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OCH ANTIKVITETS AKADEMIEN

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EARLY MODERN ACADEMIC CULTURE


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Early Modern Academic Culture

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Bo Lindberg

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ABSTRACT

This volume is the result of a conference held in Stockholm in April 2016 on Early Modern academic culture. The field is vast indeed and allows for almost anything within the field and the time period. However, a focus is discernible in that the Swedish contributors preferably deal with sources related to basic academic activities: letters of recommendation (Hörstedt), lecture notes (Lindberg) and dissertations (Sellberg), including both poetic (Fredriksson, Sjökvist) and political (Hellerstedt) aspects of that genre. Two papers deal with academic peregrination by discussing the role of dissertations defended *extra patriam* (Czaika) and the phenomenon of alumni, i.e. former students in the Diaspora (Viiding). A kind of contrast to that is represented by the *Familienuniversität*, where professors tended to be succeeded by their sons or relatives; the example analysed is Basel (Marti). The scholarly content of academic culture is treated in the contributions on specialization (Raffe), and the Aristotelian structuring of disciplines (Landgren). In a defence of the scholarly performance of English academic culture, it is argued that the research university came into existence in the humanities already in 17th century Oxford and Cambridge (Feingold). The outright, and unique, political potential of universities is illustrated by the role of the University of Leiden in the early days of Dutch independence (Waszink). Finally, a kind of academic self-image is traced in the metaphors for the quest of truth borrowed from classical authors (Helander).

Keywords: Early Modern, academic culture, *Familienuniversität*, dissertations, lectures, poetry, specialization, politics, alumni, poetry, research

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Contents

Bo Lindberg: Introduction 7

Hanspeter Marti: Der Typus der frühneuzeitlichen Familienuniversität und ein Einzelfall – die Universität Basel: *Fakten und Überlegungen zu einer historiographischen Komparatistik* 15

Otfried Czaika: Frühneuzeitliche schwedische Dissertationen *extra patriam* und ihr Beitrag zur Geschichte der *peregrinatio academica* 31

Kristi Viiding: German Academies, Baltic Alumni, and *Obligatio Mutua* in Early Modern Times 47

Axel Hörstedt: Letters of recommendation in the transition from *gymnasium* to university in Early Modern Sweden 57

Erland Sellberg: Disputations and Dissertations 73

Bo Lindberg: Early Modern Academic Lectures in Sweden 85

Anna Fredriksson: Poetry Quotations in Early Modern Swedish Academic Dissertations 101

Peter Sjökvist: The Congratulatory Poetry of Petrus Lagerlöf: *Functions, Social Patterns, and Characteristic Ideas* 117

Jan Waszink: University and Court. *The Case of Leiden, 1572–1618* 139

Andreas Hellerstedt: *Praeses* and *Praeceptor*: A Late 17th-Century University Dissertation as a "Mirror for Princes" 161

Alasdair Raffe: Academic Specialisation in the Early Modern Scottish Universities 177

Per Landgren: *Historia et Scientia*: *An Aristotelian Cognitive Structure of the Academic Disciplines* 189

Mordechai Feingold: Research and the Early Modern University: A Prolegomena 203

Hans Helander: Metaphors for the Quest for Truth 215

The Authors 229

Bo Lindberg

Introduction

Judging from a quick look at Google, "academic culture" today seems to be a more or less normative concept related to discussions of how to improve university teaching and research. It is associated with positive keywords like "intellectual climate", "critical thinking", "creativity", and "collegiality", and with "organizational theory" as a possible promoter of those values. "Early Modern" on the other hand has quite different associations. It is the study of behaviours, practices, and values in learning and academic life, including phenomena of hierarchy, authority, and nepotism that, at least at first glance, are the opposites of those connected with the modern vogue word academic culture. Furthermore, the early modern era is traditionally regarded as a down period in the history of universities, between their youthful prosperity in the Middle Ages and the idealistic revival in the early 19th century.

The catch phrase "academic culture" may be fairly recent, but the field is not new. Most monographs on individual universities have chapters on teaching, finance, students, and so on. Nor are those who study academic culture particularly specialized. But they endeavour to loosen themselves from the diachronic narratives of particular universities in order to go into details in neglected issues, often opening up for comparative perspectives or for questions and theories borrowed from other disciplines than the history of learning. It is a cliché to speak of integrating the history of universities in their contemporary society and culture, but that is nevertheless an aspect of what is going on.

The research field has several aspects. Natural to the cultural approach are the social issues concerning the university as an exclusive community, i.e. a guild consisting of professors and students, with a jurisdiction of their own and specific habits, language, rituals, and manners deviating from the rest of society. Lately, research has paid attention to aspects of academic culture that are less visible in the sources from official academic activity, notably everyday academic life, particularly that of the students.

Not least has the important role of students from the nobility been emphasized, including studies of exercises outside the scholarly sphere like music and fencing. Here, gender emerges as a relevant aspect, in spite of the absence of female students, if the more or less tolerated structural misbehaviour of students is regarded a function of the formation of male identity.

Sometimes, studies of social issues are caused by a wish to compare phenomena that are common to early modern and modern universities, such as the recruitment of professors, the social origin and careers of students, the financing of studies, or the response of the universities to demands of society and the expectations of the receivers of academic labour.

Another approach is the practical aspects of the scholarly activities: disputations, lectures, *collegia*, tutoring, exams, and academic migration, all of which have their counterparts in the modern university. Attached to these are questions about quality and merit in the early modern academic system: what was a student expected to master, what constituted a good academic teacher, and in what terms was that explicated? And in what terms were, in the absence of the modern concept of research, the qualities and efforts of prosperous academic work described and labelled?

A separate approach, although entangled in the others, is the medial aspect of learning. That includes publishing and the intercourse within the republic of letters and the complex relations between the spoken and the written word, between manuscript and printing. Clearly, the written word expanded at the universities as it did in connection with the growth of the early modern state and its bureaucracies. That process started already in the middle ages. Yet, the typical oral academic genres, i.e. the disputation, the lecture, and the oration, persisted throughout the early modern era. Their importance was undermined and their role had to change, however, as the printing press made it possible to become informed through reading instead of listening. Books becoming more easily available caused a crisis for the lecture as a form of teaching. Parallel to that process, but not quite for the same reason, Latin lost its position as the language of learning, opening for the maturation of the vernacular languages as media of science. That was an important medial change that tends to be forgotten among more technical innovations.

Another path into the field of early modern academic culture is to look at the relation between university and the surrounding society. That approach has several facets, such as the social recruitment of students, the careers of academically trained labour, and the influence of state and church on the disciplinary contents of academic

teaching. The latter aspect includes issues about control, censorship and religious and political orthodoxy, and cases of heterodoxy.

Finally, an approach to early modern academic culture is by way of the specific source materials produced within the universities. Academic genres are *legio*. Some of them are printed: dissertations, orations, funeral orations, programmes, and lecture catalogues. Others are hand written, such as lecture notes and minutes from the Senate. Among these genres, the dissertations are particularly interesting and have attracted due scholarly interest, usually departing from their oral origin, the *disputatio*. Dissertations, with their paratexts and *corollaria*, their unclear authorship, varying quality and humble gestures towards superiors, epitomize the peculiarities and tensions of the early modern academic university.

The academic genres are subject to strong conventions and the study of them is admittedly sometimes tedious. On the other hand, their language, with all its refined figures, elaborated metaphors, and gestures of humility as well as hyperbolic ambition, conveys an important dimension of the early modern academic mentality that analytical research questions may fail to grasp. Put into due context, these texts are worth studying, not only because they reveal aspects of academic culture but also because they are drawn out in time and allow for diachronic investigations of change.

The contributions of this volume are the fruits of a symposium held at the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities in Stockholm, 7–8 April 2016. The title was "Early modern academic culture", which is of course a hyperbolic pretension. Many fields are absent, as are Catholic universities. Uppsala University provides a disproportionate part of the cases studied, due to the strong representation of Swedish scholars at the symposium. The papers treat very different topics, ranging from top scholars at Oxford to university applicants in Swedish *gymnasia*, from scientific specialization to congratulatory poetry. Still, they fall somewhere within the entries described above, more specifically under the following headings: mobility, genres, politics, and learning.

Mobility refers to movements and transitions within the academic system, either horizontal and geographic or vertical and hierarchic. Hanspeter Marti describes the mode of recruiting professors at the University of Basel, finding an extreme example of the well-known phenomenon of *Familienuniversität*: sons succeeded their fathers, often by way of a professorship in the subordinate faculty of philosophy. Almost all professors came from Basel and were appointed by the City Council, whose relation to the university seems to have been harmonious; a sophisticated procedure of balloting was designed to prevent corruption. The system persisted well into the 19th

century and functioned fairly well; among the academic families were such as the Bernoullis.

Geographic mobility is the object of study in the contribution of Otfried Czaika, who looks into the peregrination of Swedish students and academics in Europe by following the dissertations they defended *extra patriam* at the University of Greifswald in the early 1600s. The seemingly uniform texts show interesting nuances in expected Lutheran orthodoxy. He also points at the potential of these sources for transnational big-data investigations of early modern academic contacts.

Kristi Viiding explores the concept of the *alumnus*, an early modern academic phenomenon that has experienced a revival and an increasing significance in our time. By help of the preserved correspondence of the Riga humanist David Hilchen, who had studied at German universities, the status and role of the *alumnus* can be identified. Unlike modern alumni, who are approached by their university wanting to profit on the reputation of former students, the example of Hilchen shows that the university was regarded an *alma mater* in a strong sense of the word, i.e. as protector of its former student. He could appeal for help when he stood accused or when he wanted to recommend a son or some relative to the university.

The recommendation is the topic of Axel Hörstedt's paper, which studies the transition process at the lowest level of the academic system. Hörstedt examines the letters of recommendation issued by the rectors of *gymnasia* to facilitate the transition of former pupils to the university. Instead of being examined before leaving for the university, pupils could be given a *testimonium academicum* by their headmaster confirming their skills and moral character. The actual effect of such *testimonia* is unclear – young boys were quite often admitted to the university without any preceding control – but they are interesting as rhetorical specimens designed not only to recommend the future student but also to show the level of learning on the part of the person who issued the recommendation. Thus, the *testimonia* were a genre of their own, and Hörstedt's paper could just as well be located among the contributions dealing with genres.

The printed dissertation is a conspicuous academic genre, since it was printed and surrounded by the acts that were at the centre of academic culture, i.e. the disputation and the promotion. As mentioned above, it has attracted much scholarly attention lately. In his paper, Erland Sellberg points at some unsolved problems in the fabrication of dissertations, such as the relation between the oral disputation and the written dissertation and the function of the *corollaria* that were often added after the text. He also discusses the development of more extended dissertations parallel to the nugatory formal exercises that continued throughout the early modern period: what

were the motives for being more ambitious when formally the oral disputation was the only effort that counted?

Bo Lindberg reports results from his recently published book in Swedish dealing with the less attended genre of the academic lecture. The paper restricts itself to Swedish universities in the decades around 1700, focusing on the material, medial, and social aspects of university teaching and paying some attention to its methods and contents as well.

A seemingly exclusive genre is investigated by Anna Fredriksson, who writes about the frequency of poetry in the scholarly texts of dissertations (that is, not in the paratexts). It is a long-term study in which Fredriksson follows the number of poetic quotations and references in dissertations representing the fields of politics and of medicine. The results are significant, both between the disciplines and over time. Quotations in political science peak in the decades around 1700, those in medicine in the period before 1650; after 1760, however, they disappear from both fields.

Peter Sjökvist tackles poetry in the paratexts of the dissertations, and in particular the congratulatory poems written by written by professors to the respondent. Sjökvist's examples are 25 poems by the late 17th-century professor Petrus Lagerlööf. In such poems, the relation is reversed: the voice is not that of the subordinate supplicant, so common in humanist poetry, but that of the benevolent teacher. That changes the tune, the topics, and the frame of reference of the poems.

Two papers treat the issue of university and politics. Jan Wazsink analyses the extraordinary role of the newly founded Leiden University during the Dutch liberation war around 1600. The court of William of Orange was not the only centre of the rebel movement; the university, without ecclesiastic tradition and cultivating a secular humanism, was an equally significant actor in Dutch politics, in foreign affairs as well as domestic. Negotiations with England, an unreliable ally against the Spaniards, were conducted by the university. Furthermore, the university authorities adopted a secular reason of state policy vis à vis the deleterious religious conflicts within Calvinism, imposing restrictions on religious freedom while maintaining the freedom of conscience. The result was an early form of academic freedom.

A different case, more typical of Lutheran countries, is described by Andreas Hellerstedt in his paper about the teaching of politics in Sweden on its way towards absolutism in the late 1600s. Hellerstedt focuses on professors who were recruited as teachers of the crown prince. He finds an interesting difference between the political wisdom taught to university students and the princely education in politics. The latter is more realistic, has more of reason of state, and comes closer to Machiavelli. The

texts and authorities referred to were about the same at court as in the university halls, but academic political humanism was restrained by concern for morality and religion.

The last four chapters of this volume deal with learning or science, remaining, however, on a general level that pertains to academic culture. Alistair Raffe discusses the process of specialization of academic learning at the Scottish universities. From the beginning, teachers in Scotland – the regents – taught all the disciplines of the arts faculty in the medieval manner of rotating (but unlike Lutheran universities). Specialization is usually connected with the Scottish Enlightenment of the 18th century, but Raffe shows that in the 16th century there was already a trend to let the regents concentrate on one discipline. This trend was stopped by the Presbyterian Covenanters in the 1630s and 1640s and specialization had to wait until the ascent of the sciences at the end of the 17th century. The disciplines were filled with new and more complex knowledge, and, not least important, they often demanded the management of instruments.

In a way, Per Landgren, too, addresses an issue concerning the division of science, but of a more theoretical nature. He studies the persisting, and even increasing, force of the Aristotelian meaning of the word 'history' in structuring early modern academic knowledge. History in Aristotle's usage is the study and collecting of singular facts. It stands for empirical, inferior, and non-scientific knowledge. Nevertheless, history became a major academic discipline in early modern learning, often in combination with another discipline. The discipline of history in its usual sense of events in chronological order may have had difficulties in establishing itself due to this lingering of the Aristotelean theory of science.

The chapter by Mordechai Feingold is polemic. He challenges the widespread opinion, phrased already in the early 1800s, that research was absent from the early modern universities. He also attacks the alleged prejudice in its modernized version of William Clark who claims that the modern research university has its roots in the bureaucratic spirit of the universities in 18th-century Germany. The counter-examples are Oxford and Cambridge from the end of the 16th century to the beginning of the 18th. There were regulations of ecclesiastic nature, but they had no decisive hampering effect. The humanities – i.e. philology, biblical criticism, antiquarianism – could flourish, cultivated in excellent libraries and with methods that turned erudition into secular research.

The final paper by Hans Helander gives a linguistic aspect of scholarly and academic culture. Helander examines various metaphors for the search of truth, such as intellectual studies as a journey, the quest for knowledge compared to the bee's collecting of honey, and others. He finds them in texts by philosophers and humanist scholars, which may connect to the topic to Finegold's claim about the prosperous

humanities. But the spirit of the metaphors is not one of scientific progress in the modern sense. The metaphors of (humanist) science were not modern, perhaps not even early modern but rather premodern.

Hanspeter Marti

Der Typus der frühneuzeitlichen Familienuniversität und ein Einzelfall – die Universität Basel

Fakten und Überlegungen zu einer historiographischen Komparatistik

Die frühneuzeitliche Universität deutschsprachiger Länder wird in der Forschung mit Vorliebe als „Familienuniversität" gekennzeichnet,[1] die im 19. Jahrhundert mit der zögerlichen bildungspolitischen Umsetzung des humboldtschen Modells vom

1 Im Folgenden wird nur eine kleine Auswahl der kaum mehr überblickbaren Literatur zur ‚Familienuniversität' aufgelistet, vornehmlich solche, die weitere bibliographische Nachweise enthält. F.W. Euler, ‚Entstehung und Entwicklung deutscher Gelehrtengeschlechter', in *Universität und Gelehrtenstand 1400–1800*, Büdinger Vorträge 1966, Hrsg. von Hellmuth Rössler & Günther Franz, Limburg/Lahn 1970, S. 183–231 (ausführlich zur Universität Basel); M. Asche: ‚Über den Nutzen von Landesuniversitäten in der Frühen Neuzeit. Leistung und Grenzen der protestantischen „Familienuniversität"', in *Universität Würzburg und Wissenschaft in der Neuzeit. Beiträge zur Bildungsgeschichte*, gewidmet Peter Baumgart anläßlich seines 65. Geburtstages, hrsg. von P. Herde & A. Schindling unter Mitarbeit von M. Asche, Würzburg 1998, S. 133–149; J. Kümmerle, „‚Absinkendes Niveau, fehlende Kritik und geringe Leistung?' Familienuniversitäten und Universitätsfamilien im Alten Reich', in D. Siebe (Hg.) unter Mitarbeit von S.n Wallentin, *‚Orte der Gelahrtheit'. Personen, Prozesse und Reformen an protestantischen Universitäten des Alten Reiches*, Stuttgart 2008, S. 143–157; ders., ‚Konfessionalität und Gelehrtenkultur im Generationenverband. Protestantische Theologen- und Juristenfamilien im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation, in Frankreich und in der Schweiz', in *Frühneuzeitliche Konfessionskulturen*, hrsg. von T. Kaufmann, A. Schubert & K. von Greyerz, Heidelberg 2008, S. 69–97; M. Asche: ‚Biographische Profile und Rekrutierungsmechanismen von Professoren an kleinen und mittelgrossen protestantischen Universitäten im Heiligen Römischen Reich 1650–1800. Eine prosopographisch-kollektivbiographische Analyse von Professorenlexika', in *Professorinnen und Professoren gewinnen. Zur Geschichte des Berufungswesens an den Universitäten Mitteleuropas*, hrsg. von Chr. Hesse & R. Chr. Schwinges, Redaktion Melanie Steinmüller, Basel 2012, S. 185–245; T. Schmotz. *Die Leipziger Professorenfamilien im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Eine Studie über Herkunft, Vernetzung und Alltagsleben*, Leipzig 2012; J. Schopferer, *Sozialgeschichte der halleschen Professoren 1694–1806. Lebenswege, Netzwerke und Raum als Strukturbedingungen von universitärer Wissenschaft und frühmoderner Gelehrtenexistenz*, Halle (Saale) 2016.

Typus der Lehre und Forschung vereinigenden staatlich gelenkten Hochschule abgelöst worden sei.[2] Am Beispiel der Universität Basel, die dem skizzierten Erscheinungsbild der althumanistischen Lehranstalt durchweg entsprach,[3] vermittle ich einer historiographischen Komparatistik Anstöße, die die Eigenart des verbreiteten frühneuzeitlichen Modells beschreibt.

Die folgenden Erörterungen möchten den Blick für Unterschiede zu skandinavischen und baltischen Universitäten schärfen, ohne dass der wünschenswerte Vergleich hier durchgeführt würde oder auch nur alle relevanten Aspekte behandelt werden könnten. Daher beschränke ich mich auf einen wichtigen Gesichtspunkt, die Besetzung der Professuren und die angewendeten Praktiken und Modalitäten.

Von 1565 bis 1777, also während mehr als 200 Jahren, hatten in Basel ohne Unterbrechung im Vater-Sohnverhältnis stehende Angehörige der Familie Zwinger insbesondere Lehrstühle der Theologie und der Medizin inne, allein drei Professoren mit dem Vornamen Theodor, andere simultan als Brüder, weitere in entfernterem Verwandtschaftsverhältnis.[4] Die aus Westfalen zugewanderten Buxtorf stellten während 113 Jahren, von 1591 bis 1704, in drei Generationen Hebraisten, davon drei in direkter Abstammung, die wegen ihrer gleichen oder ähnlichen Namen (Johann / Johann Jakob) ebenfalls leicht zu verwechseln sind.[5] Dies trifft noch mehr auf die drei Johann Bernoulli zu, die ersten beiden Mathematiker, der dritte der an der Berliner

2 *Humboldt International. Der Export des deutschen Universitätsmodells im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. von R.Chr. Schwinges, Redaktion N. Staub & K. Jost, Basel 2001.

3 Grundlegend, auch zu den biographischen Daten des Lehrkörpers: A. Staehelin, *Geschichte der Universität Basel 1632–1818*, erster Teil, Basel 1957 [zitiert: Staehelin: Geschichte I]; ders.: *Geschichte der Universität Basel 1632–1818*, zweiter Teil, Anhang [mit den Biogrammen], Basel 1957 [zitiert Staehelin: *Geschichte* II]; ders.: *Geschichte der Universität Basel 1818–1835*, Basel 1959 [zitiert Staehelin: *Geschichte* III]; *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel*, 5 Bde, Basel 1951–1980 [mit Biogrammen!]; ferner: K. von Greyerz, ‚Basel im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Universität, Humanismus und Wissenschaft', in *Gelehrte zwischen Humanismus und Reformation. Kontexte der Universitätsgründung in Basel 1460*, hrsg. von M. Wallraff, Berlin/Boston 2011, S. 73–93.

4 Siehe Staehelin: *Geschichte* II (Anm. 3), Register; Biogramme. Bei den Zwinger mit Vornamen ‚Theodor' handelt es sich um Theodor I Zwinger (Mediziner; 1533–1588), Theodor II Zwinger (Theologe; 1597–1654), Theodor III Zwinger (Mediziner;1658–1724). Vgl. auch die Artikel von W. Raupp & H. Steinke (mit weiterer Literatur) in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, Bd. 13, Basel 2014, S. 911.

5 Siehe Staehelin ebd.; ferner: *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*. Bd. 3. Basel 2004, Artikel von S.G. Burnett, K. Marti-Weissenbach & T.K. Kuhn, S. 156f.: Johannes I Buxtorf (1564–1629), Johannes II Buxtorf (1599–1664; Sohn von Johannes I), Johannes III Buxtorf (1663–1732; Sohn des Ratsherrn Johannes, Vogts von Farnsburg und Waldenburg); Johann Jakob Buxtorf 1645–1704; Sohn von Johannes II).

Akademie wirkende Astronom und Reiseschriftsteller.[6] Jakob Bernoulli (1654–1705) hatte zudem von 1687 bis 1705 den Basler Lehrstuhl der Mathematik inne.[7] Auf ihn folgte 1705 sein Bruder Johann I Bernoulli, zuvor Professor im holländischen Groningen. Er wurde 1748 von seinem Sohn Johann II abgelöst, der 1790 in Basel starb. Diese Familiendynastie lehrte insgesamt 103 Jahre an der Universität der Rheinstadt Mathematik.[8]

Die engen familiären Bande innerhalb der Alma Mater Basiliensis hatten mit der 1818 organisatorisch neu strukturierten Universität kein Ende. Das Faktum der drei ebenfalls im Vater-Sohnverhältnis stehenden Andreas Heusler, der zwei Rechtsgelehrten und des bis 1938 der Naziideologie anhängenden Germanisten, belehrt eines Besseren.[9] Die enge genealogische Filiation der Heusler, im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert eine Ausnahme, kann entweder dem Zufall oder einer institutionelle Strukturunterschiede und andere Modernisierungsfaktoren überlebenden Tradition zugeschrieben werden. Bereits der schlichte Befund auffällig zahlreicher Professorenväter und -söhne verlangt nach Erklärungen und führt sogar auf historiographische Grundprobleme, deren Relevanz durch unzählige Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen unter und zu den Angehörigen der städtischen Obrigkeit unterstrichen wird. Basel wäre ein Eldorado für die beliebte Netzwerkforschung, die natürlich auch geistige Abhängigkeiten, z.B. Lehrer-Schülerverhältnisse, einschlösse. Seit Jahrzehnten werden in Basel an einer eigenen Forschungsstelle, freilich nicht nur aus familiengeschichtlichem Blickwinkel, Leben und Werk vornehmlich der erwähnten Brüder Jakob und Johann I Bernoulli sowie von Johannes II Bernoulli untersucht.[10] Wie angedeutet, kommt es hier nicht auf eine ermüdende Anhäufung personengeschichtlicher Fakten an, über die der Historiker zweifellos verfügen sollte, sondern auf die Erkenntnis institutionen- und sozialgeschichtlicher sowie diskursanalytischer Zusammenhänge und auf ihre Bewertung, die über die Präsentation genealogischer Deszendenzen hinaus-

6 Siehe Staehelin ebd., *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz* Bd. 2, Basel 2003, die Artikel von F. Nagel, S. 315f.: Johann I Bernoulli (1667–1748), Johann II Bernoulli (1710–1790; Sohn von Johann I), Johann III Bernoulli (1744–1807; Sohn von Johann II).

7 Siehe Staehelin ebd., ferner *Historisches Lexikon* (Anm. 6), ebd. (F. Nagel), S. 314f.

8 Zur Familiendynastie als ganzer (mit weiterer Literatur) *Historisches Lexikon* (Anm. 6), ebd., S. 312 (R. Bernoulli-Sutter). Euler: Entstehung und Entwicklung (mit Porträts) (Anm. 1), hier S. 188–211.

9 *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz* Bd. 6. Basel 2007, S. 342f. (Artikel von K. Huber, T. Bühler & W. Haas): Andreas I Heusler (1802–1868; Rechtsprofessor), Andreas II Heusler (1834–1921, Sohn von Andreas I; Rechtsprofessor), Andreas III Heusler (1865–1940, Sohn von Andreas II; Germanist).

10 Bernoulli-Euler-Zentrum an der Universität Basel (BEZ), https://bez.unibas.ch/index.htm

gehen und die Universität Basel zu einem Testfall eines breiten Spektrums simultan anwendbarer, miteinander zu vermittelnder historiographischer Methoden werden lassen.

Blick auf die ehemaligen Universitätsgebäude am Rheinsprung (Foto: Herbert Glarner).

In einer longue durée von Wissensproduktion und -distribution (sowohl durch mündlichen Austausch als auch durch Ausschöpfung gelehrter Werke, vor allem in den Familienbibliotheken, ferner auf Reisen und im Briefverkehr) sammelte sich in den Basler Gelehrtenfamilien ein Potenzial von Kenntnissen und Praktiken der Aneignung und Überlieferung an, das in bestimmten Fachbereichen zur Deutungshoheit führte, Autoritätsansprüche durchsetzen half und damit gesellschaftspolitische Macht bedeutete. Tradierung von Erfahrungen und vermitteltem Wissen, man

denke an Theodor Zwingers *Theatrum humanum*,[11] Verhaltenssicherheit im institutionellen Umfeld und die Akkumulation sozialen Prestiges in diversen Gattungen gelehrter Panegyrik und bei Anlässen universitärer Repräsentation taten das Ihre, der Familienuniversität im weiten Sinn auch im 18. Jahrhundert, einer Zeit angeblichen Niedergangs der Basler Universität, Ansehen zu verschaffen oder, wenigstens unter Gelehrten, zu erhalten.[12] Dies alles wäre für sich genommen unspektakulär, wenn nicht lokale Besonderheiten die Universität Basel heuristisch-typologisch als bedeutsamen Sonderfall erscheinen ließen.

Eine Geschichte der Ernennung von Professoren an frühneuzeitlichen Universitäten steht noch aus.[13] Individuell abgewickelte Anstellungen und die schmale Quellenbasis erschweren verallgemeinernde Aussagen oft oder verunmöglichen bisweilen die Untersuchung von Fallbeispielen. Dies betrifft auch die Universität Basel, doch ist es dem Extremfall familialer Verflechtung, den sie repräsentiert, geschuldet, wenn die Dokumentation zu den üblichen Modalitäten der Besetzung von Professorenstel-

11 *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz* (Anm. 4), S. 911. J. Karcher, *Theodor Zwinger und seine Zeitgenossen. Episode aus dem Ringen der Basler Ärzte um die Grundlehren der Medizin im Zeitalter des Barocks*, Basel 1956; M. Schierbaum, ‚Paratexte und ihre Funktion in der Transformation von Wissensordnungen am Beispiel der Reihe von Theodor Zwingers Theatrum Vitae Humanae', in F. von Ammon & H. Vögel (Hrsg.), *Die Pluralisierung des Paratextes in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Berlin/Münster 2008, S. 255–282; G. Hess, ‚Florilegien. Genese, Wirkungsweisen und Transformationen frühneuzeitlicher Kompilationsliteratur', in *Wissensspeicher der Frühen Neuzeit*, hrsg. von F. Grunert & A. Syndikus, Berlin/Boston 2015, S. 97–138, hier S. 120 Anm. 83 (weitere Literatur).

12 Vgl. die große Sammlung zusammengebundenen akademischen Basler Gelegenheitsschrifttums in der Handschriftenabteilung der Universitätsbibliothek Basel: *Theatrum virtutis et honoris sive sylloge promotionum academicarum academiae Basiliensis* (Signaturen: KiAr G I 7: 1–11 [11 Bde.]; VB Mscr O 11a–g [8 Bde.]). P. Buxtorf, *Alma mater poetica*, Basel 1960.

13 Zur Berufung von Professoren in der Frühen Neuzeit vgl. S. Holtz, *Bildung und Herrschaft. Zur Verwissenschaftlichung politischer Führungsschichten im 17. Jahrhundert*, Leinfelden-Echterdingen 2002, hier insbesondere S. 117–123: Die Berufung der Professoren der Rechtswissenschaft. D. Siebe, ‚Berufungen zwischen Universität und Landesherrschaft: Das Beispiel Jena 1650–1700', in Siebe (Anm. 1), S. 159–191. Dies.: „Berufungswesen", in *Quellen zur frühneuzeitlichen Universitätsgeschichte. Typen, Bestände, Forschungsperspektiven*, hrsg. von U. Rasche, Wiesbaden 2011, S. 225–239. B. Homa, „[...] thue es in ratione seines sehr penetranten Judicii allen vor." Die universitäre Berufungs- und Zensurpraxis im 18. Jahrhundert am Beispiel des Tübinger Professors Israel Gottlieb Canz', in *Die Universität Tübingen zwischen Orthodoxie, Pietismus und Aufklärung*, hrsg. von U. Köpf, Redaktion F. Seck, Tübingen 2014, S. 315–358; W. Frijhoff, ‚Qualitätswahl, Kandidatenmangel oder Nachbarfreundschaft? Die internationale Berufungspraxis der niederländischen Hochschulen zwischen 1575 und 1814', in *Professorinnen und Professoren gewinnen* (Anm. 1), S. 31–53.

len in größerer Dichte als anderswo vorliegt. Vor allem im letzten Viertel des 17. und im zweiten Jahrzehnt des 18. Jahrhunderts gerieten die Dinge in Bewegung.

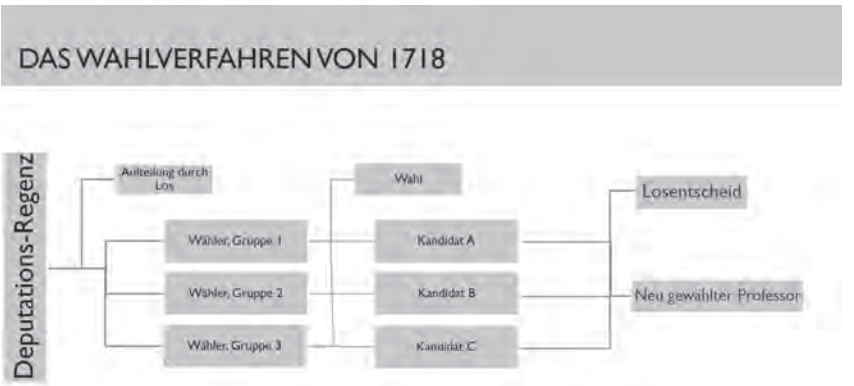
Wahlgremium für die Professuren war seit 1500 bis zur Reform von 1818 das oberste Organ der Universität, die Regenz, die aus 14 Lehrstuhlinhabern, das heißt aus den neun Professoren der drei oberen Fakultäten, ferner aus fünf der insgesamt neun Professoren der philosophischen Fakultät und dazu noch aus vier Vertretern des städtischen Rats, den sogenannten Deputaten, bestand.[14] Bis zum Jahr 1688 wurde in diesem Gremium die Wahl nach dem offenen Handmehr oder geheim, mit Stimmzetteln, vorgenommen und hinterher der städtische Rat um Genehmigung ersucht, die er stets ohne Einspruch erteilte. Es mag erstaunen, dass es, soweit bislang bekannt, in Berufungsfragen kaum zu Konflikten der Universität mit dem Rat kam.[15] Die wahrscheinlichste Erklärung lautet, dass die gelehrte und politische Elite nicht nur ständisch mehr oder weniger homogen zusammengesetzt, sondern als Interessengemeinschaft auch durch freundschaftliche Beziehungen eng verbunden war. Soweit es den Protagonisten dienlich erschien, wurden Wahlgeschäfte wohl durch interne Absprachen und sogenannte Praktiken geregelt. Professoren waren in Basel, etwa im Vergleich mit Pfarrern, schlecht besoldet und daher die Stellen bisweilen nicht besonders attraktiv. Trotzdem konnten sie in der Regel mit qualifizierten Bewerbern besetzt werden, die sich für eine Universitätskarriere, oft für den Aufstieg von der philosophischen in eine obere Fakultät, entschieden hatten. Hin und wieder beklagte man sich dennoch über Personenmangel. Denn von 1632 bis 1818 wurden die Professorenstellen, von nur zwei Ausnahmen, Peter Megerlin (1623–1686)[16] und

14 Grundlegend: Staehelin, *Geschichte* I (Anm. 3), S. 57–70, auf den ich mich auch im Folgenden hauptsächlich stütze. Nach wie vor wichtig A. Burckhardt, ‚Ueber die Wahlart der Basler Professoren besonders im 18. Jahrhundert', in *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 15, 1916, S. 28–46.

15 Die Einschränkung legt nahe, dass das Verhältnis von Stadt und Universität im Hinblick auf Uneinigkeiten bei Professorenberufungen weiter erforscht werden müsste. Das Beispiel der Besetzung einer medizinischen Professur (Staehelin, *Geschichte* I [Anm. 3], S. 69f.) stützt zwar die These des reibungslosen Zusammenwirkens von Rat und Universität; es wird aber über die Furcht der Regenz vor obrigkeitlichen Repressalien berichtet.

16 Staehelin, *Geschichte* II (Anm. 3), S. 573, Nr. 162: Megerlin stammte aus Kempten, studierte 1640–1645 Jurisprudenz in Tübingen und beschäftigte sich nebenher intensiv mit Mathematik. Im Januar 1651 immatrikulierte er sich an der Universität Basel, bereits am 28. Oktober 1651 erlangte er den Doktorgrad beider Rechte. Er trat zum reformierten Glauben über und blieb in Basel, wurde 1660 Stadtkonsulent, am 28. Januar 1661 Magister und am 26. Januar 1674 Professor der Mathematik. Megerlin vertrat die kopernikanische Lehre, was zu Misshelligkeiten mit dem Dekan der philosophischen Fakultät und mit den Theologen führte.

Heinrich Kisselbach (1600–1673)[17] abgesehen, stets von Basler Stadtbürgern besetzt. Um diese ususgemäße städtische Rekrutierung von Professoren, die Missbräuchen aller Art, vor allem der Bestechung, ausgesetzt war, beibehalten zu können, ergriff man im Jahr 1688 eine Schutzmaßnahme. Man führte ein kompliziertes, mit Wählergruppen und Wahlkugeln operierendes Vorgehen der Auslosung (Ballotierung) ein, das 1718 durch ein anderes, ähnliches, das sogenannte blinde Los, ersetzt wurde. Für eine Professur an der philosophischen Fakultät war schon früher der Magistergrad erforderlich, für eine Kandidatur in der medizinischen der Doktortitel in Medizin, für die beiden anderen Fakultäten genügte es, den Magistergrad erworben, danach ein Fakultätsexamen bestanden und öffentlich, in der juristischen Fakultät pro licentia, disputiert zu haben. Das Ernennungsprozedere begann ab dem Jahr 1718 mit dem Ausschreiben der Vakanz. Die Bewerbungen machte der Rektor der Regenz bekannt, welche die Stellenanwärter meistens als wahlfähig erklärte. Diese hatten in der Regel ihre Fähigkeit mit einer Probevorlesung und einer sogenannten pro cathedra-Disputation, der eine gedruckte Thesenschrift zugrundelag, unter Beweis zu



Das Wahlverfahren von 1718.

17 Staehelin, *Geschichte* II (Anm. 3), S. 571f., Nr. 154: Kisselbach stammte aus Lorchhausen (Rheingau) und war Sohn katholischer Eltern, trat in den Franziskanerorden ein und betätigte sich als Feldprediger. Nach dem Klosteraustritt wurde er am 23. Dezember 1635 Protestant, am 3. Mai 1636 Magister, 1637 Kandidat der Theologie, 1638 Lehrer am Basler Gymnasium, am 15. Mai 1657 Physikprofessor, 1670 Basler Bürger. Von 1658 bis 1665 war er Vorsteher des Alumneums. Es fällt auf, dass die beiden von auswärts stammenden Basler Professoren der Frühen Neuzeit Konvertiten waren.

stellen. Die Mitglieder der sogenannten Deputations-Regenz wurden dann durch das Los einer von drei Wählergruppen zugeteilt, die in geheimer Wahl aufgrund des relativen Mehrs je einen der Bewerber für einen Dreiervorschlag erkor. Wer es in das sogenannte Ternarium geschafft hatte, musste sich dem Losglück unterstellen, das endgültig über die Besetzung der vakanten Stelle entschied.

Dieses Verfahren kam hauptsächlich bei Ernennungen in der philosophischen Fakultät zur Anwendung, da in ihr der Einstieg in eine Universitätskarriere erfolgte und sich für einen philosophischen Lehrstuhl im 18. Jahrhundert nicht selten mehrere Kandidaten bewarben. 1741 waren es bei der Besetzung der Rhetorikprofessur fünfzehn,[18] 1749 für den Lehrstuhl der Ethik zwölf Anwärter.[19] Meldete sich nur ein Bewerber, wurde er als gewählt erklärt, waren es zwei oder drei Kandidaten, entschied das Los ohne Vorwahl. In den oberen Fakultäten, deren Professuren wie die philosophischen intern hierarchisch gegliedert waren – so bildete in der theologischen Fakultät der Neutestamentler ususgemäß die Spitze der innerfakultären Rangordnung – rückten die Inhaber tiefer eingestufter Stellen ohne Wahlverfahren auf höhere Positionen nach. Strebten Professoren der philosophischen Fakultät den Aufstieg in eine obere Fakultät an, hatten sie sich, falls mehrere Kandidaturen vorlagen, der geschilderten Loswahl zu stellen. Samuel Werenfels (1657–1740), der im Zeitpunkt seiner Bewerbung für die Professur der Kontroverstheologie Professor der Rhetorik war und einen Doktorgrad in Theologie vorzuweisen hatte, erlangte, da er alleiniger Bewerber war, ohne Wahlprozedere aufgrund der Probevorlesung und der pro cathedra-Disputation den erstrebten theologischen Lehrstuhl. Bleibt nachzutragen, dass sein Vater, Peter Werenfels (1627–1703), am 16. September 1696, als sein Sohn Theologieprofessor wurde, von der Professur des Alten Testaments zu derjenigen des Neuen Testaments aufrückte. 1703, im Todesjahr seines Vaters, wurde Samuel Werenfels dann, nach einer fünfmonatigen Vakanz, seinerseits durch Aufrücken Professor für Altes Testament, nachdem er einen Ruf an die niederländische Universität Franeker abgelehnt hatte. Er bevorzugte die gefestigte Position an der heimischen Universität, geleitet von der berechtigten Hoffnung, dereinst die höchste Stufe

18 Vgl. H. Marti, ‚Der Wettbewerb um die Gunst des Schicksals. Basler Kandidatenreigen um die Besetzung einer Rhetorikprofessur im 18. Jahrhundert', in *Aufklärung. Interdisziplinäres Jahrbuch* 26, 2014 (Thema Gelehrtenrepublik), S. 237–257.

19 Staehelin, *Geschichte* I (Anm. 3), S. 61f. Keine Regel ohne Ausnahme: Die Stelle bekam ein Anwärter, der vom Bewerbungsprozedere dispensiert war: Johann Heinrich Falckner (1729–1814).

der professoralen Hierarchie zu erreichen:[20] 1711 erlangte er die Professur für Neues Testament. Die Berufungen und die Karrieren von Vater und Sohn Werenfels wie auch von dessen Neffen, dem Basler Logikprofessor Peter Ryhiner (1692–1771), sind nur exemplarische Fälle in der an Verwandtschaften so überaus reichen Geschichte der frühneuzeitlichen Basler Universität.

Abschließend seien einige Gedanken angefügt, die für eine adäquate Würdigung, zumindest der Basler Verhältnisse, instruktiv und daher zu berücksichtigen sind. Das Loswahlverfahren verzeichnete neben den Gewinnern natürlich auch Verlierer und sogar ausgesprochene Pechvögel wie Anton Birr (1693–1762), der sich insgesamt zehnmal erfolglos um eine Professur an der philosophischen Fakultät bewarb und dem erst im Alter von 52 Jahren mit dem wenig begehrten Griechischlehrstuhl ein eher zweifelhaftes Glück zuteil wurde.[21] Basler Gelehrte, die erfolglos für eine Professur kandidierten, wanderten an ausländische Akademien ab, wo sie, wie Johann Bernhard Merian (1723–1807) in Berlin[22] oder Leonhard Euler (1707–1783) in St. Petersburg Karriere machten.[23] Andere kamen, wie gesagt, nach einem längeren Auslandaufenthalt schließlich doch noch an der heimischen Universität unter. Weitere,

20 Biographie bei K. Marti-Weissenbach, [Artikel zu] ‚Samuel Werenfels (Präses), Johann Georg Meyer und Joachim Lüdin (Respondenten): Dissertatio de meteoris orationis. Basel 1694', in *Rhetorik, Poetik und Ästhetik im Bildungssystem des Alten Reiches. Wissenschaftshistorische Erschließung ausgewählter Dissertationen von Universitäten und Gymnasien 1500–1800*, hrsg. von H. Marti, R.B. Sdzuj & R. Seidel, unter Mitarbeit von K. Marti-Weissenbach, Köln/Weimar/Wien 2016, S. 228–243.

21 Staehelin, *Geschichte* II (Anm. 3), S. 566, S. 622 (Register); Matrikel (Anm. 3), Bd. 4, 1975, S. 392, Nr. 2278. Zur Bewerbung Birrs für die Oratorikprofessur K.-D. Beims Artikel über die Dissertation Anton Birr (Präses), Isaak Iselin (Respondent): *Animadversionum Horatianarum specimen sistens Q. Horatii Flacci carminum libri II. Oden II. illustratam et emendatam*. 3. Mai 1743. Basel: http://www.forschungen-engi.ch/ unter ‚Projekte'.

22 H. Marti, ‚Poetik, Rhetorik und Literaturkritik. Entstehung und Wirkung einer frühen Dissertation des Baslers Johann Bernhard Merian', in M. Gindhart, H. Marti & R. Seidel (Hrsg.), *Frühneuzeitliche Disputationen. Polyvalente Produktionsapparate gelehrten Wissens. Unter Mitarbeit von Karin Marti-Weissenbach*, Köln/Weimar/Wien 2016, S. 255–284.

23 E.A. Fellmann, ‚Euler, Leonhard', in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, Bd. 4, Basel 2005, S. 335f. F. Nagel & A. Verdun (Hrsg.), *„Geschickte Leute, die was praestiren* können*...". Gelehrte aus Basel an der St. Petersburger Akademie der Wissenschaften des 18. Jahrhunderts. Vorträge des Symposiums vom 10. Juli 2003 an der Akademie der Wissenschaften von St. Petersburg während der „Schweizer Wochen" anlässlich der Feierlichkeiten „300 Jahre St. Petersburg"*, Aachen 2005.

so Isaak Iselin (1728–1782), der dann bei der Wahl zum Stadtschreiber endlich Losglück hatte, wichen in der Rheinstadt auf nichtuniversitäre Tätigkeitsfelder aus.[24]

Immerhin glaubte man mit der Loswahl ein Verfahren gefunden zu haben, das gegen Bestechungspraktiken immun sei, und es wurde noch in der Geschichtsschreibung des 20. Jahrhunderts die Fairness der auf dem beschriebenen Weg erfolgten Berufungen gerühmt.[25] Die Ansicht, dass im 18. Jahrhundert die Ausdünnung der universitären Elite in Basel allein dem Los anzulasten sei, wurde zu Recht relativiert,[26] obwohl in manchen Fällen ein ursächlicher Zusammenhang zwischen dem Auswahlprozedere und dem tiefen Niveau einiger Professoren nicht zu leugnen ist und sogar kuriose Fehlplatzierungen vorkamen. Zum Beispiel muss bei der Ernennung eines Hebraisten, der des Hebräischen nicht mächtig war, schon vor dem Losentscheid mehr als ein Verfahrensfehler unterlaufen sein.[27] In der Frühen Neuzeit fand das Los, das man einem Gottesurteil gleichsetzte, eine religiös-transzendente Legitimation, welche die allerdings offensichtliche Inkompetenz der Stellenanwärter weder aus-

24 Die Schweizer Aufklärungsforschung nimmt sich gegenwärtig mit großem Engagement (u.a. einer Edition gesammelter Schriften) Isaak Iselins an. Nach wie vor grundlegend Ulrich Im Hof, *Isaak Iselin. Sein Leben und die Entwicklung seines Denkens bis zur Abfassung der «Geschichte der Menschheit» von 1764. Erster Teil. Isaak Iselins Leben und Bildungsgang bis 1764.* Basel 1947; ders.: *Isaak Iselin. Sein Leben und die Entwicklung seines Denkens bis zur Abfassung der „Geschichte der Menschheit" von 1764. Zweiter Teil. Iselins Stellung in der Geistesgeschichte des XVIII. Jahrhunderts.* Basel 1947; ders.: *Isaak Iselin und die Spätaufklärung*, Bern 1967. Zur neueren Forschung: *Isaak Iselin und die Geschichtsphilosophie der europäischen Aufklärung*, hrsg. von L.M. Gisi & W. Rother, Basel 2011. Ferner: *Neue Perspektiven auf Isaak Iselin.* Gastherausgeber Florian Gelzer, Basel 2014 (= Jahrbuch der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für die Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts, Bd. 5/2014).

25 Burckhardt, ‚Ueber die Wahlart' (Anm. 14), S. 41 (Verteidigung des Loses); Staehelin, *Geschichte* I (Anm. 3), S. 64f. (differenziert, im Prinzip keineswegs losfeindlich). Ulrich Im Hof, ‚Vom politischen Leben im Basel des 18. Jahrhunderts', *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 48, 1949, S. 140–166, hier S. 151f. Ganz aktuell B.S. Frey, ‚Warum eigentlich nicht … Den Zufall entscheiden lassen?', in *Das Magazin [Wochenendbeilage des „Tagesanzeigers"]* No 31/32, 6. August 2016, S. 12: „Zufallsverfahren weisen grosse Vorteile auf. Es sollte ihnen viel mehr Beachtung geschenkt und überlegt werden, wo sie noch überall eingesetzt werden können." Frey (*1941) ist Wirtschaftswissenschaftler, Pionier der ökonomischen Glücksforschung und Gastprofessor für Politische Ökonomie an der Universität Basel, u.a. Ehrendoktor der Universität Göteborg.

26 Burckhardt, ‚Ueber die Wahlart …' (Anm. 14), S. 42.

27 Staehelin, *Geschichte* I (Anm. 3), S. 68; am 1. September 1795 wurde der Jurist Johann Rudolf Schnell (1767–1829) Hebräischprofessor. Im kommenden Oktober tauschte er diese Professur gegen die der Geschichte: „Die Tatsache, daß er ins Ternarium gelangte, wirft ein bedenkliches Licht auf den Zustand unserer Hochschule am Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts" (ebd.).

glich noch behob. Das im Jahre 1718 eingeführte Prozedere, das Eid und Los für die Bestellung städtischer **und** universitärer Ämter gleichermaßen vorschrieb, ging von den amtshöchsten Theologen der Basler Universität, darunter Samuel Werenfels, und von vier städtischen Pfarrern aus, die alle aus moralischen Gründen die unlauteren Praktiken verurteilten, die das bereits 25 Jahre zuvor eingeführte Ballotierverfahren nicht beseitigt hatte.[28] Im Vergleich mit den früheren Missbräuchen schneidet das Los nach Auffassung der Petenten sehr gut ab. Mit rhetorischem Aufwand, gehäuften Anaphern und anderen Wiederholungsfiguren, der Aufzählung von Vorteilen und dem fettgedruckten Schlüsselwort, wird die Loswahl der Basler Obrigkeit als rationales, Unparteilichkeit garantierendes und gottgewolltes Verfahren von den Unterzeichnern des *Memoriale* gepriesen: „Dieses Mittel, das uns der gütige GOtt überlaßt, uns grossen Theils aus dem Schlamm unsers unseeligen Practicirens loßzuwürcken, ist das **Looß** / daß wir in gewisser Maaß in unseren Wahlen forthin gebrauchen könnten. **Das Looß** / das kein Mensch, sondern GOtt allein regieret. **Das Looß** / das kein Persohn ansihet, sich an keine Parthey häncket, das sich durch kein Flattiren und Versprechung gewinnen, durch keine Dräuung der Gewaltigen erschrecken laßt. **Das Looß** / das von niemand Geschenck noch Gaben nimmet, das niemand in grosse seinen Weib und Kinderen höchst=empfindliche Unkösten bringt, das keinen zum Thor hinaus treibet. **Das Looß** / das keinen zum Sclaven einer Parthey machet. **Das Looß** / das keinen qualificirten Mann, um seiner Qualitäten Willen, meydet oder zuruck stosset. **Das Looß** / das keinen ehrlichen Mann, der nicht practiciren und spendiren kan, oder der eines und das andere zu thun sich ein Gewissen machet, das, sage ich, keinen ehrlichen Mann von allen Ehren und Aembteren gäntzlich ausschliesset, dieses unpassionirte Looß, das, das, allein kann uns helffen.“[29] Mit aller Überzeugungskraft werden die vom Losverfahren anscheinend garantierte Verfahrensrationalität und die Gerechtigkeit seines Urteils in Erinnerung gerufen und propagiert.

28 Memoriale. Der Geistlichkeit Zu Basel, Wegen Einführung eines Looses, Zu Hintertreibung der Pratiquen, Und Verhütung deß Meineyds. Dorten vor Räth und Burger proponirt Anno 1714. Bern 1720.

29 Ebd., S. 23.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Titelblatt des Memorials.

Aber die Macht von Geschlechterdynastien war ohnehin nicht uneingeschränkt, weil es bisweilen Familienrivalitäten, manchmal innerfamiliäre Zwiste gab, wie die schlechte Beziehung der Brüder Jakob und Johann I Bernoulli bezeugt.[30] Dies ändert nichts am beträchtlichen Einfluss von Verwandtschaften und Freundschaftsbeziehungen, die sich im Aktionsraum vertrauter Institutionen leicht durchsetzen konnten. Mit dem Anteil von fast 100 Prozent einheimischer Professoren stand die Alma Mater Basiliensis einsam an der Spitze aller frühneuzeitlichen Universitäten. Die Universität Rostock, die als typische Familienuniversität gilt, brachte es im 18. Jahr-

30 H.-R. Striebel, ‚Die Naturwissenschaftler der Familie Bernoulli', in Nagel/Verdun (Hrsg.), *„Geschickte Leute …"* (Anm. 23), S. 39–53, hier, kurz, S. 43.

hundert während kurzer Zeit auf höchstens 57 Prozent, im Durchschnitt auf eine Quote von 40 Prozent Professoren Rostocker Herkunft; andere Hochschulen lagen mit durchschnittlich um die 20 Prozent autochthoner Professoren weit unter diesen Maximalzahlen.[31] Dennoch ist in Bezug auf den Wissens**erwerb** auch im 18. Jahrhundert nicht gleichmäßig von einer Isolation der Basler Universitätsgelehrten auszugehen. Hinsichtlich der Wissensdistribution ist Samuel Werenfels, von dem Werke in die französische, englische und in die niederländische Sprache übersetzt wurden, allerdings eine Ausnahme. Das Hauptbetätigungsfeld der Gebrüder Bernoulli in Basel lag bei weitem nicht nur in offiziellen universitären Lehrveranstaltungen, sondern im Privatunterricht sowie im Verkehr und im Austausch von Forschungsresultaten mit führenden auswärtigen Mathematikern und Naturwissenschaftlern.[32] Wie der spätere Tübinger Mathematikprofessor Johann Conrad Creiling (1673–1752), der sich in Basel von Jakob I Bernoulli (1654–1705) privatissime die cartesische analytische Geometrie erklären ließ,[33] trugen sich manche privat unterrichtete auswärtige Studenten nicht in die Basler Universitätsmatrikel ein.

Freilich dürfen die singulären Usanzen, die in Basel bei Professorenberufungen zur Anwendung kamen, nicht losgelöst vom städtisch-politischen Kontext betrachtet und bewertet werden. Im Allgemeinen scheint der Basler Magistrat, von 1691 an war es der Grosse Rat, die Aufsicht über die Universität eher nachlässig ausgeübt zu haben, und nur selten kam es, wie angemerkt, in Berufungsfragen überhaupt zu Miss-

31 Asche, ‚Biographische Profile' (Anm. 1), S. 237–245 (tabellarische Übersichten).

32 F. Nagel, ‚Die Mathematiker Bernoulli und Berlin', in *Schweizer im Berlin des 18. Jahrhunderts*, hrsg. von M. Fontius & H. Holzhey, Berlin 1996, S. 355–372, hier S. 363; Pierre-Louis Moreau de Maupertuis (1698–1759), Anhänger von Leibniz und Newton, der spätere Präsident der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, bildete sich in Basel bei Johann I Bernoulli in Mathematik weiter. Matrikeleintrag am 30. September 1729 (Matrikel, Bd. 5 [Anm. 3], 1980, S. 25, Nr. 135; biographischer Abriss). A. Heyer, ‚Maupertuis, Moreau de, Pierre Louis', in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, hrsg. von F.W. Bautz (†), fortgeführt von T. Bautz, Bd. 31, Nordhausen 2010, Sp. 851–862 (mit ausführlicher Bibliographie). H. Hecht (Hrsg.), *Pierre Louis Moreau de Maupertuis. Eine Bilanz nach 300 Jahren*, Berlin 1999 (Das Verhältnis Maupertuis' zu Basel und zu Baslern bleibt ein Forschungsdesiderat). F. Nagel & S. Gehr, ‚Zürich und Basel im Dialog: Johann Jakob Scheuchzers Korrespondenz mit Johann I Bernoulli', in *Natura Sacra. Der Frühaufklärer Johann Jakob Scheuchzer (1672–1733)*, hrsg. von U.B. Leu, Zug 2012, S. 181–207. F. Nagel, ‚Der Briefwechsel von Christian Wolff und Johann I Bernoulli. Eine unausgeschöpfte Quelle zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte', in *Geselligkeit und die „Freyheit zu philosophieren". Halle im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, Halle 2012, S. 38–47.

33 G. Betsch, ‚Mathematik und Naturlehre in Tübingen zwischen 1635 und 1740. Von Johann Jacob Hainlin bis zu Johann Conrad Creiling und seiner Schule', in Köpf (Hrsg.), *Die Universität Tübingen* (Anm. 13), S. 359–405, zu Jakob I Bernoulli, hier S. 387, 391.

stimmungen oder gar zu Konflikten der Universität mit der Stadtobrigkeit und mit den kirchlichen Autoritäten. Man gewährte von weltlicher und von kirchlicher Seite der Universität Autonomie in Ernennungsfragen und ging damit, in Anbetracht der überschaubaren Machtverhältnisse und der Berechenbarkeit der Abläufe, kaum das Risiko unliebsamer Folgen ein. Die städtischen Unruhen, die 1691 durch die verstärkt politische Teilhabe fordernden Handwerker ausgelöst wurden und die den Grossen Rat als nun maßgebliches Gremium stärkten, degradierten die Universität ohnehin zum Nebenschauplatz der politischen Prioritäten, die bei Wirtschaft, Handel und Gewerbe lagen.[34] Aus dieser Indifferenz der politischen Herrschaftseliten zog die weitgehend sich selbst überlassene Universität Nutzen, bis in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts das Postulat einer praxisnahen weltlichen Ausbildung politischer Eliten, so in pädagogischen Schriften Isaak Iselins,[35] erhoben wurde. Das Berufungssystem wurde aber von den Publikationen des Basler Stadtschreibers in keiner Weise tangiert, da der der Aufklärung zugeneigte und als Aufklärer wirkende Iselin allein am herkömmlichen Fächerkanon und vor allem an den Unterrichtsinhalten Anstoß nahm. Erst als im Jahre 1818 die alte Universitätsorganisation aufgehoben worden war, die Universität als Körperschaft ihre Autonomie weitgehend verloren hatte, fiel die Wahl der Basler Universitätsprofessoren an eine städtische Behörde, den 16köpfigen Erziehungsrat, dem der Bürgermeister vorstand, der Universitätsrektor von Amtes wegen angehörte und in den im Weiteren drei Universitätsprofessoren Einsatz nahmen.[36] Ein inneruniversitäres Gremium, die sogenannte Curatel, hatte

34 Einführung und Überblick zu den politischen Verhältnissen und zur Geschichte der städtischen Institutionen: M. Alioth, U. Barth & D. Huber, *Basler Stadtgeschichte 2. Vom Brückenschlag 1225 bis zur Gegenwart*, Basel 1981. Ferner: A. Würgler, *Unruhen und Öffentlichkeit. Städtische und ländliche Protestbewegungen im 18. Jahrhundert*, Tübingen 1995, S. 381f. (Register). U. Im Hof, ‚Vom politischen Leben im Basel des 18. Jahrhunderts', in *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 48, 1949, S. 141–166. T. Maissen, ‚Zum politischen Selbstverständnis der Basler Eliten 1501–1798', in *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 100, 2000, S. 19–40.

35 I. Iselin, ‚Unvorgreifliche Gedanken über die Verbesserung der B---schen hohen Schule', in *Isaak Iselin: Schriften zur Pädagogik*, hrsg. von M. Naas, Basel 2014 (= Isaak Iselin: Gesammelte Schriften. Kommentierte Ausgabe. Bd. 3), S. 1–27.

36 Staehelin, *Geschichte* III (Anm. 3), S. 19–22.

bei Professorenwahlen eine rein beratende Funktion. Das Basler Bürgerrecht wurde für eine Bewerbung um einen Lehrstuhl nicht mehr vorausgesetzt.[37]

Welche allgemein relevanten Folgerungen sind nun aus den referierten singulären Basler Verhältnissen für die universitätsgeschichtliche Forschung zu ziehen?

Erstens erfordert selbst der geschilderte Extremfall einer Familienuniversität eine sorgfältige Aufarbeitung der Fakten, die erst ein differenziertes Urteil über institutionelle Strukturen, über Absichten und Handlungskriterien der Protagonisten sowie die adäquate Bewertung der akademischen Leistungen ermöglichen. Der drastische Rückgang der Studentenzahlen im 18. Jahrhundert ist wohl auf ein *Bündel* heterogener Ursachen zurückzuführen.

Zweitens ist die historische Interpretation auf die gesellschaftlichen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Kontexte auszuweiten, die über die Universität und über die Stadt Basel hinausreichen, ja, es ist die ganze evangelische alte Eidgenossenschaft als im 18. Jahrhundert fast ausschließliches Rekrutierungsgebiet der Basler Studenten einzubeziehen. Die Untersuchung ideologischer Abhängigkeiten und Austauschprozesse hat auch die Romania, vor allem Frankreich, im Weiteren insbesondere Länder reformierter Konfession, hauptsächlich deutschsprachige protestantische Gebiete und die Niederlande, zu berücksichtigen.

Schließlich stellen die ausgezeichnete Quellenlage, die vorzügliche fünfbändige Matrikeledition mit ausführlichen Personendaten zu sämtlichen Studenten und die von Andreas Staehelin verfasste, bis 1835 fortgeschriebene mustergültige Geschichte der Universität Basel ausgezeichnete Voraussetzungen dar, der Eigenart der Alma Mater Basiliensis als Familienuniversität von vielen weiteren Aspekten, z.B. der Textproduktion, her, näherzukommen. Die internationale universitätsgeschichtliche Forschung und die zukünftige Basler Universitätsgeschichte könnten aus Vergleichen in den bezeichneten Themenfeldern voneinander lernen. Dies setzt voraus, dass die Basler Universitätsgeschichte nicht nur zu Jubiläumsanlässen erforscht wird. Dann kann die Zeit von 1650 bis 1800 aus dem Schatten des Humanismus des 16. Jahrhunderts heraustreten und die längst verdiente Aufwertung erfahren, auch wenn sie nicht zu den Glanzperioden des Basler Universitätslebens gehört. Die Zeichen für eine intensive Beschäftigung mit diesem Gegenstand stehen gegenwärtig in Basel nicht eben günstig, was die Arbeitsstelle für kulturwissenschaftliche Forschungen (Engi, Schweiz) nicht davon abhält, mit den verfügbaren bescheidenen Mitteln diesem Trend entgegenzuwirken.[38]

37 Ebd., S. 20: Dass das Basler Bürgerrecht keine Wahlvoraussetzung mehr war, legte bereits ein entsprechendes Gesetz von 1813 fest.

38 http://www.forschungen-engi.ch/ unter ‚Projekte'.

Otfried Czaika

Frühneuzeitliche schwedische Dissertationen *extra patriam* und ihr Beitrag zur Geschichte der *peregrinatio academica*

Vorbemerkungen

Nicht nur im populären, sondern auch im akademischen Diskurs wird Geschichte gerne als eine Abfolge von mehr oder weniger radikalen Veränderungen oder Umbrüchen gezeichnet. Insbesondere die Reformation wird häufig als ein positiv oder aber auch negativ konnotierter Umbruchsprozess beschrieben. Ein gängiges Muster ist es etwa, die Reformation in Schweden als einen Kulturbruch darzustellen, der dazu geführt habe, dass das schwedische Reich bildungstechnisch den Anschluss verloren habe.[1] Einer näheren Überprüfung hält dieses Bild freilich nicht stand: Auch während des Reformationsjahrhunderts funktionierten die Domschulen des Landes weiter, allerdings wurden sukzessive Lehrinhalte und Lehrpersonal ersetzt: Anstatt des spätmittelalterlichen Kanons wurden nun humanistische und reformatorische Bücher verwendet, als Lehrer nun meist in Wittenberg, „ad fontes" bei Martin Luther und Philipp Melanchthon, ausgebildete Personen berufen.[2] Die 1477 gegründete Universität Uppsala war in den ersten Jahrzehnten ihres Bestehens klein und uneffektiv, der Lehrbetrieb schlief offenbar bereits um 1515 ein. Dass es bis gegen Ende des

1 H. Håkansson, ‚Den lärda världen', in Jakob Christensson (Hg.), *Signums svenska kulturhistoria. Renässansen*, Lund 2005, S. 101–150, hier S. 101; A. Piltz, ‚Den europeiska bakgrunden', in S.-E. Pernler, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria. Hög- och senmedeltid*, Stockholm 1999, S. 202–211, hier S. 211.

2 Hierauf habe ich verschiedentlich verwiesen, s. u.a.: O. Czaika, ‚Luther, Melanchthon und Chytræus und ihre Bedeutung für die Theologenausbildung im schwedischen Reich', in H.J. Selderhuis & M. Wriedt (Hg.), *Konfession, Migration und Elitenbildung – Studien zur Theologenausbildung des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Leiden 2007, S. 53–82; ders., ‚Die Rezeption Philipp Melanchthons im Schwedischen Reich zur Zeit der Vasa-Könige', in *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft 2008*, München/Freiburg 2008, S. 409–437; ders., ‚Reading Melanchthon in 16th & 17th Century Sweden', in *CERL-Papers 2009*, London 2009, S. 39–54.

Reformationsjahrhunderts nicht gelang – trotz verschiedentlicher Versuche – eine tragfähige akademische Ausbildungsstätte im schwedischen Reich zu etablieren ist also vielmehr eine stringente Fortführung vorreformatorischer Entwicklungen bzw. bereits vor der Reformation zu Tage tretender Plausibilitätsverluste akademischer Bildung. Während im dänischen Reich sich nach der Einführung der Reformation in den 1530er Jahren eine lebendige akademische Kultur an der 1479 gegründeten Alma Mater in Kopenhagen entwickelte, folgte die höhere Ausbildung im schwedischen Reich weiterhin spätmittelalterlichen Vorbildern und konzentrierte sich daher auf die Domschulen (die für den Pfarrernachwuchs sorgten) sowie auf die Studienreisen ins Ausland.[3]

Seit dem Hoch- und Spätmittelalter besuchten viele Studenten aus dem schwedischen Reich – auch wegen der Absenz einer eigenen Landeshochschule im 16. Jahrhundert – ausländische Lehranstalten, seit dem 15. Jahrhundert zunehmend die neugegründeten Universitäten im Heiligen Römischen Reich. Auch nachdem nach 1593 der Lehrbetrieb in Uppsala wieder aufgenommen worden war, brachen die akademischen Peregrinationen an andere Lehranstalten nicht ab; erst im Laufe des 17. Jahrhunderts wurde ein Besuch ausländischer Universitäten tendenziell seltener, teils weil der frühneuzeitliche Konfessionsstaat die Studienreisen nun vermehrt kontrollierte und die Rechtgläubigkeit heimgekehrter Studenten zu überwachen suchte, teils da sich mit der Gründung der Universitäten in Dorpat (1632), Åbo/Turku (1640) und Lund (1658) sowie zahlreicher akademischer Gymnasien die Bildungslandschaft im schwedischen Reich zunehmend pluralisiert hatte und somit entsprechende Studienmöglichkeiten im Reich selbst bestanden.

Der Untersuchungsgegenstand

Die Studienreisen schwedischer und finnischer Studenten sind seit gut einhundert Jahren im Fokus des historischen Interesses.[4] Insbesondere zum Studienbesuch im

3 Einen vergleichenden Überblick über die Universitätsgeschichte im schwedischen und dänischen Reich bietet: S. Schmidt, *Professoren im Norden. Lutherische Gelehrsamkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit am Beispiel der theologischen Fakultäten in Kopenhagen und Uppsala*, Dissertation, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, September 2016, S. 19–109.

4 Einen Überblick über die Forschungslage zu den akademischen Peregrinationen der schwedischen und finnischen Studenten während des Spätmittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit bieten u.a.: O. Czaika, *David Chytræus und die Universität Rostock in ihren Beziehungen zum schwedischen Reich*, Helsinki 2002, S. 70–102; S. Giese, *Studenten aus Mitternacht. Bildungsideal und peregrinatio academica des schwedischen Adels im Zeichen von Humanismus und Konfessionalisierung*, Stuttgart 2009, insbes. S. 16–36.

Spätmittelalter und der Reformationszeit liegt eine ganze Reihe prosopographischer Studien vor, u.a. die Matrikelarbeiten von Christian Callmer sowie eine größere Anzahl von Artikeln und Monographien, die sich einzelnen Lehranstalten oder Besuchergruppen widmen. In Callmers Auswertungen der Matrikel der Universitäten Rostock,[5] Wittenberg,[6] Tübingen[7] und Greifswald[8] sind auch Angaben zu den – meist auch im Druck vorliegenden – Disputationen *extra patriam* eingeflossen. Während die Matrikelauswertungen relativ verlässliche Resultate liefern, ist die Lage bezüglich der Disputationen jedoch weitaus disparater. Matrikel verzeichnen nur eher sporadisch Disputationen und sind als serielle Quelle daher höchst unzuverlässig. Johan Henrik Lidén hat zwar im späten 18. Jahrhundert einen umfangreichen, fünfbändigen *Catalogus disputationum* veröffentlicht, der Disputationen aus Uppsala, Lund, Åbo/Turku sowie Synodal- und Gymnasialabhandlungen verzeichnet.[9] Ein sechster Band, der auch Disputationen *extra patriam* beinhalten sollte, war geplant, erschien jedoch nie. Lidéns Bemühungen, die Disputationen schwedischer Studenten zu verzeichnen, wurde einige Jahrzehnte später von dem Naturforscher und Sammler Gabriel Marklin fortgesetzt;[10] beide Verzeichnisse orientieren sich jedoch in erster Linie an den damals in Uppsala befindlichen Disputationen. Marklins handschriftlicher Katalog über die Disputationen *extra patriam* blieb ein Fragment; für eine weiterführende historische Arbeit ist sein Nutzen also höchst begrenzt. Der von Per Cederhamn bereits einige Jahre vor Marklin, im Jahr 1756 publizierte *Catalogus disputationum* stützt sich offenbar in erster Linie auf die Sammlungen der Königlichen Bibliothek in Stockholm. Cederhamns einbändiger Katalog ist freilich weitaus weniger umfangreich als Marklins und verzeichnet in erster Linie schwedi-

5 Chr. Callmer, *Svenska studenter i Rostock 1419–1828*, hg. von M. Callmer, Stockholm 1988.

6 Chr. Callmer, *Svenska studenter i Wittenberg*, Stockholm 1976.

7 Chr. Callmer, ‚Svenska studenter i Tübingen under tre århundraden', in *Lychnos – Lärdomshistoriska samfundets* årsbok *1953–1964*, Stockholm/Göteborg/Uppsala 1965, S. 119–156. Der erste schwedische Student in Tübingen ist erst 1585 nachzuweisen, wohingegen etwa die Universitäten in Rostock und Greifswald bereits zahlreiche Studenten aus dem schwedischen Reich im 15. Jahrhundert sowie die Leucorea sodann zeitnah nach ihrer Gründung im Jahre 1502 anziehen konnten.

8 Chr. Callmer, *Svenska studenter i Greifswald* [masch. Manuskript], Universitätsarchiv Lund.

9 J.H. Lidén, *Catalogus disputationum, in academiis et gymnasiis Sveciæ, atque etiam, a Svecis, extra patriam habitarum, quotquot huc usque reperiri potuerunt; collectore Joh. Henr. Lidén [...] Vol. 1–5*, Uppsala 1778–1780.

10 G. Marklin, *Catalogus disputationum in academiis Sveciæ et Fenniæ habitarum Lidenianus: annis 1820–1855*, Upsala 1856. Marklins fragmentarische Aufzeichnungen zu den Dissertationen *extra patriam* tragen die Signaturen U209e und U264 in der Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala.

sche (im In- und Ausland gehaltene) Dissertationen aus dem 18. Jahrhundert, vereinzelt auch aus den Jahrzehnten vor 1700.[11] Für eine Recherche älterer Disputationen ist Cederhamns Arbeit daher unbrauchbar. Die Angaben über Disputationen *extra patriam*, die von Cederhamn, Lidén und Marklin zusammengetragen worden waren, flossen auch in die Matrikelarbeiten von Callmer ein, der zudem auf die umfangreiche Sammlung von Dissertationen in der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Stockholm zurückgreifen konnte. Frühneuzeitliche Disputationen sind jedoch auf Sammlungen in zahlreichen schwedischen – und auch finnischen – Bibliotheken verstreut und weder Cederhamn noch Lidén und Marklin oder Callmer hatten den Anspruch, die verschiedenen, u.a. in ehemaligen Dom- oder Gymnasialbibliotheken überlieferten, z.T. sehr reichhaltigen Sammlungen an Dissertationen mit den Angaben in den verschiedenen Katalogen zu vergleichen, um somit zu einem möglichst umfassenden Bild zu kommen.

Ziel meiner Untersuchung ist es, die aus der Literatur bekannten Angaben zu frühneuzeitlichen Disputationen *extra patriam* mit einer Sammlung abzugleichen, die von der Forschung bisher kaum beachtet, geschweige denn inhaltlich genutzt worden ist: Die Sammlung von Disputationen in der Roggebibliothek in Strängnäs, wobei ich mich auf die Dissertationen *extra patriam* begrenze. Die nach dem Bischof von Strängnäs Kort Rogge († 1501) benannte Bibliothek ist die ehemalige Bibliothek eines im 17. Jahrhundert gegründeten akademischen Gymnasiums.[12] Die umfangreiche Sammlung, die über 20.000 Disputationen aus dem 17. und 18. Jh. umfasst, ist jedoch nicht auf den Sammlungseifer der Gymnasialbibliothek und ihrer Bibliothekare zurückzuführen, sondern wurde (von einigen späteren Akzessionen oder kleineren Donationen abgesehen) der Bibliothek von dem Pastor Jonas Ehrling (1745–1813) als Schenkung vermacht.[13] Etwa ein Fünftel dieser Sammlung, gut 4000 Dissertationen, besteht aus in Deutschland verteidigten und gedruckten Arbeiten, etwa eintausend Disputationen wurden von Schweden und Finnen *extra patriam* verteidigt, wobei ein deutlicher chronologischer Schwerpunkt im 18. Jahrhundert

11 [Pehr Cederhamn], *Catalogus dissertationum, quæ ad illustrandas res svecicas faciunt, præsertim in argumentis historicis, ecclesiasticis, juridicis, literariis, oeconomicis, physicis, & historia naturali*, Stockholm 1765.

12 Zur Roggebibliothek in Strängnäs s.: R. Lundström (Hg.), *Från biskop Rogge till Roggebiblioteket. Studier utgivna till Strängnäs gymnasiums 350-årsjubileum*, Stockholm 1976; I. Fehr, ‚Stifts och läroverksbiblioteket', in *Regium Gustavianum gymnasium Strengnense MDCXXVI–MCMXXVI, del II,* Strängnäs 1926.

13 S. hierzu: W. Undorf, ‚Stifts- och läroverksbibliotek „Roggebiblioteket"', in B. Fabian (Hg.), *Handbuch deutscher historischer Buchbestände in Europa, Band 7.1. Dänemark & Schweden*, Hildesheim/Zürich/New York 1998, S. 221–226, hier S. 222–223.

auszumachen ist.[14] Die Sammlung der Roggebibliothek ermöglicht sozusagen eine Art Lackmustest, der es erlaubt, an einem ausgewählten Beispiel zu überprüfen und zu illustrieren, was die Sammlungen kleinerer Bibliotheken in Schweden und Finnland zur Kenntnis frühneuzeitlicher akademischer Peregrinationen und Disputationen beitragen können. Mein Ziel ist es dabei nicht, durch die Analyse einer bisher nicht beachteten Sammlung als akademischer Besserwisser die Unzulänglichkeit der von anderen, u.a. von Christian Callmer, geleisteten prosopographischen Studien herauszustellen, sondern den Beitrag zu unterstreichen, den bisher nicht genutzte Sammlungen leisten können, um bereits bestehende Auswertungen historischer Fakten zu den Studienreisen von Schweden und Finnen während der Frühen Neuzeit mit neuen Daten zu erweitern.

Als ich vor bald zwei Jahrzehnten im Rahmen meiner Dissertation mit den Beständen des Universitätsarchivs in Rostock arbeitete, konnte ich zahlreiche Angaben über schwedische Studenten finden, die sich nicht aus den Matrikeln ableiten ließen. In den Akten der Bursen (also etwas salopp gesagt der Studentenwohnheime), der *mensa communis* (des Freitisches für unbemittelte Studenten) oder auch den Akten des akademischen Gerichts konnten z.B. zahlreiche schwedische Studenten in Rostock identifiziert werden, die in den Matrikeln nicht erwähnt sind. Zudem konnten viele Fakten zu Tage gefördert werden, welche die Lebenswirklichkeit der Studenten im städtischen, akademischen, landsmannschaftlichen und auch persönlichen Umfeld näher beleuchten. Den Disputationen schwedischer und finnischer Studenten in Rostock widmete ich damals nur insofern Aufmerksamkeit, als ich die in der Literatur erwähnten Angaben übernahm und die dort genannten Dissertationen, soweit sie mir für die Fragestellung von Bedeutung erschienen, näher untersuchte und in meine Darstellung aufnahm.[15] Dass die immensen Sammlungen frühneuzeitlicher Disputationen, die u.a. in schwedischen Bibliotheken verwahrt werden, zu einem

14 Die außerhalb der Grenzen des schwedischen Reiches abgehaltenen Disputationen, die Teil der Sammlungen in Strängnäs sind, erschließen sich auch durch einen 140 Blatt umfassenden handschriftlichen Katalog, der von Jonas Ehrling, dem Sammler der heute in Strängnäs befindlichen Disputationen, angefertigt wurde: Jonas Ehrling, *Disputationer håldne af swenskar wid utländska academier* [Von Schweden an ausländischen Akademien abgehaltene Disputationen] MS, s.l., s.a., 39 Blatt (nur recto beschrieben). Mit diesem Verzeichnis der Disputationen *extra patriam* ist zusammengebunden: Jonas Ehrling, *Disputationer hållne af utländningar wid utrikes academier* [Von Ausländern an ausländischen Akademien abgehaltene Disputationen], MS, s.l., s.a., 100 Blatt (nur recto beschrieben).

15 Z. hierzu insbesondere: Czaika, *David Chytræus*, S. 103–177, S. 431–437.

umfassenderen Bild beitragen können, war mir bewusst. Aber jede Arbeit muss einen Punkt setzen. Ich setzte den Punkt irgendwo bei den Disputationen.

Disputationen als historische „Rohdaten"

Neben der Eingrenzung auf die Disputationen *extra patriam* beschränke ich mich im Folgenden auf diejenigen, die in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 17. Jahrhunderts gedruckt wurden und hierbei wiederum auf die Universitäten Rostock, Greifswald und Wittenberg. Diese sind in der Sammlung in Strängnäs relativ häufig vertreten. Auf Disputationen aus Jena und Tübingen trifft man in der Roggebibliothek nur sporadisch.

Generell so scheint es – zumindest anhand der in Strängnäs verwahrten Disputationen –, dass die Frequenz von Disputationen im Ausland im Laufe des 17. Jahrhunderts abnimmt – was einerseits selbstverständlich auf die bereits oben genannte Pluralisierung der Ausbildungsmöglichkeiten im schwedischen Reich zurückzuführen, andererseits aber auch mit der verstärkten Kontrolle von Studienreisen ins Ausland durch den konfessionalisierten schwedischen Staat zu erklären ist.[16]

Interessanterweise finden sich in Strängnäs keine Disputationen, die vor dem Jahr 1600 an den besagten ausländischen Universitäten verteidigt wurden. Ob dies ein Spezifikum der Sammlung in Strängnäs ist, ob Disputationen von Schweden und Finnen vor 1600 selten gedruckt wurden, sich wenig erhalten haben oder vielleicht nicht ihren Weg in den Norden fanden, sondern z.B. vor Ort in deutschen Bibliotheken recherchiert werden müssen, ist durch weitere Forschungen zu überprüfen.

Meine Beobachtungen zu den in der Roggebibliothek überlieferten Dissertationen *extra patriam* lassen sich in folgenden vier Punkten zusammenfassen:

I) Insgesamt scheinen die Matrikel sowie Callmers Verzeichnisse über schwedische Studenten an ausländischen Universitäten relativ sichere Angaben zu bieten. Was ich in Bezug auf die Bursen oder die *mensa communis* in Rostock feststellen konnte, wiederholt sich jedenfalls nicht in Bezug auf die Disputationen: Alle Studenten, von denen in der Roggebibliothek eine Disputation *extra patriam* erhalten ist, sind ordentlich auch in den Matrikeln verzeichnet und lassen sich dort und in Callmers Ver-

16 Zur Kontrolle der schwedischen Studienreisen sei insbesondere auf S. Göransson, ‚De svenska studieresorna och den religiösa kontrollen från reformationstiden till frihetstiden', in *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift/Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis* 1951:8, Uppsala 1951, S. 1–199, verwiesen.

zeichnissen identifizieren.[17] Dies lässt den Rückschluss zu, dass die Rolle als Respondent bei einer Disputation wohl fast ausnahmslos eine ordentliche Immatrikulation voraussetzte. Nur ein Zweifelsfall lässt sich in dem Material aus der Roggebibliothek identifizieren, nämlich die am 28. Juni 1625 in Greifswald verteidigte Dissertation von Georg Lilja, also des schwedischen Politikers und Dichters Georg Stiernhielm. Stiernhielm hatte bereits im zweiten Jahrzehnt des 17. Jahrhunderts u.a. in Wittenberg, Greifswald und Helmstedt studiert, in Greifswald wurde er am 17. September 1615 immatrikuliert.[18] Der Bischof von Västerås Johannes Rudbeckius stattete ihn 1624 mit einem Stipendium aus, das ihm einen neuerlichen Studienaufenthalt in Greifswald ermöglichte.[19] In der Matrikel taucht aber sein Name nicht im Jahr 1625 und auch nicht in den Vorjahren auf; möglicherweise war er durch persönliche Kontakte zwischen Västerås und Greifswald von einer neuerlichen Immatrikulation befreit.

II) Es lohnt sich, zunächst kurz bei den Greifswalder Disputationen zu verweilen. Die Geschichte der Universität Greifswald in der Frühen Neuzeit ist – im Unterschied zu Rostock oder Wittenberg etwa – von der Forschung eher stiefmütterlich

17 Von folgenden Wittenberger Studenten finden sich Disputationen in der Roggebibliothek: Jonas Birgeri Rhothovius (immatrikuliert 1600; Callmer, *Wittenberg*, Nr. 212), Laurentius Laurentii (immatrikuliert 1601; Callmer, *Wittenberg*, Nr. 223), Bergerus Theodori Sueco-Smolandus (immatrikuliert 1602; Callmer, *Wittenberg*, Nr. 247), Gabriel Melartopaeus (immatrikuliert 1606; Callmer, *Wittenberg*, Nr. 268), Bergerus Johannis Kylander (immatrikuliert in Wittenberg 1615; Callmer, *Wittenberg*, Nr. 395). Enevaldus Svenonis, dessen Disputation in der Roggebibliothek überliefert ist, war ordentlich eingeschrieben (immatrikuliert in Wittenberg 1651; Callmer, *Wittenberg*, Nr. 506). Auch die schwedischen Studenten in Rostock, deren Disputationen Teil der Sammlung in Strängnäs sind, finden sich in der Matrikel bzw. bei Callmer wieder: Daniel Nicolai Replerus (immatrikuliert 1598; Callmer, *Rostock*, Nr. 557), Dominicus Olai Arnaesius (immatrikuliert 1608; Callmer, *Rostock*, Nr. 644) und Bergerus Isaci Rotovius (immatrikuliert 1632; Callmer, *Rostock*, Nr. 815). Auch die Greifswalder Stundenten sind bis auf Georg Lilias [Stiernhielms] bei seinem zweiten Studienaufenthalt (s.u.) alle in der Matrikel verzeichnet: Carolus Olai Balingstadius (immatrikuliert 1613; Ernst Friedländer, Ältere Universitäts-Matrikeln, Bd. 2,1. Universität Greifswald, Bd. 1. 1456–1645 (Leipzig et al. 1893), S. 414) Matthias Nicolai Tumae Montanus (immatrikuliert 1613; Friedländer, Ältere Universitäts-Matrikeln. 2,1., S. 414), Hermannus Johannis Uplandus (immatrikuliert 1612; Friedländer, Ältere Universitäts-Matrikeln. 2,1., S. 412) und Nicolais Matthiae Storch Oelandus (immatrikuliert 1614; Friedländer, Ältere Universitäts-Matrikeln, 2,1., S. 417). Zu einer Kritik von Callmers Angaben s.u.

18 Friedländer, Ältere Universitäts-Matrikeln, 2,1., S. 421.

19 B. Olsson, ‚Georg Stiernhielm', in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon, Bd. 33*, Stockholm 2007–211, S. 431.

behandelt worden. In den Sammlungen der Roggebibliothek finden sich aber cum grano salis ebenso viele oder gar mehr Disputationen vom Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts wie aus Wittenberg und Rostock, je gut eine Handvoll. Sollte dies in anderen schwedischen Bibliotheken und ggf. auch über einen längeren Untersuchungszeitraum zutreffen, dann würde dies einmal mehr das Faktum bestätigen, dass die Kontakte zwischen Greifswald und Schweden vor der schwedischen Zeit Greifswalds eine eingehendere Untersuchung verdienen würden. Für die Zeit zwischen 1637 und 1815 liegt uns immerhin die Studie von Ivar Seth vor, welche die Stellung Greifswalds in der schwedischen Kulturpolitik untersucht, sich aber weniger prosopographischen Beschreibungen des Studienbesuches widmet.[20]

Im Jahre 1614 disputierten zwischen Juni und Oktober vier Schweden, nämlich Carolus Olai Balingstadius,[21] Matthias Nicolai Tumae Montanus,[22] Hermannus Johannis Uplandus[23] und Nicolaus Matthiae Storch Oelandus,[24] bei dem Greifswalder Historiker, Philologen und Rhetoriker Johann Trygophorus (1580–1626).[25] Hier stellt sich die Frage, ob diese Serie von Disputationen ein einmaliges, u.U. durch gute persönliche Kontakte determiniertes Ereignis war, oder ob andere Sammlungen weitere schwedische Disputationen in Greifswald zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts zu Tage fördern könnten. Weiterhin wäre zu fragen, ob die Greifswalder Disputationen

20 I. Seth, *Universitetet i Greifswald och dess ställning i svensk kulturpolitik 1637–1815*, Uppsala 1952; deutsche Version: *Die Universität Greifswald und ihre Stellung in der schwedischen Kulturpolitik 1637–1815, [Ost-]Berlin, 1956.*

21 *Disputatio I. De quæsito an detur Metaphysica, & quodnam subjectum ejus, quam In Illustri Academia Gryphiswaldensi, sub præsido Viri Clariss. & Humaniss. Dn. M. Johannis Trygophori Historiarum & Poes. Profess. Carolus Olai Balingstadius svec. Suis Collegis discutiendam offert ad 10. Junij horis locoq. Solitis*, Greifswald: Augustin Ferber d.J., 1614.

22 *Disputatio Secunda Metaphyscia De Quæsitis 1. Quid sit illud Arist. η ον, qua, seu quatenus Ens. 2. Quodnam genus Metaphysica, & consequenter Quae definitio. 3. Quae Divisio. Quam In Illustri Academia Gryphiswaldensi Sub Præsido Viri Clarissimi & Humanissimi Dn. M. Johannis Trygophori Historiarum & Poes. Profess. Matthias Nicolai Thumæ Montanus Svecus suis Collegis discutiendam proponit & offert ad 2. Julij Horis locisq. Solitis*, Greifswald: s.t., 1614.

23 *Disputatio Octava Metaphysica De Vero, Bono & hisoppositis Falso Malo quam D.O.M.A. In Illustri Academia Gryphiswaldensi Sub Præsido Viri Clariss. & Humaniss. Dn. M. Johannis Trygophori Historiarum & Poes. Profess. Hermannus Johannis Uplandus S[v]ecus Suis Collegis pro virili discutiendam offert ad 8. Octobris Loco horisq. Solitis*, Greifswald: s.t., 1614.

24 *Disputatio Nona Metaphysica De Entis Speciebus in Genere quam D.O.M.A. In Illustri Academia Gryphiswaldensi Sub Præsido Viri Clarißimi & Humanißimi Dn. M. Johannis Trygophori Historiarum & Poes. Profess. Nicolaus Matthiæ Storch Oelandus Suecus Suis Collegis pro virili discutiendam offert ad 26. Octobris Loco horisq. Solitis*, Greifswald: s.t., 1614.

25 J.G.L. Kosegarten, *Geschichte der Universität Greifswald mit urkundlichen Beilagen, 1. Teil*, Greifswald 1857, S. 235.

aus dem Jahre 1614 auf inhaltliche Präferenzen hinsichtlich des Studienortes schließen lassen: Im Unterschied zu den Greifswalder Disputationen, die an der Artes-Fakultät zu verorten sind, verteidigten die schwedischen Studenten in Wittenberg und Rostock – so jedenfalls nach dem Bestand in Strängnäs zu urteilen – ausnahmslos theologische Thesen. Dies ist ein interessanter Hinweis darauf, dass die Sammlungen von Disputationen es ermöglichen, fachspezifische Determinanten in Bezug auf die akademischen Peregrinationen, insbesondere die Studienströme an deutsche Universitäten um und nach 1600, offenzulegen. Jonas Birgeri Rothovius[26], Laurentius Laurentii[27] und Bergerus Theodori[28] respondierten an der Leucorea unter dem Vorsitz Salomo Gesners in den Jahren 1602 bis 1604 zu Thesen aus Martin Chemnitz' *Examen Tridentinii Concilii*. Auch Gabriel Melartopaeus[29] und Bergerus Theodori Kylander[30] äußerten sich 1608 bzw. 1623 zu theologisch bedeutenden Fragen, zu der Auslegung des Hebräerbriefes bzw. über die Sünde. Die Wittenberger Disputatio-

26 *Disputatio VI. De Traditionibus, Pro Examine Tridentini Concilii, a Theologo principe, Dn. D. Chemnicio Consignato. V. Capitibus constans. I. De propositione & summâ. II. De primâ Traditionum classe. III. De secunda classe. IV. De Tertiâ. V. De Quartâ. In privato Collegio Theologico præside Salomone Gesnero, S.S. Theologiæ Doctore & Professore publico, in celeberrimâ Academiâ Wittebergensi, horâ & loco consvetis, proposita â Iona Bergeri Rhotovio Svecosmalando. Anno Epoches Christianæ. 1602. Die 24. Febru: [...]*, Wittenberg: Wolfgang Meisner, 1602.

27 *Auspice Deo Opt. Max. Pro Secunda Parte Examinis Concilii Tridentini reverendi et clarissimi viri, Dn. D. Martini Chemnitii Disputatio Decima Nona. Duûm capitum. I. Genuina salutis media, præsidiaq. Contra diabolum morituris eadem esse, qui viventibus eaq. Sufficere demonstrantur. II. Pontificia unctio extrema, ut humanum inventum, reijcitur. [...] Præside Salomone Gesnero, S.S. Theol. D. Profess. In Academia Witeb. Publ. ad diem 2. Martij in Templo Arcis Electoralis, proposita a M. Laurentio Laurentii Gotho*, Wittenberg: Wolfgang Meisner, 1603.

28 *Auspice Christo. Pro Examine Concilii Tridentini, reverendi et clarissimi Theologi, Dn. D. Martini Chemnitii Disputatio XVIII. Tria pœnitentiæ complectens capita: 1. De Absolutione. II. De Casuum reservatione. III. De satisfactionum neceßitate. [...] Sub Præsido Salomonis Gesneri. S.S. Theol: D. & Profess: publ. in Academia Witebergensi, ad diem Feb. 29. In Templo Areis Elect. Conscripta & proposita â M. Bergero Theodoro Sueco-Smolando [...]*, Wittenberg: Wolfgang Meisner, 1604.

29 *A.A. Disputatio III. In Epistolam ad Hebræos. Complectens analysin Capitis II. In Inclytâ Academiâ Witebergensi, Privati exercitij gratia proposita Præside Friderico Balduino D. Professore publice, Ecclesiæ P. & S. Respondente Gabriele Melartopoeo Kimitinsulano, Austrofinnonio, ad diem 30. April*, Wittenberg: Crato/Gorman, 1608.

30 *Apologiæ pro consultatione catholica D. Balthasaris Meisneri, De fide Lutherana capessenda Hermanno Hugoni, oppositæ. Disputatio decima septima, De Peccandi Licentia, Quam, Deo Optime adjuvante In Illustri Academiâ Wittebergensi sub præsido Dn. Balthasaris Meisneri, S.S. Theol. Doct. & P.P.Præceptoris & Fautoris sui summopere colendi. Publicæ ventilationi proponit, M. Bergerus Joannis Kylander Gotho-Suedus. Ad diem 9. Julij in Collegio Veteri*, Wittenberg: Johannes Gormannus, 1623.

nen schwedischer und finnischer Studenten belegen, dass sie an der Leucorea, die nach dem Fall des Philippismus in den 1570er und 1580er Jahren der paradigmatische Hauptort der konfessionalisierten lutherischen Theologie schlechthin geworden war,[31] am kontroverstheologischen, gegen den tridentinischen Katholizismus gerichteten Repertoire ihrer Zeit geschult wurden.

Während sich schwedische Studenten in Wittenberg im ersten Jahrzehnt des 17. Jahrhunderts als Respondenten zu konfessionellen Streitpunkten äußerten und am konkordistischen Luthertum orientierten, verteidigten ihre Landsleute in Rostock theologische Thesen, die einen völlig anderen Charakter hatten. Daniel Nicolai Replerus disputierte zweimal, 1601[32] und 1602,[33] bei Eilhard Lubinus (1565–1621) in Rostock. Beide Male standen dabei Thesen aus dem von dem französischen Calvinisten Philippe de Mornay verfassten Werk *De Veritate Religionis Christianae*[34] im Zentrum. Im Jahre 1601 wurde die Lehre von der Reue und ein Jahr danach die Frage der Wiederkunft Christi diskutiert. De Mornays Thesen wurden dabei nicht etwa kontroverstheologisch refusiert, sondern in erster Linie positiv rezipiert. Dies ist möglich, da sich Mornays Buch über die Wahrheit der christlichen Religion nicht gegen die Anhänger anderer Konfessionen, sondern gegen Atheisten, Juden, Muslime und „sonstige Ungläubige" richtet. Es könnte also vermutet werden, dass ein solches Werk über die Konfessionsgrenzen hinweg Gültigkeit haben konnte, allerdings

31 Hierzu insbesondere: U. Ludwig, *Philippismus und orthodoxes Luthertum an der Universität Wittenberg. Die Rolle Jakob Andreäs im lutherischen Konfessionalisierungsprozess Kursachsens (1576–1580)*, Münster 2009.

32 *Disputationum De Veritate Religionis Christianæ. Ex P. Mornæi, De eadem libro. Cap. XI. Nona, De providentia Dei. Quam Deo Duce et Auspice Præside Eilhardo Lvbino, In alma Rosarum Academia defendere conabitur Daniel Nicolai Replerus Suecus. Hora & loco consueto*, Rostock: Christoph Reusner, 1601.

33 *Disputationum De Veritate Religionis Christianæ. Ex P. Mornæi, De eadem libro. Vigesimaprima, quod tempus adventus Messiæ præterierit et quod is iam venerit tempore a scripturis constitvto, Iesus Mariæ Filius. Quam Deo Duce et Auspice Præside Eilhardo Lvbino, In alma Rosarum Academia defendere conabitur Daniel Nicolai Replerus Suecus. Hora & loco consueto*, Rostock: Christoph Reusner, 1602.

34 Philippe de Mornay, *De Veritate Religionis Christianae liber, adversus Atheos, Epicureos, Ethnicos, Iudaeos, Mahumedistas, & caeteros Infideles*, Herborn: Christoph Rab, 1592 [= VD16 ZV11173]. Mornays Werk über die Wahrheit der christlichen Religion erschien bereits 1583 in französischer Sprache. Vgl. u.a.: Chr. Strohm, ‚„Calvinistische" Juristen. Kulturwirkungen des reformierten Protestantismus?', in I. Dingel & H. Selderhuis (Hg.), *Calvin und Calvinismus: Europäische Perspektiven*, Göttingen 2011, S. 299.

waren Verfasser und Bücher im konfessionellen Zeitalter niemals wirklich neutral.[35] Daher ist es auch nicht verwunderlich, dass Eilhard Lubinus sich dem Verdacht des Kryptocalvinismus ausgesetzt sah und 1607 zentrale Sätze seiner 1596 erschienenen Schrift *Phosphorus*[36] widerrufen musste.[37] Als Dominicus Olai Arnaesius 1608 ebenso bei Lubinus an der Universität der Warnowstadt disputierte, waren es nun zwar keine potentiell unter Calvinismusverdacht stehenden Thesen, die er verteidigte, aber immerhin eine konfessionell eher unverdächtige und kontroverstheologisch relativ unergiebige bibeltheologische Auslegung des Kolosserbriefes.[38] In dieses Muster der Rostocker Disputationen passt auch Bergerus Isaci Rotovius Disputation von 1632; sie ist nicht – wie etwa die Wittenberger – von extremer kontroverstheologischer Schärfe.[39] Selbst die chronologisch eigentlich aus dem Rahmen meiner Betrachtung fallenden „antipapistischen" Thesen, die Enevaldus Svenonis 1656 bei Johann Meisner in Wittenberg vorlegte,[40] belegen die auch dann noch deutlich gegen konfessionelle Gegner gewendete Stoßrichtung der Wittenberger Theologie.

Auch wenn diese in der Roggebibliothek erhaltenen Disputationen *extra patriam* selbstverständlich nur eine Momentaufnahme – und eben kein vollständiges Bild

35 „In an age of confessional rivalry, no book was entirely neutral.", G. Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation*, Baltimore/London 1978, S. 71–79.

36 Eilhard Lubinus, *Phosphorvs, sive de prima cavsa et natvra mali tractatus hypermetaphysicus, in quo multorum gravißimae et dubiationes tolluntur, et errores deteguntur*, Rostock: Augustin Ferber d. Ä., 1596 [= VD16 L 2891].

37 W. Schmidt-Biggemann, ‚Lubinus, Eilhard', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie (NDB)*, Band 15, Berlin 1987, S. 263; A. Mutzenbecher, ‚Lubinus, Eilhardus', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (ADB)*, Band 19, Leipzig 1884, S. 331.

38 *ΣΥΝ ΘΕΩ. Disputationum Theolog. In Novvm Testamentvm, versiones diversas, Paraphrasin luculentam, & Porismata doctrinæ Christianæ utilia exhibentium Secunda; Epistolæ Pauli ad Coloss. Secundum Caput Proponens, Habita in Incluta Academia Rostochiana 11. Junij Præside Reverendo & Clarißimo Viro, Dn. Eilhardo Lubino SS. Theologiæ Doct. & Professore. Respondente Dominico Olai Arnæsto Angermanno [...]*, Rostock: Christoph Reusner, 1608.

39 *In Nomine Jesu Disputatio Metaphysica, De Potentia et Actu, quam Auxiliante Jehova Omnipotente, et permittente venerando philosophorum ordine, In celeberrima Academia Rostochiensi, Sub Præsidio Clarißimi ac Doctißimi Viri, Dn. M. Ernesti Mylii, Placidæ ventilationi subjicit Bergerus De Rhotovio Isaacus, Suecus. Ad diem 2. Martij, horis Antemeridianis*, Rostock: Joachim Pedanus, 1632.

40 *Disputationum Antipapisticarum Decima Octava de intentione ministri sacramentum conferentis. Præside Johanne Meisnero, S.S. Theol. D. & Prof. P. Respondente M. Enevaldo Svenonio, Sveco, Gyldenh. Al. In Audit. Min. d. 24. Julij* [1656] [Einzeldruck aus: Johannes Meisner, *Synopsis controversiarum papisticarum in Academiâ Wittebergensi proposita, & XXIII. disputationibus publicè ventilata [...]*, Wittenberg 1656, S. 137–144].

aller schwedischen und finnischen Disputationen im Ausland um und nach 1600 – vermitteln, so illustrieren sie dennoch unterschiedliche wissenschaftliche und theologische Ausrichtungen der von Studenten aus dem schwedischen Reich im Ausland besuchten Lehranstalten: In Greifswald wurde zu philosophischen Themen an der Artes-Fakultät disputiert, in Wittenberg und Rostock zu theologischen Fragen an der theologischen Fakultät. Die hier sichtbaren Unterschiede zwischen Wittenberg und Rostock belegen eindrücklich eine deutlich verschiedene Ausrichtung der beiden Fakultäten – so wie sie auch generell aus der Universitäts- und Theologiegeschichte bekannt ist. Zu guter Letzt belegen diese Disputationen aber auch, dass der Wissenschafts- und Theologietransfer von deutschen Universitäten ins schwedische Reich nicht einem einheitlichen, konfessionalisierten Luthertum nach Wittenberger Modell folgt, sondern vielmehr die Pluralität des akademischen und theologischen Gesprächs an den lutherischen Lehranstalten im Heiligen Römischen Reich widerspiegelt. Dies erklärt selbstverständlich auch, warum die Theologie im schwedischen Reich nach 1600 nicht einem einheitlichen theologischen Mainstream folgt, sondern auch wie zuvor produktive Varianten und entsprechende theologische Gegensätze und Diskussionen aufweist.

III) Die Dissertationen von Studenten aus dem schwedischen Reich an ausländischen Hohen Schulen können allein durch den Umstand, dass sie überhaupt existieren, mit interessanten Fakten die Studienwirklichkeit kommentieren: Zunächst einmal belegt ihre Existenz vielleicht nicht ein alleinig intrinsisches Interesse am jeweiligen Gegenstand der Dissertation. Zumindest können wir aber davon ausgehen, dass Studenten, die zu einem Thema respondierten, höhere Ambitionen hatten. Selbst wenn eine Dissertation von dem präsidierenden Lehrer und nicht vom Respondenten verfasst sein sollte (was übrigens nicht ungewöhnlich gewesen zu sein scheint), so können wir jedoch zumindest davon ausgehen, dass ein Student mit einer Dissertation einen handfesten, in der Zukunft karrieretechnisch nutzbaren Beleg seiner Kenntnisse und Fähigkeiten vorzuweisen hatte. Das Datum einer Dissertation ermöglicht es uns aber auch einen weiteren Baustein für die Biographie der Studenten zu haben: Da frühneuzeitliche Matrikel nur das Datum der Immatrikulation angeben, es aber keine Angaben über eine Exmatrikulation gibt, können bisher nicht bekannte Dissertationen dazu beitragen, die Verweildauer der Studenten an einer Universität genauer als bisher – nicht nur für den einzelnen Studenten, sondern auch größere Besuchergruppen in einer bestimmten Periode – zu rekonstruieren.

Sodann enthüllen einige der hier untersuchten Dissertationen auch etwas über ihre Funktionalität, die nämlich über den rein akademischen Raum und den Dispu-

tationsakt selbst hinausweist: Zwei der Rostocker Disputationen tragen höchst interessante Provenienzen: Bergerus Isaci Rotovius schenkte das in der Roggebibliothek erhaltene Exemplar seinem Bruder Balthasar Rotovius.[41] Dominicus Olai Arnaesius eignete das Strängnäs-Exemplar seiner Dissertation dem Erzbischof Olaus Martini (1557–1609, Erzbischof 1601–1609) zu,[42] der vormals selbst in Rostock studiert hatte.[43] In die Heimat mitgebrachte Exemplare der Disputationen dienten also teils als eine Art „Sportabzeichen" im familiären oder (halb-)privaten Umfeld, teils als ein handfester Beleg akademischer Meriten gegenüber Angehörigen kirchlicher oder anderer gesellschaftlicher Eliten und gleichzeitig potentieller künftiger Arbeitgeber. Sodann konnten solche Geschenke die Funktion haben, Dank für eine Unterstützung während des Studiums Ausdruck zu verleihen. Nicht zuletzt belegen diese Provenienzen, dass zumindest diese Exemplare sich seit dem Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts in Schweden befanden und also keine späteren Akquisitionen aus dem Ausland sind. Dies dürfte auch gleichzeitig ein Fingerzeig dafür sein, dass die Sammlung in Strängnäs vermutlich in erster Linie aus Exemplaren zusammengetragen wurde, die sich schon zu Ehrlings Zeit in Schweden befanden.

IV) Die von mir untersuchten Dissertationen *extra patriam* ermöglichen es selbstverständlich auch, die in der Literatur, insbesondere die von Christian Callmer, gemachten Angaben einer kritischen Überprüfung zu unterwerfen.

a) Christian Callmer verzeichnet für die Studenten in Wittenberg und Rostock auch die Disputationen, allerdings nur das Datum einer Disputation sowie auch in einigen Fällen, ob die Disputation im Druck vorliegt. Ab und an lassen sich allerdings weitere Disputationen identifizieren: Callmer zufolge disputierte der aus Finnland stammende Gabriel Petri Melartopaeus am 2.7.1606 und am 20.8.1608 an der Universität Wittenberg; eine weitere Disputation, nämlich vom 30.4.1608, konnte ich allerdings in Strängnäs identifizieren. Callmer arbeitete also offensichtlich mit anderen Sammlungen an Dissertationen; Melartopaeus Dissertation aus dem Jahre 1608 zum Hebräerbrief war ihm nicht bekannt. Da Melartopaeus 1633 Bischof im finnischen Bistum Viborg wurde, hat sich natürlicherweise insbesondere die finnische Frühneuzeitforschung mit seiner Person befasst. Diesbezüglich ist es auch möglich

41 ‚Fratri Balthasaro Rhotovio', *In Nomine Jesu Disputatio Metaphysica, De Potentia et Actu*, Titelblatt.

42 Zu Olaus Martini s. u.a. S. *Östergren*, ‚Olaus Martini', in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, Bd. 28, Stockholm 1992–1994, S. 141; Czaika, *David Chytræus*, insbes. S. 356–359.

43 ‚Honesto et pio viro, Olao Martini [...], fratri clarissimo', *ΣΥΝ ΘΕΩ. Disputationum Theolog. In Novvm Testamentvm*, Titelblatt.

auf eine Rezeptionsbarriere zu verweisen; die finnische Forschung hat nämlich verschiedentlich auf diese drei – sowie eine vierte und fünfte, nur sekundär zu erschließende – Dissertationen von Melartopaeus verwiesen.[44]

Auch zu Bergerus Johannis Kylander aus Östergötland verzeichnet Callmer nur zwei Disputationen in Wittenberg, nämlich am 7.8.1622 und am 4.1.1623, nicht jedoch die Disputation über die Sünde, die jener am 9. Juli 1623 im Alten Kolleg verteidigte.

Ich hatte keinesfalls erwartet, dass Callmers Angaben zu den Studien der schwedischen und finnischen Studenten in Wittenberg und Rostock vollständig und fehlerfrei sind; die hier erwähnten Beispiele belegen aber eindrücklich, dass ob der desparaten Überlieferungslage, in Sonderheit des Streubesitzes frühneuzeitlicher Disputationen, bisherige prosopographische Studien nur einen Teil des Gesamtbildes liefern. Da die historische Forschung allerdings dazu tendiert, bestehende Forschungen als kanonisch bzw. abgeschlossen oder vollständig zu bewerten, ist es dennoch wichtig, in Erinnerung zu rufen, dass selbst umfassende prosopographische Darstellungen wie die von Christian Callmer nur ein Zwischenergebnis, ein *work in progress*, sind.

Last but not least ist es allerdings auch von Interesse, dass wir es bei den hier soeben genannten Studenten, Melartopaeus und Kylander, sozusagen mit „Wiederholungstätern" zu tun haben, die mehrmals hintereinander an ein und derselben Universität eine Dissertation vorlegten. Ein Blick auf die späteren Karrieren, Melartopaeus wurde wie gesagt später Bischof in Finnland, Kylander u.a. Lektor am Gymnasium in Linköping, belegt, dass wir es hier mit ambitionierten, durch ihren akademischen Werdegang für eine spätere kirchliche oder akademische Karriere prädestinierten Studenten zu tun haben.

b) Die von mir untersuchte Sammlung von Dissertationen *extra patriam* aus der Roggebibliothek zu Strängnäs kann auch in anderer Hinsicht als kritisches Korrektiv zu Callmers Arbeiten dienen: Immer wieder geben Callmers Studien ein falsches Datum an, z.B. Juni statt Juli (Enevaldus Suenonis Gyldenhelm, Nr. 506) oder das falsche Jahr: Bergerus Theodori Smolandus konnte rein datumstechnisch nicht am 29. Februar 1603 in Wittenberg disputieren, das Jahr war kein Schaltjahr. Das Titelblatt der Disputation belegt auch, dass das Datum der Disputation der Schalttag des Jahres 1604 gewesen sein muss. Zudem war Bergerus Theodori nicht Präses der Veranstaltung (wie es Callmer angibt), sondern verteidigte seine Thesen zu Martin Chemnitz' Examen des tridentinischen Konzils. Ich vermute, dass sich derartige Feh-

44 J. Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti ennen Turun akatemian perustamista 1640*, Helsinki 1997, S. 308; vgl. auch Nuortevas Hinweise auf die ältere Literatur aus dem 19. und 20 Jahrhundert (in Anm. 214), durch die sich diese Dissertationen erschließen.

ler in Callmers Verzeichnis teils aus der Übertragung seiner handschriftlichen Notizen in ein Typoskript erklären lassen, teils auch durch Fehler in den Pfarrbüchern bzw. schw. *Herdaminnen* bedingt sind. Die Pfarrbücher sind bekanntlich nicht die zuverlässigste Quellen wurden aber von Callmer als ständiger Zeuge ausgewertet – auch in Ermangelung anderer, zuverlässigerer Arbeiten.

Ausblick: I have a dream – Big data

Bevor ich knapp einige Desiderate für die weitere Beschäftigung mit schwedischen Dissertationen formuliere, möchte ich abschließend kurz mein Material kommentieren: Ich habe in Strängnäs nicht das Revolutionierende gefunden, sondern eher ein Material, das ziemlich die Erwartungen erfüllt, die man von Beginn an haben konnte. Dies war und ist für den historischen Spürhund in mir durchaus etwas enttäuschend, denn gerade in der Roggebibliothek konnte ich in den vergangenen Jahren Dinge finden, die der Forschung bisher verborgen geblieben waren: Ich identifizierte dort nicht nur ein Buch, das dem finnischen Reformator Mikael Agricola gehört hatte und das meinen finnischen Kollegen trotz einhundert Jahren lebhafter Agricola-Forschung entgangen war, ich fand in Strängnäs auch das bis dato einzige bekannte Exemplar des schwedischen Gesangbuches von 1582.

Dennoch liegt im Unspektakulären dieses Materials ein Erkenntnisgewinn, da es paradigmatisch über sich hinausweist. Es erinnert uns u.a. an die Probleme, die wir haben, wenn wir uns mit frühneuzeitlichen Dissertationen befassen. Dennoch: Die hier knapp behandelten Disputationen schwedischer Studenten in Greifswald, Rostock und Wittenberg zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts belegen nicht nur, dass eine Sammlung wie die in Strängnäs durchaus neue und wichtige Erkenntnisse bieten kann; insbesondere belegt aber der Umstand, dass selbst ein wenig umfängliches Material neue Informationen bietet, wie wichtig es ist, den Streubesitz aus verschiedenen Bibliotheken zusammenzutragen und möglichst digital zugänglich zu machen. Mein Traum bezüglich der Disputationen ist folgender:

1) Die Digitalisierung von Disputationen als ein wichtiger, erster Schritt. Allerdings ist es wünschenswert, dass die Disputationen in einer eigenen Datenbank registriert werden könnten, die entsprechende Metadaten zur Verfügung stellt: das Datum der Disputationen, das jeweilige Thema, Präses, Respondenten, ggf. Beiträger. Derartige Angaben sollten nicht nur verzeichnet, sondern auch suchbar gemacht werden. Auf diese Art und Weise können seriell Daten erhoben werden, die es ermöglichen, z.B. akademische Konjunkturen, lokale wissenschaftliche Traditionen, Präferenzen bei

der Wahl des Studien- und Disputationsortes etc. nachzuzeichnen und zu verstehen. Hier stehen wir erst am Anfang, denn eine solche serielle Erhebung von Daten aus den Dissertationen setzt selbstverständlich eine Digitalisierung und redaktionelle Aufarbeitung der Dissertationen im ganz großen Stil voraus. Zudem werden die in schwedischen Bibliotheken auffindbaren Dissertationen für ein solches Projekt nicht ausreichen. Andere Bibliotheken in Skandinavien, insbesondere in Finnland, oder in Zentraleuropa, hier insbesondere die Sammlungen in Rostock, Greifswald und Wittenberg, aber auch in Bibliotheken mit reichen Altbeständen wie München, Wolfenbüttel, Göttingen oder in Weimar, müssten hierfür erschlossen werden. Dies mag anspruchsvoll und kaum realisierbar klingen. Howard Hotson in Oxford zeigt mit dem anspruchsvollen Projekt *Reassambling the Republic of Letters c. 1500–1800*, welches den Briefwechsel der europäischen Gelehrtenrepublik in der Frühneuzeit in einem digitalen Portal so umfassend wie möglich registrieren und zugänglich machen will, dass solche Projekte durchaus möglich sind. Mir scheint zudem, dass die Sammlungen frühneuzeitlicher Dissertationen weitaus leichter digital zu erschließen sind als die Briefwechsel.

2) Zur besseren Arbeit mit den Inhalten von frühneuzeitlichen Dissertationen würde ich mir zudem eine OCR-lesbare und suchbare Version der jeweiligen Texte, nicht nur den Text als Scan im PDF-Format wünschen. Dies würde uns ermöglichen, Zitierzyklen, Textübernahmen, Varianten etc. – also alles, was für die inhaltliche Arbeit mit den Dissertationen von Bedeutung sein kann, besser zu verstehen.

Diese hier genannten Desiderate zielen also auf den m.E. vitalen Konnex von Prosopographie und geistesgeschichtlichem Inhalt der Dissertationen ab. Ich träume von Möglichkeiten, die Rohdaten der Dissertationen zu bündeln, um diese weiterführend analysieren zu können. Gleichzeitig wünsche ich mir, die Inhalte leichter rezipieren zu können, um somit auch die Verbindungen von Studium und Denkgeschichte besser verstehen zu können. Das dies ein lohnendes Unterfangen ist, hat meine begrenzte Untersuchung einiger Disputationen aus der Sammlung in Strängnäs unterstrichen.

Kristi Viiding

German Academies, Baltic Alumni, and *Obligatio Mutua* in Early Modern Times

Introduction[1]

Nowadays many universities try to stay connected to their former students in a variety of ways and invite them to participate in the everyday life of the university. Universities expect of their graduates that we will share what we have learned through education, research, and co-operation, and contribute by performing as guest speakers, supervisors, and mentors. We have to be the ambassadors for our university around the world and contribute to its reputation. As graduates of universities and other institutions of higher learning, we describe ourselves with the Latin word alumni.

According to *Oxford English dictionary* (1991), this modern concept of *alumni*, as well as the name of the former student *alumnus/alumna*, is a fairly recent development originating from 19th-century United States. According to Latin, German, and English dictionaries the earlier meaning of the same word was "son or pupil, who studies by someone like his own father",[2] "a ward, protégé, charge" or "a male pupil

1 For their financial support I would like to thank the Estonian Academy of Sciences and the Estonian Research Council (grant PUT 1030 and IUT 28-1). Jeannine de Landtsheer (Leuven), Prof. Peter Oestmann (Münster), Hesi Siimets-Gross (Tartu), and Kaidi Kriisa (Tartu) kindly helped me with information about early modern collections in archives and libraries. Katiliina Gielen (Tartu) corrected my English.

2 E.g., *Alumnus dicitur filius, vel discipulus, qui ab aliquo, velut a patre, alitur, vel instruitur* (Calepinus Passeratus, p. 68. The first edition of this dictionary was published in 1502 in Regio. Later editions were considerably enlarged); *Alumnus, alumna, der- oder diejenige, so von einem anderen ernehret … oder in seiner Unmündigkeit erzogen wird … Insgemein heissen Alumni diejenigen, so man mit Speiß und Tranck versorgt und sie in allen guten Sitten unterrichtet* (Zedler 1732, Sp. 1620; *Alumnus proprie est particip[ium] praes[entis] pass[ivi] quasi alomenus ab alo; et est qui alitur ab aliquo vel educatur* (Forcellini 1771, p. 203).

or student attending a particular school, university, or other seat of learning" (*OED* 1991, s.v. *alumnus*).

Considering this, the question arises if and in which way the modern meaning of the term *alumnus* existed in early modern times before it came into being in its modern sense. Were the graduates connected with their former seats of learning in some way after they had left them, or were the graduates' academic studies merely to provide a basis for a professional career and a source of memories from the past without any later connection with their place of study? In addition and more importantly: what subsequent duties and possibilities did studying in a foreign institution engender for a person from the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea?

In the first half of the 17th century the potential status of an alumnus was not regulated by the statutes of the local academies in the northern and eastern Baltic region.[3] For the Academia Dorpatensis (active 1632–1656, 1690–1710) no other genres of the academic written heritage reflect the institution of alumnus in the modern sense. Accordingly, the information about Baltic students at the other academies in Europe, above all in Germany, and their written heritage must be checked to assess if and how the concept of alumnus had spread to the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea.

Epistolography as Research Material

In the following, I would like to examine the above-mentioned aspect of early modern academic culture in the epistolography of educated individuals, one of the most sizable genres of that time. The starting point of my case study is the largest early modern correspondence originating from the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea – a yet-unpublished Latin correspondence of the main representative of Riga's Humanism: Riga's town secretary and syndicus David Hilchen (latinized Heliconius, 1561–1610). Hilchen was born in Riga and studied rhetoric and Roman law in 1580–1582 at Ingolstadt, 1582–1584 at Tübingen, and 1584–1585 at Heidelberg. After that, he returned to his home city of Riga where he remained for 15 years.[4] He wrote Latin letters already during his studies, but most of these *epistolae juveniles* have remained uncollected and unedited in different European libraries and archives.[5] Yet his *epistolae seniles*,

3 Cf. the *Statutes of the Academy in Uppsala* 1626, Annerstedt 1877; the *Statutes of the Academy in Dorpat*/Tartu 1632/1650; *Constitutiones* 1997.

4 The only survey about his life and activity is a small monograph by Ramm-Helmsing (1936). For a systematic study of Hilchen's linguistic views see Viiding 2015.

5 The first part of a catalogue of Hilchen's letters is now available online: Viiding, K., Hoffmann, Th., Siimets-Gross, H. and Sapala, P., *The Correspondence of David Hilchen, Early Modern*

more than 700 items with more than 160,000 words, written during the latter time of Hilchens' life in exile in 1600–1610, were collected after his death and divided into six books by a lawyer from Riga, Caspar von Ceumern. All six books are preserved in manuscript in the Latvian Historical State Archives.[6] In addition, books I–IV are extant in another manuscript in Linköping City Library.[7] Presumably, Hilchen ordered the apographs of his letters for two of his oldest sons, David Junior and Franz, as these letters concern many legal and financial questions connected with his rights and family property.[8]

The first two books – the so called *epistolae officiales* – are letters to high Polish and Lithuanian secular and clerical dignitaries. The third and fourth books contain letters that Hilchen wrote on behalf of the other within his patronage circles who were themselves not able to write Latin (*Epistolae nomine aliorum*). In the last two books, one can find *epistolae familiares* – letters to people close to him, to humanist scholars and students with a similar world view: the fifth book contains letters to Lithuanian and Polish friends, the sixth one letters to famous Western European humanists (e.g. to Justus Lipsius, Isaac Casaubonus, Johannes Caselius, Friedrich Taubmann and others).

Dynamics, Reasons, and Functions of the Alumnus–Alma Mater Relationship

Hilchen's letters demonstrate clearly that in the eastern Baltic region the model of intensive connections between an alumnus and his *alma mater* existed right up to the very last years of the alumnus's life. These connections were of practical, seldom of emotional nature.

The first and maybe most common practical reason for contacts with one's *alma mater* appears to be the promotion of education of the young people from the circles of the alumnus's acquaintances. The professors of the former *alma mater* in particular functioned often as a kind of international student office, receiving and accepting let-

Letters Online, Cultures of Knowledge, Oxford 2018, http://emlo-portal.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/collections/?catalogue=david-hilchen. At the beginning of 1577, when he was 15 years old, Hilchen corresponded with a German humanist, Johannes Caselius in Rostock. See Caselius' letter to Hilchen Wolfenbüttel, HAB Cod. Guelf. 846 Helmst. Iohannis Caselii epistolae ad amicos de anno 1577 17r–18r. The whole correspondence between Caselius and Hilchen is now analyzed by Kristi Viiding (2019).

6 *Epistolae Davidis Hilchen*, 4038 f., 2. apr., 297 l.

7 Linköpings Stadsbibliotek/Stiftsbiblioteket, Br 43.

8 von Ramm-Helmsing 1956, 172.

ters of recommendation from their alumni. In his last ten years Hilchen wrote about 25 such letters of recommendation for young people from different places, not only to his own former academies, but also to the German academies where his brothers had studied or where his former professors had moved.

Yet as can be seen from Hilchen's letters, the communication with one's *alma mater* could have long interruptions. A quarter of a century could pass between an alumnus ending his studies and next having contact with his former university. The beginning of Hilchen's last letter of recommendation for his oldest son David in 1609 can be presented as an example here. It is written 24 years after Hilchen's own promotion in Heidelberg. Hilchen regrets that the common custom of staying in contact with one's *alma mater* has disappeared, yet the memories are eternal. The keywords Hilchen uses to describe his relationship to the academies are *consuetudo* ("the customary manner"), *memoria* ("memory"), and *necessitas* ("necessity"):

> *Recordatio illius temporis magno animi solatio delector, cum juvenis adhuc imberbis in tuis aedibus metam disputationum juridicarum ... Heidelbergae anno 1585. decurrerem. Perspexi enim tum et suspexi tuam erga me humanitatem. Reditus meus in patriam, temporum acerbitas, fortunae iniquitas, bella et locorum adeo disjuncta intervalla, praepedierunt quidem ulteriorem consuetudinem; memoriam tamen tanti tui erga me amoris, tantaeque benevolentiae, nulla temporis longinquitas, nulla fatorum offensio, ex animo deleverunt meo. Occasionem vero nunc demum te appellandi, necessitas attulit. Mitto maximum natu liberorum meorum ...*[9]

"Necessity" in the present case means the possibility to ask for help from one's own *alma mater* in directing the youth to the right confession or even to bring them back from a hostile one. Hilchen's son had been forcefully kidnapped by the Jesuits and spent two years in a Jesuit school. It was only in 1609 that David Junior was returned to his father. To avoid such incidents in the future, Hilchen sent his son to the University of Basel as the tutor to two Polish noblemen, Alexander and Julius Pruńsky, and emphasized it in the recommendation to his former professor of theology from the University of Heidelberg, Johann Jakob Grynaeus (1540–1614):

> *Tu tamen ut consilij, informationis admonitionisq[ue] in Religione, quam fere hic amiserat, et si forte opus sit castigationis beneficia opera, instruere eum, adjuvareque eum, et*

9 A letter to Johann Jakob Grynaeus (not included in the main manuscripts in Riga and Linköping), 11 August 1609, original in Basel University Library, G II 6: Bl. 397; copy in Hamburg Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Supellex Epistolica Uffenbachii 54, 378–379, (p. 378r.)

continere velis in via verae beatitudinis, oro. Plurimum potest ad istam aetatem admonitionis gravitas, et auctoritate illa movetur.[10]

Thus, to protect his recommendees every alumnus seems to have had the ability to rely on the *auctoritas* of his former *alma mater* and its professors. In their confessional stability, foreign academies provided a better guarantee for their alumni than the state from the point of view of religion, especially in the areas such as Livonia, which in the early modern period often moved from one supremacy to another.[11]

The second practical reason for contacting his former academies was the search for legal protection from the universities. In 1600 David Hilchen was declared an outlaw by the City Council of Riga and condemned to death. Hilchen fled from Riga to Poland and initiated a long trial against his home town. The process lasted more than nine years and ended in 1609 with the exculpation of Hilchen by the Polish king. To restore his rights, honour, and property, Hilchen published the latin book *Clypeus Innocentiae et Veritatis* in his defence in 1604, the fifth year of the process, and in 1605 a slightly supplemented version in German under the title *Gegenwehr Der Unschuld und Warheit*. He collected evidence (*judicia*) for both books from his politically powerful friends, his financial supporters, and clerics, but also from academies, either where he had studied or where he had personal contacts. Nine such petitions exist among Hilchen's letters. Besides Ingolstadt, Tübingen, and Heidelberg, where Hilchen himself studied, the academies of Helmstedt, Wittenberg, Leipzig, Jena, Cracow, and Padova are represented.[12] In addition, references to similar letters sent to the academy in Orléans are known.[13] Many letters to the academies are short and formulaic. Obviously, indirect contacts were used. Yet the letter to the Academy of Ingolstadt is much longer and demonstrates how the process functioned. In the introduction, contact with the academy is described and the innocence of the deeds and words of Hilchen during his studies in Ingolstadt exemplified:

Talis insedit in animo meo de D[ignitatibus] Vestris opinio, ut minime eas existimem memoriam mei deposuisse: siquidem et optimarum artium et Jurisprudentiae studio incensus, ita apud illas toto triennio cum Ill[ustrissi]mo olim Principe Alexandro Duce

10 Ibid., p. 378v.

11 In fact, a possible answer from Grynaeus to Hilchen is not preserved and the name of Hilchen Junior does not occur in the matricle of the Basle University (Wackernagel 1951).

12 *Epistolae Davidis Hilchen* liber 6,26 (Ingolstadt), 6,27 (Tübingen), 6,28 (Heidelberg), 6,29 (Wittenberg, Leipzig, Jena), 6,30 (Padova), 5,107 Cracow.

13 *Epistolae Davidis Hilchen* liber 5,30 to Orléans via Paul Orzechovski: ... *Sed doleo clypeum meum ad vos non pervenisse. Denuo eum mitto, et Judicium Academiae vestrae expecto*.

> *Slucens[i] versatus sum, ut nullum unquam vel factum vel dictum meum ex[s]titerit quare nomen quisquam in crimen ullum vocare, aut iure posset deferre.*

After that, some names of former professors and fellow students are listed as witnesses of his modesty (*meae modestiae testes*). Then the participation of Hilchen in royal legacies is emphasized as the sign of being a royal confidant. Treating his public activities as *virtus*, Hilchen adds: "It is a proverb: envy is the attendant of virtue" *(Vetus est dictum Virtutis comitem esse invidiam*),[14] and then tells step-by-step the story of his conviction. He asks the representatives of the academy to read his book of defence and send their evaluation:

> *Et ubi interposuit(scil. senatus academiae), decretumque suum de re tota perscripserint (scil. membra facultatis), signo vel Academico, vel facultatis suae consignent.*

Petitions of this kind were discussed and responded to in the *consilia* of the Law faculties of academies.[15] Unfortunately, no responses to Hilchen are known either in manuscript or in printed form.[16] However, some later letters by Hilchen could be used as indirect evidence of the response to his petitions. In 1606 or 1607 Hilchen wrote a letter in the name of Theodor Fahrensbach, a nephew of his former protector Jürgen (Georg) von Fahrensbach. From this can be seen that some academies did indeed answer and send their *consilia* to Hilchen, but that the legal protection of

14 The proverb was well known from *Rhetorica ad Herennium* c. 36 (*O virtutis comes invidia, quae bonos sequeris plerumque atque adeo insectaris!*) and used very often in early modern literature.

15 From Germany, there exist 208 collections of consilia from the middle of the 16th century to 1806 (Gehrke 1974, p. 57). For the main introductions to the topic see Kisch 1970 and Gehrke 1974.

16 The consilia of the academy are described and/or edited by Vollert 1929 for Jena; by Besold 1659–1661 and Geipel 1965 for Tübingen; by Schrittenloher 1963 and Kempter 1975 for Ingolstadt; by Schickora 1973 and Hahn 1989 for Helmstedt; by Lück 1998 for Wittenberg, and by Kisch 1923 for Leipzig. The manuscript collections are checked in the following archives: *consilia* from Helmstedt in Staatsarchiv Wolfenbüttel: Bruchstücke aus den Akten betr. Gutachten der Juristenfakultät 1601–1610 (NLA WO 37 Alt. Nr. 3791); *consilia* from Tübingen in the University Archives Tübingen vol. I 1602–1607 (UAT 84/1), and concepts and fragments (UAT 83/1a and UAT 83/2); *consilia* from Wittenberg in the Archives of the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Repositorium 1. Archiv der Universität Wittenberg XXXXIII. Archiv der juristischen Fakultät. B. Schöffenstuhl. 2. Spruchbücher Nr. 4717–4735. For the information concerning Jena University Archives, our working group is thankful to Dr Thomas Pesters; from the Leipzig University Archives to Dr Katharina Schlueter, for the information concerning Tübingen to Dr Regina Keyler.

academies was not effective enough for the speedy exculpation of Hilchen, already in process:

> *Verum omnes quidem istos conatus primum Clypeus innocentiae ejus ab ipso editus, de eodem complurium praestatissimorum virorum amicorum ejus: Universitatumque adeo nonnullarum Academicarum Judicia, jampridem refutarunt.*[17]

In 1606 Hilchen personally acknowledged a professor from Leipzig, Matthias Dresser, sent from the academy of Leipzig for the *judicium*: *Tuam igitur constantiam laudo et judicii tui testimonium ma[g]nifacio venerorque.*[18] Therefore it seems to be not coincidental that Hilchen connects legal practice with the famous contemporary concept of constancy, as Hilchen was one of the correspondents of Lipsius in Livonia and respected Lipsius' philosophical principles.[19]

Such relationships between the academies and alumni were useful, at least for the alumni. The third and last possibility of the alumni-*alma mater* relationship reflected in the correspondence of Hilchen is the image-building function of an alumnus. In Hilchen's letters we find how the older alumni seem to have had a silent responsibility to shape a respectful attitude in the younger individuals towards the academy in order to set an example how an alumnus had to speak and think about their academy. Here, especially in books III and IV of the letters, the fact that Hilchen wrote on behalf of other individuals is of importance. In March 1607, Hilchen wrote in the name

17 *Epistolae Davidis Hilchen* liber 3,65 Riga. Cf. epist. 5,90 to Thomas Dresner: *Habeo Ill[ust]rium academiarum Germaniae iudicia*.

18 *Epistolae Davidis Hilchen* liber 6,50.

19 To the correspondence and relationship of Hilchen and Lipsius cf. Viiding, K., Hoffmann, Th., 'Cultural entanglement in Early Modern letter-writing: David Hilchen's correspondence with humanists from the Low Countries', *Journal of Baltic Studies* 2019 (forthcoming). In the letters of Hilchen four letters to Lipsius are known: from 20 July 1601 (*Epistolae Davidis Hilchen* liber 6,72); August 1604 (*Epistolae Davidis Hilchen* liber 6,74), from dies 8; Laurentii 1605 (*Epistolae Davidis Hilchen* liber 6,73); and 7 March 1606 (*Epistolae Davidis Hilchen* liber 6,75). In addition, Hilchen wrote to him on behalf of Thomas Zamoiski and Georg Zamoiski, i.e. of the son and brother of his patron Johannes Zamoiski (both letters from 4 December 1605, autographs in Leiden University Library, ms. Lips. 4, apographs in Riga LVVA, *Epistolae Davidis Hilchen* liber 3,19 and 3,20, and Linköping, *Epistolae Davidis Hilchen* liber 3,19 and 3,20). Lipsius' first letter seems to be from the end of 1599 (III. Kalend. Ianuar. anno M. D XCIX, Lipsius 1639, cf. Deneire 2009, 715–718) and then from 9 November 1604 (Lipsius 1607, 57).

of an anonymous Polish nobleman to his former professor of law at the University of Toulouse, Theodorus Marsilius (1548–1617):

> *Olim Scholae vestrae alumnum me fuisse, ibique tantum animum erga honestas disciplinas comparasse, ut neque hac aetate, neque vi negotiorum mutare illum potueram. Iuventutem quoque nostram ad studium litterarum hortari et juvare libenter audeo et quibus ex fontibus ipse aliquantum eruditionis hausi, ut ex iisdem hauriant, seque eo conferant, auctor fio. Ita et illis bene consulere et gratum animum erga Academiam vestram testari videor.*[20]

On behalf of the anonymous author, Hilchen here presents a moral programme of a good alumnus:

1) neither the age nor the force of duties can erase the alumnus' esteem for education;
2) an alumnus has to influence the youth to study in academies;
3) an alumnus has to be always grateful to his academy.
Thus, the academies could benefit from their alumni, too, and the relationship between academies and alumni can be called *obligatio mutua*.

Conclusion

The root word *academia* occurs in Hilchen's letters 57 times in total, and the root *alumnus* four times. *Alumnus* never occurs in the modern sense of former students, but always in the meaning of "protégé, charge" or "a student attending university", nor was it used by Hilchen about himself.[21] Yet his correspondence gives us plenty of evidence that in the beginning of the 17th century, the modern meaning of the term *alumnus* already existed and was represented in rich typology at least in German universities and in their relations with their Baltic alumni, even with those who did not continue their career in the academic world. The type of relations depended on the profession and social ambitions of the alumnus, reaching from legal protection and

20 *Epistolae Davidis Hilchen* liber 3,24.

21 In addition to the letter 3,24 on behalf of an anonymous Polish nobleman, the word *alumnus* is mentioned in the letter 1,133 (*Meminit obsecro Ill[ustrissima] D[ominatio] V[estra] me quicumque sim Ill[ustrissimae] D[ominationis] V[estrae] servitorem, alumnum et clientem esse, semper eundem, nullius unquam criminis convictum …*); 2,74 (*Ante aliquot hebdomadas Prechovitium Medicinae alumnum commendavi*); 2,86 (*Sed hic quem Illustritati V[estrae] commendo artis et Martis alumnus esse videtur*); and in 6,30 (*Quis vero, et quo loco apud Ill[ustrissimu]m. Samoscium sim, si opus sit, is quam hanc reddet, Simon Pircovius, alumnus Samoscii, dicet*).

confessional support by the academies to the promotion of education and positive images of academies from the perspective of the alumni. The content of learning did not belong to the topics treated by the alumnus, at least in the case of David Hilchen, as his career was not directly connected to scholarly communication and mediation of knowledge.

Unlike the present practice, in the early modern period the connections with academies were often the initiative of the alumni, not the academies. No academic office for organizing relations existed at the time. Yet, as the relationship was useful for both parties, it can be characterized as a silent *obligatio mutua.*

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prium odium abutentium cum iniquissima crudelissimaque quaedam decreta, tum alia calumniarum tela, editus, Zamosci.

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Axel Hörstedt

Letters of recommendation in the transition from *gymnasium* to university in Early Modern Sweden

Introduction

Transitional phases are important in educational and academic culture: pupils and students are frequently obliged to undertake tests of their obtained learning in order to enter a new educational level or phase. Sometimes status or titles change: schoolboys and girls become students, students become PhDs, *discipulus* become *studiosus*, some pass, others fail. Proper grades, certificates, applications, and recommendations are often needed to pass from one step to another. Certain rituals and artefacts may also belong to the transition from one level to another: solemn closing ceremonies with diplomas and speeches at the former school; particular hats, rings, wreaths, or gowns to distinguish the school-leaver; or even different kinds of freshman pranks arranged by older students at the university. So it also was to some extent for schoolboys in early modern Sweden when climbing the educational ladder from trivial school to *gymnasium*, and from *gymnasium* to university, from school life to academic life.

In this paper I will examine a fairly small number of early modern handwritten Latin *testimonia* – what we today would call letters of recommendation – issued from different schools and *gymnasia* in Sweden.[1] A unifying feature of these letters is that they were issued for schoolboys who were on their way to be enrolled as university students. The time period in which these letters were written stretches from the early 17th century to the middle of the 18th century, and the letters are interesting documents that record one of many factors in this transitional phase in the early modern academic world.

1 The material is found in the Nordin collection of manuscripts at the University Library Carolina Rediviva in Uppsala (UUB). See under references for the complete catalogue entry.

Transition from *gymnasium* to university in 17th- and 18th-century Sweden

The rules of transition from *gymnasium* to university appear not to have been rigid in the 17th- and 18th-century Swedish educational system and differed to some exten t between schools. In the school regulations of 1649, 1693 and 1724 there are guidelines, albeit both somewhat ill-defined and ill-observed, of how the transition should take place. A general rule appears to have been to not let any boy be sent away to study at university unless he was either tested in the *fundamenta* of the curriculum or had a recommendation.[2] Pupils that were found not to be properly trained should not have been allowed to progress, and – depending on where they were tested – they should have been sent back to the institution from whence they came (i.e. either back to trivial school or *gymnasium*) for further schooling.[3] However, these rules frequently were not enforced. Schoolboys were indeed tested in the *examen anniversarium*, a yearly examination of their learning held in June at the *gymnasium* (under the presidency of the *ephorus* of the school, namely the bishop), but this is not to be understood as a grade that automatically granted them access to the university.[4] Schoolboys that passed the examination were granted a *testimonium academicum*, written in Latin by the headmaster, while those who failed or were considered not to be fit for further studies could be granted a *testimonium vitae* written in Swedish.[5] The *testimonium academicum* guaranteed that the *discipulus* had passed the curriculum of the secondary education and was able to cope with the higher requirements that they would

2 The school regulation from 1693 says (chap. 1, § 11): "Ingen må flyttias uhr *Trivial* Scholan och antagas i *Gymnasio*, ey heller släppas uhr *Gymnasio* och sändas till *Academien*, med mindre han är worden noga *examinerad*, både på den Orten, tädan han sig förfoga will, och jämwäl på den andra, dijt han ankommer, och bäggestädes befunnen tienlig till at sålunda flyttias; Förbiudandes Wij här med, at de, som i otijd gifwa sig ifrån *Gymnasierne*, hwarest de icke lagt de *Fundamenta*, som the borde behöfwa, resandes bort antingen utan *Testimonio* eller med ett ringa, skola icke wid *Academierne* blifwa antagne och ibland *Studenterne* räknade, utan tillbaka wiste [...]", ÅSU 7 1922, 6.

3 See for example the school regulation of 1724 (ch. 2 § 6): "Wij förbiude här wid strängeligen, att the, som utan ofwan anförde mål begifwa sig bitijda ifrån Gymnasium resandes bortt, antingen utan Testimonium eller med ett sådant, hwaruti the icke uttryckeligen äro recommenderade till Rectorem Academiae, eij skola blifwa antagne ibland studiosos, utan tilbakas wiste [...]."

4 A vivid description from the end of the 1760s of such an occasion of the *examen anniversarium* in the *gymnasium* of Växjö is found in Ödmann 1830, 101f.

5 Brandell 1931, vol. 2, 409; Kallstenius 1923, 54. This *testimonium* is also called "letter of demission" ("demissionsbrev"). See Leinberg 1884–1889, vol. 3, 197. Cf. the school regulation of 1649 (in ÅSU 4 1921, 55) *De officio Rectoris: Discentibus e schola testimoniumque vitae ac studiorum petentibus, verum incorruptumque tribuet* [sc. rector].

meet at the university. The *testimonium* was issued by the *rector scholae* or *rector gymnasii* (i.e. the headmaster). If the poor lads who were found less apt for university were nevertheless to be allowed to continue to higher education, certain guarantees were needed that confirmed that they were to stand under qualified surveillance and guidance there.[6] An aspiring student did not necessarily have to follow the teaching of the *gymnasium* to become a university student; there are examples of schoolboys that went straight from trivial schools to university studies, and yet others had had private tutoring. Sons of noblemen were especially likely not to have taken the syllabus of a *gymnasium* that was considered an institution for the masses.[7] It must be said that it was essentially up to the schoolboy himself to decide when to leave the *gymnasium* for university studies. A comparable example of the importance of letters of recommendation and of the praxis of the transition from *gymnasium* to university is found in a protocol from the *gymnasium* of Västerås.[8] According to the protocol, dated 1 March 1718, the *rector gymnasii* together with four of the *lectores* held an advisory meeting at the *gymnasium* of Västerås discussing whether three brothers Ericus, Carolus and Olaus Therullius should be granted a *testimonium*, i.e. a letter of recommendation, or not, since the brothers had decided to leave school to be enrolled at the university in Uppsala. The participants of the meeting argued that only one of the brothers was sufficiently prepared for university studies to be granted a *testimonium*, and that the other two boys should remain at the *gymnasium* to obtain more knowledge. Despite the teachers' advice, all three brothers left the *gymnasium* and were registered at the university only a few weeks later.[9] Whether any of them had a letter of recommendation is unfortunately unknown.

According to the university constitution of 1655, when arriving at the university the boys from the *gymnasium* were tested again, this time by the university Dean in the matters that they should have previously obtained in school.[10] However, these examinations were neither very difficult to pass, nor consistently applied, since sons of noblemen and boys from better families who had undergone private tutoring did not need to take these tests.[11] Sometimes the newly enrolled students were labelled

6 Kallstenius 1923, 54.

7 Sjöstrand 1965, 247–251. On the nature of the various kinds of teaching in the 17th and 18th centuries, see Sandberg 1994, 111–117.

8 This protocol is kept in Acta gymnasii A1:2, Västerås City Archive.

9 The three Therullius brothers were registered together on 19 March 1728. *Uppsala Universitets matrikel*, 1919 vol. 2, 119.

10 Annerstedt 1877–1914 vol. 3:2,. 577. Cf. Karle 2009, 102.

11 Annerstedt 1877–1914 vol. 3:2, p. 577–579.

with epithets such as *cum testimonio* in the university register (while sons of noblemen are listed as *nobilis*).

Because of these rather dubious university admission examinations, it appears to have been a substantial problem that intellectually immature and ill-prepared boys were admitted to higher studies. There exist complaints from professors of the universities of Uppsala and Lund directed to the Swedish *gymnasia* that they should not let any young boy advance to the academy if he had not first obtained proper training and skills.[12] But on the other hand Sweden needed more educated administrative personnel and clergymen, and despite the low quality of some of the freshmen the number of university students increased greatly due to this demand during the 17th and the 18th centuries.[13]

General description of the letters

The letters of recommendation that I have analysed total seven letters which are written by either headmasters of *gymnasia* or trivial schools, or by others that in some way had connections to the educational system in favour of schoolboys who were to become students. The whole body of letters of recommendation in the Nordin collection totals 19 letters. The remaining manuscripts that are not analysed in this paper consist of letters issued for schoolboys that were to be registered at a *gymnasium*, and are therefore not of interest for this enquiry.[14] Except for one, the seven letters have never been published.[15] In the table below I have listed the letters in chronological order. The table indicates the date when the letters were issued, the name and (if indi-

12 Brandell 1931 vol. 2, 408; Falk 1926, 126f. Several of these handwritten letters of complaint from the university of Uppsala and Åbo to the *consistorium* in Strängnäs are found in the collections of Landsarkivet in Uppsala (Strängnäs *gymnasium* FI:4). One of these letters is dated 24 October 1732 and signed by 17 professors of the academy.

13 Sjöstrand 1965, 237f. Cf. Tengström 1973, 62–65.

14 However, they are incorrectly labelled as "grades" in the Nordin catalogue. The whole collection of letters of recommendation is found in Nordin 67:13c–v. Two of these letters from Västerås (Nordin 67:13t–u) are almost identical and are not proper letters of recommendation, but letters which the schoolboys carried with them after the yearly examination when they were sent off to beg for monetary aid in the surrounding villages, the so-called "Sockengång". Cf. the transcription of such a document in Kallstenius 1923, 51–53. Other letters of recommendation that were to be used when entering a *gymnasium* are also found in Strängnäs *gymnasium* F1, vol. 4, Landsarkivet i Uppsala.

15 The only letter that has been published before is that from Viborg dated 1701, which is found in Leinberg 1884–1889, vol. 3, 197–199.

	Date	Sender	Addressee	Recommended	Place	Archive entry
1	1632 1 Feb.	Jonas Benedicti Rudberus	Olaus Laurelius (*rector* of University of Uppsala)	Sveno Gunnari	Mariestad/ Lyrestad	67:13d
2	1678 2 Oct.	Petrus Petri Aroselius (*scholae Copingensis rector*)	Unspecified at the university	Johannes Arvidi Emporelius	Köping	67:13i
3	1691 19 Dec.	Georg Holstenius (*Gymnasii Arosiensis hoc tempore rector*)	*Rector* at the university	Johannes Pratenius, Widichinnus Odenius	Västerås	67:13k
4	1701 19 Aug.	Jacob Printz (*Gymnasii hoc tempore rector*)	Unspecified at the university	Henricus Fremling	Viborg	67:13h
5	1708 14 March	Michäel Sigismundi (*Gymnasii Regii Revaliensis rector*)	Unspecified at the university	Henricus Christophorus Wrede	Reval/ Tallinn	67:13g
6	1724 11 Feb.	Matthias Kruse (*gymnasii Carolstad[iensis] hoc tempore rector*)	*Rector* at the University of Uppsala	Jonas Ullholm Wermlandus	Karlstad	67:13f
7	1745 22 June	Petrus Jolin (*Gymnasii Wexionensis hoc tempore rector*)	*Rector* at the University of Uppsala	Johannes Gumaelius	Växjö	67:13e

Table 1: Details of the letters of recommendation from the Nordin collection.

cated in the letters) title of sender and addressee, then the name of the recommended boy(s), the location in which the letters were written, and finally the archive entry.

Four of the letters are addressed to the *rector magnificus* of Uppsala University, while the remaining three are addressed to an unspecified addressee at the university, often indicated with the phrase *benevolus/candidus lector* in the letter heading. What makes this collection of seven letters interesting is the fact that they are from different periods and different locations, making it a cross-section of how letters of recommendation appeared in this period of time. As shown from the table above the earliest of the letters is from 1632, followed by letters from 1678, 1691, 1701, 1708, and 1725, with the most recent from 1745. The letters are – if taken in the same chronological order – sent from Lyrestad/Mariestad, Köping, Västerås, Viborg, Reval, Karlstad, and Växjö. Only in Mariestad and Köping was there no *gymnasium* during this period. With the exception of one letter, they are all about a single student. This material represents a

very limited number of texts to examine and from which to draw conclusions. But to my mind there appear to be very few letters of recommendations preserved from this period and from this context, i.e. the transition from *gymnasium* to university. If one looks at the distribution of the letters, in the context of both time and location, I would however put forward that they form an acceptable representation of the form and function of this particular genre of letters from this period. It is not possible to tell whether these letters are unique or if they were produced *en masse* with the same layout and content for different schoolboys, even though my feeling is that they were each written exclusively for a single student.

The context of letter-writing

Letter-writing and letter correspondence were important tools for communication as well as for the spreading of information and knowledge in early modern times. This importance is emphasized by the large number of humanist writings dealing with epistolography from this period.[16] The models for letter-writing were classical Latin letters such as those of Cicero and Pliny the younger. But in addition to the humanist handbooks there also still existed the medieval art of letter-writing as observed in the formulaic nature of the *ars dictaminis*.[17] Here, rhetoric and oratory were seen as the models for the letter, rather than the more relaxed discursive style favoured by the humanists. In both these traditions, i.e. the *ars dictaminis* and the humanist handbooks, letters were categorized and labelled according to their subject, purpose, language, and style. Generally, depending on style and content, letters in the early modern era were either public – meaning that they served as official documents, or private – meaning that they were intended for one addressee and were supposed to be

16 There are both proper handbooks as well as academic dissertations. Perhaps the most renowned handbooks are *De conscribendis epistolis* by Erasmus from the first half of the 16th century (published 1522), and *Epistolica institutio* by Lipsius from the end of the same century (published 1591). For discussions on humanist letter-writing, see Henderson 2002 and Fantazzi 2002. Sweden too generated a number of manuals of letter-writing. One of the earliest Swedish handbooks, and also the lengthiest and most detailed, is that by Andreas Jonae Gothus, *Thesaurus epistolicus*, the second edition of which was published in 1631. Hansson 1988, 21–34, has treated the early modern epistolography originating from Sweden. Many of these handbooks and manuals are interesting because of their descriptive and normative nature.

17 See Murphy 1974, 194–268, on the history and use of medieval *ars dictaminis*.

read solely by that single person, despite the fact that the distinction between private and public was somewhat blurred in this period of time.

Among the great variety in types of letters mentioned in the handbooks[18] we find the *epistola commandatitia*, the letter of recommendation. There are also a number of early modern academic dissertations that exclusively treat the writing of letters of recommendation from different perspectives, often detailed and normative in nature.[19] Taken all together, the impression is that the *epistola commantatitia* was an important genre to master for writers of letters in early modern times.

The letters: structure, style, and content

In the following I will describe the letters with regards to structure, style, and content. First of all, the letters quite clearly follow the rhetorical order of *salutatio*, *captatio benevolentiae*, *narratio*, *petitio*, and *conclusio*. By their appearance and structure alone it is possible to place them in the category of public or official letters. Worth noting is that four out of seven letters carry the official seal of the *gymnasium* from which they were issued. However, their content may deviate from these official features.

The letters are opened by an image that is intended to capture the attention of the reader. Mostly this picture alludes to the world of erudition:

> *Qui Musis et litterarum studiis sedulo invigilant Praeceptorum jure merito, bonorumque omnium Commendatione et Laude, prae ceteris gaudere, et ad honestatem sectandam excitari solent; Honos alit artes scilicet [...].*[20]
>
> [Those who zealously devote themselves to the Muses and literary studies take pleasure before others – perfectly justly – in the recommendation and approval of teachers and of all other good people, and they are usually aroused to pursue honour. Honour undoubtedly nourishes the arts.]

18 E.g. Erasmus enumerates 30 different types of letters, and Andreas Jonae Gothus mentions more than 35.

19 E.g. *Dissertatio philologico-theologica de literis commendatitiis earumque utilitate...* (*praeses* Samuel Werenfels/*respondens* Abraham de Champ-Renaud, Basel 1703) and *Dissertatio de literis commendatitiis* (*praeses* Daniel Mitzius/*respondens* Andreas Feschius, Basel 1743). I am grateful to Prof. Hanspeter Marti for providing me a list of early modern Latin dissertations on letters of recommendation, titles that were previously unknown to me.

20 Nordin 67:13k. I would like to take the opportunity to sincerely thank Prof. Hans Helander for attentively and diligently helping me with the translations.

> *Doctrina vero, nisi eam dux et imperatrix vitae mortalium, bona mens, fulciat, est tanquam aedificium stabili carens fundamento [...].*[21]
>
> [Truly, learning is like a building without a stable fundament, unless it is supported by good reason, which is like the guiding star and queen of human life.]
>
> *Ut in academicis hortis, eos posthac legat sapientiae flores, ex quibus sibi sertum eruditionis solidioris conficiat [...].*[22]
>
> [As he shall pick, in the academic gardens, these flowers of learning hereafter, from which he shall make himself a wreath of more solid learning.]

But in two cases the images are drawn from other fields. In the beginning of the recommendation for Henrik Fremling from Viborg in 1701 the sender *rector gymnasii* Jacob Printz writes:

> *Quemadmodum illi, qui in stadio currunt, certam sibi praefixam habent metam: ita, qui in studiorum circo constituti sunt, ad certum finem eniti debent, scilicet in hoc totis industriae viribus incumbent, non solum ut in literis proficiant, sed ut ex honesti rectique norma vitam actionesque suas componentes, virtutem cum doctrina conjungant.*[23]
>
> [Just as those who run in the racecourse have a certain goal determined beforehand, so should those who have their place in the circle of students strive for a settled goal. That is to say: they should strive, with all their strength and industry, not only to advance in literary studies, but also to form their life and their actions according to honourable and just principles and in this way to combine virtue with learning.]

Later on, when he mentions the good qualities of the recommended, the sender Jacob Printz returns to this image and also states that this young boy has goals in the same way as runners, and therefore he was loved by his teachers:

> *Proinde laude sua haudquaquam defraudandus est, Praesentium exhibitor, natalium, literarum et morum splendore commendabilis, Henricus Fremling, qui toto illo triennio, quo Regii hujus Gymnasii civis fuit,* ***hunc sibi semper praefixum habuit finem****, ut indies*

21 Nordin 67:13h.
22 Nordin 67:13e.
23 Nordin 67:13h.

in bonis literis moribusque proficeret, quare etiam ab omnibus suis praeceptoribus valde amatus fuit.

[In like manner the bringer of this letter, Henricus Fremling, should by no means be cheated of his merit; he is commendable by the dignity of birth, learning and character. During these three years during which he was a citizen of this Royal *gymnasium* **he always had this determined goal**, to advance in good literature and morals from day to day, and because of this he was also much loved by all of his teachers.]

The opening of the recommendation for Henrik Christopher Wrede from Reval, written by *rector gymnasii* Michael Sigismundi, takes the imagery even further by referring in a lengthy passage to the dangers that students must avoid, similar to those that sailors may encounter at sea:

Nautae vastissimum per mare navigantes, ne a cursu sibi praefixo aberrent, ad scopulos periculosissimos offendant, inque syrtes incidant, sed in portu tandem felicissime adpellant; pyxide magnetica satis caute utuntur, secundum quam cursum suum in latissimo Oceano instituunt diriguntque, ut locum sibi praestitutum, ejus beneficio, inveniant atque ad eum perveniant. Studiosa Juventus suum non minus studiorum habet cursum scopumque et, ne Musarum navicula in periculosos ignorantiae scopulos atque syrtes q[uasque] impingat, pyxide quasi nautica, optima, inquam, manuductione, Legibus Gymnasticis, laudabilibus consuetudinibus, bonis a vitiis dehortationibus, et ad Virtutes fidelium Praeceptorum adhortationibus, ei opus est, quae ipsi quoque satis superque ab his ob oculos ponuntur atque proponuntur; utinam modo diligenter ab eaq[uaque] observarentur! [24]

[In order not to deviate from their fixed route, not to dash against dangerous cliffs and not to fall upon perilous places at sea, but to arrive safely in port, sailors who sail the immense ocean, use the magnetic compass carefully enough, by means of which they find the right course on the wide ocean and with its help they navigate so that they find the determined place and arrive at it. The studious youth in the same manner and even more have their course and aim, and, lest the small ship of the Muses should strike into the dangerous cliffs and whatever perilous places set forth by ignorance, it is necessary for the studious youth to make use of a kind of compass, namely the best instruction, the laws of the *gymnasium*, praiseworthy customs, and the precepts they get from faithful teachers, viz. useful warnings against vice and encouragement to virtue. These things are also plainly and distinctly placed before the eyes of the youth by the teachers. Oh, how I wish that they would also be diligently observed by the youth!]

24 Nordin 67:13g.

Metaphors that depict the struggles of life as a voyage at sea were very popular in Neo-Latin writings during this period.[25] The imagery in all the letters follows the literary conventions found in the Neo-Latin of the times surprisingly well (and I ask the kind reader to compare what is observed on stylistic matters here with what is said in Hans Helander's contribution in this volume). One plausible reason why we find this ornamentation in letters of recommendation – whose main purpose it should be to stress the suitability of the recommended boy – is that the author of the letter wanted to make a rhetorical statement: the receiver, who is a person of higher (academic) status, would understand that this letter-writer knows how to express himself according to the stylistic goût of the times. Since every letter under analysis shows similar imagery it is tempting to assume that this was the usual way of writing in this genre and in this educational context.

In the earliest of the letters the line between official and private is blurred. It is sent in 1632 to then Vice-Chancellor (*rector*) of the university in Uppsala, Olaus Laurelius, from Jonas Benedicti Rudberus *amicus officiosissimus* who was a vicar in Lyrestad in the region of Västergötland. This letter stands out as it is obviously a request from a friend to a friend and for this reason it does not quite follow the same pattern as the other letters. The sender is an acquaintance of both the boy he recommends and the addressee, the university Vice-Chancellor Olaus Laurelius (who, by the way, was born in Lyrestad).[26] The sender ends the letter by saying: *Ex me conjugem vestram charissimam et liberos dulcissimos diligentissime salutatos percupio* (="I wish wholeheartedly that your dear wife and your lovely children should be greeted diligently from me"). I would say that a concluding phrase like this certainly gives the whole letter a feeling of intimacy and privacy by breaking the rules relating to official and public letters.

When it comes to the virtues of the schoolboys, there is little conformity among the different letters. No letter is like another in terms of what kind of virtues are attributed to the recommended. Here I provide a list of the words and phrases used in characterizing the traits of the schoolboys:

> **Sveno Gunnari** (Lyrestad 1632) is *pius*, *modestus*, *docilis* and *ex bonis et honestis parentibus* "pious, modest, docile, and from good and honest parents"
>
> **Johannes Arvidi Emporelius** (Köping 1678) is *honestus* and *doctus* "honest and learned"

25 Metaphors on life as navigation in Neo-Latin writings have been treated by Helander (2004, 501–510. Cf. Helander 2007, 100–101).

26 SBL s.v. 'Laurelius, Olaus'.

Johannes Pratenius and **Widichinnus Odenius** (Västerås 1691) are *ingenui*, *modesti* and *virtute sua promeruerunt* "noble, modest, and well deserved by their virtue"

Henricus Fremling (Viborg 1701) is *natalium, literarum et morum splendore commendabilis* "recommendable because of the splendour of his parentage, literary studies, and character"

Henricus Christopher Wrede (Reval 1708) is *pius*, *obediens*, *conformis legibus Gymnasii*, *a nobis examinatus, et non omnino incapax inidoneusque deprehensus* "pious, obedient, in agreement to the laws of the *gymnasium*, examined by us, and by no means incapable and appears not to be unsuitable"

Jonas Ullholm Wermlandus is a *pereximius juvenis* "a very excellent young man"

Johannes Gumaelius (Växjö 1745) has proven *vitae integritas* (to be of "blameless living").

A unifying trait in these descriptions of the boys is that the ability to conform and to follow the school rules is emphasized. To this the good qualities of parents and fathers are sometimes added as guarantee of the boys' suitability and ability to tackle higher studies. The curriculum which they were supposed to complete is alluded to in some of the letters, but there is never any mention of what matters comprise this curriculum or what the boys actually would have learned. It seems also important to some of the senders of the letters to mention how many years the boy stayed at school to underline the fact that he is not one of those ill-prepared boys that will embarrass their former school at the admission test. To conclude: by being good and obedient and pious pupils, by having good and moral parents, and by staying a certain number of years at the *gymnasium* or school, the schoolboys have shown themselves worthy to depart to the university and worthy of the letter of recommendation which they are granted.

It is worth noting that the letters often mention that it is the boy himself that has decided to leave school for higher studies; sometimes he appears to have been urged by family or friends (*consanguineis ejus constanter consentientibus, abitumque in Academias iterum iterumque urgentibus*[27] i.e. "all his compatriots persistently feel this way, and they urge his departure to the academy over and over again"). The senders describe the university as a more distinguished place for higher studies than school or *gymnasium*. The university is referred to as an academic community or state, *civitas*

27 Nordin 67:13g.

academica,[28] or as *optimarum literarum et artium officina*,[29] a workshop for the noblest studies and arts where the schoolboy will go from one *commilitium Musarum*,[30] a companionship of the Muses, to another. The schoolboy is going *ad palaestra ubi maiora et nobiliora tractantur exercitia*,[31] to a place of exercise where greater and nobler exercises are performed. By using such phrases the sender of the letter emphasizes the exclusive position of the university. The writer of the letter also expresses a desire that the boy he is recommending shall acquire learning and knowledge as diligently as possible there.[32]

The letters end with a prayer to the addressee, most often to the rector of the university that he shall take care of the recommended boy and show him *omnia favoris et benevolentiae signa*[33] ("all signs of favour and benevolence"). The boy is thus entrusted to the good hands of the rector, the university, and the professors. This is the case of the recommendation of the Estonian boy Henrik Christopher Wrede. The letter is addressed to a *lector benevolus* and ends:

> *Hinc nihil superest, quam mea officiosissima petitio: ut Excellentissimi et Clarissimi Domini Professores Accademici jam dictum Juvenem, sua informatione, favore, amore, patrocinioque haud dedignentur. Hocce ei exhibitum beneficium, Patronis, Promotoribus atque Evergetis ejus, pro viribus, statusque et dignitatis qualitate, retribuere, omnem lapidem est moturus.*[34]
>
> [Hence nothing remains other than my most humble petition: that the most excellent and illustrious gentlemen professors of the academy would not deny the already mentioned young man their instruction, favour, love and protection. He will surely turn every stone, according to his strength, his condition and his dignity, in order to reciprocate the kindness that he has thus received, in gratitude to his Patrons, Promotors and Benefactors.]

28 Nordin 67:13e.
29 Nordin 67:13h.
30 Nordin 67:13h.
31 Nordin 67:13i. Here, the noun *palaestra* is treated as a plural neuter, not as a noun in the feminine as expected. Cf. Souter (1949 [1996]), s.v. palaestrum.
32 Nordin 67:13g. See also Nordin 67:13k.
33 Nordin 67:13i.
34 Nordin 67:13g.

In short: the sender leaves the schoolboy in the university's charge and assures the receiver that the boy will behave.

It should be noted that the letters were not issued at the end of semesters, but as it appears at any time of the schoolyear (see *Table 1* above). This shows that there were no fixed rules at the time for when a schoolboy could leave to be registered at the university. As touched upon above it was essentially up to the schoolboy himself to decide when the transition should take place.

The time was short in almost all cases between the composing – or at least the signing of the letter of recommendation – and the registration of the student at the university. I have tried to trace the aspiring students in the registers of the universities of Uppsala and Lund. The boys were most often inscribed therein very shortly after the letters were issued. The two boys Johannes Pratenius and Widichinnus Odenius from Västerås were definitely the quickest: their letter of recommendation was signed on 19 December 1691 by the headmaster of the *gymnasium*, and only three days later, on 22 December they were both registered at Uppsala University.[35] The distance between Västerås and Uppsala is fairly short, about 80 kilometres, so there should have been no trouble for them to reach their destination in due time. The remaining boys whom I have been able to trace took seven days, 16 days, 19 days and finally two months to register at the university.

Conclusion

A letter of recommendation was sometimes a necessity for a schoolboy to carry with him in the transition to the next educational level. As I have tried to show, these letters were public, official documents which demonstrate rhetorical ornamentation typical for the time in which they were written, but which is unlikely to be found in recommendation nowadays. The moral virtues of the aspiring student are emphasized. The official character of the letters proved the boys' suitability for university studies, and by carrying a letter – a *testimonium* – despite it not explicitly having much to say about his abilities, guaranteed him membership in the *palaestra Musarum*.

35 Nordin 67:13k; *Uppsala Universitets matrikel* 1904, vol. 1, 344.

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Erland Sellberg

Disputations and Dissertations

From a contemporary perspective it would not be of surprise to state that academic culture is a part of a society's all-embracing culture and consequently will change with it, but viewed at the dawn of the early modern period, such a statement would need to be more balanced. Academic culture was–and of course still is–involved in renewing one or several élites. For a long time universities had been closely associated with the church, and although this connection remained after the Reformation it was bound to be unravelled in the Protestant countries. The process certainly was complicated in a way we now may have problems to understand.

The change in the wake of the Reformation meant that the medieval bounds to the church were called in question, and subsequently in Northern Europe the universities to varying degrees and at different speeds were more and more drawn under the influence of political rule. Even though the changes the universities underwent were great, the core of the academic culture, with lectures, disputations, and ceremonies, was basically the same or changed at a slower pace. The relation to the external world, the church, and the authorities did not automatically have impact on the inner life of the universities. Innovations sometimes occurred as a result of the influence of international academic life rather than because of domestic policy.

Naturally, it is also important to consider the varying situations of the different North-European universities. In particular the German universities were located in a number of different states while those in countries such as the Scandinavian ones were even in the 18th century few in number but obeyed a single authority. A German professor or student could more easily than a Swedish one move to another university for better conditions.

I will here briefly outline a few important developments in the medieval disputations up to the more modern ones. It needs, however, to be emphasized that much

more research is to be done before we can have a precise knowledge of the development and a decisive answer to the question of why these different steps were taken.

Ars Disputandi

Academic education from the Middle Ages up to early modern time was based on lectures and disputations. Lectures were the principal way for professors to instruct students, while disputations were the way the scholars could display knowledge and abilities, whatever these were supposed to be. On the surface the changes in the academic culture may seem difficult to recognize but over the long term they were substantial. The essential character of the disputations changed considerably over the centuries, and in quite different ways from what happened to the lectures. New forms of teaching mixed with practice developed, and at the early modern universities the students were defending or objecting to theses under the supervision of professors in *collegia* that reminds us of modern seminars.[1]

In accordance with the political and social development of Europe in the early modern time, the academic culture transformed differently from state to state; today it is impossible to speak about one specific academic culture even though there are many common features. The same can be said about the disputations. In some countries today there are hardly any disputations at all.

Nevertheless one important part of the early modern disputation has survived, the printed theses, and in a much-transformed shape it has become the core of modern academic life. A series of modifications has made the printed theses or *dissertation* into the modern doctoral thesis, in which the result of years of research is made public and which now is considered a necessary start of an academic career.

The disputation upon theses goes back in time and it was an important development when it became common to print these and make them public. For some time printed theses and more detailed and printed accounts were equally favoured. A more elaborated text, however, could also demonstrate the results of a complicated research process supposedly made by the author or his supervisor. This in turn highlights one of the most debated issues regarding the early modern dissertations, the question of

1 See Ulrich Schlegelmilch, 'Andreas Hiltebrands Protokoll eines Disputationscollegiums zur Physiologie und Pathologie (Leiden 1604)', in Marion Gindhardt, Hanspeter Marti & Robert Seidel, *Frühneuzeitliche Disputationen: Polyvalente Produktionsapparate gelehrten Wissens* (Böhlau Köln 2016), 49–88.

who was the actual author: the *praeses* (chairman, most commonly a professor), the respondent, or the two of them together.

How did the early modern disputations develop into the modern disputations on a substantial doctoral thesis? We do not know much about how the early modern oral disputations were actually carried out in practice but we do know quite well how they were supposed to be conducted. There are many studies that discuss what was known as an *ars* or *methodus disputandi*; Hanspeter Marti, for example, gives us a good picture of how the disputations probably were accomplished, in particular at German universities.[2]

We also need to extend such research to other countries. Obviously the early modern disputation culture was marked by the clash between the medieval and scholastic truth-directed oral performance with syllogisms as main method, and on the other hand a humanist dialogue including rhetorical features. Sometimes in textbooks the issue was raised concerning what the consequences for disputations would be of a ban on everything but syllogisms. Some authors even discussed situations where a method of syllogisms actually would be destructive or unsatisfactory. To make syllogisms a key to everything would mean a reduction of all scholarly debates to only an Aristotelian model of *demonstratio*. If you should deal with a subject where there was no single and obvious truth to be looked for, a dialectical method was considered more useful.[3]

In Sweden this clash was obvious although the traditional and medieval form mainly prevailed at least during the 17th century. In 1626 the rules of the university in Uppsala stipulated that the chairman (*praeses*) should briefly open the disputation and then give the floor to the opponents; obviously these should be more than one even if the number was not defined. They would each be allowed an hour to give arguments against the respondent and they were obliged do it *in forma syllogistica*, and they were also told not to interfere when the respondent tried to answer to the objections but to let him do so without being interrupted; the respondent, too, should in his rejection of the opponents' arguments keep to the logical forms.[4] Considering the fact that a disputation was not allowed to last for more than five hours at most we can

2 Hanspeter Marti, 'Disputation und Dissertation. Kontinuität und Wandel im 18. Jahrhundert', pp. 63–85 in Marion Gindhardt & Ursula Kundert (eds.), *Disputatio 1200–1800. Form, Funktion und Wirkung eines Leitmediums universitärer Wissenskultur* (Berlin 2010).

3 Joh. Conrad, Dannhawerus, *Idea boni disputatoris et malitiosi sophistae exhibens artificium, non solum rite et strategmatice disputandi …* (Argentorati 1632), pp. 21–24.

4 Claes Annerstedt, *Upsala universitets historia. Bihang I. Handlingar 1477–1654* (Upsala 1877), p. 274.

assume that there can have been no more than three or four opponents (sometimes separated as *ordinarii* and *extra ordinarii*).

The first Swedish University Vice-Chancellor, Johan Skytte, was known for his outspoken dislike of scholastic tradition and for his sympathies for Ramism. He had outlined a draft of rules for the university, in which he was less clear about syllogisms for the disputation but rather emphasized that the professor of logic should avoid wearying the students with too many syllogistic exercises. We may presume that the definite rules were a compromise between the theologians and the Chancellor.[5]

The most intriguing issue, however, is how the gradual enlargement from short theses-dissertations to elaborate and quite extensive dissertations was considered in view of the formal rules, and in what way this development affected the oral disputation. Olga Weijers supposes that the enlargement made it impossible for the respondent to read aloud the text or even a minor part of it. So, this enlargement from theses to longer or more modern dissertations must have forced the disputants to behave differently. The question is how, and at what pace.[6]

When the respondent had printed *corollaria* or adjoining theses–as a rule placed at the end of the dissertation–did he then respond to those? Often, however, *corollaria* were not at all or only very loosely related to the content of the dissertation, so the question remains what role the text really had for the disputation. The obvious conclusion is that the printed dissertation had become separate from the oral ceremony; it is difficult to imagine anything like the kind of discussion between a respondent and an opponent about the doctoral thesis' qualities that we have today. Even though there were no printed *corollaria* or other appended theses, we have to assume that the respondent at least orally produced such for the disputation.

We cannot fully understand what part the dissertations had in the early modern disputations. It would be difficult to assume that, despite the unaltered rules, the disputation ceremony was completely unchanged during these centuries, but as far as we know it remained surprisingly constant. It did not change at the same pace as the community *extra muros* did, and accordingly during the 18th century it increasingly lost its status and came to be poorly regarded. As a contrast the appreciation of the dissertation and similar kinds of learned treatises seemed to increase. Why could not the original correspondence between the oral disputation and the written theses remain?

5 Annerstedt, pp. 248–251.

6 Olga Weijers, *In search of the truth. A history of disputation techniques from antiquity to early modern times* (Brepols Turnhout 2013), p. 220.

What Constituted a Dissertation?

We must separate the length of a dissertation text from its quality. In Sweden sometimes the text could be a couple of theses of fewer than ten pages but usually the number of pages was greater, a couple of sheets of perhaps 16 to 32 pages and occasionally more. From the end of the 17th century there are some dissertations of around 100 pages or even more.

Up to the middle of the 17th century in Sweden the model of the old *artes* faculty prevailed, before the influence of the humanist learning culture gradually brought a change that had an impact not only on lectures but also on the content of dissertations. In the beginning of the century a typical dissertation would be about the nature of logic on four sheets (32 pages), and display the learned debate about different views on the subject, usually that of the Aristotelians and of the Ramists. The structure and disposition of the text followed closely the manner prescribed in important textbooks and treatises, and the conclusion would depend on what the respondent's professor had dictated. It is also easy to imagine what issues the respondent and his opponents had disputed and even what conclusions had prevailed.[7]

The printed dissertation could, in particular if it was a prestigious and ambitious work, make it possible for students to show off learning and abilities and to display such by footnotes and references to classical or contemporary literature. Yet we have also to consider for what reason it became possible and permitted for some students to spend considerable amounts of time exploring different subjects for their dissertations. In all likelihood the professors had not only allowed their disciples to do so, but they also must have encouraged it and sometimes even participated, to produce such an explosion of elaborated texts.

The increasing volume of dissertations worried the theologians, since it made the control of their content much more problematic. By the end of the 17th century some students and professors were producing dissertations of far above the customary extent, and the professors thought the burden to read and correct them was too onerous. However, if they did not have time to undertake a proper scrutiny they might overlook unsuitable passages on theological or political issues that might eventually lead to a governmental rebuke of the university. According to one of the prominent professors of Divinity such extensive texts would not be considered to be disserta-

7 In this case the professor preferred a Ramist view: Olaus Moretus (professor of logic)/Magnus Jonae (respondent), *De natura logicae* (Upsaliae 1626).

tions but extended bulky tracts and should not be allowed; he would only admit three or at most four sheets.[8]

In time it became more prestigious to write about scientific news, even though some professors and the authorities did not appreciate any change that made the supervision more difficult. In the end, however, they had to adapt to the rise of an international exchange of information on scientific or learned issues.

Of course, elaborated dissertations reveal more about the international standard of learning and science than the shorter ones, and sometimes a dissertation could also present information about new discoveries. In Sweden Linnaeus let his students defend dissertations in which he had elaborated his theories and in which he also presented what he had found out in his research. When professors and students in Sweden began to focus on Swedish regional history and on antiquarianism at the end of the 17th century, newly detected monuments and other similar discoveries were sometimes displayed in the dissertations. This approach was unusual: normally at this time in Sweden the dissertations might present a debate between different scholars about issues such as the discussion about pygmies and gypsies and their language, or display how the ancient writers had discussed an intricate political or military question.[9]

Let us take an example. One of the professors during the 18th century in Uppsala was Anders Grönwall (1671–1758), who today is not remembered as an important scholar but yet was one of the first to introduce contemporary news and topics to his students. In his youth he had accompanied and tutored young noblemen abroad. Back home he received a professorship in ethics in Uppsala. When lecturing he sometimes read from international scientific journals about what had happened in the learned world at the European universities, and he also included news on politics. He displayed concern for the Swedish church in North America and he also told his students about contemporary Persia. Such news from the academic lectern was, under the tutorship of Grönwall, later transformed by his students into elaborated dissertations. Grönwall's interest in Persia was illustrated in several dissertations and in one of those there was a discussion about the rough treatment of the inhabitants in what was named Pasargadae but must have been Persepolis.

Even though the 145 dissertations under the chairmanship of Grönwall overall demonstrate the transformation of the content and structure of the dissertations

8 Annerstedt, Bihang II (Uppsala 1910), p. 333.

9 Benny Jacobsson's doctoral thesis *Den sjunde världsdelen. Västgötar och Västergötland 1646–1771* (With a summary in English, Stockholm 2008) gives detailed information about the process behind this kind of dissertation on local history, see in particular pp. 211–257.

from an older liberal arts form to a modern style with more elaborated and historical subjects, some also reveal an elementary research process. In 1730 a student who had chosen to write about gypsies did not confine himself only to what his professor had read from journals about the history and culture of gypsies but he took the opportunity to undertake research of his own. He knew that in the town prison there was a gypsy whom he wanted to interview in order to get answers to complex questions.

We do not know how he got the opportunity to visit the prisoner or the reason for the man's imprisonment but in the dissertation the author refers to his encounter with the gypsy in order to argue for his or his professor's view about Romani. This significant language could according to the dissertation be a decisive touchstone of the heritage of gypsies, an issue that was much debated among the contemporary learned. The visit to the prison was made to confirm the opinion that Romani was a real language and accordingly its users were a special people or tribe of a significant lineage that presumably had its origin in Africa.

We may consider such an impulsive field study naive in its lack of any sophisticated linguistic method, yet it was an example of an enterprising student looking for anything that could give him reason to reject some widespread views on a particular issue and corroborate others.[10]

The Dissertation as a Booklet

While the oral disputation was covered by several precise and tightly prescribed rules, there was a conspicuous informality regarding the dissertation. The dean of the faculty, however, had to permit a student to defend his theses; in practice it gave him the power to give permission for them to be printed. For private disputations, however, the rules prohibited theses to be printed, so we can assume that in the middle of the 1620s it was considered normal for a public disputation to be undertaken on printed theses.

Accordingly there was no official instruction about the design of the printed theses or dissertations in contrast with the very explicit regulations that prescribed the procedure of the disputations. It was the disputation that mattered for the formal grades. Traditionally there were two basic types of disputation, the private one and the one *pro loco* that normally meant "for a chair or another profession" but which in the Swedish rules rather intended *pro gradu*. According to the rules a student who wanted to receive a master's degree had to make two compulsory disputations, one

10 Erland Sellberg, 'Två dissertationer och en akademisk kultur i förvandling', in Johnny Hagberg (ed.) '*... dessa synnerligen otacksamma främlingar ...*' (Skara 2016), pp. 15–22, esp. p. 19f.

pro exercitio and one *pro gradu*, but in neither case was anything stipulated about the dissertation.

Notwithstanding, a custom for how a dissertation should look soon developed. The front page should promulgate the title, display what faculty had permitted it to be discussed, where and when the disputation was meant to take place and under whose presidium or chairmanship, and by whom it was submitted and would be defended. Even though these ingredients were prescribed there was an astonishing variety of how this information was actually expressed. Sometimes the professor seems to have set his own standard regarding how it should be worded, and sometimes students from a particular nation used similar words and expressions.

These significant traits in Sweden are usually similar to those in other countries. In addition, there were often announced some important persons to whom the respondent had dedicated his work: he had to pay his tribute of gratitude to those who had given him the means to pay the printer's invoice.[11]

We may wisely here pass over the intricate question about authorship: it is easier and correct to state that we in many cases cannot with certainty say who it is, the *praeses* or the respondent. Considering the fact that the students were mostly aiming at the cloth, it is of no surprise that most dissertations were dedicated to bishops or other prominent clergymen. Young noblemen respondents mainly dedicated their work to the king or to other members of the Royal council or other leading men of peerage. During the 18th century sons of merchants or the gentry addressed dedications to these new social groups. Often the respondent's parents or at least his father were included among those given tribute.

Following the dissertation text fellow students quite often had attached letters of congratulation, epigrams, or more ornate poems, mostly in Latin, sometimes in Greek and during the 18th century even in vernacular. Professors or other teachers could also join the congratulators. All in all, such attached texts are important sources in giving a complete picture of academic culture. In Sweden the student nations were important and by these attached texts it is possible to observe how the professors and the students of a certain nation were connected to each other. Obviously such social links were more important than which disciplines the students were interested in or the professors had responsibility for.

Occasionally there was also a preface that led into the dissertation, and which may give interesting information about the relation between *praeses* and respondent and, furthermore, about the research and writing process. Normally, however, the prefaces

11 Hanspeter Marti, 'Dissertationen', pp. 293–312 in Ulrich Rasche (hg.), *Quellen zur früneuzeitlichen Universitätsgeschichte. Typen, Bestände, Forschungsperspektiven* (Wiesbaden 2011).

were merely eloquent performances that added little or nothing to the understanding of the dissertation.

An exception to this was the preface of a dissertation that evidently was written by its respondent, a young student from the south of Sweden. The disputation on moral philosophy took place in 1700 in Uppsala. At first glance there is nothing extraordinary with the dissertation *De fine*, which consists of 40 pages of text, but it contains two substantial prefaces of 14 pages in total, a shorter one for the respondent's brother and a more extensive one for the reader.[12]

The latter is unusual not only for its length. It is apologetic and without the traditional eloquence, but it is primarily how it relates the background of the writing process that makes it extremely interesting. The respondent tells the readers that it had taken him nine years to reach his goal to dispute about a matter of utmost importance to him. He had started by studying classical philology but, struck by an unknown illness, he had been forced to redirect his life. He had realised the shortness of it and the necessity of considering the afterlife. He admits that he had intended to become a priest but that during his studies he had realised how very little not only he himself but also all theologians and clergymen actually knew about what was of real importance. According to him this understanding had made him address the duties of all Christians in his disputation.

His studies of the human end and all duties preceding it led him to the ancient philosophers and in particular the stoics, and the preface relates how he soon had comprehended that the contemporary Swedes systematically had chosen the wrong way; instead of focusing on ethical issues they had been engaged in controversial theology and confessional issues. In order to avoid following their bad example he had dedicated himself to study the foundation of natural theology and had he had more time he would have been able to write much more, but his professor had forced him to confine himself.

We have reason to assume that such kind of censorship had made the content of the dissertation acceptable for an *imprimatur*, and that the prefaces were added after that. In any case, the preface to the readers aroused a professor of the Divinity faculty who wanted the disputation to be cancelled.

There is no need to enter further into the details of this disputation but the episode demonstrates that the prefaces, the dedicatory texts, the congratulatory letters, and the poems are important sources in order fully to understand the social networks in the academies and the intricate relations between professors, patrons outside the

12 Joh. Esbergius (*praeses*)/Joh. Robeck (resp.), *De fine* (Upsaliae 1700).

academy, and students. It also reveals that a student who personally wanted to become totally absorbed in an issue could do so for a very long time but that the control system worked, and in this case reduced his planned wide-ranging dissertation to something that did not make the author satisfied.

Readers *Extra Muros*

At the end of the 17th century the modern research dissertations were heralded. During the 18th century the variations of quality, type, and extent of dissertations were numerous. There are research dissertations with references, learned and extensive treatises, but also extremely short texts without any ambition to say something of interest; furthermore there are examples of more or less obvious reusing or even copying of somebody else's dissertation.

The professors realised that in the clash between ambitious students and the high cost of preparing an extensive dissertation there was an opportunity to make money. The most famous example was Petrus Ekerman, professor of rhetoric in Uppsala, who over a period of more than 40 years in the middle of the 18th century was chairman for more than 500 disputations. How many of these dissertations he actually wrote is difficult to say, but he became sensationally well off, and he was considered by his colleagues and students to have made most of his wealth by helping respondents to produce dissertations.[13]

Ekerman was not unique but was certainly the most prolific in this respect: from time to time a professor would write a dissertation or at least did much of the work outlining the content. Such had been the case from the very beginning of printed dissertations. However, when they became elaborated and made in to booklets of 50 or even 100 pages, they were also the result of a substantial preparation. Even if the professors did not actually write or dictate the dissertations they became involved in a way that reminds us of modern supervisors. All this signified a change of the content and of the position dissertations eventually would attain. When research was expected to be made in libraries, in archives, or in the landscape or nature, the preliminaries would make the dissertation more important and accordingly lessen the prominence of the disputation.

We may suppose that the disputations in Sweden were performed in the same way as at most German universities and also according to the same manuals. Apart from the standard problems of authorship, we still have to address the puzzle why some students spent a lot of time and money on elaborating an extensive and printed dis-

13 Bo Lindberg, *De lärdes modersmål* (Gothenburg Studies of Science and Ideas 5, 1984), pp. 46f.

sertation without any obvious reason when they could get by with producing just a few pages.

Ewald Horn has observed the increasing stock of printed and ambitious dissertations, and he assumed that they were a way for students to demonstrate to parents and other benefactors that their support had not been wasted.[14] Another possible answer could be that such an impressive dissertation would render the respondent or perhaps even the professor more prestige also *extra muros* than would a thin one. We know that at the end of the 18th century the universities began to appreciate that their professors had published books; such scholarly works were prestigious and they gave credit not only to their authors but to the universities too. There are examples that students used their dissertations as documents of qualification when applying for positions.[15]

The dissertations did not remain solely part of the local academic community; they went abroad and if the content was of interest they might end up in important libraries. We have to assume that such a new meaning of a *res publica literaria* increased the desire to spend time and money on writing ambitious dissertations. Such enticement would certainly attract even professors. In the medieval town the university had demonstrated its status by holding grand public ceremonies such as impressive processions. Now the university gradually gained a different, greater, and much wider community by other means. A famous and prolific professor became desirable in a large learned *res publica*.

A consequence of such promotion of the dissertation genre and at the same time degradation of the disputation gave rise to reforms in most countries during the 19th century. In Sweden a reform in 1852 stipulated that only the respondent should write the dissertation, and, secondly, that neither the disputation nor the dissertation needed to be in Latin, and, thirdly, that the traditional demand for a logically performed disputation was at last formally removed.

Maybe the most significant consequence of this reform was not that it made the dissertation more important but that the scrutiny of its content and scientific value was undertaken at a new style of disputation ceremony, where the respondent would

14 Ewald Horn, *Die Disputationen und Promotionen an den deutschen Universitäten vornehmlich seit dem 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig 1893), p. 22f.

15 This was something delicate considering the fact that the authorship of a dissertation always was a matter of uncertainty. See Annerstedt, Bihang IV, p. 331f. See also Peter Josephson, 'Publicitetens politiska ekonomi. Introduktionen av skriftställarskap som merit vid tyska universitet 1750–1810 (With a summary: The Political economy of publicity. Publication history as an academic merit in German universities, 1750–1810)', in *Lychnos* (Annual of the Swedish History of Science Society) 2014, pp. 81–104.

stand alone without support of a *praeses* or–in modern terminology–a supervisor. The faculty should in advance elect an opponent but the respondent should also be entitled to choose his own opponents. The two or three opponents should all be given time to prepare their examination of the dissertation, which subsequently would be the ground for the faculty's professors to pass their judgement on the dissertation and on the respondent.

Bo Lindberg

Early Modern Academic Lectures in Sweden

Not much research has been done on the early modern academic lecture.[1] Until the advent of the Humboldt University of Berlin, the typical genre of university teaching was the disputation, which includes the process of question and answer. The disputation is not only a symbol of the premodern university but is also regarded as the origin of Western scientific method, hence it has attracted the interest of researchers of early modern universities, especially since it has left a huge source material from the early modern period, i.e. the dissertations that invite the study of various aspects of university culture.[2] Lectures on the other hand lack the dynamic and sometimes dramatic qualities of disputations and seem more mundane; besides, the extant sources from them are not so abundant. Research on lectures is therefore scarce, with the important exception of editions of lectures given by famous scholars. The everyday practice of lecturing has met with little attention.[3]

In Swedish libraries, however, there are a significant number of notes emanating from lectures and private *collegia* from the early modern period: almost 800 are

1 There is a valuable chapter in William Clark, *Academic Charisma and the Rise of the Research University* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press 2006), pp. 33–67.

2 See the two anthologies *Disputatio 1200–1800. Form, Funktion und Wirkung eines Leitmediums universitärer Wissenschaften*, eds. U. Kundert & M. Gindhart (Berlin 2010) and *Frühneuzeitliche Disputationen. Polyvalente Produktionsapparate gelehrten Wissens*, eds. M Gindhart, H. Marti and R. Seidel (Köln, Weimar & Wien 2015).

3 The anthology *Quellen zur frühneuzeitlichen Universitätsgeschichte. Typen, Bestände, Forschungsperspectiven*, ed. U. Rasche (Wiesbaden 2011) has no chapter on lectures. On the other hand, monographs in the history of learning may contain valuable information, for example Christine M. Shepard, *Philosophy and Science in the Arts Curriculum of the Scottish Universities in the 17th century* (University of Edinburgh 1975) and Dirk van Miert, *Humanism in an Age of Science: The Amsterdam Athenaeum in the Golden Age, 1632–1704* (Boston, Leiden: Brill 2009).

registered in the university libraries of Uppsala and Lund and the National Library of Stockholm,[4] and have prompted me to look into the phenomenon of academic lecturing in Sweden.[5] The present article reports results from the early modern period, focusing on the decades from 1680 to 1730, when the important transition from Latin to Swedish took place.[6]

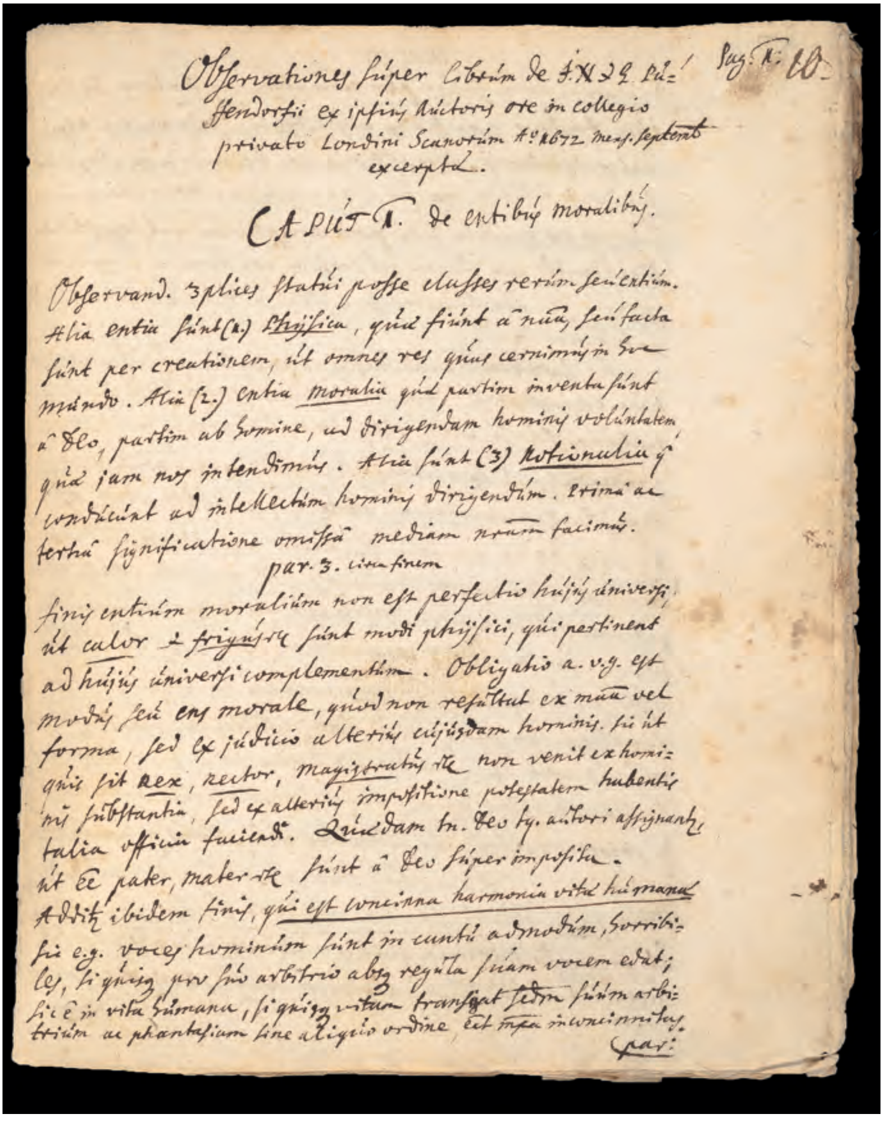
The lecture texts are usually bound in contemporary pasteboard volumes in quarto, several in each volume. There are three kinds of texts: 1) the manuscripts of the professor; 2) notes taken by students and 3) copies of such notes. The first category is scarce and not easily identified. Comments expressing pleasure in seeing the students again, reminding them of what was discussed the previous semester or indicating how the forthcoming lecture series will be disposed may indicate that it is a professor's manuscript, but not unequivocally, and the mere presence of the first person – I, we etc. – is a far from a sufficient criterion. The second category, the notes taken by the students, occurs more frequently. The most numerous, however, are probably the copies of notes. Copying is likely to have been the normal way of getting access to the contents of a discipline. This means that that many lecture texts would have been used by students who did not attend the lecture. An example is the collection of notes from lectures delivered by Samuel Pufendorf, then professor at the University of Lund, on his famous books on natural law, *De jure naturae et gentium* (1672) and *De officio hominis et civis* (1673), which he published in Lund. The notes suggest closeness to the original lectures, those on *De jure* claiming to be taken "from the mouth of the author himself" and those on *De officio* reported as originating from the public lectures of the author himself.[7] However, references to later texts by Pufendorf reveal that the texts were written about 15 years later by a scholar in Uppsala who had probably got hold of notes taken by students present in Lund when the lectures were given. The person in question was probably Jacob Troilius, a sedulous copyist who left

4 To these should be added medical lectures in the Hagströmer Library in Stockholm and smaller collections in the University Library of Helsinki and various libraries in the old diocesan cities in Sweden.

5 Bo Lindberg, *Den akademiska läxan. Om föreläsningens historia* (Stockholm: Royal Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities 2017).

6 Which explains why Linnaeus is not dealt with here.

7 Observationes super librum de I N & G Puffendorfii ex ipsius Auctoris ore in collegio privato Londini Scanorum A.o 1672 Mens. Septemb 1672 and Observationes in libellum Sam: Pufendorfi de officio hominis et civis ex publicis lectionibus ipsius Auctoris. Februari 11 1673. Ms B 399 National Library. Edited with commentary by Bo Lindberg, *The Pufendorf Lectures. Annotations from the Teaching of Samuel Pufendorf 1672–1674* (Stockholm: Royal Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities 2014).



Observationes super librum de J.N.&G. Pu=fendorfii ex ipsius Auctoris ore in collegio privato Londini Scanorum A°. 1672 mens. septemb. excerpta. Pag. 1. 10.

CAPUT I. de entibus moralibus.

Observand. 3plices statui posse classes rerum seu entium. Alia entia sunt (1.) Physica, quae fiunt a natura, seu facta sunt per creationem, ut omnes res quas cernimus in hoc mundo. Alia (2.) entia moralia quae partim inventa sunt a Deo, partim ab homine, ad dirigendam hominis voluntatem, quae jam nos intendimus. Alia sunt (3) Notionalia q conducunt ad intellectum hominis dirigendum. Primâ ac tertiâ significatione omissâ mediam nostram facimus.

par. 3. circa finem

finis entium moralium non est perfectio hujus universi, ut calor & frigus etc sunt modi physici, qui pertinent ad hujus universi complementum. Obligatio a. v.g. est modus seu ens morale, quod non resultat ex natura vel forma, sed ex judicio alterius cujusdam hominis. Sic ut quis sit Rex, rector, magistratus etc non venit ex homini substantia, sed ex alterius impositione potestatem habentis talia officia faciend. Quaedam tn. Deo tq. autori assignant, ut ee pater, mater etc sunt a Deo super imposita. Addit ibidem finis, qui est concinna harmonia vitae humanae. Sic e.g. voces hominum sunt in cantu admodum horribiles, si quisq pro suo arbitrio absq regula suam vocem edat; sic e in vita humana, si quisq vitam transigat secundum suum arbitrium ac phantasiam sine aliquo ordine, esset maxima inconcinnitas.

par:

The first page of the notes from Pufendorf's lectures on De jure naturae et gentium.

a great number of manuscripts after him. The handwriting in at least some of them resembles that in the Pufendorf lectures.

The Pufendorf lectures are extant only in one copy; of others, there are numerous copies. In fact, almost 20% of the extant lecture texts from Uppsala and Lund are available in several versions. Lectures delivered by influential professors in the decades around 1700 on the human body, Swedish law, Swedish poetry, and Swedish history are extant in about ten versions each. Later on in the 18th century, copies of Linnaeus' lectures on dietetics are even more frequent. Copies may have been made decades after the lecture was delivered. To decide which of the copies is the original taken during the actual lecture and arrange the others in genealogical tree is a challenge in textual criticism on which I have not embarked.

Practical and material circumstances

Several questions remain to be answered concerning the production of lecture notes.[8] What were the writing facilities? Did they have ink and paper? Did they use slates? Were there desks to write on? In 1691, a book on shorthand writing was published in Sweden, recommending its use when listening to lectures and *collegia*, but I have seen no mention of the technique having been used.[9] Light and heating were problems during winter; there seems to have been no heating of the lecture halls until about 1800. Fingers, it is reported, were numbed when the students wrote their Latin compositions. Conditions were probably better in the private *collegia*, which often took place in the house of the professor, with smaller audiences and better heating.

Much depended on the method of lecturing. Lecturing is reading, both etymologically and in reality. How was that done? Dictating, i.e. reading the text slowly in order to facilitate the taking of notes, was frequent in the Middle Ages and it seems to have been quite often practised in Germany long into the early modern period.[10] The statutes of Uppsala University of 1626 pointed out the difficulty of students in

8 It is difficult to get positive answers on these questions. See Ann Moss, 'Note taking as an art of transmission', *Chicago Journals* no. 1 autumn 2004, p. 6; Antony Grafton, 'Teacher, text, and pupil in the renaissance class room', *History of Universities* 1:1981.

9 Åke Rålamb, *Tacheographia eller kånst at skrifva så fort som man talar* (Upsaliae 1690).

10 *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte I: 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert. Von der Renaissance und der Reformation bis zum Ende der Glaubenskämpfe*, hg. von N. Hammerstein (München 1996), p. 268; *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte II: 18. Jahrhundert. Vom späten 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Neuordnung Deutschlands um 1800*, hg. von N. Hammerstein & U. Herrmann (München 2005), pp. 38, 385; William Clark, *Academic charisma*, pp. 86 sq.

following dictation and allowed it only for short summaries.[11] Still, it happened that lectures were given *ad* or *in calamum*, i.e. for the pen. Johannes Schefferus, leading professor in Uppsala, boasted of the Swedish instruction to avoid dictating; nevertheless he offered to read a work in progress *in calamum*.[12] It seems, however, that dictating, in a strong sense of the word, was rare. Notes taken by different students during the same lecture on the same day differ in details, which they are not likely to do, had the text been dictated. Most students who attended lectures and did not rely on reading copies probably had to take their notes *currente calamo*, with running pen, as the term was. Co-operation was practised; an oration from 1698 recommends as a good example of comradeship that students compare their annotations afterwards; what one friend may have missed is grasped by another, and together they will catch the whole lecture.[13] Such co-operation combined with a fairly slow speed, sometimes approaching dictation, in delivering the lectures may explain why the extant lecture texts are fairly coherent in disposition and syntax. They may be interrupted and reproduce only parts of the full lecture series, but the grammar is mostly correct and there are full sentences. Still, comments in the titles of some lecture texts indicate the frustration of note takers: "only perfunctorily taken down", "short and tumultuary annotations of what could be followed by the pencil", [14] "just a little", "incidentally noted", "collected", "picked out".[15]

The last word, picked out (*excerptae*) is reminiscent of the rather elaborate method of reading text that was developed by Renaissance humanists. *Ars excerpendi* was the art of, when reading a text, arranging quotations, short digestions and comments under appropriate headings (*loci* or *tituli*) to make the fruits of one's reading easily available. The method was for reading but theoretically applicable to listening too. That connection to lecture notes does not seem to have been made, however. The

11 The statutes are rendered in Claes Annerstedt, *Upsala universitets historia*, appendix with sources, 1, p. 276.

12 Schefferus, *Lectionum academicarum liber* (Hamburgi & Amstelodami 1675), preface, and the Catalogus praelectionum … Academiae upsaliensis … 1666: "quod sub manu habet iuris naturae breviarium studebit absolvere ac publicum in calamum dictare."

13 Carolus Brander, *De optimo convictu civium academicorum oratio* (Stockholm 1698), p. 19: "Quo fiet, ut nihil sit eorum quae dicta sunt, quod non, si non singuli, tandem omnes exceperint."

14 "Perfunctorie tantum notatum" (Arrhenius 1706, National Library X 727); "brevis et tumultuaria consignatio eorum quae sub pralectionibus … calamo assequi potuit" (Drossander 1684, National Library X 33).

15 "obiter", "pauca", "notabilia", "carptim collectae", "excerptae".

lecture genre was neglected in this fairly advanced humanist effort to facilitate the appropriation of texts.[16]

Better conformity between what was said from the lectern and written down by students could be established if the professor handed out his own manuscript to be copied; however, I have not found a clear example of that until the end of 18th century. At the University of Åbo in Finland in the 1660s they seem to have practised an unsophisticated mode of preparation for examinations in that selected passages from the lectures pertaining to the examination were copied and distributed.[17]

Handwritten sources may raise expectations of individual features in the text – caricatures of the lecturer or personal comments. The lecture texts lack such elements, however. The reason is, I gather, that they were intended to be read by others than the one who attended the lecture. Obviously, the lecture texts were a substitute for textbooks, and in that function they were expected to be impersonal and neutral. Until the latter part of the 18th century, books were expensive, except for the most elementary grammars and compendia of Lutheran dogmatics. The infrastructure for book production was weak in Sweden, with few printers, few booksellers, and few buyers. More advanced books were printed abroad, except volumes of patriotic interest. The relative scarcity of books may explain why there are so many lecture texts in our libraries, and would explain why lecture texts are more frequent in Sweden than elsewhere.

Private *collegia*

The lecture catalogue announced what lectures the professors intended to deliver during the academic year. The catalogue also indicated quite briefly the private teaching the professors intended to offer. The meaning of the words "public" and "private" was primarily economic, saying nothing about the number of the audience. Public lectures were free of charge, private *collegia* not. Private teaching was an important source of income for the ill-paid professors; some of them gave several *collegia* every day. For students, *collegia* were a substantial part of the teaching they attended. The student Petrus Rudberg, who put together the costs for his studies in Uppsala around 1720, attended *collegia* in seven disciplines plus private instruction in Latin composition at a cost of 117 *dalers* in copper (surpassed, however, by the expenses of 246 *dal-*

16 Schefferus mentions by the way that excerpting is possible also when listening. *De stylo* (Upsaliae 1665), p. 127.

17 *Consistori academici aboensis protocoller* vol. I (1654–1664), ed. A.G. Fontell (Helsingfors 1887), pp. 435–436.

ers in connection with printing, defence, and celebration of his thesis).[18] Attending private teaching was helpful, if not necessary, for successful studies. Another reason to attend was to show one's respect for a future examiner who might be negatively disposed if his teaching was neglected; that strategy applied also to private *collegia*.[19]

For poor students, private teaching was a problem. Professors were recommended not to charge poor students, and it seems that there was some concern for the *pauperes*, a category of students well known since the Middle Ages. Obviously, however, students of small means had to abstain from attending much teaching. They started following a series of *collegia* but often had to back out. Olof Rudbeck, leading professor in Uppsala, thought that by improving the teaching of aristocratic exercises – riding, fencing, dancing, modern languages – the university would attract well-off students who could pay for private tutoring; this would make it possible to offer free teaching to the poor.[20] Students of noble origin did frequent the university and obviously increased the income of professors, but there is no indication that this solution recommended by Rudbeck – interesting as a testimony of the socio-academic dilemma as it is – was turned into explicit policy.

The status of private *collegia* was somewhat unclear. Public lectures had a slightly official character; it was in the public lectures, announced in the printed catalogue, that the professors presented their discipline. Strictly speaking, giving *collegia* was the task of the adjuncts, the teachers below the rank of professors, for whom the private teaching was absolutely necessary for survival. From that point of view, private *collegia* would be expected to be elementary, consisting of propaedeutic exercises or in repetition. On the other hand, the notes taken during *collegia* do not usually differ from those from public lectures. In fact more source texts are labelled *collegia* notes than lecture notes. The distinction between *collegia* and *lectiones* is not upheld in the source texts; to the student who copied notes it was of little importance if they originated in private or public teaching. From other sources where professors report what kind of teaching they have undertaken, it appears that the *collegia* opened opportunities to teach practical, experimental and demonstrative moments and sometimes to deepen the teaching. Homiletics, application of law paragraphs, observations of the stars, and botanical excursions all suited the more informal *collegia*; in addition,

18 Ms A 475, National Library.

19 See for instance the memoirs of Anders Rhyzelius, commenting the preparations for his *examen rigorosum* in 1706. *Anteckningar om mitt Lefverne*, ed. J. Helander (Stockholm 1909), pp. 43–45.

20 Bref af Olof Rudbeck d.ä. rörande Upsala universitet, ed. C. Annerstedt, in *Upsala universitets årsbok* 1905, p. 285.

some professors would assemble advanced students to élite *collegia* for qualified exercises. Beside this, there were *collegia disputatoria* given by professors, where the material presented in public lectures was repeated in the form of theses to be discussed *pro et contra*.

Finally, the *collegia* were apparently the arena where the first attempts to teach in Swedish occurred.

Language

The transition from Latin to the vernacular as the language of scholars is a truly decisive change in early modern academic culture, not least because we are experiencing the reversed process today when English is taking over more and more in Swedish academic teaching. In principle, the university was a Latin institution all through. During the 17th century all texts produced officially should be in Latin; the minutes from the academic senate were the only exception. Teaching too was in Latin. Already in the late 1600s however, passages in Swedish begin to appear in the notes manuscripts from *collegia*. Gradually they spread to lectures during the first decades of the 18th century, and the transition to the Swedish vernacular as lecture language seems to have been completed around 1740, with some exceptions. (At least as far as the sources can tell; lectures in Latin may have continued longer but not have been saved for posterity because they were less understandable.)

A pioneer was the aforementioned Olof Rudbeck, who taught practical mathematics in Swedish in the 1660s and shocked his colleagues in 1677 when he issued a printed invitation to an anatomical dissection in Swedish. The texts from these events are extant. It does not seem that he had immediate followers. In the 1680s, however, passages in Swedish appear in the notes, not in those on philosophy, theology and philology, but in those on other disciplines and topics. Swedish passages appear in notes on law, understandably since the jurists commented on the interpretation on Swedish legislation, and on medicine. Further, they occur in topics that were new and therefore seemingly attractive: Swedish language and poetry, Swedish history, Cartesian physics, contemporary political geography. Notes from the teaching of sciences, which were less bookish and where demonstrations of instruments, experiments, and excursions were frequent, were probably prone to admit Swedish as well; there are no examples available to confirm that. A subject of interest was apparently sex: passages on the function of the sexual organs are often in Swedish, and there is a text entirely

in Swedish on human reproduction, describing its procedure and giving advice to the students who were probably an interested audience.[21]

Normally, however, the manuscripts around 1700 show a mixture of Latin and the Swedish vernacular. They switch code, as the linguists say, either between longer passages or within sentences. Here is an example from physics, where the professor criticizes the scholastic explanation of heat, preferring the Cartesian explanation.

> **Quid igitur est calor? Dicunt est qualitas ignis per quam agit. Ubi consistit illa qualitas? Respondent in forma. Quid est forma?** *Jag wet aldrig hwad det är. Men, gåde herrar, jag behöfver intet en sådan* **forma**, *jag ser at iagh kan warma mig då iagh gnuggar samman händerna eller gnuggar på ett kläde; där af ser jag den* **calor** *består bara i* **agitatione**.[22]

On whose initiative did these passages in Swedish enter the lecture notes? Did the professor change code or was it the students who, when reviewing their annotations after the lecture, mixed the languages? Only one professor, Petrus Lagerlööf, who lectured on Swedish language and poetry in the 1690s, explicitly declared that he would lecture in Swedish because of the topic.[23] In 1708, the professor of astronomy demonstrated in public lectures the use of instruments in Swedish, which attracted many listeners. I have not found a decisive answer to the question who started it. It is clear, however, that academic teachers became more willing to use Swedish around the turn of the century, at least in the private *collegia*. Surreptitiously, the Swedish language infiltrated academic teaching.[24]

The transition to Swedish in lecturing is not necessarily surprising; it took place elsewhere too about the same time, perhaps for different causes.[25] In the Swedish

21 Collegium anatomicum, ms N 609, Uppsala University Library, edited by Gunnar Broberg in *Svenska Linnésällskapets årsskrift* 2009.

22 Andreas Drossander, Collegium physicum experimentale, p. 98, ms X 727, National Library. The Swedish reads: "I do not know what it is. However, gentlemen, I do not need such a **forma**. I see that I can warm myself when rubbing my hands or rub a cloth; from that I gather that **calor** consists ***in agitatione*** only."

23 Collegium ... de ornatu linguae patriae, 1691; ms R 17, National Library (The collegium exists in several versions.)

24 Annerstedt, II:2, p. 301.

25 For a discussion of German universities, and the role of Christian Thomasius, see Jürgen Schiewe, 'Von Latein zu Deutsch, von Deutsch zu English. Gründe und Folgen des Wechsels von Wissenschaftssprachen', in F. Debus, F.G. Kollman & U. Pörksen (Hg.), *Deutsch als Wissenschaftssprache im 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart 2000).

case, one can point at the emergence of economy and mechanical issues and topics for which there was no Latin tradition; secondly the patriotic endeavour to cultivate the Swedish language; thirdly the crumbling of the Swedish empire around 1720 that diminished the need for diplomatic and representative Latin in the European theatre, especially as French was replacing Latin in that theatre. These are all important factors, but I think the main cause was the difficulty of the students to follow lectures in Latin. At least the breakthrough of Swedish after 1720 was obviously promoted by the experience that all students did not manage to follow teaching in Latin. Obviously, as can be seen in orations, dissertations, and also to some extent in lecture notes, many students with good schooling from the *gymnasia* acquired an advanced ability to use the Latin language during their studies. But not all students were well prepared by school, and even if they were, lack of means forced many students to interrupt or shorten their stay at the universities. Under the polished Latin surface of printed oratory and poetry, dissertations, academic programmes, and lecture catalogues, the capability in Latin was not that stable.[26]

There was never any formal permission to lecture in Swedish; only cautious recommendations indicate the Latin retreat, such as the suggestion to facilitate studies by short introductions in Swedish to the lecture series, or limiting the demands on Latin competence of freshmen to the ability to translate into Swedish.[27] From one point of view this was indicative of ignorance or laziness on the part of the students but it was also an indication of an increasing confidence in the academic world in the vernacular as a suitable means to communicate relevant knowledge.

Forms and contents of teaching

The extant notes do not differ very much in their form. As mentioned before, notes from teaching based on experiments or excursions are absent during the decades around 1700; normally the notes reflect teaching based on written texts. However, one can discern various methods of teaching that reflect basically three stages in the

26 It would seem that difficulties in following lectures in Latin was a wide-spread phenomenon at early modern European universities. For the Dutch case, see Dirk van Miert, *Humanism in an Age of Science: The Amsterdam Athenaeum in the Golden Age, 1632–1704* (Leiden & Boston: Brill 2009), p. 139.

27 'Oförgripelige tankar' delivered by the Senate of the University of Lund 1723, ms National Archives, Kanslerämbetets för Lunds universitets arkiv, F II:3.

development of academic teaching: disputation, commentary, and teaching guided by (*ad ductum*) a certain printed book.

The disputation, with its medieval tradition, was a teaching genre in itself, practised regularly on Wednesdays and Saturdays, according to the university statutes. It was a dominant method of intellectual discourse; therefore it is not surprising that it affected the lecturing too in that the subject matter often was presented in the form of questions, to which the professor gave the answer. Some manuscripts are titled *collegium disputatorium* and consists of questions that have been discussed, with the answers indicated with yes (*affirmatur*), no (*negatur*), or that a distinction is necessary (*distinguendum*).[28] It is likely that arguments *pro et contra* have been exchanged. The question method occurs preferably in theology and moral philosophy, where normative answers are needed, but also in physics.[29] Furthermore, small disputations were also arranged within *collegia* on the ancient historian Quintus Curtius, where students presented arguments for and against the action taken by Alexander the Great in various difficult situations.[30]

The question form is also used in accounts of factual material, especially when it comes to issues of practical interest: for whom is tobacco useful?[31] When is pollution at night dangerous?[32] Should one spell words the way they are pronounced?[33] In such cases there were in all likelihood no arguments, only the answer of the professor.

The question method is more articulated and in a way advanced, when it occurs in the form of a formal disputation, where arguments *pro* and *contra* are expected. It is less sophisticated when it is reduced to questions with unequivocal answers. The latter version is occasionally called the "erotematic method",[34] a term that has a long tradition in the history of teaching. The Erotematic method appears school-like and

28 A good example is Petrus Ericus Ljungh, *Collegium disputatorium ethico-politico-oeconomicum 1668*, ms P 3 National Library.

29 Ericus Emporagrius, Specimen compendii physici ... in collegio physico disputatorio, 1640 ms National Library I o 2.

30 Johannes Boeclerus, Observationes in Q. Curtium, 1649, ms N 59 Uppsala University Library.

31 Drossander, Collegium physiologicum de anthropologia, ms X 32 National Library, p. 17.

32 Drossander, Collegium physico anatomicum, ms X 582 National Library, p. 69.

33 Notata ad collegium professoris Lagerlööf, ms N 14 National Library.

34 Johan Eenberg, *De officiis liber elementaris quo universa doctrina moralium ex natura ad mentem Pufendorfii per questiones et responsiones strictim et perspicue traditur* (Upsaliae 1703), Praefatio, p. 3.

not academic, but of course, the degree of sophistication depends on the complexity of the questions.

Like the disputation, the commentary originated in the medieval university, but it had been modified by the philological approach of the humanists. In the 17th century commenting on canonical, classical, or in other respects normative texts still comprised the bulk of academic teaching. Theologians commented on biblical texts, jurists on Swedish law texts, humanists on ancient classics. Law commentaries normally aimed at adapting traditional medieval Swedish law (apparently not Roman law, judging from extant sources) to contemporary circumstances; in that sense legal commentaries had an immediate practical scope. Theological commentaries aimed at practice, in so far as they dealt with moral or political issues in biblical text. However, the historical distance to the texts demanded more of interpretation, in order to understand how the text should be used. The humanists too had a practical aim with their commentaries – the aim of studying ancient historians, orators, and poets was to share the moral and political experience documented in their texts. However, they show a clearer difference between "political observations" on the one hand, and comments on grammar, vocabulary, and rhetoric on the other; some comments by more learned professors made contributions to textual criticism.[35]

Towards the end of the century, lectures based on contemporary textbooks begin to appear. The collection of Pufendorf's lectures in 1673 mentioned above is an early example, outstanding in that they commented on his own *De officio hominis et civis* that was to become a important in the teaching of natural law. Normally, professors used textbooks written by someone else. The term for this procedure, reading *ad ductum* (sc. *alicuius autoris*) appears in the beginning of the 18th century and becomes frequent in the lecture catalogues in the course of the 18th century. The textbooks used were mostly short outlines of the topics called *breviaria*, *compendia*, *summaria*, or *libelli* which do not indicate ambitions to go into depth. On the other hand, the use of contemporary textbooks testifies that new knowledge was gradually incorporated in university learning. Pufendorf's *De officio* is a token of that, as is a summary of Cartesian physics from 1678.[36] However, the existence of textbooks did not abolish the need for lectures. Not all students could afford them; moreover, their mostly brief character made the professor's elaborate commentaries necessary. Besides, brand new scientific knowledge could be introduced without help of a textbook. In 1696, Sven

35 For example Johannes Schefferus lecturing on the *History of Alexander the Great* by Quintus Curtius, ms A 500 Uppsala University Library.

36 Petrus Hofwenius, *Synopsis physica disputationibus aliquot academicis comprehensa* (Holmiae 1678).

Dimberg, professor in Dorpat (Tartu) in Estonia, announced in the lecture catalogue that he would present Newton's theory of physics. No lectures notes are extant from those lectures, and it is uncertain whether they ever took place. If they did, there were certainly no copies of *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica* to distribute among the students.[37]

Evaluation of lecture sources

Notes from lectures (and *collegia*) are worth studying as witnesses of the medial, pedagogic, and social conditions of early modern academic teaching. But how much do they say about the contents and standard of academic learning? There are obvious weaknesses in the sources. Some of them are inherent in the manuscripts themselves. Handwriting is not always readable, there are lacunae in the texts; remarkably often they are incomplete or interrupted, which indicates the uncertain conditions under which they were came about, both technically and economically, considering the difficulties in financing studies. I have already mentioned the classical problem in textual criticism to establish which of several extant versions of the same lecture comes closest to the original. Naturally, the handwritten notes are technically inferior to printed dissertations, a fact that confirms the higher status of disputations and dissertations compared to lectures.

On the other hand, lecture notes, if complete, are often better structured and argued than dissertations, since they reproduce what professors have said, whereas dissertations when composed by students – which they often are in the decades around 1700 – often lack rigour and consistency. A complete series of lectures gives a good picture of what was taught in physics, medicine, church history, or philosophy, or what lessons one could extract from a classical author. (At least as long as the notetaker has succeeded in following and understanding the account.)

Other weaknesses of the sources are due to the processes of selection they have undergone. One may assume that notes emanating from prominent professors have survived, due to the selection of students, probably also of their descendants who have offered the manuscript to the libraries, usually in the 19th century. Prominence and renown do not alone explain why notes have been preserved. There are well-known professors from whose lectures little or nothing is left.[38] Lectures in law and medicine

37 U. Limiste, H. Piirimäe & S. Rodhe, 'Sven Dimberg. En befrämjare av Newtons lära vid Tartu universitet på 1600-talet', in *Normat. Nordisk matematisk tidskrift* 54:2, 2006, pp. 64–74.

38 For instance the naturalists Olof Rudbeck, sen., Petrus Hoffwenius and Johan Bilberg and the orientalist Gustaf Peringer and the philosopher Eric Castovius.

are overrepresented in the material, probably because students in those faculties were better off and reached more stable positions, but also because law and medicine were not taught in the *gymnasia*, while students of theology and the humanities did not encounter exclusively new material at the university.

One might suspect that lectures by controversial professors may have been sorted out. In extant sources, one should not expect too much of controversial contents in lectures. Lecture notes are not personal; they never indicate emotional reactions of the listener and seldom reveal the commitment of the professor (except for condemnations of heretic theological opinions). Controversial issues are found in other genres – handwritten treatises, memorials and reports to government, some dissertations. That critical opinions or questions have been raised during lectures and *collegia* cannot be excluded, of course, but I find it less likely that the lecture genre was a forum of academic controversy.

"Theory"

I have not found any theory on the lecture genre, i.e. comments or instructions about their function and performance, in the sources from the 17th century. There is a striking lack of reflection on the basic form of academic teaching. By contrast, the disputation is sometimes the object of reflection, with discussion on their function and how they should be performed, which confirms that the disputation was considered a more important or at least typical academic genre.[39] The pedagogic discourse was meagre; a dissertation in Uppsala 1681 deals with the duties of the teacher, but only schoolteachers.[40] One might expect that lectures could be discussed in relation to rhetoric, of which so much was made at the universities, or perhaps in connection with homiletics, which actually was trained there. In Germany, lecturing seems to have been identified as a rhetorical genre in the beginning of the 18th century, as the terms *oratio scholastica* and *stylus scholasticus* turned up, but apparently, that applied to written texts primarily, not to lecturing.[41]

In 1736, however, a dissertation in Uppsala was defended titled on "academic listening", probably written by the professor of poetry Magnus Beronius.[42] Interest-

39 There are dissertations from Uppsala on the procedure of disputations, also from German universities. Hanspeter Marti, *Philosophiche Dissertationen deutscher Universitäten 1660–1750* (München 1982), p. 662.

40 Andreas Norcopensis/resp. J. Krutenius, *De praeceptore et ejus officio* (diss. Upsal. 1681).

41 Art. Vorlesung, in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* Bd 9 (Tübingen 2009).

42 Magnus Beronius/resp. L. Nyman, *De auscultatione academica* (diss. Upsal. 1736).

ingly, the author does not address university lectures directly; instead, as so often in early modern academic culture, he approaches the topic by way of antiquity, starting from Plutarch's treatise on listening to philosophical speeches. The dissertation is a modest defence of the academic lecture, fending off the criticism of it that obviously was in the air. Listening to lectures, it is argued, is a better way of learning than reading books. It transmits the synthesis of what a veteran teacher has experienced, read, and seen. The living voice (*viva vox*) gives more than the reading of a multitude of books. Voice, mouth, and gesture enforce the living voice. These rhetorical aids are not enough, however; the lecture needs to be versed in disciplines other than the one he professes and he must keep up with the advancement of learning in general.

Beronius is conscious of the connection to rhetoric; as well as the mentioning of gestures and voice, he also refers to Quintilian. The repeated mentioning of *viva vox* refers to theology (Luther) as well as to philosophy (Plato). The advice he gives to the lecturer is fairly timeless: experience, updated knowledge, lively description, and body language would do even today. His comments on lecturing from the student's perspective reflect the actual situation. Dictating is sometimes appropriate, he admits, running the risk, however, that the students may lose the thread. It may be better to repeat what was said during the lecture together with one's comrades, or to attend the same lecture on more than one occasion. As for Latin, he is vague, conceding that it is easier to explain concepts in Swedish, while Latin has the advantage of being understandable to all scholars; which seems to imply that he allows for Swedish as teaching language.

Beronius' apology for the lecture is rather cautious. Obviously, the genre was not popular, neither among professors, nor among students. In the 17th century, proceedings were taken, or at least prescribed, against students who skipped their lessons. In Åbo in the 1650s and 1660s, there was no fixed time when lectures would start, and the rector repeatedly admonished the professors to start teaching. In Uppsala, the rector repeatedly reminded the professors of their duty to start lecturing; complaints were heard from Stockholm about professors who left their lectures undone.[43] There is evidence of successful academic teachers as well, and the situation may have improved in the 1730s, when the Swedish vernacular was becoming frequent in the lecture halls. Still, there were signs of crisis for the lecture genre in the 18th century. Perhaps not so much for the *collegium*, on which professors may have been more in-

43 As appears frequently in the minutes of the senates in Åbo and Uppsala, *Consistorii academici aboensis protocoller*, vol. II 1654–1664, for instance pp. 61, 62, 72, 124, 227, 235 and *Uppsala universitet, Akademiska konsistoriets protokoll*, ed. H. Sallander (Uppsala 1971–1976), for instance 19/3 1663 (vol. VI), 17/8 1686 (vol. XVIII), 30/8 1688 (vol. XIX) and 21/9 1695 (vol. XXI).

clined to invest their energy since they could earn money from them. Complaints about academic teaching in the 18th century were directed against public lectures; private *collegia* were seldom mentioned. The threat may have consisted in deficient pedagogy, dull dictating, cold lecture halls in winter, and other circumstances, but the main cause seems to have been the increasing access to printed books; these were supposed more or less to replace the oral lectures. In his dissertation, Beronius attacked the autodidacts who believe they can manage by just reading books.[44] Autodidacts tend to become sectarian, he asserted, since they have no experienced teacher who puts knowledge in a wider perspective.

The autodidacts were not to take over, but the arguments in the increasing discussion of academic teaching during the rest of the century depended basically on the breakthrough of the printed book as medium for scientific knowledge.[45]

44 Beronius p. 5.

45 See the articles by Peter Josephson, 'Böcker eller universitet. Om ett tema i tysk universitetspolitik kring 1800', *Lychnos* 2009, and 'Hotet från autodidakten. Böcker, självstudier och universitetets förvandling till forskningsanstalt, 1768–1810', i *Universitetets gränser*, red. P. Josephson & Th. Karlsohn, forthcoming.

Anna Fredriksson

Poetry Quotations in Early Modern Swedish Academic Dissertations

Open a dissertation from 17th-century or early 18th-century Sweden and you will in all likelihood see poetry somewhere, in many cases throughout the text and in a variety of forms.[1] In the prelude we are met by dedications and acknowledgements, sometimes in verse, occasionally in the form of quite extensive poems. At the end of the dissertation there are laudatory poems.[2] There can be several of them included here, by professors, fellow students, and others.

Furthermore, the main text, the dissertation itself, will often be interspersed with poetry. In the midst of dry scientific prose, a quotation of Vergil suddenly shines through, or of Ovid or Martial. Apart from these, which are made obvious in the text, there are also allusions and paraphrases of poetry.

The presence of the quotations in dissertations on all kinds of subjects – law, theology, medicine, philosophy – is intriguing. Why would Uppsala students and professors in early modern times quote poetry to such an extent in their dissertations, and why, as it seems, more frequently in them than in other scientific literature of the time? Why was this habit abandoned later on? In today's theses there is hardly a trace of poetry, beyond the ones in literature.

Some reasons for inserting poetry in the academic text are easy to imagine. Partly the quotations might function in the same way as prose quotations do, i.e. they would be part of the argumentation, to illustrate or support a thesis. Clearly poetry also has the ability to make the account more vivid. It brings on a change of rhythm and a more complex word order. It allows us to take a breath and think again. It also gives us, as readers, the pleasure of recognition, and why not the pleasure of being im-

1 This paper is basically a short version of my article 'Antika poesicitat i tidigmoderna svenska dissertationer', (Fredriksson 2015b).

2 Cf. Peter Sjökvist's publication in the present volume, pp. 117–137.

16

mius vino poto alter roboris obliviſcitur, alter ſolertiæ, & Mulam obſervat Ælianus non calcitrare vino potam: quid itaque mirum hominem verſatilem alias & inconſtantem de rectitudine ac officii ſui tramite diverti, ubi vini fumo & inebriantium vento quaſi agitatur, idque tanto graviore cum noxa quanto præſtantiora ſunt ea quibus occupatur. Adeoque brevibus verbis multa docet Plato, cum *gubernatores ebrios omnia evertere*, dicit, *navem, currum, exercitum, urbem*: Cogitemus triumphum Bacchi venuſtiſſime depictum ab ingenioſiſſimo Poëtarum Ovidio Lib. Metam 4. F. 1.

Quacunque ingrederis, clamor juvenilis, & una
Fœmineæ voces, impulſaque tympana palmis
Concavaque æra ſonant, longoque foramine buxus.

& Fab. 9. lib. 3.

Quem circa Tigres, ſimulacraque inania Lyncum,
Pictarumque jacent fera corpora pantherarum.

Hujus vitii turpitudinem renudat ulterius Seneca acerbus reprehenſor morum ſui temporis Epiſt. 83. *Ipſæ fœminæ*, inquit, *perpotant & vomitantur*, de giöra beſked och ſkynda på ſkålarna. Et Epiſt. 95. *non minus pervigilant, non minus potant, & oleo, & mero, viros provocant, atque invitis ingeſta viſceribus per os reddunt, & vinum omne remetiuntur.* Et Juvenal. Satyr. 6. de illuſtri ſui temporis lurcone facete:

- - - - *tanquam alta in dolia longus*
Deciderit ſerpens vomit & bibit - - - -

Neque excuſat comiſſationum futilitatem mos Lacedæmoniorum, quos ferunt, mancipia potu obruere ſolitos fuiſſe, ut liberis ſuis ſpectantibus pateret quæ mente motis tum maxime perpetrarentur: Vel ut noſtris de ſimilibus compotationibus ſollemnibus, & in eundem finem

17

nem inſtitutis, proverbium uſu vulgatum habet at ſee ens öhlſinne. Nobis enim ſub amica ſpecie illudere proximo minime licet, & hanc aſtutiam & calliditatem diſplicuiſſe etiam majoribus noſtris, utut à conviviorum hilaritate minime alienis, liquet, ex veteri proverbio: Falſker i dryckiom / falſker i androm ſtyckiom. In principum interdum aulis, & palatinis epulis obtinere id ipſum monet Horatius in aula orbis terrarum ſplendidiſſima degens, Auguſto utpote ab epiſtolis, illique ob ingenii elegantiam carus Carm. L. 3. Od. 21. Vinum *lene ingeniorum tormentum* vocans &

Reges dicuntur multis urgere culullis,
Et torquere mero, quem perſpexiſſe laborant,

in Art. Poët. v. 434. Id autem quamquam eleganter fieri videri poſſit, vel vulgo hominum, vel talium conviviorum magiſtris, multa tamen ſimul contingere neceſſe eſt, quæ Chriſtianam profeſſis innocentiam indecora ſunt, nec aliud rectius nomen merentur quam urbanitatis contumelioſæ.

Fig. 1. Lars Roberg (praes.), Johannes Pihl (resp.), Dissertatio medica de aquosi calidique potus salubritate, Upsaliæ 1711, pp. 26–27. The poetry quotations in this text are marked out by italics and indents.

pressed by the cleverness of the author, who found that piece of poetry to serve the occasion precisely? Still, some would deem poetry to have been used as mere decoration and display.

But is this why poetry was quoted, or is there more to it? As there is hardly any literature on the subject, apart from Harald Hagendahl's excellent works,[3] to survey the situation would be a fruitful way to gain some preliminary insights regarding the role of these quotations in the academic text.

The poetry quotation study

In a previous study I examined the presence of the classics in general, in terms of quotations and references in early modern dissertations from Uppsala University, the top university in Sweden in the early modern period, and also the most productive.[4] In the study described below, I focused specifically on poetry quotations in the same material. Both studies included surveys of two specific disciplines in this vast

3 Hagendahl 1947; 1958.

4 Results from the first part of this project were published in Fredriksson 2015a.

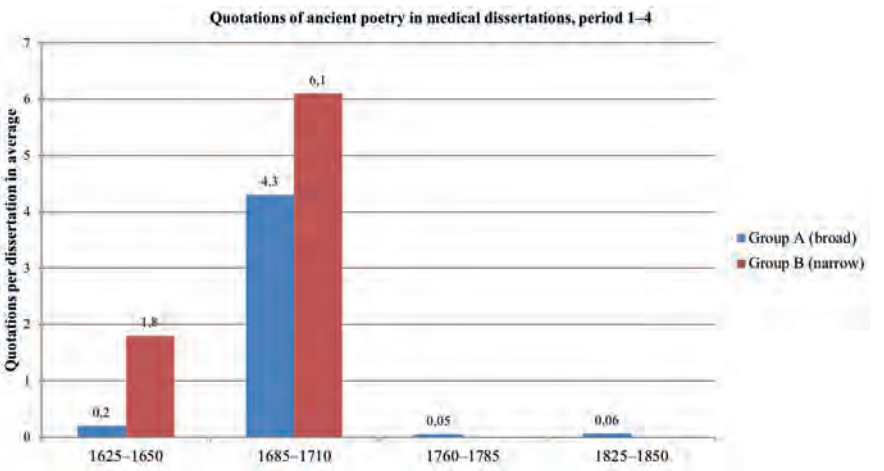


Fig. 2. Quotations of ancient poetry in medical dissertations, period 1–4.

collection: medicine and political science with eloquence. Further, within these disciplines, in both surveys I limited my investigation to four periods within the time span 1625–1850, more precisely 1625–1650 (period 1), 1685–1710 (period 2), 1760–1785 (period 3), and 1825–1850 (period 4).[5] Only the main body of the dissertation was of interest, and dedications and greetings in poetry were left out of the study. To be noted, the poetry quotation study is solely devoted to poetry quotations in the main body of the dissertation.

The use of the same text material, i.e., dissertations within the same disciplines and from the same periods, for both studies made comparisons of their results possible. In the poetry quotation study I first I explored to what extent poetry was quoted in the selected groups of study; further, which poets were most often quoted in these groups. Finally, one of the periods was studied more closely, to summarize what kinds of arguments poetry usually supported. In this paper, the focus will be on the first part of these inquiries.

In *medicine*, the tendency is shown in the diagram above(*Fig. 2*). The diagram represents the subject of medicine approached in two different ways. Group A represents a broader definition of the subject, including all dissertations submitted in the presidency of professors of medicine (within the stipulated time spans). Thus, in periods 1 and 2, this group also embraces dissertations in botany, zoology, physics, and other

5 On the selection of these specific time spans, see Fredriksson 2015a, pp. 59–62; 2015b, p. 43.

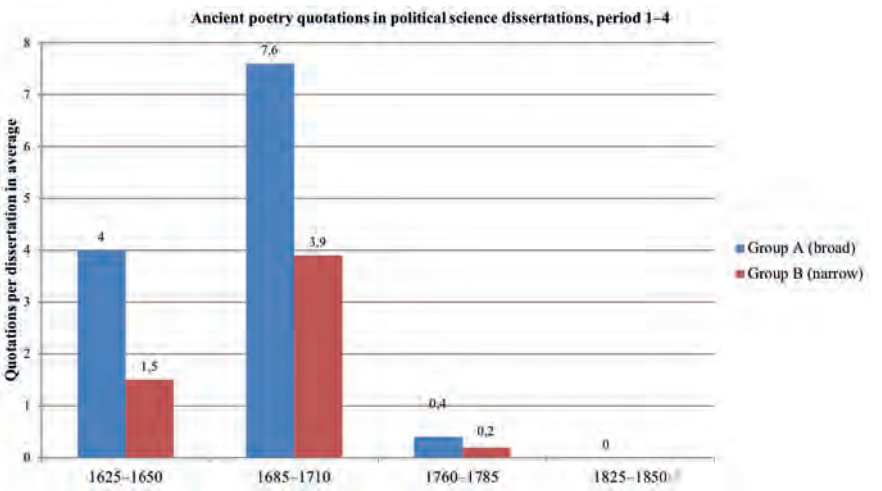


Fig.3. Quotations of ancient poetry in political science dissertations, period 1–4.

disciplines, submitted in the presidency of a medical professor.[6] Group B represents a narrower definition, including only those dissertations which, on their title page, are explicitly defined as "medical," i.e., they have a heading "*dissertatio medica*" or the like.[7] Naturally, some of the dissertations in group B were also part of group A.

The same tendency can be seen in both groups: in the middle of the 17th century, poetry quotations were present in the dissertations to a limited extent; in the more narrowly defined group there were on average two (1.8) quotations per dissertation. Some 40 years later the situation had changed. As compared to the first period studied, the average of poetry quotations in group B had trebled, i.e., there were around six quotations per dissertation. The increase was even greater in group A. On the other hand, looking at the third period, there were hardly any poetry quotations at all. The same is true for the fourth period, the middle of the 18th century.

Regarding political science with eloquence , the same two ways of defining the subject were used (*Fig. 3* above); group A included dissertations submitted in the presidency of the professor of political science, the so-called Skyttean professor, a definition which in periods 1 and 2 would include dissertations in philosophy, his-

6 In periods 1 and 2, which represent the extended 17th century, the professors supervising dissertations would generally not keep to their own discipline as strictly as did their successors in later periods. See Fredriksson 2015a, pp. 63–65.

7 For a detailed account of which specific dissertations the groups of study included, and other matters regarding these groups, see Fredriksson 2015b.

tory, and law. Group B included the dissertations termed "*dissertatio politica*" or "*dissertatio civilis*" on the title page.

In political science dissertations, the tendency corresponds with the one that we saw in the dissertations in medicine, except for the fact that the relation between the two groups, or definitions of the subject, is reversed: in contrast to medicine, political science dissertations in group A include more quotations from ancient poetry than does group B. The more narrowly defined group B had in average 1.5 quotations per dissertation, a number which comes close to the 1.8 of medicine group B. In the second time span studied, the average number of group B was more than twice as large as in period one, i.e., about four. A doubling is noticeable also in group A. In the third period, quotations drastically decreased, and in the fourth there were practically no poetry quotations at all in the dissertations.

Although this study focuses specifically on ancient poetry quotations, it is worth mentioning that in the group of medical dissertations in period 2 – although not shown in *Figure 2* above – the variety of poets cited in medical dissertations was the greatest, and the share of ancient poetry actually lower than in any of the four periods. So, if we add the non-ancient poetry to the calculation in *Figure 2*, the columns for the medical dissertations would be even higher, especially in period 2, and the difference between period 1 and 2 would be even more pronounced.[8] Also in political science dissertations, there was a significant quantity of non-ancient poetry, with the difference that in this discipline there was a greater proportion of non-ancient poetry in period 1 than in period 2.

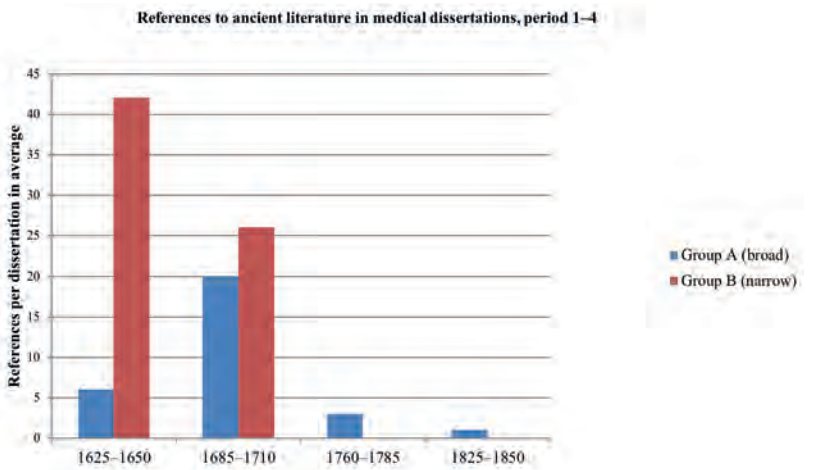
Concerning the results above, it should be stressed that comparisons were made only of these specific disciplines and periods. We do not know what the situation was in other disciplines or in the periods in-between. We cannot tell whether the use of ancient poetry quotations peaked in the period 1685–1710, in the decade before that, or in the decade thereafter. In any case, it is quite obvious that in the time span between 1700 and 1760 there is a shift in frequency: it becomes less popular to quote poetry in dissertations.

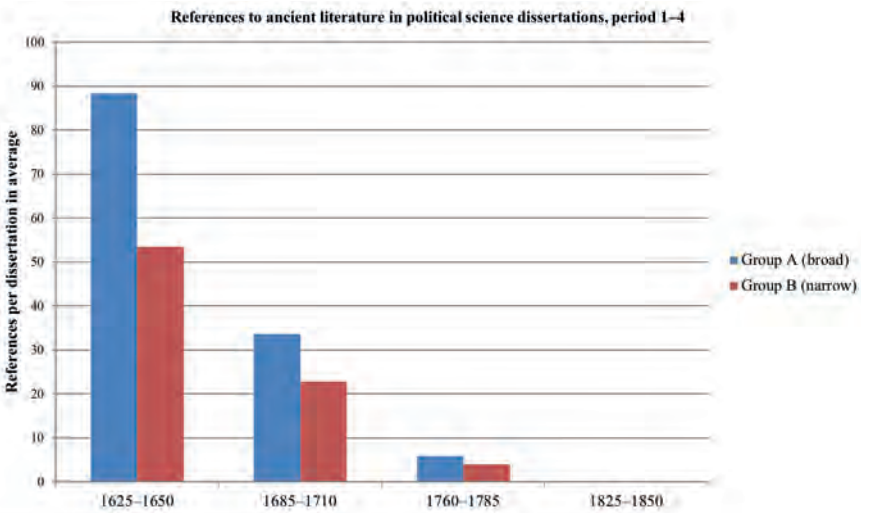
Analysis

What could have contributed to these tendencies? Since the quotations are mainly ancient Roman and Greek poetry, one might surmise that this was part of a tendency to cite ancient literature more generally, i.e., also literature in prose. To confirm this, one needs compare the poetry results with the results of the previously mentioned

8 Fredriksson 2015b, pp. 45, 47–48, 66.

study of references to ancient literature in general. The comparison must, in that case, be a comparison of tendencies, not of actual numbers, as the grounds for calculation differ in the two studies. If we look at the two diagrams below, it seems that – contrary to expectations – the tendency to cite ancient prose literature is not entirely the same as that of quoting ancient poetry.





Figs. 4 and 5. References to ancient literatur in medieal dissertations and in political science dissertations, period 1–4.

We have already seen that ancient poetry was most frequently quoted during period 2 of my study (1685–1710), in both medical and political science dissertations. The number of general references to ancient literature, on the other hand, was, in the same period, going down, even plummeting, in medicine group B, as well as in political science group B, and the same applies to political science group A. As seen in the graphs above, though, the number of ancient references in medicine group A texts – i.e., in medicine according to the broader definition of the subject – is actually on the rise in the same period. This means that in this group of dissertations the tendency of reference inclusion is consistent with the tendency of including ancient poetry quotations. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to infer that the custom of making references to ancient literature in general does not conform to the one of quoting poetry, including ancient poetry. One may thus, at least tentatively, presume that the cause and circumstances for these practices differ as well.

Context

To contextualize the survey, it is important to put it in the wider perspective of the university milieu at the time, and look into issues that were, in one way or another, related to poetry.[9] The survey has made it clear that poetry quotation is a Renaissance phenomenon, and other contemporary sources confirm this. In those days, poetry was an important ingredient in the humanist educational plan, which was more or less based upon the study of ancient Greek and Roman texts.[10] The subject was intimately connected to history, philosophy, and eloquence, and thus also to political science. These disciplines were seen as different aspects of the same subject: knowledge of how life works, with the specific purpose of turning boys into men, in this case men qualified to act as officials in the Swedish government.[11] Literature of the time stresses the common task of the philosopher and the poet: to induce honourable human habits, deeds, and laws.[12] However, the students and professors of Uppsala University could very well have adopted the custom of quoting poetry straight from the ancient writers themselves. Poetry quotations abound in philosophical treatises of, for exam-

9 Regarding ancient literature and the Swedish universities, see Annerstedt 1877–1931; Lindroth 1975, esp. pp. 179–197; 1978, pp. 572–586; 1981 (vol. 4), pp. 194–220. See also Frängsmyr 2000, pp. 113–123, and Bergh 1916.

10 E.g., Kallendorf 2002, pp. vii–xvi.

11 On poetry as education in history, philosophy, rhetoric, and ethics, see Bergh 1916, p. 21f; Hansson 2011, pp. 18–19; Lindroth 1975, esp. pp. 190–194.

12 Johannes Upmark (Rosenadler) (praes.), Olaus Sund (resp.), *De poëseos natura II*, Upsaliae 1710. C. 4 § 3.

ple, Cicero and Seneca. But quotations were not inserted indiscriminately in any kind of text: studies of the ancient authors show that in texts of literary ambition, such as speeches, letters, lyric poetry, and drama, quotations were banned, as they would disturb the rhythm and harmony of the text.[13] In these genres, "borrowed" poetry was present, but had to be reworked thoroughly in the new text, to such an extent that it might not even be recognized. Philosophical texts, on the other hand, were subject to different rules, such as those manifested in works by Cicero and Seneca. On a couple of occasions, these authors also explained why they used poetry in their texts. Cicero plainly states that he imitates the custom of the philosophical schools in Athens, where both Stoics and Academics inserted poetical lines into their lectures.[14] Cicero wanted to embellish his philosophical treatises in this way. When Seneca explained his habit of quoting poetry, he cited one of the heads of the Stoa, Cleanthes.[15] Cleanthes had explained that when something is pressed together by force, it becomes more concentrated and thus stronger. He exemplifies his point with the air in a horn: just as the sound of a horn becomes strong when the air is compressed in the tube, in the same way, says Cleanthes, will a great thought, which is concentrated in verse and acquires a certain rhythm, "get the strength of a weapon launched by a strong hand."

The Use of Poetry within University Education in Uppsala and in Sweden

The reliance on poetry as a powerful tool is expressed clearly in the poetics of the Swedish Renaissance, usually placed within the extended 17th century. The professorship of poetry at Uppsala University was first established in the 1620s.[16] After a subdued start, a time of successful and active professors of poetry follows. Poetry was now a mandatory discipline for acquiring a degree, the lectures on poetry were very well-attended, and there was a keen interest in poetical theory at the university. This is mirrored in frequent dissertations dealing with poetry or issues related to poetry, not only within the discipline of poetry itself, but also in dissertations put forth under the presidency of professors of political science, and theoretical philosophy. But it was also important to learn how to write poetry, and some results of the students'

13 Benner and Tengström 1977, pp. 37–38; Hagendahl 1947, p. 12f; 1958, pp. 298–301; Stemplinger, p. 198.

14 Hagendahl 1947, p. 122.

15 Seneca, *Epistulae* 108,9 seq., cited in Hagendahl 1947, p. 123: "*ubi accessere numeri et egregium sensum adstrinxere certi pedes, eadem illa sententia velut lacerto excussiore torquetur.*".

16 See Annerstedt 1877, 1908, and 1909; Lindroth 1975; 1978; Bergh 1916.

efforts can be seen in the congratulatory poems of the dissertations. To be noted, this period produced the most renowned and appraised Latin poets in Sweden, several of whom were professors of poetry in Uppsala. Moreover, there was a market for poetic production, in the realm of official ceremonies, tributes, and the writing of history. In the Golden Age of the Swedish Empire, "Stormaktstiden", there was a demand for eulogy and panegyric poetry. Another important contribution at this time was the publication of the first "Swedish poetics", *Poetica tripartita*, by the Uppsala professor Laurentius Fornelius.[17] These poetics were a compilation of works by European academics theorizing poetry, and they, in their turn, relied heavily on Aristotle and Horace.[18] A recurring theme in *Poetica tripartita* was the specific educational qualities of poetry. These qualities were numerous; suffice it here to outline some of the more significant ones.[19] Likewise, behind the Renaissance poetics – as perceived by Fornelius and others – there were quite elaborate theories about how the human mind works when we learn and how that learning affects our actions, but this is not the place to pursue those postulates further.

The primary aim of poetry was to please and educate at the same time. Recurrent reference is made to Horace and his *utile dulci.* Poetry allows for special pedagogical methods, in using examples, tales, and allegories. The human examples that poetry presents are more efficient in making the reader prudent and ready for practical action than other means of education. Contrary to philosophy, which tells you what to do, poetry teaches by visualizing. As humans, we love to imitate, and almost by law of nature set out to imitate these good examples. Allegory, with its slightly concealed message, appeals to the curiosity of the sharp-witted. It could also be used to conceal religious, political, and scientific ideas, which were not supposed to be understood or used by everyone. The tales and the allegories also make the contents more comprehensible to the non-educated or slow-witted, and they evoke the interest of the indolent and the indifferent, whom it takes greater art to reach or convince. Obviously, in order to build the new Swedish state, the rough and unpolished youngsters of Sweden needed to be transformed to sober and civilized men ready for action, and the means for that was poetry. A passage referred to on several occasions comes from

17 Fornelius 1643. The first part of this work was originally published separately as a thesis submitted by Andreas Wentilius in 1641, whereas the second part was submitted for disputation by Sveno Törne in 1642.

18 Bergh 1916, pp. 2–4, 19.

19 The following summary is primarily based upon Fornelius 1643, but also upon Uppsala dissertations on poetics from the same period. A full account of the sources is given in Fredriksson 2015b, pp. 58–62.

Horace's *Ars poetica*: the lines about Orpheus and his ability to tame lions and tigers and people of the wild forests alike: "While men still roamed the woods, Orpheus, the holy prophet of the gods, made them shrink from bloodshed and brutal living; hence the fable that he tamed tigers and ravening lions".[20]

Fornelius' *Poetics* points out that, in poetry it is possible to bring up any subject matter. It is not restricted to certain themes, as is the case with, for example, history and philosophy. Rather, in poetry one may discuss both what is "above and eternal" and "what is worldly and changeable."

Poetry, *Poetics* claims, also allows us to experiment, with expressions as well as with thought. In imagining scenarios and in testing those scenarios, with almost alive and full-bodied characters and settings, it gives us an indication about what would be a good, or a bad, thing to do in a given situation. It envisages what would be the consequence of a certain act, without us humans even having to take those risks, or make those mistakes ourselves – in a similar way as screen visual arts, and novels do today. Imagination also helps in formulating an ideal, which we might not expect to encounter in everyday life, but which could work as a guiding principle.

Then there is the pedagogical effect of the metre itself. The metre demands a concentration of the sentences. It also encourages imitation, and, since metre is easier to memorize, people stand a better chance of remembering what is expressed in verse. That, together with the pleasure it evokes, makes poetry more efficient in transmitting knowledge than both history and philosophy. The poetical force can thus be used to convince even larger multitudes of people, and this is the reason why poetry is so effective in the art of eloquence.

Last but not least, *Poetics* stresses, poetry is beautiful. Not only does the beauty open up the minds of the listeners, making them feel good and thus unconsciously embracing a positive attitude to the inherent message. The good message, which poetry generally is meant to convey, then goes deeper into the mind of the listener, bringing on a change in a certain direction, perhaps without the listener even noticing.

Beauty and authority are interlinked: the very beauty of the perfect expression is proof of its legitimacy. In addition, there is a general opinion of the poet having a special connection with the powers above. The poet is held to be a prophet, not only knowing the will of the gods, or God, but also being the instrument of his, or their,

20 Horatius, translation from the Loeb edition 1926, *Ars poetica*, verses 391–93: *Sílvestrís hominés sacér interprésque deorum | caedibus et victú foedó deterruit Orpheus, | díctus ob hóc leníre tigrís rabidosque leones*.

truths. Do we not at times have the feeling of experiencing something divine, when we read or hear excellent poetry?

In addition to this, the poetics of the time point out that a lot of specialized knowledge – such as astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, optics, natural philosophy, grammar, eloquence, ethics, politics, and economy – can be transmitted to us in the form of poetry.

Poetical Theory and the Dissertations

If one compares the postulates of poetical theory with the kind of arguments poetry usually supports in the dissertations, it becomes clear that the use of poetry quotations – at least at the turn of the 18th century – usually complies with the recommendations in the poetics. It is widely used as a treasury of useful insights acquired by real-life experience from antiquity in the realm of universal wisdom as well as knowledge in craftsmanship. Apart from learning transmitted via poetry in specialized fields, such as astronomy, geometry, and so on, poetry also appears to have its very own field of specialized knowledge: knowledge about the nature of nature itself, of human nature, and of human conditions. Thus, beside its role in philosophy and history, it could be considered specialist literature in fields that were at that time not yet defined as disciplines of their own, such as psychology, anthropology, ethnology, sociology, and religion.

Arguments against Poetry in the Learned World

Alongside the many arguments in favour of poetry listed above, there is also evidence of counter-arguments co-existing with the aforementioned. These, too, are occasionally recorded in the dissertations on poetics – only to be refuted, of course.

Poetry's ability to evoke affections, the critics point out, is not altogether unproblematic. It can also evoke feelings that, supposedly, do not bring about good deeds, feelings such as anger, hatred, pain, and fear. The remarkable, and probably not virtuous, circumstance is pointed out: that we may experience even this as a pleasure. Furthermore, it is argued that some poets detrimentally focus on false and foul, even evil, things, not to mention the love affairs of the gods and of the poets themselves, sexual intercourse, drinking, and fights.

Critics also point out that poets deceive and teach false things, they imitate, they illustrate and visualize things about which they have no clue, and they give an erroneous description even of things they do know. They maintain false opinions, and they also add to these whatever they like. Further objections include the poets' descrip-

tions of gods, which they have not seen, and that these gods are described as having human customs and feelings.

Poetics at Uppsala University from the Middle of the 18th Century

The account above deals with the Swedish, or European, Renaissance view on poetry, predominant in the first two periods of this study (1625–1650; 1685–1710). As previously noted, a clear shift in the form of a substantial reduction in the use of poetic quotations came about in the next half-century. This development actually coincides with the years when poetry's position within the University and the professorships in poetry and eloquence were sharply questioned.[21] For a few years, the professorship in poetry was even withdrawn, but later revived. After that, it was incorporated into the professorship in eloquence, and in its place the university established a professorship in economics. An important philosophy of this time was utilitarianism. According to this theory, one should judge the value of phenomena in proportion to their usefulness. No doubt, the purpose of poetry in the Renaissance was utility; what changed in the 18th century was rather the predominant view of "utility" and "usefulness", and the means to help bring about this value.

Another feature that was about to change at this stage was the university's relation to the ancient writers. The change was well under way within the natural sciences, but it became obvious within the faculty of philosophy, too. Within the humanistic educational system there was a gradual shift regarding contents and focal points of interest.[22] Previously, the study of antiquity aimed at a close contact with the ancient texts for the benefit of practical action. This approach was now being replaced by a theoretical, somewhat distanced, attitude. In the discussions about new statutes of the university in the first decades of the 18th century, many reforms were proposed, among them the permission to use more recent literature in education.[23] There was also a growing demand that professors and students be allowed to express themselves in Swedish in the university milieu, and the first dissertation in Swedish, in economics, was published in the middle of the century. The writing of Latin poetry declined, too, a tendency which coincided with the so-called "Latin culture" being called into

21 Annerstedt 1913, pp. 162–167, 268–269, and 294–295.
22 Lindberg 1987, p. 16f.; Lindroth 1981, p. 196f.
23 Annerstedt 1913, pp. 22–28.

question, the cultural ideal shifting from a Roman to a French one.[24] There was thus a change going on as to the view of ancient authorities at large, but also a change within poetics, if slightly different.

As for poetry, the era of the Swedish Empire was now over, and with it the panegyrics and war lyrics. Occasional poetry, however, continues to grow strongly until the 1770s, not least in Swedish.[25] Within poetical theory new thoughts regarding the aim and purpose of poetry emerge.[26] Both European and Swedish poetics now give prominence to pathos, passion, and fantasy instead of reason and old wisdom. The main objective of poetry is to "please and to captivate"; the former motto, "to please and educate," is thus altered so as to reduce the importance of poetry being instructive. Poetical ability is starting to be seen as a gift of nature rather than a craft which can be taught. Instead of imitation, originality is rewarded. Still, it was held that the sagacity that a good poet needs to possess can be acquired though reading ancient works. These texts now become educational means, rather than ideals. The general taste in poetry also shifts from the exuberant baroque to sober neoclassicism and ethereal romantics.

Poetry as a University Discipline in Uppsala from the 1730s Onwards

In the 1730s, the changing attitude towards poetry is reflected in the Uppsala University Board debate on whether to keep the professorship in poetry or not. The rather weak argument heard in favour of poetry as a university discipline was that "it is a noble and comprehensive field of study", whereas among the arguments heard against poetry was the view that "nature should create poets; this could never be accomplished through education or rules". Admittedly, poetry is of value, but it is said to exist first and foremost as "adornment and pleasure". Consequently, it was declared

24 Annerstedt 1909, p. 277–278; 1914, pp. 148–151, pp. 378–384; Lindberg 1984; 1993, p. 77f; Lindroth 1978, esp. pp. 572–586.

25 Hansson 2011, pp. 37–41; Ståhle 1975, p. 292f.; Ridderstad 1980, esp. pp. 31–33.

26 Bergh 1916, esp. pp. 78–90.

that "knowledge in poetry is of no importance whatsoever for the general service of the state", and that obviously meant that it was not for the university to finance.[27]

Final Words

These were some of the circumstances that, in early modern times, contributed to the rise and fall of Latin poetry quotation at Uppsala University, and, quite likely, within Swedish academia on the whole. And, contrary to expectation, it seems that it was precisely at the point when poetry came to be regarded as mere decoration that it ceased to be used in the dissertations.

Let me end with an issue mentioned above, about poetry's pleasure and rhythm, its ability to open up the heart of the listener, so that the message reaches deeper within and thus is embraced on a deeper level of the mind, bringing on action and practical deed. This idea recurs throughout history, and for this quality poetry has been equally praised and banned. But the topicality of this subject became clear to me earlier this year, as I read a fascinating article by Elisabeth Kendall, who placed the issue in the middle of current world affairs.[28] In the article Kendall describes the use of poetry in recruiting followers of ISIS (the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria). She describes poetry's power to "touch Arab listeners and readers emotionally, to infiltrate the psyche and to create an aura of tradition, authenticity, and legitimacy around the ideologies it enshrines," and that this makes poetry "the perfect weapon for militant jihadist causes". The arguments sound very familiar. The source of these ideas may very well be precisely the same as of those embraced at 17th-century Swedish universities.

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27 Annerstedt 1913, pp. 162–167, 268–269.

28 Kendall 2015.

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Peter Sjökvist

The Congratulatory Poetry of Petrus Lagerlöf

Functions, Social Patterns, and Characteristic Ideas

Latin culture has never been more strongly cherished in Sweden than it was in Uppsala during the last decades of the 17th century. There was an abundance of great scholars and writers using the old Roman language at that time, but texts were also published by those less talented in it. Dissertations were all written in Latin. Poetry and eloquence flourished when students were taught how to deliver panegyrics to the Royal house, in Latin orations and verses. There were always occasions for such performances, and extant programmes with eloquent invitations to these festivities, written in Latin by the vice-chancellor of the university, still bear witness to the events. The presence of scholars and poets like Johannes and Samuel Columbus, Petrus Lagerlöf, Urban Hiärne, Martin Brunnerus, Laurentius Norrman, and Johannes Bilberg, led Kurt Johannesson to describe Uppsala University as the literary centre of Sweden at the time. This was the Golden Age in the history of Latin in our country.[1]

Festive elements were also included in the scholarly output from this university. For just as in other learned publications from the early modern period, we often find poems and texts composed for the respondent presented as *gratulationes*[2] in the dissertations. Liminary texts that in this way expressed academic *sodalitas* with time became an almost mandatory ingredient in the printed items.[3] For as David Money concisely put it in *The Oxford handbook of Neo-Latin*: "Neo-Latin occasional po-

1 Johannesson 1968, p. 41. Cf. Aili 1995, p. 146f. and Piltz 2006, p. 32.

2 Strangely enough, van Dam, whose article on Neo-Latin *carmina liminaria* is one of the most important in the field, does not designate any text of this kind as "congratulatory", but suggests several other labels, such as "liminary poetry", "threshold poetry", "liminal poetry", or the narrower "laudatory verse", *Ehrungsgedicht*, "commendatory poetry", or "dedicatory poetry" (van Dam 2015, p. 51). In Lagerlöf's poems, however, the congratulatory function is so frequently stressed, most often even with the verb *gratulor*, that the designation seems to be obvious.

3 Cf. van Dam 2009, p. 118; 2015, p. 61f.

etry mattered to the university: it was an important part of its collective public image, and the self-representation of individual members as loyal and learned citizens".[4] The university environment was in fact the most important context for occasional poetry in Sweden at the time.[5] The first dissertation extant from Uppsala University was printed in 1602, and was a very simple piece containing only some theses and a dedication. Soon, however, congratulatory texts from fellow students were included in the publications as well, and in the 1620s even congratulatory texts of professors appear.[6] While the former type of text would continue to be a part of dissertations for a very long time, my impression is that the usage of the latter would culminate at the end of the 17th century, and step by step vanish during the first decades of the 18th century, with occasional later occurrences.[7] These congratulatory texts of professors could be written in either prose or poetry – neither is much more common than the other – but I have so far not seen any in languages other than Latin.

But if considerable research has been carried out both on early modern occasional literature[8] and dissertations[9] during the last decades, very little still has been written on occasional literature in the academia.[10]And this is even truer for the type of text

4 Money 2015, p. 83.

5 Ridderstad 1983, p. 239.

6 Notably, congratulatory poems by teachers can also be found in the first dissertations published at the Swedish academy of Dorpat, which was founded in 1632: Lill 2003, p. 171. Later we find such texts also in Turku: Korhonen 2004, p. 518.

7 So does also liminary poetry in dissertations in general. Lindberg 2016, pp. 26 and 31.

8 From a Swedish perspective, the classical works are still Gustafsson 1967, Bennich-Björkman 1970, and von Platen 1985. For a recent account of previous research on occasional literature in Sweden, see Hansson 2012, 28f.

9 For an overview, see e.g. Lindberg 2006, p. 118f., or my own brief summary of the field in Sjökvist 2012, p. 11f. The early modern disputation from a European perspective is dealt with in Weijers 2013, p. 209f., while the disputation act at Swedish universities is treated in Östlund 2007.

10 Lars Burman (2012) studied Swedish congratulatory texts exchanged between students in an article, in which he showed how social relations could be expressed among them within the academy, and called for further research into this vast but still unexplored material. Anne Lill (2003) discussed the presence of the classical tradition in *carmina gratulatoria* from the Swedish university at Dorpat during the first years of its existence (1632–1636), focusing on classical and Christian motifs, as well as the contemporary baroque imagery in these poems. As she stated at the beginning, they are "interesting not only from the literary point of view but [they] could also help to understand the academic life at the time". Tua Korhonen (2004) partly treated congratulatory texts written in Greek in dissertations from Finnish parts of the Swedish realm, with a focus on the poems' dependence on rhetorical handbooks. Tanja van Hoorn's 2010 article on the relation between paratext and dissertation in a specific specimen from Halle

that I want to discuss here, which was written by professors for students as congratulatory addresses in dissertations. The perspective is here opposite to what we most commonly meet in occasional literature, where persons lower in the social hierarchy write flattering texts to persons higher in it, in order to gain favour of some kind,[11] or when people address their equals in the social hierarchy, which is especially common in the learned world.[12] An obvious starting-point is thus that this changed perspective also means that professors are writing for other reasons than other occasional writers do, and that they therefore express themselves differently. The function of their texts in their contexts, i.e. the dissertations in which they were published, must likewise be of a particular kind. The discussion here will be based on the poems composed to students by Petrus Lagerlöf (1648–1699) during his time as a professor in Uppsala. These are 55 in number, and were published in dissertations between 1683 and 1698. But before we take a closer look at his poems, there are some general observations on congratulatory poems by professors to students that must be accounted for, besides the abovementioned time-span (i.e. that they appear in the 1620s, culminate at the end of the 17th century, and gradually disappear during the 18th century.)

Congratulatory Texts by Professors

When we find such congratulatory texts in the dissertations we can almost always find them at a certain location in the printed item. First in these publications is of course the title-page. Thereafter we meet the dedication or dedications. Then is the place of the congratulatory texts of professors, if there are any. Thereafter is the body of the dissertation, i.e. the actual treatise. Last in the publication congratulatory texts written by fellow students can usually be found. This is the general pattern, but there

is of special interest, since the paratextual *function* of the congratulatory addresses is there in focus. As she shows, the addresses were a place in which comments on the main texts could be made, objections raised, and further discussions on the subject held. On liminary poetry from a wider perspective, see for instance J.W. Binns's book (1990, p. 165f.) on the intellectual culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England. He there focuses on the potential of this literature to mirror the author's networks, from literary, political, and social points of view. In another article, the same author compares prefatory verses with "adverts or blurbs on the dustjackets of modern books" (Binns 1996, p. 9), as they are providing a "puff" for the work. Moreover, Franklin Williams (1962) covers the preliminaries from this region and period, providing personal, non-personal, and bibliographical information.

11 This discussion is summarized in Hansson 2012, p. 72f.

12 There are differences here between different countries, of course. In the Netherlands, for instance, without a Royal court and with comparatively few noblemen, poetry was accordingly to a great extent addressed to people on the same level in society. van Dam 2009, p. 96.

are, of course, also exceptions and variation. Sometimes all congratulatory texts are located before the body of the dissertation, sometimes they are all after it. But the texts of professors are almost always located before the texts of students. The only cases I have seen where this is not true is when the students are noblemen. And when there are several congratulatory addresses by professors, the most important professors come first. So the location of the congratulatory texts in the dissertations obviously mirrors the social hierarchy.[13]

We can also easily find some very noteworthy examples of what purposes these congratulatory texts of professors *could* serve. Some months after the publication of his *Atlantica* in 1679, Olof Rudbeck in a congratulatory text for the student Olaus Swanberg took the opportunity to ridicule the scholars who opposed him, while praising the respondent for having given the fatherland Sweden its due honour in the study of antiquity. He had not done like other people who cannot realize well-documented truth and who only mock those who have. Such scholars are like birds, who soil their own nest, when they cannot embellish it, Rudbeck writes: *Aviculis scilicet haud absimiles, quae, quod est in proverbio, nidum proprium, quem ornare non possunt, faece maculant*.[14] 60 years later the physician Nils Rosén von Rosenstein in a congratulatory text ridiculed the usual bad education of doctors, which was carried out by means of short compendia, while at the same time praising the respondent for having chosen the long and heavy path.[15] So, why deliver such criticism in congratulatory texts in dissertations? Who were the intended readers? As we know, dissertations from Uppsala were after their publication sometimes sent to academies abroad and to other universities in Sweden. However, a large portion was distributed to the student societies, the "nations", in Uppsala, and to the students of the nobility, and disseminated there. In the middle of the 18th century an issue of a dissertation consisted of approximately 500 copies, or even somewhat more.[16] We also know that they were sometimes used in education. So we could assume that an important group of readers was always to be found at the Swedish universities, and particularly at Uppsala University itself, and there especially among the students. On the other hand, university education in Sweden stood under the control of the Royal chancellery. A

13 As regards these observations, cf. Burman 2012, p. 70; van Dam 2015, p. 62.

14 In Columbus / Swanberg 1679, *Dissertatio academica de Troia capta* ... , Uppsala. As Gunnar Eriksson hinted, the situation in Uppsala was perhaps even such that it was risky not to speak well of the *Atlantica* and Gothicist ideas, given Rudbeck's powerful position at the time (Eriksson 2002, p. 347).

15 Von Rosenstein's congratulatory text has been published in Örneholm 2014.

16 Annerstedt 1914, pp. 183, 202–203.

professor could undoubtedly use this publication format for his own career-building as well, by publicly displaying loyalty and patriotism. And when the student was a nobleman, the professor also addressed a superior in the social hierarchy.

The Case of Petrus Lagerlöf

While messages of Rudbeck's and von Rosenstein's kind could be delivered in these texts, this was not normally the case. The intention here has therefore been to consider all texts written by one prominent professor. Petrus Lagerlöf was appointed professor of logic in Uppsala in 1682, of poetry in 1684, and of eloquence in 1687.[17] The chair he held was accordingly in a special way responsible for Latin education at the university. He has sometimes been regarded as the most talented Latin writer in Swedish history,[18] and he is, as far as I know, the only Latin author in our country who has had his collected Latin works edited and published in later times. This was done by Samuel Älf in 1780.[19] In this collection the editor gathered Lagerlöf's poems from academic dissertations separately in one of the two main sections, since they in fact constitute a considerable part of his entire poetical output. In the preface of the publication Älf explained his motivation for making the collection by stating that Lagerlöf had created the most perfect examples of the genre. In addition Lagerlöf was, according to his reputation, also very popular among the students. One sign of this was that he was elected inspector of no fewer than three different student nations, Värmland, Österbotten, and Gotland,[20] and this is a good starting-point.

In earlier research, by Lars Burman among a very few others, the importance of the student nations has been stressed in the exchange of liminary poetry between students in dissertations from Uppsala.[21] This is also true in our material. In the 55 dissertations where poems by Lagerlöf can be found, approximately half of them also contain congratulatory poetry to the respondent written by students all belonging to the same nation as the respondent. The other dissertations are either lacking congratulatory poetry by students completely, or show somewhat different patterns. In some cases, when the respondents are noblemen, the students writing poetry are also

17 For Lagerlöf's biography see especially Olsson 1977, with further references.

18 See e.g. Ihre/Wåhlberg 1739, p. 28f. Nobody in Sweden had been able to write pure Latin before Lagerlöf, Haqvin Spegel wrote in a letter to his son (Piltz 2006, p. 42). Cf. Piltz 2006, p. 33; Aili 1995, p. 149; and Helander 1994, p. 43.

19 *Petri Lagerlöfvii, prof. olim Upsal. et historiographi regii, orationes, programmata ac carmina varia* (1780).

20 Hanselli 1866, vi. Cf. Piltz 2006, p. 31.

21 Burman 2012, p. 69, with further references.

usually noblemen. But there is a difference here, if we compare with the texts of professors. In Lagerlöf's case, we notice that approximately only one in four of the students were members of the same nation as he himself. Students who are members of the same nations as the professors who write congratulatory poetry still constitute an important group from professors, but in comparison not as important as when the students compose the poems. We could of course assume that many of the students who receive congratulatory poetry quite simply had Lagerlöf as a teacher. For 17 of the 55 dissertations in my material, Lagerlöf himself had been the praeses at the oral disputation. Only three of these 17 were written for students also belonging to any of the nations for which Lagerlöf was the inspector.

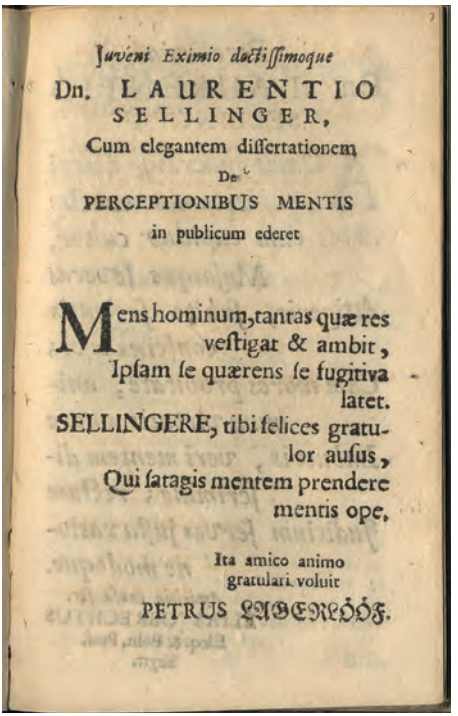
If we look at the poems that Lagerlöf wrote, we soon see some very clear patterns. Generally, we meet in them all kinds of features that are typical of Latin poetry at the time, such as plenty of allusions and references to ancient literature and mythology, a frequent usage of rhetorical devices, and a flagrant striving for wittiness, often by means of paronomasia. As far as the contents are concerned, we could say that the generally most common ingredients are presentation and praise, just as in allographic paratexts of later times, as Genette described them.[22] Let me take a short poem as an example. This text was composed in 1687 for the student Laurentius Sellinger, who then defended a dissertation under Lagerlöf's presidency with the title *De modis percipiendi et inclinationibus animae humanae*. Lagerlöf celebrates it with the following words:[23]

Mens hominum tantas quae res vestigat et ambit,
Ipsam se quaerens, se fugitiva latet.
SELLINGERE, tibi felices gratulor ausus,
Qui satagis mentem prendere mentis ope.[24]

22 Genette 1997, p. 263f. With allographic prefaces, Genette refers to prefaces written by persons other than the author of the main text. In our congratulatory texts, that must mean another person than the addressee, since the question of authorship cannot always be answered for sure. The basic functions of such prefaces are, according to Genette, to promote and to guide a reading of the work. Genette claims that here "high praise of the text [or the author] becomes a recommendation, and information about the text becomes a presentation".

23 Lagerlöf's Latin texts have in this article been quoted from Samuel Älf's edition *Petri Lagerlöfvii … Orationes, programmata ac carmina varia* from 1780, with only a few alterations. The ampersand is rendered as et. The ligatures *æ* and *œ* are rendered as *ae* and *oe*. But punctuation, the use of uppercase and lowercase letters, and characteristic Neo-Latin spellings such as *heic* for *hic* and *queis* for *quis* are retained as they were printed in Älf's edition.

24 Lagerlöf 1780, p. 221. "The human mind, which investigates and strives for such great things, When it makes inquiries into itself, it is concealed and fleeing. I congratulate you, O Sellinger, on your successful attempt, You who work hard to grasp the mind by means of the mind."



Juveni Eximio doctiſſimoque
Dn. LAURENTIO
SELLINGER,
Cum elegantem diſſertationem
De
PERCEPTIONIBUS MENTIS
in publicum ederet

Mens hominum, tantas quæ res
veſtigat & ambit,
Ipſam ſe quærens ſe fugitiva
latet.
SELLINGERE, tibi felices gratu-
lor auſus,
Qui ſatagis mentem prendere
mentis ope.

Ita amico animo
gratulari voluit
PETRUS LAGERLÖÖF.

Fig. Lagerlöf's congratulatory poem in Lagerlöf/Sellinger, De modis percipiendi et inclinationibus animae humanae, *1687. Photo: Magnus Hjalmarsson, Uppsala University Library.*

The first two lines present the contents of the dissertation, and state the great difficulties in understanding how perception functions in human beings. In the last two lines Lagerlöf congratulates and praises the respondent, while addressing him explicitly in the vocative, on his successful enterprise, in which he has tried to grasp the human mind by means of his own mind. Worth noticing here is that the praise for the respondent stresses that he has successfully performed exactly what he has treated in his dissertation; he has described the human mind by using his own mind. As we shall see, the respondent successfully fulfilling, as it were, the subject of his own treatise is one of Lagerlöf's most frequently occurring ideas in his congratulatory poetry.

If we would already here summarize the messages and functions of Lagerlöf's congratulatory poems, we could thus say that they in general give a short poetical presentation and circumlocution of the contents of the dissertation, followed by praise of the respondent for his great enterprise.[25] The function of recommending is vital in

25 The impression expressed by Harm-Jan van Dam (2009) on liminary poetry from the academic circles of the Netherlands is thus a bit different than ours: "There seems hardly any connection between the subject of the book and the metre or content of the introductory poetry, except, of course, insofar as the message of all poems is that at last we can read this wonderful book or author. In other words, the theme is praise of the writer-editor, and nothing but praise, with perhaps a few apt words thrown in on the theme of the book" (p. 121). Cf. Binns 1990, p. 171: "Most dedicatory poems evince some awareness of what the book to which they are all attached is all about. Detailed allusions to the work cannot be expected within the compass of a short poem, but the authors often refer to the title of the book, usually make some reference to its

allographic prefaces, according to Genette. As he also states: "this support is generally provided by a writer whose reputation is more firmly established than the author's".[26] With Bourdieu we could likewise speak of a transference of symbolic capital from professor to student.[27] The former makes use of his authority as a university professor and teacher, his charisma and reputation, and lends these to the student and the publication by praising it publicly and by congratulating the respondent. In accordance with the discussions of Karl Enenkel, another term for this process could be authorization.[28] By praising the student in his first achievements as a scholar, the professor assists in legitimizing and authorizing him as an agent in the scholarly discussion.[29] Worth noticing in this context is that while the contents of the presentations naturally differ in every single case, since the subjects of the dissertations are usually different, Lagerlöf in the praising parts often return to some special lines of thought in his argumentation, and we shall be focusing on those in the following. These ideas also essentially distinguish this congratulatory poetry from other kinds of occasional poetry, since they usually give the arguments *why the respondent is worth praising*. Sometimes explicit praise is absent from the poem, and we only find the presentation part. In those cases the mere presence of the professor's poem in the dissertation is to be regarded as a kind of praise, and often laudatory words can then also be found in the titles of the poems.

Themes of Praise

A recurrent idea in Lagerlöf's praising parts is, for instance, that the respondent by his dissertation has demonstrated his erudition. We find this in every single case, if not in the actual poem, then in the titles of the poems. Almost as frequent is that the praise is

subject matter, and praise both its utility and the manner in which it was written". In van Dam (2015, p. 65f.), this topic is addressed as well. He stresses the liminary poem's function of a summary, and that "liminary poets often take their cue from the very texts they introduce" (p. 70).

26 Genette 1997, p. 268.

27 Cf. e.g. Broady 1990, p. 171f.

28 Cf. Enenkel 2014, p.13.

29 To consider the congratulatory texts as part of an initiation of the student into the scholarly world would make sense in some respects, that is true, but could perhaps be somewhat misleading as well. Since these peritexts can be found in both dissertations *pro exercitio* and in those *pro gradu*, there are reasons to regard them more as pertaining to a gradual growth and an acquisition of a scholarly voice on the student's behalf. The real initiation into the world of the learned took place with the promotion ceremony, once the *pro gradu* dissertation had been successfully defended.

connected or alludes to the subject of the dissertation in some way, as in the example to Laurentius Sellinger above, but this can be done in different ways. A simple variant is the one that Lagerlöf uses in a poem on a dissertation *De festis Hebraeorum* (pr. Johannes Palmroot 1697):[30]

Sacra Palaestinae dum narras otia terrae,
Et festos, illic quotquot iere, dies;
Nostra tibi, RUTHI, festos Academia plausus,
Atque favens Paean laurea serta parat.[31]

He simply states that just as the respondent had treated the festivities of the Jewish people in the dissertation, the academy now prepares festivities for him.[32] In a poem for a dissertation on the magnet from 1687 (pr. Johan Bilberg) the simile goes a bit further, stating that just as the iron follows the magnet, honour shall follow upon the great achievement of the respondent:[33]

[...] Quam cum defendas Musis et Apolline dextro,
Et des ingenii pignora pulchra tui;
Ut magneta chalybs arcano diligit aestu,
Sic te promeritus sponte sequetur honos.[34]

Very commonly, moreover, Lagerlöf claims that the student by his work personally "fulfills" or "represents" what he has treated in his dissertation, if the subject is a positive one. In *De honesto* (pr. Johan Bilberg 1684), for instance, Lagerlöf in the congratulatory poem states that "love for the honest is what stirs the heart of the

30 Lagerlöf 1780, p. 232.

31 "When you relate about the sacred holidays of the Palestinian land, and all the festive days that have passed there, our academy prepares festive applauses for you, Ruth, and Paean with favour a laurel crown."

32 In a poem on *De vita hominis* (pr. J. Salenius 1695), Lagerlöf likewise ends by saying that just as the respondent has now treated how life functions, we all wish that this life will be happy and gentle for him.

33 Lagerlöf 1780, p. 221.

34 "When you defend this with Apollo's and the Muses' approval, and give good proof of your intellect, then honour deservedly follows you, just like steel loves the magnet with a hidden ardour."

respondent, and that the actual dissertation makes it possible to discern his good manners":[35]

[...] Hic est [amor honesti], WIGELI, qui tibi pectus agit.
Hic est, quem nobis praebet tua charta tuendum,
Datque simul mores cernere posse tuos.[36]

We meet the same in dissertations like *De generoso* (pr. Elias Obrecht 1691), *De idea boni civis* (pr. Hemming Forelius 1697), and *De praecipuis amicos devinciendi rationibus* (pr. Petrus Lagerlöf 1698). In the poems for these Lagerlöf respectively states how the treatises show that the respondent is noble-hearted, a good citizen, and deserving of good friends.[37]

Furthermore, noble subjects are of course commendable in themselves. In the poem for a dissertation *De justitia* (pr. Andreas Norcopensis 1684), he addresses justice personified as the goddess Astraea, and states that the treatise could be praised merely by the fact that it has such a wonderful subject:[38]

[...] Non delenda tui legimus vestigia cultus,
Qualibus ESBERGI haec pagina docta nitet:
Pagina, quae potuit plausus meruisse vel uno hoc
Nomine, quod Nomen praeferat, alma, tuum.[39]

In poems for the astronomical dissertations *De stellis fixis* (pr. Anders Spole 1683) and *De cyclis solis atque lunae* (pr. Nicolaus Celsius 1689) Lagerlöf likewise states that the

35 Lagerlöf 1780, p. 216f.

36 "This [love of the honest] is what stirs your heart, Wigelius. This love is what your dissertation offers to the readers to cherish. At the same time it makes it possible for us to see your manners."

37 The same is the case with the dissertation *De grato animo* (pr. J. Columbus 1684), on the grateful soul, where Lagerlöf in his poem states that Apollo and the Muses, who here represent the academy, will love the respondent just as much as he himself loves a grateful soul. In a poem for a dissertation *De aenigmatibus* (pr. P. Lagerlöf 1696), the respondent has of course displayed an artfulness like that of Oedipus. And in the poem for a dissertation on the sacred rites of the vestals of Rome, where the fires were always burning on their altars, it is stated that the treatise bears witness of a similar fire in the lamp at the respondent's home, when he was writing it.

38 Lagerlöf 1780, p. 217.

39 "Traces of your worship that must never be deleted we have read about, of these Esberg's learned publication shines. This publication could even have earned applause only from the fact that it carries your name."

nobility of the subjects will surely ennoble also the respondents, so that their lives on earth will be better and more successful.

Personifications of the subjects as in the previous example occur quite often. In the poem for *De antiquitatibus Dalecarlicis* (pr. Andreas Goeding 1693), for instance, the region of Dalecarlia herself, the mother of so many riches, rejoices over the respondent, and the glory that he has bestowed on her, she gives back to him:[40]

Dum tibi belligeris DALEKARLIA foeta colonis,
Multarumque eadem prodiga mater opum,
Scribitur; illa probum sibi te gratatur alumnum,
Quodque decus praestas, reddit amica tibi.[41]

In *De ritu veterum precandi Anatolico* (pr. Andreas Goeding 1693), we meet what seems to be a rather witty reference to a disputation act *ante meridiem* which usually took place already at 7 in the morning:[42]

In se quot quondam, dum littore surgit Eoo,
Solis adorantum verteret ora jubar;
Dum, TOERLINGE, doces, tibi matutinus Apollo
Plaudit, et Auroram pagina docta sapit.[43]

Because of the ancient rite treated in the dissertation, where the sun was important, Lagerlöf has three different circumlocutions for the morning sun. When the respondent Törling teaches how the ancients in their rite turned their gaze towards the morning sun (Eoo), matutinus Apollo applauds him, and the treatise displays

40 Lagerlöf 1780, p. 229. In a dissertation containing a comparison of the precepts of Noah's ancestors and natural law (pr. C. Lundius 1689), Themis herself likewise gives the respondent the laurel crown. In a poem for a dissertation comparing the Greek and the Romans (pr. E. Obrecht 1691), Rome and Macedonia themselves, represented by the cities of Pella and Quiris, applaud the respondent.

41 "When you write about Dalecarlia who is full of belligerent farmers, and at the same time the generous mother of many riches, she rejoices that you are her pupil, and the honour that you bestow, she gives back to you as her friend."

42 Lagerlöf 1780, p. 229.

43 "When you teach, o Törling, how many faces of worshippers the light of the sun used to turn towards itself when dawn raised from the coast, the morning Apollo applauds you, and the learned treatise resembles Aurora."

knowledge of Aurora. I presume that Apollo in the morning here refers both to this god's capacity as sun-god and to the academy, for which he is often used as a symbol.

But if the subject is of a negative or reprovable kind, the respondent of course represents the opposite. In the dissertation *De invidia* (pr. Johan Bilberg 1683), on envy, Lagerlöf addresses personified envy (following Ov. *Pont*. 3.3.1, *Livor iners vitium mores non exit in altos*) and suggests that she will groan at this successful enterprise, since she has been so well described in the treatise, and her true nature revealed:[44]

[...] Et qualem heic docta pinxit DIONYSIUS arte:
Huc te spectatum, si lubet, ipse veni.
Cumque gemas coeptis felicibus, hoc quoque luge,
Haec quod tam pulchre cessit imago tui.[45]

In both *De fato astrologico* (pr. Johan Bilberg 1683) and *De philosophia Epicurea* (pr. Petrus Lagerlöf 1697) the respondents are in a similar way praised for not liking these foolish ideas personally. In *De tribuni militum consulari potestate* (pr. Petrus Lagerlöf 1697) Lagerlöf states in the two last lines, that although the respondent has treated the fights of the Roman *plebs* in his treatise, this does not contain anything plebeian or simple at all:[46]

[...] Haec tua dum, SKUNKI, plebis certamina narrat
Pagina, plebejum nil tamen ipsa sapit.[47]

This last mentioned idea, that the student by his achievement stands out from the common throng, *vulgus*, we meet also in the poems for the dissertations *De fato astrologico* (pr. Johan Bilberg 1683) and *De stellis fixis* (pr. Anders Spole 1683).

Another important recurring topos is that the student by his treatise has restored and given life to something that was broken or dead. In the poem for a dissertation on lighthouses (pr. Nils Wolff Stiernberg 1685), Lagerlöf first states that the ancient wonder at Pharos, which had helped so many sailors, does not exist any longer. But

44 Lagerlöf 1780, p. 214f.

45 "And come here yourself, if you want, and see how Dionysius depicted you with learned artfulness. And when you groan at this successful enterprise, do also mourn that this picture of you is so well painted there."

46 Lagerlöf 1780, p. 233.

47 "When this book of yours tells about the fights of the plebs, it nevertheless does not resemble anything plebeian itself."

the respondent has lit its fires again, and kindles a new torch, while he thus gives light to those who travel by sea, he makes a road for himself to glory:[48]

[...] Sed lapsos iterum CARLHOLMIUS asserit ignes,
Extinctaeque faci porrigit ecce! facem:
Dumque iter illustrat vastum sulcantibus aequor,
Ipse novum ad famam sic sibi sternit iter.[49]

In a poem for a dissertation on Theseus (pr. Petrus Lagerlöf 1689), Lagerlöf praises the respondent explicitly for having given the god life again:[50]

[...] Heic nunc ecce! nova redivivus imagine spirat,
Qualis in Actaeo constitit ante foro;
Laetus Hyperboreo nomen sibi crescere in orbe,
Dum sub barbarie Graecia tota gemit[51]

The name of the god is becoming better known in the Northern countries, while all of Greece is suffering under barbarianism.[52] It should be added here that Lagerlöf stresses the miserable state of Greece at the time in more poems. The Nordic countries are now the caretakers of the ancient legacy.

48 Lagerlöf 1780, p. 219.

49 "But Carlholm again starts the fires that have been extinguished, and behold, he puts forth a torch to the extinguished torch. When it enlightens the road for those who cross the vast sea, he thus builds a new road for himself to glory."

50 Lagerlöf 1780, p. 222.

51 "Behold here now, reborn he breathes in a new image, just as he stood before in the Athenian square. He is happy that his name grows in the Northern countries, while the entire Greece groans under barbarism."

52 In a poem for a dissertation on the history of the Greek language (*Historiola linguae Graecae*, pr. P. Lagerlöf 1685), Lagerlöf likewise states, with an allusion to some lines in book 15 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, that while Greece is now in ruins, and nothing is left of Athens but the name, the respondent briefly brings it back from antiquity, so that it can survive himself. In a poem for the dissertation *De Gallorum veterum druidum institutis atque disciplina* (pr. P. Lagerlöf 1689), Lagerlöf stated that not only Athens and Greece owned wisdom in Antiquity, but also the Northern countries and the Celts did so. Also the druids served the Muses. The respondent now presents this unearthed from the ancient shadows, and diligently locates it in the abode of the Muses, that is the academy. In a poem for a dissertation on the life of Cicero (*De vita Ciceronis*, pr. N. Wolff Stiernberg 1685), Lagerlöf addresses Cicero's murderer Antony and exclaims *tua victima vivit*, since posterity, represented by the respondent, pleads Cicero's cause.

I have in another context briefly treated Lagerlöf's congratulatory poems containing Gothicist ideas, and will thus pass this over here, although it is a very important theme in four of Lagerlöf's poems.[53] May it suffice here to mention the circumstance that two of the poems do not have any Gothicist counterpart in the actual dissertations. In the poems for both *De aquila Romanorum* (pr. Hemming Forelius 1694) and *De Platone Pythagorizante* (pr. Johannes Salenius 1697), Lagerlöf is the one that introduces the ideas, adding, as it were, or even correcting, what is not to be found in the dissertation. The dissertation *De aquila Romanorum*, for instance, is entirely dealing with the Roman army, but in Lagerlöf's poem for it the point is that the Gothic nation was the only one that was unconquered by it.

Another recurring theme stresses that the praised dissertation will start a discussion and get attention at the academy. We meet it, for instance, in one on truces (*De induciis*, pr. Julius Micrander 1684), where Lagerlöf first refers to the Truce of Regensburg, which had been settled between France and Spain on 15 August 1684, only some months before the disputation, stating that while this happened, treatises were also prepared for learned and unbloody battles:[54]

> *[...] Sis, Gradive, procul, nostroque aversus ab orbe;*
> *Barbarico potius sanguine tinge manus.*
> *Te Thrax, te Schythicae trux accola sentiat undae,*
> *Te tremat, Euphratem quae fera turba bibit.*
> *Nos penes at solae renovent certamina Musae,*
> *Qualia LYRELI pagina culta movet.*[55]

With a hope that wars will be far away from the country, he then claims that only the Muses renew the battles here among us, such battles as those that the respondent's work provokes.[56]

I mentioned at the beginning that wittiness is common in poetry of the time. Most obviously we meet this in two poems that play on the names of the respondents.

53 See Sjökvist 2017.

54 Lagerlöf 1780, p. 218.

55 "May Mars (*Gradivus*), be far away, and turned away from our lands, may he rather moisten his hands with barbarian blood. May Thracia close to Scythian waters know you, may that ferocious crowd who drinks the waters of Euphrates tremble at you. But among us only the Muses renew the battles, such battles as Lyrell's learned book starts."

56 In a short poem for the dissertation *De lege Charonda septima* (pr. J. Micrander 1686), Lagerlöf states that just like Sybaris had listened to the precepts of Charondas during a banquet, the respondent now brings up these precepts to be celebrated at the academy.

In one case the surname of the respondent is Phoenix, to which I will shortly return, but the best is surely Lagerlöf's poem for the dissertation *De natura avium* (pr. Johannes Schwede 1690). The respondent's name was Olaus Celsius (adverb "higher"), and one wonders if not the subject of the dissertation had been chosen just because of the name. Such things happened quite often:[57]

Qui celeres sollers venatur in aëre pennas,
Ingenioque leves praepete captat aves;
Doctaque naturae, qua fas est, retia tendit,
Aucupiique movet nobilioris opus:
Attollit volucrem sensim ad coelestia mentem;
Atque suis terris Celsior ire parat.[58]

What we meet is a very nice piece built on bird-hunting seen as the search for knowledge and erudition. The swift-flying birds are also compared with the gifted and intelligent mind of Celsius, whose name is used for the pun in the last line, where the change to *Celsior*, indicating, as it were, a permanent improvement of the character of the respondent, very effectively makes the reader notice what the name means, although *celsius* would have worked grammatically as well. The birds are called swift with the words *celeres* and *leves*. Likewise Celsius's mind is swift, with the words *praepes* and *volucer*, both of which are also mentioned as synonyms of *avis* for birds in the dissertation itself. Hunting is in the first four lines expressed in no less than four different ways: *venatur*, *captat*, *retia tendit*, and *aucupii*. The last two lines are built on the antithesis of heaven and earth, in combination with the pun on Celsius's name, which is of course well-suited here to birds and minds rising towards heaven. In the poem for the dissertation *De veterum philosophandi modo* (pr. Petrus Lagerlöf 1692), where the respondent's surname was Phoenix, we of course could not expect but a witty poem. The myth of the Phoenix is still alive and has a reputation, but the respondent should use his gifts so that he could become a true Phoenix after his death.

The last theme to which I want to pay attention is one that we could perhaps have expected to meet even more often, namely that the respondent has produced a work that will resist time, and live much longer than himself. This can be found in the

57 Lagerlöf 1780, p. 225.

58 "He who is skilled in hunting swift birds in the air, and tries to catch them with a fortunate mind, he stretches his learned nets in nature, where it is possible, and works on a more noble bird-catching. He gradually lifts his winged mind to the heavens, and prepares to proceed more loftily on earth."

abovementioned poem for the respondent with the surname Phoenix, who will of course live also after his death if he uses his gifts wisely. But most explicitly we find it in the poem on a dissertation on funerals (pr. Petrus Lagerlöf 1691):[59]

Gignimur, heu! Tumulo, Lachesis nascentibus instat,
et cunae Manes, quos patiantur, habent;
primaque lux vitae tacitis nos destinat umbris,
incipimusque mori et vivere paene simul.
Felix, supremae quem postquam cesserit horae,
non totum injecto pulvere condit humus.[60]

In only eight lines Lagerlöf manages to reproduce several topoi that we usually find in funerary poetry, such as the "democracy of death", the "shortness of life", that "we must all die".[61] The two last lines are magnificent: beginning with *felix*, which recalls an ancient hieratic formula which is especially famous from an instance in Vergil's *Georgica*,[62] the last lines allude to Horace's *carmen* 1.28, which stresses the democracy of death as well. A corpse of a drowned man which lies unburied on the shore is there speaking, and asks a sailor passing by to bury him. Three handfuls of sand are enough to do so. But Lagerlöf makes something quite new and original of this, stating that happy is the man whom the earth does not cover completely. In contrast to Horace, Lagerlöf thus connects a complete burial with oblivion. The simile, which is surprising to say the least, and probably ironic, alludes to another well-known poem of Horace, the *exegi monumentum*, with expressions like *non omnis moriar*, I will not die completely.

Concluding Remarks

To sum up in a few words, we could say that the congratulatory poems from professors to students in dissertations in many ways mirror the social hierarchy and the importance of the student nations. They could be seen as performing an act of au-

59 Lagerlöf 1780, p. 226.

60 "We are born, alas! for the grave, Lachesis threatens those who are born, and the cradle holds the ghosts of the dead, whom they endure. The first day of life destines us for the silent shadows, and we start to die and live almost at the same time. Happy he, when he has yielded to the very last hour of life, whom the soil does not conceal completely when dust has been thrown upon him."

61 For references on further reading on these topoi, see Sjökvist 2007, p. 247f.

62 Cf. Mynors 1990, p. 169.

thorization, or a transference of symbolic capital, when the senior scholar in this way bestows shares of his reputation and authority to the younger. As we have seen in the case of Petrus Lagerlöf, the actual poems mainly consist of two parts, which are also their main functions, namely presentation of the subject material and praise of the respondent, which is a recommendation as well. In them we meet wittiness, personifications, and strong rhetorical colouring. Gothicism recurs at several occasions, although the dissertation in itself treats something else. Characteristic in the praising parts is the connection of the praise to the subject in some way, where the respondent is usually said to represent or fulfil its good qualities. The respondents are also often praised merely for having chosen good subjects. Other reoccurring ideas are that the respondent with his treatise has restored or given back life to something that was broken or dead, that the respondent has brought up a subject for discussion in the academy, and that he has created something that will last much longer than his own life. Happy is he whom the earth does not cover completely.

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Jan Waszink

University and Court

The Case of Leiden, 1572–1618

This article* focuses on the close relationship between the University of Leiden (founded in 1575) and the government of the province of Holland, especially in the first few decades after the university's foundation.[1] Over and above these very close connections (which are well known), this paper argues that in its very early years the University of Leiden might in some aspects be seen as a kind of court near the seat of the government, especially with respect to cultural, networking and patronage functions fulfilled by royal courts elsewhere, at a time when these were less available at the seat of Holland's *de facto* government itself. Before we proceed I shall provide a very brief outline of the early history of the university and the nascent commonwealth which it was designed to serve. I shall then discuss two episodes from the early decades of the university in which the university and the government of Holland appear to be very closely connected, and even mutually dependent: the period of the English leadership in the united provinces in 1585–1588, and the quarrels over predestina-

* I thank Bo Lindberg, Philippa Woodcock and Chris Heesakkers for their constructive comments to the draft of this paper.

1 J. van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons, and Professors. Sir Philip Sidney and the Leiden Humanists*, Leiden 1962; C. Heesakkers, *Een netwerk aan de basis van de Leidse universiteit. Het album amicorum van Janus Dousa*, Leiden 2000, 2 vols; C. Heesakkers and W. Reinders, *Genoeglijk bovenal zijn mij de Muzen. De Neolatijnse dichter Janus Dousa (1545–1606)*, Leiden 1993; Th. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G. Posthumus Meyjes (eds.), *Leiden University in the seventeenth century: an exchange of learning*, Leiden 1975; Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (eds.), *Leidse universiteit 400. Stichting en eerste bloei 1575– ca. 1650*, Amsterdam 1975. Volume one of a recent comprehensive history is W. Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame 1: Het bolwerk van de vrijheid. De Leidse universiteit 1575–1672*, Amsterdam 2000; a concise version in English is available in W. Otterspeer, *The Bastion of Liberty: Leiden University Today and Yesterday*, Leiden 2008.

tion and religious politics from 1603–1618 which led to a near-civil war in the Dutch republic and the overthrow of the existing government in Holland.

The political situation in the rebellious provinces

From the early 16th century onwards the 17 provinces of the Low Countries formed a separate administrative unity within the Habsburg Empire. As result of a long historical process of marriage alliances and treaties (and war in some cases), all the sovereign titles of the provinces in the Low Countries had eventually (via possession by other houses such as Burgundy) come in possession of the House of Habsburg. By the 1560s, discontent of religious, political and social nature led to tensions between on the one side the nobility, the towns and the populace in these provinces, and the central government on the other. These tensions increased especially after the succession to the throne of Philip II, who did not enjoy the personal popularity in the Low Countries which his father Charles V had possessed. They resulted in both active revolt in some provinces, and repressive measures by the central government. By the mid-1570s there were basically three parties in the Low Countries: the central government led by Philip II from Spain via his intermediaries in the Low Countries; the rebellious provinces, that is, Holland and Zeeland in the north-west of the area, with some connected territories towards the east; and the remaining provinces which were (very) critical of the government but had so far preserved their loyalty to the crown.

In the two rebellious provinces provisional wartime governments were instituted on the basis of the structures that existed before the revolt, that is, the main towns and noble families sent representatives to a council called the States (representatives of the "orders" of medieval society), who formerly conferred with the sovereign or his representative (the *Stadhouder*, "place-holder"), now with the informal leadership of the revolt, i.e. William of Orange and his entourage. The first meeting of these rebellious States took place in 1572 not at the traditional seat of the County of Holland in The Hague, but in the town of Dordrecht. It would take several years before The Hague would be the States' main meeting location again, and meetings would still sometimes be held elsewhere for another decade. A Spanish reconquest campaign led to sieges of a number of towns in Holland from 1572–1575, which were partly successful, and partly broken. However, the rebellious provinces were by far the weaker party in the conflict and the situation of the revolt remained critical. In 1576 an alliance with other the provinces (the Pacification of Ghent) and the subsequent Union of Brussels effectively spread the revolt over most of the provinces in the Low Countries.

The university at Leiden was founded shortly after the lifting of the siege of that city (3 October 1574), to serve as the place where the rebellious commonwealth's fu-

ture clergymen, lawyers, and doctors were to be trained. The haste in which the university was established is commonly explained by the desire to create a *fait accompli* before peace negotiations would put an end to the province's independence. Ironically, but in conformity with pre-war practices, the founding charter of the university was signed with Philip's name.[2] The allocation of the university to the town of Leiden by the States of Holland was also conceived and presented as a reward for the town's steadfastness during the critical siege.[3] The initiative for the new institution was developed by a co-operation of the States and the town. A central and crucial figure in this process was Jan van der Does (Janus Dousa in Latin), Lord of Noordwijk,[4] a member of the States and commander of the civic guard in Leiden during the siege (more on him below). The festive opening shortly followed on 8 February 1575, although obviously no complete university was in place by that time. The first professors were appointed in July, and the first student registered in August.[5]

Most medieval universities had ecclesiastical origins (a precursor such as a cathedral school and/or a papal bull), some were founded by municipalities (e.g. Cologne, Erfurt), while some were new creations by sovereign princes of a given area (e.g. Naples, Prague, Vienna). In that sense the institution of Leiden by a rebellious assembly which acted as a sovereign government could be seen as exceptional in itself. The University of Louvain had been founded one and a half centuries earlier as the central university in the Low Countries (1425). Although the actual re-conquest of Louvain by the Habsburg government took place only in 1578, it takes little imagination to understand why the authorities in the rebellious provinces felt the need for an institution under their own control. The foundation of a university at a place not in, but near the capital (or seat of the government) conforms to a pattern seen in many other places and which has generally proved beneficial to their flourishing.

Leiden's uncommon origins can be recognized in many of its aspects. The symbolic pageant held at the opening of the university was deeply steeped in humanist imagery, with a heavy emphasis on pagan classical culture. An anonymous contemporary engraving has defined the image of the event in the public eye ever since it was

2 J. Woltjer, 'Een Hollandse Universiteit', in Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, *Leidse Universiteit 400*, p. 13; Otterspeer, *Groepsportret*, p. 62.

3 Otterspeer, *Groepsportret*, pp. 11–16, 61–64.

4 A town near Leiden on the North Sea coast.

5 Woltjer, 'Hollandse Universiteit', p. 14.

published in the same year.[6] Apart from an allegory of Scripture and the Four Evangelists at the opening, religious images are absent. The engraving shows classical authors, pagan Gods, and the muses bringing to Leiden the very spirit of Antiquity, which, in humanist terms, was still the golden standard of both knowledge and wisdom in the world. Important classical sources for the subjects of Law, Medicine and the Arts are represented as figures in the pageant (such as Papinianus, Hippocrates, and Vergil). For Theology, however, where one would thus expect a selection of Church fathers (but which? – a point of controversy between the confessions), nothing more appears than the group at the opening.[7] This choice seems symptomatic of a wish to place the university as much as possible outside the confessional controversies of the age, and in line with William of Orange's drive for religious toleration; while moreover the fact that the training of preachers remained one of this secular-founded university's main tasks expresses an intention to preserve a hold on religious affairs by the secular authorities.[8] Both of these wishes are entirely congruous with the position of the secular government in a religiously heterogeneous society. On the opening day, after the pageant, a festive oration on the merits of Theology was held by the very liberal town preacher Caspar Coolhaes (1536–1615). On the disastrous failure in the next

6 See a copy of the engraving at http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.446071 (anonymous, 1575, Atlas van Stolk 570). See also Otterspeer 2000, pp. 11–16. There is another one from *c.* 1780 by P. van der Aa (Frederik Muller Historieplaten 698 or Atlas van Stolk 572), which I leave out of consideration here.

7 An alternative interpretation might read "Scripture" at the opening as a reference to the Protestant *Sola Scriptura* position, by which it would become a Protestant statement in itself, but even then, the relative absence of theological and religious imagery next to the abundance of classical imagery remains noteworthy. While moreover Scripture and the Evangelists are no less suitable for Catholic viewers.

8 For similar views see Woltjer, 'Hollandse Universiteit', pp. 15–16, and Otterspeer, *Groepsportret* e.g. 147–148. For a different view (i.e. that Orange did intend the university as a breeding ground for Calvinism), see K. Swart, *Willem van Oranje en de Nederlandse Opstand 1572–1584*, eds. R. Fagel, M. Mout and H. van Nierop, The Hague 1994, pp. 45–46. On a speculative note it is interesting to ask whether, given the religious pluriformity in the Low Countries at the time, the large share of Catholics in the country, and William of Orange's drive for religious toleration, the parallel training of Protestant and Catholic clergymen at Leiden in the future would have been an imaginable possibility to the minds of the founders of the university. Van Dorsten, 'Een humanistische universiteit', p. 10 perceives a connection with the intellectual climate in Paris at the time Dousa was a student there, in which humanist civilization was seen as an antidote to religious conflict.

Engraving showing the procession at the opening of Leiden University, 1575, anonymous. Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

generation of this ambition to keep the university out of religious controversies, see further below.

The unusual nature of the university can be further demonstrated from the special effort that was made to connect famous scholars to the institution (Donellus, Lipsius, and Scaliger being conspicuous examples, but others as well), which gave it a special gilding as a place of advanced research – although, as Anthony Grafton has shown, an all-too-exclusive focus on the research aspect of the institution would also be wrong; the training of lawyers, doctors, and clergymen for their tasks in society remained foremost.[9] Another special aspect of the institution, and one that again expresses its special ties with the government, was the institution of the Engineering School (*Nederduytsche Mathematique*, usually *Ingenieursschool*), which followed with a special view to reinforcing the technological strength of the provinces' warfare, e.g. in building and attacking fortifications, draining marshes, etc.[10] The teaching here was in Dutch instead of Latin (hence *Nederduytsche*), and had a very strong practical orientation. In the early 1590s the States would open a college for poor students with bursaries paid for by the individual towns in the province or instituted by individuals (*Statencollege*). The seal of the university presented an image of Minerva with

9 See e.g. A. Grafton, *Athenae Batavae: The Research Imperative at Leiden 1575–1650*, Scaliger Lectures no. 1, Leiden 2003, pp. 29–31.

10 Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame*, pp. 198–202.

the motto *Praesidium Libertatis*, "Bulwark of Freedom" – the word *libertas* also being the common Latin term to denote the political purpose of the provinces' revolt against their former overlord.[11] The States of Holland appointed three *curatores* who governed the university together with the four burgomasters of Leiden and the academic senate, which represented the professors.[12] In short, the intimate connections between the university, the secular city government, and the provisional States government in Holland are clear and unmistakable.

The government at The Hague and elsewhere

The scholarship on Early Modern royal courts has grown enormously over the past decades. As appears from this literature, no single or clear-cut definition of a royal court is possible.[13] In brief, several aspects or functions of Early Modern courts are discerned, e.g. the court as royal household; as administrative and judicial centre; as a community that comprised networks of patronage and clientage, including factions; and (in varying degrees of intensity) a range of cultural activities, more or less politically charged,[14] and sometimes scientific activities as well (e.g. at Rudolph II's court in Prague). Especially with respect to this last dimension of a court, politics mingle with literary, visual, and musical culture, and the arts are often employed to establish and negotiate political and patronage relationships.

In the rebellious provinces of Holland, Zeeland, and the connected territories, however, there was no court in this sense of the word. The Habsburg centres of gov-

11 I.e. the defence of the time-honoured charters and privileges which defined the political rights of the towns and the nobility vis-à-vis the sovereign. For further literature see e.g. M. Mout (ed.), *Plakkaat van verlatinge*, Groningen 2006; H. Grotius, *The Antiquity of the Batavian Republic*. With the notes by Petrus Scriverius. Edited and translated by Jan Waszink *et al*., Assen (Van Gorcum), 2000. Bibliotheca Latinitatis Novae. The question whether *libertas* or *religio* was the chief purpose of the revolt has been debated ever since the revolt itself.

12 During the period under discussion here, one of the curators was a nobleman, one was also a burgomaster of Delft, and the third a very senior legal officer with the States, e.g. the *Landsadvocaat* Paulus Buys (1581–1592) or an advocate of Holland's supreme court (J. van Banchem 1594–1601 and Cornelis van der Nieuwstadt 1602–1606); Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame*, pp. 75–76.

13 J. Adamson, 'The making of the ancient-regime court 1500–1700', in *The Princely Courts of Europe 1500–1750*, ed. J. Adamson, London 2000, p. 7; H. Smith, 'Court studies and the courts of early modern Europe', review article in *The Historical Journal* 49:4 (2006), pp. 1229–1238.

14 For a discussion of the changing place in the scholarship of political culture and related categories, see e.g. the introduction to K. Sharpe and Peter Lake, *Culture and Politics in early Stuart England*, Basingstoke 1994.

ernment, either in Brussels or Madrid, no longer held this role for the rebellious provinces, and no successor was in place as yet. William of Orange's leadership can in no way be considered in parallel terms with that of the sovereign princes elsewhere in Europe. His public political discourse put a strong emphasis on his collaboration with the States, if not even his submission to their wishes. The States were themselves in turn representatives of the major towns and the nobility (while the number of towns represented grew significantly in these years). When more provinces joined the revolt, another centre of power entered the scene, the States-General, i.e. the overarching assembly representing each of the provincial States. Thus power was dispersed over the area, and at least three main centres can be discerned, "Prince", "States" and "States-General", none of which, however, (with respect to Holland) settled at a permanent place of residence before the second half of the 1580s.

The Hague, some 17 km from Leiden, had traditionally been the residence of the Counts of Holland, but over the course of the 15th and 16th centuries, real political power had withdrawn to other centres in the Burgundian and later the Habsburg realm; first to Brussels (*numquid novi*), then to Spain. The civilian settlement was "only" an extension of the court, not formally a town in its own right with city rights etc. After 1572 the States of Holland moved up and down between several towns in the province up to 1578, and for some time it looked as if Delft would become their permanent seat. In 1578, however, they chose to return to their former seat at The Hague, "in order to prevent jealousy and strife among the towns", but in the subsequent decade meetings were still regularly held elsewhere.[15] The situation of William of Orange's residence was comparable, as it moved through the provinces in response to the demands of the military and political situation. His residence in 1574 was in Delft, at the *Prinsenhof* ("Prince's Court", a converted monastery), to oversee the operation to liberate Leiden, then in Middelburg; in Antwerp from 1577 to mid-1583; then briefly in Middelburg, Dordrecht and The Hague, and finally in Delft again in 1583–1584 (until his sudden death in July 1584).[16]

William of Orange's son Maurice (1567–1625) was a student at Leiden in 1582–1584, where he lived in Leiden's own *Prinsenhof*, a former nunnery at the Rapenburg

15 J. Koopmans, *De Staten van Holland en de Opstand. De ontwikkeling van hun functies en organisatie in de periode 1544–1588*, Den Haag 1990. Hollandse Historische Reeks vol. 13, pp. 181–182.

16 Swart, *Oranje en de Opstand*, pp. 238–240.

that had been converted for his use.[17] His studies were paid for by the States. He is said to have had a special interest in mathematics and history, and with this respect the possible connection between his later army reforms and Lipsius's study of the Roman army has received special attention, especially in the light of their decisive importance for the war against Spain.[18] After the assassination of William of Orange in 1584, Maurice was called back to Delft from his studies in Leiden and subsequently settled more permanently in The Hague. Louise de Coligny (William of Orange's widow[19]) then moved into Leiden's *Prinsenhof*, where she stayed until mid-1585. By 1585 the States of Holland and the States-General had settled permanently in The Hague. Given these shifting places of settlement it is clear that no court in the sense of a stable central location of power negotiation, patronage, and courtly culture had developed in the provinces in these years.

A university in the role of a Court: Dousa, the States, Leiden, England

The account below leans on the studies of the literary life at Leiden in the university's early years by Jan van Dorsten, Chris Heesakkers, and Willem Otterspeer. In particular, van Dorsten's *Poets, patrons and professors* of 1962 provides a very detailed study of the literary life at Leiden and the university, set primarily in the context of the nascent republic's English connections, and with a special interest in the "emancipation" of poetry in the vernaculars which developed in conjunction with (late-) humanist emulations of Latin poetry. As already mentioned, the crucial figure that emerges in the co-operation between the States of Holland and the town of Leiden towards the founding of the university was Janus Dousa. Dousa was not only a member of the States, a central figure in the town of Leiden during the siege, and a curator of the

17 Rapenburg 4–10; this former nunnery of St. Barbara was confiscated in 1574 and served as the original university building for the opening in February 1575, but the university soon (1577) moved to another converted monastery on the Rapenburg, and soon to another again, the present Academy Building (1581). See https://www.erfgoedleiden.nl/component/lei_verhalen/verhaal/id/72.

18 A. van Deursen, Maurice van Nassau. *De winnaar die faalde*, Amsterdam 2000, pp. 16–17; G. Parker, 'The Limits to Revolutions in Military Affairs: Maurice of Nassau, the Battle of Nieuwpoort (1600), and the Legacy', in *The Journal of Military History* Vol. 71:2 2 (2007), pp. 331–372, esp. 338–347.

19 Louise de Coligny was William's fourth spouse; Maurice was the son of his second wife, Ann of Saxony.

university after the siege, but also an envoy of William of Orange and the States to the English court.

The noble family of van der Does were Lords of Noordwijk, and the family had a hereditary seat in the States of Holland. After attending the Latin School at Delft (where his passion for Latin literature became apparent by his composition of a Latin play), Janus went to Louvain in 1562, for the propedeutic *artes*-programme, to be followed by a study of law. In 1563 he left for Douai, then continued to Paris (in contravention of the prohibition for students from the Low Countries to attend universities outside the King's territory, a prohibition that was frequently broken). Dousa stayed in Paris from 1564–1566, in the company of compatriots, many of them noblemen like himself. Here he further developed his literary interests, and became friends with *Pleiade* poets such as Jean Dorat, Guillaume des Autelz, and Jean-Antoine de Baif,[20] and with other foreign students, most notably the Englishman Daniel Rogers (c. 1538–1591), of whom we shall see more below.

In 1566 Janus was called back to Holland by his family, allegedly because of his making great progress in literature but less impressive progress in law. He was charged with the administration of the family domain, and married Elizabeth van Zuylen van der Haar. By this time he also became involved in the political tensions of the period, and joined the League of Nobles (the movement of the nobility which tried to persuade the government and the King to change their policies with respect to the Low Countries). He deepened his acquaintance with the scholar and medical doctor Hadrianus Junius, newly appointed as the official historiographer of the province of Holland the year before. Junius shared with Dousa a background in Paris, had also worked in England as a doctor and tutor, had dedicated Latin poetry to both of the queens Mary and Elizabeth, and was working on a historical description of the province of Holland. This work, *Batavia*, is often seen as a mark of a rising self-consciousness in Holland. It was left unpublished at the author's death in 1575 and Dousa himself would take care of its publication by the university printer in 1588.[21] Junius also brought Dousa in contact with more humanists in the Low Countries (e.g. Victor Giselinus, Christopher Plantin, and others). The group is marked by an enthusiasm for Latin and Neo-Latin poetry and scholarship, and subsequent publications make it clear that Dousa had by no means given up his activity in this field. He also moved to the town of Leiden and in 1571 their first child was born, their son Janus about whom we shall read more below (the couple had twelve children in total, eight of whom, however, died prematurely). No exact testimony exists as to a conversion

20 Heesakkers and Reinders, *Genoeglijk bovena*l, p. 11.

21 H. Junius, *Hadriani Ivnii Hornani medici Batavia*, Leiden (Plantin), 1588.

to Protestantism; in any case Dousa was at least a nominal Catholic until the early 1570s. No particular zeal for any of the confessions is apparent from his biography.[22]

At the aforementioned meeting of the States in 1572 he was charged with the supervision of the preparation of copies of the charters and privileges, which as we have seen were crucial to the legitimation of the revolt. He was also sent to Queen Elizabeth as William of Orange's and the States' envoy to enlist English support for the cause of the revolt; at the English court he carried a letter of introduction from Junius to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, the Lord High Treasurer. Here he renewed the acquaintance with his Paris study friend Daniel Rogers, now a scholar as well as a diplomat. From the literary output produced during and after this visit it appears that Dousa's relationships at the court on behalf of the provinces were cemented partly by literary and academic exchanges which apart from Rogers also comprised Cecil and Elizabeth herself. An ode by Dousa to Lord and Lady Burghley is preserved among the poetry of Gabriel Harvey, and one to Elizabeth herself, in the Horatian style, in Dousa's *Nova Poemata* (published in 1575). To give a taste of this very courtly poetry, here is the first strophe of the ode to Elizabeth:

Regina magnis edita regibus
Ipsa erudita o Pieridum manu,
O Gratiis secunda nulli:
Si quid ab imperii ordinandis
Vacare rebus te iuvat, ad mea
Demitte vultus carmina, et aurei
Flexus ocelli, regioque
Cuncta supercilio moventis.

"Queen, scion of great kings,
Educated by the hand of the muses,
Second to none among the Graces,
If it pleases you to take a moment's rest from the affairs of the empire,
turn your eyes to my poetry, and the look of your golden eyes, which move all by a wink of your royal brow."[23]

22 He is described as 'truly Erasmian' by Van Dorsten; *Poets, Patrons*, p. 78.

23 See Van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons*, pp. 24–29 and 61 n. 1; Heesakkers and Reinders, *Genoeglijk bovenal*, pp. 47–48.

In early 1573 Dousa was back in Holland and back in Leiden. Soon afterwards the Spanish laid siege to the town. During the siege, after the previous commander had fallen, Dousa became commander of the town's civic militia (the main remaining defence force in the town by that time), and showed himself one of the hard-liners who prevented the surrender of the city during the hardships and famine which marked the lengthy siege (and killed about a third of the town's inhabitants). However, even these circumstances had not undermined his attachment to literature and scholarship; after the siege Dousa published another collection of Latin poetry on the experiences during the siege.[24]

After the siege William of Orange made the proposal to the States of Holland for the foundation of a university for the rebellious provinces, and Dousa and some others seized the opportunity to reserve the privilege for Leiden.[25] A committee of three curators was appointed to prepare its opening, including Dousa (who also wrote the verses recited at the opening pageant, see above). In general the strong aegis of classical Latin culture under which the early university took form must have been largely due to his inspiration.

Apart from the three curators, four burgomasters and the senate who governed the university, another important pillar of the project was the town secretary, Jan van Hout. Van Hout was also a veteran of the siege and an active poet in the Dutch language in his own right. Dousa was the only scholar in this company, and put great effort in attaching prominent scholars to the new university. And with success: the growth of the university from "an insignificant educational institution in a moderately sized town, to one of the chief scientific centres in Europe in the seventeenth century"[26] was due in no small degree to these ambitious beginnings. In 1578 the famous philologist Justus Lipsius came to Leiden as a result of Dousa's mediation, and in 1584 no-one less than the Antwerp printer Christopher Plantin, after his appointment as the university's official printer. And after Lipius's departure in 1591 Dousa was again instrumental in persuading the great scholar Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) to take his place.[27]

From late 1574 onwards Daniel Rogers paid several visits to the Low Countries either as secretary to the English ambassador Thomas Wilson, or to Philip Sidney in his mission to the continent (in 1577), or as an independent envoy from Elizabeth.

24 *Odae Lugdunenses*, part of Dousa's *Nova Poemata* of 1575; see Heesakkers and Reinders, *Genoeglijk bovenal*, p. 33.

25 Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame*, p. 63.

26 Heesakkers, *Netwerk*, p. 6.

27 Ibid., p. 87.

He frequently met with Dousa, Junius and others, in Leiden and other places, and for example with William of Orange himself in Dordrecht in 1577. The exchange of learned verses in the context of these diplomatic exchanges continued, as is shown by a couple of poems by Rogers on the university and on Dousa, and poetic replies to them by Dousa. In 1580, however, travelling to the courts of Rudolph II (in Prague) and the Duke of Saxony, he was taken prisoner. He was released in 1585 but did not resume his former role in the international arena.[28] Also in 1585 Dousa became the founder and (first) librarian of Leiden's university library, and he was appointed as historiographer of the States of Holland (as successor to Junius).

A major episode for our purposes is the beginning right after these appointments. After the failure of the alliance with the French monarchy, the murder of William of Orange, and the loss of Antwerp to the Spaniards, talks with Elizabeth about English support to the Revolt were resumed. Dousa had already travelled to London right after Orange's assassination in July 1584, probably for an informal exploration of the possibilities for an alliance. He went again about a year later as a member of the official delegation from the States-General (including Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, the emerging leader of the States of Holland, and their *landsadvocaat* Paulus Buys) that went to Elizabeth in the summer and autumn of 1585.[29] The outcome of these talks is well-known; Elizabeth sent the Earl of Leicester, one of her personal favourites, with an army to the Netherlands to help stop the Spanish advances under the Duke of Parma. Although events would soon take a different course, many in the Low Countries at this time hoped that this alliance would place the rebellious provinces under the permanent and effective protection of the English crown.

During this delegation the literary exchanges with court attendants in London were resumed, as in 1572.[30] This time the embassy from Holland also included "a host of unnamed young men" from the university (including Dominicus Baudius,[31] Dousa's eldest son Janus,[32] and Georgius Benedicti Werteloo, a former Leiden student then at Cambridge[33]) who joined in these exchanges and were probably invited with this particular purpose in mind. After their return Dousa and son published a col-

28 Van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons*, pp. 32–35, 47, 53, 68–75.

29 Ibid., p. 79.

30 Ibid., p. 77–105; Heesakkers and Reinders, *Genoeglijk bovenal*, pp. 46–64.

31 Dominicus Baudius (1561–1613) had at that time just graduated in Law from Leiden. He was a personal friend of Dousa and Justus Lipsius, and would become professor or Rhetoric in 1602.

32 Janus Dousa the younger (1571–1596), who would soon make a reputation as a scholar for himself but would die at age 25, much lamented by his father.

33 Van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons*, pp. 78–81, 162–163.

lection of *Odae Brittanicae* in Leiden, dedicated to Elizabeth.[34] From the side of the English court, participants included William Cecil again, François Hotman (Leicester's secretary), Paulus Melissus, Jérôme Groslot,[35] and Philip Sidney (1554–1586), the courtier, diplomat and most prominent English poet of his time, a multilingual poet as well, and one of the innovators of poetry in the English language. Sidney would soon join his uncle Leicester's mission to the Netherlands, where he would be appointed as governor of the town of Vlissingen[36] and become a commander in the English army. After the main delegation had returned, Dousa stayed behind in London until early December 1585 and continued his diplomatic and literary exchange with Hotman, Melissus, and Groslot.

When Leicester arrived in the Netherlands (around the New Year 1586), he set up his court at The Hague. He visited Leiden on 12 January 1586, again (for a longer visit) on the 21st, and again on 10 March.[37] At his festive entry on 12 January the city was decorated with tapestries and verses, and lit with torches. Now the *Prinsenhof* at the Rapenburg became Leicester's residence in Leiden, while Jan van Hout made sure Philip Sidney was lodged in his house. Justus Lipsius gave a special lecture on Tacitus for Leicester and his company, followed by a feast.[38] The entourage included men like

34 Heesakkers and Reinders, *Genoeglijk bovenal*, pp. 46–48.

35 Jean Hotman (1552–1635) was a well-connected scholar also in correspondence with Lipsius. Dousa had been in correspondence with his famous father François about an appointment in Leiden; Heesakkers, *Netwerk*, p. 472 and e.g. J. Waszink, 'Henry Savile's Tacitus and the English role on the Continent: Leicester, Hotman, Lipsius', in *History of European Ideas*, Vol. 42:3 (2016), pp. 303–319. Paulus Melissus (1539–1602) was a German Neo-Latin poet, translator and diplomat for two German emperors; he had been known to Dousa since the early 70s. In 1585 he was at the English court to present his poetry to the Queen (Heesakkers, *Netwerk*, pp. 464–465); Jérôme Groslot (?–1621) was the son of a former Bailiff of Orléans who fled after his conversion to Protestantism in 1561. Jerome Jr was a literary friend of Melissus and soon became one of Dousa. With Lipsius he shared an interest in Tacitus and visited Leiden in 1587 (Heesakkers, *Netwerk*, p. 472–473).

36 Which, together with Den Briel, was given to the English as a pawn for their investments in the operation.

37 Van Dorsten *Poets, Patrons*, pp. 106–118.

38 For other connections between Leicester's campaign and readings of Tacitus, see Waszink, 'Henry Savile's Tacitus'.

Gebhard Truchsess and Manuel, the hereditary prince of Portugal.[39] By the end of January the first English language training in the Netherlands was set up in Leiden. In March Lipsius dedicated a treatise on the pronunciation of Latin to Sidney, presenting the book as his response to a discussion they had in Leiden.[40] On 22 September 1586 Sidney was mortally wounded at the battle of Zutphen. Before he died he lay ill for a month in the town of Arnhem, and during this period the contacts with Leiden continued; Baudius visited him and he exchanged letters with Dousa.

The close ties between university and the government are also evident from the events later in the year. For Elizabeth as well as the States, Leicester's role in the Low Countries was that of a military commander with a mission to halt, and possibly revert, the Spanish advances. Large groups among the population in the Low Countries on the other hand saw Leicester as the new head-of-state of the nascent Dutch commonwealth. This difference of perception connected with a range of latent disagreements and conflicts within the provinces. There was a conflict of opinion and interests between "particularists" and "centralists" (who defended provincial autonomy, or favoured the institution of an effective central government); there were the more orthodox and militant Protestants who saw Leicester as their champion against the "liberal" regents in the towns and the States; and there were regional interest groups which desired to obtain more political influence vis-à-vis the powerful town regents in the west. Soon his supporters had Leicester proclaimed governor-general, an elevation the latter proved unable or unwilling to evade, in spite of Elizabeth's and the States explicit wishes.

Before long this situation resulted in a very troubled relationship between Leicester and the States of Holland. From April 1586 onwards, Leicester's residence was Utrecht, and by the end of June he attempted to establish a central Chamber of Finances for the four most important provinces; a transfer of power to his own (central) sphere of influence of which the regents in the provinces were very suspicious,

39 See Van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons*, p. 117. Truchsess was the former archbishop-elector of Cologne, who had converted to Protestantism and lost most of his holdings to Ernest of Bavaria in ensuing the 'Bishops War'. He lived in exile in the Low Countries, and turned to Leicester for assistance in a conflict with one of the Dutch military commanders. Manuel (1568–1638) was the son of António, claimant to the throne of Portugal in the Portuguese war of succession in 1580, which he lost against Philip II's operation (led by the same Duke of Alva whom he had tried to suppress the revolt in the Netherlands in 15670; António and Manuel fled to France, and sought help also from England. In 1597 he married Maurice's sister Emilia, in spite of the confessional disparity, which caused them trouble for the rest of their lives.

40 The dedicatory letter is printed as *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae* vol. II (1584–1587), Brussels 1983, no. 86 03 17.

and which added to the existing antagonism.[41] By this time rumours were already going around in Utrecht and Leiden that Leicester was planning to move the university to Utrecht as well, providing us with another indication that the university was indeed considered an important part of a successful government's power basis. The explanation for this idea is the faculty of theology, which controlled the training of future church ministers, who in turn had a great influence on the opinions and obedience of their communities, and thereby on the political stability of the country as a whole. The curators and burgomasters in Leiden confronted the university's rector, the professor of Theology Adrianus Saravia (who was a known supporter of Leicester and had been an English citizen since 1568) with this story and sent a strong delegation to plead against the plans to Leicester, who denied their existence. A year later, in the autumn of 1587, when the English operation was collapsing under the sum of the above political tensions and some embarrassing military failures, a conspiracy was discovered precisely in Leiden for a military coup intended to bring a pro-Leicestrian government to power in that city – as a "last resort" to recover Leicester's hold on power. Three accomplices were executed and several others fled the city, including Saravia, who denied any involvement with the coup but subsequently moved to England.[42] With respect to the connection between theological training and social stability, however, it is important to note, as Otterspeer points out, that all this does not mean that Leiden at this point was a "Calvinist" university; by the end of 1586 three Calvinist professors had been removed from their post, while several liberal ones and even two Catholic professors had been appointed;[43] a development entirely congruous again with the interests and position of the States government.[44] The wider issue, however, was far from settled and will occupy us again below.

41 For a fuller discussion see J. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its rise, greatness and fall 1477–1806*, Oxford 1995, p. 225–226; F. Oosterhoff, *Leicester and the Netherlands 1586–1587*, Utrecht 1988 (HES historical studies), pp. 93–97.

42 Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame*, pp. 145–147; Israel *Dutch Republic*, pp. 220–230; Oosterhoff, *Leicester*, pp. 101–120.

43 Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame*, pp. 147–148.

44 Woltjer, 'Hollandse universiteit' argues that a Calvinist "confessionalisation" of the university took place only in the 1590s and that in the liberal atmosphere before that time "the faculty of Theology could not flourish"; the developments after the death of Franciscus Junius in 1602 (see below) interrupted the bloom of Theology again.

Theology and the States, 1603–1618

The discussion of the second example might begin with one of the university's most renowned students, the humanist, lawyer, statesman, historian, and theologian Hugo Grotius (1583–1645). In 1594, 11-year-old Grotius matriculated at Leiden, and apart from a brilliant pupil he was also well-connected. His father Jan de Groot (1554–1640), a burgomaster of Delft, had been one of the university's earliest students in 1576, and was by this time one of the curators, while his uncle Cornelis was a professor of Roman and Feudal law. Janus Dousa wrote a poem to welcome the remarkable young student. Grotius's early career once again shows the close connection between academic and government circles. When the States sent an embassy to France in 1598 a group of promising students was again among the company (as in the 1585 mission to London), including Oldenbarnevelt's son Reinier, William of Orange's son and future Stadtholder Frederick Henry, and Hugo Grotius.[45] The mission was led by Oldenbarnevelt and Justinus van Nassau, another son of Orange who had registered at the university in 1576 together with Jan de Groot. Grotius and others were presented to Henry IV (who is said to have greeted Grotius as "le miracle d'Hollande"), and some time later Grotius used the occasion to obtain a degree in Roman and Canon law at the university of Orléans. Evidently by this time he was under the patronage of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, which is demonstrated by the details of his "transfer" to The Hague in the next few months. In 1599 Grotius settled in The Hague as an independent lawyer, while he also continued working on philological projects with his scholarly circle of friends in Leiden: Scaliger, Heinsius, Meursius, and Baudius. He hired a room in the house of the liberal preacher Johannes Wtenbogaert (1557–1644), a near-neighbour of Oldenbarnevelt who would have a major influence on his thinking.[46] At this time Wtenbogaert also provided lodgings to Johannes Boreel, one of Grotius's fellow students from Leiden, Jan ten Grootenhuys, and Jacob Coren, both Leiden *alumni* of law somewhat older than Grotius. A decade later, in 1607 Grotius became advocate-fiscal of the province a Holland (i.e. public prosecutor in fiscal matters); in 1613 he became town pensionary (i.e. political advisor) of the town of Rotterdam. This function brought him in direct involvement in the politics of the province, which by now had become the scene of a gradually

45 Henk Nellen, *Hugo Grotius. A Lifelong Struggle for Peace in Church and State*, Leiden 2015 (transl. of Dutch version of 2007), pp. 44–52.

46 Ibid., pp. 73–79.

escalating conflict over religious policy; an escalation which received a major impetus from a theological controversy at Leiden.

It will be helpful first to provide a brief outline of the politico-religious troubles in the Dutch Republic which, as we have seen, existed long before, but escalated after the conclusion of the Twelve Years' Truce with Spain in 1609. What follows here is a very simplified account of the nationwide battle into which they developed (the *Bestandstwisten*, Truce Conflicts), which are described in more detail elsewhere.[47]

The Republic of the United Provinces that concluded a temporary peace with Spain for twelve years in 1609 was not a unity politically: it was a composite state consisting of separate provinces which all cherished their own sovereignty and constitutions, but co-operated more or less smoothly in fields such as foreign policy and war. This commonwealth was even less of a unity in its religious aspects. The Catholic Church had disappeared as the popular church, but no new common church had taken its place. The orthodox Calvinist (Reformed) church exercised a strict admission policy based on the religious "quality" of those selected, and therefore was decidedly not (yet) a broad church. Many believers had divergent views, and for this reason many regents in towns and States (often more liberal-minded themselves) supported the idea of a new public church in which dogmas were not laid down too stringently, thus creating a degree of toleration of divergent views even within the public church. Such an institution, however, proved very difficult to establish.[48] Moreover Catholic parishes were still functioning in many places.[49] Nor had the relationship between state and church been well defined as yet: the Reformed church was organized in a decentralized and presbyterial fashion and had no wish for state interference, whereas secular administrators did aspire to a certain hold of the state over the church. In Leiden this particular issue had been a cause of strife ever since the lifting of the siege, and the magistrate had consistently opposed attempts of the reformed church to free itself of the secular government's control.[50] In ecclesiastical matters, the Republic was

47 Rabbie, 'Introduction', in H. Grotius, *Ordinum Pietas*, ed. E. Rabbie, Leiden 1995; Israel, *Dutch Republic*, pp. 421–432; Nellen, *Hugo Grotius*, pp. 124ff., Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame* p. 243ff.

48 B. Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines: The Reformation in Utrecht*, Ann Arbor 1989; E. Rabbie, 'Grotius' denken over kerk en staat', in H. Hellen & J. Trapman (eds.), *De Hollandse Jaren van Hugo de Groot (1583–1621)*, Hilversum 1995, pp. 193–205; J. Pollmann, *Religious Choice in the Dutch Republic: the reformation of Arnoldus Buchelius* (1565–1641), Manchester 1999.

49 See L. Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland in de 16e en 17e eeuw*, Amsterdam 1945, vol. 1.

50 Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame*, p. 139.

thus characterized by a high degree of fragmentation and difference of opinion, not only with respect to doctrinal matters but also with respect to the power relationship between church(es) and the secular governments.

As a consequence the provincial States' governments soon came to face opposition from inside, at a time when the Republic had barely been instituted. During the second decade of the 17th century, the above differences of opinion developed into a near-civil war within the Republic. The "States"-party (*Staatsgezinden*, the side with the more flexible theology and the wish to preserve some degree of government control over church affairs) was led by the leader of the government of the province of Holland, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt; its followers are also called "Remonstrants" or "Arminians", after the theologian Jacobus Arminius (1559–1609). Their opponents, the orthodox and less compromising Calvinists are called "Counter-Remonstrants" or Prince's party (*Prinsgezinden*) after Prince Maurice of Nassau who would eventually choose their side in 1617.

In the first decade of the new century a controversy in the faculty of theology with respect to the thorny issue of predestination, one of the classical problems in Christian theology and especially Luther's reformation, soon merged with the conflicts of opinion regarding the relationship between the church and the secular government. In his teaching the professor Jacobus Arminius (*c.* 1559–1609; appointed as successor to Franciscus Junius in 1603) defended the view that man is elected for bliss or damnation on the basis of his faith, and has at least a minimum of free will to choose good over evil (although God had foreknowledge of which choice he will make). This position brought him in conflict with more strictly Calvinists preachers, of whom his colleague in the faculty of Theology, Franciscus Gomarus (1563–1641) stands out most prominently. Gomarus insisted that cause and effect are precisely reversed: faith is the gift of divine Grace to the elected, and not the cause but the effect of election. Gomarus considered Arminius's view as contrary to Calvinist dogma and even essentially Catholic, as could be illustrated by the fact that the Jesuit Robert Bellarmine had recently defended a very similar view. After Arminius's death in 1609 the conflict escalated; first in the form of a pamphlet battle, then in fights over appointments of preachers in various towns; and, most notably, over the appointment of Arminius's successor. For some time the theological debate reached as far as the States' meetings themselves. Although the university was in no way the deeper cause of the conflict that ensued, this academic appointment certainly became the occasion over which that battle ignited and eventually brought down the entire government of the province of Holland.

After some searching the States appointed the German professor Conradus Vorstius (1569–1622) from Burgsteinfurt as Arminius's successor, at the recommendation

of Wtenbogaert. Vorstius however had already made a name for himself as an extremely unorthodox theologian whose views, according to Gomarus, made Arminius look like a saint and were more objectionable than Catholicism itself. Support by 50 students Gomarus asked the States to cancel the appointment. Both the States and the university however resisted this advice. Gomarus then first advised his students to study elsewhere (e.g. at the new university of Franeker in Friesland, founded in 1585), then resigned from his post. The resistance against the "infection" of the reformed church with heresy spread quickly. The next most vocal opponent was the Franeker professor Gijsbertus Lubbertus, who was probably the one who managed, by 1613, to involve even James I, the leading monarch of European Protestantism at the time. The King chose the side of the Gomarists and under this pressure the States had to give in; Vorstius was given leave. This however did little to stop the theological and the political strife, which continued inside and outside the university. The States (by mouth of Grotius) tried unsuccessfully to persuade James I of their view of the theological issue, and of their view that the Counter-remonstrants were potential rebels, like the puritans in England.[51] Grotius, pensionary of Rotterdam at the time and a close collaborator of Oldenbarnevelt, subsequently proposed to resolve the conflict by a regulation, issued by the States, which banned the most inflammable topics from the public debate for the sake of public peace, and punished preachers or authors who ignored such rules.[52] This idea was no doubt inspired by the *politique* and reason of state-approach to religious policy proposed by Lipsius in Leiden in the 1580s: limitations to the freedom of religion, enforced by the secular authorities for purely political reasons, while freedom of conscience was maintained at the same time.[53] Of course one may perceive an irony in the circumstance that it was eventually the more "liberal" side in the controversy which imposed limits on the freedom of religious expression. In practice, however, this arrangement too failed for lack of general support and because it turned out to be used only against Counter-remonstrant preachers. This in turn helped harden the resistance against the States government which gradually became more and more embattled. In 1617 the States allowed the towns to employ

51 Nellen, *Hugo Grotius*, pp. 149–162.

52 The *Decretum pro pace ecclesiarum* of 1614. Grotius also defends the idea in the *Oratie vanden hoogh-gheleerden voortreffelycken Meester Hugo de Groot, Raet ende pensionaris der Stadt Rotterdam ghedaen inde vergaderinghe der 36. Raden der Stadt Amsterdam*. Gedrukt te Enkhuizen, 1622 (pamphlet, Knuttel 2250). See Israel, *Dutch Republic*, pp. 430–431; Nellen, *Hugo Grotius*, pp. 184–186.

53 In the *Politica* of 1589: Lipsius, *Six books of Politics or Political Instruction*, ed. J. Waszink, Assen 2004, *Bibliotheca Latinitatis Novae*; see also J. Waszink, 'Lipsius and Grotius: Tacitism', in *History of European Ideas* 39:2 (2013), pp. 151–168.

their own troops, outside the Stadholder's Maurice's control. This provoked an intervention by the Stadtholder in 1618 which brought down the Arminian government and led to the imprisonment of its leaders. Oldenbarnevelt was executed in 1619 and Grotius imprisoned for life. The latter escaped from Loevestein Castle in 1621 and fled to Paris, to begin the second phase of his scholarly and (later) diplomatic career.

Conclusion

The histories of the politics of the province of Holland and that of the University of Leiden in the decades around 1600 can hardly be told without referring to one another, and there is a wide overlap between the academic culture at Leiden and the political culture of the Dutch republic. Especially in the context of the provinces' alliance with England the university played the role of a court environment in several aspects. Further, the desire of the secular States government to preserve a degree of control over religious affairs occupies a central place in the story. With this respect it is no coincidence that the reason of state-policy which the States pursued was at least partly inspired by Leiden's professor Lipsius's works on politics.[54] This direct link between academic political thought and political practice might incidentally be compared with the older (German) idea of a "*Netherlands movement*" in political thought in the decades around 1600.[55] In a wider perspective this interest in reason of state might also be viewed in the context of other "realist" developments at Leiden such as the modernization of anatomy by Petrus Pauw and that of botany by Carolus Clusius in the medical faculty and their integration in the teaching curriculum.[56]

Does this make Leiden a special case? The above seems to indicate that in Holland the ties between the university and the sovereign government were exceptionally

54 While, ironically, the same book became the occasion for Lipsius's departure from Leiden, in spite of the States' and the town's consistent support of Lipsius; see Waszink, intr. to Lipsius, *Politica*, pp. 115–118.

55 As discussed by Oestreich, with reference to Dilthey, in G. Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early-Modern state*, Cambridge 1982, pp. 34–35ff. As appears from these pages for Oestreich this movement centered on Lipsius's "Neostoicism". For the discussion of the (supposed) Stoic character of Lipsius's political thought see Waszink, Intr. to Lipsius, *Politica*, pp. 10–14 and C. Brooke, *Philosophic Pride. Stoicism and Political Thought from Lipsius to Rousseau*, Princeton 2012, pp. 14–18. Further evidence of an interest in Lipsius's political thought in *Staatsgezinde* circles, see Waszink, Intr. to Lipsius, *Politica*, pp. 124–127.

56 For short introductions and further literature, see A. Gogelein, 'Theatrum Anatomicum', in *Leidse Universiteit 400*, pp. 100ff.; Otterspeer *Groepsportret met Dame*, pp. 170–175, 195–197; J. Jansen, P. Retel and J. Waszink, *Praxis Medicinae Nova Ratio. Medisch onderwijs aan de Leidse academie*, Leiden 1992, Kleine publicaties van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek nr. 12.

close, compared to for example England and France. On the one hand in the 1570s and 1580s the university could fulfill some of the roles of the missing court environment at the seat of the government, while on the other hand, in the Truce period, the very content of the university's teaching had direct political implications and could develop into serious political problems for the ruling government. In England, by comparison, such vulnerability of the government to developments in the university seems to have no parallel; although there are many connections between Oxbridge and the court, the universities are consistently at the receiving end of the relationship with the government, or follow developments at the court.[57]

With respect to academic culture in Leiden, the deliberate maintenance, and defence, by the States and the town of the presence of the two opposing theological positions in the university, even though the issue at stake affected the political stability of the country, and the acceptance by the university authorities of a degree of unrest which ensued from it, in practice created a form of what we today would call academic freedom.

57 Compare Woltjer, 'Hollandse universiteit', pp. 16–17 who perceives the university as only following political developments, not (co-)causing them.

Andreas Hellerstedt

Praeses and *Praeceptor*: A Late 17th-Century University Dissertation as a "Mirror for Princes"

Although 17th-century Swedish universities were still dominated by students destined for a career in the church, secular moral philosophy, politics and natural law were surprisingly popular subjects for dissertations. Perhaps this is best understood against the background of the ambitions of the Swedish state at the time. There was clearly a will to reform university education to make it more useful, i.e. to adapt the curriculum more to the needs of the state bureaucracy and to attract students from noble families, and prepare them for secular careers. Even though the project as such only met with limited success, it seems to have left an impression on the content of the dissertation texts. Furthermore, even the clergy and theologians themselves took a keen interest in politics. After all, in the Lutheran states of Northern Europe, the clergy had by this time become civil servants.[1]

My purpose is to study the interplay between university dissertations and contemporary princely education, in terms of content, purpose, and methods. In particular, I am interested in the uses of history in political education, which is the most salient feature of the educational ideas I will discuss. This might seem like an odd combination, but in fact there are quite a few dissertations from the 17th century that look

1 Erland Sellberg, *Kyrkan och den tidigmoderna staten: En konflikt om Aristoteles, utbildning och makt* (Stockholm: Carlssons 2010), pp. 110–112, 370–371, 382–387, 389–390; Sten Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria*, vol. 2 (Stockholm: Norstedts 1975), pp. 37, 41–47; Michael Philipp, 'Theologen als Politologen: Zur Bedeutung der Politikwissenschaft des 17. Jahrhunderts für die akademische Ausbildung protstantischer Geistlicher', Hans-Otto Mühleisen, Friedemann Maurer, Rainer Olaf Schultze & Theo Stammen (eds.), *Kulturhermeneutik und kritische Rationalität: Festschrift für Hans-Otto Mühleisen zum 65 Geburtstag* (Lindenberg im Allgau: Josef Fink 2006), pp. 575–576, 585–586; Wilhelm Kühlmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat: Entwicklung und Kritik des deutschen Späthumanismus in der Literatur des Barockzeitalters* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag 1982), pp. 4–8, 46, 66.

very much like mirrors for princes.[2] In general, one might also say that in terms of Swedish intellectual history, the university dissertations are one of the most important sources for understanding developments in political thought, as other publications in Swedish were relatively few and far between.[3] Before I continue I must also say something about authorship: I do not know who wrote the main text I will discuss here, and it is for convenience only that I assume that the professor wrote the dissertation.[4] Because the respondent in this case himself later became a professor, I do not believe that this presents a problem for the argument I will make. Dissertations and disputations were of significant value in both academic and social terms for the student as well as the professor, as Michael Philipp has shown.[5] In my view, the case presented below serves to underline this general observation in the strongest possible way.

2 Mirrors for princes are notoriously difficult to define. They are usually not considered a genre in the traditional sense of the word. In line with recent research, I view mirrors for princes as a variety of forms united by a common purpose, which is the moral and political education of rulers; Susanne Siegl-Mocavini, *John Barclays "Argenis" und ihr staatstheoretischer Kontext. Untersuchungen zum politischer Denken der Frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag 1999), pp. 20–23, 361–369. Linda T. Darling, 'Mirrors for princes in Europe and the Middle East: A Case of Historiographical Incommensurability', in *East meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World* (Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter, 2013) ed. Albrecht Classen, Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture 14, pp. 226–227; Rachel Stone, 'Kings are different: Carolingian mirrors for princes and lay morality', in *Le Prince au miroir de la littérature de l'Antiquité aux Lumiéres*, ed. Frédérique Lachaud & Lydwine Scordia (Rouen: Publications des Universités de Rouen et du Havre 2007), p. 73; Hans-Otto Mühleisen & Theo Stammen, 'Politische Ethik und Politische Erziehung: Fürstenspiegel der frühen Neuzeit', H. O. Mühleisen, T. Stammen & M. Philipp, *Fürstenspiegel der frühen Neuzeit*, Bibliothek des deutschen Staatsdenken 6 (Frankfurt a. M. & Leipzig: Insel Verlag 1997), pp. 9–21.

3 Bo Lindberg, *Den antika skevheten: Politiska ord och begrepp i det tidig-moderna Sverige*, Filologiskt arkiv 45 (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien 2006), pp. 33–35.

4 I refer the reader to the excellent study of the various possible relationships between praeses and respondens by Michael Philipp, 'Konstellationen und Kontexte: Eine typologische Analyse der Beziehungen zwischen Präsiden und Respondenten bei Politikdisputationen zur Souveränitet', *Frühneuzeitliche Disputationen: Polyvalente Produktionsapparate gelehrten Wissens*, Marion Gindhart, Hanspeter Marti & Robert Seidel (eds.), (Böhlau: Köln 2016).

5 Michael Philipp, 'Politica und Patronage. Zur Funktion von Widmungsadressen bei politischen Dissertationen des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Disputatio 1200–1800: Form, Funktion und Wirkung eines Leitmediums universitärer Wissenskultur*, ed. Marion Gindhart & Ursula Kundert. Trends in Medieval Philology, vol. 20 (Berlin: De Gruyter 2010), p. 241.

Royal teachers

The fact that dissertations sometimes take the form of mirrors for princes is not surprising when one considers the role of the university and the university teacher in 17th-century society. There are a number of examples of university professors who became royal preceptors in Sweden. The royal preceptors in turn are only the most conspicuous example of a broader phenomenon, namely that many young academics served as private tutors in better-off households. Emund Figrelius (ennobled as Gripenhielm), the son of a pastor, was a professor of history at Uppsala University and also worked actively as a diplomat and secretary in the service of King Charles X. In 1660, he was appointed preceptor of the child King Charles XI. Erik Lindeman (ennobled Lindschöld in 1669), the son of a burgomaster, was a disciple of Figrelius and defended a dissertation (titled *Consiliarius*, 1654) under his professorship.[6] Lindeman was appointed professor eloquentiae in 1667, but never took the position. Instead he pursued a political career to become one of the leading statesmen of late 17th-century Sweden. But before that he was the preceptor of the illegitimate son of Charles X, whom he accompanied on a Grand Tour in the late 1650s. Later on he was also the "governor" of the crown prince (who would become Charles XII). This means that he was charged with the overarching responsibility for the prince's upbringing and education, although not a teacher as such. That function was instead performed by another university professor, who in fact occupied the very chair that Lindschöld would have had if he had taken it up, the professor of Latin eloquence at Uppsala University. This man was Andreas Norcopensis, ennobled Nordenhielm.[7]

Three highly interesting men: Figrelius, Lindeman, Norcopensis. All of similar non-noble birth, all of similar university background. They were also of similar intellectual and political mind-set. They were part of the movement of late Renaissance humanism and "tacitism" that was very important at this time. And they all were charged with educating rulers. The academic subjects – rhetoric and history – within which they were active, are hardly a coincidence either.

6 There were rumours that Crown Prince Charles (later King Charles X) was present at this disputation, which took place just a month before his accession; Stig Jägerskiöld, 'Erik Lindschöld', *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, online edition, urn:sbl:10656 (accessed 2016-09-08).

7 For recent research on Norcopensis, see Peter Sjökvist, *The Music Theory of Harald Vallerius: Three Dissertations from 17th Century Sweden* (Uppsala: Uppsala University 2012); Erland Sellberg, 'Berömmelse i döden: Om det rationella självmordet', in *Utopin i vardagen: Sinnen, kvinnor, idéer: En vänbok till Elisabeth Mansén* (Lund: Ellerströms 2014). Neither of these studies discusses the particular dissertations analysed here.

It is reasonable to take an interest in if and how their background affected their teaching methods and the content of the education they provided. What I am trying to do is to ask those simple questions that we ask in contemporary educational research today: what was being taught and how was it taught? As an historian of ideas I must also investigate the role of these men and their ideas in the society in which they lived. More specifically, this is the period when absolutism emerges in Sweden. Lindschöld in particular has always been considered something of an architect behind that development. To what extent is there a distinct political programme here? As my title suggests, I will limit myself to the years around 1680. This means that I will focus on Norcopensis and the education of Crown Prince Charles (later Charles XII). A detailed *Instruction* set out precisely what was to be taught, and how.[8] But the material that I have been most interested in (mainly because it has not yet been studied) comprises the dissertations produced under the presidency of Norcopensis at Uppsala. There are quite a number of dissertations for which he was the praeses, and they vary widely in subject matter. However, a smaller number are relevant to my investigation: dissertations on how to teach (in general), and dissertations on practical politics. In this article, I will focus mainly on the latter, but the former will provide some contextualization. I must also add that I have chosen to limit myself to the political side of royal education. Prince Charles had several teachers, responsible for various parts of his upbringing and studies. Besides Norcopensis, Charles studied religion under Bishop Benzelius, and applied mathematics (fortification) under Lieutenant Quartermaster General Stuart. For the purposes of this article, however, I will leave the latter two aside, focusing entirely on Norcopensis and that "Knowledge and wisdom in the business of government"[9] which he was charged with teaching the prince. This delimitation may give a false impression that religion was unimportant in the prince's education; it certainly was not. However, the teacher's *Instruction* as well as the dissertation, *Gubernacula*, both of which I will discuss below, do separate religion from politics.

8 National Library, Stockholm, ms KB D 730: INSTRUCTION Huru then Kongl: Maijβ: Troo Man och Secreterare af Staten sampt hans Kongl: Högheetz, Printz CARLS Praeceptor, Edell och Wällbördig Andreas Nordenhielm uthj hans Kongl: Höghetz Uptuchtelse och Undervijsning sig hafwer ath rätta. Gifwen STOCKHOLM d 29 Martij Åhr 1690. This *Instruction* was in all likelihood written by Lindschöld. In the National Library there is also a notebook (ms KB D761) which the prince used in the exercises he was given by Nordenhielm. There are also letters in which the teacher reports on his student's progress, which I will not discuss here.

9 'Kundskap och Klookheet utj Regementzsaker', *Instruction*, p. 14.

A dissertation

Reading one particularly interesting dissertation together with the *Instruction* provides a rich source of contextualization for the ideas contained within it. Thus, we can paint a fairly detailed picture of the content of princely education at this time. The dissertation is an imitation of Lipsius' *Politica* and as such is almost entirely constructed from quotations from both ancient authors, such as Tacitus, and modern political writers, such as Lipsius himself.[10] It is a relatively substantial text, a quarto of almost 60 pages, excluding various paratexts. It is not a *pro gradu*-dissertation, but a prefatory letter, written by the dean of the philosophical faculty[11] addresses the respondent "Dissertationis hujus elegantissimae auctori". The dissertation is dedicated to Count Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie and ends with a direct address to the reigning king, as is often seen in dissertations of this period.

The dissertation, *Gubernacula Imperii Togati*, positions itself within the area of practical politics, to be distinguished from theories of natural law or general treatises on politics. This means that we are not in Plato's republic anymore, but in the filth of Romulus, as Lipsius put it – the *Gubernacula* aligns itself with the tradition of moderate political realism.[12] The stated theme is a quote from the Roman historian Florus,[13] which refers to the reign of Numa Pompilius: "he tamed the wild people, so that that empire that it had acquired through violence and injury, was governed with piety and justice."[14] This is a curious choice of quotation. Why not just present us with an image of an ideal ruler, who reigns by legitimate right of succession, in harmony with his subjects and advisors? In light of the immediate Swedish political context, Numa can be read as a symbolic representation of well-ordered government. Succeeding the turbulent reign of Romulus and the "wild people", it is meant to lend support for the absolutism which had recently been introduced. Absolutism brings peace and harmony through religion and justice, not by violence, although the origins of Roman/Swedish power were certainly violent. And this is not only a reference to

10 Jan Waszink, 'Introduction', in Justus Lipsius, *Politica: Six Books of Politics or Political Instruction*. Bibliotheca Latinitatis Novae 5 (Assen: Van Gorcum 2004), pp. 52–56, 58–73.

11 Mathias Steuchius, professor of logic and metaphysics.

12 Lipsius, *Politica*, 4:13, p. 506.

13 It may be noted that Florus is indeed also a part of the princely curriculum of the *Instruction*, p. 29.

14 "eo deniqve ferocem populum redegit, ut, qvod vi et injuria occupaverat imperium, religione atque justitia gubernaret." Andreas Norcopensis/Hemming Forelius, *Gubernacula Imperii Togati* (Uppsala 1681), 'Lectori Benivolo S.P.' (Introductory letter). The quote is from Florus, *Epitome*, 1:2:4.

the wars of Gustav Adolf and Charles X, it seems to be a reference also to the internal divisions of the middle of the 17th century. This was a period of political and social tensions, which, in the ideology of absolutism at least, were resolved by Charles XI from 1680 and in the years following. The political changes brought about during these years were revolutionary and modelled on those of France and Denmark in the decades before. But they were also presented as entirely in harmony with medieval constitutional traditions.[15]

Prudence

The subject of the text is not constitutional theory, however. The dissertation discusses the art of government, and it does so in three parts. The first part deals with the ruler's practical wisdom (*prudentia*), the second with the establishment and preservation of religion in society and the third part deals with justice. Political prudence is the overriding concern: since Aristotle onwards, this was the master virtue, and since Machiavelli, Botero and Lipsius it had become more autonomous in relation to Christian ethics and Classical moral philosophy.[16] To underline this, it is soon explained that the dissertation will discuss piety and justice only "as far as they concern the strengthening and maintenance of prosperity and concord among the citizens."[17]

The body of people the ruler is set to govern is likened to a wild beast, as it was in the quote from Florus. The ruler is described as the intellect and soul of the body politic, and the welfare of the people depend on him. The wisdom which the ruler must possess is defined as the ability to decide which actions to take and which to avoid according to the demands of his own and the state's welfare. The wisdom in question above all consists of the ability to predict future events, and to act accordingly. To be able to do this, one must understand the conditions of politics, know the place, the time, the habits and mores of the country, know its religion, and so on. In short, one must understand the causes of political events. To do this, one must study history. Through such study one may gain knowledge that first-hand experience would only

15 Anthony F. Upton, *Charles XI and Swedish Absolutism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998), pp. 9, 111; Lennart Thanner, *1680* års *statsrättsförklaring*, Historiskt arkiv 11 (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien 1961), pp. 9, 17, 37–38, 63–69.

16 See, for instance, Maurizio Viroli, *From Politics to Reason of State: The Acquisition and Transformation of the Language of Politics 1250–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1992).

17 "Religionem & justitiam, qvatenus ad civium concordiam ac salutem confirmandam & conservandam spectent", Norcopensis, *Gubernacula*, [preface]. Similarly also, pp. 46, 37–38, 47.

provide after several life-times. History and ancient authors are dead counsellors, the dissertation states, a popular trope at the time. But it is important to note that this is not the moral view of history which was also very popular in the early modern period. To be sure, it is partly a question of learning by example, through stories of virtue and vice. But fundamentally, it is morally neutral: history teaches which consequences follow from certain actions, and therefore how to succeed and how to avoid mistakes that others have made before.

The dissertation also considers many specific issues of practical politics and does so while drawing on modern authorities such as Bodin, Lipsius, Barclay, and Ammirato, and to a lesser extent even Machiavelli and Hobbes. Particularly important are the so-called Strasbourg tacitists: Bernegger, Boeclerus, Freinsheim, and Forstner (some of whom had close connections with Sweden in different ways). Norcopensis' colleague at Uppsala, Johannes Schefferus, who had been born in Strasbourg but worked at Uppsala for many decades, is also quoted throughout. The common thread here is of course the study of history in a "realist" fashion, putting "reason of state" at the centre of attention.[18]

The prince holds power to govern the multitude, "than which no animal is more stubborn, no animal more difficult to handle".[19] The ability to do this successfully is found only in a select few gifted individuals. This main virtue of government is practical wisdom, *prudentia*. Through it the ruler will understand things as they really are, and the relative importance among causes in the world around him.[20] *Prudentia principis* is that intellectual virtue by means of which the prince is able to decide on the right course of action, according to his own and the state's needs (*usus*).[21] Although fortune is indeed fickle, success comes to those who understand the underlying causes

18 It may be added that the *Instruction* explicitly mentions Boeclerus, Bodin, Lipsius, Conring, Barclay and Grotius among other works; Barclay in particular, who "utj sin Argenide geer den säkraste och bästa anledning, som önskas Kan; Därföre ock den booken, som een rätt Konunga-book och Regere-Konst ansees och med stoor flijt och achtsamheet böhr Läsas och proponeras", is presented as a handbook of government, as is Lipsius; pp. 30–31.

19 "nullum animal morosius, nullum majore arte tractandum", Norcopensis, *Gubernacula*, 1–2; the words are a quote from Seneca, *De Clementia*, 1:17.

20 Norcopensis, *Gubernacula*, p. 3.

21 Norcopensis, *Gubernacula*, p. 4. "Prudentia civilis" or "Klookheet utj Regementzsaker", is clearly the ability the *Instruction* (and *Gubernacula*) intend to train, at least when the prince has advanced to a higher level in his studies, see in particular, *Instruction*, pp. 24–30.

of future events. To a large extent, this is the result of an extraordinary gift, granted to rulers by God.[22]

Despite this, it is clear from both the *Gubernacula* and the *Instruction* that political prudence can be learned. Above all, we acquire this political master-virtue through studying history. We observe past events and gain an understanding of causes and effects which enables us to decide on the best course of action. Peaceful study also enables men to avoid mistakes which cost men their lives when learnt, so to speak, the hard way. The argument is that of Lipsius, who likened history to dead counsellors.[23] Machiavelli's view on the subject provides the foundation of the argument: "because human nature is one and the same in every period, it must be that man always has the same passions and affections."[24] The art of government is thus founded on a particular understanding of human behaviour.

The *Gubernacula* views religion and justice as means to an end. Religion is considered from a political perspective. It is necessary for harmonious relations between citizens: it is "vinculum & firmamentum Reipublicae". To ancient heathens, like Numa Pompilius, religion was merely an instrument of power. However, this only serves to strengthen the relevance of the Roman example: if hollow superstition was so effective, true religion must be much stronger.[25] Discussing the views of Machiavelli, it is

22 Norcopensis, *Gubernacula*, pp. 4–6. The text here draws on the concept of heroic virtue, which is important in other contemporary Swedish texts. See Andreas Hellerstedt, 'The Absolute Hero: Heroic Greatness and Royal Absolutism in Sweden 1685–1715', in *Shaping Heroic Virtue: Studies in the Art and Politics of Supereminence in Europe and Scandinavia* (Leiden: Brill 2015).

23 "Mortui Consiliarii sunt libri", Norcopensis, *Gubernacula*, pp. 7–8; Norcopensis' reference to this is Saavedra, but cf. "Optimos consiliarios Mortuos", Lipsius, *Politica*, 1:9 (Lipsius attributes this to Alphonso V of Aragon (Alphonso I of Sicily). Saavedra has "libri quasi sunt historici, qui neque adulantur, neque celant aut dissimulant veritatem", Diego Saavedra Fajardo, *Idea Principis Christiano-Politici* (Amsterdam 1651), p. 217.

24 "cumqve una sit humana natura omnibus seculis, necesse est, ut semper easdem habeat passiones & affectiones", Norcopensis, *Gubernacula*, p. 7; Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, 3:43. The author of the dissertation has used a rather loose Latin translation, matching that of *De re publica, quas discursus nuncupavit* (Frankfurt 1608).

25 Norcopensis, *Gubernacula*, pp. 10–15; the quote (at p. 13) is from Lipsius, *Monita et exempla*, 1:2. *Gubernacula*, p. 36, also mentions Lycurgus, who "simulavit" that he had received the counsel of Apollo when writing his laws.

conceded that there is great power in false religion, although in the long run, fraud will only damage the ruler.[26]

Justice is also considered a means of realizing the ends of human society. However, justice is not easily sustained: states are like living organisms. They are born, grow, flourish, and die. This circular view of history and politics is important, and ties in with those underlying causes, which the ruler must understand. Virtue is corrupted by the luxury which comes from the peace which was once won through virtue.[27] But virtue is not, as it had perhaps been in earlier works in the mirror-for-princes genre, an end in itself. Instead, it becomes a tool. Not only is prudence the means of obtaining political objectives. We are also provided with a form of sociology of virtue. The central concern is not that the ruler be virtuous himself (although he should indeed be that), neither is the most important thing to encourage virtue in his subjects. Instead, a prince must above all learn to understand the underlying causes which make men virtuous (or not).

The *Gubernacula* uses the death of Julius Caesar to support the view that what has been conquered by force must also be preserved by force – Caesar did not understand this, and consequently, he died. The lesson to be learned is that sometimes one must use harsh methods, "so that for the purpose of confirming and upholding power, strictness is maintained."[28] Such means must always be used according to the character of government ("pro qualitate imperii").[29] Just like individuals, nations are characterized by different temperaments according to the local climate. The ruler must know these temperaments, not least because he must be able to distribute offices and posts in his administration to those who are best suited to the relevant tasks. These individual and national temperaments can also change over time, and it is clear that they are among those causes the ruler must understand to anticipate future events.[30] The *Instruction* recommends the reading of Bodin (as well as Lipsius and others), "who in particular describe the essence and achievements of each and every nation".[31] This is likely a reference to chapter 1.1 of Bodin's *De republica* and

26 "Scio qvidem Machiavellum, qvi Principi suo pietatis simulationem, seu ostentationem preacepit", Norcopensis, *Gubernacula*, pp. 16–21.

27 Norcopensis, *Gubernacula*, p. 23.

28 "sed ut imperii confirmandi & stabiliendi causâ adhibeatur severitas", Norcopensis, *Gubernacula*, p. 25.

29 "temperatus [...] timor", Norcopensis, *Gubernacula*, pp. 25–26.

30 Norcopensis, *Gubernacula*, pp. 27–29, 58–59.

31 "som hwar och een nations Wäsende och bedriftter i synnerhet beskrifwa", *Instruction*, p. 27.

chapter 4.5 in Lipsius' *Politica*, which both discuss national temperaments resulting from variations in climate.[32]

Humanism

The princely education proposed is heavily dependent on humanism. This means that education is more than just appropriation of knowledge. Its purpose was the formation of character. Knowledge, like virtue, was something man acquired through education, practice, and habit. But this acquisition never came out of nothing. There was always some innate natural disposition, some basic intellectual capability necessary for achieving knowledge, just like there was an innate potential, the perfection of which Aristotle called virtue. This potential was, as we shall see, also explained in terms of the theory of humours and "temperaments".

Renaissance humanism often stressed the infinite malleability of man and the limitless possibilities of education. But there were also pessimistic views of human nature, including those of the reformers, such as Luther, and political thinkers such as Machiavelli. In the *Prince*, the latter argued that it is the man who is able to adapt himself to "the nature of the times" who will succeed in politics.[33] However, because nature forces men to act in a certain way, this will seldom happen. Machiavelli is just one example: there was a lively debate in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries over this issue within the context of education. Spanish medical doctor Juan Huarte argued in *Examen de ingenios para las sciencias* (1575)[34] that education should be adapted wholly after innate individual and national characteristics resulting from differences in bodily temperament. He bluntly argued that it was impossible for a man to excel in more than one area, and that it was imperative that everyone find the occupation towards which they were "aptum natum".[35]

As Henning Mehnert has pointed out, Huarte's determinism was attacked by the Jesuit educational reformers towards the end of the 17th century, who refused to view human beings as mere products of material preconditions.[36] Antonio Possevino

32 See Hellerstedt, 'The Absolute Hero', p. 176 and n. 91.

33 Quoted from *Machiavelli: The Chief Works and Others*, ed. and transl. Allan Gilbert (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press 1989), p. 90.

34 Translated into Latin as *Scrutinium ingeniorum pro ijs, qui excellere cupiunt* (I have used the edition of Leipzig, 1622).

35 Huarte, *Scrutinium*, p. 3; he did admit that more than one type of ingenium could be combined in one man, although this meant that they would not be "emine[n]te in gradu", p. 8.

36 Henning Mehnert, 'Der Begriff "Ingenio" bei Huarte und Gracián', *Romanische Forschungen*, 91:3 (1979), p. 274.

was one of the most prominent of the opponents of Huarte. In *Cultura Ingeniorum*, Possevino admitted that it is important to understand that individual talents vary and to direct schooling accordingly,[37] but he also argued that God grants everyone the capacity they need to fulfil their duties in whatever walks of life they find themselves.[38] In particular, he argued directly against Huarte in claiming that skills in language and "speculative science" are often seen in one and the same individual. Where Huarte had claimed that Spaniards could not learn Latin well because their natural *ingenium* was suited for theology but not language, Possevino argued that Spain simply lacks proper schools and that Spaniards just do not study hard enough. He also gives historical examples of individuals of Spanish descent who were indeed skilled in both areas.[39] Indeed hard work can make up for lack of talent, such as it did in the case of Cleanthes, "Hercules alter sapientiae", who became an excellent philosopher despite the tardiness of his *ingenium*.[40] Of course, the need for better schools and better teachers is also of the utmost importance – the students will follow the teacher's example, and "if the blind lead the blind, both will fall by the wayside."[41] Similarly, another great educational reformer of the age, Johann Amos Comenius, argued that everyone should basically receive the same education (he famously argued that everyone should learn everything).[42]

Pedagogic issues

But how did this play out in relation to the education of a young man who was destined to be the absolute ruler of one of the great powers of early modern Europe? Of course the theory, or propaganda perhaps, often claimed that the ruler who was a king by divine right also was endowed with supernatural abilities. However, it is evident that Norcopensis himself knew this not to be true. First, he mentions several Roman emperors who were simply stupid.[43] Second, and probably even more important: the reigning king Charles XI, educated by the undoubtedly excellent teacher Figrelius,

37 Possevino, *Cvltvra*, pp. 34–35.
38 Possevino, *Cvltvra*, p. 42.
39 Possevino, *Cvltvra*, pp. 50–51, 55–56, 138.
40 Possevino, *Cvltvra*, pp. 68–69.
41 Possevino, *Cvltvra*, p. 70.
42 This is to be understood as the fundamentals of every subject, Johann Amos Comenius, *Didactica Magna*, cap. 10, *Opera Didactica Omnia* (Amsterdam 1647), pp. 44–45.
43 Norcopensis, *Gubernacula*, p. 3.

was a very poor student indeed. It is today generally agreed that he was dyslexic.[44] The men in charge of the education of the crown prince must have been aware that there were no guarantees that the boy's *ingenium* was going to be supremely sharp.

In Norcopensis' other dissertations dealing with education there is a great deal of awareness of the problem of *delectus ingeniorum* (the selection of talents). In part this is true in the *Instruction* as well. It seems that the education of Charles XII was modelled very much along the lines of Comenius or the Jesuits: for instance, the prince's early exercises are clearly taken from Comenius' *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, where the idea is to connect images with words for pedagogical effect: just as important, of course, for a crown prince as for anyone else.

But perhaps most importantly, the king, like all children, is to be taught "lusu & oblectatione". Just like Possevino, these dissertations wish that "lusus ipse eruditio sit", and that the *ingenium* of the student should be excited by the use of wooden letters and other teaching methods that are playful and enjoyable. Again the same goes for the *Instruction*, where for instance it is recommended that geography and history are taught using "tables": that is, maps with lists of names and timelines, because then teaching will be "som med Leek", "as if playing". And just like Comenius, Norcopensis' dissertations and the *Instruction* divide childhood into stages, each with particular characteristics, and consequently each suited to different forms of education. Likewise, these texts share with Comenius a rather milder view on punishment of pupils than was often the case in 17th century school practice.[45]

The curriculum proposed for the prince consists to a large part in the reading of the usual Latin classics, starting with fables, moving over Cornelius Nepos to the letters and speeches of Cicero. But the *Instruction* also stresses the importance of reading these works in the right way, so that everything, "which is read and presented, is also discussed, reasoned over, questioned and controverted, so that the *ingenium* and

44 See, for instance, Göran Rystad, *Karl XI: en biografi* (Lund: Historiska media 2001), pp. 23–24.

45 Possevino, *Cvltvra*, pp. 76, 91, (quotes at p. 76); *Instruction*, pp. 14, 16, 18. Andreas Norcopensis/Carolus Malmenius, *De Educatione Liberorum Per Tres Priores Aetates* (pro gradu; Stockholm 1685), 31–32, 33–36. Possevino, *Cvltvra*, also advocates a "mediocritas" of freedom, although perhaps more from fear of heresy (a fear that permeates that work), pp. 97–98. On the often-harsh school practices of the 17th century: Peter Englund, 'Böj ditt barns hals: Adlig barnuppfostran och skolning under stormaktstiden', i *Barn i slott och koja* (Skövde: Västergötlands turistråd 1986), esp. 47–50; Per-Johan Ödman, *Kontrasternas spel: en svensk mentalitets- och pedagogikhistoria* (Stockholm: Prisma 1998).

judicium may thereby be sharpened and enticed".[46] The method of reading certainly does not seem to differ very much from the exercises used in schools and universities at this time.[47]

Moving on to more advanced studies, we encounter the plan for the political education which the prince is to receive, to "the modum acquirendi prudentiam itself, or the wisdom or cautiousness to govern one self and those, which God will once put under his care and direction".[48] This political prudence must be thought to be acquired, like any other virtue, through habit. The innate potential the student possesses must be put in a correct form of activity, to awaken the gifts that are already there. Virtue is achieved through "daily habituation, frequent exercise", and habit is of course as a "second nature". Therefore, someone who wishes to excel in something must exercise his *ingenium* in those actions, which result in a stance (*habitus*) corresponding to that particular virtue or skill: simply put, those who wish to be brave should act bravely: "Because, just as the actions are, such will the *habitus* that is generated from them be."[49] We could perhaps here see the deeper rationale behind the argument for "learning from history". If virtue must be acquired through habit, and as it is impossible to actually rule before one has become king, one has to rule in history, as it were. Sure enough, in the *Instruction* we read that the teacher should make the campaigns of Julius Caesar come alive in such a way as to make the crown prince feel that he is really there:

> he should be brought to learn from the Commentaries of Caesar a model of a brave and wise General, in such a way as the Duc de Roan has shown in one of his books [Henri de Rohan, *Le parfait Capitaine*, 1641]. And to not make the reading difficult, but be perceived as play and enjoyment, it is best that the preceptor leads him ahead through discourses every time, so that the meaning of words is so much clearer to him, when he knows the contents of that, which is to be dealt with, as well as the time and place where it has happened, representing the things to him, so clearly and enjoyably, that

46 "som läsas och proponeras, tillijka discoureras, raisoneras, quaestioneras och controverteras, så att ingenium och judicium därigenom må hwäßas och upwäckas", *Instruction*, p. 22.

47 Compare, for example, Stefan Rimm, *Vältalighet och mannafostran: Retorikutbildningen I svenska skolor och gymnasier 1724–1807*, Örebro Studies in Education 32 (Uppsala 2011).

48 "sielfwa modum acquirendi prudentiam eller Klookheten och Försichtigheeten, att regera sig sielf och dem, som Gud en gång under hans Wård och Styrelse sättiandes warder." *Instruction*, pp. 22–23.

49 Andreas Norcopensis/Jonas Bierchienius, *De Modo Acquirendi Virtutes* (pro gradu; Stockholm 1679), pp. 5, 10, 14–15 and *De Educatione*, pp. 9, 25, 31.

> he cannot but think that he was truly marching in the field under Caesar's command and learned his first trials in the business of war.[50]

One of the most important parts of the educational theory of Norcopensis' day is not dealt with at any length in the *Gubernacula*, although it was certainly fundamental to it. This is the method of teaching moral philosophy and politics through "Characteristics". The method is explained more precisely in the *Instruction* and in another dissertation for which Norcopensis was praeses, the subject of which was the character of heroes.[51] One of three ways of teaching moral philosophy,[52] characteristics is described in the following way:

> The other method is called Characteristica, which lets us see, how one or the other [person] has been bent and inclined towards virtue or vice. Such Characteres or characteristics have been put together by Theophrastus, and Boeclerus in his notes to Vellejus Paterculus has shown the right art and meaning of it, which is also to be found in Historicis, especially those, who have described Vitae Illustrium virorum and written of both their virtues and vices; which also are to be found, albeit in another fashion, in tragedies and fables, from which his royal highness can be taught and lead to a virtuous way of life and a well-founded and correct judgement on the art, disposition, and humour of people of all sorts.[53]

50 "så böhr han utaf Commentarijs Caesaris anföras till att lähra ett modell af een Käck och förståndig Generals Persohn på sätt och wijs, som Duc de Roan utj een sin book det hafwer wijst. Och på det samma Lectio intet måtte falla swår, utan hållas för een Leek och Lust, är bäst att Praeceptoren genom discourser hafwer honom wägen föruth hwar gång, så att Orde-förståndet blijr för honom så mycket lättare, när han weet innehållet af det, som proponeras skall, så wäll som tijden, när, och rummet, hwar ett och annat är skedt, föreställandes honom sakerna så tydeligen och med een behagelig Lust, så att han intet annars kan tyckia än marcherade han wärkeligen utj fält under Caesaris anförande och commendo och Lärde under honom sina första grepp och proof uthj Krigs saker." *Instruction*, p. 19.

51 Andreas Norcopensis/Nils Clewberg, *Character Heroum* (Stockholm 1685).

52 The other two methods are "per sententias, Gnomas, Adagia" and "Dogmatica et Philosophica" (i.e. using traditional textbooks); *Instruction*, pp. 23–24.

53 "Thet andra sättet kallas Characteristica, som låter see, huru een och annan haar warit artad och begifwen till dygd eller odygd. Sådana Characteres eller Kännemärcken har Theophrastus sammandragit och Boeclerus ibland sine notas till Vellejum Paterculum wijst rätta arten och anmärckningen därutaf, hwilka ock utan deß finnas otaliga utj Historicis, serdeles dem, som haa beskrifwit Vitas Illustrium virorum och upteknat deraß både dygder och odygder; hwilka

The work which provides the method for studying characteristics in history is *Characteres Politici In Velleio Patercvlo* by J.H. Boeclerus, an influential Strasbourg professor.[54] This work is, despite superficial similarities, quite different from Theophrastus, who was traditionally used in early modern education. Most importantly, Boeclerus was directly political, and much less concerned with what was morally exemplary in history than it would seem from the words of the *Instruction*. He claimed that his descriptions of prominent historical figures and their characters was of great value, particularly for *prudentia civilis*. This form of history of philosophy teaches how to examine nature, observe events and hence to foresee and anticipate the future, he argued.[55] He was very discriminating in the choice of examples. Only a few outstanding men of the Classical world were true heroes, and thus worthy of study and imitation.[56] These men possessed one outstanding quality, which made them what they were. This was a certain *celeritas* and *impetus*, a swiftness in thought and action. This is described more as an inherent character trait or natural predisposition for virtue, rather than as an actual virtue, virtues being acquired through habituation, and not innate. Interestingly, this very character trait made them prone to crimes as well as to great virtue – the devil is always close at hand with talent such as those of these great heroes, Boeclerus claimed.[57]

Most importantly, however, a "well-founded and correct judgement on the art, disposition, and humour of people of all sorts"[58] is important when we consider the argument for the utility of history mentioned earlier. For if the prudence gathered from history is premised on the assumption that men's passions are always and everywhere the same, it is certainly important to understand these passions. And if different "types" of character (such as those of Galenic medical theory) give rise to different passions, it is easy to see how Boeclerus' characteristics provide a blue-print for the study of history, enabling the student to understand the natural causes (the temperaments of the various political actors) and their effects (the passions of the same actors). In effect, what has been presented – and put into practice – by Norcopensis,

finnas äfwenwäll uthmärckte, dock på ett annat sätt utj Tragoedier och Fabler, hwarutur hans Kongl: Högheet böhr och kan läras och ledas till ett dygdigt lefwerne och till ett wählgrundat och rättsinnigt Omdömme om allehanda Persohners Art, egenskap och humeur." *Instruction*, pp. 24–25.

54 Johann Heinrich Boeclerus, *Characteres Politici In Velleio Patercvlo expositione quadam demonstrati [...]* (Strassburg 1672).

55 Boeclerus, *Characteres*, pp. 10–11.

56 Boeclerus, *Characteres*, pp. 16, 26–32.

57 Boeclerus, *Characteres*, pp. 52–56.

58 *Instruction*, p 25.

is a princely education based on the teaching of history. History provides that crucial experience which no one can gain first-hand. The content of political education goes hand-in-hand with the method. A certain realism in terms of political outlook is united with a similarly realist view of man and history. The prince must learn to understand characters, as men's characters are what cause the events that shape history. Boeclerus, whose ideas were so influential here, named one of his works *Historia schola principum*.[59] It seems to me that no title encapsulates the ideology of these men better.

59 *Historia schola principum* (Strasbourg, 1640) was published as a dissertation with Boeclerus as the praeses. See Martin Disselkamp, *Barockheroismus: Konzeptionen "politischer" Größe in Literatur und Traktatistik des 17. Jahrhunderts* (De Gruyter: Tübingen, 2002), pp. 69–78.

Alasdair Raffe

Academic Specialisation in the Early Modern Scottish Universities

The creation of "fixed" professors able to specialise in particular subjects was an important feature of eighteenth-century academic life in Scotland. In this period, the five Scottish universities – Edinburgh, Glasgow, King's College, Aberdeen, Marischal College, Aberdeen, and St Andrews – introduced academic specialisation in two ways. First, increasing numbers of chairs were established in the subjects of law, medicine, and divinity, whose teaching was addressed to students who had already graduated in arts. Second, in the period 1708–1798, the universities abolished the medieval practice of "regenting", in which each class of students was guided through the entire "undergraduate" curriculum by a single regent. In place of regents, the universities substituted fixed professors in the linguistic and philosophical disciplines that made up the MA course.

These developments have a significant place in the main narrative of eighteenth-century Scottish intellectual history: the rise of the Scottish Enlightenment. The creation of chairs in medicine allowed for the ascent to eminence of Edinburgh University's medical faculty, and enabled the work of influential experimentalists such as the chemists William Cullen and Joseph Black.[1] The legal teaching of John Millar and others helped to propagate Scottish developments in natural jurisprudence, conjectural history, and political economy.[2] Most of the period's great innovators in moral philosophy – including Francis Hutcheson, Adam Smith, and Adam Fergu-

1 Among other accounts, see Roger L. Emerson, 'The founding of the Edinburgh medical school: the real story', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 59 (2004), 183–218; Arthur Donovan, *Philosophical Chemistry in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Doctrines and Discoveries of William Cullen and Joseph Black* (Edinburgh, 1975).

2 W.C. Lehmann, *John Millar of Glasgow, 1735–1801: His Life and Thought and His Contributions to Sociological Analysis* (Cambridge, 1960).

son – held chairs in the subject.[3] Even professors whose views were scarcely original – James Beattie springs to mind – were encouraged to write and publish within their field of academic specialisation.[4]

The "rise of the Scottish Enlightenment" is a whiggish story, and academic specialisation provides a useful yard-stick of progress. In the 18th century, the first institution to establish a faculty of entirely fixed philosophy professors was Edinburgh in 1708. According to Esther Mijers, this reform helped to transform the town college from a "protestant 'seminary' into a civic university"; Roger Emerson argues that it "contributed to the modernisation of the kingdom". The more cautious Richard Sher states that the reform had the potential to "bear fruit" in the form of greater academic achievement.[5] Edinburgh certainly showed the way for the other universities to follow. When Glasgow fixed its professors in 1727, it was on the instruction of an external visitation of the university, including the principal of Edinburgh and a former provost of the capital city.[6] The other, apparently less progressive, Scottish universities were slower to adopt specialisation: the reform was not completed in St Andrews until 1747, and was not implemented in Marischal College, Aberdeen until 1753 and King's College, Aberdeen until 1798.[7] Perhaps it is unsurprising that St

3 Thus the Scottish Enlightenment according to Hugh Trevor-Roper, whose list of "real intellectual pioneers" added to these three philosophers David Hume, William Robertson, and John Millar, was strongly shaped by academic specialisation: Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The Scottish Enlightenment', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 58 (1967), 1635–1658, at 1639.

4 See R.J.W. Mills, 'The reception of "that bigoted silly fellow" James Beattie's *Essay on Truth* in Britain, 1770–1830', *History of European Ideas*, 41 (2015), 1049–1079.

5 Esther Mijers, 'The Netherlands, William Carstares, and the reform of Edinburgh University, 1690–1715', *History of Universities*, 25:2 (2011), 111–142, quotation at 112; Roger L. Emerson, *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment: Glasgow, Edinburgh and St Andrews Universities* (Edinburgh, 2008), 232; Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh*, rev. edn. (Edinburgh, 2015), 28.

6 *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis: Records of the University of Glasgow from its Foundation till 1727*, 4 vols (Maitland Club, 1854), II, 569, 577–580.

7 Ronald G. Cant, 'Origins of the Enlightenment in Scotland: the universities', in R.H. Campbell and Andrew S. Skinner (eds.), *The Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1982), 42–64, at 47. For King's College, Aberdeen (apparently misinterpreted by Cant), see Peter John Anderson (ed.), *Officers and Graduates of University & King's College Aberdeen MVD–MDCCCLX* (New Spalding Club, 1893), 321.

Andrews and Aberdeen are rarely seen as rivals to Edinburgh and Glasgow as centres of enlightenment.[8]

Scholars often look abroad for the origins of the Scottish Enlightenment. Thus historians from Alexander Bower and Sir Alexander Grant in the 19th century to Nicholas Phillipson and Esther Mijers more recently have emphasised the influence of the Netherlands on the 1708 reform in Edinburgh.[9] Certainly the town council minute fixing the professors appealed to the example of "the most famous Universities abroad" for its proposal that philosophy be taught in two years, rather than three, allowing the curriculum's first two years to be devoted to the Latin and Greek classics.[10] For the university's principal, William Carstares, and many of Scottish culture's leading lights at the time, the most famous universities were those of the Dutch Republic, especially Leiden and Utrecht. Of the visitation committee that remodelled Glasgow's faculty in 1727, more men had studied in the Netherlands than in Glasgow.[11] More generally, the early 18th century was a period in which Dutch-educated professors and textbooks written and published in the Netherlands dominated in the Scottish universities.[12]

Yet it is important to situate the development of academic specialisation in a longer context. The fixing of professors was not a new idea at the end of the 17th century, but rather an aspiration dating back at least as far as the earliest days of the Scottish Reformation. The *First Book of Discipline* (1560), the programme for Church reform composed by John Knox and other protestant leaders, set out detailed proposals for the remodelling of the universities. Inspired by continental academic developments, these plans intended to replace generalist regents with specialist "readers" in dialectic, mathematics, natural philosophy, medicine, ethics, law, as well as Hebrew, Greek,

8 But cf. Paul B. Wood, *The Aberdeen Enlightenment: The Arts Curriculum in the Eighteenth Century* (Aberdeen, 1993).

9 Alexander Bower, *The History of the University of Edinburgh*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1817–1830), II, 74–75; Alexander Grant, *The Story of the University of Edinburgh during its first Three Hundred Years*, 2 vols (London, 1884), I, 263; Nicholas Phillipson, 'The making of an enlightened university', in Robert D. Anderson, Michael Lynch, and Nicholas Phillipson (eds.), *The University of Edinburgh: An Illustrated History* (Edinburgh, 2003), 51–101, at 61–62; Mijers, 'The Netherlands, Carstares, and Edinburgh University'.

10 Alexander Morgan (ed.), *University of Edinburgh: Charters, Statutes, and Acts of the Town Council and the Senatus, 1583–1858* (Edinburgh, 1937), 164–166, quotation at 164.

11 *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, II, 569: Islay had studied at both Glasgow and Utrecht; Erskine of Grange at Utrecht; Fletcher of Milton, Charles Erskine and Grant at Leiden.

12 See Esther Mijers, *'News from the Republick of Letters': Scottish Students, Charles Mackie and the United Provinces, 1650–1750* (Leiden, 2012).

and divinity.[13] Of course, specialisation was by no means the only objective of 16th-century university reformers, who sought variously to challenge the philosophical dominance of Aristotle, to remove metaphysics from the arts course, and to promote humanistic approaches to classical texts. In a proposal of 1563 for the reform of St Andrews University, George Buchanan placed more emphasis on the classical curriculum than on the duties of particular regents. Nevertheless, his plan assumed a division of labour, in which the teachers of Latin and Greek would have their own college, distinct from that of the philosophers.[14]

The reforms envisaged by the *First Book of Discipline* and Buchanan were not implemented, but the goal of specialisation was pursued by the second generation of protestant academic leaders, especially Andrew Melville. Melville inspired new foundations of the three medieval universities (St Andrews, Glasgow, and King's College, Aberdeen), in which specialised teaching was to become the norm.[15] The king's new erection charter of Glasgow University (1577) insisted that the three "regents" should not "change every year into new courses [*professiones*], as is the custom in the other colleges of our kingdom, whereby it comes to pass that while they profess many branches of learning they are found skilled in few". By learning each year from a regent devoted to a specific discipline, the students would "find their preceptor worthy of their studies and gifts".[16] Similar phrases appeared in the new foundation charter of King's College, Aberdeen, which dates from the period 1587–1593.[17] Melville's academic vision was clearly enunciated, again using some of the terms of the Glasgow *nova erectio*, in the foundation charter of Marischal College, Aberdeen, dated 1593. In this document, the college's founder, George Keith, fifth earl Marischal, stated that

13 *The First Book of Discipline*, ed. James K. Cameron (Edinburgh, 1972), 138–144.

14 'The Opinion of George Buchanan concerning the Reformation of the University of St Andrews', in *The Bannatyne Miscellany; containing Original Papers and Tracts, chiefly relating to the History and Literature of Scotland: Volume II* (Bannatyne Club, 1836), 81–100.

15 Steven J. Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism: Andrew Melville and the Universities of Scotland, 1560–1625* (Farnham, 2011), esp. 80–81, 92, 218; David Stevenson, *King's College, Aberdeen, 1560–1641: From Protestant Reformation to Covenanting Revolution* (Aberdeen, 1990), 20–40.

16 John Durkan and James Kirk, *The University of Glasgow, 1451–1577* (Glasgow, 1977), 444; cf. the Latin text at 435.

17 Stevenson, *King's College, Aberdeen*, 149–166, esp. 157.

he was "unwilling that the teachers of our Academy move over to new professions, but rather they should work in the same profession".[18]

For all the influence of Melville in late 16th-century Scotland, academic specialisation was not universally adopted. As Steven Reid has recently noted, only for Marischal College is there clear evidence that professors dedicated themselves to particular subjects across a period of several decades.[19] Of the two arts colleges in St Andrews, St Leonard's briefly had specialised teaching in the 1580s, but the reform scarcely took root in St Salvator's.[20] The organisation of teaching at Edinburgh, whose college opened in 1583, can be inferred from a series of graduation theses beginning in 1596. They show that regenting prevailed there.[21] Whatever the intention of the new foundation at King's College, Aberdeen, regents were teaching the full curriculum from 1601–1602 onwards, though fixed professors seem to have emerged in the late 1620s and 1630s.[22] In Glasgow, specialisation became the rule when Melville was principal in the 1570s, and it seems to have been in place in the early 1640s. But regenting may have reappeared between these decades.[23]

In 1638, at the outbreak of the revolution of the Covenanters against Charles I, there was some specialised philosophy teaching at the two Aberdeen colleges and at Glasgow. But under the Covenanters, rotating regents again became the norm everywhere. In September 1642, a visitation of Glasgow University noted "that everie Regent within the Colledge hes beine accustomed hithertills to continue for more years togithere in one and the same Professione", and appointed instead that "everie Master educate his own Schollers through all the four Classes" of the MA course. The

18 Peter John Anderson (ed.), *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis: Selections from the Records of the Marischal College and University, MDXCIII–MDCCCLX*, 3 vols (New Spalding Club, 1889–1898), I, 45 ('Nolumus autem Academiae nostrae Praeceptores ad Novas professiones transilire, sed ut in eadem professione se exerceant'); cf. Anderson's translation at 64.

19 Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, 269.

20 Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, 120, 142; cf. Ronald G. Cant, *The College of St Salvator: Its Foundation and Development* (Edinburgh, 1950), 174; Ronald Gordon Cant, *The University of St Andrews: A Short History*, 3rd edn. (St Andrews, 1992), 63.

21 Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, 213, 256–257. Regenting was the practice in 1647: Morgan (ed.), *Edinburgh Charters, Statutes, and Acts*, 132.

22 Anderson (ed.), *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis*, I, 64–65; Stevenson, *King's College, Aberdeen*, 46–47; Anderson (ed.), *Officers and Graduates*, 313–315.

23 Durkan and Kirk, *University of Glasgow*, 280, 282, 284, 285; Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, 96–102, 107, argues that Melville's reforms at Glasgow fell victim to the royal backlash against presbyterianism in 1583, and at 256 draws attention to the lack of evidence concerning the teaching at Glasgow before the 1640s.

rationale for the shift was not clearly expressed, but the visitation's minutes allude to the disciplinary and pedagogical challenges faced by specialist teachers, who received an entirely new class of students each year.[24] But the change may also have been motivated by a desire to make the masters' stipends more equal, by giving them the same duties.[25] Moreover, in June 1641, the faculty of King's College, Aberdeen had agreed to adopt the regenting system again. The decision was not unanimous, and no reason was given for the change; David Stevenson suggests that intellectually conservative Covenanters may have regarded the specialised teachers of the 1630s as an "episcopalian novelty".[26] From 1643, Marischal College also had rotating regents.[27] For whatever reasons, the Melvillian aim of academic specialisation had been jettisoned, ironically by men committed to Melville's programme of presbyterian Church government.

In the period after 1660, proposals to create specialised professors were primarily understood as the restoration of a previous system that had fallen into disuse. In 1664, a visitation commission at Glasgow University called for revenues to support "at least ane other professor of theologie, ane professor of humanitie, ane professor of medicine, ane professor of the civill and canone laws, ane professor of mathematickes whiche this Universitie formerlie had, and by the erectione and fundatione aucht to have". On this occasion, the commission would have retained rotating regents in Greek and philosophy. But in 1681, another visitation of Glasgow resolved that because the university's foundation charter fixed each regent to a particular field of study, and because such specialised teaching prevailed "till the late troubles came in", that is, until the Covenanting revolution, philosophy regents should again be limited to one branch of the subject.[28] Neither instruction was implemented, but they show that the ideal of academic specialisation was not entirely forgotten in the Restoration period. On neither occasion did the visitation commission explicitly justify the fixing of professors with reference to the success of foreign universities.

As the unsuccessful attempts to increase specialisation in Glasgow suggest, there were two principal obstacles in the way of reform. The poverty of the late 17th-century universities was a fundamental difficulty, especially when an expansion of positions in the "postgraduate" subjects of medicine, law, and divinity was proposed. Indeed, any academic posts that were supernumerary to the arts regents and divinity profes-

24 *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, II, 467. Arguments on these grounds were presented against fixed professors in 1695 (see below).

25 *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, II, 467–468.

26 Anderson (ed.), *Officers and Graduates*, 315; Stevenson, *King's College, Aberdeen*, 119.

27 Anderson (ed.), *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis*, I, 65.

28 *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, II, 480, 492.

sor were potentially unsustainable. Chairs in humanity (Latin) were established to supplement the main curriculum at Edinburgh in 1597, and in the St Andrews arts colleges in 1620 and 1644, each funded by a specific endowment.[29] Glasgow had a similar professor in the mid 1680s, but he lacked a reliable income and his post was suppressed in 1687 because of a shortage of funds. There were attempts to revive the chair in 1691, but it remained dormant until 1706.[30]

But financial shortages should not have prevented the arts regents from being reassigned to specialised teaching roles while retaining their existing stipends. Thus the second hurdle to the introduction of fixed professors after 1660 was the conservatism of the regents. When in 1695, another visitation proposed creating specialist professors of Greek, who would teach the first year of the MA curriculum, a majority of the Glasgow faculty professed themselves in favour of fixing professors at all levels of the undergraduate programme. But the regents also rehearsed the arguments against specialisation. They claimed that "the Masters at present in the Colledges of Scotland have given abundant proof of ther abilities for teaching ony of the four classes", and thus the reform could be considered unnecessary. Indeed, the staff of St Salvator's College, St Andrews, argued that all philosophy regents were skilled in Greek, and thus creating a dedicated professor in the language was inappropriate.[31] Fixed professors would use their own terms, methods, and pedagogical strategies, the Glasgow regents continued, potentially confusing each new group of students. Moreover, the Glasgow faculty suggested that specialist regents "may becom mor negligent in their duty".[32] With a rotating regency, each master had periodically to prepare theses for, and preside at, the ceremony of "laureation": examination and graduation. Because a Greek professor would be confined to teaching first-year students, he would be "sheltered from Graduations, printing, or any publick appearance", argued the regents of Marischal College in their petition against fixed Greek teachers. The Greek professor would have no incentive to become a good scholar; correspondingly, he would

29 Morgan (ed.), *Edinburgh Charters, Statutes, and Acts*, 100–101, see also 105, 114–115, 134; Cant, *College of St Salvator*, 178–179.

30 *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, II, 344–345, 346–347, 351–352, 357, 360, 388–389, 390–391.

31 *Evidence, Oral and Documentary, taken and received by the Commissioners appointed by his Majesty George IV*, 4 vols (London, 1837), II, app., 269 (quotation); cf. *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, II, 514–15; National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh [hereafter NRS], Opinion of St Salvator's College about the visitation commission's proposals, 2 May 1695, PA10/6 [unfoliated].

32 *Evidence, Oral and Documentary*, II, app., 269.

lack status and authority over his students.[33] As this suggests, one of the objections to specialised teachers was that they would be unable to keep discipline in their classes. Compared to rotating regents, the Glasgow faculty suggested, specialists would not be "so well acquaint with the humours, inclinations, and ingine of their schollars, nor they with their Masters".[34]

As the Glasgow regents themselves remarked, these were not necessarily strong arguments against specialisation. Perhaps most regents simply preferred to teach different subjects each year and did not want to be restricted to one part of the curriculum. In this context, what was needed were significant intellectual and pedagogical reasons for shifting away from generalist teaching. This aspect of the early modern debate about academic specialisation in Scotland has, I think, been insufficiently investigated by previous studies. When specialist professors were introduced in the 18th century, their adoption was motivated not only by a desire to respect early charters, or to emulate celebrated continental universities. In addition, the proponents of reform justified specialisation with reference to the challenges of teaching particular subjects and the growing complexity of the nascent academic disciplines.

The intellectual and pedagogical case for specialisation could be made in two ways. The first related particularly to language teaching. Though Greek had been part of the university curriculum since the 16th century (it was rarely taught in schools), it was there as a means to restricted ends: familiarity with the Greek text of the New Testament and, to a lesser extent, that of Aristotle.[35] Even in the late 16th- and early 17th-century heyday of Scottish neo-Latin, the country was not renowned for Greek scholarship.[36] By the 1680s, according to David Gregory, professor of maths at Edinburgh, Greek learning was so neglected in Scottish universities that "those who are the pretended teachers of it, scarce ever attain to the pitch of school boys in our neighbour nation" (England). More time should be devoted to both Greek and Latin, Gregory averred, arguing that "such as are eminent in those languages may be employed in the important posts of teaching them". Specialist language professors ought

33 NRS, Undated petition from Marischal College to the university visitation commission (*c.* 1695), PA10/3 [unfoliated]; M.A. Stewart, 'The origins of the Scottish Greek chairs', in E.M. Craik (ed.), *'Owls to Athens': Essays on Classical Subjects Presented to Sir Kenneth Dover* (Oxford, 1990), 391–400, at 393.

34 *Evidence, Oral and Documentary*, II, app., 269.

35 On Melville's introduction of Greek teaching, see Durkan and Kirk, *University of Glasgow*, 279, 281–282.

36 For an introduction to Scottish neo-Latinity, see Steven J. Reid, 'A Latin Renaissance in Reformation Scotland? Print trends in Scottish Latin literature, *c.* 1480–1700', *Scottish Historical Review*, 95 (2016), 1–29.

to be encouraged and not belittled by those "whose bussines it is to teach Metaphysick &c."[37] If particularly skilled men could be found to inculcate the ancient tongues, and if the teachers' status was recognised, the linguistic ability of Scottish students would improve. The university visitation commission of the 1690s accepted some of these arguments, especially the claim that there were "far fewer eminent in" Greek "than in philosophy".[38] In 1700, the commission ordered the universities to appoint professors of Greek. It would "conduce much to the better learning and for the improvement of the study of the Greik tongue" if fixed teachers were employed, the commission maintained. The order recognised that Greek teachers would need encouragement. Not only were universities to ensure that all students studied Greek – the subject was often skipped – but the new professors were to be offered first refusal in the event of a future vacancy among the philosophy regents.[39] As the last point indicates, Greek chairs, and still more those of humanity, long remained close to the bottom of the academic pecking order. In his study of the early Scottish Greek professors, M.A. Stewart identified only two of any scholarly eminence.[40]

The second and more interesting argument for academic specialisation concerned the increasing complexity of some branches of learning. Unsurprisingly, this was part of the justification for creating chairs in mathematics in the Scottish universities in the 17th century. Basic maths was often taught by the rotating regents as part of the undergraduate curriculum, but specialised professors could teach a more advanced course to the most able students.[41] Duncan Liddell, who founded a chair in Marischal College in 1613, intended that his maths professor would be "weill versed in Euclide Ptolemye Copernik Archimede alijsque mathematicis". He hoped that the university would appoint "the learnedest man that can be hade", but anticipated a shortage of qualified applicants. He ordained that a reduced salary should be paid if the post went to one who was not "ane perfyit mathematicus".[42] In the second half of the 17th century, first James Gregory and then his nephew David set a new standard for maths professors. Indeed, the twenty-four-year-old David Gregory won appointment to the chair in Edinburgh in 1683, after his friend Archibald Pitcairne challenged the college's then teacher of maths, John Young, to a public test of mathematical prow-

37 Edinburgh University Library [hereafter EUL], 'To the Committee of Parliament for visiting Schools and Coledges' (1686x7), by David Gregory, Dc.1.61, pp. 747–750, at p. 748.

38 *Evidence, Oral and Documentary*, I, app., 39.

39 *Evidence, Oral and Documentary*, I, app., 45–46, quotation at 45.

40 Stewart, 'Origins of the Scottish Greek chairs', 398–400.

41 Cant, 'Origins of the Enlightenment', 44, 45–47.

42 Anderson (ed.), *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis*, I, 131–133.

ess, in which Young was bested by Gregory.[43] About three years later, in his proposal to James VII's visitation commission, Gregory argued that the philosophy "Regents cannot pretend to know" mathematics in detail, and thus chairs should be set up where they were lacking.[44] After the publication of Isaac Newton's *Principia* (1687), moreover, the technical proficiency that could be expected of maths professors increased still further.

Some of the recondite knowledge and scholarly connections that might be expected of an academic specialist can be inferred from a document drawn up in St Andrews University in 1673. This was a commission to James Gregory to purchase scientific instruments for the university. Gregory was to "provide ... such instruments and utensils as he, with advice of other skilfull persons, shall judge most necessary and usefull". Moreover, Gregory was to seek donations for the purchase of instruments from "all whom he knows to be favourers of learning", presumably including fellows of the Royal Society in London. Once provided with a suitable laboratory and observatory, the commission anticipated, the university's scholars would "be enabled to keep correspondence with learned and inquisitive persones in solid philosophy everywhere". Such facilities and associations would add to the "lustre and splendour of the University".[45] Thus the specialist professor could be an academic ambassador and, perhaps, a celebrated researcher.

The university visitation of the 1690s took place at a time when there was a strong rationale for specialisation, at least in parts of the undergraduate curriculum. As well as the proposal for fixed Greek professors, the visitation commission considered a plan for specialist teaching in the final year of the MA programme, which was to consist of six months of special physics and three of pneumatology. "[S]eing it is hard to find many fitt for these subjects", unlike in the case of the logic, ethics, and gen-

43 *Exempla Additionis, Subtractionis, Multiplicationis, Divisionis, Involutionis, et Evolutionis, ad quorum Effectionem Joannem Young Invitat A.P.* (Edinburgh, 1683); *Quamvis* Iohannes Young *publice fuerit ab* Archibaldo Pitcairne *invitatus ut Problemata duo satis facilia solveret ...* (Edinburgh, 1683). There are copies in EUL, Dc.1.61, pp. 452, 454.

44 EUL, 'To the Committee of Parliament', by Gregory, Dc.1.61, p. 750. It may have been as a result of Gregory's recommendation that in June 1687 the crown asked that efforts be made to settle a maths professor in Glasgow University: NRS, Warrant book of the secretary for Scotland, 1 March 1687–23 Apr. 1688, SP4/12, pp. 226–227.

45 Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Laing Manuscripts preserved in the University of Edinburgh*, ed. Henry Paton, 2 vols (London, 1914–1925), I, 388–389. See also A.D. Morrison-Low, '"Feasting my eyes with the view of fine instruments": scientific instruments in Enlightenment Scotland, 1680-1820', in Charles W.J. Withers and Paul Wood (eds.), *Science and Medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment* (East Linton, 2002), 17–53, at 24–25, 27–28, 45–46.

eral physics assigned to years two and three, each college should appoint a specialist to teach them. The argument applied especially to the empirical natural philosophy that was to constitute the special physics course. In this subject, the regent was to begin by "explaining the se[ver]all hypothes[e]s", and then turn "to the phenomina, first naturall without interposition of art and then to the experiments which are now so frequent and famous every where". To perform experiments, he was to be provided with "Instruments ... to show the phenomina and to teach how the same are explained upon the se[ver]all hypothes[e]s". The regent was to invite his students to propose theses to explain the experimental results, and he was to be granted "freedom ... to teach his oune opinion of the Causes of these phenomina".[46]

As it happened, the originators of this proposal had particular men in mind to serve as fourth-year regents, at least in Edinburgh and Glasgow.[47] The suggested candidate in Edinburgh was the regent Andrew Massie, though we might think that Gregory, a mathematician esteemed by Isaac Newton and an experimentalist familiar with the air-pump, would have been a better choice.[48] Massie's published graduation theses of 1687 made reference to the natural philosophers and physicians Boyle, Van Leeuwenhoek, Charleton, and Glisson.[49] But perhaps Massie was suggested because he was in charge of the fourth-year class at the time of the proposal. The suggested specialist at Glasgow, George Sinclair, certainly had a reputation in natural philosophy. He had pioneered the use of experimental apparatus in his teaching at Glasgow in the 1660s, and was the published author of several works in natural philosophy. In his case only, the commission's proposal was put into effect, and Sinclair was appointed as a professor of mathematics and experimental philosophy in 1691.[50]

When Edinburgh University fixed its philosophy professors in 1708, there had been a century and a half of projects and experiments in academic specialisation. Many reforms were envisaged with continental exemplars in mind, and the Dutch

46 NRS, Report of the committee anent the manner of teaching, 17 Oct. 1690, PA10/2 [unfoliated]. The proposed division of subjects, especially the separation of general and special physics, and of logic and metaphysics (or pneumatology), was itself controversial: Christine M. Shepherd, 'Philosophy and Science in the Arts Curriculum of the Scottish Universities in the Seventeenth Century' (Edinburgh University Ph.D. thesis, 1975), 41–45.

47 NRS, Report of the committee, 17 Oct. 1690, PA10/2.

48 Gregory's use of the air-pump is mentioned in EUL, Libel against David Gregory, 1690, Dk.1.2[2], item 24.

49 Andrew Massie, *Clarissimo, Generosissimo, ac Colendissimo Domino, D. Thomæ Kennedy ... Hasce Ingenii Primitias, Juvenes Candidati, hac vice ex Athenæo Regio Jacobi Sexti Edinburgeno, cum Laurea Magisterali Emittendi* (Edinburgh, 1687).

50 *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, II, 349, 353–354.

universities of the early 18th century were only the latest of a series of models to be emulated. But the arguments for specialisation did not simply appeal to 16th-century charters and international comparisons. Rather, there were perceived to be pedagogical reasons for fixed language teachers, and it was increasingly recognised that mathematics and perhaps also natural philosophy required specialist professors. Nevertheless, we might conclude by questioning how important institutional specialisation was to the intellectual innovation thought to be essential to the Scottish Enlightenment. While teaching as a rotating regent in Glasgow in the 1710s, Gershom Carmichael was able to incorporate what he acknowledged was a novel approach to ethics, based on his own analysis of Samuel Pufendorf's *De Officio Hominis et Civis*. Three years before he was appointed as Glasgow University's first professor of moral philosophy, Carmichael published the fruits of his new approach in teaching: a lengthy commentary on Pufendorf's work.[51] This argument – that generalists could nevertheless develop particular expertise – could be made of other 18th-century thinkers, notably Thomas Reid in his Aberdeen phase. If it was becoming obvious in the 17th century that some subjects required dedicated teachers, it would not be until the end of the 18th century that academic specialisation became universal in Scotland's universities.

51 James Moore and Michael Silverthorne (eds.), *Natural Rights on the Threshold of the Scottish Enlightenment: The Writings of Gershom Carmichael* (Indianapolis, IA, 2002), esp. 377–387.

Per Landgren

Historia et scientia

An Aristotelian Cognitive Structure of the Academic Disciplines

Any successful student of natural philosophy has to know the nature and condition of the discipline and its division in parts.[1] The renowned Paduan philosopher Iacomo Zabarella (1533–1589) gave this advice in his programmatic work on early modern constitution of natural science, *De naturalis scientiae constitutione* (1586). In this paper, I will argue that the same conditions also hold for modern students of Zabarella's view of natural philosophy and of the other academic disciplines as well as for his version of Aristotelianism. Any successful student of natural philosophy according to Zabarella has to know the nature and condition of the discipline and its division in parts.

In his work, *De natura logicae (On the nature of logic)*, the second chapter *De rerum ac disciplinarum divisione* (About the division of things and disciplines), Zabarella deals with the diversity of academic disciplines. They all focus on things and he divides them all according to their different natures. All things, Zabarella writes, belong to two genera, necessary things and contingent things. Necessary things are eternal or just unaffected by our will. Contingent things are dependent upon us.

Out of this reality two kinds of disciplines arise. The first kind is about these necessary things and it generates absolute knowledge, *scientia*. These disciplines are, in the usage of Zabarella, called *scientiae*, sciences, such as metaphysics, mathematics and natural philosophy, since they deal with absolute and necessary knowledge, *scientia*. The second kind includes things that are dependent on us, i.e. practical disciplines

1 Iacobus Zabarella, 'De naturalis scientiae constitutione', in *De rebus naturalibus Libri XXX*, (Coloniae, 1594), col.1: "Quisquis in naturalium rerum consideratione fructuose versaturus est, debet ante omnia ipsius naturalis disciplinae naturam & conditionem cognoscere; praeterea vero & eius divisionem in partes, & ipsarum partium ordinem, propriosque singularium scopos non ignorare."

(cf. the Greek word *praxis* for action). These are moral disciplines, such as ethics, economics, and politics.[2] They are as operative as the productive disciplines, the *artes*, such as architecture and shipbuilding. So far this is common Aristotelianism.

Following the philosopher, Zabarella accepts logic as a discipline, but not as an independent and knowledge-generating discipline in itself.[3] Logic is not a basic intellectual *habitus*, or intellectual constitution of the soul, which entails the capacity to acquire knowledge, such as those enumerated by Aristotle in *Nicomachean Ethics* chapter VI, *scientia* (episteme), *prudentia* (fronesis), *ars* (techne), *intellectus* (nous) or *sapientia* (sofia). According to Zabarella, logic does not deal directly with things, *res*, that is primary notions, like the principal constitutions or *habitus*. Rather, logic is instrumental. It deals with secondary notions that are imposed on the primary ones to order them and use them in acquiring new knowledge. Secondary notions such as *genus*, *species*, *nomen*, *verbum*, *propositio*, *syllogismus*, are *figmenta animi nostri*, figments of our soul. Logic is an instrumental *habitus* or constitution of the soul, and not a principal one. It is an *habitus instrumentalis intellectualis*, through which we form concepts in order to understand reality. It is a tool for our intellective capacity. It is a discipline, but an instrumental one.

The Zabarellian view of the inner structure of the academic disciplines with contingent and not-contingent things is grounded in the Aristotelian ontology and the categories of substance and accidents. These ontological categories entail definite consequences for his epistemology and structure of knowledge, and this ontological dualism leads up to, what I would call, an "integrated epistemological dualism", expressed, from the point of view of content, by Aristotle in *Parts of Animals*, where the Stagerite implies that the natural philosopher should follow the mathematicians in their demonstrations. That means to consider the phenomena first and then the causes.[4] In *Posterior Analytics* he teaches these two forms of knowledge as well. On the

2 'De natura logicae, libri duo', in *Opera logica* (Coloniae, 1597), Liber I, Cap. II. *De rerum ac disciplinarum divisione. col. 2. A–B. e.g.:* "Res omnes in duo genera dividuntur ab Aristotele in 3.cap. 6. Libri de Moribus ad Nichomachum. Alias enim necessarias, ac sempiternas esse dicit, alias contingentes, quae esse et non esse possunt. Necessarias quidem vocat tum eas omnes, quae ipsae per se semper sunt et nunquam fiunt; tum eas, quae fiunt quidem, non tamen a voluntate nostra, sed a natura per certas causas operante."

3 *De natura logicae*, Liber I, Cap. III. *In quo ostenditur Logicam non esse scientiam* and Cap. V. *Quomodo Logica sit scientia & quomodo non sit.*

4 Aristotle, *Parts of Animals*, book 1, 639b: "Ought the student of nature follow the plan adopted by the mathematicians in their astronomical demonstrations, and after considering the phenomena presented by animals, and their several parts, proceed subsequently to treat of the causes and the reason why; or ought he to follow some other method?" Quoted from *The Complete*

one hand absolute knowledge, which signifies knowledge of causes of a phenomenon, and, on the other hand, accidental knowledge which means empirical knowledge of accidental characteristics of the same phenomenon.[5]

These two different kinds of knowledge, of substance and of accidents, correspond to the two methods of acquiring knowledge, deduction and induction, but only deduction belongs to logic.[6] Induction does not, if you not convert it into a syllogism. Induction is a way of producing and securing premises, in order to use in syllogisms.

In his logical works, Zabarella approves two methods of acquiring knowledge. That means two approved forms of syllogisms, which correspond to this dual structure of knowledge. These syllogisms are demonstrations that something is the case, *demonstratio quia*, and why something is the case, *demonstratio propter quid*.[7] Modern scholars, such as Cassirer and Randall, Sellberg, Jardine, Poppi, Mikkeli, Reiss, Palmieri, and Sgarbi, have written about these views of Zabarella and other Aristotelians.[8]

Our Paduan philosopher, however, goes further in dividing, defining, and signifying. "In every *res"*, he writes in his *De methodis*, "there are two subjects that we want to know about. The first one is the essence, or the nature of the thing, and the other

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works of Aristotle. The revised Oxford translation, ed. Jonathan Barnes (Princeton University Press, 1995), 995.

5 Aristotle, *Analytica Posteriora*, I, ii, pp. 71b9–12.

6 Zabarella, 'De methodis libri qvatvor', in *Opera Logica*, op. cit., liber IV, coll. 289, C: "propterea mihi certissimum, atque compertissimum est, nullum esse apud Aristotelem Logicorum instrumentorum genus, nisi syllogismum, de quo ipse diligentissime scripsit in Prioribus Analyticis."

7 Zabarella, e.g. 'Liber de speciebus demonstrationis', *Opera logica* op. cit., cols. 416–419.

8 See John Herman Randall, 'The development of scientific method in the school of Padua', *Journal of the History of Ideas* (1940), 1, 177–206, and *The School of Padua and the Emergence of Modern Science* (Padova: Editrice Antenore, 1961); Ernst Cassirer, *Das Erkenntnisproblem in der Philosophie und Wissenschaft der neueren Zeit* (Berlin, 1922); Erland Sellberg, *Filosofin och nyttan I. Petrus Ramus och ramismen* (Göteborg, 1979); Heikki Mikkeli, *An Aristotelian response to Renaissance humanism. Jacopo Zabarella on the nature of arts and sciences* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1992), esp. caput 2: 'Arts and sciences in Zabarella's thought'; N. Jardine, 'Galileo's road to truth and the demonstrative regress', *Studies in history and philosophy of science* (1976), vii, 277–318; Antonino Poppi, *La dottrina della scienza in Giacomo Zabarella* (Padova: Antenore, 1972); Timothy Reiss, 'Neo-Aristotle and Method: between Zabarella and Descartes', in Stephen Gaukroger, John Schuster and John Sutton (eds.), *Descartes' Natural Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 2000); Paolo Palmieri, 'Science and authority in Giacomo Zabarella', *History of Science* (2007), and Marco Sgarbi, *The Aristotelian tradition and the rise of British empiricism* (Dordrecht *et al*. 2013), and by the same author 'Towards a reassessment of British Aristotelianism', *Vivarium* (2011), 49, 1–25.

subject is the accidental properties of the same thing."[9] Substances and accidents logically entail not only different genera of things, *res*, and different disciplines according to the different *res*, which is a sub-subject in itself worthy of investigation. Substances and accidents also entail two kinds of parts in every *res*, the essence and the accidental properties. Consequently, a twofold structure of knowledge about every *res* arises, that is knowledge of substance and knowledge of accidents, which is quite logical having the ten categories or *praedicamenta*.

In this connection, we find something quite illuminating, though, which is not noticed nor commentated on by modern researchers. Knowledge about an accident is called *historia*, and knowledge about an essence is called *scientia*. One piece of particular knowledge seems to be a *historia*, and one piece of universal knowledge is *scientia*, in physics. This definition and designation of knowledge about *accidentalia* as *historiae* suggests a quite radical change of the picture in our understanding of the structure of early modern Aristotelian epistemology, since *historia* has commonly been understood as some chronological narrative part. But *historia* is obviously a homonym with at least two wholly different meanings, one chronological and one non-chronological.

The dualism in the structure of perfect knowledge is, following Zabarella, clearly articulated by Aristotle in his methodology of both practising and teaching natural philosophy. In the work *On the constitution of natural science*, we are told how the different natural philosophical writings of Aristotle are divided into experiential or sensual knowledge on the one hand and causal knowledge on the other. To facilitate the learning process, we are told, Aristotle put the HISTORIA ANIMALIUM before the other books on ANIMALIA. In the historical works he described things that can be learned by experience. The causes were to be identified and known in the scientific treatment.[10] "Therefore, the books about HISTORIA are a preparation for the other books about ANIMALIA. The reason is that the former books deliver knowledge that something is, QUOD ITA SIT, but the books that follow declare the causes of the same things and teach why, PROPTER QUID. Hence the former books were correctly called historical [HISTORICI], and the others are not historical [HISTORICI], but ought

9 Zabarella, 'De methodis liber I', Opera logica, op. cit., col. 158: "In omni re proposita duo sunt, quae cognoscere volumus, primum quidem essentia, sive natura ipsius rei, deinde propria eius accidentia."

10 Zabarella, 'De naturalis scientiae constitutione', *De rebus naturalibus*, op. cit., col. 93: "Qui praeterea animadvertens tractationem de animalibus, magna varietate ac difficultate refertam esse, statuit ad maiorem doctrinae facilitatem omnibus aliis libris anteponere libros de historia animalium, in quibus & de animalium principiis & de eorum accidentibus & operationibus ea, quae experientia & sensu cognosci potuerunt, nobis exponeret, sine ulla causarum redditione, ut postea earundem rerum scientialem tractationem sequentibus libris traderet."

more correctly to be called scientific [*scientiales*]."[11] Zabarella uses a sharp distinction between phenomena and causes, and books on history contain phenomena, which can be experienced by the senses.

Under the caption of chapter 34, 'A comparison between the books on animal history and the other books on animals', Zabarella uses this dual division of his treatment of the animals to motivate a quite detailed correlation of the historical, i.e. factual, works with the other works that include causes, i.e. the scientific works on animals.[12] He wants to investigate and present which factual, that is historical, parts and books the scientific parts or books correspond to.[13] To sum up, *historia* plays a vital role in this Aristotelian structure of science, and that structure is twofold for every *res*: particular knowledge, which is *historia*, and universal knowledge, which is *scientia*.

When Zabarella directly addresses the question if there could be an *ars historica* in the last chapter of the second book of *De natura logicae*, he declares that *historia* could be a part of logic, in the same way as the art of rhetoric and the art of poetry are. But he writes, "not just Aristotle, but no one else has, so far, written such an *ars historica* work, and perhaps it is not worth it, because it takes too much time. *Historica* consists, after all, 'of a simple and naked narration of events'".[14] In the light of his reception of this Aristotelian concept of *historia*, it is not hard to understand the

11 Zabarella, 'De naturalis scientiae constitutione', op. cit., col. 93: "Itaque libri de historia sunt praeparatio quaedam ad alios omnes de animalibus libros. Tradunt enim cognitionem, quod ita sit. Alii vero sequentes earundem rerum causas declarant & docent propter quid. Ideo illi iure fuerunt appellati historici, quum reliqui non historici, sed scientiales potius sint appellandi."

12 Zabarella, 'De naturalis scientiae constitutione', op. cit., col. 103: "Comparatio librorum de historia animalium cum reliquis libris de Animalibus. Cap. XXXIV."

13 Zabarella, 'De naturalis scientiae constitutione', op. cit., cols. 103–104: "Caeterum quum totam de animalibus tractationem in duas partes diviserimus, unam in qua solum quod ita sit declaratur, quae novem libris de historia Animalium continetur. Alteram vero in plures sequentes libros divisam, in qua eorum, quae in historiis dicta erant, causae afferuntur & de/claratur propter quid. Non erit ab re, si unam cum altera conferentes consideremus, cui historiae parti quis liber respondeat, quod quidem breviter praestabimus."

14 Zabarella, 'De natura logicae', op. cit., col. 100: "Ars tamen historica non modo Aristotele, sed a nemine hactenus scripta comperitur, nec fortasse digna est, in qua scribenda tempus conteratur. Ea namque in simplici, ac nuda rerum gestarum narratione consistit." With his dissertation, *De historica facultate* (1548), Francesco Robortello (1516–1567) aimed to do precisely what Zabarella said that no one had done, i.e. what Aristotle had done with rhetoric. He motivated an ars historica, but this ars was not independent. It was a part of rhetoric. See e.g. Francesco Robortello, 'De historica facultate disputatio' (1548), in *Theoretiker humanistischer Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. Eckhard Kessler (München, 1971), p. 21: "plane est affirmandum, ex rhetorice

unwillingness of Zabarella to accept an *ars historica*. As an epistemic category *historia* is something else than a discipline. *Historia* was a fundamental part in any discipline, but it did not constitute a discipline in itself. In practical philosophy, though, actions and events, *res gestae*, in *historia civilis* or *profana*, almost asked for chronology, and there an art could be possible, according to Zabarella, even if it is, "perhaps not worth it", because of its nature of being *simplex et nuda rerum gestarum narratio*.[15]

In *De naturalis scientiae constitutione* Zabarella lets somebody ask if books on *historia* constitute a part of *scientia naturalis*, that is natural science or physics. His answer is both yes and no. Because, as far as *libri de historia* contribute to the other books and the other books, that is books on *scientia naturalis*, assumes understanding of them, they constitute a part of *scientia naturalis*. That motivates also, Zabarella explains, the order of the books *De animalibus*, where the first are the books on *historia*. But if we only want to include books that are written demonstratively, then the books on *historia* are no part of *scientia naturalis*.[16] In the discussion on the work *De anima* he concludes that nothing historical can be said, because the soul is "insensilis".[17]

As a result, we have an integrated epistemological dualism in every *res* and, therefore, a certain fabric or structure in every discipline. This epistemological dualism is grounded in the two main roads to knowledge, the senses and reason.[18] Through the

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enasci historicam hanc facultatem. Rhetorice historicam parit, atque alit tamquam mater." and p. 26: "Praeterea si historica facultas rhetoricae pars est quaedam, (ut ante probatum fuit) consequitur necessario, ut, praeterquam quod ipsius imaginem refert, eorum quoque referat omnium naturam, ex quibus ipsa rhetorice conflatur."

15 See note above.

16 Zabarella, 'De naturalis scientiae constitutione', op. cit., cols. 93–94: "Si quis igitur quaerat, an libri de historia sint pars scientiae naturalis, dicere possumus esse modo aliquo eius partem & aliquo etiam modo non esse. Pars enim dici possunt [libri], quatenus ad aliorum cognitionem plurimum conferunt, & alij eorum intelligentiam praesupponunt. Quare primi omnium librorum de animalibus sunt libri de animalium historia. Si vero eos tantum libros, qui demonstrative sint scripti, comprehendere velimus, libri de historia non sunt pars scientiae naturalis, & hac ratione primi om/nium librorum de animalibus sunt quatuor libri de partibus animalium, quod etiam indicat magnum ac prolixum eorum librorum prooemium, quod occupat totum primum librum."

17 Zabarella, 'De naturalis scientiae constitutione', op. cit., col. 104: "Libris autem de anima in historijs nulla pars respondet, quia nil de anima historice dici poterat, tum quia anima insensilis est, quo fit ut, licet de ipsius operationibus plura dici potuerint, quae sensu & experientia sunt inventa, de ipsamet tamen anima nihil."

18 Zabarella, 'In duos Aristotelis libros Posteriores Analyticos Commentarii, Liber primus', *Opera logica*, op. cit., col. 888: "omnis nostra intellectualis cognitio aut inductione acquiritur, aut demonstratione ...", Wilhelm Risse, 'Zabarellas Methodenlehre', in Luigi Olivieri (ed.), *Aristotelismo Veneto e scienza moderna* (Padova, 1983), writes on p. 158 that Aristotle uses three methods: "die analytische induction", "die synthetische Deduktion" and "die axiomatisch-deduktive Beweismethode".

senses you get knowledge of accidental characteristics of a thing by apprehension and induction. Through reason you get knowledge of the substance, essence, or nature of a thing by deduction.

However, a syllogism can go in both directions: from cause to effect, and from effect to cause, that is the demonstrative method and the resolutive method,[19] and the resolutive method is divided into two species, where the first one is demonstration from effect to cause and the other one is induction.[20]

The Zabarellian epistemology conveys that you have these two kinds of knowledge as products, accidental knowledge, and substantial knowledge in every discipline, except one, metaphysics. We have here a body of factual knowledge, *historiae*, and a body of causal or universal knowledge, *scientiae*. But, Zabarella, as an orthodox Aristotelian and natural philosopher, focused on *philosophia naturalis*. Other early modern scholars, such as Ulisse Aldrovandi from Bologna, just as Zabarella a professor in natural philosophy but with emphasis on fossils, plants and animals, focused on *historia naturalis*.

This dualism is manifest in these early modern sources, where the *historiae* constitute the basis and the universals constitute the philosophy *per se*, the superstructure. Here is the "nature and condition of natural philosophy and its division in parts",[21] which Zabarella wrote about, I think. If we see this fabric, we are, I would suggest, in control of a crucial key to a better understanding. I call that key the Aristotelian concept of *historia*.

II

Among classical Greek authors from Herodotus to Aristotle the word "historia" obviously had a semantic journey from "inquiry" to "knowledge". In its first occurrence in Herodotus *Histories* most probably means "the inquiry of eyewitnesses". The next stop in this trip was "the object of the inquiry, the history", and, another stop, "any

19 *De Methodis*, liber tertius, op. cit., Caput XVIII in quo utriusque methodi definitio ponitur, col. 268: "Methodus demonstrativa est syllogismus scientiam pariens ex propositionibus necessariis, medio carentibus, notioribus & causis conclusionis."

20 Zabarella, 'De Methodis', liber tertius, in Opera logica, op. cit., Caput XIX de speciebus methodi resolutivae & earum differentiis, cols. 268–269: "Methodus autem resolutiva in duas species dividitur efficacitate inter se plurimum discrepantes ; altera est demonstratio ab effectu, quae in sui muneris functione est efficacissima & ea utimur ad eorum, quae valde obscura & abscondita sunt, inventionem. Altera est inductio, quae est multo debilior resoluto & ad eorum tantummodo inventionem usitata, quae non penitus ignota sunt & levi egent declaratione."

21 See n. 1.

kind of knowledge".[22] In Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon*, the meaning of the word is, firstly, described as "inquiry", as it is found in this sense in Herodotus and Plato. Secondly, it takes on the meaning of "knowledge so obtained, information" in the writings of Herodotus. According to Wolfgang Kullmann, Greek philosophers such as Aristotle, Theophrast and others used *historia* for knowledge by the senses, that is empirical knowledge, in the words of Kullman, "Faktenwissen", factual knowledge.[23] That is accidental knowledge or knowledge of particulars.

Some modern scholars, such as Brian W. Ogilvie and Paula Findlen, claim that natural history was a "science" in its own right, and, as such, comparable with other scientific disciplines. They maintain that it was a progenitor of modern natural science, and even "invented as a science in the sixteenth century".[24] In chapter five 'Natural history' in *Wrestling with nature. From omens to science*, Peter Harrison classifies natural history as an historical discipline and in the book *The Bible, Protestantism, and the rise of natural science* it was Harrison's aim "to explain how the systematic study of nature came to be incorporated into the humanities in the first place, and to document those events which led to its eventual independence."[25] Dan Garber says

22 See Bruno Snell, *Die Ausdrücke für den Begriff des Wissens in der vorplatonischen Philosophie* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1924), p. 63: "das Verhören von Augenzeugen", p. 64: "aus dem Forschen der Gegenstand des Forschens, die Geschichte", and p. 65: "bezeichnet [Geschichte] jede Art von 'Kunde'." See also Karl Keuck, *Historia. Geschichte des Wortes und seiner Bedeutungen in der Antike und in den romanischen Sprachen*, Emsdetten: Diss. (Münster, 1934), 6–8.

23 We find this in a couple of works of Wolfgang Kullmann, such as *Wissenschaft und Methode. Interpretationen zur aristotelischen Theorie der Naturwissenschaft* (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1974), chapter III: 'Phänomenologie und Ätiologie', p. 204ff., and part 3: 'ὁτι und διοτι, φαινομενα und αιτιαι in der aristotelischen Wissenschaftslehre', *Aristoteles und die moderne Wissenschaft* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1998), and in 'Einleitung zu Aristoteles: Über die Teile der Lebewesen, übersetzt und erläutert von Wolfgang Kullmann', in Hellmut Flashar (ed.), *Aristoteles. Werke in deutscher Übersetzung* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2007), vol. 17, 156–181.

24 Brian G. Ogilvie, *The science of describing natural history in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago, 2006), 1 ff. och 87 ff. Paula Findlen calls it "a truly encyclopedic science" in chapter '19 Natural History', in *Early Modern science, Cambridge History of Science*, vol. iii, 435.

25 Peter Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the rise of natural science* (Cambridge, 1998), 2–3.

about Francis Bacon that natural history "is linked not with natural philosophy, but with the other kinds of history, civil, ecclesiastical, and literary".[26]

Another common view among scholars about natural history is that, after all, it had not much to do with what was later to become real science. Modern research on e.g. natural history and on the methodology of Bacon perceives natural history as a kind of initial collection of data before the real experimental and scientific work begins. This is the view of e.g. Wilhelm Risse, Lisa Jardine, Antonio Perez-Ramos and Graham Rees and also Peter Anstey. Risse does not write much about *historia* or *historiae* at all, and his explanation for this is that it had nothing to do with logic. *Historia naturalis* of the Baconian fashion was interpreted as "bloss registrierende Naturbeschreibung."[27] Lisa Jardine defines a natural history as "an uncritical record of observations of natural phenomena, which corresponds to the store in the memory of primitive sense-perceptions."[28] As Anstey and Hunter observe, rightly I think, Antonio Pérez-Ramos takes no serious notice of the Baconian project of creating a reliable natural history and he does not problematize the fact that the restoration of natural history is described by Bacon and others as the most time-consuming part of and the most important prerequisite for the philosophy of nature and the construction of scientific knowledge. The reason is quite clear, I think. Pérez-Ramos does not include natural history in Francis Bacon's idea of natural philosophy at all.[29] To be sure, Graham Rees accentuated the importance of natural history. The "establishing of facts was a *sine qua non* of Bacon's programme" wrote Rees in his introduction to *Novum Organum*. "Neglect of this", Rees continued, "and of his writings on natu-

26 Peter Harrison, 'Chapter 5 Natural History', in *Wrestling with nature. From omens to science*, eds. Peter Harrison, Ronald L. Numbers and Michael H. Shank (Chicago, 2011), 131. Daniel Garber, 'Philosophia, Historia, Mathematica: Shifting sands in the disciplinary geography of the seventeenth century', in *Scientia in Early Modern philosophy. Seventeenth-century thinkers on demonstrative knowledge from first principles*, eds. Tom Sorell, G.A.J. Rogers and Jill Kraye (Dordrecht, 2010), 3, 7.

27 Wilhelm Risse, *Die Logik der Neuzeit 1. Band 1500–1640* (Stuttgart-bad Cannstatt, 1964), 497.

28 Lisa Jardine, *Francis Bacon: Discovery and the art of discourse* (Cambridge, 1974), 135. After that definition Jardine continues with some of the requirements of Bacon on Natural history, but she does not clarify that Bacon himself delivered a precise critique of the very mode natural history was carried out by his contemporaries. Natural history, induction and the construction of premises were under attack by Bacon and, perhaps it is somewhat ungrateful towards Bacon himself to identify him with the kind of activity he so heavily criticized and wanted to replace with his own experimental natural history.

29 Antonio Pérez-Ramos, *Francis Bacon's idea of science and the Maker's knowledge tradition* (Oxford, 1988).

ral history is no help to a proper understanding of his enterprise."[30] Nevertheless, all the histories of Bacon and natural history as such is interpreted only as a "starting point".[31] In describing the magnificent plan of Bacon's Great Instauration, part three of the natural and experimental history, *Phaenomena Universi, sive Historia Naturalis & Experimentalis ad condendam Philosophiam*, was, according to Rees, "destined for his new functionally defined natural history which was the starting point for this new 'interpretation of nature'." The establishment of facts rested, according to Rees, on natural history.

Unlike these and other proposed explanations of the concept "natural history", I will contend that the concept natural history ought to be interpreted as an expression of the Aristotelian concept of *historia*. According to this concept, *historia* is a substantially different and much broader notion than the common chronological concept. *Historia* in a sense not only preserved the old Greek meaning of "inquiry" and "result of inquiry", but, was an integral part of a specific epistemic dualism. In Aristotelian natural philosophy, *historia*, in tandem with *scientia*, represented these two different but mutually dependent epistemic categories. *Historia* signified knowledge of particulars and *scientia* knowledge of universals.

This Aristotelian concept of *historia*, distinct, as it is, from the chronological concept of history is, surprisingly, unidentified and, therefore, almost totally neglected by modern research. Nonetheless, it has striking consequences for our understanding of the structure of early modern science and of the academic disciplines.

Charles Schmitt emphasized that research in history of natural philosophy and history of medicine during the Italian Renaissance must be in unison.[32] Hiro Hirai in his recent book *Medical humanism and natural philosophy* writes in a footnote that "There seems to exist a profound schism between the disciplines of history of philosophy and history of medicine. The former scarcely deals with medical authors and their 'philosophical' ideas, while the latter barely discusses the 'philosophy' of medical writers."[33] If so, it is somewhat tragic for early modern research, since, according to Zabarella, natural philosophy is foundational to medicine. When *scientia* is a goal, the physician is working as a natural philosopher; not until he has health as a goal is

30 Francis Bacon, *The Oxford Francis Bacon*, (OFB) XI, 'Novum organum' [Liber primus], aphorism XI, xli.

31 Bacon, OFB XI, xix.

32 Charles B. Schmitt, *Aristotle among the physicians in the medical renaissance of the sixteenth century*, eds. A. Wear, R.K. French and I.M. Lonie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

33 Hiro Hirai, *Medical humanism and natural philosophy. Renaissance debates on matter, life and the soul* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 4.

he working as a physician. Furthermore, reading Zabarella, it is clear that anatomy is for physiology what natural history is for natural philosophy. Anatomy is "natural history" for medical studies. Anatomy is particular knowledge, sensual, empirical, experiential and accidental. And it forms the basis for all medical disciplines. Without anatomy, there is no knowledge in medicine proper.

In the second book of *De methodis*, Zabarella affirms that the medical doctor uses this twofold way, *per sensum* and *per rationem*, in getting to know the parts of the human body. He places physiology on a par with natural philosophy and anatomy with *historia*. The first kind of knowledge, what we here call factual knowledge, is knowledge you reach through your senses or through anatomy. This knowledge is without causal knowledge and just says that the thing is. The other kind of knowledge, causal knowledge, which you reach through your mind, is drawn from natural philosophy. Starting with factual knowledge, i.e. *historia* or *historiae*, the singular, *historia*, refers to the body of facts to the discipline and plural, *historiae*, refers to the facts themselves, and proceeds to the more sophisticated causal knowledge.[34] According to Zabarella, anatomy served as the experiential body of knowledge or as a *thesaurus* of descriptive facts, and the other medical disciplines were standing, ideally, firmly on that basis. Here the Aristotelian concept of *historia* gives a neat explanation to the medical genre *Historia anatomica*.

Some recent investigations in the history of medicine seem certainly correct, when they write about case histories or *historiae* in medicine as *observationes*, and that they constituted the factual basis for treatment.[35] However, to my knowledge, this par-

34 Zabarella, 'De methodis liber I', op. cit., "Liber secundus, caput XI. In quo declaratur in artis medicae traditione conditio ordinis resolutivi", cols. 196–197: "Videtur autem duplici via medicus uti ad cognoscendas humani corpori partes. Una quidem per sensum, & per anatomen, qua sine causarum cognitione rem ita esse cognoscit; altera vero per rationem, quam ex naturali philosophia desumit. Sic etenim Aristotelem quoque de animalium partibus disseruisse conspicimus. Rem namque varietatis, ac difficultatis plenam esse cognoscens, operae pretium fore duxit, si harum rerum historiam praemitteret, in qua fine causarum redditione id solum, quod experientia ipsa ostendere potuit, de animalium partibus doceret. Deinde vero in libris De partibus animalium rationem reddit eorum omnium, quae simplici enarratione in libris De historia exposuerat. Ea namque est ingenii nostri imbecillitas, ut non statim integram rei notitiam capessere valeamus, sed gradatim progrediamur, & a cognitione quod sit, quam confusam vocant, ad cognitionem cur sit, quae distincta dicitur transeamus."

35 Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi (eds.), Historia. Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2005), 2. See also Nancy G. Siraisi, *History, medicine, and the traditions of Renaissance learning* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), and e.g. Gianna Pomata, 'A word of the empirics: The ancient concept of observation and its recovery in Early Modern medicine', *Annals of Science* (2011), 65:1, 1–25.

ticular medical literature has not yet been interpreted in the light of the Aristotelian and epistemic structure, which is promoted by Zabarella and others. It has even been suggested that the Greek reports or *Historiae* generally have a chronological dimension[36] and that the Observationes constitute an epistemic genre.[37] *Observatio* has then been interpreted as a synonym to *historia*,[38] and it has been suggested that *observatio*, and the Greek word "teresis" for the concept, is an epistemic category on its own.[39] According to Zabarella's Aristotelian concept of *historia*, however, it seems too narrow to refer to *observatio* alone as an epistemic category. Without doubt, in the Zabarellian tradition *Historia* refers to all sensual knowledge and not just to *observatio*, even though it certainly had a primary importance among the senses in medical practice. Irrespective of how the Greek origin of the concept of *historia* and its semantic diversity and development can be sorted out, Zabarella seems to be a safe candidate in guiding our interpretations. At least, he heavily reinforced the epistemic dualism, even though there, of course, were others and earlier Renaissance Aristotelians including the translator of *Historia animalium*, Theodore of Gaza, who endorsed this interpretation of Aristotle as well.[40]

The main goal of this chapter is to focus on this unexplored early modern epistemic bridge between the humanities and the sciences. This understanding of *historia* as an Aristotelian epistemic concept has a strong explanatory force with many consequences, which need to be further investigated. *Historiae*, obviously, were indispensable for all four faculties. Applied logic, *logica utens*, was in the different disciplines

36 Roger French, *Ancient Natural History. Histories of nature* (London, 1994), p. 1: "We are concerned with how the Greeks reported things worthy of note – historiae – in the natural world, mostly animals and plants. We shall see that there was generally a chronological component of these 'histories', and that what 'nature' meant differed in significant ways from author to author."

37 Gianna Pomata, 'Sharing cases: The Observationes in Early Modern medicine', *Early Science and Medicine* (2010), 15, 193–236.

38 Gianna Pomata, 'Praxis historialis: The uses of Historia in Early Modern medicine', in Pomata and Siraisi, op. cit., 105–146.

39 Gianna Pomata, 'A word of the empirics', op. cit., 1ff.

40 Theodorus Gaza, 'Praefatio', in Aristotle: Habentur hoc volumine haec Theodoro Gaza interprete. Aristotelis de natura animalium. lib. ix. : Eiusdem de partibus animalium. lib. iiii. Eiusdem de generatione animalium. lib. v. Theophrasti de historia plantarum. lib. ix. Et decimi principiumduntaxat. [sic] Eiusdem de causis plantarum. lib. vi. Aristoteles problemata ... Alexa[n]dri Aphrodisiensis problemata ... (Venetiis, 1504). See also John Monfasani, 'The Pseudo-Aristotelian Problemata and Aristotle's *De animalibus* in the Renaissance', in Anthony Grafton and Nancy Siraisi (eds.), *Natural particulars. Nature and the disciplines in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999), 205–247.

focused on knowledge of *res*, as long as they were *res singulares memorabiles*. To the different academic disciplines, *historiae* functioned like storehouses of experiential knowledge and was even sometimes looked upon as a faculty in its own right, delivering facts to the other faculties. Secondly, it explains the fact that *historia* regularly was used in plural in book titles and in the formal descriptions of the chairs. Koselleck argues that the definition is determined by "die Mehrzahl additiver Einzelgeschichten" and that this plural form "auf eine entsprechende Menge einzelner Exempla verweisen mochten."[41] With the Aristotelian understanding of *historia* it becomes clear that the plural not only goes right back to *exempla* but to the senses and induction of particulars, of *res* and *res gestae*.

A third consequence is, I believe, a credible explanation as to why it took such a long time for universities to establish history as an academic discipline in its own right and why the chairs on the Continent were usually a combination with another discipline and *historia* in plural. It seems paradoxical that the Aristotelian concept of *historia*, which denies history the status of an academic discipline and reduces historical knowledge to simply knowledge of particulars, of facts and actions, *res* and *res gestae*, is at the same time involved in what seems like an unprecedented expansion of the discipline of history at almost every university during the late Renaissance. It certainly is true that chairs were founded, which involved history, but when the details are examined more closely it becomes clear that the new chairs were combinations between *historiae* in plural and all sorts of disciplines. In 1527 the Marburg chair of *historiae* was combined with poetics, in 1544 in Greifswald with poetics, in 1546 in Königsberg with rhetoric, in 1557 in Heidelberg with poetics and in Tübingen with rhetoric, in 1558 in Jena with ethics, in 1564 in Rostock with poetics, in Leuven the combination was with mathematics and in Leiden Lipsius' famous chair in history had the title *professio historiarum et jurisprudentiae*. What is counted as the first real chair in history in Uppsala in 1613 was really a *professio politices, historiarum et juris* and in 1620, that very chair is in historiae and practical philosophy.

Defending the thesis that "the curriculum was quintessentially humanistic in nature" and not "a relic of medieval scholasticism", Mordechai Feingold exposes, in his survey over the humanities at Oxford University, this hitherto unsolved contradiction about the academic discipline of history.[42] Referring to Donald R. Kelley's chapter 'The Theory of History' in *The Cambridge history of Renaissance philosophy*,

41 Reinhart Koselleck, 'Historia Magistra Vitae', *Vergangene Zukunft. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zukunft* (Frankfurt am Main, 1979), 50–51.

42 Mordechai Feingold, '5 The Humanities', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. IV *Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1997), 212–213.

Feingold spells out the paradox in stating that history, on the one hand, was "the single most important humanistic discipline ..."[43] Still, the discipline had, on the other hand, as Feingold quotes from John P. Kenyon's *The history men*, "no foothold in higher education."[44] Kevin Sharpe, in his 'The foundations of the chairs of history at Oxford and Cambridge...' goes very far in stating that "the endowment of university posts in modern subjects at Oxford was something of a fashion, the study of history was not."[45] The picture painted by Sharpe and others gives the impression that the universities delayed on purpose the modern discipline of history in spite of the great interest among students, college tutors, and perhaps foremost, the official state authorities. Sharpe even complains that "[n]o satisfactory explanation has been advanced for the foundation of the Camden lectureship" and he tries himself to give a politically motivated answer.[46] Furthermore, Christopher Hill sees an antagonism between the conservative universities and the puritans, who promoted modern disciplines.[47] On my part, I think the Aristotelian concept of *historia*, in this epistemic fashion, was the problem. It prevented the establishing of a chair in chronological history or universal history, since *historia* was factual knowledge. To have an academic discipline facts must be explained and co-ordinated by causal knowledge. According to this view, the Camden chair was founded in order to provide with examples of experiential knowledge for practical philosophy.[48]

In conclusion: it is common knowledge that Aristotle or, rather, different forms of Aristotelianism, dominated the academies during the early modern period. With this paper, I would like to suggest that this domination also had these hitherto unexplored ramifications on the cognitive structure of the academic disciplines. Histories were pieces of factual knowledge to the different disciplines and, therefore, Historia could not be a discipline in itself.

43 Donald R. Kelley, 'The Theory of History', in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1988), 746–761.

44 Mordechai Feingold, '5 The Humanities', op. cit., 327.

45 Kevin Sharpe, 'The foundations of the chairs of History at Oxford and Cambridge: an episode in Jacobean Politics', in *History of Universities*, vol. II (Avebury, 1982), 127.

46 Kevin Sharpe, op. cit., 129.

47 Christopher Hill, *Intellectual origins of the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1965), 173ff.

48 See Degory Wheare, *Relectiones Hyemales. De ratione & et methodo legendi utrasque historias civiles et ecclesiasticas* (Oxoniae, MDCXXXVII). The very title suggests the use of factual information, *historiae*, to practical philosophy. This leaning is confirmed in the Antelogium on pp. 16–17.

Mordechai Feingold

Research and the Early Modern University: A Prolegomena

In the early years of the nineteenth century, the *Edinburgh Review* launched a fierce polemic against the two ancient English universities. Reviewing Pierre Simon de Laplace's imposing *Traité de Mécanique Céleste* in January 1808, John Playfair bemoaned "the inferiority of the English mathematicians to those of the Continent, in the higher departments"—before concluding that it was owing to the shortcomings of Oxford and Cambridge that Englishmen failed to make "improvements" to the mathematical sciences in the previous six or seven decades:

> We believe, however, that it is chiefly in the public institutions of England that we are to seek for the cause of the deficiency here referred to, and particularly in the two great centres from which knowledge is supposed to radiate over all the rest of the island. In one of these, where the dictates of Aristotle are still listened to as infallible decrees, and where the infancy of science is mistaken for its maturity, the mathematical sciences have never flourished; and the scholar has no means of advancing beyond the mere elements of geometry. In the other seminary, the dominion of prejudice is not equally strong; and the works of Locke and Newton are the text from which the prelections are read. Mathematical learning is there the great object of study; but still we must disapprove of the method in which this object is pursued. ... In all this, the invention finds no exercise; the student is confined within narrow limits; his curiosity is not roused; the spirit of discovery is not awakened.[1]

Richard Payne Knight's review of Thomas Falconer's edition of Strabo's *Geography* the following year proved even more spiteful; Knight laced his damning review of the edition and of the Press that had produced it with snide remarks about the state

1 John Playfair, *The Edinburgh Review* 11 (January 1808), p. 283.

of learning in Oxford more generally. Knight did not mince words. The edition, he pronounced, was a "ponderous monument of operose ignorance and vain expense"—indeed, "a pile of rubbish heaped up with so much labour." Equally egregious was the "sanction" that such an "authority" as the Oxford Press ostensibly conferred on such a work—especially when the Press had "of late, added nothing of their own" to learning, except "whiter paper, blacker ink, and neater types." And Knight held the University itself accountable. Issuing such a work "from the fountain head of learning, taste and science among us," would ensure that "the literary reputation of the country [be] tarnished and degraded in the estimation of Europe." Therefore, he concluded mischievously, learned Oxonians ought "to rouse their industry and stimulate their ambition, so as to make them shake off the benumbing influence of port and prejudice"—and make themselves and their country proud as true contributors to the Republic of Letters.[2]

Whereas Knight lamented the low level of learning at Oxford, Sydney Smith targeted—purposely and spitefully—the Oxbridge curriculum in its entirety. "I am about to open the subject of classical learning in the Review," he intimated to a correspondent on 9 September 1809, "from which by some accident or other it has hitherto abstained. It will give great offence, and therefore be more fit for this journal, the genius of which seems to consist in stroking the animal the contrary way to which the hair lies."[3] The medium he settled on was a review of Edgeworth's *Professional Education*, which already questioned the wisdom of an education grounded solely on the classics. Smith, however, went further: "there never was a more complete instance in any country of such extravagant and overacted attachment to any branch of knowledge, as that which obtains in this country with regard to classical knowledge." Between the ages of six and twenty-four, the "sole and exclusive occupation" of educated Englishmen is the acquisition of Latin and Greek. The object of such immersion, however, "is not to reason, to imagine, or to invent; but to conjugate, decline and derive." Small wonder, then, that an "infinite quantity of talent is annually destroyed in the Universities of England, by the miserable jealousy and littleness of ecclesiastical instructors."[4]

Criticism mounted in the following two decades, culminating in William Hamilton's 1831 scathing (and historically grounded) critiques of the tutorial system at Oxford and Cambridge which, he charged, ruined the professorial system at both uni-

2 Richard Payne Knight, *The Edinburgh Review* 14 (July 1809), pp. 430–431, 434, 441.

3 *The Letters of Sydney Smith*, ed. Nowell C. Smith, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), vol. 1, p. 167.

4 Sydney Smith, *The Edinburgh Review* 15 (1810), pp. 45–46, 50.

versities, thereby contributing not only to the insufficiency of instruction—for tutors could not possibly have been "Doctor Universalis," capable of teaching all subjects to their students—but to the decline of scholarship. England, Hamilton concluded, would be wise to look to Germany for a model to imitate.

The short-term effect of such an onslaught—to which other voices joined in—was to engender forceful rejoinders in defense of the system. To the criticism that Oxford and Cambridge added little to new knowledge, for example, Edward Copleston retorted in 1810: it was of "a greater and more solid good to the nation" to form the minds of the many than "to extend over Europe the fame of a few exalted individuals or to acquire renown by exploring untrodden regions, and by holding up to the world ever ready to admire what is new, the fruits of our discovery." Such rejoinders, in turn, kindled fresh criticism—culminating with the reform movement of the 1850s—and fresh apologias, which reached their apogee with John Henry Newman's celebrated 1851 lectures on *The Idea of a University*. The future cardinal regarded the universities as the "place of teaching universal knowledge. This implies that its object ... is the diffusion and extension of knowledge rather than the advancement." There exist other institutions, Newman contended, more suited to undertake that narrower task:

> The nature of the case and the history of philosophy combine to recommend to us this division of intellectual labour between Academies and Universities. To discover and to teach are distinct functions; they are also distinct gifts, and are not commonly found united in the same person. He, too, who spends his day in dispensing his existing knowledge to all comers is unlikely to have either leisure or energy to acquire new. The common sense of mankind has associated the search after truth with seclusion and quiet. The greatest thinkers have been too intent on their subject to admit of interruption; they have been men of absent minds and idiosyncratic habits, and have, more or less, shunned the lecture room and the public school.[5]

In the long run, however, a by-product of these debates rendered the early-modern English universities guilty by association. Quite simply, Victorian critics often transposed their contemporary educational malaise onto the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, thereby assuming that College and University statutes—which had remained virtually unchanged for centuries—must have exerted an equally pernicious effect on the earlier period. In a parallel twist, since the tutorial system had already become enshrined in the sixteenth century, with the concomitant decline—real or

5 John H. Newman, *The Idea of a University Defined and Illustrated*, 8th ed. (London, 1888), ix, xii–xiii.

imaginary—of university lectures and professorships, it was taken for granted that conditions at Oxford and at Cambridge were inauspicious either for teaching or for the advancement of learning. In other words, just as twentieth-century scholars adopted uncritically the claims made by the Victorian critics of the English universities concerning the pernicious effects of obsolete statutes on the curriculum, so, too, the understanding of the mission of the universities during the early nineteenth century as training grounds for gentlemen and clerics was assumed to be equally valid for the earlier period. So much so, in fact, that even those who have sought to argue for the vitality of the early modern universities, seem to end up with apologias. Case in point: Mark Curtis's groundbreaking study of *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*:

> Of the several functions which universities today perform, two perhaps can be considered their fundamental missions: first, to preserve knowledge inherited from the past, perpetuating and refining it through teaching and scholarship; and second, to add to the inherited store of knowledge and wisdom by providing facilities and leisure for research into the unknown. Of these two functions only the first was thought to be an essential one for Oxford and Cambridge in the Tudor and early Stuart periods. Indeed the idea that knowledge could be advanced, that there was an America of learning and understanding beyond the horizons of the classics, ancient philosophy, and the teachings of religion, was still in those years new and strange—the vision of comparatively few men.[6]

Curiously, such a sorry state of the early modern university is contrasted with the purportedly vibrant conditions of the Middle Ages when, Laurence Brockliss argued, "the idea that teaching and research might be separated was completely foreign to the medieval mind." In contrast, the early modern universities "became increasingly professional schools dedicated to maintaining theological and political orthodoxies, so they generally ceased to be centres of active inquiry in the metaphysical and moral sciences." By the eighteenth century a new low had been reached: "it was universally accepted that the university was a teaching institution tout court. Virtually all the

6 Mark H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition 1558–1642: An Essay on Changing Relations between the English Universities and English Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), p. 227.

exciting and often anti-establishment developments in philosophy, theology and natural science occurred outside its walls."[7]

A more withering estimation can be found in the most recent attempt to trace the origins of the German research university: William Clark's deeply flawed, in my opinion, *Academic Charisma*. Having cited Winstanley's flippant characterization of eighteenth-century Cambridge dons—who often stood "accused of wasting their time and opportunities"; of being deficient in "scholarship and industry"; and, to boot, of indulging excessively "in the pleasures of the table"[8]—Clark takes it a step further: "The eighteenth century is usually taken as the nadir of Cambridge's history, as it is of Oxford's, too. I suspect, however, that the college fellows of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were given neither less to leisure and pleasure, nor more to work and study."[9] Such dismissiveness is central to Clark's argument, for he uses the English universities as the foil against which to pit the German research university. Unfortunately, in his eagerness to embroider the singularity of the German-Protestant experience, Clark mobilizes clichés to describe rivaling early modern styles of higher education. Indeed, his understanding of the English collegiate system, in particular, is biased and misinformed, weakening even more, in my opinion, his already flawed general account of the transition from the medieval university to the modern German research university.

More germane to this paper, however, is a serious methodological inattention. Whereas scholars have a pretty good idea of what exactly constitutes "research" in the modern university, virtually no attempt has been made to ponder what "research" might mean in an earlier context—if, in fact, it existed at all. To complicate matters, "research" is invariably understood in terms of scientific investigation—of the "big science" type especially. Such a perception of research is anachronistic, in view of the marked difference, both in degree and kind, between early modern and modern science. I have dealt with the specifics of early modern scientific research elsewhere. Here I would like to focus on the humanities—that vast universe of learning that absorbed the time and passions of most early modern scholars—in an attempt to argue

7 L. W. B. Brockliss, 'The European University in the Age of Revolution, 1789–1850,' in *The History of the University of Oxford, Vol. VII*: *Nineteenth-Century Oxford, part* 1, eds. M. G. Brock, M. C. Curthoys (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 77–133, at p. 104.

8 Denys A. Winstanley, *Unreformed Cambridge: A Study of Certain Aspects of the University in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935), pp. 256–257.

9 William Clark, *Academic Charisma and the Origins of the Research University* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 24.

for the existence of a vital research culture in the early modern university, the full scope of which awaits proper investigation.

So what encompasses research? According to Clark, at the core of the "modern metaphysics of research" is "a cool, objective, meritocratic, professional self," which "suppresses the passionately interested, collegially motivated, nepotistic, old-fashioned, traditional academic self." Whereas the pre-modern site of learning amounts to a "juridico-ecclesiastical sphere of knowledge," modern research "forms part of the politico-economic sphere." Before the eighteenth century, he elaborates, scholars "did not seek originality in the modern sense of novelty" but rather in the sense of returning *ad fontes.* Only with the advent of the German research seminar did "the Romantic ethos of originality [take] hold of academics"— including graduate students. Moreover, it was owing primarily to the bureaucratization of academic life that "academic labor" morphed into "research," by ensuring the triumph of the seminar style, and thereby enshrining "the pursuit of research as an activity demanded of advanced students and, indirectly in the seminar, of professors too."[10] A "new ethos of disciplinary specialization" was another important element, according to Clark, as was the bureaucratization of the academic enterprise—both in terms of appointment and of evaluation of professors, and of control of budgets, the lifeline of research: "The directorate's access to and ability to allocate a budget made the seminar a site of research, while the tutorials in the endowed Oxbridge colleges did not in fact become such sites, regardless of the occasional brilliant scholar they produced. In the German Protestant system, the decisions about scholarships came directly from the seminar directors. They eventually did not make such decisions on the basis of need in the first instance. Academic merit became the first and the crucial test."[11]

The above abstract is rooted, I contend, in several misguided assumptions. First, and foremost, that the tutorial system was the embodiment of the collegiate university. Second, that merit hardly mattered before the eighteenth century, or that early modern scholars were not concerned with novelty. Third, that being part of the ecclesiastical "sphere of knowledge" necessarily vitiated objective research. All these assumptions are belied through a careful analysis of the structure and content of intellectual activity in early modern Oxbridge, as I shall attempt to briefly elaborate below.

We should begin with the maligned tutorial system, for scholars have often taken for granted that it encompassed the totality of the university experience. This is certainly true for many who sought a brief academic experience before proceeding to the inns of court, to state service, or to inherited estates. Significantly, however, "re-

10 Clark, *Academic Charisma*, pp. 7, 68, 141–142, 161.

11 Clark, *Academic Charisma*, pp. 171, 181–182.

searchers" were rarely drawn from this large body of students. Those seeking to pursue erudition often remained at university at least until receiving an MA degree—and often beyond. More important is to recognize that tutorial supervision lasted for only the initial four years—until students graduated BA—and that by the turn of the seventeenth century the entire arts and sciences curriculum had been compressed into the undergraduate curriculum. The prime purpose of the course, therefore, was to acquaint students with a panorama of knowledge: not a mastery of any of its parts, but the interconnectedness of its constituents, with the conviction that with such a solid foundation, a student might proceed to build, independently, for years to come. With such an objective in mind, specialization was expressly discouraged, and undergraduates were further excluded from college and university libraries. Upon graduation, however, students were liberated, not only from direct tutorial supervision, but also from the sanction against specialization.

Nevertheless, for all the seeming focus on breadth rather than depth, the seeds of "research" were still planted among undergraduates. Imperceptibly and indirectly, through the stirring of an eagerness to emulate a celebrated member of the university; directly, through individual tutors' supplementation of the staple courses and broadening of their scope on their own initiative. Thus, for example, in addition to lecturing to his tutees twice a week on Xenophon or Demosthenes, John Burton of Corpus Christi College, Oxford "used to hear his pupils construing and by his own observations led them to the study of criticism."[12] Those who distinguished themselves were recruited to a rigorous extracurricular instruction—as happened to John Bois, who entered St John's College, Cambridge in 1575. Andrew Downes, the senior College lecturer in Greek,

> took such singular delight in him, for the knowledge he had in the Greek tongue, that he used him with special familiarity, even while he was a fresh-man. And (besides his lecture, which he did read five times a week, with great diligence) he took him to his chamber and plied him exceedingly. For he read to him twelve of the hardest, and, for dialect and phrase, both in verse and prose, most difficult Greek authors he could devise.[13]

12 Edward Bentham, *De Vita Et Moribus Johannis Burtoni. S.T.P. Etonensis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1771), p. 11; M. L. Clarke, 'Classical Studies', in L. S. Sutherland and L. G. Mitchel (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford. Volume V: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 513–533, at p. 517.

13 Ward Allen, *Translating for King James* (Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 1969), p. 133.

Bois was thus initiated into advanced scholarship—and into collaboration with his mentor's research. You might even say he inherited Downes pedagogical practices. As another celebrated Grecian, Thomas Gataker, recalled how he had been "a constant auditor of Mr. John Bois, who read a Greek Lecture in his bed to certain young Students, who preferred *antelucana studia* before their rest and ease."[14]

Mention of lectures should also help dispel another misconception regarding early modern teaching practices. The demise of university lectureships was owing not to the engrossment of teaching by the tutors, but to the appointment of lectureships in logic, Greek, Latin, Natural and Moral Philosophy—and often in Hebrew and mathematics as well—in every Oxbridge college. Thus, students were subjected to a twofold system of instruction as undergraduates, which they were expected to supplement, after graduation, by attending the advanced courses offered by endowed university professors. And though many of the incumbents ceased lecturing in the course of the eighteenth century, such dereliction of duties before then was quite rare.

To be sure, the skills and dedication of tutors varied greatly, as did the talents and application of students. Edward Gibbon's assessment of Oxford tutors is often cited in this regard: "Instead of confining themselves to a single science, which had satisfied the ambition of Burmann or Bernoulli," Gibbon sneered, college tutors "teach, or promise to teach, either history or mathematics or ancient literature or moral philosophy; and as it is possible that they may be defective in all, it is highly probable that of some they will be ignorant." The merit of the assessment notwithstanding, it is beside the point. As noted earlier, the undergraduate course was intended to impart what would later became known as liberal education, and many, if not most, tutors—especially before the eighteenth century—were fully qualified to impart the requisite instruction. When certain fellows felt inadequate in certain subjects, primarily in mathematics and Hebrew, they resorted (as I've shown elsewhere) to farming out their student to more qualified colleagues.

After graduating BA, the aspiring scholar found the semi-monastic character of the college—as well as of the university—particularly congenial for scholarly pursuits, on his own and in conjunction with colleagues. The ensuing collaborative enterprises differed little from the scholarly practices that evolved in the Göttingen research seminar during the second half of the eighteenth century. Some ambitious youths even cast their eyes further, as did Richard Montagu, who had graduated BA from King's College, Cambridge, in 1598. Shortly thereafter, Montagu dispatched an unsolicited letter to the great Joseph Scaliger, expressing his admiration of Isaac

14 Simeon Ashe, *Gray Hayres Crowned with Grace. A Sermon Preached at … the Funerall of … Thomas Gataker* (London, A. M. for George Sawbridge, 1655), p. 43.

Casaubon's recent edition of Athenaeus's *Deipnosophistae*, gushing especially about the method by which Athenaeus's learned banquets served to "pick a path through and string together so many things in so many authors. Some of them are matters of detail, but they are certainly of considerable interest." This multifarious approach, Montagu added, is very similar to the one used by Scaliger and other "famous men of letters today." Hence, he asked Scaliger for advice on how to follow this model.[15] Scaliger appears not to have responded, probably on account of his pronounced hostility toward all things English, and Montagu veered to the circle orbiting Sir Henry Savile at Eton College, where he became involved in the editing of the works of Chrysostom—along with Downes and Bois.

The preoccupation with patristic texts, and the fact that most English scholars were divines, who often participated in religious polemics, reflected adversely on their presumed contribution to the advancement of learning. Important in this regard is Francis Bacon's presumed conviction that "controversies of religion must hinder the advancement of sciences."[16] Toward the end of the seventeenth century, Sir William Temple amplified on Bacon's observation. As he saw it, the "endless Disputes and litigious Quarrels" that the Reformation had engendered, "either took up wholly or generally imployed the Thoughts, the Studies, the Applications, the endeavours of all or most of the finest Wits, the deepest Scholars, and the most Learned Writers that the Age produced." As a result, the great talents of these men "were sunk and overwhelmed in the abyss of Disputes about matters of Religion" instead of making "admirable Progresses and Advances in many other Sciences."[17] William Wotton begged to differ. True, he conceded, had those men who engaged in religious controversies turned their attention to "natural or civil Knowledge" they could have accomplished "very extraordinary things." Nevertheless, learning itself "suffered no very considerable Diminution" on account of these controversies. Just the opposite. It garnered, directly or indirectly, considerable improvements: "Divinity as a Science, has hereby been better scanned, and more accurately understood and explained than otherwise it would ever have been." More importantly, however, many individuals who were trained to succeed the champions of the respective religious causes actually turned their genius to other studies, in an attempt "to excel in different Ways for the Glory" of their party, especially when seeing their adversaries excel and become famous in

15 N. J. S. Hardy, 'The *Ars Critica* in Early Modern England,' D. Phil. Thesis, University of Oxford, 2012), p. 108.

16 *The Works of Francis Bacon*, eds. James Spedding, Robert L. Ellis, and Douglas D. Heath, 14 vols. (London: Longmans *et al.*, 1875–1879), vol. 11, p. 138.

17 William Temple, *Works*, 4 vols. (repr. New York: Greenwood, 1968), vol. 3, p. 481.

those domains.[18] A decade later even a critic of the universities concurred. The controversies over Arminianism, he observed, "very much quicken'd the Advancement of Learning, whilst each party was searching for a sound Foundation to ground the Superstructure of their Belief on."[19]

In one respect, however, when it came to publication, religion may be said to have hampered the contribution of Englishmen to scholarship. Given the preponderance of clergymen among early modern scholars, curiously little attention has been paid to the ramifications of their "calling" on their ability to engage freely in scholarship. Indeed, the overall failure to calibrate the compatibility between full-fledged secular studies and a clerical vocation has led to misconceptions concerning the nature of the participation of ordained men in early modern erudition. Nor was it simply that ministerial duties made considerable demands on their time and energy. Rather, the nature of their vocation was such as to impinge fundamentally on their ability to dedicate themselves fully and openly to secular studies or, in cases when they did, on their willingness to acknowledge their contributions publicly. Thus, a formidable constraint facing young scholars who desired to remain at Oxford or Cambridge was the requirement that they be ordained and pursue theological studies within seven years of graduating MA. Their ability to acquire, or retain, a fellowship—the prerequisite for remaining a member of the university—was predicated on such a condition.[20]

In practice, ordination and the study of theology need not have prevented dons from continuing to cultivate secular studies, just as some who settled into Church livings did not abandon their own secular avocations. However, their sense of propriety ensured their keeping private much of their labors, and casting them as offshoots of more "proper" occupations. Thus, for example, John Pearson—second only to Richard Bentley in erudition—never published his researches on Aeschylus and Hesychius.[21] When divines did venture into print, they often felt compelled to account for the seeming impropriety of their action—as did John Bois when prefacing

18 William Wotton, *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (London: J. Leake for Peter Buck, 1694), pp. 342–345.

19 John Ayliffe, *The Ancient and Present State of the University of Oxford* (London, Edmund Curll, 1714), vol. 1, p. 208.

20 See Mordechai Feingold, 'Science as a Calling? The Early Modern Dilemma,' *Science in Context* 15 (2002), pp. 79–119.

21 See J. A. Gruys, *The Early Printed Editions (1518–1664) of Aeschylus: A Chapter in the History of Classical Scholarship* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1981), pp. 153–199; Kristine L. Haugen, *Richard Bentley: Poetry and Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), pp. 29–38.

his learned philological observations to Savile's edition of Chrysostom. He explicitly excluded himself from the ranks of "critics," modestly explaining that his pastoral duties engrossed his time.[22]

Hardly surprising, then, that those unwilling to abandon their cherished secular pursuits left the university rather than take holy orders. Others entreated powerful patrons in their path to endow lay fellowships at the universities. Roger Ascham, for one, cautioned William Cecil that if positions were not created for those wishing to pursue "the tonges and sciences" for their own sake, the three professions would be adversely affected: "For law, physick, and divinitie need so the help of tonges and sciences as they can not want them, and yet they require so a whole man's studie, as he may parte with no tyme to other learning except it be at certayn tymes to fetch it at other man's labor."[23] Similar reasoning informed Sir Francis Bacon's marveling—in the dedication of the second book of *Advancement of Learning* to James I—on how in "so many great foundations of colleges in Europe," all are dedicated to professions, and none left free to arts and sciences at large."[24]

Yet, if the requirement to seek ordination complicated the life of academics, the vibrant intellectual atmosphere that prevailed at Oxford and Cambridge between the late sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries, more than compensated for the dilemma. Pride of place should be given to the Bodleian Library, which became pretty much a research institute and a Mecca for British and Continental scholars. In and around it, interlocking groups of scholars engaged in major collaborative research projects—from the celebrated translation of the King James version of the Bible; to the group assisting Thomas James, first Bodley librarian, to collate many Latin Church Fathers; to John Mill's publication of the Greek New Testament—a project indebted to the labors of students as well as to senior colleagues.[25] Anthony Grafton, then, hardly exaggerates when suggesting that the Bodleian Library, and the projects

22 Hardy, 'The *Ars Critica* in Early Modern England', p. 89.

23 *Original Letters by Eminent Literary Men of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Henry Ellis (London: John Bowyer Nichols and Son, 1843), pp. 16–17.

24 Bacon, *Works*, vol. 3, p. 323.

25 Adam Fox, *John Mill and Richard Bentley: A Study of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament 1675–1729* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1954).

associated with it, furnished Bacon with the model of the research institute he promoted in his *New Atlantis*.[26]

Elsewhere Grafton cited Wilhelm Dilthey's judgment that seventeenth-century Leiden "became the first university in a modern sense. For the distinguishing mark of such a university is the combination of teaching with independent research as an express purpose of the university's operation."[27] Leiden undoubtedly served as a major European teaching and research center but, as this paper has attempted to suggest, so did Oxford and Cambridge. Once we dispense with the distorting lens fabricated by the Victorian critics of the universities—and once we broaden the horizons of "research" to include humanistic as well as scientific learning—the vitality of intellectual life in early modern universities will become apparent. As recent scholarship had further demonstrated, the "modernity" of Enlightenment philosophy and heterodoxy cannot be understood without recognizing the immense contribution of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century erudition—much of it in the form of Biblical criticism, chronology, and antiquarianism—to the transformation (and secularization) of scholarship.[28] And the venue for such multifarious scholarship, which would become known as *Altertumswissenschaft*, was invariably the early modern university.

26 Anthony Grafton, 'Where Was Solomon's House? Ecclesiastical History and the Intellectual Origins of Bacon's New Atlantis,' in *Worlds Made by Words: Scholarship and Community in the Modern West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), pp. 98–113.

27 Anthony Grafton, *Bring Out Your Dead: The Past as Revelation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 121.

28 See Dmitri Levitin, 'From Sacred History to the History of Religion: Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity in European Historiography from Reformation to "Enlightenment"', *The Historical Journal* 55 (2012), pp. 1117–1160.

Hans Helander

Metaphors for the Quest for Truth

Introduction

Our language abounds in metaphors. This holds good for our everyday conversation as well as for stylistically more advanced registers. "Our conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature", as George Lakoff and Mark Johnson have contended in in their wonderful book *Metaphors we live by*.

As we know, the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of things in terms of another. The seasons (spring, summer, autumn, and winter) constitute one series, and so do the parts of the day (dawn, morning, evening, and night); the ages of man, from youth to old age constitute another. Childhood and youth may be described both as the springtime of life; or as the dawn of life, "In the morn / of blissful Infancy."

A term is then taken from one series and used to apply to another set of words. This is also the etymological explanation of the Greek term, μεταφορά, which means "a carrying over", "transference". The corresponding Latin term once used was *translatio*.

In this paper, I will mention some metaphors for intellectual endeavour, and for the life of scholars quite generally, that I have found in my reading of early modern texts to be especially frequent and recurring through the centuries. We shall also have reason to contemplate a couple of frequent expressions taken from ancient mythology, phrases that are most often closely linked to and combined with these metaphors.

Life in General, and Intellectual Pursuit Specifically, Is like a Journey, or a Voyage at Sea

In order to become intelligible, our life has to be seen as a tale, under favourable circumstances one of coherence, not one told by an idiot and full of sound and fury, signifying nothing, but something that is comprehensible in terms of categories as cause and effect and finality and purpose. And life also has to be likened to phenomena and activities of everyday life and analysed in terms of well-known experiences, in order for us to better grasp and visualize what we are doing. This also holds true of our life as scholars. Our career, our endeavours, our methods, our progress and shortcomings may be highlighted in metaphorical terms, so as to be the better understood. In some instances all our activities may also be linked to well-known tales and thus interpreted in the light of myth and fiction.

A very common metaphor is to see life as a *journey*, or a *tale of a journey made*.[1] Authors are especially fond of visualizing our life as a voyage at sea, through dangerous passages, with shoals and rocks to be avoided and constant threats of violent storms that may cause shipwreck, the ultimate goal being a safe port and haven.

In a funeral speech celebrating the memory of Laurentius Paulinus Gothus (who died in 1646), the author mentions the last book written by Laurentius, a consolatory work. This was Paulinus Gothus's swan song. What pleasure did he not receive from his work, now that he hastened to the final port and haven of his voyage, urging the rowers towards the goal!

> *... quantas hic suavitates et ad contemnendam mortem incitamenta ex illo cantu perciperet, quo veluti laetissimo celeusmate perpetuae securitatis portum consalutavit.*[2]

Notice the word *celeusma* (or *celeuma*), the cheerful call of the boatswain marking time to the rowers. I have found that it recurs repeatedly in contexts like these.[3] Any

1 See Pöschl 1964, s.v. Fahrt, Reise, Weg, and Lakoff & Johnson 1980, pp. 44ff.
2 Verelius, *Monumentum quod sacrae memoriae ...* [1647].
3 Cf. under *celeusma* in Helander 2004, p. 91f.

enterprise, and especially intellectual endeavours, may in fact be compared to a voyage at sea, often more specifically to the hardships of Odysseus.

In *De augmentis scientiarum*, Francis Bacon remarks that ideas and learning continue to exist through centuries, with the help of the written word, and may thus be said to "traverse the ocean of time, linking the most remote epochs": *quanto rectius literae celebrari debent, quae tanquam naves sulcantes Oceanum temporis, remotissima secula, ingeniorum et inventorum commercio et societate copulant*.[4]

Intellectual pursuits may be described as a perilous – sometimes desperate – search for the harbour and haven of a firm conviction, among the waves of different beliefs. Johannes Kepler uses this image in *Harmonice mundi* in a passage, in which he criticizes the conclusions to which some scholars have come. "I leave to others to try to understand by which winds these people were carried away and thus landed in the haven of these convictions": *Quibus illi potissimum ventis contemplationis agitati ad haec dogmata appulerint, alijs relinquo excutiendum.*[5]

Bacon's compatriot, the talented Latin poet Charles Fitzgeoffrey, published his *Affaniae* ("Idle jests") in 1601. In his closing address to his readers, he describes his own work with the poems as a voyage at sea. He has sailed through storms and between monsters such as Scylla and Charybdis. But now it is time to rejoice and shout the last *celeuma*, for the author can see the coast. His little ship (*phaselus*) has often run aground on the rocks of barbarism and has been very close to suffering shipwreck on the shoals of bad Latin. The verses are full of humour; and the reader will notice that the little poem is strongly influenced by Catullus:

Gaudete atque animos bonos habete,
Quotquot per maris aequor aestuosi,
Per syrtes, brevia, et vagas arenas,
Per Scyllas, avidasque per Charybdes,
/ - - - /
Mecum parva tulit carina, nautae.
Gaudete atque bonos animos habete,
Et summum feriat celeuma[6] *coelum:*
En oram video, vagam ecce longi

4 Bacon, *De augmentis scientiarum*, quoted from the posthumous 1662 ed., p. 87.
5 Kepler, *Harmonice mundi*, 4,7 in Caspar's 1940 ed., p. 265.
6 Cf. above, n. 3.

Exanclavimus[7] *aream profundi.*
Quam saepe heu! scopulos levis phaselus
Haesit barbariei ad aestuosos?
Quam saepe heu! prope fecimus dolendum
Bonae naufragium Latinitatis?
/ - - - /[8]

In 1674 the famous Swedish orientalist Gustaf Lillieblad (Peringer) gave a speech at Uppsala University, in which he treated "the most excellent among the Oriental languages".[9] In the introduction he compares his survey to a sea-voyage. "I confess, and you know," he says, "that I have hitherto sailed very little in the ocean of languages, and not at all in the sea of eloquence": *quem minimas in linguarum Oceano velificationes fecisse, nullas in eloquentiae aequore, ipse fateor, vos scitis*. The author then holds on to this simile throughout the oration. A bit further on in the introduction, a part devoted to the *captatio benevolentiae*, Lillieblad expresses his confidence in the kindness and understanding of his audience: "I shall then put out to sea with sails full of the gentle west wind of your humanity, without fear of storms. / - - - / I shall not, however, make my attempt as a Tiphys or as a Palinurus ...[10] No, I shall set out as a simple rower, unexperienced and ignorant of the storms of the sea ... And I have no compass or magnetic needle to guide me and no complete maps for a circumnavigation ... Nevertheless, when I see you, dear listeners, I take heart ... For you will see to it - with the influence you have with Aeolus - that the sacks of the winds will be closed and that this quaking little vessel will get calm weather and halcyonian circumstances", etc.: *Zephyri ab humanitate vestra blandule spirantis aurula carbasis immissa feror in altum, haut nimium procellae timidus. / - - - / Tentem vero non aliquis Tiphys aut Palinurus, ... sed thranita*[11] *quispiam novellus et maris tempestatum ignarus ... Denique tentem non pyxide nautica, non acu magnetica, nec integris nimium oceanici peripli tabulis instructus, ... tamen dum vos contueor A.O.*[12]*, erigor animo ... Vos tremulo huic*

7 The verb *exanclare* (*exantlare*) was *en vogue* in Neo-Latin in the sense "endure", "carry out with heroic efforts". See Helander 2004, p. 112f.

8 Quoted after Bradner 1940, p. 85.

9 Lillieblad (Peringer), *Concio laudibus ac eulogiis nobiliorum in orbe Eoo idiomatum dicta in Athenaeo Upsaliensi* ... 1674.

10 As will be remembered, Tiphus was the pilot of the ship Argo, and Palinurus was Aeneas's pilot.

11 A θρανίτης was a rower on the topmost of the three benches in a trireme.

12 = *Auditores optimi*.

phaselo, qua apud Aeolum gratia polletis,[13] *tranquillitatem, clausis ventorum follibus, et halcyonia impetrabitis* … When Lillieblad has dealt with Hebrew, Chaldean, and Arabic, he says that it is now time to "hurry with swift oars to the Persian language": *Ad PERSICAM celeri remigio properamus.* Having later on characterized the Turkish language and its literature, he "hurriedly weighs anchor to sail to the port of the Aethiopian tongue": *Ocius igitur ancoris levatis ad portum lingvae AETHIOPICAE contendimus*. And at the end of his oration he proudly asserts that he has now reached the haven of his journey: *In portu navigo*.

In the same ingenious and witty way Petrus Eckman ends his dissertation (1722) on the lowering of top-sails (as a salute at sea) with the statement that he has covered only a limited area of the world in his thesis; his little ship is not capable of more, and he has now reached the haven of his navigation, which he hereby enters with lowered top-sail (the idea of a sea-voyage was indeed not far-fetched here, considering the theme of the thesis), praising God, under whose auspices he once set sail and now finishes his voyage: *Sed ejusmodi orbem terrarum, ut circumeat anfractibus, tenuis mea navis non est sufficiens; eam proinde aequoribus hisce paucis, ad quae pertingere potuit, emensis fessam, SUPPARO DEMISSO, in portum subduco. D.T.O.M.*[14] *cujus ductu ratem paravi, vela pandi, iter absolvi, LAUS, HONOS et GLORIA*.[15]

Indeed, as we know, a country or a state is often likened to a ship that is being tossed upon the waves and threated by disaster, if she is not directed by a strong and wise helmsman. This is a theme that is very frequent in early modern texts.[16]

But also the learned world as a whole, and academies and universities, are subject to perilous storms of heated debates and erroneous opinions, being sometimes tossed upon the waves, in imminent danger of shipwreck. When Johannes Flachsenius (d. 1708) resigned as Rector of Åbo University and was succeeded by Johannes Gezelius the younger (1647–1718), the young Elias Erici Woivalenius (d. 1714) gave a speech, in which he elaborated on this idea. The message of the Latin text is the following, in a shortened version: "A vessel needs a ship-master who can direct its course, otherwise it will go under in the storms. Likewise the ship of *res literaria,* if it is not governed by a strong helmsman, will suffer shipwreck on the shoals and in the dangerous waters

13 This elegant expression (together with the following words about the bags of the winds) is a reference to Homer, *Odyss*ey, 10.1ff. and Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.50ff.

14 D.T.O.M = *Deus Ter Optimus Maximus*, here of course in the dative form, *Deo ter Optimo Maximo*.

15 Grönwall/Eckman 1722, p. 68f.

16 See Helander 2004, p. 509f. for examples from Justus Lipsius and other authors of political treatises.

of unrestrained liberty and in the hurricanes of inconsiderate temerity": ... *sic rei literariae lembus ratione haud absimili nauclero destitutus, non potest immodicae licentiae syrtibus ut et ominosis infraenis temeritatis ecnephiis*[17] *non obnoxius esse*.[18]

The Accumulation of Knowledge May be Compared to *Mellificium*

I now pass to another metaphor that frequently meets the reader of early modern Latin texts. Good scholars are like bees, and the accumulation of knowledge, in the true scientific way, may be compared to a *mellificium*, that is to the making of honey. This very popular simile is to be found in many authors, and it is also alluded to in early modern paintings and engravings.

In the ancient Latin literature, the thought appears in Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 3,11f., in the well-known homage of Epicurus:

> "as bees in the flowery glades sip up all the sweets,
> so we likewise feed on all thy golden words ..."[19]
>
> *Floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant,*
> *Omnia nos itidem depascimur aurea dicta.*

We find the theme also in a passage in Horace, *Odes* (*Carmina*) 4.2.27f.:

> "I, after the way and manner of the Matinian bee,[20] that gathers the pleasant thyme laboriously around full many a grove and the banks of well-watered Tibur, I, a humble bard, fashion my verses with incessant toil."[21]
>
> *... ego apis Matinae*
> *more modoque*
> *grata carpentis thyma per laborem*
> *plurium, circa nemus uvidique*
> *Tiburis ripas operosa parvus*
> *carmina fingo.*

17 The noun *ecnephias* (from Greek ἐκνεφίας) means "a violent storm, produced by blasts from two opposite clouds". The word is very rare in ancient Latin.

18 Woivalenius, *Auguria devota* ... [1680].

19 Translation by W.H.D. Rouse in the 1985 Loeb edition.

20 Matínus is a mountain in Apulia.

21 Translation by C.E. Bennett in the 1924 Loeb edition.

Other classical passages that exploit this theme can be found in Seneca's *Epist.* 84.3f. and Macrobius, *Saturnalia*., *praef.* 5, a passage which became the chief source of inspiration for most authors. Macrobius stresses the fact that the bees transform what they have collected into something new. This valuable point of the simile recurs repeatedly, as we shall see.

In his famous poem *Labuntur anni*, Erasmus characterizes the studies of his youth, and says that he collected learning from all sources, "in the way of a bee from Matina", with a clear reference to the Horatian poem just quoted:

> *... undique carpo*
> *apis in modum Matinae,*
> *paedias solidum cupiens absolvere cyclum.*[22]

This simile has been treated in a most persuasive way by Francis Bacon, who in a famous passage in *Novum organum* (1620) contended that scholars and scientists must not be like ants, that just collect what they find and build a pile of it. Nor should they be like spiders, that spin their threads out of themselves. (Bacon here referred in the first instance to mere empiricists, who just collect facts and data; and in the second instance he criticizes the theoretical philosophers, who just spin thoughts out of themselves, without any connection to the real world.) No – scientists must act like bees, the busy little animals that gather delicious material from flowers and then digest what they have found and convert it into something new, which is their own product.

> *Qui tractaverunt scientias, aut empirici aut dogmatici fuerunt. Empirici formicae more congerunt tantum et utuntur: rationales aranearum more telas ex se conficiunt. Apis vero ratio media est, quae materiam ex floribus horti et agri elicit sed tamen eam propria facultate vertit et digerit.*[23]

In Daniel Georg Morhof's *Polyhistor*, the simile is elaborated in a slightly different way: lazy and ostentatious scholars are like drones, who just copy the works of others, academic vagabonds and babblers; and ruthless critics are like hornets that attack other animals while they are completely worthless themselves and just annoying through the noise they make. The true and seriously working learned men are like

22 *Labuntur anni*, 97ff., in Perosa and Sparrow 1979, p. 493.
23 Bacon, *Instauratio magna* II. *Novum organum* 1620, XCV.

bees; they collect knowledge as bees collect honey. And scholars should decide to what category they would like to belong, says Morhof.

> *Non incommode omne studiis incumbentium genus cum tribus comparaveris, fucis, crabronibus, apibus. Fuci sunt homines … compilatores vel dolosi vel inepti, vani scientiarum ostentatores, agyrtae,*[24] *aretalogi.*[25] *Crabrones sunt feroculi illi, qui ut docti videantur, aliis insultant; cumque prodesse nulla re possint, strepitu tantum molesti sunt. Apes sunt, qui illud doctrinae et sapientiae mel e variis floribus congerunt et bonae famae fragrantia orbem eruditum implent. Hic se ergo ipsum quis examinet, an inter fucos et crabrones, an vero inter apes locum sibi esse velit.*[26]

As a young man the famous Swedish diplomat Matthias Björnklou (1607–1671) made a learned tour in Europe, during which he collected all knowledge, different languages and various arts and sciences, in the same way as bees suckle the flowers and gather their honey, according to Johannes Hagemeister (*fl.* 1670) who wrote a funeral poem at Björnklou's death:

> *Qualis odoriferos cum sedula pervolat agros*
> *Exsugit flores mellaque condit apis,*
> *Sic varias lingvas artesqve recondidit Ille,*
> *Florilegasqve sagax est imitatus apes.*[27]

Olaus Verelius (1618–1682), Swedish antiquarian and official, contends that scholars in reading the great classical authors should not just collect various flowers, thus producing a text this is a mere patchwork.[28] They ought to act like bees, instead: they should collect the sap and vigour of these famous writers and then convert what they have gathered into their own strength and blood:

> *Apes potius imitemur, quae non ipsos flores in alvaria sua convehunt, sed succum ex iis eliciunt, indeque mella purissima stipant. Et nos in succum et sanguinem vertamus, quid-*

24 Greek ἀγύρτης, "beggar", "vagabond", in early modern texts often used together with derogatory words like *circumforaneus* ("one that strolls about from market to market") and *medicaster* ("a bad doctor").

25 Used by e.g. Juvenal in the sense "a prattler about virtue", "a babbler", "a boaster".

26 Morhof 1970, T. I, p. 154.

27 Hagemeister, *Elegia in obitum placidum ac beatum* … 1672.

28 The reference is here to Horace's *Ars poetica*, 15.

quid ab elegantioribus scriptoribus decerpimus; sic aequabilem et apta lineamentorum compositione uniformem efficiemus orationem nostram.[29]

We find the thought also in emblematic books.[30]

Embracing Wrong Beliefs Is like Embracing a Cloud Instead of Juno

When it comes to the theme of methodological mistakes and false beliefs, we often meet with a simile taken from a myth about the unfortunate Ixion: when Ixion courted Hera (Juno), the goddess sent in his way a cloud, which he embraced, mistaking it for Hera.[31] For some reason this expression became extremely popular in Neo-Latin, very often as a standard expression to denote the fallacies in the quest for truth, and obstinate adherence to false theories.

We find the idea in Francis Bacon, in a passage, where the author attacks dogmatism in the sciences. The scientist should be afraid of inflexibility. He ought to read the fable about Ixion and in that way free himself of such erroneous ideas and clouds: *Pervicaciam exhorrebit* (i.e. the scientist); *Fabulam Ixionis legat; et nimias spes et hujusmodi Fumos ac Nebulas dispellet*.[32]

In Morhof's *Polyhistor* we meet the theme again and again, e.g. in T. I, p. 6: *Haerere tamen plerumque illis ... solet, in philosophicis praecipue, inanis persuasio; ... pro Junone nubem amplectuntur*.

Georg Stiernhielm (1598–1672), Swedish official poet and polyhistor, describes the philosophical quest for truth and the fallacies inherent therein. Stiernhielm says that all men try to be philosophers. The ultimate goal of philosophy is the truth, but truth is often hidden in a well of ignorance.We all try, but many of us are like Ixion, who instead of Juno embrace a cloud:

29 Verelius, *Vereliana* ... 1730, p. 3f.

30 Cf. Henkel and Schöne, *Emblemata*, col. 919f.

31 The cloud (*Nephele*) then gave life to the Centaurs (by Roman poets sometimes called *Nubigenae*). The subsequent punishment of Ixion, and his sufferings at the eternally revolving wheel, are frequently mentioned in the classical Latin literature; the myth about the cloud, however, is seldom referred to. See Roscher 1884–1937, s.v. 'Ixion', col. 768, and s.v. 'Kentauren', col. 1033.

32 Bacon, *De augmentis scientiarum*, 1662, p. 17.

> *Omnis Homo Philosophatur. Philosophiae Scopus*[33] *est Veritas. Veritas in alto Ignorantiae Humanae puteo demersa latet.*[34] *Eam eruere, Magnae Mentis est, et improbi Laboris. Tentamus omnes, impares successu. Plerique Ixiones sumus, pro Iunone amplexantes Nubem;*[35] and again ... *dum diversis excogitatis distinctionibus limitationibus interpretationibus nituntur falsum defendere, ut Verum; Ixionis similes, qui loco Iunonis Nubem amplexus est.*[36]

The phrase occurs very frequently, especially in scientific texts. The following are typical instances:

J. Swanström: *Sed sunt etiam perplurimi alii qui ... pro veritatis luce sophismatum nebulas (ut ille in fabulis pro Junone nubem) amplectuntur.*[37]

Carl Lundius: ... *nonne odio dignum multi viri apprime docti putarunt ... nubem pro Junone, imaginariam et scenicam ... philosophandi rationem iratis Musis amplecti?*[38]

Andreas Rydelius: *Deinde vero, cum et ipse paulatim rebus arduis assvescerem, ipsaque experientia discerem et his cernerem oculis, quam longus, asper, tenebrosus ad sapientiam anfractus esset, quamque inanis tandem nubes pro Junone ulnis anhelantium amatorum premeretur ...* [39]

Andreas Stobaeus: *Objectam ne quis cum stulto Ixione nubem/ Ipsam Junonem stultior ipse putet ...*[40]

33 As regards *scopus* as a favourite term for "aim" and "goal" in early modern scientific and scholarly prose, see Helander 2012, p. 314.

34 Famous quotation from Diogenes Laertius, who says (in the life of Pyrrhon) that Democritus contended that truth is hidden in a well (ἐν βύθῳ ἀλήθεια). I have found that the phrase *in puteo Democriti* is very frequent in early modern authors.

35 Stiernhielm, *Filosofiska fragment*, II, p. 90.

36 Stiernhielm, *Filosofiska fragment*, II, p. 96.

37 Swanström, *Epistula gratulatoria* 1688; this passage clearly refers to the violent debates between the adherents of Aristotelism and the champions of the new Cartesian ideas that were a salient feature of academic life at the Swedish universities at the end of the 17th century.

38 Lundius, *Oratio funebris memoriae ...* 1728, p. 80.

39 *Oratio ludibunda* [1706], Rydelius 1778, p. 57f.

40 Stobaeus, *In honorem clarissimi Dni Candidati Dni Petri Rubeni* 1713 (ÄlfIX 251).

Celsius/Odhelius: *Sonorum fortuita similitudo multos decipere, et, ut ignis quidam fatuus, ita in devia abripere potest, ut nubem pro Junone amplectantur.*[41]

Linnaeus/Wahlbom: *Ast eorum plurimos ab orbita veritatis declinasse et nubem haud raro pro Junone amplexos, observare juvat.*[42]

Ludwig Holberg: *Virtutes ac Vitia ea sunt, qvorum specie saepe decepti, Junonem pro nube amplectimur; Institutum hujus operis est detegere tantum errores, qvibus obsidemur, et tenebras discutere, qvibus occaecati nubem pro Junone et umbras virtutum pro ipsis virtutibus amplectimur; Nubem pro Junone amplectuntur stulti.*[43]

Last Words and Conclusion

It would have been possible to mention a large number of other expressions belonging to the use of metaphors in early modern texts, showing how frequent they are, and how they became favourite ideas, producing set phrases that become almost compulsory in certain contexts. When our authors stress the fact that they have made serious efforts, they all of them tend to use the phrase *omnem lapidem movere*, "to turn every stone", to mention yet another example.

A theme that I have not touched upon at all is the tendency of identification with the Apollonian world, which made all academies and universities into sacred groves of the ancient world or into modern correspondences to the sacred mountains of Helicon and Pindus, where the Muses sing and dance. The Muses in fact stand for academic learning and scholarly endeavours quite generally – they are often named after the academies in which they thrive, or after the rivers that run there, *Upsalides Musae* in Uppsala or *Emmiades Musae* in Dorpat (Tartu), just to mention two examples; the places where such learning flourished are regularly called Parnassus, Pindus, or Tempe. When a new rector is inaugurated, he is at most universities said to receive the famous sceptres of Mount Pindus, *inclyta Pindi sceptra*, or perhaps to receive the fasces of Helicon, *verendi Heliconis fasces*.

These few common expressions, metaphors, similes, and mythological associations which I have mentioned are just a small collection of what we meet in academic prints. The sea of learning is immense; and the time allotted for a conference paper will necessarily set limits to any voyage. I have nevertheless, in my little vessel,

41 Celsius/Odehlius, *De convenientia linguae Persicae* 1723, p. 13. The fallacies of fanciful etymologies are here discussed.

42 Linnaeus/Wahlbom, *Sponsalia plantarum* 1746, p. 61f.

43 Holberg 1965, pp. 412, 614, and 666, respectively.

ventured to navigate a short distance into a vast ocean; *in navicula mea cursu brevi in immenso Oceano navigavi* and I have now ended my journey and reached the port and the safe haven; *velificatione plena in portum tendo*.

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