

Riitta Laitinen

Order, Materiality, and Urban Space in the Early Modern Kingdom of Sweden

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A Note on Usage

The language of all the sources used for this book is Swedish, but the choice has been made to use the current English versions of all major placenames, such as towns and regions. This choice stems particularly from the preference for the usage *Turku*, the Finnish name of the town, rather than its Swedish name *Åbo*, which is used in the sources (and which is found in many older historiographical sources). I have chosen to use *Turku*, because it is the name that is used in current English discussion, both scholarly and non-scholarly. Particularly as international readers may not be familiar with the fact that many Finnish placenames also have a Swedish version, sometimes very similar but not infrequently (as with *Turku* and *Åbo*) strikingly different, to use a different term in writing than is current in discussion would be confusing. Accordingly, I have used the English or, lacking that, the local language versions of all major towns and regions. On their first occurrence, the Finnish names will be given with the Swedish names in parenthesis. For street names or other names of lesser significance that are no longer in use, however, I have used the names as they appear in the sources.

In the seventeenth-century Swedish sources, people can have various different versions of their personal names, and names are used in a varied and inconsistent manner. Many people are referred to by first name and patronym, while some have a surname, and others a sobriquet attached to a first name. The names in this book are used as they appear in the sources. This means that for some people I use a surname, and for others a first name. This usage comes directly from the court sources, where most individuals are addressed and referred to by their first name, and usually only those with a proper surname (usually implying higher social status) are referred to by that surname. For royal names I use the internationally recognized names, which are often Latinized or English versions of the Swedish names.

Various terms used in the judicial and administrative systems are difficult to translate, and translations can cause quite heated discussion. The main terms used in this book are listed in the glossary below, and the Swedish terms are given in parentheses when the terms first occur in the text. A few other problematic terms have also been noted in the glossary.

Glossary

<i>Borgmästare</i>	Burgomaster
<i>dreng</i>	hired hand, servant
<i>gård</i>	property, house; also yard
<i>Hovrätt</i>	Court of Appeal
<i>huskvinna, husman</i>	lodger (<i>kvinna</i> means 'woman' and <i>man</i> 'man')
<i>inhyses</i>	lodger
<i>Kämnärsrätt</i>	Lower Town Court
<i>Landslag</i>	Christopher of Bavaria's <i>Law of the Realm</i> (after the first mention: Law of the Realm)
<i>Landshövding</i>	Provincial Governor
<i>Råd</i>	Town Council
<i>Rådhus</i>	Town Hall
<i>Rådstugurätt</i>	Town Court
<i>Stadslag</i>	Magnus Eriksson's <i>Town Law</i> (after the first mention: Town Law)
<i>stads tjänäre (tienare)</i>	Town Constable
<i>länsman</i>	sheriff
<i>fogde</i>	bailiff

Introduction

Everything is in order. That is, things are always in order, inasmuch as they are in a certain relation to each other and their surroundings. But the idea of order and ideal order are culturally and historically variable. Similarly, disorder is always cultural. This book explores how things were 'in order' in seventeenth-century Swedish/Finnish urban space.¹

Order is considered to have had an important role in European early modern cultures, more so than in the periods before and after. Early modern order was hierarchical and patriarchal. Thomas Robisheaux's list of the social values of order is descriptive: Hierarchy, social harmony, religious unity, corporate solidarity, the common good, deference, and obedience are visible in many early modern sources as well as in numerous scholarly treatises on early modern society and culture.² A consensus exists that the early modern world was a world of patriarchal relations; a world of *Gute Policey* and administrative and policing reforms; and a world where people and things were expected to be in their correct and appropriate place.³ At the same time, scholars acknowledge that early modern order was multifaceted, complex and multi-layered; different meanings of order, various practices related to it, and the diverse agents involved in creating and maintaining order have been studied in recent decades. Studies of male interpersonal violence and the order of disorderly nightlife have highlighted how order was never merely something imposed from above.⁴ Research on the place of various categories of women and the lives lived in early modern households has diversified our understanding of hierarchical and patriarchal order in early modern Europe.⁵ The politics and policies imbued with hierarchical order have been seen more openly, for example, in studies of grass-root political practices and in the arrangement of church pews.⁶ Research on the emerging arrangement of poor relief and other urban administration

1 For more about the Kingdom of Sweden and Finland's relation to it, see part I of the book.

2 Robisheaux 1989, 95.

3 See for example, Braudel 1976, 76; Foucault 1984, 241; Robisheaux 1989, 11, 95; Stadin 1993, 177-178; Friedrichs 1995, 57; Cowan 1998, 170-172; Braddick & Walter 2001, 1-2; Forsberg 2001, 30; Ruff 2001, 3; Landwehr 2003, 286; Blickle 2003, VII; Sandén 2005, 218; De Munck & Winter 2012, 12-13.

4 Spierenburg 1998; Thusty 2001; Jansson 2006; Liliequist 1999; Liliequist 2002; Kümin 2005.

5 Dürr 1995; Gowing 1996; Gowing 2003; Orlin 2007; Flather 2007; Maddern 2008; Hubbard 2012; Miettinen 2012.

6 Lindström 2005; Marsh 2005.

has highlighted the impact of early modern understandings of order in everyday life, even when focusing on administration and legislation.⁷ These studies have shown how early modern order was diverse, albeit patriarchal and hierarchical, and that it was produced by ordinary people as much as by the authorities.

This book explores the town of Turku in the mid-seventeenth-century kingdom of Sweden, and the order and disorder that were produced and experienced in and through its urban material space. The ways in which shared everyday practices were connected to material and spatial aspects of the town are examined in relation to the town as a spatial entity and in relation to homes as spatial and material things. The book inquires how the community organized its shared living environment, and how the urban community was organized in relation to the urban space. It argues that the inherent spatial and material nature of people's lives centrally governs the way that communities organize themselves and create order. The book shows that studying mundane practices relating to town boundaries, roads, houses, rooms, doors, gates, and the town itself as a spatial entity, unveils the ways in which communities and individuals build their lives in and through their material environment.

In the book the term 'order' means both the 'early modern order' described above and order arising from human predilection to organize themselves and their community in specific ways. The meaning of order as 'arrangement in the position of things contained in a particular space or area'⁸ is the starting point for thinking about order in this study, although civil, social and moral orders are equally important and are seen as inseparable from order as arrangement of things.⁹ These orders are also related to yet another brand of order: 'the condition in which everything has its correct and appropriate place',¹⁰ a concept of order which was very important in early modern thinking. Order, in all its facets, is perceived here as fundamentally spatial and material. People are corporeal beings in a material world; they inevitably order themselves spatially and materially. Sharing everyday life in a material environment also makes a community

7 Unger 1996; Leeuwen 1994; Schmidt & Aspelmeier 2006; Heijden 2010.

8 OED, s.v. *order* III 14. b.

9 Civil order = 'the state in which laws and rules regulating the relationship of individuals to the community, and the public conduct of members within a community, are maintained and authority is obeyed' OED, s.v. *order* III.17.; Social or moral order = 'system in which things proceed according to definite, established, or constituted laws' OED, s.v. *order* III.14. a.; social order = 'the way in which society is organized' OED, s.v. *social* S2.

10 OED, s.v. *order* III 14. a.

a spatial thing. The order studied here is, then, elementally a communally shared order of and in the material environment.

'Order' in the book is also seen as active; it is 'ordering', rather than static order. Moreover, order includes both order and disorder. Disorder is not necessarily seen here as something that disrupts an order that has been achieved (although it could also be this). The breaking of a particular order makes one kind of order visible, but that breaking may be part of another kind of order or a different side of the same order. The perception of order and disorder deployed here arises from the perspective of everyday life and its multifaceted and chaotic nature. Both prescriptive and philosophical literature, of both the early modern and the current era, often see order and disorder more in monochrome.

Turku, the town that is studied in the book, was an international trading town and the second largest town of Sweden proper with a population of approximately 5000.¹¹ Turku was a university town, and the centre of a diocese and of provincial civil administration, as well as an important centre for trade. Its history reached back to the late thirteenth century. The community in Turku was largely Finnish-speaking, although the wealthy and the official town operated in Swedish. While there were many local characteristics to the town, it was most crucially a Swedish and a European town. Turku shared with other Swedish towns a strong administrative development, the organization of guilds and trade, a judicial system and urban laws. Because of its material form as an urban settlement and because of its trade and administrative practices, the town also shared many aspects of its culture with European towns in general. Therefore, Turku is examined here as a Swedish and European town rather than a Finnish town on the periphery.

Examining the Town and the Home: Spatial Rules, Spatial Practices and Court Sources

People's relationship with their material environment, the urban space, is studied in this book through exploring 'spatial rules'. Spatial rules orient people's lives in every culture, but are often unexpressed or invisible. These rules are conventions that sometimes find their way into laws and

¹¹ 'Sweden proper' refers to the areas that were fully part of the kingdom and not dominions or possessions acquired in war, which were not incorporated into the Swedish domestic system of administration and government.

regulations, and sometimes are manifested on the level of routine and customs. All individuals live in a world of such conventions; these rules are part of their culture, which they construct and which they are constructed by. 'Spatial rules' is a term that is not often used other than in a non-specific way, but the meanings in this common usage also correspond closely to its use here. The geographer Robert David Sack expresses these meanings in his terminology of 'territorial rules', as 'implicit and explicit geographical "do" and "don't" rules of in/out place'. Although Sack's general thinking about space and place at times differs greatly from the thinking in this book, his statement that 'territorial rules are constructed to control and reorient spatial interactions' is a shared definition.¹² I would add that the rules are often not constructed intentionally, but rather subconsciously, presenting themselves in routines, and through these in orienting and reorienting spatial interactions. In each case spatial rules are geographical rules about moving and acting in (material) space. They have to do with what is possible, acceptable, and desirable in a shared everyday environment. People and communities construct the rules and are constructed through them, but the material space itself also impacts on the rules and is impacted on by them.¹³

Although 'spatial rules' is a central concept in structuring the task of this book, the detailed examination in the chapters gravitates more towards practices than rules,¹⁴ since spatial practices make the spatial rules visible. Everyday practices carry in themselves both the written orders and regulations and the unwritten customs and conventions. These practices, for example lodging vagrants illegally or fetching jugs of beer from the tavern at night, connect with local practicalities and experiences as well as with more widely perceived ideas and prescribed regulations.

The spatial rules and spatial practices in seventeenth-century Turku are examined here from the perspectives of mobility, settledness, and encounters. The book is divided into two parts: the town and the home, which are considered to be two significant elements for studying urban spatial relations. The town and the dwelling both touched each urban inhabitant; everyone was party to the shared codes and conventions concerning

12 Sack 1997, 89-92.

13 See also Flather 2013, 346.

14 Practices are defined in practice theory as active and bodily actions, which include both unconscious routines and conscious actions. Practices cannot exist separately from discourses, even if some definitions of practice seem to imply this, but practices do indicate the world of tangible activity of corporeal beings, which makes the concept very useful when examining people and culture as part of the material world. See Sewell 1998, 249-253; Schatzki 2001, 10, 20; Reckwitz 2005, 247, 246; Spiegel 2005, 22.

entering and exiting the town, entering and exiting of homes, as well as residing in the town and dwelling in homes.

Boundaries and crossing boundaries are emphasized in the book. The town and the home were not places with clear-cut and controllable boundaries, but they certainly did have boundaries. There were material objects – walls, fences, gates, windows and doors – that marked the borders of the town and the home. They were solid and tangible, but at the same time mostly porous and often open. They created – and create for scholars – an opening toward the inside and the outside, and toward the negotiations of the in-between. How townspeople related to the space and border of the town and the home, as well as to other people in them, shows how the urban community ordered itself and what kinds of things were important in the order of practical everyday urban life.¹⁵

It is important to note that the components of the urban material environment studied here, the town and the home, cannot be reduced to a dichotomy of public and private (and thus a boundary between public and private space cannot be studied). The town and the home were integrally related to each other. For one thing, the houses where people lived were open in nature; all kinds of actions and people from the rest of the urban space spilled into dwellings and vice versa. More tangibly, the bulk of the material environment of the town consisted of the urban settlement; that is, the houses, the dwellings, the homes. On the other hand, for example in some trading customs, dwelling-houses defined the urban trading community more centrally than the market place; that is, space usually considered public space. Studying both the town and the home must be seen, and is seen here, as studying the urban space in its totality, not as studying public and private spaces of the town in separation from each other.¹⁶

Focusing on everyday spatial practices in an urban material space that is not defined by mutually exclusive publicity or privacy extends the examination to all kinds of people partaking in the ordering of the urban space,

15 There is remarkably little research done on the material boundaries and practices attached to them. One of the few exceptions is Jütte 2014. Instead, the current research on boundaries deals with state boundaries, immigration and movement of labour as well as symbolic boundaries of various kinds. See Spierling & Halvorson 2008, 8; Roll, Pohle & Myrczek 2010; De Munck & Winter 2012; Selwood 2010.

16 Public and private have been widely discussed in early modern studies. See for example, Orlin 2007; Longfellow 2006; Burkart 2004; Freise 2004; Rau 2004; von Moos 2004; Kaartinen 2002; Vickery 2009; Crane 2009. These concepts have also been discussed beyond the early modern. See, for example, Kilian 1998. In terms of urban space, the concepts of public and private and the use of the terms still need further discussion. See Crane 2009, 4-7; Cohen 2009, 97; Hohti 2010, 373-374; and the discussion later in this book.

since people and actions in and around homes receive similar attention as those in the streets and market places. Moreover, when one asks open questions about people's everyday practices in a shared urban space, the role of people on the margins becomes visible as well as that of prominent town burghers. Also, because order is seen as active (as ordering), and not necessarily in a polarized binary relation to disorder, order is not primarily examined here from the perspective of the authorities/elites as opposed to the townspeople/the lower classes. Rather, exploring everyday practices, such as local ways of paying town toll payments or allowing widows' houses in the centre of burghers' plots, reveals an open and complex pattern of early modern and urban order.

This study sees vagrants and burghers as equally important members of a shared urban community. Everyone in the town had a role in defining the town, through their everyday lives. Everyone played their part in the formation of spatial rules, and therefore everyone had a role in collectively defining the urban community. This perspective on urban life makes it possible to break through the monolith of 'the early modern order' to see the complex ways in which early modern townspeople ordered their lives spatially. The main actors in the book, then, are the burghers and their families, their servants and other employees, workers and seamen, but also and importantly vagrants and criminals, and then again the higher authorities at the levels of the county, the Grand Duchy of Finland, and the Swedish Crown. The cast arises from the sources used and includes all kinds of people visible in them.

In the seventeenth century, the urban space in Turku was not yet very strongly socially segmented, even if some parts of the town were less fashionable than others. There were only around 5000 inhabitants, and the geographical area was not large. No one living in the town could really be segregated from other social classes, and all townspeople to a certain extent shared the common urban space. While even a town like this had various smaller communities – for example, among guild members and university students – in this book the community that is studied comprises of the whole urban population.

Multiple or differing urban communities have been at the focus of early modern research recently, but the wider community of a town, particularly of a smaller town, should not be forgotten. Sharing urban space, and inevitably practices and rules connected to it, created a community of its own kind. While it is clear that residence at a place (a town) did not define one's community or communal identity alone or simply, it does not mean that sharing a spatially defined living environment did not result in

a community at all. Such a community of people living in a shared urban space is understood here according to David Sabean's oft-cited words, which emphasize that the 'members of a community are engaged in the same argument, the same *raisonnement*, the same *Rede*, the same discourse, in which alternative strategies, misunderstandings, conflicting goals and values are thrashed out'.¹⁷ In addition, an active relationship with the urban space, the material environment, is emphasised; as Niall Atkinson says, community can be something that comes about when a person moves in different spaces and amongst different things that are shared with other people.¹⁸

The main source material for the examination of the Turku community and urban space are the Turku Town Court records from the 1640s and 1650s, a period coinciding with significant urban, administrative and judicial changes in Sweden and thus also in Turku. The Town Court records are the only remaining source that can tell us about everyday life in Turku; no letters, pictures, diaries or other descriptions of the town or town life are known to have survived, nor has anything bar the Cathedral and the Castle survived of the material town.¹⁹ Court cases concerning fights and spats, disturbances of domestic peace, banishment, transgressions against trading rules, adultery, theft, collecting excise taxes, etc. however, offer us a vivid view into the town's everyday life. They also make it possible to see how people related to their material surroundings, and they give us information about what the material environment was like. In addition, administrative issues, which were recorded in the same books as the court cases, inform us of ordinances and instructions issued or transmitted by the Town Council (*råd*) to the townspeople.

The cases for analysis have been chosen on the basis of the ways that they relate to the material urban space. That is, entries in the records that include mentions of gates, doors, windows, the market place, houses, shops, streets, benches, etc. have been examined more closely. To get as close to urban everyday life as possible, these entries have been read from various

17 Sabean 1984, 29.

18 Sabean 1984, 29; Atkinson 2011, 14. About research of early modern communities see Whithington & Shephard 200, 2-9; Nevola & Rosenthal 2011, 4-5; Halverson & Spierling 2008. It must be pointed out that the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* division does not play a role here. The community examined is not seen as 'a friendlier thing' than a society at large. It is believed that community and society are not opposite ends of a continuum. Instead they are seen to co-exist within each other. Cp. Sabean 1984, 28-28; Burke 2011, 26-27.

19 This is due to town fires, particularly the Great Fire of 1827, after which the town was completely rebuilt.

different perspectives: the kind of actions taken to maintain or reimpose order (administrative practices, court's utterances, interventions by townspeople); what had happened (what was described as having happened); the kind of patterns created by the events and their descriptions (everyday practices); and the things people said (patterns in accounts).

The court case entries are accounts of the proceedings written down by the clerk in a somewhat condensed form. Relatively little of what was said in court was written down verbatim. Most of the time, the clerks summarized what each participant and witness reported as having happened; even the court's questions to those involved are seldom written down verbatim. The questions of the court are expressed in phrases like 'the court impressed on the defendant to tell the truth'. 'Yes or no' questions were more often written down; for example: 'the women were asked if the sinner had been pregnant'. The answers are often only recorded verbatim when the answers are short, such as yes or no; otherwise the evidence given is condensed to narratives of events, where what people did intermingles with what each person had told the court (in their turn or even intermingled within one paragraph). This system of transcription results in accounts that are sometimes hard to follow, both with relation to what had happened and to what people had said. This is, however, a problem mainly for deciphering the logic, plot and details of the entry, as ascertaining what really had happened is often not of central concern here.

Naturally, the court sources give us only one interpretation of the events in town and we can be sure that both the court proceedings and the transcribing of them to a record gave a particular slant to the account of everyday life, and we can also be sure that various perspectives and experiences are not represented in the entries. However, as Amanda Flather has also noted, information concerning material everyday space is often not something that would have been central to the court's inquiry. This means that much of the information in the material of this study comes from asides and description of people's movements, rather than from the central facets of the offence that was being investigated; this spatial information is therefore less likely to have been twisted to serve any particular purpose.²⁰ In cases where spatial issues are at the heart of the matter, such as crossing toll borders or invading someone's home, one has to be more careful in reading the case entries, and closely consider what motivations drove each person. The lack of certainty as to what actually took place does not create

a big problem, however, because – like most history – this is a study of possible histories.²¹

As the focus of many court cases studied in the book is not on spatial relations and practices, much of the research builds on small clues and their contextualization, and on deciphering, even based on individual cases, what was plausible in people's relationship to urban space. The laws and ordinances are used as primary sources in the contextualization in addition to research literature on various aspects of social and cultural history of the era, as well as a general perception formulated by studying the mass of the court sources from the twenty-year period, a perception that is at times hard to pinpoint with a particular reference. This method has made it possible to build an image of spatial practices in the town and extend the analysis also to the lower levels of society.²²

Based on this analysis considering various levels of the society, this book maintains that the everyday 'spatial rules' of life in Turku did not coincide with the prescribed rules of the society. It was not, however, a situation where those from above imposed their power and ideals and townspeople resisted. The discrepancy between the ordinances and decrees and the rules manifesting in everyday life arose out of the practicalities of arranging the community's life in the local urban space and finding shared practices to keep an order about the town and in people's lives. Importantly, the practicalities and shared practices in the local material environment are neither separate from nor in contradiction to the ideals, but are informed by them.

Spatiality and Materiality

Considering order as first and foremost an arrangement of things and people leads us to consider more closely the issue of spatiality in the study of urban life. As so often when discussing spatiality in history, we can start with Henri Lefebvre and *The Production of Space*. Lefebvre's thesis about the (social) production of (social) space has been widely read, and the gist of his extensively adopted thesis, quoting Sebastian Dorsch, is that '[s]ocieties produce their spaces [...] in a complex arrangement (of power) consisting of experiencing, conceptualizing/representing, and practicing'.²³ Although

21 Salmi 2011, 180.

22 See Salmi 2011; Corbin 2001; Davis 1983.

23 Dorsch 2013, 7-21.

Lefebvre's theory is not deployed as such in this study, its influence cannot be overstated. Lefebvre's oft-cited triad of spatial practices, representations of space and representational spaces reminds us that production of space happens on various levels,²⁴ even if we might not categorize the multilevel spatiality of life in a similar way and if Lefebvre's lack of emphasis on the material world is problematic.²⁵ Nevertheless, Lefebvre's triads offer fruitful tools in an effort to separate (conceptually) and then merge the mental, social and material elements of space into the totality that they are in people's life experience. Lefebvre's perception that all space is produced by the people occupying it also reminds us how it is impossible to conceive of space as universal or abstract, or as an empty container for something (meanings, experiences, places). This means that, for example, a home or a dwelling cannot be seen as a place constructed by experience against a neutral background of urban space. Rather, a home is part of the urban space, coming into being in the processes of producing that urban space.²⁶

Often, when 'space' and 'place' and their current understandings are discussed, Descartes and Newton are referred to as the starting points for our still persistent perception of 'space' as a neutral and empty container, and 'place' as something particular that is located within that empty space (although, as Kümin and Osborne point out, understanding space as something that really had to do with the people and things it contained also has its roots in the early modern era). The notion of space as an empty container (which is free of culture and meanings) has had a long history, the influence of which is still strongly felt, and that influence, in my opinion, is unnecessarily reinforced by giving the concept of 'place' a central role.²⁷ Because of this, in this book I continually use the concept of 'space', whereas I seldom refer to 'place'.

Another reason that I consider 'place' to be a problematic concept is because, as the geographer P.J. Ethington points out, in the study of spatiality one can too often find that 'places' end up being good, while 'space' is bad. Places are construed as experiential, memorial and subjective, and space(s) as objective, abstract and universal. As Ethington writes, for example, Lefebvre sees 'space', created by modernity and capitalism, as panoptical and authoritarian. Postmodern geography to some extent continues in the same vein: postmodern society, too, has created bad, alienating 'space',

24 Lefebvre 1991 (1974), 38-39.

25 Jerram 2013, 411; Lefebvre 1991 (1974), 39.

26 Arnade et al. 2002, 522.

27 Kümin & Osborne 2013, 307, 316; Casey 1996, 14.

while 'places' have been (in geography, in anthropology, and in the end, in history) linked with positive meaning (local community, family, childhood memories, traditional customs, etc.).²⁸ Abandoning 'place' as an operative concept does not in itself make the concepts of spatiality value-free, but turning to 'space' reduces the conceptual problems of assigning positive or negative value at the outset. In this book this can be seen, for example, in the examination of spatial constructs connected with family.

A phenomenological perspective on spatiality, arising from the ideas of Maurice Merleau-Ponty and particularly his ideas on bodily experience, clarifies the framework of the conception of 'space' in this book, one that relocates the meaning of 'place'. The philosopher Edward Casey, in his phenomenological treatise on spatiality, together with some other scholars (such as Michel de Certeau)²⁹, has turned the often perceived relationship of 'space' and 'place' around. For Casey, 'space' is not primary, and 'places' are not something that are located/created/constructed within space; rather, 'place' is before 'space'. Because people are corporeal, they are always emplaced, in a place. As with Merleau-Ponty, the knowledge of the place does not come *after* perception, but is *part of* perception. As Casey writes: 'the perceiver finds herself in the midst of an entire teeming place-world rather than in a confusing kaleidoscope of free-floating sensory data' to which places are created.³⁰ When there is a perceiving body, there is also a place, and space and time 'arise from the experience of place itself'.³¹

This study therefore proceeds in accordance with Casey, seeing 'space' as something that is located in each 'place'. Quoting Leif Jerram (on phenomenological perspective): 'In short, "to be" is "to be in place" (say, in a safe place) and "to be in space" (say, in a cot) and "to be at a location" (say, at grandma's house) ...'.³² This means that here the town of Turku is a place that is comprised of space practised, experienced, lived, and produced. Then again, a home in the space of the town is a place which contains produced space. Therefore, in this study, where the examined townspeople are, are not places created through experience, but the practised space of the town.

Of the various definitions of place and space in the literature, the definition by Beat Kümin and Cornelia Osborne most closely resembles the one used in this study. They suggest 'point' as meaning 'a physical grid-reference',

28 See: Ethington 2007, 481; Jerram 2013, 405. See also Latham & McCormack 2004.

29 de Certeau 1984.

30 Casey 1996, 17-18.

31 Casey 1996, 36.

32 Jerram 2013, 408.

'place' as referring to 'specific constellations of object and agents [constituting] socially recognized sites of interaction', and 'space' as meaning 'fields of perception and manoeuvre experienced by humans at any points or place'.³³

It is important to remember that while people produce space, space also produces people. The material environment and its components are active agents in the process of creating urban order. The role of matter and space in people's lives needs to be studied more vigorously. This has been pointed out, for example, by Leif Jerram, who writes that Lefebvre's system of producing space consists only of people doing and people representing. The rest of the material world does not have a role.³⁴ The new-materialist theorist Karen Barad, again, has taken it upon herself to go beyond the ideas of Butler and Foucault, since she sees that their ideas of bodily human life do not go far enough and consider how matter matters.³⁵ The geographers Alan Latham and Derek P. McCormack urge us to endeavour to better understand the inseparability of the immaterial and the material. Tackling materiality is not about 'grounding' the cultural or examining something more real or 'concrete'. As Latham and McCormack write: '... concrete itself, or indeed any other building material, is not "brute matter". It is a particular aggregate organization of process and energy. It is no more (or less) "real" than apparently "immaterial" phenomena like emotion, mood and affect, although it has a different duration and threshold of consistency'.³⁶

While there is currently much theoretical and philosophical literature on the matter of matter, full incorporation of the material world into historical research is not common. In writing urban history, taking matter seriously can begin with steps like considering the practices and the matter in the building of the physical town as things of consequence, as is done in this book. Here, starting to take materiality more seriously means focusing on the impact that different kinds of material spaces had on people's ways of dwelling, moving and encountering each other. While considering the

33 Kūmin & Osborne 2013, 317-318.

34 Jerram 2013, 411.

35 Barad 2007, 34-35; Barad 2008, 126-127.

36 Latham & McCormack 2004, 702-705. One might see a contradiction in turning to both phenomenology and new materialism. It is true that new materialism (like posthumanism, antihumanism etc.) contests phenomenological thinking, among other philosophical approaches, but as the perspective of this study is a *human* perspective, the contradiction is not insurmountable. Challenging the dualisms of mind and body, of nature and culture, of human and animal does not exclude the existence of the human subject nor its relationship to the world outside the human subject. This relationship can be decoded with the help of some phenomenological ideas, while still taking a new materialist stance on the matter into consideration. See Connolly 2013; Thomas 2006.

material world as active in this book most visibly means talking about the height of the fences, the number of rooms and the locations of buildings, the key aspect of this consideration is nevertheless that the research starts with looking at the material world which surrounds people, instead of starting with social institutions such as households, guilds or urban corporations. Therefore, this book begins with the fence around the town in the first part and with the forms of the houses in the second part.

While in passages of the book, particularly at the start of each of the two parts, the materiality of space and spatiality itself are noticeably at the forefront, in other sections they may be more covert. For example, when talking about the actual physical crossing of the town boundary, materiality and spatiality are unescapably present, but when turning towards banishment, a practice at the outset connected to the crossing of the border, the focus shifts and social and legal perspectives come to the fore. This happens as the influence of the town as a spatial entity extends to all kinds of sides of everyday life, not just parts of it that concretely touch the material boundary encircling it. The town as a spatial thing is part of the whole social and cultural ordering of mobility and settledness, that is, its various values and practices. When the research for the book turned towards the examination of banishment, a practice elementally tied to the town as a spatial entity as well as to its material boundary, the sources (perhaps surprisingly) directed the exploration towards a treatise of settledness more than towards mobility and the actual crossing of borders. While the ideas behind banishment had to do with getting unwanted people out of the town, the practices connected to it illuminated to the same extent, if not more, being settled in the town. Therefore, even if parts of the book appear at first sight to be about something other than the spatiality of the town, the town as a spatial entity is in fact explored. When it comes to the exploration of the home as urban space, also there settledness is explored, but as home is a smaller thing than the town, the links in the text to the material environment remain more evident than they sometimes do in the case of the town.

In all, what considering spatiality and materiality means is that, as Leif Jerram writes, looking at phenomena with the premise that thoughts, representations, and practices happen in particular material spaces, one ends up examining plural simultaneities instead of forcing the worlds of experience and cultures into coherent wholes, such as cultural systems or social institutions.³⁷ When one sees people's and groups' relationships

37 Jerram 2013, 408, 419.

to each other as depending on the particular space which they encounter and where they encounter each other, then the kind of units that exist, the institutions and values that are formed in homes and in the town, and how a community is constructed, are seen to be varied and diverse. As a result, the perspective on hierarchy, patriarchy, and status, and therefore on order, disorder, and urban community in general, becomes more open.

The Chapters

The book starts by setting the stage for the reader to understand the particularities of early modern history and society in Sweden and Finland. The first Part describes the structures of the Swedish administration, trade, courts, and urban system. The relationship between Finland and Sweden is explained, and the administrative and material setting of Turku is described. The major laws and ordinances referenced regularly throughout the book are introduced.

The second Part of the book explores people's relationships with the town as a spatial entity. It examines how these relationships were expressed, and how the town as a spatial entity impacted on the ordering of everyday life for the townspeople. It looks into how various practices interacted with the borders of the town and with the urban space as a whole. Since the town boundary was marked with a fence and one had to enter the town through gates, entering and exiting the town – with their multiple forms, reasons and consequences – have been chosen as the main focus to illuminate people's relationship to the town. As already mentioned, however, particularly the examination of banishment leads also into a treatise of the possibilities of residence in town in the case of the so-called unwanted, and into an evaluation of exclusion and inclusion.

The first Chapter of the Part discusses the townspeople's everyday mobility: crossing the toll border at the town gates, the limitations imposed on burghers' mobility, and the ordering of incoming visitors and newcomers. The second Chapter covers the maintenance of control over 'unwanted people', and looks at the poor and other vagrants, and their coming and going and staying in the town. The third Chapter focuses on both the expulsion of criminals and their toleration in the town, and examines the frequent return of banished offenders.

The third Part of the book explores the home as a spatial and material entity and people's relationship to the space of dwelling. As early modern houses were open rather than closed, the home was expressively part of

the shared urban space, while still at the same time being a designated space for individuals and families. This Part examines how the space of the home was ordered and organized in and by the community, and also here attention is paid to entering and exiting. The focus is on homes as the dwellings of individuals, as well as on the relationship of the community and the urban administration to the spaces of dwelling.

The first Chapter of the Part looks at the arrangement of accommodation, and examines how individuals found their dwellings in the community, where houses were permeated with visibility, co-existence, and neighbourly communication, in a society where hierarchy and disdain for the morally reprobate regulated both official practices and the moral climate. The buildings and their layout, holding house, tenancy, lodgers and servants are covered in the chapter. The second Chapter asks what happened at and around the borders of the home, and illuminates both how homes were constructed as material and cultural entities, and how lives in homes were organized inside the wider shared urban space. Use of gates, doors and windows, the violent invasion of homes, intimacy of human relations, and sociability are all discussed.