

Routledge Research in Early Modern History

SWEDISH AND FINNISH HISTORIOGRAPHIES OF THE SWEDISH REALM, C. 1520–1809

SHARED PAST, DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS?

Edited by
Miia Kuha and Petri Karonen



Swedish and Finnish Historiographies of the Swedish Realm, c. 1520–1809

In the early modern era, two Nordic countries that are neighbors today, Sweden and Finland, formed one realm. Yet, modern history writing has largely ignored this unity, instead developing analysis and discussion in close connection to nationalistic ideas, national politics, and processes of state-building. Historians of both countries have therefore mostly approached their common past separately and academic history in both countries has taken its own course of development, leading to different emphases.

This volume explores the common early modern history between Sweden and Finland from the Middle Ages to the beginning of the 19th century, and how this history has been created in professional historiography (1860–2020), which methods have been used, and which themes studied. Based on extensive source material, including a database of history publications in different fields in both countries, this book offers a fresh scholarly approach to the study of historiography through a unique comparative perspective.

This book is an excellent resource for students and professional researchers alike through providing an alternate view on the history of Sweden and Finland and providing key insight into the historiography of these two countries, and the similarities and differences they showcase.

Miia Kuha is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. She is currently working in her own project on 17th-century clergymen's wives and widows, funded by the Academy of Finland. She has published articles on the historiography of cultural history in Sweden and Finland, the local history tradition in Finland, and lived religion in early modern Eastern Finnish parish communities.

Petri Karonen is a professor of Finnish history at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. His research interests include Finnish and economic history in general, focusing on the shared history of Sweden and Finland in the early modern period. His publications include a general history of the Swedish realm 1520–1809: *Great Power of the North* (in Finnish) and studies concerning the history of historiography.

Routledge Research in Early Modern History

Remarriage and Stepfamilies in East Central Europe, 1600–1900

Edited by Gabriella Erdélyi and András Péter Szabó

Apprenticeship, Work, Society in Early Modern Venice

Edited by Anna Bellavitis and Valentina Sapienza

Images of Change

Visual Representations of Papal Power in Rome Following the Council of Trent

Teresa Delgado-Jermann

Children at the Birth of Empire

British Law, Liberty, and the Global Migration of Destitute Children, c. 1607–1760 Kristen McCabe Lashua

Roots of Sustainability in the Iberian Empires

Shipbuilding and Forestry

Edited by Koldo Trapaga Monchet, Álvaro Aragón Ruano and Cristina Joanaz de Melo

Oliver Cromwell's Kin, 1643–1726

The Private and Public Worlds of the English Revolution and Restoration

David Farr

Establishment Eschatology in England's Reformation

Evidence from the Doctrinally-Binding Formularies of Faith, 1534–1571

Tim Patrick

Swedish and Finnish Historiographies of the Swedish Realm, c. 1520–1809

Shared Past, Different Interpretations?

Edited by
Miia Kuha and Petri Karonen

First published 2024
by Routledge
4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2024 selection and editorial matter, Miia Kuha and Petri Karonen;
individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Miia Kuha and Petri Karonen to be identified as
the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their
individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77
and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or
reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical,
or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including
photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval
system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks
or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and
explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 9781032112909 (hbk)

ISBN: 9781032112923 (pbk)

ISBN: 9781003219255 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003219255

Typeset in Sabon LT Pro
by codeMantra

Contents

<i>List of figures and tables</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>ix</i>
PART I	
Premises and preconditions of research and publishing	1
1 Introduction: comparing Swedish and Finnish historiographies on the early modern Swedish realm	3
MIIA KUHA AND PETRI KARONEN	
2 Research on early modern Sweden: resources, research areas, and prominent scholars, 1850–2020	13
PETRI KARONEN	
PART II	
Institutions and interactions	37
3 Early modern Swedish state-building in Swedish and Finnish historiography	39
ANTTI RÄIHÄ	
4 Joint wars – diverging interpretations: the period 1523–1809 in Swedish and Finnish military history	55
LARS ERICSON WOLKE AND NILS ERIK VILLSTRAND	
5 The rise and fall of the Swedish Empire: causes and explanations	80
PETRI KARONEN	
6 Church history of the Swedish realm, 1520–1809	98
ANDERS JARLERT AND JOONAS TAMMELA	

PART III	
People and livelihoods	119
7 The Finnish and Swedish historiography of the early modern Swedish patriarchal estate society: individuals, social groups, household, and gender in dissertations, 1850–2020	121
PETTERI IMPOLA	
8 Histories of the free peasant in Finnish and Swedish historical research, ca. 1800–1980	150
PETTERI NORRING	
9 United and divided: early modern economic history in Finnish and Swedish academic literature	171
KERSTIN ENFLO, JARI OJALA AND JAN-PETER GUSTAFSSON	
PART IV	
History culture and historical awareness	197
10 Birkarl origins in Finnish and Swedish historical research and history culture, ca. 1857–1917	199
SAMU SARVIAHO	
11 The Age of Liberty divide: representations in Swedish historical research, ca. 1870–1970	213
DANIEL ANDERSSON	
12 Cultural–historical approaches in Finnish and Swedish early modern research	230
MIIA KUHA	
<i>Index</i>	249

Figures and tables

Figures

1.1	The Swedish realm in the early modern era	4
2.1	Professors of history in Sweden and Finland, 1870–2020: divided between “early modernists” and “others” (faculties of humanities and/or social sciences or equivalent)	16
2.2	(a, b) Early modern dissertations (N = 834 in Sweden, 261 in Finland) by number (upper) and as a percentage (lower) of all dissertations in historical sciences in Sweden and Finland, by decade, 1852–2019	20
2.3	(a, b) Swedish and Finnish doctoral dissertations on the early modern era in 1852–1999 and 2000–2022: periods studied	21
2.4	Swedish and Finnish doctoral dissertations on the early modern era in 2000–2022 (until May 31, 2022): universities (N = 274, of which 181 in Sweden and 93 in Finland)	22
2.5	(a, b) Supervisors of Swedish and Finnish early modern dissertations, visualized by VOSviewer (http://www.vosviewer.com/)	26
9.1	Share of all articles with topics classified as Early Modern in SEHR, 1953–2021	180
9.2	Number of dissertations per decade on early modern economic history topics in Finland and in Sweden	184
9.3	Topics in Finnish and Swedish economic history dissertations and journal articles, percentage shares	186

Tables

2.1	Main sources used in the study	14
2.2	The relative share of early modern publications published in Sweden and Finland divided into different areas of historical research (“top 5”) in the sample years 1875–2009	18
2.3	The top 20 supervisors of early modern doctoral dissertations in Sweden and Finland, 1852–2022	23

2.4 and 2.5	“The family trees” of the top 20 early modern supervisors in Sweden and Finland (in parentheses mentioned the final post)	27
7.1	Distribution of estates and social groups in Swedish and Finnish dissertations concerning the early modern Swedish realm ($n = 1067$)	124
7.2	Distribution of social categories in the biographical-oriented Finnish ($n = 33$) and Swedish ($n = 171$) dissertations	130
7.3	Distribution of estates and other social groups in Finnish ($n = 199$) and Swedish ($n = 665$) dissertations, which contains at least one or more social categories	133
9.1	Articles published by Finnish and Swedish scholars in the Scandinavian Economic History Review (1953–2021) and in the main economic and business history journals in the Web of Science (1956–2021)	179
9.2	Number of articles on the early modern era published by Finnish and Swedish scholars in SEHR and in WoS-ranked economic and business history journals, 1953–2021	180
9.3	Regression results. Dependent variable is a dummy that equals 1 if the article deals with an early modern topic. Data from SEHR	181
9.4	Regression results. Dependent variable is a dummy that equals 1 if an article deals with Finland and Sweden jointly. Data from SEHR	182
9.5	Number of dissertations with economic history topics focusing on the early modern era (1500–1809) in Finland and in Sweden	184
9.6	Numbers of dissertations and articles in WoS-ranked journals dealing with early modern economic history by university	185

Appendix

9.1	Topics in Finnish and Swedish economic history dissertations and journal articles, numbers of publications	190
-----	--	-----

Acknowledgments

This book is the result of the work of the project *Shared Past, Different Interpretations: Bibliometric and qualitative analysis of the historiography of the common early modern history of Sweden and Finland* at the University of Jyväskylä, funded by the Kone Foundation (2018–2021), and collaborators with expertise on early modern history and historiography. The aim of the project was to gain a deeper understanding of the similarities and differences in the Finnish and Swedish historical research as well as the different interpretations of the shared past of Sweden and Finland, two countries that formed one realm for centuries during the early modern era. The themes of the book have been discussed with both Finnish and Swedish colleagues in several workshops and seminars, and we would like to thank all participants for sharing their valuable comments to our work as well as inspiring contributions and discussions. We are especially thankful for project members Anu Koskivirta, Kenneth Partti, Petteri Impola, and Antti Räihä for ideas and fruitful discussions during which the plans for the book were made and finalized, and all the authors of this volume for their contributions. We thank the personnel of the Department of History and Ethnology at the University of Jyväskylä for supporting the project in many ways. We would also like to warmly thank Kate Sotejeff-Wilson for linguistic support. Finally, the editors would like to thank Routledge for accepting our volume in the series *Routledge Research in Early Modern History*, as well as smooth communication during the editing process.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Part I

Premises and preconditions of research and publishing



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

1 Introduction

Comparing Swedish and Finnish historiographies on the early modern Swedish realm

Miia Kuha and Petri Karonen

In the early modern era, two Nordic countries that are neighbors today, Sweden and Finland, formed one realm. Modern history writing, however, has developed in close connection to nationalistic ideas, national politics, and processes of state-building, which has often led the historians of both countries to approach their common past separately. Academic history in both countries has taken its own course of development, leading to different emphases. In this anthology, we explore how the shared early modern history of Sweden and Finland, from the early sixteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century, has been created in professional historiography (c. 1860–2020), which methods have been used, and which themes studied. How can we explain the differences and similarities in history writing in Finland and Sweden? The volume is based on a systematic comparison of two (currently) neighboring countries. We cast new light on, analyze, and explain similarities and dissimilarities between Finland's and Sweden's historiographies of the early modern era, when the two countries formed one Swedish realm (c. 1520–1809).¹ Since Finland was a part of the Swedish realm until 1809, the book is based on a unique comparative premise (Figure 1.1).

Our analysis of history writing and history culture in these two countries starts at the mid-nineteenth century with the beginning of professional history writing.² At this point, the situation of these countries was markedly different. Sweden was an independent state, as it had been from the early formation of the realm from different groups of people living in the area in the medieval era. Finland, on the other hand, was an autonomous duchy in the Russian empire since 1809, when Sweden lost its former integral part to Russia in the Finnish War. Finland gained its independence in 1917 but ended up in a devastating civil war in 1918. During the Second World War, Finland was first attacked by Russia and later took the offensive against the country. During all this turbulence that also affected the work of historians, peacetime continued in Sweden.³ Thus, there are great differences in the political history of the two countries, which was reflected in the history writing and history culture.

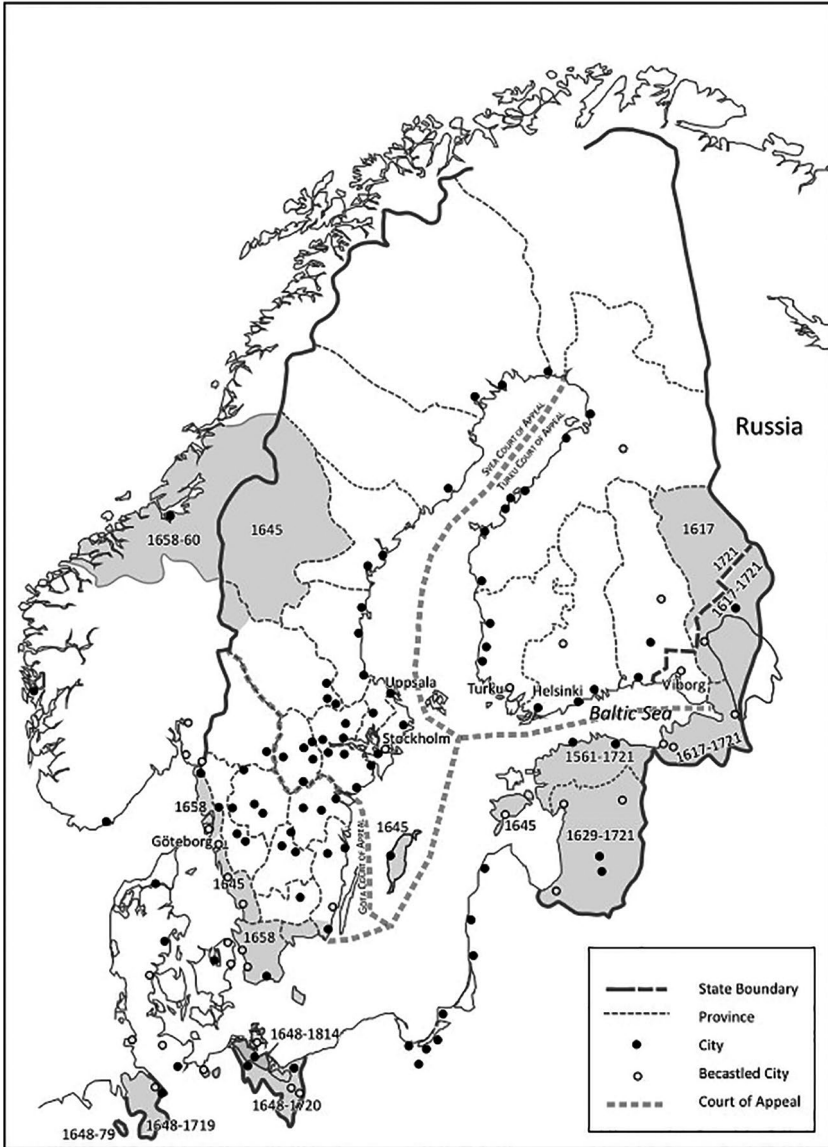


Figure 1.1 The Swedish realm in the early modern era.

Source: Petri Karonen (ed.), *Hopes and fears for the future in early modern Sweden, 1500–1850* (Finnish Literature Society, 2009), 18.

In Europe, the development of academic history has been closely connected to nation-building and the construction of national identities.⁴ The nation-state has often provided the context within which historical questions are analyzed. In both Swedish and Finnish historiographies, the idea of studying the national past defined by contemporary borders was born in the

nineteenth century.⁵ The national and political history of the two countries has also been reflected in the topic choices of historians. While Sweden has a long, continuous past as a monarchy, the focus of history writing was on the state, diplomacy, and political relations until the late twentieth century. In Finland, from early on, historical continuity has been found in the nation, society, and culture.⁶ Even though there have been significant differences, there were also similarities in the history writing of both countries. National history has been the leading narrative in Nordic history writing.⁷ With a comprehensive comparison of historical publications in two countries that share a common past, we can further elaborate on the similarities and differences concerning research on the early modern era.

The historiographies of both countries have often focused on their own national research tradition.⁸ In the Nordic countries, historiographical research has been lively since the 1990s. Comparing research traditions, emphases, and methodologies in different countries has still been relatively rare.⁹ Recently, historians of historiography have tried to overcome the problem of methodological nationalism by focusing on transnational connections and influences, and on regional, international, and global contexts.¹⁰ However, Finnish historiography has usually played a minor role in publications that deal with the development of historiography in several Nordic countries.¹¹ The most recent contribution to the field is *Making Nordic Historiography: Connections, Tensions and Methodology, 1850–1970*, edited by Pertti Haapala, Marja Jalava, and Simon Larsson (2017) that approaches the Nordic countries, including Finland, as a historiographical region from a transnational perspective. However, a systematic comparison of the whole development of the academic fields of history in two or more national contexts has been lacking.

Swedish and Finnish historians have not been unaware of the work done in their neighboring countries. They have cooperated and exchanged information, for example, in the Nordic history conferences where historians from the newly independent Finland were invited as early as the 1920s.¹² Nordic conferences on historical methods were organized from 1965 until the late 1980s, and they have been seen to have had a unifying influence on Nordic historians.¹³ Methodologically, Rankean source criticism had a strong influence on historians in the Nordic countries in the late nineteenth century. The continuity of emphasis on strict source criticism and empiricism was especially strong in Sweden in the twentieth century. In Finland, influences from German historians included the Lamprechtian collectivist cultural history that was largely rejected in Sweden. Reflecting these methodological differences, the relationship between academic and popular history has been one of the central differences between Swedish and Finnish history cultures. In Sweden, historical research emphasized the need for meticulous source criticism until the late twentieth century and the academic style of writing was not easily accessible to a wider audience. In Finland, academic historians produced historical works that were also aimed at the general public.¹⁴

A great deal of research in history, including historiography, has appeared in the national languages in both Finland and Sweden. Another dividing line in thinking about early modern history has existed between Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking historians in Finland.¹⁵ The Finnish language only gained an official status in Finland in 1863, and Swedish was the dominant language of administration and education until the 1880s.¹⁶ The Swedish language retained an official status in Finland, as it does today. Thus, Finnish historians have been able to read Swedish, whereas most Swedish historians have not been able to read publications written in Finnish.

Studies on historiography have often focused on individuals and their influence on the development of academic history writing. The present volume is based on a Finland-based research project entitled *Shared Past, Different Interpretations: Bibliometric and qualitative analysis of the historiography of the common early modern history of Sweden and Finland* (funded by the Kone Foundation). The research group of the project has used bibliometric data collection methods to compile an extensive database on Finnish and Swedish publications in the academic field of history. The authors of the chapters have conducted qualitative and quantitative analyses of material from this database. In this volume, we focus especially on publications (e.g., theses, monographs, and popular presentations) produced and exploited by history researchers in both countries. We also scrutinize the work of historians through different generations and paradigms. In the references, we have included an English translation of the title for those works (mostly dissertations) in Finnish and Swedish where an English summary and a translated title has been available in library databases.

The structure of the volume

The book is structured around a series of complementary themes to highlight the commonalities and divergences in and between the two countries. The themes chosen for comparison cover several central areas of historical research: political, institutional, social, economic, cultural, and church history. In addition, authors highlight more specific questions within these areas. The introductory chapter is followed by a chapter on the historical (and current) boundaries and conditions framing research and publishing activities in the field of early modern history in Sweden and Finland. Petri Karonen examines general research trends in Swedish and Finnish history writing on the early modern period, from the nineteenth century to the present day. He presents key research infrastructures and an overview of the relevant research themes in both countries, focusing on doctoral dissertations in early modern history, including relationships between supervisors and supervisees in Sweden and Finland. The analysis is based on extensive quantitative publication data collected from Swedish and Finnish historical bibliographies and various databases and a database of doctoral dissertations. Based on this overview, Swedish and Finnish early modern historical research turns out to be surprisingly similar.

The resources for research were quite similar for a long time. At the end of the twentieth century, Sweden took the lead in this respect. However, the volume of scientific publications has always been considerably larger in Sweden than in Finland, especially the number of doctoral dissertations.

In the second part of the book, we cover institutions and forms of interaction between the central power and the subjects of the early modern Swedish realm in history writing in Sweden and Finland. Chapter 3 begins the comparisons of Swedish and Finnish historiographies with an analysis of a central question, state-building in the early modern era. In both Swedish and Finnish historiographies, the debate concerning early modern Swedish state-building has been one of the most central discussions for decades. In Chapter 3, Antti Riih  examines the main arguments of this discussion that emphasize either a top-down military state perspective or focus on the interaction between the central power and subjects. Riih  shows that while there is a consensus on certain questions of early modern Swedish state-building between Finnish and Swedish historians, there have also been different emphases and interpretations in Swedish and Finnish historiographies, especially concerning the period after the Great Northern War (1700–1721).

Military history has been a popular area of research in both countries. During the early modern era, Sweden, including Finland, fought continuous wars on several fronts. In the century between 1621 and 1721 about one in three men in Sweden was killed in the service of the army or the navy. In Chapter 4, Nils Erik Villstrand and Lars Ericson Wolke analyze the writing of military history in Sweden and Finland from different perspectives from the common infrastructure and sources to questions of popularization. During the early modern era, Sweden’s position changed from one of the major military powers of Europe to a minor power on the outskirts of Europe. Villstrand and Wolke emphasize the influence of more recent war or peacetime experiences on history writing, and show that the historians of Sweden and Finland have very often seen the common military history from different national perspectives. Their analysis also reveals a striking difference in the popularization of historical research.

With its military conquests, Sweden rose to the position of a European great power, at least in terms of the size of the annexed territories, in the period between 1560 and 1660. If it took a hundred years to rise to greatness, the collapse to second-rate status took less than half that time. By the 1720s, the days of glory were over for good. In Chapter 5, Petri Karonen analyzes historians’ explanations for the rise and fall of Sweden as a great power, placing processes in their relevant European contexts. The Swedish great power era continues to be studied enthusiastically, especially in Sweden, but also in Finland. The period from the 1560s to the 1720s has attracted considerable international interest. How could a peripheral, poor, underpopulated, and distant corner of Europe develop into a state whose representatives sat at the very center of the negotiations in Westphalia in 1648 that ended the Thirty Years’ War? Historians still have not reached a consensus on when the great

power status actually began or ended: in some respects, the themes, views, and approaches of Swedish and Finnish historians differ significantly.

Another institution that has played an important role in the development of Nordic societies is the Lutheran Church. Because of the central role of the church in local governance, a considerable share of source material available for researchers of the early modern era was produced by the church. In Chapter 6, Anders Jarlert and Joonas Tammela analyze trends and tendencies in Swedish and Finnish church historiographies throughout the long-term development of the discipline. They show how church history was influenced by the discipline of history and had close ties to the discipline of practical theology in both countries. The overall development of the research of church history was rather similar in both Sweden and Finland, even if trends were not simultaneous. There was a strong emphasis on institutional and political church history, as well as important individuals, until new topics emerged with influences from social sciences from the 1950s onward. Later, different cultural and social historical perspectives broadened the approaches and understanding of areas of church history that had not traditionally been studied. Thus, church history followed the general trends in academic history writing. In recent decades, history researchers in both Sweden and Finland have increasingly started working on religious topics.

In the third part of the book, we focus on people and livelihoods, for example, perspectives on the patriarchal estate society in the historiographies of both countries. The estate society was one of the most all-encompassing structures in early modern Europe. In Chapter 7, Petteri Impola analyzes how historians in Sweden and Finland have examined the key social structures in early modern Swedish estate society. In addition to the estates, another basic structure of a hierarchical and patriarchal society was the household, with marriage at its core. From the end of the twentieth century, historians began to pay more attention to the history of women, children, different minorities, and “ordinary people” in their daily lives. In recent years, the emphasis has shifted away from the estates to a larger variety of social groups. Impola shows that while Swedish historians have paid more attention to the crown and the nobility, the role of the peasantry has been particularly strong in Finnish historiography.

Chapter 8 places the peasantry’s role in the historical consciousness of Finland and Sweden under closer scrutiny. Historians in many European countries have highlighted the historical significance of the propertied peasantry as a social group, and the free peasantry and peasants are also crucial to both Swedish and Finnish accounts of national history. In the chapter, Petteri Norring examines a wide variety of publications and gives an in-depth analysis on the different meanings that the history of the free peasant has served, placing the discussions on the peasantry’s role in national history in the context of wider contemporary political and scholarly debates. In accordance with the previous chapter, he shows that there was a greater need for the harmonizing and inclusive historical narrative of the free peasantry in Finland, but in both countries, the grand narrative of the history of freeholders served similar functions.

Historians have tended to analyze Finland and Sweden in terms of their modern borders, even when the focus is on the early modern era. This is also the case in economic history research. In Chapter 9, Kerstin Enflo, Jari Ojala, and Jan-Peter Gustafsson analyze the development of economic history of the early modern era in Finland and Sweden. They discuss how the paradigm of separate analyses in economic history emerged and how academic interest in a common analysis of the past has changed over time. The authors use extensive databases to investigate trends in research topics and Finnish–Swedish collaborations. Their bibliographic analysis concludes that Finnish and Swedish scholars are similar in their tendencies to publish internationally on early modern topics even though the overall share of international publications is low. They show that Finnish scholars are significantly more likely to analyze Finland and Sweden in the same article, but the reason for this is not a wider interest on the common past, but rather a focus on Sweden as a point of comparison for Finnish economic development.

In the fourth part of the book, we deal with perspectives, events, and phenomena through an examination of the politically constructed history culture. In Chapter 10, Samu Sarviaho gives an interesting example of how nationalistic ideas affected historical interpretations. The Birkarls, a group that is first mentioned in medieval sources, were known as tax collectors for the Swedish Crown in Northern Fennoscandia in the sixteenth century. Their origins have been the subject of much controversy in Nordic historiography. Sarviaho analyzes conceptions of Birkarl origins in Finnish and Swedish historical research and popularized history culture from the mid-nineteenth century to (Finland's independence from Russia in) 1917. This was the period when history professionalized as a discipline and ethnically based nationalism emerged, both in Sweden and in Finland. At the same time, views of history were disseminated to a growing reading audience in both countries. Sarviaho shows how analyses of Birkarl origins reveal differences between Swedish and Finnish history culture, especially in the relationship between nationalism and historical research, that was especially accentuated in Finland.

Another historiographical controversy emerged in connection to the study of the Age of Liberty (1719–1772) that has been considered a revolutionary time in early modern Nordic history. After absolute monarchy was ended in 1719, a new constitutional and political era began in the Swedish realm with the introduction of voting rights, an early form of political parties, and a weakened monarchy. In Chapter 11, Daniel Andersson analyses the historiographical development concerning representations of the Age of Liberty, focusing on the competing representations in Swedish history writing from the 1870s up until the 1970s. The chapter focuses mainly on the development in Sweden in order to show how historical research and discussions about the period created a series of narratives there that was separate from the historiographical development in Finland. Andersson identifies two main narratives, conservative and liberal, in Swedish historiography on the Age of

Liberty, both of which differed from the representations of the era in Finnish historical research.

Largely due to differences in the political history of the countries, the development of cultural history has taken a very different course in Sweden and Finland. In Chapter 12, Miia Kuha compares the use of cultural–historical approaches in research on the early modern era in Finland and Sweden. At the turn of the twentieth century, interest in studying cultural history grew, with influences especially from Denmark and Germany. In Finland, cultural history developed in close connection to social history. In Sweden, where mainstream history writing had a strong empiricist orientation, cultural history was mostly left outside the academic discipline of history. Cultural–historical themes were studied mainly in connection to other disciplines, such as art history. The extensive cultural–historical works of the 1930s were written mainly by academic historians in Finland and by authors working in other academic disciplines or professions in Sweden. From the 1970s, historians in both countries were inspired by new approaches to cultural and social history, especially historical anthropology and the history of mentalities. Kuha analyzes cultural approaches to early modern history that have been used by Swedish and Finnish historians and shows how the cultural turn was experienced in Swedish academic history more clearly as a rupture, while many Finnish historians referred to a long national tradition in writing cultural history. Like in other areas of historical research, approaches in each country started becoming more similar toward the twenty-first century.

Notes

- 1 The comparison here focuses on the early modern era, but the Swedish crown extended its power to the area of today's Finland earlier, between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. See Kari Tarkiainen, *Finlands svenska historia: 1, Sveriges Österland: från forntiden till Gustav Vasa* (Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 2010).
- 2 See Petri Karonen, "Varhaismodernin Ruotsin tutkijat. Ruotsin ja Suomen yhteistä menneisyyttä koskevan tutkimuksen päälinjojen, tutkimusalojen ja ohjaus-suhteiden vertailu," *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* 118, no. 2 (2020): 152–153.
- 3 Major general works and collections of articles dealing with the history of Sweden during this period include the following: *Sweden's Age of Greatness 1632–1718*, ed. Michael Roberts (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973); Michael Roberts, *The Swedish Imperial Experience 1560–1718* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Michael Roberts, *The Age of Liberty. Sweden 1719–1772* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); David Kirby, *Northern Europe in the Early Modern Period. The Baltic World 1492–1772* (London: Longman, 1990); Arnold H. Barton, *Scandinavia in the Revolutionary Era 1760–1815* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986); *The Riksdag. A History of the Swedish Parliament*, ed. Michael F. Metcalf (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987); Harald Gustafsson, *Political Interaction in the Old Regime. Central Power and Local Society in the Eighteenth-Century Nordic States* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1994); *People Meet the Law. Control and Conflict-Handling in the Courts. The Nordic Countries in the Post-Reformation and Pre-Industrial Period*, eds. Eva Österberg

- and Sølvi Sogner (Otta: Studentlitteratur, 2000); Carl Hallendorff and Adolf Schück, *History of Sweden*, trans. Lajla Yapp (Stockholm: Fritze, 1929); Ingvar Andersson, *A History of Sweden*. Trans. Carolyn Hannay (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968); Eino Jutikkala and Kauko Pirinen, *A History of Finland*. Trans. Paul Sjöblom. 6th rev. ed. (Helsinki: WSOY, 2003); Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Sweden in the Seventeenth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); David Kirby, *A Concise History of Finland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Neil Kent, *A Concise History of Sweden* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Henrik Meinander, *A History of Finland*. Trans. Tom Geddes (London: Hurst & Company, 2011); and Thomas Lindkvist, Maria Sjöberg, Susanna Hedenborg, and Lars Kvarnström, *A Concise History of Sweden from the Viking Age to the Present*. Trans. Donald S. MacQueen (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2018).
- 4 Stefan Berger with Christoph Conrad, *The Past as History. National Identity and Historical Consciousness in Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
 - 5 Simon Larsson, Marja Jalava, and Pertti Haapala, “Nordic Historiography: From Methodological Nationalism to Empirical Transnationalism,” in *Making Nordic Historiography. Connections, Tensions & Methodology, 1850–1970*, eds. Pertti Haapala, Marja Jalava and Simon Larsson (New York & Oxford: Berghahn, 2017), 4.
 - 6 Marja Jalava, “Kansallisen menneisyyden todistaminen,” in *Tiede ja yhteiskunta. Suomen Historiallinen Seura ja historiantutkimus 1800-luvulta 2010-luvulle*, ed. Petri Karonen (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2019), 187; Frank Meyer, “Social Structure, State Building and the Fields of History in Scandinavia. A Personal and Comparative View,” in *Nordic Historiography in the 20th Century*, eds. Frank Meyer and Jan Eivind Myhre (Oslo: Department of History, University of Oslo, 2000), 28–49.
 - 7 Peter Aronsson, Narve Fulsås, Pertti Haapala, and Bernard Eric Jensen, “Nordic National Histories,” in *The Contested Nation. Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories*, eds. Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011 [2008]), 256–282.
 - 8 *Historieskrieringen i Sverige*, eds. Gunnar Artéus and Klas Åmark (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2012); Torstendahl, Rolf, *Källkritik och vetenskapssyn i svensk historisk forskning, 1820–1920* (Stockholm: Svenska bokförlaget, 1964); *Svenska historiker från medeltid till våra dagar*, eds. Ragnar Björk and Alf W. Johansson (Stockholm: Norstedts, 2009); Päiviö Tommila, *Suomen historian kirjoitus. Tutkimuksen historia* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1989); Pekka Ahtiainen and Jukka Tervonen, *Menneisyyden tutkijat ja metodien vartijat. Matka suomalaiseen historian kirjoitukseen* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1996).
 - 9 Antti Räihä, Petteri Impola, and Anu Koskivirta, “Suomi, Ruotsi ja historian kirjoituksen historia – ja nykytila,” *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* 118, no. 2 (2020): 149–150. For historiographical comparisons between the countries, see Petri Karonen, “Perspektiv och metoder inom domboksforskningen i Sverige och Finland cirka 1990–2005,” in *Domboken som filologiskt och historiskt forskningsobjekt*, ed. Harry Lönnroth (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2007), 25–43; Kenneth Partti, *Taking the Language of the Past Seriously: The Linguistic Turns in Finnish and Swedish History Dissertations, 1970–2010* (Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, 2020); Petteri Norring, *Eli F. Heckscher, Eino Jutikkala ja pohjoismainen yhteiskuntahistoria* (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2018).
 - 10 Larsson, Jalava & Haapala, “Nordic historiography”; Tibor Frank and Frank Hadler (eds.), *Disputed Territories and Shared Pasts: Overlapping National Histories in Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Stefan

- Berger, Mark Donovan, and Kevin Passmore (eds.), *Writing National Histories: Western Europe since 1800* (London: Routledge, 1999).
- 11 Rolf Torstendahl, "Scandinavian Historical Writing," in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing. Vol. 4, 1800–1945*, eds. Stuart Macintyre, Juan Maiguashca, and Attila Pók (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 263–282; Pekka Ahtiainen and Jukka Tervonen, "A Journey into Finnish Historiography from the End of the 19th Century to the Present Day," in *Nordic Historiography in the 20th Century*, eds. Frank Meyer and Jan Eivind Myhre (Oslo: Department of History, University of Oslo, 2000), 50–79.
 - 12 Mervi Kaarninen, "Suomen Historiallisen Seuran kansainväliset yhteydet," in *Tiede ja yhteiskunta. Suomen Historiallinen Seura ja historiantutkimus*, ed. Petri Karonen (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2019), 414–421.
 - 13 Jan Eivind Myhre, "Introduction. A Century of Nordic Historical Scholarship," in *Nordic Historiography in the 20th Century*, eds. Frank Meyer and Jan Eivind Myhre (Oslo: Department of History, University of Oslo, 2000), 11; Meyer, "Social Structure".
 - 14 Aronsson et al., "Nordic National Histories"; Simon Larsson, "Scientific Historiography and Its Discontents. Danish and Swedish 'aristocratic empiricism'," in *Making Nordic Historiography. Connections, Tensions & Methodology, 1850–1970*, eds. Pertti Haapala, Marja Jalava, and Simon Larsson (New York: Berghahn, 2017), 129–151.
 - 15 Max Engman, "Valtakunnallinen, suomalainen vai suomenruotsalainen näkökulma? Ruotsinkielisestä historiantutkimuksesta Suomessa," in *Historia nyt. Näkemyksiä suomalaisesta historiantutkimuksesta*, Pekka Ahtiainen (toim.), (Porvoo: WSOY, 1990), 39–63.
 - 16 Aronsson et al., "Nordic National Histories," 266.

2 Research on early modern Sweden

Resources, research areas, and prominent scholars, 1850–2020

Petri Karonen

Introduction

Sweden and Finland were part of the same realm for more than 600 years, which means that they have a lot of common history. However, the historiographies of the common past of Sweden and Finland have rarely been compared or analyzed. In this chapter, I examine research trends in history writing on the early modern period from the second half of the nineteenth century to the present day. I present key research infrastructures and give an overview of the relevant research themes in both countries, focusing on doctoral dissertations in early modern history, including relationships between supervisors and supervisees in Sweden and Finland.¹

Historiographers have often focused on examining the work of an individual researcher.² To grasp the broad lines of research in this area, it is important to combine the “traditional” qualitative historical methods with bibliometrics, or at least a quantitative approach of some kind. Bibliometric methods have traditionally been used as a tool for research evaluation, but can also be used for data collection and visualization of patterns of historiographical development in Sweden and in Finland. With such a variety of methods and techniques, comparisons between these two national states are feasible and create new knowledge of disciplines.³

Naturally, in both countries historians have studied historiography and the researchers who have been remarkable figures in their time.⁴ However, very little has been written about the historiography of the common history of Sweden and Finland in general and concerning the early modern period in particular. “Early modern period” in the common history of these countries here refers to an era from the 1520s to 1809.⁵ The time frame of this study can be called the “period of professional historical research,” which began in both Sweden and Finland in the mid-nineteenth century.⁶

Source materials

The empirical evidence used in this chapter is based on extensive quantitative source data. The material consists of publication data collected from

historical bibliographies and various databases in Sweden and Finland. However, the use of international databases has not proved fruitful in this context, as they often take only very limited account of studies published in languages other than English. In Sweden and Finland, however, a significant proportion of studies on the early modern period are published in national languages. In addition to the limited range of languages, the time horizon of these international databases is still far too short for the needs of this chapter: systematically cataloged data are often available only from the twenty-first century. Table 2.1 summarizes the most important materials used in this chapter.⁷

While much of the data and publication lists are available, some of it is in a form that requires a lot of “cleaning” and manual correction. In many cases, the data have been collected manually, post by post. This is because the classifications and categories have changed during this long period.

With the help of the catalogs and bibliographies mentioned in Table 2.1, databases have also been compiled on dissertations in early modern history published in Finland and Sweden during the period under review. These databases provide information on the number of dissertations and the eras studied. Similarly, quite detailed information is obtained about the researchers who supervised the dissertations and the supervisor–supervisee relationship. This relationship has been elucidated from the prefaces to the dissertations,

Table 2.1 Main sources used in the study

<i>Source material</i>	<i>Content</i>
Bibliographies and databases	The historical bibliographies of Sweden (1771–1976) and Finland (1544–1990) ⁸
The national collections of publications	LIBRIS in Sweden (https://libris.kb.se/), Fennica in Finland (https://kansalliskirjasto.finna.fi/)
Lists of dissertations (together with the above-mentioned bibliographies)	Dokhist: Bibliografisk databas över svenska doktorsavhandlingar i historia (dissertations from 1890– in https://svenskahistoriskaforeningen.se/index.php/resurser/dokhist/soek-i-dokhist) Eeva Mäkelä-Henriksson & Tuovi Puupponen, Helsingin yliopiston väitöskirjat 1828–1977. Helsingin yliopiston kirjaston julkaisuja 41. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto 1978; Sini Kangas & Marjatta Hietala & Heikki Ylikangas (toim.) <i>Historia eilen ja tänään. Historiantutkimuksen ja arkeologian suunnat Suomessa 1908–2008</i> . Helsinki: Suomen tiedeseura 2009, appendix. Juuli-julkaisutietoportaaali (http://www.juuli.fi/); Science and Research in Finland (https://research.fi/en/); Historisk Tidskrift (Sweden) (“Nytt om historisk forskning” – “News on historical research”)
Various databases and catalogs (in Swe. <i>matrikel</i>)	Information from various sources of key researchers in the field including <i>Valtiokalenteri</i> , <i>Statskalender</i> , and <i>Who’s who</i> (<i>Kuka kukin on; Vem är det</i>)

in addition to which various biographical and memoir information has been used to aid in mapping the overall picture.

Resources available for historical research on early modern scholars in Sweden and in Finland

To understand the resources available for historical research in Sweden and Finland, we need to take a look at the university and higher education structures in both countries.⁹ In Sweden, the universities of Uppsala and Lund were the traditional educators of historians. The University of Gothenburg (*högskola* from 1891, university since 1954) established a history professorship as early as 1895. The Stockholm *högskola* (university since 1960) did not have a history professorship until 1919. The Stockholm School of Economics and Business established an economic history professorship in 1929. The University of Helsinki was Finland's only university until the beginning of the independence period. At the turn of the 1920s, Åbo Akademi University (1918) and the University of Turku (1920) were founded in Turku/Åbo, both of which had a strong involvement in the discipline of history from the very beginning. Thus, the research organizations in both countries are quite young: most of them were born in the late 1950s or in the 1960s when new universities were founded.¹⁰

There have been many similarities in the general conditions and practices of Finnish and Swedish historians. In both countries, for example, departments of history were established quite late. In Sweden, the first history department was established in Lund in 1944, while in Finland, the first ones appeared in the late 1950s, first in Turku and soon afterward in Jyväskylä and other new colleges and universities.¹¹ In Sweden, however, there were considerably more jobs for historians in various memory organizations than in Finland. This was already the case from the second half of the nineteenth century, when, for example, qualified historians moved to the provincial archives that were established much earlier than Finland, and many history professors moved from the university to the management of the Riksarkivet as *riksarkivarie*, the head of the National Archives.¹²

The resources allocated to historical research in Sweden and Finland can be examined by comparing the number of professorships in the field. I am aware that this parameter alone does not indicate the full potential or development of a field, but in practice, there are few other reliable indicators available over the long term. Modern statistics on, for example, staff or research funding are also very difficult to interpret, and the criteria have changed very often along the way. Thus, this is the only comparative method, as reliable data on the number of research and teaching posts in the two countries are only available for professors from the beginning of the study period onward.

Figure 2.1 brings together all the professors of history who have worked in the faculties of humanities and social sciences. Thus, the titles of professorships include professors¹³ of "history," "Finnish history," "Scandinavian

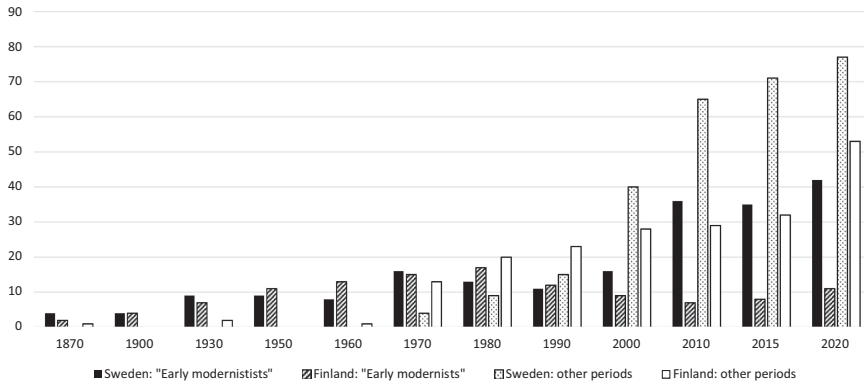


Figure 2.1 Professors of history in Sweden and Finland, 1870–2020: divided between “early modernists” and “others” (faculties of humanities and/or social sciences or equivalent).

Source: *Sveriges statskalender* 1870–2010; *Nytt om historia*; webpages from different universities; Petri Karonen, ”Historiantutkimuksen ja yhteiskunnan yli puolitoistavuosisatainen vuoropuhelu,” 19 and sources mentioned therein.

history,” “economic history,” “history of ideas and/science,” “cultural history,” and so on.¹⁴ Professors have been classified on the basis of their publishing and/or dissertation supervision experience as having their main expertise in either the early modern era or other periods.

To add some general remarks on Figure 2.1, the increase in professorships is not surprising in itself, as the establishment of new universities in both countries in the 1960s, with little delay, led to an increase in the number of professors. In both countries, all chairs of history were held by early modernists for a long time: the last time this happened was as late as 1950. For a long time, Finland had more professorships in history than Sweden; this situation was first reversed in the twenty-first century. This has partly been influenced by the promotion system (in Swe. *befordran*) introduced in Sweden in the early 2000s. The number of “early modernist professors” in Sweden has tripled during this century, while in Finland, the number has remained the same. Thus, Sweden currently has almost five times as many professors familiar with the early modern period, but the number is rising slightly in Finland too.¹⁵

Swedish and Finnish publications on the common early modern period

The following section examines the volume and distribution of research on the common history of Sweden and Finland in the three sample periods, that is 1875–1900, 1951–1960, and 1980–2009. An accurate estimate of the volume of publishing activity is difficult, but it is necessary in order to build up an overall picture. The use of bibliographies and databases for long-term