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Dramatik som eklekticism

Naturrätt, poetisk rättvisa och konsten att moralisera

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THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND THE NORTH

Turku, 20-22 August 2026

ABSTRACTS

Parallel sessions 1A (Thursday 20.8)

1A.1 Disability History and the Long Eighteenth Century: Views from the North

Chair: Saara-Maija Kontturi (University of Helsinki)

Many historians regard the eighteenth century as a key period in the development of modern understandings and experiences of 'disability', and disability studies of the era have flourished. While these studies tend to privilege Northern perspectives, disability scholars have generally paid little attention to the Nordic region or how ordinary 'disabled' people themselves collectively viewed, experienced or responded to the changes historians have charted for the eighteenth century. This panel proposes new Northern perspectives that address these oversights. By doing so, it highlights the potential benefits an expanded and more multifaceted view of 'disability' in the North holds for disability histories of the long eighteenth century.

Catherine Beck (Lund University): *Fluctuating impairment in Northern European maritime welfare c. 1714-1810*

Drawing on Swedish, Danish, and British sources, this paper examines the frayed edges of 'disability' as an administrative category, considering the sailors who, by their changeable experiences of pain, madness, injury and exhaustion, moved between service and sick lists in increasingly bureaucratically powerful eighteenth-century maritime welfare systems.

Daniel Blackie: *Collective (auto)biography, disability and the Industrial Revolution, c. 1750–1850*

This presentation examines autobiographical accounts written by 'disabled' Britons during the Industrial Revolution. It suggests how such sources might be combined into collective autobiographies and explores the potential this approach has for generating new knowledge about 'disability' in northern societies in the long eighteenth century.

Riikka Miettinen (Tampere University): *Experiences of cognitive and intellectual disabilities in Swedish and Finnish local environments, c. 1670–1770*

Employing case studies, this paper examines the life courses of people who had permanent cognitive or intellectual impairments in early modern Swedish (incl. Finnish) everyday settings. The type and degree of the impairment and especially the home and family environments greatly influenced their position and experiences.

1A.2 Visions of Reform

Vincent Roy-Di Piazza (University of Jyväskylä): *'Wealth in heaven': the political economy of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772)*

The famous Swedish scientist, nobleman, and mystic theologian Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) is mostly remembered for his writings on heaven and hell. However, the international posterity of his religious writings has largely overshadowed his views on political economy. A non-

conformist member of the Hat party for more than fifty years, Swedenborg worked for thirty years as an assessor at the Swedish College of Mines, a key institution of Swedish economic life during the eighteenth century. As a member of the house of nobility during the Swedish Age of Liberty, Swedenborg opposed the revanchist policies of the Hats, advocated for investments into the country's technoscientific development, and even presided the parliamentary commission on foreign trade during the early Horn period of economic reconstruction. After his retirement from the College of Mines in 1747, his views of wealth, metals, and political economy took a reformist turn within the broader scope of his millenarian theology. This paper will present an overview of Swedenborg's political economic thought, showing how they relate to the broader context of the early modern Swedish culture of improvement.

Laura Tarkka (University of Jyväskylä): *"To cure our sick society": J. F. Kryger on improvement and the Swedish national character*

This paper examines a speech given by the former Manufacture Commissar Johan Fredrik Kryger at the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, upon having completed his second tenure as the chair of the Academy in 1767. The subject of the speech, entitled *Tal, Om Lagarnas och Sedernas verkan på Borgerliga Näringar*, was the influence of laws and customs on civil trades. Significantly, Kryger himself connected this speech to the one which he had given when joining the Academy in 1755.

However, the starting point of my paper is that the roots of Kryger's speech on the influence of laws and customs on civil trades run deeper. This is because Kryger had developed some of its arguments already in his early German work *Untersuchung des Temperaments einer gantzen Nation* (1737), which was a spirited rebuttal of the Jena professor J. G. Walch's negative representation of the Swedish national character in his *Philosophisches Lexicon* (1726). Yet, Kryger's 1767 speech also featured an important element that was new in relation to his previous work. This was the focus on improvement under "free governments".

As my paper argues, while Kryger had in 1737 simply praised the organisation of the Swedish society as proof of Swedish ingenuity, in 1767 he acknowledged that Sweden had suffered greatly from the military exploits Charles XII. To cure this "sick society", Kryger thus suggested that education and legislation could create a positive cycle of improvement: by improving the society's moral character, they would also support the development of trades, and the development of trades, in turn, help to sustain a civilized society.

Margrét Gunnarsdóttir: *Iceland as a free trade island. A grand project which failed*

For Iceland, an island surrounded by abundant fishing grounds, much would be gained by direct access to international markets. The island had been under the rule of the Danish Crown from the 14th century. In the correspondence of officials it was hoped that Iceland would become an island of free trade. The geopolitical importance of the North Atlantic maritime regions was growing during the last decades of the 18th century. Iceland was there in the middle, so the plan for free trade was not only about economic reforms but also a political one.

From the 1760s onwards ideas about liberalisation of trade came to the forefront after the publications of the works of Anders Chydenius (*Den nationale winsten*, 1765) and Adam Smith (*The Wealth of Nations*, 1776). From 1770 the Danish administration was interested in changing the commercial frame of Iceland, in a few gradual steps. Finally monopoly was abolished in August 1786, six towns were established later on in the year and a trade legislation, liberal in some

respect, was introduced in 1787. Iceland was to become a hub of free trade in the North Atlantic. However, this grand object did not materialise. The aim of this paper is to describe these plans and demonstrate their importance although they did not come true. The paper will also put the Icelandic free trade plans and ideas in context of new arrangements – based on the ideas of Anders Chydenius and Adam Smith – in Sweden, Finland and Scotland, where free towns and liberalisation of foreign trade were introduced.

1A.3 Art and Drama as Communication

Hanna Bendz (Umeå University): *John Valentine Haidt and the Moravian art of western Sweden*

The Moravian church was a revival movement founded in 1722, which within a few years spread across the European continent and became a world-wide movement through its missionaries. It was known for its Christo-centric cultural expressions, which were focusing on the sufferings and death of the Saviour. This is shown in prayers and verses, songs and *Lebensläufe*; the characteristic self-biographic testimonies written by individual congregation members. The visual art of the Moravian church encompassed religious motives and portraits of its members, as well as the unconventional *prayer cards* which illustrated the ideal of staying close to the Savior's wounds. Despite the extensive archives and the strong international profile of the Moravian Church, we know little about how its visual ideal was transmitted and understood in practice. In this ongoing study, I have been able to show strong correlations between on the one hand paintings by the artist John Valentine Haidt who belonged to the international Moravian church – ideals which he also enunciated in a Treatise on Art which remains in one preserved copy – and on the other hand paintings produced within Moravian congregations and networks in western Sweden. These similarities include color scheme, choice of subject matter and image composition, as well as the facial and physical expressions of the subjects portrayed. This in turn raises questions of how and within what forums this visual and artistic ideal was spread and transmitted within the international congregation of the Moravian church. The project thus illuminates the role of the Moravian church as network and community, while it also highlights general conditions for internationally working painters and artists in the early modern period.

Andreas Tranvik (Lund University): *Dramatik som eklekticism. Naturrätt, poetisk rättvisa och konsten att moralisera*

Eklekticismen har beskrivits som ett slagord i den tidiga nordeuropeiska upplysningen. Under sent 1600-tal och tidigt 1700-tal återopas termen av bland andra Christian Thomasius (1655–1728) för att beteckna ett filosofiskt program, en lära, vars själva syfte är att överbrygga enskilda läror. Med den eklektiska metoden vill man lämna de traditionella filosofiska skolbildningarna därhän, till förmån för urval och synteser.

Eklekticismen svarar sålunda på en insikt om det enskilda perspektivets begränsning. Den är en hermeneutik med ett underförstått ideal om intersubjektivitetens nödvändighet till följd av den mänskliga felbarheten. Martin Mulsow beskriver den därtill som en kulturell teknik, och i det avseendet som ett sätt att handskas med pluralism och pluralisering. Men den är inte bara en teknik för att hantera pluralism; den är en kognitiv pluralism i sig.

Den kanske mest typiska eklektiska praktiken är den naturrättsliga compilationen. I detta föredrag vill jag emellertid vända blicken mot ett annat icke-monologiskt uttryck: dramatiken.

Med utgångspunkt i exemplet Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754), och i dialog med nyformalistisk litteraturteori, vill jag diskutera dramatiken som ett särskilt eklektiskt skrivande där litterär form och kunskapsform konvergerar.

Mot bakgrund av det idéhistoriska släktskapet mellan eklekticism och naturrätt är ett genomgående tema i föredraget idén om hur poetisk rättvisa kan betraktas som ett slags naturrättslig litterär konstruktion, en förlängning av naturrätten in i skönlitteraturen. Ett annat tema gäller idealet om att moralisera hos Holberg – ett begrepp som här ska förstås som en kritisk granskning av seder, inifrån, snarare än som ett förmanande från ovan – och hur även detta hänger samman med naturrätten och eklekticismen. Sammantaget är ambitionen att presentera ett historiskt och teoretiskt bidrag till förståelsen av den dramatiska formen vis-à-vis eklekticism och naturrätt, liksom av den poetiska rättvisan och det jag kallar konsten att moralisera.

Lotta Nylund (Villa Gyllenberg): *Det nordiska och det nationella i bildkonsten kring sekelskiftet 1800 betraktat genom bildkonstnären Alexander Lauréus*

I finländsk konsthistoria brukar den Åbobördige Alexander Lauréus (1783–1823) presenteras som en av de första finska bildkonstnärerna – trots att han var svensk undersåte hela sitt liv och verksam i Stockholm, Paris och Rom. Vid Lauréus död 1823 hyllades han som en av Sveriges främsta konstnärer, men i samband med 1800-talets nationsbildning gavs han en central plats i Finlands nationella konstkanon. I enlighet med metodologisk nationalism har äldre forskning tolkat Lauréus och andra konstnärer i hans generation i ljuset av nationalismen. I anförandet argumenterar jag för att Lauréus i sina brev och genremålningar, föreställande bland annat allmoget i Finland, inte ger uttryck för nationalistiska idéer. I stället tolkar jag hans målningar som ett mer tidstypiskt intresse för det folkliga, regionala och nordliga. Här presenteras ny forskning om hur Lauréus själv beskrev sin nationalitet, samt hur och när han skrevs in i Finlands konsthistoria. Lauréus och hans vän Bengt Erland Fogelberg talade i sina brev för en nordisk bildkonst. I anförandet diskuteras i ljuset av Lauréus genremålningar och brev vad nordisk bildkonst kunde innebära kring sekelskiftet 1800.

1A.4 Mapping and Describing the Natural World

Heidi Pitkänen (University of Turku): *Striving for precision – 18th century navigation textbooks in Sweden and transnational circulation of knowledge*

Skills in navigation have been and are essential in all interactions across the seas. Navigation has been needed in travel, trade, exploration, and naval operations — whenever people, animals, goods, or information and knowledge had to cross waters. During the 18th century, and especially from around the middle of the century onwards, the requirements for navigators grew and became even more specialized as navigation methods developed at an increasing speed.

In the Swedish navy, navigators (styrmän) were the first naval profession for whom systematic training was provided and who were required to demonstrate their competence by examination from as early as the end of the 17th century onwards. Navigation skills were also required from all navy officers. In the first half of the century, navigation was taught at the navigation school founded in the 1690s at the Karlskrona naval base, at the navigation school of Stockholm city, and under the guidance of private teachers.

The early teaching on navigation in Sweden was particularly influenced by the Dutch model. Early on, there was also a need for a Swedish-language textbook, and the first, *Navigationen eller styrmanskonsten* by admiral Werner von Rosenfeldt (1639–1710), was published in 1693. After that, new textbooks were published in Swedish in 1728 and 1756, influenced also by sources other than the Netherlands. When a new cadet school was established in Karlskrona 1756, teaching of navigation was also a particular topic of discussion.

In my presentation, I will discuss the transnational mobility of navigational knowledge and navigation textbooks used for teaching in Sweden and the influences visible in textbooks published in Swedish – and consider, what these can tell us about the transnational circulation of knowledge related to navigation and the pedagogy related to its teaching in the 18th century Europe.

Oili Pulkkinen: *Sami Land and River Torne in Eighteenth-Century British Geography*

The paper outlines an examination of the concept of "North" in eighteenth-century British and Scottish geography with a special focus on the River Torne, a multicultural region located on both sides of the river known as Väylä.

The main interest lies in how this region, which is both peripheral and European, was depicted in geographical literature. The area is characterized by its multicultural population, including Swedish, Finnish, Sami, and local communities, each with their distinct cultures and languages. These descriptions positioned the area as part of Europe within the Eastern Continent, viewing Europe as a segment of the eastern landmass—a "tectonic plate"—along with Asia, Africa, and the biblical Eden, contrasting it with the western continent(s), America.

A crucial aspect of the research is the definition of "Sami" and "Lapp," which encompasses questions of nationhood, identity, language, culture, land, and myths. This remains a significant political issue in Northern Finland even today. The paper aims to examine the Sami people—the indigenous population of Europe—within the context of eighteenth-century geography. Concepts such as identity versus culture, locality versus globality and periphery versus center will be described and conceptualized.

The paper also discusses the historical development of geography as an academic discipline. In the eighteenth century, the status of geography was undefined and ambiguous, serving as an umbrella for various fields including natural geography, anthropology, cultural and political history, natural history (especially botany and zoology) and travel literature. This broad scope reflected the influence of Baconian and Newtonian science and astronomy, with the initial chapters of geographic texts often focusing on the universe and astronomical phenomena.

Tim Berndtsson (Uppsala universitet): *"En vacker och odlad slätt". Föränderliga föreställningar om landskapets uppodling i Carl Magnus Robsahm's Dagbok under resor i Västerbotten och lappmarken, 1797–1800*

Under 1700-talets sista decennium reste Carl Magnus Robsahm, ung kanslist i Bergskollegium, under flera somrar runt i dagens Norrbotten. Resorna föranstaltades av Baron Samuel Gustaf Hermelin som var i färd med att etablera en större järnbruksverksamhet från Gällivare längs med Lule älv. Robsahms del i projektet var att undersöka bergarter, vattenvägar, och jordmånar. Men även om hans reseberättelse fanns en vetenskapligt deskriptiv ambition, var motivet bakom den primärt ett kameralt betingat samhällsbyggarprojekt: en socioteknologisk vision om hur en kedja

av näringar skulle kunna uppbyggas för att understödja ett effektivt bergslag. Nybyggen skulle etableras, mossar utdikas, ängar rödjas, fält plöjas.

Föreställningarna om utökad spannmålsodling skulle dock omformas genom succesivt ökad lokalkännedom och umgänge med den samiska urbefolkningen. Renackjor framstod allt tydligare som en nödvändig komponent i de överhängande malmtransportproblem som järnbruken var behäftade med, vilket gav en situation i vilken samisk renskötsel, och även markrätt, inte sågs i motsats till järnbruksnäringen utan snarare framstod som en av dess främsta förutsättningar.

Mitt föredrag kommer med utgångspunkt i reseberättelserna som källor, diskutera bilder av koloni(al)seringen av norr vid sekelskiftet 1800. Det kommer även att behandla reseberättelsen som genre. Och mer specifikt hur en resenär och skribent som Robsahm retoriskt kunde använda dess form för att skriva fram ett slags dubbelexponering, där nuet allt som oftast betraktas i ljuset av vad som skulle kunna bli. Framtidsvisioner som innebar intressanta målkonflikter.

Parallel sessions 1B (Thursday 20.8)

1B.5 Panel presenting the volume: Managing Melancholy in the 18th century Nordic Countries

Chair: Catherine Beck (Lund University)

Melancholy held a flexible position in early modern discourse and clinical practice both as an idea connected to inner feeling and an explanation for bodily and mental disturbances. This ambivalence became a vehicle for developing debates about self-examination and salvation, while also pushing the parameters of what legally and culturally constituted mentally impaired states. These developments were born from the dynamics of the emerging differentiated disciplines of theology, medicine and law, but were also the product of the way ordinary people thought about and dealt with troubled mental states in Nordic Lutheran societies.

This panel presents a volume released 2026 on Managing Melancholy: Dynamics of theology, medicine and law in early modern Nordic Lutheran societies. We will focus on contributions illuminating Denmark, Norway and Finland, and our attempts to develop an interdisciplinary approach, bringing together scholars working with methods from theology, forensic psychiatry, church-, medical-, legal-, literary-, social- and maritime history. Finally, we will display the books efforts to integrate 'top down' and 'bottom up' approaches while also establishing national comparisons that expose early modern intersections across cultural and disciplinary Nordic contexts.

Panel participants: Riikka Miettinen (University of Tampere), Benjamin Brandt Christiansen (University of Copenhagen), Sigrid Nielsby Christensen (University of Copenhagen) and Tine Reeh (University of Copenhagen).

1B.6 Debating Animals and Plants

Andreas Hellerstedt (Mid Sweden University): *Är vi skyldiga djuren några plikter? Diskussioner om djur inom naturrätten i Uppsala och Åbo och dess bakgrund i Tyskland, ca 1710–1760*

"...det kan inte förnekas, att djuren kan kräva en viss rätt av oss och att vi är skyldiga dem en viss plikt." Så avslutar Åboprofessorn Carl Mesterton en avhandling på ämnet Om det är tillåtet att

amputera djurs lemmar? år 1754. Frågan var inte okänd i universitetsavhandlingar vid den här tiden. 1724 hade Algot Scarin argumenterat för att djur helt saknar rätt (jus) i en relativt ambitiös text, också den försvarad i Åbo. I Uppsala hade liknande frågor tagits upp i ett par avhandlingar under 1710-talet, av den skytteanske professorn Johan Upmarck.

Att det förekom försvar för djurs rättigheter bland filosofer i Danmark, Tyskland och England under 1700-talets andra hälft har i viss mån uppmärksammats tidigare. Den äldre diskussionen, som kan spåras tillbaka åtminstone till 1600-talet, är däremot mindre väl känd. Den ägde rum mot bakgrund av de stora omvälvningarna av världsbilden som ägde rum i kölvattnet av Descartes och andras nya idéer om naturen, men också inom ramen för den nya naturrätten, som fick starkt fäste vid de nordeuropeiska universiteten under 1600-talets slut och 1700-talets början.

Vad menades med djurs rättigheter och människans plikt gentemot djuren under 1700-talet? Jag kommer att ge en överblick över vilka frågor som diskuterades och hur de besvarades, med exempel från Åbo och Uppsala. Jag kommer att visa hur diskussionen i Sverige var tydligt påverkad av det som hände i Tyskland. Jag kommer också att försöka ge några förklaringar till varför dessa frågor diskuterades, utifrån det dåtida sammanhanget och äldre idéhistoriska traditioner.

Nike Stolpe Wikström (Stockholm University): *Becoming with Animals: Sensibility and More-than-Human Knowledge in Eighteenth-Century Sweden*

My proposed paper examines changing attitudes toward non-human animals in eighteenth-century Sweden and situates them within broader European debates on sensibility, physiology, and moral philosophy. During the eighteenth century, “sensibility” first emerged as a physiological concept describing the responsiveness of nerves to stimuli before expanding into a cultural and moral ideal associated with emotional receptivity and compassion. In several European contexts, historians have linked this sensibility culture to increasing expressions of sympathy toward animals. Yet the development of such attitudes in the Swedish and Nordic context remains largely unexplored.

Drawing on insights from history of emotions and posthumanist theory, this paper approaches human–animal relations as processes shaped both through and in relation to other species. Inspired by Donna Haraway’s notion of “co-becoming” and Rob Boddice’s work on the cultural history of emotions, the study asks how animals participated in the formation of knowledge about sensibility and humanity itself. Rather than treating animals merely as objects of study, the paper considers how interactions with animals contributed to shaping medical, moral, and emotional understandings of what it meant to be human.

The analysis focuses on a pilot study of the Swedish periodical *Lärda tidningar* (1745–1780), a key publication for scientific and intellectual exchange in eighteenth-century Sweden and an important source base for my larger doctoral project. Through thematic discourse analysis of articles, reviews, and scientific reports concerning animals, nerves, and sensibility, in the periodical, the paper traces shifts in attitudes toward animals from the mid- to the late eighteenth century.

By situating Swedish discussions within wider European debates on sensibility and animal experimentation, the paper highlights how northern intellectual culture participated in Enlightenment conversations about animals, emotion, and knowledge.

Ina Lindblom (Umeå university): *“The oak hatred debate” – Conflicts over the growth of oak trees in late 18th- and early 19th-century Sweden*

During the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century, all oak trees growing on governmental land [kronojord] in Sweden were, by law, the property of the state. Oak wood was used for building ships and fortifications and was thus essential for the defence of the nation. To procure this wood supply, peasants who paid land tax to the crown were legally required to preserve any oak trees that grew on their fields and meadows, even though these trees significantly hindered agricultural production. To avoid this, peasants would attempt to destroy oaks before they could take root, creating a shortage of oak wood in the process. This situation created considerable conflict at the time, later termed “the oak hatred debate.”

Drawing on debates in the Swedish parliament as well as governmental inquiries, this paper examines the emotional dimensions of this issue. Using theoretical perspectives regarding human-nature relationships, it explores why hatred became such an ingrained part of the conflict and why this hatred was described as being directed at the trees themselves, rather than, for instance, governmental decrees. This paper forms part of a project investigating the emotional dimensions of conflicts surrounding the Swedish forest from the eighteenth century to the present. More broadly, this paper also asks what “the oak hatred debate” reveals about the role of emotions in forest-related conflicts.

1B.7 Making and Breaking the Law

Elisabeth Björkenheim Andersen (University of Copenhagen): *Connected through Separation - Nordic Separatists in Northern Europe*

Early modern Denmark-Norway and Sweden with Finland had very different religious developments. By the eighteenth century, however, both places possessed a very homogenously Orthodox Lutheran church and population. In that respect, the Nordics were truly the outskirts of Europe, where religious plurality in most countries generally led to both conflicts and collaboration across confessions. Their reactions towards separatists were also quite similar. Separatism was not accepted and long court cases with attempts at re-education were common against those whose faith did not fit within the confines of the Danish or Swedish state churches. They were feared especially due to the perceived risk of them spreading their faith to others. Through banishment and voluntary emigration, several radical protestants left their home country in the search for toleration and ended up as part of a broader network of especially Northern European dissidents. In my paper, I will deal with the impact of an international wave of radical separatism in the 1730s and 1740s when renewed interest in religious mysticism and pietism spread. Two main cases that my paper will deal with are the separatist groups of the Støttrupps and the Skeviks, who each had separated from the local churches, including connected rituals and sacraments. Both groups showed high levels of local mobility and were parts of religious networks in their respective countries. When they were forced to leave their countries, they were forced to expand their networks on the other side of the borders, and both became indirectly and directly connected to each other through mobility and faith. Based on the stories of the Støttrupps and the Skeviks, I will argue that religious separatism laid the foundation for both transnational communities and a network for exiled Nordics.

Jørgen Mührmann-Lund (Copenhagen University): *The protocols of deliberations of the Supreme Court in Copenhagen 1661-1850*

The present Danish Supreme Court was founded in 1661 shortly after the introduction of absolutism. In 1661, it was also the Supreme Court for Norway (until 1814), Iceland and the Faroe Islands and later the Danish colonies in the West Indies, Africa, India and Greenland. The main source for the legal practice of the Supreme Court during the long eighteenth century are the protocols of deliberations. These protocols contain minutes of the deliberations of each of the Supreme Court judges, before the final verdict would be based on a majority decision. This is a unique source to the development of legal practice during the period but has not been used a lot for more systematic studies, because it consists of app. 200.000 pages in Gothic handwriting.

Therefore, the Augustinus Foundation has granted professor of law at Copenhagen University, Andreas Bloch Ehlers, a grant to employ me to digitize the protocols of deliberations from 1661 to 1850 in the AI-based transcription platform Transkribus in connection with a research project on the history of tort law. In this presentation, I will present the project with its many technical challenges and some examples of how legal practice changed at the Supreme Court from a tradition with roots in medieval law to something modern and recognizable. The Danish and Norwegian Codes of 1683 and 1687 mostly compiled medieval law and apart from supplementary ordinances, changes came with new ways of interpreting the law inspired by roman and natural law.

Alexander Johansson (Lund University): *Att förklara det onda i världen: demonologiskt tänkande i tidigmoderna Sverige*

Jag kommer att presentera det första kapitlet av mitt avhandlingsprojekt Att förklara det onda i världen: demonologisk tänkande i det tidigmoderna Sverige där jag analyserar hur tron på djävulens världsliga ingripanden tog sig form under det stora trolldomsprocesserna, åren 1667–1677, fram till slutet av 1700-talet, när trolldomsparagrafen ströks ur lagboken. Den huvudsakliga frågan i mitt avhandlingsprojekt gäller hur tron på demonisk besatthet, och i förlängningen tron på djävulens inflytande i världen, blev misstrodd i det sena 1600-talets medicinska, juridiska och teologiska tanketraditioner och blev allt mer marginaliserad under 1700-talet. Det demonologiska tänkandet var länge en central del i den lutherska ortodoxin och blev en av det viktigaste argumentationsgrunderna för och emot dödsstraffets tillämpande vid trolldomsprocesserna. I fokus står medicinska, juridiska och teologiska källtexter. Jag fokuserar i detta paper på tre aktörer som på olika sätt deltog i de statliga kommissionerna som dömde i trolldomsfallen: Gustaf Rosenhane (president för kommissionen i Ångermanland), Urban Hiärne (medlem som medicinsk expert i Stockholmskommissionen) och Martin Brunnerus (biskop i Uppsala domkapitel och ansvarig för att stävja en process i Gävle). De hade alla gemensamt att de vill se ett slut på trolldomsförföljelserna och att dödsstraffet inte var lämpligt vid domstolsmål om trolldom. Det gav tre olika skäl till varför dödsstraffet var olämpligt, de var eniga på flera punkter och polemiserade mot varandra på andra. Juristen Rosenhane hänvisade till att bevisbördan var för svag för att åberopa dödsstraff. Läkaren Hiärne gav en mekanistisk medicinsk förklaring och tillbakavisade alla förslag om djävulens inblandnings i trolldomsmålen. Enligt Hiärne hade trolldomsväsendet helt naturliga orsaker. Biskop Brunneus var av motsatt åsikt och hävdade att det stora och verkliga hot som djävulen innebar för mänskligheten krävde att trolldomsfall skulle rannsakas med större tillförsikt än vad som varit fallet under 1670-talets stora processer.

1B.8 Nordic Women Addressing the Public: Religion, Newspapers, Theatre

The panel discusses modes of women's intellectual self-expression within three spheres accessible to women. The first presentation takes its departure in Danish and Norwegian early eighteenth-century religious discourse, and the two latter presentations focus on women's literary agency in public spaces characteristic of the Gustavian period in Sweden-Finland: newspapers and the theatre.

Martin Fog Arndal (University of Copenhagen): *New Pathways to Equality: Women's Paratexts in the Early Modern North*

While Nordic women of the Early Modern period were debarred from teaching in the congregation, several found other channels through which to communicate religious knowledge. One such effort involved composing and publishing hymn and psalm books, along with developing ideas in their associated paratexts, used in private devotional practices and in the Church. Looking at authorships between 1670 and 1720, I would like to argue that Scandinavian women from the ecclesiastical and lower classes shaped the religious experiences of their communities by negotiating theological concepts and asserting a form of spiritual authority within the constraints imposed on them, focused on a re-conceptualisation of the idea of gender equality. They did this, by contesting the prejudice that women were irrational and unable to produce works of art, in their cases psalms. The kind of call for equality that emerges from these writings is thus focused on a sense of spiritual equality (as an equal relation to God) and intellectual equality (as equality of mind and soul). While the women did not claim rights, they implicitly argued, via their public engagements, that they should be able to teach the public on matters of religion.

Martina Reuter (University of Jyväskylä): *"detta exempel torde upmuntra flera af Könet i vårt Land": Brita Sidonia Gadd and Catharina Charlotta Swedenmarck in Tidningar Utgifne Af et Sällskap i Åbo*

Scholars have pointed out that some of the first issues of the newspaper *Tidningar Utgifne Af et Sällskap i Åbo*, founded in 1771, include poems by Brita Sidonia Gadd (1741–1810) and Catharina Charlotta Swedenmarck (1744?–1813), and that the newly established paper use these poems to promote the learnedness (*vittherhet*) of women. The three poems, two by Gadd and one by Swedenmarck, lament the death of king Adolf Fredrik and welcome the new king Gustav III, thus representing a genre of occasional poetry appropriate for female authors. However, rather than grouping Gadd and Swedenmarck together, this presentation focuses on the differences between the two women and their literary agency. For example, whereas Gadd, whose husband belonged to the circle around the newspaper, published anonymously, the Stockholm-born Swedenmarck, widowed after her first husband, used her easily identifiable initials C.C.S. The presentation discusses differences in order to show that there were various routes of self-expression open for women who nourished literary interests and, in the case of Swedenmarck, explicit literary ambitions. The presentation concludes by posing some questions for future research. In what respect is this case representative of and in what respect is it unique to the context of women's literary agency within the Nordic Enlightenment?

Maria Mårzell (University of Copenhagen): *An Intellectual Going Public: Anna Maria Lenngren Announces Her Authorship*

On June 19th, 1776, the French opera comique *Lucile* premiered in Swedish writer Anna Maria Lenngren's (1754–1817) translation at the Royal Swedish Theatre. Previously, Lenngren had published poems anonymously in prominent papers in Uppsala and Gothenburg, but with this translation she publicly announced her authorship. Except stating her name, she added a dedication and a preface in which she claimed as well as defended women's capacity for wit, genius, and learnedness. This talk analyses Lenngren's strategic use of the public arena of the Gustavian theatre as a venue for political and philosophical argumentation in favour of women's intellectual and creative abilities, as well as their (and her) right to exercise them.

Parallel sessions 2A (Friday 21.8)

2A.1 The Rise of Science and Fiction during the Enlightenment

Scientific knowledge and fiction are often perceived as opposites. In this panel, however, we explore how scientific knowledge and fictional writings were intertwined in the 18th century, before gradually disentangling and emerging as distinct discourses. This interdisciplinary panel investigates the communication of scientific knowledge in different knowledge formats – scientific papers, travel reports, novels and periodicals – to explore the relationship between science and fiction. The panel focuses on rhetorical strategies in understanding how knowledge circulates and how genres shape knowledge societies. It discusses what scientific knowledge was and how fiction and fictionalized genres supported the circulation of scientific knowledge in the 18th century. Through four cases, the panel analyzes changing relationships between global genre frames and local discourses of fictionality, defined as intentionally signaled communicated invention. Bringing together these two levels, the panel maps the gradual formation of fiction and science in the 18th century.

Simona Zetterberg-Nielsen (Aarhus University): *The Rise of Scientific Fiction*

This paper opens with an introduction to the overarching research project at Centre for the Rise of Science and Fiction at Aarhus University. It argues that integrating the history of science with fictionality studies enables a rethinking of both fields. The paper goes on to show the implication of this for our understanding of 18th century fiction in Denmark. It challenges two core assumptions in Danish literary history: a) that the Danish novel culture only emerged in the nineteenth century, and b) that the novel is primarily a bourgeois genre centered on love. Instead, it demonstrates that a substantial body of novels written in Danish already existed in the eighteenth century, and it shows that the first eighteenth-century Danish novelists were deeply engaged with science, using fiction to ridicule superstition and promote a scientific worldview.

Maria Nørby Pedersen (Aarhus University): *Fictional Voices and Civil Science in Danish Periodicals*

Periodical journals were a key medium which brought science to the tea and coffee tables of common people. Literary research has hitherto overlooked that Danish spectator journals were also carriers of science. Spectator journals were, however, set apart from other periodicals like economic magazines and scholarly articles by their innovative use of fictionality. This paper will explore the connections between fictionality and science which mark spectator journals by analyzing twelve spectator journals from the early creative period 1740-1770. The focus will be

on the use of fictional characters and societies to explore how fictionality functioned to position science as part of civil society. It will argue that the spectators used fictionality to lift science above practical advice on how to better perform tasks such as farming or beekeeping found in economic journals, into a conversation about how to make meaning of nature, life and society, and how to adopt a scientific point of view.

Samuli Björninen (Tampere University): *Facts about Finland and Denmark: The Shifting Rhetoric of Factuality in Early Chorographical Writings and Observations of the Royal Society of London*

This paper looks into the ways in which Finland and Denmark appear in English travel accounts from the late 17th to the 18th century. Taking its cue from conceptual and cultural historians who have studied the emergence of the modern concept of fact, the paper identifies and analyzes three shifts that are connected to the more general intellectual developments of the era but also speak to the status of Finland and Denmark as possible objects of knowledge. I mainly focus on writings published in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London.

Firstly, I aim to demonstrate how the accounts bear witness to the development of the travel report as a factual genre that starts to fulfill a particular role in the newly defined programs of natural history and experimental philosophy. Secondly, I will present in more detail some notable changes in the rhetoric that travel accounts employ to present their particulars and observables as factual. Thirdly, and finally, the paper contextualizes the strikingly different ways in which facts about Finland and Denmark appear in the materials of the period from the point of view of academic and scientific cultures of each country.

Valdemar Nielsen Pold (Aarhus University): *Imaginary or Fictive? Fictionality in the Early Issues of the Journal of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters*

This paper presents my postdoc project on the relation between fictionality and science during the Danish Enlightenment. Focusing on the mathematician Jens Kraft's (1720–1765) contributions to the journal of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, the paper demonstrates how and why fictionality was used in the communication of science. Firstly, I'll show how and why Kraft used fictionality. Secondly, I'll argue that Kraft's use of fictionality in scientific articles must be understood in the context of other parts of his authorship, specifically his discussion on the relationship between "the imaginary" and "the fictive", and his idea of the role of beauty ("det skønne") in the state building.

2A.2 Poetry and Music in the Early Modern North

Brage Egil Herlofsen (Høgskulen i Volda): *Tendencies in Norwegian wedding poetry 1586–1758*

Epithalamia and other genres of wedding poetry are relatively well studied literary phenomena. Especially in a Nordic context, epithalamia have partaken in a developing trend where occasional poetry have gained more attention in recent years (e.g. Jönsson et al, 2020; Baumgartner, 2022; Bastman, 2024). In Norway however, the period in question has not been studied to the same extent as in the neighboring countries.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, Norway was part of the Kingdom of Denmark, and in the 19th century, literary historians did not interest themselves with the national literature of the early-modern period, instead prioritizing medieval literature as the height of the national literary

tradition. The independence movement in Norway has strong ties to romantic nationalism, and there seems to be political and strategic reasons for excluding the literature marked by a, in romanticisms eyes, more primitive aesthetic sensibility.

My paper will present examples of epithalamia from early-modern Norway and compare them in terms of the aesthetic paradigms of the period. The comparison is centered around the changing loci or topoi that marks the literary production at the time. Changing genre norms will be explored and linked to the leading poetics of the period. The paper will also discuss how early-modern literature, and especially occasional poetry, was excluded from the Norwegian literary historiography.

Annabella Skagen (Norwegian Museum of Music, Museums of Southern Trøndelag (MiST)):
Iscenesettelse av samer i 1700-tallets musikkteater

I 1790 ble det gitt en privat teaterforestilling i Trondheim med en entrée, et ballettinnsalg med sang, med samiske rollefigurer. Stykket var den norske leilighetsdikterens Johan Nordahl Bruns syngespill Endres og Sigrids Brøllup, med handling fra norsk kongesaga. Dette er det eneste kjente tilfellet av scenisk fremstilling av samer i Danmark-Norge før 1800. Ved Gustav IIIs hoff i Sverige finner vi imidlertid flere eksempler, som i Birger Jarl (1774).

Begge disse stykkene har nasjonalhistorisk handling fra middelalderen. I begge stykker har de samiske figurene magiske ferdigheter; de danser og spiller på tradisjonelle trommer. Oppsetningene fant sted i en tid da det ble drevet aktiv misjonsvirksomhet i Sápmi, og hvor trommene, som sto sentralt i samisk religionsutøvelse, i virkeligheten var blitt beslaglagt av representanter for majoritetsbefolkningen.

Anna Ivarsdotter og Marie-Christine Skuncke (2021) har påpekt at samiske innslag både var en del av en «nordisk eksotisme» og fungerte som «pittoreske» innslag på linje med dansende bondefigurer i lokale drakter. Dette var typiske konvensjoner i musikk- og hoffteatret på 1700-tallets andre halvdel. En forløper finnes i den franske operaen Ernelinde (1767), med fiktiv handling lagt til Trondheim(!) i middelalderen. Også her skulle dansere forestille samer, i tillegg til innslag med skandinaver, kosakker og tatarer – en eksotiserende tilnærming til «det nordiske».

Hvordan fungerte så «det samiske» på scenen i en geografisk region hvor samer var en del av befolkningen? Og i en tid hvor samisk tradisjonell kultur både var gjenstand for vitenskapelig interesse og samtidig ble målbevisst undertrykt? I innlegget mitt vil jeg se nærmere på hvilke dramaturgiske funksjoner de samiske innslagene kan ha hatt, med vekt på det lite påaktede syngespillet Endres og Sigrids Brøllup. Min påstand vil være at de samiske entréene sto i en dramaturgisk særstilling i forhold til andre «etno-nordiske» sceniske innslag.

Satyanita Emma Sohlgren (Uppsala University): *Cultural Transfer through Opera Arias: Material culture and musical practices in mid-eighteenth-century Sweden*

Opera performances were rare in Sweden before the establishment of Kungliga Operan in 1773, but earlier in the century opera arias were collected in manuscripts and performed in domestic settings. This paper investigates how opera arias contributed to the cultural transfer of opera to Sweden in the mid-eighteenth century, decades before the founding of a permanent opera house.

Opera arias were transferred to Sweden through various types of material, including Italian aria manuscripts and English printed collections, which subsequently circulated in Swedish manuscript copies. At the same time, musical and cultural practices associated with arias were

also transferred, such as their use in music education and the practice of music collecting as a manifestation of learnedness and taste. Opera functioned both as a means of self-presentation and social advancement, associated with cultural refinement and cosmopolitanism, and as a pleasurable and enjoyable pastime.

The uses of opera arias in mid-eighteenth-century Swedish elite culture is discussed in this paper through examples of opera arias in the music collections of Count Claes Ekeblad the Younger (1708–1771) and the industrialist Jonas Alströmer (1685–1761). By focusing on opera arias, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of the cultural transfer of opera in this period, as well as of the cultural and social practices associated with it.

2A.3 Communicating Status and Identities

Asger Wienberg (Lunds universitet): *Meriter och minnespraktiker: ett erfarenhetskomplex och dess förändringar i 1700-talets Östersjöområde*

Appliceringen av ett modernt, individualistiskt och byråkratiskt meritokratibegrepp på äldre perioder har skymt några av de viktigaste förutsättningarna för människors vardagliga drivkrafter i det förmoderna förtjänstsamhället. Tanken att man ska göra sig förtjänt av sin ställning genom färdigheter, ansträngning eller prestation har äldre rötter än idealet om allas lika möjligheter. I mitt föredrag kommer jag att utforska hur människors meritokratiska erfarenheter i 1700-talets Östersjöområde uppstod, formades och förändrades genom olika former av trädning. Meriter hade inte bara ett värde för stunden, de bokfördes och letades fram ur det förflutna, de förmedlades och manifesterades med framtiden i åtanke. De var inflätade i ett tidigmodernt historiemedvetande och inkorporerade i olika former av minnespraktiker. Mer eller mindre avlägsna historier – individuella livslopp eller kollektiva, generationsöverskridande genealogier – fyllde exemplariska funktioner som möjliggjorde och legitimerade människors anspråk på status och deras bedömningar av den sociala ordningen.

Trädningen av en social position blev problematisk i ljuset av hög dödlighet, nedåtgående social rörlighet, föreställningar om lyckans obeständighet, kristet ödmjukhetstänkande och idealet om en stabil samhällsordning. Vanskligheten i varje generationsskifte ställde krav på en svår balansgång inför och i samband med livets slut. Ur upptagenheten vid döden flödade en strid ström av levnadsskildringar, genealogier och monumentprojekt, ägnade att kommunicera individers och släkters meriter. Denna praxis samspelade med ett bredare historiemedvetande, där minnesmärken borgade för en meritokratisk förebildlighet på lång sikt och där lärdomar och uppmuntran kunde hämtas ur ett avlägset förflutet. Länge har vi dock haft otillräckliga kunskaper om de praktiska förutsättningarna för dessa meritokratiska erfarenheter och deras förankring i människors vardagsliv. Hur påverkades erfarenheterna av förtjänstfulla liv och generationsöverskridande meriter av retoriska föreskrifter, materiella tekniker och informationsmässiga villkor? Vilken roll spelade arkiv, samlingar och institutionella projekt för trädningen? I vilka avseenden, och varför, förändrades detta över tid?

Elisa Kujansuu (University of Jyväskylä): *Material Culture and the Social Status of the Gentry in the Late Eighteenth Century Hämeenlinna*

The concept of gentry (as a translation for the Swedish ståndspersoner) is far from straightforward. In eighteenth-century Sweden, the king's subjects were formally divided into

four estates, but in reality the supposedly static social order was undergoing transformation. Towards the end of the century an increasing number of non-noble officers, civil servants and tradesmen rose to high social positions through education, wealth or both. In terms of lifestyle, especially at the local level, they increasingly resembled the nobility. This paper argues that material culture analysis can thus help reveal a more nuanced picture of the socially dynamic group.

Focusing on the eastern part of the Swedish realm, the paper discusses the example of a local community, the town of Hämeenlinna. It outlines the range of sources that can be used to reconstruct the social status of individuals in the past and explores what probate inventories can reveal about their social, economic and cultural position. Attitudes towards homes and sociability were shifting as consumption networks became global and new luxury goods were imported from the Far East to Europe and onwards to Sweden and Finland. The paper examines how these changes are reflected in the source material, and asks which objects formed the home in different status groups of the local gentry?

The paper draws from ongoing doctoral research, which examines manors, bourgeois townhouses, vicarages and the dwellings of non-noble persons of standing in Helsinki, Hämeenlinna and their surrounding rural areas. The aim of the study is to determine what material culture can reveal about gentry membership, estate-appropriate lifestyles and the possibilities of enacting them within the changing social landscape of the late eighteenth century.

Anni Shepherd (University of Turku): *Fashion in the Far North: exploring 18th century fashions in a Finnish context*

Eighteenth century Finland has been described as being in a wholly dependant position as far as fashion was concerned. Fashion, and everything related to it, seemingly came to Finland from elsewhere, but this simplified point of view disregards the agency of women as makers and consumers of fashionable goods.

Though fashionable styles remained predominantly influenced by France throughout the century, surviving extant objects from the period showcase a love of vibrant colours and prints which were doubtless used to express personal taste. What garments were considered fashionable by Finnish gentrywomen and how did they alter and refashion them in a time where textiles represented a significant financial outlay? What can surviving extant objects from the period tell us about their wearers and makers?

This paper will explore the rich variety of fashionable garments worn by gentrywomen in eighteenth-century Finland. It draws heavily from object based research conducted as a part of the author's PhD research at the University of Turku. The paper will explore the colourful fashions of the era through case study examples of objects in Finnish museum collections with a particular focus on quilted petticoats. It will also discuss the method of remaking as a tool to better understand the makers and wearers of the objects discussed.

Parallel sessions 2B (Friday 21.8)

2B.4 1700-talets opera i Norden och världen 1: Repertoaren som kulturmöten

Chair: Johanna Ilmakunnas

Marie-Christine Skuncke (Uppsala universitet): *1700-talet: En nordisk teaterhistoria i europeiskt perspektiv?" / "A Nordic History of 18th Century Theatre in European Perspective?*

Nationella teaterhistorier för Danmark, Sverige, Finland och Norge har utkommit under decennierna kring 2000. Gemensamt är att de utgår från dagens nationalstater, med vår tids gränser och huvudspråk. Men vad händer om vi för 1700-talet utgår från dåtidens nordiska stater, Danmark-Norge och det svenska riket inklusive Finland? Geografiska gränser förskjuts eller försvinner. För tyska eller franska teatertrupper är Köpenhamn och Stockholm etapper inom samma ruttn, och viktiga personer inom svenskt teaterliv, som franska truppledaren Madame Du Londel, har ofta hämtats närmast från Danmark. För resande svenska sällskap kring 1770 är Åbo ett lika självklart mål som Göteborg. Vid sidan av huvudstäderna Köpenhamn och Stockholm måste också provinsstäder som Bergen, Christiania och Åbo beaktas, och utrymme ägnas åt privata teatersällskap i dessa och lokala myndigheter. Studier av repertoar och genrer måste vara öppna dels för de utländska truppersnas bidrag, dels för översättningar till danska resp. svenska i försöken att etablera nationalscener i Köpenhamn och Stockholm. Användbara begrepp kan vara "cultural transfer" och "hybriditet" (Steen Bille Johansen & Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, 2021): hur transformeras genrer och enskilda verk när de omsätts i nya lokala kontexter, till exempel när den franska komeditraditionen från Molière hamnar på Lille Grønnegade i Köpenhamn eller på Svenska Comedien i Stockholm? Ett nordiskt och europeiskt perspektiv på 1700-talets teaterhistoria innebär utmaningar, inte minst källäget, ibland överrikt (för Sveriges del Stockholm och slottsteatrarna under gustaviansk tid), ibland frustrerande magert, särskilt när det gäller centrala och svårfångade aspekter som spel- och sångstil, eller mötet i ögonblicket mellan scen och publik. Trots svårigheterna öppnar det breda perspektivet för övergripande frågor. Går det exempelvis att urskilja särdrag i de nationella teatersträvandena i det svenska riket resp. Danmark-Norge – kanske från svensk sida ett intresse för det tragiska och heroiska, och från dansk sida, med Holberg som överskuggande gestalt, en dragning till det komiska och satiriska?

Mikko Saira (University of Turku): *Den musikdramatiska repertoaren i Åbo 1790–1840: En ny bild av ett förflutet kulturliv*

Det offentliga musik- och teaterlivet uppstod i Åbo vid övergången mellan 1700- och 1800-talen. Regelbundna offentliga konserter började organiseras 1790 i och med grundandet av Musikaliska Sällskapet i Åbo. Några teaterföreställningar organiserades i staden under 1700-talet, men teaterlivet tog sin egentliga början när det så kallade Materialhusets teater öppnades för publiken år 1813.

Den musikdramatiska repertoaren i Åbo bestod av samtida populära europeiska verk. Tidigare forskning har betonat betydelsen av kompositörer som hör till den västerländska kanonen, t.ex. Mozart och Rossini, men största delen av repertoaren under åren 1790–1840 bestod av utdrag ur franska verk. Fransk opéra-comique, en operagenre som kombinerade talad dialog och sång, var verkligt omtyckt i Åbo, såsom genren var i tidens Europa. Opéra-comique var

också en genre som oftast behandlade samhällsliga frågor, och den musikdramatiska repertoaren återspeglar de ideal och världsbilder som tidens ståndspersoner hade i Åbo.

I sitt föredrag berättar Mikko Saira om den musikdramatiska repertoaren i Åbo under åren 1790–1840. Han presenterar de verk, kompositörer och librettister som var mest omtyckta och analyserar varför dessa verk var så populära.

Charlotta Wolff (University of Turku): *Diplomaten som kulturell medlare mellan operascenerna: Gustav Philip Creutz och samarbetet mellan Grétry och Marmontel, ca 1767–1775*

Som en autonom musikalisk genre hade opéra-comiquen utformats på 1750- och 1760-talet av kompositörer som Duni, Philidor och Monsigny. Med André Grétry, ung kompositör från de österrikiska Nederländerna med italiensk utbildning i bagaget, nådde denna typ av musikdramatik, där sång blandades med talade partier, på 1770-talet ett musikaliskt formspråk som gjorde repertoaren omåttligt populär i hela Europa. Grétrys genombrott i Paris skedde då han fick en librettist av rang, Voltaires vän Jean-François Marmontel, författare till den berömda filosofiska romanen *Bélisaire*. Deras första gemensamma produktion var *Le Huron* som baserade sig på Voltaires *L'Ingénu* och som hade premiär i Paris 1768. Grétrys och Marmontels samarbete fortsatte i ungefär åtta år. Under den tiden producerade de lika många operor, bl.a. den mycket omtyckta *Zémire et Azor* från 1770.

Den som sammanförde Grétry, nyanländ från Italien, med Marmontel, var den senares nära vän greve Gustav Philip Creutz, svenskt sändebud i Paris 1766–1783. Som diktare intresserade sig Creutz mycket för litteratur och alldeles särskilt för musik. Utan hans hjälp skulle Grétry sannolikt inte ha kommit att samarbeta med Marmontel, och operans historia skulle ha sett annorlunda ut. Hur stor betydelse kan vi tillskriva honom i operans historia, och vad berättar detta om dels diplomatens allmänna roll, dels om sändebudets specifika egenskaper? Föredraget undersöker Creutz delaktighet i den skapande processen mellan kompositören och librettisten, hans verksamhet som beskyddare och mecenat för Grétry i Paris samt hans roll som länk mellan operascenen i Paris och hovet i Stockholm.

2B.5 Structuring of Knowledge at Nordic Universities

Visa Helenius (University of Turku): *Wolffianism in The Royal Academy of Turku*

The Royal Academy of Turku is the first academic institution in the Finnish region and the predecessor of the University of Helsinki. The academy was in operation between 1640 and 1827. The establishment of the academy was part of the reform of the educational institution carried out by the Kingdom of Sweden. At the beginning of the early modern period, the theological heritage of the Middle Ages was particularly detached. The central ideologies of Europe, such as rationalism, empiricism, Wolffianism and Kantianism, also arrived in Finland through the academy.

The activities of The Royal Academy of Turku were dominated in the 18th century by the conservative tradition and theological supervision. However, there was a change in the period after Great Wrath (1712–1721): with the decline of the power of theology, the era of slightly freer science began. As a result, the philosophical activities of the academy were twofold in the 18th century: philosophy, among other things, was practiced diligently and a significant number of publications (i.e., dissertations) were published, but the publications were not critical and original. However, philosophical activities of the academy were diverse and socially significant.

In my presentation, I will discuss the nature of the Wolffian period of The Royal Academy of Turku. Wolffianism is based on the philosophy of Christian Wolff (1679–1754), who was an influential German philosopher between Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) and Immanuel Kant (1724–1804). Wolffian trend was supported in Turku, inter alia, by Johan Welin (c. 1705–1744), Karl Mesterton (1715–1773) and Jakob Haartman (1717–1788).

Liisa Kunnas (University of Jyväskylä): *Finnish, Nordic, European, and global materiality: The collections of the Academy of Turku in 1750-1827*

The Academy of Turku (Kungliga Akademien i Åbo) was founded in 1640. Especially from the 1740s onwards, several collections, or cabinets, were formed at the Academy. They included e.g., art, archaeological, historical, and ethnographic artefacts, and natural specimens. The collections were destroyed in the Fire of Turku in 1827, except for some items of the numismatic collection, nowadays held in the National Museum of Finland.

While the collections were accumulated, the Academy also saw an increase in the research interests towards Finnish and Nordic history. The new more source-critical way of researching history aimed at examining both specifically Nordic and “northern” topics as well as historical connections between the North and other regions. On one hand, I will focus on the mineral cabinet of the Academy, which was especially founded and systematically accumulated as a Finnish and Nordic mineralogical collection, and on the other I will examine the routes, connections, and circulation of knowledge related to archaeological and ethnographic objects present in the collections. My presentation is based on my upcoming postdoctoral research project “Stones and gold coins: The collections of the Academy of Turku from the perspectives of history of archaeology and critical heritage studies”. In addition to the heritage perspective, my research is set in fields of history of science and Finnish museum history. It is important to research not just the collections itself, but the way they have been remembered – and forgotten – in later research, and why. There has only been sporadic previous research aimed at the collections of the Academy and even their existence is not very well known.

Saara-Maija Kontturi (University of Helsinki): *Medical Electricity and the Exchange of Knowledge in Sweden and Abroad, c. 1750-1800*

In the middle of the 18th century, the medical potential of electricity was discovered and experimented with around Europe and the Atlantic world. The fad was based on a new understanding and discoveries on electricity, as well as the development of electric machinery, making it possible to store electricity and artificially produce more powerful electric shocks. The promising early results from the first electric experiments contributed to the hype, and for a while, electricity was considered a possible cure-all solution in medicine.

Medical electricity arrived in Sweden early, following the first experiments in Europe in the late 1740s, and was experimented with in the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences in Stockholm and at the University of Uppsala. Several Swedish physicians and scholars, among them names such as Carl von Linné, Olof af Acrel, and Jacob Berzelius, participated in shaping and sharing knowledge on medical electricity from the mid-18th to the early 19th century. In this presentation, I take a look at the networks of electricity practitioners in Swedish academic communities and the exchange of knowledge between them and outside of Sweden. What kind

of influences were taken from abroad, and how did the Swedish scholars contribute to the transnational development of new medical knowledge?

The presentation is based on research in the ongoing project Medical Electricity, Embodied Experiences, and Knowledge Construction in Europe and the Atlantic World, c. 1740–1840, funded by the European Research Council.

2B.6 Life in the Margins

Anders D. Birkemose (Aalborg University): *Runaway-advertisements in a Nordic perspective*

Runaway advertisements have traditionally been studied within the context of the Atlantic world, particularly as mechanisms for policing enslaved mobility. In European settings, similar notices are often interpreted primarily as traces of a Black diaspora. When similar advertisements have been examined in Europe, it has been in the shadow of the American example.

However, recent research into Danish newspapers has identified approximately 15,000 runaway advertisements published between 1749 and 1854, the overwhelming majority concerning individuals who were not enslaved but occupied a wide range of social and legal positions. In the Danish-Norwegian realm, runaway advertisements were used by both private households and state officials to publicly reassert authority and regulate labour mobility. The genre thus functioned less as an instrument of racial control and more as a flexible medium for managing asymmetrical relationships across society.

Situating this material within a broader Nordic and northern European perspective reveals that similar forms of fugitive notices existed in Britain, the German lands, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia. Yet these traditions have rarely been analysed together. By viewing the phenomenon from a northern perspective, this paper argues that runaway advertisements should be understood not solely as an Atlantic or colonial genre, but as part of a wider early modern global information culture linking private policing, print circulation, and state formation in the eighteenth century.

In the presentation I will outline an overview of the Danish material and discuss its transregional connections, and the chronological changes of the medium from c.1700 to 1850. It will reflect on where the phenomenon migrated from and how it was used in Denmark by private individuals and public officials. Lastly, how the genre was adopted by the police in their own internal communication network of the late 19th century. Viewed from a Nordic perspective, the runaway advertisement offers new insight into how mobility, coercion, and public communication intersected in the 18th and 19th century North.

Unnur Helga Vífilisdóttir (University of Iceland): *Tracing Lives at the Margins: Illegitimacy, Pauperism, and the Lived Experience of Poor Children in Iceland*

This lecture explores the lived experience of people who were born into difficult situations within the Icelandic farming society. Three main groups will be discussed: 1. Illegitimate children, 2. Pauper children and 3. Children born to newlywed couples. In the 18th century, Icelanders experienced many hardships such as extremely cold winters and springs, icy shores during fishing seasons, eruptions such as the widely impactful Móðuharðindin (1783) and rainy summers. All these factors contributed to multiple famines and fluctuations in population size. Many people were living lives on the margins. One hard winter could throw a whole family into poverty; they

would be divided between the families of their parish and become paupers. The three groups that will be explored are therefore intertwined in many ways. Illegitimate children often became paupers since in many cases their parents could not provide for them while working on other people's farms. Pauper children had in some cases been a part of a family that had to be divided between farms because of poverty. Lastly, children to newlyweds were in very unstable circumstances since one bad year could throw the whole family into pauperism or the children would be sent away so the family would have one less mouth to feed. Therefore, comparison between these groups can provide insight into what life was like for the less privileged of the population.

In this 20-minute lecture I will explore how using microhistory and the theory of the singularization of history can shed light on how these people carved their own way in life. Examining individuals and their life-trajectories showcases the many ways in which people's lives could turn out. By shifting the scale from macro to micro, we see that life within a small society could be very complex and varied.

Mariaana Korpela (Åbo Akademi): *Återanvändning av handlingar för att bygga upp individens livshistoria i 1700- och 1800-talens sekelskifte*

Min pågående magister avhandling behandlar livet av Lena Ersdotter (omkr. 1760 - 1832) efter att hennes man förvisades 1787 från Borgå och hela landet. Jag granskar Lena Ersdotters berättelse med ett mikrohistoriskt grepp. Jag ser Lena Ersdotter som en individ som försöker klara sig i varierande omständigheter. Genom hennes liv kommer fram olika företeelser i Borgå och i landet. Mina källor har bildats från olika myndigheters behov, främst kyrkoböcker, men även mantalslängder och dombok över Lenas mans dom.

I mitt arbete förenas historieforskning och arkivvetenskap. Båda behandlar dokumentens tillkomstkontexter. Inom historieforskningen strävar källkritiken efter att ta reda på vilka typer av forskningsfrågor man kan finna svar på i en tillgänglig källa. Inom arkivvetenskapen bedöms en handlingens beviskraft utifrån vem som har upprättat den, för vilket ändamål och när.

På grund av sin makes dom Lena Ersdotter försvann inte i historien bakom de rutinmässiga dokumentanteckningar. Hon stannade kvar i Borgå som gift hustru, vars man inte var på plats för att stödja familjen och dela ut dess underhåll. Att Lena stannade kvar på orten var på sin tid emot normerna, eftersom hustrun borde ha följt med sin make till förvisningen.

Mina forskningsfrågor är:

Vilka möjligheter tog Lena Ersdotter i att försörja sin familj?

Hur styrde de olika handlingarnas tillkomstkontexter innehållet i myndigheternas registreringar om Lena?

Hur såg myndigheterna i olika organisationer Lena i situationer där de på ett eller annat sätt umgicks med henne?

2B.7 Writing Histories of the North. Historiography in Eighteenth Century Denmark-Norway

"The North" – or even "our North" was both a theme and an important concept in historical works in Denmark-Norway in the eighteenth century. It was what most histories written in this part of the world was about, but as a concept it also held messages about politics and religion, culture and nature. In this session, we investigate the various meanings attributed to the concept of "the North" in different historiographical genres and social contexts in Denmark and Norway in the

second half of the eighteenth century: in learned works of history by internationally acclaimed historians and royal historiographers (Schøning, Mallet), as well as in a church history written by an unknown Norwegian carpenter (Madsen). A common thread in the session is the question of how the complex imaginary of “the North” provided both intellectual resources and challenges for scholars and writers, depending on what they sought from old Norse, [pre-Christian] history and the audiences for which they wrote. The ancient North did represent paganism, barbarism and violence, but it could also be conceptualized as a place of mythical origins and a cradle of civilizations.

Paper 1: Håkon Evju (Universitetet i Oslo): *Barbarism and Religion in the Ancient North. Paul-Henri Mallet's histories of pagan Scandinavia*

Paper 2: Anne Eriksen (Universitet i Oslo): *Giants: From monsters to ancestors. Gerhard Schøning's theories about Norway's first inhabitants*

Paper 3: Thomas E. Daltveit Slettebø (Høgskulen på Vestlandet): *“Consider what misery and strife was here in the north, before God sent the word of life here to us.” The North as a place of paganism and violence in the works of the Norwegian radical Pietist and carpenter Johan Madsen (1735–1799)*

Parallel sessions 2C (Friday 21.8)

2C.8 1700-talets opera i Norden och världen 2: Mobilitet, identitet, tradition

Chair: Charlotta Wolff (University of Turku)

Johanna Ilmakunnas (Åbo Akademi): *Scenkonstnärer och operaföreställningens materialitet i 1700-talets Sverige*

De materiella aspekterna är avgörande för framförandet av opera och för hur musik och teater upplevs i en föreställning: musiker, sångare och skådespelare, liksom publiken, omges av materialitet under en föreställning. För musik- och teaterkonstnärer är de materiella dimensionerna av deras konst och arbete naturligtvis också påtagliga när de förbereder sig och repeterar inför föreställningarna.

Denna presentation berör operans materiella kultur och materiella rörlighet i 1700-talets Sverige med fokus på opera-, teater- och musikproffs och utgångspunkt i källor från Kungliga Operans arkiv.

Föredraget analyserar vardagliga materiella faktorer som löner, kostymer, instrument och scenografi, logi och karriärmöjligheter samt hur dessa påverkar det kulturella arbetet och föreställningarna. Vidare undersöker föredraget vilka sångare, skådespelare och musiker som valdes ut för föreställningarna och huruvida materiella förhållanden påverkade dessa val. Föredraget visar att kontrakten i Kungliga Operans arkiv och de anställningsvillkor som finns dokumenterade i dessa kastar nytt ljus över professionella scenkonstnärer, amatörer och materialitet i 1700-talets opera.

Martin Wåhlberg: *Fransk opera-comique i Bergen under Ibsens läroår*

Som student i Christiania valde den unge Ibsen, efter rekommendation från den världsberömda violinisten Ole Bull, att avbryta sina studier till fördel för ett jobberbudande vid en ny norsk teaterinstitution: Det Norske Theater, som 1850 etablerats i Bergen med bland annat Ole Bull i

ledningen. Ibsen skulle i allt komma att stanna sju år i Bergen, endast avbrutet av resor söderut till Danmark, tysktalande länder och Frankrike för att studera nya trender i samtidens europeiska teater. Dessa år i Ibsens tidiga karriär förstås i allmänhet av Ibsen-biografer som hans faktiska läroår: här fick han ta del i den dagliga verksamheten i ett teaterhus med en mycket omfattande spelplan. Av olika skäl har den repertoar som här framfördes – i all huvudsak bestående av franska så kallade vaudeviller och opéra-comique-pjäser – i liten mån undersökts av teaterforskare och ännu mindre kommenterats av Ibsen-specialister. Samtidigt som teatern spelade helt nya pjäser av exempelvis författare som Scribe, spelade man fortfarande opéra-comique-verk som hade haft premiär i Paris på 1770- och 1780-talen. Ett urval pjäser av kompositörer och författare som Méhul, Dalayrac, Marsollier och Sedaine som spelades i Bergen under Ibsens ledning, med direkt relevans för hans senare mycket omtalade nya sociala drama, kommer i föredraget att undersökas och jämföras med Ibsens egen produktion som dramatiker.

Topi Artukka (University of Turku): *Carl Gustav Bonuvier and the birth of modern theatre and opera house in early 19th century Finland*

N/A

2C.9 Copenhagen Complains: Complaining and Negotiating Urban Order in Eighteenth-Century Copenhagen

Throughout the eighteenth century, the Copenhagen City Council received thousands of complaints from city dwellers from all walks of life and social strata on a wide variety of subjects and issues. Complaining was an important instrument in the everyday negotiation of the city's political, commercial, social, and spatial order. The plethora of complaints provides a unique insight into the conflicts that preoccupied Copenhageners and the sense of justice that prevailed among them.

Complaining about everyday issues such as non-payers, violence, breaches of contracts, misbehaviour, lack of maintenance, and abuse was a means of testing and shaping social boundaries and categories within the various domains of city life: neighbourhoods, guilds, urban markets, public spaces, and family life. The three papers of this session focus on complaint culture, the reciprocity between complainants and urban authorities, and the importance of complaining in the making of urban order.

Peter Wessel Hansen (Copenhagen City Archives): *Scriptural Practice and Security Measure*

The paper explores the distinctive scriptural practice of complaining and how written complaints were used as means of settling conflicts and preventing new. The complainants and their opponents were summoned to meetings at the City Hall, often with the aim of reconciling or correcting the parties. However, the complaints and the City Council's resolutions did not only have immediate significance. After the cases were closed, they became part of the city's concrete and imagined memory, which could have great significance for the parties involved. As the complaints were filed in the City Council's archives at the City Hall, they also served as a deterrent against opponents and a security measure for the complainants if problems persisted.

Ulrik Langen (University of Copenhagen): *Intergenerational Conflict and Civic Governance*

This paper examines how the City Council was utilised to settle disputes and resolve conflicts about old age and ageing. Although precise ages of the people involved were rarely specified, there are several linguistic and contextual indications of the complainants' advanced age, as well as examples of complaint narratives specifically structured around either the complainant's or the defendant's old age. The paper will demonstrate how old age was portrayed and conceptualised in intergenerational conflicts between family members. The complaints cover a wide range of age-related issues, including disputes over inheritance and extravagance, generational obligations, assistance and support, housing conditions and, not least, expectations of age-appropriate behaviour. At the same time, the cases show how the authorities dealt with practical, financial, and emotional conflicts in which old age was the primary concern.

Benjamin Brandt Christiansen (University of Copenhagen): *Rental Complaints and the Limits of Reasonable Conduct*

This paper concerns how Copenhageners argued the limits of acceptable and reasonable behaviour in rental complaints. As Copenhagen grew throughout the eighteenth century, the housing market became increasingly characterised by tenancy and subtenancy. Unsurprisingly, disagreements about the payment of rent were also commonplace in the city. Seeking security in this insecure market, hosts often seized belongings from their tenants as a kind of informal pawn until said tenants could pay their rent arrears. In this paper, complaints to the Copenhagen City Council about this contentious practice are analysed in light of theological and social frameworks. This reveals new perspectives on the moral-economical notions of regular eighteenth-century people and their authorities.

2C.10 Reading Individuals through Early Modern Sources

Kaisa Kyläkoski (University of Helsinki): *Mono- and Multilingual Individuals in Gustavian-Era Finland*

Multilingualism in eighteenth-century Sweden has often been described through the lens of social and geographical language boundaries. Members of the upper strata of society primarily spoke Swedish and were expected to command several European languages, such as Latin, French, and German. In contrast, the lower classes were predominantly monolingual, speaking Swedish, Finnish, or variants of Sámi depending on their region, but their members could be bilingual at the boundaries between monolingual areas and in the towns.

Only a limited number of sources allow this general framework to be examined at the level of language practices of individuals. One such source consists of the ordinances produced in the State Provincial Offices by the governor's staff. These printed notices were distributed throughout the province and read aloud during church services. They frequently included descriptions of individuals who had fled or were otherwise being sought, and these descriptions sometimes contained brief references to linguistic abilities—for example, “speaks Swedish and Finnish,” “speaks only German,” or “speaks Finnish and some Russian.”

This presentation discusses the source-critical challenges involved in using these ordinances to reconstruct linguistic realities in eighteenth-century Sweden. It also introduces preliminary findings from a study of the printed ordinances from Turku (from 1771 onward) and Vaasa (from 1776 onward). The project is compiling a prosopographical database of individuals

whose language skills are mentioned in these notices, supplemented with information from church, prison, and military records.

Santeri Aikio (University of Jyväskylä): *Noncommissioned Officers at the End of the Swedish Era in Finland*

In my doctoral thesis I examine the Noncommissioned Officers (NCO) of the Finnish tenure army through perspective of the society of orders at the end of the Swedish era in Finland. I study the NCO's as members of local societies and provincial regiments in three different provinces of Finland: Southeast Finland, Häme and Savo. Research is conducted in a comparative way to form a general picture about the social status of the lower military leaders. I apply prosopographic and spatial approaches to reconstruct the possible career- and life paths of an NCO.

In this paper I take a few individuals and local societies into a closer examination as examples of the NCO's local roles and lives. The spatial circumstances of the society are analysed through historical maps and thematic mapping in conjunction with interpretations of local and personal historical documents; court records, estate inventories, parish history records, confirmation books, military records etc.

The local society was the practical manifestation of the society of orders in the every-day life of a rural individual. In addition it was the environment for military duties, since the soldiers of the tenure army from the colonel to each simple soldier lived in the countryside among the civilians. Spatial elements, such as the places of official residence, gathering points and training areas, march routes, crofts of other soldiers, the distances between these and the space surrounding them affected the ways and practises of the military as well as all interaction between the soldiers and civilians.

The analysis is done using the method of historical mapping in connection with historical contextualization. By taking a closer look to a couple of local societies, I analyse the effects of space on the social order of the community, the NCO's potential roles and status in it and their ability to carry out their peace time military duties. The method could be used in other research questions concerning the spatiality of the rural communities of the 18th century.

Vigdis Berland Øystese (NLA Høgskolen (Bergen)): *From Clerical Households to Lay Religious Communities: Women's Writing in Norway across the Long Eighteenth Century*

This paper examines the conditions for women's writing in Norway from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century, with particular attention to the eighteenth century as a transitional period. It focuses on four women whose lives and works intersect with this era: Dorothe Engelbretsdatter (1634–1716), Ingeborg Grytten (1668–c.1705), Elen Andersdatter Opdal (1637–1704), and Berthe Canutte Aarflot (1795–1859). While Engelbretsdatter and Aarflot are associated primarily with the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries respectively, their trajectories, together with the lesser-known Grytten and Opdal, illuminate significant changes in the social and cultural frameworks enabling women's authorship.

The three earliest writers were embedded in clerical households and devotional networks, where literacy and writing were mediated by family ties, ecclesiastical authority, and religious genres. By contrast, Aarflot, a farmer's wife from Ørsta/Volda, wrote within a lay religious milieu shaped by the revivalist movement associated with Hans Nielsen Hauge and by the regional printing network at Ekset. The conditions that made her authorship possible in the nineteenth

century emerged in the closing decades of the eighteenth, when Haugean revivalism and expanding lay literacy began to transform the social basis of devotional writing.

Geographically, the four writers trace a west Norwegian axis from the urban clerical culture of Bergen, through prestegard and provincial networks in Sunnfjord and Oppdal, to the lay-based communities of Sunnmøre. This movement reflects both the diffusion of literacy in peasant households and the transformation of devotional authorship from clerically anchored to socially diversified frameworks.

Rather than approaching these texts primarily as literary works, the paper situates them within lived devotional practices, highlighting the interplay of gender, social position, and religious culture. The contrast between Engelbretsdatter's clerical household literacy and Aarflot's lay religious authorship underscores how women's literary activity evolved alongside shifting social and geographical contexts.

Parallel sessions 3A (Saturday 22.8)

3A.1 On Nordic Lutheran Religion and Welfare for Children, Caribbeans and Criminals in the 18th Century

Chair: Ralf Hemmingsen (University of Copenhagen)

Sigrid Nielsby Christensen (University of Copenhagen): *Nordic Hallensian Welfare Institutions – a Challenge for the National Welfare Narratives?*

This paper examines the history, interconnections, and influence of the transnational welfare institutions for children – the Hallensian “Waisenhausen” (orphanages) in the eighteenth century. Whereas previous research tends to reinforce state-centered national narratives, this church historical paper examines how orphanages were embedded in transnational religious networks and how these institutions developed through interactions between state authorities and private actors. This raises the question: How were Nordic Hallensian welfare institutions for children established and connected, and do these transnational interconnections challenge the national welfare narrative?

Benedikte Emilie T. Steensgaard (University of Copenhagen): *Welfare for Body and Soul? Nordic Lutheran Religion in the Caribbean*

The aim of this paper is twofold. First, it seeks to present the Danish-Norwegian state-supported mission to the enslaved and free Afro-Caribbean people in the West Indies in the second half of the eighteenth century - a subject largely neglected in recent research within both mission history and colonial studies. Second, the paper examines the complexities of introducing Nordic Lutheran religion and culture into a Caribbean context. By initiating missionary work on the islands, the king provided bodily and spiritual welfare for the non-Christian population, who then was expected to change their behaviour into Nordic customs. However, this was not always followed by the converts, which was an ongoing “anguish” for the missionaries. How did they respond and attempt to secure welfare for body and soul of the king's subjects in the Caribbean?

Tine R. Reeh (University of Copenhagen): *Between Moral Warfare and Criminal Welfare. Nordic Lutheran Considerations on Pastoral Authority and Care for Lawbreakers*

In the Nordic lands, 18th century theologians were often consulted and used as experts in legal cases. This involvement, however, often led to clashes between two early modern professional rationales. On the one hand, as the kings state officials, theologians were expected to use their theological and legal competences to establish what was right and wrong, guilt and innocence. At the same time, as God's ministers, they were obliged to have a pastoral responsibility for the criminal and thus for his or her welfare. This paper presents examples of these dilemmas and considers if some of the ideas were sustained in the development of Nordic concepts of welfare.

3A.2 Perspectives on Neighbouring Regions

Susann Holmberg (Western Norway University of Applied Sciences): *Imagining Norway: British Readings of Pontoppidan's Natural History in the Mid-Eighteenth Century*

In 1755, Erik Pontoppidan's *The Natural History of Norway* was translated into English and soon reached an even wider readership through excerpts published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* and *The Newcastle General Magazine*. These condensed versions did not merely summarise the original work; they selectively highlighted particular natural-historical observations, cultural anecdotes, and representations of Norway presumably deemed most engaging for English readers. By analysing the stories and themes foregrounded in these magazine extracts, I will explore how Norway was mediated for a British audience in the mid-eighteenth century. The study sheds light on how editorial choices and print culture shaped British perceptions of the North, contributing to the eighteenth-century imaginaries of the northern periphery.

Rebecca Gigli (Institute for Literature (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences)): *Portraying the Enemy: Ideological Metanarratives and Representations of Sweden in Eighteenth-Century Russia*

During the 18th century, the North was often a battle theater. The then-powerful Kingdom of Sweden and the emerging Russian Empire repeatedly faced each other for the control and hegemony of the Baltic Sea. However, war was not only waged on the battlefield. No less important was the fight against the enemy conducted through propaganda, one of whose most successful weapons at the time was the printed word. Periodicals, sermons, and literary works were used to create an ideological (negative) representation of the antagonist. The aim of the present paper is to analyze how the "theme of the North" was strategically used in the political and cultural metanarratives within the 18th-century Russian Empire. In particular, the research focuses on the representation of Sweden. On the one hand, the research intends to highlight constants and transformations in the depiction of the Swedish enemy during the three major conflicts involving the two political powers in the years 1700–1721, 1741–1743, and 1788–1790. On the other hand, the paper shows how constructing this non-positive image of the opponent was fundamental to the very formation of the national identity of the Russian subject. The negative characterization of the enemy gave a chance and was instrumentally employed by the representatives of power not only to exalt "Russianness" and spread a sense of patriotic belonging to the newly formed Russian Empire and its collectivity. It was also utilized to assert the "northern" nature of Russia and its population, thereby legitimizing the Russian claims to hegemony over the Baltic territories. To achieve these research ends, the study examines the narrative and rhetorical strategies employed in the depiction of Sweden in a selection of representative fictional and non-fictional texts.

Alexandru Lefter (Uppsala universitet): *Island – det samma och det andra. En svensk bild av Island från slutet av 1700-talet*

Under hela 1700-talet företogs resor till olika delar av Europa och världen i syfte att skaffa sig kunskaper, utröna nya språkfärdigheter och etablera kontakter. Dessa resor utvidgade horisonterna hos en ivrig läsarpublik och gav nyheter om okända områden. Ett sådant föga känt område var Island.

Den brittiske naturalisten Joseph Banks organiserade år 1772 en resa till Island vars huvudsyfte var att undersöka vulkanen Hekla. Besättningen bestod av 40 man varav en av dem var den unge svenske ädlingen Uno von Troil, son till överhovpredikanten (och sedermera ärkebiskopen) Samuel Troilius. von Troil hade blivit rekommenderad av sin landsman Daniel Solander i London och antog tjänsten som tolk. Resan varade mellan 12 juli och 13 november 1772 och efter hemkomsten samlade von Troil information och material om Island från olika källor inför skrivandet av en lärd bok om Island som gavs ut i april 1777 och som hade en dubbelfunktion: kunskapsförmedling om Island och meritering i karriären.

Den bild av Island von Troil förmedlar i sin bok är, sett ur ett postkolonialt perspektiv, mångfacetterad: Island är både "det samma" som övriga Norden och samtidigt främmande, "det andra". Det vilda, ovanliga och ogästvänliga landskapet med sina lavaformationer var ett av naturen påtvunget "det andra". Det primitiva hos folket (sysselsättningar, tideräkning, dräkt, byggnader, matvanor) är främmande, men folkets lynne, sagoberättande, den höga kunskapsnivån tillhör ett gemensamt nordiskt "det samma".

Religionen, litteraturen och språket var en del av den europeiska gemenskapen, men det genuint isländska framhävs i en anda av stolthet och konkurrens gentemot det danska. Ur ett europeiskt och nordiskt perspektiv var Island både "det samma" och "det andra", medan ur ett globalt perspektiv var Island "det samma" som övriga Norden.

3A.3 Northern Treasure – Everyday Forest Use in the 18th and 19th Century

Chair: Sofia Gustafsson (University of Helsinki)

Research on the forest history of northern regions has often focused particularly on the tar trade and the emergence and expansion of the forest industry. This session examines the use of forests by rural households in southern Finland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, before the breakthrough of modern forest industry. A large proportion of forests were owned and used by the peasant population. The entire material culture of the premodern era depended on wood, which was needed for construction, tool making, fencing fields, and heating homes. In addition, forests were used for grazing livestock and slash-and-burn cultivation, and people gathered berries, birch bark, and bast, which supported agriculture and the daily living in households.

Hilja Solala (Tampere University): *From Tree Leaves to Lichen – Native Cattle, Forest, and Winter Fodder in 18th- and 19th-Century Finland*

Petri Talvitie (Tampere University): *Conflicts related to forest use through the lens of slash-and-burn agriculture*

Ella Viitaniemi (Tampere University): *The Proper Use of the Northern Treasure*

Dr. Hilja Solala examines the diverse use of forests in agriculture, particularly from the perspective of livestock feeding. Forest grazing was widely practiced until the late nineteenth century, when

it gradually declined due to the rise of the forest industry, intensified livestock feeding practices, and the expansion of field cultivation. In traditional animal husbandry, the relationship with forests was defined by grazing and the collection of winter fodder from forest such as tree leaves and even mushrooms. Solala analyses livestock feeding practices through a cross-reading of contemporary descriptions and agricultural manuals.

Because of the central role of forests, their use was also subject to attempts at control and regulation, and rights to forest resources were often contested. Dr. Petri Talvitie examines how the use of forest resources was controlled at the local level, who exercised this control, and how it affected social relations. What kinds of conflicts emerged between different social groups, and what do these conflicts reveal about preindustrial forest ecology?

Ella Viitaniemi examines eighteenth-century economic thinkers' views on the "proper" use of forests. The focus is particularly on the ideas of Johan Kraftman (1713–1791). Kraftman's aim was to reform traditional agriculture. At the same time, he examined the ways in which peasants used forest and timber, and proposed improvements. Viitaniemi asks how Kraftman viewed peasant forest use, and what kinds of practical changes he proposed for proper forest use.