



The Emergence of Finnish Book and Reading Culture in the 1700s

Edited by
Cecilia af Forselles and Tuija Laine

Studia Fennica
Litteraria

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Edited by Cecilia af Forselles & Tuija Laine



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Introduction

The radical transformation of the reading culture in Finland that took place during the 1700s was not simply a question of an increase in the number of literate or well-read citizens. What was revolutionary was that the quantity of available book titles and new literary genres grew unprecedentedly. Books began to influence people's awareness, worlds of ideas, and emotions in new ways, and reading became associated with significant cultural transformations at the personal and societal levels.

The purpose of the work *The Emergence of Finnish Book and Reading Culture in the 1700s* is to examine this pivotal phase in the development of Finnish reading culture. Drawing on new research, the book is for the most part based on the Finnish-language work *Kirjakulttuuri kaupungissa 1700-luvulla* ("Urban Book Culture in the 1700s") published by the Finnish Literature Society (SKS).

In recent years, book historical research has become an increasingly multidisciplinary field of science favoring new approaches in Finland as in many other countries. Owing to its interdisciplinary nature, it often approaches the phrasing of its questions and subject matter through the history of ideas, social structures, cultures, literature and communications. Its researchers' innovative attitudes towards the history of books, book culture, communications and reading have also led to new ways of treating research materials and sources that are presented in the book's first chapter.

Helsinki is used as a model city in several articles, with other cities' book ownership information supplemented based on the Helsinki materials. In particular, the latter half of the 1700s witnessed a dynamic development phase in the literary cultures of Finnish cities. Among the questions addressed in the articles are the following: What kinds of literature were typical of the city's different social classes? Who owned and read literature? For what reasons did people acquire certain books?

Predictably, the largest single literary genre, read also in 1700s Helsinki, was religious literature: hymnals, Bibles, catechisms, sermons, and devotional books. This pattern however changed substantially as secular literature began to proliferate, particularly as the end of the century approached. Religious literature continued to maintain its dominant status among the rural peasantry, but its position in cities among merchants, civil servants, and craftspersons was no longer as strong. Although Helsinki was not yet a seat of power, only a small coastal town, a resident of that city might be able

to read, either in the original language or a Swedish translation, the kinds of French-language works, that a French peasant, to say nothing of his Finnish counterpart, had never even held in his hands.

It is fascinating to note that the literary culture of the 1700s and our global age share certain common features: internationality and multilingualism. Secular literature, as well as the greatest part of the most popular religious literature, proliferated as translations of the original foreign-language works. The emerging popularity of fiction made Finnish readers a part of broader ideological, cultural and intellectual contexts that crossed national borders. The internationality of book culture is clearly in evidence when examining, for example, the literature that was known in Helsinki during the 1700s. Most books had been published abroad. Literature was read in its original languages as well as in a profuse number of Swedish- and German-language translations.

The city names mentioned in the articles are noted in the Finnish language form although the Swedish language forms were dominant in the 1700s. The fortress in front of Helsinki, was originally Viapori in Finnish and Sveaborg (Fortress of Sweden) in Swedish. Nowadays the entire island is called Suomenlinna (Fortress of Finland). Today, the Finnish language and place names prevail, although Swedish place names are also in use because Swedish is the other official language of Finland. After the separation of Finland from Sweden in 1809 and from Russia in 1917, the Finnish language became the dominant language of the nation. In the introductory chapter, however, the Swedish language forms of the cities' names are presented.

The book consists of seven separate articles. The introduction consists of the different views that the authors have expressed of book history as a part of cultural history, as well as a presentation of the source materials, including the HENRIK database, used to trace book ownership, but it does not present a joint standpoint or declaration of any kind. Ph.D. Jessica Parland-von Essen continues by treating the Helsinki of the 1700s from a cultural-historical perspective. Docent Tuija Laine examines the clergy as a transmitter, buyer and user of literature. The focus is on the representatives of the clerical estate who frequented Helsinki's auction houses as well as, on a broader scale, the clergy of the Uusimaa and Häme provinces during the latter half of the 1700s.

Master of Theology Minna Ahokas clarifies how the literature of the European Enlightenment reached the Finnish readership of the 1700s. Receiving close attention is the ownership and acquisition in Finnish cities of literature written by the Enlightenment philosophers. Ahokas also analyses the ways in which Enlightenment literature passed from one social class to another, and identifies the works of the Enlightenment that were most popular in the Finland of the 1700s.

Ph.D. Jyrki Hakapää's theme is the history of professional literature that supported and developed merchants' professional skills. Besides the book ownerships revealed in estate inventory deeds and auction catalogues, Hakapää also considers the history of the books' use.

The article by Ph.D. Cecilia af Forselles focuses on the new emerging literary forms – fiction, history, and travel accounts – that gained popu-

larity during the 1700s, as well as their significance as transmitters of new thoughts and values, and as tools for city dwellers' personal development and enhancement of the inner Self.

Docent Ilkka Mäkinen illustrates the breakthrough of a new literary genre – the novel – that took place in late 1700s Finland. In particular, he clarifies the reading preferences of the Viapori coastal fortress's officers as well as the arrival of loan libraries in Finland.

For the various types of assistance provided to us in the editing of this book, we would like to thank Riikka Kaasalainen, Milla Mäkelä and Sirpa Vasko at the Library of the Finnish Literature Society, D.Th. (h.c.) Anna Perälä, translator Roger Freundlich, copy editors Pauliina Rihto and Johanna Ilmakunnas, as well as the various archives and libraries whose materials were kindly made available for our editorial and photographic use. We would also like to warmly thank the Niilo Helander Foundation whose support facilitated the publication of this work in the English language.

Helsinki 1 December 2010

Cecilia af Forselles *Tuija Laine*

MINNA AHOKAS, CECILIA AF FORSELLES, JYRKI HAKAPÄÄ,
TUIJA LAINE, ILKKA MÄKINEN AND JESSICA PARLAND-VON ESSEN

Book Ownership Sources in Finland During the 1700s

Reception research in the study of book history

Recent trends in book history research, besides focusing on the book itself as a technically manufactured object, have also generated an interest in a book's cultural and societal significances.¹ Understanding the semiotics of books requires a mapping of wide-ranging linkages, for example the study of the books' publication, marketing, circulation, and reception. These bring far-reaching interpretive possibilities to book history, including the opportunity to document printed products' social impacts and analyze fundamental cultural transformations.²

An understanding of books' influences also requires a knowledge of their origin and use. A book is not created in a vacuum; it is a product of its society, civilization and culture. Already at the dawn of the Early Modern Era, there was usually, besides the author, also a printer, seller, binder, and reader. Generally a book had one or several owners, consecutively or even simultaneously because the more expensive books might also be owned jointly. Rarely are we able to discern what books private individuals read, or how they read them. Tracking the ownership histories and circulations of books, however, enables us to gain a picture of the thoughts, values, and information that were available to the readers of the 1700s.

In Finland, the acquisition and reading of literature became increasingly common, particularly beginning from the 1700s, as an increase in the number of literate citizens coincided with the growing importance of an emerging bourgeoisie. As we study the 1700s, we find an era in which a reader's spiritual freedom and opportunity to personally influence the quality and level of his or her own education broadened. That an interest in a certain subject or literary genre could channel a person's reading habits was a novel concept. A central part of the new reading culture was the possibility

1. Darnton 1984, 1987; Svedjedahl 1994; Laine 1996; Björkman 1998.

2. Chartier 2000, 61–133.

to deepen, put one's soul into, and contemplate one's own solitary reading experience in the comfort of tranquil surroundings.

The incipient phases of the HENRIK database and its use in book history research

In the Finnish context, the most important sources for tracing the ownership of books are the book lists in estate inventory deeds, as well as book auction catalogues. The wide-ranging collection and organization of the book information contained in these sources was nothing less than the life's work of the librarian at the National Library of Finland, Ph.D. (h.c.) Henrik Grönroos, who expended considerable time and effort on this task over a period of several decades. Concentrating on Finland during the Era of Swedish Rule, he assembled information contained in cities' estate inventory deeds and book auction catalogues concerning ownership, literature that was bought and sold, and clarified questions related to the owners' social status. The material provides an excellent basis for various types of book history-related further research. The estate inventory deed material assembled by Henrik Grönroos was published in 1996 in his *Boken i Finland*, co-authored with Ann-Charlotte Nyman. The more comprehensive, and more productive from the research standpoint, book lists are contained in estate inventory deeds from the cities of Helsinki/Helsingfors, Hämeenlinna/Tavastehus, Kaskinen/Kaskö, Kokkola/Karleby, Loviisa/Lovisa, Naantali/Nådendal, Oulu/Uleåborg, Pietarsaari/Jakobstad, Porvoo/Borgå and Tornio/Torneå.

Now the book mentions in estate inventory deeds and book auction catalogues – for the cities of Helsinki and Oulu – have also been entered into the open HENRIK database (<http://dbgw.finlit.fi/henrik/index.php>) maintained by the Finnish Literature Society (SKS). The materials collected by Grönroos have also been partially supplemented from other sources. The intent will be to eventually augment the database with the book information recorded in the estate inventory deeds and book auction catalogues of all other Finnish cities during the Era of Swedish Rule.

The book indications in the sources are generally rather cursory; often only the title of the book, if even that, is mentioned. Owing to the paucity of information, the identification of books is often difficult; the same marking appearing in many sources may refer to several different works. For this reason, the book mentions in the original sources have been intentionally retained in the database.

Estate inventory deeds and book auction catalogues as sources for book ownership research

ESTATE INVENTORY DEEDS

The ownership of books tells us about the interaction between different social classes in the 1700s, as well as how public attitudes toward the literary culture changed. When researching book ownership, there are many source critical problems, particularly related to the use of estate inventory deeds.³ The regulations for the drawing up and submission of estate inventory deeds were stipulated in a Code of Inheritance, issued by the Swedish Realm in 1734 (in the statue book *Sveriges rikes lag*), according to which the entire taxable wealth of a deceased person's estate was to be marked in the estate inventory deed. Still in the early part of the 1800s, when books were still valuable economically, they have generally been indicated in estate inventory deeds fairly regularly. An estate inventory deed does not however always reveal everything about the literature of an estate. Books may have been loaned, or given away before the death of their owners. Books considered unsuitable or subversive have perhaps not been fully marked, or they have been completely omitted from these sources. Works considered worthless, such as, for example, worn out primers and almanacs, are missing from estate inventory deeds almost without exception, even though they were certainly owned. The preferences and expertise of the persons drawing up the estate inventory deeds have also influenced the accuracy of the documents, as well as the indications of books that were considered sufficiently valuable, and thus worthy of inclusion. From the standpoint of mapping reading habits, the catalogues' omissions are problematic because the missing books might have formed a significant portion of a person's reading preferences.

In his studies of estate inventory deeds, Henrik Grönroos has stated that, in the 1700s, the literature marked in a person's estate inventory deed did not necessarily represent his position in society, even though, for example, his official duties would have required the ownership of certain works. A natural explanation for the lack of books could be that the works had been loaned or given away, or they were, for example, destroyed in a fire before the estate inventory deed had been drawn up.

Estate inventory deeds do not necessarily reveal if an owner had ever read the books in question, or what he had thought of them. Although the Code of Inheritance issued in 1734 regulated the drawing up of estate inventory deeds, not all of the documents survived, nor were they even drawn up at all. In any case, we can consider the information contained in estate inventory deeds indicative as a minority source. The book information cited in estate inventory deeds is often more lacking than exaggerated, and it in any case facilitates the examination of, for example, book ownership in the various social classes.

3. For estate inventory deeds' source criticism as well as estate inventory deeds and book auction catalogues in book historical research, see Markkanen 1993; Laine 1996b.

BOOK AUCTIONS

Beginning in 1759, civil servants in the Swedish Realm, including its eastern part Finland, had the executive right to organize auctions. Auction activities conducted in the cities' auction houses have also created another source entity whose serialism recalls estate inventory deeds. The source materials are also partially intertwined because many inventoried collections were also auctioned. The estate inventory deeds convey an extremely static impression of book ownership, while the auctions tell us about the dynamic movement of the volumes; in this way these two sources are complementary. Even the processing of these two serialist sets of source materials does not provide a detailed and comprehensive understanding of the printed products' ownership and use. At best they provide us with a kinetic and vital concept of the relationship between books and people.

In Finnish cities during the Era of Swedish Rule, auctions houses' catalogues have been preserved beginning from the 1730s. The surviving 470 unprinted records contain a total of almost 12,600 book mentions. The most extensive book auction catalogues dating from the 1700s originate in Helsinki and Turku, where auctions were held more regularly than in other cities.

Compared to the book lists contained in estate inventory deeds, book auction catalogues have the advantage that they mention, besides the location and the price for the book, the social positions of the buyer and seller. Although the analysis and comparison of prices is however difficult owing to the bimetallism in use in the Swedish Realm during the 1700s, the prices of books sold at the same auctions can be compared.

An auction might be held in a town hall or other municipal facility, but it could also be more expedient to arrange the event in a location where the books to be sold could be conveniently transported. Probably for this reason, certain of the City of Helsinki's auctions have been recorded as being held in the Viapori fortress, whose officers diligently attended book auctions as buyers and sellers. Present at the events were an official auctioneer as well as notary who was responsible for keeping a record of the transactions. Dozens of people often attended the auctions, which were public events where anyone could make offers. Advance notifications of the auctions were made in churches and/or announcements posted on street corners. The first regularly published Finnish newspapers probably began to appear in Turku during the 1770s; at that time they only reached the residents of Turku, Finland's capital city.

Interest in an available book naturally influenced the purchase decision. It might be a necessary horticultural guide, nautical chart, or schoolbook suitable for a child. Books were also bought to assist in the performance of official duties or to support religious practices. The motivation to purchase could also be sparked by curiosity or the desire to acquire escapist literature. The more active buyers and, most likely to an increasing degree, active readers were often the more affluent members of the bourgeoisie.

Literature

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- Chartier, Roger 2000. *Les origines culturelles de la Révolution française. Postface inédite de l'auteur*. Paris.
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- Svedjedahl, Johan 1994. *Författare och förläggare och andra litteratursociologiska studier*. Hedemora.

Book Ownership as a Subject of Cultural-historical Research

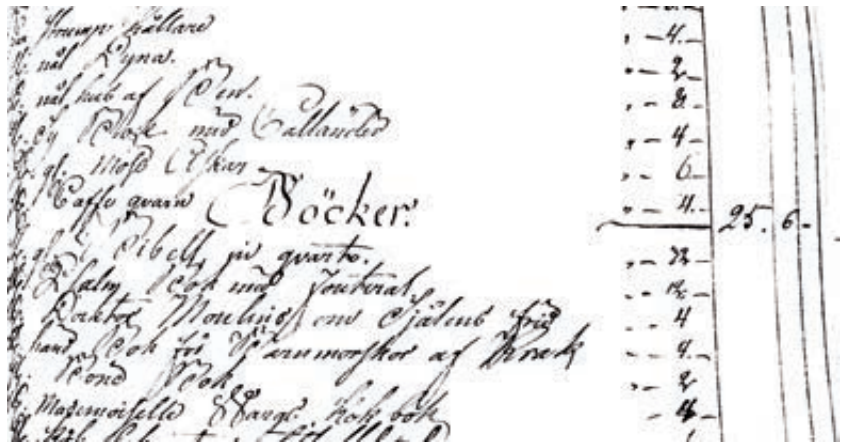
Helsinki and Their Books in the 1700s

Urban culture in Helsinki at the end of the Swedish period

In the 1700s, present-day Finland was at the easternmost part of the Swedish Realm. The founding of St. Petersburg at the beginning of the century, the Great Northern War (1700–1721), its subsequent Treaty of Uusikau-punki in 1721, as well as the losses of Tallinn and Viapori sealed by the peace treaty, created a new military and economic situation in the Swedish Realm's eastern domain. The importance of Helsinki grew; its administrative and economic significance became even stronger as a consequence of these geopolitical shifts. The Crown used cities such as Helsinki to develop its central administration and the state economy. Owing to its strategic location, it was, along with Turku, the city that most commanded the interest and attention of the Crown. It had the right to engage in foreign trade, a substantial advantage in foreign trade compared to the small cities lining the Gulf of Bothnia, at least until the deregulation of Ostrobothnian trade in 1765. Even afterwards, the right to trade with Stockholm gave Helsinki a significant competitive advantage over Tammissaari and Porvoo. The trade situations in the Gulf of Finland and Gulf of Bothnia were however completely different. Helsinki's main competitors lined the coasts of the Gulf of Finland because the Baltic Sea's larger ports traded with cities as far away as Amsterdam and Cadiz. Export products, primarily timber, were taken from the cities' own hinterlands. Helsinki functioned as an administrative and military center. Despite the Crown's powerful support, the development was initially sluggish, and the area that is now Finland was, generally speaking, slow to urbanize.¹

In the late 1700s, Helsinki was still a small town with approximately 3,000 residents, most of whom had come to the city to participate in the construction of the Viapori defensive fortifications on one of the city's offshore

1. Lilja 2000, 245, 277–288, 346–348, 357.



Books were often catalogued at the ends of estate inventory deeds, occasionally as a separate list. City Midwife Madame Engström's estate inventory deed from 1795. Helsinki City Archives. Photograph Jessica Parland-von Essen.

islands. In actual fact, the fortification works that began in the late 1740s made Helsinki an interesting and – in Finnish conditions – exceptional twin city. The powerful economic growth generated by Viapori's massive fortifications, a broadly revitalized urban life, the emerging industrialization of nearby areas, and the general parceling out of land made Helsinki exceptional in the Kingdom's eastern realm, nor could its development be considered a typical example of Finland's evolving urban culture at that time. An equivalent small town and large fortress complex in Sweden was Karlskrona, where the fortress and the city are however closer to each other; Karlskrona's fortifications date from an earlier period.

Because the social linkages between the fortress and city were multi-leveled, it is often difficult to differentiate these two Helsinki communities; many persons employed by the military lived in the city or its surroundings, and certain of the city's townspeople worked closely with the residents of the fortress. Administratively, however, the city's residents belonged to Helsinki's Swedish-Finnish congregation, while Viapori's officers and their families belonged to the fortress's military congregation.² Written accounts often cited "Viapori's officers" and their "ladies" who brought a new kind of international cultural life to Helsinki and even all of Finland³. It was, however, not only officers and aristocrats who moved to the city and fortress; there were craftspeople, soldiers, merchants and

2. The well-known merchant Anders Byström managed billiards at the fortress; for other merchants and the relations between the city and fortress, see for example HKA MA (1778) Ca:84 420, (1786) Ca:92 55, (1790) Ca:96 253 as well as 280 onwards; on the other hand the command of the artillery was run from the city, see Möller 1982, Rein 1937 and RA, Hanell's letters.
3. Mäkeläinen 1972; Grönroos 1983; for the fortress in fiction see Sarantola-Weiss 1998.

many others who directly or indirectly earned their livelihoods from the fortress. Also living in the city were old merchant families for whom the new situation created by the fortress's massive construction contracts provided new opportunities to prosper and refine their lifestyles in an even more elegant direction.⁴

During the century, Helsinki found itself in three wars, the first two of which led to Russian occupations in 1713–1721 (Greater Wrath) and 1742–1743 (Hats' War⁵). By the time of the third, the War of Gustav III (1788–1790), the fortress works were already well underway. At that time, however, Helsinki was spared from becoming a battleground. In Helsinki, at least the merchants generally supported the "Hats" with an anti-Russian *realpolitik* because it meant economic investments for Viapori.⁶ Besides the merchants, civil servants such as provisioning officers and tax officials, also became wealthy during that period. The fortress required huge quantities of building materials and foodstuffs, whose production and sales to the Crown were considered genuine patriotic acts.

The War of Pommer (1757–1762) that involved Sweden's entry into the Seven Years War and the consequential shift of power burdened the economy of the entire Kingdom and resulted in a new stagnant phase in the construction of the fortress; the entire 1760s was for the most part a fairly uneventful decade for Helsinki. Gustav III's rise to power and the coup of 1772 brought relief to Helsinki's dwellers when the Crown once again allocated resources for the fortress.⁷

In the city, power resided with the magistrate and aldermen who represented the middle class. The power and interests of the Crown were enforced by a provincial governor and governor-general who for the most part resided in the city until a provincial renewal in 1776. The city's administration and court system had to however provide an annual accounting of their activities to the Chamber Collegium and Court of Appeals. Generally the city's own representatives, occasionally even two, often the mayor of the city, were sent to parliamentary sessions. City elders decided on the allocation of city assets collected as taxes and customs fees.⁸ These assets were used to pay salaries as well as finance the repair and construction of public buildings. During the late 1700s, Helsinki witnessed several serious power struggles among merchants, as well as between merchants and the rest of the middle class.⁹ Affluent businessmen such as Johan Sederholm

4. Hornborg 1950, 453–462.

5. War between Sweden and Russia during 1741–1743. Somewhat simplified, it can be said that from the Finnish standpoint, the opponents in the war were the royalist "hats" and the "caps" who favored republican ideals.

6. Hornborg 1950, 287–288; see also Lars von Engeström's (1877, 6) mention of mayor Kuhlberg; Nikula 1978, 3, 78.

7. Hornborg 1950, 214, 284, 308–309, 317, 320, 332; Nikula 1960, 166–170, 194–195, 198–204, 478–480, 497–498.

8. Owing to the war, Helsinki had many revenue-free years; Hornborg 1950; Nikula 1978, 73–74; Karonen 1995; Mäntylä 1996.

9. Mäntylä 1981.



During the Swedish period, Helsinki was a small city of primarily timber structures surrounded by water. The harbor originally located at what is now Pohjoisranta was advantageous, deep and sheltered. The main streets led to customs houses, Suurkatu to the west and Hämeenkatu to the north. Map of Helsinki from 1776. Helsinki City Museum.

attempted to aggrandize their power at the same time that the city's "petty bourgeoisie", its middle class, continued to grow and prosper.¹⁰

Helsinki's Trivial School had already been established during the reign of Queen Kristina. Although the school's most pressing problems during the post-war 1740s included a shortage of students and a severely deteriorated building, there were enough students from the surrounding countryside, augmented by the sons of the city's merchants. Besides studying religion and Latin, the students were also instructed in business-related skills such as the calculation of interest rates and the drawing up of deeds of sale. The Church hoped that students in mathematics classes would be switched to Latin classes as quickly as possible, but there was little public support for this proposal; the best interests of the city and its residents seemed more tied to the cultivation of skilled merchants; at least they were needed more often than clergymen.

10. Hornborg 1950, 274, 474, 485–487.

Most pupils began their schooling at the age of 12 and attended school for a few years.¹¹ A new stone-clad school building was completed in 1759 next to the bell tower, and it would dominate the urban townscape until the end of the century owing to its elevated location. The school was an important institution to the city, and this modest concentration of learnedness naturally created a demand for books in a city where there were no bookshops; books were sold by book agents, grocers, and above all, bookbinders.

The book trade was regulated by statutes originally drafted to safeguard the livelihoods of bookbinders, and the trade in bound books was officially the exclusive right of bookbinders and book printers. It is, however, possible that this restriction was not strictly observed in Helsinki. It would appear that the bookbinders tolerated merchants' bookselling activities, at least until the bookbinder Jacob Delphin moved to the city in the early 1800s. Delphin no longer accepted the merchants' competition; he filed for, and was awarded, exclusive rights from the Court of Jurors.¹² The development of book markets was also influenced by the freedom of the press, and statutes were drawn up for a loan library planned for Helsinki, but in this matter the Ostrobothnian cities were ahead.¹³

Book-owning members of the gentry, particularly aristocrats, were able, with respect to their personal situations, compensate for the effects of regulations limiting their commercial business activities and the freedom of expression¹⁴ by, for example, acquiring forbidden books from foreign countries or Stockholm.

A bookbinders' guild was finally established in Helsinki during the 1830s; previously, bookbinders had formally belonged to the Turku Guild. The first of the masters would appear to have been the Nevanlinna-born Rudolf Wentzel Huball, who worked in the city a few years before his death in 1705. Hans Regman and Johan Forsberg also worked in Helsinki in the early 1700s. During the early years of Viapori's construction, the Swede Hans Sandberg was active until his death in 1752. Subsequently, the reign of the Schlyters began in the city. Born in Stralsund, Christopher Lorenz Schlyter and his son Christopher Wilhelm probably maintained a stall at the edge of the square for many years and resided along Hämeentie. The Schlyter family was an important part of Helsinki's civic life in the late 1700s. The younger Schlyter had studied in Stockholm, Turku, and prob-

11. KA SNA Ba:2, Ea:1; correspondence between Conrector Forsius and the Consistor during 1769–1771.

12. For bookstore regulation, Laine 2006, 183–185, Helsinki booksellers 197–198; in the 1700s, at least the following grocers sold vernacular books: ABC books, hymnals and catechisms in Finnish and Swedish: Bock, Tackolin, Lampa, Tellqvist and Lihr. They can be found in the HENRIK database by searching with, for example, the terms “kram” or “boden”. A large quantity of the books obtained describe the books' sales, such as the marking “bodkram”. There appear to be several of these; HKA KO, Ca:23 decision of the Court of Jurors in the Delphin case 3 Feb 1809.

13. HKA DaI:84. Brief 7.1.1807.

14. Klemming & Nordin 1883, 280–351.

ably also in Tallinn. When he became a master in 1782 and obtained official burgher rights, his father receded into the background.¹⁵ The Magistrate viewed the family favorably and they were probably respected. The family's journeyman, the Helsinkian Adolph Burgman, also obtained master's rights a few years later after settling in the capital city. His application for burgher rights was also received favorably. Apparently the book trade had grown to the point where there was enough work for all the masters. After the younger Schlyter died in 1809, his place was taken by the aforementioned German Jacob Delphin, who eventually founded a genuine bookstore for the city.

Book ownership in Helsinki

By comparing estate inventory deeds and auction records, we can gain an impression of how many books changed owners privately. Because new books were relatively hard to obtain in the city, except for ordinary practical texts, it can be assumed that the exchange, loaning and sales of privately-owned books was common. The author has primarily studied the books owned by city physician O. B. Rosenström.

Rosenström arrived in the city in 1791 and died in 1819. By the year 1810 he had purchased over a hundred books at auctions, including French-language editions probably intended for his daughter's studies. He otherwise attended auctions frequently.¹⁶ The selling of goods was also a way to make money for the doctor; it is known that he sold goods, as well as the books he had purchased, at least to his wife's uncle.¹⁷ If Rosenström's book purchases are compared to estate inventory deed information, the difference is noticeable; most of the books mentioned in the estate inventory deed are part of a broad selection of Swedish- and German-language professional literature. Auction records also indicate that the merchant Johan Sederholm was an enthusiastic book buyer for several decades. Despite this, his library is not marked in the estate inventory deed; it traveled to Sweden with his heirs and today can be found in the Sigtunastiftelsen collection. The books thus moved as gifts and in other ways among people, nor can all the discrepancies concerning book information in auction records and estate inventory deeds be explained solely on the basis of possible differences in registration practices.

Beginning in 1759, a city midwife also functioned in the city. Midwives were trained in Stockholm and they enjoyed an exalted social status, as was revealed by the title (Madame) accorded them. The estate of Madam Hedvig Engström, who died in 1795, was valuable because it also included ten gold rings. Engström also had a small book collection that included professional literature, namely the childbearing books written by Johan

15. HKA MA Ca:93 1787 499, 544. sales stall 604; Vallinkoski 1992, 34–38.

16. HKA HKK, CaI:54 20 Aug 1795, 27 Aug 1795, 18 Sep 1795, 24 Sep 1795 and CaI:58 4 Jan and 26 Jul 1799.

17. KK SLSA, Rosenström's collection, Coll. 265, Kassabok, markings from the years 1794, 1795, 1800, 1803.



Helsinki's townscape image changed dramatically in the early 1800s, first as a result of a fire in 1808, and then in connection with construction works for the Autonomous Grand Duchy's new capital city. A town hall standing at the northern edge of a square in front of what is now the Cathedral of Helsinki was demolished to make way for the Senate Square. National Library of Finland.

Kraak and Herman Schützercrantz. She also owned several prayer books, one of which was in the Finnish language, thus indicating that the midwife from Sweden also took the spiritual well-being of Finnish-language child-bearers seriously.¹⁸

At the same time, if we compare, for example, the books purchased by the merchant Myhr at auctions with those mentioned in the estate inventory deed, the differences are clear. The auction records indicate that slightly less than 80 books – primarily jurisprudential works – were acquired by Myhr at 17 different auctions during the years 1751–1774. The estate inventory deed lists 139 copies of Elias Cajander's catechism, as well as 136 other books, some of which were probably meant to be sold. Of the other books, it can be said with a reasonable degree of certainty that at least 15 were purchased at the auctions. The library was valuable because it included several Bibles and statute books, most of which had been purchased specifically at auctions. For the unquestionably wealthy Myhr, auctions were an important book acquisition channel.¹⁹

18. HKA, MA Ec:7 Hedvig Engström nee Hedberg, estate inventory deed 3 Feb 1795 (Åkerman no 994) and SSA Barnmorskeläroanstalten 1760–1849 DI A:1 n:o 385 Matrickel på de Barnmorskor i Riket som äro undervisade ... från År 1760.; midwife's wage information HKA KKA (with city) Ga:31–96 (ledgers and receipts 1743–1787).

19. The data has not been checked from original sources, but is based on certain searches in the HENRIK database.

When browsing through auction information, the name of the frequent buyer Madame Boström appears on several occasions. This woman, possibly the wife of an alderman tailor, was probably involved in many kinds of business dealings. She bought primarily religious texts, but also, for example, jurisprudential works and other scientific texts.²⁰

It can also be stated that substantially less religious literature changed hands in auctions than what this literature's share in estate inventory deeds would give reason to suspect. The same trend is also discernible when studying the records of book auctions in Stockholm.²¹ According to the HENRIK database, approximately one-third of the books in Helsinki's estate inventory deeds could be classified as religious, compared to auctions where the percentage is about one-fifth. There are certainly various reasons for this large difference. To begin with, there is the indisputable fact that religious literature almost certainly accounted for most of the books owned in all of Finland.²² For example, hymnals and catechisms were practical literature that were used in ecclesiastical connections, and which, as objects, could also possess sentimental value. On the other hand, it is easy to imagine that the preference would have been to record the religious literature in such an official and public document as an estate inventory deed to portray the deceased's Christian lifestyle, while earthly literature could be considered less important, occasionally perhaps even shameful. As the Rosenström example shows, fiction changed hand more easily; it was given away, sold, or loaned, and its precise inclusion in estate inventory deeds was not always considered important.

Schoolbooks clearly form their own literary group. In this category as well, a clear difference can be discerned between auctions and estate inventory deeds; schoolbooks account for slightly less than eight percent of auctioned books compared to the three percent recorded in estate inventory deeds.²³ This result is not surprising; schoolbooks were most likely sold, given away or destroyed when they had outlived their usefulness. Almost half of the city's residents however died as children or very young²⁴, and estate inventory deeds were never drawn up for their property; it would appear that the books passed naturally to siblings or the children of relatives. Although the number of school attendees, or those studying at home, were unevenly distributed among different social classes, all families experienced child mortality.

Auctions were thus an important channel for book acquisitions. The use of auction records as a source clearly broadens our understanding of book ownership in Finland during the Swedish period, at the individual level, as well as when researching book markets as an overall entity. There

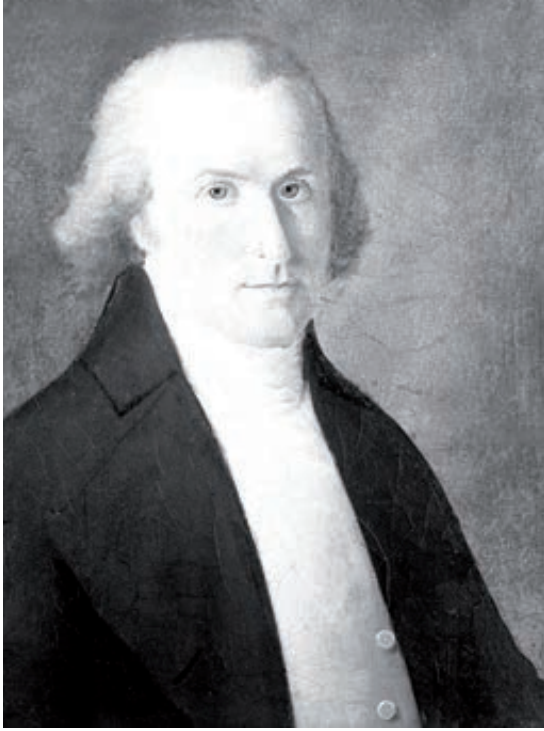
20. HKA HKK CaI:12 Auction no. 6 1774 and Ca:14 no. 10 1776. Boström was elected alderman in 1775, MA Cb:75 1775, received letter 23 Jan 1775.

21. Ankarcrona 1989, 112–119.

22. Grönroos 1996, 366–517, particularly pp.511–516; Laine 2006, 205–209.

23. Figures based on certain searches in the HENRIK database.

24. Calculated from the Helsinki parish's population tables, KA HRSS 1751–1772, mf VÄ87.



Doctor O. B. Rosenström (1763–1819) was appointed as a City Physician in 1791. He was born in Hollola and been educated at the Turku Academy and in Stockholm. His wife was the daughter of the long-term mayor of Helsinki Johan Kuhlberg. National Museum of Finland.

were two kinds of book ownership. On one hand there was the slow-paced, long-duration ownership that often focused on religious literature, on the other hand there was a lighter, faster-paced style of ownership where there was less sentimental attachment to books – typically schoolbooks or fiction – that could be relinquished at a suitable moment.

Of the books auctioned, the markings of almost one-fifth of them indicate they were sold in the Viapori fortress²⁵. Often it has been a question of the selling off the estate of an officer who had come from elsewhere, or paying off the owner’s debts or moving expenses. It also appears that certain officers lived on the mainland.²⁶ Most of the fortress officers’ books were purchased by fellow officers, but among the buyers there were also the city’s merchants as well as other gentry such as clergymen, teachers, magistrates, doctors and other civil servants.²⁷ This would seem to indicate that the officers’ auctions

25. Based on searches made in the HENRIK database, a total of 7,851 books were auctioned; a free search with “Sveaborg” yields a result of 1,850 books. The information should however be considered extremely approximate.

26. “Freemason” Major Granatenhjelm’s building was a well-known location in Helsinki during the entire 1800s (see 03 Jul 1883 Nya Pressen no. 177, 2), and the author’s study currently in progress supports this impression. Another auction was held for the estate of Lieutenant Gerdes on 30 Jun 1785. Hanell’s letter, as well as other sources, gives the impression that Gerdes lived in Helsinki, see RA, Tosterup samlingen, Johan Sparres papper, Hanell’s letter to Johan Sparre 18 Apr 1781.

27. A few of the buyers were craftspeople, a few of whom – bricklayer, saddlemaker

did not to any great extent educate the townspeople, but that the officers' interesting and occasionally radical book collections remained within a limited social circle.

At auctions held in the city, the number of participants, was somewhat, if not dramatically, more extensive. When studying the names of people using the title "burgher" in the materials, it can be concluded that these persons often belonged to the city's leading social circles. The names appearing include the burgher Sundbeck, a well-known merchant, Anders Byström's brother-in-law, and subsequently a magistrate, as well as the aforementioned wealthy merchant Myhr and Nathanael Heidenstrauch. The names of a few lesser-known burghers also appear in the materials. We can therefore assume that there has been a certain correlation between a book buyer's social position and book purchasing at auctions.²⁸ Also appearing in the materials, however, are certain exceptional and thus interesting buyers, such as the master tanner Bohm's family and a few hatmakers²⁹. The merchants' powerful representation, particularly at the Viapori auctions, paints a picture of the linkages between upward social mobility and the maintenance of an elevated position in the city's uppermost social strata, and the ownership of books and their acquisition at auctions. All of the city's most prominent merchant families – Sederholm, Schwartz, Siliacks, Grevillius, Burtz, Govinius, Schugge and Holmberg – appeared as buyers; the merchants Sunn and Bock also bought books at auctions in Helsinki. It would appear that all these families sent their sons, if there were any in the family, to study in Turku.³⁰ Book ownership and a respect for education went hand-in-hand.

Although the city was small, it was nevertheless a Crown-supported settlement with its own urban culture. Within the city there were markets and a public for other than only the bare necessities. Particularly the merchant Anders Byström, despite his own financial mismanagement, would appear to have been a powerful force who promoted cultural life and other enlightened thinking in the city.³¹ Besides activities related to theater, music, park construction and horticulture, he was also involved in projects that

and cartwheel maker – would appear to have been in the service of the Crown. There were also immigrants to the city: the more affluent ropemaker Röö, the goldsmiths Fahlström and Sohlberg, as well as the watchmaker Schönberg. There are very few unrecognized persons: Matson, Vinqvist, Holm, Malmqvist, Dahlberg, Forström, Lindros, Öberg, the burgher Nymalm and Felander. Others would appear to belong to the aforementioned groups.

28. For merchants' various kind of book ownership, see Hakapää 1998, 23–25.

29. Data based on searches made from the "ammatti" ("profession") field from the HENRIK database.

30. The families Myhr, Burtz and Holmberg appear to have been without sons in the late 1700s. Searches made from University of Helsinki Matricle, <http://matrikkeli.helsinki.fi/ylioppilasmatrikkeli/index.php>, HENRIK database, www.finlit.fi/kirjasto/henrik/, and HisKi, www.genealogia.fi/hiski/. Johan Burtz and Nils Larsson Burtz only had daughters.

31. See Möller 1982.

advanced the city's public health services.³² Byström had lived, and been socially active, in Turku and Stockholm, which had presumably broadened his perspective.

In Helsinki's case, the possibilities offered by cities for active networking and social interaction blurred the boundaries between the military community and the civilian population. The forging of relationships improved the opportunities for economic progress while creating safety networks. The merchant, and subsequently mayor, Byström also influenced the fortress every now and then, and in 1762 he joined the Freemasons, one of several secret societies and networks operating in Helsinki and Viapori. Although these societies might convene in the city owing to a lack of suitable premises, most of their members were fortress personnel. Merchants living in the city joined the Freemasons only after Byström.³³

Viapori influenced the officers who had seen the world through the availability and selection of books in Helsinki. It would however appear that the new kind of reading proliferated surprisingly slowly among the ordinary citizenry because the "petty bourgeoisie" or craftspeople were not often interested in buying books, nor were they given the opportunities to purchase, for example, fiction owing to the restricted access to the Viapori auctions.

Besides the army and its officers, the fortress works attracted a considerable number of craftspeople who were needed for the construction of Viapori and the outfitting of troops. Craftspeople were traditionally a mobile and international group. The largest craftspeople groups in the city were shoemakers and tailors who often lived in relatively austere conditions. Wealthier were bakers and butchers whose economic positions often attained the same level as the merchants'. Goldsmiths were also affluent. Helsinki's best-known goldsmith would appear to have been Henrik Sohlberg, who purchased various kinds of literature from a few auctions beginning in the 1760s. After mid-century, sources reveal that even craftspeople began to appear as book owners. Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, only less than half of their books were religious. Shoemakers and tailors also distinguished themselves as book consumers, particularly as the end of the century approached.

The fortress's craftspeople clearly represented different trades than the city's own artisans. Approximately one-half were carpenters and there were a considerable number of metalsmiths. Viapori's records list over 700 craftspeople; it is however unlikely that all lived in the fortress. In this group are nine shoemakers and only one tailor. The army's artisans were probably extremely poor at times.³⁴ The large group of craftspeople in the service of the

32. His activities in the city administrative court on 3 Jan 1790 and 1 Jun 1791 demonstrate an extremely practical and pragmatic approach. Concerning the city's health care and Byström, see also the city administrative court's record from 1786, HKA MA Ca:92 572 onwards.

33. Concerning Freemasons, for example Nyberg and S:t Johannes logen S:t Augustin i Finland. 1933; Gräsbeck 1954, 19.

34. Laine 1989.



Nils Alexander Ridderswård (1748–1809) owned a large library that he sold at an auction before his resignation from the army in 1802. Like many aristocratic officers, he had married the daughter of a distinguished city official; his wife Anna Lovisa Erhardt was the daughter of the customs inspector Henrik Johan Erhardt, whose house was located near the harbor. Erhardt was also an enthusiastic book collector who died soon after his daughter's wedding in 1778. Many of his books were also sold at an auction held at that time. National Museum of Finland. Photograph Ritva Bäckman.

army were naturally involved with the construction and outfitting works. The group also included several German bricklayers.

A certain group, at times classified as craftspeople, were drivers and the pilots of small boats. A few of them purchased books, but for them religious literature clearly forms the largest group. It appears that the driver Ljungström systematically purchased books in the 1790s. One's social position did not automatically reflect certain attitudes to books.

Helsinki as book users

The ownership of books was thus long- and short-duration. Books were acquired for several different reasons and through different channels. Schoolbooks and religious literature can be counted among the more clearly defined, larger, and traditional genres. This was genuine practical literature, with schoolbooks typically recirculating rapidly, while religious books belonged to a slower moving group. Generally speaking, fiction

remained in the hands of army officers and others belonging to the upper social strata. Approximately eight percent of auctioned books, but only about one percent of books registered in estate inventory deeds, could be classified as fiction.³⁵ The lack of officers' estate inventory deeds naturally distorts this observation, but it is indisputable that the most fiction was purchased at auctions by officers, merchants, or other well-educated persons whose attitudes towards books generally differed from the views held by the "petty bourgeoisie" or craftspeople.³⁶ Many different kinds of people – however more commonly civil servants and merchants – owned jurisprudential books. Legal proceedings in the community were common, and people often defended themselves in court because there were so few attorneys.³⁷ The most compelling reason would seem however to have been that the demonstration of one's own honesty and innocence demanded a personal presence and the advocacy of one's own interests in court. The threshold to march into the Magistrate or city administrative court fairly frequently was relatively low for many of the city's residents. Justice and reasonableness were sought from courts of justice; only rarely was there a reliance on written laws or statutes. Nonetheless, a knowledge of the legal framework instilled a sense of security and confidence, particularly for merchants and civil servants for whom court cases could be brutal political and financial contests.

Unfortunately there exist few sources that would reveal ordinary city dwellers' attitudes towards books, as well as their importance in their lives. What kinds of significances did books have in the Helsinki of those times? Perhaps something about the customs and attitudes related to literary culture and reading is revealed by a case heard in the Court of Jurors, in which two carpenters had gotten into a fight. One carpenter had taken a hymnal from a tavern's table and read it, probably out loud. The other man became agitated and said that such reading was meaningless if the reader failed to understand a word of what he was reading. The incident took place on a Sunday evening, when the men had been sitting and drinking beer, and the situation ended in a violent scuffle.³⁸ The men had probably attended church, and both had taken a hymnal with them. Questioning one's reading comprehension was a clear insult to which the carpenter reacted violently.³⁹

From the standpoint of the machinery of government, the use of religious literature also carried certain risks. Appearing before the municipal court in the spring of 1775 was public prosecutor Sennelin, an unusually assertive guardian of justice in the city, which would appear to have been

35. According to the HENRIK database, from auction record 653/7851 and estate deed inventory 106/7431.

36. For the different forms of reading, see Mäkinen 1997.

37. Based on municipal court records, it appears that only C. C. Hanell, Blome, and J. M. Bellman often managed other people's legal matters.

38. HKA KO Ca:20 1799, 493 and 542 onwards, particularly 544.

39. Hymnals accounted for an almost 8% share of the books mentioned in estate inventory deeds, and their owners came from all social classes.

easier for out-of-towners because he had not previously formed an extensive network of local relationships. Sennelin announced that he had heard of religious assemblies taking place at the home of the shoemaker and alderman Højjer. There the magistrate Bergenfelt preached to a group of people on Sunday evenings, and together they prayed and sang. In the group were many craftspeople, for example the bookbinder Schlyter and his wife, as well as servants. A merchant also visited the place with his maidservant.⁴⁰ This violated the “gathering announcement” of 1726, that prohibited private prayer meetings, the most common manifestations of Pietism. As readers, or at least book owners, the craftspeople’s host and civil servant preacher were separated from each other. Nils Højjer also purchased religious literature for himself at auctions; David Bergenfelt, on the other hand, probably had a relatively well-rounded education.⁴¹

The ownership of larger-scale book collections was still a clear characteristic of Helsinki’s upper social classes at the end of the Swedish period. The influence of the senior officers arriving at Viapori extended primarily to merchant families and their habits. These circles were interested in books and literary culture. Almost all the buyers of French-language literature, except for a few merchants, belonged to the learned elite or officer class. Regarding the clearly more prevalent German-language literature, there were noticeably less officers among the group of buyers.⁴² French was the language of the culturally sophisticated nobility, while certain merchants preferred to read in German. It is likely that these languages were also spoken to a certain extent within these circles. Very little Finnish-language literature, primarily religious, was owned; about a dozen jurisprudential books, and approximately twenty Bibles, were owned in Helsinki.⁴³

Although it is highly unlikely that the language at that time was yet associated with the powerful concepts or emotions that would be subsequently generated by National Romanticism, a movement that signified the emergence of the Finnish identity and the sense of a fatherland, it continued to exert an influence, particularly with respect to German, French, and Latin, that fostered social cohesiveness as well as exclusivity in the community. At the same time it can, however, be stated that language as such appears not to have provoked any exceptional social effects; instead, the attitude towards communication in a multilingual community was surprisingly pragmatic. This would appear to explain the scarcity of references to linguistic proficiency in the sources of the 1700s, even though Helsinki was a multilingual city. Because the colloquial language was still relatively weakly standardized and dialects common, the perception of linguistic proficiency as an absolute

40. HKA MA Ca:81, 4.4.1775.

41. HENRIK database: Bergenfelt.

42. HENRIK database, language-based searches, results reviewed visually. In the author’s opinion, however, the differences are clearly discernible. French-language books 482, German-language books 1,540. The same books may appear in estate inventory deeds and auction records.

43. HENRIK database, searches based on “fin” and “lait” or “oikeustiede”, “fin” and “teos”: Bible.

skill had not yet taken root. Here, competency in the Latin language among the learned – like the French language among the aristocracy – formed an exception to the requirements of social fluidity and correctness that naturally corresponded to these circles' powerful impulses to set themselves apart from outsiders.

Helsinki and its residents were thus generally stamped with a paradoxical openness and tolerance, and yet a simultaneous inertia, with respect to its own routines and habits. Books proliferated slowly among the newest societal groups, nor did reading habits change radically, although a slow development was discernible.⁴⁴ Active merchants and their families, otherwise positively predisposed to literary culture, however significantly increased the size of their libraries and expanded their reading preferences in a more diversified direction. Certainly, the expansion of a craftman's library from one to two books was a relatively profound change, but the larger collections of books were still to be found in the homes of the more affluent.

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The Clergyman as a Book Owner and Distributor in the Provinces of Uusimaa and Häme During the 1700s

The clergy's traditional role in public education and the dissemination of new ideas

Priests, as well as teachers at schools and academies, traditionally formed a clerical estate whose importance as a creator, maintainer and developer of literary culture was paramount, beginning with the invention of the printing press and extending far into the Early Modern Era. As recently as the 1800s and 1900s, ministers in Finland belonged to a parish's gentry, a status that allowed them to influence the workings of society in many ways.

According to the principles of the Reformation, each individual was to independently become aware of the basis of his or her own salvation. To achieve this, it was necessary to prepare and publish basic religious literature in the vernacular, as well as teach people to read. As an author, publisher, reader and distributor of literature, the position of the clerical estate has been significant. Particularly during the Reformation and Orthodox periods, bishops prepared and published a copious amount of basic religious literature, but beginning in the 1600s, ordinary parish priests also wrote numerous catechisms, prayer books, sermon collections, and books of homilies for the use of parishioners as well as the clergy. Clergymen also distributed books free of charge or against payment. Underlying this literary activity was the advancement of ecclesiastically oriented public education.

In Laurentius Petri's Swedish Church Ordinance of 1571, the first church order regulating the activities of the Lutheran church within the Swedish Realm, it was decreed that a special teacher, a lecturer of theology, would be responsible for the provision of higher education. This post belonged to every cathedral; the lecturer's teaching thus supplemented the instruction given in Latin-language or trivial schools. Additionally, ordained priests could study, at least for limited periods, in universities and academies in Finland as well as abroad, even though, within the circle of the clerical estate, there were still priests in the 1600s who lacked any kind of higher education. From the standpoint of the clergy's education, of central importance were the synodic meetings, dating back to the Middle Ages, where bishops



Philipp Melanchthon played a key role in the formulation of the Lutheran Confessions. He was also recognized as a pedagogue and prepared several works that were also used in school teaching. Many Finns studying at Wittenberg participated in his lectures. (Philipp Melanchthon: Catedresis pverilis, 1543.) National Library of Finland.

educated the clergy of their dioceses, particularly with the help of synodic sermons. After the Reformation, synodic meetings gained an even greater significance with respect to the dissemination of the new doctrine and the clergy's education. Around the year 1600 at the latest, synodic meetings also became associated with a synodic dissertation that was "ventilated", or checked by a bishop or a priest authorized by a bishop, with the clergymen of the diocese acting at the opponents.¹

The clergy needed books to manage its tasks. Because the book resources of congregations and churches were generally inadequate, with money not necessarily available for their refurbishment, many priests acquired significant libraries for themselves. Many book purchases were also motivated by a general interest in literature; consequently literature not directly related to the priests' performance of their official duties, occasionally found its way into their libraries. Owing to study trips made abroad and other international contacts, clergymen were not always dependent on the book supply of their own parish or diocese, and could acquire literature from more distant locations. Certain wealthy priests and teachers were dedicated bibliophiles who owned extensive libraries and expended considerable effort in their augmentation. The bishop Carl Fredrik Mennander, to cite one example, amassed an approximately 7,000-volume private library by the latter half of the 1700s that contained books covering every field of science and art.²

1. Askmark 1943, 61–62; Widén 1967, 12, 47–50.

2. Mennander [1788 a and b].

As a book distributor and customer at auctions

THE CLERGY AS BOOK AGENT

The first open bookshop was founded in Helsinki by Jacob Delphin in 1821. Previously, books were brought from Turku or purchased from local bookbinders or tradesmen. During the latter half of the 1700s, four bookbinders – two of whom had arrived in the city in the 1780s – worked in Helsinki. Besides the bookbinders, various merchants bought and sold literature.³

Because there was still no permanent bookshop in the city during the 1700s, the clergy played a key role in the acquisition and distribution of books. When Swedish book merchants expanded their network of representatives to Finland's cities, several members of the clergy functioned as their agents.

Helsinki gained its first book agent in 1777; Carl Christoffer Gjørwell was a supplier of literature in Helsinki, Turku, Vaasa, Porvoo and Loviisa. Johan Christoffer Holmberg, whose literature was sold in 1781 by trivial school rector Johan Forsius, developed a more active agent network in Helsinki. The work in Holmberg's employ was short-lived; Forsius was appointed the vicar of Mikkeli in the autumn of 1781. The next time Holmberg found someone in the city to sell his books would be six years later in 1787, when Viapori's regimental pastor Magnus Petter Festin began acting as his agent.⁴

In 1786 and 1789, Festin also visited the auction house in Helsinki, which during the 1700s became an important book exchange point for the city's residents. There he for the most part acquired basic religious literature, as well as a few books – among them Carl Gustaf Boije's book on agriculture – that could be considered important with respect to the clergy's educational activities. He also bid on books from civil servants' libraries. The quantity of the literature acquired by Festin was relatively modest, only about a dozen books. Because all the titles were different, it can be assumed that he did not use his own agent activities to support the auction house's supply. Worth noting, however, is that besides sermon collections, he also acquired a Bible, Swedish-language hymnal, and Bishop Erik Pontoppidan's catechism.⁵ It can safely be assumed that Festin already had this type of literature; perhaps he had purchased the works with the intent of passing them on to soldiers.

Festin relinquished his Swedish-language Bible a few years later when he sold it in connection with an English- and Hebrew-language Bible at the auction house. Also put on sale were Lucas Osiander's multiple-part casual theology, a medical book, and one of Festin's book of homilies. The medical book ended up in a surgeon's library, while the Hebrew-language Bible went to a Jewish customer named Joosef. For his part, a Master Fäder acquired the work on casual theology. Auctions therefore also had considerable significance with respect to the acquisition of professional literature. Festin's estate inventory deed has not survived, but based on the literature

3. Vallinkoski 1992, 35–37; Hakapää 1999, 20.

4. Laine 2006, 253, 255.

5. HENRIK database: Festin.

he bought and sold, it can be assumed that he owned a fairly typical clergyman's library – theology, basic religious literature, but also works related to the clergy's edification and natural sciences, including, among others, works by Linneus and Kalm.⁶ Festin also purchased a number of plays at auctions. While working at Viapori he had undoubtedly established contacts with officers whose libraries, already by the latter half of the 1700s, included a considerable amount of fiction. Perhaps it was the officers who taught him the practice of circulating literature; books were purchased, read and sold. Among the clergy, this was not common, aside from books that had been donated or willed to family heirs and other relatives.

As the end of the century approached, the representation of the clerical estate and clergy among the group of book agents diminished when bookbinders or printers, more likely to remain in the same locality without changing their place of employment, and for whom an expansion of book transmission activities was more natural, were more often selected as book agents. Most likely, the change was also a relief to the priests who had been serving as the agents; besides their clerical duties, the transmission of books was fairly laborious and time-consuming.⁷ It is fully possible that the dissemination of new types of publications might have proven problematic for certain clerics acting as agents if the person himself had a rudimentary literary orientation. No information about such cases has survived. Relinquishing this task did not mean that a cleric could not, if he so desired, acquire the necessary literature for his parishioners, or advertise good books when they were published.

Books for students, parishioners and personal libraries

One of the most diligent priests attending the Helsinki auction house was the cleric of the Viapori artillery, Master Adolf Magnus Foeder⁸, who purchased 40 books at auctions between the years 1781 and 1800. The volumes included school textbooks (geography textbooks, dictionaries, history books) as well as religious literature, basic medical works and guides written for the care of animals. It is possible that he only wished to augment his library with the purchases, but it is more likely that he, at least to a certain degree, also acquired literature for reselling or distribution. At an auction held by the bookkeeper and merchant Carl Lampa in 1782, he purchased all 13 catechisms, belonging to Lampa's lot, that had been put up for sale. Perhaps he acquired the catechisms with the idea of using them for the Viapori artillerymen's education in Christian doctrine. As a book owner, Foeder diverged from Festin; they both often frequented the auction house as buyers, but he did not, however, sell his books through the auction house like his colleague. Foeder appears to have been clearly interested in history as well as

6. HENRIK database: Festin.

7. Laine 2006, 255–257.

8. University of Helsinki Matricle: Adolf Magnus Foeder, viewed 28 Sep 2007.

geography, and he owned several textbooks on these subjects. Like Festin, he possessed the typical literature read by the clergy in the late 1700s: theology, prayer books and works aiming at popular enlightenment.⁹

Petrus Alexandri Aveman, an assistant to the vicar of Helsinki and subsequently the curate of the congregation¹⁰, likewise purchased over thirty books at auctions between the years 1769 and 1781. His purchases can be roughly divided into three categories: textbooks, religious literature, and other books that included law books and doctoral dissertations. Like many of his fraternal brothers, the subjects of Aveman's religious interest focused on books of homilies that could be applied practically as tools in a priest's daily work. These included, among others, Luther's church homilies, John Tillotson's and Johann Philip Spener's sermons, and a half-dozen other books of homilies. Aveman's interest in academic literature during a period in which he was already functioning in a congregational capacity is difficult to explain. It is known that he had one son who was born in 1787; Aveman was however a father for only one and a half years, dying of dysentery at the age of 50. It can therefore be assumed that the books on arithmetic, geography, Hebrew, and history were probably not acquired for his son. Perhaps he was unwilling to part with books for which there was no longer any daily use, or he was saving the schoolbooks for his possible descendants.¹¹

Because textbooks, many of which passed through auctions, attracted considerable interest among the members of the clerical estate, trivial school teachers were regular customers at the auction houses, particularly as buyers. In 1793, the over 70-volume library of Carl Henrik Brunow, the rector of Helsinki's trivial school, was auctioned. In 1791, after an estate inventory deed had been drawn up following Brunow's death, the library had been moved to the auction house almost in its entirety. Only the books that had belonged to the trivial school were returned to the school. The literature, diversified in terms of its language and content, dealt primarily with the sub-areas of mathematics and the natural sciences, theology, philology: Latin, Swedish, German, French, and English. The entire library was sold. Among the group of buyers were many representatives of the clerical estate, as well as others whose social standing ranged from gardener to colonel. Brunow died of pulmonary tuberculosis at the age of 30 and was buried at the family grave in Rantasalmi. While he lived, Brunow was an enthusiastic visitor at auction houses, also as a buyer. Between the years 1769–1790, he acquired 126 works from auctions at Viapori.¹²

Brunow's library demonstrates how diversified a selection of scientific literature could be acquired by schoolteachers in the latter half of the 1700s. From the estate inventory deed, it can be seen that a portion of his books belonged to the library and were thus on loan; these included Schmidt's *Bib-*

9. HENRIK database: Foeder.

10. University of Helsinki Matricle: Petter Aveman, viewed 28 Sep 2007.

11. HENRIK database: Aveman.

12. HENRIK database: Brunow; Genealogical Society of Finland's HisKi database, www.genealogia.fi/hiski/, 8 Dec 2006.



Ecclesiastical chronology was taught to young people with so-called computus manualis textbooks. Computus was a method that taught the use of the fingers and their joints like “memo stickers” as a way to remember, among other things, the dates of church holidays occurring on different days. Chronology in general and historical events were also treated extensively in Computus textbooks. (Magnus Celsius: Computus Ecclesiasticus, 1673, Upsalæ.) National Library of Finland.

lia Sacra, Bjurman’s *Poëtica juvenilis*, Hübner’s Biblical history, *Computus ecclesiasticus*, as well as philological works. It is likely that teachers kept at least a portion of the books at their homes; the Crown often lacked the funds necessary for the school buildings’ maintenance, and many schools were in genuinely poor physical condition. In Brunow’s estate inventory deed as well, mention is made of three separate editions of a work that belonged to the school. In their own instruction, teachers also had to rely on their own libraries because schools’ book budgets were still modest. In 1790, there were only a few textbooks in Helsinki’s Trivial school, but no actual libraries; in 1805, the Hämeenlinna Trivial School still lacked its own book collection.¹³

An eye-catching detail regarding clerics is that they rarely appeared in auction houses as booksellers except in cases where it was a question of an estate auction. Even if a certain priest functioned as a book agent, he rarely furnished old literature for reselling. Although the clerical estate cherished the literature in their possession and were reluctant to part with it, books were often distributed, for example as bequests for children, before a library was put on sale. One of the rules of a school ordinance issued in 1724 stipulated that the estate of every church vicar should contribute

13. Hanho 1947, 96, 343; HENRIK database: Brunow.

“one good book” to the school¹⁴. The intent of the regulation was to raise the level of school libraries.

Schoolteachers purchased textbooks more frequently than the parish clergy, whose book acquisitions were naturally weighted towards basic religious literature, particularly sermons. Book acquisitions were also aimed chiefly at the maintenance and improvement of professional skills. Theologically educational literature generally ended up on teachers’ bookshelves as often as it did on the clerics’. At the same time, both groups acquired literature that furthered the clergy’s aspirations on behalf of popular enlightenment, for example books related to medicine or agriculture.

Unlike many other aristocrats’ libraries¹⁵, the clerics’ books did not necessarily trickle down from upper to lower social strata at auctions, where the clergy bid on books from nearly all social classes; at the same time, however, the books they auctioned attracted buyers from different social circles. One explanation for this phenomenon is that most of the literature owned by the clergy was religious, but it was – with its inclusion of hymnals, prayer books, sermons, and theological works – exceptionally diversified. It was this versatility that facilitated its ownership by different social classes.

Printings left as inheritances

ESTATE INVENTORY DEEDS WITH PETITIONS FOR YEARS OF GRACE AS A RECORDER OF CLERICS’ BOOK OWNERSHIP

Among the records of provincial jurisdictions and cities’ registry offices, clerics’ estate inventory deeds that would shed any light on the deceased’s book ownership appear fairly rarely. The number of clergymen in individual parishes was small compared to many other social groups. Because the clergy as a clerical estate required a considerable amount of literature, it also procured more books, and more frequently, than the average parishioner; many clerical libraries were thus extensive in terms of their number of titles. When estate inventory deeds were drawn up, detailed lists of the books were not necessarily made; instead, their economic value was assessed monetarily, and only this total sum was marked visibly in the estate inventory deed. It was also common that an estate’s books were itemized in a separate list that often became detached from the estate inventory deed; in that case as well, only knowledge of a library’s total value has survived.

The concept of years of grace, the petitioning of a minister’s wages for the support of a deceased priest’s widow and children, began to become more common during the Age of Freedom at about the same time that “estate conservation” – the successor’s marriage to a widow or daughter as a way of ensuring the continuity of the deceased’s position – began to fall out of favor. This was a consequence of the improved social status of clergymen’s widows that brought them greater independence. It was also possible to apply

14. Hanho 1947, 341.

15. See the articles in this book by Minna Ahokas and Jessica Parland-von Essen.

for a double period of grace that was more unusual in Finnish conditions, but already fairly common in Sweden, the mother country. The purpose of the years of grace was to assist the priest's family during its most difficult hardships until the widow could obtain a new livelihood. Certain widows remarried, while others continued the commercial activities, such as, for example, the sale of wine or beer, in which they had been engaged while their husbands were alive.¹⁶

For the officials granting the years of grace to assess the value of the legacy, an estate inventory deed, prepared after the death of the priest and describing the estate's literature, was to be appended to the application, unless only the total value had been recorded owing to the scope of the library. Despite the inherent limitations related to the study of estate inventory deeds, the best way to clarify the kinds of literature owned by the clergy in the 1700s is to specifically examine the petitions for years of grace and their related estate inventory deeds that were drawn up for the priests' widows. Besides presenting the researcher with a substantial number of clergymen's libraries in different parts of Finland, the source material also facilitates the generation of an overall picture of the types of literature owned by clerics.

Between the years 1761–1800, a total of 47 estate inventory deeds, of a type that included the petitions for years of grace of a clergyman's widow, were filed with the county governor of the Uusimaa and Häme provinces. Literature is mentioned in 42 of the estate inventory deeds. Of these, 24 contained detailed book itemizations; for the rest, only the total value of the library was recorded. Of the estate inventory deeds containing detailed book information, fifteen were drawn up after the death of a chaplain, six after the death of a vicar, and three after the passing of a curate.¹⁷ Because it is likely that only an overall value was presented for all of the larger libraries, the libraries catalogued in detail presumably represent a segment of the clergy whose book ownership was average-sized, or minimal, compared to the entire class's ownership conditions. They thus provide an excellent overall picture of the average clergyman's literary interests. Sorted by decade, the estate inventory deeds containing book lists are as follows; the chapels or mother congregations where the priests served during the decades in question are shown in parenthesis.

1760s: 3 (Sipoo, Somero, Sahalahti)

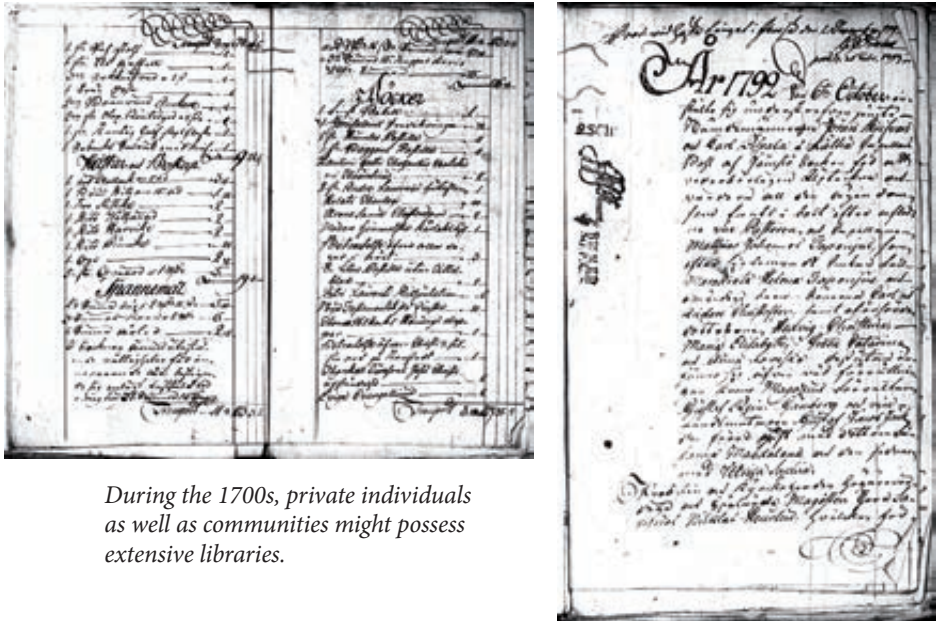
1770s: 7 (Tenhola, Sammatti, Janakkala, Padasjoki, Vanaja, Karjaa, Kirkkonummi)

1780s: 9 (Hollola, Tyrvöntö, Pukkila, Luopioinen, Tuulos, Akaa, Lammi, Askola, Kisko)

1790s: 5 (Mäntsälä, Pusula, Jämsä, Tuusula, Nummi)

16. Widén 1988, 11; Norman 1993, 110–111, 167–168.

17. KA mf FR 22–27.



During the 1700s, private individuals as well as communities might possess extensive libraries.

To obtain a year of grace (a minister's annual wages) following the death of her spouse, the widow of a minister had to attach an estate inventory deed of his property in connection with her application. Examining these estate inventory deeds makes it possible to determine the clergy's literary interests and book ownership. Excerpts from the Jämsä chaplain Matthias Tapenius's estate inventory deed from 1792. National Archives of Finland.

Among the group of petitions for years of grace, there are no surviving priests' estate inventory deeds in a Helsinki parish or the city; the only estate inventory deed surviving in the city registry office is the vicar of Helsinki Johan Forsskåhl's extremely comprehensive library catalogue drawn up in connection with the estate inventory deed for his deceased wife Margareta Kohlbeck. Forsskåhl's library was at one time Helsinki's largest private library. His library¹⁸ is interesting, but it does not depict average book ownership owing to its exceptional size. It is, however, a demonstration of the kind of library that could be assembled on a clergyman's salary in the early 1700s by a vicar interested in literature, and who had worked in Sweden. Owing to its exceptionality, the author will treat it separately without associating it with the book references appearing in connection with other clergymen's book ownerships. Additionally, the fairly extensive library catalogue of the vicar Israel Idman, who died in 1776, has survived in the City of Hämeenlinna's records of estate inventory deeds¹⁹.

18. HENRIK database: Kohlbeck.

19. Grönroos & Nyman 1996, 351–352.

The library of Johan Forsskähl

Born in Sauvo, Johan Forsskähl (1691–1762) studied abroad, thereby avoiding the Greater Wrath, at the University of Uppsala beginning in 1718. He was ordained as a priest in 1723 and was commissioned as the chaplain for the Finnish congregation in Stockholm; two years later Forsskähl became the vicar of the same congregation. When the position of vicar of the Helsinki congregation became open in 1729, Forsskähl was selected as its administrator. In 1740 he returned to Sweden because of poor health. Forsskähl died in Stockholm as the vicar of the Maria Magdalena parish in 1762.²⁰

Two catalogues of Forsskähl's library have survived. The first was drawn up in 1738 for his wife Margaretha Kohlbeck's estate inventory deed. The second, printed in 1762, is an auction catalogue listing the contents of Johan Forsskähl's library. In Forsskähl's time, book acquisition opportunities in Stockholm were better than those in Finland; thus an examination of the library's later sections does not provide a correct depiction of book ownership and acquisitions in Helsinki. For this reason, the author has chosen to focus on Forsskähl's library before his Helsinki period and ignore the book auction catalogue, drawn up in 1762, whose scope was approximately one-and-a-half times larger compared to the scope of the library in 1738, despite the fact that part of the library had been destroyed in a fire in Stockholm in 1759. Forsskähl's library was, however, already during his term as the vicar of Helsinki, the largest in the city.²¹

At the time of Margaretha Kohlbeck's death in 1738, the family's library contained about a thousand volumes, mostly theological literature. According to the old library system, the books in the estate inventory deed are listed from the largest physical size to the smallest – from folio to duodecimo. Consequently, books covering the same subject are found in different sections because they were kept at different shelf heights.

The number of Bibles in the library is significant. Besides Gezelius's Biblical works and various annotated editions of the Bible, Forsskähl owned two folio-sized German-language Bibles and several smaller Latin-, German-, English-, Swedish- and Finnish-language Bibles, a Gallic Bible, Hebrew-language Old Testament, and a Low German-language Luther Bible. The reading of foreign-language Bibles was facilitated by the many dictionaries and lexicons, in languages such as English, Chaldean, Hebrew and Greek, that were found in the library. They were placed near the Bibles for convenient access when the Bibles were being studied. Certain other dictionaries and other grammars are however grouped with other literature. These included guides, for example, intended to familiarize readers with the Syrian, Latvian, and Estonian languages. Forsskähl owned no Bibles in these languages.

After the Bibles and lexicons, other theological literature has been listed in the library catalogue. Most of it consists of general and special works

20. Hornborg 1950, 521; Matinolli 1960, 11–12; Pihlajamaa 2000, 92.

21. [Forsskähl 1762]; Suolahti 1919, 190; Sylwan 1920, 8–9; Hildebrand 1964–1966, 359; Grönroos & Nyman 1996, 236–243.

dealing with systematic theology, but also included are books related to Bible studies, church history, Homiletics and liturgics. The large number of theological dissertations that Forsskåhl had acquired from Turku, Uppsala, and German universities have been placed after other theology. Most of the theology represents the more well-known names in Lutheran orthodoxy, but the group also includes moderate writers on Pietism, among others Philipp Jacob Spener and August Herman Francke, as well as the radical Pietist Gottfried Arnold. Arnold already had a poor reputation in the early 1700s, but in the latter half of the century, the view began to take hold that not all of his works had been fanatical and as such worthy of condemnation. The Reformation period's Luther and Philipp Melancthon represent earlier theology in the library.

Certain books in the library were prohibited by censorship; these include the output of Jacob Böhme and the English Philadelphians. Founded in England around 1670, the Philadelphian Society was a community whose goals were the establishment of a superterranean kingdom of God, a general love for one's neighbor, and a fight against carnality. The members of the group, whose souls were "blessed by the light of divine secrecy", believed in the rebirth of the soul, the Resurrection, and supernaturally mystical experiences. A powerful chiliasm stamped their activities. The Philadelphian movement could be characterized as having generated a Böhme-influenced community in English conditions, because there were many of the same characteristics in the activities and doctrinal emphases of both.²² Forsskåhl also owned theologically controversial books and writings that were either defended or opposed by other denominations or religious communities. These include Philip Jacob Spener's *Gerechter Eifer wider das Pabstthum* and Lucas Osiander's *Enchiridion Controversiarum Religionis quae hosiæ inter Augustanae confessionis theologos et Pontificios habentur*.

The quantity of Forsskåhl's medical literature is also fairly extensive. Besides the numerous doctoral theses, there were "more scientific" works treating surgery, anatomy, medicinal substances, medicinal plants as well as general books by doctors that described forms of treatment. Also included were publications emphasizing mystical natural philosophy, among others the works of Theophrastus Paracelsus. A portion of the books examine the soul and its health in medical terms. Only a few examples of other types of literature, for example related to the natural sciences or mathematics, are to be found.

There are very few books dealing with jurisprudence and administration. These include laws and collections of laws as well as statutes. Various types of constitution-related publications can also be considered as belonging to this group. The library also includes literature dealing with the political and governmental histories of Sweden and other countries. The more prominent names in this group are Samuel Pufendorff, Hugo Grotius, Johannes Mesenius and Justus Lipsius.

Forsskåhl had a comprehensive collection of textbooks. The auctors on Antiquity, grammars, lexicons, history books and theology texts used in

22. Buddensieg 1897, 417.



Johan Forsskähl also owned doctrinally dubious works, including the mystical output of Thomas Bromley, who had belonged to the Philadelphian Society. (Thomas Bromley: Der Weg zum Sabbath der Ruhe. Frankfurt & Leipzig 1731.) Picture: Tuija Laine.

trivial schools are all in some way represented in his library. The quantity of religious devotional literature is thus immense. Represented are medieval authors, such as Tuomas Kempiläinen, as well as the best-known Orthodoxian, Puritanistic, Anglican, and Pietistic prayer books. The conceptual sanctification of Pietism was actualized as a medieval imitational religiosity, and a close identification of the saints with Christ that as a concept was alien to Lutheranism; Kempiläinen's book best represents this type of devoutness. The book also became popular in Finland and it found its way to many private libraries. Forsskähl's hymnals and songbooks were primarily in Finnish, Swedish and German.

Theological works and other religious literature account for at least 80 % of the books in Forsskähl's library. The theological section of the library is extremely diversified and can certainly be counted among the better and more representative theological libraries of its time. Secular literature concentrates on the basic medical, historical and jurisprudential works that Forsskähl acquired.

Because the new types of publications that would sweep book markets in the latter half of the 1700s, were not yet to be found in Forsskähl's library or the libraries of his contemporaries at the beginning of the century; no decisive conclusions can be reached regarding his attitudes towards fiction or travel accounts. However, by using a library catalogue drawn up by the wife of the mayor of Helsinki Abraham Wetter in 1737 as a basis for comparison, the question of fiction emerges in a new light. Wetter's and Forsskähl's situation was in that respect similar in that both had ample opportunities to acquire literature from Sweden and other foreign countries, and they were not dependent on a selection of books that was still modest in

the Helsinki of the early 1700s. These two contemporaries probably knew each other and discussed literature, revealed perhaps by the partial similarity of their libraries. As a city official, Wetter had acquired a significant theological library, and overall his library was the second most extensive in Helsinki for its time, right after Forsskähl's. Unlike Forsskähl, however, Wetter also owned fiction, for example Molière's comedies and John Barclay's novel *Argenis*.²³

Against this backdrop it would appear that works of fiction did not interest Forsskähl to the degree that he would have acquired them for himself, although at that stage it would have been possible to a limited extent. Fiction was not the kind of literature the clergy was expected to own, while on the other hand it was considered an indispensable part of the libraries of the bourgeoisie. Owing to their social status, the members of the class society were bound by conventions that to a great extent dictated not only their rights and obligations, but their clothing and contents of their bookshelves.

The clergy's surviving libraries

The scope of the clergymen's libraries in Uusimaa and Häme under examination varied from a few volumes to approximately 150 books. Libraries typically consisted of approximately two dozen titles. There were no major variations in book ownership among vicars, chaplains and curates, even though curates generally earned far less than vicars. There were also substantial regional differences in clergymen's pay, because the number of chaplains in a home congregation significantly influenced their wage levels. Likewise, the eastern diocese, exhausted by many wars and their following reconstruction, which also affected the desire and ability of a congregation's members and clergy to acquire literature, was poorer than the western diocese. This can be seen, among other examples when comparing clerical book ownership in the Savo and Karelia provinces to the libraries of clergymen on Uusimaa and Häme. In eastern Finland, estates consisting of only a few books appear more frequently than in the south, even considering that clergymen in Savo and Karelia also owned libraries consisting of dozens of books.²⁴

Regarding their content, the medium-sized clerical libraries appear to be fairly identical in the latter half of the 1700s. Bibles, generally Finnish- and Swedish-language, are naturally mentioned frequently. Of the Finnish-language Bibles, the most common at that time was Gezelius's so-called *Sotaraamattu* ("War Bible") published in 1685, whose quarto size enabled it to be carried conveniently onto a battlefield; in peacetime

23. Laine 2007, 135–137; a study of Wetter's godparent relationships has shown that Wetter and Forsskähl were not asked to be godparents of the same children. All this tells us though, is that within the godparent network, the city's mayor and vicar were alternatives when selecting godparents. Forsskähl's wife and the mayor Wetter were often godparents to the same children; Laine 2008, 99.

24. KA FR 35–38; Suolahti 1919, 181–187; Laine 2002, 211; Laine 2006.

as well, its handling was easier than the folio-sized, wood-covered Bible. The clergy would appear to have faithfully relied on this older Bible, even though a new Finnish translation of the Bible was published in 1758; this would have, with respect to its year of publication, been included with the estate inventories being studied. The reason might have been its superior readability, but there certainly must have also been a reluctance to acquire a new Bible if the former version was still usable. This attitude also appears to have affected the marketing of certain Bible printings. On the other hand, the 1758 printing was, owing to high demand, sold out almost immediately, leaving latecomers in book acquisitions without a Bible; the next printing would appear only in 1776.²⁵

In certain libraries, there were also German- or Latin-language Bibles and in fairly many the Greek-language New Testament, *Novum*, but Bibles in other languages are rare, although wealthy members of the bourgeoisie might have also owned even English- and French-language Bibles in the early decades of the 1700s. Generally, Bibles in foreign languages were found among the clergy, but more often in the much larger libraries; not one is found in the estate inventory deeds with petitions for years of grace. For example, the 1796 estate inventory deed of Anders Lizelius, vicar and editor of *Suomenkieliset Tieto-Sanommat*, mentions a Chaldean-language Bible; there were also numerous foreign-language Bibles in the aforementioned estate of the wife of Johan Forsskåhl.²⁶

After the Bibles, the most important works are commentaries explaining the Bible. Of these, the most overwhelmingly common was the six-part, Swedish-language Biblical work, prepared jointly by Johannes Gezelius the Elder and his son Johannes Gezelius the Younger, whose editing and publication took over 40 years; the final section appeared in 1728. Priests usually had one or more parts of this commentary. So-called “Bible printing barrels” were circulated to cover the publication costs of the series, and His Royal Majesty ordered all churches that could afford it to acquire the book. Additionally, or in certain congregations instead of the actual parish copy, individual clergymen also purchased Biblical works. Despite marketing efforts, there were still copies of the work left over in 1752, at which time Johannes Gezelius Olivercreutz sold it to the Diocese of Turku through a circular. Information concerning the availability of the book series however never reached the clergy at the Diocese of Porvoo to which the congregations of Uusimaa belonged; instead a reprinting of Biblical works was planned.²⁷

Hymnals and catechisms were commonplace in parishioners’ estate inventory deeds, but they are mentioned less frequently in connection with the clergymen’s libraries, even though ministers undoubtedly owned them.

25. Laine 2006, 212, 216–218; Nowadays Gezelius’s Bible dating from the 1680s is noticeably rarer than the first Finnish-language Whole Bible from 1642.

26. KA mf. ES 3568, 37, 208; Grönroos & Nyman 1996.

27. KA mf. FR 22–27; KA PTA Ca:9, 416–419 1.9.1746; TMA TTA BII5 26.8.1752; Hietanen 1992, 44–47.



The Turku bishop Ericus Erici Sorolainen wrote the first Finnish-language book of sermons covering the entire church year. The two-part book of sermons appeared in the early 1620s. (Ericus Erici Sorolainen: *Postilla, I osa.*) National Library of Finland.



It is likely that, when assessing the overall value of the property, they have been considered so insignificant that they have easily remained unmentioned when the estate inventory deeds were drawn up. Hymnals and catechisms were being used by the clergy, but they were often grouped in a list of old books and books in poor condition, usually appearing at the end of the estate's book inventory, whose detailed itemization was considered unnecessary. However, in cases where estates have included newer catechisms that were taken into use during the 1700s, for example Gröndahl's or Möller's catechisms, these have been mentioned more frequently than other catechisms. At the same time, the Lutheran catechisms considered worthy of mention were the Large Catechisms that appear to have been preserved more successfully than the smaller catechisms. For these, as well as for other catechisms, the language in which they were published is often mentioned. The Finnish-language edition of Luther's Large Catechism appeared for the first and only time in 1674 during the period of Swedish rule; consequently the catechisms mentioned in many estate inventory deeds refer specifically to this 1600s edition.²⁸

To use catechisms as a support for popular education, the clergy commissioned catechisms with blank interleaves where comments could be made. For example, the vicar Idman from Hämeenlinna owned a volume in which Luther's Swedish- and Finnish-language catechisms were bound between interleaves in a single cover. Idman otherwise had an excellent collection of catechisms; besides Svebilus, Luther and Gråberg he owned, among others, the Pontoppidan and Roswall catechisms as well as other confirmation and catechism literature.²⁹

The catechism was by no means the only 1600s publication always contained in estates. In a few estate inventory deeds, an old Finnish-language book of homilies is mentioned in both parts. Often the copy has been in poor condition, but the intent has been to mention it separately. This attests to the respect still accorded to the book of sermons even over one hundred years after its publication. Here it is a question of the Bishop of Turku Ericus Eri Sorolainen's two-part book of homilies from the period 1621–1625. Exhibiting substantial humanistic influences, this product of the mind from the early Orthodox period is the first extensive Finnish-language collection of sermons; there is a sermon for all of the church year's evangelical texts. The next comparable Finnish-language collection of sermons – Johan Wegelius' book of homilies *Se pyhä ewangeliumillinen walkeus (The Holy Evangelical Light)* – would appear almost 150 years later in the mid-1700s; this work also appears in the estate inventory deeds of several priests.³⁰

A linguistically proficient clergy was not, however, solely reliant on Finnish-language professional literature. Because a minister's work focused particularly on sermons and teaching, books of homilies were standard

28. KA mf. FR 22–27; Pipping 1856–1857 (1967), no. 175.

29. Grönroos & Nyman 1996, 352.

30. KA mf. FR 22–27.

literature in clergymen's libraries. Additionally, the sermon collections' imposing physical essence and size enabled them to be easily noted in estate inventory deeds' book catalogues. A significant amount of various aids, designed to assist in the preparation of sermons, are also contained in the Uusimaa and Häme clergy's libraries. Most of these were sermons that represent various theological orientations. Certain ministers appear to have favored the acquisition of sermon-oriented literature. For example, of the 87 books mentioned in the 1783 estate inventory deed of the vicar of Akaa Michael Aurelius, a good 26, or over one-fourth, were various books of homilies, sermon collections, and Homiletic guides. Sermons were revered in the countryside as well as in the cities; by the time of his death, the vicar of Hämeenlinna Israel Idman had also accumulated an extensive collection of primarily German-language sermons.³¹

Besides the Finnish-language sermons, to which must be added a Finnish translation of the book of homilies by August Hermann Francke that appeared in 1780, the most common were in the Swedish language. These include works by Anders Båld (1769), Abraham Pettersson (1764), whose views doctrinally bordered on Orthodoxy and Pietism, a book of sermons (1760) by the Moravian Church's Arvid Gradin, as well as a Swedish-language edition of Martin Luther's book of homilies (1753), whose translation into Finnish appeared only during the 1800s. Owing to geographical proximities, the acquisition of Swedish-language sermons was relatively effortless; because certain editions were also peddled and ordered in advance through cathedral chapters' circulated letters, information concerning the arriving sermons reached the clergy of the entire diocese. Anders Båld's sermons could be ordered in advance in the Diocese of Porvoo during the late 1780s, and they were sold in Turku in the early 1780s and 1790s. For his part, His Royal Majesty ordered all churches to acquire Luther's sermons, a decree with which not all congregations complied.³²

In certain congregations, instead of acquiring a book of sermons for the congregation, a priest would purchase it for his own library. In the estate inventory deeds of Finnish cities, Luther's book of homilies is mentioned frequently in Helsinki, perhaps revealing that it was also acquired there. The same applies to Pettersson's book of homilies; of its 51 mentions in Finnish estate inventory deeds, 17 were from Helsinki. Besides the clergy, many merchants and craftspeople also purchased books of homilies, which were mainly used in family devotionals. Those unable to attend Sunday services were urged to read the sermon from the books of homilies at home. A book of homilies for children (2nd ed. 1765) written by Christian Langhansen and appearing in several estate inventory deeds, could be acquired from the notary of the cathedral chapter of the Diocese of Turku Niclas Hjelt during the late 1760s and early 1770s.³³

31. KA mf. FR 26, pk 11 Nov 1783 Aurelius; Askmark 1943, 62–63; Grönroos & Nyman 1996, 351–352.

32. KA mf. FR 22–27; Benktson 1968, 90; Laine 2006, 158–159, 285, 301.

33. LIBRIS Kungl. biblioteket, www.kb.se/libris/, 31 Jul 2007; Grönroos & Nyman

Overall, the spectrum of books of homilies found in clerics' libraries was considerable; besides the aforementioned, there were countless numbers of sermons delivered once, well as sermon collections. Although Finnish- and Swedish-language books of homilies were more common, a fairly large number of priests also owned German-language sermons.

Auxiliary aids for the preparation of sermons also included Gezelius's *Fasciculus homileticae*, a collection of sermon dispositions published in the 1690s. Included was a series of booklets, titled *Dispostiones homileticae*, written by Johannes Gezelius the Elder and Younger beginning in the 1660s. Distributed to congregations as separate sheets, the leaflets were printed with timely prayer days' sermon texts as well as annotations and text references for sermons. The compilation also included 13 jurisprudential sermons prepared by Johannes Gezelius the Younger. The extensive directories included in the work also facilitated its use as an auxiliary aid in the preparation of other sermons.³⁴

Besides books of homilies, many priests also acquired various types of examinations and pamphlets related to the sufferings of Christ, a large group of which began to appear in the 1600s and 1700s. The starting points for these have been the events of the Way of the Cross. A certain amount of sermons treating the actual Passion of Christ also appear in libraries, but most are prayer book-type materials. It has certainly also been useful in the preparation of sermons; the period of fasting preceding Easter lasted no less than seven weeks, and a considerable number of church services and other events had to be arranged during that period.

Other devotional literature in clergymen's estate inventory deeds is mentioned fairly infrequently. Either it was nonexistent, or it had been already divided among family members before the administration of the estate, or the preparer of the estate inventory has considered it – along with hymnals and catechisms – so lacking in value and worn, that its separate cataloging has been considered unnecessary. Because many ministers also recommended devotional literature for their parishioners, and some even acquired it for reselling, it seems odd that they would not have owned it themselves. In this respect Forsskåhl's library, with its numerous prayer books, clearly differs from the library collections of the Uusimaa and Häme congregations' ministers.

Of the prayer books mentioned in estate inventory deeds, Pietist and English devotional literature, mostly Puritan in nature, constitute one of the main groups. Other prayer books mentioned primarily include certain writings by Johann Arndt, Johann Lütkehan and Tuomas Kempiläinen, as well as communion literature that was naturally useful for a clergy administering confirmation training and church services. The prayer books of Johann Jakob Rambach, Philipp Jakob Spener, Arthur Dent, Sonthom and Richard Baxter

1996, 465; Laine 2006, 203.

34. Laasonen 1977.

are, however, also encountered relatively often. Perhaps the books in question have also awakened the sympathies of the estate inventories' administrators, for which reason they have been catalogued, while certain other prayer books have been left unmentioned.

The clergymen's libraries also contained a certain amount of other professional literature, primarily various types of theological works, church histories, confessionals, church manuals, and books on ecclesiastical law. Worth pointing out is that the libraries' theological often contain fairly old Finnish publications, for example Johannes Gezelius the Elder's casual theology *Casuum conscientiae* (1689), Enevaldus Svenonius's doctoral theses, among them *Lytrodoxia Jesu* (1685), and Johann Friedrich König's work *Theologia positiva acroamatica* (1683) published by Gezelius. König's casual theology was used regularly as a basis for the Diocese of Turku's synodic dissertations, where it was faithfully copied paragraph by paragraph.³⁵

The philosophical literature also includes Finnish literature of the 1600s. It is possible that certain books have been passed down from one generation to the next in connection with inheritances. Their existence and mention in connection with estate inventories, even in the latter half of the 1700s demonstrates the long-term usefulness of the books as well as a certain kind of stability in theological thought, particularly considering that many other literature groups in the estate inventory deeds studied are fairly old. Naturally, a considerable number of Swedish- and particularly German- and Latin-language works, as well as more recent publications, are mentioned in the estate inventory deeds in conjunction with theological and other scientific literature.³⁶

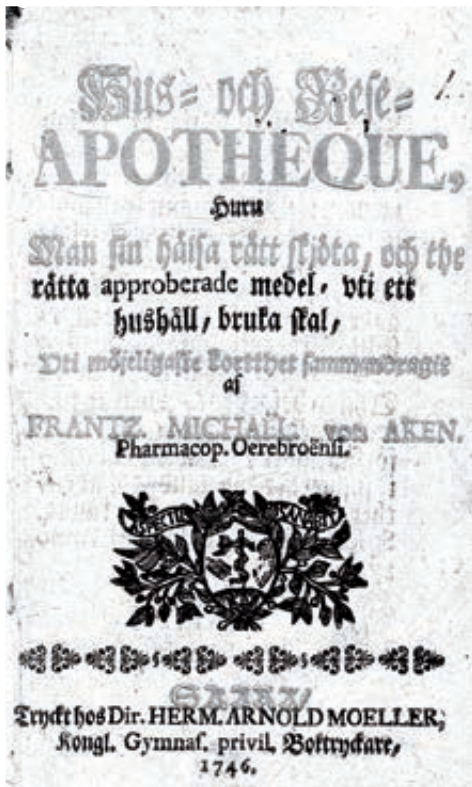
Many clergymen's libraries contained schoolbooks. In this respect as well, the clerics' libraries differed from, for example, the libraries of the bourgeoisie, where only a few schoolbooks remained.³⁷ Two factors explain the clergy's situation. Many schoolbooks were in use for decades, and because the sons of priests often followed in their father's footsteps when choosing their professions, or they at least studied in trivial schools, it made no sense to destroy or sell the books, but to preserve them for future generations. In one estate inventory deed it was also mentioned that schoolbooks had already been donated to the son before the administration of the estate; for that reason they have not been catalogued in the estate inventory deed.

On the other hand, many schoolbooks inherently retained their value, with respect to a clergyman's tasks, beyond their usage in schools. These included linguistic works, dictionaries, various types of lexicons and grammars; in particular, Hebrew grammars and Gezelius's Greek grammar appear often in the clergymen's libraries being studied here. Similarly, other useful guides used by priests in their work were Matthias Hafnenreffer's dogmatics *Loci theologici* and Eric Benzelius's *Epitome repetitionis theologiae*

35. KA mf. FR 22–27; Widén 1968, 112, 115.

36. KA mf. FR 22–27.

37. See Jessica Parland-von Essen's article in this work.



The clergy also practiced medical treatment in the 1700s. People viewed the rarely available physicians with suspicion and preferably turned to their ministers for help with their physical afflictions. For this reason, medical works could be found in many clergymen's libraries. (Frans Michaël von Aken: Hus- och rese-apothèque, Skara, 1746.) National Library of Finland.

(1734), fifteen printings of which were made in Sweden during the 1700s.³⁸ Besides these, schoolbooks dealing with the auctors of Antiquity (for example Cicero, Cornelius Nepos), as well as works treating history, geography and the natural sciences, also appear in the clerics' libraries³⁹.

The estate inventory deeds studied contained surprisingly little purely secular literature. Doctoral dissertations are mentioned in certain estate inventory deeds, but there may have been more; as small printings they might have been lost, or they have been considered economically worthless. The same applies to the almanacs that were certainly in the estates of deceased persons, but regarding which no information has survived for succeeding generations. Medical books are mentioned in a few estate inventory deeds: Haartman's work concerning the recognition and healing of diseases (1759) or Franz Michaël von Aken's pharmaceutical book for home and travelling (1746). The larger libraries also tended to contain more medical books. The vicar of Hämeenlinna Idman owned Haartman's and Aken's works, as well as other medical books. Medical treatment skills were essential for priests because there were still relatively few physicians in the 1700s; Finland gained its first county doctor in 1749. Many citizens

38. LIBRIS, viewed 31 Jul 2007.

39. KA mf. FR 22–27.

also feared visits to a doctor, instead preferring to contact a minister. During the period of freedom, particular emphasis began to be placed on the clergy's role in public medical care. Several priests also served as county doctors' assistants. It therefore could have been assumed that for these reasons, more medical literature might have been found in the clerics' libraries. The reason for its scarcity may be that Haartman donated his medical books to all congregations; this would explain its availability to priests even if the books had not been acquired personally for their own libraries.⁴⁰

The clergy's profile in the literary field

By the latter half of the 1700s, the average rural pastor, even those working near cities, was a well-read, learned, and often active disseminator of literature. His attitude towards literature was however fairly traditional and oriented to the performance of his official duties; for that reason he more often than not preferred to place his trust in traditional literature that had proven its usefulness, as opposed to newer works. In this respect, the average clergyman would appear to have been fairly conservative and slow to adapt new ideas. One reason for the large amounts of old literature in the libraries was that the clergymen simply preferred not to relinquish their books. Acquired books tended to remain on shelves unless they were donated to younger generations as an inheritance. The sermon interpretations in the books of homilies did not quickly go out of date, nor did the new professional literature that was often printed abroad; procuring material for the countryside outside the country's literary centers was not easy, particularly for those not frequenting auctions.

The new winds of literature, the genres that began to emerge in the 1700s – travel accounts and works of fiction – did not necessarily affect clergymen, even if their attitudes were not hostile. Fiction had never been a part of the clerical identity, unlike the bourgeoisie, where it gradually became a socially defining factor. Although the library of a priest clearly reveals his religious orientation, his theological literature could also be fairly cosmopolitan and perhaps ahead of its times. The clergy that had been at the forefront of the dissemination of new ideas and social development during the 1500s and 1600s would appear to have become conservative and mired in tradition by the late 1700s. Among the clergy, there were certainly, compared to the bourgeoisie, those who were simply not interested in the new cultural trends and fictional literature of the 1700s. This anticipates the positions of revivalist movements and their unsympathetic attitudes towards amusements and many other cultural manifestations. Overall, the clergy had not, however, "fallen off the sled" of development; its activities as an advocate and implementer on behalf of public enlightenment (im-

40. KA mf. FR 22–27; Suolahti 1919, 223; Grönroos & Nyman 1996, 352; Laine 2001, 197–198; Laine 2006, 220.

proved field cultivation techniques, new cultivable crops, beekeeping) and innovations in medical science (for example vaccinations) was significant from contemporary and historical frames of reference.

The approximately twenty estate inventory deeds surviving within a single province cannot reveal everything about the clergy who lived there during the 1700s. In other connections, however, we know of many clergymen who were poets, or organizers of reading societies, as well as those who actively participated in social discourse in parliamentary sessions or in the columns of newspapers. Regardless of their religious orientation and subjects of interest, the clergy had a common faith in the book's significance in information transmission and the appreciation of literary culture in one way or another.

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From Popular Law Books to Rarities of Economics

Merchants' Professional Literature in the Latter Half of the 1700s in Helsinki

The city and literary culture

The construction and maintenance of the Viapori fortifications enlivened Helsinki's commerce, attracting new merchants from the Baltics, as well as from Hamina that remained on the Russian side as a consequence of the Lesser Wrath.¹ Trade networks thickened and expanded; in 1748, the same year that the Viapori building works began, a merchant ship designed to visit and map Mediterranean markets set sail from Helsinki.² Although the Pomeranian War caused an economic recession, Helsinki, as well as the development of its merchant fleet and business life, exhibited overall growth during the latter half of the 1700s.³

International trade was in the hands of a few entrepreneurs and merchant families. During the period when the construction of Viapori began, less than twenty merchants in the city were engaged in foreign trade. With the onset of the 1760s, their numbers grew to slightly less than thirty persons.⁴ Less affluent members of the petite bourgeoisie, among them several grocers, also lived in the city.

Besides their trading activities, prominent merchants were often also active and innovative entrepreneurs; there were owners of ships, shipyards, and ironworks, as well as shareholders in brickworks and tobacco factories. Many were interested in land ownership. Investments, particularly in saw-mill operations, stimulated interest in the countryside. The acquisition of manor houses and their estates offered financial profits, but above all a possibility to imitate and perhaps even achieve the prestige and social status of

1. Hornborg 1950, 487–488; Malinen 1997, 102–103.

2. Malinen 1997, 14; Hornborg (1950, 227) is much more cautious than Malinen in his assessment of the changes in trading. The growth in trade, particularly foreign trade, would however appear to be clear.

3. Malinen 1997, 29.

4. Ahonen 1988, 151; Malinen 1997, 11–12.

the nobility.⁵ Besides their economic activities, prominent merchants also attempted to keep the power of decision regarding the city's civic affairs among themselves. Often they functioned as aldermen, even though the position of career civil servants strengthened by the end of the century.⁶ In the history of Helsinki, Sederholm, Schwartz, Siliacks, Burtz, and the names of a few other prominent merchants are consistently encountered during the latter half of the 1700s.⁷ Most of them were Swedish speakers, but certain successful merchants had a German family background, and in several cases German had remained as their mother tongue. Higher education was within reach; the sons of many prominent merchants studied in Stockholm or other countries, while others completed their studies at the Turku Academy.⁸

Reading became fashionable in the 1700s. A new kind of "extensive" reading style, encouraging readers to search continuously for new texts, spread among the gentry. From the latter half of the 1700s, newspapers and magazines, travel literature, poems, plays and novels were the most typical forms of writing and publishing. These genres satisfied readers seeking new experiences. Their history and ownership is an important theme, it is therefore discussed more thoroughly in the articles by Cecilia af Forselles and Ilkka Mäkinen.

The fervent reading of fiction was severely criticized. A new kind of fictionality, the opportunity to present social criticism, and, as book markets grew, the factory-like shoddiness of the publications' production quality was perceived as injurious to vulnerable readers incapable of understanding fiction. This applied particularly to juveniles and women.⁹ On the other hand, there was also concern for those whose embrace of the new literature meant only a superficial participation in a new cultural environment. All-round education might, if weakly and superficially internalized, remain at a level of a few comical sounding phrases in foreign languages, or the rote repetition of mechanically learned opinions.¹⁰

The "extensive" reading method was thus often considered a negative phenomenon. Nevertheless, besides its diversional function, it could also be used for acquiring and organizing information and knowledge. In fact, the new way of reading originated from an enlightened world view that favored the use of one's own reasoning and intellect. Moreover, merchants had already understood that printed products could be used to disseminate important information, such as currency exchange rates and the prices of goods, to a wide-ranging merchant network.¹¹ From the standpoints of the prominent merchants of the 1700s, literary culture offered not only a link

5. Kuisma 2004/1990, 35–36.

6. Mäntylä 1977, 132–134; Granqvist 2006, 18–20.

7. See Parland-von Essen's article in this work.

8. See Parland-von Essen's article in this work; Mäkinen 2007, 6.

9. Suolahti 1993/1906, 67, 82–84, 97–101; Suolahti 1925, 162–170; Mäkinen 1997, 44–45, 85–87 and 107–109.

10. Mäkinen 1997, 87–96.

11. Wittmann 1999, 292–294; Mäkinen 2007, 6; McCusker 2005.



*Johan Sederholm
(1722–1805). Privately
owned. Photograph K. K.
Meinander.*

to the cultural life of the nobility, but also the potential to develop professional skills and success.

A continuous flow of books

Surviving estate inventory deeds indicate that the largest book collection in Helsinki's mercantile community was the library, containing over 450 titles, of the merchant Carl Jacob Dobbin (d. 1783). Dobbin had also owned other books, 83 of which were auctioned seven years before his death. Like other prominent merchants, it is unlikely that he had acquired his collection by himself. A portion of the books were probably inherited.¹²

The list of books in Petter Schwartz's estate inventory deed, dated 1794, contains 350 titles. It is already in itself an extensive collection, but the depth of the relationship between Schwartz and literary culture is strengthened by the 122 titles he purchased at auctions, primarily during the 1760s. Of these, very few were catalogued in the estate inventory deed. Johan Sederholm either sold or gave away most of his books before his death in 1805; what remains marked in his estate inventory deed are only thirty titles. The diversity of Sederholm's literary interests is revealed more accurately by the auction purchases he made during the latter half

12. P. Schwartz's father had been a merchant Helsinki, while C. J. Dobbin's father was merchant first in Nevanlinna and then in Hamina. According to Hornborg, both might have spoken German as their mother tongue, Hornborg 1950, 486–493.

of the 1700s than the few devotional books that were saved by his deathbed. Particularly from the mid-1770s to the early 1780s, Sederholm diligently acquired about a hundred works at auctions, among the Helsinki merchants second only to Schwartz, who outbid competitors for more books over the years. Compared to Sederholm's estate inventory deed, the publications he acquired at auctions reveal an extremely secular taste in reading; only every sixth book acquired at an auction was religious.¹³ Besides the aforementioned prominent merchants, the book collections and acquisitions of Petter Törneman, Hindrich Jacob Siliacks and Johan Niclas Myhr also exceeded 100 titles.

Schwartz's and Sederholm's collections show how the information in estate inventory deeds and auction catalogues do not overlap. Regarding several other merchants, the situation is identical. As Parland-von Essen also states, J. N. Myhr's 137-title estate inventory deed contains only fifteen works that can be confirmed as auction purchases. The rest of Myhr's over 60 books purchased at auctions did not remain in the merchant's possession until his death.¹⁴

Such large-scale book ownership was wholly exceptional in Helsinki. For example, already before the Hats' War (1741–1743), the vicar Forsskähl owned a library consisting of approximately 900 titles. In the bustling commercial city of Gothenburg, local merchants might amass collections consisting of as many as two thousand titles.¹⁵ In many merchants' estate inventory deeds, however, the listed collections contained only between ten and a few dozen titles. Most merchants' book collections might have been small, but they were all active sellers and buyers of books.

Therefore, in the ultimate analysis, estate inventory deeds reveal very little of book collections; overall, markings indicating the ownership of printed products are found in only 23 estate inventory deeds of merchants who died during the years 1748–1809. There were many merchants whose estate inventory deeds were not recorded, or their book collections were ignored. As a counterbalance to the scanty information about book ownership revealed in estate inventory deeds, over 70 merchants are mentioned in auction catalogues as buyers and/or sellers of printed works. Besides the book owner-merchants found in estate inventory deeds, they reveal the interests of over 40 other merchants in books.¹⁶

Compared to estate inventory deeds, the source materials provided by auctions reveal a noticeably broader and more communal participation in the literary life. However, the total number of books acquired or sold by

13. J. Sederholm bought books at a total of 13 auctions between the years 1751–1801; for the later stages of Sederholm's library, see Parland-von Essen's article in this work.

14. See Parland-von Essen's article in this work.

15. Unless otherwise stated, the information for each estate inventory deed and auction catalogue can be found in the HENRIK database, searching with book titles and/or persons' names, Grönroos 1969, 62; regarding estate inventory deeds, see also Grönroos & Nyman 1996, Åkerman 1937.

16. See Åkerman 1937.



Title page from Erik Zetterstén's work *Om allmänna handelshistorien och köpmanna-Wetenskapen* (Stockholm, 1777). National Library of Finland.

merchants at auctions remained fairly low, generally averaging 5–30 works per person. Only Isaac Hahr, who briefly left his mark in Helsinki's book history with the sale of his book collection of 150 works, approached the stature of Dobbin, Schwartz, Myhr, and Sederholm as a book owner.¹⁷

Hundreds of books came and went, were bought, sold, loaned, borrowed, given, and in between they were also read. Literary culture was characterized more by a continuous flow of books from one reader to another, than by their collection and permanent ownership. Although not everyone had the opportunity to own or purchase hundreds or even dozens of volumes, literary culture was a part of every merchant's life.

Merchants' professional literature

Young men aspiring to be merchants refined their skills with an over ten-year apprenticeship period during which they might serve as a clerk or book-keeper at a trading house, as well as sailors and even captains of a merchant vessel. The practical lessons provided the basis for a career, but additional knowledge could be obtained from books.¹⁸

17. The last member of the same group of prominent buyers and sellers of books is the merchant Johan David Tilliander. Although only 37 titles are mentioned in his estate inventory deed, Tilliander sold over 150 volumes at auctions. Tilliander's supply consisted of a total of only 57 titles.

18. Wuorinen 1959, 164–165; Ojala 1999, 270–274.



Title page from Jürgen Elert Kruse's work *Hamburgischer Kontorist* (Hamburg, 1782–83). National Library of Finland.

The prominent Swedish merchant Erik Zetterstén wrote in the beginning of his work *Om allmänna handelshistorien och köpmanna-Wetenskapen* (*On General History of Trade and Merchant's Knowledge*, 1769): “For as long as the history of the state is included in the education of its rulers, the history of trade is included in the schooling of its merchants”.¹⁹

We can speak of “practical” or “professional literature”, that in this case means the kinds of printed products that provided advice concerning commercial practices. There was much to learn; according to Zetterstén, his work would assist the merchant in such basic matters as a familiarity with merchandise, assessments of international markets and different countries’ production, accounting, learning, correspondence, arithmetic, exchange rates, units of measurement, geography, questions related to history and politics, the attainment of judicial expertise, proficiency in foreign languages, and drawing skills.²⁰

Of the Swedish trading guides, Zetterstén’s work was the most popular work. First self-published in 1769, the book was already in its fourth printing 14 years later. In Helsinki, it was acquired immediately after its first printing by, besides Schwartz and Dobbin, the merchant Johan Holmberg; later during the 1700s, it was also purchased by the merchants Bergholm and Lilljemarck. Zetterstén published a few other writings in the latter half of the 1700s on commercial trade routes, currency exchange, and other

19. Zetterstén 1777, 19; “*Som stats-historien hålles för Regentens Studium, så hålles handels-historien för köpmännens skola*”

20. Zetterstén 1777, 21–24; compare with Mäkinen 2007, 6–7; This kind of refined cultural reading is however outside the scope of this article; for more details see, for example, Parland-von Essen’s and Mäkinen’s articles in this work.

The image shows two pages from a historical price list. The left page is titled 'Hamburgisch' and the right page is titled 'Amsterdam'. Both pages contain tables of prices for various goods and metals, with columns for different units and currencies. The text is in German and includes detailed descriptions of the items being priced.

Tables in Jürgen Elert Kruse's work *Hamburgischer Kontorist* (Hamburg, 1782–83) showing the prices and units of weight used for precious metals and other commercial goods in Amsterdam. National Library of Finland.

commerce-related advice, but the quantity of the titles owned in Helsinki was fairly minimal compared to the merchant-author's main work. Instead, many merchants owned other publications describing payment methods and the secrets of accounting that, owing to their scanty mentions of titles in source materials, remain unknown.

Besides the Swedish commercial guides, prominent merchants also became familiar with works written in continental Europe. H. J. Siliacks and C. J. Dobbin had the use of that period's most famous business guide, Jacques Savary's *Le parfait négociant, ou instruction générale pour ce qui regard le commerce des marchandises de France et des pays étrangères* (1st printing 1675), a lawyer's view on commercial arrangements and contracts that was augmented numerous times during the 18th century.²¹ Dobbin also owned Jürgen Elert Kruse's work *Allgemeiner und besonders Hamburgischer Contorist* (1st edition in 1753), that included a detailed list of the units of weight that were in use in each country and city – they varied by locality and product – as well as currencies and exchange rates.

In 1776, Johan David Tilliander sold a similar work, Jacob Marperger's *Erläuterung der Hamburger und Amsterdamer Waaren Preiss-Couranten*. Isaac Hahr had already auctioned some of Marperger's other works, treating Swedish and German trade practices, in 1765. They ended up in the collection of Carl Lampa, an accountant at that time, who later became a parish clerk and merchant. It is known that at least Dobbin, Schwartz and Sederholm had also utilized Dutch and English business guides.

21. Grönroos 1987, 38.

Petter Schwartz owned *Handlingar rörande Skeppet Örnskiöld, dess Algeriska Siöpass och dokumenter (Records of Örnskiöld, Its Algerian Sea Passport and Documents)*, a rare work treating sailing conditions in the Mediterranean; it also warned of the danger of pirates. The Barbary States (Algeria, Tunisia, Tripoli and Morocco) on the southern coasts of the Mediterranean practiced privateering – state-sponsored piracy – until the 1700s. A peace treaty concluded with Sweden eased the situation, but ships had to be protected with special documents when navigating the Mediterranean.

Although the aforementioned guides were mostly very practical, more theoretical works on economics could also be found in merchants' collections. The *Theorie et pratique du commerce et de la marine* owned by J. H. Siliacks was a French translation of the Spaniard Don Geronymo de Uzta-riz's work published in 1724. This was a study of Spain's international trade – with its colonies as well as other countries – and its safeguarding by political and military means. Josh Gee's *The Trade and Navigation of Great-Britain Considered* owned by C. J. Dobbin was a fundamentally mercantile guide, in which the essence of a realm's riches was seen as its ability to avoid imports and independently produce all its consumer goods.

Relatively speaking, Swedish commercial guides were thus readily available; works imported from other European book markets were rarities. All in all, a certain kind of literary interest, as well as connections to international trade, were required before a merchant would acquire professional literature. Nor was it a question of a lack of interest or professional need. Because the commercial guides and the more unusual works on economics were often several hundred pages in length and published in the *octavo*, if not larger, size, they were expensive and beyond the reach of most.

Merchants functioning in many sectors also acquired other kinds of practical literature. Jussi Nuorteva's studies on the estate inventory deeds in Finnish towns demonstrate that a law book was the third most commonly owned work immediately after hymnals and the *Bible*. Among the ten most common books owned by urban dwellers, it was the only secular work.²² Law books could be used to check basic business practices. Almost every merchant owned such a book, whether or not he owned any other printed works. For example, the book catalogue in the estate inventory deed of the alderman and merchant Christian Lindeberg was fairly short; it only contained a *Bible*, book of homilies, three hymnals, *Siionin laulut*, a gardening guide, and the laws of the Swedish Realm. There were many kinds of legal codes and other statutory publications, but the laws of the Swedish Realm ratified in 1734 was the most comprehensive, and thus the work most commonly owned by merchants. Many merchants also acquired other legal works that concerned different cities, the countryside, or navigation.

Legal and administrative literature was certainly necessary when the merchants also served as aldermen, or when they represented the bourgeoi-

22. Nuorteva 1988, 96.

Title page from *Theorie et pratique du commerce et de la marine* (Paris, 1753), a French-language translation of Don Geronymo de Uztariz's work. National Library of Finland.



sie during a diet in Stockholm. For example, Nils Larsson Burtz's participation in multiple diets can be linked to his book collection of 60 volumes treating diets, laws, decrees and statutes; he also owned three editions of the laws of Sweden. The legal works also became necessary in the resolution of disputes and criminal proceedings among the city's residents, also its prominent merchants.²³ In any case, the various editions of customs regulations, and catalogues of statutes covering Swedish and German customs tariffs owned by prominent merchants engaged in wide-ranging foreign trade such as Burtz, Siliacks, Gnospelius, Dobbin and Schwartz, allude directly to trade and its advancement.

Besides laws and statutes, merchants might also own juridical commentaries; Claes Brodersson Rålamb's *Observationes juris practicæ. Thet är, åthskillige påminnelser vthi rätttegångs saker* (*Observationes juris practicæ. That Is, Various Remarks about Legal Proceedings*, 1st edition in 1697) was popular.²⁴ In Helsinki estate inventory deeds, Rålamb's work is mentioned five times, always owned by a member of the bourgeoisie. The estate inventory deeds of Leonhard Adrian and Johan Burtz's mention *Lärdöms-öfning Sweriges ungdom til tjents, afdelad uti sedoläran, lagfarenheten och statskunskapen* (*Instructions and Practices for Swedish Youth, Divided in Manners*,

23. Compare with Parland-von Essen's article in this work.

24. Lext 1950, 246.

Erudition in Law and Politics), written by the lawyer Christian König. The auctioning of books owned by merchants, aldermen, and civil servants generated a continuous flow of legal and administrative professional literature on the market that interested merchants. A volume of Rålamb's work owned by the merchant Johan Gnospelius ended up, at an auction of his widow's property in 1769, in the hands of the merchant Thomas Mattheiszen. Samuel Lilljemarck, who had worked as a shop assistant, acquired the same work from the estate of the clerk Isaac Lindeberg.

The German Johann Hübner's geographical works were perennial best-sellers of that period; at least ten merchants owned his guide in Helsinki alone. Most of these editions were in the German language, but some were Swedish translations. The advancement of trade activities does not explain Hübner's popularity. Rather, it was considered a milestone in all-round education; for many years it was used as a textbook in schools.²⁵ Hübner also enjoyed a reputation as a historian.

Hübner treated the geography of the entire earth, but the work's Swedish translation was shortened by deleting the portion dealing with Sweden that had proven inaccurate. With respect to the home country, therefore, other works had to be used. A "tattered" edition of Erik Tuneld's introduction to Sweden's geography was found among the remains of the estate of Johan Burtz.²⁶ Perhaps Tuneld's work had been worn out by the hands of other merchants, as sources indicate that only few merchants used it. Instead, Tuneld was extremely popular among officers and bookkeepers. *Vägvisare til och ifrån alla städer och namnkunniga orter uti Svea- och Göta-riken samt stor-förstendömet Finland*, a description of the cities of the Swedish Realm and its more important parishes by the engineer Georg Biurman, was also found in the collections of a few merchants.

A growing familiarity with geography and foreign societies was also associated with a knowledge of travel accounts. For the merchants of Helsinki, these titles could be roughly divided into two parts: Russia, particularly a familiarity with Siberia, and descriptions of long-distance trips. The rare travel books concerning Europe were in the hands of a few prominent merchants, the most important of whom was Petter Schwartz. It is highly unlikely that travel accounts were considered important as a supporter of professional skills. However, they revealed an undeniable fascination with unknown lands and people.

A proficiency in modern languages and the ability to communicate were essential for any merchants engaged in foreign trade, as well as for the German-language merchants locally involved in domestic commerce who had to use Swedish, as well as perhaps even the more alien Finnish. Swedish and German were the book collections' most common languages. French was spoken only by a few, but alongside Latin, it tells us something of the classical education obtained by the merchants' children. Finnish, Dutch, English and Greek appear in estate inventory deeds as individual finds. Overall, the

25. Lext 1950, 252.

26. "söndrig", Grönroos & Nyman 1996, Helsinki estate inventory deed 355.

prominent merchants of Helsinki formed an extremely international and linguistically proficient group during the latter half of the 1700s.²⁷

Dictionaries and grammars were common reading aids. Like law books, they may be found in book collections that numbered less than ten volumes. Spelling guides were also used. German-language dictionaries were the most commonly owned, but among the grammars, French and English became increasingly popular. A wide selection of spellers was also available. The most popular of these was Johan Biurman's multifaceted *En kort tydelig Bref-ställare*. At least Carl Johan Dobbin, Matts Mattheizen, Isac Lih, Petter Bäckman, Lars Stenström and Samuel Lilljemarck used it. Many a civil servant and Viapori officer also owned Biurman's work, and it was not completely unknown among shipmasters or craftspersons. Biurman's work is a model example of a book whose use was not limited to certain social classes. Leonard Adrian used a French writing guide, Johan Gnospelius's copy was in German.

Because sailing was a familiar activity for many merchants, at the least during their apprenticeship days, various navigation guides and nautical charts are often found in their collections. In the 11-book library of the merchant Johan Sebastian Lillgren, who died in 1768, five were nautical charts. In auctions held after the estate inventory deed was drawn up, they all ended up with navigating officers and shipmasters, as did also Thomas Mun's *Engelands skatt-kammare genom den utländske handelen (England's Treasure by Foreign Trade*, 1st edition in 1664, 1st Swedish translation in 1732, the above mentioned edition in 1745), the only business guide owned by Lillgren.

Published already in 1644, *Een siö-book, som innehåller om siöfarten i Östersjön*, a handsome work on seamanship by Captain Johan Månsson, was extremely popular, and it was improved several times during the following century. Helsinki's merchants were also interested in this work. In the remaining estate inventory deeds, only Petter Schwartz is mentioned as having owned it in Swedish- and German-language editions. Six completely intact copies of Månsson's work were however sold at an auction of the alderman Thomas Clayhills's estate in 1765. The merchants Nathanael Heidenstrauch, Johan Holmberg, and Samuel Törner acquired their own copies.

Merchant entrepreneurs also required information for their other projects. Petter Törneman had two shipbuilding guides. Nils Burtz, interested in agriculture, had four farming guides. *Säkra rön och påliteliga med til wälmågo och förmogenhet (Guaranteed Plants and Reliable Tools for Well-Being and Prosperity)*, written by Carl Gustaf Boije af Gennäs (1697–1769), was based on the author's own enterprise and observations, making it a typical practical work of its era. The older agricultural guides were broader in scope, focusing on financial management. Owned by J. N. Myhr, the work *Oeconomia thet är hushåldz undervisning (Economy, That Is the Education of Household*, Swedish printings 1683 and 1694) written by the German Johan Colerus treated everything from agriculture to the treatment of illnesses.

27. Compare with the prominent Ostrobothnian merchants' versatile linguistic proficiency on the 1800s side, Ojala 1999, 293–294.

The *Handlingar innehållande updagade sanningar om Tobaks fabriquen i Åbo* (*Documents Including Exposed Truths about A Tobacco Factory in Åbo*), owned by Schwartz was obviously related to his interest in a tobacco factory established in Helsinki.

Siliacks's book collections

The personal reasons for acquiring, owning, and selling books are not revealed by studying estate inventory deeds or auction catalogues. The bisected library of Jacob Hindrich Siliacks, born in Nevanlinna in the late 1710s, however reveals certain emphases.

In Helsinki, his home city, Siliacks engaged in business, owned ships, and participated in the running of a tobacco factory, brewery and sawmill, but he was also active in Turku, the city where he had previously studied. There he owned a house, holdings in various local merchant ships, as well as an inn on the outskirts of the city. Upon his death in 1768 he left property to both cities. Siliacks's relatively sizeable book collection – at least 100 titles are mentioned in his estate inventory deed – was also divided between the two cities.²⁸

The libraries' internal division was clear; Siliacks kept almost all of his professional literature in Helsinki. The aforementioned works *Le parfait négociant* and *Theorie et pratique du commerce et de la marine*, dealing with trade and economics, as well as his titles of maritime law and customs duties, belonged to the Helsinki collection. For this library's collections, Siliacks had also acquired a world atlas, several geographical works, and travel literature. Also included were a few religious books, but they were for the most part "mandatory" works for the people of that era; religiosity was represented by a German-language *Bible*, a hymnal, a few prayer books, and two works by Johan Jacob Rambach. Of the 61 works preserved in Helsinki, only 11 were religious.

There is almost no practical and professional literature in the Turku collection, where the most conspicuously absent genre was judicial literature. The library consisted primarily of religious literature, writings by the authors of Antiquity, as well as dictionaries and textbooks supplementing their reading. Perhaps this was a book collection of Siliacks's youth, the textbooks and dictionaries acquired for his studies when he enrolled in the University of Turku in the autumn of 1739; perhaps he felt he no longer needed these books after moving to Helsinki. Close to Viapori, the significance of the cultural tradition of Antiquity was recalled with a single Greek language grammar that might have been used when reading a Greek-language New Testament. Any further aspects of Siliacks's life between Helsinki and Turku have for the time being not been revealed, but based on the contents of his bookshelves, it can be assumed that he valued the professional literature he owned, and wished to keep it close at hand.

28. Grönroos & Nyman 1996, Helsingin estate inventory deed 165; Åkerman 1937, estate inventory deed 486.



Title page from Thomas Mun's work *Engelands skatt-kammare genom den utländske handelen* (1745). National Library of Finland.

Conclusion

Helsinki's merchants sought professional information and knowledge from literature. They were not exceptionally significant book owners, as our knowledge of, for example, the Ostrobothnian merchants' book ownership stands up relatively well compared to the book ownership in Helsinki.²⁹ A law book, some kind of nautical chart, and dictionary could be found in the hands of almost every merchant. The prominent merchants' libraries contained a considerable amount of more complete works concerning commercial practices and even theories of economics. The diversity of the prominent merchants' activities can also be seen in their book collections. For as long as we are forced to rely solely on the source materials formed by estate inventory deeds and auction catalogues, however, professional literature will only remain a term for a group of printed works. It is almost impossible to visualize and comprehend the ways in which merchants became acquainted with their books, or how any lessons possibly learnt from them were applied in practice.

Although the various literary genres have occasionally been classified according to their readerships and boundaries of social classes, the practical literature owned by merchants was rarely their private possession. Law books, grammars, dictionaries, letter writing guides, and even a few business manuals were also read by Helsinki's civil servants and the officers of Viapori. In the late 1700s, an increasing number of bookkeepers, shop assistants and clerks at the beginning of their careers also sought to acquire the works that would prepare them for their future tasks. The literary culture of the dual city's bourgeoisie and officers was surprisingly cohesive.

29. Ojala 1999, 274–275; Mäkinen 2007, 9.

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Works of Enlightenment Philosophy in Finnish Cities during the 1700s

The breakthrough of the reading culture

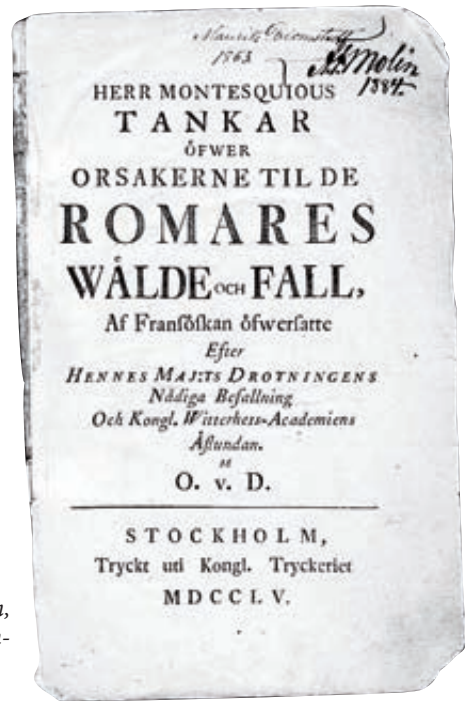
Concurrent with the development of the reading society culture in the Swedish Realm, Jacob Estlander (1713–1785), the vicar of Lapväärtti (Lappfjärd) added his name to a list on the flyleaf of a work by Montesquieu (1689–1755) treating the Roman Empire. By signing the book, Estlander confirmed that this work of French Enlightenment philosophy had, after a circulating loan, arrived for his reading at the vicarage of Lapväärtti in Ostrobothnia. It was a question of a Swedish-language translation of the work, *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*, that circulated among the members of early reading societies of Vaasa parishes in Ostrobothnia from January to July 1760.¹

The work by the Frenchman Montesquieu is also mentioned in a letter, dated 12 June 1770, written in Stockholm by Carl Fredrik Mennander (ennobled as Fredenheim) to his father Carl Fredrik Mennander. The son writes that he is satisfied with the book transactions undertaken with the Stockholm bookseller Carl Gottlieb Ulf, who as a result presented the young Mennander with a lavishly descriptive printing of Montesquieu's work.² Mennander and his father were both enthusiastic bibliophiles with an extensive knowledge of literature, and their lively correspondence contains continuous references to book acquisitions and reading experiences.

In a broader sense as well, books feature prominently in Carl Fredrik Mennander's correspondence; besides Montesquieu, other philosophers who advocated Enlightenment ideas are also mentioned in the letters. In a letter, dated 12 November 1779 and written in Turku, Johan Bilmark (1746–1801), a professor at the Turku Academy, expresses his humble thanks to the

1. Estlander 1934; Mäkinen 1994a, 10; Mäkinen 1994b, 26–27; Mäkinen 1997, 146–147. *Herr Montesquious tankar öfwer orsakerne til de Romares wälde och fall, Af Fransöskan öfwersatte...Af O. v. D[alin], Considerations on the Causes of the Grandeur and Decadence of the Romans (1755).*

2. Österbladh (ed.) 1940, Fredenheim to Mennander 12 Jun 1770.



Title page from Herr Montesquiou's Tankar öfwer orsakerne til de romares wälde och fall... (Stockholm, 1755), a Swedish translation of Montesquieu's work. National Library of Finland.

Archbishop Mennander for the texts treating Rousseau and Voltaire that Mennander had sent to him. Bilmark expresses particular gratitude for the writings, stating that after Archbishop Mennander had left Turku, Bilmark no longer had any opportunities to map his “small” literary collection.³

These events culled from book history sources are examples of a series of a chain of events and chance encounters through which Enlightenment philosophers and their works, as well as Enlightenment literature in a broader sense, gradually permeated Finnish reading culture and became a topic of discussion in reading circles, correspondence, and early newspapers. The main characters in the aforementioned anecdote – Estlander, Bilmark, as well the elder and younger Mennander – represented the harbingers of Finnish book culture, learned individuals who had the desire and opportunity to enhance their contemporaries’ literary and cultural pursuits.

During the 1700s in the Swedish Realm’s easternmost domain, the foundations of an agrarian culture ran so deep in Finnish cities that the forms of urban and cultural life prevalent in major European cities had not yet reached them. With the development of commerce, and particularly the granting of trade rights and the resulting cultural ties, the cultural life of Finnish cities began to gradually emulate the forms of European urban culture. The spectrum of cultural pursuits and development of reading culture in Finnish cities was as dependent on the demographic structure as it was

3. Österbladh (ed.) 1940, Bilmark to Mennander 12 Nov 1779.

on the connections forged with the larger cultural centers. Particularly in less populated areas, the diversification of cultural activities, as well as the mushrooming of the reading culture, would often seem to have been generated by individuals, dedicated to literature and reading, whose active efforts also inspired others to become absorbed in reading pursuits.⁴

From the perspective of book history, the 1700s was above all a century that accelerated the development of literary culture, changes in reading habits, and the diversification of genre types. Rolf Engelsing, considered one of the best-known and controversial theoreticians of reading history, has characterized the changes in the reading culture that took place in the latter half of the 1700s as dramatic, even revolutionary. Essentially, the change in reading habits was a question of a switch from the “intensive” and repetitive reading of a few religious books to “extensive” reading, where readers continuously sought new reading matter. The development of the press and the diversification of literary genres were two background factors that influenced this process. Typical “intensive” reading matter included Bibles, hymnals, and devotional works that were often published in large printings that also enabled them to be acquired by the members of the working classes.⁵ On the other hand, “extensive” reading served the scientific literature of the 1700s, as well as the increased demand for more diversified and entertaining literature.

The Finnish readership was not in the vanguard when the new kinds of reading habits and growth in book markets began to revolutionize Europe’s reading preferences, but in Finland as well, readers gradually became acquainted with diversified literary genres and expanded their reading experiences beyond religious literature. One key factor that can be shown to have enhanced the spread of literacy and the development of the reading culture was the growth in Finnish book wealth. With the development of the so-called desire to read, spurred by “extensive” reading habits and novel literature, the Finnish readership, led by the nobility and bourgeoisie, augmented their book collections. Because the religious literature that had been part of the Finns’ standard reading was no longer enough to satisfy the needs of the readership, more space in book collections was found for increasingly diversified and worldly literature such as novels by the Enlightenment philosophers, pamphlets, and encyclopedic works.

The development of book markets that took place long into the 1700s was not only a question of a phenomenon of book history observed retrospectively, but a development – playing a key role in the dissemination of new ideas – of which the contemporaries of that era were fully aware. The Enlightenment philosophers were well acquainted with the resources and mechanisms of the book trade. As interpreted by the American cultural historian and book history innovator Robert Darnton, not only the printed word itself, but its dissemination through effective distribution channels,

4. Ahokas 2004, 59; Halila 1953, 598.

5. Concerning Engelsing and the criticism targeted at his theory, see, for example, Mäkinen 1997, 26–38; Fischer 2003, 255.

was a key attribute of the so-called *Voltaireian Enlightenment*. With respect to Voltaire, for example, the publication of novels, as well as short tracts and anthologies easily assimilated by the public, was a choice that effectively promoted the dissemination of the philosopher's ideals.⁶ For many years, a few active operators dominated the Finnish book trade, and book markets were fairly limited. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to pose the question, based on the available source material, if there were influential Enlightenment-oriented thinkers in Finland – scholars, booksellers, representatives of the clergy, authors – who aimed at exploiting the dynamics of book markets in the dissemination of Enlightenment ideals.

From time to time, the entire 1700s is stamped anachronically as the Century of the Enlightenment, even though the change in the field of the 1700s cannot be defined as enlightened throughout. As a temporal definition, associating the Enlightenment with the 1700s is natural. At the conceptual level, however, the descriptions attributed to the Enlightenment within the context of historical research depend on a wide range of definitions. The birth of the Enlightenment, and above all the philosophical, religious, scientific, political and cultural configurations associated with its formation, varied decisively in different countries; for that reason the Enlightenment manifested itself in the Swedish Realm or in Scotland differently than for example in France, Germany or England. The themes associated with the Enlightenment include an emphasis on rational thought, the overhaul of societal institutions, a critical view of religion, and the taking into account of the demands of the national will. The Enlightenment philosophers' demands were not always congruent or unambiguous, but their visions of a strictly rationalist and deist world view often coincided. Within the context of the Swedish Realm's Enlightenment, it was less a movement than a state of mind. The Swedish historian Jacob Christensson has demonstrated how *upplysning*, the concept of the Enlightenment, was used to specifically identify a certain kind of cultural pattern and attitude beginning from the 1730s.⁷

Just as various characteristics and forms of expression are associated with the Enlightenment as phenomena, Enlightenment literature by the same token consists of a variegated group of works representing different genres. The Enlightenment literature studied here is only a partial listing; I thus have not included theories of natural law, tracts written on behalf of human rights, criticism of religion and the church cloaked within the guise of novel literature, educational handbooks as well as popular enlightenment guides.⁸ In the modern sense, the concept of literature entered public discourse specifically during the 1700s, even though the term *literature* itself for a long time continued to primarily connote eruditeness.

6. Darnton 2005, 25–26.

7. Christensson 1996, 20–22; Manninen 2000, 10–11; for a concise and critical overview of the Enlightenment, see, for example, Outram 2005.

8. Enlightenment literature can be searched in the HENRIK database with, for example, the following keywords: philosophy, history, fiction, natural law, mathematics, ontology, France and religion.

Regarding literature published during the 1700s, the various forms of the Enlightenment are represented, for example, by the more radical French thinkers such as Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu (1689–1755), Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet) (1694–1778), Antoine Nicolas de Caritat de Condorcet (1743–1794), Georges-Louis Leclerc Buffon (1707–1778), the Encyclopedists Denis Diderot (1713–1784) and Jean le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783), as well as the Switzerland-born Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778). Enlightenment theology, such as the works by Christian Thomasius (1655–1728) and Christian von Wolff (1679–1754), as well as naturally Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), who himself explored the essence of the Enlightenment in his writings, can be associated with the German Enlightenment. The themes raised by the Enlightenment philosophers were not in themselves unique; a number of 1600s thinkers had also advanced similar ideas. For this reason, any study of Enlightenment literature should not completely exclude such earlier thinkers as Francis Bacon (1561–1626), John Locke (1632–1704), Isaac Newton (1642–1727) or Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), whose thoughts experienced a new flowering when they were rediscovered and disseminated by the Enlightenment philosophers. In this connection, there is a particular focus on the Central European philosophical literature that conveyed to the Finnish readership the ideals that had provoked discussion in continental Europe.

Bookshop connections and the sieve of censorship

In the early 1700s, the Finnish book trade was highly dependent on the extensive book markets along the western side of the Gulf of Bothnia. Turku traditionally had strong commercial ties to Stockholm, where ships from Ostrobothnia had sailed to West Bothnian cities across the Gulf for trading purposes, or when ships from Helsinki visited the Baltic Sea's foreign ports. Stockholm was nevertheless the indisputable center of book production upon whose book trade activities the satisfaction of the needs of the Finnish readership depended. During the latter half of the 1700s, the Finnish public's book trade contacts gradually improved when Swedish booksellers began sending their representatives to Finnish cities.⁹

The development of printing technology that spurred the rise of the press and diversification of literary genres has more often been considered as a tool of creativity and freedom than an obstacle. The most significant factor underlying this view is censorship. In its fight against censorship, literature and the press became rebellious – freedom was sought by breaking boundaries. Printed products subject to censorship were manufactured clandestinely or in foreign countries, and they were smuggled and distrib-

9. Sandström 1990, 206–207, 249–256; Laine 2000, 276–278; Laine 2006, 139–141, 183–185.

uted illegally.¹⁰ From the perspective of the censorship mechanisms, the proliferation of literature generated by emerging printing technologies gave rise to illegalities and criminality. On the battlefield of Enlightenment ideals, what was considered criminal by censorship authorities was on the other hand viewed as a conflict on behalf of creativity and freedom of speech. Public opinion, forming the center point of new kind of publicity associated with the mental change field of the 1700s, had not yet in the modern sense made its breakthrough in the Swedish Realm, where the government imposed clear limitations on publishing. With its regulatory actions, the government administration communicated that the written and printed word could be a more dangerous shaper of opinion than the spoken word. In practice, this meant that printed products were controlled when necessary by prior and post censorship.

In the 1700s, the Swedish Realm's censorship authorities were more concerned with imported literature than domestic book production. For the Kingdom's booksellers, this created economic concern; from the booksellers' perspective, foreign books were an important source of income, and their livelihoods depended on flexible book importation policies. This led to a collision course between the interests of booksellers and censorship authorities, who ensured, particularly during the Age of Liberty, that the importation of books was subject to strict control.¹¹ Despite the prohibitions and sanctions, however, Enlightenment works considered subversive by the censorship authorities were available in Finnish cities. One of the reasons why the importation of books continued to function was that booksellers and the readership began to exploit progressive procurement methods, such as the ordering of books directly from continental Europe, that facilitated the books' availability and importation.

Despite the forgoing, Enlightenment literature was not always labeled as subversive literature by the censorship authorities. From time to time, Enlightenment literature passed through the sieve of censorship because the regulations specifically developed for the censorship of theological texts could not be considered applicable to all Enlightenment literature. The tools of theological censorship could not be unambiguously applied to novel literature that was, typically for the literature of that time, permeated with religious and social criticism.¹²

Although the Swedish Realm's book censors, (*ensor librorum*), worked with ecclesiastical authorities to compile lists of literary works considered subversive, a blacklist comparable to the Index created by the Catholic Church was never realized in the Swedish Realm. The *ensor librorum*s functioning in that capacity often notated their comments concerning dangerous literature directly into auction catalogues as well as the memos they prepared. In January 1766, Niklas von Oelreich, a censor during the

10. Peltonen 1994, 56.

11. Burius 1984 36–41, 67.

12. For an example of this kind of situation, see Nyman 1963, 221; for religious censorship and the supervision of books in dioceses, see for example Laine 2000.

years 1746–1766, wrote an opinion demanding that Helvétius's *De l'esprit* and Voltaire's *Dictionnaire Philosophique portatif* be officially banned. Above all, Oelreich was concerned that these books, despite repeated inspections conducted personally, were still being sold in many bookshops.¹³

The *Kanslikollegium* shared the censor Oelreich's concern regarding the subversiveness of the Enlightenment philosophers' works; more alarming were the French texts considered dangerously materialistic and naturalistic. Even Voltaire's historical account of King Charles XII attracted the wrath of the censors and was banned in the Swedish Realm in 1739. A few decades later in 1768, the Chamber Collegium¹⁴ banned certain foreign works, including several by Voltaire. Rousseau's works were also targeted by the censors and the restrictions of the Chamber Collegium in 1765, when, at Oelreich's initiative, several other texts by "free thinkers" were banned. Attracting the particular wrath of the authorities was Rousseau's *Contrat social*, considered to contain highly subversive materials. On these grounds, the Chamber Collegium ordered the confiscation of the entire work. Other French works subject to censorship during the 1700s included, for example, *Mes Pensées*, a work by *Frederick the Great's favorite* Julien Offray de La Mettrie (1709–1751), as well as *Bélisaire*, a famous novel by Jean-François Marmontel (1723–1799).¹⁵

One fascinating aspect regarding the censorship activities focusing on the works of the Enlightenment philosophers is that the works did not, particularly during the Age of Liberty, attract the attention of the censors as individual works; instead they were banned primarily in connection with censorship measures that affected several authors' works. It however appears that state administration's censorship attempts failed to stem the flow of banned books to the Finnish readership; the books' acquisition channels, as revealed by newspapers' book sales advertisements and the cities' auction catalogues, demonstrate that even works targeted by the censors continued to be available in Finnish cities throughout the 1700s.

Newspapers' book sales advertisements

The press, one of the main new publishing forums, developed during the 1700s as a channel through which printing presses and booksellers could publicize the books they had for sale, or new printings, and attract customers to their shops. The book sales advertisements published in the early Swedish and Finnish press provide an opportunity to ascertain the literary

13. RA KKA EIV: 18a 1766; Burius 1984, 42–43.

14. A government office, functioning in Sweden during 1626–1801, that processed documents and correspondence sent to and from the government. It also itself handled matters, particularly regarding internal administration and foreign policy. Censorship was one of the activities falling under the jurisdiction of the Chamber Collegium.

15. Burius 1984, 158–159, 341–345.

Til salu finnes:

På Bokstaban Utländske Böcker i Philosophien m. m. Beröwrti Waltfisch arten, Emile ou de l'Education par J. J. Rousseau, Trembley Instruction d'un pere a ses enfans, Donsnet sur l'Âme, Helvetius de l'Esprit, Batteur Poësies d'Horace, Entretiens de Phocion, Le nouveau Testament par Beausobre, la Sainte Bible par Osterwald. Les Erreurs de Voltaire Globe terrestre par Mactot, Maître Italien par Veneroni, Offerhaus Compend. Historiâ univ. Bruckeri Instit. Histor Philosoph. Linnæi Supplementum plant. G. Musdum Tesinianum. G. Terminali Botanici G. Genera plantarum G. Flora Suecica.
 I Gården N:o 44 wid Stora Stotsgatan; finnes Allu til köps för 13 dal. i Krigs Casa Sedlar.

Advertisement in the 28 February 1791 issue of *Åbo Tidningar* stating that foreign philosophical literature, such as Rousseau's *Émile* and Helvétius's *De l'Esprit*, would be sold in Turku.

genres available in Finland at that time, even if the advertisements do not put the researcher directly on the trail of the buyers.

Finnish auction catalogues and estate inventory deeds reveal that Swedish newspapers, such as the *Stockholms Post-Tidningar* and *Stockholms Posten* printed in Stockholm, were also diligently read in the eastern part of the Kingdom. Finnish buyers inspired by the advertisements might just as well place orders with Stockholm's booksellers. For this reason, it is appropriate to compare the book sales advertisements appearing in *Åbo Tidningar*, the first newspaper published in Finland, to book sales announcements published in newspapers appearing on the western side of the Gulf of Bothnia.¹⁶ In the *Åbo Tidningar*, Enlightenment literature was not advertised as frequently as in, for example, the more Enlightenment-spirited, Stockholm-domiciled *Stockholms Posten*. The advertising volumes of the *Åbo Tidningar* are thus more valid for comparative purposes than the quantity of announcements appearing in the news-oriented *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*. Enlightenment literature was advertised in book sales advertisements appearing in the *Post-Tidningar* and *Åbo Tidningar*, particularly at the end of the century during 1795–1800. In the *Stockholms Posten*, advertisements for Enlightenment literature appeared more consistently in different annual volumes from the 1770s to the end of the century. The dates of the advertisements demonstrate, for example, that the *Stockholms Posten* concentrated, compared to the two other newspapers in this comparison, on the advertising of timely and new books.¹⁷

The Enlightenment philosophers most often mentioned in advertisements printed in the Turku-domiciled *Åbo Tidningar* were for the most part the European Enlightenment's best known authors Voltaire, Rousseau and Kant, as well as Christian Wolff, the father of Wolffism; advertisements of

16. The Turku-domiciled newspaper appeared during the period 1771 and 1809 under several different names such as *Tidningar utgifna af et sällskap i Åbo*, *Åbo Nya Tidningar* and *Åbo Tidningar*. For the sake of clarity the established name *Åbo Tidningar* is used for consistency when naming issues.

17. Ahokas 2004, 26–37.

works by other Enlightenment philosophers were fairly sporadic. A comparison between the Turku and Stockholm newspapers demonstrates that of the works of the French Enlightenment philosophers, Voltaire's were the most frequently advertised. Voltaire's literary output came the closest to defining the concept of Enlightenment literature. Expressing the ideals of the Enlightenment in a form that demanded societal renewals was not the central concern of all of Voltaire's works, but the definition and detachment of an individual work with respect to his entire output is unwarranted in this case. Voltaire was already, even only as a name, associated in that period's press with an emerging ideological trend, and thus an interesting sales article for buyers. This is demonstrated, for example, in the 19 April 1779 issue of the *Stockholms Posten*. An article first reports on the reception accorded Voltaire's play in Paris and the opening night's events, after which it states that an illustrated edition of the work in question can be obtained from Holmberg's bookshop.¹⁸ It would appear that the *Stockholms Posten* typically exploited articles published in the newspaper to further book sales. A natural explanation, also revealing a profit motive, was that the bookseller Johan C. Holmberg (1743–1810) was one of the newspaper's journalists.

Occasionally even Finnish agents and booksellers advertised their activities and offerings in Stockholm's newspapers. An example of this is a joint advertisement, posted by eleven sellers in the *Stockholms Post-Tidningar* on 5 September 1779, for a Swedish translation of Voltaire's work concerning Newton's and Leibniz's metaphysics and nature, hot off the press, and available from, besides the Swedish merchants, the bookbinder Hedman in Vaasa and the merchant Liljemark in Helsinki. Voltaire is glowingly praised in the advertisement with a quote that it was a question of an outstanding work that reveals "all of the most important natural secrets concerning God, time, space, matter, its elements, the months – human freedom, the soul, its connection to the body."¹⁹

In the *Åbo Tidningar's* book sales advertisements, a bookstore or shop was not often mentioned as the books' sales locations; instead it was usually only the brief "printing press". In the early years of the newspaper's publication, this referred to Frenckell's printing press, the only printing press in Turku. Subsequently the books' sales location was identified as *Boklâdan*, which generally referred to Frenckell's printing press. Besides being the newspaper's main advertiser, Frenckell was its printer. From time to time, book agents operating in Finland also advertised Enlightenment literature in the *Åbo Tidningar*. In an issue dated 8 October 1798, it was announced that an edition of Voltaire's works in a particularly elegant binding could be purchased for 70 riksdaler from the merchant Seipell. This for its part hints at the commercial ties in the Turku and Stockholm book trade because Seipell's advertisement reveals that the books sold by the merchant had been imported from Holmberg's bookstore in Stockholm. For Seipell, the book trade was a side business because Seipell's title in the advertise-

18. SP 19.4.1779; Ahokas 2004, 34–35.

19. SPT 5 Sep 1779.

ment is wine seller. On the other hand, it is known that Seipell's bookselling activities became more established, at least to a certain degree. In an advertisement the following year, the selling location for the books advertised by Seipell was announced as the "book box in Seipell's house".²⁰

Regarding the total quantity of book sale advertisements published in the *Åbo Tidningar*, fairly few of the Enlightenment philosophers' works were advertised in Turku newspapers. The advertisements printed in the newspaper were primarily weighted towards religious literature as well as works by the classical authors of Antiquity. The appearance of a Swedish-language translation, or the taking of a new printing might, however, promote the advertising of the philosophers' works, as took place regarding the Swedish translation of Voltaire's *Candide*.

Because many representatives of the German Enlightenment had their roots in Protestant vicarages, the Swedish Realm's consensus-oriented Lutheran church were more receptive to the ideals of the German Enlightenment during the 1700s. Thus it is not surprising that the German Enlightenment, and above all Christian Wolff, the figurehead of Wolffism, was strongly represented in Turku's newspapers as well as in the *Stockholms Posten's* book sales advertisements. Severe criticism was initially leveled at Wolff's thinking, for example at the University of Uppsala, but gradually his works gained widespread acceptance throughout the Kingdom, and several abridged editions were specifically published for young students. One of these, an abridgement of Wolff's *Geometria* on sale at Utter's bookshop, was advertised in the *Stockholms Posten* in 1794.

The advertisement assured that Wolff's work was a matchless and comprehensive textbook and that the copies sold by Utter were even adorned with engraved tables.

For their own part, the book sales advertisements appearing in the three newspapers studied here reveal the ways in which, as a by-product of Enlightenment literature and a kind of counterforce, an extensive body of works emerged that treated the philosophies of certain Enlightenment thinkers, or focused on a specific work or portion of their outputs. Besides various commentaries and biographies, this spectrum also included texts devoted to the refutation of the Enlightenment philosophers' views. These works are often difficult to identify, nor do the titles always reveal if the intent of the text was to defend the philosopher in question or discredit his thinking. From time to time, various works containing, for example, a commentary provided by a well-known Enlightenment philosopher, were also marketed under their names.

Based on the book sales advertisements, buyers in Finland desiring Enlightenment literature could acquire it at, beside Frenckell's printing press,

20. *ÅT* 8 Oct 1798; The "book box in Seipell's house" ("*Boklådan i Seipells hus*") is mentioned as a sales location in, for example, an advertisement for several of Voltaire's works that appeared in the *ÅT* 14 Oct 1799. In this context, the "book box" refers to bookselling activities in which a person engaged in the part-time selling of literature in addition to his own business operations "from the box in the back room".

various small-scale bookshops. Enlightened Finnish readers also often acquired literature through the agents of Sweden-domiciled booksellers operating in Finland. Compared to the *Stockholms Posten's* voluble way of handling and advertising the Enlightenment philosophers, the paucity of advertisements for Enlightenment literature in the *Åbo Tidningar* and *Stockholms Post-Tidningar* in no way indicates a lack of demand in Finland for the texts of the Central European Enlightenment thinkers, but is more a reflection of the newspapers' differing profiles.

The Enlightenment in the auction houses

Newspapers' sales advertisements contain clues as to the kinds of literature that were available to the Finnish readership during the 1700s, but they do not allow the researcher to track the buyers. On the other hand, there is a fascinating body of source material available to specialists in Finnish book history wishing to track the buyers: auction catalogues. At their best, auction catalogues form a trail that enables the researcher to trace the transfer of works from one owner to another, as well as the movement of books between different social classes. Markings made in connection with book purchases also reveal from whom a book was received, or when it was passed on to the next owner.

Like estate inventory deeds, auction records are also plagued by a volatility in markings. By studying auction catalogues only, an impression of, for example, the availability and prevalence of Enlightenment literature would be distorted, because auction catalogues, more frequently than estate inventory deeds, dealt with more extensive book collections. Filling out the picture with, for example, estate inventory deed materials and newspapers bring us closer to the truth.²¹

Based on the data concerning book auctions in Finnish cities assembled by Henrik Grönroos, the works of the Enlightenment philosophers were sold at Finnish book auctions primarily in connection with book collections containing wide-ranging and multifaceted literature. Auction catalogues demonstrate for their own part that as new literary genres proliferated towards the end of the 1700s, an increasing quantity of non-religious literature was being sold at auctions. During that period of development, Enlightenment literature did not become the most popular new sales article, but it clearly had its own place in book auctions among the novels, travel accounts and philosophical works that were gradually coming into fashion.

Of the Enlightenment period's greatest thinkers, the auction catalogues in Finnish cities mention numerous works by the Englishmen Locke and Newton, the German Wolff, the representatives of the French Enlightenment Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau, as well as the Italian Cesare Bonesana di Beccaria. On the other hand, for example, the works of the French Encyclopedists Diderot and d'Alembert, or the more radical French

21. Laine 1996, 226–230.

thinkers, such as d'Holbach who had violently railed against the church, or Condorcet who advocated the unrestricted progress of mankind, were not sold at Finnish book auctions.²²

Somewhat surprisingly, the selections of Enlightenment literature at Finnish book auctions were no less scanty than what was being offered in the Kingdom's capital city. This is demonstrated by comparisons with Anita Ankarcrona's study of book auctions held in Stockholm during the period 1782–1801.²³ Dalin's Swedish translations of Montesquieu's *Tankar öfver orsakerna til de Romares fall*, a work describing the reasons for the fall of the Roman Empire that also made the rounds of Ostrobothnian reading circles, was offered for sale in Helsinki as well as Stockholm. By the same token, Voltaire's works were commonly auctioned items in Finnish cities as well as the capital city. Except for the history of Charles XII, it appears that for the most part, the works of Voltaire sold in Stockholm differed from those sold in Finland. For example, Voltaire's *Traité sur la Tolerance* and *L'homme morale opposé a l'homme physique*, were sold in Stockholm auctions but not at auctions held in Finnish cities.²⁴ On the other hand, during the years 1782–1801, not a single copy of Voltaire's *Candide* was auctioned in Stockholm, compared to copies that were auctioned in Helsinki in 1773, 1786, 1790, 1806, and in Oulu in 1794.²⁵

During the period 1733–1810, Helsinki was the Finnish city where most works by Enlightenment philosophers were sold. The sales figures for Enlightenment literature were substantially augmented by the books sold by Viapori's officers; these have been included with Helsinki's auctions because the books sold by Viapori's residents were also sold in Helsinki's auction houses. After Helsinki, the most books by Enlightenment philosophers were auctioned in Turku. The dominating position of these two cities' book auction quantities is partially explained by the fact that their bookselling activities were naturally more regular than in other cities. On the other hand, Turku, the largest Finnish city during the 1700s in terms of its population, as well as Helsinki, whose significance grew with the construction of Viapori, formed cultural centers where conditions conducive to the development of a literary culture were more favorable than in the less populated towns.

The quantity of Enlightenment literature sold in cities – such as Oulu, Pori, Pietarsaari and Porvoo – with smaller populations than Turku and Helsinki smaller cities was less compared to Helsinki, but not terribly far from the amount of Enlightenment literature sold in Turku. In Oulu, Pietarsaari, Pori and Porvoo, works of Enlightenment literature went on sale as individual events, and there as well, it was usually, for example, Newton's or Wolff's works, not the more controversial and radical French texts. Besides Voltaire,

22. It can be stated that although Diderot's and d'Alembert's names did not shine in auction catalogues, the literature the French Encyclopedists was for sale.

23. Ankarcrona 1986, 194–223.

24. The works in question were not sold in Finnish book auctions as individual bindings, but it is possible that they have been included with Voltaire's works for sales purposes, or with other common bindings.

25. SLSA 1000 mappar 32, 33, 34 and HENRIK database: *Candide*.

Wolff was clearly the Enlightenment author whose works were most frequently auctioned. Although a different title has been given to almost all of Wolff's works mentioned in the catalogues, this does not necessarily imply, for example, that all of the almost twenty books auctioned in Helsinki would have been different works; instead, the difference in the titles demonstrates the non-standardization of marking practices.²⁶

After Wolff and Voltaire, the works of Locke and Montesquieu were the Enlightenment philosophers whose works were most frequently auctioned. Of the Empiricist John Locke's works, the most popular was *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* that was sold specifically as a Swedish-language translation. Montesquieu's best-selling work in the urban auctions was his main work *De l'esprit des lois*, whose original French-language printing was also sold in Finland. Also figuring prominently among the Enlightenment philosophers whose works were sold in Finland was the Italian Cesare Bonesana di Beccaria, whose book arguing on behalf of mitigated criminal legislation, *Dei delitti e delle pene*, (*Of Crimes and Punishments*) appeared as a Swedish translation in 1770. It would appear that, as a result of this specific translation, this book also reached the Finnish readership.²⁷

Besides successful auctions, book auction records also reveal cases in which Enlightenment literature offered for sale remained unsold after auctions. This occurred at an auction held in Helsinki in 1766, whose catalogue's markings next to certain books indicate that they were returned to their owners after the event. Among the unsold books was a German-language translation of Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse*.²⁸

The works of Enlightenment philosophy in estate inventory deeds

With the growth of literacy, Finland's book wealth grew during the 1700s; at the same time the appearance of books in estate inventory deeds proliferated visibly. With increasing frequency, works dealing with all-round education and escapist literature began to appear alongside Bibles, hymnals, devotional books, as well as dictionaries and various types of professional literature, such as books treating commerce or navigation²⁹. A natural result of the diversification of literary genres and the growing supply of books was an increase in book ownership. The growth in book wealth can also be seen in connection with the Enlightenment literature mentioned in the cities' estate inventory deeds. Enlightenment literature containing ideas that shook up traditional beliefs began to proliferate towards the end of the 1700s, when the period's more favorable ambience regarding reading habits created, compared to previously, a more receptive public for the philoso-

26. SLSA 1000 mappar 32, 33, 34; see also HENRIK database: Wolff.

27. SLSA 1000 mappar 32, 33, 34. *Oförgräpelige tankar om werldslig regeringis rätta ursprung, gräntsor och ändamål*

28. SLSA 1000 mapp 34 II 13b.

29. Hornborg 1950, 560.

phers' texts. With respect to the works of the Enlightenment philosophers, the individual quantities of the works mentioned in estate inventory deeds and auction catalogues, are not always, owing to incomplete source materials, particularly significant. What is often more worthy of attention is the general prevalence of Enlightenment literature in Finnish estate inventory deeds and auction catalogues. Regarding the time of occurrence of Enlightenment literature, the retroactive nature of the estate inventory deeds must be kept in mind; an individual's book wealth listed in sources often became apparent only after the death of the books' owner.

During the Age of Liberty and especially the Gustavian Era, the gentry in Finnish cities adopted the admiration for all things French that prevailed in the Court. Consequently in Finnish cities as well, the social customs of the French nobility, as well as the more refined forms of their aristocratic culture, were followed. The cities' upwardly mobile bourgeoisie gradually assimilated the habits favored by the nobility, which in turn furthered, for example, the proliferation of the reading culture among the cities' middle classes. Already from the Period as a Great Power onwards, the cities granted trading rights by the Swedish Realm enjoyed an advantage with respect to cultural pursuits. As Finland's administrative center and a university city, Turku was the country's natural cultural nexus. The social strata governing the culture of the nobility consisted of high-ranking civil servants, scholars, military officers, aristocrats from the Turku region's manor estates, as well as the city's ruling bourgeoisie.³⁰

The cities' estate inventory deeds reveal that during the period 1732–1809, the Enlightenment writer whose works were most widely owned in Finland was unquestionably Christian von Wolff, although in his case as well we are speaking of only a few dozen mentions. Wolff was a mathematician and theologian who above all exploited Leibniz's thoughts in his works. Wolffism, which gained its name from Wolff, represented a type of enlightenment that relied on religion. Wolff's deism-oriented concept of religion and attestations concerning the existence of God attracted considerable attention in Finland beginning from the 1720s, and many scholars at the Turku Academy avowed themselves as supporters of Wolff's ideas. Wolff's mathematical works gradually attained textbook status in the Swedish Realm and his books found their way into many school libraries, the libraries of Turku's professors, and the book collections of the cities' clerical estate.

Turku professors owning Wolff's works included Johannes Haartman (1717–1788), Jacob Haartman (1682–1737), Carl Abraham Clewberg (1712–1765) and Carl Fredrik Mennander (1712–1786). It can be considered slightly paradoxical that despite the university students' interest, Wolff's massive works were not acquired for the Turku Academy's library; instead it was announced that meager library funds only allowed the acquisition of a few small books aimed at refuting Wolff's philosophy. Helsinki estate inventory deeds demonstrate, for example, that the book collections of the vicar Johan Forsskähl, as well as the aldermen Carl Jacob Dobbin and Petter

30. Ahokas 2004, 56–59; Ahonen 1990, 161; Halila 1953, 600.

Schwartz, included volumes dealing with Wolff's mathematics and rational philosophy.³¹

Besides Wolff, an examination of book quantities, circulations and estate inventory deeds, reveal that Voltaire, the brilliant exponent of the French Enlightenment also achieved popularity among Finnish readers with such works as *Anti Machiavel*, *Micromégas* and *Konung Carl XII:s historia*. Voltaire's work on Charles XII was widely circulated in the Swedish Realm, particularly after Carl Leonard Stålhammar (1736–1797) translated the work into Swedish in 1785. Rousseau, another well known representative of the French Enlightenment, was also well represented, with such titles as *Émile* and *Du Contract Social*, in the book collections of city dwellers during the 1700s.³²

To circumvent censorship, the Enlightenment philosophers – Voltaire and Rousseau are two examples – disguised their criticism and attitudes in various types of fictional narratives when necessary. Embedding criticism within the guise of a descriptive narrative did not necessarily dull the sharpness of the expression; instead it often made the criticism even more pointed and sarcastic. The main character in Voltaire's *Candide* is astonished when, after arriving in a new land, he observes that there are no clerics supervising orthodoxy: "You don't have monks who argue, who rule, who conspire, and who burn people who don't agree with them?"³³

From the Finnish perspective, there are two completely unrelated curiosities in the output of Rousseau and Voltaire; the northern city of Tornio appears in the works of both authors. On the decision of the French Royal Academy of Sciences in 1735, Pierre Louis Moreau de Maupertuis's expedition traveled to the valley of the Tornio River at the Arctic Circle. The expedition enlivened the small city of Tornio's social life, and two French mathematicians became acquainted with the merchant Jacob Planström's daughters Elisabeth and Christine.³⁴ This social contact created an extraordinary aftermath to the surveying expedition that Voltaire immortalized for literary history. In his science fiction satire *Mikromegas* published in 1752, Voltaire describes the return trip of the Maupertuis expedition from Tornio to Paris. Voltaire has included the Planström sisters, interpreted in his narrative as Laplanders, who in actuality followed their heart-throbs to Paris a year after the Frenchmen's return trip.³⁵

31. Grönroos & Nyman 1996, 26, 267, 282; [Clewberg] 1767; [Haartman] 1737; [Haartman] 1789; Mennander 1787; Manninen 2000, 52–53.

32. Ahokas 2004, 96–99.

33. Voltaire 1759, suom. J. A. Hollo 1953.

34. Pekonen 2004; Terrall 2002, 110–113; a lively account of the events is also provided by Siukonen 2006, 101–110.

35. The fate of the girls provoked discussion in Parisien social circles and a fund-raising effort, in which Voltaire also participated, was organized on their behalf. In his letter to Maupertuis dated 20 December 1738, the philosopher also depicts the fate of Planström's daughters in a poem he had written.

...the Sirian placing the supposed animal in the hollow of his hand, the passengers and crew, who believed themselves thrown by a hurricane upon some rock, began to put themselves in motion. The sailors having hoisted out some casks of wine, jumped after them into the hand of Micromegas: the mathematicians having secured their quadrants, sectors, and Lapland mistresses, went over board at a different place, and made such a bustle in their descent, that the Sirian, at length, felt his fingers tickled by something that seemed to move.³⁶

Rousseau for his part referred to the northern city of Tornio when stating in his work *Émile* treating climatology that “the French can live in Guinea and Lapland; but a negro could not live in Tornio, nor the Samoyedic people in Benin”.³⁷

Besides the works of Wolff, the Italian Cesare Beccaria’s *Dei delitti e delle pene* was also widely circulated in Finland. The work’s Italian-language printing was advertised in Swedish newspapers, but the Finnish readership more frequently acquired *Afhandling om brott och straff*, J. H. Hochschild’s Swedish translation of Beccaria’s work. This work by the figurehead of the Italian Enlightenment drew attention to major inequalities in anachronistic European legislation. What was laudable about Beccaria was that he succeeded in expressing his thoughts to the European readership entertainingly, and numerous translations of his works were made throughout Europe.³⁸ Estate inventory deeds reveal that in Finnish cities, the owners of Beccaria’s book included the Loviisa district judge Christopher Clayhills, the Loviisa war commissioner A. W. Reenberg, the mayor of Loviisa Alexander Kepplerus, the mayor of Kokkola Henric Gabriel Peldan, the Turku court of appeals notary Niclas Sacklen and the Turku customs inspector Anders Borg. On the basis of the professions of those owning Beccaria’s books, the work was read in Finland, as was the custom in Europe, as trade literature.³⁹

Swedish-language translations also had a significant effect on the dissemination of the works of the English philosopher and influential Enlightenment figure John Locke in Finland during the 1700s. Of Locke’s works, the most frequently auctioned was *Tankar om wärdslig regerings rätta ursprung* (*Two Treatises of Government*). Among the owners of this work were the Helsinki alderman Henrik Forsman, Henric Hassel, who had worked in the Turku Court of Appeals, and the Kokkola merchant Jacob Rahm. Almost without exception, it would appear that the works of the European Enlightenment philosophers were always included in large-scale book collections. The smaller book collections including Enlightenment literature included the Porvoo master shipbuilder Daniel Sjöström’s 9-book collection as well as the Hämeenlinna master gardener Gabriel Kjellström’s 14-book collection.⁴⁰

36. The Works of M. de Voltaire. Translated from the French. With Notes, Historical and Critical. By T. Smollett, M. D. T. Francklin, M. A. and Others. London 1762.

37. Rousseau 1762.

38. Ahokas 2004, 96–99.

39. Grönroos & Nyman 1996, 107, 264, 294, 327, 345, 348.

40. Grönroos & Nyman 1996, 103, 307, 354.



Title page from Voltaire's Micromégas from 1752 (Londres). National Library of Finland.

Based on the state inventory deeds, the encyclopedic literature that proliferated during the Age of the Enlightenment also found its way to Finnish readers. On the other hand, one of the seminal works of the Enlightenment, the profusely illustrated and indexed 35-volume *L'Encyclopédie* would appear not to have found a place urban dweller's bookshelves as it did in the libraries of manor estates. The title *discours préliminaire de L'Encyclopédie* is however mentioned in the estate inventory deed of the Tornio Enlightenment figure Anders Hellant. Hellant's extensive book collection that included, for example, works by Newton, Wolff, Voltaire and Maupertuis, provides direct references to his career in the field of astronomy as well as his connections to the *Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences*. Hellant was by the same token a young man, enthusiastic about the natural sciences, who at the age of 19 assisted the Maupertuis expedition as a provincial clerk and interpreter in Tornio. Like a cachet to Hellant's youthful experiences, Voltaire's *Micromégas* is also mentioned in his estate inventory deed.⁴¹

41. Grönroos & Nyman 1996, 24–26.

Readers from different social groups

A closer examination of the owners and buyers of Enlightenment literature reveals a particular social group that bought and sold Enlightenment literature more than the representatives of other social classes: the officers of Viapori. Based on the cities' auction catalogues, the sales figures of Enlightenment literature are clearly the highest in Helsinki, where the books sold by Viapori's officers have been included in the Helsinki auction figures. The dominant position of Viapori's officers as buyers and owners of literature is fascinating, particularly in view of the fact that Turku, as a university city, was steadfastly considered the cradle of 1700s culture in Finland.

The output of Wolff, Locke and Newton could be found among the works bought and sold by Viapori's officers, but their particular favorite appears to have been French literature. Viapori's officer class included many members of the French-Swedish regiment *Royal Suédois* who had received their training in France and with whom French culture and manners had arrived in Helsinki. As an exception to the auction catalogues that shed light on the acquisition of Enlightenment literature, the number of officers listed as buyers of Enlightenment literature is fairly minimal; the Viapori officers who dominated the book auctions' buyer groups were not for the most part included in the estate inventory deeds of Finnish cities.

Appearing in the Finnish cities' book auction catalogues, and above all among the books bought and sold by Viapori's officers, are a Swedish translation *Tankar öfwer orsakerna til de Romares wälde och fall* of Montesquieu's *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*, Voltaire's *Candide* and *Henriade*, as well as Rousseau's *Émile*. On the other hand, Viapori's officers would appear to have also owned and purchased more sensitive clandestine literature, in which the controversial questions of that era might be treated before the works of the more renowned Enlightenment philosophers. This included works that had been declared illegal (for example in the texts' country of origin in France), but that despite this had found their way to book collections in the far north, including Finland. One of the authors treating the more sensitive themes was, for example, Diderot's protégé Pierre Charles Lévesque, whose work *L'homme moral (L'homme moral, ou L'homme considéré tant dans l'état de pure nature, que dans la société ...)* was sold at an auction of the colonel Liljeswärd's books in 1795. During the 1700s, a substantial body of various types of clandestine literature was created regarding the dangers of philosophy and rationality. Like Enlightenment literature, this form of literature also reached the Finnish readership; one example is Noël-Antoine Pluche's work *Histoire du ciel, (où l'on recherche l'origine de l'idolatrie et les méprises de la philosophie)*, warning of the errors of philosophy, that was sold at an auction of lieutenant Brant's books in 1773.⁴²

42. HENRIK database: Liljeswärd, Brant.



Count Fredrik Posse (1727–1794), a general who functioned as the commander-in-chief of the Finnish armed forces during the period 1780–1790, augmented his book collection with French literature at Jakob Sahlsvärd's auction in Helsinki in 1786. Privately owned (Sweden).

The more carefully prepared auction catalogues provide the opportunity to study the ways in which Enlightenment literature passed between the representatives of different social groups. For example, the French-language books sold by Viapori's officers were often acquired by other officers, but books sold by the officers were also acquired by representatives of the clerical estate and upper bourgeoisie. In that case it appears for the most part to have been a question of other than French-language Enlightenment literature.

In April of 1775, over 200 works that had belonged to Colonel Didrik Blomcreutz (d. 1774), including a Swedish translation of Montesquieu's *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*, were auctioned in Helsinki. Blomcreutz had been appointed chief of the Finnish artillery in 1760; in 1773 he became Ehrensvärd's successor as the director of the Viapori fortification works. In the early 1770s, Blomcreutz also functioned as the Vice Governor of the Uusimaa-Hämeenlinna province. The work of Montesquieu owned by Didrik Blomcreutz was purchased at an auction by a captain Brunow who also acquired several other works. At an auction of lieutenant Sahlsvärd's (1736–1785) books held in Helsinki (Viapori) on 14 June 1786, a total of 42 books were sold, including two of

Voltaire's works as well as Rousseau's *Émile*. Captain Jägerhorn purchased Voltaire's octavo-sized *Henriade*, Baron Lejonhufvud bought *Candide*, and the general and count Posse acquired Rousseau's work.⁴³

In auctions, the works of the Enlightenment philosophers generally trickled downwards from the upper to the lower social classes. A Finnish burgher might augment his library with books previously owned by a nobleman, or a handicraftsman might outbid others at an auction for books from a vicar's collection. Auctionable libraries generally belonged to the nobility who naturally had more extensive book collections. The ownership of books was less common at the lower strata of society, nor were books acquired at great effort easily sold. On the other hand, for example in Helsinki auctions, Enlightenment literature passed from the city's civil servants to Viapori's officers and likewise in Turku from civil servants to cornets, the junior officers of the cavalry.⁴⁴

Compared to the auctions in Finnish cities, books auctioned in the capital city Stockholm would appear to have remained more frequently within the same social classes than in Finnish auctions. In Stockholm's auction houses, for example, a bookseller purchased a book owned by another bookseller, and a civil servant functioning as an accountant outbid others for a book from the collection of an assessor at the Court of Appeal.⁴⁵ What the auctions of Finnish cities and Stockholm however have in common is that they often served as meeting places for the cities' most influential social groups. The nobility and clerical estate forming the emerging readership of the 1700s, as well as, to a growing extent, the representatives of the bourgeoisie, assembled at auction houses to outbid each other for additional reading for their collections.

The book catalogues contained in the cities' estate inventory deeds demonstrate that during the 1700s, the appearance of books was, quantitatively and qualitatively, to a great extent tied to certain social classes. The estate inventory deeds surviving from the Age of Liberty and the Gustavian Era primarily concern the cities' petite bourgeoisie, but with respect to the owners of Enlightenment literature, representatives of the upper bourgeoisie, merchants, civil servants and members of the clerical estate appear among the group of deceased book owners. The cities' upper bourgeoisie, as well as men who had received a higher education, from time to time owned substantially large and diversified libraries. At the lower social strata of society, book collections were often small-scale and for the most part contained religious works, still clearly the most widely disseminated literature during the entire 1700s.

Based on the estate inventory deeds, the owners of Enlightenment literature belonging to different social classes are distributed fairly evenly by city. Only in small cities such as Naantali and Kaskinen was Enlightenment

43. SLSA 1000 mapp 34 II 13b; Hornborg 1950, 261; Gardberg & Palsila 1998, 54–55; Mäkeläinen 1972, 56–58, 65.

44. SLSA 1000 mapp 33 II 13a, 34 II 13b.

45. Ankarcrona 1989, table 225–261.

literature owned solely by private persons. In other cities the owners of literature by the Enlightenment philosophers represent the upper bourgeoisie, clerical estate, and the civil service fairly evenly. Based on the estate inventory deeds, the petite bourgeoisie, whose economic position hardly allowed the acquisition of a large book collection, owned the least Enlightenment literature in Finnish cities. Exceptionally, the works of Voltaire also appear to have interested the petite bourgeoisie in Oulu. At two different auctions of the county treasurer Erik Tulindberg's estate, the tanner Nils Lund purchased *Candide* and a work by Voltaire marked in the auction catalogue as *Voltaire öfversättning af engelska (Voltaire's Translation from English)*.⁴⁶ The appearance of Erik Tulindberg's (1728–1793) name in this connection is not at all surprising; he was one of the members of the earliest book societies functioning in Ostrobothnia who appears to have more extensively become acquainted with the French Enlightenment through the works of Montesquieu that circulated among the reading societies.

At times, the quantity of Enlightenment literature mentioned in the estate inventory deeds of persons representing the upper bourgeoisie exceeds that shown in the book collections mentioned in the estate inventory deed materials of those representing the clerical estate. This configuration changes decidedly if we include, along with the estate inventory deeds, the printed catalogues of the Turku professors' book collections that contain a substantial amount of Enlightenment philosophy literature catalogued, for example, under the headings *Philosophi Theoretici* or *Libri Heterodoxi, Fanatici, Naturalist*.⁴⁷

Except for a few isolated cases, women are not mentioned as owners of works by Enlightenment philosophers in estate inventory deeds, or as buyers in auction records. Similarly, there are only a few mentions of women as sellers of Enlightenment literature. In an auction held in Pori in 1809, the widow Clarens sold one of Locke's works, and in 1757, Lady Countess Gyllenborg sold Montesquieu's *De la Grandeur des Romains et de leurs décadence* in Helsinki.⁴⁸ In these cases as well, it was most likely a question of a woman selling the estate of her husband. Thus they do not allow us to draw any substantial conclusions regarding these women's own reading habits.

Enlightened guesses

When the first rays of the Enlightenment glimmered on the shores of the North, those carrying the torch were for the most part the German Enlightenment philosophers, whose world of ideals more easily took root on Lutheran soil. The French philosophers also gained a readership in Finland, and their works were even the subject of discussion in doctoral dissertations completed at the Turku Academy. The major importers of French literature

46. SLSA1000 mapp 32.

47. Thus for example in C. F. Mennander's catalogue.

48. SLSA 1000 mappar 32, 34.

were Viapori's officers who for the most part owned French novels as well as more sensitive erotic literature.

The spectrum of Enlightenment literature acquired and owned in Finland during the 1700s mirrored the development taking place simultaneously in European literature and book markets, as a result of which the European readership began to acquire an increasing amount of escapist literature towards the end of the century. The texts of the better known European Enlightenment philosophers also gained a readership in Finland's northern cities. The Enlightenment philosophers' works owned in Finland were not always strict philosophical manifestoes, also included were novels that could be considered escapist literature. The nobility, clerical estate and officer class often read Enlightenment literature in its original languages: Latin, English, French, German and Italian. Swedish translations for their part also brought the bourgeoisie readership into contact with the texts of, for example, Locke, Rousseau, and Voltaire. In practice, this occurred in Ostrobothnian reading circles in 1760 when Estlander, Tulindberg, as well as ten other members of the societies took turns reading Swedish translations of Montesquieu. In Finland, the most visible manifestation of the French Enlightenment was the Wolffism originating in Halle. Wolff's mathematical works gradually gained textbook status, and his theological precepts would appear to have taken their place among comprehensive collections of religious literature in many clerical libraries.

The cities' estate inventory deeds, auction catalogues, the material gathered by Henrik Grönroos, as well as the HENRIK database generated from these sources, help us gain an understanding of Finnish book ownership during the 1700s. For example, when studying Enlightenment literature, these sources provide us with information about the books' titles, quantities, and owners. Presented with the materials treating the books' ownership and acquisition, and the identification of their titles and owners, numerous further questions remain unanswered. Even after studying the prevalence of Enlightenment literature in auction catalogues and estate inventory deeds, we still do not know with any degree of certainty, for example, if the owners of works treating Enlightenment philosophy read these books, or why they even acquired the works in question in the first place.

Book auction catalogues reveal nothing of the buyers' reading intentions. It can naturally be assumed that the buyers of book during the 1700s invested their money in works they specifically intended to read, but what was the possible relationship of the reader to the ideals of the Enlightenment? Enlightenment literature was interpreted as professional literature, and the profession of a book's buyer or owner can provide us with a more unambiguous motive for a book's acquisition. More often than not, the motives for acquisition will always remain an educated guess unless we have access to more illuminating source materials regarding a person's reading habits. Although certain book owners were collectors interested in a wide variety of themes and all manner of curiosities, the larger book collections usually included writings that supported and opposed the same theme. The works of a certain author were not necessarily collected only by his supporters. A bibliophile or scholar of the 1700s might acquire Enlightenment

and clandestine literature because he shared the same opinion as a writer, or because he disagreed and wished to acquire books to know his opponent. Another motive might just as well have been a more open-minded intellectual or academic curiosity.

A natural initial assumption associated with the ownership of books and their reading is that there is a causal relationship between reading and thinking. On the other hand, books in collections that remained unread also reveal something about their owners.⁴⁹ In that way the books – read as well as unread – cited in book history sources at the very least provide us with clues and morsels of information that shed light on their owners' intellectual worlds and activities.

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Individualistic Reading Culture

Fiction, Historical Works, and Travel Accounts as Literary Genres Enhancing the Development of the Inner Self

Knowledge, entertainment, and personal development

As elsewhere in Europe during the 1700s, Finnish city dwellers read to obtain knowledge, as well as for amusement, but also to develop themselves and strengthen their moral character. Reading became an individual's path to becoming an acceptable member of society.¹ A book culture that promoted an individualistic reading experience and valued privacy began to evolve alongside collective book and reading patterns based on rote learning or reading out loud. Besides the utilitarian view of literature, another phenomenon related to individualistic reading emerged – a new emphasis on the texts' personal interpretation and empathetic understanding.² In literature, new values associated with an individual's feelings, humanity and the love of nature took their place alongside rationality and utility.

In Finland as well, the new way of thinking, particularly its emphasis on natural theology, natural rights, and empirical observation, also functioned as a counterbalance to the rationalism that had emerged beginning in the 1740s. Discussions of natural law considered topics such as the power of the four Estates as a contrast to royal power, or the legitimacy of the nobility's special rights. Society was viewed as being based on a social contract among its citizens, not power derived from God. In natural theology, the existence of God was emphasized as its various manifestations in nature, not as a religion depicted in the Bible.³ Through literature, Finnish city dwellers in the latter half of the 1700s however gained a familiarity with a counterreaction to rationalism that emphasized the importance of feelings and partially the significance of the imagination, and tolerated varying

1. Compare with Benedict 2004, 3.

2. Compare with af Forselles-Riska 2006, 30.

3. Klinge 2002, 32–33.

concepts of taste.⁴ The intellectual freedom of literate city dwellers, as well as the opportunity to themselves influence the quality and level of their own spiritual cultivation, began to flourish. Individual interest in a certain subject or literary genre could inspire an individual to read more actively than previously. Private and quiet reading provided readers an opportunity to become engrossed, empathize, and ponder what they were reading in peace, in a world of their own.

Spurring this development, also in remote Finnish cities, was the quantitative growth and relatively rapid dissemination of secular literature, particularly new works from Europe. *Unprecedentedly*, foreign literature functioned as a bridge for new ideas conveyed from Europe to Finland. New genres, new themes, new values, new presentation techniques, new interpretations, new authors, and a new kind of readership also transformed educational, reading and book cultures in Europe's northern cities. New ways of selling literature, for example through newspaper advertisements, also generated a new freedom in book markets.⁵ Particularly among city dwellers, the literature of the 1700s literature changed ways of thinking. New phenomena, ideas and themes, the experience and development of the inner Self, emotionality, or the insignificance of people from the historical perspective, proliferated specifically through new forms of expression such as novels or historical works.

The following article examines the new thoughts and themes that were conveyed during the 1700s in Finland through secular literature, particularly fiction, historical writings and travel accounts, as well as their likely effects on the intellectual world of the Finnish city dweller. The objective is to illuminate the significance of these literary genres with respect to that period's emerging individualistic reading culture, world of ideas, and development of the Self. The linking of fiction with timely philosophical topics might affect a reader's behavior and values. The reading of the classics of Antiquity, as well as their related cultural ideals, was a daily part of schoolchildren's lives. Historical works invited the reader to interpret the past and discover its new dimensions. The world view expanded, and even an awareness of distant countries across the oceans grew as a result of popular travel literature.

Based on historical sources describing Helsinkians' book ownership, we can gain a certain understanding of the kinds of books, particularly those promoting a more individualistic reading experience, that Finnish city dwellers, particularly Helsinkians, read during the 1700s, as well as the ideological and cultural influences that might have been conveyed from abroad to Finnish city dwellers through literature.

The contemporaries of that era were well aware of the influence of literature on the individual; Henrik Gabriel Porthan, a versatile Finnish humanities researcher, as well as librarian and professor at the Turku Academy during the 1700s, expressed the matter as follows:

4. Compare with Warburg 1911–1912, 25.

5. Benedict 2004, 139.

But is the amusement [*nöje*] sought from literature noble? Is it worthy of human value? This question has been asked since the time of Plato that forbid the admittance of poets to his state. The proper use of literature and art will certainly give rise to noble entertainment and extensive usefulness. They exercise the imagination, cultivate the receptivity of the senses, develop taste, foster genius, and promote people's general comfort [*nöje*]. They also affect the moral conscience. These effects are themselves based on the nature of the matter.⁶

Fictional best-sellers

Fiction also became a new and important part of cultural life at the northern latitudes in the late 1700s.⁷ In Helsinki, as in other Finnish cities, new novels, lyric poetry, and theatrical literature were read, and the era's new values had a particularly strong impact through the dissemination of fiction. By emphasizing feelings and the importance of the natural world, works of fiction imparted the love of nature and an emotional attitude towards life. In the form of comedies, satires, or parodies, they often called into question or criticized public figures and various social phenomena.

In Helsinki, literature written in the Swedish Realm, as well as other countries, was read; this included fictional best-sellers as well as classics that continue to be popular to this day. The most popular Swedish authors included Jacob Frese, the fashionable poetess Sofia Elisabeth Brenner, and Jacob Mörk. The following works, published in Swedish and also read in Helsinki, were the best-sellers of their times: *Andlige Och Werdslige Dikter*, *Poetiska Samblingar* and *Passionstankar* by Jacob Frese, *Poetiska dikter* by Sofia Elisabeth Brenner, and *Thecla, eller Den bepröfwade trones dygd* by Jacob Mörk.

The Stockholm poetess Sofia Elisabeth Brenner represented a new professionally aware generation of poets that no longer wished to compose highly popular wedding and funeral poems published anonymously; poetic style also changed during the 1700s. The earlier, somewhat pompous recitation style was relinquished and Brenner, like many other poets, switched to simpler forms and attempted to write witty and astute texts.⁸

The Vyborg-born poet Jacob Frese wrote most of his output in Stockholm, but also attained a certain status in Finland. Particularly widely read in Helsinki, Frese was considered an excellent describer of nature in tune with his times. In his work *Andlige och werdslige dikter*, Frese depicts the joy of the approaching spring during April and May, as well as his own anxiety because he suffered, as did many others during the 1700s, from the malaria that was at its worst during the spring.

Frese was a key figure in the history of Finland's Swedish-language literature. Respected already during his lifetime, he is however remembered

6. Porthan 2005, 28.

7. Compare with Lilius 2003, 94.

8. Lilius 2003, 93.

by subsequent generations primarily as a writer of religious poems and pastoral lyricism. The works of Brenner and Frese were early works of fiction that were read widely in Finnish cities during the entire 1700s.⁹ However, it was mainly through novel literature from abroad that foreign influences, in a completely new and powerful way, entertained readers, occupied their minds, and altered their world of ideas.

By the late 1700s, novels had become the most popular fictional genre. One of that era's most popular novels, in Helsinki as elsewhere, was François Fénelon's *Les aventures de Télémaque* that had already appeared in the late 1600s.¹⁰ This book can be considered the prototype of a best-seller that published social criticism in the form of a novel. Assessing its significance as a political influence at the northern latitudes is however difficult. As a biting criticism of the autocratic monarchy, and at the same time one of the most widely read books in Helsinki, it could not, however, have gone unnoticed.

The appearance of new English novel literature in Helsinki is a fascinating phenomenon.¹¹ Literature written in England, as well as English-language literature in general – fictional as well as devotional literature – began to proliferate in Finland during the latter half of the 1700s.¹² Many of that era's most popular English works of fiction were available as Swedish-language translations; these included the poetic work *Sömnlösa nätter* (*Night Thoughts*), by the one of the most popular English writers Edward Young. English fiction was read particularly in Finland's southern cities – Helsinki, Turku, Porvoo, Loviisa – as well as in Ostrobothnian coastal towns such as Oulu and Pietarsaari.¹³

As a new genre, the English novel had already gained enormous worldwide popularity in the early 1700s, with narratives that emphasized an empathy with nature and emotionality. The interest in nature and the landscape expressed in the novels conveyed a new kind of liberated and individualistic attitude towards nature.

For a long time, James Thomson's *The Seasons* was one of Europe's most popular English-language poems. His depiction of the seasons, extensive use of personification, and sympathetic perception of the natural world made Thomson one of the most distinguished authors in that field.¹⁴ As a dedicated celebrant of nature and lyrical observer, Thomson's books launched a new and original literature that drew its inspiration from nature.

The formally pruned hedges of the Baroque park ideal gave way to the natural meandering forms of the English garden. Descriptions of natural phenomena, their related contemplations, as well as philosophical ruminations often associated with a human- or animal-friendliness emphasizing benevolence, was a standard theme of English-language novel literature.

9. Compare with Lilius 2003.

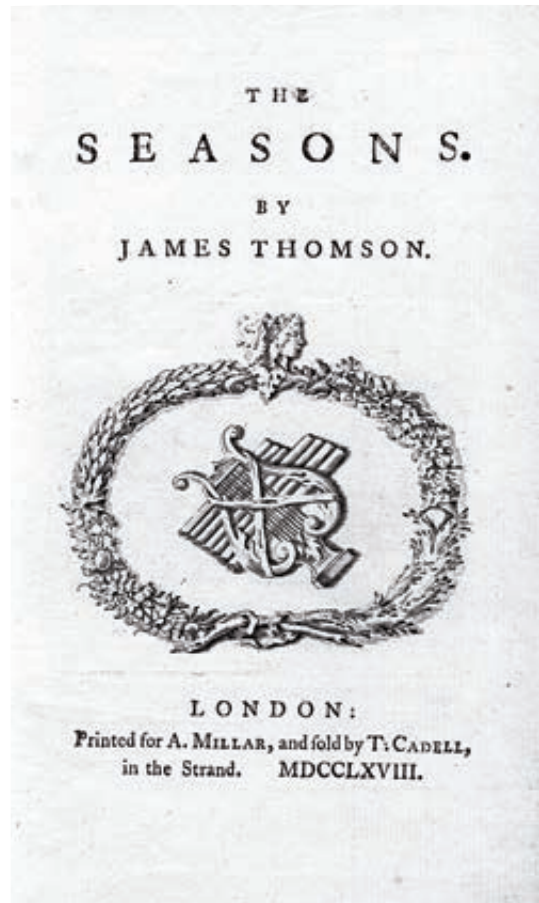
10. Laine 2006, 271.

11. For other than English novel literature, see Ilkka Mäkinen's article in this book.

12. Compare with Laine 2003, 152–.

13. Merisalo, Mäkinen & Laine 1999, 137–139.

14. Eurooppalainen Monrepos 2006, 169.



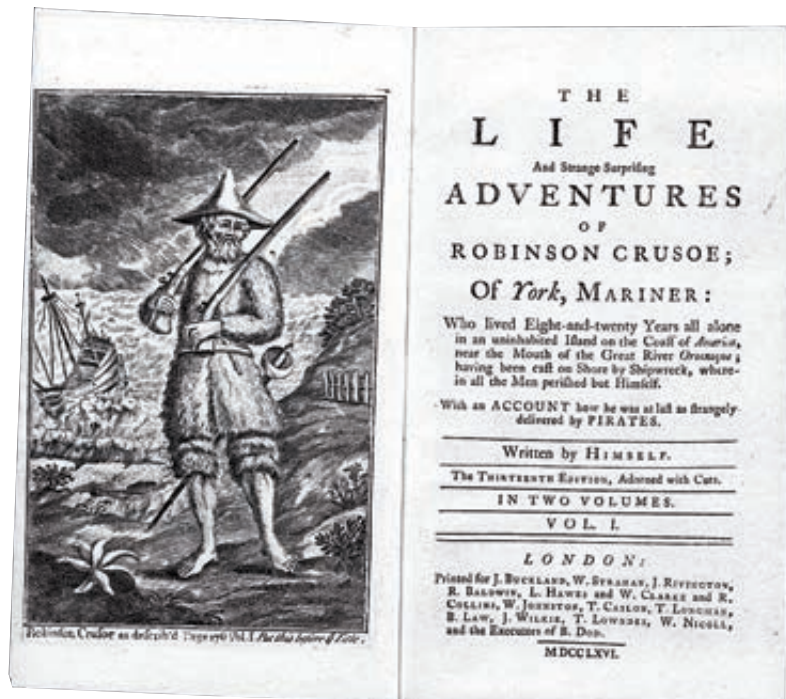
For decades, James Thomson's The Seasons (London, 1768) was one of Europe's most popular English-language poems. National Library of Finland.

Later they also became dominant themes in the novel literature of other countries during the entire 1700s.¹⁵

In Helsinki, proficiency in the English language was still uncommon; there was more skill with German and French, as borne out by the number of German- and French-language titles in Finnish sources. Nevertheless, Helsinkians such as the officers of Viapori and a few merchants, civil servants, attorneys, government clerks and bookkeepers as well as one doctor and a dean, acquired new and interesting translations of English fiction. The following Helsinkians, for example, acquired the works of Henry Fielding: colonel Didric Blomcreutz, county dean Zacharias Cajander, the merchant Johan Abraham Clason, lieutenant C. E. Drisell, the wholesaler Isaac Hahr, lieutenant colonel Jakob Sahlswärd, the townsman Per Sunn and customs officer Lars Johansson.¹⁶ The best-sellers read at that time included Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Henry Fielding's *The Life and Death of Jonathan*

15. Compare with Warburg 1911–1912, 25–27.

16. HENRIK database: Fielding; there are over 70 mentions of works of English fiction in the database.



Title page from Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (London, 1766). National Library of Finland.

but the year during which, according to estate inventory deed materials, that the book was transferred to the next owner.¹⁸

Henry Fielding was another popular English-language novelist and playwright of his times. Known as a humorous and satirical author, German or Swedish translations of his works were also read in Helsinki. A Swedish-language translation of one of his best known works *Tom Jones*, originally published in 1749, was auctioned in Helsinki 26 years after the publication of the original work. Samuel Richardson was also one of the most popular authors during the 1700s, and a few German- and Swedish-language translations of his books, such as *Pamela eller den belönte dygden*, changed hands in auctions.¹⁹

The new ideology of the novel *Pamela* is considered to have revolutionized novel literature. Pamela's virtue and chasteness ennobles her position and esteem. *Pamela* was one of the first books representing bourgeois ideology; spiritual cultivation and internal merits were considered more important than one's social status or title. Those telling the story of Pamela were forced to observe that the experience and recognition of one's own Self was valuable. In the experiencing of one's own Self it was not a question of "who I am", but "what I don't want to be". With respect to women it

18. HENRIK database: Defoe.

19. HENRIK database: Fielding, Richardson.

was primarily a question of, besides being virtuous, also looking virtuous to avoid social disapproval.²⁰ *Pamela* is still considered one of the most important works of the 1700s for its portrayal of a woman's deepest feelings and inner Self.²¹

The differences between people and individuality were however emphasized in the English novels of that era; people's natural instincts were often the subjects of literary interest.²² Thus Defoe, Fielding, and Richardson treated the ethical questions of daily life. These authors raised moral questions that sought, based on philosophical and religious ambitions, to control and "improve" human passions. The guiding or reigning of passion is what essentially drives the plot of Richardson's novel *Pamela*.²³

In Helsinki, the works of English philosophers such as John Locke and Francis Bacon were to a certain extent read alongside the philosophers of the French Enlightenment.²⁴ The central philosophical questions of the day often focused on the relationship between the human mind and reality; philosophy was closely intertwined with fiction. Fitting the mood of the times, the open display of emotions, such as weeping in public, compassion, pity and the expression of other feelings, was portrayed in fictional literature.²⁵ This type of English literature was found in Helsinki, although it is rarely mentioned. Besides the works of Thomson, Defoe, Fielding and Richardson, at least the following works were read: Edward Young's *Les nuits* (*Night Thoughts*), Richard Steele's *En bättrad villhjerna, och en trogen wänskap* (*The Lying Lover*), and Oliver Goldsmith's *Landprästens i Wakefield lefverne* (*The Vicar of Wakefield*). Of the books originally published in English, one was acquired in Helsinki in the original language; the rest were read as French- or Swedish-language translations.²⁶

Edward Young's work *Night Thoughts* appeared in 1767 and for many years was one of the world's most popular English-language poems. Young's nocturnal contemplations describe personal experiences, a wavering between religious doubt and certainty, as well as psychological phenomena. These subjects would later become popular with the poets of future generations. Subjectively and pessimistically, Young describes the vanity and vacuity that appear in life, creating a melancholic ambience and feelings in a shocking manner.²⁷ On the other hand, Oliver Goldsmith's enormously popular *The Vicar of Wakefield*, a dramatic depiction of family life, can also be interpreted as a satire of sentimental literature and the values it represented.

The English authors created a new kind of literature that engaged the emotions, demanding a moral and emotional commitment from the reader.

20. Roulston 1998, 1, 25–26, 187.

21. Wahrman 2004, 181.

22. Wahrman 2004, 290.

23. Sill 2001, 1–4.

24. For the works of the French and German Enlightenment philosophers, see the article by Minna Ahokas in this book.

25. Eurooppalainen Monrepos 2006, 117, 167.

26. HENRIK database: Young, Steele, Goldsmith.

27. Eurooppalainen Monrepos 2006, 168; also compare with Warburg, 28.

The emotionality conveyed by the novels might even lead to a new type of social behavior and function partially as a social force that united people in a society that emphasized morality and approved emotionalism.²⁸

The function of novel literature as a gateway to new worlds of thought, as well as its influence on concepts of morality was also recognized among Finnish scholars during the 1700s. Henrik Gabriel Porthan's view on the reading of novels was as follows:

Those who would never bother to bend an ear towards serious and thorough philosophical research devote their full attention when it has been cloaked in the guise of fiction. There are those who have absorbed more exhortations to lead a virtuous life from *Clarissa*, *Grandison* and *Julie* than can be found in the entire libraries that the moralists would be able to give them (7).²⁹ The upstanding character types of tragedy, as well as an elegy's depiction of moods, perform a teacher's tasks without a teacher's gestures.³⁰

The didactic function of early novels set in a bourgeois milieu was thus based on a reader's empathy with the story. Empathetic reading meant, as Porthan also stated, the transmission of moral norms through a novel's characters serving as examples to the readers who could apply these experiences in their own lives. Novels inspired the reader to make subjective observations of reality; the outlining of an individual reality was based on one's own experience and its self-assessment. Novels emphasized the necessity of reflecting on the matters and events in people's own lives.³¹

Plays, fables and tales of Antiquity

Besides, fiction, theatrical performances also gained popularity during the 1700s. Plays were also read, either out loud, in the company of others, or by oneself. Viewpoints on morality, satire, and social criticism were particularly manifest in theatrical literature, through which these types of commentaries influenced city dwellers. Inspiration and ideals were drawn from fables and the classics of Antiquity, for example in home teaching.

The theatrical literature of those times was fairly well represented in Helsinki, where the works of renowned foreign and Swedish playwrights were read. Besides the works of Holberg and Molière, a few Helsinkians acquired other European theatrical literature. Among others, a captain Brunow, sea captain Sundman and navigating officer Strömberg acquired Jean Racine's plays *Mithridates*, *Atalie* and *Iphignie* that dealt with mythology and the themes of Antiquity. In 1797, ensign Wirsén purchased Pierre de Marivaux's

28. Manning 2004, 80.

29. Reference 7: See J-J. Rousseau, *Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloïse*; Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa Harlowe (or, The History of a Young Lady)*, *Sir Charles Grandison*.

30. Porthan 2005, 29–30.

31. Compare with Saariluoma 1999, 32–33, 44–45.

Triomphe de l'amour from a lieutenant colonel von Kraemer. The navigating officer Strömberg, clearly interested in plays, also acquired Voltaire's *Gengis Chan* at an auction held in 1800. At another auction that same year, Strömberg also purchased Carl Israel Hallman's play *Skeppar Rolf*, Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle's opera *Thetis et Pelée* and Gustav Fredrik Gyllenborg's play *Birger Jarl*, that was performed in Stockholm with the king present for the first time on 8 July 1774.³² The interest of the sea captain Sundman and navigating officer Strömberg in plays also demonstrates that others than the nobility and upper bourgeoisie were interested in 1700s theatrical performances and literature. In Sweden as well, more plays were being written particularly for the bourgeoisie instead of the court and royal circles. Biting social criticism, human relationships, and emotionality were treated in comedic or tragic form, often cloaked in a historical guise.

In Helsinki, 1700s Swedish playwrights such as Hallman, Gyllenborg, Stagnell and Altén were read, while Carl Israel Hallman wrote so-called folk plays intentionally aimed at a new audience. Many of these were popular parodistic plays, such as *Skeppar Rolf* that was read in Helsinki. The play *Baron Sjelfklok och fröken Granlaga* by the playwright Johan Stagnell, considered a mystic and Neoromantic who was influenced by Goethe, A. W. von Schlegel, and Chateaubriand, was acquired by a lieutenant Tandefelt at an auction held in 1753. Stagnell's coarsely realistic comedies and farces also contained controversial accusations against people in prominent social positions. Mårten Altén, who translated foreign theatrical literature, also himself wrote a few plays. Altén's play *Den förföljda oskulden* was sold to a doctor O. B. Rosenström at an auction in 1801.³³

The European interest in Antiquity spurred by archeological excavations was also reflected in Helsinki. The aesthetics of Antiquity were viewed with a fresh eye; art and generally the question of the relationship between poetry and the visual arts became a subject of interest. The classics of Antiquity inspired a type of socio-moralistic thinking that emphasized simplicity and noble-mindedness as opposed to conspicuous consumption.³⁴ Antiquity, its related cultural ideals and thematic narratives, found their way into theatrical literature and fables.

Animal fairy tales and fables played a key role in the Age of Enlightenment; over 30 such books are mentioned in Helsinki estate inventory deeds and auction catalogues. The fables of Aesop and Phaedrus were among the most popular; Swedish-, German-, Latin- and French-language editions of fables were also in evidence. Besides conveying a philosophy of life dating from Antiquity to the people of the 1700s, the fables of Phaedrus included portrayals of Roman society's upstanding citizens, traitors and schemers during the reign of Tiberius.³⁵

32. HENRIK database: Strömberg.

33. HENRIK database: Hallman, Gyllenborg, Stagnell, Altén; Svensk uppslagsbok 1960 . Band 1,159, band 12, 782, band 27, 174.

34. Klinge 2002, 34.

35. Compare with Phaedrus Fabulae. *The Fables of Phaedrus*. (translated and edited by Tuulikki Elo) 2006.

The works of the authors of Antiquity were used extensively in school teaching to support an educational ideal relying on a knowledge of ancient cultures. According to the era's Neo-Humanism, the classics of Antiquity had important pedagogical value. The Neo-Humanists valued the antique texts' in-depth reading, as well as the personal experiences with the aesthetic values conveyed by the texts and the interpretations based upon them. Well-educated individuals were expected to use their knowledge to promote the common good. The art of Antiquity was appreciated for the external as well as the internal beauty it expressed.³⁶

Porthan, for example, cited the common association between his contemporaries' thinking and the idealized image of Antiquity:

Although literature and the visual arts were not born in Greece, they there, through the nurturing of genius, achieved a kind of elegance and perfection that had never been, nor will never be. For a long time in Greece, literature and art were also used for the correct purposes. Poets and artists had the use of countless themes for inspiration. The temperate climate gave a more pleasant view of nature, and the Greeks, even to the present day, preserved its refined and well-ordered physical culture [*bildning*] that served as an exemplar for Pheidias and Praksiteles. The Greeks' great veneration for all things beautiful, their carefree and light-hearted attitude, their emotional and mild-mannered nature, the noble way of thought that gave rise to Athenian hospitality and the Corinthians' loathing for the bloody theatrics of Rome, gave nourishment and encouragement to poets and artists. The Greek method of administration was also favorable. Freedom had its abode alongside the throne of its rulers, many of whom governed patriarchally.³⁷

Porthan's thoughts on the aesthetics and literature of Antiquity belong to the most significant writings in the history of Finnish aesthetics and represent the high regard accorded Antiquity by the scholars of the Turku Academy. In Helsinki as well, familiarity with the world of Antiquity was gained through the works of Cicero, Virgil, Seneca, Tacitus, Ovid, Plutarch, Homer and Livius. Curtius Rufus's work on Alexander the Great, used extensively in school teaching, as well as Cornelius Nepos's work treating Greek heroes, were also found on Helsinkians' bookshelves.

Renewed historical writing

The era's growing interest in history also manifested itself in Helsinki, where a surprisingly plentiful amount of historical literature was read.³⁸ There are several reasons for its popularity. Like fiction, historical works also fostered

36. Merisalo 2006, 64.

37. Porthan 2005, 31.

38. HENRIK database: history. There are more mentions of history books (approx. 850) than devotional books (approx. 522) in the database.



Title page from *Leben Carls XII, König von Schweden*, (Stockholm, 1733), a German-language translation of Voltaire's work on Charles XII. National Library of Finland.

individual thinking as well as the consideration and interpretation of social issues. Historical writing was renewed during the 1700s in many ways. Compared to earlier historical writers, the historians of the 1700s adopted a more dynamic presentation style. Historical literature functioned as an arena in which the historian as well as the reader made political, emotional and ethical choices. Together they created, not an imagined, but an interpretive society that paid attention to the telling of its own history.³⁹

In Anders af Botin's work *Utkast till svenska folkets historia*, the Swedish jurist, historian, and member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences attempted to clarify the reasons for national destiny. He treated the interdependency among the royalty, citizenry, administration of justice, economics, religion, science and other factors in different time periods. In Helsinki, Botin's works were popular among merchants, officers, civil servants, trivial school teachers, and clergymen interested in history, and the work also changed owners in Helsinki auctions several times beginning in 1769. Botin's works *Stora och namnkunniga svänska mäns lefverne* and *Beskrifning om svenska hemman och jordagods* are also mentioned in auction catalogues a few times, as is Eli-saeus Hyphoff's *Kort inledning till den gamla och nya svenska historien*.⁴⁰

39. Hallberg 2003, 126.

40. HENRIK database: Hyphoff.

For the historian, presenting moralistic interpretations of the past – a division of praise and complaints – was a characteristic feature of the 1700s. Particularly for royal historians, *histographus regnille*, general moral concepts and concepts of truth were however, owing to the government's special rights, of secondary importance.⁴¹

A huge quantity of historical works were published during the 1700s. Although it is often difficult to distinguish biographies, memoirs, historical surveys and fictive accounts from genuine historical works because all of the literary genres cited were considered historical works, the readers of the 1700s had a clear impression of what constituted authentic narrative history. Political history in particular played a key role in the education of the elite. The acquisition and reading of historical works was a way to gain familiarity with the world of politics. The growing popularity of historical literature was also apparently tied to a growing awareness of history, as well as the philosophical history represented by Voltaire and Montesquieu⁴². A few Helsinkians also owned these historical works by the Enlightenment philosophers. At an auction held in 1757, the mayor Pipping acquired Montesquieu's *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*. In 1775, a captain Brunow bought the work in Swedish at an auction.⁴³

Montesquieu's and Rousseau's interest in Antiquity was based on their view of an idealized antique society in which the highest power is achieved with ease. In the classic *polis*, both saw a natural and harmonious society without tasks or the distribution of work. Civil order reflected the ethics of individual behavior, and the obligations of public life were linked harmoniously with private life without conflict or the dissolution of the Self. This did not imply a lack of selfish needs, only that self-interest and the requirements of the common good had to be reconciled. In his work, Montesquieu states that the Romans, despite their brutality and greed, were able to govern themselves and weed out the kinds of impulses that were not crucial for their survival. *Considérations* postulates that the heroes of Antiquity had an uncomplicated demeanor and nature. The Romans were just as selfish as Montesquieu's contemporaries, but the Roman civilian and military system was able to absorb vices and make them serve the common good. Moral life was intertwined with economic and political life, what was good for the individual was good for the state or common welfare.⁴⁴

Characteristic of the new historical writings was that historical processes were no longer determined in relation to supra-historical, archetypical or abstract essences. The passage of history and matters were examined as unique historical events through reflection. An individual's identity was no longer defined by his group identity, but on the basis of his unique life.⁴⁵

41. Hallberg 2003, 141; O'Brien 2001, 5.

42. O'Brien 2001, 105.

43. HENRIK database: Montesquieu; see also the article by Minna Ahokas in this book.

44. Carrithers & Coleman 2002, 111–112.

45. Compare with Saariluoma 1999, 27.

Voltaire's work on King Charles XII was particularly popular among Helsinkians. In auctions, it was acquired by, among others, the merchant and alderman Johan Niclas Myhr, captain Thuring, ensign Brummer, baron Björnberg, lieutenant Trolle, the merchant Stenström and townsman Jobb. Voltaire's work on Russian history *Ryska rikets historia under Peter den store* and German-language work *Die Geschichte der Favorite*, was also read in Helsinki.⁴⁶ Voltaire, considered the first modern historical writer and innovator of historical interpretation, treated history as a cumulative and infinite process. Drawing attention to distant and ancient cultures, such as the early history of China, was also important. His output thus represents an early attempt to formulate a global view of history. At the same time, Voltaire emphasized the smallness of the individual as opposed to the pompous victors and rulers depicted in official histories. Besides shedding light on the losers of history, for example, in his portrayals of the Stuarts or King Charles XII, Voltaire also considered the uniqueness and special features of historical phenomena and events. In Voltaire's mind, generalizations or rational explanations could not be formulated based on isolated events, nor could moralistic guidelines be established based on historical phenomena. The random and relative value of historical truths fascinated Voltaire.⁴⁷

The era's fascination with history also manifested itself as an interest in one's own local history, dwelling area, or home district. Historians were no longer only interested in great men and their destinies; historical writings also began to focus attention on the people's past. In Finland, Henrik Gabriel Porthan raised historical research and teaching to a new level at the Turku Academy. Finnish scholars such as Porthan and Christfried Ganander turned their attention to national poetry, hoping to uncover clues about the Finnish past. Porthan's study of Finnish poetry, *De Poësi Fennica*, focusing on the earliest Finnish national poetry, religious beliefs and distant past, as well as Ganander's *Mythologica Fennica*, a work treating ancient Finnish deities and national traditions prepared in an encyclopedic style, appeared during 1760-1770 and the 1780s. These publications do not however appear in Helsinkian estate inventory deeds or auction catalogues. Based on these sources, the interest of Helsinkians in publications written by other scholars of the Turku Academy was minimal.⁴⁸ Doctoral dissertations were generally published in Latin. During the latter half of the 1700s, dissertations dealing with natural history, history, physics and mathematics were however allowed in the Swedish language. The change in languages particularly affected publications treating economic history and local history.⁴⁹

46. HENRIK database: Voltaire.

47. Leigh 2004, 54–56, 90–91.

48. Among the practical literature appearing in the HENRIK database are found a few Swedish-language publications, written by the Turku Academy's teachers Per Gadd, Anders Chydenius, Jacob Gadolin, Herman Dietrich Spöring, Per Kalm, and Carl Fredrik Mennander, that shed light on agriculture, business life and trade.

49. Gardberg 1957, 347.

The era's interest in local history was partially based on a new way of depicting cities, parishes, and provinces. Compared to the large-scale historical works, the presentation method was simpler and prosaic; societal conditions were depicted more realistically. Local histories described an area's inhabitants, civil servants, livelihoods, trade, beliefs, and events.⁵⁰

Among others, the publication of rural depictions and urban histories supervised by the University of Turku's professor of history Algot Scarin represented this kind of renewed interest in domestic history. Scarin functioned as Porthan's predecessor as a reformer of domestic historical writing who, among other things, rejected the Rudbeckian concept of history and its related glowing portrayal of Sweden as the original home of all culture.⁵¹

In Helsinki auction catalogues, there are a few mentions of Henricus Forsius's dissertation *De Helsingforsia, celebri Nylandiae emporio*, that Forsius, born in 1733 in Helsinki, prepared under Scarin's direction. This historical and economic portrayal of Helsinki appeared in 1755 in Latin, and two years later supplemented in Swedish under the title *Historisk och Oeconomisk Beskrifning öfwer Stapel-Staden Helsingfors uti Nyland*. After completing his dissertation, Forsius was a teacher and rector at the Helsinki Trivial School before he was named as the vicar of Mikkeli in 1782.

In his work, Forsius extensively describes Helsinki's administration and prominent persons, its management of finances, trade, the city's various evolutionary phases, as well as the Russian attacks on the city made at different times. Forsius's historical account also presents his personal views. In the final chapter treating Viapori, "that in ancient times was named Susiluoto," Forsius assessed the importance of the fortification works as follows:

Then when evil, hatred and pride have begun to break the noble olive branch of peace, incite people to battle one another, caution has taught the taking of wiser steps that an enemy, when he least expects it, would lose his strength, and would be willing to accept a peace agreement, and that the citizenry could obtain a pleasant peace, even if surrounded by stronger forces. Was that not the reason that it has been necessary to think of fortifications and defense forces? In bygone days when there was more audacity, or more accurately stated, lunacy, than vigilance and caution, it was considered unbecoming for a brave soldier to defend in a fortified position. Courage then meant being a free and open target for increasingly powerful and poisonous arrows. But in recent times a clearer idea of bravery has been formed. A soldier can be just as valiant, even if he does not embark on a stormy sea, but secures for himself well fortified cubicles, and can carefully, without unnecessary loss of life, break the threatening enemy's strength and courage.⁵²

50. Legnér 2002, 63.

51. Pitkäranta 1999, 116.

52. Forsius 1978, 25, www.saunalahti.fi/arnoldus/hforsius.

Travel accounts

The scanty circulation of publications by Finnish scholars among city dwellers had not been a rule without exceptions. The Finnish scientist Pehr Kalm's description of his voyage to America during the years 1748–1751, *En resa till Norra America*, was a best-seller of its times that was also widely read in Helsinki. It was translated into several languages, including English, as early as 1770. To this day, the work is considered one of the most important descriptions of the life of the American Indians. Solely on the basis of auction records we can find at least eight owners; in 1765, Kalm's travel account passed from the merchant Isaac Hahr to the alderman Petter Schwarts, in 1781 from the government clerk Isaac Lindberg to a Mr. Åkerlund, in 1789 from the customs official Appelberg to a buyer named Thiring, and in 1801 from the captain F. Ad. Melan to a colonel von Kiertting.⁵³

In particular, the travel accounts of Carl von Linnéus and his students appear frequently in Helsinki auction materials. Travel accounts were one of the literary genres that became enormously popular during the 1700s. The number of titles describing local regions as well as distant lands grew. Travel accounts attracted considerable attention among city dwellers, and Helsinkians also absorbed stimulating new ideas from travel literature in different languages.⁵⁴ Among Helsinkians however, the more popular authors of travel accounts, besides Kalm, were Swedish travel writers such as Carl von Linnéus, Carl Hårleman, Abraham Abrahamsson Hülphers, Arvid Ehrenmalm, Fredrik Hasselquist and Jacob Wallenberg.

Kalm's travel account was a masterpiece of its own time, one of the rare travel accounts of that era that continued to be reprinted in different languages. Kalm's journey to North America, as well as his wide-ranging three-part travel account is still considered one of the most significant accomplishments by Finnish researchers and scientists through the centuries; few other works have ever inspired the same permanent interest in other countries. Kalm's objectives on the trip, organized by the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, were scientific and economic. The purpose was to gather useful plants and their seeds for experimental cultivation in Sweden, where the plants could be used to improve domestic prosperity. In this respect the trip failed to produce the desired results; the plants never took root in Sweden owing to its different soil and weather conditions.

On the other hand, Kalm's descriptions provide valuable information about the regions he visited. He described North American vegetation, weather conditions, agriculture, animals, buildings, customs, as well as people and life in its various manifestations. In North America, Kalm encountered, besides new types of nature, the political, social and economic conditions of a colonial country that were strange and extremely different compared to the equivalent conditions in Europe. Besides nature in its

53. HENRIK database: Kalm.

54. HENRIK database: travel accounts, a total of 109 travel accounts.

various forms, Kalm described people and their living conditions critically, concretely, and factually. During the two-and-a-half year trip, he traveled among the immigrants of North America and compared their different nationalities and religious orientations.⁵⁵

Kalm also took notes on the life of the American Indians; a fascination with exotic and “primitive” peoples was characteristic of the 1700s. Inspired by the French Enlightenment philosophers, the aims of achieving greater justice and social equality were defended with a superficial view of indigenous peoples and an admiration for their carefree societies.

Kalm was extremely interested in the Indians because they possessed first hand knowledge of the useful plants’ cultivation. He gathered information about such matters as the Indians’ livelihoods, dress, religion and lifestyles.⁵⁶ Kalm provided a lively description of their living conditions and rituals, without however compromising his objectivity. We can only imagine, the thoughts that the following description of the Indians might have provoked in the Helsinki of the 1700s. On 21 August 1749 Kalm wrote the following description in Quebec:

TO-DAY there were some people of three *Indian* nations in this country with the governor-general, viz. *Hurons, Mickmacks and Anies*; the last of which are a nation of *Iroquese*, and allies of the *English*, and were taken prisoners in the last war.

THE *Hurons* are some of same *Indians* with those who live at *Lorette*, and have received the christian religion. They are tall, robust people, well shaped, and of a copper colour. They have short black hair, which is shaved on the forehead, from one ear to the other. None of them wear hats or caps. Some have ear-rings, others not. Many of them have the face painted all over with vermilion; others have only strokes of it on the forehead, and near the ears; and some paint their hair with vermilion. Red is the colour they chiefly make use of in painting themselves; but I have likewise seen some, who had daubed their face with a black colour. Many of them have figures in the face, and on the whole body, which are stained into the skin, so as to be indelible. The manner of making them shall be described in the sequel. These figures are commonly black; some have a snake painted in each cheek, some have several crosses, some an arrow, others the sun, or any thing else their imagination leads them to. They have such figures likewise on the breast, thighs and other parts of the body; but some have no figures at all.⁵⁷

Carl von Linnéus’s travel accounts of Öland and Gotland, West Gotland and Skåne also changed hands in auctions. Besides Kalm, works by Linnéus’s other students, such as Fredrik Hasselquist’s *Iter Palaestinum eller Resa till Heliga landet*, were also read. Hasselquist visited Egypt in 1750 and arrived in Palestine in 1751. In Helsinki, the merchant Johan Abraham Clason purchased Hasselquist’s work from the cavalryman Didrik Blomcreutz at an

55. Kerkkonen 1966. V–X.

56. Kerkkonen 1966. X.

57. Kalm 1770, pp. 178–179, Kalm 1991, 167–168. Kalm’s travel account was published in English as *Travels to North America*.

auction held in 1775, and a person named Löfvenborg from the customs official Appelberg in 1789.⁵⁸

Resa till Goda Hopps-udden, Södra pol-kretsen och omkring jordklotet, samt till Hottentott- och Cafferlanden åren 1772–76, a work by Linnéus's student Anders Sparrman, was sold by the customs official Appelberg to a lieutenant Gyllenbögel at an auction held in 1789. That same year, *Dagbok öfver ostindisk resa åren 1750, 1751, 1752*, a travel account by Pehr Osbeck, another student of Linnéus, was transferred from the customs official Appelberg to a buyer named Etholen.⁵⁹

Other Swedish travel accounts were also read in Helsinki, including Carl Johan De la Myle's *En svensk officerares dag-bok öfver en resa, genom Sverige, Ryskland, Pålen och Preussen, år 1788*, Carl Härleman's *Dag-bok öfver en ifrån Stockholm igenom åtskillige rikets landskaper gjord resa, år 1749*, and Abraham Abrahamsson Hülpers's *Dagbok öfver en resa igenom de, under Stora Kopparbergs höfdingedöme lydande lähn och Dalarne år 1757*. The subject of the Swedes' travel accounts was thus often the conditions and inhabitants of their own country's various regions. Based on travel accounts, the world was examined locally and globally.

Several foreign works also enabled Helsinkians to gain a familiarity with the nature, social conditions, and cultures of distant lands. In 1801, the doctor O. B. Rosenström purchased a Swedish translation of the Scotsman James Bruce's work *Resa genom Abyszinien (Travels to discover the source of the Nile)* from a major Nils Alexander Riddersvärd. Bruce spent several years during the 1760s and 1770s in North Africa and Ethiopia, searching, among other things, for the source of the Nile. At the same auction, the doctor O. B. Rosenström, clearly interested in travel accounts, also acquired a Swedish translation of the French orientalist and egyptologist Claude-Étienne Savary's work *Bref om Greklandin (Lettres sur la Grèce)* from a major Riddersvärd. The travel account begins in Alexandria and progresses to a description of the Greek Islands, Rhodes, and Crete. In 1801, Rosenström also acquired a Swedish-language translation of a work by John Hunter *Resa till södra Wallis, åren 1787..., jämte nyaste underrättelser om engelska nybygget i Port Jackson, Nya Holland och Norfolksön, af Tench och King samt Edwards Resa omkring jorden [An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, With the Discoveries That Have Been Made in New South Wales and the Southern Ocean Since the Publication of Phillip's Voyage], åren 1787*, and in 1806 he purchased Bengt Anders Euphrasén's work *Beskrifning öfver svenska vestindiska ön St. Barthelemi*.⁶⁰

58. HENRIK database: Hasselquist; Hasselquist's work was published in English as *Voyages and Travels in the Levant, in the Years 1749,50,51,52*.

59. HENRIK database: Sparrman; Sparrman's work was published in English as *A voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, towards the Antarctic polar circle, and round the world: But chiefly into the country of the Hottentots and Caffres, from the year 1772 to 1776*; Osbeck's work appeared in English as *A Voyage to China and the East Indies*.

60. HENRIK database: travel accounts.

Content (photo) removed from the open access version of this book.

Title page from Historia om Grönland, a Swedish translation of David Cranz's work that was published in 1769. Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm.

In 1774, the merchant Carl H. Mathiesen purchased George Psalmanazar's work *Description de l'île Formosa en Asie* from the merchant Johan Niclas Myhr.⁶¹ Psalmanazar describes an extremely affluent society, as well as shocking practices such as polygamy, human sacrifices, cannibalism, infanticide, and other customs that horrified Europeans.⁶² The appearance of this rather fanciful work in Helsinki demonstrates that travel accounts containing misleading and sensationalist information about the world also made their way to the north.

Women also became interested in travel accounts. At an auction held in 1806, a Miss Muhr acquired a Swedish translation of the historical work *Historie von Grönland* by the German theologin and missionary David Cranz from Maria Borgström, the widow of a customs officer.⁶³ Cranz's work is one of the earliest depictions of Greenland's ancient cultural traditions.

Other well known travel accounts dealing with foreign countries and owned by Helsinkians included Philip Johann von Strahlenberg's *Historie der Reisen in Russland, Sibirien und der Grossen Tartarey*, as well as a Swedish translation of Charles Clinton Beatty's *Guds nådes verk bland hedningarna...en två månaders resa på gränsorne af Pensylvanien (The Journal of a Two Month Tour)*, a travel account that described the American Indians' conditions and life as well as the borderlands of Pennsylvania. The first belonged to the merchant Petter Törneman, the second to the merchant Carl Johan Dobbin.⁶⁴

61. HENRIK database: Psalmanazar.

62. Psalmanazar, www.lib.udel.edu/ud/spec/exhibits/forgery/psalm.

63. HENRIK database: travel accounts.

64. HENRIK database: travel accounts.

Content (2 photos) removed from the open access version of this book.

David Cranz's Historia om Grönland (Stockholm, 1769) contains eight copper engravings. Shown are Eskimos, a man and a woman, dressed in seal skin clothing. Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm.

Depending on the reader, travel accounts were read in many different ways. On one hand they were read to expand one's view of the world, but also for information related to farming and the care of plants. They could also be read as novels for amusement. The distinction between a travel account or light reading was often blurred. An excellent example of this is Jacob Wallenberg's work *Min son på galejan*, published in 1771; two copies were sold at an auction held in 1801.⁶⁵ Wallenberg functioned as a seafaring chaplain for Sweden's East India Company and traveled to Canton on the ship *Finland*. Merja-Liisa Hinkkanen has assessed Wallenberg's travel account as follows: "Wallenberg's *Kaukana valtamerellä* offers multi-layered reading that mirrors the culture of the 1700s. A stylistic kinship can be found among Wallenberg – six years older than Bellman – as well as Henry Fielding and Laurence Stern; at our latitudes his whimsical texts, often parodying other styles, were however the first in its genre... *Kaukana valtamerellä* is simultaneously a diary, travel account, picaresque novel, anthology of poems, series of opinions, and one of the seminal works of Nordic seafaring literature."⁶⁶

Travel accounts and novels share many similarities. Both genres search for ways to describe people, cultures and lifestyles that were different than the reader's life and customs. Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* or Montesquieu's sat-

65. HENRIK database: Wallenberg.

66. Hinkkanen 2005, <http://agricola.utu.fi/nyt/arvos/arvostelut>.

ire *Lettres persanes* are also examples of the small differences between travel literature and novels. The latter tells of two Persian aristocrats traveling through France who comment on Christian society and French politics in particular. This travel account passed from the cavalryman Brant to the military judge Bredenberg at an auction held in 1773.⁶⁷

Travel literature was initially celebrity oriented, focusing on individual travelers' bold expeditions and heroic deeds. Subsequently, a documentary style evolved; travel accounts were prepared as descriptions of natural history and ethnography, and they were used as source materials. Although travel accounts had not been written in the form of novels, their artistic, intellectual and spiritual value might be of noticeable significance for contemporaries.

An essential part of a travel account was often the comparison of one's own experiences with those of others. Travel accounts were written as either true or imagined encounters between Europeans and indigenous peoples, in both ways functioning as critical comparisons between the cultures of Europe and other regions.⁶⁸ When it was a question of fabricated trips, the writers of the 1700s generally used two basic genres as a framework for cultural self-criticism: either a European traveled abroad or a foreigner visited Europe. The latter theme provided, such as *Lettres persanes*, an opportunity to describe one's own familiar world from a foreigner's perspective.⁶⁹

Most of the travel writers of the 1700s considered themselves researchers whose task was to gather and present information in an enlightening and appealing manner without drawing undue attention to themselves. By the end of the 1700s, however, the presentation method began to shift in a more autobiographical direction as colorful and picturesque travel accounts became increasingly popular.⁷⁰ It is likely that the new type of travel novels functioned successfully at the same time like other novels as shapers of an individual's thoughts, morals and emotions, but however with an increasing emphasis on the comparison and examination of the familiar and the unfamiliar, and the close and the distant.

Near the end of the 1700s, travel accounts aimed at achieving a greater spiritual and internal authenticity began to displace objectivity as narrative devices characteristic of novels became increasingly prevalent. Travel accounts were published as letters, character descriptions, lyrical meditations and dialogues, and were also printed in magazines. Educational and entertaining travel literature branched off into two differing presentation techniques: information-based and empirical.

One of the consequences of this development was that the expanding field of academic research, particularly studies related to the natural sciences and anthropology, began to become specialized. Various social trends, such as the development of capitalism, rise of nationalism, the emerging power

67. HENRIK database: Montesquieu.

68. Hout 1997, 6.

69. Hout 1997, 8.

70. Hout 1997, 12.

of the bourgeoisie, expansion of colonialism, and the new appreciation for individualism also influenced analytical practices. A reader who examined the world through travel accounts might consider if the subject of the travel account was Another and his landscape, such as the colonies and their inhabitants, or the Me in relation to cultural dissimilarity.⁷¹

In Helsinki as well, travel accounts provided readers with new types of detailed information and viewpoints concerning distant locales. Based on travel accounts, readers perceived and expanded their world view, comparing the conditions in their own country with those in distant lands. The reading of travel accounts influenced the development of comparative techniques, as well as an awareness of the intent to comprehend and evaluate one's own living surroundings.

The new reading culture – privacy, the Self and personal identity

The proliferation and appreciation of a person's physical and mental privacy was essential part of the new individualistic reading culture. Even during the 1700s, privacy was not always considered desirable. In the minds of many, the concept of privacy, being apart from others or concentrating on oneself, was dangerous. In England, the promised land of the novel, it was even seen by some as promoting hypocrisy: people might conceal and nurture secret thoughts, emotions and visions. Nevertheless many people, particularly readers living in cities, sought privacy and their own solitude. The experience of privacy related to the act of reading was a privacy of the mind and heart associated with an assessment of one's self-image, the perception of others, and the experience of subjective truth. The sphere of the private mind was a good home for literature, a counterbalance to a public world perhaps perceived as corrupt.⁷²

Above have been presented some of the literary genres that also provided stimuli to Helsinkians as they sought to develop their world of ideas as well as evaluate and interpret events and phenomena. A new European reading culture emerged without active attempts to establish the reader's mental privacy – the need to contemplate, feel, and assess matters subjectively and develop the inner Self.

As recorded in the HENRIK database, the book mentions in auctions and estate inventory deeds demonstrate that it was also possible to experience the power of the new literature in Helsinki. In particular, fiction, historical works, and travel accounts provoked, moved, and expanded readers' imaginations and world of ideas. Books, then as now, captivated by creating alternative realities, or stimulated the reader in ways that existing reality took on a new meaning. Patricia Meyer Spacks emphasizes privacy in the reading culture of the 1700s. She points out that it would be perhaps more apropos to state that by reading novels, we understand new dimensions

71. Compare with Hout 1997, 12.

72. Compare with Spacks 2003, 5, 8.

within ourselves, and that new forms of our self-image immediately influence our concept of the external world.⁷³

The nature of the Self and self-development were also the subjects of philosophical discussion during the 1700s. Methods supporting self-development were designed and books related to the subject, such as John Mason's *Self-Knowledge* (1745), were published. For Finnish scholars, the aforementioned John Locke, who had also influenced Porthan, developed a method for organizing notes and information, as well as supporting memory functions, and published his well known *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. As early as 1694, he had posited a concept – provoking widespread debate – according to which the identity of the individual resides in the mind and is tied to memory and a continuity of awareness.⁷⁴

Knowingly or subconsciously, certain Helsinkiians also developed their identities and an awareness of their own Selves by reading. The Helsinki examples demonstrate that by the late 1700s, readers in Finnish cities were also, with increasing frequency, developing themselves according to the spirit of the times with new domestic and in particular, European literature. The reading of fiction, history, the classics of Antiquity, and travel accounts also inspired Helsinkiians, like city dwellers elsewhere in the world, to experience and interpret, and thus assimilate a new individualistic attitude towards life while developing their world of ideas, moral attitudes, and an awareness of the inner Self. As Richard Steele, one of the most popular novelists of his time, wrote in a 1710 issue of *Tatler* magazine: “Reading is to the Mind, what Exercise is to the Body”⁷⁵.

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The Breakthrough of Novels and Plays in Helsinki and Finland During the Gustavian Era

Hvarföre skola Cavaillerer ibland berätta Historietter utur Romaner?

För at visa, det de äga lecture.

(Why should cavaliers every now and then tell stories from novels? To show that they are well read.)

– *Angenäma Sjelfswåld 17/14 April 1783* –

The suspicious novel

The reading of novels is an essential part of the modern lifestyle, and the level and success of this literary genre is nowadays considered a yardstick of national literature.

The concept of a novel is not self-evident and has varied in different historical periods. Poetic epics, such as the *Odyssey*, are extensive fictional narratives that closely resemble novels, but prose novels have also been written since Antiquity. Appearing in the Middle Ages and dawn of the Early Modern Era were many sub-genres of the novel, such as the picaresque novel, the Baroque novel and pastoral novel, all of which are encountered in Finland's estate libraries¹ and sporadically in cities' estate inventory deeds. Although their reading had spread to Swedish court circles already in the 1600s², these early forms of the novel, often lengthy meandering texts, were the province of a small sphere of practitioners in Finland. When it came to books, size mattered during the 1600s and 1700s; the over thousand-page works, for example d'Urfé's famous pastoral novel *L'Astrée*, were too expensive for the average bourgeoisie, and had not been translated into Swedish. Only the early English novels dealing with the lives of ordinary members of the middle class reached a wide public

1. E.g. dozens of Le Sage's novels were found in estate libraries, d'Urfé's *L'Astrée* in at least two; Björkenheim 1929 (1981), 136, 186.

2. Bök 1907, 18–19, 28–29.

in Sweden and Finland. Richardson's epistolary novels in particular were valued for their assured morality. The novels of the French Enlightenment, for example the works of Fénelon and Marmontel, were also translated into Swedish. The final breakthrough of the bourgeoisie novel came with a tidal wave of Swedish translations of the German "family novel" in the latter half of the 1700s; August Lafontaine and August von Kotzebue were leading exponents of this genre. Highly successful picaresque novels and historical novels also appeared alongside novels depicting the lives of "ordinary" citizens.

Because the conceptual vagueness surrounding the term "novel" hinders research, the Finnish term "*romaani*" ("novel") is not used as a keyword in the HENRIK database; instead, all prose-formed texts are found with the Finnish keyword "*kaunokirjallisuus*" ("fiction"). Also included are novels, narratives and more indefinite materials such as various types of brief satirical texts, and so forth.³ Many texts not fitting conventional genres also create classification problems. *Reinicke Fuchs*, with its allegorical animal fables in poetic form, is one such work. The work is relevant to Helsinki because Sigfridus Aronus Forsius (ca. 1560–1624), thought to have been born in Helsinki, translated it anonymously into Swedish with the title *Reyncke Fosz* (1621).⁴ In the Helsinki materials, at least two mentions are made of a new translation that appeared in 1746; it also appears twice in the German language.

In any case, I will here attempt to shed light on how the new forms of the novel that were created during the 1700s, particularly the genre known as the German family novel, proliferated in Helsinki and elsewhere in Finland in the 1700s and early 1800s during the Gustavian Era⁵. This type of novel brought with it a new style of reading – no longer based on objectives related to the spiritual, professional or serious acquisition of information – to an increasingly expanding social sphere. The reading of Biblical, devotional, professional literature, as well as travel accounts and biographies, could generally be based on generally acceptable justifications, even if the additional time required for their reading might arouse suspicion, but it was not as easy to present similar justifications for the reading of purely fictive, romantic, or adventure novels. The reading of novels was generally deplored in public discussions during this era, not surprising considering that the vast majority of them were translations, nor was their average literary value particularly high. Novels were considered superficial and transiently fashionable literature.

In one of Henrik Grönroos's articles,⁶ I noticed a passage concerning the substandard level of novels indirectly related to Helsinki. Olof Bidenius Renhorn, born in Sweden, was the mayor of Helsinki during

3. HENRIK database: fiction.

4. Kiiiskinen 2004, 24–27.

5. The Gustavian Era began with Gustav III's seizure of power in 1772, and in Finland it can be seen as concluding when Finland fell under Russian rule in 1809, but as a cultural phenomenon it continued for several decades.

6. Grönroos 1969, 69–70.

the period 1738–1741. After serving in Helsinki, he returned to Arboga, Sweden to take a similar position. Renhorn translated Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* into Swedish (published 1744–45) and Grönroos believes that he began the translation work while he was still in Helsinki. Renhorn based his translation on a French-language edition that had already been abridged and Renhorn edited it further, primarily by pruning. In the preface of his translation, he states that there is a considerable amount of Latin-language literature available, but a lack of native language translations of useful books. Men and women alike had the desire to read and a thirst for knowledge, but Renhorn felt that they were being offered too few worthwhile books from the various scientific disciplines, although there was no lack of harmful novels (“...en alt för ringa tillgång af nyttige Böcker uti wetenskaperne, fast det på skadelige Romaner äj finna någon brist.”). Renhorn was convinced that most novels damaged young people instead of entertaining them when it came to the subject of love. Many a reader possessing a vivid imagination “is drawn into a Don Quixote-like adventure, mimicking novel-like romance and becoming a fool” (“...råkar uti Don Quichots äfwentyr, då han apar äfter dän Romaneske kärleken och blir en Narr.”).

It is clear that the discussion of the quality and influence of novels and escapist literature taking place not only in Sweden, but in Turku newspapers and academic dissertations as well, was also known in Helsinki, where the example of Viapori's officers as readers of novels was visible, or became visible, at least in book auctions. At the same time, it is equally clear that the desire to read was growing among the city's bourgeoisie, particularly during the late 1700s and early 1800s. This gained a clear expression when commercial lending libraries began to emerge in Helsinki in 1806–1807. Johan Fredrik Stichæus and Nathanael Joëlsson, who already had a bookshop in Helsinki, obtained the city administrative office's wholehearted support for their ventures. A lending library was considered beneficial and amenable for its customers, who for the most part were already committed to that institution's support and use (“...Ortens Innewånare, som redan till stor del utfäst sig i sin mon bidraga till Inrättningen och dess bestånd.”). According to the legislation of those times, an application for permission to maintain a lending library had to be filed with the office of the court chancellor. Court Chancellor Zibet was however reluctant to grant permits for lending libraries. As a justification, he cited the damage that lending libraries might cause to booksellers' business activities. Consequently lending library permits, or “privileges” were preferably granted to booksellers already operating in cities. Included in the court chancellor's explanatory memo is a statement, concerning novels and other light reading, that once again in its negativity attests to the growing popularity of the new style of reading. He states that the desire to read, of the kind promoted by the lending libraries, is not of a favorable quality, instead even injurious: “Useful scientific works and high-quality fiction should be read to the full and more time should be used for their comprehension, instead of paying separately for each reading day. Novels or other printed products of the same type produce

profit for the lending libraries, and it doubles if prohibited books infiltrate among the permitted.”⁷

There were also, however, behind the scenes machinations regarding the granting of permits. This was also the case in Helsinki, where a request by an original applicant was rejected and a permit was granted to the Stockholm bookseller Holmberg who, based on a previously granted license, was entitled to found lending libraries in cities where he already had representatives. The bookshop of the curate Gustaf Zetterman, who was Holmberg’s representative, included a “privileged lending library” that began operating in the autumn of 1807. The outbreak of war in the following year however shut down its activities.

See and read plays

Alongside novels, another significant literary genre to emerge was theatrical literature as printed texts, not only performed. In plays, the French influence dominated until the beginning of the Gustavian Era, but the German plays, particularly the works of August von Kotzebue, stormed the north as translations in the late 1700s. Sweden’s own play production also attained formidable dimensions. The figures below show that play production grew steadily until the end of the 1700s, followed by a lean decade. After Gustav IV and the war, theatrical life regained its former vitality.

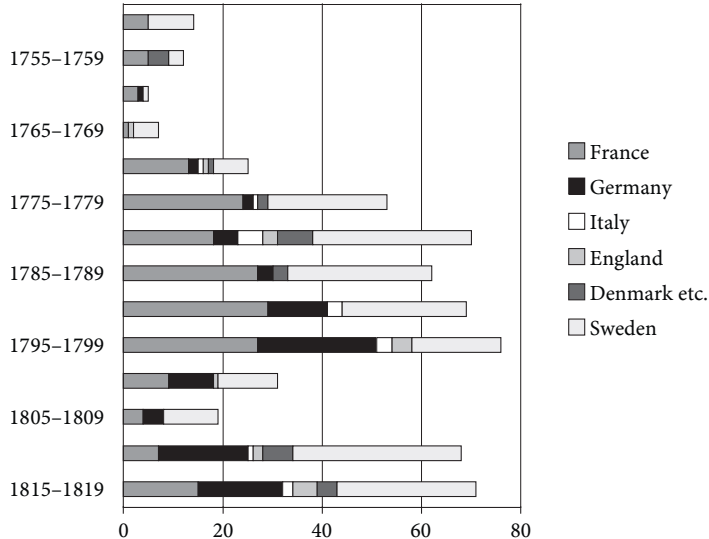


Figure 1. Swedish drama publications 1750–1819 by year of publication and country of origin (calculated according to Klemming’s catalogue⁸).

7. Wiberg 1943.

8. Klemming 1863–1879.

The Swedish side formed a strong theatrical culture in the latter half of the 1700s. Besides Stockholm's permanent theaters, troupes toured the kingdom's various cities. The theater would have remained more distant to the Finnish gentry if theater companies had not visited Finland, even in small cities. Theater life in sparsely populated towns was "saved" by a decree that plays could not be performed during the academic term at locations where there were upper secondary schools and universities. Consequently the companies touring Finland – a country that still had no theater companies of its own, aside from the amateur troupes that naturally existed – had to also play in minor cities, such as in Helsinki and Pietarsaari, to stay afloat. The most famous theater company visiting Helsinki regularly was Carl Gottfried Seuerling's troupe that began its visits in the early 1780s; his widow and son-in-law continued its activities into the 1800s. The theater companies' repertoires were extensive because performing the same play many times in small towns was unfeasible. Thus audiences in small cities became acquainted with a wide range of plays and dramas, particularly since many had already been read as printed versions or after performances.⁹

Basic sources

In principle, relatively adequate information exists concerning the supply of novels and plays in Helsinki; despite the primitiveness of local bookstore conditions, the connection to Stockholm and other Swedish book markets was viable, and the representatives of Stockholm-based booksellers functioned in many Finnish locales, including Helsinki, beginning from the 1770s.¹⁰ With respect to demand, consumption, and book use, however, only fairly incomplete information – for the most part indirect, such as the public debate regarding the moral unsoundness of novel reading – is available.

More comprehensive source materials tracing the arrival of novels and plays in Helsinki's reading culture are provided by the articles in this book drawing on the estate inventory deed and auction sources entered into the HENRIK database. All of the cities' estate inventory deeds' book materials have been published in Grönroos's and Nyman's work (1996). It is however known that estate inventory deeds and auction catalogues are problematic as sources. In estate inventory deeds there is a natural delay because the books owned by the deceased could have been acquired in many ways over a long time span. The delay is particularly regrettable regarding novels and play scripts because their main quantitative boom took place during the final decades of the Swedish period, when many book owners had not yet "had a chance to die" during the time when estate inventory deeds were written so precisely that the books' titles would have been mentioned. Additionally, the perception of novels and plays as literature of secondary

9. von Frenckell 1943, 48–70; Hirn, Sven 1998, 27–66.

10. Laine 2006, 185–193, 253–259.

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Court of Appeals Counselor Leonard Hedman's (1759–1808) family at Koivulahti in Norrminnegård. Privately owned. Photograph P. O. Welin 1992.

importance led to a situation in the late 1700s where their titles were no longer being specifically recorded. Novels and plays were often concealed behind entries such as: “16 st. diverse Romaner” (1798), “13 Diverse smärre Romaner” (1801), “6 st så kallade Romaner” (1805). The estate inventory deed of the Turku merchant Reinhold Bremer, who died in 1809, has the entry “69 st Diverse Romaner och i 1 Bunt”¹¹. In certain cases not even the quantity of books was indicated.

The catalogues of early reading societies can also be examined to obtain an impression of the literary materials that were available to the literate Finnish gentry near the end of the Gustavian Era. A broader analysis of private libraries provides hints regarding the popularity of novels and plays.

In rare cases, there is information regarding a certain person's reading that he or she has marked in a diary (for example Jacobina Charlotta Munsterhjelm¹²) or even a reading experience, which with respect to individual novels and plays is however unusual.

The decades are not brothers

Although it is clear that there was no guarantee that the books listed in a deceased person's estate inventory deed had been read while he or she was alive, books can however be linked to individuals through estate inventory deeds, not always possible with respect to the catalogues of bookshops

11. Grönroos & Nyman 1996, 185, 198, 212, 222.

12. Munsterhjelm 1970.

and commercial lending libraries. Auction information also facilitates the tracking of books from one person to the next, only sporadically possible with estate inventory deeds.

The use of books as a decorative element is most likely in “status book” cases. These were the books, held in high regard by the community, whose possession demonstrated the owner’s good taste, social position, or spiritual devotion. In our own time, even a few decades ago, it might mean the ownership of an encyclopedia or other large-sized non-fiction books. Still at the end of the 1700s, the ownership of translated novels and theater publications was not a status enhancer because, as previously stated, their reading was generally frowned upon or belittled, publically and privately.

The special problems related to the examination of Helsinki’s materials are treated in other sections of this book. For the time being, quantitative information should be taken with a pinch of salt. Studying a single city is fairly dubious; only a review of the information from several cities, or the entire country, equalizes the random fluctuations found among separate localities. Examining the Helsinki information however provides an excellent point of departure. Helsinki’s fascination is naturally enhanced by the fortress of Viapori, from the perspective of book assets a city in itself.

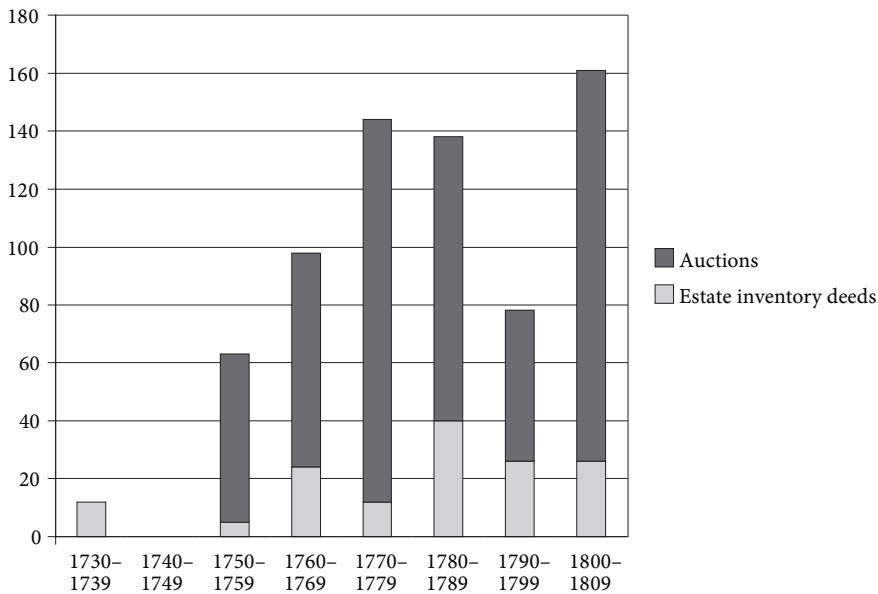


Figure 2. Fiction titles in Helsinki’s estate inventory deeds and auctions 1730–1809 according to HENRIK database.

In Helsinki, the quantitative trend for fiction was generally speaking one of growth, except for a dip in the 1790s for which there is no clear explanation, although it was probably caused by the small city’s random

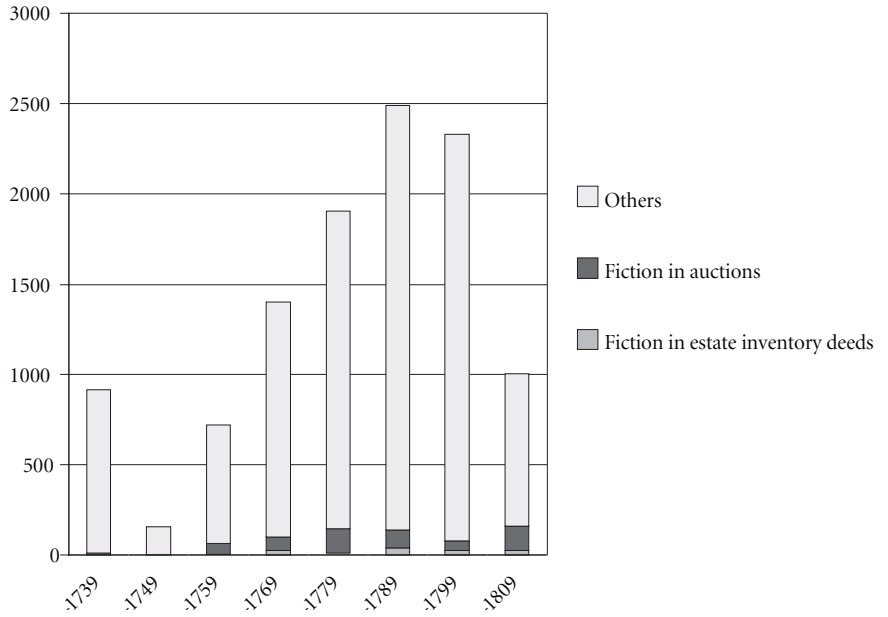


Figure 3. Fiction as a share of book titles in Helsinki's Viapori's estate inventory deeds and auctions.

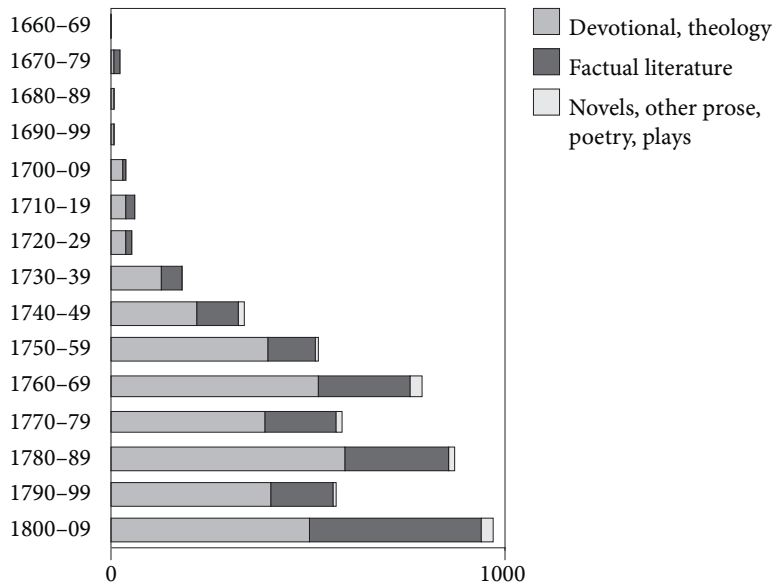


Figure 4. Bourgeoisie book assets 1660–1809, Gulf of Bothnia's trading cities according to the information of Grönroos and Nyman (1996).

fluctuations. The quantity of book mentions appearing in the Helsinki materials also decreased during the 1790s, but not as steeply as for fiction. On the other hand, the relative share of fiction decreased beginning in the 1750s, but this was the result of a growth in all book mentions. Still worth pointing out is that during the first decade of the 1800s, the total quantity of book mentions drops catastrophically, but the quantity of fiction rises absolutely, and in particular relatively, by about 17%.

No definitive conclusions can be drawn based on the information from a single locale because the appearance of books in estate inventory deeds and auctions resulted from several random factors, and the estate libraries' substantial size differences easily distort the small cities' data. This is exemplified by the figure below, based on materials gathered by the author from the work by Grönroos and Nyman (1996) for another article¹³. The figure divides the books into three rough classifications based on estate inventory deeds of the urban bourgeoisie drawn up in the Gulf of Bothnia trading cities of Oulu, Pietarsaari and Kokkola. Because it has not been possible to analyze the titles precisely, there are many uncertainty factors in the basic data.

Missing from the table are the books of the lower nobility, clergy and civil servants. What can however be discerned is a general growth trend in book assets, even with the inclusion of the as yet unexplained "weak" decades. One of these, the 1790s, is similarly, with respect to book volumes, low as in Helsinki. This merits further study, but more in-depth research should perhaps be undertaken after more comprehensive materials have been entered into the HENRIK database. The separate figures depicting book assets based small cities' estate inventory deeds are however still more rollercoaster-like. In Tornio, for example, there are huge fluctuations between years and decades because the book assets in that city were concentrated in the libraries of a few prominent owners.

The figure also indicates the relative paucity of fiction in the estates of the urban bourgeoisie compared to other book materials; it is only a "surface gilding".

The influence of Viapori on the appearance of fiction and particularly novel-type literature in Helsinki is evident, particularly in the latter half of the 1700s. The estate inventory deeds of Viapori's officers have not survived; any information concerning their books has been gleaned from book auctions. The estate inventory deeds therefore came from the city's side. There is manifoldly more fiction in auctioned libraries than in estate inventory deeds. Auctioned books had belonged to officers who were the early adopters of escapist literature. The city's townsmen were not the early practitioners of this type of literature.

13. Mäkinen 2007; The figure is here simplified by combining the literary categories.



The Bishop of Cambray François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon (1651–1715) wrote his educational novel *Les aventures de Télémaque, fils d’Ulysse* (1699, expanded edition 1717) while serving as a teacher to the crown prince of France. It was read in every part of Europe, both for the teaching of the French language, as well as its consideration of statesmen and philosophers, but it also has enough elements of adventure to hold the attention of young readers. The plot is built around the voyage of Telemachus, the son of Odysseus, as he searches for his father. The first Swedish translation appeared in 1721. Shown is the 1755 Ulm edition, in which a Latin-language translation appears alongside the French text. Picture: Ilkka Mäkinen.

Fénelon and Bunyan: pioneers of the novel form

Henrik Grönroos has meritoriously described the considerable number of fascinating individual works, as well as their owners, included in the Helsinki materials¹⁴. There are however two novel-type works that can be seen, compared to others, as having increased a tolerance for the novel form. They are the Frenchman Fénelon’s *Les aventures de Télémaque* and the Englishman John Bunyan’s *En christens resa* (*A Pilgrim’s Progress*).

Fénelon’s *Télémaque* is an ethics and political science textbook cloaked in novel form that didactically presents the ideals of the Enlightenment, but entertainingly recounts the adventures of the son of Odysseus as he searches for his father. The work had already been translated into Swedish in 1721 and again in 1723. In 1743, it was also published in Stockholm as

14. Incl. Grönroos 1969, 1983.

a French-language edition that included a Swedish commentary. Fénelon's work was also used extensively in the teaching of the French language. Unlike other novel-type works, it was considered morally impeccable as reading; it was widely praised, and in that sense it cleared the way for the purely fictional works that were to come. It could thus be read with a clear conscience by those who would have otherwise disparaged fictional novels and other "idle reading".

In the Helsinki materials, approximately 35 editions of *Télémaque* (*Telemack*) in different languages – the number is inexact owing to differences of interpretation in the estate inventory deeds' assessments – appear relatively evenly during the entire period under study (1730–1809). Of these, 26 items were sold in auctions, while 8 items appear in estate inventory deeds. Regarding the language distribution, the French-language editions (17 editions) are in the leading position; there are also 12 Swedish and English-language editions, and 5 Latin-language editions. The preponderance of the French-language versions indicates that the work was used more for language instruction than for leisure time reading.

Because *Telemack* was such a respected and widely disseminated work, it also crossed class boundaries. The clerk Erik Forsberg bought the book at an auction held by the Swedish-language alderman Thomas Clayhills in 1765. In 1768, the master tanner Bohm was the buyer and the merchant Ekbladh the seller. The Helsinki materials reflect a descent into the lower levels of the social hierarchy in 1773, when the depot guard Fischer purchased the book from the clerk Sillman's auction; in the auction catalogue, the book is marked *Thelem äfwentyr*. Other buyers, as well as persons mentioned in estate inventory deeds, also include bookkeepers (one of whom bought an English-language version of the book in 1774), merchants, a military scribe (1786), paymaster (1793), a land surveying student (1788) and sergeants. The sellers were generally officers and scholars. That being the case, the path of *Télémaque* often descended in the social hierarchy, but it did not go that far to the bottom during the period under study. Being in the Swedish language, it stopped with those aspiring to the upper classes.

Although *Télémaque* and many other books gradually trickled down from the upper social strata, before 1809 there is no mention in Helsinki of novels or other fictive or escapist literature in the estate inventory deeds of the lower classes: ordinary craftspersons, servants, seamen, laborers, and other similar persons whose books were rarely auctioned through official channels.

What constitutes a novel is however a question of definition. John Bunyan's *En Christens resa* (*A Pilgrim's Progress*), not yet translated into Finnish during the period under study, is novel-like in terms of its narrative solution. A certain symmetry prevails between Fénelon's *Télémaque* and Bunyan's *A Pilgrim's Progress*. Both led those previously skeptical of novels to fictional prose, Fénelon with his men's adherence to objectivity, and Bunyan with his lower class religiously-oriented persons who shunned worldly literature (or would have shunned it if it had been offered to them).

In the Helsinki materials, *A Pilgrim's Progress* is mentioned at least 14 times. As expected, the ownership class is lower on the social ladder than for *Télémaque*. Swedish-language versions were owned by a war commissioner

prosecutor, merchant ship's captain and captain's widow, three merchants (among them a widow), master tailor (1755) and dowager. The group also included a coach maker (1788) and city fisherman (1800). The Crown baker Arvid Sundberg (1769), had a German-language version, as well as another work of Bunyan's in the same language. The German-language work was also owned by the merchant and city elder Hindrich Jacob Siliacks¹⁵. When the book was auctioned, the bidders included a major, vicar, bookkeeper and blacksmith. The vicar bought the city fisherman's book (1800).

The elite officers' off-color books

The invasion of Helsinki by novels and plays appears to have taken place in pulses. Viapori's officers undeniably could be counted among the frontrunners in a new, more individualistic style of reading that other groups would only later gradually assimilate. They were also individualists in the sense that they often had books that appear only once in the materials.

Attracting particular attention in the auction catalogues of officers' books is Captain G. J. Kyhlenbeck's book collection that was auctioned in 1753 after the owner's death. Kyhlenbeck was Augustin Ehrensward's closest co-worker when the Viapori construction works began¹⁶. A total of 88 of his books, of which almost 40 can be considered fiction, were on sale. The selection includes primarily French-language translations of the classics of Antiquity, French classics such as *La Princesse de Cleves*, and pioneering works in Swedish novel literature such as Jacob Mörk's works (*Adalric och Göthilda* and *Thecla*), but there also were many works that today have been completely forgotten. Grönroos states that Kyhlenbeck's book collection can be considered a typical example of the kinds of officer libraries that consisted of professional military literature and more frivolous escapist literature.

Besides professional military literature, the captain was also interested in books with titles like *L'Amant artificateur*, *Les Dames galantes*, *Intrigues monastiques*, *Die galante Obersaxin*, *Der verliebte und galante Student*, *Die aus dem Closter entflohene Liebe*, and so forth. They were the lightest literature of that time that has left no permanent mark on literary history. Most likely, the books were acquired during stays in foreign garrison cities, probably in Germany.¹⁷ Regardless of the books' quality level as fiction, they demonstrate that Kyhlenbeck had fairly early adopted a new style of reading in which a greater value was attached to individual choices than had previously been the case. The elite officers were individuals whose supervision by outside organizations and the guardians of daily morals had not been easy.

The same types of German- and French-language books are also encountered subsequently in the estates of officers during the 1700s. Off-color books

15. For Siliacks's books more extensively, see Grönroos 1969.

16. For Kyhlenbeck and his books, see Grönroos 1983.

17. Grönroos 1983, 74.

of this type could not be published in the Swedish language, although titles titillating in their own way also appear in Swedish-language books.

The above-mentioned titles of Kyhlenbeck's books allude to erotically off-color literature. Many of the buyers of these kinds of books at auctions were officers. Partially it might have been a question of certain "hygienic" measures; colleagues purchased the off-color literature belonging to their fellow officers' collections to prevent it from being seen by the general public. Unlike an estate inventory deed, an auction was a public event where the book collection of the deceased might also reveal a great deal about his most intimate proclivities; consequently it was better to snap up this kind of literature as quickly as possible lest it fall into the hands of the ignorant. Actual pornography could not be sold at auctions, although it was probably owned by the elite officers.

The juicier titles would appear to have found their way into the hands of the younger generation of officers. For example the artillery warrant officer Arnell purchased *Heimskringlan* and certain French-language works as well as a German-language book whose title is a story in itself: *Der verliebte und galante Student. Welcher unter der Lebens- und Liebes-Geschichte Des Spanischen Marchesen Perez de Cehnauscheno, Und des Venetianischen Barons Biondi de N. **** Der Galanten Welt vorgestellt, Und Mit einer Vorrede Von einer edlen Liebe und denen Mißgebuhrtten derselben versehen* (Lübeck und Leipzig 1741). The author of the book hid behind the pseudonym InCognito. Drabant Cedercreutz (a *drabant* was a member of the royal bodyguards) for his part obtained, besides the novel *La Princesse De Cleves*, the works *Les Dames galantes ou la confidence réciproque: Nouvelle* (author: Raymond Poisson, Paris 1685, new printing Amsterdam 1737), *Die über das Closter-Leben siegende Liebe...* (1749) and *Geschichte von Hahnreyen* (1748). Artillery warrant officer Jäckel for his part outbid his competitors for the book *Merckwürdiges Leben einer sehr schönen und weit und breit gereiseten Tyrolerin : nebst vielen andern anmuthigen Lebens- und Liebes-Geschichten* (author Jacques LePansif, published in Frankfurt 1744). Unfortunately we do not know who obtained Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens's novel collection *Intrigues Monastiques, Ou L'Amour Encapuchonné. Nouvelles Espagnoles, Italiennes, Et Françaises* (The Hague 1739) or whether it remained unsold. From these examples we can see that Kyhlenbeck's books were often fairly fresh goods.

Not all officers were, however, interested in this kind of literature. The same year (1753) that Kyhlenbeck's books were auctioned, 26 books were put up for auction by the widow Anna Julia Michelsen, whose husband had probably been an artillery officer because the collection included many artillery-related, as well as devotional, books. The collection had only one book that could be classified as fiction, namely Fénelon's *Telemachs, Ulyssis Sons, Äfwentyr*.

Within ten years, the transmission of certain influences from the officers to the upper strata of the bourgeoisie had already taken place. An example of this is the book auction held for the wholesaler Hahr in 1765. The date of Hahr's estate inventory deed is not mentioned by Grönroos and Nyman; it is possible that the collection was sold owing to perhaps bankruptcy or some

other reason. Hahr's sizeable collection of 132 titles, containing about 40 works that could be classified as fiction, included several works by Holberg, Fielding, Richardson, and Marivaux in different languages, as well as erotically-tinged literature such as the following sample titles demonstrate:

- Pierre Joulet: *Die Begebenheiten der Armide oder Die aus vielen verdriflichen Unruhen, endlich in die Ruhe gesetzte Printzessin* (Leipzig 1722);
- Jean de Prechac: *L'Héroïne mousquetaire : Histoire véritable* (Amsterdam 1677-1678, also Pariisi 1722);
- Talander: *1001 Tag, Nacht und Viertelstund, auch Historie der Sultanin von Persien*
- Rustaing de Saint-Jorry: *Die Kriegerische Frauen, Oder hist. Beschreibung einer Neuentdeckten Insul* (1736);
- Edward Petre: *Geschichte der Galanterien des Pater Peters von der Gesellschaft Jesu, Beichtvaters Jakobs des Ilten, Königs von Grossbritannien* (Köln 1762);
- *Die Lächerliche Eifersucht oder Lebensbeschreibung des Grafen [...]*;
- Rost: *Leben und Thaten Derer berühmtesten Englischen Coquetten und Maitressen, Oder, Curieuse Nachricht Von denen Geheimen Liebes-Händeln und Intriguen Derer Brittischen Könige und anderer Standes- oder vornehmen Personen, ...* (London 1721);
- Gueulette: *Tausend und Eine Stunde: Worinnen allerhand seltzame Peruvianische Geschichte,...*(1753-);
- *Das Frauenzimmer in der Irre oder Geschichte der Mademoiselle von Paisigny.*

A closer examination of Hahr's books would naturally clarify their quality; at this writing it has not been possible. In any case, erotic literature interested the Viapori-based officers as well as the bourgeoisie of Helsinki. Naturally it was a question of a male-oriented genre.

When sufficiently interesting literature, such as breezy and emotional play scripts and novels from Germany set in a world of romantic relationships, began to appear in Swedish, the quantity of materials in other languages began to decrease. Texts as racy as those acquired abroad by officers and other cosmopolitans could still however not be published in Swedish. The latter half of the century witnessed the emergence of another literary genre, focusing on love and human relationships, that has been subsequently called the German family novel, but its tone was more innocent, sentimental and veiled, and it was above all literature favored by women.

As previously stated, blatantly pornographic works could not be circulated in public or sold at auctions, nor were they recorded in estate inventory deeds. A study of their occurrence, if sources can be found, would however contribute to our understanding of the reading culture's total spectrum. From the Renaissance onwards, pornography had in any case been a symbol of extreme freedom, particularly among the aristocracy's male readers, depending on their personal attitudes. The mention of this kind of work in public or semi-public sources is unusual and sporadic. One case is Hancarville's *Monumens de la vie privée des douze Césars d'après une suite de pierres et médailles gravées sous leur règne*, listed in the estate inventory deed of the land surveyor G. A. Tuderus in Tampere. The book is one of the classics

of pornographic literature that contains, e.g., depictions of Julius Caesar's alleged homosexual tendencies. Its inclusion in the estate inventory deed may have resulted from a lack of expertise, or that the title of the book is in French.

When titles hinting at eroticism or other intimate matters began to appear outside aristocratic circles, it was often considered necessary to cloak them according to the need. Examples of how the titles of works treating these subjects – even objectively – were masked in book catalogues intended for public use can be found in the Vaasa lending library's 1813 catalogue. For reasons of prudishness, certain titles have been concealed with a French-language guise, perhaps to protect minors or women. The lending library's printed catalogue was the key to the collection and might end up in the wrong hands. For example, behind the title *L'Art de faire Garçons ell. Ny Tafla af ägta kärlek* listed in the catalogue is hidden a translation of the Frenchmen Procope-Couteau's book, whose actual Swedish-language title was *Konsten at göra gossar, eller en ny tafla på ägta kärlek*. The book presents a theory as to how a child's gender can be selected. Even more mystical is the title *Conseiller avant, sous & apres le coit (på Svenska)*, behind which is found a Swedish-language translation of the German doctor G. W. Becker's objective sex education guide *Rådgifvare före, vid och efter Samlaget, eller tydlig Anvisning, att så utöfva Samlaget, att ingen skada tillfogas helsan, och att Slägtets Förökning genom vackra, friska och starka Barn befordras; Jemte ett Bihang om Könshemligheter och Menniskans aflande* (1812).¹⁸

Book circulation among the classes

Many collections' auction exchanges also reveal the ways in which books were transmitted across class boundaries. In an article written by Henrik Grönroos, he studied how the books of the aristocracy filtered down to craftspeople in Turku¹⁹. The Turku artisans often purchased old literature and it would also appear to have been commonplace in Helsinki. Regarding Kyhlenbeck's auctioned books (1753), the cook Reinholtson acquired a Swedish translation of the Late Antiquity Latin-language novel *Apollonii konungens aff Tyro historia*, whose most recent Swedish-language printing dates from 1663. On the other hand, the caretaker Bergquist purchased a work that had been given the name *Beskrifning om Kröningen* in the catalogue. The meaning of the title is unclear, but it was possibly a question of *Beskrifning om hennes keyserliga majestets Catharinae Alexievnae cröning, som med största solennitet firades uti hufwud-staden Muscou, på den 7: de dag i maji månad åhr 1724* that was published in Stockholm in 1725. There had also been a coronation in Sweden in 1751, but none of the many publications associated with it would seem to suit the titles mentioned in Kyhlenbeck's catalogue. In subsequent auctions, there are numerous examples

18. Mäkinen 1997, 166.

19. Grönroos 1963.

demonstrating how books were transferred from the higher to lower social strata. From Captain Cederstolpe's estate, the master bricklayer Kretzner acquired J. P. Memel's work *Lustige Gesellschaft: Comes Facundus in via pro vehiculo: Allen Reisenden auch in Gesellschaft anwesenden Herren ... auß vielen andern Büchern zusammen gesucht* in 1759. Representing Baroque humor, the book had first been published in the mid-1600s.

Private ownership and collective use

The loaning of books from private libraries was a common practice in the 1700s. Grönroos, in his estate inventory deed research, uncovered several cases in which loaned works were recalled after the death of the lender. For example, regarding the surviving books of Abraham Wetter, a mayor of Helsinki who died in 1737, a certain person demanded the return of an official calendar-type work *Florerande Swerige* and Scriver's book of homilies, that he had previously loaned to the deceased. Grönroos suggests that the practice of carefully marking the owner's name and domicile on books directly resulted from the books private loans²⁰; public libraries' underdevelopment and use restrictions made private loans an absolute necessity.

Book loaning among members of the bourgeoisie was a common practice, as evidenced by estate inventory deed or their related documentation²¹. Even the joint ownership of larger works was not uncommon. For example, the Helsinki merchant Hinrich Hindrichsson who died in 1760 owned one-third of a German Bible; H. Gyntter and the postmaster D. Crantz owned the other thirds respectively. Novels and plays were not however owned in this manner, except in reading societies.

Books however often drew people together. Novels were read out loud. Enjoying a play, for example by reading it out loud, is a natural way to gain common experiences. Reading practices can be followed in a diary written by Jacobina Charlotta Munsterhjelm, a young girl living on an Eastern Uusimaa estate, who kept a diary between the years 1799–1801 when she was 13–15-years old. Jacobina Charlotta was making the transition from childhood to adolescence and the world of books. Her surviving diary begins with an entry on 8 May 1799. It was a cloudy and cool day devoted entirely to the reading of Möller's catechism. The young estate maiden's grasp of the language was developing rapidly, as the diary's entries reveal. In June of 1799 there is the entry: "19 var moster här i kammaren och läste i en bok som hette klarissa..." ("On the 19th day my aunt was here in my room and read a book whose name was Klarissa")²². The book was probably Richardson's novel *Clarissa* (published in English in 1748), that had not been translated

20. Grönroos 1969, 68.

21. Grönroos 1969, 69–70; also Grönroos & Nyman 1996, for example. from Helsinki: p. 250, estate inventory deed No.124 Forsström, elsewhere, 17, 31, 40, 41, 47, 88, 250.

22. Munsterhjelm 1970, 29.

into Swedish. Grönroos believes that it was most likely a German-language translation of the work, a new printing of which had appeared in 1790–1791. Jacobina Charlotta's aunt, Jakobina Sara Maria Rehbinder, who was of Baltic-German descent, read the book out loud²³. The diary mentions other books that can be considered novels, for example *Robinsonia*, or other books, such as the well-known travel account *Grefwe Hårds berättelse*²⁴.

In almost every text-related connection, it is apparent that it is a question of communal reading, situations in which Jacobina read out loud to others, or she was listening to the reading of others, for example: “9de i dag började mamsell ahlm at läsa en bok fruarna i mormors' kamare...” (“The 9th. Today Madame Ahlm began to read a book called Fruarne in Grandma's bedroom.”) The book was probably A. D. Hummel's comedy *Fruarne eller Förklädet*, that had been published in Jönköping in 1797. The only place where reading out loud is not directly in evidence is the entry on 12 January 1800: “12te är det söndag och då las jag på eftermiddagen en hestoria som heter melusina / det är Cousine Alms' hestoria...” (The 12th day is Sunday and in the afternoon I read a story called Melusina, it is cousin Alm's story). From the context or explanation it remains unclear if Jacobina read it by herself or to others. It was probably the 32-page booklet *En wacker och behagelig, dock derhos mycket ynkelig historia, om prinsessan Melusina och gref Reimundt, ...* (1772), one version of the European Melusine Myth.

Reading societies in Helsinki

Unfortunately, Helsinki was not, except the aforementioned lending library episode, part of the first wave of lending library foundations that began in Vaasa in 1794, although it can be assumed that among Viapori's officers, books were loaned to fellow officers who at the same time might be Freemasons, or members of other secret societies. In Porvoo on the other hand, it is known that a reading society existed during the era of Swedish rule (beginning in 1806)²⁵.

Although the history of Helsinki's reading societies actually began 10 years after the conclusion of the Era of Swedish rule, it is worth outlining it because reading societies and commercial lending libraries were central distribution points for novels. In these libraries, the developmental trends initiated during the Era of Swedish rule became apparent.

A few years later, after Helsinki had become the capital city of Finland and its cadre of administrators and civil servants had moved to the city, a reading society was established in Helsinki, the *Helsingfors Läsesällskap* or *Läse-Sällskapet i Helsingfors* that functioned during the years 1819–1829²⁶. The society's catalogues from the years 1819–1825 are preserved in the

23. Grönroos 1975, 39.

24. Munsterhjelm 1970, 51, 58.

25. Närhi 1963, 10–11; for general about reading societies, see Mäkinen 1997.

26. Närhi 1963, 20–29.

National Library of Finland. The best known description of the society is found in August Schauman's memoirs²⁷. It had been considered an outpost of the Turku reading society in the new capital city to which the central administration's civil servants had to relocate²⁸. In terms of its nature however, the library differed from the academically-oriented Turku reading society, which concentrated on magazines, newspapers and factual literature. The collections in Helsinki contained a considerable amount of fiction, history and other popular materials. The collections of a "public library", functioning between the years 1826–1829 in Helsinki, provided factual literature; the library of the deceased jurist Matthias Calonius formed its basis. The Emperor's donation of the library to the University after it had moved to Helsinki in 1828 marked a new beginning for the library.²⁹

Regarding novels and plays, it is worth pointing out that the library of a small reading society, the *Sällskapets Bibliothek* or *Sällskaps-Bibliothek* whose collection consisted of novels,³⁰ also functioned in Helsinki during the 1830s. The *Lördagssällskapet* ("Saturday Society") founded by Helsinki intellectuals during the 1830's also began within the frameworks of reading societies. At the end of the academic term, drawings were held among members for commonly acquired books. The most frequently acquired books were inexpensive German classics published as a series in Uppsala.³¹ A ladies' reading society operated alongside the male circle.

The officer class also sought to assure good reading conditions for itself in the 1800s. The officers of the Guards Battalion in Helsinki had a reading society and library; its first mentions date from 1837, but it may have been established earlier. The library functioned until the dissolution of the Guards battalion in 1905. Its books were in the Swedish, Russian and German languages. There was little professional literature; fiction and general scientific works were primarily acquired for the officers' library.³² Similar officers' libraries could be found in other detachments during the Age of Autonomy.

The triumphal march of the novel becomes apparent

By studying the catalogues of the larger reading societies' subscription libraries, the breakthrough of novels and plays can be illustrated. Printed catalogues of the Vaasa subscription library's (*Vasa Läse-Bibliothek*) collections were published in 1813 and 1828. In the former catalogue, there are 753 numbered volumes and in the latter 1,099. These figures are however to a certain extent misleading, because several titles are often bound within the same volume. This was often the case, particularly for plays that are nor-

27. Schauman 1967, 127–128.

28. Mustelin 1949, 185.

29. Jörgensen 1930 (1980), 26–43.

30. Närhi 1963, 41.

31. Havu 1945, 31–32; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1911, 113.

32. Närhi 1963, 43–45.

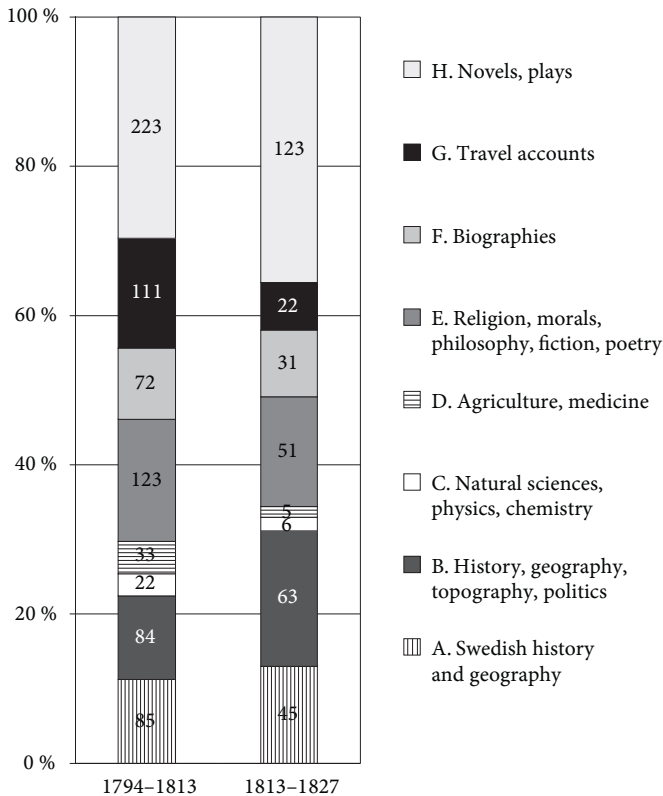


Figure 5. Vaasa subscription library's acquisitions 1794–1812 and 1813–1827, relative shares.

mally printed as thin leaflets. On the other hand, novels published as several booklets were more often than not maintained as separate volumes. A precise calculation of all titles would be ideal, but a more thorough analysis was not possible when this article was being prepared. The partially random classification method used in the catalogues creates additional problems, and many works have been placed in the “wrong” categories; plays have been mixed with works of poetry, and religious, ethical and philosophical works are also lumped in the same category. In both catalogues, novels and theatrical literature have also been placed in the same category. Despite these factors, a comparison of the 1813 and 1828 catalogues sheds light on the emerging triumphant march of novels and theatrical literature. In the calculations, it has been assumed that the books listed in the 1813 catalogue were acquired before the catalogue's year of publication. Works acquired during the period 1813–1828 have been listed in the 1828 catalogue. The bars are of equal height even though the number of books is different, because the relative shares of book categories are being compared.

Regarding acquisitions, the relative share of novels and plays grew substantially from one period to the other, even if it dropped as an absolute quantity. In other classes, the growth was only registered in the history,

geography and political science categories, understandable in light of the political upheavals of those times. Because book acquisitions in reading societies were based on common decisions, the novel tightened its grip on library readers from one decade to the next. It is however obvious that the novel's actual breakthrough had already taken place with the founding of subscription libraries in the 1790s. A few copies (numbers 12–15) of the Vaasa Library's printed acquisition catalogues, *Förteckning på de Böcker och Skrifter som finnas uti Läse-bibliotheket i Wasa*, have been preserved³³. The most recent books in these were printed in 1805. An examination of the catalogues reveals that the books were acquired as leaflets and bound subsequently only at the behest of the subscription libraries. For example, C. A. Vulpius's best-selling picaresque novel *Röfvar-Anföraren Rinaldo Rinaldini* was published during the period 1801–1802 in at least four leaflets. From the acquisition catalogue it can be concluded that freshly printed works were often obtained for the library as soon as the leaflets appeared, even if literature was also purchased from second-hand bookshops. August Lafontaine's popularity is also clearly apparent in the acquisition catalogues, where 13 of his works are mentioned. In the 1813 cumulative catalogue there are 35 works from Lafontaine, in 1828 at least 54, from Kotzebue 11 and 15 respectively. A new popular favorite appearing in the 1828 catalogue is Walter Scott, already represented by thirteen works.

The emerging popularity of the novel is also discernible in the development of the Kokkola subscription library's collections, where the percentage of fiction, novels and plays increased from 16.5% in 1811 to 21.9% in 1830, even though there was a greater increase in the percentage of biographies and memoirs. But, as Gardberg points out, it is certainly not a coincidence that while most of the reading societies' books have survived in excellent condition, novels and other escapist literature have almost entirely disappeared, and that clear marks from the hands of many readers are discernible in individual surviving volumes³⁴. The books' degree of wear and deterioration could be an excellent indication of how many books were actually read, but unfortunately this type of data is rarely accessible.

Commercial lending libraries in Finland

Besides the reading societies, the triumphal march of the novel's institutional backdrop included, particularly on the Continent, commercial lending libraries. During the early phase in the 1700s and later in the early 1800s, the first lending libraries in Stockholm were institutions favored by the elite³⁵ and that would have appeared to be the case in Finland as well. However, in Europe, Sweden and finally in Finland, commercial lending

33. Used here are the National Library of Finland's photocopies obtained from the National Archives of Sweden.

34. Gardberg 1938, 291–294.

35. See e.g. Björkman 1992.



The Anglo-Irish Oliver Goldsmith's (1728 or 1730–1774) novel The Vicar of Wakefield (1766) was a best-seller of its times. The plot of the book is full of unexpected twists worthy of any TV soap opera – or the Biblical story of Job – but its basic attraction is its treatment of the tensions between the bourgeoisie family ideal and the world threatening it. The first Swedish-language translation, Land-prästens i Wakefield lefverne, appeared in 1782; in Finnish, the work was published in 1859. Text and facsimile editions can be obtained online from the Google Books and Project Gutenberg services, for the time being only in their original languages; translations will later become available. Library of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS).

libraries experienced a certain drop in status, perhaps as a result of the novels and their female clientele, even though they were also frequented by men. F. A. Meyer, who established Finland's first commercial lending library in Turku 1801, moved his shop to Helsinki in 1829³⁶. Already before that there had been a lending library in Helsinki operating in connection with the aforementioned Zetterman's bookshop, from 1821 Devienne's lending library had also operated in the city. The first lending library in the historical Finnish area however was a short-term lending library, whose collections included German-language novels, established in Vyborg in 1785 by St. Petersburg resident Dahlgren. Besides Turku and Helsinki, commercial lending libraries could be found in other cities sporadically, but in the course of the 1800s, there was one operating in almost every city. Lending libraries were clearly an urban phenomenon, but in the Finland of the 1800s, they appear to have had less significance among the cities' less

36. Mustelin 1948.



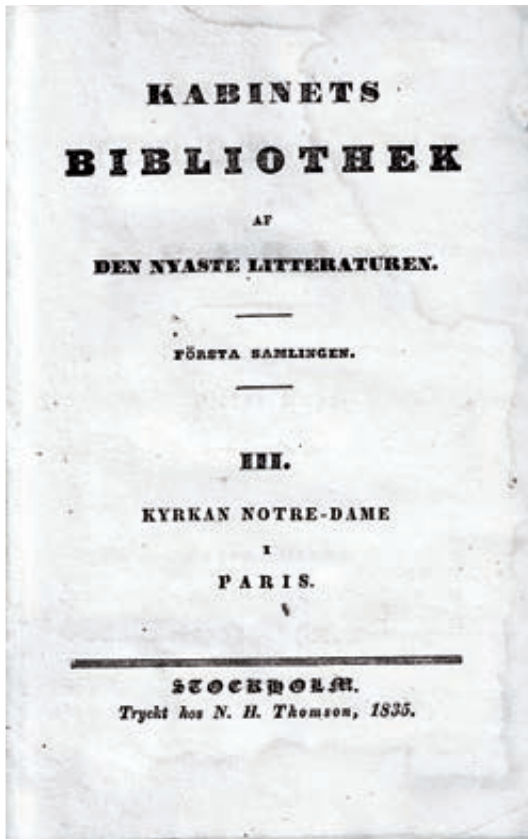
In the 22 February 1844 issue of *Saima*, J.V. Snellman recalled Finland's lively literary life during the 1810s–1820s, particularly in the Ostrobothnian coastal cities of his youth. High-level Swedish poetry found its way to Finland and “even children could recite it”. Economic and political conditions also attracted public interest, and books dealing with these subjects were available at loan libraries “that were in every city”. Regarding the reading of novels, Snellman, who referred to the era as “the Lafontaine Period” (*den Lafontainska perioden*), could not believe that even the new popular favorite Walter Scott could compete against August Lafontaine in terms of reader volumes. Picture: Ilkka Mäkinen.

affluent classes as a book acquisition channel than for example in Sweden³⁷, not to mention Central Europe. The reading societies also managed the lending library's functions in small Finnish cities.

In any case, lending libraries had a significant position in the lives of the Swedish-language urban educated classes. An example depicting a lending library as a meeting place for city residents is Topelius's short story *En roman om romaner. Händelse i fem uppträden* (1849) that begins and ends at Palm's lending library in Helsinki. On a November day in 1848, a certainly elderly gentleman, young man, elderly lady and young woman encounter each other at Mr Palm's lending library in Helsinki. The lending library is exceptionally busy on that day. Everyone wants to read novels; the elderly gentleman wants Walter Scott's book *Jonathan Dibbuck eller fornforskaren*, the young man wants Alexandre Dumas's *Grefve af Monte Christo*, the elderly lady wants Spietz's *De tolf sofvande jungfrurna*, and the young woman for her part seeks something by the new favorites Paul de Kock and Wilhelm von Braun.³⁸ The novels get mixed up, there is confusion, impatience, but there is a happy ending. The description charmingly makes the lending library's importance as a

37. Jeppson 1981.

38. Helsingfors Tidningar 32/25.4., 39/19.5., 40/23.5.1849.



During the 1830s, serial novels became a publication channel that enabled readers to have the books mailed to their homes. One of the earliest and most successful publishers was Kabinets Bibliothek af den Nyaste Litteraturen, started in 1835 by the Stockholm-domiciled publisher N. H. Thomson. During 1835–1836 it published Victor Hugo's novel Kyrkan Notre-Dame i Paris as four paperbacked leaflets (the original work appeared in 1831). After receiving the final leaflet, the subscriber could bind the entire work between a single cover. Picture: Ilkka Mäkinen.

meeting place come alive. Most likely, a lending library was a place to acquire novels, in reality as well as in the imagination.³⁹

The library of the land surveyor Tuderus

The practice of entering book titles in estate inventory deeds was almost completely abandoned during the early days of the Age of Autonomy. Consequently, an interesting source is the estate inventory deed of the land surveyor Gustaf Adolph Tuderus who died in Tampere in 1817; the document includes an exceptionally extensive catalogue of over one thousand

39. Mäkinen 1997, 187–190.

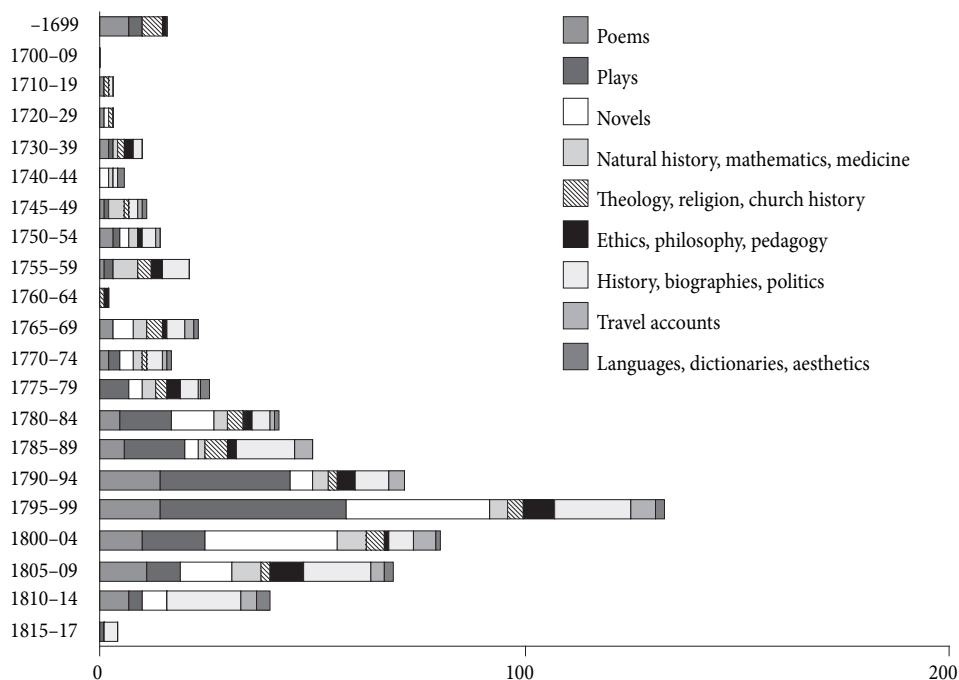


Figure 6. G. A. Tuderus's books by year of publication and subject.

books whose titles have been rendered visible⁴⁰. His estate inventory deed provides a picture of the richness of the literature of the Gustavian Era, as well as the interesting fact that a relatively modest civil servant was able to accumulate an impressive collection of almost entirely Swedish-language books, most of which were fiction. Naturally the Tuderus estate inventory deed is a special case and is perhaps comparable to the reading societies' catalogues.

The books of this large but nevertheless limited collection can also be analyzed according to their year of publication (when possible), facilitating a determination of the literary period in which the owner was most interested.

Tuderus's book acquisitions are clearly concentrated on books that were published slightly before and after the change of century; his collection also contains a considerable number of books published during the five-year period 1795–1799.

Tuderus followed his times, reading the literature then in fashion; in novels, the Germans were breathing down the necks of the French, but in plays the interrelationship was more balanced and the French successfully held their own. Tuderus's selection can be compared to the previously presented graph depicting the output of Swedish theatrical literature. There the Germans had a head start on the French. Tuderus apparently had not also

40. Mäkinen 2005.

acquired his country's original theatrical literature to the extent that it was published. Most certainly, the themes of the theatrical literature were often of international origin, even if they were not explicitly stated.

The Tuderus library is (besides the Vaasa subscription library's 1813 catalogue) a certain kind of monument to Gustavian book culture, the culminating point of the development that began in the mid-1700s with the Viapori officers' book collections.

But the triumphal march of the novel would reach its pinnacle only after the Gustavian Era. Perhaps the novel was not even the most typical literary genre of the Gustavian Era; these were plays or poems. Beginning in the 1830s a new way of publishing novels began to gain a foothold – serialized novels that could be sent more inexpensively than previously as leaflets directly to the subscribers' homes. The most popular series were *Läse-Bibliothek af den nyaste utländska litteraturen* (from 1833) and *Kabinets Bibliothek af den nyaste litteraturen*.

In subsequent stages, magazines containing novels and newspapers' feuilletons entered the picture. The novel became daily bread for the Swedish-language gentility. How the "man on the street" began to read novels and plays is another story.

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The contributors of this volume are interested in new ways of using book history as a gateway to enlighten cultural and social history as well as the international network of communication and exchange of ideas. Most of the writers were members of the organizing and programme committees of the 18th SHARP (Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing) Conference, Book Culture from Below, held in Helsinki in 2010.

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