

# ABROAD BETWEEN SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS



## Swedish Seventeenth-Century Travel Advice Texts in Latin

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*The advisory texts for young men's educational travel published in the seventeenth century at the universities of the then Swedish realm carry on the tradition of the genre ars apodemica, the formal methodology of the art of travel developed in the sixteenth century. This article has the following aims: first, to examine literary elements in, and traditions behind, some of the recurring thematic sections; second, to discuss the emphasis put on personal improvement in the texts; and third, to explore how Lutheran travellers were instructed to respond to the Catholic world in the period of religious confessionalism.*

“hic segetes, illic felicius veniunt uvae”<sup>1</sup>  
(here the corn yields more, and here the grape)

These verses from Vergil's *Georgics* were frequently quoted in early modern treatises on travel to show that every country has something of great value to offer for the others; the wonders of nature, the most advanced knowledge and the most admirable cultural achievements were dispersed through various countries and in order to experience them one simply had to travel.<sup>2</sup> The educational journeys undertaken, and motives for them, varied in time and according to the social status, available funds and the expectations of and for the travellers. Noblemen favoured France and learning civilized manners and elegant conduct, theologians deepened their studies at Lutheran universities, and those thirsting for knowledge and experience visited renowned universities and as many cities and countries as the travel budget allowed. Regardless of who travelled and why, all travellers were expected to meet certain intellectual and moral prerequisites, travel wisely and in due course

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<sup>1</sup> Verg. *georg.* 1,54; *ecl.* 4,39. E.g., Matthiae Gothus 1618, A4r; Rosenstierna 1657, B1v.

<sup>2</sup> Stiernflycht 1648, C3v: “habet una quaeque terra suas velut gemmulas... sparsa et diffusa sapientissimi Dei oeconomia” (each country has its jewels ... God's household management is thinly distributed and extends over a wide area).

return home prudent, skilled, cultivated and useful servants for their native country.<sup>3</sup>

Various literary genres and forms, both in Latin and the vernacular, flourished in connection to early modern educational travel, manifesting its different aspects.<sup>4</sup> Many of them, such as valedictory and welcoming poems and speeches, travel diaries, letters, and *alba amicorum*, related to individual educational journeys (*peregrinatio academica*). The travel advice texts, which provided guidelines on how to prepare for an educational tour and how to accomplish it successfully, discussed the art of travel on a more general and theoretical level. The *ars apodemica* (or *prudentia peregrinandi*), a formal methodology of the art of travel, which had been developed by Theodor Zwinger (1533-1588) and others by 1570, provided inspiration for many Latin and vernacular writings, especially in northern Europe.<sup>5</sup> In the first half of the seventeenth century, the genre had become a recognized part of educational literature and a standard topic for dissertations at German protestant universities.<sup>6</sup> From there the topic soon found its way to the Nordic universities.<sup>7</sup>

This article is based on a reading of six orations and three dissertations on the art of travel published between 1618 and 1685 at the universities of Uppsala, Stockholm, Greifswald and Turku.<sup>8</sup> Compared to the early *ars apodemica* texts, marked by the Ramist method, these texts are much less systematic, but they deal with similar topics, such as the pros and cons of travelling, preconditions for successful travel, recommendations for places to visit, advice on what to observe, how to behave, etc. My first aim is to examine the treatises as literary texts, focusing on literary elements in and traditions behind some recurring thematic sections. In addition to the acquisition of knowledge, personal improvement was an important goal of educational travel.<sup>9</sup> I then discuss how this aspect is dealt with in the treatises. Since religious advice was a standard topic in apodemica texts,<sup>10</sup> I was also

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<sup>3</sup> Seventeenth-century educational journeys made by Swedes, including Finns, have been discussed in: Lindberg 2019; Winberg 2018; Giese 2009; Sjöblad 2004; Nuorteva 1997; Niléhn 1983.

<sup>4</sup> Rubiés 2002, 244; Sherman 2002, 30.

<sup>5</sup> Stagl 1995, 57-65.

<sup>6</sup> Stagl 1995, 84.

<sup>7</sup> Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Swedish travel advice texts have been discussed in: Roling 2019; Winberg 2018; Viiding 2010; Sjöblad 2004. For lists of early modern travel advice literature, see Seidel 2019, 144-147; Stagl 1983. For a database of European travel advice literature, see *Art of Travel, 1500-1850*, <https://artoftravel.nuigalway.ie/>.

<sup>8</sup> According to Stagl, the first creative period of *ars apodemica* abated after the 1630s. From that point of view, the Swedish texts are somewhat belated. Stagl 1995, 84.

<sup>9</sup> Williamson 2016, 542-544; Stagl 2019, 22; Sjöblad 2004, 9.

<sup>10</sup> Stagl 1995, 75.

curious to see how Lutheran travellers were instructed to respond to the Catholic world in the period of religious confessionalism.

Even though they are not an exhaustive list of printed Swedish seventeenth-century literature relevant to the topic, I believe that the following texts studied for this article give a general idea of the genre as it appeared in seventeenth-century Sweden:<sup>11</sup>

- 1) Johannes Matthiae Gothus, *Oratio, insignes peregrinationis utilitates continens*. Uppsala 1618.<sup>12</sup>
- 2) Georgius Sylvius, *Oratio de profectio ad exoticas regiones*. Uppsala 1630.<sup>13</sup>
- 3) Fridericus Colerus, *Oratio de peregrinatione*. Uppsala 1633.<sup>14</sup>
- 4) Nils Stiernflycht, *Oratio ... de peregrinationis usus tam in aula quam republ. ostenditur*. Greifswald 1648.<sup>15</sup>
- 5) Bo Rosenstierna, *Oratio de peregrinatione*. Uppsala 1657.<sup>16</sup>
- 6) Axel, Bengt, Johan Rosenhane, *Actus publicus in inchyta Svecorum Academia quae ad Salam est habitus, cum Axelius et Benedictus Rosenhaner L(iberi) Barones in Ikalaborg iter ad exteros suscepturi musis patriis valedicerent*. Uppsala 1658.<sup>17</sup>
- 7) Matthias Steuch (praeses) – Johannes Vallenius (respondent), *Dissertatio academica de eruditorum peregrinatione*. Uppsala 1680.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> I have excluded the three texts published at Tartu discussed in Viiding 2010. Beside printed orations and dissertations, there is also unprinted material, e.g., Johannes Schefferus's manuscript (Uppsala University Library), private letters, etc. Issues concerning travel were also treated in separate propositions (*corollaria*) appended to dissertations. E.g., Achrelius – Fogelberg, B4v: "An foeminae deceat peregrinari. Neg." (Is foreign travel becoming for a woman? Negative answer.).

<sup>12</sup> Johannes Matthiae (1592-1670), Bishop of Strängnäs.

<sup>13</sup> Georgius Sylvius (d. 1656), assessor at the Turku Court of Appeal.

<sup>14</sup> Friedrich Werner Colerus (Köhler).

<sup>15</sup> Nils Stiernflycht (1632-1680), military career.

<sup>16</sup> Bo Rosenstierna (1636-1676), assessor at Swedish government department (*kammarkollegiet*).

<sup>17</sup> The printing consists of three separate speeches delivered by three Rosenhane brothers, sons of Baron Schering Rosenhane (1609-1663), a high-ranking government official and writer. Axel (1637-1685) and Bengt (1639-1700) were leaving for an educational journey; Johan (1642-1710), the youngest brother, still had to complete his studies at the home university.

<sup>18</sup> Mathias Steuch (1644-1730), Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at Uppsala 1676-1683, Bishop of Lund, Archbishop of Uppsala. Unfortunately, the identity of the respondent, Johannes Vallenius, remains obscure.

- 8) Claudius Arrhenius (pr.) – Andreas Schonfelt (resp.), *Dissertatio academica de peregrinatione*. Stockholm 1683.<sup>19</sup>
- 9) Daniel Achrelius (pr.) – Petrus S. Fogelberg (resp.), *Dissertatio academica de peregrinatione*. Turku 1685.<sup>20</sup>

The art of travel was first discussed in academic orations (numbers 1-6). The German influence is marked: three orations (numbers 2, 3, 6) were supervised by professors of German origin, Johannes Loccenius and Johannes Schefferus, both serving at the University of Uppsala at that time;<sup>21</sup> number 3 was also delivered by a student of German origin; number 4 was delivered and printed in Greifswald in 1648, the year the Thirty Years' War ended, with Greifswald becoming part of the Swedish kingdom (Swedish Pomerania).<sup>22</sup> Some of the orations were delivered when the speaker was about to leave for (numbers 1 and 6), or had recently returned home from, his educational journey (number 5).<sup>23</sup> Stiernflycht concedes that his modest travel experience comprises only a journey from Sweden to Greifswald.<sup>24</sup> The rest of the cases would require more detective work, because the text itself or the paratexts do not reveal whether the choice of topic relates to a journey undertaken by the speaker or not. Since most of the orators were from the nobility, and *prudentia civilis* ('civic virtue'), encompassing appropriate social behaviour and statesmanship, preferably acquired by travelling abroad, was an integral part of their education, we can assume that it was at least something they were planning to do in the future.<sup>25</sup>

In the latter half of the seventeenth century the topic of the ideal travel method appeared in the dissertations; the peak of interest was in the 1680s when all

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<sup>19</sup> Claudius Arrhenius (Örnhjälm) (1627-1695), Professor of History at Uppsala. Andreas Schonfelt from Gotland.

<sup>20</sup> Daniel Achrelius (1644-1692), Professor of Eloquence at the Royal Academy of Turku. Petrus Fogelberg (ca. 1660-1712), army chaplain, minister in the Karlstad diocese.

<sup>21</sup> Johannes Loccenius (1598-1677), *professor Skytteanus* 1628-1642. Johannes Schefferus (1621-1679), *professor Skytteanus* 1648-1679.

<sup>22</sup> For the influence of Greifswald on Livonian travel advice texts, see Viiding 2010, 834.

<sup>23</sup> The gratulation by Professor Emundus Figrelius: "Dn Boetio Rosenstierna ... nuper ab exteris feliciter reduci", Rosenstierna 1657.

<sup>24</sup> Stiernflycht 1648, B1r.

<sup>25</sup> Stiernflycht, Rosenstierna and Rosenhane were noble families. Johannes Matthiae had close connections with the royal house and served as rector (1643-1664) of the *Collegium illustre*, a school for young noblemen in Stockholm. Georg Sylvius was ennobled twenty years later (1650). Winberg 2018, 56; Seidel 2019, 124; Gelléri 2019, 149; Nuorteva 1997, 532.

three dissertations were published.<sup>26</sup> Divided into parts, or theses, they are rather more analytically structured than several of the orations. The conventional division of practical advice into three phases—preparation for the journey, carrying out the journey, behaviour after returning home—is used as such in one dissertation, but it also serves as background in the other two.<sup>27</sup> Both treatise forms deal with conventional topics of the genre, but there are of course different emphases. For instance, Johannes Matthiae underlines the importance of visiting foreign universities; published in the time of the Thirty-Years' War, Sylvius's speech justifies King Gustavus Adolphus's military operations<sup>28</sup>; Stiernflycht praises France and the French language; Rosenstierna admires how commerce and overseas influence are fostered in the Netherlands and Spain; Arrhenius – Schonfelt's dissertation discusses in depth the issue of who is and who is not suitable for travel.<sup>29</sup> What is conspicuous in all the texts is the strong intertextual character.<sup>30</sup> In varying degrees, they all draw on previous travel advice literature, recycling material from widely read German and Dutch authors, such as Zwinger, Justus Lipsius, Johannes Caselius, Johann Heinrich Boecler and several others, so that each of them forms an intertextual concoction of its own.<sup>31</sup>

One of the recurring topics is a section dealing with arguments *pro et contra* (for and against) travel in the tradition of the deliberative genre. It had been a common topic in the early treatises on the art of travel and several arguments persisted into the seventeenth century. The claims against travelling were that it endangered the traveller's morals, manners and health, encouraged and spread undesirable new ideas, and required a lot of funding. Reading from books was suggested as a much safer way of learning.<sup>32</sup> The *pro et contra* sections are supplied with classical *exempla* (examples) of the use and abuse of travel. Plenty of such material was available in Zwinger's

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<sup>26</sup> Numbers 7 and 8 are included in the list of dissertations on travel compiled by Robert Seidel. Seidel 2019, 145.

<sup>27</sup> Achrelius – Fogelberg 1685 follows the before-during-after structure. Stagl 1995, 76-77. The influence of the Ramist classification method seems rather insignificant in the texts. Cf. Viiding 2010, 831; Stagl 2019, 18.

<sup>28</sup> Gustavus Adolphus (1594-1632), King of Sweden 1611-1632.

<sup>29</sup> As to women's foreign travels, Arrhenius – Schonfelt 1683 (B7v-B8v) first rejects the idea but then allows travels, e.g., for the sake of language studies.

<sup>30</sup> Stagl 2019, 22.

<sup>31</sup> Th. Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica in eorum gratiam qui cum fructu in quocumque tandem vitae genere peregrinari cupiunt* (1577); J. Lipsius, *De ratione cum fructu peregrinandi et praesertim in Italia* (letter to Philippe de Lannoy, Douai, 3 April 1578); Johannes Caselius, *Διάσκεψις Qui doctrinae virtutisque gratia peregrinari animum inducunt* (1578); Johann Heinrich Boecler, *De peregrinatione Germanici Caesaris* (1654). Cf. Viiding 2010, 833. Papy 2019; Seidel 2019, 120; Stagl 2019, 20-21.

<sup>32</sup> E.g., Steuch – Vallenius 1680, B2r-B2v. Sjöblad 2004, 12; Stagl 1995, 72-73.

encyclopaedia of examples, *Theatrum vitae humanae* (1565), and, in fact, there are more references to it in the texts than to his *Methodus apodemica*. The *pro* arguments eventually outweigh the *contra*, and the section often ends in praise of peregrination and all the benefits it brings about.<sup>33</sup> A desire for knowledge is highlighted as a basic motive and cited as the most important justification for travelling.<sup>34</sup>

Several texts include a historical survey of educational travel, which is often no more than a collage of separate, biblical, mythological, historical and contemporary examples of former travellers and their ambitions, with no chronological or other discernible order. Some examples are elaborated to such an extent that they resemble incomplete short biographies. Among several shorter examples in Arrhenius – Schonfelt’s dissertation, there is a detailed account of Tycho Brahe’s life from the age of fourteen when he left for his first journey abroad.<sup>35</sup> With birth, the early years, and death omitted, it cannot be considered a proper biography, but Brahe’s travels and scientific pursuits are so meticulously recorded that the passage forms a clearly discernible and relatively extensive unit. In the longer examples, descriptions of admirable character and deeds verge on encomiums in a similar way to the *personalia*, biographical sections inserted in contemporary funeral orations (*parentatio*).

Praise according to the rules of epideictic rhetoric can also be seen in recommendations as to which cities and countries to visit and what to observe there. They are often turned into descriptive eulogies pointing out the most admirable properties in each place, such as location, climate, architecture, famous citizens, advanced skills, flourishing commerce, etc. These sections could draw on the tradition of medieval descriptions of cities (*laudes urbis*) and the *loci* (places where arguments can be found) recorded in classical and contemporary instructions of epideictic rhetoric.<sup>36</sup> Bengt Rosenhane names unusually many cities (sixty-one, forty in Germany, the rest in Hungary, Italy, France, England and the Netherlands), possible stops on their tour, giving short justifications for visiting each of them. For instance, Leuven is worth visiting because it is Justus Lipsius’s birthplace, which shows that Lipsius

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<sup>33</sup> E.g., Johannes Matthiae 1618, begins the praise (C4v-D1r) as follows: “O egregios & insignes peregrinationis fructus...” (O how excellent and outstanding fruits foreign travel brings about...).

<sup>34</sup> An especially long section of desire for knowledge (*incredibilis discendi cupiditas*) is elaborated in Rosenstierna 1657, B2r-C2r.

<sup>35</sup> Arrhenius – Schonfelt 1683, B1v–B2v.

<sup>36</sup> Stagl 1995, 80.

had been a significant authority in the Rosenhanes' studies.<sup>37</sup> Before bursting into praise for France, Stiernflycht gives a more typical description of the qualities of various areas: German has delightful gardens and vineyards, masterly craftsmanship and fine cities, some of which, alas, are now damaged by the war; the Netherlands boast remarkable architecture and prosperous trade; for its amazing beauty, Venice, *orbis ocellus* (jewel of the world), is a self-evident destination.<sup>38</sup>

The most frequently used ancient and later *exempla* did not demand any explanatory frame narrative but had rather turned into aphorisms and proverbial sayings, such as “hic Scylla, ibi Charybdis” (Scylla here, Charybdis there)<sup>39</sup>; “caelum, non animum, mutant, qui trans mare currunt” (they who rush over the sea change the sky, not the mind).<sup>40</sup> Advice and warnings were summarized in maxims, such as “disce a doctis” (learn but learn from the wise); “fide sed cui vide” (be careful whom you trust). These proverbs and maxims play an essential part in the texts. Since some of them are to be found in almost all the texts discussed here, they were presumably not considered purely recycled material from earlier *ars apodemica* but indispensable ingredients for the topic. This feature characterizes the whole genre in the seventeenth century and the discussion largely takes place at the level of proverbial wisdom and commonplace knowledge.<sup>41</sup>

Inserting Swedish examples among the usual mythological and historical ones was an effective means of putting Sweden on the seventeenth-century political map. These examples were also, if not the only, in any case the clearest, element to distinguish the Swedish travel advice literature from similar texts published elsewhere. Taking notice of its own good qualities and achievements, they are expressions of a growing self-awareness of Sweden as an emerging great power and advanced country in northern Europe. In 1618, Johannes Matthiae's wording is still quite modest and unspecified: “my speech would never be finished if I would name all the empires, realms, cities, towers and temples that would not now exist if no travelling would have taken place. I would like to draw attention to our own Northern regions which once were inhabited and which you now see prospering.”<sup>42</sup> Thirty years later, at

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<sup>37</sup> B. Rosenhane 1658, Fr-Gv. Winberg 2018, 73-76.

<sup>38</sup> Stiernflycht 1648, D1r-D1v.

<sup>39</sup> E.g., Achrelius – Fogelberg 1685, B1r. Probably cited from Lipsius's letter to De Lannoy. Papy 2019, 103.

<sup>40</sup> E.g., Achrelius – Fogelberg 1685, B1r. A quotation from Horace. Hor. *epist.* 1,11,27.

<sup>41</sup> Enenkel 2019, 57.

<sup>42</sup> Johannes Matthiae 1618, C4v: “Infinita oratio futura esset si imperia, regna, urbes, turre et templa commemorare omnia vellem, quae nunc nulla essent, si peregrinationis cursus nullus fuisset. Ipsae velim regiones Boreales in patria nostra loquantur, quae quondam inhabitabiles fuerunt, quas nunc omnium cultissimas videtis...”

the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War, Stiernflycht stated that the level of scholarship was constantly improving, with Sweden approaching the leading stars in the field of learning: Germany, France and the Netherlands.<sup>43</sup> Again, a decade later in 1658, Sweden's national pride manifested itself in Axel Rosenhane's list of places to be visited. It includes sites of the battles, some of them still in ruins, where Gustavus Adolphus' army had fought victoriously in the Thirty Years' War.<sup>44</sup>

Since the improvement of one's personality was an important goal of the journey, a considerable proportion of several texts are dedicated to virtues and morals. This emphasis reflects the central role moral philosophy played in the contemporary university curriculum, with moral philosophical issues popular topics in academic orations and dissertations in general. In the texts, a good standard of morals and self-control are considered a *sine qua non* for the rational planning and successful accomplishment of the travel. If he had not set a proper goal, the traveller was "like an untrained archer who shoots arrows aimlessly" and his travel was doomed to failure, at least no benefits were in prospect for his fatherland.<sup>45</sup> Travelling abroad served as culmination of the traveller's moral, intellectual and civic education. The world displayed virtues and vices in all their variety for the traveller to observe, train his judgement and form his own personality. Many writers call foreign travelling *virtutum gymnasium* (a gymnasium of virtues) and *prudentia* (prudence) is mentioned as one of the principal virtues it exercised.<sup>46</sup>

Travelling brought both utility (*utilitas*) and pleasure (*iucunditas* or *voluptas*) but not without the traveller's own input and efforts.<sup>47</sup> How successfully he was able to manage the two qualities depended on his own moral strength and ability to improve himself as a human being. Utility comprised the acquisition of knowledge, acquaintances, social networks and experience, which enhanced understanding, prudence and other virtues. In many ways, pleasure and utility were interwoven, which clearly comes out, for instance, in the division of pleasure into the three types suggested in

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<sup>43</sup> Stiernflycht 1648, C2v-C3r.

<sup>44</sup> A. Rosenhane 1658, D2r, F1v-F2r. Winberg 2018, 71.

<sup>45</sup> Achrelius – Fogelberg 1685, A3r: "Sagittarius totius artis ignarus ... qui suas emittit sagittas". Cf. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1094a; Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* 71, 3. In his letter to De Lannoy, Lipsius used a similar image of the javelin thrower. Papy 2019, 95.

<sup>46</sup> E.g., Johannes Matthiae 1618, C1r: "[peregrinationem] quasi scholam & gymnasium maximarum virtutum appellavero" (I call foreign travelling a school and gymnasium of the best virtues); Arrhenius - Schonfelt 1683, A5v: "Peregrinatio... enim non solum praecipuum fundamentum atque instrumentum prudentiae, verum etiam omnis virtutis exercendae quoddam quasi gymnasium est" (peregrination is not only the basis and instrument for prudence but also like a gymnasium for exercising of all virtues).

<sup>47</sup> Papy 2019, 95–96.



Arrhenius – Schonfelt’s dissertation: 1) to see what gifts nature has given each country; 2) to see what architectural, artistic and handcrafted achievements human beings have been able to create; 3) to enjoy the social interaction between scholars and distinguished persons.<sup>48</sup> The pleasures of wine, women and song, if mentioned at all, were something about which the traveller needed to be warned. Temptations and dangers meant he had to be constantly on his guard. The company of unreliable and cunning persons could have disastrous consequences; love affairs particularly could lead the traveller into desperate situations. Navigating between Scylla and Charybdis without sustaining damage was a real test of his prudence and moral strength.

The texts are bursting with *exempla* of model travellers who extended their experience and understanding of the world and different societies, deepened their knowledge of various disciplines and acquired for themselves much wanted skills. One of the figures most frequently referred to is Ulysses. Lipsius had cast him as the ideal traveller who, by his efforts, had gained true wisdom and thus exemplified Stoic virtue.<sup>49</sup> Ulysses is depicted as a courageous, ingenious and pious hero, who, after having acquired for himself wide-ranging knowledge of distant countries and people, returned home with first-hand information for the benefit of his native country.<sup>50</sup> The idea behind this example was to encourage travellers to gather and convey updated information to their domestic government.<sup>51</sup> *Exempla* present a one-sided picture of a historical or mythological figure as representative of a certain quality, ignoring his or her less admirable qualities. So whilst the image of Ulysses as a liar and cheat was of course familiar, in apodemic texts it gave way to the burnished one.<sup>52</sup>

The former exemplary travellers’ model encouraged young men leaving for travel to educate themselves, mature mentally and become loyal and useful citizens. In this respect recent Swedish exemplary travellers played an especially important role. King Gustavus Adolphus is extolled for travelling for the benefit of the Swedish state: “how lucky we are to have a king who

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<sup>48</sup> Arrhenius – Schonfelt 1683, D1r-D2r: “triplex genus jucunditatis ... 1) Consistit in consideratione rerum naturalium..., 2) Continet rerum artificialium observationes, ... quae omnia miro hominum elaborata ingenio, 3) Consistit in jucunda cum viris eruditione ac virtute illustribus consuetudine.”

<sup>49</sup> Papy 2000, 185-189.

<sup>50</sup> E.g., Johannes Matthiae 1618, C1r: “non temere sapientissimus Homerus Ulyssesum quasi prudentis politiae Idaeam facit” (with good reason the wisest man Homer forms his Ulysses as an ideal of civic prudence).

<sup>51</sup> Williamson 2018, 544.

<sup>52</sup> Papy 2000, 197-198; Enenkel 2019, 69-70. In Erasmus’s *De duplici copia verborum* (1530), Ulysses is labelled a cheat.

values knowledge and learning highly”.<sup>53</sup> Travel experience is seen as a constituent part of statesmanship. The Lord High Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna is said to have contributed to the progress of Swedish society in a remarkable way through the knowledge of various countries he acquired during his travels.<sup>54</sup> Praise is extended to other aristocratic and noble families famous for their members’ fruitful travels, such as Brahe, Bielke, Sparre and Baner, and the claim is made that the Swedes dedicated themselves to travelling to a much greater extent than other nations. A good example to suggest that the claim is not exaggerated is Bengt Oxenstierna, who travelled extensively in Europe, Asia and Africa.<sup>55</sup> Several writers also take note of the important opportunity a foreign stay provides for improving language and communicative skills.<sup>56</sup>

On the educational journey, young Swedes raised as Lutherans also visited Catholic and Anglican countries. In the contemporary Latin texts produced in Sweden, we often find rather harsh comments levelled at other religious groups, Catholicism and the Pope in particular.<sup>57</sup> I expected that religious issues would form one of the major concerns in the Swedish travel advice treatises and was curious to see how young travellers were advised to behave in different religious settings. Interestingly, not much attention is paid to the issue in the texts.<sup>58</sup> They all emphasize that, along with a good standard of morals and self-control, thorough knowledge of the right religion and solid faith were a prerequisite for all who were planning to leave for an educational tour. A thorough basic education and strong religious backbone, built up in the fatherland, were the traveller’s best defence against any undesired influences.<sup>59</sup> This is more or less all that is said about the whole matter.

The treatises discuss educational travels from the point of view of young men who in the future were expected to serve in public offices, state administration, local government, university posts, etc. Their duty was to observe and learn about different customs, administration, laws, political

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<sup>53</sup> Johannes Matthiae 1618, C2r.

<sup>54</sup> Stiernflycht 1648, C2v. Count Axel Oxenstierna (1583-1654).

<sup>55</sup> Stiernflycht (D4v-E1r): “praeter universam Europam, Asiam, Africam tam laudabili exemplo peragravit, ut non pauca in his memoratu digna domum rediens retulerit.” Swedish diplomat Bengt Oxenstierna (1591-1643), sometimes referred to as *Resare-Bengt* (Bengt the Traveller).

<sup>56</sup> Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie (1622-1686) and Eric Oxenstierna (1624-1656) are praised for the excellent command of French they acquired for themselves in France (Stiernflycht 1648, D4v) and Johan Skytte (1577-1645) for his foreign experience, eloquence and language skills (Johannes Matthiae 1618, C3r).

<sup>57</sup> The decree of Örebro passed in 1617 imposed sanctions on visits to Catholic universities. Giese 2009, 48.

<sup>58</sup> Viiding 2000, 3-4.

<sup>59</sup> Niléhn 1983, 111.

systems, military issues, in fact about everything that would increase their knowledge, practical judgement and prudence. The treatises say little about those who sought offices in the church. Due to the confessional supervision of study abroad they had to limit their visits to orthodox Lutheran universities and from the 1620s onwards often chose domestic universities (Uppsala, soon also Dorpat and Turku).<sup>60</sup> The only explicit mention concerning clergymen is found in Arrhenius – Schonfelt’s dissertation, which remarks in passing that a competent and decent theologian only chooses to visit universities representing religious purity and concentrates on subjects, such as Greek and Hebrew, that improve his debating skills against the heretics.<sup>61</sup> Who the heretics were is not specified in any way.

The texts encourage travellers to engage socially with local people irrespective of their faith and to take part in their ceremonies and rites, but they are short as regards advice on how to behave in these situations. The only clear advice offered in most texts is condensed into a phrase from Lipsius’s letter to Philippe de Lannoy (1578), “frons aperta, lingua parca, mens clausa” (face open, tongue of few words, mind closed). In other words the traveller should just silently observe, not make a fuss about himself, nor in any way allow his own mind to be influenced by any undesirable ideas that would contradict or harm his view of his own country and religion.<sup>62</sup> Lipsius’ advice originally had to do with the survival strategy among Italians, whom he considered very unreliable, but it was soon applied generally to other nations in travel advice texts.<sup>63</sup> Another common maxim, an elegiac couplet from St. Ambrose, suggests that the traveller should adjust to foreign circumstances by imitating local customs, “si fueris Romae, Romano vivito more/ sin fueris alibi, vivito sicut ibi” (when in Rome do as the Romans do/ if you are elsewhere do as they do).<sup>64</sup> The texts clearly take a moderate or even neutral view about differences between Lutherans and other religious groups. This neutrality was a convention of the genre; it made the texts more generally applicable and, by recommending discreet presence instead of any

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<sup>60</sup> Nuorteva 1997, 530.

<sup>61</sup> Arrhenius – Schonfelt 1683, C7v-C8r: “Theologus suarum rerum probe gnarus vix evadet, nisi loca, quibus religionis puritas viget, visitaverit, ac praeter caeteras artes necessarias, Hebraeam Graecamque linguam didicerit, quam instructus notitia adversus haereticorum turmas decertare & sophismata ... possit convellere.”

<sup>62</sup> E.g. Arrhenius – Schonfelt 1683, B5r; Achrelius – Fogelberg 1685, A7v.

<sup>63</sup> Enenkel 2019, 70; Papy 2019, 102.

<sup>64</sup> E.g., Achrelius – Fogelberg 1685, A7r.

loud religious statement, the instructions aimed at keeping travellers out of trouble.<sup>65</sup>

For a glimpse of how the genre developed in the eighteenth century, when utilitarian and scientific interests encouraged educational travels not only to central and southern Europe but to all points of the compass, including neighbouring and overseas areas, I read Henrik Hassel (pr.) – Sveno Ringh's (resp.) dissertation entitled *Tentamen academicum de peregrinatione recte instituenda* (Aboae 1741).<sup>66</sup> There are considerable differences from the seventeenth-century texts. *Pro et contra* arguments, *exempla*, encomiastic sections, historical surveys, quotations from and references<sup>67</sup> to previous apodemic literature, which were so essential in the seventeenth-century dissertations and orations, are all missing. Nor does Hassel – Ringh's dissertation deal with virtues or the traveller's personal improvement. Its focus has shifted to strictly empirical observation as a method of gathering new knowledge. The seventeenth-century general instructions on what to observe have developed into a detailed scheme for more efficient gathering of useful knowledge. As such, the dissertation is one example of a new, more modern scientific outlook, which Carl von Linné would soon develop and systematize further in his *ars apodemica*.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Viiding 2010, 836; Stagl 1995, 76. Stagl suggests that the neutrality in books on travel was due to marketing considerations. In the Swedish material, however, this was hardly a decisive factor.

<sup>66</sup> Another dissertation published one year earlier, Petrus Ekerman (pr.) – Johan Åhman (resp.), *Specimen academicum de peregrinationibus litterariis* (Upsaliae 1740), is an elaborated history of educational journeys, first in general, then focusing on those undertaken by ancient Greeks. A second, separately published part came out three years later.

<sup>67</sup> The fact that the only reference made is to Francis Bacon is clearly indicative.

<sup>68</sup> Roling 2019, 168-170; Stagl 1995, 85-86. For instructions to travellers' observations and their connection to the foundations of anthropology, see Rubiés 2002, 242-243.

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