

Determined Readers and Social Practices
Women, the Written Word, and Conviviality in the Christiania
Area, 1798–1815

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Abstract

What is the relationship between social life and the uses of the written word in both printed and manuscript forms? In this thesis, I seek to understand how and to what extent women participated as readers and writers by using the extant source material from Christiane Koren (1764–1815) and other members of a network that included women and men of the elite, all of which were scattered around the Christiania area. This thesis is the first academic work that utilises the full extent of Christiane Koren’s paper trail. Besides detailing her life in her journals from 1798, 1802, 1805, and 1808–15, she also wrote poetry and translated several German-language novels into manuscripts – all of which circulated within her network.

Koren interacted with this network through actual gatherings, the circulation of her journal, and material exchange. By utilising Koren’s journals and other manuscripts as a vantage point, this thesis delineates how the written word in both manuscript and printed forms related to *conviviality* – that is, the cultivation of shared literary interests as practices taking shape within private households and extended beyond in-person gatherings by correspondence and circulating journals. The household remained a sociable locus where friends gathered or as a space from which they extended their presence with books, texts, letters, and other written material. By highlighting the different *uses* of the written word and wide range of texts as pertaining to a meaningful whole – their conviviality – a whole spectrum of practices and a range of actors appears.

This thesis shows that the conviviality of Koren’s network ensured the participation of women in different practices involving the written word. While women were to a large extent excluded from the early forms of associational life, women belonging to Koren’s network participated widely during social gatherings in households. Koren and her female friends read texts both alone and aloud, borrowed and gifted them away, and discussed and shared their opinions on them. Moreover, they conducted similar activities with the male members of the network. Seen as a whole, the network of Koren offers unique glimpses into the world of the written word and its social uses in the period between 1798–1815.

Preface

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1. Introduction

Readers could find “the poet Koren” in-between “ride on the Midsen” and “return trip via Hackedal to Christiania”. If they followed from the index to the text itself, they would find a strange phenomenon: Christiane Koren (1764–1815). She combined, the author specified, “education (*Bildung*) and high enthusiasm with the most unassuming and natural nature (*Wesen*) of a good housewife (*Hausfrau*) and mother”.¹ So penned the German traveller and mineralogist Johann Friedrich Ludwig Hausmann (1782–1859), whose travels in the years 1806 and 1807 resulted in five tomes of first-hand descriptions of Scandinavia, published between 1811 and 1818. He and his companion travelled widely in the Scandinavian countries for two years, visiting Copenhagen, Stockholm, Christiania, and a myriad of other places. While travelling just north of Christiania, they decided to take a detour from their plan. Taking a road less travelled, they prioritised Hovind, the home of Johan Koren, a district judge (*sorenskriver*). He was a parenthesis compared to his wife, “well known in Norway as an excellent poet”. Hausmann confessed that they “could not drive past the seat of a muse (*Musensitze*) without doing our homage to her talent”.² Hausmann’s travel description prompts the question: Who was Christiane Koren?

Christiane Koren will be at the centre of this thesis, which is an exploration of the relationship between the written word in both handwritten and printed forms and social life in the context of early-nineteenth-century Norway. I foreground the different *uses* – reading, singing, performing, exchanging, and gifting – of the written word as a primarily social activity as it unfolds in a network of men and women of the elite in which Koren was central. To this end, I utilise extant source material from Christiane Koren as well as others that belonged to her network of friends and family members. Its two research questions are the following: 1) How did the written word in both manuscript and printed forms relate to social life in early-nineteenth-century Norway? By taking the relationship between the written word and the social life as a vantage point: 2) To what extent could women participate as readers and writers?

Who, then, was this poet that Hausmann so keenly wanted to visit? Christiane Diderichsen was born into a prosperous family in Denmark in 1764. Her father’s departure from his faience factory after an untimely bankruptcy and his subsequent parting with his

¹ Johann Friedrich Ludwig Hausmann, *Reise durch Skandinavien in den Jahren 1806 und 1807*, vol. 2 (Göttingen: Joh. Fridr. Röwer, 1812), 347. All translations from German are my own. Koren learnt about Hausmann’s comments in June 1813, see Koren: 22 June 1813.

² Hausmann, *Reise durch Skandinavien* vol. 2, 348.

family caused Christiane and her mother to move from Amager to Copenhagen, the capital of the dual monarchy Denmark-Norway, in 1780. During the 1780s, she fell in love with the poet and teacher Carl Frederik Dichmann (1763–1806), but with whom she saw no economically prosperous future. She opted for the Bergen-born attorney Johan Koren (1758–1825), then a secretary for the Danish supreme court, with whom she married in 1787 and travelled to Norway upon his appointment as district judge (*sorenskriver*) in the county of Eidsberg (southeastern Norway) the same year.³ Ten years later, they settled in Hovind as Johan was appointed *sorenskriver* in Ullensaker, northeast of Christiania. They remained there until her sudden death in January 1815.

Koren left a unique paper trail. In addition to journals from the years 1798, 1802, 1805 and 1808–15, she also produced ten translations and three compilations of her poetry that remained in their manuscript form. She was also one of the few female authors who entered the world of print. Poetry appeared in two New Year's gift books and the periodicals *Hermoder* and *Minerva*; a collection of her plays, *Dramatic Attempts (Dramtiske Forsøg)*, were published in 1803, and a translation of August Lafontaine's (1758–1831) *Die beiden Bräute* (1808) in 1812.⁴ Held together with the journals she penned, these printed texts and manuscripts constitute a wide-ranging authorship that remains unexplored and understudied.

While living in Norway, and especially after moving to Hovind, Koren constituted the central node in what Torill Steinfeld termed a “community”, or, similarly, what Kai Østberg termed a “network” and a “virtual salon”.⁵ I propose to follow Østberg in terming them a *network* – that is, a group of individuals bound together by mutual ties of friendship or kinship, shared interests in matters of literature and culture, and continually maintained by reciprocal practices. Koren was the central node in this network. In fact, the most cherished male friends were her “sons”, while similar female friends were her “daughters”. In return, her friends called her “mother”, a title she keenly used herself.

She befriended a group of notable civil servants and merchants in the Christiania area as well as corresponding with friends and family members in both Bergen and Copenhagen. Her

³ This brief biographic sketch is based on Elisabeth Aasen, ‘Christiane Koren’, in *Norsk biografisk leksikon*, 25 February 2020, http://nbl.snl.no/Christiane_Koren; Sofie Aubert Lindbæk, ‘Indledning’, in *Moer Korens dagbøger*, vol. I (Kristiania: H. Aschehough & Co, 1915), V–XVIII.

⁴ See Appendix I for complete details.

⁵ Torill Steinfeld, ‘Valgslektskap og vennskapskult: Christiane Koren og Hovindkretsen’, in *Nordisk salonkultur: Et studie i nordiske skønnånder og salommiljøer 1780-1850*, ed. Anne Scott Sørensen (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1998), 297–325; Kai Østberg, ‘Kvinnelighet og mannlighet som dimensjoner i det politiske liv i Norge før og etter 1814’, in *Kvinnor och politik i det tidligmoderna Norden: Rapport till 26:e Nordiska historikermötet i Reykjavik den 8-12 augusti 2007*, ed. Åsa Karlsson Sjögren (Reykjavik: Islands universitets förlag, 2007), 100–101.

network included Claus Pavels (1769–1822), a priest serving the Akershus Fortress in Christiania, and his wife Inger Marie (1777–1865); Frederik Schmidt (1771–1840), a provost in Kongsberg and priest in Eiker, southwest of Christiania, and his wife Maren Elisabeth Oppen (1778–1841); Johan Lausen Bull (1751–1817), the magistrate of the city of Christiania, and his wife Charlotte Amalie (1763–1844); Christopher Anker Bergh (1764–1825), a military prosecutor (*Overauditør*) in Christiania, and his wife Marie Scheitlie (1771–1826); Niels Wulfsberg (1775–1852), a priest and printer in Christiania, and his wife Petra (1781–1831); Ludvig Mariboe (1782–1841), a businessman, and his wife Ragna Marieboe (1791–1888) living at Økern, Christiania; the Drammen-based merchant Peder von Cappelen (1763–1837), his wife Christine Marie (1766–1849, henceforth Cappelen), their daughter Anna Cathrine (1785–1818) and, eventually, her husband Realf Ottesen (1779–1860); Niels Treschow (1751–1833), the first professor of philosophy at the Royal Frederick University (established in 1811, now University of Oslo), and his wife Cathrine Devegge (1770–1838); Marie Devegge (1774–1813); and Sara Bøyesen (1770–1851). I am primarily interested in the activities that these people engaged in as a *network*.

Together they pursued activities that involved the written word in a myriad of ways. They read together; they discussed literary works together; they exchanged and gifted books and manuscripts. As a network, they maintained their ties of friendship through two practices that were reciprocal in nature: Visiting each other and exchanging letters. In addition, Koren and Schmidt penned journals that circulated within the network. It will be argued in this thesis that a myriad of practices involving the written word took place within the households of the elite in early-nineteenth-century Norway. Furthermore, their correspondence and circulating journals extended their possibilities to interact with each other. Directing the spotlight towards the household and the uses of the written word occurring there reveals that women contributed in discussions and operated as writers, translators, and transcribers alongside their male counterparts at a time when associational life was in its incipience, where women did not have access. By tracing the social uses of the written word, this thesis highlights agency and actors operating within the framework of their households.

Historiography

The source material utilised in this thesis has rarely been used in historical studies. This is, perhaps, partly because Koren's journals were only available as an abridged version published

in 1915.⁶ Most of her diaries remained unpublished and relatively inaccessible until the National Library of Norway published transcribed versions for free in 2016 and 2017. This is the first academic work to make use of Koren's journals and her other surviving manuscripts in their entirety. Other scholars have written on Koren and her friends, but have based their work on the abridged edition of her journal.

Most prominently, Torill Steinfeld used Koren's diaries to discuss her affiliation to the events in 1814 and nationalism as well as the "Hovind community" as a part of a larger Nordic trend to form salon-inspired milieus.⁷ Her works on Koren have emphasised her role as the centre point of her "community" in which conventional gender norms were suspended. Koren and questions of gender are also at the heart of Kai Østberg's article about "masculinity" and "femininity" as dimensions pertaining to the political upheaval around the year 1814. Following Steinfeld, he argues that Koren's network embodied a model of harmony that impinged on the existence of "mixed-gender family-oriented semi-publics": She could be the "mother" of a biological and an extended family as long as harmony between the members of the network could reign supreme. During the turmoil around 1814, this harmony fractured as the hardened political tone brought opposites and conflicts at the surface, and ushered in a new type of masculinity in direct opposition to the gallantry and refinement of the Swedes.⁸ Moreover, the economic recession following the same turmoil ended the "thriving period" (*den florisante periode*), characterised by gallantry and refinement among certain sections of the elite. Whereas they have only treated her textual production in passing, I focus more explicitly and in-depth on the uses of the social word as a social phenomenon to understand some central aspects of Norwegian elite culture in the years leading up to 1814.

In a more direct lineage to this thesis are the few studies and mentions of Koren as a reader and writer. She is often mentioned as an example of a woman reader, but without sufficient analysis. Elisabeth Eide, for example, mentions Koren in her study of books in nineteenth-century Norway but does not delve into her journal nor any other sources related to her to

⁶ Sofie Aubert Lindbæk, ed., *Moer Korens' dagbøger*, 2 volumes (Kristiania: H. Aschehough & Co, 1915). Her travel journal from her visit to Copenhagen in 1802 was published in 1945. Gudrun Johnson Høibo, ed., *Dagbog for Kristiane Koren: paa en Reyse fra Norge til Dannemark begyndt den 6. September 1802* (Oslo: Cammermeyer, 1945).

⁷ Steinfeld, 'Valgslektskap og vennskapskult'; Torill Steinfeld, 'En kvinnestemme for nasjonen – Nasjonalitet, identitet og språk i Madame de Staëls Corinne ou l'Italie og Christiane Korens journaler', *Norsk litteratur-vitenskapelig tidsskrift* 9, no. 1 (2006): 50–69.

⁸ Østberg, 'Kvinnelighet og mannlighet'. This point is also discussed in Ann E. Towns, 'Statens bemanning: Europeiske maskulinitetsidealer og det nye Norge', *Internasjonal Politikk* 72, no. 3 (2014): 389–404.

capture *how* she read and to what ends texts were enlisted.⁹ Ruth Hemstad's analysis of Koren's diaries from 1813 and 1814 rectifies this relative neglect by studying Koren's relationship to news and propaganda and, thus, as an avid reader and active observer of contemporary events.¹⁰ However, Hemstad's subject matter is news and propaganda – in both printed and manuscript form. Neither the totality of her reading nor the totality of her extant source material is studied. In essence, scholars have focused on her journals exclusively; Koren's endeavours as translator and producer of manuscripts are still not fully acknowledged in any part of the historiography.

This is a study of books and reading. Book history, more generally, in Norway was until recently a relatively dispersed field, partly owing to its interdisciplinary character. As an academic field, literary scholar Tore Rem introduced the field to a Norwegian audience with an anthology in line with international research; the dominance of literary scholars working with books history is still noticeable.¹¹ Studies in Norwegian book history by historians have traditionally sought to answer two types of questions, all in a quantitative manner.

Firstly, questions pertaining to literacy among commoners have dominated. Jostein Fet's meticulous studies of probate records to assess the growth and expansion of literacy epitomise this interest.¹² Fet's research reflected a general interest in peasant literacy with similar studies conducted in both Sweden (Egil Johansson) and Denmark (Charlotte Appel and Henrik Horstbøll).¹³ Secondly, questions relating to the growth of book possessions and the formation of public and private libraries have been high on the agenda. Both Lis Byberg's and Gina Dahl's doctoral theses are in this vein of research. Byberg studied book auction catalogues from the period between 1750 and 1815 to reveal broad patterns in what was a second-hand literary market in Norway, while Gina Dahl studied the book collections of clerics, utilising

⁹ Elisabeth Eide, *Bøker i Norge: boksamlinger, leseselskap og bibliotek på 1800-tallet* (Oslo: Pax, 2013), 165–66; Elisabeth Aasen, ed., *Fra gamle dage: memoarer, dagbøker, salmer og dikt av kvinner ca. 1660-1880* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1983), 88ff; Elisabeth Aasen, *1800-tallets kvinner: på vei til stemmerett* (Oslo: Pax, 2013), 44–49, 67.

¹⁰ Ruth Hemstad, 'Pamfletter, proklamasjoner og propaganda: Pennekrigen om Norge rundt 1814 fra et dagboksperspektiv', in *Smak av frihet. 1814-grunnloven. Historisk virkning og sosial forankring*, ed. Odd Arvid Storsveen, Amund Pedersen, and Bård Frydenlund (Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2015), 21–61.

¹¹ Tore Rem, 'Innledning', in *Bokhistorie*, ed. Tore Rem (Oslo: Gyldendal, 2003), 11–42; Lis Byberg, 'På sporet av 1700-tallets lesere', in *Bokhistorie*, ed. Tore Rem (Oslo: Gyldendal, 2003), 82–101; Aasta M.B. Bjørkøy and Ståle Dingstad, *Litterære kretsløp: Bidrag til en norsk bokhistorie fra Maurits Hansen til Gunvor Hofmo* (Oslo: Dreyer forlag, 2017).

¹² Jostein Fet, *Lesende bønder: litterær kultur i norske allmugesamfunn før 1840* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1995); Jostein Fet, *Skrivende bønder: Skrifkultur på Nord-Vestlandet 1600-1850* (Oslo: Samlaget, 2003).

¹³ See the discussion of Scandinavian research in Aina Nøding, 'Book History in Norway: From reading peasants to reading Ibsen', in *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis (Dutch Book History Yearbook)* (Haag: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 2013), 140–52.

inventories as her primary source.¹⁴ They have emphasised books as property: transactions, ownership, and collections. The overall interest in literacy and books have revealed historical patterns in the ebb and flow of books, literacy levels, literary interests and genres, but only few studies have included readership. Readers are explicitly left out in Gina Dahl's survey of books in early modern Norway.¹⁵ This thesis highlights the exchanges of texts that went beyond the market itself and the roles of the readers to employ the written word to their own ends, particularly women.

Although reading, understood as a historical contingent practice, remains an understudied topic in Norwegian historiography, Lis Byberg has provided a study of eighteenth-century women readers.¹⁶ Oriented around the questions of who, what and why, Byberg uncovered that women from all strata of society read for different purposes, some even bought books from auctions.¹⁷ A rich historiography of reading exists in international research. Up until the 1980s, most of the scholarship had focused on the quantitative aspects of reading, such as measurements and the development of literacies as well as societal and cultural changes spawned by the advent of the printing press.¹⁸ The radically new with the turn towards reading was the emphasis placed on the very historicity of reading. Roger Chartier invoked the theorists Michel de Certeau in a programmatic article penned in 1992, in which he contended that "a history of reading cannot limit itself only to the genealogy of our contemporary manner of reading – in silence and by sight".¹⁹ Another historian, Robert Darnton, urged scholars in 1986 to enquire into the "how" and "why" of reading, questions hitherto left undetermined by most scholars working on the history of reading.²⁰

¹⁴ Lis Byberg, 'Brukte bøker til bymann og bonde. Bokauksjonen i den norske litterære offentligheten 1750-1815' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Oslo, Universitetet i Oslo, Det humanistiske fakultet, 2007). Dahl's PhD thesis was later published as Gina Dahl, *Book Collections of Clerics in Norway, 1650-1750* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

¹⁵ Gina Dahl, *Books in Early Modern Norway* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 10–11.

¹⁶ A notable exception, including Byberg, is Trygve Riiser Gundersen, 'Memory and Meaning: The Haugean Revival (1796-1804) and Its Place in the History of Reading', in *Religious Reading in the Lutheran North: Studies in Early Modern Scandinavian Book Culture*, ed. Charlotte Appel and Morten Fink-Jensen (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 159–90.

¹⁷ Lis Byberg, '«Jeg gikk i ingen Skole, havde min Frihed hele Dagen og Nøglen til hans Bogskab» – kvinners lesning på 1700-tallet', *Historisk tidsskrift* 90, no. 02 (2011): 159–88.

¹⁸ The transformation from reception studies to the history of reading is discussed in William Howard Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 54–65. The classic studies of Elisabeth Eisenstein, Lucien Febvre, Henri-Jean Martin and Walter Ong are surveyed in Leah Price, 'Reading: The State of the Discipline', *Book History* 7, no. 1 (15 October 2004): 303–20.

¹⁹ Roger Chartier, 'Laborers and Voyagers: From the Text to the Reader', trans. J. A. González, *Diacritics* 22, no. 2 (1992): 49–61; Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1984).

²⁰ Robert Darnton, 'First Steps Toward a History of Reading', *Australian Journal of French Studies* 23, no. 1 (1986): 5–30.

The emphasis on the agency of the reader fared well with scholars working on women readers, which was from early on influenced by feminist scholarship.²¹ Particularly have scholars sought to move away from prescription to description, from studying the efforts to discipline the female reader to the ways in which women read and recorded their readings in contingent ways. Leaving the singular “Female Reader”, research has highlighted the multiplicity of interests, experiences, and competencies across the centuries after 1500, during which female literacy increased steadily.²² Taking cues from this strand of historiography, this thesis is an attempt to deepen the understanding of what reading was and how women actively utilised their abilities to read in order to participate in the literary culture of early-nineteenth-century Norway.

Elite culture in the Norwegian part of the dual monarchy has attracted attention from several scholars. The existing scholarship has detected the existence of a lavish and opulent culture especially among the Christiania-based “patriciate”, consisting of a handful of merchant families. Historians have particularly drawn attention to the excessive sides of their social gatherings. Steinfeld has summarised their celebrations of Christmas at the Fladeby manor and the gardens of Ullevål in Christiania, both owned by John Collett (1758–1810), as “innocent cheerfulness”, characterised by sumptuous dinners, a penchant for dilettantism in terms of literature and theatre, and social exclusivity.²³ Others, such as Knut Sprauten and Bård Frydenlund, have interpreted their activities as opulent and highly conspicuous but also integral for the creation and persistence of economic credit relations and networks; their literary pursuits have been regarded as “dilettantish” and have for that reason attracted little attention.²⁴

²¹ Michelle Levy, ‘Women and the Book in Britain’s Long Eighteenth Century’, *Literature Compass* 17, no. 9 (2020): 1–13, <https://doi.org/10.1111/lic3.12581>.

²² This historiography is massive, and I have limited myself to these two works: Heidi Brayman Hackel and Catherine E. Kelly, ‘Introduction’, in *Reading Women: Literacy, Authorship, and Culture in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 1–10; Mark Towsey, ‘History, Politics and the Separate Spheres: Women’s Reading in Eighteenth-Century Britain and America’, in *The Edinburgh History of Reading: Subversive Readers*, ed. Jonathan Rose (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), 10–30.

²³ Torill Steinfeld, ‘Uskyldig munterhet og landlig fornøyelse: eremitasjeliv og “garden parties” på norsk omkring 1800’, in *Nordisk salonkultur: Et studie i nordiske skønnander og salonmiljøer 1780-1850*, ed. Anne Scott Sørensen (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1998), 101–16. A study in the similar vein is Carl W. Schnitler, *Slegten fra 1814. Studier over norsk embedsmanskultur i klassicismens tidsalder 1814-1840* (Oslo: De norske bokklubbene, 2005).

²⁴ Knut Sprauten, *Byen ved festningen: fra 1536 til 1814*, vol. 2, Oslo bys historie (Oslo: Cappelen, 1992), 412–14; Bård Frydenlund, ‘Anker-familien og nye elitedannelser i Christiania på slutten av 1700-tallet’, in *Christianias handelspatrisiat: En elite i 1700-tallets Norge*, ed. John Peter Collett and Bård Frydenlund (Oslo: Andresen & Butenschøn, 2008), 60–76. Steinfeld, ‘Uskyldig munterhet’, 113

Although the participation of women at the theatre is often noted, the common interpretation is that women are increasingly relegated to the secluded home.²⁵ This thesis seeks to expand the knowledge about the participation of elite women by emphasising the ways in which the written word was meaningful in social contexts.

Theory

A fundamental premise in this thesis is that reading has a history, which the boom in scholarly interest has firmly established.²⁶ The turn towards the history of reading reinstated the reader's agency and underlined the autonomy of readers and their capacity of creating meaning independent of authorial or material intentions within texts themselves. Readers and their acts of reading are not docile, but contingent and meaningful in their historical contexts. This involves a rejection of using the reading material to delineate the reactions and meanings of readers: The intentions inscribed by authors in texts and the creative process of reading are of two different orders.²⁷

Furthermore, this thesis combines key insights from recent historiographies of reading and books. Leah Price has advocated for an approach to the study of books that emphasises a fuller range of "social practices for which printed matter provides a prompt".²⁸ Besides being read, texts can also be employed as gifts, loans and much more. Limiting the uses of texts to reading alone is reductive and does not capture the totality of their uses. This aspect is particularly evident in my case, where texts were constantly circulated among friends as loans and gifts.

I seek to study the "written word" which encompasses both the printed and the handwritten. Influential scholars like Elisabeth Eisenstein have argued that the arc of printing bends towards the displacement of manuscripts. Eisenstein's argument has become increasingly difficult to sustain in the light of recent research on the persistence of manuscript

²⁵ Knut Dørum, 'Før 1814: Styrte og kritiske offentligheter', in *Allmenningen: Historien om norsk offentlighet*, ed. Jostein Gripsrud (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2017), 100f; Anette Storli Andersen, 'Deus ex machina? Henrik Ibsen og teatret i norsk offentlighet 1780-1864' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Oslo, Universitetet i Oslo, Det humanistiske fakultet, 2010), 58–95.

²⁶ Price, 'Reading'; James Raven, Helen Small, and Naomi Tadmor, eds., *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

²⁷ Roger Chartier, *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).

²⁸ Leah Price, 'From The History of a Book to a "History of the Book"', *Representations* 108, no. 1 (2009): 120. This approach bears similarities with the much more general approach to objects in Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in *Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3–63.

cultures well into the nineteenth century.²⁹ Furthermore, I emphasise that uses of the written word must be understood as a *practice*, that is, specific and historical ways of doing and operating in specific contexts.³⁰ In line with what Brian Richardson has termed the “social turn” in book history, I seek to explore reading and the other uses of texts within their social contexts.³¹ Taking cues from the “The Multigraph Collective” (a collective of twenty-two scholars), I stress that the practices involving the written word within Koren’s network reverberated back into social life, which, in this case, created and maintained the ties of friendship between them.³²

I utilise the concept of *conviviality* in order to capture the totality of interactions between the members of Koren’s network. First coined by Joep Leerssen and Nanne van der Linden, conviviality. Leerssen and van der Linden argue that most of the “cultivation of culture” – i.e. reading and discussing – in provincial settings during the later parts of the eighteenth and the early parts of the nineteenth centuries took place within “private households and extended family- and friendship-networks”.³³ In my case, I use the concept to study the cultivation of shared literary interests as practices taking place within private households and extended beyond in-person gatherings by correspondence and circulating journals. Leerssen and van der Linden, moreover, contrast conviviality with *sociability*, which denotes the organised associational life of the clubs, lodges and associations. Conviviality and sociability are thus of two different orders. Whereas sociability is professionally organised and governed by laws and statutes – in this case, made compulsory for such organisation to be tolerated by the Danish-Norwegian state – conviviality is not.³⁴ Notwithstanding some exceptions, women were

²⁹ Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). A concise critique of this is Peter Stallybrass, ‘Printing and the Manuscripts Revolution’, in *Explorations in Communication and History*, ed. Barbie Zelizer (London & New York: Routledge, 2008), 111–19.

³⁰ Ana Vogrincic Cepic and Karin Kukkonen, ‘Practices and Technologies across Two Reading Revolutions: Reading the Eighteenth Century into the Twenty-First’, *The International Journal of the Book* 17, no. 1 (2019): 27–37.

³¹ Brian Richardson, *Women and the Circulation of Texts in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), ix. See also Williams, *The Social Life of Books*. See also Mary Hammond, ed., *The Edinburgh History of Reading: Modern Readers* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020); Abigail Williams, *The Social Life of Books: Reading Together in the Eighteenth-Century Home* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

³² The Multigraph Collective, *Interacting with Print: Elements of Reading in the Era of Print Saturation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018).

³³ Joep Leerssen and Nanne van der Linden, ‘Conviviality and Gender: The Salon the Public Sphere’, in *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe*, ed. Joep Leerssen (Amsterdam: Study Platform in Interlocking Nationalisms, <https://ernie.uva.nl/>, 2020).

³⁴ See discussion in chapter 1.

effectively excluded from sociability as it developed during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

No historians have proposed the term *salon* to describe the social gatherings of Koren and her friends and family. This hesitation is warranted, especially when compared to the European salons. The *salon* was one of the few mixed-gender spaces presided over by women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and denotes the public space within a private urban home in which meetings occurred regularly, often once or twice a week, characterised by a mixed-gender company, relatively egalitarian modes of communication, and an intricate interplay of conversations and the written word.³⁵ Judged by this standard, no salons proper existed in Norway during the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. Koren's network, for example, did not meet regularly nor did they all meet simultaneously; salons proper existed in both Sweden and Denmark.³⁶

The greatest utility of conviviality as an analytical term is how it can be used to study the private household as a locus of sociable activities. Ever since the publication of Jürgen Habermas' *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* in 1962, the concepts of "private" and "public" have been high on the historians' agenda.³⁷ In contrast to what some parts of the feminist scholarship in the 1980s regarded as the development and crystallisation of a male public sphere and a female private sphere during the eighteenth century, some historians have challenged the binary opposition between "private" and "public" by highlighting that these categories did not correspond to the distinction between home and not-home.³⁸ While conceding that the majority of women were associated with domesticity and

³⁵ James Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 197ff. The salons are still a contentious debate. The three most influential contributions to the recent debate are Antoine Lilti, *The World of the Salons: Sociability and Wordliness in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, Abridged edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 1–11; Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1994); Steven Kale, *French Salons: High Society and Political Sociability from the Old Regime to the Revolution of 1848* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004)

³⁶ Steinfeld, 'Valgslektskap og vennskapskult'; Østberg, 'Kvinnelighet og mannlighet'. See more generally Anne Scott Sørensen, ed., *Nordisk salonkultur: Et studie i nordiske skønånder og salonsmiljøer 1780-1835* (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1998).

³⁷ Jürgen Habermas, *Borgerlig offentlighet - dens fremvekst og forfall. Henimot en teori om det borgerlige samfunn*, trans. Elling Schwabe-Hansen, Helge Høibraaten, and Jon Øien, Third edition (Oslo: Gyldendal, 2002). Some historians have criticised the *spatial* focus of the reception of Habermas. See Harold Mah, 'Phantasies of the Public Sphere: Rethinking the Habermas of Historians', *The Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 1 (2000): 153–82.

³⁸ Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and the Chronology of English Women's History', *The Historical Journal* 36, no. 2 (1993): 383–414; Lawrence E. Klein, 'Gender and the Public/Private Distinction in the Eighteenth Century: Some Questions about Evidence and Analytic Procedure', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29, no. 1 (1995): 97–109.

children, and men with public offices and institutions during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, historians have emphasised that spending time at home was not the same as spending time alone or in private (understood as restricted or closed to others).³⁹ Sociable gatherings at home attracted the participation of women and men, and the home continued to serve as a locus for such gatherings in a time of growing sociability and a hardening political tone that excluded women from participating. By branding the practices and activities taking place within households as *conviviality*, historians can work systematically to understand the household as a sociable space and as a meaningful whole.

Importantly, however, because the households of Koren and her friends were scattered around a geographically vast area, being physically together was not always logistically possible. Their interactions did not end when they spent time within the confines of their respective households. Correspondence and circulating journals replaced physical proximity. These interactions belonged to an economy of exchanges: A continual and reciprocal exchange of materials, be they letters, books, manuscripts, or journals, and made up the infrastructure of their *conviviality*. In consequence, the existence and maintenance of *conviviality* did not impinge on the existence of a physical place, but rather continual maintenance, which, besides actual gatherings, also included epistolary and material exchange. Members could pen letters, transcribe books into manuscripts, or read circulating journals while being alone. That did not mean that they were disconnected from the network in any sense. The concept of *conviviality* thus encompasses both in-person and mediated interactions.

In branding Koren and her acolytes as “elite”, I follow the understanding of elite as discussed by Kai Østberg, Øystein Rian, and Ola Teige. The “elite”, in their view, consisted of the upper-most section of society and encompassed both civil servants and merchants (*borgere*).⁴⁰ Invoking Pierre Bourdieu, Teige argued that the elite scored high on four forms of capital: Economic, symbolic, social, and cultural.⁴¹ They were more prosperous than the commoners; some of them were endowed with titles, most had civil offices (*embeter*) or were established merchants. The male members of the elite were educated, often at Latin schools

³⁹ Of course, some sections of the household were not open for everyone, but the household nonetheless remained open for friends. On this, see Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Benjamin Heller, ‘Leisure and the Use of Domestic Space in Georgian London’, *The Historical Journal* 53, no. 3 (2010): 623–45.

⁴⁰ Øystein Rian, *Embetsstanden i dansketida* (Oslo: Samlaget, 2003); Kai Østberg, ‘Samfunnsansvar og selskapsliv. Elitekultur 1780-1900’, in *Telemarks historie. 1814-1905*, ed. Nils Ivar Agøy and Ellen Schrumpf, vol. 2 (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2014), 199.

⁴¹ Ola Teige, ‘Eliten i Christianias sosiale og politiske nettverk 1680-1750’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, Oslo, Universitetet i Oslo, Det humanistiske fakultet, 2008), 35–45

and universities, and thus shared a common *habitus*.⁴² They also mastered the written and spoken word of the state as well as different languages.⁴³ Although there existed some distinctions between them, their similarities were greater than their differences. They formed a relatively unified stratum in the city and intermingled in both areas of conviviality and sociability.⁴⁴

Sources and method

I have limited this thesis to the years between 1798 and 1815, corresponding to the period in which Koren chronicled her life in her different journals, with an emphasis on the years between 1808 and 1815 and some examples beyond these temporal boundaries. Although this thesis draws on a range of sources, I have found these temporal boundaries to be convenient. Koren's presence and her journals were prerequisites for the network's existence; exactly when it took shape, is difficult to say. On the other hand, the network deteriorated as a consequence of the political upheaval during 1814, which warped many of her friendships. She tried to conceal the differences in opinion that surfaced already during the National Assembly in April and May, and her support of a union with Denmark continued long into the autumn.⁴⁵ When she passed away in 1815, the network rapidly deteriorated. When Koren passed away, the circulating journals stopped, Pavels moved to Bergen in 1817, Schmidt to Denmark in 1819. The new political order cemented a new gender order, effectively ending the conviviality typical of the years before 1814.⁴⁶ Given my interest in the network and the possibilities for women to participate, I find the period 1798–1815 to be fruitful. I have limited this thesis to the practices involving the written word in conviviality and not as a part of sociability. Visiting the theatre was also a way to encounter texts. Although neither Koren nor any of her friends were actresses, they visited the theatre occasionally. Due to limited space, I have not including their ventures at the theatre.

This thesis relies heavily on the journals of Christiane Koren. They form an extensive, yet complicated source material. I have assembled her textual production, moreover, into an appendix (see Appendix I), which consists of her published works as well as her manuscript

⁴² Habitus is also a central theme in Kai Østberg, 'Frispråk eller ubehøvelighet? Den politiske dimensjonen ved omgangstone og stil blant eliter i Norge og Sverige i 1814 og årene etterpå', *Heimen* 44, no. 7 (2007): 325–42.

⁴³ Anders Johansen, *Komme til orde. Politisk kommunikasjon, 1814-1913* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2019).

⁴⁴ Frydenlund, 'Anker-familien og nye elitedannelser'.

⁴⁵ Steinfeld, 'Valgslektskap og vennskapskult', 316ff; Østberg, 'Kvinnelighet og mannlighet'.

⁴⁶ Østberg, 'Kvinnelighet og mannlighet'.

translations. Although some of her manuscripts are lost, they are mentioned in her journals. This is the first time that her output has been collected in full, where manuscript and printed texts are listed alongside each other to avoid the anachronistic separation of the two.⁴⁷

I have opted for the term *journal* instead of the term *diary* for the writings she penned daily. A diary connotes a text written for the writer's eyes only. Koren, on the other side, penned her journals – written continuously from 1808 to 1815, as well as three travel diaries from 1798, 1802, and 1805 – for her network of friends and family members. Not only written for her network, but she also circulated her journals among them. Such journals were common among the elite in this period; Schmidt, too, wrote and circulated a journal.⁴⁸ In the case of Koren, her readership shaped the form of her journals: She shipped away 20 manuscript pages, written on both sides, as soon as they were finished.⁴⁹ Her writings from January 1812, for example, consisted of two shipments of 20 manuscript pages each. The pace of her writing made it possible for her to disseminate her journals rapidly when the events were still “fresh”.

Her journals amass a total of 2746 manuscript pages, which I have read in their digitised and transcribed state.⁵⁰ I have conducted a close and systematic reading of her journals, paying close attention to entries mentioning the written word, reading, and other uses. These entries have, in turn, been compiled into an appendix (see Appendix II), where I have spelt out the title of the text, its author, the situation in which it appeared, and the date of its appearance. In all, I have noted 448 instances that include texts that have reached her in manuscript form or as printed books, newspapers, and periodicals. Importantly, I have included *all* mentions of texts and books, even when Koren did not mention the title or author. The abundance of comments on her own reading and other uses of texts makes it a rare but substantial source for scholars interested in the history of books and reading – especially given the fact that sources of direct reading of women are few.⁵¹ When all of her entries containing reading or other uses are listed

⁴⁷ On the problems of modern cataloguing and past uses of print and manuscripts, see Rachael Scarborough King, ‘Introduction’, in *After Print: Eighteenth-Century Manuscript Cultures*, ed. Rachael Scarborough King (Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2020), 1–31.

⁴⁸ On this in the context of early-nineteenth-century Norway, see Torill Steinfeld, ‘Reisejournaler, dagblad og dagbøker’, in *Norsk litteraturhistorie: sakprosa fra 1750-1920*, ed. Egil Børre Johnsen and Trond Berg Eriksen, vol. I, *Norsk litteraturhistorie: sakprosa fra 1750 til 1995* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1998), 265–77.

⁴⁹ She changed her regular shipment to 24 manuscript pages in July 1812. See Koren: 1 July 1812.

⁵⁰ Notwithstanding 21 manuscript pages, her journals from 1814 are lost. Lindbæk utilised them in her 1915 publication, but abridged them heavily.

⁵¹ Byberg, ‘Kvinner lesning på 1700-tallet’; John Brewer, ‘Reconstructing the Reader: Prescriptions, Texts and Strategies in Anna Larpent’s Reading’, in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. James Raven, Helen Small, and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 226–45.

together, it becomes possible to get a view of tendencies in interests and the different actors involved.

The writing of her journal as a permanent endeavour in 1808 rested on the realisation that writing letters did not function properly to stay connected with friends. Koren outlined a confessional project, whereby she sought to recount the ebb and flow of everyday life: “every little thing that has happened and is connected” with her.⁵² Letters, as Sune Christian Pedersen has argued, represented “an arena of semi-public dialogue”: They were oftentimes written for several recipients, read aloud, and even published in some cases.⁵³ What made Koren’s journals different, then, from letters was not their social outreach. The need to write a circulating journal thus arose from the need to proliferate *the same* information, assembled in a stable medium (her journal) and circulated regularly (upon the completion of 20 or 24 manuscript pages), to a selected few readers who would otherwise and often interact with each other in person.

Using Koren’s journals as a source comes with some pitfalls. Because they were written for a specific audience, they provide a carefully considered “exterior”. As such, her journals should not be read as a direct delineation of events or her subjective experiences, but rather as bidding for legitimacy: She presented aspects and facets of her daily life that were in line with the expectations of the network for which her journals were written. Fashioned as an extended conversation, she often utilised words like “chatting” or gossiping” to describe the writing of the entries. Furthermore, many of her entries were written in order to prompt a response from a specific reader or her readers in general – a striking feature of the ways in which she recorded her reading. In terms of her reading or uses of texts, her journals details only the books she found worthy of mentioning and, perhaps, not a full picture of her reading. That, however, makes the books she *did* find worthy of mentioning even more interesting. As this thesis revolves around the questions of social uses of the written word, I have found Koren’s journals to be a promising source. Her journals seek to directly intervene and be a part of her network’s interest in literary interest. Although written by a single individual, they thus reflect something more general.

I also draw on the journal of Frederik Schmidt and the diary of Claus Pavels. Both belonged to Koren’s network. Schmidt penned journals on different occasion – in 1790, 1794,

⁵² Koren: 24 March 1808.

⁵³ Sune Christian Pedersen, ‘Postal Censorship and the Control of Public Sentiment in Late Absolutist Denmark’, in *Scandinavia in the Age of Revolution Nordic Political Cultures, 1740–1820*, ed. Pasi Ihalainen et al. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 79–91. See also Jes Fabritius Møller, ‘Trykkefrihed og magt. Borgerlig offentlighed under den sene danske enevælde 1770–1848’, in *Frie ord i Norden? Offentlighed, ytringsfrihet og medborgerskap 1814–1914*, ed. Ruth Hemstad and Dag Michalsen (Oslo: Pax, 2019), 92.

1807, 1811, 1814, 1817–1819 – with the intentions of circulating them within the same network as Koren’s. Schmidt, however, wrote his journals only during special occasions: During visits to Copenhagen (1790, 1794, 1807, 1811), or while participating in extraordinary events (1814). Thus, they only detail his participation in conviviality in a haphazard manner. Claus Pavels, too, wrote a diary but kept it for himself.⁵⁴ The editor, who burnt the remaining manuscript pages, heavily abridged the diary upon its publication. I have primarily utilised them when their entries are in direct or indirect relation to Koren in order to substantiate and amplify the evidence from her journals.⁵⁵

Structure of thesis

I have chosen a thematic structure in this thesis. I begin by establishing a historical context on which the following three chapters can rest. In the background chapter, I detail the rise of Danish-Norwegian associational life and the place of women in them, the controversies of reading, and the development of the Norwegian book trade. I also discuss the controversial nature of reading in general with a special emphasis on the reading of the novel. Novel-reading women had a potentially dangerous recreation, contemporary critics argued. The next chapter – “Reading and reacting” – charts the role of reading within the household. Koren, I argue, read primarily with her daughters and not with the non-family members of her household nor her husband. It will be argued that, despite the controversy surrounding the reading of novels, Koren utilised such texts in the education of her daughters. She exposed novels to her daughters in an attempt to inculcate moral sentiments by eliciting responses to the materials read aloud. They were ultimately socialised into their mother’s conviviality. In chapter 3, I explore the ways in which women and men read and used the written word in convivial settings. Koren cherished both homo- and heterosocial gatherings. She read, discussed, and performed both printed and handwritten texts with the members of her network. These were practices that enacted their ties of friendships. In the last chapter, I discuss Koren’s reading practices in relation to the economy of exchange. Although alone and silent, she read in order to continue a dialogue about literary works by inviting responses from her network. In line with this, she and her friends circulated books and manuscripts, rendering discussions of *the same* possible

⁵⁴ The first part of Pavels’ diaries are his travel descriptions of his visit to Bergen, and they circulated within Koren’s network. His diaries were written in private and were not circulated. They were published for the first time by his grandson, who acted as the editor.

⁵⁵ I refer to the diary of Pavels and the journals of Schmidt and Koren in the following manner: Surname of the author: Date of entry in journal or diary (i.e., Koren: 15 March 1812). Full bibliographic information is listed in the bibliography. All translations from English are my own unless otherwise stated.

across physical distance. The circulation of letters and journals also made it possible to discern news, information and knowledge.

2. Sociability, readers and books in eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth-century Denmark-Norway

This chapter summarises how two fundamental changes in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries intersected with the social lives of the elites, and especially the urban elites: What Peter Clark termed the “emergence of an associated world”, consisting of clubs, associations and other forms of sociability; and the growth and expansion of a market for printed matter.⁵⁶ This thesis highlights the role of the home as a locus of conviviality and the ways in which women participated in such activities with a special emphasis on reading and, to a lesser extent, writing. To understand the roles they played and the practices they engaged in, it is important to understand the historical contexts.

The onset of sociability

In contrast to the Habermasian (ideal) model, which stated that the public sphere established itself independently of the state, creating spaces for discussion and cultivation of reason on the outside of formal sites of power, the elite and the state developed a symbiotic relationship in eighteenth-century Denmark-Norway.⁵⁷ It is against the background of this symbiotic relationship that the first formal sociable arenas in Norway developed. King Frederick V's (1723–1766) founding of a Masonic lodge during his highly ritualized visit to Norway in 1749 inaugurated the first period of civic organisation in the major towns (Christiania, Bergen, and Trondheim) and many coastal cities – though the formation of such civic organisations did not increase before the 1780s and 1790s.⁵⁸

The organised “associational world” – what I call sociability – in Denmark-Norway can be categorised into three.⁵⁹ Firstly, the learned societies established around the 1760s and the practical-patriotic associations established in the 1770s. The first learned societies included

⁵⁶ Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

⁵⁷ Juliane Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og fællesskab: de patriotiske selskaber i den danske helstat 1769-1814* (København: Museum Tusculanum Forlag, 2010); Henrik Horstbøll, “Enevælde, Opinion og Opposition,” *Historie/Jyske Samlinger* 17, no. 1 (1987): 40–53.

⁵⁸ On the visit, see Trygve Riiser Gundersen, “Det tidligmoderne kommunikasjonssamfunnet: Kongen i Christiania 1749,” *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift*, no. 2 (2009). On clubs and associations, see Ida Bull, “Foreningsdannelse i norske byer. Borgerlig offentlighet, kjønn og politisk kultur,” *Heimen* 44, no. 4 (2007): 311–24; Anders Johansen, *Komme til orde*, 195ff.

⁵⁹ I follow the tripartite categorisation found in Johansen, *Komme til orde*, 195ff. It roughly corresponds to the ones found in Bull, ‘Foreningsdannelse i norske byer’, 313; Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og fællesskab*, 53–64.

“The Society for the Promotion of the Beautiful and Useful Sciences” (*Selskabet til de skønne og nyttige Videnskabers Forfremmelse*) in Copenhagen, initiated by Tyge Rothe (1731–1795) and Jens Schelderup Sneedorff (1724–1764), two of the leading intellectuals of the time. It was oriented towards the cultivation of Danish art, history and literature written in their native language. In Norway, the “Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters” (*Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab*) received royal privilege seven years after its establishment in Trondheim in 1760. From 1772, this society also operated as a society for the encouragement of manufacture and commerce among the rural populace (*Landhusholdningsselskab*). These efforts were further advanced by the patriotic societies which, among other things, sought to reform the commoners.⁶⁰

Secondly, in contrast to the associations surveyed above, which did not place social interactions at their centre, the civic lodges and clubs (*borgerklubber*) revolved around gatherings in which drinking alcohol, singing, toasting, and discussions of art and literature were common activities. These were common from the 1780s and sprung up in Denmark (*Drejers Klub* being the most famous) and in many of the coastal cities in Norway.⁶¹ Thirdly, associations formed to cultivate the arts, especially music and theatre – the first of which was the “Harmonious association” (*Det harmoniske Selskab*) established in Bergen in 1765. Dramatic associations came into being throughout the latter parts of the eighteenth century and spread widely.

Despite their differences in purposes and influence, some common traits permeated this “associational world”. They existed under royal precepts due to the general prohibitions against organised assemblies. Consequently, they had to be regulated not only from above but also from within. The different associations constituted autonomous spaces, bolstered by detailed statutes and laws that regulated membership, management and direction, narrowing membership to the most affluent in society.⁶² Men dominated the first and the second types of associations, with the occasional participation of women during balls and similar activities. In

⁶⁰ Although they largely failed in their attempts to reform the rural populace, one of the Norwegian patriotic associations, the Norwegian Society for Development (*Selskabet for Norges vel*, established as the first nationwide association in Norway in 1809), was nonetheless important for the development of economic and national independence. On the failure of such initiatives, see Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og fællesskab*, 221–48. On *Selskabet for Norges vel*, see John Peter Collett and Ernst Bjerke, eds., *Vekst gjennom kunnskap: Det kongelige selskap for Norges vel 1809-1814* (Oslo: Det kongelige selskap for Norges vel, 2009).

⁶¹ Bull, ‘Foreningsdannelse i norske byer’.

⁶² Knut Dørum, “Borgerlig offentlighet og regimekritikk, 1770-1814,” in *Eneveldet før undergangen. Politisk kultur i Norge, 1660-1814*, ed. Trond Bjerkås and Knut Dørum (Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2017), 526–27.

the case of most dramatic and musical associations, however, women could participate as actresses and musicians, but not as full members with the right to vote and join the executive board – notwithstanding the special case of the Dramatic Association in Christiania, where the executive board consisted of seven men and one woman.⁶³

The theatre merits attention because it sheds light on the place of reading among men and women of the elite. Moreover, the concept of playing and experimenting with roles – a skill developed in the theatre – extended well beyond the theatre itself.⁶⁴

Anette Storli Andersen has argued that the inclusion of women into theatre activities came from an idea, already expressed in Tyge Rothe in 1759, that all humans are “sociable beings” (*selskabeligt Væsen*).⁶⁵ These ideas were put into practice at the theatre and augmented by other intellectuals, among them Christian Henriksen Pram (1756–1821). In an article aptly titled “On Socialization”, published in the journal *Minerva* in 1791, Pram followed Rothe by stating that “humans are sociable creatures”, making refined interactions necessary for men and women to function properly in the “large association” (*det store Selskab*, i.e. the state) and the “small association” (*det lille Selskab*, i.e. arenas of sociability and conviviality) alike.⁶⁶

Furthermore, Pram contended that all were created with an almost limitless ability to refinement, but these abilities could only thrive after proper training. Deeming “bookish knowledge” one-sided and ineffective, he argued instead that people must learn by *interacting* with others, by observing and learning by “examples” and “experience”. The cultivation of refinement through socialisation impinged on the merging of one’s capabilities with the education, refinement, and decorum of others.⁶⁷ Engaging in club activities or participating in other forms of sociability, provided more than leisurely pleasure. Pram concurred with Rothe and others in viewing social interactions – and consequently, the theatre – as an arena in which

⁶³ Bull, ‘Foreningsdannelse i norske byer’, 320–21; Anette Storli Andersen, ‘Deus ex machina? Henrik Ibsen og teatret i norsk offentlighet 1780-1864’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, Oslo, University of Oslo, Faculty of Humanities, 2010), 73. This is a point that Engelhardt misses by conjoining the all-male lodges and the mixed-gender dramatic and musical associations. The differences in access are important differences that both Bull and Andersen recognise. See Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og fællesskab*, 61-62.

⁶⁴ Peter Henningsen, ‘Den bestandige maskerade: standssamfund, rangsamfund og det 18. århundredes honnøret kultur’, *Historisk tidsskrift* (København). 101, no. 2 (2001): 313–44; Kai Østberg, ‘Dilettantisme, demokrati og nasjonal selvstendighet. Bernt Anker og Christiania-elitens teaterlidenskap – og ønsket om å gi Norge en plass på verdensscenen’, in *Mellom pasjon og profesjonalisme. Dilettantkulturer i skandinavisk kunst og vitenskap, 1660–1970*, ed. Hanna Hodacs and Marie-Theres Federhofer (Trondheim: Tapir, 2011), 229–52. See more generally Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (London & New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 45-122.

⁶⁵ Andersen, ‘Deus ex machina?’, 85ff.

⁶⁶ Christen Henriksen Pram, ‘Om Selskabelighed’, *Ny Minerva*, Bind 4 (1791): 358. I have avoided the use of the term sociability in this case. I only use the term in line with the definition presented in the introduction.

⁶⁷ Pram, ‘Om Selskabelighed’, 358–63.

the actors developed their sensibility, which in turn cultivated morality and virtue.⁶⁸ By highlighting the importance of sensibility, Pram also took a positive view of women's participation in sociable activities, primarily because he found the interactions between women unpleasing and constrained. Their inclusion in sociability – such as dramatic associations – struck the right balance in human nature:

The tenderer, softer, finer nature of the soul of the ladies [*Fruentimmer*] makes them better suited to arrange what really belongs to the gentleness and pleasure of life; [Men's] abilities, on the other hand, are hardened by straining on so much that demands harshness and indomitable being, that [men] should not deal with what is so foreign from their actual pursuits.⁶⁹

The official business and everyday toils of men weaken their abilities that interacting with women will rectify. Women, Pram contended, forced men to become more refined and cultivated in a process of mutual influence: If women were left to themselves within the confines of their homes, their abilities to spur “gentleness and pleasure in life” would eventually wain off. Conversely, men would succumb to rudeness and barbarism if their human interactions were limited to men.

Both Pram and other contemporary writers on social interactions argued explicitly against the effect of reading as sources of cultivating sensibility. According to one, reading instructed how humans *should be*, while experience through practice and interactions demonstrated how humans *are*.⁷⁰ Only through the active use of the senses in social settings could sensibility be cultivated. The cultivation of emotions had to be practised and involved the whole body. In this view, the sentimental novels could have didactic powers in that they taught their readers to produce equivalent responses to the ones presented.⁷¹ Indeed, virtuous and refined member of the elite expressed their cultivated sensibility by using their bodies in the presence of others.⁷² Accordingly, the most powerful gestures were spontaneous and visible, such as crying, shivering or fainting. Consequently, Andersen and others have interpreted this as a fundamental “distrust to the written word”, by which social use of the

⁶⁸ Pram, ‘Om Selskabelighed’, 396. See also Andersen, ‘Deus ex machina?’, 86ff.

⁶⁹ Pram, ‘Om Selskabelighed’, 422.

⁷⁰ Stolz cited in Andersen, ‘Deus ex machina?’, 88-89.

⁷¹ Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1986), 4.

⁷² Tine Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd: patriotisk diskurs og militære reformer i Danmark i sidste del af 1700-tallet* (København: Museum Tusculanum Forlag, 2000), 126ff.

senses and the body takes precedence over reading.⁷³ Reading grew into a rich and complex debate during the eighteenth century – a debate to which I now turn.

An expanding book market – a force for good?

The interconnection between emotions, reading and women animated many debates throughout the eighteenth century. One theme that united these three was the advent and development of the novel. Eighteenth-century novelists pursued the literary developments that had begun among some late-seventeenth-century French authors, such as Madeleine de Scudéry (1607–1701) and Madame de la Fayette (1634–1693), who had explored the emotional experiences and inner lives of their literary characters.⁷⁴ Overturning the classicistic-inspired literature of the previous centuries, the novelists concentrated on the subjective and the emotional. Three of the most famous and most read novels of the eighteenth century – Samuel Richardson’s (1689–1761) *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded* (1740), Johann Wolfgang Goethe’s (1749–1832) *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (1774), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s (1712–1778) *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (1761) – imitated the epistolary form, thereby blurring the distinction between life and art. In return, this form augmented the sense of authenticity and made it possible for readers to identify with the characters in previously unimaginable ways.⁷⁵ Indeed, the surviving evidence from acts of reading suggests that the emotions of readers mirrored the emotions depicted in what they read.⁷⁶ The potential of identification made literary works in general and novels in particular suspicious, even dangerous. It is no coincidence that none of the three authors mentioned above chose to term their writings a novel. Novel-reading women were involved in a dangerous recreation, critics argued not only in Denmark-Norway but also virtually in all of Europe.⁷⁷

⁷³ Andersen, ‘Deus ex machina?’, 91ff; Anne-Marie Mai, ‘Efterskrift’, in *Moralske Fortællinger 1761-1805* (København: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1994), 231–54; Dørum, ‘Borgerlig offentlig og regimekritikk, 1770-1814’, 527; Dørum, ‘Før 1814: Styrte og kritiske offentligheter’, 82.

⁷⁴ John Mullan, ‘Sentimental Novels’, in *The Cambridge Companion to the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, ed. John R. Richetti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 235–54.

⁷⁵ Anne Vincent-Buffault, *The History of Tears: Sensibility and Sentimentality in France* (St. Martin’s Press, 1991); Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History* (New York & London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007), 35–69.

⁷⁶ Robert Darnton, ‘Readers Respond to Rousseau: The Fabrication of Romantic Sensitivity’, in *The Great Cat Massacre: And Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), 215–56.

⁷⁷ Jacqueline Pearson, *Women’s Reading in Britain, 1750-1835: A Dangerous Recreation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Lisa Jane Graham, ‘What Made Reading Dangerous in Eighteenth-Century France?’, *French Historical Studies* 41, no. 3 (2018): 449–71.

The most vigorous debate about reading took place in the pages of German journals and newspapers at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Reading entailed potential risks for any reader, yet women, young girls, and children were considered particularly prone to take damage from its corrupting effects as a result of what contemporaries saw as their underdeveloped mental faculties. A leitmotif in the discourse was the supposed overstimulation of sensuality (*Sinnlichkeit*) and imagination (*Einbildungskraft* or *Phantasie*), and the corollary fear that overstimulated readers lost themselves in what the writer Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746–1818) called “poetic and romantic dream visions”.⁷⁸ Contemporary commentators like Campe feared that novels stimulated individuals to create visions and dreams about alternative selves set within the world created on the printed page and transferred to the readers’ imaginations. A downward spiral would ensue: Because the fictional aspects of the literary work never could be realised in this world, a considerable disparity between the imagined and the actual life would arise. Crowding out the otherwise favourable aspects of the text, “addicted” readers would become disenchanted by the fact that their imaginations, upheld by the literary work, could not be realised in the real world. They would seek refuge in their books, where their imagination could reign supreme. Such readers would disintegrate, lose balance, and consequently jeopardise their “authentic and integrated self”.⁷⁹ The disintegrated selves neglected duties and this-worldly activities, thus threatening to overturn the very body politic.

The German reading debate left traces on the Danish-Norwegian discourse on reading as well.⁸⁰ One anonymous author found it imperative to pen a short and concise article addressing the “reading sickness of ladies” (*Fruentimmernes Læsesygdом*) in *Trondhjemske Tidender* in 1795. In contrast to the debate in German publications, whose concerns about the depleting effects of reading regarded society as a whole, this article directed its attention to women and, narrower still, women of the elite (the *Fruentimmer*). The anonymous author addressed women in their capacities as nurturers of children and discerned how reading deplete novels affected their abilities to balance reality and imagination in relation to their domestic duties.

While acknowledging that reasonable reading can enrich readers’ notions of reality (*Begreper*), the anonymous author lamented that women are the prime consumers of

⁷⁸ Matt Erlin, *Necessary Luxuries: Books, Literature, and the Culture of Consumption in Germany, 1770–1815* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), 82.

⁷⁹ Erlin, *Necessary Luxuries*, 83ff.

⁸⁰ Scepticism of literary works, of course, predated the German debate. The Danish-Norwegian playwright Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754) bashed novels at the beginning of the eighteenth century. See the discussion in Marianne Egeland, ‘Om bruken av romanbetegnelsen på 1800-tallet. Hvorfor kalte ikke Camilla Collett *Amtmandens Døttre* for «roman»?’, *Edda* 107, no. 01 (2020): 34–47.

detrimental literary works.⁸¹ In this view, they tend to favour activities that were an idle waste of time. Writing sympathetic letters and getting acquainted with Goethe's *Werther*, Johann Martin Miller's (1750–1814) *Siegwart, eine Klostergeschichte* (1776), and Richardson's *The History of Sir Charles Grandison* (1753) – the usual suspects in many of the European debates – at the detriment of sewing and other domestic duties rendered them unable to bring “true bliss” into their domestic life.⁸² Invoking Campe, the author argues that the exposure to novels could potentially exhaust women's abilities to experience joy in their life and especially in their marital and motherly relationships. The anonymous author feared that reading relocated the spirits of readers to alternative realities, abundant with people and extreme feelings that simply did not exist in the real world. Disillusioned by reading, extreme fright would haunt readers upon their realisation of the non-existence of such realities.

Graver still, reading such novels had repercussions for far more than the reader itself. Beguiled readers would convince their children that life was nothing but “suffering and misery” in what the anonymous author envisaged a domino effect: Mothers would pass their own “high and strong feelings of grief” on to the next generation. If they succeeded in initiating their children into their own highly-strung emotional lives, the souls of these children were forever distorted to such a degree that they never could experience a “cheerful, active and happy life”.⁸³ Nothing less than “domestic peace and well-being”, enjoyed within the boundaries of a harmonic family, were under threat from reading these kinds of literary works.

Although highly controversial, emotions nonetheless remained central in questions relating to virtue and morality as well as underpinning contemporary patriotism.⁸⁴ A refined member of the elite strived for a balanced body and mind. In Europe, these aspects relate to what some historians have denoted as the “culture of sensibility”, in which emotionality constituted a highly valued feature of elite social life.⁸⁵ Virtue was not an innate quality and had to be cultivated from an early age, thus forming a counterweight to the aristocracy and the idea of their innate qualities.⁸⁶ An underlying premise in this theory of moral development was

⁸¹ *Ordbog over det danske sprog. Historisk ordbog 1700-1950*, s.v. «Begreb», accessed April 5, 2021, <https://ordnet.dk/ods/ordbog?query=begreb>.

⁸² «Om Frientimmernes Læsesygdом», *Trondhjemske Tidender*, no. 3 (16 October 1795), 2.

⁸³ «Om Fruentimmernes Læsesygdом. Slutningen fra No. 3», *Trondhjemske Tidender*, no. 5 (30 October 1795), 1.

⁸⁴ Thomas Lyngby, *Den sentimentale patriotisme. Slaget på Reden og H. C. Knudsens patriotiske handlinger* (København: Museum Tusculanum Forlag, 2001); Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 126ff; Anne Eriksen, *Livets læremester: Historiske kunnskapstradisjoner 1650-1840* (Oslo: Pax, 2020), 240ff.

⁸⁵ G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Todd, *Sensibility*.

⁸⁶ Lyngby, *Den sentimentale patriotisme*, 20, 54–57.

the amalgamation of reason and emotions through cultivation, whereby sensibility constituted the prerequisite for morality. Contemporary medical discourse discerned women's bodies as weaker than men's but also endowed with greater emotional capacities due to their flexible nervous system.⁸⁷ Sensibility was thus increasingly reckoned a female capacity.⁸⁸

Frederik Schmidt, Koren's close friend, brought this theme up in a letter to Knud Lyne (1760–1830) and Kamma Rahbek (1775–1829) in 1806. He argued that women like Koren – as long as they did not neglect their duties in the home – could very well write and participate in the literary world:

If ladies [like Koren] are allowed to cultivate their intellect, then it seems to me that they should also be allowed to benefit from and amuse their talent. There are especially certain matters which ladies, in my opinion, should almost exclusively have the right to treat, namely, to depict domestic scenes, arouse the gentler feelings – and at any rate draw (*tegne*) the beautiful features which their calm, transparent spirit is so apt to perceive and manufacture.⁸⁹

Domesticity, emotions, and beauty belonged to the nature of women, Schmidt suggested here, and women were better suited than men to depict these phenomena. As a result, he allotted women a special competence, a room of manoeuvre. Although the letter outlined his views on women writers, it nonetheless contains a key to interpreting one dimension of women's reading, namely how they could use their emotions as a basis for judging what was good from bad.

Koren herself brought up this point explicitly when she disclosed her unfavourable remarks about Frederikke Brun's (1765–1835) collection of poetry. She complained that she had not been moved on a single occasion, which prompted two possible explanations: Had Brun's head been more involved in the writing than her heart? Or were their emotions of two different orders? She disavowed the latter alternative by claiming that emotions, regardless of how their expression, were "within the boundaries of my nature".⁹⁰ Koren thus implied that the heart was the wellspring of emotions, but Brun had renounced the skills assigned to her by nature. In order to succeed fully in their literary endeavours, women had to write with their

⁸⁷ As discussed in Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, 258ff. See also Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 380–443.

⁸⁸ Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 134.

⁸⁹ Sofie Aubert Lindbæk ed., 'Breve fra Fr. Schmidt til Kamma og Knud Lyhne Rahbek. Meddelt ved Sofie Aubert Lindbæk.', *Edda: Nordisk Tidsskrift for Litteraturforskning* Bind III (1915): 131–32. The letter is dated 11 July 1806.

⁹⁰ Koren: 29 April 1813.

hearts, Schmidt and Koren strongly suggested.⁹¹ These are themes that will be brought up in the following chapters, but in order to understand the context of Koren's conviviality and the place of texts in it, we must also understand the development of the market.

The eighteenth century did not only involve the advent of the novel, a new and eventually popular genre, but also large-scale material and structural changes in the book market in both Denmark-Norway and Europe in general. Through its legislative powers, the dual monarchy had since the Reformation instilled strict censorship regulations, prohibitions, privileges, and monopolies to shape the production and proliferation of printed matter.⁹² Mired in the guild-based system, the organised system of production developed in line with the politics laid out by the state. The politics of privilege and monopoly moulded every stage in the production process, and everyone involved in the book industry – from the producers of paper to the bookbinders and the booksellers – needed royal permission to enter the industry.⁹³

Despite regulations and the relatively late establishment of a printing press, the eighteenth-century Norwegian book market expanded around the latter half of the eighteenth century. Three more printing houses in the cities of Bergen (1721), Trondheim (1739) and Christiansand (1779) were granted royal permission to commence their enterprise during the eighteenth century, and another three during the first decades of the nineteenth century, in Volda (1809) and an additional two in Christiania (1809–1814). Notwithstanding Sivert Aarflot's printing press in Volda, in the rural Sunnmøre district, the significance of towns is apparent in the production and dissemination of printed matter, mirroring developments in the rest of Europe.⁹⁴ It has been calculated that between 1800 and 3200 books were published in Norway in the period between 1750, an outcome measuring under one-tenth of the outcome in Denmark in the same period.⁹⁵

Although the Norwegian printing presses only produced a modest amount of books, other channels of dissemination and circulation of printed matter existed alongside the regulated production, rendering the survey of stately production unfruitful as an approach to grasp the entirety of availability of books. The libraries (such as the Deichman Library, established in

⁹¹ This point is also raised but not explored further in Steinfeld, 'Valgslektskap og vennskapskult', 305.

⁹² Øystein Rian, *Sensuren i Danmark-Norge. Vilkårene for offentlige ytringer, 1536-1814* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2014), 144–93.

⁹³ Rian, *Sensuren i Danmark-Norge*, 284–304.

⁹⁴ Dahl, *Books in Early Modern Norway*, 8–9.

⁹⁵ Lis Byberg, 'Boken som formidlingskanal for kunnskap', in *Eneveldet før undergangen: Politisk kultur i Norge, 1660-1814*, ed. Trond Bjerkås and Knut Dørum (Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2017), 303f; Øivind Berg, 'Norske trykk 1740-1819 - en bibliografisk analyse', in *Litterære verdensborgere: Transnasjonale perspektiver på norsk bokhistorie, 1519-1850*, ed. Aasta M.B Bjørkøy et al. (Oslo: Nasjonalbiblioteket, 2019), 145ff.

1785) and lending libraries in Christiania, exemplify what William St Clair termed “the censorship of price”: The costs of borrowing narrowed the availability to the small section of society who could afford it.⁹⁶ However, the persisted popularity of broadsides, chapbooks and songs also reveal a market for printed matter aimed at the lower classes. Indeed, the writings of the lay preacher Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771–1824) circulated in dwindling numbers, perhaps numbering 250 000 copies.⁹⁷

Moreover, Lis Byberg uncovered that almost 8000 different buyers acquired approximately 140 000 books in the period between 1750 and 1815 on auctions.⁹⁸ The stately regulations and the actual practices by its enforcers were two different things. Rank and social status mattered because the regulations sought primarily to regulate the reading of “commoners” by censoring undesirable works in or translated to Danish, while the “learned” classes, and especially elite men, could largely procure and read what they wished.⁹⁹ The import of books grew steadily in coastal areas as well as the biggest towns (Christiania, Bergen and Trondheim), almost developing into a business in its own right. Readers, perhaps dissatisfied with what was available in Norway, compensated commissioners in Copenhagen to purchase books or catalogues from bookshops; skippers advertised in newspapers that they undertook the task of transporting books from whence they sailed.¹⁰⁰ This thesis details the existence of similar arrangements.

This establishment of printing houses, combined with the emergence of a professional postal service, also spawned a plethora of newspapers and periodicals.¹⁰¹ Whereas some newspapers were published in Norway, most periodicals were based in the Danish part of the dual monarchy. From early on, many periodicals aimed at women as their intended readers with titles like “the Ladies’ periodical and the Friday party” (*Fruentimmer-Tidenden og Fredags-Selskabet*, 1759) and “the Ladies’ company” (*Fruentimmer-Selskabet*, 1768). The number of periodicals mixing morality and entertainment suggest that a female audience was in growth during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Indeed, some women published

⁹⁶ William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 256. On prices, see Nils Johan Ringdal, *By, bok og borger: Deichmanske bibliotek gjennom 200 år* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1985), 29–36.

⁹⁷ Byberg, ‘På sporet av 1700-tallets lesere’, 85.

⁹⁸ Byberg, ‘Brukte bøker til bymann og bonde’, 193f.

⁹⁹ Jesper Jakobsen, ‘Christian Gottlob Proft og de utilladelige skrifter. Bogforbud i årene efter trykkefrihedsperioden’, *Fund og Forskning* 51 (2012): 289–310.

¹⁰⁰ Byberg, ‘Boken som formidlingskanal for kunnskap’, 296–98.

¹⁰¹ On the development of the postal services, see Finn Erhard Johannessen, *Alltid underveis: Postverkets historie gjennom 350 år: 1647-1920*, volume 1, *Postverkets historie gjennom 350 år, 1647-1997* (Oslo: Elanders forlag, 1997).

books, translated texts, or served as editors of periodicals.¹⁰² Such periodicals reinforced notions of gender by filling its pages with topics and questions pertaining to the everyday lives of women, from childrearing and dressing to marriage and virtue. In light of the emergence of novels and its controversy, such periodicals sought to discipline their readers.¹⁰³ Gift books, consisting of poetry, essays and other genres deemed suitable for women and girls, recurred seasonally; other books compiled histories of wise and virtuous women to give readers desirable paragons.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Anne-Marie Mai, 'Overvættets læselyst. Om nogle kvindelige læsere i det danske 1700-tal', in *Digternes paryk. Studier i 1700-tallet. Festskrift til Thomas Bredsdorff*, ed. Marianne Alenius et al. (København: Museum Tusculanum Forlag, 1997), 41–52; Ellen Krefting, Aina Nøding, and Mona Ringvej, *En pokkers Skrivesyge: 1700-tallets dansk-norske tidsskrifter mellom sensur og ytringsfrihet* (Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2014), 196f, 212f.

¹⁰³ Reinhard Wittmann, 'Was There a Reading Revolution at the End of the Eighteenth Century?', in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (Amherst & Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 284–312.

¹⁰⁴ See most famously H. J. (Hans Jørgen) Birch, *Billedgallerie for Fruentimmer, indeholdende Levnetsbeskrivelser over berømte og lærde danske, norske og udenlandske Fruentimmere*, *Billedgallerie for Fruentimmer* (Kjøbenhavn, 1793). Gift books are analysed in Anne Birgitte Rønning, 'Til "Qvindernes Forædling". Mary Wollstonecraft for danske lesere i 1800', in *Litterære verdensborgere. Transnasjonale perspektiver på norsk bokhistorie. 1519-1850*, ed. Aasta M.B. Bjørkøy et al. (Oslo: Nota Bene, 2019), 290–309.

3. Reading and reacting

The household, children and education at home

During the month of March in 1810, Johan Koren's cousin, Werner Christie (1746–1822), made a silhouette depicting Johan and his family. It is one of the few, if not the only, contemporary images of him, his wife and their family that exists – and it is a depiction of reading (Figure 1). Christiane is portrayed while reading aloud to her three living children, while Johan is placed on her opposite, reading alone. Koren herself thought highly about it and expressed satisfaction about the resemblance between representation and life: “all are [rendered] remarkably well, even the two he never saw”.¹⁰⁵ To Koren, it possessed a pictorial resemblance of both living and dead family members. To historians, it captures another vital aspect: The social nature of reading and its embeddedness in social interactions – here represented as an aspect of the relationship between mother and children.

This chapter details reading as a part of the activities that took place within Koren's household. Trying to bring the whole household into view is fruitful because it can illuminate tendencies in the social reading that took place within the household among its members. However, few non-family members of the household participated in the sociable reading that found its way into Koren's journals. More accurately still, Koren read with her children and especially her daughters. Children as readers in the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries have attracted attention in Nordic research in history and literature. Yet, few such studies conducted in the Nordic countries have shed light on the actual reading practices of children. Most of the research has focused on the development of children's literature and publications addressed to children or the construction of childhood through media. The closest scholars have come to actual readers is children as implied readers.¹⁰⁶ This chapter will study the actual reading practices *involving* children and delineate the ways in which sociable reading was an educative practice. As is often the case with children as readers, their reading practices

¹⁰⁵ Koren: 16 March 1810. The two “portraits” hanging on the wall are her two deceased children, Sara Jessine (d. 09.12.1808) and Claus Wilhelm (d. 03.11.1808).

¹⁰⁶ Instead of many, see Janicke S. Kaasa, ‘Hvordan bli en tidsskriftleser? Medieoppdragelse i 1700-tallets barnemagasiner’, *Arr - idéhistorisk tidsskrift* 31, no. 4 (2019): 21–32; Harald Bache-Wiig, ‘Avis for Børn (1779–1782): Lesestykker om “Ungdommens Tilbøielighed til Dyden eller Lasten” - et monotont repertoar?’, in *Kritikk før 1814: 1700-tallets politiske og litterære offentlighet*, ed. Eivind Tjønneland (Oslo: Dreyer forlag, 2014).

are captured indirectly through their own reflections written later in life (such as Conradine Dunker (1780–1866)) or through the adults that accompanied them (such as Koren).

Sociable reading mirrored the arrangement depicted in the silhouette. Children thus figured as “aural readers” – they read by utilising their ears rather than their eyes; they were an audience and Koren a performer.¹⁰⁷ I argue that Koren’s sociable reading with her children was a carefully planned activity in which she employed novels and other genres of fiction to educative ends. She sought to equate reading with moral, utilitarian work. Its overall purpose, especially with her daughters, was threefold: To create moral, virtuous and worthy members of the elite; to cultivate sensibility and sympathy; to prepare for participation in both conviviality and sociability in which literature and the written word were very much “in the air”. The concept of conviviality is brought into play in my emphasis on how Koren performed texts that she or others in her network read themselves. Education was learning to adopt the right reactions and gain familiarity with a certain type of texts that they, the daughters, encountered in convivial settings.

Situating reading in the household

The size and number of people associated with the Hovind farmstead corresponded to the social and economic prestige bound to Johan Koren’s occupation as a district judge (*sorenskriver*). As per the law, a *sorenskriver* was allotted an official residence (*skrivergård*), free from stately taxes and duties.¹⁰⁸ The Norwegian census of 1801, the first of its kind, listed in all 37 people in its survey of Hovind. The Koren family consisted of Johan and Christiane, Sara Jessine (1789–1808), Claus Wilhelm (1791–1808), Jess (1793–1867), and Anna Maria (1794–1827).¹⁰⁹ Aside from the Koren family, the census listed two female housekeepers (*Huusjomfrue*), nine servants (*Tienestefolk*), six lodgers (*Logerende*), one *Inderste* and his wife, and two cottager families (*Huusmand*), and five male clerks associated with Johan’s office as a

¹⁰⁷ Elspeth Jajdelska, ‘Pepys in the History of Reading’, *The Historical Journal* 50, no. 3 (2007): 549–69. Only four instances of her children as solitary, silent readers are recorded: Jess as reader of William Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar*, Friedrich Schiller’s *Wilhelm Tell* and Adam Oehlenschläger’s *Stærkodder*; Sara as reader of Samuel Richardson’s *Charles Grandison*. See Koren: 23 September 1811; 29 October 1811; 2 April 1812; 28 October 1802. See Appendix II.

¹⁰⁸ Steinar Imsen, ‘Sorenskriver’, in *Norsk historisk leksikon. Kultur og samfunn ca. 1500 – ca. 1800*, ed. Steinar Imsen and Harald Winge (Oslo: Cappelen akademisk forlag, 1999), 409.

¹⁰⁹ Caroline Mathilde (1801–1840) was born in August 1801 and was not included in the census, but figured in her mother’s journals.

district judge.¹¹⁰ As married to the head of the household, Koren served domestic tasks important for the residence and household to function as a workplace for Johan and his clerks, as a meeting place, and a place for production.¹¹¹

Despite the large number of people associated with Hovind, Koren indicates that few of the non-family members participated actively during sociable readings. Some historians have documented instances of how the power structures of the household manifested in instances of sociable reading, whereby those of lower status read for their superiors.¹¹² Koren recorded no instances of servants reading aloud – or reading at all. It would be wrong to interpret this as pertaining to a condescending attitude on Koren's part. Quite the opposite, Koren's journals give the impression that she cared about the servants. In one entry that grew out of her reading of the English author Mariana Starke (1762–1838), she proposed a defence for those women who did not enter marriage generally and her servants specifically. Marriage was not necessary for women to fulfil their destiny (*bestemmelse*), Koren contended, because the unmarried remained “highly respectable” as long as they lived their lives “with diligence and order”, with “innocence and purity”.¹¹³ Moreover, she wrote long entries commemorating them when their time of service had ended. In terms of reading, however, they were most likely present, yet their presence is rarely mentioned. On one occasion, for example, Koren clarified that, in contrast to her daughters, it was appropriate for servants to move about during sociable reading.¹¹⁴ Although it is difficult to generalise based on one comment, it is reasonable to expect that servants were present. Their absence in Koren's journal suggests that they were not the intended audience, but served domestic roles that enabled the educative efforts of their master.

Koren's reading with her children was social in nature and it was an undertaking carried out by her – not by a private tutor, a teacher, or her husband. In clear contrast to the social nature of reading with the children, Koren's reading with her husband was conspicuously *silent*. Much like the depiction of him in Werner Christie's silhouette, Johan Koren figures in the

¹¹⁰ Census for 0234P Gjerdrum parish, in Riksarkivet (RA), *Rentekammeret inntil 1814, Realistisk ordnet avdeling*, EA-4070/J/Jd/L0008/001/0003. Also accessible at <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/census/rural-residence/bf01058226000044>, accessed 14 March 2021.

¹¹¹ Ida Bull, 'Politiske kvinner - fra regional administrasjon til familiens politikk. Forskningsstatus i Norge', in *Kvinner og politikk i det tidligmoderne Norden: Rapport till 26:e Nordiska historikermötet i Reykjavik den 8-12 augusti 2007*, ed. Åsa Karlsson Sjögren (Reykjavik: Islands universitets förlag, 2007), 58.

¹¹² Jajdelska, 'Pepys in the History of Reading', 555; Patricia Howell Michaelson, *Speaking Volumes: Women, Reading, and Speech in the Age of Austen* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 155ff.

¹¹³ Koren: 22 December 1809. It should be noted that it is not entirely clear if the author is Mariana Starke, as Koren only mentions "Starke".

¹¹⁴ Koren: 4 October 1809.

diaries as a silent, solitary reader. Steinfeld has argued that her husband did not share his wife's interest in literature.¹¹⁵ That is wrong, as their interest overlapped considerably – and they often read together. Koren testified occasionally that they read together in the same room: “Later we sat on the couch, [Johan] and I, in agreement and understanding, with our books. He sat with my copy of Jean Paul’s (1763–1825) *Blumen-Frucht- und Dornenstücke* (1796) [...], I with [Lawrence Sterne’s] *Tristram Shandy* (1759)”, she wrote on one occasion.¹¹⁶ This quote makes it possible to glimpse two aspects concerning the relationship between them in matters of reading. Firstly, they did not read aloud to each other, as still was typical among married couples of the elite elsewhere.¹¹⁷ He once lectured her the *Collegial-Tidende*, a journal publishing about the official activities of the Danish-Norwegian state, which implies occasional shifts from the egalitarian structure.¹¹⁸ Overall, however, she depicted herself and her husband as independent readers, governing their own literary tastes.

Secondly, her emphasis on “my copy” in the entry quoted above suggests not only that her books were read by him, highlighting the overlap in literary tastes, but also that they recognised what was hers and what was his. By implication, books were private property, not common property. Johan Koren further augmented his wife’s independence by entrusting her with a yearly sum of 50 *Riksdaler* to procure any books she wanted. This was a somewhat controversial arrangement according to Dunker, who reminisce how Claus Mathias Waager (1761–?), a Danish-born military captain who had settled near Hovind, used to mock (*raillerede*) her library and the monetary support provided by her husband.¹¹⁹ This arrangement, however, made it possible for Koren to procure books directly from Copenhagen-based printers like Andreas Seidelin (1777–1840) and Johann Christian Friedrich Brummer (1768–1836).

The what, why, where, and how of education

Children’s reading had also been high on the state agenda in the eighteenth century. Learning to read and memorise Erik Pontoppidan’s (1698–1764) catechism – *Sandhed til gudfrygtighed*

¹¹⁵ Steinfeld, ‘Valgslektskap og vennskapskult’, 300.

¹¹⁶ Koren: December 29, 1810. See also August 20, 1810; December 28, 1811.

¹¹⁷ See for example Naomi Tadmor, “‘In the Even My Wife Read to Me’: Women, Reading and Household Life in the Eighteenth Century”, in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. James Raven, Helen Small, and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 162–74.

¹¹⁸ Koren: 1 May 1812.

¹¹⁹ Conradine Dunker, *Gamle Dage* (Oslo: Forlaget Aars, 1985), 281.

(1737) – as a part of confirmation had since 1736 formed a mandatory part of every children’s upbringing regardless of social background and gender.¹²⁰ Learning to read was an integral part of elite children’s education, which constituted a form of conviviality by which the first steps into elite cultures took shape within household and family networks. As such, reading was a part of the general efforts to equip boys and girls of the elite with not only theoretical knowledge and skills but also encompassed the internalisation and inculcation of proper bodily and intellectual demeanour suitable for this particular stratum in the social hierarchy – what Bourdieu labelled *habitus*.¹²¹ The degree to which education was institutionally varied according to gender and place in the social hierarchy. Although home teachers and tutors were common among the elite, Koren did not note any of them working for her. Reflecting this gendered nature of fostering and education, Koren’s sons participated rarely in sociable reading compared to her daughters. The former attended Oslo Cathedral School with intentions to prepare them for higher studies at the university level and careers as civil servants. They were educated to master natural and human sciences, written and spoken languages (Danish, Greek, and Latin), and ethical and moral behaviours.¹²²

Conversely, what constituted a proper education for girls became contentious during the eighteenth century – a debate out of which came two disparate positions. On the one hand, some argued that girls required only those skills needed to perform their domestic duties in order to become successful housekeepers and spouses. Reading was only useful in that it gave the girls the basis for becoming virtuous, Christian subjects.¹²³ Emerentze Munch (1764–1868), born into an elite family in 1786, reminisced how she enrolled in an “institute” for girls modelled after these principles: They did not learn anything “bookish” but were taught virtue and diligence through activities such as needlework.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ See, most recently, Jon Haarberg and Marit Sjelmo, ‘Pontoppidans pinefulle Sandhed - mellom leseferdighet og utenatføring’, in *Litterære verdensborgere. Transnasjonale perspektiver på norsk bokhistorie 1519–1850*, ed. Aasta M.B Bjørkøy et al. (Oslo: Nota Bene, 2019), 218–38.

¹²¹ See Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction*, trans. Richard Nice (London & New York: Routledge, 2010), 55ff. Ida Bull, *Kunnskap - hver etter sin stand og sitt kjønn. Utdanning i norske byer på 1700-tallet* (Oslo: Akademika, 2013), 18–19, 99–104. An exploration of the organised schools for young girls is Carol Gold, *Educating Middle Class Daughters: Private Girls Schools in Copenhagen 1790–1820* (København: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1996), 41–52.

¹²² See for example Kjell Lars Berge, ‘On Ove Høegh-Guldberg’s Textbook Reforms in 18th Century Denmark-Norway’, in *Exploring Textbooks and Cultural Change in Nordic Education 1536–2020*, ed. Merethe Roos et al. (Leiden: Brill), 87–89.

¹²³ Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 176–88.

¹²⁴ Emerentze Munch, *Frue Emerentze Munch Optegnelser efter Originalmanuskriptet* (Kristiania: Foreningen for norsk Bogkunst, 1907), 6–7.

While maintaining the relegation of women to the home, adherents of the other position argued that a fuller and broader education of girls would ultimately benefit men by making their interactions more stimulating and pleasing.¹²⁵ By being nurturers of prospective members of the elite, comprehension of music, languages and literature would also eventually benefit their future children. Moreover, Koren and the parents of Dunker espoused this position: They actively sought to socialise their daughters into the predominant literary culture. Indeed, they invested both time and money into their daughters' education. At the behest of her father, a student taught Dunker to read and write French when she was seven. Similarly, Koren sent her daughter, Anna Maria, to an "institute for girls" in Christiania during the summer of 1809, ostensibly to develop her abilities to draw.¹²⁶ Jess gave his sisters lessons in learning German, an endeavour Koren labelled his "office as a teacher" (*Læreembede*) – an exaggeration, perhaps, but also an indication of the seriousness with which it was vested.¹²⁷

The roles to which her daughters were assigned during sociable reading corresponded to the family hierarchy. Koren's role as performer vested her with authority. She even classified some of her performances as "lectures", highlighting the educative aspect and her own authority vis-à-vis her audience.¹²⁸ Her children, on the other hand, figurate mostly as attentive listeners, as an audience consisting of few enough that they easily could follow the performer's speech and gestures. In two instances recorded in the diary, the roles changed, reversing the image of reading as the silhouette presented. Performing for their mother was probably exercises to improve their own "readerly personas" by using their voices and bodies.¹²⁹ Notwithstanding the few instances of reversed roles, their roles matched the household hierarchy: Mother read to daughters.

Because reading was primarily a social practice, members of the audience – despite differences in age and gender – were exposed to the same material. The source material gives the overall impression that children were exposed to works of fiction, forging a significant overlap between her readings and her children's (see Appendix I). The educative purpose behind this is apparent: The children were brought up in more or less the same reading culture

¹²⁵ Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 182–83. More generally, see Dena Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 2009).

¹²⁶ Koren: 1 June 1809. See 3 March 1808 for Koren's statements regarding her daughter's potential as a drawer.

¹²⁷ Koren: 24 October 1810, 6 November 1810. Occasional references to reading German with her daughters later in her diaries suggest that Koren sustained what Jess had started, see for example Koren: 7 April 1813.

¹²⁸ See for example Koren: 17 July 1810.

¹²⁹ Koren: 15 May 1810. The term "readerly personae" is from Betty A. Schellenberg, 'Reading in an Epistolary Community in Eighteenth-Century England', in *Reading Communities from Salons to Cyberspace*, ed. DeNel Rehberg Sedo (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 25–43.

as their parents, with parents vetting texts before presenting them to their children. This is well demonstrated if we track the different appearances of Adam Oehlenschläger's (1779–1850) play *Håkon Jarl hin Rige* (1807) in her journal. In May 1809, Koren had read the play alone, deeming it a morally tolerable work. Later that same year, on 20 October, she read it aloud to her children, and she read it again five days later, adding that some in her audience had heard it three or four times already.¹³⁰ The same play did not only appear as the material of additional readings with the same audience in February 1810 and October 1811. It was also the topic of discussion in a letter from Schmidt, who had seen it on stage in Copenhagen, as well as the topic of conversation with her female friends and her son.¹³¹ The ways in which the play circulated and appeared in different contexts indicate that Koren's children were from a young age embedded into their mother's convivial activities.

Even though Koren was in the possession of a chamber of her own on the second floor of her *Skrivergaard*, little of the reading with her children took place there. Sociable reading, on the other hand, took place in a whole host of different rooms and contexts: By her children's beds before bedtime, regularly in the many living rooms of their house, and at the dinner table; they also read outside during the summer months if the weather allowed it.¹³² With the help of artificial light sources, their possibilities to read indoors during the dark winter months expanded.

From the few instances of reflection by Koren on her performance, she suggests that she did not differentiate between genres and procedures: Plays were not necessarily acted out as plays; singspiels were not necessarily accompanied with music. Instead, she stated that they were *read* aloud – perhaps utilising different voices, tonality and utterances for different characters and genres, although she does not specify this herself.¹³³ Sometimes she indicates that dialogue in plays makes sociable reading an easier undertaking. For example, upon reading the Danish translation of August von Kotzebue's (1761–1819) play, *Ildegerte* (1798), the author's "beautiful depictions" and his "easy, [yet] fast pace" made it a pleasant piece to perform.¹³⁴ She did, however, differentiate between reading alone and sociable reading. The latter manner of reading did not allow for the same contemplative processing if the goal was to

¹³⁰ Koren: 19 May 1809; 20 October 1809; 25 October 1809.

¹³¹ Koren: 28 February 1810; 25 October 1811. As topic of discussion, see 29 March 1810; as topic of discussion in letters from Schmidt, see 12 April 1811; 26 April 1811.

¹³² Koren: 12 December 1812, 29 February 1812, 17 July 1810, 21 August 1810.

¹³³ See for example Koren: 3 April 1812, 8 November 1810, 25 June 1814.

¹³⁴ Koren: 24 September 1810.

assess the work as a *written* piece. Performing, she wrote, did not “allow for any halting”.¹³⁵ Conversely, other contemporaries give the impression that novels could, contrary to Koren’s practice, be staged. Munch, whose formal education, in her words, did not involve anything “bookish”, recollected how she and the other girls who attended an “institute” nonetheless procured novels and staged them as plays in attics, utilising makeshift scenery and props.¹³⁶

Furthermore, certain codes of conduct existed during her performances. Most notably, the audience was expected to sit still and in silence. She noted how a young daughter of a neighbour, who joined them one day in November 1812, had declared that she outright hated sociable reading because it meant she had to sit still. The neighbour joined them again the following day, but Koren had negotiated an agreement with her. If it helped her being silent, she could decorate her dolls while participating.¹³⁷ Similarly, Koren remarked, as already mentioned, that it suited one of her servants to move in and out of the room during sociable reading because of her domestic duties.¹³⁸ Sitting still accentuated the solemnity of the occasion, and it signalled control over one’s body and attested that the audience’s concentration and focus were fixated on something important.

In terms of reading material, and as seen in Appendix II, her reading material overlapped considerably with what she chose to present to her children. From the middle of the eighteenth century, following the gradual development of childhood as a distinct phase of life and category of being, children and youth constituted an audience in their own and a segment of the expanding book market.¹³⁹ The development of children’s literature was something new entirely because these publications actively addressed the youngest in society as a *distinct* group and sought to provide texts befitting them. These texts were often secular, yet moral and edifying, and sought to make children experienced users of media from an early age.¹⁴⁰ Interestingly, only two such publications reached the hands or ears of Koren’s children: Some translated sections stemming from her hands of Christian Felix Weiße’s (1726–1804) voluminous *Kinderfreund* series (1775–1782) and Friedrich Justin Bertuch’s (1747–1822)

¹³⁵ Koren: 3 April 1812.

¹³⁶ Munch, *Optegnelser*, 6.

¹³⁷ Koren: 11 November (marked as *Mortensdag*) 1812. Interestingly, this suggests that Koren’s audience could involve people from outside her own household.

¹³⁸ Koren: 4 October 1809.

¹³⁹ This is also evident in the advent of textbooks, see Christian Larsen, Erik Nørr, and Pernille Sonne, *Dansk skolehistorie: Da skolen tog form, 1780-1850*, Dansk skolehistorie: Hverdag, vilkår og visioner gennem 500 år, volum 2 (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2013), 244–47.

¹⁴⁰ Krefting, Nøding and Ringvej, *En Pokkers Skrivesyge*, 185–87; Kaasa, ‘Hvordan bli en tidsskriftleser?’, 21–32. Sonja Hagemann, *Barnelitteratur i Norge inntil 1850* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1965), see especially 37–92.

equally voluminous *Bilderbuch für Kinder* (1792–1830).¹⁴¹ Dunker's memoir suggests the same. She mentioned only one such publication: *Le Magasin des enfants* (1756) by the French author Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont (1711–1780).¹⁴² This of course does not mean that they read literary works exclusively. It indicates, rather, that the only material Koren and Dunker found worth mentioning were novels and plays. Without a complete library record, it is impossible to judge what books they owned more children's books. Nevertheless, in the case of Koren, her emphasis on literary works is a striking indicator of what image she sought to present to the readers of her journals: Her children were firmly enmeshed in the contemporary elite literary world.

The domination of literary works as the predominant reading material for Koren's children is remarkable in the context of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Norwegian book culture. Religious writings, which enjoyed widespread popularity among commoners, are conspicuously absent.¹⁴³ This is especially interesting in the case of her youngest daughters, Anna Marie (14 years old in 1808) and Caroline Mathilde (7 years old in 1808). Anna Marie was of the right age to embark upon the necessary preparations for her confirmation, a *rite de passage* usually undertaken when youngsters were between 14 to 19 years old.¹⁴⁴ Memorising Erik Pontoppidan's catechism was compulsory to that end. Yet no such reading material is mentioned, nor is reading for those religious purposes. M.O. Grenby notes that there existed strong arguments in early-nineteenth-century England about the importance of keeping the Bible at the centre of all children's learning.¹⁴⁵ Of course, the absence in her journals cannot be taken as a real absence. Perhaps the reading of religious texts or for religious purposes was quotidian and somewhat unremarkable and hence did not merit attention.

Utilitarian reading and reading as moral work

The most striking feature of Koren's sociable reading with her daughters was the overwhelming prominence of fiction. As already discussed in the previous chapter, the contentious debate regarding novels directly entailed women and girls. Interestingly, in direct relation to the reading of the catechism as part of the preparation to confirmation, Pontoppidan branded novels

¹⁴¹ Koren: 9 October 1813; 20 January 1812.

¹⁴² Dunker, *Gamle Dage*, 180.

¹⁴³ On popular reading, see Fet, *Lesande bønder*.

¹⁴⁴ Helge Fæhn, *Gudstjenestelivet i Den norske kirke: Fra reformasjonstiden til våre dager* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1994), 250–51.

¹⁴⁵ M.O. Grenby, *The Child Reader, 1700-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 99–102.

as “fornication in words” (*horeri i ord*) in his *Catechism* because they ran “contrary to the right Christian seriousness”.¹⁴⁶ Peter Frederik Suhm (1728–1798) and Jens Schielderup Sneedorff followed Pontoppidan’s disdain for novels in the 1760s by contrasting novels with works of history. Only the latter deserved to be read as instructive, as *magistra vitae*.¹⁴⁷

Koren, too, had explicit moral concerns regarding her children’s reading material of the literary kind. She remarked for example with equal portions of reverence and surprise that the best aspect of Gottlieb Bertrand’s (1775–1813) *Der Eidschwur* (1804) was its unlikeness. In contrast to most novels, it was “free from ambiguities and perversities, everything that animates the imagination (*Phantasien*), which is why I want youngsters to read it [...]”.¹⁴⁸ The fear of the animation of the reader’s imagination indicates that Koren was aware of the German debate, discussed in the previous chapter, and acknowledged the overall dangers of fiction.

Surprisingly, however, she exposed her children to some of the most controversial novels on the market, such as Miller’s *Siegwart*. “Expose” is indeed the right description, because she argued that it was better to *hear* it rather than reading it individually in silence, invoking the fear of a solipsistic reader. It replaced what Abigail Williams called the “subjective identification” with the “socialised framework of the group”.¹⁴⁹ After all, there is little or no way to judge for an outside observer what the reader feels about the text when it is read in silence. Notwithstanding its controversial reputation, Koren supplemented by claiming that “we have no novel more dangerous than it”, she read it aloud to her eight-year-old daughter Caroline Mathilde and another unnamed child.¹⁵⁰ Proving that she had internalised the alarmist discourse, Koren even composed a hypothetical critique raised by a doubtful reader of the diary: “I think, dear Koren, you should find something different and better to read for the children than the distasteful *Siegwart* [sic.]”. Contending that the novel contained many “right observations of the young, lively heart, in which one recognises oneself, and domestic scenes after nature”, she circumvented the critique by claiming that the novel had instructive aspects after all.

Moreover, she explained how she had abridged and added certain sections according to her own discretion, concealing those sections she considered unfit to expose to her children.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ Erik Pontoppidan, *Sannhet til gudfryktighet: i en enfoldig og etter mulighet kort, dog tilstrekkelig forklaring over dr. Martin Luthers lille katekismus ; inneholder alt det som den der vil bli salig, har behov å vite og gjøre* (Kristiansand: Samfundets forlag, 1957), 59 (question 213).

¹⁴⁷ Marianne Egeland, “De fleste Romaners Læsning er skadelig”. Suhm, Sneedorff og romanen’, *Edda* 108, no. 1 (2021): 8–21. On the concept of *magistra vitae*, see Eriksen, *Livets læremester*.

¹⁴⁸ Koren: 4 November 1811.

¹⁴⁹ Williams, *The Social Life of Books*, 211.

¹⁵⁰ Koren: 28 April 1809.

¹⁵¹ Koren: 28 April 1809.

Her defence implied that the discretionary moderations made the novel safer: The audience could appreciate the novel's educative aspects properly when the potential seditious elements were left out. Reading aloud was thus a carefully planned performance where the performer mitigated the potential risk inherent in what was read. Furthermore, sociable reading was governed by utilitarian motives. It was pragmatic, driven by a specific purpose. Koren's emphasis on "right observations" highlight how the written work could be instructive. Reading provided education rather than mere amusement or recreation.¹⁵² In this sense, she countered critics of the novel and avoided the association, evident in Pontoppidan, between novels and wrongful Christian ethics.

The social dimension did not necessarily involve reading aloud. During Koren's and her youngest daughter's visit to Copenhagen in 1802, she let her read Samuel Richardson's *Charles Grandison* alone. Quite consciously, Koren predicted that Johan would "shake his head" when he learned about it. The novel, she affirmed, could potentially "stretch young people's notions of reality [*Begreper*] a bit far". However, she countered by claiming that Richardson's novel incited what was "good and noble", rendering it useful and morally tolerable.¹⁵³ Most importantly, their conversations about such matters would prove that the 13-year-old's reading had left her unscathed from potential wrongful notions of reality. Although read in silence, their conversations were necessary to detect if her daughter had recognised the productive aspects of the novel.

Interestingly, the same *Siegwart* figured in Dunker's memoirs. She reminisced how one "Doctor Schmidt" discovered her aunt with "a changed appearance". The Doctor took her pulse and inquired about her activities, only to discover that she had "cried her small eyes red" during her solitary reading of *Siegwart* – a situation that reminded Dunker about the writings of Johann Clemens Tode (1736–1806), one among many who argued that Miller's novel had "disturbed the notions of reality (*Concepter*) of many people".¹⁵⁴ The seriousness with which her aunt's emotional reaction was treated demonstrated the controversial nature of reading, if not its dangers: Bewildered by her own emotions after reading, she had lost herself in the fictional world evoked by the author.

The importance of utility in combination with moral concerns justified in the case of Koren close supervision of her children's reading material. This is abundantly clear when she

¹⁵² The turn from 'pragmatic' to 'recreational' reading is recognised as a major shift in the history of reading. See Jajdelska, 'Pepys in the History of Reading', 560ff. A brilliant case-study is Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy", *Past & Present*, no. 129 (1990): 30–78.

¹⁵³ Koren: 28 October 1802.

¹⁵⁴ Dunker, *Gamle Dage*, 108.

reported on her visit to the Cappelen family in Drammen during the spring of 1808. She detailed how she, Christine Marie Cappelen and her daughter one night decided to gather some books from a local book trader. Their shockingly poor quality prompted a rather lengthy response, which should be quoted in full to capture Koren's sense of urgency and her fusion of fear and fury:

That [the books] were embarrassing, miserably translated, and so on, was the least. They were so immoral that one would rather wish one's innocent son or daughter in a backless [*ryggesløst*] company, than alone with such a book in their hands. By God, it is horrible and shameful that such poisonous images, clothed in a kind of lofty tumour, should be presented to a *young pure soul*, where [the books] must, if nothing else, breathe a mist on the *uninfected clear mirror*, which perhaps may well disappear again, but still easily in image-provoking circumstances dare to come back again in certain unguarded moments. Here the censorship was to waver, thunder and shatter. Only in this case can I believe [censorship] useful, benevolent. But here it is silent, and the poor girls and youths are left to themselves. One after the other pick up these writings, these *calm- and bliss-destroying* writings, from the numerous, most with such-supplied lending libraries, and inhales the sweet poison - the most devouring of all – fully. [...] My heart bleeds in these moments far more at the thought of this than at the notion of what is before us in these critical times.

I hope none of my children has ever read such a book, and I hope I can still avoid it. The people at home read nothing but what I myself give and recommend to them. The boys have partly too much to do to be tempted to read for fun [*Moerskabslæsning*], partly my good-minded [housekeeper] Hansteen keeps an eye on their comings and goings. And let God your Syvald [the son of Cappelen], beloved C[appelen], grow up under your tender, vigilant gaze [...]¹⁵⁵

Consistent with the contemporary reading debate, she delineated some books – although she did not specify what books exactly – as corrosive for the mental and bodily constitutions of her children. They disturb their “calm” and “bliss”, and, although their depleting effect might diminish over time, they could haunt them in certain “unguarded moments”. Consequently, to secure that her children's reading was edifying, a figure of authority had to prescribe the appropriate books or partake in sociable reading supervised by Koren.

Koren also mentioned a type of reading – for fun (*Moerskabslæsning*) – that, aside from the entry above, is otherwise absent from her journals. Its absence from Koren's journals does not mean that her children did not read for fun – that is, after all, impossible to establish. Given

¹⁵⁵ Koren: 8 March 1808. Emphasis added. What lending library Koren and her company had procured books from is unclear. The first official *lending library* in the Drammen area opened in 1829. Notwithstanding this, regular bookstores existed in Drammen. See Otlu Alsvik, *Bokhandelen i Drammen gjennom tre hundre år* (Drammen: Harald Lyche & Co., 1952), 47, 77ff.

the overall focus Koren placed on the educative and edifying aspects of her children's reading, there was no room for reading for fun in her depictions of her children as readers. There existed contemporary reasons for doing this, as reading for fun was associated with recreational reading and not the utilitarian motives that Koren foregrounded.¹⁵⁶

Again, Dunker painted a somewhat different picture in her elucidation of her own reading experiences as a young girl. Compared to other women readers at the end of the eighteenth century, Lis Byberg has argued, her reading was characterised by a certain autonomy.¹⁵⁷ Indeed, Dunker reminisced how she “had liberty [to do what she wished] and the key to [her father's] book cabinet”. Sitting in her family's living room, she read “day in and out”.¹⁵⁸ While her memoirs attest to a certain autonomy in terms of selecting books, they should not be exaggerated. Selecting from her father's book cabinet was not the same as procuring what she wanted; her choices were limited to his collection. Furthermore, her parents clearly expressed the same utilitarian ideals. Her mother, for example, urged her to engage in “diligent and productive endeavours and reading of texts about the same”.¹⁵⁹ Similarly, when her father died and the lessons with her private tutor ended, her mother complained about Dunker's enduring “defiance and indecency” to Niels Treschow, the cousin of her mother. Treschow recited Jean La Fontaine's (1621–1695) fable *Fable Le chêne et le Roseau* (*The Oak and the Reed*) and urged Dunker – and all women – to follow its morality.¹⁶⁰ Dunker attested in her memoirs that she had memorised the fable “by heart”. The moral aspects “permeated my heart and head”.¹⁶¹ Although written long after when events happened, Dunker nonetheless demonstrates how aspects of utility and morality were in forefront of children's reading.

The act of reading thus retained a paradoxical status: It had the potential of educating the reader to become a useful subject, but also to lead them astray. On a larger scale, this ambiguity of reading was at the heart of Protestant culture: All were expected to comprehend God's word to become a fully committed religious subject, but the acquisition of those skills opened other pathways, much less desirable.¹⁶² Reading was at once both indispensable and questionable, which made the question of utility and morality all the more central when reading was actively

¹⁵⁶ Hagemann, *Barnelitteratur i Norge Inntil 1850*, 42.

¹⁵⁷ Byberg, ‘Kvinnernes lesning på 1700-tallet’, 175–77.

¹⁵⁸ Dunker, *Gamle Dage*, 3.

¹⁵⁹ Dunker, *Gamle Dage*, 352.

¹⁶⁰ The fable, originally from *Aesop's Fables*, is summarised as “those who adapt to the times will emerge unscathed”. See Laura Gibbs, ed., *Aesop's Fables*, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 205.

¹⁶¹ Dunker, *Gamle Dage*, 181–182.

¹⁶² Helen Fronius, *Women and Literature in the Goethe Era, 1770–1820: Determined Dilettantes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 113ff.

encouraged as a skill to master. The biggest problem with learning to read was that the skills could elude the control of parents and be employed by its users to objectionable ends. One of the ways in which Koren and Dunker's parents secured that reading became a utilitarian activity was by framing it as *moral work*. Ideally, it served specific moral ends.

The intermingling of moral work and reading is clearly expressed in the making of samplers (*navneduker*), that is, rectangular pieces of embroidery handsewn by girls of the elite in the ages between 5 and 15 (Figure 2). The making of such samplers constituted a demonstration of skills in needlework, whereby their creators usually embroidered the alphabet, numbers, religious motives or quotes, or family information such as the name of its creator, her parents' name or the family initials.¹⁶³ As a practice, the sewing of samplers provided material evidence of the creator's mastery of different techniques and practical skills. More importantly still, the inclusion of the alphabet and the religious quotes associated the written word with such feminine ideals as patience, diligence, and virtuousness. Every stitch was a trace of the patient work of a diligent girl.¹⁶⁴ Composed of different threads and fabrics, samplers were made to last, and sometimes even used as décor in homes, thus forming a lasting reminder of the connection between the written word and morality. Despite the differences between texts and thread, the inclusion of the alphabet and other quotes on samplers should be considered as a part of the overall wish to steer young girls' literacy onto the right path.¹⁶⁵ This is perhaps why Dunker's mother taught her daughter to read and sew at the same time: They complemented each other as skills and ideally served the same utilitarian purposes.¹⁶⁶

Appropriate reading was thus oriented towards moral ends, far removed from identification and, consequently, idleness. Koren taught, I argue, her children to stave off idleness by combining reading and sewing as complementary productive practices. Numerous entries by Koren in her diary suggests that her daughters sewed while listening to novels. In fact, she branded sewing as one of her own forms of work.¹⁶⁷ On 17 July 1810, while visiting friends in the Drammen area with her husband and children, she described how they "sat so

¹⁶³ Anne Kjellberg, *Navneduker* (Oslo: C. Huitfeldt forlag, 1985), 25ff.

¹⁶⁴ Stine Berg Evensen, 'Broderi som grensesnitt', *Kunst og Kultur* 88, no. 2 (2005): 1–22; Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (London & New York: I. B. Tauris, 2010).

¹⁶⁵ Bianca F.-C. Calabresi, "'you Sow, Ile Read': Letters and Literacies in Early Modern Samplers", in *Reading Women: Literacy, Authorship, and Culture in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. Heidi Brayman Hackel and Catherine E. Kelly (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 79–104.

¹⁶⁶ Dunker, *Gamle Dage*, 4, 404.

¹⁶⁷ She wrote, for example, that "reading, knitting and writing letters are my only work of the day". Koren: 2 July 1812.

nicely around a table, the others *working*, while I was reading to them”.¹⁶⁸ Or, similarly, in a domestic setting at home in Hovind: “We read, [...] *work* and stroll [...] in the garden”.¹⁶⁹ Even Dunker, who read mostly alone in her early life, revived a strong memory of how her family’s housekeeper made her read novels – particularly Richardson’s *Carl Grandison* and *Pamela* – aloud while the rest of the girls in the household spun.¹⁷⁰ Needlework and similar activities associated with women lent their legitimacy to reading as a moral and active. Above all else, then, these situations point towards a process of legitimisation: Koren and the housekeeper taught their children that reading should be associated with *work* of the moral kind. Conducted in conjunction with other recognised types of women’s work, sociable reading became productive. Although Koren did not specify the reading material utilised in these situations, it is reasonable to suggest that she read the same type of edifying, literary works as discussed above. Dunker, tellingly, mentioned Richardson’s two controversial novels. In contrast to the picture of readers painted in the debates, the situations described above involved attentive readers whose main preoccupations lay in their hands rather than in their “deranged” imaginations. This is not to downplay the educative purposes of listening while sewing. Needlework and listening as practices performed in conjunction were doubly beneficial, as Abigail Williams has recognised, because “it kept one from idleness” while listening to “an improving [...] soundtrack”.¹⁷¹

Persuasive performances

Some historians and literary scholars have argued that sociable reading created a space in which “both vocal projection and *silent reflection* happen at the same time”.¹⁷² This line of argument implies that the performer is the only figure *actively* engaged in the situation, while the audience is attentive, yet passive and motionless. In line with the overall argument that exposing literary works to children had to be legitimised by utilitarian purposes, Koren’s audience participated actively in sociable reading. In some instances, they, too, participated by displaying their emotional and virtuous bodies.

¹⁶⁸ Koren: 17 July 1810. My emphasis.

¹⁶⁹ Koren: 12 August 1808. My emphasis.

¹⁷⁰ Dunker, *Gamle Dage*, 36.

¹⁷¹ Williams, *The Social Life of Books*, 43f.

¹⁷² Williams, *The Social Life of Books*, 72. Emphasis added. See also Elspeth Jajdelska, *Silent Reading and the Birth of the Narrator* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 8.

Writing about her performance of the Danish translation of the poem *Luise* (1795) by Johann Heinrich Voss (1751–1826), Koren remarked that “[her daughters] all sat there attentively, and more than once were tears gleaming in [Sara’s] eye”, adding that she “always see[s] such tears in the eyes of young girls with joy”.¹⁷³ Emphasising the reactions of her oldest daughter, Koren found great joy in observing how the text set in motion the appropriate emotions, made observable through physical manifestations such as tears. This emphasis on the performative display of the right emotions is also evident in other episodes, such as the reading of some odes by Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock’s (1724–1803). Koren had read it alone at first and some passages had made her weep, “tears flooded on many places”, she attested. Keen to share this experience, she performed the same passages that had moved her to Sara, her daughter, whose reactions mirrored hers. Koren noted with a sense of pride that “it is great for me and her that she has feelings, deep feelings, for such!”. Furthermore, reflecting her pride in her daughter’s emotional capabilities, she discerned how the “deep feelings” disproved the belief of those “who believe she is cold-hearted”.¹⁷⁴ Koren juxtaposition of their reactions was a powerful statement. Composed as an address to the readers of her diary, Koren’s use of the reactions of her daughter as solid evidence for her emotional dispositions reveals the legitimacy of reading aloud as an educative practice. Sara’s tears in the wake of Koren’s own tears were persuasive signals to communicate, reflecting her character and constitution as a genuinely sympathetic person. As discussed in the previous chapter, a moral person expressed his or her emotions in public as visibly and observably as possible. Thus, it was not coincidental that Koren found such pleasure in observing her daughters’ reactions: They proved that reading as an educative practice had indeed served its ultimate purpose of cultivating her virtue and morality. In contrast to the

In the cases analysed here, literary works were not ready-made blueprints for emotions similar to other eighteenth-century instruction manuals, as some have argued.¹⁷⁵ They represented instead *opportunities* for the audience by which they had to recognise those sections in literary works that should prompt a bodily reaction and to respond appropriately by employing different bodily gestures. Thus, the educative qualities of literary works laid in the possibilities they opened for their readers or listeners to cultivate their sensibility over time, by improving their abilities to recognise the specific feelings and to elicit a response in line with

¹⁷³ Koren: 3 May 1808.

¹⁷⁴ Koren: 26 August 1808.

¹⁷⁵ Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 128; Todd, *Sensibility*.

what they observed in the literary work – or daily interactions. Bodies and appearance constituted a language in its own right, not only linked to the emphasis on public emotions, but also to the contemporary interest in theatre and the fixation on observing oneself from the outside.¹⁷⁶ Koren expressed a similar obsession with outward appearance in numerous entries in her own diary, stating that bodies and appearance spoke a language possible to control and comprehend. Writing about the daughter of a priest after conversing with her, Koren remarks that her “face had one overall trait: Piety and innocence, and her blue eyes did not *speak another language*”.¹⁷⁷ By reacting emotionally to a text, Koren’s children received training and practice in eliciting and displaying suitable emotions. Listening and responding was utilitarian reading in its purest form, owing to its intentions to shape the participants’ concrete ways of being and acting in the world.

As mentioned in chapter 1, some scholars have argued that the heightened importance of using the body as a means to develop virtuousness reveals a fundamental distrust of the power of literary works to transform its readers (and, consequently, listeners) into virtuous subjects.¹⁷⁸ They have disentangled reading from bodies, which, in this case, is a connection of utmost importance in making the exposure to literary works productive. In sum, then, three aspects turned sociable reading into a productive practice. Firstly, reading was a shared and conscious activity in which both the performer and the audience engaged in moral work. Secondly, the audience proved the utility of consuming the literary work by displaying their reactions visually with their bodies. The visible reactions performed by members of her audience proved, moreover, that there was no opposition between consuming literary work and using one’s body actively to cultivate virtuousness. These responses were in turn acknowledged by being seen by the performer and, one might suspect, the rest of the audience. Visible reactions spoke more forcefully than words because they revealed the embodied qualities that the educative purposes of reading sought to inculcate. Contrary to the argument that reading facilitated an “escape” from reality, listening and reacting was to mark a presence in the present – not to escape it.¹⁷⁹ Thirdly, because listening was continual and happened over time, it was a *process* where the reader could engage with the transforming and edifying potential of the literary work over time. Similar traits helped to make the novel into a morally acceptable genre in mid-eighteenth-

¹⁷⁶ Andersen, *Deus ex machina?*

¹⁷⁷ Koren: 11 August 1809.

¹⁷⁸ Mai, ‘Efterskrift’, 231–54; Andersen, *Deus ex machina?*, 91ff.

¹⁷⁹ Jacqueline Pearson, *Women’s Reading in Britain, 1750-1835: A Dangerous Recreation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 96–101. David H. Richter, ‘Reception of the Gothic Novel in the 1790s’, in *The Idea of the Novel in the 18th Century*, ed. Robert Uphaus (East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1988), 117–37.

century England.¹⁸⁰ The case of Koren's reading with her children is strikingly similar: These three aspects legitimise the reading of literary works as a practice that neither spurred idleness nor instilled questionable notions in the mind of the listeners – if and only if, undertaken with precaution. Sociable reading prepared her daughters for participation in their mother's conviviality.

This chapter has analysed reading as it occurred within Koren's household. Despite the large number of people associated with Hovind – the home of Koren – few others than her husband and children were actively involved in the reading she recorded. Most importantly, Koren read aloud with her children as a part of their education. I show that she chose to present novels to them despite their controversial status. Given their highly disputable status as texts, Koren monitored their reading closely and sought to inculcate reading as a moral and utilitarian activity. In line with this, she employed novels to cultivate her daughters' abilities to elicit emotional responses to situations where that was expected. By recording her sociable reading with her children in her journals, Koren communicated with her network. As a result, her reading with her children belonged to the realm of conviviality in at least two ways: There was a close overlap between the reading material of her daughters and that of her network at large; the other members of her network professed the abilities she sought to inculcate in her daughters. Reading, then, was in close dialogue with the friends and family – to which I now turn.

¹⁸⁰ Paul Goring, *The Rhetoric of Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 142–81.

4. Assemblies of friends

Social interactions and the written word

Pavels embraced the discord. In September 1813, he visited Johan and Charlotte Lausen Bull in their household in Christiania. However, the other guest attracted his interest and attention. Niels Treschow and his wife, Catharina Devegge, were also there. His conversations with Treschow revealed that they were the only in Pavels' "literary circle of acquaintances" (*litteraire Omgangscirkel*) that did not enjoy the German author Jean Paul. Treschow was, Pavels wrote with a sense of relief, "the only one [...] in whose eyes it is not *crimen laesae* [i.e. high treason] to find faults" with the author in question.¹⁸¹ Though physically absent, Koren was there – in Pavels' conceptualisation of his "literary circle of acquaintances". Pavels revealed in this entry one of the central activities and central meeting places typical of the conviviality associated with Koren's network: Conversations about literature taking place in their homes.

This chapter seeks to delineate key aspects relating to visits, an important part of early-nineteenth-century conviviality. Such visits punctuated the typical ebb and flow of everyday life as guests entered the hosts' or hostess' homes, and lavish dinners celebrated the physical reunification of friends. Whereas sociability in many respects upheld the gendered order, the conviviality of Koren's network was characterised by the circumvention of such norms.¹⁸² It was, for example, common to separate the men from the women during gatherings, and women were expected to sit in silence during dinners. Koren, on the other hand, favoured free and unconstrained interactions; normally, women had to wait for a man to bring them to the table. Their seating was without constraints.¹⁸³ Quite understandably, she did not favour the formal and ceremonial interactions and demeanour among the women she sometimes encountered in larger parties, whose comportment she on one occasion described as "sitting nailed to a chair".¹⁸⁴ Overall, the relatively free interactions were characteristic of the turn towards

¹⁸¹ Pavels: 21 September 1813. Pavels demonstrates his competence in Latin by consciously playing with the spelled similarity of the Latin word "laesae" (treason) and the Norwegian word "læse" (to read).

¹⁸² There existed regional differences between the rigidity of such gendered norms. Women participated to a larger extent in Christiania and Trondheim than Bergen, for example. See Ida Bull, 'Foreningsdannelse i norske byer', 313.

¹⁸³ See Koren: 19 January 1810. This is also discussed in Steinfeld, 'Valgsllektskap og vennskapskult', 310–11.

¹⁸⁴ Koren: 5 June 1809. Both Koren and Pavels identified this ceremonial pomp and splendour as originating from Denmark. Such remarks reflect what Kai Østberg has described as the forging of a distinct Norwegian national identity. See Koren: 18 October 1809; Pavels: 8 December 1812. See Østberg, 'Frispråk eller ubehøvlehet?'.

creating friendships as alternatives to the formal and hierarchical interactions found at the court. Informal interactions, reciprocity, and shared interests were fundamental in the new types of friendships that flourished during the eighteenth century and beyond.¹⁸⁵

A central aspect of the conviviality of Koren's network was the affirmation of such mutual friendship bonds by utilising the written word. At the heart of such practices were visits, which were fundamentally reciprocal in character, as Koren made clear: If she did not pay anyone a visit, she could not expect to receive any visitors herself.¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, fathering involved the written word in a myriad of ways: Friends read together, their reading materials animated their conversations, and some embarked on writing "social texts" that they eventually performed in convivial settings. Originally a term coined by Antoine Lilti, "social texts" were verses, songs, and poems written and performed to celebrate occasions, most notably during dinners and parties.¹⁸⁷ I suggest that social texts in the context of conviviality were relational: They celebrated the friendship bonds between those gathered.

"When the cat is out"

Conviviality spanned across a range of spaces, encompassed different practices, and included different actors. Steinfeld has argued that Koren did not cherish homosocial interaction by mentioning one entry where she and a gathering of women in Johan and Charlotte Lausen Bull's home pondered why such gatherings "rarely are tolerably interesting".¹⁸⁸ However – in sentences omitted in the first published edition of her journals – she continued by stating that "because these pages are not only read by our sex alone [i.e. women]", she would not share the answer they formulated to that question.¹⁸⁹ This indicates that men inflicted, or at least contributed to, the dullness – not that gatherings with women were uninteresting in themselves. It is a surprising statement, given her overall fondness of mixed-gender gatherings (discussed below). In this case, however, the men present at the gathering left them during the night. They went into town, Koren stated, perhaps visiting spaces of sociability, where women could not enter. Perhaps they compared themselves to the social possibilities of their male counterparts and recognised that they did not possess the full range of such possibilities.

¹⁸⁵ Charlotta Wolff, 'Kabal och kärlek: Vänskapen som alternativ sociabilitet i 1700-talets hovsamhällen', *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland* 89, no. 2 (2004): 85–86.

¹⁸⁶ Koren: 3 December 1813.

¹⁸⁷ Lilti, *The World of the Salons*, 157ff.

¹⁸⁸ Steinfeld, 'Valgslektskap og vennskapskult', 310.

¹⁸⁹ Compare Lindbæk, *Moer Korens' dagbøger*, 120 and Koren: 17 August 1809. Importantly, Steinfeld has based her study on the 1915 publication of Koren's journals, which was heavily abridged by its editor.

However, they often took advantage of the opportunities that presented themselves upon their exclusion from such arenas of sociability. When Koren and a group of female friends could not attend a concert in Christiania, they decided to “hold a concert on their own”. Together, they orchestrated their own music, creating an arrangement “[...] as pleasant to us as the larger one [i.e. the concert they did not attend] would have been [...]”.¹⁹⁰ Sometimes, their activities together had a transgressive overtone. Specifying that only women were present, she summarised an evening in Drammen in 1810 by listing the activities with which they engaged. Koren had read a Danish translation of August Wilhelm Iffland’s *Die Jäger* (1785) aloud early in the evening. Later, they consumed mead while toasting to the king – activities primarily associated with the clubs they could not join.¹⁹¹ Cherishing their momentary transgression, she closed her summarisation of the day by emphasising how she and her female company could do as they pleased “when the cat is out”. In line with this, I propose in contrast to Steinfeld that Koren actively participated in and upheld a conviviality closely linked to their practice of visiting. She littered her journals with remarks and statements that praised all-female convivial gatherings. Home-based literary conviviality, for Koren at least, revolved around the maintenance of friendship bonds to her female friends by sharing the same texts, creating the “twin pleasure of the exchange and the relationship it secured”.¹⁹² The emphasis on the collective in their practices augmented the integrative role of reading and social texts. By doing and saying the right things in the presence of each other, they substantiated their likeness as friends.¹⁹³

Visiting female friends involved the written word in myriad ways. Among these was the exchange of printed books as gifts or loans and the performance of different types of social texts. Yet, reading was the most frequent of all activities. Koren expressed great pleasure in the reading conducted while visiting female friends, specifying on one occasion that it was “entertainment for soul and body”.¹⁹⁴ As a convivial activity, reading was a variegated practice. Guest and visitor could read as Christiane and Johan did by reading in silence and enjoying the

¹⁹⁰ Koren: 26 March 1810.

¹⁹¹ Koren: 28 January 1810. See Johansen, *Komme til orde*, 188ff.

¹⁹² Roger Chartier, ‘Leisure and Sociability: Reading Aloud in Early Modern Europe’, in *Urban Life in the Renaissance*, ed. Susan Zimmerman and Ronald F. E. Weissman, trans. Carol Mossman (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), 118.

¹⁹³ This is also explored in Williams, *The Social Life of Books*, 45f.

¹⁹⁴ Koren: 15 July 1810.

company of each other.¹⁹⁵ Predominantly, however, most readings were sociable, and the roles of performer and audience were fluid: Koren listened as much as she read aloud.

When they read aloud, they set out to assess literature critically. Central to that undertaking was the use of emotions – the special competence of women, as discussed in chapter 2. Literary quality had become an embodied experience during the eighteenth century, where the right type and amount of emotions intersected with quality.¹⁹⁶ These developments make it possible to consider Koren's sociable reading with her friends as a critical enterprise, which also strengthened the cohesion between them as friends.

One day in May 1808, Koren decided to read Friedrich Schiller's (1759–1805) *Die Räuber* (1781) to an audience gathered in her household. She specified, however, that they were her female listeners (*Tilhørerinder*).¹⁹⁷ In the entry, she emphasised the bodily reactions among her audience and herself while they closely followed the unfolding story: [...] the hair stood on our heads, and one shudder replaced the other". Commenting further on the play, Koren contended that Schiller's drama was "[...] too terrible, rather too unhuman to affect; it upsets and embitters but does not affect".¹⁹⁸ During her performance, it was exactly these emotions that surfaced as visible, bodily reactions. A similar incident occurred during one of her stays in the Cappelen-owned Eidsfoss manor, named "Majadal" in honour of its hostess, Christine Marie. Travelling with Charlotte Lausen Bull, Koren had also brought her own translated version of Johann Anton Leisewitz's (1752–1806) *Julius von Tarent* (1774) with her. Together with a group of female friends – in their "sweet loneliness" – Koren performed her translation.¹⁹⁹ Whereas the reactions during the former performance connoted disappointment and displeasure with the written work, the audience embraced both her translation and the written work itself by greeting it with "applause and their tears" while listening.²⁰⁰

Such bodily reactions were powerful gestures to display, inscribing the individual into a collective of active listeners who were able to identify the passages and react appropriately. Conversely, not reacting in line with the other members of the audience would send an equally powerful signal, implying deficiencies in their emotional capacities. Visible reactions had integrative ramifications because they united the audience around collective emotions. The

¹⁹⁵ See for example Koren: 2 July 1811; 4 July 1811.

¹⁹⁶ Krefting, Nøding, and Ringvej, *En pokkers Skrivesyge*, 200ff.

¹⁹⁷ For a similar example, see Koren: 13 January 1812.

¹⁹⁸ Koren: 4 May 1808.

¹⁹⁹ On other occasions, she performed her own writings. See for example Koren: 22 December 1814; 27 June 1813.

²⁰⁰ Koren: 15 July 1810.

performer and the audience share the experience of reading in two ways. Firstly, they followed the same text simultaneously, observing how the narrative unfolded together. Secondly, when they came across a particularly moving section, they reacted similarly, eliciting the same types of reactions. By reading, they confirmed their likeness, an emotional kinship. Reading aloud was relational. The relational component is explicitly expressed by Koren when she and Catharina Devegge read Jens Baggesen (1764–1826) together. Devegge’s tears made the experience even more interesting to Koren: “[Some sections of Baggesen’s work] in particular had such enchanting places that they attracted tears to my eyes, and by my faithful C[atharina]’s side it [i.e. her tears] took a double interest in me, for both of us, when our feelings could erupt as they met”.²⁰¹ The expression of emotions as a mutual exchange created a “double interest” for Koren. While the text had the capacity to move her, Devegge’s emotional outburst made the text and the situation even more moving.

The similarities with the sociable reading surveyed in the previous chapter are striking, and, in fact, Koren’s eldest daughter Sara was a part of the audience during the performance of *Die Räuber*. In these instances, however, reactions were less about learning to recognise than to apply this knowledge in the domain of conviviality. After all, Koren did not mention her happiness in observing that her friends were *able to* display emotions. Instead, such capabilities were presupposed, but each member of the audience had nonetheless to act them out visibly, making them manifest for the others to detect. As mentioned, such emotional reactions attested to literary quality. Their reactions illustrate thus how female conviviality generally and reading specifically functioned as an arena in which women negotiated literary taste.

Koren underlined their shared critical endeavours on different occasions but indicated that emotional responses were not the only approach applied to establishing quality. They compared and contrasted what they read collectively. Recounting not only that Cappelen performed *Kuronia* (1806) by Ulrich Schlippenbach (1774–1826) while sojourning at Hovind, for example, Koren also noted how she “praised some poets, scolded others, and reconciled with them again” during the same occasion.²⁰² While visiting Cappelen in Drammen, moreover, Koren read two French plays, recently translated by N.T. Bruun (1778–1823), together with her hostess and Elisa Thorsteinson (unknown year of birth and death). Whereas the first play *Hoved og Hierte i Striid* was the “worst twaddle” (*usleste Vaas*) they had encountered in a long time, the other play, *Silkestigen* (1811) originally by Eugène de Planard (1783–1853), deserved

²⁰¹ Koren: 12 June 1814.

²⁰² Koren: 26 February 1811; see also 14 August 1808.

similar scorn.²⁰³ These remarks specify the nature of their critical engagements with texts. Koren and her friends read together in order to discern and cast judgment as a collective undertaking. Moreover, by recording the verdict in her journals, Koren made sure that absent friends received up-to-date information on their friends' literary evaluations.

In the same vein, some of their gatherings revolved around the presentation of a new text, acquired either in printed or manuscript form. The ways in which Oehlenschläger's play *Axel og Valbog* (1810) circulated can be a case in point. Oehlenschläger occupied a special place in Koren's network – and to her personally. She had met and befriended him in Denmark during her visit in 1802, continued to correspond with him, and followed his literary production closely. Members of Koren's network frequently read him and shared his works with each other; Koren herself mentioned 17 individual works by him in her journals.²⁰⁴ He wrote *Axel og Valborg* in 1808 but did not publish it before 1810. Nevertheless, a letter from Niels Wulfsberg notified Koren about the play already in May 1809.²⁰⁵ On October 9 the same year, while she visited the Lausen Bull family in Christiania, she caught a glimpse of the play as a manuscript. However, Koren did not obtain the manuscript from Wulfsberg, but from Lorentz Wittrup (unknown year of birth and death), a lecturer at the Oslo Cathedral School. As no printed version existed yet, Wittrup brought with him a manuscript from Karen Henriette Tullin, who had transcribed the play herself – perhaps not unlike those Koren produced herself.²⁰⁶ Wittrup came by to share the play and managed to complete a preliminary performance of it for Koren. His rushed performance made it hard for Koren to comment on its qualities, and the play had to be handed back to Tullin when Wittrup's daylong visit had ended. Three days later, however, Koren announced in her journal and with letters that she had received the manuscript yet again and promptly invited her female friends the following Sunday for a collective presentation of the work.²⁰⁷ Koren thus emphasised the collective dimension in their literary interests by underlining her strive to gather the relevant friends and reading the work with them.

In the days leading up to the presentation, Koren preoccupied herself from “morning to evening” with the assiduous task of transcribing the manuscript into a copy of her own. Peter Collett even visited her intending to acquire the manuscripts for himself, but, as Tullin had

²⁰³ Koren: 15 March 1812.

²⁰⁴ See Appendix II.

²⁰⁵ Koren: 7 May 1809.

²⁰⁶ Koren: 9 October 1809. On manuscripts, see next chapter.

²⁰⁷ Koren: 12 October 1809.

made clear, it was Koren's rightful possession until she had finished transcribing it.²⁰⁸ Seven women – some from Christiania, some from Drammen – gathered, as planned, on that Sunday with the sole purpose of glimpsing the newest work by Oehlenschläger.²⁰⁹ A printed copy of the book reached Koren's hands in February 1810, but by then the play had circulated widely as a manuscript.²¹⁰ Testifying to its circulation, Koren cited a letter from Cappelen sent to her in November in which she praised both Tullin and Koren for sharing it and expressed gratefulness for the joy it had spurred among her family members; Koren, too, performed it for her neighbours later that same year.²¹¹ Long before it was put into print, readers had enjoyed it either in a social setting or as a manuscript. More importantly still, from Tullin's manuscript via Koren's transcription to its presentation and circulation, women acted as the central mediators of both circulation and consumption, revealing how convivial relations made it possible for women of the elite to partake at the very forefront of literary developments.

Sometimes, on the other side, sociable reading served purposes that were more pragmatic and oriented towards the procurement of information and news. Reading together thus became a means to stay updated on the latest developments in society or the undertakings of friends. Their shared efforts to delineate news proceeded from a variety of written sources, exemplifying the interconnectedness of different media and practices as delineated by Trygve Riiser Gundersen and Robert Darnton in the contexts of mid-eighteenth-century Denmark-Norway and eighteenth-century Paris, respectively.²¹² The news came from many sources and media and could involve the printed, the handwritten, and the spoken word.

Koren and her friends read all kinds of texts for news and information – after all, printed news was not the only providers of intelligence. Especially letters were employed to this end. This also meant that they could appropriate content to serve their appetite for fresh news. Koren and Christine Marie Cappelen, for example, read the *Collegial-Tidende*, a journal functioning as the mouthpiece for the workings of the state. They did so to learn about the appointed professors – Niels Treschow, Georg Sverdrup (1770–1850), Jens Rathke (1769–1855), Søren

²⁰⁸ Koren: 13 October 1809.

²⁰⁹ Koren: 16 October 1809.

²¹⁰ Koren: 4 February 1810.

²¹¹ Koren: 1 November 1809; 26 November 1809.

²¹² Gundersen, 'Det tidligmoderne kommunikasjonssamfunnet'; Robert Darnton, 'An Early Information Society: News and the Media in Eighteenth-Century Paris', *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 1 (2000): 1–35. Riiser Gundersen's indebtedness to Darnton is explicitly stated.

Rasmussen (1768–1850), and Ludvig Stoud Platou (1778–1833) – at the newly established university in Christiania, all of which were their friends.²¹³

From other episodes, these two, Koren and Cappelen, foregrounded the interconnectedness of printed news and the personal on a different occasion when Cappelen received from Schmidt a letter, newspapers from the Danish island of Fyn, and a part of his journals.²¹⁴ Coming in three different containers, the content of this information probably overlapped considerably. Schmidt keenly penned the information he gathered in Copenhagen in his journals, making it possible for his readers to augment that information with what they could find in the newspapers and his letter.

Close friends shared private correspondence widely during gatherings, connecting them to those with whom they could not be physically close. Koren played her part by using her journal as a means to assess and authenticate the information she gathered.²¹⁵ Ostensibly private, the contents of letters were of interest to many, which made it reasonable to read them aloud. Charlotte Lausen Bull, for example, read two letters penned by Koren intended for Cappelen and Ragna Mariboe during a gathering at her home in Christiania.²¹⁶ Koren specified, on a different occasion, that she had read the latest part of her journals aloud to Mariboe before sending them to Cappelen. Both were thus exposed to the same information, although the form of presentation differed.²¹⁷ This type of sociable reading made it possible for them to stay updated on the lives of others, using the channels of information that were available to them.

Moreover, sharing also made it possible for them to mitigate problems of access both in terms of events they could not attend or written materials they struggled to procure elsewhere. Schmidt and Pavels wrote and performed speeches as a part of their occupations as priests, but the physical distance separating them from Koren made it difficult for her to be present during the occasions in which they were performed. Koren, however, procured copies of their speeches by mail. Attesting to the speed with which speeches could travel, Inger Marie Pavels transcribed and shipped to Koren a funeral speech the same day her husband performed it, and she received it just in time to read it aloud to Ragna Mariboe and her mother the following morning.²¹⁸ By quickly disseminating and reading the speech, Koren and the Mariboes could still take a part in the funeral as a media event even though they did not participate in person.

²¹³ Koren: 29 January 1813.

²¹⁴ Koren: 25 March 1811.

²¹⁵ See the next chapter for a discussion of this.

²¹⁶ Koren: 2 October 1813.

²¹⁷ Koren: 3 December 1812.

²¹⁸ Koren: 25 January 1814.

Similar episodes including speeches written either by Schmidt or Pavels unfolded on several occasions while Koren visited the Cappelen family in Drammen or had visitors herself.²¹⁹ Their sharing of newspapers, letters, and speeches connected women to their friends' current affairs.

Although I have discussed different modes and materials separately, it should be noted that they often intermingled in daily life. During Koren's two-day visit to Drammen in June 1811, for example, she gives a good impression of the sheer frequency of situations involving the written word. Christine Marie Cappelen first performed a sermon by Schmidt to Johan and Christiane Koren, Peder Cappelen, and Sara Bøyesen. Later, Koren read silently by herself in the presence of her hostess and the aforementioned Bøyesen. Koren also performed a poem written for a wedding by Schmidt and Oehlenschläger's *Correggio* (1811). With Bøyesen, she also discussed Ludvig Tieck's (1773–1853) *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen* (1798).²²⁰ Forms of reading thus overlapped to a considerable extent within the context of conviviality. Despite its many forms, however, reading forged closeness through the enjoyment of the same kinds of texts, from the printed book to the manuscript or the handwritten sermon. Operating within the confines of their households, women belonging to Koren's network utilised the written word to cultivate their interests in literature and to strengthen the unity of the network.

Naturally, contemporary conviviality also involved men. How were such gatherings similar to or different from the all-female gatherings just discussed?

Friendly encounters

In February 1808, Christine Marie Cappelen and her husband invited 17 guests into their home in Drammen, among them members of the Koren family, who were there on a three-week visit, as well as other guests with whom Koren was not acquainted. After the company had consumed a four-course meal, red wine and champagne, the men gathered around the gambling table while the women were sent to a separate room. When most of the company had left, however, the remaining men and women – all of which were close friends – gathered in an intimate chamber and heard Schmidt sing Friedrich Schiller's *Wallensteins Lager* (1798). Schmidt had translated Schiller's work himself, and his small audience commended him for his translation and performance.²²¹ In combination with the intimacy of the chamber, his performance

²¹⁹ Koren: 24 June 1811; 29 June 1812; 12 July 1812; 12 April 1814; 25 March 1814.

²²⁰ Koren: 26 June 1811; 27 June 1811.

²²¹ Schmidt even published parts of his translation in a newspaper the following March. Frederik Schmidt, "Krigssang (af Schillers Wallenstens [sic.] Lager)", *Tiden* no. 7 (March 9, 1808), 55-56.

contributed to an atmosphere in which “true joy thrives and develops”, according to Koren who recorded the episode in her journals shortly after.²²² Schmidt’s performance attests that such performances could ameliorate, at least temporarily, the gendered nature of social gatherings by unifying a divided company. Moreover, the fact that Schmidt waited until most of the guests had departed from the party suggests that such performances were indeed reserved for close friends. Only when the closest friends were gathered, this episode posits, could gendered norms temporally be reversed.

The temporal reversal of gender norms, exclusivity, and intimacy were typical traits of meetings between members of Koren’s network. In line with the episode described above, the sociable reading of novels, dramas, plays, and similar genres was not common during larger gatherings in which unfamiliar guests were present.²²³ When Koren and her friends met, many of their activities centred on the cultivation of shared interest and taste in literature. Literature was a powerful component that cemented the relations between each member. Koren experienced, as she repeatedly iterated, sociable reading to be of great pleasure and enjoyment. Pleasurable emotions evoked by shared reading cemented the relations between them, and they used the written word to articulate such affinities.²²⁴ “Is it possible to live better?”, she asked rhetorically in an entry detailing how Schmidt had read letters from Copenhagen and his translations of Christoph August Tiedge’s (1752–1841) *Urania* (1801) to a company.²²⁵ Others, such as Pavels, made the evening pass as a “pleasant moment” by “lecturing” an unspecified biography to Schmidt, members of the Koren and Cappelen families.²²⁶

Generally, when men and women read together, the former were performers and the latter constituted the audience, Koren’s journals suggest. In most cases of sociable reading involving a male performer, she utilised “lecture” or “lecturing” to describe the performer’s endeavours. In a strictly linguistic sense, the uses and meaning of “lecturing” overlapped considerably with “reading aloud”, but could also connote the type of oral elocution typically found in academic institutions as the essential act of knowledge transmission.²²⁷ Her persistent usage of that

²²² Koren: 27 February 1808.

²²³ Much more common, however, was the production and performance of occasional poetry. See the discussion below.

²²⁴ On this, see Ina Lindblom, ‘Känslans patriark: Sensibilitet och känslopraktiker i Carl Christoffer Gjörwells familj och vänskapskrets, ca 1790-1810’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, Umeå, Umeå Universitetet, Institutionen för idé- och samhällsstudier, 2017), 180–86.

²²⁵ Koren: 29 February 1812.

²²⁶ Koren: 13 July 1811.

²²⁷ *Ordbog over det danske sprog. Historisk ordbog 1700-1950*, s.v. «forelæse», accessed April 25, 2021, <https://ordnet.dk/ods/ordbog?query=forel%C3%A6se>. See also Chartier, ‘Leisure and Sociability’, 118.

designation is worth exploring further because one interpretation would be that Koren criticised the performers for patronising her and the other guests by educating them. Gillian Russell has argued that the art of “lecturing” was bound up to arenas and activities regarded as masculine, such as preaching in the church, hosting lectures, or agitating for political causes. Training in public speaking and the numbers of treatises and manuals on elocution addressed primarily men, and the art of lecturing thus constituted a skill that educated men were expected to master.²²⁸

All of Koren’s male friends were educated in oratory – it was a fundamental part of their schooling in university – and held public positions in which public speaking was typical. However, Koren does not indicate that they lecture *about*, indicating that she made use of the term as synonymous to reading aloud. Indeed, they “lectured” literary works or self-composed poetry. Consistent with this interpretation, I suggest, Koren used “lecture” as a way to recognise competence. The men to whom Koren listened were educated and maintained their oratorical skills. Furthermore, this transfer of texts was not limited to the relations between men and women. Pavels noted that Johan Nordahl Bruun “lectured” him a letter during one of their meetings in Bergen.²²⁹ Koren commented on several occasions the performance of Schmidt, whom she often observed “lecturing”, and his “blessed” (*velsignet*) voice. Once, he had to read aloud despite having a “sore throat”, and, Koren added in in the same entry, “he cried a little now and then when it got too dry”.²³⁰ Despite his illness, she hinted, he nonetheless performed because he possessed a cherished competence. Interestingly, Koren used the same word – lecturing – to describe her own practice on several occasions when she read aloud in company with her female friends.²³¹ Her usage implies that she regarded herself as in possession of skills that made her comparable to the educated men that she so often observed.

The relative free exchange of ideas is especially evident in their conversations about literature. Conversations, of course, are difficult to study historically, as “words literally evaporate once they are uttered”.²³² Koren’s journals thus reflect above all her *impressions* of them, drawn up after they have been conducted: What animated them, who dominated them,

²²⁸ Gillian Russell, ‘Spouters and Washerwomen: The Sociability of Romantic Lecturing’, in *Romantic Sociability: Social Networks and Literary Culture in Britain, 1770-1840*, ed. Gillian Russell and Clara Tuite (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 124.

²²⁹ Pavels: 12 April 1812.

²³⁰ Koren: 17 March 1810.

²³¹ See for example Koren: 14 March 1812.

²³² Susanne Schmid, *British Literary Salons of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 55ff.

and how they transpired in relation to other activities during convivial settings. Conversations were, not to mention, regulated interactions, fashioned by numerous treatises delineating the proper procedures of speaker and listener alike. It was, for example, the responsibility of the host or hostess to facilitate proper conversations during social events, a competence that both Koren and Pavels took great care to either scorn or praise on numerous occasions.²³³ Although Koren and her friends rejected many of the existing codes of conduct found in elite conviviality of their day, ample residue of them is nonetheless evident. Her criticism of one interlocutor's constant talk about herself and her interests was regarded as a fundamental violation of a polite conversation.²³⁴

Although such sentiments could surface, men and women conversed freely during the convivial gatherings that Koren either hosted or guested.²³⁵ As was the case with other social arenas and their associated practices, conversations were also opportunities of being seen and heard, as arenas for displaying familiarity with ongoing debates. The conversations about the Danish-born poet, educator, and priest N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783–1872), whose theological and literary pursuits animated many conversations, can serve as the basis of a discussion. He figured prominently in Koren's journals as well as the diaries of Pavels and Schmidt, especially after the publication of a verse intended to hail King Frederick 6 (1768–1839) on his birthday in February 1812. It attracted considerable critique due to its scolding of the establishment of a Norwegian university generally and Nicolai Wergeland's (1780–1848) treatise on that establishment, *Mnemosyne* (1811), specifically. Enraged, Pavels penned an anonymous article in a Copenhagen-based periodical in which he shared Wergeland's sentiments about a Norwegian university, but criticised "the tone" of his prose.²³⁶ The controversial verse also pervaded the conversations Pavels had with other men during his visit to Bergen in the spring of 1812. All agreed, he noted, that Grundtvig's "expressions in the letter to the King were untimely and insulting".²³⁷

Koren had read eight of his writings with great admiration long before the controversy. Her reception of the controversial piece reflected her overall friendly attitude towards him.²³⁸ Writing in her journal in March 1812, she, in contrast to Pavels and many others, acquitted

²³³ Koren: 18 October 1809. Pavels: 22 April 1812; 30 December 1812.

²³⁴ Compare Koren: 26 June 1810 and C. G., 'Noget om Conversationen', trans. unknown translator, translated from English, *Hermoder, et norsk periodisk Skrift* Tredie Bind, no. 7 (1796): 90–100.

²³⁵ See Koren: 19 January 1810; 1 April 1811.

²³⁶ "Breve til en Ven i Norge om Wergelands Prisskrift angaaende et Universitet i Norge og dets Bedømmelse i Litteraturtidenden No. 38 til 43" in *Nyeste Skilderie af Kjøbenhavn*, no. 32 (18 April 1812), 497–502.

²³⁷ Pavels: 14 April 1812.

²³⁸ See Appendix II. See also the discussion of in the next chapter.

Grundtvig for all the charges raised at him. The critique of him had become so common that she did not need to cite a source or person. Distinguishing between the writer himself and his “thoughts and feelings”, Koren found the man to be the same: His *oeuvre* proved that his overall intellectual project revolved around “Christian piety and self-denial”. This latest “turn”, however, disappointed her. Her support nonetheless remained, because she tried to instil a distinction between the creator and the created – for which she anticipated appraisals. Did she really think it was possible to distinguish between them? She rattled the objection off by contending that it was wrong to condemn how “he sees things differently from us”.²³⁹ In the end, then, her defence was a defence of Grundtvig as a writer, not the particular work. Koren’s attempts to acquit Grundtvig from a mounting criticism demonstrates that she had followed the debate closely. She had read Pavels’ travel journal in which he presented his and his interlocutors’ harsh critique.²⁴⁰ If her journal entries mirrored her usual outspokenness, she did not hesitate to propose her opinions, even when she knew she entered contentious debates.

If the debate concerning Grundtvig is pursued further, these dimensions are even more evident. Her defence of Grundtvig came into play at two gatherings at the Cappelen residence in Drammen later that March. Two of the “some twenty-odd strangers” at the gathering questioned Grundtvig’s sanity by implying that he befitted an iron cage (*Daarekiste*). Peter Bang (date of birth and death unknown) and Nicolai Scheitlie (1753–1824), the two men who spearheaded the critique, clearly enraged Koren, but she could not engage in the conversation, as that would defy the gendered norms governing conversations. Afterwards, she attested: “In the conversation, I neither wanted nor could [participate], but I silenced and inhaled my annoyance with every bite I swallowed”.²⁴¹ Because it was a company of strangers, Koren’s capacity to engage in the discussion was limited.

Luckily, she was present in a different dinner the following day, this time with fewer and familiar guests. Scheitlie, once again, criticised Grundtvig, calling him a “damned hypocrite”. Koren rebuked this proposition as she keenly shared with the readers of her journal:

"No," I remarked [to Scheitlie], "that's exactly what he is not. He can be a dreamer [*Sværmer*]; and if he is, he was never a hypocrite, I know that for sure" – as if you are, by God I had [that rebuke] on my tongue,

²³⁹ Koren: 10 May 1812.

²⁴⁰ Koren read Pavels’ travel journals, but did not comment on his critique of Grundtvig.

²⁴¹ Koren: March 19, 1812. I interpret “wanted” in “I neither wanted nor could” as an expression of not wanting to participate in a discussion based the wrong presuppositions.

but had to suppress it and simply added: "I know that as surely as I'm sitting here ». [Carsten] Anker, I must not conceal that, gave me right and praised what had previously come from [Grundtvig's] pen.²⁴²

She penned this entry after the actual event, and we should consequently be cautious to take this as the actual word-by-word dialogue. Nevertheless, the broad outlines of what was a lively discussion can be utilised to say something about the possibilities of women to participate.

Discussing the work on three different levels, Koren revealed the degrees to which she could participate in conversations. On the level of the journal and actual conversations with friends, she participated freely and outspokenly, providing her honest opinions, even when they went against the grain. She also fashioned her entry in her journal as a legitimate contribution to an ongoing debate concerning Grundtvig. In extension, then, she took it for granted that friends were familiar with the contentious debate. As such, she formulated her entries in line with the debates with which she would engage during gatherings with her friends, where discussions of literary, religious, or philosophical matters often were at the centre. Attesting to the importance of friendship as a prerequisite for articulating such thoughts, moreover, Koren suppressed her eagerness to engage with Berg and Scheitlie about Grundtvig because her participation would violate contemporary norms about women's propriety. When the guests were fewer – and the usual norms were replaced by less rigid ones – Koren broke the silence and won the support of Carsten Anker. Her emphasis on Anker's rejoinder, portrayed almost as an act of deliverance, indicates that the legitimacy of her opinion nonetheless needed backing from a male guest.

Celebrating the occasion

The saturation of texts in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century conviviality reveals a veritable vogue for social texts, that is, texts meant to be shared and performed during social gatherings.²⁴³ They include – but are not limited to – occasional poetry (*leilighetsdiktning*) and drinking verses. Such texts and the practices with which they were associated had been a part of elite culture in the Nordic countries throughout the early modern period.²⁴⁴ At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the uses of social texts had two, opposite functions. Firstly, they constituted one component of a textual culture conducive to the staging of power relations in

²⁴² Koren: 20 March 1812.

²⁴³ Lilti, *The World of the Salons*, 157ff.

²⁴⁴ Valborg Lindgärde et al., eds., *Att dikta för livet, döden och evigheten: Tillfällesdiktning under tidigmodern tid* (Stockholm: Makadam förlag, 2020).

the Danish-Norwegian society. Similar to the epideictic, occasional poetry hailed those of high administrative or public rank, particularly the monarchs, or celebrated royal triumphs.²⁴⁵ During the spring of 1814, for example, Pavels composed such texts for Prince Christian Frederick (1786–1848). His endeavours reflected the Habermasian “representative public” in which fundamental structures of power were expressed and confirmed through media and other representations.²⁴⁶ Secondly and conversely, social texts also permeated spaces of sociability, as evident in the Copenhagen-based student club *Norske Selskab*. Turning the “representative public” on its head, the members of the club foregrounded a cordial attitude, mixing the pleasure of drinking and consumption with friendly ridicule expressed in social texts. Above all, they celebrated themselves as a group consisting of friends.²⁴⁷ Koren and her friends utilised social texts in a similar way: By writing and performing social texts, they expressed and enacted friendship bonds.

Despite its closing in 1813 in parallel to the establishment of a university in Christiania, *Norske Selskab* cast long shadows over early-nineteenth-century conviviality in general and their social texts specifically. Social texts in general penetrated deeply into contemporary conviviality. Attesting to the commonality of social texts, Pavels lamented on several occasions over their absence. While visiting Peder Anker, whose health was impaired due to arthritis, in his manor at Bogstad, he found that the “conversation was empty and sad; a witty word was not tolerated, no toasts were proposed let alone the singing of verse”.²⁴⁸

Close friends of Koren – Schmidt, Pavels, Treschow, Johan Lausen Bull, Georg Sverdrup, and Christopher Anker Bergh, to name some – had been members of *Norske Selskab* during their days as students. Returning from Copenhagen to public preoccupations in Norway, former members moulded the activities of their clubs and associations after the sociability found in *Norske Selskab* and the like.²⁴⁹ Songs stemming from *Norske Selskab* came to be a prominent feature of former members’ repertoires and were performed repeatedly during gatherings in Norway. Some even speculate that Koren herself frequented the club in her

²⁴⁵ The panegyric could also have a transgressive potential. See Mona Ringvej, ‘Bowling Deeply without Tipping Over: The Theatrical Panegyrics of Absolutism’, in *Eighteenth-Century Periodicals as Agents of Change*, ed. Ellen Krefling, Aina Nøding, and Mona Ringvej (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 252–66. On occasional poetry, see Mona Ringvej, *Christian Frederiks tapte rike* (Bergen: Vigmostad Bjørke, 2017), 66, 123.

²⁴⁶ See Pavels: 22 December 1813; 24 December 1813. On occasional texts and Habermas, see Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen, *Poesi og politik. Lejlighedsdigtningen ved enevældens indførelse 1660* (København: Museum Tusculanum Forlag, 1996).

²⁴⁷ Liv Blikrud, *Den smilende makten: Norske Selskab i København og Johan Herman Wessel* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1999), 78ff; A. H. Winsnes, *Det norske selskab: 1772-1812* (Kristiania: Aschehoug, 1924), 172ff.

²⁴⁸ Pavels: 4 October 1812; see also Pavels, 1 July 1814.

²⁴⁹ Johansen, *Komme til orde*, 192ff.

younger years, which is consistent with her wish to hear Johan Lausen Bull sing verses from its “golden years” during one of her visits.²⁵⁰ Based on her journals, she expressed familiarity with some of the verses originating from the club, a repertoire augmented by the reading of printed verses.²⁵¹

Repertoires of social texts were one constitutive element of a person’s social skills. Moreover, being able to write and perform successfully was a skill in its own right, displaying education as well as social and literary competence. These are competencies usually associated with men.²⁵² Writing with a sense of pride, however, Koren spent one “whole afternoon” in 1802 competing with Oehlenschläger about composing the most sentimental verse celebrating the New Year. They intended to present them later during a gathering and, thereby, to display their poetic proficiency publicly to their company.²⁵³ Abilities to compose social texts thus signified refinement and education, as Koren underscored when she detailed the appearance of a possible suitor for her youngest daughter, Caroline Mathilde, in 1815. She noted how the young lieutenant presented three of his self-composed social texts to her. Two of them were witty, Koren remarked, the last more contemplative.²⁵⁴ Together they attested to education, erudition, and an admirable personality, making him a favourable suitor indeed.

Writing and performing social texts were typical elements of conviviality and opened up for the participation of women – yet, not without some concern. To his great disapproval, Pavels observed that both men and women had sung songs “solely appropriate for the mouths of men” during a visit to a woman in Christiania. It was, he thundered, “unbelievably stupid of the young ladies to join unsolicited”.²⁵⁵ The bawdy and masculine tenor that characterised many of the social texts emanating from the male clubs should not, ideally at least, leach into other social settings. Koren echoed similar sentiments after reading a letter about a party in Christiania where women had been seated next to a “vainglorious man” (*Lapse*) who had initiated the singing of immoral verses.²⁵⁶

The social texts written and performed for occasions that involved Koren were explicitly relational: They either celebrated the host or hostess or paid tribute to the “we”, that is, the

²⁵⁰ Koren: 24 September 1810. *Norsk biografisk leksikon*, s.v. «Christiane Koren,» av Elisabeth Aasen. 01.03.2021. https://nbl.snl.no/Christiane_Koren.

²⁵¹ Koren: 20 September 1813.

²⁵² Johansen, *Komme til orde*, 205ff.

²⁵³ Koren: 2 December 1802.

²⁵⁴ Koren: 13 January 1815.

²⁵⁵ Pavels: 20 January 1813. See also Pavels 20 December 1812.

²⁵⁶ Koren: 19 December 1811.

gathered friends. Thereby, ideally at least, social texts served a personal role, by, to cite Koren, “promot[ing] and nurture[ing] sociable cheerfulness”.²⁵⁷ Every occasion or event provided an opportunity for versification for keen writers such as Koren. She composed, for example, a short verse mocking Boreas, the Greek god of the cold north wind, after Christine Marie Cappelen had travelled through a winter storm to get to Hovind: “Let the storm whine long enough / And whip the flying snow / Here I sit snugly between mine / And can safely of Boreas laugh”.²⁵⁸ As was the case with most social texts, this verse was fundamentally relational, emphasising the comfort Koren enjoyed in the company of a friend and her family.

As with any other written piece of text, social texts were not elevated above criticism. Koren demonstrated knowledge of the tacit rules that governed their proper production. On one occasion, for example, she criticised Jacob Lund Munthe, a priest, for writing a “table verse” (*Bordvise*) – a song meant to be sung by the dinner guests – that was too long.²⁵⁹ Koren indicated that Munthe should have known better and composed a shorter song as suited the occasion. Although it is unclear whether she aired this critique in person, she explicates elsewhere that their gatherings were also opportunities to criticise social texts. They did so after receiving a speech by Christen Pram and some verses composed by Jens Baggesen and Adam Oehlenschläger in a letter from Copenhagen. None of them excelled, they found.²⁶⁰ The seriousness with which they treated social texts is a powerful indicator of their status as elements in conviviality.

Most of the social texts were written for specific occasions and were thus ingrained in the situations for which they were composed and performed. They often addressed a special event placed in time – rites of passage being the most prominent occasion. In May 1812, for example, Koren wrote a verse with great gusto, meant for a wedding she was to attend: “Thoughts about the coming changes for the [bride]” animated her writing process, she underscored. On her behest, Niels Wulfsberg even printed “some forty-odd copies”.²⁶¹ Bringing printed copies allowed for greater synchronicity, as all could follow the same text simultaneously. In line with her intentions, the wedding guests sang it while clinking their glasses. She specified, in fact, that hers was the only social text sung during the dinner.²⁶² Importantly, as she implies, her literary travails were legitimised by the fact that the subject of

²⁵⁷ Pavels: 21 October 1812.

²⁵⁸ Koren: 19 February 1811.

²⁵⁹ Koren: 19 October 1812.

²⁶⁰ Koren: 29 January 1812.

²⁶¹ Koren: 2 May 1812. The two copies intended for the bride and groom were written on vellum, making theirs exclusive. See the next chapter for similar practices.

²⁶² Koren: 15 May 1811.

the social text was a woman and that it outlined the pleasures and obligations of women in their marital relationships. Again, however, there is a difference between the conviviality of her friends and that of *familiars*. Because the wedding belonged to the latter category, it is suggested here, her contribution was welcomed because it addressed women generally and the bride specifically: A woman addressed another woman. Nevertheless, it gave Koren an opportunity to write and have her poetry performed.

When members of Koren's network gathered, their social texts reflected the relative absence of gendered norms. Furthermore, as was typical of their mediated interactions, these texts were reciprocal and mutualistic. A common theme was to celebrate the persistence of their friendships. In a verse addressed to Charlotte Lausen Bull on her birthday, for example, Koren contrasted the yearly seasons with their friendship. Although nature first flourished and then perished, their friendship nonetheless proved that time did not eradicate everything.²⁶³ Similarly, Wulfsberg penned a verse meant to accompany him during a brief stint at Hovind. In it, he lauded the hospitality with which people were greeted at Hovind: "The custom [of hospitality], I dare to presume, goes / not extinct on Hovind farm". Wulfsberg, moreover, described the pleasure of "flying" from the "urban emptiness" (*tomhedsfulde Bye*) to Hovind where "friendship does not perish" and attributed this praise to Koren.²⁶⁴ Writing social texts thus articulated their friendships in texts.

Some social texts were published in printed form as compilations or reiterated often enough to become a part of a reusable repertoire. During a wedding, for example, Koren brought up an old German "songbook" (*Visebog*) from which she and some of her friends adjusted some of the lyrics to fit into the particular context. The guests were already familiar with the melodies.²⁶⁵ On a different occasion, they sang "old-fashioned" verses.²⁶⁶ Furthermore, the performance of these types of social texts was a shared activity that united male and female participants alike. Koren often emphasised how "all as one" participated in singing along to a plethora of different songs, or how the company had sung "with their full hearts from their happy lips".²⁶⁷ This element of equality and unity is also evident in some of the social texts they declared. Koren's favourite verse, Jens Zetlitz' "My Full Glass and the Fast Tones of the Song" (*Mit Fulde Glas og Sangens Raske Toner*), hailed notions of equality and stated plainly

²⁶³ Koren: 22 May 1811.

²⁶⁴ Koren: 13 July 1811.

²⁶⁵ Koren: 16 April 1809.

²⁶⁶ Koren: 8 June 1810 (marked as *Første Pintsedag*).

²⁶⁷ See for example Koren: 26 January 1812; 6 September 1813; 3 February 1814. See also Pavels: 5 February 1813.

that “[royal] highness does not make happiness / everyone is equal when one dies”.²⁶⁸ Concomitant acts reinforced these unifying endeavours: Impromptu toasts and clinking of glasses were handed out evenly among men and women – and, of course, to the host or hostess to whom the guests always saluted. Singing and toasting together created a special form of unity, comparable to what Erling Sandmo writes about choirs. Singing together establishes “a new, different voice”, “a sound that is not the same as the sum of its parts”, capable of giving “the sound of the moment a ritual and serious continuity”.²⁶⁹

Although Koren’s journals attest to the uses of social texts as a means to enrich friendship bonds, she did not shy away from political verse and upheld aesthetic criteria in these cases too. She assailed a verse praising king Frederick 6, published in *Trondhiems Adresse-Contoirs Efterretninger*, as a cheap imitation of Schiller on one occasion.²⁷⁰ Political topics were especially prominent during the spring of 1814 when many members and even more letters from the national assembly oscillated between Hovind and Eidsvoll. Schmidt devotedly shared speeches and other texts composed by him or mutual friends, whereas Koren keenly transcribed and commented on them as soon as she got her hands on them.²⁷¹

Schmidt, however, did not share everything he wrote. Pavels commented in July 1814 that Schmidt revealed to him a verse about the members of the national assembly that the latter had written with three friends – Jonas Rein (1760–1821), Georg Sverdrup, and Christian Magnus Falsen (1782–1830) – in which they ridiculed their opponents and hailed their allies at the assembly.²⁷² Despite their efforts to share as much as possible, Koren never mentioned that or any similar verses, which suggests that some social texts laden with political messages were not presented to women. On the other hand, Koren utilised her journals as a means to showcase a poem and a song to be presented to king Christian Frederick if he came by Hovind. Although she conceded that it was uncertain if that would ever happen, the “grateful feelings of her heart” about the king inspired her to pen the social texts down for her readers, thereby proving her active participation in the literary conviviality.²⁷³

²⁶⁸ Koren: 19 October 1812. John Utheim, ed., *Udvalg af Jens Zetlitz’ Digte* (København: Gyldendal, 1886), 31.

²⁶⁹ Erling Sandmo, ‘Mange sanger i historien - om koret som ramme rundt tidlig-moderne tidsforståelse’, in *I det lange løp: Festskrift til Jan Eivind Myhre*, ed. Arne Hveem Alsvik et al. (Oslo: Pax, 2017), 252.

²⁷⁰ Koren: 29 April 1813.

²⁷¹ Compare Schmidt: 15 April 1814; 17 April 1814 with Koren: 19 April 1814.

²⁷² Pavels: 26 July 1814.

²⁷³ Koren: 8 August 1814. Technically, Christian Frederick was the King of Norway between 17 May and 10 October 1814.

Seen as a whole, the practices of performing these kinds of social text opened for the participation of both genders – notwithstanding the cases of texts with a political message. The performance of social texts and other associated acts, such as toasting, fostered a type of conviviality in which both genders participated alongside each other to enact and perpetuate friendship bonds. Usually, texts did not circulate beyond their initial performance. Important in this case, though, is that Koren extended their lifespan by compiling them in her journals. Antoine Lilti argues in the context of eighteenth-century Parisian salon life that collections of social texts, such as poems and songs, were “proof of active social networks”.²⁷⁴ Koren did not only prove her social network by collecting such social texts in her journal, but also perpetuated its existence. Her efforts to collect, transcribe, and circulate them as a part of her journals meant that the social texts “lived” a little longer than they usually did.

This chapter has delineated the ways in which the written word related to the social gatherings in the households of the members of Koren’s network. It has shown how their uses of the written word had integrative functions. It started out discussing how Koren read novels aloud with her female friends and highlighted how their emotional reactions to novels confirmed their likeness. That type of reading was also a part of their critical endeavours where they negotiated literary quality; to this end, Koren also acquired manuscripts that she shared with her female friends. This chapter also surveyed the place of the written word in mixed-gender conviviality, characterised by the temporal suspension of gendered norms. I emphasised how women and men belonging to Koren’s network discussed and read aloud. Women and men participated actively and cultivated their ties of friendships through their shared interests in literature. Moreover, this chapter also considered the role of social texts as ways to articulate and augment their cohesion as a network. The performance of such social texts was not only performed in male clubs but constituted an important aspect of their conviviality. They enacted their friendships by singing, toasting, and reading together.

²⁷⁴ Lilti, *The World of the Salons*, 159.

5. Extending presence

Reading and the economy of exchange

Oehlenschläger's *Hugo von Rheinberg* (1813) had made the evening a pleasant one. However, she could only establish a final verdict after she had read it alone. So wrote Koren about her first meeting with Oehlenschläger's newest work, with which she was already familiar as a result of her correspondence in November 1813.²⁷⁵ Now, in late January 1814, she could finally get a glimpse of it while visiting the Marieboe family, who had invited Koren on the occasion of the baptism of their newborn son for whom she would serve as a godmother. Ludvig Marieboe had acquired a copy from a friend and performed it in the evening. Juxtaposing sociable reading with reading alone, Koren went on to suggest that only after reading it alone, with devotion (*med Andagt*), an articulated opinion could be established.²⁷⁶ This prompts the question: What is the relationship between sociable readings compared to reading alone?

As already discussed in the introduction, the maintenance of their conviviality did not wholly depend on the existence of in-person meetings or a physical place. The members of the network extended their presence by corresponding with each other, thus carrying their conversations and interactions on in reciprocal exchanges of letters and written materials.²⁷⁷ Members could remain within the confines of their households but nonetheless interact with each other. Moreover, Koren was integral in these efforts in that she assembled a variety of information and news in her journals and circulated them. Exchanging written materials was thus to extend their presence. Their epistolary conversations and Koren's journal were ways to keep in touch with news, information, and, most importantly, each other's reading.

This chapter argues that Koren's own reading, ostensibly silent and solitary, was social in character. I regard her journals as a part of an overall economy of exchanges – letters, journals, printed books, or manuscripts – which was an important part of the infrastructure that kept the network together. Her journals became a *composite*, unifying correspondence and private matters with printed news and continental literature. The social dimension of her reading is apparent in two ways: Koren read to establish and negotiate literary quality with her network of friends and family, and to gather information and news. Thus, I argue that her reading was fashioned to fit their continual exchanges of written material. Indeed, Koren

²⁷⁵ Koren: 29 November 1813

²⁷⁶ Koren: 26 January 1814.

²⁷⁷ This point is also discussed in Nicole Pohl, "Perfect Reciprocity": Salon Culture and Epistolary Conversations', *Women's Writing* 13, no. 1 (2006): 139–59.

invited response and responded to what constituted a shared exploration of the written word in many genres, an exploration assisted by correspondence and journals through which they extended their presence. To this end, they borrowed, disseminated, and gifted texts to each other, rendering discussions of *the same* possible. Sharing made it possible for them to synchronise their reading when they could not meet physically. Koren's endeavours as a translator of several texts from German were intimately linked to this. She translated primarily to give her non-German speaking friends access to texts they otherwise could not read.

Koren's documentation of her own reading ran like a red thread throughout her journals. She was a productive reader – or, she sought to appear like one. While the full extent of her reading is impossible to establish, she recorded reading plays, poetry, novels and non-fiction as well as scores of journals and newspapers.²⁷⁸ The overview of books in appendix II suggests a strong affinity with contemporary or near-contemporary Danish and German writers. Especially her interest in German writers did not only manifest itself in her reading material. Three of her plays, self-consciously published as *Dramatic attempts (Dramatiske Forsøg)* in 1803, drew heavy inspiration from the German bourgeois family dramas which dominated theatrical life from the 1790s to the 1820s in both Denmark and Norway.²⁷⁹ She tried to collect the complete output of the authors she admired, storing the tomes in her chamber or lending them away to her friends or family members.²⁸⁰ She painted a picture of herself as an incessant reader, accompanied with reading materials wherever she was located: From a myriad of domestic settings and carriage rides to spaces in the open air. Most often, however, she read in her own chamber, a room on the second floor of their home, furnished with a writer's desk and a couch. Such chambers had become increasingly common for women of the elite during the eighteenth century.²⁸¹ It was here she housed her book collection as well as portraits of her husband, Schiller, Schmidt, Caroline Mathilde of Denmark, and Heloise and Abelard.²⁸²

²⁷⁸ See Appendix II.

²⁷⁹ Christiane Koren, *Dramatiske Forsøg ved Kristiane Koren. Med en Fortale af Professor K. L. Rahbek* (København: Trykt hos og forlagt af Andreas Seidelin, 1803). Her plays are analysed in Åse Hinderaker, 'Christiane Koren - dagbokforfatter og dramatiker', in *Kvinner og genrer*, Eigenproduksjon, nr. 29 (Universitetet i Bergen: Nordisk Institutt, 1987), 4–22. For a discussion of literary trends, see Johan Fjord Jensen et al., *Dansk Litteraturhistorie 4: Patriotismens Tid, 1746-1807*, Dansk Litteraturhistorie (København: Gyldendal, 1983), 580ff.

²⁸⁰ See, for example, Koren: 3 February 1811.

²⁸¹ Krefting, Nøding, and Ringvej, *En pokkers Skrivesyge*, 102.

²⁸² Koren: 6 August 1813. To be exact: The portraits of Johan, Schiller and Schmidt all hung under Caroline Mathilde. Heloise and Abelard hung besides the queen.

Beyond the market

Letters and journals were not the only objects put into circulation within Koren's network of friends and family. Printed books and manuscripts circulated alongside each other, and, importantly, formed an intrinsic part of the overall economy of exchange. Koren and her network thus provide interesting glimpses into the world of books and manuscript exchanges in a time when the supply and demand of books did not operate freely on the market due to the censorship regulations governing their diffusion. Men and women of Koren's network contributed widely in what was a continual exchange of books and other written material. 151 – nearly one third – of all the entries concerning texts in Koren's journals involve a text that either has been gifted away, borrowed, sent, or been enclosed in a letter.²⁸³ Letters were written and shipped to its receiver on a weekly, and sometimes a daily, basis. Appendix II also indicates the number of actors involved in these exchanges. Although Christine Marie Cappelen, Schmidt and Pavels dominate, she has noted in all 32 different people involved in these transactions as either transporter, giver, or receiver during the period in which she penned her journals. Importantly, both men and women participated in this network of exchanges: 11 women and 21 men are mentioned. Consequently, I will argue, personal connections extending beyond the market were more important than the market itself.

The social circulation of books and manuscripts was a practice that helped to sustain personal bonds between the correspondents. As Markman Ellis has argued, the utility of communicating by exchanging written materials laid in its role in celebrating and instantiating relationships as material facts.²⁸⁴ Koren's own excitement for her ongoing exchanges was evident not only in the sheer abundance of material she set in circulation but also in the emphasis placed on reciprocating. She considered it a duty, for example, to reciprocate Stenersen's many "enrichments" to her library.²⁸⁵ Books as gifts and loans, as Natalie Zemon Davis once argued, did come with both benefits and duties.²⁸⁶ If it was a duty to reciprocate books when they were gifted or borrowed away, one of the benefits was access. These exchanges secured access to a set of texts that, in turn, facilitated the reading of the same by the same people. The overall motivation of sharing, I suggest here, was to render participation

²⁸³ See Appendix II.

²⁸⁴ Markman Ellis, 'Reading Practices in Elizabeth Montagu's Epistolary Network of the 1750s', in *Bluestockings Displayed: Portraiture, Performance and Patronage, 1730-1830*, ed. Elizabeth Eger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 215–16.

²⁸⁵ Koren: 9 October 1813.

²⁸⁶ Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France. The Prothero Lecture', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 33 (1983): 69.

in the establishment of a shared literary taste possible. Furthermore, the sharing of texts also had economic benefits. Due to the increasing difficulty of attaining books from Denmark and continental Europe following the blockade of mainland Norway, sharing texts became a way to read texts without the need to buy them.

Despite the increased accessibility of books, brought about by the expansion of printing presses and institutions such as libraries, Koren procured most of her reading materials via private channels. She did not make use of any lending libraries, despite that the book stock of lending libraries in Christiania and Drammen overlapped considerably with those mentioned in her journals.²⁸⁷ Auctions were common and immensely popular channels for the acquisition of books among the elite, yet Koren only procured a single book from one auction.²⁸⁸

Moreover, those books she did procure from the book market were transactions mostly based on her personal connections to the Copenhagen-based printers Andreas Seidelin and Johann Christian Friedrich Brummer. Even while visiting Denmark in 1802, she enlisted a friend to manage her “book commissions”, probably as an effort to procure what she wanted without disrupting her other plans.²⁸⁹ She sustained a personal relationship with Seidelin and Brummer, by corresponding with them regularly, who either dispatched books from their stocks or acquired books on the bountiful Copenhagen book market. Although they were printers, it seems that they could serve as intermediates by importing books from their international contacts and sending them to Koren. French censors working in Hamburg stopped several cases of Brummer’s books in April 1812, including a copy of Jean Paul’s *Fata und Werke* (1798) earmarked for Koren. Luckily, Christine Marie Cappelen owned a copy she happily could borrow her.²⁹⁰ In this case, Koren compromised one part of an international network of book exchanges.

Printers were not the only people in Copenhagen who operated as proxies on Koren’s behalf. Friends living in Copenhagen brought books with them on their occasional trips to Norway. Similarly, friends who visited Copenhagen or travelled elsewhere outside Norway made sure to bring books on her behest.²⁹¹ Furthermore, the correspondence between Koren and Oehlenschläger indicates the active role of Koren in the distribution of his books in

²⁸⁷ See for example the database Karin Kukkonen, and Marit Sjelmo, *Literary Fiction in Norwegian Lending Libraries in the 18th Century* (2019), distributed by National Library of Norway, <https://www.nb.no/forskning/skjonnlitteratur-i-norske-bibliotek-pa-1700-tallet/>.

²⁸⁸ Koren: 29 October 1812. On auctions, see Byberg, ‘Brukte bøker til bymann og bonde’.

²⁸⁹ Koren: 26 September 1802.

²⁹⁰ Koren: 13 April 1812.

²⁹¹ See Koren: 12 February 1813; 25 March 1811; 30 December 1812.

Norway. In a letter to Oehlenschläger, sent after her return to Norway after her stint in Copenhagen in 1802, she expressed gratitude for the books he had sent her. She also made clear that she had gathered “subscribers” for a compilation of his printed poetry. The only problem, however, was that no physical copies had appeared yet, and the subscribers’ patience had grown thin.²⁹² This was a common procedure for funding the printing of books, where authors mitigated economic risks by paying for a certain number of printed copies directly to the printers.²⁹³ Koren acted as an intermediate in the distribution of Oehlenschläger’s poetry, working on his behalf to gather funds through subscriptions. Although the scope of her role as a distributor of his poetry remains shrouded, this incident nonetheless indicates that also women could play a major role in some stages of the distribution of printed texts. On a larger level, this also proves that personal bonds and networks constituted an important factor in the dissemination of texts.

Books that Koren purchased were often distributed to the members of her network. Such exchanges were often based on the collaboration of many hands working together. In early 1810, for example, she procured books from Andreas Seidelin in Copenhagen, a transaction carried out by Niels Treschow and Cathrine Devegge. The shipment was then transported as a part of Patronelle Margrethe Møller’s (1785–1832) luggage through Sweden and consisted of letters and a “substantial bulk” (*grumme Hoben*) of both Danish- and German-language books, surmounting to a value that made Koren blush.²⁹⁴ Already the same day as the shipment arrived with Møller, Koren redirected books to Schmidt in Eiker and the Cappelen family in Drammen. None, she specified, were sent to Charlotte Lausen Bull in Christiania due to her lack of comprehension of German and her familiarity with the Danish books enclosed in the package.²⁹⁵ Personal bonds operate on at least three levels in this exchange. Firstly, the Treschows in Copenhagen acquired the books at Koren’s behest, made possible by their correspondence. Møller, a close friend, secondly, transported them to Hovind. And, thirdly and lastly, Koren dispatched a portion of the package to her friends, accompanying the packages with letters.

Koren and her friends constantly exchanged similar packages, bestowing each other with texts they otherwise could not procure on the market. These transfers were essentially “on-

²⁹² H.A. Paludan, Daniel Preisz, and Morten Borup, eds., *Breve fra og til Adam Oehlenschläger. Janaur 1798 - november 1809*, vol. 1, *Breve fra og til Adam Oehlenschläger* (København: Gyldendal boghandel nordisk forlag, 1945), 49.

²⁹³ Harald Ilsøe, *Bogtrykkerne i København og deres virksomhed, ca. 1600-1810* (København: Museum Tusculanum Forlag, 1992), 245–53.

²⁹⁴ Koren: 18 February 1810.

²⁹⁵ Koren: 21 February 1810.

demand”, prompted by requests and desires expressed in correspondence, and took many forms: Texts were exchanged per mail, delivered in person during visits, or transported with servants who shuttled their employers to various locations. Attesting to the speed of such exchanges, Koren once shipped some books to Pavels, from whom they were borrowed, and included a letter in which she “begged for new ones”. A “large book package” arrived two days later.²⁹⁶ The contents of these packages were disparate, ranging from nine volumes of August Lafontaine’s most recent novels to short printed speeches held by a priest with whom she was familiar.²⁹⁷ The distributors were women and men, all of which were fully integrated as equals in this arrangement, where participation depended solely on the content of one’s book collections and a willingness to share it with others.

Although texts were shipped to a specific person, they could circulate beyond their initial recipient. As Koren explicated, books could circulate from person to person, lender to lender, in lengthy periods, even years. She noted that her copy of Johann Friedrich Rochlitz’ *Amalias Glæder og Lidelser* (1807) had finally reached her after “many years of wandering”; at other times, she could only skim a book because it was to be shipped away the same day.²⁹⁸ Ownership was not a necessary precondition for accessing materials. Instead, access was contingent on pre-existing personal relationship and connections.

As such, this arrangement was not only enmeshed in their pre-existing relationships. It also provided an ample venue for *maintaining* relationships. After all, loans followed the flow of correspondence and depended on familiarity with the tastes of the receiver. Koren explicitly evoked this upon her reading of a collection of Swedish poetry sent to her from Cappelen, a person who, according to Koren, shared “everything great with me”.²⁹⁹ The seemingly easy operation of sharing, this episode suggest, connoted sharing in the broadest senses: Not only did sharing render the reading of the same work possible, but sharing also revealed and established common literary interest. Koren herself expressed similar sentiments on other occasions. She visited Pavels at Akershus Fortress in 1812 with whom she read a “masterpiece” of a eulogy. Indicating that it had reached Pavels in the form of a letter, Koren specified that she would make a transcript in order to make her friends “involved in it” (*delagtiggjort deri*). If any of her readers owned similar eulogies, she would “gratefully accept” them.³⁰⁰ It is suggested here that the practice of sharing rested on familiarity and occurred in the extension

²⁹⁶ Koren: 7 August, 1808; 9 August 1808.

²⁹⁷ Koren: 24 May 1811; 10 July 1813.

²⁹⁸ Koren: 21 April 1812. On skimming, see Koren: 13 March 1810; 13 October 1812.

²⁹⁹ Koren: 30 May 1810.

³⁰⁰ Koren: 21 July 1812.

of that familiarity. It became a mechanism to create a community of male and female readers, all tied together in a network continually maintained by exchanges.

Another highly personal form of exchange was the gifting of texts in diverse forms. It is worth noting that designated “gift books” burgeoned on the Danish-Norwegian book market around the turn of the nineteenth century (though they had emerged already in the 1700s), arriving in time for the gift exchanges common around New Year. Andrew Piper has contended that gift books emerged on the market at the moment when books were increasingly defined as commodities.³⁰¹ Gift books, however, were wrested out of the increasingly “anonymous circulation” of the market and put into an “intimate system of exchange between friends and family”.³⁰² Although Koren’s gifts consisted of few such publications, the books she enlisted as gifts nonetheless entered “an intimate system of exchange”. Written materials gifted away by Koren and her friends were inscribed with uniqueness.

Members of Koren’s network rendered books or written materials into personalised objects by experimenting with the objects and their materiality. For Cappelen’s birthday in September 1812, Koren gave “old Fasting’s *Provinzialblade*”, that is, Claus Fasting’s Bergen-based journal *Provinzialblade* consisting of partly his writings and mostly translated pieces, published in the years between 1778 and 1781. Adding to the gift’s value as a unique object, the printed work had been improved for the occasion by being bound together, or, as Koren put it, “received a new overdress” (*Overkiole*).³⁰³ Using the vocabulary of clothes and fashion to describe the material outlook of printed matter was common in her journals. She once, for example, praised Oehlenschläger for sending his newest writings in a “nice attire”.³⁰⁴ Her journals indicate that other books gifted away had been personalised in a similar way, attaining uniqueness by being rebound, “neatly bound”, a “pretty copy”, or a “beautiful edition”.³⁰⁵ An out of the ordinary materiality multiplied the significance of the gift. Although it had been produced as one among many, it became nothing like what it was possible to find on the market.

³⁰¹ The emergence of a commercial market spurred criticism in Denmark-Norway. The alleged immorality of a commercialised book market surfaced in some of the writings during the three years when censorship regulations were eased. On this, see Henrik Horstbøll, Ulrik Langen, and Ulrik Stjernfelt, *Grov Konfækt: Tre vilde år med trykkefrihed, 1770-1773*, vol. II (København: Gyldendal, 2020), 72–74.

³⁰² Andrew Piper, *Dreaming in Books: The Making of the Bibliographical Imagination in the Romantic Age* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 121–25.

³⁰³ Koren: 24 September 1812. A fine study of Fasting, *Provinzialblade*, and his endeavours in late-eighteenth-century Bergen is Aina Nøding, *Claus Fasting: Dikter, journalist og opplysningspioner* (Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2018).

³⁰⁴ Koren: 15 May 1811.

³⁰⁵ Koren: 6 June (marked as *Første pintsedag*) 1813; 27 July 1813; 13 November 1813; 29 July 1810.

Just as important as materiality was inscriptions or dedicatory texts that accompanied the gift itself. When Koren gave away the rebound copy of Fasting's *Provinzialblade* to Christine Marie Cappelen, she also inscribed it with a self-written poem that lauded both Koren and Cappelen. Closely linked to this special way of embellishing books was the similar practice of attaching letters containing dedications and laudatory poems. In much of the printed books published on the market, dedications had served – and continued to serve – as a standard procedure in the staging of formal power. They solidified the relationship between the written word and its legitimacy, whereby authors dedicated the work to the king (or another patron), who, by virtue of their grace and power, lent legitimacy to the work through their patronage.³⁰⁶ Whereas such dedications solidified the relationship between subject and patron, the dedications that Koren and her friends made were fashioned as markers of friendship in which they stood as equals.

Both practices were common as a part of the reciprocal gift exchange, as the journals of both Schmidt and Koren suggest. All of these small acts of writing, creating distinct books, were important in the transformation of the object from a commodity to a personalised gift. It is no accident, then, that Koren received a response after writing a “short verse” in one of Schmidt's own collections of poetry and giving it to Kirstine Marie Hertel, the wife of an assistant working with Johan Koren. Hertel attested that the act of inscription had augmented its value; it had grown “even dearer” to her, because now “there was also something from [Koren's] hand”.³⁰⁷ Schmidt's book, now marked with a personal feature by the giving end, came to serve as a powerful token of friendship between the giver and the receiver, instantiating the affinity between them. On a larger level, the practice of gifting books allows a glimpse into the uses to which books were enlisted other than reading. Books were more than the texts they contained. They were thrust into the practices of conviviality as carriers of meaning in and of themselves as tokens of affection and a shared sense of literary taste.

The economy of exchange was not limited to print, however, but also included texts in manuscript form in at least two ways. Firstly, following the flow of correspondence, it was common to translate and enclose poetry in letters. Both Koren and Schmidt translated poems from German into Danish and disseminated them to their friends via letters.³⁰⁸ Secondly, Koren

³⁰⁶ Chartier, *Forms and Meanings*, 25–43. See also Kjell Lars Berge, ‘Developing a New Political Text Culture in Denmark–Norway 1770–1799’, in *Eighteenth-Century Periodicals as Agents of Change*, ed. Ellen Krefting, Aina Nøding, and Mona Ringvej (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 172–84.

³⁰⁷ Koren: 22 March 1812.

³⁰⁸ See for example Koren: 12 March 1811. Schmidt: 4 August 1814.

translated eleven printed German novels into manuscript form, the first produced in 1807 and the last two in 1814. When Schmidt visited Copenhagen in 1811, he was able to persuade Andreas Seidelin to print her translation of August Lafontaine's *Die Beiden Bräute*, which eventually was published in 1812.³⁰⁹ Schmidt brought several other translations with him, but Johann Christian Friederich Brummer considered the financial risks of printing them to be too high.³¹⁰ Despite this general effort to have her translations printed, it is clear that the manuscripts ultimately served personal ends.

Koren also took the matter into her own hands by shipping her translation to Copenhagen. She sent her translation of *Ferdinand Warner* to Seidelin in May 1812 – or so she tried. Accompanying the translation was a letter with explanations and commands, opening with an excuse for repeatedly sending letters. She promised him “peace” if he fulfilled this one wish – only, as she specified, if *he* wanted “peace”, indicating that Koren did not mind shipping more translations to him. Passing on the wishes of her friends, she kindly asked him to print three translated novels in a specific order and to preserve the two-part structure of *Ferdinand Warner* by printing the novel as two volumes.³¹¹ No printed version appeared. However, Schmidt encouraged her on a different occasion to continue with her travails despite the fact that print was ruled out. He tried to instil hope in a letter sent to her in 1813, which Koren reproduced in her journals. When the political turmoil had ended, Schmidt advised, the time would be right:

Do not be deterred by this, dear Mother Koren, from translating Lafontaine's best works, to whom you have such a true calling. Better times are coming. When the great massacre – and it will happen soon – is over, then the peaceful Muses will again be heard and worshipped [...], and then the varied [...] homely-gentle [*huslig-blide*] and romantically powerful [*romantisk-kraftfulde*] Lafontaine will be welcome. In any case, you please your non-German speaking friends.³¹²

Especially the last sentence of this letter should be noted because it permeated Koren's own endeavours as a translator. Perhaps Schmidt even had personal motives for his encouragement as some of the manuscript translations were aimed at his wife and their kids.³¹³

³⁰⁹ Schmidt: 18 March 1811; 27 March 1811; 8 April 1811; 9 May 1811.

³¹⁰ Schmidt: 13 March 1811. These translation included *Geschichte der Gräfin Thekla von Thurn* (1788) and *Eudocia Gemahlinn Theodosius des Zweyten* (1809), both by Christiane Benedikte Naubert. See Appendix I.

³¹¹ “Ferdinand Warner den arme Fløytespiller. Af A.G. Eberhard. Oversat af Christiane Koren.” (University of Bergen Library, Marcus: Ms. 49c.) Koren's translation and the letter are now kept in Bergen, from whence they probably never departed. It is reasonable to think that Koren intended to use a middleman from Bergen to transport her package to Copenhagen.

³¹² Koren: 22 April 1813.

³¹³ Koren: May 31, 1812.

Considered as objects, these manuscripts are material manifestations of a considerable undertaking. Each translation consisted of approximately 400 handwritten pages, which she often spent three months completing.³¹⁴ Logistically, they were translated in parts, shaped to fit the economy of exchanges. It was common that novels were published in parts, and Koren translated them in rapid succession once each part reached her. This made it possible for her to distribute translations in a similar piecemeal fashion; as soon as she finished the first part, she sent it away while commencing with the next part. Although primarily aimed at non-German speaking friends – such as Charlotte Lausen Bull and her daughter, and Kirstine Hertel Møller – her translations circulated widely. While adding the finishing touches to a translation of Leisewitz’ *Julius von Tarent* in 1810, she imagined the trajectory of the manuscript. Intended to be brought with her while travelling, its first stop was in Christiania (Lausen Bull) and then Drammen (Cappelen), Eiker (Schmidt), and further; others ended up in Copenhagen.³¹⁵

Her central motivation for undertaking such a toilsome work was to increase access to central works of contemporary German literature among her non-German speaking female friends.³¹⁶ By so doing, she took on a role as a figure of authority. The translations thus converged from the otherwise reciprocal exchange of written material because they only stemmed from Koren. By combining literary knowledge and a wish to maintain a network of friends reading the same material, she sought to familiarise friends of similar taste and sentiment with a calculated corpus of literary works.³¹⁷

Koren’s own comments about her translations strengthen the idea that they came from a figure of authority. Although approving the overall literary and moral qualities of Lafontaine’s *Bertha von Waldeck* (1811), she wrote how she would amend some aspects, more specifically to “take great liberties with one of the characters [...] that I will give a little more probability and – decency”.³¹⁸ This entry suggests that her manuscript translations came to be personal renditions where she took on an active role by inscribing herself into the texts. Similarly, she assured that she would without hesitation complete Lafontaine’s *Tobias Hoppe* (1812) for her “small audience” if the author had died before its completion, as some rumours stated.³¹⁹ Even though that situation did not come to pass, Koren had not ruled the possibility out. What is more, her actions foregrounded the personal, reconfiguring the translation into a unique object

³¹⁴ See Appendix I.

³¹⁵ Koren: 1 July 1810.

³¹⁶ Koren: 29 November 1811; 31 May 1812.

³¹⁷ Her selections consisted of five works by August Lafontaine, two by Christiane Benedicte Naubert, and one each by August Kotzebue, Johann Anton Leisewitz, and Friedrich Bouterwek.

³¹⁸ Koren: August 4, 1813.

³¹⁹ Koren: 16 May 1813.

that she forged in line with her preferences. Thus, she transformed the preliminary linguistic border into a clear demarcation of taste.

The emphasis on the personal had important consequences for the material outlook of the translations. Providing access to a limited textual corpus was the ultimate goal, not getting into print. Even the one translation – Lafontaine’s *Beiden Bräute* (1808) – that Brummer eventually published in early 1812 had already circulated as a manuscript since the completion of her translation of the first part in February 1811.³²⁰ It had served its social and personal purposes before going into print, which after all was secondary. As she later corroborated upon the commencement of the translation of *Die Moralsysteme oder Ludwig von Eisach* (1812) by Lafontaine: “[The translations] have, in the attire they are, enjoyed and can still satisfy many of my loved ones, and the certainty of this has made and makes the pleasure of this amusing work [*Moroearbeyde*] doubly pleasing”.³²¹

Immersive reading

The many forms of exchange – important in themselves as maintainers of friendship – accommodated shared reading of the same texts. Turning from accommodating to reading, the remaining part of this chapter will consider Koren’s reading as fundamentally connected to the circulation of written material. Despite reading alone and in silence, Koren recorded her reading in order to cast judgment, to assess and criticise, in what was an attempt to negotiate literary quality with the readers of her journal. As Krefting, Nøding, and Ringvej have asserted, criticism and taste were the two pillars on which the emerging eighteenth-century Danish-Norwegian literary public sphere rested. New media outlets, especially the periodicals, helped overturn previous conceptions of what was the basis for assessing art and beauty, turning away from universal laws enforced by formal authorities. Eighteenth-century periodicals emboldened criticism and taste, concepts employed to distinguish good from bad, which were categories constantly remoulded and revised. If established authorities no longer held sway, something else had to replace them. With the expansion of the Danish-Norwegian literary sphere rose the importance of education as the basis through which criticism and taste could be exercised and established.³²²

Koren lacked formal education compared to her husband and most of her male friends, who had been inculcated with a “standard set” of skills and knowledge, both practical and tacit,

³²⁰ See Koren: 8 January 1811; 18 January 1811.

³²¹ Koren: 12 October 1813.

³²² These themes are discussed in Krefting, Nøding, and Ringvej, *En pokkers Skrivesyge*, 189–91, 200–203.

through attending Latin schools and university. Koren nonetheless participated but had to do so on a different basis. As already discussed in chapter 2, Schmidt contended that nature had equipped them with special competencies that made them apt to respond to and delineate emotions. Her emotions, I will argue here, formed the basis on which she cast literary judgment.

Reading connected with emotions in a type of reading best described as “immersive” – a type of reading that foregrounded the emotional experience. The contemporary discourse scorned novels for inciting excessive emotions. Even Pavels, one of Koren’s closest friends and reader of her journal, invoked this discourse, though not with the same force and intensity, in a succinct entry in his own diary. Although he did not mention emotions explicitly, he envisaged similar effects of excessive reading as outlined in the contemporary debate. He formulated a critique of Koren and women like her:

However, it is nonsense with the ladies who, like [...] Koren, make reading and writing their main subject in such a way that they have no taste for other activities. Constant chores in the kitchen and pantry [*Spisekammer*] or in the library and writing room are both bad for a wife – but one of two, the first rather than the last.³²³

In this entry, Pavels erected binaries concerning women and men. Women with a strong interest in reading and writing, like Koren, were depicted as trespassers into, quite literally, a masculine sphere. Their lack of taste (*Smag*) in typical spaces of women was a movement from activities appropriate for women to the sphere of men – where they did not belong. The true sphere of women was that which involved domestic duties and other activities associated with them. In this view, Pavels regarded reading and writing as a gateway to defying the established order.

Koren, however, did not disregard her domestic duties despite reading novels. Schmidt attested to this in his letter to the Rahbeks mentioned in chapter 2.³²⁴ More importantly still, she read and responded in order to augment her emotional competence and “human knowledge” (*Menneskekundskab*). By so doing, she legitimised emotions as productive. In her entries, Koren described the bodily reactions and emotions evoked by reading, based on the idea that those who read her journals would appreciate the circulating texts in the same manner and experience the same emotional reactions as she did. As such, her relationship to novels carried similarities to the remnants of reading Robert Darnton found in the letters of Jean Ranson (1747–unknown year of death), a late-eighteenth-century merchant from La Rochelle

³²³ Pavels: 24 March 1812.

³²⁴ Lindbæk ed., ‘Breve fra Fr. Schmidt til Kamma og Knud Lyhne Rahbek, 131.

in France. Ranson was completely immersed in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's writings, revealing that he not only read him for pleasure but, most importantly, to cope with family life, marriage, and education. In extension of these findings, Darnton suggested a fundamental change in how eighteenth-century readers related to novels, where literature became absorbed in life.³²⁵ The same relationship is evident for Koren, too. She invested her emotions into exploring literary quality, while literature itself shaped her emotions and "human knowledge". Although Koren – and Ranson, for that matter – often read alone, this practice ultimately served social ends.

Texts carried a potential to move emotionally, but those qualities did not wholly reside in the texts themselves. Their potential could only be realised and affirmed by readers – and texts of great quality had a capacity to interfere with the world outside the text: They spurred emotional reactions. Koren set out to discern and discover quality by way of the emotional capacity innate in her, treating this type of reading with seriousness, even occasionally making use of religious terms, such as "with devotion" (*med Andagt*) to describe the solemnity of her reading.³²⁶ At the heart of immersive reading was the sensation of being fully captured by the powerful pages to a point where she was completely invested in the written work. It could also include, as she once expressed after finishing Friedrich Ludwig Zacharias Werner's (1768–1823) *Söhne des Tales* (1803–04), a desire to own the text for herself: "I have now read [Werner's *Söhne*] with [devotion]. But I have to buy and own it, and read it often as I am far from understanding everything to the core, but what I grasp warms and raises my heart".³²⁷ This entry suggests that, although it had moved her once, re-reading might prove fruitful. In line with this, she often read texts many times over with the hope of discerning what she had missed during her prior readings.

Using and describing emotions became one way to present and legitimise her judgments on literary works. Importantly, the extensive circulation of books gave shape to this type of reading. Given the commonality of tears and other emotions during her sociable reading with her female friends, her emphasis on similar reactions made descriptions of her own reading a way to communicate with the members of her network. Forthwith after reading Jean Paul's *Leben des Quintus Fixlein* (1796) and detailing her own emotional response, she prepared to send the novel to her friends. It would, she wrote with great hope, "give you many wonderful

³²⁵ Darnton, 'Readers Respond to Rousseau: The Fabrication of Romantic Sensitivity', 215–56, see esp. 241 and 251.

³²⁶ Koren: 25 January 1814.

³²⁷ Koren: 7 August 1813.

moments, [and] arouse many happy tears”.³²⁸ Personal correspondence could have similar effects, too, as she once attested. A letter from Christine Marie Cappelen provided her with “soul encouragement”.³²⁹ Her detailed descriptions of the bodily reactions evoked by reading attain meaning in the context of the economy of exchanges. Such descriptions detailed how she “often had to stop to wipe away my tears”, or how the text had “often moved me to tears” or even “shaken my whole being (*mit hele Væsen*)”, to quote only a few examples.³³⁰ Such statements attested to how the texts fed back into her body. By writing about *her* experiences, she assumed that her friends would react in similar ways.

Reading this way was a solitary practice, but it ultimately had social consequences. Koren made this powerful connection between art and life, between the written word and bodily practices, explicit in a statement on Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel’s (1741-1796) *Lebensläufe in aufsteigender Linie* (1778) in which she praised it as a “treasure of human knowledge”.³³¹ The relationship between reading and life was a circular movement: The written word gave shape to life itself, and life actualised the written word. This “human knowledge” consisted of codes governing bodily comportment and speech and had to be perpetually displayed on the right occasions – especially evident during social gatherings with both familiars and strangers.³³² By using her journal as a stage on which her emotional competence could be assembled and displayed, the frequent summaries of her responses on novels should not only be regarded as expressions of attempts to improve her own competence. The summaries of bodily responses were manifestations of adherence to a particular culture and lifestyle shared with her friends. Koren’s detailed accounts of her response served thus both normative and performative ends. Utilising a gender-specific room for manoeuvre, she overcame her lack of formal education by casting judgments based on an ever-expanding emotional competence instead.

The utility of this human knowledge resided not only in its applicability during social gatherings. She also demonstrated her own virtuousness when she read about current events. Koren often employed edifying strategies when reading the news, a strategy overlapping to a considerable degree with her reading of novels. This overlap in practices is in one sense predictable: Newspapers published literary texts side by side with other texts, as they had since

³²⁸ Koren: 23 February 1809.

³²⁹ Koren: 27 April 1810.

³³⁰ Koren: 14 June 1811; 29 August 1809; 23 February 1809.

³³¹ Koren: 31 May 1813.

³³² See discussion in chapter 4.

their conception in Norway in the middle of the eighteenth century.³³³ And, as both Lyngby and Damsholt have shown, emotional gestures were important components in contemporary patriotic discourses and practices.³³⁴ A truly patriotic person cried in sorrow when the fatherland suffered and cried of joy when it triumphed.

Reading the newspaper and reading the novel could thus be two quite similar practices because the reactions they prompted were similar. One example was when Charles August (1768–1810) – a Danish-born prince who served as general and governor-general of Norway – was elected as the successor to the Swedish throne in late December 1809. Upon his departure in early 1810, he published an address in *Tiden* that Koren read.³³⁵ “With a moved heart, with true tears of wistfulness I read the honoured Christian’s farewell”, she attested to her readers.³³⁶ Similar emotions surfaced during the year 1814 on numerous occasions. For example, she openly concurred with the views – the “feelings” – expressed by anonymous authors from the Trøndelag region in a text published in *Tiden*, where they rejected the Swedish intentions to rule over Norway just because the Danish-Norwegian King was coerced into giving his lands away. Her emphasis on how the text expressed “mine, our feelings” suggests that she also thought in terms of her network and that they would elicit similar emotions.³³⁷ In December 1814, when high hopes for Norwegian independence had weaned off into acceptance of a union with Sweden, she read a poem by Frederik Schmidt dedicated to Christian Frederick with “joyful tears of wistfulness”.³³⁸ By depicting her reading in this fashion, she displayed and enacted her allegiance to the fatherland. Her reactions to reading the newspaper became solid evidence of the competence she had accumulated through reading and reacting to novels and other literary texts.

³³³ The overlap between news and fiction was also the source of friction. Koren once found it lamentable that a poem by Frederik Schmidt was published side by side non-fiction texts in a Danish newspaper. See Koren: 14 June 1811. On this overlap, see Aina Nøding, ‘Vittige kameleoner: litterære tekster i norske adresseaviser, 1763-1769’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, Oslo, Det humanistiske fakultet, Universitetet i Oslo, 2007); Aina Nøding, ‘Lysthusets diskurs – Forhandlinger i og om en gryende dansk-norsk litterær offentlighet’, *Edda* 95, no. 04 (2008): 343–54.

³³⁴ Lyngby, *Den sentimentale patriotisme*; Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, 126ff.

³³⁵ Christian August, «Normænd!», *Tiden* no. 37 (5 January, 1810), 1-4. His address made up the entire publication.

³³⁶ Koren: 8 Januar 1810.

³³⁷ Koren: 29 April 1814. The original text is «Trøndernes Følelser efterat have læst Svenske Proclamationer», *Tiden* no. 87 (26 april 1814), 100-103.

³³⁸ Koren: 22 November 1814. The same entry also contained a poem she sought to publish, but she feared that it would be rejected by the publisher of *Christiania Intelligentssedler*.

Storing passages

At the heart of the practice described above was the ability to *recognise*: To seek out the most striking passages and respond accordingly. Closely linked to this practice, Koren copied passages from literary works into her journals – passages that either revealed the quality of the text in question or had affected her, thus copied as an attempt to transmit her own response to her readers. She did this one day in November 1813, as she read a collection of poetry written by the Danish author, B.S. Ingemann (1789–1862). Many of the poems were “strong and powerful”, and one particular poem even “found echo in my soul”. Keen to share it further, she copied four stanzas of what she considered to be “one of the most beautiful pieces in the book”; she even circled the fourth stanza, because she “found it so lovely” – a circle visible in the journal (Figure 3).³³⁹ Koren clearly sought to communicate with her readers by using the material aspects of her journals to the full. She maintained the original structure of the poem while leaving a clear visible clue as to where and what she found to possess the utmost literary and emotional quality. Her journals are scattered with entries that follow the same logic: An explanation of how she had reacted followed by a transcription of its most moving section(s).

Reading to copy sections of a text was a part of learned textual and reading practices, which peaked during the late Renaissance but remained widespread until the latter part of the nineteenth century. A special form for note-taking, the practice of keeping a commonplace book – as they were known – was seemingly easy: Each time a reader stumbled upon a pithy, beautiful, or otherwise noteworthy passage in a book, the reader copied the passage into a notebook under a befitting heading for later use. The practice flourished especially among natural philosophers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and its linkage to handling scholarly information remained strong throughout the early modern period.³⁴⁰ Importantly, in parallel to its uses among early modern natural philosophers, the practice experienced a revival during the latter parts of the eighteenth century.³⁴¹ It became increasingly common among readers of literary works too – and Koren was one of them.

³³⁹ Koren: 7 November 1813.

³⁴⁰ Most succinctly discussed in Ann Blair, ‘Humanist Methods in Natural Philosophy: The Commonplace Book’, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53, no. 4 (1992): 541–51. A lengthy and brilliant study is Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

³⁴¹ David Allan, *Commonplace Books and Reading in Georgian England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Mark Towsey, “‘Observe Her Heedfully’: Elizabeth Rose on Women Writers”, *Women’s Writing* 18, no. 1 (2011): 15–33.

In a notebook penned in 1780, when she was sixteen years old, Koren collected excerpts from different works from different authors.³⁴² This is ample evidence for her participation in elite reading practices from an early age. Organised after genres, most of her entries were transcriptions from the journal “The Ordinary Danish library” (*Det almindelige danske bibliothek*). The fact that she copied mostly from a journal suggests that she sought to work against the journal’s periodicity: In a world with texts published rapidly, copying and transcribing made them much less fleeting and much more permanent as well as accessible. As was common, she equipped the commonplace book with an index, augmenting the accessibility of the texts it contained. If she for example wanted to find one of 39 odes collected, the index made this an easy task. Her commonplace book demonstrates that she was fully integrated into the reading practices of European elites. It is discernible from her journals that she kept a commonplace book in parallel to her journals, although the commonplace book itself has not survived.³⁴³ Schmidt kept a similar device with him while reading.³⁴⁴ Furthermore, both Schmidt’s and Koren’s journals became, quite literally, a *common place* of excerpts due to their lengthy sharing of written works they appreciated.

By breaking texts into fragments, “excerpting” – as Schmidt and Koren called it – favoured a discontinuous mode of reading. Although it is not clear whether they copied passages while reading or after, their discontinuous manner of reading is nonetheless apparent: While reading they scouted for passages worthy of storing away in their notebooks or journals. As such, this type of reading turned an otherwise coherent whole into one or many distillations. Moreover, it rendered the printed copy superfluous. Memorable passages were stored away in a manuscript elsewhere.³⁴⁵ Neither Koren nor Schmidt limited their “excerpting” to literary works, as both made excerpts from reviews and other criticism published in journals. Engaging with texts through “excerpting” and consuming reviews were thus two endeavours they conducted as readers and writers of journals. They did not only engage with the texts only, but with the network itself.

³⁴² “Samling af adskillige Materier i Poesien. Sammenskrevne af Christiane Birgitthe Diederichsen nu Koren. Kiøbenhavn den 16. Maj. 1780” (National Library of Norway: Ms.fol. 3910). The added information «now Koren» (*nu Koren*) suggests that she kept it well after her marriage with Johan in 1787.

³⁴³ Koren: 4 December 1810.

³⁴⁴ Koren: 4 December 1810. Schmidt: 7 August 1794; 23 September 1807; 3 October 1807; 15 March 1811; 13 April 1811; 29 April 1811.

³⁴⁵ Interestingly, reading in order to make the written work superfluous was a popular practice, especially prominent among the Haugians. They, however, had memorised religious texts by heart. On this, see Gundersen, ‘Memory and Meaning’.

Entering dialogues

The discussion of texts had initially begun as a critical enterprise in periodicals as a part of the expansion of a nascent literary public sphere in Denmark-Norway. Periodicals set out to address and negotiate literary quality by publishing reviews and inviting to the discussion.³⁴⁶ Koren and friends did the same, employing their platforms to similar ends. Their critical enterprise did not exist in opposition to the exceedingly established channels of criticism. Rather, they conducted their shared exploration of literature in conjunction with them. Both Koren and Schmidt read reviews in Danish and Norwegian periodicals and newspapers as well as the few copies of the German publication *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* they received. Such periodicals were forthwith circulated. Furthermore, Koren read scholarly treatises on drama, and Schmidt visited lectures by academics on poetry in Copenhagen.³⁴⁷

The discourse with which they were familiar from periodicals exerted some influence on their critical commentary. At one point, she even branded one of her critical assessments of a poem as a “fragment of a review” (*Recension-Fragment*).³⁴⁸ Koren assessed texts of all kinds – novels, plays, *singspiels* – with the sentiments of authority found in published criticism: One poet ruined his poem with excessive use of foreign words, making the poem rather unintelligible; another did not maintain a promising character; she castigated many writers for employing mundane narrative elements and structures.³⁴⁹

Although following the same discursive conventions, critical judgments by Koren and her friends diverged from criticism as found in contemporary printed media. For them, criticism served social ends. This had partly to do with the ways in which they shared their opinions. As conducted in the pages of their letters and circulating journals, criticism grew out of their conviviality rather than a discourse. Enclosed in letters and journals, judgments and thoughts about literature were written alongside notes about the well-being of their families and their everyday affairs.³⁵⁰ Most importantly still, Koren wanted to engage her readers in discussions and conversations. This social engagement grew out of the forms of transmission and transaction with which texts were associated. By sharing her experiences and circulating them,

³⁴⁶ Krefting, Nøding, and Ringvej, *En pokkers Skrivesyge*, 201f.

³⁴⁷ See Koren: 9 August 1812 (on Rahbek’s *Dramaturgie*); Schmidt: 8 february 1811. Some of the reviews from the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* were even translated and published in Norwegian newspapers, as Koren makes clear. See, for example, Koren: 13 April 1810 in which she commented on a review translated from Niels Wulfsberg and published in *Tiden*.

³⁴⁸ Koren: 1 November 1812.

³⁴⁹ See for example Koren: 12 March 1812; 14 February 1813;

³⁵⁰ On the overlap between conversations and correspondence, see for example Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1994), 136–82.

she also prompted affirmations from her readers concerning not only that they had received the manuscript, but also about the content itself. Koren and Schmidt documented conscientiously to whom they wrote letters and, in extension, carefully detailed from whom they received printed or manuscript books.

This is the case when Koren on one occasion procured August Lafontaine's most recent book, sent to her personally from Schmidt in Copenhagen, an acquisition itself made possible by his connection to Brummer. Reading it in a piecemeal fashion, Schmidt shared his thoughts as his reading progressed, finishing the book five days after commencing.³⁵¹ His journal and the books were probably sent together and reached Koren a month later. By the time Koren read the book, then, she was already familiar with Schmidt's opinions on it. Indeed, she even cited a passage from one of Schmidt's entries on the book, clearly marked her assent. She went on to formulate her own critique, creating a chain of opinions. Both agreed that the book was substandard in comparison to the author's overall *oeuvre*. Their communication both created and maintained a shared taste, despite their lack of physical closeness.³⁵²

If Koren did not understand a text, she did not hesitate to invite her readers to respond. In 1809, for example, Koren received two plays by Oehlenschläger in the form of letters from Cappelen. Three days after receiving them, she shared her preliminary thoughts, comparing them to the author's overall production. Whereas *Knud Lavard* (1807) was average, the other play, *Palnatoke* (1806) was promising. She was, however, unsure about the latter's theme. It seemed, she indicated, to be underdeveloped compared to some of the author's other plays. That was her opinion after a first reading, she specified, indicating hesitation to cast judgment at that specific juncture. Consequently, she invited her readers to respond, to share their opinions on the subject: "Tell me your opinion on this when you have the chance".³⁵³ She specifically asked Schmidt to share his thoughts, but every reader of the journal could respond. In this process, Koren took it for granted that they were familiar with his work to such a degree that they too could share their perspectives on the matter. Her own response to a letter received from Cappelen thus invited even more correspondence. By explicitly highlighting her doubt, she invited her readers to contribute. Instead of regarding in-person meetings as something distinct, such meetings should be discerned as one part in a much larger picture of exchanges and interactions, where actual presence and correspondence were interlinked. In this view,

³⁵¹ Schmidt: 23 April 1811; 24 April 1811; 25 April 1811; 30 April 1811.

³⁵² Koren: 29 May 1811. Schmidt: 25 April 1811.

³⁵³ Koren: 15 May 1809; 19 May 1809.

reading became a shared experience, whereby one reader negotiated with other readers in order to establish shared standards of taste and understanding.

Their shared tastes had to be maintained and managed through continuous reading and active discussion. One such controversial figure who entered their reading material and became the subject of much discussion was N.F.S. Grundtvig, whose controversial writings animated many conversations, as discussed in the previous chapter. He occupied a special place in Koren's journals after his first appearance, when she detailed her response to *Optrin af Kiæmpelivets Undergang i Nord* (1809), a work that had the typical marks of quality. She had read it with "much heartfelt [*inderlig*] pleasure", and the ending was "very satisfactory".³⁵⁴ Furthermore, the circulation of his writings indicates that the interest and admiration for Grundtvig had spread to other sections of her networks.

Attesting to the shared fondness of him, Schmidt acquired some of his newest texts while visiting Copenhagen, procuring some of them at the bourse, a vibrant marketplace for printed matter, and others through his contacts, and sent them to Christine Marie Cappelen.³⁵⁵ Among the publications that Schmidt procured was Grundtvig's newly published collection of poetry, *Nytaarsnat eller Blik paa Kristendom og Historie* (1810). Using his journal as a broadcaster to express his opinion, Schmidt gave it a favourable review, confirming the morality of the author and the poetic qualities of the texts. His emphasis on morality mirrored Koren's own foregrounding of such attributes in her readings of him, which suggests that they sought to delineate the same qualities.³⁵⁶

Schmidt even included a sample of 22 lines from *Nytaarsnat* to substantiate his opinion that "it turns out that [Grundtvig's] Christology when it is an expression of the feeling of the heart, gives a higher enthusiasm than mere naturalistic ideas".³⁵⁷ More importantly still, to share a small proportion of a poem with his readers was also an act of inclusion. By including a sample, his readers were able to discern if his opinion was reasonable vis-à-vis the text itself. Koren had read the text herself around the same period after receiving it from Christine Marie Cappelen.³⁵⁸ They read the same text with remarkable synchronicity, attesting to the shared interest in Grundtvig within the group as a whole. Their reading of Grundtvig became a shared interpretation and judgment, formulated in close dialogue with each other.

³⁵⁴ Koern: 9 July 1810.

³⁵⁵ Schmidt: 5 February 1811; 24 February 1811; 17 April 1811. The Bourse as a marketplace of books is brilliantly explored in Horstbøll, Langen, and Stjernfelt, *Grov Konfækt*, II:73ff..

³⁵⁶ Koren: 9 July 1810.

³⁵⁷ Schmidt: 25 February 1811.

³⁵⁸ Koren: 19 February 1811.

Grundtvig's status changed with the publication of *Til Dannerkongen Frederik hin Sjette paa Hans Fødselsdag den 28de Januarii 1812* (1812). As already discussed in chapter 4, Koren utilised her journal to propose a defence of him and it will not be discussed in detail here. The controversial status is clear from the many critical entries made by Pavels in his diary in which he challenged Grundtvig's "hyper-orthodoxy" that did not fare well with him.³⁵⁹ Especially his critique of *Kort Begreb af Verdens Krønike i Sammenhæng* (1812), a book he read in late March 1813, emphasised the author's wrongful interpretation of history through the lens of Protestantism.³⁶⁰

Koren read the same book around the same time, and she noted that Pavels' critique of *Verdens Krønike* had reached her as a part of the letters she received from him. Koren sought to converse with Pavels, but not by grappling with the theological critique raised by him nor the theological implications of Grundtvig's arguments. She tried, instead, to counter Pavels' claims that the author had tried to "sit on the seat of judgment of the living and dead". Grundtvig had no such intentions, according to Koren, nor any intentions to speak falsely; no traces of "personal attacks or hypocrisy" were present in the present book. He had

with deep knowledge revealed his opinions and thoughts, because he not only felt the urge to announce them but for the spirit that inspires him - (and his critics should never lose sight of it) felt compelled to do so because an inner voice – his spirit – invited him and said: "Now is the time. Step forward and speak!"³⁶¹

Koren's emphasis on Grundtvig's feeling is an interesting point because her defence of him also became a defence of *her* writing and reading practices, in which her emotionally based spirit functioned as a lodestar for legitimate expressions. She saw herself in Grundtvig's authorship, someone who poured their heart into their writings – not too different from herself. Defending his right to deliver such outpourings was ultimately a defence of herself.

She extended her conversation with Pavels into her journal, whereby she defended Grundtvig with the means she had available, whereas Pavels scorned him with what he had available. By conducting the discussion in the pages of her journal, Koren broadcasted her exchange with Pavels to the rest of the network as well. Perhaps – although this is not stated – their exchange spurred responses and rejoinders from the readers.

³⁵⁹ Pavels: 21 September 1812; 2 December 1812; 19 January 1813; 31 March 1813. None of these entries were available for other readers.

³⁶⁰ Pavels: 31 March 1813.

³⁶¹ Koren: 25 April 1813.

Such responses and rejoinders were typical of their gathering of information and news. Newspapers had been published in Norway since the 1760s, but the blockade between Norway and Denmark distributed the exchange of post and printed news, which, in turn, gave thrust to the creation of a modern Norwegian-based printing and publishing industry from 1807 and onwards.³⁶² However, as Ruth Hemstad has demonstrated in a series of fine studies, people on all sides of the political upheavals across Scandinavia employed different media to influence and agitate in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Print and manuscripts coexisted and circulated alongside each other in a transnational media landscape.³⁶³ Hemstad has also detailed how Koren responded to the Swedish and Danish propaganda endeavours in 1813 and 1814 by displaying how she followed the political events closely and that much of the circulating propaganda reached her and the network for which her journals circulated.³⁶⁴ I would add that Koren actively used her journals to gather and assess information.

Although Koren documented the reading of newspapers throughout all of her journals, they were especially prominent during periods of political turmoil, such as in 1808-09 (linked to the war between Sweden and Denmark-Norway in 1808-09) and 1814.³⁶⁵ Her reading material consisted of the primary publications found in the Christiania area, such as *Christiania Intelligentssedler*, *Budstikken*, and *Tiden*. Occasionally, she read Danish newspapers, such as *Nyeste Skilderie af Kjøbenhavn* and *Kjøbenhavnske Danske Post-Tidender*, and recorded on one occasion that she had read a newspaper from Augsburg.³⁶⁶ Their unstable supply during times of conflict made it all the more important to utilise the information that her network possessed.

Although her reading of newspapers could carry similarities with her readings, she could employ other strategies. On some occasions, she read them as a direct source for unfolding events, revealing an instrumental relationship to the written word. In essence, it was goal-oriented reading where she directly processed the text to gain information and knowledge. At the most basic level, this secured her access to writings about the events as they unfolded, and

³⁶² Martin Eide, ed., *Norsk Presses Historie, 1660-1860*, Norsk Presses Historie, 1660-2010 1 (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2010), 195ff; Rian, *Sensuren i Danmark-Norge*, 20ff.

³⁶³ Ruth Hemstad, "'Kampagnen med Blæk i stedet for Blod': Håndskrifter, trykk og opinionskamp i skandinavisk offentlighet, 1801-1814', *Sjuttonhundratal, Nordic Yearbook for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 14 (2017): 104-26; Ruth Hemstad, *Propagandakrig. Kampen om Norge i Norden og Europa 1812-1814* (Oslo: Nota Bene, Nasjonalbibliotekets skriftserie, 2014). On the circulation of manuscripts more generally in eighteenth-century Denmark, see Christina Holst Færch, *Smædeskrifter, sladder og erotiske vers i 1700-tallet: Hans Nordrups forfatterskab med et udvalg af hans digte* (København: Museum Tusculanum, 2019).

³⁶⁴ Hemstad, 'Pamfletter, proklamasjoner og propaganda'.

³⁶⁵ See also Appendix II.

³⁶⁶ Koren: 12 February 1812.

her entries were shaped accordingly. She specified the name of the publication – and often the date of its publication – and what information it provided her. This information ranged from Napoleon’s military campaign to notes about the deaths of acquaintances or the employment of new chaplains in Christiania.

News and information came from a whole host of sources. Much of it reached her through her correspondence, some of which she shared with her readers if the correspondent provided information they could not acquire elsewhere. She shared, for example, the broad outline of a letter from Christoffer Anker Bergh, a close friend, which detailed the fall of the French army in Russia. Koren explained, furthermore, that “after all I hear and understand, this news must be less than comforting to *us*”.³⁶⁷ The same day, she utilised her journals to conjoined the information provided in two different letters – from Pavels and Christine Marie Cappelen – concerning the bankruptcy of a trading house in London. The emphasis on “us” highlights the collective dimension of gathering news. Because this news had reached her in a private form, she found it imperative to disseminate it further, thus revealing her intentions of creating an equally well-informed network. This collective dimension is also revealed in the sociable reading of newspapers she occasionally conducted with visitors or as a visitor. She made sure to detail what they read together in these entries, too.³⁶⁸

Koren occupied an especially prominent role as a distributor and compiler of news in the year 1814, when printed information, rumours, and opinions proliferated widely and alongside each other. She asked her stewards who visited Christiania to bring rumours with them home, and she wrote entries detailing the content of the rumours she had received. Friends brought rumours with them while visiting Hovind, like Anne Margrehte Hiort (1776–year of death unknown) did in March 1814.³⁶⁹ When events unfolded rapidly and the flow of information from newspapers were unstable, Koren utilised her journal to collect what she received, be it oral rumours, letters, or notices from newspapers.

She juxtaposed information from letters, rumours, and newspapers to assess their validity. Koren actively sought to discern accuracy and verisimilitude – and she undertook such travails openly in the pages of her journals. To this end, she devoted time and place in her journals to systematise her reading of newspapers while simultaneously juxtaposing the information they provided with rumours and correspondence. Thus, her friends contributed with the information they possessed. All of the members of her network possessed information

³⁶⁷ Koren: 22 November 1812. Emphasis added.

³⁶⁸ See, for example, Koren: 21 June 1814.

³⁶⁹ Koren: 28 March 1814.

that they received from their channels – hearsay and letters, for example – and by spreading it further, to Koren specifically, all contributed to the formation of shared knowledge and information within the network at large.

In this chapter, I have delineated Koren's reading as a part of their extended conversations and the economy of exchanges. Books and texts circulated widely among the members of Koren's reading as both gifts and loans. While this circulation was meaningful in itself – it instantiated their friendships as material facts – it also made it possible for them to cultivate shared literary tastes: Sharing synchronised their reading. Koren's translations of novels into manuscripts is consistent with these efforts to synchronising their reading, as she translated to give her non-German speaking friends access to what they otherwise could not access. In line with these efforts, they documented their reading; Koren and Schmidt utilised their journal, their friends made use of letters. Describing her emotional reactions became Koren's procedure to present her judgments on literature. Reading and emotions constituted elements in her efforts to expand her "human knowledge", which legitimised this type of reading. Furthermore, this chapter also delineated how Koren and Schmidt used their journal as commonplace books in which they transcribed parts of texts they found worthy of sharing. In turn, she used these fragments to communicate with her network in order to cast judgments. They extended their conversations. Moreover, she assembled news and rumours from different sources in her journal in order to establish common information and knowledge about current affairs.

6. Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated the value of Koren's textual production as an entrance to understanding aspects pertaining to elite culture in the Christiania area in the period between 1798 and 1815. I have studied her journals systematically to understand the ways in which texts of different genres and forms related to the social lives of members belonging to the Norwegian elite. By bringing the totality of Koren's textual production into view, I have highlighted the possibilities of women to participate as readers, transcribers, listeners, performers, and discussers of a large textual corpus. Her textual production – made accessible in its entirety for the first time – has made it possible to analyse dimension unexplored and understudied in the Norwegian historiographies of books, reading, and elite culture. Women's possibilities to participate in the growing forms of sociability were limited. Holding the household as a locus of sociable activities up to view, I have illuminated the interconnections between social practices and the written word within the frame of conviviality.

The second chapter served as a background chapter in which I described two fundamental changes in eighteenth-century Denmark-Norway. Associations, clubs, and lodges were organised arenas of sociability, structured around different goals and objectives. With some exceptions, women were excluded. One arena open for women was the theatre, which was warranted by the conviction that women and men could cultivate sensibility by using their bodies. By implication, some regarded reading as an inferior way to cultivate sensibility and education. The chapter moved on to survey the controversy surrounding women readers, whose reading of novels attracted considerable disdain, and the expanding book market in the eighteenth century. Whereas female attendance and participation at theatres were warranted by their special emotional capacities, the reading of fiction became controversial for the same reasons. The novel, some critics argued, could at worst incite negative emotions, causing women to disintegrate and neglect their domestic duties. Schmidt, however, argued that women's emotional competence was a strength and capacity.

The third chapter grappled with the role of reading involving members of Koren's household. Despite a large number of servants, Koren never read aloud to them or vice versa. Instead, I suggested, most reading involved family members. As was expected of Koren, given her authorial position within the household, she managed the education of her children generally and her daughter specifically. Much less expected, Koren exposed her daughters to novels. Although it is well-known that girls of the elite received education at home, this chapter

delved into the uses of reading to those educative ends. The ability to read went beyond the mere ability to decipher letters, I suggested, because reading entailed the refinement of emotional competence and bodily comportment. Closely interlinked to this refinement was the reading of novels specifically, which was in its contemporary context highly controversial, especially for young girls. Despite the modest number of children's books, increasingly singled out on the market as distinctive books and periodicals, her children's reading material consisted of novels, thus overlapping considerably with Koren's own reading material. Moreover, Koren was highly aware of the controversial nature of novels and what they could do in the hands of an unguarded, young reader. Through her educative practice, she sought to mitigate the potential risk inherent in reading novels by linking reading with morality. Reading aloud made it possible for her to supervise content and her daughters' reactions. When Koren read novels aloud, her daughters displayed emotions. By engaging actively with the texts they were presented, her daughters cultivated their own emotionality, which, in turn, helped them become worthy members of the elite. The emphasis on this type of literature proves that they were brought up to conform to the tastes of their mother's network.

Whereas the third chapter focused on members of the household, the fourth chapter delineated another aspect of their conviviality, namely the social uses of the written word during gatherings between friends in their respective households. I started by analysing gatherings that included women only. Koren and her female friends, I argued, read for different purposes. They read novels together in order to negotiate literary taste in two different ways. When they read novels aloud, as they frequently did, those present displayed their emotions, which coincided with recognising literary quality. Discussions were also common. All of these activities foregrounded the collective; they conducted these matters together. Women also constituted important functions in the transmission of new literary works. Koren obtained a transcript of a play by Oehlenschläger from a woman and shared it further with many of her female friends. Reading for obtaining information about the undertakings of friends was also common; here, they read transcribed speeches and correspondence, testifying to their proliferation. Moreover, the chapter also charted the uses of the written word in mixed-gender gatherings. In line with the relaxed gender norms that characterised the conviviality of Koren's network, men and women read together, sung together, discussed literature, and composed social texts. Although Koren noted that the men "lectured", which might imply the presence of gendered structure, I interpreted that term to denote competence instead. Women in general and Koren, in particular, participated in all of these activities, as writers and interlocutors. They employed the written word to articulate their ties of friendship.

The fifth and last chapter grappled Koren's reading, ostensibly silent and solitary, and the place it occupied in her network's economy of exchange, consisting of both texts and correspondence. Koren utilised her journal to extend her presence. The proliferation of texts followed trajectories that went beyond the established book market. Personal bonds and connections secured women and men access to texts by way of borrowing and gifting away. When books were enlisted as gifts, they were vested with uniqueness by its giving end – they were rendered into a personalised object. More uniquely still was Koren's endeavours as a translator. She translated eleven novels into Danish. Only one of them went into print, but all of them – including the one published – circulated within her network. The overall circulation of both printed and manuscript texts enabled synchronicity: The members of the network could read the *same*, which in turn made it possible for them to discuss these texts at the same time. The chapter proceeded to Koren's own reading, which was partly legitimised by a special emotional capacity allotted to women, and her detailed descriptions of emotional responses attested to literary quality. She also read to single out passages from books by using strategies well known on the continent, such as the commonplace book. Her uses of a commonplace book placed her at the heart of continental, elite ways of reading. All of her reading, I argued, served social ends. After reading a particular work, she invited responses from the readers of her journal, aided by the rapid dissemination of texts within the network and correspondence. Similarly, she also utilised her journal as a way to verify news by compiling intelligence from correspondence and newspapers in order to delineate information about current events.

Historiographical contributions

In terms of contribution to ongoing historiographical debates, this thesis has enriched and expanded the historiographies of the elite culture, reading, and books. I have shown how historians can get a fuller view of actors and spaces associated with literary undertakings by employing the term *conviviality*. Among the actors that have appeared in this study are women, who participated actively. They rarely entered arenas of sociability, and their literary activities rarely entered the world of print, but that did not mean that they were disconnected from their contemporary literary world. Much of the historiography on the elite culture has focused on a small section of the elite in Christiania or the forms of sociability in this period. Intellectual heritage, goals, activities, and organisational practices have been at the centre of historians working on arenas of sociability. There are good reasons to study these aspects as their emergence in the eighteenth century and later influence prompt explanations and exploration.

This thesis has tried to illustrate how this research can be expanded by including the practices of conviviality.

Secondly, this thesis has explored the place of reading in an early nineteenth-century context by highlighting its social character. Reading and other uses of texts were social activities in the context of early-nineteenth-century Norway. Members of Koren's network read aloud, discussed, and shared what they read. Even reading alone, I have suggested, had social ends, as clearly exemplified by Koren, through the utility of her commonplace book, journals, and correspondence.

I have tried to move beyond the studies of book ownership and market transactions, which has occupied much of the existing book historical scholarship. The social aspects I have highlighted as prominent in the case of Koren's network are complementary to this research, though my findings complicate the questions of ownership and access. I have drawn attention to the flow of books and other texts in channels that evaded the regulated and regular book market. Thus, ownership cannot be equated with access, but ought to be conceptualised as much more fluid to capture how members of the elite accessed texts. Moreover, manuscript and printed texts existed alongside each other in this context. Similarly, occasional poetry and other social texts written by members of the network coexisted with literary texts by established authors from the continent and the dual monarchy.

By including all forms and genres of the written word, be they manuscript or printed, a more comprehensive understanding of actors, forms of participation, and spaces can be made. Such an "inclusive" approach makes the possible fields of inquiry bigger and more exhaustive. Throughout this thesis, I have highlighted the role of women in conviviality as writers, transcribers, debaters, and translators – in short, as central nodes in a network that spanned widely into the Christiania elite.

Illustrations

Figure 1



Figure 1: A silhouette of Koren and her family, made by Werner Christie in 1810 (see Koren: 13 March 1810). From left to right: Christiane, Caroline Mathilde, Anna Maria, Jess and Johan – and portraits of Claus Wilhelm (d. 1808) and Sara Jessine (d. 1808), respectively.

Photo: Courtesy of the National Library of Norway.

Figure 2



Figure 2: A sampler made in 1806, creator unknown.

The writing reads: "Gud lad mig i din Kunskab fremmes at det jeg lærre ikke glemmes"
("God, let me be developed in your knowledge so that what I learn is not forgotten")

Photo: Courtesy of Frode Larsen, Nasjonalmuseet.

Figure 3

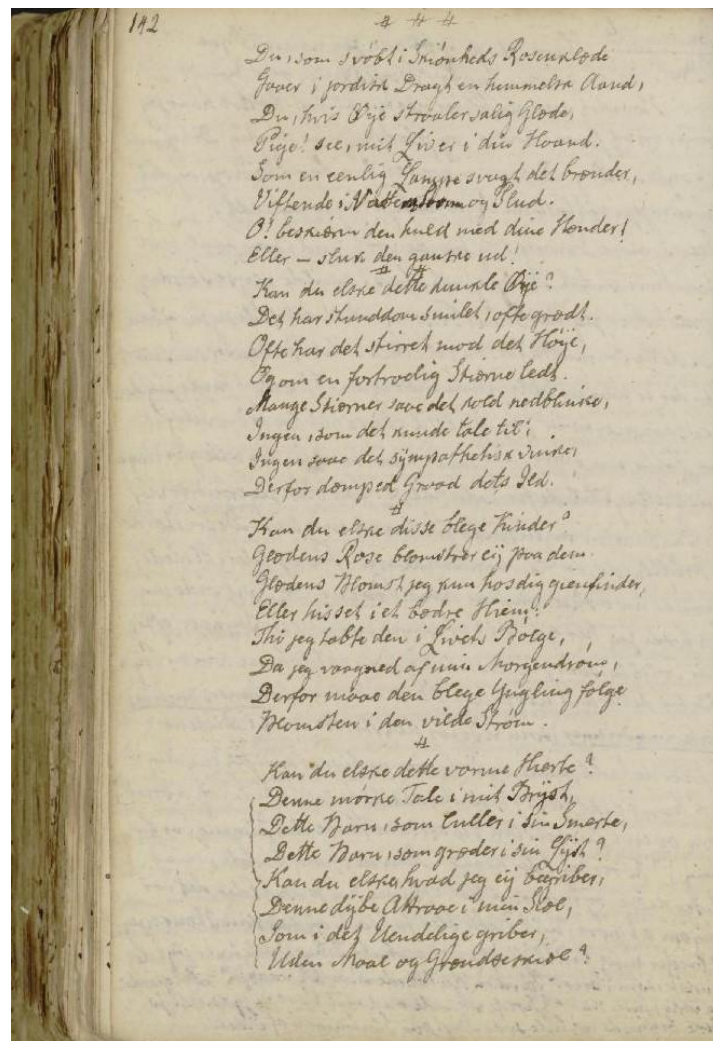


Figure 3: Koren marking out passages for her readers. The last stanza is circled; it was “the loveliest”. A transcription of a poem from B.S. Ingemann’s *Procne: En Samling af Digte* (1813) in Koren’s journal. Entry dated 7 November 1813.

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Appendix I: Christiane Koren's textual production

This list comprises both printed texts and manuscripts. I have also included manuscripts mentioned in her journals that now are lost.

Mentions of her translations in her journals are also indicated in the same reference style as the rest of this thesis.

1780

“Samling af adskillige Materier i Poesien. Sammenskrevne af Christiane Birgitthe Diederichsen, nu Koren. Kiøbenhavn den 16. Maj. 1780”. 238 manuscript pages. (Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo: Ms.fol.3910: N:2).

1798

“Reisedagbok fra turen til Hurdalen 1798”. 17 manuscript pages. (Det Kongelige Bibliotek i København: Arkivet etter Adam Oehlenschläger/NKS 1674 folio/vol. III/læg 2).

1800

“Til en Furu, som stod hentørret og eensom paa en Fjeldtange i Øjeren i November 1795”, *Hermoder, et norsk periodisk Skrift* 5, no. 13 (1800), 52-53.

“I en ung Piges Stambog”, *Hermoder, et norsk periodisk Skrift* 5, no. 13 (1800), 53.

“I min Datters Stambog ved hendes Afreise til Kjøbenhavn”, *Hermoder, et norsk periodisk Skrift* 5, no. 13 (1800), 53-55.

1802

”Dagbog for Kristiane Koren paa en Reyse fra Norge til Dannemark begynt den 6te September 1802”. 108 manuscript pages. (Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo: Ms.8° 3866).

1803

Dramatiske Forsøg ved Kristiane Koren, med en Fortale af Professor K.L. Rahbek (Kjøbenhavn: Trykt og forlagt af Andreas Seidelin, 1803).

1804

“Astrid og Gevar”, *Nytaarsgave 1805*, ed. Simon Poulsen (Copenhagen, 1804), 58-65.

“Sang”, *Nytaarsgave 1805*, ed. Simon Poulsen (Copenhagen, 1804), 72-73.

“Ved en ædel Kones Grav”, *Nytaarsgave 1805*, ed. Simon Poulsen (Copenhagen, 1804), 99
100.

“Til den altid Muntre”, *Nytaarsgave 1805*, ed. Simon Poulsen (Copenhagen, 1804), 105 106.

“De Følsomme”, *Nytaarsgave 1805*, ed. Simon Poulsen (Copenhagen, 1804), 123-126.

“I en Stambog”, *Nytaarsgave 1805*, ed. Simon Poulsen (Copenhagen, 1804), 159.

1805

“Romance”, *Nytaarsgave 1806*, ed. Simon Poulsen (Copenhagen, 1805), 1-10.

“Graveren ved sin eneste Datters Grav”, *Nytaarsgave 1806*, ed. Simon Poulsen
(Copenhagen, 1805), 11-17.

“Til en Veninde i en Souvenir”, *Nytaarsgave 1806*, ed. Simon Poulsen (Copenhagen, 1805),
72-73.

“Scener af Thora, eller den 2den April 1801. Et lyrisk Skuespil”, *Minerva* (1805).¹

1805-1808

“Christiane Koren Dagbog 1805-08” [diary for 7-18 August 1805 and 24 March – 9
September 1808]. 250 manuscript pages. (Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo: Ms.8° 1464: 1).

1807

“Thekla von Thurn, eller Scener af Trediveaars Krigen. Oversat efter den i Leipzig 1788
udkomne Udgave”. Original: Christiane Benedikte Naubert, *Geschichte der Gräfin
Thekla von Thurn* (first published in 1788). 391 manuscript pages. (Specialsamlingene
ved Universitetsbiblioteket i Bergen, Marcus: Ms. 49a).

¹ Unfortunately, I have not been able to track the precise issue.

1808-1809

“Christiane Koren Dagbog 1808-09” [10 September 1808 – 31 December 1809]. 436 manuscript pages. (Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo: Ms.8° 1464: 2).

1809

“Eudocia Theodosius den Andens Gemalinde. En Tildragelse fra det femte Aarhundrede. Af forfatterinden til Walther von Montbary , Thekla v. Thurm, Herman von Elma etc.”. Original: Christiane Benedikte Naubert, *Eudocia Gemahlinn Theodosius des Zweyten: Eine Geschichte des fünften Jahrhunderts* (first published in 1806). 337 manuscript pages. See Koren: 1 September 1808, 22 April 1809. (Specialsamlingene ved Universitetsbiblioteket i Bergen, Marcus: Ms. 49b).

1809-1810

“Christiane Koren Dagbog 1809–1810” [24 February 1809 – 31 December 1810]. 436 manuscript pages. (Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo: Ms.8° 1464: 3).

1810

“Julias af Tarent”. Original: Johann Anton Leisewith, *Julius von Tarent* (first published in 1774). See Koren: 1 July, 5 July 1810. Manuscript lost.

1811

“Christiane Koren Dagbog 1811”. 228 manuscript pages (Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo: Ms.8° 1464: 4).

“Samlede Digte [collection of her poetry]. 394 manuscript pages. (Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo: Ms.8° 342).

“Ferdinand Warner den arme Fløytespiller, af A.G. Eberhard. Oversat af Christiane Koren. 1811”. Original: August Gottlob Eberhard, *Ferdinand Warner, der arme Flötenspieler* (first published in 1802). See Koren: 27 October, 13 November, 29 November, 3 December, 6 December, 22 December 1811. 308 manuscript pages. (Specialsamlingene ved Universitetsbiblioteket i Bergen, Marcus: Ms. 49c).

«*De tvende Brude*». Original: August Lafontaine, *Die beiden Bräute* (first published in 1808). See Koren: 8 January (beginning), 10 January, 14 January, 18 January, 2 February, 12 March 1811 (translation finished). Manuscript lost.

1812

“Christiane Koren Dagbog 1812” [1 January – 30 June 1812]. 222 manuscript pages. (Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo: Ms.8° 1464: 5).

“Christiane Koren Dagbog 1812” [1 July – 31 December 1812]. 238 manuscript pages. (Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo: Ms.8° 1464: 6).

“Samlede Digte” [collection of her poetry]. 452 manuscript pages. (Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo: Ms.8° 576).

“Samlede Digte” [collection of her poetry]. 131 manuscript pages. (Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo: Ubehandlet 336).

“Majadalen” [poem]. See Koren: 13 January 1812. 15 manuscript pages. (Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo: Ms.8° 3189).

De tvende Brude, oversat af Kristiane Korn [sic.], *Tre Dele* (København: Trykt paa Andreas Seidelins Forlag hos Z. Breum, 1812).

“Leontine”. Original: August von Kotzebue, *Leontine de Blondheim* (first published in 1808). See Koren: 28 August, 11 October 1812. Manuscript lost.

1813

“Christiane Koren Dagbog 1813”. 396 manuscript pages. (Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo: Ms.8° 1464: 7).

“Moralsystemene eller Ludvig von Eisach. Af Lafontaine. Oversat af Christiane Koren”. Original: August Lafontaine, *Die Moralsysteme oder Ludwig von Eisach* (first published in 1812). See Koren: 12 October, 15 November, 5 December, 16 December 1813. 187 manuscript pages. (Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo: Ms.8° 3089).

“Borgersind og Familiekiærlighed, eller Tobias Hoppe. Af Lafontaine. Oversat af Christiane Koren”. Original: August Lafontaine, *Bürgersinn und Familienliebe, oder Tobias Hoppe* (first published in 1812). See Koren: 22 April, 5 May, 16 May, 5 June, 30 July 1813. 334 manuscript pages. (Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo: Ms.8° 3090).

“Berta v. Waldeck”. Original: August Lafontaine, *Die Gefahren der großen Welt oder Bertha von Waldeck* (first published in 1811). See Koren: 4 August 1813. Manuscript lost.

1814

“Dagbog holden fra 29. juli til 12. august 1814”. (Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo: Ms.8° 346). Only 21 pages of these journals are known today.

“Corelia eller Grevens Hemmelighder af forfatterinden til Thekla von Thurm, Walter von Montberry, Eudocia, Herman von Elma etc. Oversat og omarbeydet af Christiane Koren. 1814”. Translation of original: Christiane Benedikte Naubert, *Corelia: oder, die Geheimnisse des Grabes* (first published in 1803). 315 manuscript pages. (Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo: Ms.8° 344).

“Grev Donamar. En samling af Breve fra Syvaarskrigen i Tydskland. Oversat af det Tydske ved Christiane Koren. 1814”. Translation of original: Friedrich Bouterwek, *Graf Donamar, eine Geschichte aus der Zeit des Siebenjahrigen Krieges in Deutschland* (first published in 1791-1793). 240 manuscript pages. (Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo: Ms.8° 342).

1815 (published post-humously)

“Venskab eller – hvad man vil”, *Nor. En poetisk Nytaarsgave for 1816*, ed. Conrad N. Schwach (Christiania: Forlagt af J. O. Campe, trykt hos J. Lehmann, 1816), 61-68.

“I Anledning af det Foregaaende”, *Nor. En poetisk Nytaarsgave for 1816*, ed. Conrad N. Schwach (Christiania: Forlagt af J. O. Campe, trykt hos J. Lehmann, 1816), 69-71.

“Til Venskab”, *Nor. En poetisk Nytaarsgave for 1816*, ed. Conrad N. Schwach (Christiania: Forlagt af J. O. Campe, trykt hos J. Lehmann, 1816), 72-74.

“Dømmer ikke, at I ei skulle vorde dømte”, *Nor. En poetisk Nytaarsgave for 1816*, ed. Conrad N. Schwach (Christiania: Forlagt af J. O. Campe, trykt hos J. Lehmann, 1816), 75.

“Medfølelse”, *Nor. En poetisk Nytaarsgave for 1816*, ed. Conrad N. Schwach (Christiania: Forlagt af J. O. Campe, trykt hos J. Lehmann, 1816), 76.

“Til Søvn”, *Nor. En poetisk Nytaarsgave for 1816*, ed. Conrad N. Schwach (Christiania: Forlagt af J. O. Campe, trykt hos J. Lehmann, 1816), 77-78.

“Yndlingen, Romance”, *Nor. En poetisk Nytaarsgave for 1816*, ed. Conrad N. Schwach (Christiania: Forlagt af J. O. Campe, trykt hos J. Lehmann, 1816), 79-97.

“Den himmelske Have”, *Nor. En poetisk Nytaarsgave for 1816*, ed. Conrad N. Schwach (Christiania: Forlagt af J. O. Campe, trykt hos J. Lehmann, 1816), 98-101.

“Saras Navnedag”, *Nor. En poetisk Nytaarsgave for 1816*, ed. Conrad N. Schwach
(Christiania: Forlagt af J. O. Campe, trykt hos J. Lehmann, 1816), 102-105

Appendix II: Books and texts mentioned in Christiane Koren's journals

This is a chronological overview of all books and texts mentioned in Koren's journals. I have also included texts and books that she did not mention by title or author.

An asterisk * denotes a direct translation of the entry.

| | Title | Author | Situation | Appearance |
|----|--|-------------------------------|--|--|
| 1 | <i>Aristipp und einige seiner Zeitgenossen</i> (fiction) | Christoph Martin Wieland | Gift | 3 October 1802 5 November 1802 |
| 2 | <i>Julius von Tarent</i> (fiction) | August Lafontaine | | 7 October 1802 |
| 3 | <i>Der Messias</i> (poetry) | Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock | | 25 October 1802 |
| 4 | <i>Carl Grandison</i> (fiction) | Samuel Richardson | Read by Sara Koren | 28 October 1802 |
| 5 | German Musenalmanak* (compilation) | | | 2 November 1802 |
| 6 | Almanak* (compilation) | | Gift from Oehlenschläger | 20 November 1802 |
| 7 | <i>Den 11. Junii</i> (play) | Ludvig Holberg | Read aloud by Oehlenschläger | 20 November 1802 |
| 8 | <i>Numa Pompilius</i> (fiction, trans.) | Jean-Pierre Claris de Florian | | 22 November 1802 |
| 9 | <i>Barselstuen</i> (play) | Ludvig Holberg | Read aloud by Oehlenschläger | 23 November 1802 |
| 10 | Holberg's comedies* | Ludvig Holberg | Read aloud by Oehlenschläger | 8 December 1802 |
| 11 | Poetry* | Adam Oehlenschläger | Read aloud by Oehlenschläger | 17 December 1802 |
| 12 | "Urania" (poetry, trans.) | Christoph August Tiedge | Read aloud by Schmidt Read aloud by Schmidt | 15 August 1805 6 May 1809 29 February 1812 |

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| | | | Enclosed in letter from C.M. Cappelen | 20 February 1813 |
| 13 | <i>Wallensteins Lager</i> (trans., fiction) | Friedrich Schiller | Performed by Schmidt | 27 February 1808 |
| 14 | <i>Unsichtbare Loge</i> (fiction) | Jean Paul | | 29 February 1808 14 February 1809 |
| 15 | <i>Arbeten</i> (compilation) | Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna | Lectured by Schmidt | 3 March 1808 |
| 16 | Books from a lending library in Drammen* | | | 8 March 1808 |
| 17 | <i>Paul et Virginie</i> (trans., fiction) | Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre | | 9 March 1808 |
| 18 | “Ode til Søvn” (poetry) | Peter Harboe Frimann | | 4 April 1808 |
| 19 | Barneck og Saldorf (fiction) | August Lafontaine | | 12 April 1808 |
| 20 | <i>Christiania Intelligentssedler</i> (news.) | | | 22 April 1808 |
| 21 | <i>Budstikken 5 & 6</i> (news.) | | | 27 April 1808 |
| 22 | <i>Biographische Belustigugen unter der Gehirnschaale einer Riesin</i> (biography) | Jean Paul | | 28 April 1808 |
| 23 | <i>Luise</i> (fiction, trans.) | Johann Heinrich Voss | Gift to Anne Cathrine Cappelen | 3 May 1808 5 December 1808 |
| 24 | <i>Die Rauber</i> (play, trans.) | Friedrich Schiller | | 4 May 1808 |
| 25 | <i>Christiania Intelligentssedler</i> (news.) | | | 5 May 1808 |
| 26 | <i>Walther von Montbarry</i> (fiction) | Christine Naubert | Gift to C.M. Cappelen | 8 May 1808 |

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|----|---|---------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| 27 | <i>Geschichte der Gräfin Thekla von Thurn</i> (fiction) | Christine Naubert | Gift to C.M. Cappelen | 8 May 1808 |
| 28 | <i>Christiania Intelligentssedler</i> (news.) | | | 8 May 1808 |
| 29 | <i>Herbsttag. Leichter Sinn</i> (play) | August Wilhelm Iffland | | 9 May 1808 |
| 30 | Hoppet og oskuldens Religion* | Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna | Borrowed to Jenny Ekholm | 12 May 1808 |
| 31 | <i>Les Confessions</i> (biography, trans.) | Jean-Jacques Rousseau | | 16 May 1808 |
| 32 | <i>Budstikken</i> no. 13 (news.) | | Read aloud by Frederikke Borschenius (Plogstad) | 16 May 1808 |
| 33 | “Tochter der Natur” (poetry) | August Lafontaine | | 16 May 1808 |
| 34 | <i>Tiden</i> (news.) | | | 16 May 1808 |
| 35 | <i>Heinrich von Ofterdingen</i> (fiction) | Novalis | Cited in journal | 18 May 1808 1 May 1811 |
| 36 | <i>Budstikken</i> (news.) | | | 19 May 1808 |
| 37 | <i>Christiania Intelligentssedler</i> (news.) | | | 19 May 1808 |
| 38 | Svogre* | August Lafontaine | | 25 May 1808 |
| 39 | Poetry in <i>Der Wandsbecker Bothe</i> (poetry) | Matthias Claudius | | 25 May 1808 |
| 40 | <i>Aristomenes und Gorgus</i> (fiction, trans.) | August Lafontaine | | 30 May 1808 |
| 41 | <i>Budstikken</i> 2 & 23 (news.) | | | 1 June 1808 |
| 42 | <i>Budstikken</i> (news.) | | | 2 June 1808 |
| 43 | Newspapers from Denmark, from March and April* | | | 2 June 1808 |
| 44 | <i>Thekla</i> (play) | Friedrich Schiller | | 2 June 1808 |
| 45 | <i>Budstikken</i> 24 (news.) | | | 11 June 1808 |

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|----|--|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|
| 46 | Unspecified books* | | Borrowed from Pavels | 18 June 1808 |
| 47 | Poetry in <i>Tilskueren</i> (periodical) | Frederik Høegh-Guldberg | | 25 June 1808 |
| 48 | <i>Christiania Intelligentssedler</i> (news.) | | | 25 June 1808 |
| 49 | <i>Budstikken</i> (news.) | | | 27 June 1808 |
| 50 | <i>Tiden</i> (news.) | | | 27 June 1808 |
| 51 | <i>Hamlet</i> (play) | William Shakespeare | | 27 June 1808 |
| 52 | <i>Budstikken</i> (news.) | | | 28 June 1808 |
| 53 | “The weekly” [Ugebladet]* (news.) | | | 30 June 1808 |
| 54 | <i>Christiania Intelligentssedler</i> (news.) | | | 9 July 1808 |
| 55 | Barbrüks Landreise nach Italien* | | | 10 July 1808 |
| 56 | Newspapers* | | | 23 July 1808 |
| 57 | Hær Marsch* (poetry) | | Enclosed in letter from Schmidt | 23 July 1808 |
| 58 | <i>Budstikken no. 39 & 40</i> (news.) | | | 24 July 1808 |
| 59 | <i>Amalias Glæder og Lidelser</i> (trans., fiction) | Johann Friedrich Rochlitz | | 27 July 1808 |
| 60 | <i>Fredrichhalds Beleyring</i> (play) | Cornelius Enevold Steenbloch | Borrowed from C.M. Cappelen | 4 August 1808 |
| 61 | <i>Die falschen Spieler</i> (play) | Friedrich Maximillian Klinger | | 14 August 1808 |
| 62 | <i>Les Incas</i> (fiction, trans.) | Jean-Francois Marmontel | | 16 August 1808 |
| 63 | <i>Moritz Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde</i> (periodical) | | | 21 August 1808 |
| 64 | <i>Eudocia</i> (fiction) | Christine Naubert | | 25 August 1808 |
| 65 | Odes* | Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock | | 26 August 1808 |

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|----|--|--------------------------------|--|----------------------|
| 66 | <i>Christiania Intelligentssedler</i> (news.) | | | 27 August 1808 |
| 67 | <i>Einar Thambeskjælver</i> (play) | Johan Nordahl Brun | | 5 September 1808 |
| 68 | “A whole load of books”* | | Gift to Jenny Ekholm | 6 September 1808 |
| 69 | Unknown (trans.) | Nikolaj Karamzin | Gift from friends in Copenhagen | 8 September 1808 |
| 70 | <i>Gedichte</i> (poetrys) | Friedrich von Matthisson | Gift to C.M. Cappelen | 21 September 1808 |
| 71 | <i>Historisk Udsigt over Norges Skiebne i den syvaarige nordiske Krig: et Indbydelsesskrift til den offentlige Examen i Christiania Kathedralskole den 19 September 1808</i> (non- fiction) | Ludvig Stoud Platou | Lectured by Schmidt | 21 September 1808 |
| 72 | <i>Algemeine Literatur Zeitung</i> (periodical) | | | 26 September 1808 |
| 73 | <i>Moritz Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde</i> (periodical) | | Borrowed from Pavels | 23 October 1808 |
| 74 | <i>Linus Ferien, oder Sammlung verschiedener Aufsätze zu nützlicher und anregender Unterhaltung</i> (periodical) | | Borrowed from Anne Cathrine Cappelen | 24 October 1808 |
| 75 | <i>Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie</i> | Johann Gottfried von Herder | | 24 October 1808 |
| 76 | New Year’s gift to ladies* | | Gift to C.M. Cappelen | 29 October 1808 |
| 77 | «Predigt bey Gelegenheit einer todtgebohren Prinzessinn 1781» (poetry, trans.) | Johann Gottfried von Herder | Read aloud by Schmidt | 16 November 1808 |
| 78 | <i>Zarine</i> (play) | Johan Nordahl Brun | | 8 February 1809 |

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|----|---|------------------------|--|---|
| 79 | So many borrowed books* | | | 8 February 1809 |
| 80 | <i>Clavigo</i> (play) | Johann Wolfgang Goethe | | 12 February 1809 |
| 81 | <i>Hesperus</i> (fiction) | Jean Paul | Procured by Edvard Storm Munch in Copenhagen Borrowed to C.M. Cappelen | 14 February 1809 12 February 1813 16 April 1813 15 September 1813 |
| 82 | <i>Titan</i> (fiction) | Jean Paul | | 14 February 1809 |
| 83 | <i>Der Tod eines Engels</i> (fiction) | Jean Paul | | 14 February 1809 |
| 84 | <i>Rosamunde og Eugenius</i> (fiction) | Jean Paul | | 14 February 1809 |
| 85 | <i>Leben des Quintus Fixlein</i> (fiction) | Jean Paul | Borrowed to C.M. Cappelen Parts transcribed and sent to friends in Copenhagen | 14 February 1809 23 February 1809 2 March 1809 19 March 1809 2 July 1811 4 July 1811 |
| 86 | <i>Eudocia</i> (fiction) | Christiane Naubert | | 28 February 1809 |
| 87 | Baggesen's newest poem* (poetry) | Jens Baggesen | Read aloud by Henrik Andreas Mørk | 2 March 1809 |
| 88 | Baggesen's German poem* (poetry) | Jens Baggesen | Enclosed in letter from Niels Wulfsberg | 2 March 1809 |
| 89 | <i>Christiania Intelligentssedler</i> (news.) | | | 13 March 1809 |

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| 90 | “Hofnung und Erinnerung” (poetry) | Christoph August Tiedge | Transcribed and sent to friends in Copenhagen | 19 March 1809 |
| 91 | <i>Tilskueren</i> (periodical) | | Borrowed from Frederikke Borschenius | 22 March 1809 |
| 92 | A package of books* | | Borrowed from C.M. Cappelen | 30 March 1809 |
| 93 | Valeria* | | | 1 April 1809 |
| 94 | Newspapers* (news.) | | | 2 April 1809 |
| 95 | A German songbook* | | | 16 April 1809 |
| 96 | <i>Hermann v. Unna</i> (fiction) | Christiane Naubert | | 25 April 1809 |
| 97 | <i>Siegwart, eine Klostersgeschichte</i> (fiction) | Johann Martin Miller | Gift from Carl Dichman Read aloud to Caroline Mathilde | 25 April 1809 28 April 1809 |
| 98 | <i>Lieder zweier Lebenden</i> (poetry) | Leopold Friedrich Günther von Goeckingk | Former gift from Carl Dichman | 25 April 1809 |
| 99 | Stolberg’s Iambs* | Friedrich Leopold Graf zu Stolberg | Former gift from Carl Dichman | 25 April 1809 |
| 100 | Stoltz’ Poetry (poetry) | | Former gift from Carl Dichman | 25 April 1809 |
| 101 | A new volume by Jean Paul* | Jean Paul | Borrowed from C.M. Cappelen | 26 April 1809 |
| 102 | “Beym Herannahen des Winters” (poetry) | Samuel Gottlieb Bürde | Cited in journal | 1 May 1809 |
| 103 | <i>Jubelsenor</i> (fiction) | Jean Paul | | 4 May 1809 |
| 104 | Marzols Andagtsbog* | | Gift to C.M. Cappelen | 14 May 1809 |
| 105 | <i>Knud Lavard</i> (play) | Adam Oehlenschläger | | 15 May 1809 19 May 1809 |
| 106 | <i>Palnatoke</i> (play) | Adam Oehlenschläger | | 15 May 1809 19 May 1809 |
| 107 | <i>Håkon Jarl hin Rige</i> (play) | Adam Oehlenschläger | Read aloud to daughters Read aloud to daughters | 19 May 1809 20 October 1809 25 October 1809 |

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| | | | Read aloud to daughters Discussed with female friends and Jess Koren Read aloud to daughters | 28 February 1810 29 March 1810 24 October 1811 |
| 108 | A rhyming epistle* | | Borrowed from Inger Marie Pavels | 14 June 1809 |
| 109 | A whole package of books, Swedish and German* | Mentioned: Friedrich Schlegel and Ludwig Tieck | Sent from Copenhagen | 1 July 1809 |
| 110 | <i>Die Weihe der Kraft</i> (play) | Zacharias Werner | | 1 July 1809 |
| 111 | Orientalske Poesie* | Johann Gottlieb von Herder | | 4 July 1809 |
| 112 | Elegier* | Christoph August Tiedge | | 8 July 1809 |
| 113 | <i>Die Tonkunst</i> (poetry) | Johann Gottlieb von Heder | Enclosed in letter from Anne Cathrine Cappelen | 27 July 1809 |
| 114 | “Hofnung und Erinnerung” (poetry) | Christoph August Tiedge | Cited in journal | 15 August 1809 |
| 115 | <i>Reisen vor der Sundfluth</i> (fiction) | Friedrich Maximilian Klinger | | 28 August 1809 |
| 116 | <i>Der Faust der Morgenländer</i> (fiction) | Friedrich Maximilian Klinger | | 28 August 1809 |
| 117 | <i>Læsebog i Modersmaalet for Børn og Ungdommen</i> (text book) | Lyder Sagen | | 30 August 1809 |
| 118 | <i>Kiærligheds nytte</i> | Johann C. Tode | | 13 September 1809 |
| 119 | Pieces* | | Borrowed from Niels Wulfsberg | 29 September 1809 |
| 120 | A new books* | | Borrowed from C.M. Cappelen | 11 October 1809 |

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| 121 | Engelske aviser* (news.) | | Borrowed from Paul Arnesen | 16 October 1809 |
| 122 | Iliaden* | | | 4 November 1809 |
| 123 | <i>Tiden</i> (news.) | | | 5 November 1809 |
| 124 | St. Julien* | | | 3 December 1809 |
| 125 | Starke* | Mariana Starke(?) | | 22 December 1809 |
| 126 | <i>Tiden</i> (news.) | | | 8 January 1810 |
| 127 | <i>Algemeine Litteratur Zeitung</i> (periodical) | | Lectured by Schmidt | 29 January 1810 |
| 128 | <i>Die Jäger</i> (poetry, trans.) | August Wilhelm Iffland | Read aloud to C.M. Cappelen and Anne Cathrine Cappelen | 29 January 1810 |
| 129 | <i>Das Erbtheil des Vaters</i> (play) | August Wilhelm Iffland | Lectured by Schmidt | 1 February 1810 |
| 130 | Poetry* | Johann Georg Jacobi | Cited in journal | 14 February 1810 |
| 131 | A trunk [kuffert] full of books* | | Sent from Johann Christian Friedrich Brummer Transported to Hovind by Petronelle Møller | 18 February 1810 21 February 1810 |
| 132 | “Epilogue” of <i>Axel og Valborg</i> | | Enclosed in letter from Copenhagen | 21 February 1810 |
| 133 | <i>Landsbypræsten</i> (play, trans.) | August Lafontaine | Borrowed from Poppenheim* | 21 February 1810 |
| 134 | <i>Freyas Alter</i> (play) | Adam Oehlenschläger | Lectured by Koren to daughters | 28 February 1810 |
| 135 | <i>Lebenslaufe nach aufsteigender Linie</i> (fiction, four volumes) | Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel | Read by Johan Koren | 13 March 1810 10 September 1810 31 May 1813 |

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|-----|--|------------------------|---|--|
| 136 | Poetry* | Jean Paul* | Read aloud by Schmidt | 17 March 1810 |
| 137 | Axel og Valborg (play) | Adam Oehlenschläger | Mentioned in letter from Wulfsberg Read aloud by Schmidt Read aloud to her children | 8 May 1809 17 March 1810 24 October 1811 |
| 138 | Unspecified text* | | Reading aloud to Charlotte Lausen Bull, C.M. Cappelen, Marie Bergh and Sara Koren | 17 March 1810 |
| 139 | Unspecified text* | | Read aloud to Charlotte Lausen Bull, C.M. Cappelen and Sara Koren | 19 March 1810 |
| 140 | <i>Don Carlos</i> (tragedy) | Friedrich Schiller | Borrowed to Sara Bøyesen Supposed to be read aloud | 21 March 1810 18 May 1810 |
| 141 | <i>Den danske Tilskuer</i> (periodical) | | | 25 March 1810 |
| 142 | Lyna* | Adam Oehlenschläger(?) | | 28 March 1810 29 March 1810 |
| 143 | Aglaja* | | | 28 March 1810 |
| 144 | <i>Velkomsten</i> * | Johan Nordahl Brun | Lectured by Niels Wulfsberg | 30 March 1810 |
| 145 | <i>Flegeljahre</i> (fiction) | Jean Paul | Cited in journal | 4 April 1810 12 April 1810 |
| 146 | Review of Oehlenschläger's <i>Aladdin</i> from "Allgemeine Literatur Zeitung", published in <i>Tiden</i> (trans., news.) | | Enclosed in letter from Schmidt | 13 April 1810 |
| 147 | Taschenbuch* | | Borrowed from Schmidt | 29 April 1810 |

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| 148 | «Heideblumen» (poetry) | Jens Baggesen | Borrowed from Schmidt | 29 April 1810 |
| 149 | <i>Lommebog</i> containing Goethe, Jean Paul, Gottlieb Konrad Pfeffel, August Fontaine (compilation) | | Borrowed from Schmidt | 29 April 1810 |
| 150 | The German Aladdin* (poetry, trans.) | Translated by Adam Oehlenschläger | | 2 May 1810 |
| 151 | Newspapers* (news.) | | | 9 May 1810 |
| 152 | <i>Blumen-Frucht- und Dornenstükke</i> (fiction) | Jean Paul | Read by Johan Koren | 13 May 1810 29 December 1810 31 December 1813 |
| 153 | A book* | | Gift to Charlotte Lausen Bull | 22 May 1810 |
| 154 | A small verse* | | Gift to Charlotte Lausen Bull | 22 May 1810 |
| 155 | <i>Das Lüftchen aus Süden</i> (poetry) | Ulrich von Schlippenbach | Enclosed in letter from Schmidt Cited in journal | 25 May 1810 8 November 1810 |
| 156 | <i>Titan</i> (fiction) | Jean Paul | Borrowed to August Christian Baumann | 28 May 1810 |
| 157 | Polymnia* (poetry) | Swedish poet* | Enclosed in letter from C.M. Cappelen | 30 May 1810 |
| 158 | Package of books* | | Sent from Brunner | 10 May 1810 |
| 159 | <i>Die Zerstreuten</i> (play) | August von Kotzebue | | 15 May 1810 |
| 160 | <i>Attila</i> (play) | Zacharias Werner | | 18 May 1810 |
| 161 | <i>Optrin af Kiæmpelivets Undergang i Nord</i> (fiction) | N.F.S. Grundtvig | Gift from Niels Wulfsberg | 18 May 1810 27 January 1810 |

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|-----|---|------------------------------|---|---|
| 162 | <i>Erholung</i> (fiction) | Wilhelm Gottlieb Becker | Gift to Schmidt Read aloud to daughters Read aloud to Sara Bøyesen Read aloud to daughters | 23 June 1810 7 July 1810 28 December 1810 14 September 1811 28 December 1811 14 January 1812 |
| 163 | «Sørgekvad ved Prinds Kristians Død» (poetry) | N.F.S. Grundtvig | Enclosed in letter from Anne Cathrine Cappelen | 9 July 1810 |
| 164 | «Hvi er Herrens Ord forsvundet af hans Hus? Dimisprædiken» (poetry) | N.F.S. Grundtvig | Read aloud to female friends | 15 July 1810 |
| 165 | Unspecified text* | | Koren lectures | 17 July 1810 |
| 166 | Christianfeldsk Gesangbuch* (song book pertaining to the Moravian church) | | Koren reads with Anne Cathrine Cappelen | 19 July 1810 |
| 167 | Thomsons Aarstider* | | Gift from Anna Cathrine Cappelen | 29 July 1810 |
| 168 | <i>Die Beiden Bräute</i> (play) | August Lafontaine | | 8 August 1810 |
| 169 | <i>Wahlverwandtschaften</i> (fiction) | J.W. Goethe | | 13 August 1810 |
| 170 | <i>Reise in die mittäglichen Provinzen von Frankreich</i> (travel writings, 10 volumes) | Moritz August von Thümmel | Sent from Copenhagen | 13 August 1810 |
| 171 | <i>Om Skuespilkunsten</i> (non-fiction) | Knud Lyhne Rahbek | | 20 August 1810 |
| 172 | Poetry* | Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock | Read aloud with Schmidt and Cappelen | 25 August 1810 |

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| 173 | «Solen og Maanen» (poetry) | Knud Lyhne Rahbek | Read aloud by Scmhidt | 26 August 1810 |
| 174 | <i>Forklaring over Salomons Høysang</i> (non-fiction) | Johann Gottfried von Herder | Cited in journal | 31 August 1810 |
| 175 | Sinclairs Vise (poetry) | Edvard Storm Munch | | 20 September 1810 |
| 176 | <i>Ildegerte</i> (play) | August Kotzebue | Read aloud to daughters | 24 September 1810 |
| 177 | Hartmans bog* | | | 27 September 1810 |
| 178 | <i>Das Testament</i> (fiction) | August Lafontaine | Sent from Brummer | 8 October 1810 |
| 179 | <i>Malerische Wanderungen durch Kurland</i> (fiction) | Ulrich von Schlippenbach | Gift from Schmidt and C.M. Cappelen | 27 October 1810 |
| 180 | Piecer* | | Borrowed from “bookseller Hartman” | 27 October 1810 |
| 181 | Idyller og Fortællinger* (trans.) | Louis-François Jauffret | Gift to Marie Bergh | 31 October 1810 |
| 182 | <i>C. B. Tullins Udvalgte Digte</i> (poetrys) | Christian Braunman Tullin | Gift to Marie Bergh | 31 October 1810 |
| 183 | A couple of incomplete books* | | Sent from Brummer | 5 November 1810 |
| 184 | <i>Körane, ein morgenländisches Märchen</i> (fairy tales) | Christian Leberecht Heyne (pseudonym Anton Wall) | Read aloud to her daughters | 8 November 1810 28 February 1812 |
| 185 | Unspecified text* | | Read aloud to her daughters | 4 December 1810 |
| 186 | Perleschnur* (compilation of poetry) | | Gift from J.H. Schubite (bookseller in Copenhagen), Read aloud by Peder Cappelen | 17 December 1810 |
| 187 | Poem* (trans.) | Friedrich Leopold Graf zu Stolberg | Cited in journal | 21 December 1810 |

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| 188 | <i>Tristram Schandy</i> (fiction) | Lawrence Sterne | | 29 December 1810 2 January 1811 |
| 189 | <i>A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy</i> (fiction) | Lawrence Sterne | | 29 December 1810 |
| 190 | <i>Delphine</i> (fiction) | Germaine de Staël | Sent from Brummer Read aloud by Schmidt to Koren and C.M. Cappelen (Drammen) | 3 January 1811 7 January 1811 13 January 1811 12 March 1812 23 November 1813 |
| 191 | Nathan (poetry) | Gotthold Ephraim Lessing | Cited in journal | 4 January 1811 |
| 192 | <i>Das Kleid aus Lyon</i> (fiction) | Johann Friedrich Jünger | | 7 January 1811 |
| 193 | Play* | | Transported from Copenhagen by Hans Urban Fabrituius | 22 January 1811 |
| 194 | <i>Theodor</i> (fiction) | August Lafontaine | Read aloud to daughters | 22 January 1811 |
| 195 | <i>Tiden</i> (news.) | | | 24 January 1811 |
| 196 | Three books* | August Lafontaine | Sent from Cristopher Anker Bergh | 1 February 1811 |
| 197 | <i>Digtninger I</i> (poetry) | Adam Oehlenschläger | Gift from C.M. Cappelen Sent from Oehlenschläger Read aloud by Schmidt | 2 February 1811 15 May 1811 10 September 1811 |
| 198 | Kantate meant for the King's birthday* | Claus Pavels | Sent from C.M. Cappelen | 2 February 1811 |
| 199 | <i>Aly og Gulhindy</i> (play) | Adam Oehlenschläger | Gift from C.M. Cappelen | 2 February 1811 |

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| | | | Read aloud by Schmidt | 10 September 1811 |
| | | | Read aloud by Koren | 13 January 1813 |
| 200 | <i>Raphael oder das Stille Leben</i> (fiction) | August Lafontaine | Read aloud by Koren to an unspecified audience | 6 February 1811 13 January 1812 |
| 201 | <i>Christiania Intelligentssedler</i> (news.) | | | 8 February 1811 |
| 202 | Song* | Adam Oehlenschläger | Enclosed in letter from C.M. Cappelen | 15 February 1811 |
| 203 | <i>Kuronia, eine Sammlung vaterländischer Gedichte</i> (poetry) | Ulrich von Schlippenbach | Borrowed from C.M. Cappelen Read by C.M. Cappelen | 19 February 1811 26 February 1811 12 March 1811 |
| 204 | <i>Nytaarsnat eller Blik paa Kristendom og Historie</i> (poetry) | N.F.S. Grundtvig | Borrowed from C.M. Cappelen | 19 February 1811 |
| 205 | <i>Correggio</i> (tragedy) | Adam Oehlenschläger | Borrowed from C.M. Cappelen Read aloud to daughters Sent from Oehlenschläger Read aloud to daughters | 19 February 1811 26 February 1811 15 May 1811 27 June 1811 |
| 206 | <i>Idunna. En Nytaarsgave for 1811</i> (poetry) | N.F.S. Grundtvig | Enclosed in letter from C.M. Cappelen Read aloud by Pavels (Hovind) | 5 March 1811 27 December 1811 28 December 1811 24 February 1812 |

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| 207 | Religionen* (poetry) | Maczewski* | Cited in journal | 12 March 1811 |
| 208 | Siælebiographier, meest Christiansfeldske* [Soul biographies from Christianfeld] | | Read by Koren and C.M. Cappelen | 24 March 1811 |
| 209 | Newspapers from Fyn (news.) | | Sent from Schmidt in Copenhagen | 25 March 1811 |
| 210 | <i>Sternbalds Wanderungen</i> (fiction) | Ludwig Tieck | First part sent from Peder Juell Second part borrowed from Cappelen Read by Sara Bøyesen | 25 March 1811 2 April 1811 27 June 1811 |
| 211 | <i>King Lear</i> (tragedy) | William Shakespeare | | 25 March 1811 |
| 212 | Epistle* | Claus Pavels | Enclosed in letter from Pavels | 15 April 1811 17 April 1811 |
| 213 | <i>Emma</i> (fiction) | August Lafontaine | | 17 April 1811 |
| 214 | <i>Tiden</i> (news.) | | | 17 April 1811 |
| 215 | Poem addressed to the Danish crown princess on the occasion of her confirmation in 1809 | Schack Staffeldt | Enlosed in letter from C.M. Cappelen, who transcribed it from Schmidt | 20 April 1811 |
| 216 | A package of books* | | Sent to Pavels | 1 May 1811 |
| 217 | A package of books* | | Sent from C.M. Cappelen | 5 May 1811 |
| 218 | <i>Sandsigeren</i> (periodical, 12 volumes) | | Sent from C.M. Cappelen | 7 May 1811 8 May 1811 |
| 219 | <i>Panthea, eller Det Kgl. Selskab for Norges Vel</i> (poetry) | Claus Frimann | | 7 May 1811 |
| 220 | Sildringer* | Thomas Brun* | | 8 May 1811 |
| 221 | Newspapers* (news.) | | | 20 May 1811 |

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| 222 | Kbhns Skilderie* (news.) | | | 21 May 1811 |
| 223 | Funeral speech by Pavels | Claus Pavels | Enlosed in letter from Inger Marie Pavels | 24 May 1811 |
| 224 | “Nine volumes of Lafontaine’s most recent fictions”* | August Lafontaine | Sent from Schmidt | 25 May 1811 |
| 225 | <i>Tilskueren</i> (periodical) | | | 26 May 1811 |
| 226 | <i>Sandsigeren</i> (periodical) | | | 26 May 1811 |
| 227 | <i>Levana, oder Erziehungslehre</i> (non- fiction, treatise) | Jean Paul | | 28 May 1811 |
| 228 | <i>Natur und Kultur</i> (fiction) | August Lafontaine | Sent from Schmidt in Copenhagen | 29 May 1811 |
| 229 | <i>Sandsigeren</i> (periodical) | | | 3 June 1811 |
| 230 | <i>Amalie Horst</i> (fiction) | August Lafontaine | | 6 June 1811 7 June 1811 |
| 231 | <i>Arkadien</i> (fiction) | August Lafontaine | Borrowed from Schmidt | 7 June 1811 8 June 1811 25 June 1812 |
| 232 | <i>Leontine de Blondheim</i> (fiction) | August von Kotzebue | Sent from Brummer | 13 June 1811 |
| 233 | <i>Corelia</i> (fiction) | Christiane Naubert | Sent from Brummer | 13 June 1811 31 July 1811 |
| 234 | <i>Ferdinand Warner</i> (fiction) | Christian Eberhard | Sent from Brummer Read by C.M. Cappelen Read by Johan Koren | 13 June 1811 26 June 1811 4 July 1811 23 September 1811 |
| 235 | <i>Andholtstoget</i> (poetry) | N.F.S. Grundtvig | | 13 June 1811 |
| 236 | Theone, et Besøg hos Haydn* | August Wilhelm Iffland | | 14 June 1811 |
| 237 | “Eulogy by Jacobie’s Grave”, published in | Frederik Schmidt | Sent from Schmidt | 14 June 1811 |

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| | <i>Nyeste Skilderie af Kjøbenhavn</i> (poetry) | | | |
| 238 | Reysebeskrivelse giennem Norge og Finmarken* | | Read by Johan Koren | 20 June 1811 |
| 239 | Speech* | Frederik Schmidt | Lectured by C.M. Cappelen | 24 June 1811 |
| 240 | Some Swedish psalms | | | 24 June 1811 |
| 241 | <i>Aline Von Riesenstein</i> (fiction) | August Lafontaine | | 24 June 1811 |
| 242 | A biography* | | Lectured by Pavels to Johan and Christiane Koren, Schmidt and Peder and C.M. Cappelen | 13 July 1811 |
| 243 | <i>Corinna, ou l'Italia</i> (fiction) | Madame de Staël | Sent from Edvard Storm Munch Gift from C.M. Cappelen | 21 July 1811 19 August 1811 20 August 1811 21 August 1811 27 July 1813 |
| 244 | <i>Wenzel Falk</i> (fiction) | August Lafontaine | | 22 July 1811 |
| 245 | “16 proposals for the Norwegian Society for Development”* | Jens Johan Vangenstein | Lectured by Jens Johan Vangenstein | 25 July 1811 |
| 246 | <i>Samlede Digte</i> (poetry) | Frederik Schmidt | Gift from Schmidt | 28 July 1811 |
| 247 | Eulogy* | Frederik Schmidt | Read aloud by Koren to unspecified audience | 28 July 1811 |
| 248 | Franzéns Digte* | Frans Michael Franzén | | 29 July 1811 21 August 1811 |
| 249 | <i>Niels Klims underjordiske reise</i> (fiction) | Ludvig Holberg | | 10 August 1811 |
| 250 | Newspaper* | | | 29 August 1811 |
| 251 | <i>Tilskueren</i> (periodical) | | | 23 September 1811 |

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| 252 | <i>Julius Caesar</i> (play) | William Shakespeare | Read by Jess | 23 September 1811 |
| 253 | <i>Collegial-Tidende</i> (periodical) | | | 3 October 1811 |
| 254 | <i>Sandsigeren</i> (periodical) | | Sent from Realf Ottesen | 25 October 1811 |
| 255 | <i>Wilhelm Tell</i> (play) | Friedrich Schiller | | 29 October 1811 |
| 256 | Prologue written on the occasion of the Queen's birthday | Claus Pavels | Sent from Pavels | 30 October 1811 |
| 257 | Package of books* | | Sent from Pavels | 3 November 1811 |
| 258 | Package of books* | | Sent from C.M. Cappelen | 3 November 1811 |
| 259 | Package of books* | | Sent from Realf Ottesen | 3 November 1811 |
| 260 | <i>Der Eidschwur</i> (fiction) | Gottlieb Bertrand | | 4 November 1811 |
| 261 | Short story* | Jean Paul | | 19 November 1811 |
| 262 | <i>Die Wunderbare Gesellschaft in der Neujahrsnacht</i> (fiction) | Jean Paul | Borrowed from C.M. Cappelen | 21 November 1811 |
| 263 | <i>Sandsigeren</i> (periodical) | | Borrowed from Realf Ottesen | 5 December 1811 |
| 264 | <i>Ungdomsvandringer i mit Fødeland</i> (biography) | Christian Molbech | | 5 December 1811 8 December 1811 |
| 265 | <i>Dansk Litteratur-Tidende</i> (periodical) | | | 5 December 1811 |
| 266 | Cantata* | Ludvig Stoud Platou | Sent from Pavels | 19 December 1811 |
| 267 | Songs* | Edvard Storm Munch | Sent from Pavels | 19 December 1811 |
| 268 | Speech* | Priest Mørch | Sent from Henrik Andreas Mørk | 19 December 1811 |
| 269 | Poetrys* (poetry) | B.S. Ingemann | Read aloud to Charlotte Lausen | 27 December 1811 5 March 1812 |

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| | | | Bull, C.M. Cappelen and Elisa Thorsteinson | |
| 270 | La Valiere* | | Read by Charlotte Amalie Bull Read by Charlotte Amalie Bull (Hovind) | 28 December 1811 2 January 1813 |
| 271 | <i>Vertraute Briefe aus Paris Geschrieben in Den Jahren 1802 Und 1803</i> (non-fiction) | Johann Friedrich Reichardt | Sent from Jens Johan Vangensten Sent to Frederikke Borschenius via Johan Koren | 17 January 1812 18 January 1812 19 January 1812 |
| 272 | <i>Bilderbuch für Kinder</i> (children's book) | Friedrich Justin Bertuch | Read aloud to her children and Fader Munthe's children Lectured by Henrik Andreas Mørk to his children and Koren's children | 20 January 1812 25 April 1812 |
| 273 | <i>Faruk</i> (singspiel) | Adam Oehlenschläger | Gift from Christopher Anker Bergh | 26 January 1812 13 April 1812 |
| 274 | <i>Saga. Nytaarsgave for 1812</i> (collection of poetry) | N.F.S. Grundtvig | Gift from Wulfsberg | 27 January 1812 2 February 1812 |
| 275 | Occasional poetry | Christen Henriksen Pram, Jens Baggesen and Adam Oehlenschläger | Lectured by Schmidt | 29 January 1812 |
| 276 | <i>Die Gefahren der grosse Welt oder Bertha von Waldek</i> (fiction) | August Lafontaine | | 6 February 1812 |

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| 277 | <i>Optrin af Norners og Asers Kamp</i> (fiction) | N.F.S. Grundtvig | | 6 February 1812 |
| 278 | Newspapers from Augsburg* (news.) | | | 14 February 1812 |
| 279 | <i>Til Dannerkongen Frederik hin Sjette paa hans Fødselsdag den 28de Januarii 1812</i> (poetry) | N.F.S. Grundtvig | Enclosed in letter from Christopher Anker Bergh | 20 February 1812 10 May 1812 |
| 280 | An unspecified book* | | Read by Cappelen (Hovind) | 20 February 1812 |
| 281 | Stories* | Mariana Starke | | 24 February 1812 |
| 282 | <i>Torquato Tasso</i> (play) | J.W. Goethe | | 25 February 1812 |
| 283 | <i>Betragtninger over Øhlenschlägers dramatiske Værker</i> (non-fiction) | Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann | | 26 February 1812 |
| 284 | Litteraturtidenden* | | | 1 March 1812 |
| 285 | <i>Thronfølgeren i Sidon</i> (play) | Niels Krog Bredal | | 9 March 1812 |
| 286 | Floriska* | | Read aloud by Schmidt to C.M. Cappelen and Koren (Drammen) | 12 March 1812 |
| 287 | <i>Christiania Intelligentssedler</i> (news.) | | | 12 March 1812 |
| 288 | <i>Gevinsten i Classelotteriet</i> (play) | J.G. Hagemeister | | 14 March 1812 |
| 289 | Hoved og Hierte i Strid* (play) | | Read aloud by Koren to C.M. Cappelen and Elisa Thorsteinson (Drammen) | 15 March 1812 |
| 290 | <i>Silkestigen</i> (trans., play) | Eugène de Planard | Read aloud by Koren to C.M. Cappelen and Elisa Thorsteinson (Drammen) | 15 March 1812 |

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| 291 | Manuscript* | | Read aloud by Claus Pavels to Koren, Anna Cathrine Cappelen, Realf Ottesen and Inger Marie Pavels (Akershus Fortress) | 21 March 1812 |
| 292 | <i>Borgemesterfamilie</i> (fiction) | August von Kotzebue | Read aloud by Koren to Inger Marie Pavels, Ragna Marieboe, Marie Bergh, and Sara Bøyesen (Akershus Fortress) | 22 March 1812 |
| 293 | Taschenbucher* | | Borrowed from Ragna Marieboe (Økern) | 24 March 1812 |
| 294 | <i>Stærkodder</i> (play) | Adam Oehlenschläger | Sent from C.M. Cappelen Read by Jess Koren Read aloud to daughters Gift from Christopher Anker Bergh | 31 March 1812 2 April 1812 3 April 1812 13 April 1812 18 May 1812 |
| 295 | Stories by August Lafontaine and Gottlieb Konrad Pfeffel* | | | 2 April 1812 |
| 296 | <i>Fata und Werke vor und in Nurnberg</i> (fiction) | Jean Paul | Gift from Charlotte Lausen Bull Borrowed to Sara Bøyesen Procured by Edvard Storm Munch in Copenhagen | 13 April 1812 16 April 1812 4 October 1812 13 October 1812 12 February 1813 |

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| 297 | <i>Amalias Glæder og Lidelser</i> (fiction, trans.) | Johann Friedrich Rochlitz | Given back after "years of circulation" | 21 April 1812 |
| 298 | <i>John Locke, en Forelæsning af Sander in Minerva</i> (periodical) | | | 25 April 1812 |
| 299 | <i>Collegial-Tidende</i> (periodical) | | Lectured by Johan Koren | 1 May 1812 |
| 300 | Occasional verse on the occasion of a wedding* (poetry) | Christiane Koren | 30-40 copies printed by Niels Wulfsberg | 2 May 1812 |
| 301 | <i>En aandelig Sang</i> (poetry) | Johannes Ewald | Cited in journal | 8 June 1812 |
| 302 | <i>Digte 1804</i> (poetry) | Schack Staffeldt | Sent from Niels Wulfsberg | 9 June 1812 |
| 303 | <i>Minerva</i> (periodical) | | | 10 June 1812 |
| 304 | <i>Parthenais eller Alperesjen</i> (poetry) | Jens Baggesen | | 17 June 1812 |
| 305 | Christiania Intelligentsedler (news.) | | | 18 June 1812 |
| 306 | <i>Kleine Schriften</i> (fiction) | Jean Paul | | 22 June 1812 |
| 307 | <i>Sjelens Luth, opstemt med adskillig Strængeleg</i> (songbook) | M.C. Volqvartz | Borrowed from C.M. Cappelen (Drammen) | 25 June 1812 |
| 308 | <i>The Adventures of Roderick Random</i> (fiction) | Tobias Smollett | Borrowed from C.M. Cappelen (Drammen) | 30 June 1812 |
| 309 | <i>Antons Reiser</i> (trans., fiction) | Karl Philipp Moritz | Read by C.M. Cappelen (Drammen) | 30 June 1812 |
| 310 | <i>Bekennniss am Grabe</i> (fiction) | August Lafontaine | Read by Anne Cathrine Cappelen | 30 June 1812 |
| 311 | Poetry* | B.S. Ingemann | Enclosed in letter to Cappelen | 8 July 1812 |
| 312 | Asa-Neitha* (fiction) | | | 10 July 1812 |
| 313 | Unspecified book* | | Read aloud by Koren to C.M. Cappelen | 12 July 1812 |

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| 314 | Eulogy* | | Read aloud by Pavels to Koren | 21 July 1812 |
| 315 | <i>Aplaja: Romantische und historische Erzählungen</i> (fiction) | Nikolaj Karamzin | Cited in journal | 24 July 1812 |
| 316 | <i>Troeskab paa Prøve</i> (play, trans.) | August Lafontaine | | 26 July 1812 |
| 317 | <i>Graf Donamar: Briefe, geschrieben zur Zeit des siebenjährigen Krieges in Deutschland</i> (fiction) | Friedrich Ludewig Bouterweck | | 2 August 1812 4 August 1812 |
| 318 | Dramaturgie* | Friedrich Schlegel | | 9 August 1812 29 August 1812 5 September 1812 |
| 319 | Translations by Stolberger* | <i>Aeschylos</i> and <i>Sophocles</i> | | 9 August 1812 |
| 320 | <i>Elektra</i> (trans.) | Sophocles | | 9 August 1812 26 August 1812 29 August 1812 |
| 321 | “Afbrodte Tanker ved en døende Søsters Seng” (poetry) | Christian Braunmann Tullin | Enclosed in letter from C.M. Cappelen | 15 August 1812 |
| 322 | Morpheus* | | | 17 August 1812 |
| 323 | <i>Printsessen af Wolfenbüttel</i> (fiction) | Heinrich Zschokke | Borrowed from Marie Bergh Read by C.M. Cappelen (Hovind) | 18 August 1812 12 September 1812 |
| 324 | <i>Kjøbenhavnske Danske Post-Tidender</i> (news.) | | | 24 August 1812 |
| 325 | Poetry* | B.S. Ingemann | Enclosed in letter from Zarine Blitzing | 30 August 1812 |
| 326 | Unspecified text* | | Sara Bøyesen and C.M. Cappelen read alone (Hovind) | 10 September 1812 |
| 327 | <i>Der Wandsbecker Bothe</i> (news.) | | Read by C.M. Cappelen (Hovind) | 16 September 1812 |

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| 328 | Two volumes* | B.S. Ingemann | Borrowed from Koren to C.M. Cappelen | 20 September 1812 |
| 329 | Poetry* | B.S. Ingemann | Read aloud by Schmidt (Hovind) | 22 September 1812 |
| 330 | <i>Mithridat</i> (poetry) | B.S. Ingemann | Read aloud by Koren to unspecified female audience (<i>Tilhørerinder</i>) | 22 September 1812 |
| 331 | <i>Provinzialblade</i> | Claus Fasting | Gift from Koren to C.M. Cappelen | 24 September 1812 |
| 332 | A package of books* | Works include Johannes Ewald, Klopstock's <i>Messias</i> and "verses" by B.S. Ingemann* | Borrowed from Christopher Anker Bergh, brought to Hovind by Elisabeth Holsten | 1 October 1812 |
| 333 | A book* | | Sent from Maria Schandorff | 1 October 1812 |
| 334 | Newspaper* (news.) | | Discussed with Johan Koren | 16 October 1812 |
| 335 | Oehlenschläger's poetry* | Adam Oehlenschläger | Gift to Anna Maria Koren | 29 October 1812 |
| 336 | Second part of <i>Digte</i> (poetry) | B.S. Ingemann | | 1 November 1812 |
| 337 | <i>Lorentz Stark</i> (fiction) | Johann Jakob Engel | Bought by Christoffer Stenersen on Koren's demand in Copenhagen | 15 November 1812 |
| 338 | Newspapers* (news.) | | | 16 November 1812 |
| 339 | Newspapers* (news.) | | Borrowed from Ludvig Marieboe | 14 December 1812 |
| 340 | Hr Botte* | | Read aloud by Koren to daughters | 15 December 1812 |
| 341 | Unspecified text* | | Read aloud by Koren to daughters | 20 December 1812 |
| 342 | Works by Jean Paul* | Jean Paul | Bought by Ludvig Mariboe in | 30 December 1812 |

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| | | | Copenhagen on Koren's demand | |
| 343 | Unspecified book* | | Charlotte Amalie Bull reads at Hovind | 1 January 1813 |
| 344 | Billeder* | | Read by Ragna Chrystie and Sara Bøyesen (Hovind) | 10 January 1813 11 January 1813 |
| 345 | <i>Sigrid</i> (poetry) | Adam Oehlenschläger | Lectured by Koren to children | 13 January 1813 |
| 346 | <i>Messenierne</i> (play) | Jens Smith | Gift from Christoffer Stenersen | 16 January 1813 20 January 1813 |
| 347 | <i>Collegial-Tidende</i> | | Read aloud by C.M. Cappelen (Drammen) | 29 January 1813 |
| 348 | <i>200 Viser om Konger, Kæmper og andre</i> (ballads) | Peder Syv | Read aloud by Realf Ottesen (Drammen) | 3 February 1813 |
| 349 | Litteratur und Kunst* | Johann Gottfried von Herder | | 6 February 1813 |
| 350 | Newspapers* (news.) | | | 7 February 1813 |
| 351 | Occasional verses* | | Lectured by Schmidt to Koren (Christiania) | 10 February 1813 |
| 352 | <i>Snedkeren i Liefeland</i> (trans., play) | August von Kotzebue | Borrowed from C.M. Cappelen | 10 February 1813 |
| 353 | <i>Poetisk Lommebog for 1813</i> (compilation) | Edited by Peter Thun Foersom | Procured by Ludvig Marieboe in Copenhagen on Koren's request Read by C.M. Cappelen (Drammen) | 12 February 1813 20 March 1813 |
| 354 | <i>Frigge</i> (play) | Adam Oehlenschläger | Procured by Ludvig Marieboe in Copenhagen on Koren's request | 12 February 1813 |

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| 355 | <i>Dramatiske Forsøg</i> (play) | Balthasar de Bang | | 12 February 1813 14 February 1813 |
| 356 | A package of books* | | Sent to C.M. Cappelen | 17 February 1813 |
| 357 | <i>Stævnerne</i> (play) | Balthasar de Bang | | 17 February 1813 |
| 358 | “One of my new Lafontaines” | | Borrowed to Frederikke Borschenius | 18 February 1813 |
| 359 | Carl Jessen* (poetry) | | | 23 February 1813 |
| 360 | <i>Die Moral Systeme, oder Ludwig von Eisach</i> (fiction) | August Lafontaine | | 26 February 1813 |
| 361 | <i>Bürgersinn und Familienliebe, oder Tobias Hoppe</i> (fiction) | August Lafontaine | Third part; sent from Copenhagen | 26 February 1813 5 June 1813 |
| 362 | <i>Fieldblomster</i> (poetry) | Johan Storm Munch | | 8 March 1813 |
| 363 | A package of books* | | Borrowed from Schmidt | 30 March 1813 |
| 364 | <i>Die Söhne des Thales</i> (play) | Zacharias Werner | Borrowed from Helene Sophie Thrane | 4 April 1813 7 April 1813 |
| 365 | <i>Collegial-Tidende</i> (periodical) | | | 10 April 1813 |
| 366 | <i>Kort Begreb af Verdens Krønike</i> (non-fiction) | N.F.S. Grundtvig | Handed back from Mathias Friis von Irgens-Bergh via Hans Urban Fabrituius | 15 April 1813 18 April 1813 25 April 1813 |
| 367 | Kanarieflugl og Ærlighed varer længst* | | Handed back from Mathias Friis von Irgens-Bergh via Hans Urban Fabrituius | 15 April 1813 |

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| 368 | Poems* | B.S. Ingemann | Borrowed from Mathias Friis von Irgens-Bergh | 15 April 1813 |
| 369 | <i>Christiania Intelligentssedler</i> (news.) | | | 26 April 1813 |
| 370 | <i>Trondhjems borgerlige Realskoles alene-priviligerede Adressecontours-Efterretninger</i> (news.) | | | 29 April 1813 |
| 371 | <i>Gedichte</i> (poetry) | Frederikke Brun | Borrowed from C.M. Cappelen | 29 April 1813 |
| 372 | <i>Christiania Intelligentssedler</i> (news.) | | | 4 May 1813 |
| 373 | <i>Dansk Literatur-Tidende</i> (periodical) | | | 8 May 1813 |
| 374 | A package of books* | | Sent from C.M. Cappelen | 18 May 1813 |
| 375 | Newspapers* (news.) | | | 21 May 1813 |
| 376 | Newspapers* (news.) | | | 27 May 1813 |
| 377 | Newspapers from Copenhagen* | | | 12 June 1813 |
| 378 | <i>Reise durch Skandinavien in den Jahren 1806 und 1807</i> (non-fiction) | Johann Friedrich Ludwig Hausmann | Section enclosed in letter from Copenhagen Gift from Pavels | 22 June 1813 29 November 1813 |
| 379 | Unspecified text* | August Lafontaine | Cited in journal | 25 June 1813 |
| 380 | Weekly* (news.) | | | 31 June 1813 |
| 381 | Review of Grundtvig's <i>Kort Begreb af Verdens Krønike</i> | Christian Molbech | | 31 June 1813 6 December 1813 |
| 382 | Speech* | Niels Wulfsberg | Gift from Niels Wulfsberg | 10 July 1813 |
| 383 | A small Taschenbuch* | | Borrowed from Ludvig Mariboe | 18 July 1813 |

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| 384 | Unspecified text* | | | 19 July 1813 |
| 385 | <i>Emma</i> (poetry) | Jens Baggesen | Enclosed in letter to C.M. Cappelen | 26 July 1813 |
| 386 | <i>Evelina, or the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World</i> (fiction) | Fanny Burney | Gift from Christoffer Stenersen | 28 July 1813 29 July 1813 30 July 1813 |
| 387 | <i>Gemählde aus dem häuslichen Leben und Erzählungen</i> (fiction) | Gotthelf Wilhelm Christoph Starke | | 4 August 1813 |
| 388 | <i>Alcibaldes</i> (fiction) | August Gottlieb Meissner | | 4 August 1813 |
| 389 | Unspecified text* | Jean Paul | | 26 August 1813 |
| 390 | <i>Skizzen</i> (fiction) | August Gottlieb Meissner | | 8 September 1813 |
| 391 | <i>Siegfried Von Lindenberg</i> (fiction) | Johann Gottwerth Muller | | 15 September 1813 |
| 392 | <i>Ossian</i> (trans., poetry) | James Macpherson | Sung by Koren and Schmidt to C.M. Cappelen on the occasion of her birthday (Drammen) Gift to Pavels | 22 September 1813 24 October 1813 8 December 1813 |
| 393 | Gracier* | Christoph Martin Wieland | | 8 October 1813 |
| 394 | <i>Kinderfreund</i> (trans., children's book) | Christian Felix Weisse | Parts translated and given by Koren to her to children | 9 October 1813 |
| 395 | <i>Die Abenteuer des Don Sylvio von Rosalvo</i> (fiction) | Christoph Martin Wieland | | 10 October 1813 12 October 1813 |
| 396 | Swedish newspapers from September* | | | 15 October 1813 |
| 397 | <i>Procne</i> (poetry) | B.S. Ingemann | Borrowed from Petronelle Marie Treschow via | 20 October 1813 |

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| | | | Cathrine Devegge Read with Fader Mørk | 22 October 1813 3 November 1813 |
| 398 | Florian* | | | 29 October 1813s |
| 399 | <i>Christiania Intelligentssedler</i> (news.) | | | 5 November 1813 |
| 400 | <i>Tanker over moralske Materier</i> (non-fiction) | Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna | | 8 November 1813s |
| 401 | Unspecified text* | Christoph Martin Wieland | Read by Frederikke Borschenius (Hovind) | 9 November 1813 |
| 402 | <i>Herman Lange</i> (fiction) | August Lafontaine | Gift to Caroline Mathilde Koren from C.M. Cappelen | 13 November 1813 |
| 403 | <i>Dansk Literatur-Tidende</i> (periodical) | | | 29 November 1813 |
| 404 | Poetry, in <i>Nyeste Skilderie af Kjøbenhavn</i> | N.F.S. Grundtvig | Cited in journal | 29 November 1813 |
| 405 | <i>Christiania Intelligentssedler</i> (news.) | | | 3 December 1813 |
| 406 | <i>Christiania Intelligentssedler</i> (news.) | | | 6 December 1813 |
| 407 | <i>Amathonte. En persisk Fortælling</i> (fiction) | Christian Leberecht Heyne (pseudonym Anton Wall) | Read aloud to daughters | 8 December 1813 |
| 408 | <i>Christiania Intelligentssedler</i> (news.) | | | 10 December 1813 |
| 409 | Unspecified text* | | Read aloud by Johan to Christiane | 29 December 1813 |
| 410 | Unspecified text* | Jean Paul | Translated and cited in journal | 1 January 1814 |

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| 411 | <i>Hugo von Rheinberg</i> (play) | Adam Oehlenschläger | Read by Ludvig Mariboe to Sara Bøyesen, Ragna Mariboe, Inger Marie Pavels, Koren, and Johanne Sopehie Nielsen | 25 January 1814 |
| 412 | Speech | Claus Pavels | Transcribed by Inger Marie Pavels and given to Koren | 26 January 1815 |
| 413 | Proclamations* | | | 23 February 1814 |
| 414 | Speech* | Claus Pavels | | 4 March 1814 14 March 1814 |
| 415 | <i>Tiden</i> (news.) | | | 21 March 1814 |
| 416 | Speech* | Frederik Schmidt | Read aloud by Koren to daughters (Hovind) | 25 March 1814 |
| 417 | Verse written by Lyder Sagen on the occasion of King Frederick 6.'s birthday in 1813* | | | 3 April 1814 |
| 418 | Speech* | Johan Nordahl Brun | Read aloud by Schmidt to Koren and her daughters (Hovind) Read aloud by Koren to daughters | 12 April 1814 18 April 1814 10 August 1814 |
| 419 | Verse* | Frederik Schmidt | Cited in journal | 18 April 1814 19 April 1814 |
| 420 | Speech* | Jonas Rein | Lectured by Wilhelm F.K. Christie (Hovind) | 29 April 1814 |
| 421 | <i>Tiden</i> (news.) | | | 29 April 1814 |
| 422 | «Til Norge 1814» and «Nor til Dana» | Caspar Johannes Boye | Read by Schmidt to Koren and her daughters | 4 May 1814 |

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| 423 | «Nora til Svea» | Andreas Bonnevie | Read by Schmidt to Koren and her daughters | 4 May 1814 |
| 424 | Speech* | Claus Pavels | Transcribed and sent from Inger Marie Pavels | 11 May 1814 |
| 425 | Speech* | Jonas Rein | Read by Schmidt to Koren, Jonas Rein, Arnoldus Koren, Diderich Hegermann, Paul Hansen Birch and Peter Motzfeldt (Hovind); cited in journal | 16 May 1814 |
| 426 | Speech* | Leganger* | | 21 May 1814 |
| 427 | Farewell song to the National Assembly, 20 May 1814 (song) | | | 23 May 1814 |
| 428 | Some pamphlets by Baggesen [Nogle Flyveblade af Baggesen]* | Jens Baggesen | | 12 June 1814 |
| 429 | Review of <i>Hugo von Rheinberg</i> | | Read by Georg Sverdrup (Økern) | 12 June 1814 |
| 430 | <i>Christiania Intelligentssedler</i> (news.) | | | 20 June 1814 |
| 431 | <i>Tiden</i> (news.) | | | 21 June 1814 |
| 432 | <i>Tiden</i> (news.) | | | 1 August 1814 |
| 433 | <i>Tiden</i> (news.) | | | 4 August 1814 |
| 434 | Poetry* | Frederik Schmidt | | 4 August 1814 |
| 435 | <i>Tiden</i> (news.) | | | 8 August 1814 |
| 436 | <i>Tiden</i> (news.) | | | 11 August 1814 |
| 437 | <i>Tiden</i> (news.) | | | 15 August 1814 |
| 438 | <i>Roskilde-Riim</i> (non-fiction) | N.F.S. Grundtvig | Borrowed from Catherine Devegge | 28 August 1814 |
| 439 | <i>De Sorte Riddere</i> (fiction) | B.S. Ingemann | Borrowed from Catherine Devegge | 28 August 1814 30 August 1814 |

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| 440 | <i>Tiden</i> (news.) | | | 15 October 1814 |
| 441 | <i>Tiden</i> (news.) | | | 25 October 1814 |
| 442 | <i>Tiden</i> (news.) | | | 4 November 1814 |
| 443 | <i>Christiania Intelligentssedler</i> (news.) | | | 22 November 1814 |
| 444 | The Prince's speech* | | Borrowed from Arnoldus Koren | 30 November 1814 |
| 445 | The President's answer* | Wilhelm F.K. Christie | Borrowed from Arnoldus Koren | 30 November 1814 |
| 446 | The Norwegian constitution of November 1814* | | Borrowed from Arnoldus Koren | 30 November 1814 |
| 447 | <i>Figaro</i> (fiction) | August Wilhelm Iffland | | |
| 448 | Verse* | | Read by Theodor Borch | 13 January 1815 |