collection of traditions (*tradisjoninnsamling*) and education (*formidling*). This has changed the boatbuilding tradition in that it formalises it as an academic discipline and leads to relating local boatbuilding traditions and histories to other regions. Norms and traditions are connected to changes in natural environments and use over time, approaching boatbuilding from different perspectives, and as part of a wider research field of intercultural exchange. Rather than only document and preserve, the practical application of this knowledge to actual materials and environments, together with the theoretical research in fields such as social-anthropology, archaeology, philosophy and history, means that knowledge is disseminated (rather than locked into family traditions or museum collections).
It also means that new knowledge is created, with close connections made between science and artisan craft or ‘håndverk’ as living tradition (Eldjarn, 1998-99:103).

The next section will provide another example of this type of intercultural knowledge transfer research by discussing an object from a coastal heritage collection from the Shetland Islands.

**Intercultural objects and coastal heritage**

![Figure 8: Norwa Bøst, Shetland Museum Photographic Collection, 00960 (2003). Imported goods (container) Delting, 1740s, donated by Seymour Tait, Scalloway. CON 65188.](image)

One particularly interesting example of an intercultural object can be found in the Shetland Museum collection of wooden farmhouse containers (Reeploeg, 2013). Dated to the eighteenth century, the box is described as a ‘Norwa Bøst’, a bentwood container or storage box. The box has been decorated with pokerwork
on the sides, and the initials ‘RG’ have been carved into the lid. With several versions of this type of container on display at both the Shetland Museum and other smaller museums around Shetland and Orkney, this particular example is useful, as ownership and thus age and associated historical details can be traced.

Shetland Museum and Archive records show that the box belonged to Robert Gifford, son of the landowner Thomas Gifford of Busta in the north-western part of the Shetland Mainland. Thomas Gifford was the author of *An Historical Description of the Zetland Islands* (1786), describing Shetland in 1733. His son, Robert, died young in a drowning accident in 1746. The family forms part of what are locally referred to as the lairds, landowners ‘with Scottish and other non-Scandinavian European links’ (H. Smith 1978:25).

Thomas and Robert Gifford certainly imported and owned Scandinavian objects and resources. For example, Mr Vanderfield, Gifford’s merchant in ‘Goysound’ (Godoysund), Norway, was instructed in June 1751 to purchase four- and six-oared boats, masts, ploughs, twelve hand staves and wooden planks (Gifford, 1751). An earlier ‘account of our Cargo taken in at Goysound aboard of the ‘Douglas’ for accompt. of Mr Thomas Gifford of Busta’ from Capt. Kuhass for cargo transported from ‘Noraway’ in 1748 lists bark, wood, hazel cuts and stockfish amongst the items purchased alongside small boats for coastal fishing (Gifford, 1748).
Common throughout Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, bentwood containers date back to the traditional wooden farm objects and tools of the Middle Ages. Depending on size, the boxes were used to store food, tools or fishing tackle. The ‘Norwa Bøst’ has a distinctive lid, and is made with a technique known in Scandinavia as svep, which is when wood is bent around an oval shape, and then fastened on one side by stitching the two overlapping sides together. An almost identical box can be seen in the collections of farmhouse containers in the West Norwegian Folk Museum of Sogn and other regional Scandinavian museums, where they are referred to as tiner or svepasker.

Figure 9: Tine, Sogn Folkemuseum, West Norway (Digitalarkiv).

There are different locking mechanisms, which attach the lid to the box. One is based on the one side-handle being rounded and fastened in two loops to make it possible to turn to hold or to loosen the lid on that side. Another opens the container by pulling the two wooden side-handles apart (which is possible, as the box is flexible). This means the lid stays tightly attached, making the box
watertight, or even airtight, which, together with its comparatively light weight, makes it a useful container to carry on an open boat or for travelling overland.

The Dictionary of the Scots Language lists the use of the term ‘bøst’ for bentwood box in Shetland as first documented in the nineteenth century in Edmondston and Saxby’s *The Home of a Naturalist* (1888:39), which describes the ‘Büest’ as ‘an oval box, prettily carved and stitched (as it were) together by withes. . . . In it our mother kept her baby-gear’ (DSL 2005). The use of the Scots word ‘Buist’ (modern Scots) or ‘Boist’ (Older Scottish Tongue, which developed from the twelfth to seventeenth century) is said to have originated from the Old French *boiste*, which refers to a small container or box. There are various entries for the word ‘Buist’ or ‘Büest’ with ‘bøst”, a term from Insular Scots, referring to:

‘A box or chest’ (Sc. 1808 Jam.); ‘a small box’ (Ork. 1845 Stat. Acc.\(^2\) XV. 95; Ork., Sh. 1866 Edm. Gl.: Abd.\(^2\), Ags.\(^1\) 1937, obs.) (DSL 2005).

Within mainland Scotland, the ‘buist’ is ‘an open box containing a very varied collection of tools’ (DSL 2005). The word itself thus documents some of the changing aspects of the language contact of the Northern Isles, as part of Scotland, both before and after the eighteenth century. Interestingly the DSL lists a whole host of ‘bosts’, ‘buists’ and ‘boiste’, most certainly not all referring to this particular make of box. A poem of 1819 by Richard Gall from Dunbar, for example, mentions the material that a traditional type of ‘buist’ box would be made of in Scotland, a ‘willow buist’ (DSL 2005), which indicates wickerwork,
rather than bentwood. Nevertheless, the use of ‘boist’ suggests the owners were speaking an older variant of Scots.

The Orkney Museum collection in Kirkwall, as well as the Corrigal Farm Museum in Harray contain similar wooden bentwood boxes to the ‘Norwa bøst’, although described as a ‘ditty box’, a naval term for a box or sea chest carried by sailors to keep valuables.

Figure 10: Ditty Box, Corrigal Farm Museum. Photo by the author.

As noted above, the DSL (2005) still has an entry for Orkney Insular Scots in 1845 for the word ‘bøst’, referring to a ‘small box’. This points to interesting socio-linguistic differences between the island groups in terms of dialect contact (McColl-Millar2008). In Shetland, the term still appears in several dictionaries of recognised Shetland dialect words:

- Böst, ‘a small, oval, wooden carrying-box.’ or ‘a small box used for containing ointment, spices, etc.’ (Graham 1999:7).
- Böst, ‘a small, oval, wooden carrying-box.’ (Christie 2010:8).
Most examples of these boxes are associated with fishing, with one box from the Old Haa Museum in Yell described as ‘used for carrying food by Faroe fisher’ (MS description on label) and another, from the island of Unst simply as ‘boxes from Norway’ (printed description above the box).

**Connected cultural histories: the North Atlantic context**

Some of the first recorded examples of these Scandinavian types of wooden containers can be found in the collection of wooden objects from the Oseberg ship burial dating from the eighth century, and now displayed at the Viking Ship Museum in Oslo. With staves of vertical pieces of wood bent into a round shape, two of the boxes have the same locking mechanism whereby the two longest staves on the sides keep the lid in place. While the two larger staved containers undoubtedly form the basis for later coopinging techniques, the smallest container in the photograph shows a very thin piece of wood, possibly bark, bent into a cup-shape. This technique of bending bark or thin wood into baskets or boxes forms the basis of the bentwood or svep technique. Due to the revival of traditional folk customs and traditions associated with the establishment of a national narrative for Norway during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, bentwood boxes, known as *tiner*, are nowadays treasured family heirlooms, which are often decorated with traditional flower motives (*rosemaling*).

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45 This refers to Shetland fishermen line-fishing near the Faroe Banks during the early- to mid-nineteenth century, not fishermen from the Faroe Islands, which means the boxes were imported, and still in use then. I am grateful to John Goodlad for pointing this out (Goodlad, J. 30 September, 2011, Lerwick, pers. comm.).
Based on the work of John Granlund (1940), Helena Åberg (2008) provides a short historical survey of the bentwood or svepteknik box tradition in Scandinavia and Central Europe. Small bentwood boxes were found in Bronze Age Austria, ninth-century England and Germany, and fifteenth-century Italy. She divides bentwood boxes into five types: the lockless svepask; lid-locked svepäskor; larger svepskrin chests that contain a metal lock; lighter, open svepkorg baskets with a handle across; and svepta målkärl, which have a handle on each side. The lid-locked svepäskor are the most similar to the Norwegian tiner. This indicates a shared cultural heritage, although regional cultural difference means that each geographical area has distinctive ways of both assembling and decorating the box. Åberg (2008:29) notes that both Swedish and Norwegian bentwood boxes are often engraved, with boxes made before 1700 decorated with plant and nature motives using pokerwork, and most common in the areas of Norrbotten, Lapland and Finland. Thomas Bankes (1788:604), in a section on ‘Persons, Dispositions, Longevity […] Language, and c. of the Natives of Lapland’ mentions one of the Sami techniques of making wooden boxes:

[They] make boxes of their birch planks, which they neatly inlay with the horns of rein deer; and they are very dextrous at making baskets of the roots of trees, slit in long thin pieces, and twisted together. Some of these are made so neat that they will hold water; and they are particularly admired by the Swedes.

As in other areas of Scandinavia, remnants of both bark- and stave-built wooden containers were found during excavations in Shetland of a late-Norse farm at Biggins, Papa Stour (Crawford and Ballin Smith 1999:193). Bentwood boxes thus provide interesting examples of intercultural contact through material culture, as
Each develops regional aspects. Similar boxes are present in Iceland, where they are known as *askja* (öskju, öskjur), and meaning box or case (Hólmarsson 1989).

A variant of the bentwood box is used to store linen or the traditional headgear of Icelandic women and is known as a:

traf-askja. KVK.traf-öskjur KVK FT. traf-eskjur KVK FT [trafa (plural) referring to the fringes of the material (Árnason 2002)].

The historical script collection at the University of Iceland (*Ritmálssafn Orðabókar Háskólans* n.d.) contains the following examples, indicating the kind of uses and appearance that *traföskjur* boxes would have had in the past:

lætur hún gullið í traföskjur sínar og setur á hillu yfir rúmi sínu (she put the gold in her box and put it on a shelf above her bed, my translation, my translation).

Undir borðinu stóðu traföskjur, útskornar með fógrum rósum (Under the table stood the trafaaskja box, carved with beautiful roses, my translation).

*Traföskjur* vary in size and make, with one example, dating from 1677 and containing pieces of an altar and a bible, being auctioned by Galleri Fold in Reykjavik in 2005 (Greinsafn 2005). Further research may establish other regional uses, customs and possible traditions connected with the ‘buist’ during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the Scottish Northern Isles or mainland Scotland, and whether the ‘Norwa bost’ was simply an imported storage box or if locally made adaptations exist. Some later examples were most certainly presents brought from Norway, both by islanders themselves and visitors (hence the prefix *Norway* box).
To sum up, material culture clearly embodies or gives physical form to everyday intercultural contexts. It links eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Shetland fishers and landowners with craftsmen and traders across the North Atlantic, although taking on a very specific role within modern Norwegian or Scottish regional and national traditions.

As we have seen above, there is a rich history of intercultural contact between Scotland with Norway. Migration and trade often link specific regions with each other, with cultural encounters occurring as a result of this contact. It is hard to measure the impact of the cultural exchange that took place during both the Dutch and Scottish periods discussed above. Margit Løyland (2012) points out the cultural influence the Dutch period had on West Norwegians, in particular, ranging from Dutch place- and family names to lexical additions to the Norwegian language. Similarly, traces remain in the form of Scottish place names (Pederson, 2005), as well as words and phrases that have been in retained in each other’s languages, or were mutually intelligible at the time. Eighteenth century Shetlanders were said to speak a dialect consisting of a mixture of various languages from across the North Sea area (Knooihuizen, 2010). Other, more specific terminology seems to have developed around regular trading objects such as timber (Lorvik, 2003) and boats (Thowsen, 1970), but intercultural exchange is also found in coastal folklore, literature (Reeploeg, 2010a), traditions, music (Ronström, 2010) and vernacular building traditions (Tait, 2012). The
next Chapter will therefore focus on the intangible cultural connections between Scotland and Norway contained in heritage and literature narratives.

4.3 Narratives: Intangible links between Scotland and Norway

 Literary narratives often interact closely with social and cultural change. Narratives often document a perceived loss of a way of life, and historicise language use, as well as reimagine cultural links. Narrative presents an opportunity to constantly rework and reinterpret historical facts according to contemporary circumstances. In terms of constructing a spatial identity and place, narratives also provide an opportunity to draw attention to regional cultural aspects not represented easily in the national literatures. When considering the creation and maintenance of regional identities via symbols and communal narratives, it is therefore important to consider narrative, both on an institutional and everyday level. Geographically specific cultural spaces are created and mediated by individuals and groups via narrative, in everyday contexts, as well as on the more institutional levels of historical and political narratives. Although spatial identities typically are institutionally engendered, they are interpreted differently in the everyday contexts of daily life. Here they receive their everyday meanings through individual experience (Häkli and Paasi, 2003). In order to trace the significance and impact of narratives informing regional identities, both the institutional and everyday forms of transmission of historical knowledge have to
be considered. This last section will therefore investigate both heritage and literary narratives which both popularise and transmit a distinctive ‘Northern identity’ in both Scotland and Norway.

Moving from the topographical narratives discussed in Chapter 3 to shared heritage displays and literary tropes, narratives allow us to explore both tangible and intangible intercultural links between the two countries. Heritage is a form of cultural display, a performance, whereby history becomes part of both a communal memory and joins other forms of cultural mediation such as oral and literary accounts. History, in the sense of a remembered past, contributes to the broader concept of heritage, which also draws upon mythology, folklore and the creative imagination in order to frame the past into a heritage narrative (Ashworth, 1994). An example of this reappropriation and recontextualisation can be seen in museum collections, which use signature objects to construct ‘Nordic’ heritage narratives and spatial identities for specific places. So, for example, boats are significant cultural mediators of both tangible and intangible maritime cultures. They form the basis for displaying a spatial identity within the framework of national and regional patrimonial history discourses. This first part of this section therefore investigates the similarities and differences in terms of how the coast is defined as an intercultural ‘seafaring place’ via the transfer of tangible objects (Celestini and Mittelbauer, 2003), and their collection in local boat museums in Scotland and Norway.
Heritage narratives: museum collections as cultural mediators

Material cultures are ideally suited to the study of cultural transfers (Celestini and Mittelbauer, 2003) in heritage narratives, in so far as the concrete object offers a deliberate ‘objectification’ of individual and collective identities (Espagne and Werner, 1985). They represent an opportunity to resemanticise an object as a thing of the past (Brown, 2001) which still carries with it connotations of the transnational, but has been transformed by its journey (Bracher et al., 2006). Here, the outlines of an intercultural history can be found, which incorporate individual national discourses, but also express the concrete, and every day, ‘patrimonial consciousness’ (Savoy, 2003:392) of both countries – an intercultural object.

Since the inception of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) by the General Conference of UNESCO (UNESCO, 2013) in 2003, 151 countries have adopted both the term and consequent approaches to all types of cultural heritage, the value of which is no longer seen as solely residing in the conservation of material culture, but also the recognition, documentation and transmission of intangible aspects of culture, not previously considered in this way (Ashworth, 1994). These new approaches have become particularly visible in the way heritage communities in Northern Europe have dealt with the cultural landscapes and objects along the coast, and the way in which maritime heritage and cultural identities are constructed (Day, 2003). Some historians have been anxious to distinguish between ‘history’ and ‘heritage’,
stating that they have ‘utterly unlike aims: history to explain through critical
enquiry, heritage to celebrate and congratulate’ (Day, 2003:291). Others have
identified a blurring of these boundaries, suggesting the two should be combined
into a ‘contemporary commodity purposefully created to satisfy contemporary
consumption’ (Ashworth, 1994:16).

Early visitors to the Scottish Northern Isles commented on the cosmopolitan
nature of the inhabitants of islands, due to their ‘converse and commerce with
strangers’ (Brand, 1701 (1833)) across the sea. This seasonal ‘bartering or trade’
(ibid) revolved around maritime connections, which focused on both coastal and
deep-sea fishing in the North Sea and North Atlantic oceans. As we have seen
above, regular contact was maintained with fishers and traders in the United
Kingdom, Scandinavia, Norway, Holland and Germany. Within the scope of this
thesis, it is worth investigating how contemporary Shetlanders and West
Norwegians maintain a relationship to this history via heritage displays and
narratives. How do they define their regional coast as a ‘seafaring place’ and
which objects are selected to define their spatial identities within this place?

Shetland’s museums have always had a very close relationship between the
community and the collections, with local museum collections curated and
maintained by volunteers, often themselves personally associated with the objects
and narratives represented. With collections often supplemented by visual and
oral material, the representation of maritime history focuses on the accounts of the
ordinary seafarers, rather than ‘official accounts’ of historical events. Although there is plenty of scope for nostalgic approaches to the past, the fact that the sea is primarily seen as a resource for fishing, a commercial activity that is still central to Shetland’s economy today, has minimized the distance between history and heritage (making a nostalgic perspective difficult).

Kate Hill (2013:70) argues that what has made museum representations of the local particularly important to contemporary audiences are two things:

- Firstly, museums are able to hold multiple interpretations of place simultaneously by being open to donations from archaeologists, antiquarians, as well as the immediate local population. This results in a wide range of ‘local things’ for audiences to construe and recombine in myriad ways. The local museum collection thus provides a physical space for the production and consumption of a sense of local belonging.

- Secondly, museums offer ‘a way to combine an intellectual and an emotional understanding of place, where each guarantees the other’.

Local museum collections thus avoid what Day and Lunn (Day, 2003) define as a romanticised and sometimes uncritical perspective of national associations with the sea. They argue that, in the past, this has often resulted in a static and ahistorical perspective of the past in maritime heritage collections. Local collections thus provide a less ‘archival’, more complex and transformative
representations of maritime heritage as a work-in-progress, rather than a collection of static artefacts and monuments.

The Unst Boat Haven on the most northerly of the Shetland Islands is home to such a collection, with over 20 small open wooden boats displayed, most of which were used for coastal and deep-sea fishing. Traditional wooden boats like *yoals* and *sixareens* are displayed, as are similar Norwegian and Faeroese boat types for comparison. There is range of fishing gear, boat building tools, documents, charts and photos, which tell the story of Unst’s maritime past, including what are considered the ‘boom’ herring years when Baltasound’s population swelled every summer to about 10.000 and it was known as one of Europe’s top herring ports. There is an archive and study room for private research, with a small display of two ‘Norway boxes’ (bentwood boxes) donated by local women alongside other maritime items such as fishing floaters and nets.

The display, although clearly achieving a sense of place, is however not just ‘local’, but tells of international links with the Faroe Islands, Norway, as well as the whole of Europe (in terms of the fishing industry), by way of photographs and artefacts donated by the community. Although initially focussed very much on boats and men, a recent link to the ‘Herring girls’ narrative has recognised the significance of women in the fishing history, as well as the fact that Shetland was and is part of a highly industrialised, commercial, fishing industry. The wooden boat has also been artistically adapted in the shape of a ‘plinky boat’ near the ferry.
terminal of the island, which has turned the idea of navigation and boatbuilding into an art form – by converting it into a musical instrument for people to play.

By comparison, the Norwegian coastal heritage museum Kystens Arv uses a very different approach that incorporates both heritage and literary narratives in the construction of a spatial identity. It is situated near Stadsbygd, Rissa, on the north-western side of the Trondheimfjord in Norway. The museum has an exhibition housed in several buildings, showing various aspects of the Lofoten fisheries operations from the Trøndelag region connected to the regional fisheries discussed earlier. The exhibition ‘Lofotdrifta’, in particular, focuses on the history of a group of local men that built their own boats and went fishing 100 miles north along the coast.

In 1806 the first Lofoten fishing season from Trøndelag was initiated, which meant taking part in the rich fishing area off the Lofoten islands, a period of fishing that lasted for about 100 years. The boats used for fishing were open and at first were small craft, although by 1870 the Åfjord longboat became the most common design. The exhibition centrepiece is a Staværingsbåt, a large wooden boat named ‘The Last Viking’ (Den Siste Viking). This is a 52 foot square rigged boat which was used for fishing in the Lofoten Islands. It was built in 1929 by a local boat builder, himself an experienced lofotkar (or Lofoten fisher) (Kystens 2011).
Besides the exhibition, the boat museum also houses one of the largest collections of clinker-built boats in Norway, and a boatbuilding company where three boat builders train apprentices in building the traditional Åfjord-type boats. In addition to the displays, the museum arranges sailing trips in the Trondheimsfjord on the sail ship ‘Den Siste Viking II’, and their open-air theatre has an annual production of a historical drama that relates to the area by the local writer Johan Bojer (1872-1959). Here literary narratives and spectacle rather than historical narratives are used in the construction of a spatial identity. Johan Bojer, who was born in the area, is a popular Norwegian novelist and dramatist who often wrote of the lives of the poor farmers and fisher of Trøndelag, the region around the Trondheimsfjord. His novel ‘Den Siste Viking’ (The Last Viking) depicts the lives of fisher from Trøndelag, who spend the winter fishing in the Lofoten Islands on the far north coast of Norway. His work thus ‘commemorates’ the loss of both vessels and cultural knowledge (Bojer, 1923).

As we can see, there are interesting similarities and differences between the Norwegian and Scottish perspectives and communal memories constructed in both of these regional museums. Both heritage collections focus on boats and men, primarily, and both use historical sources and artefacts from the past 2-300 years, focussing on the past 100 years in particular. This means that relatively recent oral history can still form a large aspect of the communal memory created and represented, with the community involved in the construction of a changing commentary or narrative, rather than referring to a fixed, written, historical canon.
The plurality of locally available historical material means that history is seen as an on-going project, rather than a static source for heritage production. Via their maritime collections the spatial identity of a ‘seafaring place’ is thus constructed, combining objects, narratives and aspects of communal memory.

However, both museums approach their audience differently: a Norwegian passion for living history means that historical narratives are frequently re-enacted dramatically, as a form of spectacle, in front of a large audience consisting both of visitors and locals from the area. Similarly, boatbuilding, at Kystens Arv is seen as a living tradition that has been recontextualised as a successful commercial enterprise producing leisure vessels for buyers from across Scandinavia. This contrasts with the ‘haven’ aspect of the Unst Boat museum in Shetland, which has an artefact documentation, conservation and research-based focus. Here archives and records about local boat builders have been collected, and guidance by an experienced local volunteer encourages deeper, personal engagement based on individual interest or family connections. The traditional wooden boat is here often related to other aspects of everyday life, such as peat cutting and transport. Equally, and absent from the Norwegian museum, the transnational aspects of North Atlantic fisheries with corresponding intercultural links to the neighbouring Faroe Islands and the Norwegian coastal communities are included via objects, photographs and historical documents.
Both regional museums negotiate the complex process from history to heritage by not merely preserving important objects as static monuments, but also add oral, literary and artistic narratives, which continuously engage with aspects of communal memory otherwise lost. By appropriating and incorporating boats from different neighbouring geographical areas, for example, one boat collection provides a place for engagement with a shared, maritime identity. Yet, at the same time, both museum collections express intercultural practices and histories through the prism of their respective national discourses, by using a recognised format of heritage representation – the museum collection. The content and structure of each collection is therefore shaped by implicit assumptions around the origin of culture and the function of cultural heritage itself (Ashworth, 1994). Rather than, however, being specifically British/Scottish or Norwegian examples of sub-national heritage cultures, it could be argued that, through ‘objectifying’ their regional history through the medium of the boat, the collections themselves resist national heritage discourses by providing the basis for the construction of a plurality of spatial identities based on intercultural contact.

The role of entangled histories within heritage narratives is as yet an underexplored field, especially when considering the relationship between the study of abstract discourses and their everyday expressions by real people in real situations. As Kenneth Olwig comments in *Landscape, Nature and the Body Politic: From Britain's Renaissance to America's New World*, (Olwig, 2002),
discourses reflect an era, but they are the product of concrete individuals expressing themselves within the personal contexts of their lives.

As the above examples from coastal Scotland and Norway illustrate, there are tangible connections to be found for the entangled histories of Western Norway and the Shetland islands. Tangible objects, and the oral, visual and literary narratives they embody, inform the creation of individual intercultural regional identities (Reeploeg, 2010b:112-132). Through the boat, for example, both regional and national memories are created and performed. By decontextualizing boats from their previous working environment, they are appropriated to the semantic environment of the regional heritage archive, joining the selection of other, maritime, recontextualised objects. However, the dynamics of cultural transfer, which appropriate, decontextualize and resemanticise the boat as a cultural medium, also inform the creation of transnational coastal identities by repositioning them at the centre, rather than the periphery of national identities (Reeploeg, 2012:207-217). The decision to choose or to refuse the appropriation of an object may be viewed as an assertion of identity and as the expression of a sense of belonging to—or differing from—a cultural norm or a social convention (Thomas, 1991:25).

To sum up, cultural transfer studies have previously concentrate on the analysis, in written sources, of the part played by the discourses and concepts borrowed from other cultures in the formation of national cultural traditions. On the other
hand, works belonging to Material Culture Studies focus more and more on the everyday history of a given culture, and often deal with the question of the role of the other in the formation of collective identities through the prism of research on colonized territories connected to scientific disciplines such as ethnology or anthropology. However, and as can be seen in the Norwegian example, literary narratives are also an important aspect of this dynamic, aiding in the construction of spatial identities. The next section will therefore investigate the role of literary narratives and their reception in the construction of intangible intercultural links.

**Connected narratives: Intercultural Voices in Regional Literature**

The central question explored in this section is whether and how regional literature may be said to mediate between different communities of cultural practice, and national cultural ‘territories’, in a way that crosses and interrogates established geo-political boundaries. In light of an intercultural approach to this question, it seems most fruitful to define Nordic literature as a site of interplay between plural, converging, but also seemingly contradictory regions of identity. In the introduction to the millennium edition of *Nordisk Litteratur*, a literary yearbook published by the Nordic Literature and Library Committee (Nordbok 1997-2006:1), you will find the editors wistfully reflecting on the fact that, 100 years previously, a ‘Nordic literary community’ had existed. When Knut Hamsun wrote *Sult* (Hunger) at Nørrebro in Copenhagen (...) the book was read on the day of publication all over Scandinavia. Henrik Ibsen’s plays often had their premieres in other countries than Norway (Nordbok 1997-2006:1). Since then,
Nordic countries have developed in separate directions, establishing discrete, national literatures, with a dispersed literary community following geo-political structures and divisions.

From a Scottish perspective, part of the processes of political devolution and national unification as a ‘Nation within a Nation’ in the United Kingdom, have been accompanied by the increased promotion of all things, culturally, Scottish and a consequent negation of regional cultural difference and their corollaries of political resistance. But what has happened to the plural, complex, regional identities within Scotland, and the potential for expressions of intercultural identities?

Historically, nineteenth and twentieth century writers from the Northern Isles such as James John Haldane Burgess in Shetland, and George Mackay Brown in Orkney, have generated texts that represent the continuing dialogue that ‘Scots-Shetland’ culture has had with both the Nordic and European cultural spaces – aptly (if somewhat abruptly) summarized in the following Shetlopedia entry: ‘Shetland’s Literature reflects its history: five hundred years of Norse rule, followed by five hundred years of Scottish and British - this, in very simple terms, is the political reality of the last millennium’ (Shetlopedia 2006).

Although clearly linked to the ‘Nordic forum’ (both historically and culturally), the location of political, and civil institutions in Scotland have meant that both
literary history and contemporary narratives share a cultural identity very much locked into an English/Scottish dualism. This means that, although, in reality, very different from Scotland, the cultural identities of the Northern Isles are often subsumed under the Scottish national literary identity, itself which has been interpreted as provincial and ‘ambiguous’, or even ‘tormented’. The following comment by Harvie in Scotland and Nationalism, British Society and Politics 1707 to the Present (1977) illustrates the perceived ‘ambiguity’ in twentieth and twenty-first century Scottish literature:

Scotland’s reckoning with itself was, at best, ambiguous. [...] Among the characters invented to typify modern Scotland, [...] the notion of solipsism was pervasive. Whether in the cases of Inspectors Laidlaw or Rebus, or the tormented characters and encoded plots of Ian Rankin, Iain Banks, Ian MacEwen or even Allan Massie, a divided, fathomless and largely male society was on view (...) (Harvie 1977:226).

Yet, at the same time, Scotland’s culture seemed to have moved into an era that is simultaneously Scots and international (Harvie 1977:218). From the perspective of international and intercultural processes of unification, it may be considered quite old-fashioned to look at a regional identity (Nordic or otherwise), as something that preceded the more progressive and unifying, national (British, Scots or International) identities. If the Scottish islands of Orkney and Shetland have stopped ‘being Nordic’ long ago, any attempt at showing the opposite would surely be just be kale-yard nostalgia.

In a chapter on The Concept of the Nordic region (Miles 1996:16-18), Baldersheim and Stahlberg (1996) differentiate between ‘the Nordic region’ (as
encompassing ‘the monar chies of Denmark, Norway and Sweden and the
republics of Finland and Iceland, as well as the Faeroe Islands and Greenland.’
(Miles 1996:16) and ‘Scandinavia’ (‘a collective term for Denmark, Norway and
Sweden.’ (Miles 1996:16)). This is an interesting differentiation when dealing
with traditional ‘Scandinavian’ literature/identity and its wider, and in some sense,
more recent, ‘Nordic’ partners, meaning a division between young and old:

Denmark and Sweden are old-established powers, while the independent
states of Norway, Finland and Iceland in their present forms are new
nations of the twentieth century (Thomas cited in Miles 1996:16).

The changing geo-political landscape (of ex- and inclusion of certain geographical
areas within the Scandinavian or Nordic ‘concept’) is thus an ongoing political
project, one that extends to cultural production within these regions.
Contemporary geo-political and historical situations are thus not only in dialogue
with historical texts and contemporary literature, but also with critical writing
about the literary canon itself. Equally, literature is therefore not merely the
repository of culture or tradition, but part of ‘a system of discriminations and
evaluations [...]’ (Said cited in Bhabha 1990:100). Processes of cultural politics
are, however, not always complete or all-encompassing.

Laurits Rendboe’s highly influential study of The Shetland Literary Tradition
(1986) documents Shetland writers Laurence Nicolson and J. J. Haldane Burgess
as being referred to as ‘the bards of Thule’ (1986:30-31), and their work featuring
both in themes and language what he calls a ‘Nordic identity in transition’ (ibid).
This is because both Orkney and Shetland societies still find themselves at the
crossroads of both Scandinavian and British nation building narratives, and interesting and complex cultural and literary responses to them. So, despite becoming part of a different nation and ‘culture’, Nordic narratives have persisted both in Shetland and Orkney, particularly during and since revivals of Scandinavian identity during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Sebastian Seibert in *Reception and Construction of the Norse Past in Orkney* (Seibert 2008:166-171) provides a chronology of nordophile enthusiasm within the intellectual circles of the Orkney Islands. From ‘Early Old Northernism’ during the Scottish Enlightenment, via Sir Walter Scott’s romantic representation of Norse culture in his novel ‘The Pirate’, to the Viking Enthusiasm of the Udal League during the mid-1880s,46 and the Golden Age of Antiquarianism (itself greatly influenced by the dominant political discourse of Nationalism of the 1920s and 1930s), it ‘provided the historical basis for twentieth century patriotism’ (Seibert 2008:171). Clearly, ‘contemporary circumstances influence peoples’ perception of the past, the factors that contribute to the construction and perpetuation of past relationships’ (Cohen 1983:484). It follows that, although Orkney and Shetland literature needs to be situated within its cultural and political context, this should also include considering historical and contemporary discourses about the past contained within literary criticism itself. This approach recognises the intercultural nature of this strand of regional literature.

Travel Narratives and Other Literary Cross-Currents

As well as changes in readership, the period considered in this thesis also saw significant changes in the role women played in the production and dissemination of literary narratives. As we have seen in section 4.1, although often represented as restricted to the domestic sphere, the female experience was not only integral to social change and trade after 1700, but women were also part of the formation of cultural narratives. Karen O’Brien suggests that in the public sphere and literature the boundary between the domestic and social realms was ‘generally fluid and informal’ for women writers during the eighteenth century (O’Brien, 2009:11). Starting with Mary Wollstonecraft’s writings on female emancipation, the eighteenth century saw an increasing engagement between women and the Enlightenment discourses of history and progress (including feminist ideas regarding women’s education, female rationality and moral agency). Within the context of this thesis it is particularly significant that Wollstonecraft was the first British female writer to produce a personal travel narrative about Norway, Sweden and Denmark (Wollstonecraft, 1796). Although primarily on a business mission to retrieve a ship and silver owned by her then partner Gilbert Imlay, her observations range from the effects of commerce on society and philosophical discussions of identity to comments on the inhabitants of the regions she visits.

The norwegians appear to me as sensible, shrewd people, with little scientific knowledge, and still less taste for literature: but they are arriving at the epoch which precedes the introduction of the arts and sciences. (Wollstonecraft, 1796:78)
Translated into German, Dutch, Swedish, and Portuguese and published in America, the book proved immensely popular, not least because of the unusual nature of a woman, a young infant and a maid to travelling without the protection of a man. A combination of autobiography and travelogue, the book inspired both Romantic poets such as William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, but also other British women travellers that followed in her footsteps (Walchester, 2014).

Norway was ‘the high point’ of Wollstonecraft’s journey, where she ‘felt kinship with the sturdy independence of its people …’ (Gordon, 2006:267).

Her comparisons of primitive with polished societies foreshadows anthropological travel, lending her intelligence to what she observes, for ‘the art of travelling is only a branch of the art of thinking’. She takes in women weaving and knitting to keep warm during the deep winter; the smell of children’s bodies seeping through layers of linen; the hospitable warmth of peasants; and the communicative smiles exchanged with women who share no language (Gordon, 2006:267).

As travel to Norway increased in the nineteenth century, especially as a safe destination for female travellers, as did the number of Romantic descriptions and travel narratives written by Victorian women that centred on the ancient and old-fashioned aspects of Norwegian society. Kathryn Walchester (2014) argues that there are two factors that contributed to these narratives of a rustic ‘Gamle Norge’ by these women writers. Firstly, the descriptions centre on domestic life and rural landscapes, which ‘encapsulate a nostalgic sense of the nation and medieval, pastoral democratic’ (Walchester 2014:6). Secondly, the repeated comparisons with industrialised Britain focus not only on the distance between that and the
wilderness and medieval heritage of Norway’s mountain farms, but also on the sense of otherworldliness experienced by the women writers. Norway is represented as a playground for the upper class woman to enjoy the freedom of physical activity such as fishing and hunting, but also a place of utopian ‘possibility for the woman traveller, in contrast to her stilted and restricted life in Britain’ (Walchester 2014:7).

As discussed in Chapter 3, the nineteenth century saw a resurgence of British interest in Norwegian culture, with a direct connection between the translation of Viking texts and tourism to region. Travel narratives by both male and female writers thus contributed to the way in which many aspects of Norwegian art and literature were integrated into British culture.

In the introduction to the volume *Anglo-Scandinavian Cross-Currents* (Ewbank, 1999) the editor Inga-Stina Ewbank draws attention to the difference in viewpoints that have characterised different national paradigms in both the teaching and research of Nordic cultures, which still continue today. Boundaries between different Scandinavian countries often blur or vanish altogether when viewed from the outside, i.e. centre of the British Empire. Viewed the other way, from the margins of Europe and in relation to English culture, differences are also sometimes omitted, privileging a unitary ‘Scandinavianness’ (Ewbank 1999:12). The time frame for *Anglo-Scandinavian Cross-Currents* is 1850-1914, when the whole concept of ‘Northernness’ itself had already taken on a more romantic, but
also political flavour. Nordic literatures can thus be seen to be part of a constant renegotiation of spatial identities as sites of interplay between plural, converging, but also seemingly contradictory regions of identity (Reeploeg, 2010a:112). This dynamic aspect facilitates continuous change, where human agency enables us to go ‘beyond the limits set by our existing beliefs and practices’ (Callinicos, 2006:243).

In order to better understand the historical cross-currents, as well as subsequent diverging cultural perspectives within Nordic and Scottish literatures, it is necessary to extend the timeframe of analysis to consider both historical and contemporary cross-currents between Scotland and Norway. Ursula Kimpel in *Beyond the Caledonian Antisyzygy: Contemporary Scottish Poetry in Between Cultures* (1995:135) points out the multiplicity that has always shaped the character and content of Scotland’s literature. This includes a history between independence and the United Kingdom of Great Britain; its three language communities, the Gaelic, the Scots and the English, and a history of being involved in different waves of pre-industrial and industrial migration. One of the main driving forces behind the development of Scottish literature throughout the twentieth century is a tension between the experience of cultural heterogeneity on the one hand, and a strong pressure for cultural homogeneity on the other.

Although the past twenty years have confirmed and recreated Scotland as a land with a distinctive legal, religious and political culture, this has always included the cultural baggage of Burns suppers, cultural
colonialism and books on etiquette which carefully listed ‘Scottisisms’. Words and Phrases to be avoided (Morris, 1990:3).

In Norway, a different historical context forms part of the development of a national and regional literature. A successful independence movement, starting with the establishment of a constitution in 1814, provides a historical narrative aimed to separate Norwegian from Danish cultural production. As in the case of Scotland, literature plays a significant role in establishing an independent spatial identity. The development of individual national literatures forms part of this nation-building process. However, it does not take place in isolation, with both regional and national literatures establishing a relationship both within the historical period, and taking part in the deliberate construction of it as a literary narrative (Reeploeg, 2010a).

Nordic Voices in Scottish Literature

As we have already seen, intercultural dialogue plays an important part in the construction of regional and national literary identities. The Nordic ‘cultural space’ can be conceived as an example of the network of continuous interaction between cultures and societies. Literary representations are thus embedded in both their regional and global economies, political structures and power relations. Applying an intercultural methodology thus helps investigate cultural diversity that may be hidden under a national narrative⁴⁷.

⁴⁷ The content of this section is based on research for a Masters thesis in Highlands and Islands Literature entitled Intercultural Dialogue in Nordic Literatures submitted in 2008, which included
Anthony Smith, in *Towards a Global Culture?* (in Featherstone, 1990:171-191) has commented on the rise of transnational cultures as being a logical conclusion to the Second World War. Within the post-war world of power blocs and ideological camps, humanity was re-divided according to a ‘truly global politics and culture’ (Smith in Featherstone, 1990:172). In place of the now obsolete nation state ‘arose the new cultural imperialism of Soviet communism, American capitalism, and struggling to find a place between them, a new Europeanism’ (ibid). Still, in its insistence on being this new age of trans-national communication, this type of Globalist discourse still implicitly accepts the existence of cultural boundaries along national or ethnic limits. On the one hand, it asserts that globalisation, migration, decolonisation, and the post-war processes of European integration have led to a questioning of traditional collective identities based on the idea of a unitary nation-state and confidence in Western dominance. On the other, and as a result of these globalising, post-modern developments, it supports an increasing preoccupation in public or civic life with such issues as cultural diversity, religious and social allegiances, (inter)national canons and the internal and external borders of Europe (which are based on the very national borders that it claims no longer exist).

This is because, on the contrary, nations have neither disappeared, nor are obsolete. Post-1945, and, most importantly, post-1989, there seem to have been a critical approach to historiographies and change within modern and contemporary Scottish and Nordic cultural and literary communities.
ever smaller nation-states emerging by the year – and with them, the civic institutions and discourses (including literary narratives) that are associated with the rise of nations.

Nations, then, are imaginary constructs that depend for their existence on an apparatus of cultural fictions in which imaginative literature plays a decisive role (Bhabha 1990:49)

However, and as a consequence of post-modern re-orientation of both literary and historical studies by figures such as Michel Foucault, Louis Althusser, Roland Barthes and Richard Rorty, historical explanation has now moved to a ‘discussion about the part played by language in producing and shaping historical meaning or ‘making true’ (Munslow 2000:8). An intercultural perspective allows the documentation of the dialogue between the reality of a historical period and the dominant discourses about it, or (in post-structuralist terms) narratively constituting it.

Narrative is ‘central to historical explanation as the vehicle for the creation and representation of historical knowledge’ (Munslow 2000:169). In that sense, modern writers such as James John Haldane Burgess from Shetland and George Mackay Brown from Orkney generated what can be defined as intercultural texts. Their narratives represent the continuing dialogue that Shetland and Orkney island societies have had (and still have) with both Scottish and Nordic cultural spaces. However, whereas George Mackay Brown (1921-1996) - the ‘Bard of Orkney’ - is considered one of the great Scottish poets of the twentieth century, very little is known, within Scottish literature at least, about his Shetland counterpart, Haldane
Burgess. A short diversion is therefore necessary to document this defining figure in Shetland’s cultural and literary history.

**Nordic Regionalism and Shetlanrie**

James John Haldane Burgess (1862-1927) was a poet, novelist, musician, as well as a Scandinavian scholar. Born in Lerwick, he studied in Edinburgh and, having lost his sight in the last year of study, returned to Shetland to publish works in Shetlandic or Shetland Dialect and English. His output includes a novel called *Tang* (Seaweed) and *The Viking Path: A Tale of the White Christ* (1894), which was translated into German, and collections of poetry such as *Rasmie’s Büddie* (first published in 1891). Along with a group of interested antiquarians and historians of the time, Burgess assisted visiting Faroese linguist Jakob Jakobsen in his researches into the Norn language in Shetland. Jacobsen thought that the Scottish dialect of nineteenth century Shetland was still saturated with an Old Norse element, the numerous relics of the language formerly spoken in the Islands. During prolonged fieldwork in Shetland (1893-1895) he collected more than ten thousand ‘words of Norn origin’, a language used in Shetland from the close of the Norse period until well into the 18th century (Jakobsen and Horsbøl, 1928).

Significantly, for both Shetland’s literary and popular culture, Burgess was the author of what can only be described as Shetland’s ‘cultural anthem’ - the ‘Up-
Helly-Aa Song’. First published in 1907 by T & J Manson in Lerwick, it is one of the three main songs still performed by processions of more than 800 ‘guizers’ (men in Viking costumes or other disguises) at the annual winter fire festivals or Up-Helly-Aa nights in Shetland’s towns and villages.

The Up Helli-Aa Song

From grand, old, Viking centuries Up-Helli-A’ has come,
Then light the torch and form the march, and sound the rolling drum:
And wake the mighty memories of heroes that are dumb;
The waves are rolling on.

Chorus: Grand, old, Vikings ruled upon the ocean vast,
Their brave battle-songs still thunder on the blast;
Their wild war-cry comes a-ringing from the past;
We answer it "A-oi"!
Roll their glory down the ages,
Sons of warriors and sages!
When the fight for Freedom rages,
Be bold and strong as they!

Of yore, our fiery fathers sped upon the Viking Path;
Of yore, their dreaded dragons braved the ocean in its wrath;
And we, their sons, are reaping now their glory's aftermath;
The waves are rolling on.

Chorus

In distant lands, their raven-flag flew like a blazing star;
On distant seas, their dragon-prows went gleaming outward bound,
The storm-clouds were their banners, and their music ocean's sound;
And we, their sons, go sailing still the wide earth round and round;
The waves are rolling on.

Chorus

No more Thor's lurid Hammer flames, against the northern sky;
No more from Odin's shining halls the dark Valkyrior fly;
Before the LIGHT the heathen Night went slowly rolling by;
The waves are rolling on.

Chorus

We are the sons of mighty sires, whose souls were staunch and strong;
We sweep upon our serried foes, the hosts of Hate and Wrong;
The glory of a grander Age has fired our battle-song;
The waves are rolling on.

Chorus

Our galley is the People's Right, the dragon of the free;
The Right that, rising in its might, brings tyrants to their knee;
The flag that flies above us is the Love of Liberty;

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48 It was originally performed to the tune ‘John Brown’s Body’, an American marching song, but replaced later by a composition by Thomas Manson.
49 The others being The Norseman’s Home and The Galley Song which are sung to a Norwegian Folk melody.
And foreign foemen, trembling, heard their battle-cry afar;
And they thundered o'er the quaking earth, those mighty men of war;
The waves are rolling on.

Chorus

(Burgess, J.J.H. 190750)

With lines such as ‘From grand old Viking centuries Up-Helly-A’ has come’ and a chorus centring around ‘Sons of warriors and sages’, the poem not only revives and reinterprets Nordic imagery and ancestry, but evokes a very specific and localised spatial identity. If we add to this that Up-Helly-Aa, as a festival, was established in its modern form in Lerwick, Shetland’s ‘capital’, in the 1870s, and that it involves the burning of a reconstructed Viking galley, we have some powerful hints at where both Shetland intellectuals and popular culture were aiming to situate themselves. Pro-Scandinavian, especially pro-Norwegian, sentiments clearly prevail, although clearly constructed around a desire to differentiate themselves from Scotland, as well as the Victorian sentiment of the British/Viking identity already discussed. Roy Grønneberg comments in

Jakobsen and his Shetland Correspondents (1984);

Jakob Jakobsen has always bulked large in Shetland’s intellectual life. [his research] must have made a considerable impact on the local people and given a great boost to the latent pro-Scandinavian sentiment which already existed (Grønneberg, 1984:234, my insert).

Many subsequent Shetland writers such as T. A. Robertson, also known as Vagaland, share this focus on ‘Norn’ culture and language as being a direct link to Shetland’s Nordic past and present in their narratives.

Shetlanrie

[...]
Now, if a boat you mention, then there's many a Norn name,
From the ‘tilfers’ in the bottom to the ‘stamreen’ at the stem,
And Norn it is you're speaking when you labour in the hill,
With the ‘tushkar’ that you dig with and the ‘kishie’ that you fill.
[...]
(Robertson, 1975:48)

As Laurits Rendboe notes in his introduction to The Shetland Literary Tradition:

This poetry, often mild, often forceful, as the need be, has never played the role of ‘art for art’s sake’. It has always been an integral part of Shetland life, being used to set forth warnings so as to rouse the people when needed, to commemorate worthy events, or to bestow praise where it belonged, just like the skaldic poetry of the old Norsemen (Rendboe 1986:35).

However, it is also important to see these writers of a wider Scottish tradition, with many Shetland writers spending time in Edinburgh and on the Scottish mainland prior to commencing their writing careers (Smith, 2014).

Orcadianism

Themes of intercultural identity and links to a Nordic literary past are also explored in the work of the Orcadian writer George Mackay Brown (1921-1996). In works such as Vinland (1992), Magnus (1973) and An Orkney Tapestry (1969), Mackay Brown not only reinterprets history from a similar Nordic perspective
than Burgess and Robertson, he does so in a transformative way - ‘by passing it through the eye of the needle of Orkney’\textsuperscript{51}.

In his twentieth Century novel \textit{Beside the Ocean of Time} (1994) the main protagonist Thorfinn Ragnarson becomes the focus of this communal Nordic memory or ‘imagined community’. Significantly, and as the title suggests, the text considers time as not something linear, but as an ocean of narratives that constantly surrounds the main character and define his cultural identity - ‘Round Norday island, the great ocean music goes on and on, everlastingly’ (Brown, 1994:59). Both in the conversations Thorfinn hears when growing up on the Orcadian island of Norday (from Nord = North; ay (ey or oy) = island (Beaumont, 1997-2010)) in the 1930s (itself a memory constructed by the narrator), and the frequent dreams he has of travelling through history, Thorfinn/Norday island articulates a unique set of multiple, intercultural experiences. The exchanges between islanders, for example, that take place at the local smithy express Orkney’s peculiar cultural and political situation as part of Scotland’s periphery:

\begin{quote}
Ben Hoy objected that Orkney had never been a part of Scotland anyway till 1472 and then the Scots had fallen on the once powerful earldom of Orkney and battened on it like hoodie crows. Terrible it had been. MacTavish brushed that aside. ‘Well’, said he, ‘you’ve been Scottish now for a long time. That’s an old song you’re singing, my man.’ (Brown 1994:25)
\end{quote}

The narrative then follows Thorfinn, the main protagonist, in a symbolic dream-journey south to Scotland, assisting the Scottish Nationalist ‘knight’ MacTavish, while the islands themselves remain (at least in Thorfinn’s head) a rural Nordic paradise. During the war, and in a semi-autobiographical move by the author, Thorfinn becomes a writer of historical novels. Returning to a changed Norday after the war to re-capture ‘what was left of ‘the glory and the dream’ Thorfinn realises that ‘the tide had turned’ with the glory and the dream ‘lost beyond recall’ (Brown 1994:216) – although the novel nevertheless expresses hope that Norday/Orkney will have its own ‘voice’ … eventually.

Lastly, Shetland-born Robert Alan Jamieson’s poetry represents a particularly good example of how intercultural dialogue generates such an ‘authentic voice’, a spatial identity that is regional, yet distinctly part of both the Nordic and Scottish literary landscape. His collection of poetry entitled Nort Atlantic Drift very closely connects both form and language to locality. It evokes, not just a specific ‘place’ or landscape (the area around Sandness in the North West of the Shetland Mainland), but also a specific historical period (the time when the writer remembers growing up there, during the 1960s). As MacDiarmid, Jamieson attempts to create a new language, identity or place, both from an existing cultural repertoire, and to explore new themes. He particularly focuses on representing the cosmopolitan nature of island life and identity, which is a constant dialogue

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52 Linguistically, he uses his own form of Modern Shetlandic Scots or Shetland Dialect.
between Shetland and the North Atlantic, as the following poem from the chapter ‘Atlasland’ illustrates.

**BOTTILT**

It was a Hay’s ginger cordial bottle he threw beyond the incoming wave, with his handwriting on the paper inside. Hay’s corks twisted tighter, would keep his inky message dry for the world to read. From this shore, he might reach out to Rejkjavik or Tromsø, to Heligoland or Torshavn. He never doubted a stranger’s hand would pick Hay’s bottle from an ebbing shoreline somewhere. Then a letter came. A man had found it, in the shallows, and wrote, with photos, from that foreign land across the sea – Eshaness.

(Via the artefact of a ginger cordial bottle containing a message ‘fïr da wirld t’fin’, the Nordic or North Atlantic world is represented as far, yet accessible, foreign, yet, surprisingly (and ironically) familiar. Eshaness is part of the island that the sender inhabits, so the reply to his letter actually comes from his neighbour across the bay. Here, the sea is not seen as where the land ends, but where the rest of the world begins - ‘Da sie’s da wy da wirld kum’s ta wis.’ (Jamieson 2007:73). This statement also evokes the way in which place is seen as central, rather than being part of the Scottish/British periphery. In terms of an island identity, the poems

(Jamieson 2007:36)
thus interrogate stereotypical perceptions of a peripheral or isolated places - remote, provincial and ignorant.

SIEVÆGIN

Beyond the flat earth
of the boundaries of sense,
the world is just
a round blue ball people circle
in order to work and live:
a global awareness.

If you spit in the ocean,
that drop might reach Eshaness.

But hoist a sail,
and you go where you please,
to new found land.

(Jamieson 2007:113)

Again, through the metaphor of the sea/sailor, the ‘global awareness’ of the islander is here drawn to the foreground, aware of the possibilities beyond ‘the boundaries of sense’ or normative ideals. He steps from the vessel to find that it is the land which is swaying and floating, and that ‘his people’ are not an ethnic grouping, but those who share a way of life (Jamieson 2007:91).

With both his use of imagery and dual-language text Jamieson deliberately locates his poetic narratives in the ‘Nort Atlantik’, away from the traditional cultural centres of London/Edinburgh or even dry land. Rather than attempting to move ‘the centre’ to a specific nation, language or race (Gaelic/Scottish/Shetland) he situates his work alongside that of other writers using minority languages within the North Atlantic/Nordic region and beyond. This cosmopolitan perspective is
reinforced by Jamieson’s commentary, when he explains the rich intercultural horizons of island communities:

The knowledge, understanding and artefacts of the world that the merchant seamen brought home with them meant that although Shetland was a small isolated community in global terms, its folk had an awareness of the true size of the world. This demonstrates the misapprehension that such a ‘marginal’ community is less informed about the world at large than more ‘central’, metropolitan situations, where everything, it appears, is near at hand (Jamieson 2007:77).

As the examples above demonstrate, the literary narratives not only evoke a spatial identity or sense of place, in terms of locating their texts in their particular intercultural space, but also reveal how cultural history is transmitted through a plurality of voices, rather than one national literature. Literary narratives illustrate how cultural identities are informed (or imagined) by the interaction between cultures and societies, rather than an aesthetic artefact arising from the artist’s ‘roots’, ‘nation’ or ‘native culture’. What could be called an intercultural understanding of both Scandinavian and Scottish literature therefore opens the doors to re-interpreting the ‘Nordic identity’ evoked by both past and present writers, and an opportunity to question the ‘Scottish silences’ within the Nordic canon, and vice versa.

Adopting a transnational narrative generates a ‘worldness’ that is able to be in dialogue with both ‘a revised and problematized national paradigm’ (Sassi, 2014:3). An intentional, intercultural approach to Scottish culture and society itself then presents an opportunity for new and empowering perspectives on regional identity. However, and as Benedict Anderson repeatedly states in his
book on *Imagined Communities* (1991), part of the challenge is that not everyone’s voice has the same power – with imagination and narrative always enveloped by the forceful global ocean of institutional, political and economic forces.

This Chapter has demonstrated that intercultural connections travel via people, objects and narratives. Clearly, everyday culture is a rich source for documenting both tangible and intangible links, with individual regions often developing a common identity that is transnational, rather than tied to individual nation-states. The study of intercultural networks can thus help us understand cultural affinities, identification and belonging in Northern Europe, as well as illuminate the social, economic and cultural processes that define spatial identities. The next and final chapter returns to the aims of this thesis, which was to investigate the relationship between the public ideologies analysed in Chapter 3 and the personal, material and narrative links discussed in Chapter 4. In doing so it will discuss how the two main objectives of the thesis have been achieved, which were to relate intercultural links to wider perspectives of how regions of culture and memory are constructed using symbolic capital, and to investigate the existence of a transnational ‘region of culture’ connecting Scotland and Norway after 1700.
Conclusion

In conclusion, the research contained in this thesis has established how transnational cultural regions are created and maintained by considering the connected cultures and intercultural encounters between Scotland and Norway from 1700 until the present time. By combining the investigation of archival documents and local historiographies with the application of critical analysis from the fields of history and cultural studies, the study took into account multiple historical viewpoints, as well as contemporary critical reflections on how regional identities are constructed and maintained. The resulting overall analysis of regional cultural histories made it possible to appreciate the complexity of intercultural links between Scotland and Norway from 1700 to the present, including the multiple layers of identity that arose from them over time.

The two main objectives of the research were to (a) relate intercultural links to wider perspectives of how regions of culture and memory are constructed within Northern Europe; and to (b) investigate the existence of a transnational ‘region of culture’ connecting Scotland and Norway after 1700. These were achieved by examining the cultural networks between Scotland and Norway beyond the medieval and early modern periods and contextualising them within emergent European nation-building narratives. The research thus investigated the existence of transnational cultural regions that connect some of the coastal communities of Scotland and Norway in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
The evidence collected and analysed in the Chapters above showed how collective memories are created and adapted through time. As part of intangible cultural histories they form part of wider changes in the history of ideas. These, in turn, are in constant dialogue with flows of people, objects and narratives. Using local case studies, the research captured intercultural histories and diffuse socio-cultural dynamics, and set them in the context of nation- and region-building during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This was achieved by focusing the analysis on historical and socio-political conditions, but also the everyday experience of people living in regional communities, and how they participate in the construction of connected transnational memory spaces (*Transnationale Erinnerungsorte*) (Aronsson, 2009:71-90).

Overall, the research showed a need to break down historiographical barriers that restrict intercultural contact to political histories, connecting the study of cultural history and historical context to that of everyday lives and material culture. These represent tangible and continuous intercultural links between North European regions on an interregional, rather than nation, level. Dominant perspectives, still inherent in much historical and critical writing, have traditionally removed the Scotland to the peripheries of the British Isles. As could be seen in Chapter 3, a revived and newly romanticised interest in ‘Old North’ during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries represented certain areas of the British Isles as sites containing long lost traditions from the past, rather than social and cultural ‘places’ in their own right. However, the history of Scotland’s regions and
cultural links is also part of a complex, transnational picture, especially when relating them to wider cultural and historical contexts.

Modern histories of the Scottish Northern Isles, for example, indicate that cultural contact between Shetland and Scandinavia, in particular Norway, diminished or even ceased after the fifteenth century. Historians often emphasise linear phases of chronology, such as from Pict to Viking to Scot (-tish) which, as we saw in Chapter 3, aligned themselves with eighteenth and nineteenth century national historiographies, the ‘imagined communities’ of both Scotland and Norway (Anderson, 1991, Bhabha, 1990). However these homogenised representations are at odds with intercultural identities created around what Hance Smith in *Shetland Life and Trade* (1984 (2003):289) refers to as ‘enduring cultural foundations’ that connect Shetland to Northern Europe (rather than just the British Isles).

One of the most significant results of this research has been the discovery of the important role played by narratives in the continuous transformation of spatial identities. While Chapter 3 investigated the creation of public ideologies or the symbolic reserve of public identity building processes, Chapter 4 situated these within specific regional spaces and individual, everyday experiences and private narratives. The analysis of heritage narratives, for example showed that cultural legacy or inheritance is not simply a process of archival documentation and transmission across time, but also of renegotiation of what is meaningful to
specific contemporary historical and political situations. Cultural narratives thus both construct and reinforce political, ethnic or linguistic boundaries, as part of wider historical processes of identification and differentiation.

Following Munslow’s definition of cultural discourse as ‘a discourse subject to other discourses’ (Munslow, 2000:8), the research contained in this thesis has demonstrated that people in both Norway and Scotland take an active part in the production, adaptation and contestation of cultural identities. The research therefore enhances our understanding of the dynamic nature of coastal communities, and how the study of intercultural links can help us understand different forms of identification, affinity and resistance between peripheral communities in Northern Europe.

The first part of the thesis focused primarily on providing a historical background to the research, as well as investigating the creation and adaptation of histories and ‘Northern Identities’ in Scotland and Norway during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by historiographers, antiquarians and geographers. It then related the creation of this type of ‘symbolic reserve’ (Mandler, 2006:281) to the entangled histories Scotland and Norway, as well as to a wider European context. The research then went on to analyse different examples of how cultural activity has mediated between different communities, as well as creating specific spatial identities. This demonstrated the impact of intercultural links on religious,
linguistic and economic concepts and structures, particularly in terms of the creation and transmission of spatial identities.

The second part of the thesis examined the lived realities of intercultural contact using examples from local history in Scotland and Norway. Previous scholarship of Scottish-Norwegian regional trade revealed new complexities in the relations between the two countries, and the need to break down historiographical barriers that restrict intercultural contact to the investigation of geopolitical histories. Analysing the economic and cultural-historical context of material culture has shown both tangible and intangible links between North European regions. So, for example, the case studies of eighteenth and nineteenth century interregional contacts between Scotland and Norway analysed in Chapter 4 provide clear evidence for the establishment of a series of historical spatial identities. These were based both on tangible economic or historical contacts, but also on cultural encounters, through both modern and contemporary interpretations of heritage narratives, literature and music.

Chapter 4 also demonstrated that cultural and social changes in Scotland and Norway after 1700 resulted from a combination of professionalization, new technologies and processes which showed the connections between intercultural contact and changing cultural norms. Case studies from the Shetland Islands and Western Norway in both Chapters 3 and 4 have thus aided our understanding of the sheer diversity of intercultural connections. The examples analysed showed
the changes that occurred over time, and how both temporary and enduring types of cultural identities are created and transmitted. Regions were shown to be ‘complicated constellations of agency, social relations and power’ (Passi, 2009:131). As nations, regions are institutional structures and processes that are perpetually ‘becoming’ instead of just ‘being’. Chapter 4, in particular, illustrated that historical regions have a material basis grounded in economic and political relations, as well as various historical realities. However, and as the discussion of literature and heritage narratives demonstrated, social institutions such as culture, media and administration were also crucial in the production and reproduction of certain ‘structures of expectations’ (Passi, 2009:131) and cultural discourses.

To sum up, the research contained in this thesis demonstrates how communities of narration and interpretation change over time, questioning the centre-periphery model of nineteenth and twentieth century cultural history and historical geography in Northern Europe. Regional narrative communities were shown as ideological spaces that are constantly under construction. Intercultural links between Scotland and Norway are therefore sites of interplay between plural, converging, often contradictory regions of identity, a site of continuous change and, most importantly, of human agency (Callinicos, 2006:243).
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Appendix I

Historical Maps & Charts

Figure 4: Strøm, H., Kort over Sondmør (Copenhagen, 1762). Courtesy of the National Library of Norway, public domain.
Figure 5: Gifford, T. (1733) The Isles of Zetland, its Extent and Division into Parishes, Shetland Museum and Archives, P00191.
Figure 7: Preston, T.A. (1781) New Hydrographical Survey of the Islands of Shetland, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
Appendix II

Publications