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Title: Study Abroad, The State and Personal Agency (1640-1700)

Year: 2017

Version:

Please cite the original version:

Vilkuna, K. (2017). Study Abroad, The State and Personal Agency (1640-1700). In P. Karonen, & M. Hakanen (Eds.), Personal Agency at the Swedish Age of Greatness 1560-1720 (pp. 275-296). Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. Studia Fennica Historica, 23. https://oa.finlit.fi/site/books/10.21435/sfh.23

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Kustaa H. J. Vilkuna

Study Abroad, the State and Personal Agency (1640–1700)

The study trips of Turku students to foreign universities: background factors, the return and careers of the travellers

In the seventeenth century the state invested in the development of the university institution and academic education in Finland when it was realised that the level of expertise of functionaries was downright execrable. It seemed that the officials of the lay administration could hardly write their own names. Certainly, the state could be run by men with modest academic abilities, but the upkeep of the whole administrative machinery required educated professionals. In the course of time there evolved a new and growing group of state officials who had received an academic education, and this group in turn attracted young men who as individual agents planned their future careers in the service of the state.

The development of the University of Uppsala and the foundation of the Universities of Tartu, Turku (Åbo) and Lund were the tools used by the authorities to educate and train the civil service. This required considerable financial investments and the precise allocation of available resources. If the Crown did henceforth have to sponsor training, the investments were appreciably lower than they would have been if civil servants had to be trained abroad. Moreover, the state might expect some return on its investments and, holding the purse strings, would be able to control the training that was given. The expansion and improvement of the university institution served the power state and its administration. The reform of the administration, the diplomacy of the power state and the bureaucratisation and supervision of the realm required a competent, flexible and versatile corps of functionaries. The Crown considered that a civil servant should not pursue a career in only one office; rather every official should be able to change over to any other field at any time.

The Crown participated in the financing of the university institution, and consequently it expected that its ideas would be listened to. And if they were not, then the state laid down the law. King Gustavus Adolphus (1594–1632) and Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna (1583–1654) issued directions to the universities concerning the training of civil servants, emphasising the competence required of a functionary and the role of knowledge and a general education. The king and the chancellor had a clear view about what a modern civil servant of a power state should be like. Thus they pointed out that a functionary should possess a classical education, a familiarity

with political theory and law, impeccable manners and the ability to handle practical affairs in state offices. Training in the last-mentioned requirement took place in administrative offices.[1]

The professional civil service qualifications obtained at university simultaneously served the ends of the Crown and made it possible for an individual to pursue a career in the service of the power state. Now it was no longer necessary to obtain such qualifications abroad. The development of the Swedish university institution and the decline of German universities, which had previously been favoured in Sweden, during the Thirty Years War initially led to decreased interest in studying abroad. But soon after the war ended and the German universities began to revive, students again set off for these and other seats of learning in Europe – indeed with an enthusiasm that was not paralleled in either the previous or indeed the following century.[2] The situation became absurd. The question thus arises: What purpose did the study abroad of a whole group of students serve? What did it mean for the state, and what did it offer the individuals concerned?

In my chapter, I address precisely these questions: the students as personal agents, the ideology that influenced their activity, the speeches of the leaders of the universities and the later agency of those who studied abroad in the service of the state or elsewhere. All these levels are in a way representative of personal agency.

I shall focus on young men who studied at the Academy of Turku (Åbo) before setting off to study abroad. This delimitation is justified for four reasons: First, a massive electronic database of the student registers of the Academy of Turku (*Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852 – Studentmatrikel 1640–1852*) supplemented with numerous source references has been compiled.[3] It allows one to follow closely the social origins, the academic progress and the events in the lives of individual persons, and it offers one the opportunity to assess the social significance of their studies. Second, by examining the move abroad of a young man who had already undertaken studies, what happened to him in his time there and his possible return to Sweden, one can assess the increased value that accrued from studying abroad to both the individual and the state, for both of whom study in a domestic university would have been sufficient with regard to the person's career. Third, an examination of the lives of students who studied in a "provincial university" (in the sense of the German *Landesuniversität*) within the Swedish realm shows whether the study had only provincial significance or whether it served national unity. Fourth, the precision of the electronic database and the delimitation of the population studied do not leave the same kind of gaps that can be found in previous summarising studies, in which a quarter or even as much as a half of the objects of study have had to be placed in the category "no information". In such cases, the identified data lose considerable significance.

The research population comprises approximately 128 persons, of whom I have compiled a separate database (Database of persons studying abroad 1640–1700). They constituted only a fraction (under two percent) of those citizens of the kingdom who undertook study trips abroad.[4]

The Academy of Turku and the politico-cultural purpose of study abroad

Turku offered a noteworthy alternative: it provided a possibility for a more extensive group of young men to undertake academic studies, and it attracted students from Sweden proper. In the period 1595–1639, 67 Finns studied abroad and about 220 in the domestic universities of Uppsala and Tartu. The number is so small that one can well understand the efforts of both the local and the state authorities; such a small group would not be able to cope with the expanding bureaucracy. Later, in the years 1640–1700, there were over 4500 young men studying at the Academy of Turku. It was possible there to obtain the practical training that was essential for a career in the civil service, and legal training in Turku Court of Appeal was popular. Of the presidents of Turku Court of Appeal (*Åbo hovrätt)*, Jöns Kurck (1590–1652) in particular supported the university, and planned and outlined a training programme.[5] The needs of the Swedish state in Finland were focussed on Turku Court of Appeal and the lower instances under its jurisdiction together with the county administrations. The intense process of bureaucratisation that took place in the seventeenth century demanded more professional personnel, increased the need for training and aroused hopes for professionally oriented studies.

The persons who drew up the general lines of educational policy supported domestic universities and looked askance at foreign ones. In their opinion, travelling to study in Europe was useless if society did not benefit from it. In fact, the attitude to foreign study at the Academy of Turku during the first years of its existence was downright adverse. Here the university was following the views pronounced by Axel Oxenstierna at the Diet of 1634. According to him, Swedes who travelled abroad might be inculcated with altogether noxious notions. Patently, his goal was to promote the realm's own universities. In the seventeenth century, Swedish universities recruited professors from western Europe in order to augment both the level of their scholarship and the prestige of the realm. And in fact they succeeded in attracting some of the best known scholars of the age, such as Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) and Samuel Pufendorf (1632–1694). Therefore, it was not necessary to go far afield to seek learning, and moreover the state was able to supervise what was taught. All in all, the result was that the universities in the realm of Sweden and the education they offered fulfilled the social task allotted to them. Consequently, foreign study took on a new significance, which domestic studies also prepared the students for.[6] From the point of view of the individual agent, the student, this meant that domestic studies provided a sufficient amount of knowledge to equip him for work in the civil service, but it was thought that foreign studies would open the door more rapidly to higher and better positions.

It was not worth sending anyone to study the obscenities offered by the German universities, which had fallen into decay in the Thirty Years War, to witness the destruction of a civilised cultural heritage and observe the wretched state of learning and piety there, as Mikael Wexionius (1609–1670, ennobled with the name Gyldenstolpe in 1650), the Deacon of the

Faculty of Philosophy of the Academy of Turku, put it in his speech at the inauguration of the university. Enevald Svenonius (1627–1688), a student who was a protégé of Wexionius, went even further in *Oratio delineationem magnanimitatis exhibens,* a eulogy of his mentor published in 1643. In it he stated that he was disgusted by the adulation of foreign universities. The assumption of their superior quality was based on rumour since few persons in Turku had any proper experience of travelling abroad. He further claimed that this uninhibited adulation led to laziness and that participation in foreign studies was inspired not by the desire to learn but by the evil of idolisation.[7]

The aims of study abroad changed when the Academy of Turku was founded. Study trips abroad, especially to universities, served the ends of the power state of the great power of Sweden. This was not directly recorded anywhere, but it was apparent in the thinking of the decision-makers and those who funded the trips. It is significant that the nature of these journeys to study abroad was serious: the frivolities of Italy, exotic locations and pleasure were willingly rejected.[8]

A student's social position governed the nature, location and goals of his foreign study. Those for whom a position on the higher rungs of the social ladder had in principal been reserved by the system of privileges travelled differently from those whose careers were directly promoted by travelling abroad. The division was clear: the nobles and the others. The attitude to members of the nobility became extremely liberal, whereas the authorities looked askance at the travel of students of theology, for example, to heretical environments.[9] For instance, the father of Johan Gezelius the elder (1615–1690) urged his son to leave the doctrinally suspect University of Cambridge, although the young man had observed that the teachers there favoured Lutherans and opposed Calvinists.[10] Times and ideas changed, however, and even non-nobles came to be accorded some licence. For example, in the early 1680s, Lars (d. 1686), Magnus (d. 1711) and Nils Sierman (d. 1712), the sons of a clergyman from Småland, who had been students at the Academy of Turku, travelled in Europe. The personal ambitions and agency of the young men differed from one another, and in the case of Magnus also from the immediate goals set by the ideologists. Lars travelled to England, Nils studied as an MA student in Wittenberg, while Magnus made two study trips abroad. On the second of these, he spent a long time in Rome, working as the private secretary *(sekreterare)* of Queen Christina (1626–1689). He was enlightened, accumulated an extensive library and avoided erring into Catholicism.[11]

Usually, the travels of those who did not belong to the nobility were centrally prompted by endeavours to reinforce the intellectual foundation of Sweden as a great power and the exigencies of the power state. Study abroad was regarded as a way of safeguarding Sweden from the Counter-Reformation, and consequently the travellers were advised in advance to protect themselves from possible advances by Counter-Reformists. Admittedly, the religious control was selective: not everyone was suspected of being susceptible to heretical doctrines, whereas others even had to undergo examinations to ascertain the strength of their religious

conviction.[12] This factor was taken into consideration in the local system of awarding stipends. For example, it was a condition of a stipend awarded by Bishop Isak Rothovius (1572–1652) in 1649 that the studies must take place in doctrinally orthodox universities.[13]

The funding of the studies was naturally an important question – both for the individual and for society. The more indigent a student was, the more important it was to obtain a stipend. Only 50–70 of those students of the Academy of Turku who travelled abroad to study went directly from that university – or at least without enrolling in some other Swedish university. The majority went abroad after first moving from Turku to Uppsala, Tartu or Lund.[14] There were not many stipends on offer, and in Turku none apart from that granted by Bishop Rothovius, and his stipend went to a promising M.A. student called Johan Ketarmannus (d. 1653), who used his foreign study stipend while studying in the domestic University of Uppsala.[15] Those who wished to obtain a stipend had to travel to the heart of the realm and prove their strong Lutheran convictions. Johan Gezelius the younger (1647–1718) received royal stipend for study abroad after pursuing further studies at the University of Uppsala.[16] Likewise Nils Bergius (1658–1706) obtained a stipend in 1682 after studying at Uppsala, as did Isak Laurbecchius (1677–1716) around 1700 after already getting to Germany using a bursary from the Diocese of Vyborg (Viborg) for indigent school students [17]

Other significant stipends required a sojourn in Uppsala or Stockholm. After studying and completing his master's degree with a pro gradu thesis under the tutorship of Gyldenstolpe at the Academy of Turku in the 1650s, Daniel Rosander, the son of a clergyman from Småland, obtained a post as a teacher at Växjö School. He was dismissed for drunkenness in 1667, after which he abandoned his family and moved to Stockholm. There he received a stipend from Count Tott, which would permit him to study at Königsberg. He did get there, but he did not enrol in the university, but rather continued his unruly way of life in Vyborg and Porvoo in Finland.[18] This stipend brought no benefit to the state, and it did not further Rosander's career. By contrast, the career of Enevald Svenonius, an early mentor of Gezelius and a critic of travels abroad, was facilitated by a stipend that he received. At the end of his career, Svenonius was appointed Bishop of Lund and Vice-Chancellor of the university there. The bulk of his life's work was carried out at the Academy of Turku, but during the time he was completing his master's degree and immediately thereafter he migrated between Turku, Stockholm and Uppsala in an attempt to convince as many financial patrons as possible of his talents and to earn a living by tutoring able young noblemen and maintaining a private theological college. He succeeded in his most important goal and received the significant Gyllenhielm stipend. His personal agency ensured him a living and turned his activities in a new direction. The stipend enabled him to undertake independent work and thus to study abroad. However, after receiving his master's degree, he did not enrol again at the University of Uppsala, which would anyway have been futile after he had been appointed as an assistant teacher in theology.[19]

Foreign seats of learning did their best to attract young men from Sweden to study there. The seduction also embodied political ends, as is

illustrated by the relationship between the 24-year-old Gabriel Kurck (1630–1712), the son of Jöns Kurck, the President of Turku Court of Appeal, and some professors at Oxford. Kurck was scarcely aware what was going on around him one day when the glib Oxford professors made him out to be a distinguished and learned master.[20] No doubt, the English academics though that the young baron was an important individual agent who would not only promote travel to study at Oxford when he got back to his own country but also as a future influential figure in the state administration would otherwise, too, regard the English with favour.

The destinations and durations of the travels

In the sixteenth century, because of the Reformation and general unrest, the foreign studies of Swedish students became concentrated in the Baltic region. The most popular universities were those of Wittenberg, Greifswald and Rostock, and these still maintained their position in the seventeenth century, despite the fact that Swedish students were pouring into Dutch universities like Leiden. At least 800 young men travelled from Sweden to Holland to study mathematics, law, philology, and medicine. There they could also learn about trade and diplomacy, but for matters like courtly manners and other accomplishments pertaining to the life of the nobility they preferred to go elsewhere, mainly to England and France. In the mid-seventeenth century, young Swedish noblemen rushed to Paris, where they learned practical skills like fencing, dancing, singing, games and languages.[21]

The view of Turku was expressed in Professor Mikael Wexionius' speech at the inauguration of the Academy of Turku in 1640, when he proposed that the Academy of Turku should attain the scholarly position and esteem that the old European universities enjoyed. In connection with this, he referred to the leading prestigious seats of learning in the disciplines of theology (Wittenberg, Helmstedt, Rostock), law (Marburg, Altdorf, Leipzig, Jena) and medicine (Padua, Freiburg, Strassburg, Paris).[22] After the Thirty Years War, popular destinations were Helmstedt, Strassburg and Altdorf.

Wexionius' information was not matched by reality: for theological reasons, the Swedes had favoured the Universities of Wittenberg, Rostock, Greifswald (both on the Baltic coast), Jena, and Helmstedt. Hardly anyone went to Leipzig, while there was a rush to the Netherlands, which became the most important destination of these peregrinations at the beginning of the century. That country and its universities could be accepted as reformed, and its political, economic and doctrinal development were regarded as hitherto unparalleled. Leiden was particularly important because learning in the fields of mathematics, jurisprudence (natural law was an admirably suitable subject for future servants of the state), political science and medicine was of a high level in the university. Moreover, it was easy to combine theory with practice there (for example mathematics with fortification technology).[23]

Swedish students thus favoured Leiden, Greifswald, Wittenberg and Rostock, and two thirds of those who went abroad to study in the seventeenth century made their way to these universities. The next most popular group

Table 1: Nobles (A) and commoners (B) who had studied at the Academy of Turku and pursued their studies at foreign universities between 1641 and 1700.

	1641–	**1660**	**1661–**	**1680**	**1681–**	**1700**	**Total**		
University	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A & B
Greifswald	9	1	5	–	8	–	22	–	22
Leiden	7	4	4	2	5	–	16	6	22
Wittenberg	3	–	6	–	12	–	21	–	21
Rostock	7	–	2	–	6	–	15	–	15
Jena	2	–	4	1	6	–	12	1	13
Oxford	5	1	2	1	3	–	10	2	12
Giessen	–	–	1	2	3	–	4	2	6
Leipzig	3	–	1	–	1	–	5	–	5
Strassburg	1	1	2	–	1	–	4	1	5
Helmstedt	1	–	3	–	–	–	4	–	4
Halle	–	–	–	–	3	1	3	1	4
Paris	–	2	1	1	–	–	1	3	4
Königsberg	1	–	–	–	2	–	3	–	3
Tübingen	–	–	1	1	1	–	2	1	3
Heidelberg	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	3	3
Altdorf	–	–	1	–	1	–	2	–	2
Basel	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	1
Cambridge	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	1
Kiel	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	1
Utrecht	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	1
Marburg	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	1
Total	39	10	34	12	51	1	127	22	149

Source: Database of persons studying abroad 1640–1700 (University of Jyväskylä, Department of History and Ethnology).

consisted of the Universities of Helmstedt, Jena and Leipzig, although the popularity of the last mentioned seat of learning declined at the end of the Thirty Years War.[24] About 80 students (55 percent of the total population) who had studied at the Academy of Turku enrolled at the Universities of Leiden, Greifswald, Wittenberg and Rostock and 25 (17 percent) at Helmstedt, Jena and Leipzig (see Table 1).

More interesting appears to be the distribution of the degrees obtained abroad. A little under 40 bachelor's and master's degrees, licentiates and doctorates were awarded to students who had previously studied at the Academy of Turku. In other words, every fourth student from there who went abroad obtained a degree. Of these cases, four are very uncertain assumptions based on mentions that the person in question had obtained a master's degree "abroad" or "in Germany".[25] For example, there is no information about exactly where or when Johan Wanzonius (d. 1717), who had studied at the Academy of Turku for a long time, received a licentiate in medicine, but the degree itself is mentioned in a dedication in a dissertation written at the University of Lund in 1695.[26] Most of the information is probably valid, although in a few other connections a reference to studies

abroad suggests a fraudulent attempt to promote a person's career. All in all, the number of master's degrees awarded by foreign universities to young men who had started their studies at the Academy of Turku is significant, since, according to Lars H. Niléhn, in the period between 1640 and 1699 this degree was awarded to only 179 students (including those from Turku) at the most important seats of learning: the Universities of Wittenberg, Leiden and Greifswald.[27]

Of the prestigious seats of learning mentioned by professor Mikael Wexionius, really only Wittenberg was popular. Six young men from Turku obtained M.A. degrees from there.[28] In addition, Petter Carstenius (1647–1712) obtained a master's degree in 1674 at the University of Rostock, which was described as "theologically excellent". Most commonly, a master's degree was obtained at the University of Greifswald after a few months' or even days' study; the students had already been written their theses when they enrolled at Greifswald! The university remained a favourite into the 1670s.[29] A few master's degrees were awarded to men from Turku at the Universities of Basel, Oxford, Königsberg and Giessen. Isak Laurbecchius' licentiate in theology was awarded at the University of Altdorf in 1699 and his doctorate at the same university in 1707.[30] There were no degrees in law at Marburg, Altdorf or Leipzig, but Mikael Wisius (1624–1679), who as a protégé of Wexionius had obtained a master's degree at Turku in 1647, enrolled first at Rostock and then at Jena, where he studied from 1652 to 1656. There he was twice president at the defence of doctoral dissertations before he was made Doctor of Roman and Canon Law in 1656. Others became doctors of law and of Roman and canon law at Oxford and Rostock.[31] The students who went abroad to take degrees in medicine went to Leiden rather than Padua, Freiburg, Strassburg or Paris. The degree of Doctor of Medicine was conferred on Johan Munkthelius (1618–1674) in 1649, Olof Figrelius (1629–1671) in 1663 and Erik Tillands (1640–1693) in 1670.[32]

However the real purpose behind these peregrinations was not so much to obtain degrees as to enrol at the universities. The students kept travel albums (*albae amicorum*) and journals and maintained contact with their sponsors. The travel albums and journals comprised accounts of daily events, poems and messages of congratulations and good wishes. These together with the autographs of important university authorities afforded evidence of a European network of connections and complemented the *curricula vitae* in the albums.[33] On return, the owner of the album could use these to further his career and personal agency.

The study trip of Johan Gezelius the younger took in the universities and scholarly communities of Copenhagen, Kiel, Hamburg, Groningen, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Leiden, Oxford, Cambridge, London, Paris, Lyon, Geneva, Savoy, Basel, Strassburg, Cologne, Frankfurt, Erfurt, Jena, Leipzig, Wittenberg and Berlin. It is obvious that in many of these places he only had time to fill in his journal and his travel album. However, he stayed longer, sometimes months, in the most important places (Hamburg, Cambridge, Paris and Leipzig). The principal object of the whole journey was to study and become acquainted with the languages and literature of the Orient and the Bible. In addition to these, he studied modern languages like English,

French and Spanish.[34] Paris offered a theologian an opportunity to study and do research on Hebrew and Rabbinical literature, but for the young nobleman it was a place where he could acquaint himself with court manners and the language of diplomacy.[35] Sophisticated manners and modern languages paved the way for his personal activities.

The students, who have been well prepared intellectually and spiritually, had no trepidations about becoming acquainted with Calvinist or Catholic universities and their teachers or participating in the instruction that these institutions offered. Such seats of leaning included the Calvinist-controlled Universities of Frankfurt an der Oder, Utrecht and Groningen.

The afore-mentioned Enevald Svenonius used his foreign study effectively. As a young student, he had ranted against study abroad and the adulation of foreign universities, but on receipt of a stipend he spent over three years at Wittenberg. In addition, in the course of less than half a year in 1654 he travelled around Bohemia, Hungary, Austria and Holland mainly on foot, calling in at 24 universities including those of Prague, Erfurt, Jena, Leipzig, Altdorf, Strassburg, Freiburg im Breisgau, Giessen, Marburg, Cologne, Leiden, Amsterdam and Utrecht.[36]

The travels and careers of noblemen

The peregrinations of young noblemen (*Kavalierstour*, *Grand Tour*) clearly changed in the course of the seventeenth century along with changes in the noble ideal of *l'honnête homme*. At the beginning of the century, the goal of noblemen studying abroad was to obtain a strong and varied scholarly grounding in the humanities. Towards the end of the century, the objectives became more practical and thus directly served the goals of the administration, the army and the judiciary and thereby the maintenance of Sweden as a great power in Europe. In his study travels, a young nobleman was expected to acquaint himself not only with the ways of thinking of different peoples but also with economic matters (trade), governance and administration (politics), diplomacy, jurisprudence, oratory, history and mathematics (applied, for example, in fortification technology).[37] The young nobles were 16–20 years of age when they set off on their travels.[38] It was a venture that allowed them to reassert their position in society and as office-holders to distinguish themselves from other civil servants. Study in domestic universities brought merit, but foreign study brought more. In this respect, it was irrelevant whether their eventual careers were in the military or in the civil administration.[39]

Few of the young noblemen who studied at the Academy of Turku enrolled at foreign universities (Table 1). They certainly made educational trips, but they were not interested in studying on a regular basis. Not all the young nobles who attended the Academy of Turku were even entered in the student registers of that university. One of the original objectives of study at the university was to provide an aristocratic education and hence a grounding in the humanities. The nobility, in particular, being assured of their economic and cultural mission, believed that sophisticated manners,

virtues and industriousness would be passed down to the common people through their chivalrous example.[40] Of course this conception was directly connected with the social ideal of the age, which emphasised the position of the nobility, but in the case of Turku the implementation of this idea seemed ridiculous. The nobility in Finland was small in number: 250–300 young noblemen were registered as students at the Academy of Turku or attended the university privately. The process was furthered by an unofficial "collegium for noblemen" composed of language and other tutors employed to mentor the young noblemen.[41] Of these noble students, only 21 went abroad and enrolled at some seat of learning (and in a few cases at two). Between 1641 and 1660, four enrolled at the University of Leiden, two at the University of Paris and one each at the Universities of Greifswald, Strassburg, Utrecht and Oxford, which was turning from being a training establishment for clergymen into one for functionaries. In the years 1661–1680, three enrolled at Heidelberg, two at Leiden and Giessen and one at Oxford, Jena, Tübingen and Marburg. The "Great Reduction" (*den stora reduktionen*, the recuperation of fiefs by the Crown from the high nobility) brought an end to the peregrinations of the nobles. In the last two decades of the century, only one young nobleman travelled abroad to study, and he sought out the security of Halle. The young nobles were raised to be *honnêtes hommes* without any experience of foreign lands and their seats of learning.

The Gyldenstolpes offer a good example of the Turku noblemen who travelled abroad in the seventeenth century. They exuded the noble ideal, which their father, Mikael Wexionius, Professor of Practical Philosophy and Jurisprudence at the Academy of Turku, who was ennobled in 1650 with the name Gyldenstolpe, adapted into a maxim to suit local conditions. Of Mikael Gyldenstolpe's sons, Gabriel (1640–1666) enrolled at the Academy of Turku when he was nine years old, Nils (1642–1709) when he was seven and Daniel (1645–1691) when he was four. They were followed in 1660 by Samuel (1649–1692), who enrolled as a student when he was 11 years of age, and then by Karl (d. 1710) and Gustaf in 1665. Each one of the sons received a stipend at some stage in his studies, but only Daniel and Samuel travelled abroad to study. Nils made a successful career in the state administration and as an ambassador. The high points in his career, sitting as Lord Marshall (*Lantmarskalk*) at the Diet and culminating as Chancery President *(kanslipresident)*, would not have required study abroad, although it must be noted that he had become acquainted with the customs of other peoples in connection with his ambassadorial duties. The military careers of Gabriel, Karl and Gustaf did not presuppose foreign studies.[42]

Daniel Gyldenstolpe defended a thesis in 1660, studied for five more years at Turku, and then set off to study abroad, travelling to Germany, France, Italy, Spain and Holland. The trip covered everything a young man that might be expected to acquaint himself with, and the information accumulated in the course of it could be regarded as being of benefit to the state. On returning from it in 1667, Daniel Gyldenstolpe obtained a post as secretary to Count Per Brahe, after which he was appointed assistant judge of the Noble Class (*assessor i adelsklassen*) at Turku Court of Appeal when his father died and made a judge of a rural district court *(härashövding)* in 1675. There was

little use for his familiarity with foreign peoples in these offices.[43] Mikael Gyldenstolpe undertook a four-year study trip in the 1630s after taking a master's degree at the University of Uppsala. In the course of his travels he visited the Universities of Wittenberg, Marburg, Groningen and Leiden. While it did not directly set an example, it benefited in a significant way the Academy of Turku, where he was a leading professor before his career in the judiciary.[44] The study trip of Daniel Gyldenstolpe rather corresponded with the two made by Per Brahe, but in a more practical form.[45] The journeys were ideal and of benefit to the state, the nobility and also for example to arrangements for protégés, such as members of the Gyldenstolpe family.[46] One might say that through his example Per Brahe (1602–1680) created the guidelines for how members of the nobility should plan their journeys. These principles Mikael Gyldenstolpe then passed on to the Academy of Turku, from which it was not possible to compete for royal stipends in the same way as it was in Uppsala.

One example of this is Samuel Gyldenstolpe, who studied for a long time at Turku but only managed to produce two orations. The subject of one was imposing: in *De illustrissima Braheorum prosopia etc.* (published in 1671) Samuel praised the illustrious Brahe family, which had been prominent ever since pagan times and eminent for its long history and its exemplary exploits, as indeed it continued to be. The orations, particularly the one mentioned above, sufficed to bring Samuel a professorship in practical philosophy in 1671, when he had reached the age of 22. He led an unruly and immoral life and did no research or tutoring. And the fact that as a nobleman he had not travelled abroad was also noticed. However, this deficiency was corrected in 1676. Thereafter he continued to hold his professorial chair, though he was suspended for a while for fornication. The university got rid of him in 1681, when he was appointed as a district judge.[47]

Typically, a young nobleman was accompanied on his travels by an older mentor (*præceptor*) or a valet, who took care of his purse, advised and guided him, and naturally, being himself without means, profited from the journey by being able to tour round Europe. The study trip of Henning Johan Grass (1649–1713), the son of Gustaf Grass (d. 1694), the Vice-President of Turku Court of Appeal, and his travel companion, Erik Falander (1640–1697), who was the son of a pastor, is interesting. The journey lasted two years and took in Holland and Germany, where both were enrolled as students in the registers of the University of Giessen. When they set off, Henning Johan Grass was 19 years old and Erik Falander 28. In this respect, they constituted an ideal pair. On his return, Grass rode on his father's reputation and served for a while as a judge. He was eventually made a baron, again thanks to paternal influence.[48] Erik Falander's path was different, as we shall soon see.

The studies and careers of commoners

The social composition of those who went abroad to study directly from Turku or via another university (Table 2) corresponded proportionally better with that of all those who studied at the university than was perhaps

the case in other universities, since out of those whose home backgrounds are known, 37 had fathers who were members of the Clergy, 12 belonged to the Burghers' estate (tradesmen and craftsmen), 19 were functionaries and non-noble military officers and five were peasants. Only 12 had fathers who were members of the nobility.

Table 2. The social backgrounds of persons studying abroad 1640–1700.

	Nobles	Clergy	Burghers	Functionaries	Peasants	Total
Departing directly from Turku	5	16	10	10	5	46
Departing from elsewhere in Sweden	7	21	2	9	3	42
Total	12	37	12	19	8	88

Source: Database of persons studying abroad 1640–1700.

There were almost the same proportions of all students at the Academy of Turku, although there were more sons of clergymen and fewer of burghers and functionaries.[49]

After their studies, 42 pursued careers as clergymen, professors or teachers, 42 ended up in the judiciary, 24 in the civil service and six in the military, 16 pursued no career at all while for one reason or another. A few failed to return to their native country and a few died before entering on a professional career. Successful high-ranking careers were rare, and thus the returns on the financial investments were often poor.

Table 3. The later careers of persons who studied abroad 1641–1700.

	Clergy	Judiciary	Civil service	Military	No career[50]	Total
Departing directly from Turku	19	13	4	3	9	48
Departing from elsewhere in Sweden	23	11	14	3	7	58
Total	42	24	18	6	16	106

Source: Database of persons studying abroad 1640–1700.

Most of the Turku students ended up in the clergy, and only a fraction in the judiciary and civil service. Thus their studies abroad did benefit them: they made it possible for them to pursue a professional career and in a few rare cases led to ennoblement for their services as servants of the state.[51] One interesting feature is the fact that those Turku students who went abroad to study via the University of Uppsala tended to follow their fathers in their

careers. There was little social mobility, but within the different social ranks, the careers of those who studied abroad appear to have been better.

Erik Falander benefited from his journey in a significant way. When he set off, he was a bachelor of philosophy and a junior lawyer at Turku Court of Appeal. When he returned, he appointed as an assistant teacher in the Faculty of Philosophy, a junior *lagman (*lawspeaker) and soon thereafter Professor of Hebrew and Greek. In 1682 he obtained the vacant professorship of jurisprudence, was appointed as an assistant judge at the Court of Appeal and, after being ennobled, Assistant Judge of the Noble Class. Erik Falander-Tigerstedt even served for some time in the 1690s as the acting county governor.[52]

Although several students took degrees at foreign universities and even did scholarly research at them, the results served other purposes that were set by the state. Enevald Svenonius, who studied for a long time at Wittenberg, defended several theses on subjects dealing with heresy.[53] Of those who had studied at Turku, Bengt and Gustaf Queckfeldt (1628–1712), the sons of the country treasurer Gustaf Queckfeldt, had commenced their studies at Uppsala, defended theses on law at Turku under the supervision of Gyldenstolpe and went to Oxford in 1655, considerably earlier than the Swedish nobles, who rushed there in the 1660s. At Oxford, they became doctors of law in 1656. The elder of the brothers was then appointed as an assistant judge at Tartu Court of Appeal, while the younger continued his studies at Helmstedt before being recruited as a secretary in the Royal Chancery *(kungliga kansli)* in 1659. He was made an assistant judge at Göta Court of Appeal in 1662, was ennobled in 1675 and became the court counsellor of Queen Christina and commissiary general (*överintendent*) in Norrköping in the 1680s.[54]

Ambrosius Nidulius-Nidelberg (d. 1689), the son of the Treasurer *(kammererare)* of the County of Visingsborg, who enrolled at the Academy of Turku in 1658 and received a stipend for six years (which is not surprising in view of the fact that his family had served the Chancellor of the Academy Per Brahe in Visingsborg) pursued a career that corresponded with the hopes of his sponsors. He studied for a while in 1660 at Jena, which was regarded as an advanced seat of learning in the discipline of jurisprudence, then returned to Turku, defended a thesis *(Judex brevi oratione laudatus*) in 1661, underwent court training at Göta Court of Appeal, wrote a thesis on the preservation of the state and the monarchy in particular (*De conservatione reipublicae et praesertim monarchiae*, printed in 1665) under the supervision of Svenonius and Axel Kempe (1623–1682), which brought him a bachelorship in philosophy in 1664, and was made an assistant judge in 1684. All in all, he was regarded as a man with a thorough academic grounding who had published in numerous different fields.[55] In addition, while in the service of Count Brahe, he translated important political and economic work, thereby promoting the social aspirations of the high aristocracy and the economic goals of the great state.[56]

One exciting character who clearly broke the class barriers between the estates should be mentioned: Daniel Sarcovius (1661–1704), the son of a caretaker *(vaktmästare)* of the Academy of Turku, enrolled in the

university at the age of 16 in 1677. He delivered a eulogy in 1679 and was in receipt of a stipend for several years. He defended several theses before setting out to study abroad in the years 1684–1687 in Holland, England and Germany. Thereafter he wrote several other theses, one of which was on the subject of the oath. On finishing his studies, he became headmaster of Tallinn School and then Professor of Logic and Theoretical Physics at the University of Tartu.[57]

The tools yielded by foreign study in battling against heresy and defending a united realm

The travels to study abroad may be regarded as mirroring the social development that took place in the seventeenth century. During that century, the administration and economy of Sweden developed rapidly. Both of these areas required a good educational system and the formation of experts. It is precisely these social requirements and the tradition of a pan-European culture that obligated those who belonged to particular social groups to travel abroad and visit foreign universities that Lars H. Niléhn regards as being the major background factors behind this development.[58] That is certainly true, but a more exact analysis reveals something else.

The yield of the study trips abroad lay essentially in the fact that it enabled the professors and bishops to declaim and battle against heresy and to defend what constituted the intellectual core of the great state: an orthodox Lutheran doctrine. There would have been great fear in both Sweden and Finland of a Catholic Counter-Reformation, of syncretic notions, Calvinism, radical Pietism and Cartesianism.[59] Those who set off to study abroad were inoculated against heresy, and they mainly adhered to the same convictions when they returned. The greatest battle against heretics was waged in the universities. There the weapons of orthodoxy obtained while studying abroad were also used against the arms of heresy acquired on these travels.

This picture is corroborated by the enrolments in foreign universities. The commoners went to study at Lutheran universities that were characteristically centres for the training of clergy and theological research, although in the course of their travels they sometimes dropped in at Catholic seats of learning but did not enrol in them. The nobles, by contrast, were unconcerned with confessional questions.[60]

It is illustrative that Enevald Svenonius, who as a student at Turku, had ranted fiercely against foreign universities and study abroad, wrote his first thesis in 1641 under the supervision of Mikael Wexionius on the subject of the wisdom required by legislators and statesmen, in 1646 defended a thesis in Uppsala on the virtues of the hero, and supervised three theses in the 1640s dealing with the legal calling to state office, moral corruption and natural knowledge, became extremely enthusiastic when he was offered the opportunity to travel abroad to study. At Wittenberg, he carried out precisely the kind of research that would serve religious and Swedish Lutheran unity. By contrast, the dissertation (*Ohole Apdno sive jubiles Antichristi Romani,*

ipsus exitium) written by Johan Gezelius the younger after his study abroad dealt with the festivals and destruction of the Roman Antichrist. It exuded the learning and spirit of combat that he had acquired on his travels.[61]

Of course, the subject can also be examined from a different point of view. The task of the universities was to impart knowledge of God and nature and direct young people towards sensible and decent behaviour. This was an important political mission that served social morality and obedience to authority. Thus the studies were used to provide the kind of notions that supported whatever administration happened to be in power, and on the basis of these ideas academic research studies were written about subjects like the significance of politics, administration, the form of government and virtue. In the 1640s and 1650s, there was an emphasis on the sharing of power, while in the latter half of the seventeenth century autocracy was emphasised; all in all, university studies prepared young men for their future activities in society.[62]

The state, the Crown and the church got what they wanted. However, from the point of view of personal agency, foreign studies would not seem to have played a very significant role. It probably did speed up and facilitate advancement in the students' careers since it enabled them to demonstrate that they possessed skills and networks of connections that those who had only studied at Turku lacked. This conclusion is also supported by the fact that nearly all those who went abroad returned to seek posts. Those who did not return, fell by the wayside on their travels.[63]

Foreign study did not really advance social mobility between the estates. Other values than those that were publically proclaimed were cherished within the society of the estates. Career advancement required money, supporters, patrons and family connections. In this sense, the system was thoroughly corrupt and nepotistic; the posts in the civil service and the judiciary were filled according to other criteria than educational merits. One's family and a patron counted for more in one's curriculum vitae than academic studies.

The research on which this publication is based was funded by the Academy of Finland (grant no. 137741).

Notes

1 Seppo J. Salminen, *Enevaldus Svenonius I*. Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran toimituksia 106 (Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 1978), p. 44; Simo Heininen, Jussi Nuorteva, "Finland". In: Jokipii, Mauno, Nummela, Ilkka (eds), *Ur nordisk kulturhistoria. Universitetsbesöken i utlandet före 1660*. Studia historica Jyväskyläensia 22,1 (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 1981), pp. 67–118; Lars Niléhn, "Sverige". In: Jokipii, Mauno, Nummela, Ilkka (eds), *Ur nordisk kulturhistoria. Universitetsbesöken i utlandet före 1660*. Studia historica Jyväskyläensia 22,1 (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 1981), pp. 167–208; Lars H. Niléhn, *Peregrinatio academica. Det svenska samhället och de utrikes studieresorna under 1600-talet*. Bibliotheca historica Lundensis 54 (Lund: Liber/Gleerup, 1983), pp. 86–89, 154–155; Matti Klinge, "Perustaminen ja tarkoitus". In: *Helsingin yliopisto 1640–1990*

I. Kuninkaallinen Turun akatemia (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, Otava, 1987), p. 74; Petri Karonen, "Oxenstierna, Axel (1583–1654) valtakunnankansleri, Kemiön vapaaherra, kreivi". In: *Suomen kansallisbiografia 7*. Studia Biographica 3:7 (Helsinki: The Finnish Literature Society, 2006), pp. 386–389.

2 Jussi Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti ennen Turun akatemian perustamista 1640*. Bibliotheca historica 27 (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1997), pp. 360–361, 373.

3 http://www.helsinki.fi/ylioppilasmatrikkeli/. Hereafter: Kotivuori, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli. Lars H. Niléhn (*Peregrinatio*, pp. 35, 157) addressed the same kind of questions in his doctoral dissertation but paid scant attention to the broader questions examined here.

4 The majority consists of those who went directly abroad from Turku. However, I also examine a second group of students who first moved from Turku to another Swedish university and from there to a foreign one. In this sense, the distinction does not reflect the actuality of the age, because the realm was a single unit and movement within its confines was therefore considerable. The basis for the division into two groups, however, lies in personal agency: the channels of funding differed greatly in different parts of the kingdom. The proportion of those who studied at Turku out of all Swedes who went abroad to study in the period 1640–1700 was small. This continued a centuries-old tradition. In the period from the 1610s to the 1630s, over 900 young men from Sweden studied at German universities, of whom only a small percentage were Finns. Kustavi Grotenfelt, "Suomalaiset ylioppilaat ulkomaan yliopistoissa ennen v. 1640. 1". In: *Historiallinen Arkisto 13* (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1893), pp. 92–125; Kustavi Grotenfelt, "Suomalaiset ylioppilaat ulkomaan yliopistoissa ennen v. 1640. 2". In: *Historiallinen Arkisto 17* (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1901–1902), pp. 277–322; Lars Niléhn, "Universiteten efter reformationen". In: Jokipii, Mauno, Nummela, Ilkka (eds), *Ur nordisk kulturhistoria. Universitetsbesöken i utlandet före 1660*. Studia historica Jyväskyläensia 22,1 (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 1981), pp. 15–25; Niléhn, *Peregrinatio*, p. 245; John Strömberg, *Studenter, nationer och universitet. Studenternas härkomst och levnadsbanor vid Akademin i Åbo 1640–1808*. Skrifter utgivna av Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland 601. (Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1996), pp. 54–56, 59–60; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten opinkäynti*, p. 375.

5 Klinge, "Perustaminen ja tarkoitus", p. 73; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten opinkäynti*, pp. 359–360; Kotivuori, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli.

6 Niléhn, *Peregratinatio*, pp. 137, 149, 154; Jakob Christensson, "Studieresorna". In: Christensson, Jakob (ed.), *Signums svenska kulturhistoria. Stormaktstiden* (Lund: Signum, 2005), p. 171.

7 Klinge, "Perustaminen ja tarkoitus", pp. 67, 90–91; Raija Sarasti-Wilenius, "De peregrinatione – Näkökulmia ulkomaan matkailuun Suomen latinankielisissä lähteissä". In: *Tieteessä tapahtuu 16:1*, pp. 16–22; Raija Sarasti-Wilenius, *Dear Brother, Cracious Maecenas. Latin Letters of the Gyldenstolpe Brothers (1661–1680)*. Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicæ, humaniora 374. (Helsinki: FASL, 2015), pp. 14–15.

8 Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten opinkäynti*, pp. 419–434; Christensson, "Studieresorna", p. 172; Pentti Laasonen, *Vanhan ja uuden rajamaastossa. Johan Gezelius vanhempi ja kulttuurivaikuttajana*. Historiallisia Tutkimuksia 245 (Helsinki: The Finnish Literature Society, 2009), pp. 46–47, 72. In fact, it was so clear that the policy is known to have changed in the course of seventeenth century.

9 Sven Göransson, *De svenska studieresorna och religiösa kontrollen från reformationstiden till frihetstiden*. Uppsala universitets årsskrift 1951:8 (Uppsala, 1951), pp. 84–99; Niléhn, *Peregrinatio*, pp. 90–102, 126, 154–155.

10 Laasonen, *Vanhan ja uuden rajamaastossa*, pp. 62–63.

11 Kotivuori, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli: Lars Sierman, Magnus Sierman, Nils Sierman.
12 Christensson, "Studieresorna", p. 191.
13 Salminen, *Enevaldus Svenonius I*, p. 136. This practice was also in use in other dioceses, for example in Arboga in the 1630s. Niléhn, *Peregrinatio*, p. 153.
14 Database of persons who studied abroad 1640–1700 (University of Jyväskylä, Department of History and Ethnology). See also Niléhn, *Peregrinatio*, p. 245; Jussi Nuorteva, "Lang, Jakob (1648–1716) Linköpingin piispa, Tallinnan piispa, Narvan superintendentti, teologian tohtori". In: *Suomen kansallisbiografia 5*. Studia Biographica 3:5 (Helsinki: The Finnish Literature Society, 2005), pp. 724–726; Iiro Kajanto, "Lund, David (1657–1729) Viipurin piispa, Växjön piispa, pyhien kielten professori, teologian professori". In: *Suomen kansallisbiografia 6*. Studia Biographica 3:6 (Helsinki: The Finnish Literature Society, 2005), pp. 317–315.
15 Johan Jakob Tengström, *Chronologiska Förteckningar och Anteckningar öfver Finska universitetets fordna procancellerer samt öfver faculteternas medlemmar och adjuncter, från universitetets stiftelse inemot dess andra sekularår* (Helsingfors: G. O. Wasenius, 1836), pp. 25–26; Kotivuori, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli: Johan Ketarmannus.
16 It is illustrative that one of the most distinguished Bishops of Turku and Vice-Chancellors of the Academy of Turku, Johan Gezelius the younger, the son of Johan Gezelius the elder, a bishop and vice-chancellor, followed in the footsteps of his father. He enrolled at the University of Uppsala in 1661, when his father received his doctorate there. Johan the younger was entered into the student registers of the Academy of Turku in 1665. There he defended two theses before returning to Uppsala, where he again defended two theses. In Uppsala, he received a royal stipend for a study trip to Germany, Holland, Oxford, France and Switzerland. Thanks to this, he was able to study abroad for nearly four years. On returning to Turku, he was appointed to the post of Professor of Theology, and he defended a doctoral dissertation on that subject. He became Bishop of Turku and Vice-Chancellor of the Academy of Turku after the death of his father in 1690. A. A. Stiernman, *Aboa literata [1719]. Turun akatemian kirjallisuus*. Suomennos Reijo Pitkäranta. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 518 (Helsinki: The Finnish Literature Society, 1990), pp. 93–94; Niléhn, *Peregrinatio*, p. 54; Kotivuori, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli: Johan Gezelius nuorempi; Laasonen, *Vanhan ja uuden rajamaastossa*, pp. 28–82.
17 Kotivuori, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli: Nils Bergius, Isak Laurbecchius; Esko M. Laine, "Laurbecchius, Isaacus (noin 1677–1716) pietistiteologi, teologian tohtori". In: *Suomen kansallisbiografia 5*. Studia Biographica 3:5 (Helsinki: The Finnish Literature Society, 2005), pp. 765–766; Nils Bergius used his royal stipend to travel to Berlin, Wittenberg, Leipzig, Dresden, Prague, Vienna, Frankfurt am Main, Giessen, central Germany, Holland, England, Paris, Greifswald, Holstein and Denmark between 1682 and 1687. The most intense period of his official studies was in 1684. In that year, he first enrolled as a student at Giessen, where he obtained a master's degree with his pro gradu thesis. Later in the same year, he went to Leiden, Oxford and Cambridge, in each of which he enrolled as a student.
18 Kotivuori, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli: Daniel Rosander.
19 Salminen, *Enevald Svenonius I*, p. 57; Kotivuori, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli: Enevald Svenonius.
20 For example Kotivuori, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli: Gabriel Kurck; Liisa Lagerstam, *A Noble Life: the Cultural Biography of Gabriel Kurck (1630–1712)*. Suomalaisen tiedeakatemia toimituksia, Humaniora 349 (Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 2007).
21 Niléhn, *Peregrinatio*, pp. 97–102; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten opinkäynti*, p. 373; Christensson, "Studieresorna", pp. 172–173, 185–186. The transference of Greifswald under the administration of Sweden in 1637 supposedly led to the decline of the university. Klinge, "Perustaminen ja tarkoitus", p. 68; Christian

Callmer, *Svenska studenter i Wittenberg*. Skrifter utgivna av Personhistoriska samfundet 17. (Stockholm: Personhistoriska samfundet, 1976); Christian Callmer, *Svenska studenter i Rostock 1419–1828*. Ed. Maj Callmer. Skrifter utgivna av Personhistoriska samfundet 21. (Stockholm: Personhistoriska samfundet, 1988)

22 Klinge, "Perustaminen ja tarkoitus", p. 91.

23 Niléhn, *Peregrinatio*, pp. 79, 97–102, 121, 161–163; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten opinkäynti*, pp. 386–408; Simo Heininen, "Tammelin, Lars (1669–1733) Turun piispa, Turun akatemian varakansleri, matematiikan professori". In: *Suomen kansallisbiografia 9*. Studia Biographica 3:9 (Helsinki: The Finnish Literature Society, 2007), pp. 617–618.

24 Niléhn, *Peregrinatio*, pp. 161–163.

25 Kotivuori, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli: Knut Becchius, Johan Törning, Olof Roselius, Johan Tzander, Jonas Emzenius.

26 Kotivuori, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli: Johan Wanzonius.

27 See Niléhn, *Peregrinatio*, p. 251.

28 Israel Starbecchius 1673, Joakim Wittstock 1682, Daniel Unger 1685, Nils Grip 1692, Anders Grip 1692, Anders Lundinus 1692.

29 Johan Klingius 1649, Magnus Klingius 1649, Arvid Grundelius 1650, Erik Halmenius 1652, Israel Krokius 1664, Måns Baaz 1666, Isak Browallius 1675.

30 A master's degree was obtained at Basel University by Jakob Wellinus in 1665, at Oxford by Johan Pontelius (1653) and Gabriel Kurck (1654), at Königsberg by Peter Ungius (1643), at Giessen by Nils Bergius (1684) and at Wittenberg by Samuel Florinus (1695).

31 Doctorates were conferred on Bengt and Gustaf Queckfeldt at Oxford in 1656, and a bachelor's degree was awarded to Georg Mikael Bapzihn at Rostock in 1696.

32 See Eeva Ruoff, "Til-Landz, Elias (1640–1693) lääketieteen professori." In: *Suomen kansallisbiografia 6*. Studia Biographica 3:6 (Helsinki: The Finnish Literature Society, 2005), pp. 817–819.

33 See Salminen, *Enevaldus Svenonius I*, pp. 136–137; Laasonen, *Vanhan ja uuden rajamaastossa*, p. 83.

34 Laasonen, *Vanhan ja uuden rajamaastossa*, pp. 49–82.

35 Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten opinkäynti*, pp. 417–419.

36 Stiernman, *Aboa literata*, p. 25; Tengström, Chornologiska Förteckningar och Anteckningar, p. 134; Salminen, *Enevaldus Svenonius I*, pp. 158–161.

37 Niléhn, *Peregrinatio*, pp. 90–102; Peter Englund, *Det hotade huset. Adliga föreställningar om samhället under stormaktstiden* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 1989); Peter Englund, *Suuren sodan vuodet*. Suom. Timo Hämäläinen (Helsinki: WSOY, 1996); Christensson, "Studieresorna", p. 176.

38 Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten opinkäynti*, p. 364.

39 Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten opinkäynti*, p. 383; Bo Eriksson, "Oeconomia. En lära om social ordning och sammanhållning. En diskussion kring greve Per Brahe d ä:s Oeconomia eller Hushållbok för ungt adelsfolk". In: Dahl, Gunnar, Österberg. Eva (red.), *Renässansens eliter. Maktmänniskor i Italien och Norden* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2000), p. 154; Marko Hakanen, *Vallan verkostoissa. Per Brahe ja hänen klienttinsä 1600-luvun Ruotsin valtakunnassa*. Jyväskylä studies in humanities 157 (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 2011), pp. 127–128; Liisa Lagerstam, Jessica Parland-von Essen, "Aatelin kasvatus". In: Hanska, Jussi, Vainio-Korhonen, Kirsi (toim.), Suomen koulutuksen historia 1. Huoneentaulun maailma. Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa keskiajalta 1860-luvulle. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 1266:1. (Helsinki: The Finnish Literature Society, 2010), pp. 197, 200–202. Cf. Niléhn, *Peregrinatio*, pp. 193–199, 267; David Gaunt, *Utbildning till statens tjänst. En kollektivbiografi av stormaktstidens hovrättsauskultanter*. Studia historica Upsaliensia 63. (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1975); Svante

Norrhem, *Uppkomlingarna. Kanslitjänstemännen i 1600-talets Sverige och Europa*. Acta Universitatis Umensis, Umeå Studies in the Humanities 117. (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell; 1993).

40 Niléhn, *Peregrinatio*, pp. 90–96, 143; Klinge, "Perustaminen ja tarkoitus", pp. 66–67.

41 John Strömberg, "Ylioppilaat". In: *Helsingin yliopisto 1640–1990 I. Kuninkaallinen Turun akatemia* (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, Otava, 1987), pp. 322; Strömberg, *Studenter, nationer och universitet*, pp. 159–161.

42 Kotivuori, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli: Nils Gyldenstolpe, Karl Gyldenstolpe, Gustaf Gyldenstolpe; Hakanen, *Vallan verkostoissa*, pp. 107–108; Sarasti-Wilenius, *Dear Brother, Cracious Maecenas, pp. 16–23*.

43 Kotivuori, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli: Daniel Gyldenstolpe; Kustaa H. J. Vilkuna, *Neljä ruumista* (Helsinki: Teos, 2009), p. 191.

44 Kotivuori, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli: Mikael Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe.

45 Per Brahe visited Denmark, Germany, England, Italy, Saxony, Holland and Austria and the major cities in them on his travels. He studied languages at Giessen and other subjects at Padua and Bologna, and he learned to ride and fence in Strassburg. Kotivuori, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli: Per Brahe.

46 See for example Hakanen, *Vallan verkostoissa*, pp. 107–108.

47 Stiernman, *Aboa literata*, p. 102; Tengström, Chronologiska Förteckningar och Anteckningar, p. 140; Kotivuori, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli: Samuel Gyldenstolpe; Vilkuna, *Neljä ruumista*, pp. 221–223. It should be noted that Gyldenstolpe was the president of the defence of Petrus Hahn's dissertation *De majestate ejusque juribus, eccelestiasticis et politicis* in 1679.

48 Lagus, *Åbo hofrätts historia I*, pp. 249–255; Kotivuori, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli: Erik Falander-Tigerstedt, Henning Johan Grass; Vilkuna, *Neljä ruumista*, pp. 246, 286–287.

49 Strömberg, Ylioppilaat, p. 322; Strömberg, *Studenter, nationer och universitet*, pp. 161–165.

50 Died or disappeared during or shortly after the trip.

51 Of those who went abroad directly from Turku, Tigerstedt and Queckfeldt were ennobled, and of those who went by way of Uppsala, Jakob Sneckenberg (c. 1666–1702), Teofil Mellin (ennobled as Ehrenstierna) (1639–1689), Robert Kinninmundt (1647–1720), Lars Brommius (ennobled as Brommenstedt) (c. 1663–1723) and Sven Dimberg (ennobled as Dimborg) (c. 1661–1731). Database; Strömberg, "Ylioppilaat", p. 322; Strömberg, *Studenter, nationer och universitet*, pp. 171–179.

52 Lagus, *Åbo hofrätts historia I*, pp. 249–255; Kotivuori, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli: Erik Falander-Tigerstedt, Henning Johan Grass; Hannu Tapani Klami, "Tigerstedt, Ericus (1640–1697) hovioikeuden asessori, lainopin professori, pyhien kielten professori". In: *Suomen kansallisbiografia 9*. Studia Biographica 3:9 (Helsinki: The Finnish Literature Society, 2007), p. 787; Vilkuna, *Neljä ruumista*, pp. 246, 286–287.

53 Salminen, *Enevaldus Svenonius I*, p. 149.

54 Kotivuori, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli: Bengt Queckfeldt, Gustaf Queckfeldt.

55 Stiernman, *Aboa literata*, p. 73; Vilhelm Gabriel Lagus, *Åbo hofrätts historia I. Biographiska anteckningar om Åbo hofrätts presidenter och ledamöter; jemte förteckning öfver secreterare och advocat-fiscaler därstedes intill den 12. nov. 1823 då Hofrätten firade sin andra secular-fest* (Helsingfors: J. C. Frenckell & Son, 1832), pp. 247–249; Kotivuori, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli: Ambrosius Nidulius-Nidelberg; Vilkuna, *Neljä ruumista*, p. 286.

56 The works of Martinus Martin, Joost Schouten and Michael Hemmersamin (*Historia om thet Tartariske Krijget uthi Konunggarijket Sina, sampt theras seder*, *Sanfärdig Beskrijffning om Konungarijket Siam* ja *Kort berättelse om Wäst Indien eller America; som ellies kallas Nya werlden*) were published in Swedish in 1675 in Visingsborg.

57 Stiernman, *Aboa literata*, pp. 115–116; Friedrich Konrad Gadebusch, *Livländische Bibliothek nach alphabetischer Ordnung. Dritter Theil* (Riga: Hartknoch, 1777), pp. 84–86; Kotivuori, Ylioppilasmatrikkeli: Daniel Sarcovius.
58 Niléhn, *Peregrinatio*, pp. 193–199, 259–267, 297. See also Norrhem, *Uppkomlingarna. Kanslitjänstemännen i 1600-talets Sverige och Europa.*
59 For example Seppo J. Salminen, *Enevaldus Svenonius II (1664–1688)*. Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran toimituksia 134 (Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 1985); Laasonen, *Vanhan ja uuden rajamaastossa*, pp. 103 ff.
60 On the universities, see Niléhn, *Peregrinatio*, pp. 118–131.
61 Stiernman, *Aboa literata*, p. 24; Salminen, *Enevaldus Svenonius I*, p. 43; Salminen, *Enevaldus Svenonius II*; Laasonen, *Vanhan ja uuden rajamaastossa*, pp. 84–95.
62 Stiernman, *Aboa literata*, pp. 73, 115–116; J. Vallinkoski, *Turun akatemian väitöskirjat I*. Helsingin yliopiston kirjaston julkaisuja 30 (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, 1962–1966); Klinge, "Perustaminen ja tarkoitus", pp. 98–101.
63 Gaunt, *Utbildning till statens tjänst. En kollektivbiografi av stormaktstidens hovrättsauskultanter*; Norrhem, *Uppkomlingarna. Kanslitjänstemännen i 1600-talets Sverige och Europa*, pp. 36–39, 80–83, 120–121.

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