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This is the accepted version of a chapter published in *Narrating the Heritage of Psychiatry*.

Citation for the original published chapter:

Rodéhn, C. (2024)

Street Names and the Narration of Madness in a Post-Asylum Landscape

In: Elisabeth Punzi, Cornelia Wächter, and Christoph Singer (ed.), *Narrating the Heritage of Psychiatry* (pp. 122-142). Leiden & Boston: Brill Academic Publishers
Narratives and Mental Health

https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004519848_009

N.B. When citing this work, cite the original published chapter.

Permanent link to this version:

<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-548727>

Street Names and the Narration of Madness in a Post-Asylum Landscape

Cecilia Rodéhn

Abstract

The aim of this article is to discuss street naming at Ulleråker, a former psychiatric hospital located in the town Uppsala in southeastern Sweden. Specifically, the article explores streets named after Gustaf Fröding's poems: what kinds of stories are narrated in the urban landscape when Fröding's poems are used as inspiration for street names? Fröding (1860–1911) is a well-known Swedish writer and poet who was an inmate at Ulleråker. Furthermore, the article explores the cultural heritage this produces in the post-asylum landscape. The street-naming process and the street names are subjected to a mad reading, and the article adopts theories and methodologies from Critical Heritage Studies, Human Geography, and Mad Studies. I argue that the street naming builds on sanist discourses that further gendered and classed stereotypes of people diagnosed with mental distress. These discourses are then subverted, and the article shows how the street names narrate and materialize different kinds of experiences of madness in the post-asylum landscape.

Keywords

Gustaf Fröding – mad leakage – mad reading – street naming – Ulleråker – post-asylum landscape

1 Introduction

In 2016, the local government decided that some streets in the Ulleråker post-asylum landscape should be named after the famous Swedish poet Gustaf Fröding and his poems. Founded in 1811, Ulleråker, located in the town Uppsala in Southeast Sweden, has a more than two-hundred-year-old history as a psychiatric hospital area. The hospital was deinstitutionalized in 1988 and is an example of a typical Swedish post-asylum landscape. Ebba Högström explains that Swedish post-asylum landscapes can be considered as “an effect of the overall restructuring of social welfare services and as the result of processes of rationalisation, reductions in public funding and a shift from the previously dominant model of public supply to mixed public–private solutions” (2018, 317). Moreover, a post-asylum landscape

is a new kind of spatialisation of hospital areas, where they are subject to urban development and re-envisioned as business areas, school campuses, prisons, and residential areas (Moon, Kearns, and Joseph 2015). From the late 1980s, Ulleråker has been transformed from hospital grounds into a residential area and school campuses. The land is currently subject to large-scale urban development, which began in 2014. A central part of the urban development of Swedish post-asylum landscapes is the introduction of new street names. At Ulleråker, new street names were first introduced during the 1990s, commemorating one nurse and five attending physicians who had worked at the hospital. Later, during the urban development process starting in 2014, it was decided, as mentioned above, that new streets should be named after the poet Gustaf Fröding and his poems (Stadsbyggnadsförvaltningen 2016).

Gustaf Fröding is one of Sweden's best-known and cherished poets. He was born on August 22, 1860, in the county of Värmland in southwestern Sweden. Fröding arrived in Uppsala as a student, and he lived there, as well as in Stockholm, with his sisters. He debuted with a collection of poems named *Guitar and Concertina* (*Guitarr och dragharmonika*) in 1891, which was followed in 1894 by *New Poems* (*Nya dikter*). In 1896 *Splashes and Patches* (*Stänk och flikar*) was published followed by *Tall Tales and Adventures* (*Räggler å paschaser*) in 1895, *Old and New* (*Nytt och gammalt*) in 1897 and *Splashes of the Grail* (*Gralstänk*) in 1898. In private, the author suffered from mental ill-health, and Fröding was treated at many different care facilities in Europe. On December 28, 1898, he was admitted to Uppsala Hospital at Ulleråker, where he was diagnosed with "Insania degenerativa", meaning "inherited mental illness". Fröding remained in care until March 21, 1905, when he was released to his sisters and cared for by a private nurse in his home in Stockholm. Fröding died February 8, 1911 (Jonsson 2002, 11). His work is part of the Swedish literary canon, and his life and work continue to inspire musicians, filmmakers, and playwrights.

The aim of this article is to examine what histories are narrated in the urban landscape when Fröding's poems are used as inspiration for street names. Furthermore, the article explores what kind of cultural heritage this produces in Ulleråker's post-asylum landscape. In this exploration, the article contributes to the ongoing discussion of name-giving at psychiatric hospital areas. In this field of study, scholars have explored place names, suggesting that post-asylum landscapes are often subject to radical name changes during urban development (Moon, Kearns, and Joseph 2015, 73, 84–87, 122–126, 162). Robin Kearns, Alun Joseph and Graham Moon write that this is because a stigma is often attached to former psychiatric hospital sites due to their association with the care of people diagnosed with "mental illness" (Kearns, Joseph, and Moon 2012, 180). They conclude that renaming former psychiatric hospital areas often becomes a strategy and a tool by urban developers and politicians to cleanse the place of negative associations. New names function as a way to create a symbolic break with the past in the process of creating attractive residential areas (Moon, Kearns, and Joseph 2015, 84–87, 122–126, 162). Although place names are discussed, street naming and street names

have not been subject to analysis; the present article contributes in this regard.

Furthermore, the present article contributes to the discussion by examining the kinds of histories that are narrated when introducing new street names into an urban area (e.g. Azaryahu 1996, 2012; Gill 2005; Ryan, Foote, and Azaryahu 2016). This body of work predominantly examines processes of naming streets in relation to major political transitions in various countries (e.g. Gill 2005; Palonen 2008; Duminy 2017; Shoval 2013; Light and Young 2014; Wanjiru and Matsubara 2017). Though an important focus, the interest has sidelined research into more mundane street naming processes, and, consequently, small-scale political processes are often overlooked. The present study contributes in this regard by focusing on political decisions on local levels. Furthermore, in building on research that explores how histories are narrated and commemorated in the urban landscape (Azaryahu 1996; 2012; Light 2004; Palonen 2008), research that explores how some pasts are forgotten in order to create new presents and futures (Gill 2005, 492), as well as research exploring the kinds of claims being made when previously subjugated groups' stories are told (Azaryahu 1996; Azaryahu 2012; Wanjiru and Matsubara 2017; Duminy 2017), this article seeks to continue the discussion on how marginalized groups are commemorated by focusing on a group that has not previously been discussed in this context: people diagnosed with "mental illness".

2 Points of Departure

Methodologically and theoretically, this article is located at the intersection of Critical Heritage Studies, Human Geography and Mad Studies. Within Human Geography Maoz Azaryahu suggests that street names narrate the officially sanctioned history and heritage of an area (1996; 2012). Yet, it is acknowledged that street names are not narrative in and of themselves but that they have a narrative (Ryan, Foote, and Azaryahu 2016, 158–159). Further, Marie-Laure Ryan, Kenneth Foote and Maoz Azaryahu write that for something to be a narrative it needs a sequel structure, a story line, or a complete narrative. They suggest that street names lack this. However, having a narrative implies that street names are a medium through which narratives are realized (Ryan, Foote, and Azaryahu 2016, 158–159). They hold that street names have the capacity to tell old and/or new stories in the urban landscape, and street names are also in and of themselves materializations of stories (Ryan, Foote, and Azaryahu 2016, 139–141, 153). Street names are thus "participants in the ongoing cultural production of a shared past" (Azaryahu 1996, 312). Seen in this light, street naming is a place where Ulleråker's cultural heritage is suggested, negotiated and realized.

To explore this, I have systematically collected and analysed material related to the name-giving process at Ulleråker, collected from Uppsala municipality archives (*Uppsala kommunarkiv*) as well as the Uppsala town's archive (*Uppsala stadsarkiv*). This material includes minutes from meetings, from groups such as the "name-giving board" (*namngivningsnämnden*), the municipality's civic dialogue regarding

future names, and official statements made by Uppsala municipality and the name-giving board. I combine this material with my personal communication with a municipality official, who has been made anonymous, and their gender also has been concealed using the pronoun they/their. I further combine this with newspaper articles where municipal officials are interviewed. I consider the material as articulations – representations or meaning-making practices constituted by discourses. Thus, street names can be considered as discursive products as well as sites of memory where power, remembrance, language, and space are conflated (Azaryahu 2012, 388). In keeping with research in Critical Heritage Studies and Human Geography, street naming can be considered a cultural practice and an active performative process, where the past is used in order to create meaning; it is a process of creating cultural heritage (Azaryahu 1996; Azaryahu 2012; Smith 2006, 47). The idea that street names are discursive products (Azaryahu 2012, 388) is central in the discussion of street naming as a cultural heritage process because '[t]he discursive construction of heritage is itself part of the cultural and social processes that are heritage' (Smith 2006, 13).

In order to further examine the discursive constructs of Ulleråker's cultural heritage in terms of street names, I turn to *mad reading*. This is an approach that seeks to make visible how people with mental distress are depicted in different kinds of texts (Wolframe 2014). More specifically, it seeks to examine the "discursive conditions of madness' emergence" with the aim to illuminate expressions of sanism (Wolframe 2014, III, 2, 12, 237). *Madness* is defined as a cultural approach to medicalized experiences and considered a general term for different phenomena indicating distress of some kind in an individual (LeFrançois, Menzies, and Reaume 2013, 337). The word has been reclaimed for liberatory purposes. It signifies a resistance to psychiatry and creates a possibility to view madness more favourably (LeFrançois, Menzies, and Reaume 2013, 337). *Sanism* is a term that describes discrimination against people diagnosed with "mental illness and neuropsychiatric variation", and it includes someone that is seen as having different social behaviour than the perceived norm (LeFrançois, Menzies, and Reaume 2013, 337). A mad reading is what PhebeAnn Wolframe (2014, 143) calls a *maddening*, a term akin to *cripping* that entails exposing the ways in which ableism "get[s] naturalized and the ways that bodies, minds, and impairments that should be at the absolute center of a space or issue or discussion get purged from that space or issue or discussion" (McRuer 2019, 135). Conducting a mad reading further suggests exploring how sanism intersects with other oppressive ideologies such as sexism, racism, classism, ageism, ableism, and transphobia (Wolframe 2014, 12).

In this text I use mad reading in two ways. First, I adopt mad reading in order to explore how discourses of sanism manifest during the street-naming process with the purpose of exposing how people experiencing madness are othered in cultural heritage processes. Second, I explore how madness can become central in narratives, specifically in the construction of Ulleråker's cultural heritage. A mad reading of street names works with the tension between what is visible/invisible

in cultural productions, where the invisible is considered just as important as the visible for understanding representations of madness (Rodéhn 2022). Mad reading seen in this light suggests that street naming that at first appears as sanist may have cracks where madness seeps out; there are, in other words, *mad leakages* (see Rodéhn 2022). Focusing on mad leakages when analysing street names entails reading beyond the visible and seeking out new contexts and connections (Rodéhn 2022). To explore these leakages, I analyse the street names in connection with Fröding's poems used to name the streets as well as Gustaf Fröding's life and his experiences of madness, mental care and hospitalization. I also read the poems in relation to medical and social discourses at the time when they were produced. In doing so, I offer a narrative that centres on the experience of madness. A mad reading can be considered a performance; it is an active undertaking where the researcher searches for different meanings beyond what is considered the "right" or officially sanctioned version of, in this case, a street name. It is also a situation where the researcher actively contributes to creating and mediating these new meanings. Mad reading in this way is not only what Wolfram (2014, 143) calls a *maddening*; it is also a re-centring of the analysis so that those that have been excluded, and their experiences, are not just included in cultural narratives but become, and continue to be, the center of cultural heritage.

In the text that follows, I first explain the name-giving process at Ulleråker. Next, I turn to discuss sanist discourses in the name-giving process and what consequences they have for the cultural heritage at Ulleråker. I then turn to highlighting mad leakages and showing how the street names narrate Fröding's experiences of madness and his critique of social norms and medical discourses.

3 Naming Streets

In Sweden, deciding on and implementing street names is an administrative process (Lantmäteriet 2016). Street names are thus produced in a particular political context (Light and Young 2014, 670), and they are instrumental in validating the ruling socio-political order's view of themselves and of the place (Azaryahu 1996, 312; Gill 2005). In Uppsala Municipality, street naming is carried out by municipal officials and a board for name-giving.

It is common in Sweden that streets are named after the history of the area where they exist (Lantmäteriet 2016). An official at Uppsala Municipality explained this process to the local newspaper: "We look at the area and what existed there previously but also what exists around it" (Winberg 2018, my translation). They added, "I spend quite a lot of time looking at maps" in order to study structures that may be historically significant, because names "have to do with our immaterial cultural heritage and our identity" (Sandow 2016, my translation). In order to better understand the history of the place, the municipal official also held meetings with local museums and heritage officials (Municipal official 2018). When doing research about Ulleråker, the municipal official stated that the poet Gustaf Fröding

appeared as a suitable theme for some of the street names (Sandow 2016). They suggested that he “could be seen as symbol for all the tales that have been told about the area” (Sandow 2016, my translation).

Fröding and his poems can also be seen in the civic dialogue organized by the municipality. The civic dialogue was arranged as a meeting where citizens could propose names for streets. The process resulted in 412 suggestions. Among the suggestions were names of doctors, psychologists, researchers and nurses. Suggestions also included different professions and names related to medicine. There were additional names associated with nature and wildlife at Ulleråker, as well as names alluding to the area’s diverse history (Namngivningsnämnden 2016). The minutes from the name giving board meeting read that “after the civic dialogue, hosted by the name-giving board, concerning suggestions for name to Ulleråker, over 400 names have been received, several alluding to Gustaf Fröding” (Namngivningsnämndens arbetsutskott 2016, my translation). In actuality, Fröding and his poems were mentioned 23 times. This can be compared to names alluding to the natural environment at Ulleråker, which were mentioned 123 times, and names associated to various states of mind, which were mentioned 83 times (see Namngivningsnämnden 2016). Nevertheless, it was decided that literary references should be a category of names for the streets (Stadsbyggnadsförvaltningen 2016). A few months later, the minutes from the name-giving board meeting state that “the category of names for the area are suggested to be Gustaf Fröding and literary references. The proposed names allude to Gustaf Fröding’s poems” (Namngivningsnämndens arbetsutskott 2016, my translation). Eventually, the following names were decided on: Bergtrollsvägen (Mountain Troll Street), Diktens väg (The Poem’s Street), Fylgiavägen (Fylgia Street), Levnadsfärden (The Journey of Life), Morgondrömsvägen (Morning Dream Street), Poetens väg (The Poet’s Street) and Titaniavägen (Titania Street). Before the decision was made, the street names were displayed in public for consideration, and no objections were made. The names will be implemented after the detailed developing plan is put into practice in the years to come.

4 Gustaf Fröding in the Construction of Ulleråker’s Heritage

The claim that Fröding “could be seen as a symbol for all the tales that have been told about the area” (Sandow 2016, my translation), is problematic. Fröding’s literary work cannot be made into a universal symbol for all patients’ experiences at Ulleråker since he was far from an ordinary patient at the hospital. He was a poet, a celebrity, and his work is part of the Swedish literary canon. At the time of Fröding’s hospitalization, it was also well known that he was a patient at Ulleråker. It was mentioned in newspapers, and he was photographed in his hospital bed by a known photographer, Johan Morén. The image was later used by the artist Richard Bergh for his famous painting of the poet from 1909. As a celebrity patient, Fröding has come to occupy a role in the doing of Ulleråker’s cultural heritage, and

this extends beyond street names.

For instance, the poet is mentioned in the explanation for why Uppsala is of national interest (riksintresse). *National interest* is a concept used by the Swedish National Heritage Board to explain how certain cultural milieus reflect the country's history. It is stated that Uppsala's built environment reflects Sweden's centralised power, the church and the university's history from the Middle Ages until today (Beckman-Thoor and Holmbäck 2014). Ulleråker is connected to this history, and the hospital is seen as "connected to well-known historical individuals such as the poet Gustaf Fröding [...]" (Beckman-Thoor and Holmbäck 2014, 17, my translation). Fröding not only appears in the description of Uppsala's *national interest*; he also permeates the entire urban development project at Ulleråker, and the poet is used in the marketing of the area. For instance, Uppsala Municipality's homepage states;

Ulleråker's milieu is charged with stories of those who have lived and worked there, some more colorful than others. [...] [This] can be seen in several patients at Ulleråker, among them the poet Gustaf Fröding (Uppsala kommun 2019, my translation).

Moreover, during the urban development of Ulleråker, Uppsala Municipality has invested in the creative. They have sponsored studios and scholarships for artists, backed art installations in the post-asylum landscape, and opened areas for local entrepreneurs (see Mårdh in this book). This is very much part of a larger neoliberal idea of creating space for the creative class in the urban landscape, and it operates as a means of gentrifying areas. The image of Fröding as a creative patient functions to link creative people of the past and of the present.

Nevertheless, the focus on creativity foregrounds a set of sanist and gendered ideologies and practices that works as a form of "strategic forgetting", a concept that Moon, Kearns, and Joseph explain as a process when a segment of history is deliberately forgotten in order to rebrand the former psychiatric hospital areas (Moon, Kearns, and Joseph 2015, 73, 84–87, 122–126, 162). Building on their writing, I suggest that the focus on creativity, as articulated in the examined material, draws attention to what is considered positive with mental distress and directs attention away from suffering and any uncomfortable feelings connected to madness. As such, it is an effective way to acknowledge and use the past while, at the same time, materializing a more pleasant future.

In terms of Ulleråker, this can be further seen in that no streets are named after Fröding. The only street that alludes to him as a person is Poetens väg (The Poet's Street), perhaps because Frödingsgatan (Fröding's Street) already exists elsewhere in Uppsala. Looking only to the names – Bergtrollsvägen (Mountain Troll Street), Diktens väg (The Poem's Street), Fylgiavägen (Fylgia Street), Levnadsfärden (The Journey of Life), Morgondrömsvägen (Morning Dream Street), Poetens väg (The Poet's Street) and Titaniavägen (Titania Street) – they are at first glance only fanciful names. For those citizens who can make the connection, they are at best

reminders of Fröding's literary worlds that incorporate depictions of mythological beings and green lush forests. For some the names may play on a cherished and long-gone Romantic landscape. Titaniavägen, a street named after the poem "Titania", perhaps exemplifies this most clearly. Titania is the queen of elves in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and in the poem, the speaker asks,

Who is this, who's holding her wind-light ball
at this hour of midnight in moon-silver hall?

Fröding 1997 [1891], 61, 2nd stanza, lines 5–6, emphasis in original

In the poem, Fröding depicts the sounds of fiddles whining, sighs between trees, and a full moon floating in a dark forest where elves "in silky gauze dresses" dance (1997 [1891], 61, 2nd stanza, line 3). The poet constructs a soulful natural environment, which became part of the national Romantic construction of "Swedishness". It formed part of nationalist narratives and heritage expressions, around which a Swedish national identity has since then been constructed. Fröding, together with other writers and artists, provided a generic vernacular that the Swedish population (albeit not all, seeing that about 20 percent of Sweden's population has immigrated to Sweden) now recognize and identifies as a nostalgic yearning for a pastoral idyll. Drawing on natural features during name-giving processes is not unique for Ulleråker. Moon, Kearns, and Joseph identify that it is common that former psychiatric hospital areas are named after the natural environment when they are subject to urban development. They claim that this works to produce a distance from madness and from the area's past as a care facility (Moon, Kearns, and Joseph 2015, 73, 84–87, 122–126, 162).

During the urban development process at Ulleråker, a distance from madness was further provided by drawing on the positive aspects of mental distress. An example of this can be seen in the name-giving process, where Uppsala Municipality's states that "Creativity, madness and genius have a close relationship" (Uppsala kommun 2019, my translation), and in terms of that Fröding's creativity was commemorated through the street names. Drawing on aspects of creativity is not unproblematic as it builds on sanist discourses. James Kaufman and Maureen Neihart explains that the connection between creativity and madness builds on old stereotypes dating back to at least the 1700s when the association between male poets and madness emerged in the Western imaginary. Since that time, a connection between male poets and sensitivity, eccentric behaviour, genius, and madness have been made not only in cultural productions but also in research and in medical and psychological practices (Kaufman 2005, 99; Neihart 1998, 47). Consequently, madness was connected to creative people as well as researchers, psychiatrists, and psychologists. The general public even expected creative people to exhibit madness (Neihart 1998, 47). The idea has lived on, and today researchers claim that they can prove that people diagnosed with, for instance, schizophrenia (as well as their siblings) are overrepresented in

creative occupations, and that there is a genetic explanation for their creativity/madness (Kyaga et al. 2011). Since creativity is held as something positive, this discourse works to create some patients, like Fröding, as active citizens contributing to social life. This also makes them far removed from the negative stereotypes of madness that cast patients as irrational, emotive, and dependent.

I suggest that the focus on creativity, as articulated by Uppsala Municipality, does not primarily commemorate Fröding's life and his experiences of being hospitalized. On the contrary, I suggest that it memorializes the Swedish literary world in which Fröding has played and continues to play a prominent role. Fröding is part of the Swedish literary canon and commonly described as one of Sweden's foremost poets; he is credited with continuing, but also modernizing, the Swedish romantic tradition. Although this may seem positive, Rita Felski reminds us that it is important to remain critical of literary canons as they, with very few exceptions, are limited to the work of white heterosexual men from privileged positions in society (Felski 2003, 12–22, 64–71). Fröding is no exception; he was from the intellectual upper-middle class and moved in circles of powerful men who supported his authorship (Brandell 2019). It has been noted that literature incorporated into canons is often chosen and furthered by groups of white powerful men (Felski 2003, 12–22, 64–71). Building on this, I suggest that the street names do not primarily memorialise the patient Fröding but the Swedish literary canon and, by extension, the street names work to commemorate a hegemonic discourse about male homosociality. More importantly, they memorialise ideas of male genius in line with prevailing ideas about gendered giftedness. As such, the street names can be considered an extension and reproduction of gendered upper-middle-class ideologies that remain pervasive and persistent not only in name-giving processes but also in cultural heritage at large.

5 Street Names that Leak Experiences of Madness

Nevertheless, if we consider street names as a medium through which narratives are realized (Ryan, Foote, and Azaryahu 2016, 158–159), it is also possible that the street names mediate other stories. Exploring this, I examine how the street names – Bergtrollsvägen (Mountain Troll Street), Fylgiavägen (Fylgia Street), Levnadsfärden (The Journey of Life), Morgondrömsvägen (Morning Dream Street) – *leak* Fröding's very personal experience of madness, particularly his experiences of exclusion, alcoholism, depression, and addiction to sexual services. The street names also *leak* Fröding's critique of medical practices and social norms during the turn of the twentieth century.

To explain this, I start by discussing the street name Bergtrollsvägen (Mountain troll street), which alludes to one of Fröding's best-known poems, "Ett gammalt bergtoll" ("An Old Mountain Troll"), from the collection *Splashes and Patches* (1999 [1896]). In the poem, the reader sees the world through the eyes of a troll. It begins

with the troll stating that he should really return to the mountain where he lives “but in the dale here it is just right” and “it is so good were people dwell” (Fröding 1999, 34. 1st stanza, line 4, and 2nd stanza, line 3). The troll wants to linger in the dale but at the same time experiences that he does not belong there. This is a common depiction of trolls in Nordic literature where, according to Ann-Sofie Lönngren (2015, 218), they are characterized as strangers in the human world and as bodies out of place. This is also depicted in what Fröding further writes,

The rabble keeps out of reach now
and point their fingers, safe from afar,
and run off and loudly screech now:
Ugh! what a bad troll you are!

Fröding 1999 [1896], 34, 4th stanza, lines 1–4

The poem depicts children shouting abusive words and pointing fingers from afar, not wanting to be too close to the troll. The verse makes visible, in a very painful manner, strategies of othering and of exclusion. It shows a form of stereotypical mapping of the self and the other, where the distance – not wanting to be close to the troll – functions as means to maintain boundaries between the self (humans) and the other (trolls). The production and maintenance of these symbolic boundaries work to deny the troll a belonging in the dale that he so much desires.

Ethnologist Ebbe Schön argues that the poem is a depiction of Fröding’s own life and of his experiences of feeling and being socially deviant (1991, 31). For Fröding and others diagnosed with “mental illness”, or those who in one way or the other did not live up to social norms, the matter of belonging was (and is) a very real issue. The medical community was instrumental in maintaining boundaries of belonging by pointing out those who transgressed these boundaries and implementing efforts to adjust behaviours as well as uphold social norms. The boundaries established by this community took material shape in the form of psychiatric hospitals, physically removing people diagnosed with “mental illness” from other social spaces and placing them in these secluded places. Thus, it is possible to read the mountain as a metaphor for the psychiatric hospital, and the dale as the society outside the hospital.

The troll’s otherness is also expressed in the description of his ugliness, seen especially when he encounters a sweet princess:

But she was sweet-eyed and mild-eyed
and looked kind at me, clumsy old cuss,
though I look evil and wild-eyed
and her friends fled away from us.

Fröding 1999 [1896], 34 5th stanza, lines 1–4

The description of the troll draws on a common negative characterization of trolls seen in Nordic folklore. In this tradition, trolls embody strength, stupidity, and

clumsiness, which function to dichotomize wilderness (trolls) and civilization (humans). Trolls are further depicted as something comical but also as repulsive (Lönngren 2015, 209–211). I suggest that the characterization of the troll as off-putting and ugly makes reference to how mental distress was described and depicted in 1800's society. At the time, ugliness was considered "a symbolic reflection of the inner state of patients", and the uglier a person was, the more severe the mental distress (Gilman 1995, 36). Thus, the troll could be read as a symbolic reflection of how society viewed people diagnosed with "mental illness".

The connection between mental distress and ugliness also materializes in Fylgiavägen (Fylgia Street) named after the poem "Fylgia" ("Fylgia") from the collection *New Poems* (Fröding 1998 [1894]). A fylgia is a protective spirit in the Nordic mythology who appears in dreams and can give premonitions of a person's impending death. However, the poem is not a tale about dying but one of unhappy love. Fröding writes,

Fylgia, O, Fylgia, from me do not flee
when I'm drowned in despair by hot passion's sea,
you timid one, noble one, shun not my plight
when with base thoughts I gaze on your pure chaste sight,
which hovers in beauty and starlight clear
and you in my deepest dreams appear.
So near me you are
but yet too, too far,

Fröding 1998 [1894], 83, 1st stanza, lines 1–8

Fylgia refers to Olivia Petersson (m. Rickman) who worked in a restaurant at the Masonic Lodge in the Swedish town of Karlstad (Furuland 2008). Fröding was a frequent guest at this restaurant, where he fell in love with Olivia and proposed. Her parents deemed him unfit to be a husband because he suffered from alcoholism, and because of this she rejected his proposal (Furuland 2008; Cullberg 2004, 65–69). Consuming large amounts of alcohol was common at the time in Sweden, but Fröding's substantial alcohol intake resulted in delirium and diabetes, and he was hospitalized at psychiatric care facilities several times for the negative effects alcoholism had on him (Cullberg 2004, 35–49, 54). However, it was not the physical effects of alcoholism that deemed Fröding unfit for marriage but the connection between alcoholism and mental distress that was made in the 1800's society and in medical practices. Being an alcoholic was considered a sign of a lack of morals, a trait of a degenerated human being, and, consequently, pathologized (Johannisson 1990, 130, 150). Moreover, alcoholism was largely associated with the poorest in society, and, at the time, being poor was in many cases equated with being less mentally capable (Johannisson 1990, 150).

I suggest that the street name Fylgiavägen *leaks* experiences of madness, maybe more so in the Swedish original version of the poem, where the phrase "when I'm

drowned in despair by hot passion's sea" ("när jag drags av det låga mot dyn") can be translated more literally to "when I am dragged by the baseness down into the mire". Although base needs can refer to passion, it could also mean being dragged down by alcohol or by depression. In the poem "base thoughts" (lumpna tankar), sexual thoughts or thoughts brought on by depression and/or alcohol, threaten Fylgia's "pure chaste sight, which hovers in beauty and starlight clear". The underpinning message in this poem is the juxtaposition of beauty/health and baseness/illness, where the presence or proximity to the protagonist threatens to project baseness/"illness" onto Fylgia's pure image.

"Fylgia" and "An Old Mountain Troll" are poems about love and focus on the contrast between the innocent, that which Fröding's protagonists do not possess but constantly seek, and the ugly, that which Fröding's protagonists embody. These themes run through Fröding's poetry, together with the theme of sexuality. The latter theme is materialized through the street Morgondrömsvägen, named after the poem "En morgondröm" ("A Morning Dream") from the collection *Splashes and Patches* (Fröding 1999 [1896]). "A Morning Dream" alludes to a dreamlike state that appears just before waking up, which Germund Michanek calls a "dream of happiness", a dream about the happiest time in life (Michanek 1962, 152–158). I would argue that this is a quite chaste interpretation and that it should rather be understood as an erotic and orgasmic dream, seeing that Fröding describes heterosexual intercourse, which ends with the man orgasming inside the woman. Fröding writes,

And like Arien's rosebud one spring of old
her veiling pink petals from pistils unfold
before sun, winds and seeds in the air
she lay naked and in bloom so fair
and with soft trembling breasts, knees wide spread she invited
that their loving desire be united.

Soul aflame and blood now stirs,
she was his and he was hers,
he was she, she was he,
one and both elated,
when his firm manhood you see
in her penetrated.

And with head leaning backward in kissing's fierce lust
and with bosom 'gainst embracing thrust,
she drank living and love's finest drink, all the same
in each spurting that came

of his hot life's juice,
in each sparking and flame
his powers produce.

Fröding 1999 [1896], 53, 18th–20th stanza, lines 1–6

Poets of his time avoided frank depictions of heterosexual intercourse, and this poem would come to create problems for Fröding. He was charged with sexual offence in court, and although he was eventually freed, the poem was only printed in its entirety in 1955, almost 60 years after it was first released (Michanek 1962, 23, 190, 259–297).

The street Morgondrömsvägen should not only be understood as narrating erotic experiences but also as *leaking* experiences of madness. It can be read as a critique of how a Swedish Christian society viewed and delimited sexuality and a critique of psychiatric practices during the turn of the twentieth century. Karin Johannisson (1990, 126–156) explains that during the late 1800's, norms concerning sexuality were characterized by moderation and self-control. Sexual activities were not only supposed to be controlled but also delimited (Johannisson 1990, 150). The poem's uninhibited exploration of heterosexual intercourse certainly goes against this norm. Moreover, the poem makes several references to Fröding's own life and his sexual desires. To begin with, Fröding was addicted to sexual services provided by prostitutes (Michanek 1962, 49–55; Cullberg 2004, 35–49, 54). Visiting prostitutes was normalized at the time, and reveals more about the patriarchal society Fröding lived in than of his sexuality. However, his addiction to sexual services and his seeming inability to control and moderate his sexual desires were behaviours labelled as "mental illness" at the time (see Johannisson 1990, 150). Fröding also openly, in the text "bikt" ("Confession"), which was sent to the school teacher Edvard Walentin Gelin together with a letter asking him to read the confession out loud in church, articulates an interest in masturbation, fornication (sodomy) and sadomasochism (Michanek 1992, 110; Cullberg 2004, 92–94). These desires were considered sexual promiscuity, and according to Johannisson, seen as akin to alcoholism. As mentioned above, alcoholism was at the time associated with the poorest in society and connected to a lack of morals. Moreover, fornication was punishable by law (Johannisson 1990, 150).

The street Levnadsfärden ("The Journey of Life"), which takes its name from the poem of the same name from the book *Splashes from the Grail* (Fröding 1998 [1894]), can be understood in a similar manner. In "The Journey of Life" Fröding depicts a life journey of a heterosexual couple,

Gentle destinies,
Suffer through
harsh destinies
taking, giving,
to be enlivened, alive

Fröding 1998 [1894], 82, first stanza, lines 9–13, my translation

The poem is a meditation on a monogamous heteronormative temporality and portrays the harshness and gentleness of this kind of life. Towards the end of the poem Fröding asks, “is it not so, oh you wise one, is it not so, the one to us given, the only [life] worth living, the journey of life?” (Fröding 1998 [1894], 82, 2nd stanza, lines 20–23, my translation). These lines hold a certain ambiguity, because, on the one hand, it is a story about Adam and Eve, the fall of man and the loss of Eden, which relates to the set of Christian morals concerning sexuality. As such it establishes that a Christian moral conduct and a heteronormative life is the only life worth living. On the other hand, the lines open up to a reading where the heteronormative life path is questioned: is it the only life worth living?

Questioning the validity of a heteronormative life can be read as a critique of late-1800’s medical discourses concerning sexuality and madness. Sexuality was a central aspect in diagnosing “mental illness” during the 1880’s. Johannisson writes that there was a Christian ideal that the body was not supposed to become a slave to its desires and that human existence must be characterized by morality, reason, and control. This applied to relations not only outside of wedlock but also within marriage (Johannisson 1990, 130). At the time, medical practitioners categorized non-reproductive sexuality, including homosexuality and sadomasochism, as “psychopatia”, a pathological category used to diagnose so-called abnormal behaviour as well as a term used to describe a degenerated human type (Johannisson 1990, 130; Johannisson 2015, 25–27). Moreover, deviant sexual behaviour was considered to produce unhealthy offspring, and, consequently, sterilization and marriage prohibition were thought to be appropriated in order to control and secure a healthy population (Johannisson 1990, 140–143). The narratives in the poem “A Morning Dream” (as well as Fröding’s own lifestyle) transgressed many of the boundaries of what was considered normative, and the narrative in the poem “The Journey of Life” calls monogamous heteronormativity into question. Considering that the streets Morgondrömsvägen and Levnadsfärden hold these narratives allows for them to mediate a critique of social norms, both of heterosexuality and of the late 1800’s psychiatry and medical sciences that stigmatized non-reproductive sexual expressions in the urban landscape.

6 Conclusion

In this article, I have conducted two different kinds of mad readings. First, I focus on the name-giving process of streets and explore how sanist discourses permeates this process. I discuss what histories are furthered and what heritage this produces. Second, I focus on mad leakages. Connecting the street names to the poems that gave them their names, and further connecting them to Fröding’s life and experience of madness as well as to medical discourses and social norms at the time, I expose stories about madness that the street names hold. Thus, I participate in creating a mad heritage for Ulleråker.

The first part of this article shows that street naming is closely connected to Uppsala Municipality's conceptualization of the place as articulated during the urban development, and to local and national heritage politics explaining what Uppsala's cultural heritage constitutes. These centre on creativity and favour male historical figures, resulting in street names that predominantly commemorate the Swedish literary canon. I further argue that this process is a celebration of male homosociality and patriarchal values. I suggest that focusing on a former patient's poetry furthers old stereotypes and sanist discourses about the connection between creativity and madness. Within the discourse of cultural heritage, these ideas are now materialized as Ulleråkers cultural heritage. In addition, choosing names for the streets that bring to mind fanciful imaginative mythological landscapes plays on Swedish nationalist narratives. I suggest that a strategic forgetting of madness is realized at Ulleråker. The street naming at Ulleråker works as a form of rebranding of the former psychiatric hospital area, where certain versions of the pasts are used to create more happy futures.

At the same time, the municipal officials were instrumental in assuring a remembrance of a previous patient's accomplishments when suggesting the street names. This can be seen as a negotiation of dominant discourses in an attempt to commemorate pain, addiction, anxiety, depression, and non-heteronormative sexual desires as well as to include madness in the post-asylum landscape. Yet, for madness to *leak* into urban landscapes, efforts need to be made to find and open up the *cracks* so as to allow these stories to seep out and be visible in the streets. Chances are that the street names will only be seen as fanciful names if the stories of madness are not told. Here mad reading can play a role in the future narrative of the post-asylum landscape since the method is not only a tool to examine how madness emerges but also a way to tell stories of madness.

In this text I show how a mad reading of street names can provide mad narratives for the post-asylum landscape. A mad reading is not only a reading of street names; it is a "doing" of cultural heritage on par with other heritage practices. This means that the researchers have the possibility to make new connections and suggest other possible stories for the place and the past, which, in turn, can offer promises for other possible futures for the post-asylum landscape. This perspective on mad readings holds the researcher accountable for the stories they tell about the place and makes them active participants in the cultural heritage production. Consequently, a mad reading asks the researcher not only to trouble sanist norms and discourses but also to show how histories can be told differently. Thus, a mad reading is not only an analytic tool but a call for researchers to work towards a more multifaceted cultural heritage.

Acknowledgments

This study forms part of the project *From Psychiatric Hospital to Condominium – Urban Development and Cultural Heritage* (2020–2023), project no: 2019-00589,

funded by FORMAS – the research council for sustainable development. Thanks to the editors, the anonymous peer-reviewer, and Jenny Björklund for valuable comments.

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