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600 Years of Travelling Students

Introduction

The subject of this paper is the study travels, the so-called peregrinations, of Swedish students to foreign universities, from its beginnings in the 13th century to the end of the 18th century. These travels commence in the late 13th century, reach their peak in the 17th century and became increasingly rare in the late-18th century. This is, however, not the story of Swedish scientific cooperation with other countries, nor of universities sharing information with each other or exchanging doctoral students. As I see it, these phenomena belong to a much more recent development, beginning perhaps in the late-19th century. Instead, this is the story of how a surprisingly large amount of Swedish youths visited the continent, often travelling extensively between universities and sometimes spending years abroad in order to educate themselves.

What do I mean when I refer to "Sweden" and "Swedish" students? The borders of the kingdom of Sweden underwent radical changes during the 600-year period in question. Finland was a province of Sweden during the entire period covered. In the 17th cen-

tury Sweden incorporated most of the Baltic coast, gaining parts of Estonia and Latvia, Courland and Pomerania. All these provinces, including Finland, were subsequently lost in the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century. In the 17th century Sweden also acquired the northwestern provinces of Jämtland/Härjedalen and the southern provinces of Bohuslän, Halland, Scania and Blekinge. These provinces have remained Swedish ever since. In this paper I define Sweden as the sovereign territory remaining after the abolition of the personal union with Norway, terminated in 1905. Thus I do not regard the German-speaking students from the Baltic provinces as Swedish, as they themselves hardly would have done so. Concerning the students from the northwestern and southern provinces, these are regarded as Swedes from the year 1660 onward. All Finnish students are also considered Swedish throughout this period.

I would like to stress that the available sources for the medieval period are sparse and difficult to interpret, a fact unfortunately true for later periods as well. A lot of the figures presented in this article are based on poor and often contradictory sources. Some-

times they are only based on estimates. It is also difficult to interpret the main sources, the matriculation books, correctly. These books, in their current form, are in some instances not the originals. I have only had some published editions of them at my disposal.

Many of these matriculation books were edited and published at the beginning of this century. Most of the German and Dutch books have thus been published (Achelis, 1963). Regrettably the French, Italian and British registers have not yet been published and are therefore difficult to obtain; in some cases they have disappeared entirely. This poses a major problem for the student of these matters, for as the available sources only cover the German and Dutch universities one is led to believe that only these were visited by Swedish students. In fact no one really knows the extent of Swedish attendance at the non-Germanic universities.

The most important of these German and Dutch matriculation books have been scrutinised by professor Christian Callmer (1956, 1963—64, 1969—70, 1975—76, 1976, 1988). He has published excerpts of the Swedish names found in them. His material, only a portion of which has been published, was used by Lars Nihlén (1983) in his dissertation *Peregrinatio Academica: Det svenska samhället och de utrikes studiersorna under 1600-talet*. Nihlén covers the 17th century and is my main source for that period. Nihlén's book is the most recent and in my opinion also the best that has been written on this subject. The rest of the literature in this field is in the form of short articles and/or annotated excerpts from matriculation books.

What kind of information do the original matriculation books generally contain? The following information is usually given: date of matriculation, surname, first name, place of origin, nationality. (when the student was a foreigner), and academic titles. It also states whether the student was a nobleman and the sums the students had to pay in order to be inmatriculated. In other words they only state that a certain number of students

visited a university a certain year. Comparing the books of several universities over an extended period, one discovers that some universities were more popular than others. One also finds that the popularity of certain universities varies from century to century. But that is all. It is much more difficult to understand why certain universities were preferred to others. In this essay I try to explain these variations in a number of ways. Regrettably, these explanations are all too often merely hypotheses based on other scholar's information or in some cases on such imprecise sources as the travel diaries of peregrinating students.

Paris

Why were Swedish students compelled to go abroad to study? The first Swedish university was created at Uppsala in the year 1477, but it was a small, penurious and insignificant university that could not fulfill the demand for higher education in Sweden. Furthermore, it was defunct over long periods of time. Swedish youngsters craving higher education were quite simply forced to go abroad.

One should however not over-emphasize the word "education", for it was not a formal education these students were out after. Very few of them bothered to acquire any kind of degree during their sojourns at foreign universities. It was sufficient for the majority of them to spend some time at the university in question and undergo the "artes course" at the faculty of philosophy. A lot of these students became vicars when they returned to their native land, since this was just about the only profession open to the academically trained. There were no formal demands made on vicars in those days; however, having spent some time at a university was indeed a merit. But those desiring higher ecclesiastical positions had to obtain a more thoroughgoing familiarity with theology and canon law. This knowledge was only available at the famous universities of Paris, Prague and later, Germany.

The first Swedish students studying abroad of whom we have any certain knowledge are to be found at the Sorbonne in Paris at the end of the 13th century. In the year 1278 four Swedish students were reported to be studying in Paris (Lindroth, 1975: 54—56; Schüick, 1900). The Danish historian E. Jörgensen identified about 20 Swedish magisters of arts promoted during the 13th century (Jörgensen, 1915: 340—342). Also of interest is the establishment of colleges for the Swedish students in Paris. In the year 1291 the diocese of Uppsala established the first Swedish college, soon to be followed by others (Gabriel, 1960).

Further information on the number of Swedish students is available from the English nation's matriculation book, beginning with the year 1333, as the Swedes were considered to be a part of the English nation at the Sorbonne. Using this source, complemented with others, Jörgensen has found 134 verifiably Swedish names for the period 1300—1449. For the period 1300—1349, there were 85 students. For the years 1350—1399 there were 26 and finally, for the years 1400—1449, there were 23 students in Paris (Jörgensen, 1915: 351). The Swedish historian Kjell Kumlien used statistical estimation in order to arrive at the approximate number of Swedish students who visited Paris. He concludes that there ought to have been at least seven hundred Swedish students in Paris all in all for the years 1300—1450 (Kumlien, 1942: 161—162).

Less-speculative information like Jörgensen's figures provide clear evidence that Swedes almost entirely ceased to travel to the Sorbonne in the middle of the 14th century. There were several reasons for this.

The Paris university had lost some of its reputation in the latter part of the century. The Hundred Years' War between France and England and the Black Plague further complicated matters. A third reason was religious — the Sorbonne backed the Avignon Pope in the Great Schism while the Scandinavian countries stayed with Rome. Finally, the establishment of Prague and the German universities in the latter half of the 14th

century meant that Swedes did not have to travel so far afield to attend universities maintaining loyalty to the Roman Pope (Thörnqvist, 1929: 237).

Prague

Prague University was established in the year 1348. It soon became the most important foreign university for the Swedes, and it almost totally unseated Paris in the late 14th century. There are regrettably no matriculation books surviving from this period which cover the whole of the university. In 1885, the Norwegian historian Ludvig Daae published excerpts from the then-available books, one listing the jurists for the period 1372—1413 and another covering the promoted students in the artes faculty in the years 1367—1408. After reading these excerpts I have found 213 possible Swedish names. These figures are probably too high, as it is often extremely difficult to determine with any certainty if a name is Swedish or not.

The Swedish historian Clara Thörnqvist (1929) has studied the same available sources and she found about 145 Swedish students in Prague for the years 1360 to 1409. She argues that her figures are minimum figures, and that there were probably still more students in attendance.

Considering her numbers and similar figures found by other historians, I believe that about 150 Swedish students were in Prague, beginning with its establishment in 1348, up to the early-15th century when the schism occurred. The Swedish presence at this university was thus a rather short-lived affair. Hardly any Swedes visited Prague after 1409. The German universities now became the new destinations for travelling Swedish students.

German universities

Jörgensen (1916) arranged the number of Nordic students at ten German universities

between the years 1372 and 1536 into a table (see Table 1, second column). I have complemented this table with the year of establishment of each of the universities, as this is an important consideration. A more recently-established university has been operating for a shorter time and thus obviously has had less opportunity to create a reputation for itself. In this way, an older university always has an advantage based simply on its age. When I speak of German universities I refer to universities situated within the German-speaking cultural sphere, not necessarily located within the borders of the old German-Roman empire.

Jörgensen's data contains some interesting information. Three universities dominate. The most popular destination is Rostock with about 42 % of the students. Leipzig has 28 % and Greifswald 15 %. Are there identifiable reasons for this? Greifswald is situated on the Baltic and Rostock lies close to the same coast. Thus it was easy to get to these places by boat. Even less-well-off students could afford to travel to these universities. But what about Leipzig? It lies in the middle of Germany, a long way from the sea. Leipzig was then one of Germany's largest universities and perhaps the most prominent

among them. This could well explain its popularity among Swedes.

Kumlien (1942: 158) has attempted to estimate the total number of inmatriculations for the years 1410—1520, a shorter period than given in Table 1. His average is 65 students per decade. From the 1450s onwards the average is about 75 students for each ten-year period. But from the beginning of the 16th century this changes radically. For instance, only 15 students made their way abroad during the 1520s, and a mere three in the years 1530—1536. Why this downward turn? Kumlien argues that this was a result of the political and religious struggles in Sweden during these years when the Danish oppressors were driven out of the country and the Reformation began. The Reformation also wrought havoc among the German universities during this period.

The Swedish historian P.O. Wilner (1904) has studied Swedish student visits to Germany during the latter part of the 15th century. His numbers (Table 1, last column) are interesting when compared with Jörgensen's in Table 1. Rostock remains the most visited university with about 40 % of the students, Greifswald and Wittenberg each have about 20 % of the students. Wittenberg, established

Table 1. The number of Swedish students at German Universities 1372—1536 and 1551—1600.

University	Year of foundation	Number of Swedish studies	
		1372—1536	1551—1600
Wien	1365	16	*
Heidelberg	1386	0	8
Erfurt	1392	33	*
Leipzig	1409	183	8
Rostock	1419	273	257
Greifswald	1456	101	140
Tübingen	1477	0	*
Wittenberg	1502	28	135
Frankfurt a. O.	1506	10	15
Marburg	1527	—	18
Jena	1558	—	27
Helmstedt	1573	—	32
Altdorf	1578	—	2
Total		644	636

Sources: Jörgensen (1916) and Wilner (1904).

in 1502, had only 38 visitors in Jörgensen's table covering the years 1372—1536, but in Wilner's table it boasts 135.

This interest for the newly-established Wittenberg in the latter part of the 16th century is easily explained. Wittenberg was the most prominent orthodox Lutheran university in Germany. Martin Luther, the "father of the Reformation", lived and worked there. The almost equally famous Philip Melancthon, well-known humanist and pedagogue, reformed the educational system at the university and wrote very popular pedagogical works. These two famous men naturally drew a lot of attention. I would like to argue, tentatively, that these men were great celebrities; one could, somewhat blasphemously, regard them as Lutheran saints. Their houses and ultimately their graves, became "a must" for every pious Lutheran to visit. The continuing Swedish interest for Wittenberg, firmly established in the middle of the 16th century, has its main source in this enormous interest for "the fathers of the Reformation". Another motivation for visiting Wittenberg was of course the orthodox Lutheranism taught there. For the cautious young theologian, aspiring a vicarage upon returning home, this could well be a significant factor (Fletcher, 1981).

In the first decade of the 18th century this vital interest remained. The diary of travelling student Sven Bredberg (ms. written in 1708—10, first published in 1972: 72) bears this out. He writes: "Här synas ock hålen ännu effter ther D. Luther låtet vpstå sine Theses på Slotz Kyrkjödören, som han förste gången här i Wittenberg disputerade". (You can still see the marks left on the church door where D. Luther nailed the thesis he defended here in Wittenberg for the first time).

What about Rostock and Greifswald? Well, Greifswald is easily explained by its geographical location, as stated above, and Rostock too is easily accessible for the Swedes. Further significant factors should be considered concerning Rostock. Rostock had been the primary destination for generations of travelling Swedish students. Thus it ought to have acquired a very good repu-

tation back in the native country. Another important factor in Rostock's favour was the presence of the famous orthodox Lutheran theologian David Chytraeus. He was a man with very good connections among the Swedish clergy. Swedish bishops chose suitable young students and sent them off to this splendid educator and theologian. He taught them "controversy theology", and made excellent disputants of these rather meek Swedes. When they returned home they were intellectually fully equipped to deal with Catholics, Calvinists and other dangerous heretics (Annerstedt, 1877: 78).

One might also pose another hypothetical explanation for the student travel patterns. I believe that there were itineraries, fixed travel routes that the students usually followed. Partly these itineraries were determined by the water routes and the roads in the country. But I also believe that some places were regarded as more attractive than others. Admittedly, this might seem a rather trivial observation, as we all know from our own travels that some places are considered interesting, as "musts" to visit, while others are considered far less so. In a similar way, some towns, for instance those where famous universities were situated, like Rostock or Wittenberg, were included in these student itineraries, other were not. The existence of itineraries is a well-known historical phenomenon, familiar in connection with the "Grand Tours" of the continent undertaken by young men out of the British gentry in the 17th and 18th centuries, with most of them following the same routes. Just think of the term "Giro d'Italia", which in this case does not refer to the famous bicycle race! (Stoye, 1952: 109—132, 175—195; Parks, 1954: 179—194; Trease, 1967: 10—11; Black, 1—38)

Is there any evidence indicating that the Swedish travelling students also followed particular routes? Some student travelogues from the 17th century seem to bear this out. Travellers followed the same route through Denmark. Then they either followed an eastern route through eastern Germany, visiting its universities, or a central route through

western Germany and its universities, or a western road via the Netherlands and its university towns. Some students, rich noblemen like Swen Ribbing, even made a conventional Grand Tour that included France (Paris) and northern Italy (Hall, 1936: 40—44; Ribbing ms., 1663)

Ideals of education and the peregrinations of noblemen in the 16th and 17th centuries

During the latter part of the 16th century a new group of young men began visiting the universities. New ideals of education made it important for boys from the nobility to acquire more profound humanistic learning. From now on the nobility had to learn the classical languages, Greek and Latin, the “artes liberales”, literature and music in order to be considered chivalrous. This educational ideal, *l'honnête homme*, was extremely idealistic. The practical use of knowledge was not stressed in this period. However, at the beginning of the 17th century another modified educational ideal appeared. The nobility was increasingly involved in the administration of states and they began to regard the earlier chivalrous ideal as inadequate. They had to learn modern languages like French and Italian, history and civil law. Moreover, they must also be versed in the so-called chivalric arts, including dancing, riding and fencing. Such training was usually not available at the universities. Therefore, at the end of the 16th century, so-called *collegia illustra* were created for the nobility, specialising in the chivalric arts.

In what way then could the young nobleman acquire this essential knowledge? Justus Lipsius, professor in Leiden, recommended a “nobilis et erudita peregrinatio”, a noble and educational sojourn in foreign countries (Kühnel, 1964: 364—368). The peregrination soon became almost an obligatory part in the education of the nobility. These travels are more commonly known as “grand tours” in English and as “die Kavalierstour” in German-speaking countries. But

not only the nobility undertook peregrinations, even if they for obvious reasons (being well-off financially !) always dominated in numbers. The behaviour of the nobility was regarded as something worthy of imitation. This means that during the latter part of the 17th century and well into the 18th, sons of the gentry, merchant's sons and even some peasant's sons set out on peregrinations. The travelling party should preferably be led by some older, experienced student, in German called “der Hofmeister”. He took responsibility for the youngsters, minded the purse and made all practical arrangements during the journey (Meier, 1938).

Beside visiting famous universities and *collegia illustra*, travel in itself had an important educational aspect. The best way to learn foreign languages was to travel and for some period live in foreign countries. It was also of the greatest importance to meet foreign dignitaries, for instance noblemen, members of academies of sciences, writers, famous university professors and so on. All these important people, spread throughout Europe, could prove very useful acquaintances for a young man upon arrival back home. It was not unusual that these first contacts, short-lived and sporadic though they were, marked the beginning of life-long relationships between people. Furthermore, the peregrination would also give the young man experience in practical matters; he'd learn to behave properly. By meeting all kinds of people during his travels and often being forced to share his mode of transportation with “commoners”, he would eventually become a true gentleman (Loebenstein (Csaky), 1966; de Ridder-Symoens, 1989, Brenner, 1990: 105—110).

The young Swedish nobleman Swen Ribbing (1663: 1) writes the following about his reasons for travelling abroad: “till att see migh något om i werlden, till att intaga främmandt språk och förfarrenhet, och förnembliqast till att lära och öfwa migh uthi Dygds och rydderliga exercitier;..” (to see the world, to learn foreign languages and manners, and most of all to learn and practice virtues and chivalric exercises).

These travels were however severely criticised by conservative, orthodox Lutheran, and patriotic writers. The notorious Greifswald professor of theology, Johan Friedrich Mayer, wrote a theological handbook aimed at pious youngsters bound for their first peregrination (1686). He informs his readers of the perils of travelling, and concentrates on those that especially threaten the young man not yet firm enough in his religious beliefs. Mayer, in close collaboration with the Swedish clergy, even convinced King Carolus XII in the beginning of the 18th century to legislate that all travelling students must visit Greifswald. Safely in his hands, Mayer could then test the youngster's theological knowledge and give him useful hints on how best to avoid Papist missionaries. In fact, the true motivation behind Mayer's interest in these matters was a combination of a personal antagonism toward former colleagues in Leipzig and Wittenberg, and an urge to make some money off these students, forcing them to pay for private lectures and the signing of testimonia.

This piece of legislation was of course not appreciated by the travellers and was soon declared invalid. During the 17th and the first part of the 18th century the Swedish clergy repeatedly tried to control the student peregrinations. They even wanted to forbid visits to certain universities. Halle, the centre of the radical Pietist movement, was considered especially dangerous. From time to time the bishops succeeded in convincing the Swedish authorities that all travelling students be required to undergo theological examinations in Uppsala before they were allowed leave the country. The nobility, not destined to become country vicars, were usually not forced to undergo these exams. In fact only a few of the students bothered to go through this as it was virtually impossible to control the peregrinations, or check just which universities a particular student had visited (Göransson, 1951).

But continental travelling implied other dangers than merely religious ones. A well-known figure, often satirized by writers, was the "petit maitre". He was commonly dressed

in expensive and dandified French clothes, spoke his native tongue with a ridiculous French accent and worst of all, despised his own country. Patriotic and often frankly chauvinistic English educators seemed to especially disregard travel as an educational method. One writer of instructions for peregrinations, James Howell (1642), is on the whole negative on the subject of travel. After giving a few useful hints to the young traveller, and providing his mostly negative opinions of the French, the Spanish and the Italians, he concludes that only silliness and vice is to be learnt abroad (for Swedish examples, see Stiernhielm 1658; Arrhenius, 1683).

Foreign travel could indeed be a dangerous undertaking in the 17th century. There were real perils. Highwaymen roamed the country lanes, harrassing any traveller who seemed to have any money on him. Venereal diseases, especially the dreaded "Franzosen" (French disease or syphilis) left their mark on a substantial number of young travellers. But the moralizing critiques directed against foreign travel were for the most part really aimed at the overwhelming French dominance in the cultural sphere. This critique, or even in some cases hatred of the French, is especially notable in British handbooks for travellers.

I regard it as part of the effort to create an independent national culture in Britain and later in Germany, an almost pathetic attempt to counter-balance the then common admiration for everything French.

The German and Netherlandish universities of the 17th century

The Swedish historian Lars Nihlén (1983: 158) has done an excellent study on the peregrinations of Swedish students in the 17th century. He has found, all in all, 3,520 Swedish matriculations during the century. But matriculation numbers are not identical with the number of travelling students. It was common that the travellers visited more than one university on the same trip. Therefore only 2,312 individuals have been identified by

Nihlén. However, he has not studied the matriculation books of all the continental universities. As stated above a lot of these registers have been lost, others have not yet been published and are thus only available as manuscripts in university libraries. Nihlén has therefore concentrated on fifteen German and five Netherlandish universities already examined by professor Christian Callmer. He defends his decision, rather convincingly in my opinion, by stating that few Swedes went anywhere else.

What information does Nihlén provide in his statistics on the German universities? (Nihlén 1983: 162). Not surprisingly Greifswald dominates with a grand total of 547 students. Wittenberg, the orthodox Lutheran stronghold and important "tourist site", is the second most visited university with 513 matriculations. Rostock, likewise a Lutheran stronghold and in common with Greifswald, geographically well situated close to the Baltic, is number three in popularity with 463 visitors. Worth noting are the high figures at the beginning of the century for Rostock and Wittenberg and a few other universities, like Helmstedt and Jena.

This can be explained by the sorry state Uppsala University found itself in, at the outset of the century. However, as a result of King Gustavus Adolphus' educational policy, it was reorganized and given greater financial and personnel resources in the 1620s. Two new universities were established in Sweden during the next decade: Dorpat (Tartu) was founded in 1632, situated in the newly-acquired province of Estonia, while Åbo (Turku) was founded in Finland in 1640. The restoration of Uppsala, and the concomitant interest shown for newly established universities, might partly explain the significant downward trend in the travels for the period 1625—1650, as more Swedes now could receive their education at home. But the main reason is of course the Thirty-Years' War which hit the German universities hard. Only Rostock and, for a brief period, the small and insignificant Königsberg, attracted a few Swedish students during the war. These universities were

both located on the outskirts of the German empire, far away from any real fighting.

Nihlén's figures give rise to certain questions. Leipzig was perhaps the largest and most frequented German university during the 17th century, as it had a very good reputation among German students. But surprisingly few Swedes, 187 to be exact, visited it. On the other hand Greifswald was one of Germany's smallest universities and was intellectually perhaps the most insignificant one. How then can one explain its continuing popularity among Swedes?

In 1648 Sweden gained control of Pomerania, the province of Germany where Greifswald is situated. Despite the Swedish occupation, the university remained a German university, its constitution resembling those of other German universities. But some of the professors in Greifswald, for example the above-mentioned Johann Friedrich Mayer, naturally took an interest in Swedish matters and soon established good connections with the Swedish authorities both in Pomerania and in Sweden. He took good care of those Swedes visiting the university. Greifswald was also considered a "safe place" to visit by the Swedish clergy, as it was an orthodox stronghold. A number of the students received scholarships from their diocese and were thus economically dependent. The bishops could use this scholarship system to direct the students to certain, "reliable" universities, like Greifswald (Seth, 1952: 80—81, 138—140, 142). Sven Bredberg (1972: quotation 32, 32—39) writes in his travel diary of 28/9, 1708 about Greifswald and Mayer's interest in Swedish students: "Talte jag Wid Doc. Majer, som viste sig mycket gunstig..." (I spoke with Doc. Mayer who proved to be a fine fellow). Bredberg later defended theses several times at Mayer's seminars, and on one occasion was even invited to have dinner at his house, a rare privilege in those days.

Nihlén also covers Swedish visits to Netherlandish universities during the 17th century. Leiden dominates in his statistics, with 683 matriculations. Interestingly enough it received most of its visitors during the war

years, 1630—1650. What are the reasons for this great interest in Leiden during these years? To begin with, Leiden was not affected by the war in Germany. It could therefore replace the German universities during that period. Other Netherlandish universities like Groningen and Franeker also received most of their visitors during these years. But there were further reasons for Leiden's popularity. In the 17th century it was considered to be one of the most modern universities in the world. Members of the nobility in particular found themselves drawn there, where they could acquire an education in the practical subjects which interested them most. Courses in civil law, modern history, modern languages and even the chivalrous arts were offered. The young nobleman Swen Ribbing writes (Ribbing ms. 1663: 9), that he: "tänkte för språk och Exercitier sküll hålla migh någott uppå, efter på den orten dhe mest florerat och för samma orsak många fremmande üppehåller" (considered remaining there for some time, for the sake of the languages and exercises which flourished there, and which in turn drew a lot of foreigners). According to Nihlén (1983: 161), the nobility was especially interested in Leiden, which is borne out by its dominance in his statistics.

Swedish students at foreign universities during the 18th century

Regretably I have not had access to a major study like Nihlén's when studying the 18th century. I can therefore discuss only some of the German universities. Fortunately some information regarding the most important of these has been published by Callmer. It is, however, far from complete. This lack of information means that my conclusions concerning the peregrinations of the 18th century have the character of suggestions and hypotheses.

Table 2 is complemented by figures that the German historian Thomas Otto Achelis (1939: 169, 172—173) gives for Jena. A total of 75 Swedish students visited it during the 18th century. For the period 1701 to 1725 there were 23 Swedes, 1726—1750 there were 46, 1751—1775 four and 1776—1800 there were only two. Why this downward trend since 1750, also easily observable for other universities in Table 2? Achelis explains that many German universities became "Landeshochschulen" in the latter part of the 18th century. That means that the universities were made more provincial, there were for instance regulations stipulating that Prussian students could not longer travel

Table 2. The number of Swedish students at six German universities in the 18th century.

	Rostock	Wittenberg	Göttingen	Halle	Tübingen	Giessen
1700—1709	60	12	0	28	3	6
1710—1719	18	30	0	3	3	9
1720—1729	30	29	0	43	2	2
1730—1739	29	19	1	23	1	*
1740—1749	37	3	21	22	1	*
1750—1759	24	4	27	2	1	*
1760—1769	5	2	7	1	*	*
1770—1779	1	0	24	1	*	*
1780—1789	2	4	25	*	*	*
1790—1799	6	2	12	*	*	*
Total	212	78	117	131	11	17

Sources: Callmer (1956; 1963—64; 1969—79; 1976; 1988), Paujula (1896), Achelis (1931)

freely to any university. They had instead to attend their own "Landeshochschule". These regulations meant that these once internationalistic and cosmopolitan universities became more and more provincial and less enticing to foreigners. The gradual disuse of Latin as the educational language also played an important role in this transformation

In his dissertation on Greifswald (Seth, 1952: 161—162, 189, 268—269, 396—397), Seth provides figures on Swedish students. During the years 1690—1715, 111 Swedes visited Greifswald. 80 Swedish students were enrolled during the period 1720 to 1740. A grand total of 560 Swedish students were matriculated between 1739/40 and 1770/71. The most frequented ten-year period occurred 1753/54—1762/63, when 376 Swedes attended the university. During the years 1771/1772—1791/1792, a total of 182 Swedish names can be found. In the hundred years between 1690 and 1790, a total of 933 Swedes visited the Pomeranian university. This makes Greifswald the most visited university during the 18th century, according to the available figures. It is highly probable that Greifswald was indeed the most visited foreign university during these years. For instance, 49 of a total of 91 licentiates and doctors of theology promoted in foreign countries came from Greifswald for the period before 1800 (Strandberg, 1862: XXXV—XXXVIII). One should remember that the majority of students that ventured any further afield than the artes course read theology; most of those who took exams were also theologians.

Why this continuing interest for the small and insignificant Pomeranian university? Many youngsters from the south of Sweden could easily travel to Pomerania. A flourishing grain trade between this Swedish province in Germany and the central parts of Sweden existed during the 18th century. In Stockholm resided numerous Pomeranian merchants, not seldom married to Swedish women. These merchants naturally had relatives back in the "Old country", thus a Swedish-Pomeranian network was in place. There

was also a rather well developed cultural exchange between academics at Greifswald and influential Swedish writers like Carl Christopher Gjörrwell.

Swedish matters interested several of the professors at the university and in the latter decades of the century some Swedish-born professors even worked there. These "Swedish-minded" teachers often took Swedish students as lodgers. For these reasons Greifswald was a "friendly" place to visit, where young inexperienced Swedes could count on a good reception. It also had an reputation for being a town where one could live very cheaply; in fact, Swedish universities of the day had a reputation for being prohibitively expensive. (Willers, 1945: 72—96; Seth, 1952, 273).

There were other reasons for the university's popularity. There were no restrictions regarding the numbers of students promoted every year as there were at the Swedish universities. Furthermore it was surprisingly easy to obtain a degree at Greifswald. Especially the magister exam was easily acquired. All you had to do was to certify that you had studied at a university and pay a certain fee, all of which could be done by mail. In other words, you could buy your degree. Those who bought their degree were despised by the regular students and were called in Latin "Magistri Bullatus" (Bladder Magister). Seth (1952: 270—277, 283—285) believes that about 320 Swedes became magisters at Greifswald. But only a hundred of these followed the "via ordinaria"; the rest bought their diplomas. This poses a major problem as the students could be matriculated by mail. A lot of the matriculated students mentioned above may therefore never actually have visited the place. The large numbers for Greifswald could thus be misleading.

Regarding the other universities in Table 3 it is difficult to compare them because figures covering the entire century exist only for Rostock and Wittenberg. It is notable that most students matriculated during the years 1720—1750. This is explained by the fact that it was a period of peace and economic

growth in Sweden. Wittenberg, long a very popular place to visit, had very few visitors from the 1740s onward, as was the case for the equally popular Rostock beginning in the 1750s. Greifswald, which reached its peak during the latter part of the 18th century, is exempted from this downward trend.

So is Göttingen. Established in 1737, this university seems to interest the travelling Swedes and continues to do so even later in the century. It too boasted Swedish connections, with several of the professors interested in Swedish matters. One of these was the famous natural historian and polyhistor Albrecht von Haller, a correspondent of Linnaeus, while another was Johann David Michaelis, philologist and orientalist. The professor of philosophy A. L. Schlözer had as a youngster spent some years in Sweden and back in Göttingen he published several books on Swedish literature, history and learning. Finally, the brothers Murray, professors both, were born and raised in a Swedish-German family in Stockholm. All these important academics thus were part of a Swedish-German network that made it easy for the Swedish youngsters to "fit in". There are some documented cases where Swedish students were helped by their German mentors. Michaelis, for instance, helped one such young Swede, providing him with lodgings and supporting him in a conflict with the faculty of theology. Göttingen was also considered to be an up-to-date and progressive university, where modern history and civil law were taught. And so were the natural sciences. Some of the most famous and respected scholars in Germany worked at the university. Haller and Michaelis have already been mentioned above. Another celebrity was Anton Friedrich Büchsing, the father of modern geography (Callmer, 1—22, Häkli, 1988).

Nevertheless, Greifswald and Göttingen are exceptions to the rule, as generally the peregrinations became fewer and fewer from the 1750s onwards, almost totally vanishing by the end of the century. Why? It is an interesting fact that the matriculations at Swedish universities also decreased during the

latter part of the 18th century. There are economic and political reasons for this. However, more interesting and speculative explanations are at hand. University studies became less and less rewarding for an ambitious young man. The Swedish bureaucracy ceased to expand, as did the clergy as well. It was of no practical use getting an education as there were simply no vacancies. It even became state policy during these years to discourage youngsters from getting a university education (Åström, 1949: 6—20; Liedmann, 1986: 173—187).

The peregrinations changed in another way as well, which may explain the falling numbers. The universities were severely criticised during these years. Young men interested in the natural sciences, in industrial works, in mining, in commerce and other modern and practical aspects of life had nothing to learn at the old-fashioned universities. It may well be that more young men than ever travelled abroad during the late 18th century. But only few of them bothered to visit universities and thus they can not be found in the available sources, the matricula. The Swedish historian Sven Rydberg (1951) clearly shows this increased interest for different destinations and institutions in his dissertation on Swedish study trips to England during the 18th century.

Conclusion

The first Swedish students travelled to Paris at the end of the 13th century. Paris was the most frequented university up to the 1350s when it was replaced by Prague. From the beginning of the 15th century the German universities became popular. Greifswald, Rostock and Wittenberg were the most frequented and they remained so until the end of the 18th century. During the 17th century, Leiden in the Netherlands became the most visited university. But this interest for Leiden was short-lived, and the German universities, especially Greifswald, retained their reputations as the universities one should absolutely visit.

What can explain these fluctuations in student travel patterns? I will conclude with some probable explanations (Sundin, 1973: 19—29, mentions some of these). They can not really be confirmed by my main source, the matriculation books, which only show that the numbers fluctuate, but not why. The explanations I will give below are thus only probable ones, appearing viable though not necessarily so. In many cases they are suggested in the literature as possible explanations.

First we have the significance of geography, i.e., the location in space of the university in relation to the place of origin of the travelling student. Greifswald and Rostock, situated close to the Baltic and to Sweden were easily reached by ship. I believe that this is the main reason for their popularity. On a map the most visited German universities—Greifswald, Rostock, Wittenberg, Leipzig, Erfurt, Helmstedt, Halle and Jena—are all situated along a rather narrow strip through the middle of Germany, and all within relatively short distance from one another.

Cultural influence could explain some of the interest. Germany had exercised a very strong cultural influence on Sweden since the Middle Ages. Continental trends came to Sweden via Germany, seldom directly from France or Italy. This is true at least until the middle of the 17th century when some French influences started to migrate directly. I believe that these French influences only affected a very small part of the population, the court and the nobility. Furthermore only some aspects of life, for instance fashion or literature drew inspiration from the French. A formal education was still something a young Swede, even a nobleman, gained in Germany or possibly the Netherlands, not in France. German was also probably the most widespread foreign language in Sweden up to 1945.

A very important, I would say a decisive factor, was religion. During the 16th and 17th centuries, orthodox Lutheranism reigned in Sweden. Thus the clergy repeatedly tried to control the peregrinations on religious grounds. These attempts were short-lived

and unsuccessful, but the travelling students became cautious in choosing where to go. Orthodox universities like Greifswald and Wittenberg surely benefitted from this. However, via the scholarship system the Swedish clergy could push some students in the direction of orthodox schools. Wittenberg also benefitted on other religious grounds. It soon became a site of Lutheran pilgrimage. Pious young Swedes flocked to the place where Luther and his colleague Melanchthon had lived.

There were also political reasons. The Swedes gained control of Pomerania in the middle of the 17th century, which surely benefitted Greifswald. The Swedish government needed reliable bureaucrats in Pomerania and via scholarships it could direct aspiring young Swedes to Greifswald. These Swedes could then, after gaining some knowledge of German matters, function as loyal bureaucrats in the newly-conquered province. Other political factors include of course wars, especially the Thirty Years' War. It forced the travellers to go to Holland and in some cases to those few German universities that were not affected by the war.

There were economic reasons too. If a university was located nearby it was obviously a lot cheaper to go there. Cost of living was another important factor to take into consideration. Greifswald had a solid reputation of being a place where one could live cheaply. It is notable that the majority of travellers contented themselves with visiting only one or two of the nearby universities. Only the nobility made regular Grand Tours, which took them further afield, to France and Italy.

The reputation of a university could well be a decisive factor. The learning of its professors, its traditions and so forth, could attract the student to a certain university. Wittenberg is of course a good example, as is Göttingen during the late 18th century. Greifswald had another kind of reputation — its easily acquired degrees could inspire the more lazy among the students to head there.

Finally, the establishment of contacts between a university and influential people in Sweden could act as an incentive. Examples

include Rostock and Chytraeus during the 16th century, Mayer in Greifswald in the late-17th century and early-18th century, and Haller and Michaelis in Göttingen during the 18th century. All these professors with their Swedish connections helped and supported travelling Swedes.

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