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# Spaces for comfort, seclusion and privacy in a Swedish eighteenth-century town

Dag Lindström and Göran Tagesson

Behind the façade of the house at Hunnebergsgatan 30 in Linköping, there is an inner yard and a private garden.[1] This, however, you cannot see from the street; it is all hidden because the house obstructs the view from outside. The house itself was built in 1795 and is today known as *Onkel Adamsgården*, named after a once well-known author who lived there in the nineteenth century. It is a two-storey building with two apartments and a diverse and complex room structure. The two apartments are clearly separated, with front doors, staircases and vestibules, further emphasizing seclusion and regulated entrances to the apartments. The plot itself has a secluded character, as the inner yard is completely closed off from the street space by the residential house.[2]

This arrangement of house and plot is not unique. Similar spatial novelties appeared frequently in eighteenth-century Linköping, especially towards the later part of the century.[3] This development took place, not in a leading European metropolis, but in a small provincial town in Sweden, with only a few thousand inhabitants. Linköping was admittedly an ecclesiastical centre and a central place for the regional nobility, but it was certainly no industrial forerunner or vibrant commercial hub.[4] It was just

**Figure 7.1** Onkel Adamsgården. Ortophoto Johan Stenvall, The Archaeologists, Linköping.

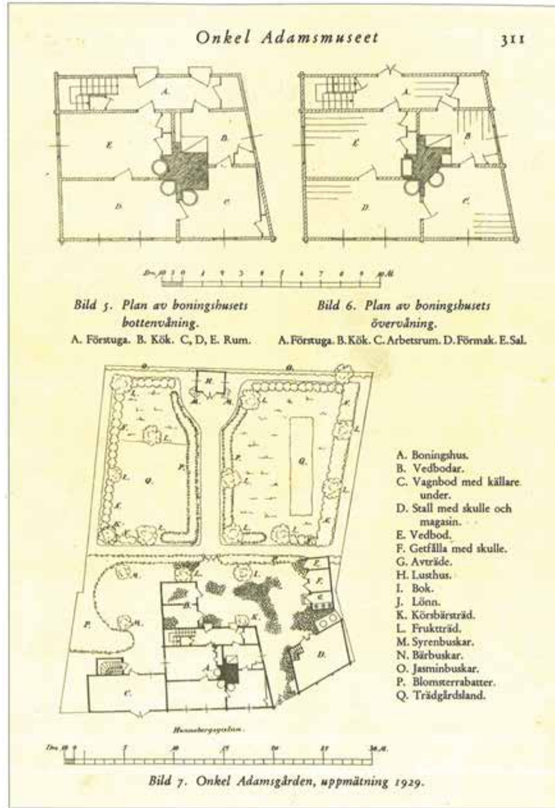


**Figure 7.2** Plan of the 1920s of Onkel Adamsgården. After Cnattingius 1929, Archive of Östergötland's museum.

another small and seemingly sleepy provincial town. This, however, does not make the observed changes any less interesting and it raises several questions related to seclusion and privacy.

How do these changes in the spatial organization of houses and urban space relate to seclusion, privacy and intimacy? What specific types of changes in the built urban structures during the eighteenth century may be related to the early emergence of privacy and intimacy? Were these changes in spatial organization restricted to specific social strata, preferably social elites, or can they be detected in various socio-economic contexts?

In this chapter, we will point at some important basic changes in the social organization and the built structures of eighteenth-century Linköping, arguing that specific spatial changes enhanced possible seclusion and privacy. We do not claim that the changes prove the actual emergence of privacy as practice, mentality or ideology.

This is not primarily an analysis of social practice and cultural meaning. What we do claim is that the built urban environment was significantly transformed and that these changes resulted in increased spatial diversity, complexity and seclusion. We also claim that these changes are closely related to changes in the social organization. Our analyses are built primarily on a combination of archaeological documentation, examinations of still standing houses and house documentations from the 1920s to the 1980s. Information about houses and their spatial structures has also been retrieved from contemporary written sources, such as sales documents, probate inventories and inspection documents. For the reconstruction of household structures and cohabitation patterns, various tax records and church records have been used.[5]

## Material, social and cultural spaces

Recently, space has emerged as a fundamental dimension of historical analyses and the spatial turn has been added to the many other 'turns' of contemporary social and cultural history. This is particularly evident in urban history.[6] It does not mean that historians previously have completely neglected spatial dimensions. On the contrary, there are numerous examples of space being considered in historical analyses.[7] Rather, the novelty of the spatial turn appears in a more systematic, natural, and theoretically grounded inclusion of space in all kinds of social, cultural and political analyses.

In archaeological analyses, space has long been a prominent dimension. During the twentieth century, many different spatial aspects have been discussed; for example, from a cultural historical tradition, focusing on diffusion and *Kulturkreislehre* vis-à-vis landscape and topography. During the 1960s and 1970s, an influential ecological tradition focused on environmental adaption to the landscape and natural resources. Since the 1980s and onwards, space has been studied from many different aspects; for example, the construction of space, human experience of spatiality, the partialities of power relations, etc. Nowadays, on the other hand, many archaeologists seek to integrate human relations, human agency, and human experiences in a more explicit way in analyses of materiality and spatiality.[8]

Much theoretical inspiration has been drawn from the French Marxist sociologist Henri Lefebvre, discussing the *production of space*, in terms of *spatial practice*, *representation of space* and *representational space*. This triad is meant to cover the interaction between everyday routine practices, conceptualizations of space and experiences of space, as well as to overcome the duality between materiality and ideas, and between space and social interaction.[9] Although Lefebvre points out space as changeable and socially produced, time and historical change are not in the forefront of his arguments. Karl Schlögel, for example, has argued for a more deliberate focus on the linking of space with time and action.[10]

There have been further critical remarks on Lefebvre and some of the research practices associated with the spatial turn. The emphasis on meaning and representation tends to neglect or at least downplay the materiality of space, and several historians

have argued for the importance of including physical materiality more directly into the analyses.[11] In addition, while meaning is sometimes ascribed to space itself, others argue strongly against this. Leif Jerram, for example, claims that spaces in themselves never 'possess the quality of being gay, male, or sacred'. These are conclusions based on observations of human actions and thoughts not on analyses of space itself.[12]

These critical remarks are important and should be seriously considered. On the one hand, it is essential that space is never reduced to just a container or a backdrop for human interaction, independent of human relations, actions and thoughts. On the other hand, it is equally important that space is never treated as meaning and interpretation only. It is the combination of materiality, meaning and action that turns space into a powerful analytical dimension. It is important also to consider Lefebvre's basic statements; space is always produced and space has a multitude of dimensions. This is very much in line with Doreen Massey's thoughts about space as produced by (social) relations and interaction, always characterized by heterogeneity, never finished and closed, but always under construction.[13]

## Privacy and intimacy

It is not immediately obvious what privacy and intimacy would mean in an eighteenth-century context. There are, however, a number of classical studies in the field. Privacy and the development of a private sphere have been conceptualized in contradistinction to a public sphere and in relation to a changing concept of the public. For Jürgen Habermas, this relates to the development of new forms of communication in the (liberal) public sphere. His main interest is also directed towards the development of the public domain. The new public and the private in many ways appear as two sides of the very same new social and political order. Intimacy developed in contrast to the public sphere and was strongly associated with the emergence of the bourgeois family.[14] Nevertheless, as pointed out by John Brewer, the private often tends to appear as a residual: that which is not public.[15]

In the monumental *A History of Private Life*, edited by Phillippe Ariès and Georges Duby, focus is on privacy rather than the public. According to Ariès, people in late medieval times still did a lot of things in public that would later be restricted to contexts concealed from the public gaze. For Ariès, this is about fundamental changes in the norms of behaviour, and it is related to the emergence of the strong state, growing literacy and new religious practices. Privacy emerged as a new form of sociability, manifested in self-reflecting literature, in the upgrading of personal friendship and in new ways of organizing living spaces.[16]

Christoph Heyl systematically analyses the development of privacy in eighteenth-century London. Although Heyl considers privacy to be basically about mind and human behaviour, he relates the development of privacy closely to spatial and material transformations. New forms of cohabitation were a prerequisite for privacy to become widespread. After the Great Fire in 1666, many houses were built according a new model of inner organization with separately heated rooms, a more specialized room structure and a more distinct separation between different parts of the houses. With

this, the relations to neighbours and the concepts of inside and outside of houses changed. A crucial dimension of this change was the creation of specific spaces, from which other people could be kept out, and into which selected individuals could be invited. These were spaces where new forms of social interaction developed. Heyl furthermore distinguishes intimacy from privacy in general terms. Intimacy developed in the core of the private sphere, where relations were based not on, for example, economic relations, but on emotional bonds.[17]

Significant transformations of the residential buildings have also been identified by many other historians and archaeologists. Matthew Johnson points at a transition from 'open' to closed 'houses' in rural England, starting in the sixteenth century. Houses that were dominated by a large central hall with a variety of different functions, which had many openings to the outside and close connections to neighbours, were replaced by houses characterized by a clear spatial division of activities. The creation of a separate kitchen is an important example of this. The creation of different rooms for different tasks and special social activities is interpreted as an expression of developing individualism.[18] Johnson's identification of open house structures carries certain similarities with Joachim Eibach's concept of *das offene Haus* (the open house), which identifies a pre-modern culture of visibility and interaction, where a dichotomy of inside and outside usually is more relevant than a distinction between private and public. Houses were open, activities were visible and rooms were often easily accessible from the outside.[19] Another important innovation in the transition towards modernity is the introduction of organized apartment buildings. This is usually associated with larger cities. In, for example, Vienna, it has been estimated that about 85 per cent of the inner-city population lived in rented accommodations around 1800. This of course meant a fundamental change in the size and the inner spatial organization of houses. Houses were built with distinct apartments, separate kitchens and tiled stoves for heating.[20]

Several historians have focused more explicitly on the development of intimacy and the domestic sphere in early modern Europe. Many studies focus on the large European metropolises like Paris and London, often paying considerable attention to urban elites, and frequently emphasizing material culture and consumption.[21] Analysing everyday objects and the spatial organization of both elegant and humble early modern Parisian homes, Annik Pardailhé-Galabrun concludes that rooms became more diverse and specialized, better heated and better lit, and equipped with more personal objects during the eighteenth century. Greater privacy was gained in this way.[22] According to Rafealla Sarti, the need for privacy in early modern society developed in relation to servants. With increasing physical distance, achieved through the creation of separate areas for servant work, separate sleeping rooms and the introduction of corridors and backstairs, servants became increasingly separated from the family.[23] Amanda Vickery also emphasizes the connections between transformations of the spatial structures of houses, changes in material culture and the advance of privacy in eighteenth-century England. Although Vickery points at the importance of physical separation through corridors, multiple staircases and the introduction of small rooms allowing for solitude, she emphasizes that privacy was not something exclusive and achievable only for the most privileged. Privacy is understood as the possibility of seclusion,

withdrawal, refuge and security. It could to some extent be obtained also among servants and lodgers. Vickery uses the portable locking box as an example of a basic privacy achieved with small measures and limited resources.[24]

These spatial tendencies have also been discussed in a Scandinavian setting, e.g. the coming of more advanced apartments and apartment buildings during the nineteenth century, but more from an art historical perspective and related to industrialization after the mid-nineteenth century.[25]

## Households and cohabitation

Our primary focus is the built environment, but this needs to be related to the social organization. Household structures and patterns of cohabitation are of particular interest here and it has been established that these underwent important changes in Linköping during the eighteenth century. The time from around 1750 to the 1780s appears as the pivotal period of change. Between 1750 and 1785, the population increased from 1,822 to 2,853 inhabitants, and the number of households indicated in the tax records rose from 340 to 891. These figures represent a sharp decline in the average household size from 5.4 people down to only 3.2 people. The decades after 1785 appear as demographically more stable with just a slight decrease in both the number of inhabitants and the number of households.[26]

An immediate effect of the population growth was a rise in population density, as the built area of the town expanded only slightly over time, from 252 plots in 1754 to 276 plots in 1800. With this, the average number of inhabitants per plot increased from 7.4 people in 1754 to 9.8 people in 1800, and the average number of households per plot increased from 1.6 to 3.1. In other words, more people came to live closer to each other, and often in rather small units.[27]

Average numbers, however, do not tell us the whole story. The diversity in household organization also increased. Small and single-person households gained in prevalence. Already in 1772, no less than 21.5 per cent of all households were singletons, but in 1800, this share had increased even further to 28.7 per cent.[28] Thus, it can be concluded that singles were a significant dimension of late-eighteenth-century households and cohabitation structures in Linköping, and their importance increased over time. This aspect of early modern population structures has until now rarely been considered as an important dimension of social organization and social order.[29] Nonetheless, it is a strong indicator of fundamental changes in the social structure.

The increasing prevalence of single households does not, however, correspond to a declining importance of large households. The share of households with at least eight people admittedly decreased from 9.6 per cent in 1772 to 7.3 per cent in 1800, but the large households still included the same share of the population. In 1772, a total of 583 individuals, or 23.6 per cent of the total population, lived in households with at least eight people. In 1800, these amounted to 642 people or 23.7 per cent of the population. This means that the number of large households on the one hand tended to decline, but that the average size of large households on the other hand increased over time.[30]

Another important change is that the share of households headed by a married couple declined substantially from 60.9 per cent in 1754 to only 46.5 in 1800. At the same time, households headed by single individuals (not married people, widows and widowers) increased from 38.3 per cent to 52.2 per cent. This is another expression of the transformation of household structures and cohabitation patterns in eighteenth-century Linköping. In addition, the increasing population density was not evenly distributed over the town. There was a huge variation in the number of individuals and households residing on the single plots, but generally, the share of plots with very few households declined while those with many households increased. In 1772, 125 town plots (47.2 per cent) housed only one household. By 1800, not more than fifty-five plots (21.4 per cent) held only one household. In 1772, there were forty-eight plots (18.1 per cent) with four or more households. By 1800, there were ninety-one plots (45.5 per cent) housing four or more households.[31]

## Increasing complexity of residential buildings

At the same time, the built structures and the housing culture of the town also changed. The internal structure of urban residential buildings became more complex, diverse and heterogeneous. In the seventeenth century, small two- or three-room buildings still dominated. The structure appears as rather simple and homogeneous, including a small vestibule (Sw. *förstuga*), a main room for daily use, heated with a fireplace (Sw. *stuga*), and possibly a third room, not necessarily heated. The rooms were organized in one row, and access was simple, as each room was entered through another room.[32]

The first important indication of a development towards increasing spatial diversity is the introduction of a separate kitchen. This appears to have been a general trend in Swedish towns during the second half of the seventeenth century. In some early modern Swedish towns, like Jönköping and Kalmar, the separation of cooking and food preparation activities into a separate kitchen is possible to observe more closely during that time. In the case of Kalmar, the whole town was moved and rebuilt at a new location around the 1650s and 1660s, and it has recently been stated that separate kitchens were very common in the newly constructed houses, even in more marginal and socially underprivileged parts of the town.[33]

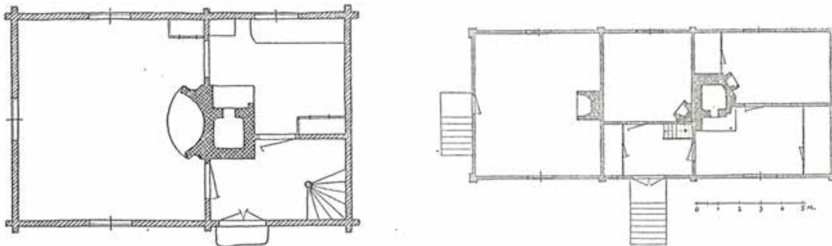

**Figure 7.3** Two types of vernacular buildings; a single-room house (Sw. enkelstuga) and a house with two rooms separated by a vestibule (Sw. parstuga), both with separate kitchens. After Hofrén 1937.

**Figure 7.4** A house documented in Kalmar, with "stuga" and separate kitchen. After Tagesson & Carelli 2016.

**Figure 7.5** A very small house with a single room in Linköping, Hunnebergsgatan 23. Documentation Bengt Cnattingius 1920s, Archive of Östergötland's museum.

Simple house plans were still common in Linköping in the eighteenth century, but there are several examples of increasing complexity and heterogeneity, even in houses that may at first appear as simple and unsophisticated. One of these typically humble and modest buildings still stands on Hunnebergsgatan 7 in Linköping. It looks like a single building completed at one specific time. However, under the surface, and after a meticulous buildings archaeological analysis, this house is revealed to be the result of a series of subsequent building and extension activities. In 1714, this plot was described in terms of 'small houses and a vegetable garden'. The oldest part of the house is a one-room building originally from the early 1630s, or possibly a two-storey building with one room on each floor. Another part, a separate one-room building, is from the mid-1680s. A second floor was added in the early 1780s connecting the two small separate houses. At that time, the total number of rooms was extended from two (or possibly three) to five. The rooms on the second floor were reached by an external, open staircase (Sw. *loftgång*), and seem to represent small, single-room apartments.[34]

This property clearly displays the close connection between the transformation of the physical shape of the house and changes in the housing and cohabitation conditions. In 1771, only one small household inhabited this place: a chamois tanner, his wife and a maid. In 1785, after the completion of the second floor, there were six inhabitants, representing three separate households: a bell-ringer and his wife, a worker and his wife, and a brewer and his wife. Thirteen years later, in 1798, there were thirteen people living in the house, representing seven different households. The house owner, carpenter Magnus Tornstedt, his wife and three children constituted a household of five persons. The six other households were all tenants and lodgers. Four of them were singleton households.[35]

**Figure 7.6** Hunnebergsgatan 7 in Linköping, the single and plain facade hides a complex building biography. Photo: Bengt Cnattingius 1920s, Archive of Östergötland's museum.

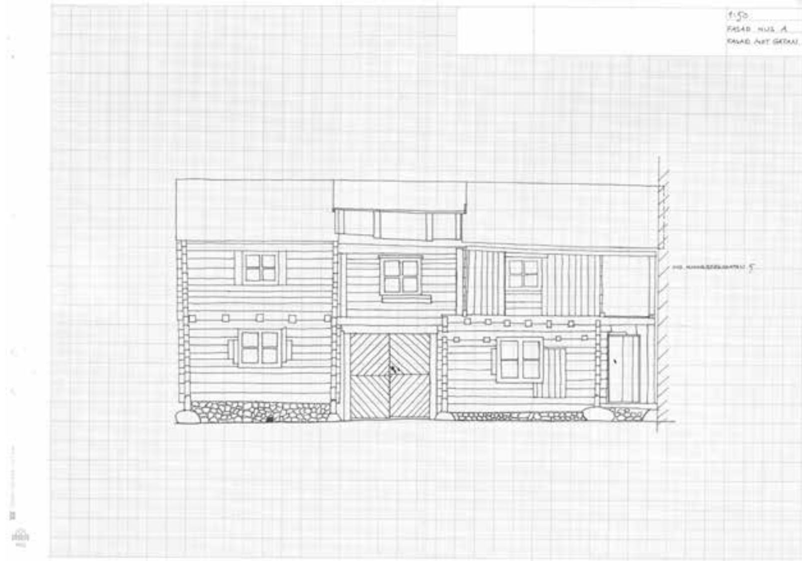


**Figure 7.7** The façade of Hunnebergsgatan 7 in Linköping, documentations from 1970s. Archive of Östergötland's museum.

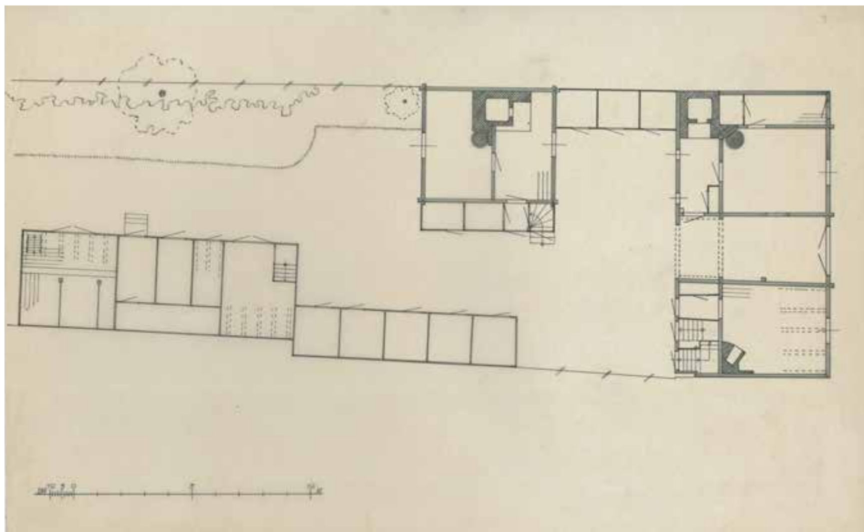

**Figure 7.8** The plot of Hunnebergsgatan 7, documented in 1920s, the main building towards the street to the right. Additional residential building with small rooms to let in the middle of the plot. Garden and outbuildings to the left. Archive of Östergötland's museum.

We cannot establish exactly how these households were distributed in the house, but it is quite possible that the carpenter family lived in one room, three elderly women in another, a crippled worker and his wife in a third room, a poor merchant widow and her daughter in a fourth, and an unmarried saltpetre-boiler in a fifth. Although this certainly was a crowded building, it would have been possible, to offer all inhabitants at least a minimum of privacy or seclusion. Several individuals had to share a room, but everyone could close a door, the rooms could not be entered into directly from the outside, and no one had to go through another room to reach their own.

Later, there were further small changes made to this building. An open staircase leading to the second floor was built in. This probably happened in the early nineteenth century; similar rebuilding work has been noticed on several other buildings in Linköping from the same time. In one of the nearby houses in the same street, the construction of two different stairs even created two separate entrances to the second floor. With rather small measures, it was possible to create further potential for separation and seclusion, even in small and over-crowded plots. At Hunnebergsgatan 7, separate kitchens were constructed in some of these narrow and

**Figure 7.9** Hunnebergsgatan 7, a small kitchen preserved on the second floor, representing a later addition in the built-in open gallery. Documentation from the 1970s, Archive of Östergötland's museum.

newly built-in spaces, indicating that separate kitchen spaces were coveted even under small circumstances. The small kitchen on the second floor could be used as a closed space, exclusively connected to the inner room, or it could be used as an open space, available for all three rooms on that floor. Many of these secondary modifications (built-in staircase, external vestibules, entrance halls, and separate closets and larders) developed the spatial complexity of the building and increased the depth of the built structures. Rooms and apartments could be reached from the outside only by passing through a sequence of spaces in the house. In the house at Hunnebergsgatan 7, like in many other houses from that period, there are also examples of secondary openings between the rooms, indicating a possible construction of apartments with two or three small rooms. These new entrances between rooms enhanced the inner flexibility of the houses, allowing for both connection and seclusion.[36]

A parallel phenomenon to these changes in the inner building structures is found in the middle of the plots. During the eighteenth century, small residential buildings were added to the inner areas of many plots. One such house with possible residential rooms can be found at Hunnebergsgatan 7. This house was built as early as in the 1750s. There are many other examples from both Linköping and other Swedish towns, indicating that the building of extra houses in the inner yards was rather frequent during the second half of the eighteenth century. In many cases, it can be established that those houses were specifically built for renting out rooms.[37] This adds a further dimension to the development of diversity and separation, when rooms intended for renting were not only separated from the owner's apartment, but also located in a different building.

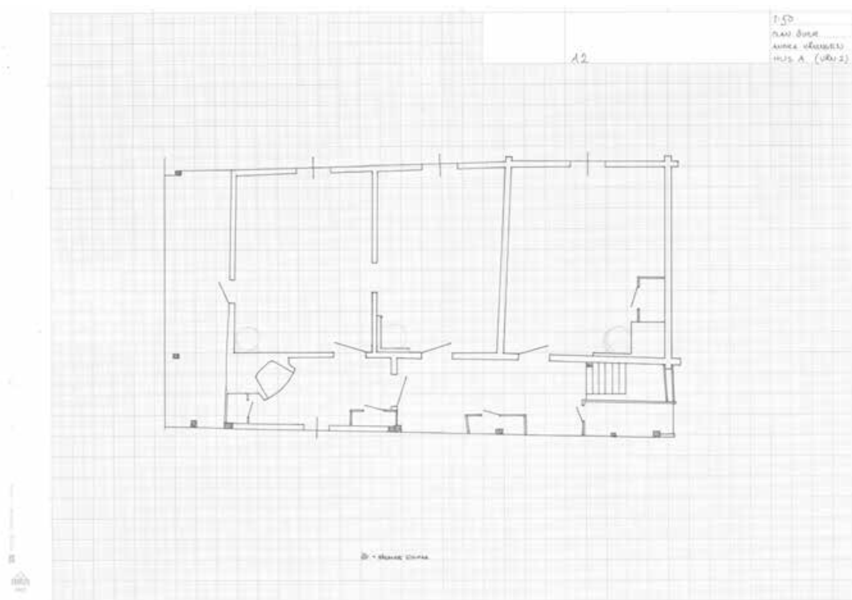

**Figure 7.10** Plan of Hunnebergsgatan 7 in Linköping, documentation from 1970's. Notice the difference between the original timber walls, including three separate rooms at the top towards the street, and secondary additions in a lighter construction technique at the bottom, comprising the built-in open gallery and a small kitchen at the bottom left. Archive of Östergötland's museum.

Moreover, the house discussed in the introduction, Hunnebergsgatan 30, represents the development of new inner structures of residential buildings. It was built according to a new type of house plan, with four rooms in two rows. It is a two-storey building with one separate apartment on each floor and an external, open gallery with a staircase, which was later built in. This modification turned the gallery into a small entrance hall for each floor, separating the apartments from the entrance doors of the house. Each apartment is composed of a kitchen and an additional three rooms, with a central chimneystack, providing heating facilities for each room. Later in the nineteenth century, these rooms were specified as a hall or dining room (Sw. *sal*), a bedroom (Sw. *sovrum*) and a drawing room (Sw. *förmak*). This probably also reflects how the rooms were originally used, indicating a diverse and more complex social and residential pattern. The building of this house was commissioned around 1795 by a bookkeeper, Johan Peter Frisk, and it is reasonable to assume that it was meant for housing middle-class families.[38]

The heating facilities were obviously important in the construction of the house at Hunnebergsgatan 30. In Swedish towns, tiled stoves were introduced during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was a major innovation in heating technology, contributing to a general improvement of indoor comfort. In addition to that, the tiled stove improved the possibilities of individual heating of many separate rooms. In several towns, the use of this heating technique spread during the seventeenth century, but important social and regional differences can be observed. In Linköping, only upper elite houses, like the bishop's residence, provide examples of tiled stoves in the seventeenth century. In Kalmar, on the other hand, tiled stoves appear also in more humble houses in the outskirts of the town even in the second half of the seventeenth century.[39] Here, the introduction of tiled stoves seems to be almost contemporary with the introduction of separate kitchens. In the eighteenth century, the technology was further developed with a front fire opening and a complicated system of heating channels, further facilitating heating for separate rooms. This enabled a more complex and diversified spatial structure. Thus, the development of heating techniques contributed to possible separation and seclusion, and thereby enhanced the potentiality for privacy. This technology eventually spread to all social groups in society.

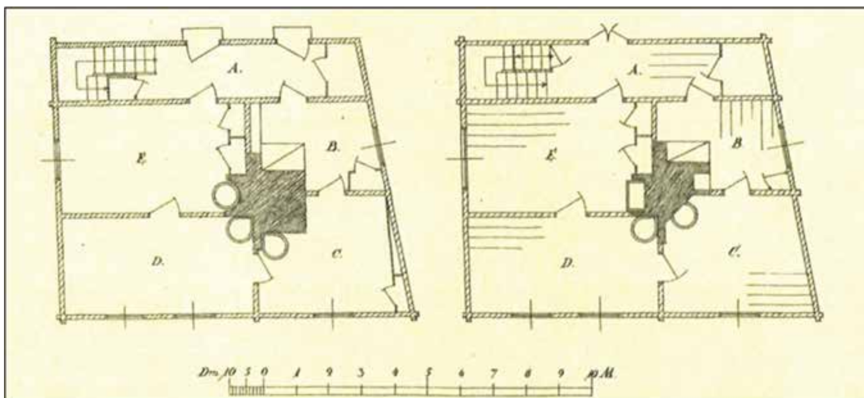


**Figure 7.11** Hunnebergsgatan 30, Linköping, the house plan comprising four rooms and a central chimney stack, with heating facilities in each room. After Cnattingius 1929.

## Separation between street space and the inner yards

Parallel to the changes in household and cohabitation structures and the development of more complex houses, the structure of town plots and the location of houses on the plots changed as well. According to a reconstruction of the two plots at Ågatan in Linköping from the early seventeenth century, the small two-room dwelling houses stood in an inward-oriented position in the middle of the plot. Various outhouses, stables and storehouses were oriented towards the street, and there were cultivation areas at the rear end of the plots. This type of structure has been documented in many Swedish towns since the Middle Ages, and it was still present in seventeenth-century Linköping.

During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the pattern changed, and residential buildings became more commonly oriented towards the street. Various examples from both Linköping and other Swedish towns indicate a difference between gable-fronted houses, and a later introduced orientation with the long side of the residential house facing the street. These successive changes brought about a stricter separation of the plot from the street. They created a deeper structure where access to the plots was possible only through a sequence of different steps. These tendencies also appear in the plot boundaries, developing from elusive plot markers, towards more manifest physical barriers.[40]

When houses were relocated from the plot centre towards the street and when houses were built larger, extended and possibly provided with a second floor, a novel type of street space emerged, and a new relation between the streets and the inner yards developed. Figure 7.12 shows Ågatan in Linköping as it was built in

**Figure 7.12** Ågatan 7–9, Linköping, with residential buildings along the street, from 18th century. Photo ca 1930, Bengt Cnattingius. Archive of Östergötland's museum.

the early eighteenth century. It is a completely different street space compared to the reconstruction of the plots in 1620.[41] What we meet in the eighteenth century is a closed street space where the inner yard is entirely closed off from the street. The residential building on Hunnebergsgatan 7 (Figures 7.6 and 7.7) exemplifies a similar structure. These tendencies have been discussed as a two-directional movement, constructing a distance between the street and the inner plot, and at the same time transforming the private life to be presented towards the street, and thus made public.[42]

The change was gradual, but in the end quite dramatic. It resulted in a completely transformed urban landscape, from an open to a closed structure. The main residential houses created a barrier between street and inner yards, which were no longer visible from the street. To enter the main residential house, you would usually have to first enter the inner yard through a doorway or a gate. This added to the many passages, such as vestibules, hallways, and staircases, between the outdoor spaces and the residential spaces. In addition, when inside the house, you would no longer enter directly into one main room but encountered a more complicated and diverse set of different rooms and spaces. Again, this does not prove that privacy was practised, perceived or sought for, but these material structures provided physical elements of separation and seclusion. Just as different rooms and apartments inside the houses became more clearly separated and possible to delimit from each other, the streets, the residential houses and the inner yards became more clearly separated and delimited spaces.

## Spaces for elite sociability

So far, we have focused on the less conspicuous dwellings of the humbler urban population. During the eighteenth century, new types of houses were introduced also among the urban elite, especially in the town centre. The layout usually included six rooms, distributed in two rows as shown in Figure 7.14, with one large central room (Sw. *sal*) and smaller rooms on the sides. The first known examples are from the late seventeenth century, but after the great fire in 1700 that destroyed a large part of Linköping, several new houses of this type were built there.[43] They represent an architectural innovation and have been interpreted as an example of inspiration from French elite buildings. In Sweden, this style was first introduced in the mid-seventeenth century at the manors of the aristocracy and only slightly later spread to urban contexts.[44]

This type of building allowed for an elaborate distinction between different rooms and spaces with different functions and characters. This also becomes evident in the way the rooms were named. In the centre of the building, there was a larger hall (Sw. *sal*), designed for socialization, for receiving guests and possibly even for public events. There was a vestibule (Sw. *förstuga*), from which the *sal* could be entered, and from which it was possible to enter other rooms as well. There was a kitchen, one or several bedrooms, preferably on one side of the *sal*, and there were other rooms (Sw. *kammare* and *förmak*) preferably on the other side of the *sal,* probably used as parlours and

**Figure 7.13** The Barkman house, Apotekaregatan, Linköping, an upper-class building, later converted into a grocer's shop. Photo from the 1920's. Archive of Östergötland's museum.

drawing rooms for more intimate socialization. These more advanced buildings often comprised a file of rooms, mostly interpreted as drawing-room, hall and bedroom, situated in the inner part of the house but oriented towards the street. These rooms for socialization were made public and well apprehended from the street, especially when illuminated for dinners and dances, but at the same time expressing a social distance towards the public street – to be on display but inaccessible for the non-invited.

It can easily be imagined how the spatial structure of these new elite houses corresponded to the specific expectations of polite socialization, but the more elaborate room structure of these larger houses represents more than that. Written sources sometimes provide further insights in the roles of different rooms. A probate inventory from 1820 describes the various rooms in the two-storey house at Storgatan 58, today known as the von Lingen house (Sw. *von Lingens gård*). This house comprises a bedroom but also a special room for the young ladies (sw. *frökenkammare*). The latter could refer to the daughters of the family but could also refer to other unmarried young ladies sometimes present in the household of von Lingen. One room, on the upper floor next to the library, was identified as the Baron's drawing room (Sw. *baronens förmak*). There was also a separate room for the female servants, on the ground floor, and one for male servants, probably located in a separate building.[45] In this way, some of these houses, where large urban elite households resided, also represent a more elaborated separation within the domestic sphere itself and a more manifest spatial dissociation between household members.

These new and more spatially complex houses were primarily built for the urban elite, and they were spatially organized to allow for public sociability. They were also homes providing secluded spaces into which you could *invite* people (preferably into

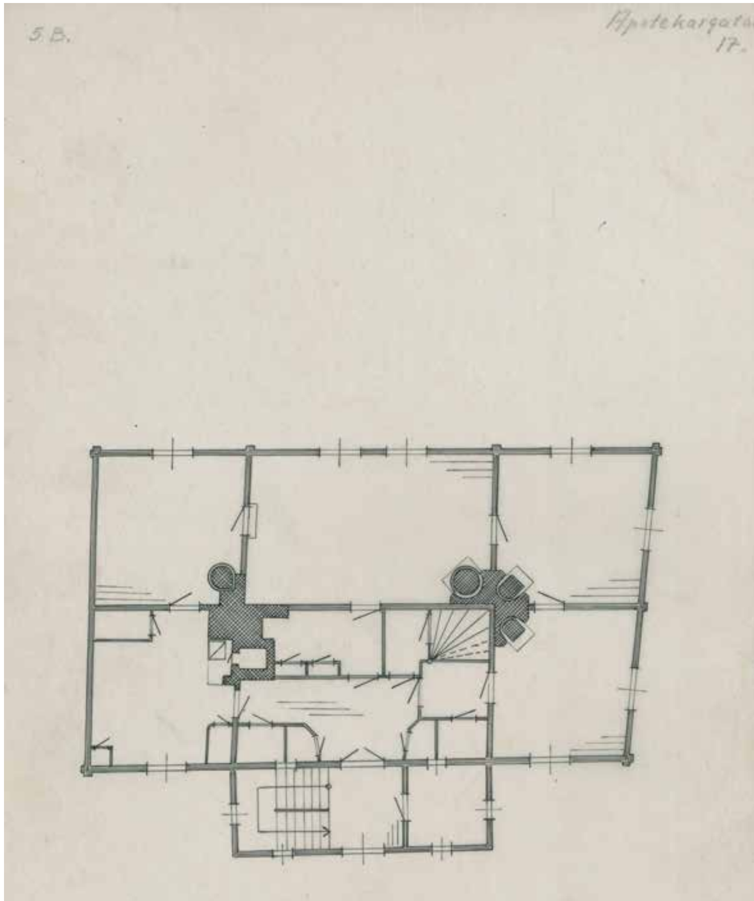


**Figure 7.14** The plan of the Barkman house, Apotekaregatan, Linköping, comprising six rooms, with a broader central part including a hall. Documentation in the 1920's. comprising six rooms, with a broader central part including a vestibule and a bigger sal. Archive of Östergötland's museum.

specific rooms) for intimate and secluded sociability. They represent a built structure very different from the kind of spatial and social organization primarily identified by Joachim Eibach as 'the open house' (*das offene Haus*), where privacy was not really a distinct feature or even an option. On the other hand, even this new type of house could in many ways be open. They could be the place of larger social gatherings. One of the buildings in Linköping where we know that larger public events took place was the house at Nygatan 31. A Petter Schenling, a former bookkeeper at the castle, later a merchant and burgomaster, presumably built it. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, his two unmarried daughters, Maria and Rebecka Schenling, resided there. They organized various public assemblies, dances and other events, often advertised in the local newspaper. At one time, their garden was even the scene of a balloon ascent.[46]

**Figure 7.15** The Linköping Assembly and Theatre House. Photo Bild Linköping, Archive of Östergötland's museum.

In 1806, however, the material and spatial conditions for public events and public socialisation in Linköping changed dramatically. This was when the Assembly and Theatre house (*Assamblé- och spektakelhuset*) was established. It was organized as a company with shareholders (with the bishop as one of them). In this house assemblies, dances, theatre, concerts and various types of entertainment were organized. There was a restaurant and a café, among other things. The organizers explicitly declared that the space was aimed to be a house for 'refined and decent sociability', where all respectable people from different classes, also those of modest circumstances, could take part. And, so they announced, this meant that assemblies and other gatherings could from now on take place in a public building instead of private homes. In the future, no one would have to individually bear the costs for inviting people into their homes, and no one should any longer have to run the risk of being disturbed in their household duties.[47]

## Conclusion

The cases presented here exemplify how the built structures and spatial organization of Linköping changed during the eighteenth century. Some processes of change can certainly be traced back to the seventeenth century, but it is during the eighteenth century, and especially towards the second half of that century, that a more general transformation of the built environment becomes evident. This was a time of deep

change also in household structures and cohabitation patterns, and there are reasons to believe that these processes were closely related. Houses were built larger, with more rooms and with more complex inner structures. New building practices, room plans and architectural elements accentuated both the separation between the inside and the outside of houses, and the spatial separation between different indoor spaces.

There are many examples illustrating how spatial seclusion was created, often on a small scale and with small measures. In most cases, seclusion was neither complete nor absolute, but seclusion certainly became a more prominent dimension of the built structures. This also applies to the street space and the demarcations between streets, dwelling houses and inner yards. These structures were made deeper, with more manifest material demarcations between different spaces and with more elaborated physical passages between them. In many cases, these changes indicate a substantial step away from an *open house* order towards a new type of closed and partitioned buildings, connected with new cohabitation patterns and potentially also providing spaces for novel social practices. It should, however, be admitted that not all changes necessarily eliminated openness. New modes of openness and possible variations in openness are also part of this transformation.

New types of spaces for both public and more exclusive and intimate socialization developed. This is closely related to the process of increasing specialization and separation between rooms in the dwelling houses: for example, kitchens, bedrooms, entrance halls, parlours and drawing rooms. In addition, rooms could no longer be entered directly from outside and it was possible to close several doors to the outside. Rooms could be entered without going through other rooms. It is important to be aware that even small measures can represent huge steps towards a certain degree of privacy. Consider, for example, the difference between living in a room into which other people would regularly enter or just pass through, and living in a room where you could close a door and where other people may need to ask for permission to enter, even if that room was shared with other people. Many of the observed changes, however, enhanced not only seclusion but also connections and flexibility. Entrance halls, staircases, and the more complicated sequences of doors certainly provided for separation and seclusion. On the other hand, rooms, doors and entrance halls could not only be closed and separated, but they could also be open and connected.

Many of the changes discussed here are more manifest and easily observable in the residential houses of the urban elite, but it is important to notice that these tendencies also appear in more modest houses. It has not been our primary aim to explain systematically the causes behind these changes. There is a multitude of possible reasons for why the built structure of eighteenth-century Linköping was transformed; for example, new building techniques, new aesthetic ideals and population pressure might have influenced the change. Our focus has been on distinct effects of specific modifications of the built material structures: increased spatial separation and enhanced potentialities for seclusion. It is, however, clear that certain conceptualizations of private and public spaces were present in Linköping around 1800, and that at least some individuals took action in order to affect the urban spatial organization according to such perceptions.

As a provincial town in northern Europe, Linköping was by no means a solitaire in the development of increasing spatial separation and seclusion in the eighteenth

century. It was not lagging extremely far behind either. Linköping confirms that fundamental spatial transformations of the residential and domestic spheres were not unique to the grand metropolises of Europe. It was not exclusive for the upper classes either. Our observations confirm the importance of including peripheries, small towns and various social classes in analyses of how privacy developed. They also confirm the necessity of close and detailed examinations of specific historical contexts in order to fully grasp the dynamics and variations of these transitions.

## Notes

1 This chapter is part of the research project 'House and Household in Early Modern Swedish Towns 1600–1850', generously funded the Berit Wallenberg Foundation and Brandförsäkringsverket's foundation for research into building history. The project has been headed by Göran Tagesson and Dag Lindström, with Per Cornell as scientific advisor.
2 Tagesson and Lindström 2016; Tagesson, Lindström, Hallgren and Linderson 2020b.
3 Lindström and Tagesson (2022) 2021.
4 Lindberg 1946.
5 For a more detailed presentation of sources and methods, see Lindström and Tagesson 2022.
6 E.g. Gunn and Morris 2001; Arnade, Howell and Simons 2002; Stobart, Hann and Morgan 2007; Navickas 2016; Laitinen 2017; van den Heuvel 2019.
7 Rau 2019, 14–28.
8 Hillier and Hanson 1984; Trigger 1989; Parker Pearson and Richards 1994; Tilley 1994; Johnson 2010; Beaudry 2015.
9 Lefebvre 1991. Many of these thoughts have been further developed by the American geographer Edward W. Soja. Soja 1996.
10 Schlögel 2003, 14; Gunn 2001; Stock 2015, 5–10; Kingston 2010; Massey 2015, 9–15.
11 Jerram 2013, 413–18; Stock 2015, 7–8; Laitinen 2017, 24–6.
12 Ibid., 411–12.
13 Massey 2015, 9–15.
14 Habermas 1962. See also Sennett 1977.
15 Brewer 1995, 8–9.
16 Ariès 1989.
17 Heyl 2004, 1, 21, 136, 157–212.
18 Johnson 1993; Johnson 2010, 87–112.
19 Eibach 2011, 646–55.
20 Mitchell 2018.
21 Concerning the interaction between shopping and consumption and the developments of the home, the domestic sphere and personal identity, see, for example, Ponsonby 2006; Stobart, Hann and Morgan 2007; Hussey and Ponsonby 2008.
22 Pardailhé-Galabrun 1991.
23 Sarti 2002, 142–7.
24 Vickery 2008.
25 Gejvall 1988; Paulsson 1972.
26 Lindström 2020, 233–7.

27 Lindström 2020, 239–40.
28 Lindström 2020, 237–9.
29 One of few exceptions is de Groot, Devos and Schmidt 2015.
30 Lindström 2020, 237–9.
31 Ibid., 239–41.
32 Lindström and Tagesson 2022.
33 Tagesson 2016, 174, 176–87, 194–7.
34 Tagesson, Lindström, Linderson and Hallgren 2020a, 88–93.
35 Ibid., 74–7.
36 Ibid., 35–40; Tagesson 2021b, 83–9.
37 Lindström and Tagesson 2016, 220–2; Lindström and Tagesson 2022.
38 Tagesson and Lindström 2016; Tagesson, Lindström, Hallgren and Linderson 2020b; Tagesson 2021b.
39 Tagesson and Jeppsson 2015a; Tagesson and Jeppsson 2015b; Tagesson and Jeppsson 2016.
40 Tagesson and Nordström 2012, 86–90.
41 Tagesson, Lindström, Åkesson, Linderson and Hallgren 2020, 75–9.
42 Thomasson 1997.
43 Tagesson 2021a.
44 Hofrén 1937; Cederlund 1997, 95, 141, 143.
45 Tagesson, Lindström, Hallgren and Linderson 2020c, 67–9.
46 Lindström 2013, 150–1.
47 Lindström 2013; Lindström 2016, 140–7.