

Expanding Horizons
Travel and Exchanging Ideas through the Ages
Journal of the
XIIIth annual ISHA conference
Nijmegen 2002

Edited by: Tom van Moll
ISBN 90-9017591-1

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Preface

Wouldn't it be wonderful if we, students of history, could spend as much time as the centuries and ages that we study? Unfortunately that is not the case and that is also a reason for the small delay in publishing the journal of our 2002 conference. Nevertheless, ISHA-Nijmegen proudly presents the academic results of the XIIIth annual conference Expanding Horizons. Travel and Exchange of Ideas through the Ages.

Although ISHA has not yet celebrated its fifteenth birthday, ISHA's activities go back to a long tradition of establishing international contacts, traveling and exchanging ideas. For isn't ISHA all about expanding (your) horizons, traveling and exchanging different ideas? So in a way, during our conference, the historical background and, one may even say, the historical justification of ISHA has been studied. And we can say, with quite interesting results of which we published the most remarkable in this journal.

Before you start reading the articles in this journal, I'd like to thank everyone who has contributed to this conference and this journal. I hope that those who were present in Nijmegen enjoyed our conference and that they and anyone else, will enjoy reading its academic conclusions.

As dr. Peter Rietbergen mentioned in the opening lecture of our conference, student travel, or travel for learning purposes, exists for more than 2500 years, so I'm sure ISHA can look forward to a long and exciting future!

Ramses Peters
Chairman ISHA-Nijmegen

Nijmegen, October 2003

Pilgrimage, student travel, tourism: culture transfer and changing world views or: *from many worlds to one world.*

Introductory lecture at the opening ceremony at the Nijmegen City Hall

by:

dr. Peter J.A.N. Rietbergen,
Professor of Cultural History,
University of Nijmegen,
The Netherlands

Introduction.

Nowadays, students, especially Western students, travel in more than one sense of the word. They belong to the generation that, from childhood on, has been accustomed to travel for tourist purposes; indeed, they are the first generation ever for which such travel is, so to say, part of the lifestyle they consider their birthright. But also, many of them interrupt their academic or vocational studies at home to travel abroad; they visit foreign academies, there to learn and, perhaps, to broaden their cultural and social horizon as well. It is this second phenomenon I want to concentrate on.

Though the topic may seem limited, it will allow me to analyse the impact of student travel - or travel for learning purposes - through more than 2500 years of world history. First, I will stress the importance of the many centuries during which students, following in the tracks of pilgrims and often pilgrims themselves, travelled almost exclusively within the confines of three of the world's major cultures - viz. the christian, the islamic and the buddhist. Secondly, I will explain why and how precisely the western way of student travel has contributed specifically to the globalization of travel and the subsequent genesis of tourism that has come become a major element of culture during the last decades of the twentieth century; in the twentyfirst century, global travel may well become one of the basic structures of world civilization.

Travel and religion.

Most Europeans, or in a wider sense inhabitants of the Western world, think of student travel as an element that has become a specific part of the civilization of the West during the last fifty years, only. Yet, a broader historical as well as geographical perspective will reveal the phenomenon to be both older and

more generally important. To understand why this is so, we need to go back to some of the fundamentals of culture.

It is essential to realize that the world of Europe and, indeed, of the West was, up till the nineteenth century, the world of christianity. It existed alongside - though not always in harmony with - the world of islam, which stretched from Morocco to the Malaysian peninsula. The third major religious and, therefore, cultural world of our earth was the world of buddhism, which originated in India but came to encompass Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, China, Korea and Japan, as well as parts of Indonesia and of Central Asia.

Though it may seem less obvious in this secularised day and age, for the better part of man's history, religion has been a major influence in human culture. In a sense, to most men, being human always has meant being unable to exactly define what life means; this has brought man to thoughts that have produced religion. For many millennia, religion permeated the economic sphere, it structured social systems, it legitimated politics and it was the basis of the arts and the sciences.

In most societies, religion has, in the course of history, developed into a theistic direction, whether polytheistic or monotheistic. Also, most religions evolved into systems of belief which, increasingly, were constituted in and through institutions. Both the personnel of these Churches - a priesthood, or clergy - and the believers needed places where the gods, or, of course, their prophets, could be adored. Such sites became holy places, where the divine or its manifestation on earth was particularly felt. Temples were erected and these, soon, attracted not only the faithful, who came to pray and sacrifice, but also students, who came to study the ways of the gods and to partake of the wisdom of the gods. The reason obviously was that in most literate societies - that of Europe, too, till the end of the eighteenth century -, the priesthood was among the very few professions through which one could rise to power if one had not been born in royal or noble palaces.

Thus, from early times in Egypt and Mesopotamia onwards, temple cities became centres of learning, to which young men from the surrounding region flocked to further their career.

Religions, especially monotheistic ones, have a tendency to missionize the world, to try and convince as many people as possible of the uniqueness of their one, true faith. After the death of Siddharta Gautama, the Buddha's

disciples started spreading his teaching, first all over India and, between the second century BCE and the second century CE, over all of South and East Asia. In the process, buddhism became a pan-Asian, a civilizational and a cultural religion.¹ A buddhist world was created wherein the man who had declared himself to be no god yet was deified by his disciples. The same happened when the followers of Jesus of Nazareth started travelling through the Roman Empire. They turned their teacher into the Son of God, and established a religious *oikoumenē* as well, that reached far beyond the Holy Land and, eventually, far beyond the Mediterranean. With the missionization of Northern and Eastern Europe in the eighth and ninth century, the world of christendom reached its limits - for the time being.

Finally, in the seventh century CE, the man who named himself the 'seal of the prophets', created the world of islam. Gaining a decisive victory in the battle of Badr in 624 CE, Muhammad also became the founder of an Afro-Asian empire. Though it failed to retain its original political unity, it yet remained a religious world, a cultural world.

In those worlds where religious feelings concentrated on one god, or on his one, spokesman on earth, one religious centre rather than many temple cities tended to attract all attention. In India, the eight places associated with the Buddha gained holy status²; amongst these, Bodh Gaya, where Siddharta Gautama had reached enlightenment, became the most eminent, certainly after the Emperor Asoka (272-231 BCE) went there on his 'journey of truth', as he told his people in his famous 'rock edict'.³

In the christian world, the holy city was Rome, for a variety of reasons. The majority of christian saints were buried there; it was the town of the pope who ruled on the basis of his claims to be the successor of St. Peter, whom Christ had appointed his vicar on earth; and, finally, the Christ's own burial place, Jerusalem, from the eighth century CE onwards lived under islamic dominance.

Finally, in the islamic world, the central religious place was Mecca and, to a lesser extent, Medina, because the prophet Muhammad had lived and died there.

¹. Cfr. N. Dutt, *Early history of the spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools* (London 1925, Delhi 1980).

². See: J. Russell, *The eight places of Buddhist pilgrimage* (Delhi 1981).

³. See: K. Mookerjee, *Asoka* (London 1928).

These three worlds, of buddhism, christendom and islam are unique, for though mankind has created many more religions, none but these three have succeeded in establishing and retaining such vast spheres of influence. Precisely the initial role and function of the few central, holy places in these worlds explain the cultural strength of these worlds and, indeed, the continuity of that strength.

For soon after the founders of these religions had died, pilgrims started to travel to these places from the farthest reaches of their religions.⁴ From Japan and Java, buddhists set out for India, to visit the sites where the Enlightened One had lived.⁵ From Poland and Portugal, christians went on their way to Rome. After Europe's rediscovery of Asia and its discovery of the Americas, they even travelled to the capital of christendom from such far-flung christianised regions as Panama and the Philippines.⁶ Meanwhile, from Morocco and Malaysia, islamists undertook their annual haj to Mekka.⁷

As pilgrimage was, to a greater or lesser extent, a recurring event, pilgrim guides and, in the islamic world at least, sophisticated pilgrim maps and road-finding devices were developed.⁸ Moreover, over the ages actual pilgrim roads were established that crossed rivers and mountains, that became visible in arid steppes and dangerous deserts. Sometimes, these roads traced older tracks, e.g. following ancient trade routes - overland ones, like the so-called silk

⁴. For the main theoretical and typological aspects of the phenomenon of pilgrimage, see: S.M. Bhardwaj, G. Rinschede, A. Sievers, eds., *Pilgrimage in the old and new world* (Berlin 1994); A. Morinis, ed., *Sacred journeys: the anthropology of pilgrimage* (Westport 1992); S.M. Bhardwaj, G. Rinschede, ed., *Pilgrimage in world religions* (Berlin 1988).

⁵. H.M. Hayes, *The Buddhist Pilgrim's Progress. From Shi Yeu Ki, The Records of the Journey to the Western Paradise* (London 1930).

⁶. For a survey of medieval practice: J. Stopford, ed., *Pilgrimage explored* (Rochester 1999). For the centrality of Rome: D.J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: continuity and change* (Woodbridge 1998).

⁷ See: F.E. Peters, *The Hajj: the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca and the holy places* (Princeton 1994); I.R. Netton, ed., *Golden Roads: migration, pilgrimage and travel in medieval and modern Islam* (Richmond 1993).

⁸. Cfr. D. King's fascinating study of the intriguing Mecca-finding metal 'compasses': *World-maps for finding the direction and distance to Mecca: innovation and tradition in islamic science* (Leiden 1999).

road through Central Asia or maritime ones, like the spice 'road' that connected the East Indies with Arabia. Sometimes, pilgrims simply used the military highways such as the ones built by the Romans all through Western Europe. Often, these pilgrim roads were new ones, to become old in their own time. But always, these roads became roads of culture, too. Pilgrims often doubled as traders, as shown by the huge commercial caravans surrounding the haj; they carried goods which spread localised material culture over wider worlds - from food and clothing to jewels and other more expensive items. They also carried visions, such as the visions of the art and architecture they encountered along the road and which they spread by way of the road. Thus, via the pilgrim routes, the art of buddhist India became known in Central Asia and China, and proved a powerful artistic influence, there. In Europe, the buildings and sculpture along the roads to Rome and Santiago testify to the movement of artistic ideas and expressions from Spain and Italy to the North.⁹ Language travelled as well, picking up other words and idioms, but also carrying new concepts expressed therein.

Yet, most pilgrims were simple, uneducated folk, little interested in and often afraid of the differently-mannered people of the regions they crossed; the ideas they brought home mostly were nothing but vague notions of other lands and cultures.

Travel and learning: worldwide similarities.

Using the pilgrims' roads, students started travelling as well. To them, spending some time in the centre of their religion both fulfilled a deep-felt religious need and served as the gateway to a new life, to be built on the reputation they gained from the learning they had acquired in the holy cities.

Thus we see young men from all over South, Central and East Asia journeying to the holy places connected with the Buddha, especially to the great buddhist university at Nalanda. Situated in the 'Holy Land of Buddhism', the region of Magadha, in present-day Bihar, nothing remains of it today.¹⁰ But according to tradition, it was founded in the 4th century BCE, soon after the Enlightened

⁹. M.M. Rhie, *The interrelationships between the Buddhist Art of China and the Art of India and Central Asia, from 618-755 AD* (Naples 1989). For Europe: A.K. Porter, *Romanesque sculpture of the pilgrim roads I-X* (Boston 1923).

¹⁰. See: U. Thakur, *Buddhist cities in early India: Buddha-Gaya, Rajagraha, Nalanda* (New Delhi 1995).

One had died, by King Sakraditya on a spot where the Buddha himself had taught his disciples. A soothsayer had prophesied that

(...) if you build here a sangharama, it must of necessity become highly renowned. Throughout the five Indies it will be a model. For a period of a thousand years it will flourish still. Students of all degrees will here easily accomplish their studies.¹¹

After Nalanda started to gain prominence in the early centuries of the christian era, it became an enormous complex of temples, stupas, monasteries and, of course, lecture halls, for subsequent rulers added college to college.¹² There, actually for nearly a thousand years, students from the entire buddhist world sat at the feet of great scholars such as Nagarjuna, one of the 'fathers' of Mahayana buddhism. For example, the Shingon-school of Japanese buddhism derived its legitimacy from the pupils of the great Nalanda professor. Also from Nalanda, learned men like Dharmapala spread the various doctrines of buddhism to far-away Indonesia, while the nagari-alphabet of Nalanda became the writing code of Cambodja and Java. Chinese monks such as I-ching studied there between 675 and 685 CE, and described the university in glowing details. Another monk, Fa-Hien, went there on the protracted trip in search of buddhist books that brought him all over the Indian subcontinent and even to Ceylon.¹³ Returning home, these students and scholars carried with them wisdom, or so one hopes, as well as holy texts, such as the Tripitaka. Inevitably, they also carried a variety of impressions of a wider, but still buddhist world; settling down again in their home countries, these impressions changed their

¹¹ The quote is taken from the account of the Chinese scholar Hiuen Tsiang, who visited Nalanda during his long trip throughout the buddhist world, between 629-645 CE. See: S. Beal, *Chinese accounts of India, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang* I-IV (London 1881; Calcutta 1957-1958), III, 383.

¹² For a survey: J. Samaddar, *The Glories of Magadha. The edicts of Asoka and the Buddhist universities of Nalanda and Vikramasila* (London 1925); also: H. Heras, 'The Royal patrons of the University of Nalanda', in: *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* XIV, 1-23.

¹³ J. Legge, ed., transl., *A record of Buddhist kingdoms, being an account by the Chinese monk Fa-Hien of his travels in India and Ceylon (AD 399-414) in search of the Buddhist books of discipline* (Oxford 1886, London 1991).

perception of local life and society; the same phenomenon is documented in the written heritage of the pilgrims of the christian world as well.¹⁴

From the seventh century CE onwards, islamic students from regions as far as Mali and Mongolia travelled to the Ka'ba at Mecca, to fulfil their religious duty. From there, they proceeded to Medina, there to study in the medresses that arose around the great mosque.¹⁵ For although many places of learning were erected around the sacred precinct in Mecca, the town never became a central university. Medina, however, due to the residence, there, of the Prophet's widows and of many of his studious companions and devotees, did indeed become the first university of islam. There, 'the islamic sciences' - 'ulum - were practised. Specifically, the Medina legal scholars became famous all over the muslim world, but so did the literary critics, whose opinion was sought by many a prince. Also, the city boasted the first islamic library. Returning home, the students were well versed in the Quran, and the hadith, the sayings of the Prophet, but also in the ideas of the sharia¹⁶, islamic religious-administrative law; thus, both as hajji and as members of the ulema, they could turn teacher themselves or become bureaucrats in the courts of the islamic rulers.¹⁷

In the world that called itself christendom - Europe, as a word and, indeed, a concept only was widely adopted from the late fifteenth century onwards - Rome continued to be the place where, specifically at the papal court, clerics from all over Europe went for their training, before returning home to take up a position of power either in teaching or in government. They, too, took with them holy texts - manuscripts containing the Bible, the teachings of the Fathers of the Church, et cetera. But while studying the fundamentals of their religion, they had acquired new ideas on all kinds of issues that, in subsequent years, would create and reinforce a continuity of cohesion, both in religious and in non-religious matters.

¹⁴ Cfr. D.R. Howard, *Writers and pilgrims: medieval pilgrim narratives and their posterity* (Berkeley 1980).

¹⁵ Cfr. O.M. Stanton, *Higher learning in Islam: the classical period, AD 700-1300* (Savage 1990).

¹⁶ I.R. Netton, *Seek knowledge: thought and travel in the House of Islam* (Richmond 1996). Cfr. the African experience documented in: J.O. Hunwick, ed., *Sharia and Songhay: the replies of al-Maghribi to the questions of Askia al-Hajj Muhammad* (Oxford 1985).

¹⁷ G. Makdisi, *Religion, law and learning in classical Islam* (Aldershot 1991).

Over time, in these three religious worlds, cultural and more specifically intellectual sub-systems grew. Institutions of learning were founded in other than the central religious towns. They served the needs of specific states - for even though these could not always control the central religious sites, they yet wished to control the production of knowledge - and of students who were unable or unwilling to travel as far as Rome, Medina or Nalanda. Thus, rivalling buddhist dynasties established their own universities, competing with Nalanda - as, for example, the university at Vikramasila, founded at the end of the eighth century. The Umayyad and, later, the Abassid caliphs' desire to dominate their own cultural centres, led them to set up quasi-substitutes for Medina in their capitals. Thus, in ninth-century Baghdad, the caliph al-Mamun created the 'bait al-hikma', the 'house of wisdom', while a comparable institution was set up in Fatimid Cairo in the early eleventh century.¹⁸ The great cities of the Western Caliphate, such as Cordoba, in islamic Spain, boasted their own universities as well. In the christian world, Bologna and, soon, Paris, Oxford and Cambridge became centres of learning. But always, the centrally directed religious values of christianity, islam or buddhism continued to feed the world view that permeated teaching and research in all these peripheral academies and universities.

Meanwhile, the existence of intellectual sub-systems within these larger religious worlds gave birth to a new phenomenon. Travelling from one university to another, to sit at the feet of great teachers and imbibe their wisdom became an important part of learned culture all over these worlds. Thus, we see that, for example in Cairo, at the al-Azhar university, students from Morocco and Syria had their own 'colleges', as had, in Bologna, the students from the various European 'nations', like Spain and Germany. From the twelfth century onwards, the wandering scholar became a permanent fixture of the christian world. In the sixteenth-century, under the influence of renaissance humanism, this phenomenon slowly was formalised into the peregrinatio academica. Yet, for all its seeming European uniqueness, it was completely comparable to the 'talab al-ilm', the 'journey in search of knowledge' in the islamic world.

¹⁸ A comparative perspective offers: G. Makdisi, *The rise of colleges: institutes of learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh 1981).

Such learned travel contributed in no mean way to the growth of a closely-knit web of cultural centres.¹⁹ Consequently, we often can trace the pedigrees of ideas in all fields of culture - from theology to law and physics - to the successive generations of students who studied in these centres. In Europe, canon and, through it, Roman law spread through this process, from South to North; in the islamic world, the pedigrees of hadith are testimony to the great influence of teacher-scholars on widely recruited student populations.

Yet, within these increasingly complex networks, the original religious and cultural centres remained the nodal points.

Travel and learning: the origins of a new European type.

Pilgrims moved within their own religious world. For many centuries, student travel, too, was confined by and within the boundaries of this religious-cultural sphere. Indeed, most travellers really felt uncomfortable if they dared beyond their world. Buddhist monks who, in the early centuries of the christian era, freely travelled and proselytized in the Near East, stopped doing so when islam conquered these parts. By the same token, the great muslim traveller from thirteenth-century Morocco, Ibn Battuta, while perfectly at ease at the islamic courts of Egypt and India, could not even begin to appreciate the culture of the non-islamic world of China.²⁰ At the same time, fewer and fewer christians, Europeans, visited the Holy Land once the successors of the Prophet had recaptured the sacred cities after the conquest of christian Outre Mer. So, war and conquest did limit religious travel, too. But then, in the thirteenth century, the Pax Mongolica made a journey through Central Asia a relatively easy thing, the Chinese Nestorian christian Rabban Sauma did set out on a trip that brought him from Khanbalic, Kublai's capital, to Naples, to Paris, and to Rome. There, in 1288 CE, he celebrated Christmas as a guest of Pope Nicholas IV, before he returned home with, among other relics, a piece of Christ's robe and a glove that had belonged to the Virgin.²¹

¹⁹ Cfr. P. Rietbergen, *Europe: A cultural History* (London 1998), 258-283. For the islamic world, see the articles on the varieties of 'ilm, and the role of talab, in: *Encyclopedia of Islam*, III (Leiden 1971), 1133-1152.

²⁰ Cfr. H. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta* (Cambridge 2000), IV, 900. Admittedly, there is some doubt as to whether Ibn Battuta actually visited China.

²¹ M. Rossabi, ed., *Voyager from Xanadu: Rabban Sauma and the first journey from China to the West* (Tokyo 1992).

Meanwhile, in Europe, from the tenth century CE onwards, the life of the intellectual elite started to change. Most Europeans - as most islamists or buddhists - were utterly convinced of their religious superiority. But educated Europeans, while basically faithful christians, were less convinced of the cultural superiority of their world. Nor did their neighbours encourage them to think highly of themselves; as the Spanish scholar Said al-Andalusi wrote, the christians were stupid, for they did not study fysics and the other sciences.²² No wonder the more intellectually curious Europeans were fascinated by the tales that came from the nearest islamic world, that of the Iberian peninsula: these were tales of powerful, magnificent cities, with thriving universities and with libraries that held numerous texts containing knowledge long lost in or entirely unknown to Europe. Despite the unaccomodating attitude of the Church, many clerics and, in growing numbers, laymen started travelling to Toledo, Cordoba and other centres of islamic education. They did so both before and increasingly after these had been conquered by christian Spanish princes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²³ Returning to their homelands beyond the Pyrenees, the knowledge these students and scholars had gained of Greek-islamic learning in every field imaginable proved a powerful cultural factor. It fuelled the process in which Europe became, slowly, a world that in the fields of science and technology could compare favourably with its islamic neighbour. It was a process that took some four hundred years. It was, also, a process in which the European method of structuring and accumulating knowledge began to implicitly follow the Prophet's precept to adopt an empiricist attitude towards the study of Allah's creation; thus, knowledge in the christian world started to move away from its biblical, and sometimes even its religious foundation²⁴; this was especially so after Europe's invention of printing vastly accelerated and broadened communication, rendering effective censorship by the Church by and large impossible to maintain.

It was an obvious, but not always articulated sense of cultural inferiority coupled to a thirst for knowledge that gave European students the mental space beyond the safe horizons of their own culture which allowed them to

²² A. Lewis, *The Islamic World and the West* (New York 1970).

²³ S.K. Jayussi, ed., *The Legacy of Muslim Spain* (Leiden 1992).

²⁴ Cfr. G. Makdisi, *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West: With Special Reference to Scholasticism* (Edinburgh 1990).

embark on travel to the Iberic world. It was an even more basic sense of religious uncertainty-cum-curiosity that allowed, nay even forced them to travel yet farther than the Iberian cities. Contrary to the islamic and buddhist worlds, that continued to control their holy towns within their own religious-political sphere of influence, christianity had lost power over the places where the Christ had lived and taught. Not only did christians no longer dominate the Holy Land, nor, indeed, did they know where, exactly, their religion had originated, where their God had first held out his promise to those who stood at the beginning of time, Adam and Eve. But one thing christians did know: the garden of Eden, a reality once and, perhaps, a world to repossess if man ever again made his peace with God, was not located in Europe, but rather somewhere 'in the East'. If only for this reason, travelling, however perilous, beyond their own, safe world became something of a religious-cultural imperative. Though one cannot maintain that the search for a paradise lost, or one to be regained, was the main motive behind Europe's so-called Age of Discovery, it did, up till the nineteenth century, provide Europeans with expectations, vague or clear, weak or strong, of horizons to be explored and, perhaps, conquered.²⁵

Thus, Europeans, christians, began to brave seas and deserts on voyages of exploration and, soon, of spiritual and fysical conquest. Inevitably, these travels stretched their mental space to ever wider limits, and influenced the world-view of those who remained at home as well. Nor was this space filled with religious notions, only. To explain why this was so, I have to return to Europe itself, and more specifically to all those students who travelled to Rome.

The centrality of Rome.

This town, the centre of the Latin-christian world since the fourth century, in earlier times had been the capital of the Roman empire, the fulcrum of Graeco-Roman civilization, which the christian Church had inherited. However uneasily, the christian establishment always maintained a dialogue with the cultural remains of this empire. These, of course, were most visible in Rome itself.

²⁵ I have traced the different thought-routes via which the original search became a more varied one in: P. Rietbergen, *Dromen van Europa* (Amersfoort 1994), 175-214.

There, almost every church was built with materials from and, indeed, modelled on the ancient temples; there, statues and paintings, half hidden, yet kept the memory of the old Romans alive; there, inscriptions and manuscripts revealed the mental world of Antiquity, challenging the ideas of all who partook of it. For a thousand years, numerous renaissances occurred in christian Europe, in which the culture of the Church accomodated parts of the culture of the empire, until in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, with the greatly increased influx of knowledge both from the Iberian world and from Constantinople, the 'real' Renaissance became manifest.²⁶ Especially when the popes, from 1450 onwards, positively embraced a christianised version of the ancient Mediterranean civilizations, the argument to come and study in Rome grew stronger than ever before. For now the town that called itself eternal was the fount of an increasingly complex - and potent - mixture of religious knowledge and of more secular ideas. This mixture now became the cultural lifeblood of every educated European.²⁷ But the partnership between christian religion and pagan science always remained a troubled one. Indeed, a marked trend towards ever more secular views of man and his world became inevitable, especially when, in the sixteenth century, christendom lost its millennial unity and dissolved into many denominations. While Roman Catholics continued on their pilgrimage to Rome and the other sacred centres, Protestant believers stopped travelling for religious purposes altogether. Though students and scholars from the various reformed Churches sought out those academies where the new religious ideas were taught, competition and diversity inevitably fostered criticism and, indeed, scepticism.

In that process, the intellectual and therefore spatial foundations of student travel changed, too. No longer did students from all over Europe continue to only visit the towns that traditionally had been the centres of christian education. They now sought out any place where learning as such was to be found; they did so within a changing mental space as well. Admittedly, many students continued to hold on to the ideal of exploring every aspect of God's creation; yet many felt this did not necessarily mean they had to interpret their findings along religious, orthodox christian lines.²⁸

²⁶ I have outlined this process in: Rietbergen, *Europe*, o.c., 177-193.

²⁷ Cfr. P.J. Rietbergen, 'De Eeuwige Stad als Tijdmachine: Cultuur en Politiek in de Drie Romes', in: *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 114/1 (2001), 29-55.

²⁸ Rietbergen, *Europe*, o.c., 301-305.

Still, precisely the sanctity and dominating culturality held out by Rome, the eternal city, continued to attract students - also artistic ones - from all over Europe, even from the protestant world; for while Rome might be the seat of the pope, the anti-Christ, it undeniably also was the place where christianity in its pristine version - the touchstone of the Reformers - had existed, and the town where the most venerable christian - and pagan - texts were kept, albeit in the papal libraries. Thus, Rome remained the major stop on peregrinatio academica, as well as the major cultural reference point that structured the cultural communication of Europe's learned elite.

In 1586, the Flemish humanist scholar Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), in his *Epistolarum ... centurio prima* (Antwerp 1586), made an impassioned as well as practical plea for this form of academic travel.²⁹ His text, which went through many editions until well into the eighteenth century, greatly influenced its European readership through the way it stressed travel as one of the most important elements in the development of human knowledge and understanding, the very way to a truly civilized life and behaviour. No wonder the then king of Spain, Philip II, forbade his subjects, and especially the Spanish students, to travel abroad: he feared such intellectual stimuli precisely because they might provide the basis for unorthodox and even revolutionary ideas.

By the seventeenth century, the academic pilgrimage broadened into the so-called 'Grand Tour'. It was a prolonged trip along the major cultural capitals of Europe that, however, always included Rome. While this new type of travel increasingly lost the religious drive that had characterized both pilgrimage and the learning trip, it retained the other traditional elements, both educational in a narrow sense, and cultural, in a wider sense. Thus, the Grand Tour marks the confluence of the old, religious-academic journey with a new sense of a culture more secularly perceived and, indeed, tinged already with a craving for touristic pleasures as well.

Travelling beyond Europe.

It was this combination that now came to characterize outer-European travel as well. Admittedly, at first few students and scholars ventured into Asia, Africa or the Americas, if only because, actually, one could not visit these regions unless with permission to do so from the European powers which

²⁹ Cfr. Rietbergen, *Europe*, o.c., 272.

ruled there, like the Portuguese and Spaniards, or from the great colonial companies, such as the Dutch East India Company, that for two centuries controlled all those who, from the Netherlands, wanted to journey beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

Yet, in time precisely these great companies and, subsequently, the ruling elite of the colonial empires they helped create, began to show an interest in the products of science and scholarship; they started encouraging students to travel overseas in order to acquire knowledge that might prove commercially or politically profitable. In the seventeenth century, for example, the powerful Dutch politician Nicholas Witsen (1641-1717), one of the directors of the Dutch EIC, strove to select as many promising young Dutchmen, preferably ones who had some sort of higher education, to go out in the service of the Company. As a student, before embarking on the traditional Grand Tour, he himself had taken the very unusual step to travel to Muscovy, first, and explore this strange world, at that time largely unknown to Western Europe. On his return, he continued to be fascinated by the tales he had heard of the many strange peoples living beyond the czar's realm. Now, having risen to a position of great power that allowed him to exercise world-wide patronage, his agenda was for the men he sent out to the East to acquire as much knowledge as possible about the vast regions of Central and East Asia, and communicate it to him; he needed their findings for inclusion in a text that, on its first publication in 1692, did indeed open up roads as yet uncharted and described peoples and cultures as yet unheard of: Witsen's vast, encyclopedic work on North and East Tartary (Amsterdam 1692; 1705) contained the first reliable map ever of the many strange worlds that covered the earth between the Urals and the Bering Sea.³⁰

Half a century later, the great Swedish scholar Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778), who taught biology at the university in Uppsala, called upon his students to travel all over the world to study new plants and animals. The Swedish, Danish, Dutch and English colonial authorities now proved willing to help these students to realize such a difficult enterprise. Learned societies, too, such as the Royal Society of London, became aware that the many questions that European science raised could only be answered if young students or esta-

³⁰ P. Rietbergen, 'Witsen's World: Nicolaas Witsen (1642-1717) between the Dutch East India Company and the *Republic of Letters*', in: *Itinerario* IX-2 (1985), 121-134.

blished scholars were allowed and, indeed, admonished to travel as widely as possible; soon, these societies joined hands with the states they served, as witnessed, for example, by the famous expeditions of Joseph Banks and James Cook in the Pacific Ocean.³¹ To cite one late, but certainly momentous case, young Charles Darwin, freshly graduated from Cambridge, in 1831 was given permission to board the ship *Beagle* on its five-year voyage around the world in the service of the British navy³², to conduct all kind of research that might be of use to the empire that was now growing. We all know that his findings changed the way we look at ourselves, and at the world.

Studying the world - but which worlds?

Thus, within the christian world, a culture of travel originated that soon bounced against the boundaries of that world, and then reached beyond them to finally encompass the entire globe. The process took shape during the past five centuries. Surprisingly, nothing comparable happened within the muslim and buddhist worlds. Although no single explanation can be given, the continued hold of religion over society and, indeed, politics - especially in the islamic world - is one; another certainly is the lack of wide-spread higher education and of relatively free and wide-ranging communication; these, in their turn, can be explained at least partly by the ways in which religion held sway over most aspects of life and society; last, but not least, the ideal of knowledge in these cultures remained largely religion-oriented, as opposed to developments in Europe.

In the buddhist world, of course, printing had been known from early times onwards. However, several developments had led to the desintegration of the pan-Asian, buddhist oikoumenè. The islamic campaigns in and subsequent conquest of Northern India during the tenth and eleventh century had led to the destruction of Nalanda, in 1197, and of Vikramasila, in 1203. At the same time, more nationalist, hindu schools of thought were on the resurgence, again. Nevertheless, from this period onwards, buddhism all but disappeared from the Indian subcontinent. Also, two of the major buddhist states, China and Japan, for reasons both of a political and cultural nature, choose to close their frontiers to all but a select group of foreigners; at the

³¹ Cfr. J. Gascoigne, *Science in the service of empire: Joseph Banks, the British State and the uses of science in the age of revolution* (Cambridge 1998).

³² Cfr. R. Darwin Keynes, ed., *Charles Darwin's Beagle Diaries* (Cambridge 1988).

same time, they discouraged or even positively forbade their subjects to travel abroad themselves. Consequently, the former cultural unity of the buddhist world became a vision of the past. Moreover, even though precisely in these two Eastern empires a secular knowledge ideal did exist, specifically in Confucian thought, unlike in Europe it failed to stimulate the appetite for travel. In the 'Analects', Confucius himself, for example, though admonishing his pupils to go and listen to wise men, also told them not to travel too far, for their filial duty implied they should always be within reach of their parents, lest something might require their presence.³³ No wonder, the Chinese, in the 1430s, also chose to discontinue the great voyages of discovery they had embarked on in the early decades of the fifteenth century.³⁴ Such an attitude, coupled to the fact that to most educated Chinese the outer worlds were, almost intrinsically, barbarian worlds, did, of course, restrict the world view of the cultural elite; nor did general education reach anything like the extent it had in Europe.³⁵

In the islamic world, what was called *ma'rifa*, or *'ulum aqliyya* - secular learning - declined over the ages, after a long flourishing during the first five hundred years following the death of Muhammad. In Western islam, the conquest of the highly cultured parts of Spain by the christians was a severe loss to the cultural strength of the islamic world. In Eastern islam, the rivalry between the Ottoman and Sawafid empires did not help, either. Far more serious, however, was the fact that in the entire islamic world printing simply was not allowed. This, of course, seriously impaired the possibility for people to broaden their views of man and his world. Significantly, the first printing presses in the Near East operated under European tutelage, as late as the 1790's: in Stambul from the residence of the French ambassador, and in Cairo in the milieu of the scholars following Napoleon's expedition to Egypt. The first indigenous presses were set up in the nineteenth century, only. Meanwhile, muslim students continued to travel, as far as economic and political circumstances allowed them to do so, but always remained within their own cultural-

³³ D. Lau, transl., *Confucius, The Analects* (Harmondsworth 1979), IV, 19.

³⁴ This momentous episode and its aftermath have been sketched by: L. Levathes, *When China ruled the seas: the treasure fleet of the Dragon Throne, 1400-1433* (New York 1994).

³⁵ For China, the consequences have been sketched within a wider context by: K. Pomeranz, *The Great divergence, China, Europe and the making of the modern world economy* (Princeton 2000).

religious context. To judge by his famous *Seyahatname*, or 'Book of Travels', even the greatest traveller of the Ottoman world, Evliya Celebi (1611-1679), did not dare far beyond the territories safely dominated by the sultan.

From pilgrimage and student travel to tourism.

By the end of the eighteenth century, of all the world's cultures, only European, or Western educated culture was widely characterised by the will to travel, for learning purposes and, increasingly, for pleasure, too. While student travel by and large remained a phenomenon that manifested itself within Europe, only, the mental attitude that drove it was, at least theoretically, boundless, because instead of religion, knowledge as such now was its main drive.

The Grand Tour, rather than its more learned, education-centred predecessor, the *peregrinatio academica*, had laid the foundation for what, within the technical, cultural and even psychological conditions of the early nineteenth century, became cultural tourism. By the 1830s, the educated bourgeoisie of Northern and Western Europe developed a veritable zest for travel. It combined the cultural elements of the elite phenomenon that was the Tour with new expectations; these were fed by a new, romantic vision of nature - the sea and the mountains, as exemplified in the Mediterranean and the Alps.³⁶ Of course, one should note that, both in China and Japan, specifically this appreciation of nature had resulted in a comparable combination of religious and aesthetic pilgrimage that in a way paralleled and, indeed, preceded developments in Europe, as is shown by the famous travels of the seventeenth-century Japanese poet Bashō. But while Europeans soon sought the 'sublime' well beyond the safe borders of their own countries, Chinese and Japanese travellers certainly did not.

Also, unlike in Asia, the European craving for unspoilt nature combined with a new need for physical and mental well-being that was the result of growing ecological problems caused by industrialization in North-Western and the concomittant medicalization of society.

Yet, because of the millennial religious and cultural predominance of that one centre, Rome, and, more broadly perceived, Italy, the democratized

³⁶ See: A. Corbin, *Le territoire du vide: l'Occident et le désir du rivage (1750-1840)* (Paris 1990), and: S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York 1995).

'grand tourism' remained an affair that always was southernly inclined³⁷; for the same reason, with the greater accessibility of the Near East due to the decline of Ottoman power, the new European tourism came to include the Holy Land again, in a complex interaction of religious and cultural motives that, soon, encompassed all civilizations related to the ancient judaeo-christian world within the new tourism.

When, in the course of the nineteenth century, the United States started upon its rise to economic and political power, its budding cultural and, more specifically, intellectual elite, so admirably sketched in the novels of Henry James, craved for nourishment from the sources of culture - the ancient world, Europe. Both American scholars and, soon, also students, crossed the ocean to study in England, in Paris - the Mecca of art education -, in Rome, or at the universities of Germany. In a certain sense the educated Americans continued the old European practice of the Grand Tour, while at the same time exhibiting some of the characteristics of the new culture-consuming tourism.

Meanwhile, in Europe itself, the nationalist and indeed nationalistic cultural policies of most states certainly had diminished the one-time importance of that phenomenon, although I wonder whether new research, which we badly need, would not reveal that, even in quantitative terms, it did remain an important element in the life of the educated elite.

The First World War seemed dramatically to mark the demise of the ideal of a Europe that could present itself as the very model of civilization and humaneness. Consequently, in the years following the Great War, politicians and policy-related organizations decided a sense of 'Europe' should be restored again. Especially the young were targeted. Significantly, people argued that widening the horizon of the new generation through travelling would be the proper means to achieve the goal of a new, or rather reborn European unity; thus, the ideas and practices of the sixteenth century academic peregrination were, in a sense, revived. The first European handbooks of student travel to appear since the sixteenth century were published in the 1920's; yet, as if to indicate the fundamental global scope of student travel, of the will to learn, almost symbolically one of them was given a foreword by the great polar traveller Frithjof Nansen.³⁸

³⁷ Cfr. J. Pemble, *The Mediterranean passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South* (Oxford 1987).

³⁸ Cfr. I.M. Dalrymple, ed., *The handbook of student travel in Europe* (London 1927;

After the Second World War, with changed political and economic circumstances, student travel in Europe resurged again - perhaps influenced by the American example, but certainly stimulated by the United Nations as well. In the mean time, growing prosperity and improving transport technology combined to transform the cultural tourism of the nineteenth century into the mass tourism of the twentieth. Soon, the lonely planet was not lonely anymore, at least not for Western travellers.

Obviously, this development was influenced by the fact that, while most colonial empires were dissolved, the many cultural ties that since the nineteenth century had bound Europe to large parts of the non-European world remained; these, too, ensured that people continued to travel around the globe, for many reasons, educational as well as other.

Only by the 1960s and 1970s did non-European peoples massively take the road; having gained their political independence, they wished to acquire those instruments of science and technology that would help them gain economic independence, too, and, of course, a modicum of prosperity as well. In doing so, they followed the example of the small groups of Japanese students who, at the end of the nineteenth century, had come to Europe to study in Germany, the Netherlands, England and the United States, laying the technological-intellectual foundations for Japan's rise to world power, and of the equally small group of Chinese students who, already in the 1920's and 1930's, had been travelling to Europe in search of modern ideas, whether capitalist or socialist.³⁹ Now, after the second World war, and especially during the Cold War period, this trend continued, if only because now both the Western world and the communist bloc for ideological purposes vied for the attention of the travelling students from the third world.

These ideological divisions of the 1960s and 1970s have all but been slighted. Meanwhile, other barriers preventing people from travelling world wide are being increasingly lowered. As prosperity grows, global tourism increases; it must be considered a testimony to the historical impact of Europe on large parts of the world - an impact realised first and foremost through travelling - that so many non-Europeans still choose Europe as their destination.

subsequent editions: 1930, 1931, 1934, 1937) which already in 1931 was translated into French as well. Nansen wrote an introduction to the 1930-English edition.

³⁹ E.g.: M. Speisman Gewurz, *Between America and Russia: Chinese student radicalism and the travel books of Tsou T'ao-fan, 1933-1937* (Toronto 1975).

At the beginning of the twentyfirst century, pilgrimage, in the christian world, is a phenomenon that still exists, despite groing secularization. It occurs both on a grand scale, to witness the many millions who came to Rome in the Jubilee Year 2000, and as a small-scaled religious experience that recurs every year, as does, since the early years of the twentieth century, the pilgrimage to the Holy Land. However, in all cases, it is, inevitably, mixed with touristic purposes - as, of course, always has been the case. Yet, it does not have the same impact as the haj, that every single year continues to attract millions of believers to Mecca and Medina. In the buddhist world, travel to the places where the Enlightened One lived has revived somewhat during the early twentieth century - people again flock to Bodh Gaya from all over Asia - but it is not a mass phenomenon anymore.

As for student travel, in all kinds of ways it has, indeed, become an element of global culture, in the sense that, following the example set by Europeans, students from all over the world now seek out new academic venues. As became clear when the phenomenon first occurred, the new *peregrinatio academica*, too, has touristic elements. It does not seem too far-fetched a prophesy to assume that it will continue to influence the movement towards globalization, whatever one's appraisal of the cultural consequences of that process.

The Roman conquest of Istria

Paper presented in the workshop 'Onwards to Conquest'

by:

Milan Radošević

ISHA Pula

Croatia

Introduction

In the following text I will bring up the historical and tragical end of a prehistorical population which have lived in the country from which I come (Croatia). A tribe by the name of the Histri, lived on the Istrian peninsula, in the northern Adriatic sea. It was a prehistorical population whose development had been influenced by the culture of the Veneti on NW and the Ilirian culture on the NE. In the 2nd century BC, the Roman forces conquered the Histrians. The cause of the four wars between them, was the permanency of the pirat attacks of the Histrians on Greek and Roman merchant ships. After the wars and the decline of the Histrian capital, started the process of romanization that is visible in the roman names of a rich epigraphic corpus.

The history of the Histrians

The first testimony of the Histrians and their land Histria, which got the name after them, was recorded by Greek travel writers in the 7th and the 6th century BC. The testimonies were connected to the mythological stories of the confluence of the Danuvius, called Istros, into the Adriatic sea and the legend of the Argonauts and the golden fleece. According to that legend, after the death of their leader Apsirt, the warriors from Kolhida settled on the southern part of the today Istrian peninsula.

The area of the Histrian population was between the rivers Soča and Raša, and the mountains Kras, Ćićarija and Učka. That area today is divided between three states, but the biggest part belongs to the Republic of Croatia. The bigger part of the peninsula, due to the relief characteristics, was deserted, and that caused the development of a particular culture and a particular

population. However, there was a short coast belt directed to the Venets' area on the north-west, which caused the contact with the Venets' and Saint Lucian's culture, and on the north-east with the culture of the Ilirians.

The development of the culture of the Histri is possible to follow from the 9th century BC till the beginning of the intensive process of romanization which started in the 1st century BC. This culture is usually called "Gradine". To explain this, I will describe it : the villages of Histri were built very often in typical positions on hills because of a better defence and a better control of the land. The form of the villages was circular or semi-circular, and the buildings and their walls were built of stones named "suhozid". There were between three or four hundred of such villages in Istria. One of the main villages was Nesactium, which was the spiritual capital of south Istria. The Histri also had their gods, and the most known were Melosocus and Eia, inscribed in a Roman epigraphy monument.

The Histri were engaged in agriculture , stock-breeding, and hunting. We can also mention piracy which was a normal thing in that time. Piracy was a very profitable job. The eastern Adriatic coast was better for sailing than the western coast. That was because of the islands and inlets in which the merchant ships could take refuges in storms. The Greek and Roman merchant ships were often robbed by Histrian pirates while they were sailing along the coast. That was exactly the main reason why the Romans decided to go into war with the Histrians. Those wars are known in the scientific literature by the name of «The Histrian wars».

The Histrian wars

The Romans had led four wars against the Histrians. The most important was the third war , in the years 178-177 BC, in which many villages were destroyed and the last Histrian king Epulon died. Indeed, the antique writers wrote most about this war, and so I will give much more attention to it.

The first intense conflict of the Romans and the Histrians began in the third decade of the third century BC. The Romans were fighting against the Kelts in the north of today Italy. Demetrius from Pharos, a clever diplomat and strategist, made good use of that conflict. He was in charge of the former Ilirian state, after the Roman had conquered it in the year 228 BC. The position of that state was in the central eastern Adriatic. He observed the disinterest of Rome for his state because of the war against the Kelts, and so he decided to attack a few cities, which were under the Roman protection. The Histri joined the anti-Roman coalition, and they started robbing the Roman ships. In the year 222 BC the Roman beat the Kelts and dedicated their military power to resolve the problem with Demetrius and the Histrians. The

Greek historian Apian describes that war like a Roman hunt of the pirats, but the fact that both of the Roman consuls were involved in the war with their land armies, shows that it was a war against an organized population.

According to the first Roman military register from 225 BC Rome had in service about 700 thousand foot soldiers and 70 thousand horsemen. That fact shows the power of Rome in those times. We can easily conclude that the Histrians had no chance against such an army, and so the first Histrian war was finished in the year 221 BC. Rome was satisfied only with the promise made by the Histrians that the sailing in the future would not be disturbed by the Histrian pirats.

Not more than forty years had passed and the Histri got again in trouble with the Romans. This time the motive for the war was in the Roman foundation of the colony Aquilea, which the Roman Senate decided in the year 183 BC. The Histri knew that the new colony Aquilea would be the starting point for the Roman expansion to the east, and they didn't want that. So, in the year 182 BC the Histri started to fight nearby the future colony Aquilea, but they didn't succeed.

In the same year there were the elections in the Roman national council for the consuls and the pretors. The pretor Lucius Durionis got under his authority the province of Histria. It was given to him because the Tarentinians and the Brundizians complained because of the robbery of pirats from Histria. At those times Histria was considered a province, since Rome held it as a country with which it had no state contracts.

The new immigrants in Aquilea with the Aquelian military forces wanted to stop the piracy of the Histrians. In accordance to this idea, the consul Aulus Manlius Vulson, set off with two legions, the second and the third, and one cohort with the help of three thousand people from the Gallic tribes, to Histria. The Roman Senate didn't approve of that decision. However, the Roman duumvir Gaius Furius gave ten military ships on disposal to the consul Manlius. He anchored with his ships on the coast close to the lake of Timavus, and Manlius encamped with his army 5 km from him, in the direction of the interland. The third legion was left to look for the way that lead to Aquilea because of the suppliers of wood and forage.

A permanent guard was set by the Histrian side. A briskly market port took rise on the coast, from which everything was deported to the camp. Between the port and the camp there was a cohort which had to guarantee the safety for the transport into the camp. In the meantime, the Histri took secret positions in the hills and they observed the Roman army. When they saw the unarmed crowd whose main interest was trading, they decided to attack both, the cohort and the permanent guard. Morning fog covered up the Histrian

enterprise, so the Roman soldiers were surprised and shocked by the attack ; they thought there were much more Histrian soldiers than there were in reality. All that mess frightened the Romans. The guards ran into the camp and with much noise they announced to the other soldiers what was going on. Mostly unarmed Roman soldiers ran as fast as they could to the coast. Some of them were killed.

Of the officers only the tribune Marcus Licinius Strabon had stayed in the camp. The tribune was killed by the Histrians with his loyal soldiers. In the conquered Roman camp there were supplies of wine, warm beds and other comfortable things. The Histri weren't used to see such things and so they started to celebrate, instead of attacking the confused and unarmed Roman army which was running to the port. The scared Roman soldiers started to fight between themselves, because of the boats which they used to flee. The consul Manlius stopped that chaos by ordering to move the ships out of the range of the soldiers. Finally, a messenger was sent to call the third legion and the gallic reinforcement. The tribunes of the third legion ordered to throw the wood and the forage of the beast of draught, and to replace it with two older soldiers.

The Romans prepared for revenge. The first tribune of the second legion, Lucius Atius, encouraged his soldiers with the idea that the Histrians were probably dead drunk, and that they were already sleeping. That turned out to be true. The mentioned tribune ordered to his ensign to lead the attack. After the ensign, on the other side of the camp there came tribunes of the third legion with the horsemen, who attacked the camp . After them those who had replaced the cargo on the beasts, entered in the camp. The Histri certainly thought that they were hallucinating by the cause of alcohol when they saw this. The consul with the main army arrived last in the camp. To help the Roman army the wounded soldiers remained in the camp. The Histri who were not drunk ran away, and the the other eight thousand who didn't manage to do that, were killed by the Romans. Nobody was made prisoner, there was too much hate in the Roman soldiers, so that they didn't even think about it. The Histrian king Epulon ran away. Among the lines of the winners there were about 2 hundred killed soldiers.

By chance that night when the Histri conquered the Roman camp, two men from Aquilea arrived with food. They saw the Histrians in the Roman camp and ran to Aquilea to tell the unexpected news. In a very short time the news came to Rome. It was told not only that the enemy had conquered the camp and that Romans had escaped, but also that the complete Roman army in Histria was destroyed. Two new legions of Roman citizens were recruited because of that, there, and ten thousand foot soldiers from the latin alliance.

The other consul, Marcus Junius Brutus was ordered to move to Gallia and to recruit there as many soldiers as he could. The first legion came with him in Gallia. But, there he found out that the Roman army in Histria was safe and sound. So, there was no need to recruit new soldiers. Marcus Junius went to Histria. The other consul with a new army was coming to Histria and the Histrians had heard that, and so they scattered in all directions to seek refuge in villages. Then came winter, and the two consuls went with their legion to Aquilea.

The Senate requested from the two consuls an explanation of what had happened, and so Marcus Junius, instead of Aulus Manlius, went to Rome. On the questions about the unauthorised decision of the other consul to start a war against the Histrians, he answered that the war had begun by his decision, but also that the war was led bravely and reasonably. Gaius Claudius Pulcher and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus were elected for the new consuls in the early spring in the year 178 BC. The problematic Histrian land was given to the consul Gaius Claudius. For resolving that problem there were assigned to him 2 legions, 3 hundred horsemen, and from the side of the alliance 12 thousand foot soldiers and 6 hundred mil-troopers. In comparison to this, the Histrian army had about 12 thousands armed men.

In that time the former consuls, Aulus Manlius and Marcus Junius, led their army to the land of the Histrians and started to spread devastate the country. The Histrian army, fought fearlessly, but with no result. Four thousand Histrians were killed in the battle, and the surviving warriors went back into their villages. The newly elected consul Gaius Claudius was afraid that he would stay without his plunder from Histria, and without his own army, because of the two former consuls. Therefore he ran to Histria, without having made the solemn promise and the uniform on the lictors. When he came to Histria he accused the consul Manlius because he had ran away when the Histri attacked his camp the year before. Marcus Junius was in the same position as his consul mate Manlius because he had joined him. Gaius Claudius ordered them to go home with their army, but they refused that because the new consul hadn't made the solemn promise and the uniform on the lictors. The consul Claudius was furious but the law was on the side of Manlius and Junius, and so he had to go back to Rome to do what was asked from him.

After he had completed the formalities in Rome, he gathered his army in Aquilea and went with it to Histria. In the meantime Manlius and Junius started with all forces to attack the village Nesactium in the south of Histria, in which Epulon and his men were hiding. Then consul Claudius arrived, and the two consuls went home with their army. Claudius tried to conquer Nesactium with all then known military tactics, but with no result. But he had a brilliant

idea. He ordered his army to move the course of the brook into a new bed, and so he stopped the water supplies to the Histrians. But, even then Epulon didn't think of peace. The Histrian started to kill their wives and children and they threw them over the village walls. In that moment the Romans managed to enter the village. Epulon heard the noise of the Roman army in the village and he pierced a sword into his breast, so that the Romans couldn't make him a prisoner.

After the conquest of Nesactium, two more villages, Mutila and Faveria, were conquered in a very short time by the Romans. After that the land of the Histrians passed over in the hands of the Romans. Rome was satisfied with the recognition of its authority, with the prisoners, the tribute and with the military presence. The tribute the Histrians probably had to pay in cattle or other natural resources. The plunder in the conquered Histria was bigger than they expected it would be. The result of the Histrian defeat was the retreat of the Histrians from the territory between Trieste(Tergeste) and the river Rižana, which was then colonized by the Celtic tribe Karni. Till the Roman conquest Histria was considered as a separate province. After the Roman conquest it was under control of a consul or a pretor, who had the authorities over Galia Cisalpina, or of the Illyricum.

However, the Roman colonization started in reality not earlier than the 1st century BC, when roman consuls and pretors, and later even the emperor started building summer residences on the Histrian coast. As a proof of it there are many archeological places like the so called «villae rusticae». The center of Histria moved from Nesactium to Pula, which later was a Roman colony.

Consul Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus, in his descent, in the year 129 BC united under the Roman control all the Adriatic coast from Aquileia to the river Krka in the central Adriatic. In that war he subjugated the Histri and it was the end of the war contacts between the Histri and the Romans.

Conclusion

In the previous article we could hear a story about the end of a population whose origin is unknown up to the present days. The Histri, lived in villages called «gradine» and they were engaged in agriculture, stock breeding and hunting, and even the piracy wasn't a strange idea to them. They lived in the area of the today's Istria and they were in touch with the Venets culture on the north-west and Illirian culture on the north- east. Their piracy activities in the third and the second century BC were the main reason of the wars with the Romans.

During the four wars, of which ancient writers wrote, the Romans completely subjugated them and their territory. These wars are today known in scientific articles as «Histrian wars». The third war was the biggest and ancient writers wrote much of that event. The capital of the Histri Nesactium was destroyed in that war. The Histri who survived during time were romanised, just like their gods. As a proof of that we can see in many epigraphy inscriptions with engraved Histrian names.

Points of discussion

- 1.) Why Rome didn't conquered the land of the Histrians in the first war?
- 2.) What was the geostrategical importance of Istria and northern Adriatic sea for Rome?

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The Discovery of India

Introductory lecture for the workshop "Discovering New Worlds"

by:

dr. Hugo K. s'Jacob

Institute of Netherlands History

The Netherlands

The theme of this workshop is "Discovering new worlds." A note has it that this may refer to people's "final frontier": from the edge of ones village to the vast regions of space.¹ This reminds me of two stories.

In the late seventies of the last century, Peter, an unmarried man in his forties, returned from India after four months travel. He went by train third class and slept on platforms or at traveller's lodges. To anyone with whom he found a ready ear, he told that India is miraculous: people are totally indifferent to material life, they have an innate decency and love for religious life and contemplation. In contrast to materialist westerners, they listen to their inner voice which directs them to what is important, and tells them what to do at any moment. That is India, Peter told us, and he wished to follow this way of life in Holland. That was how Peter discovered India.

In 1950 a boy of eleven went with his aunt to Nijmegen. They waited on the quay for a ship coming down the river Rhine from Switzerland. The boy knew that on the ship would be his mother and father. He longed for his mother. His father had been in Switzerland for four years to be treated for tuberculosis. There the boat loomed up with two still small figures on the forecastle. It sprang up in the mind of the boy: this is my father; that was how he discovered his father.

¹. *Programme expanding horizons*. ISHA XIIth annual conference Nijmegen 27-31th March 2002, p. 7.

From these two stories one may conclude two things: firstly, planned discovery is mostly preconceived: the discoverer has an image and he will search for its affirmation; secondly, genuine discovery comes as a surprise, totally unexpected, a so-called eye-opener. Discovery in the first sense is highly dependent on the mental condition of the discoverer. So, in analysing accounts of discovery, we have to take notice of the perception of the discoverer in relation to his mental condition.

In terms of perception the title "Discovering new worlds" begs for a second warning. Of course, not real new worlds are discovered, but new worlds in the perception of the discoverer: most new worlds have been ages old, they are only new to the discoverer. Therefore, I will not restrict myself to traditional discovery, with which mostly is meant the gradual exploration by Europeans of the outside world. Discovery will be discussed in its broad sense: a thing, a matter, also a opinion perceived by the observer as quite new. Yet, rather traditional the matter observed will be a country. Because of personal predilection and knowledge, I will discuss some stages in the perception of India.

India refers here to the subcontinent of South-Asia, nowadays Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, and the states in the Himalayas. So, when I say India, I don't refer to the modern state of India, but to the subcontinent. When I mean the present state of India, I will indicate it explicitly. The cases of perception are confined to the period wherein there has been regular contact between Europe and India, so, after the discovery of the route around the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama. To give you some points of reference, I will start with an overview of the perception of India by Europe from the sixteenth century onwards. After that I will discuss some cases of perception. On the basis of this discussion, some general remarks on perception will be made.

Before the voyage of Vasco da Gama, who landed on the west-coast a little bit north of Calicut in 1498, the general picture of India in Europe was that of a fabulous rich country, ruled by Muslims, but, mainly inhabited by heathens. In those days with heathens the Hindus were meant, however, Europeans expected to find a Christian kingdom in India as well. For them India was a land of rubies, spices and Christians. In the second half of the eighteenth century the picture had become more informed by fact: India was seen in Europe as a vast agrarian land from which commodities and landrent could be tapped. Some educated circles discovered that India had a very rich religious and philosophical past and a large highly sophisticated literature. In the nineteenth century Europe, first of all Great Britain, viewed India as a vast market for industrial products, where civilisation, of course western civilisation, had to be introduced. In the first half of the twentieth century, this picture had not changed fundamentally, yet, the British learned by experience that to colonise India harbours, postal

services, railways and telegraph didn't suffice. Forms of government had to be introduced, wherein Indians were responsible for the basic public services, but the English kept the strings through the control of foreign defence, law and order. In this way there would be conditions, wherein English firms could work free and profitable. In these years there emerged an Indian elite, educated like Europeans, who was willing to cooperate with the colonisers up to a certain point. At the same time this class was critical on British rule and its behaviour.

Now I will pass on to some cases of European perception of India. Ralph Fitch was one of the first Englishman who traded overland to India, sojourned there for some years and published an account of it.² He travelled in the company of two other merchants by land, since the Portuguese dominated the sea-route around the Cape of Good Hope. Leaving England in 1583, he returned in 1591. In the account of Fitch, India is a land of palaces, trading cities and strange religious manners. Fitch arrived in India first in Diu in Gujarat on the north-west coast. This was a strong fort kept by the Portuguese and a real centre of trade, an emporium, however, nearby Cambaya occupied by Hindus was much bigger. As a merchant, Fitch mentions of most cities the amount of trade and the commodities handled. However, his opinion on religious and social customs is more revealing for his state of mind. He discovers with surprise that the idols of the gods are like a cow, a monkey, some like buffaloes or peacocks, some like devils. Curiously, Fitch mixes the practice of suttee, the burning of the wife of a Brahmin at his death, with that of the Jainas who don't wish to kill any living creature or its soul: "They will kill nothing, not so much as a louse; for they holde it a sinne to kill anything. --- And when the husbände dieth, his wife is burned with him, if shee be alive; ---". However, if she refuses to be burnt, she will be shaven and totally neglected. Then Fitch continues to discuss the burning of the death. According to him, this will be done, because the worms will eat the body when buried. When they are finished with it, there will be nothing for the worms to eat and they will die. Therefore, according to Fitch, the Indians burn the corps of the death. They have hospitals for lame dogs and cats, and for birds and they will give meat to the ants.³ Fitch shows little understanding either for abstention from material matter for religious reasons. A sadhu he calls a beggar who goes naked. He saw one like a monster, without clothes, a very long beard,

². W. Foster ed., *Early travels in India 1583-1619*. (First published 1921. Low price publications: New Delhi 1999) p. 1-47.

³. Foster, *Early travels*, p. 14.

who covered his penis with the hair of his head; his nails were two inches long and he didn't speak at all. His companions, numbering eight to ten, answered on questions put to him.⁴ About marriage Fitch recounts strange habits. Boys do marry at the age of eight or ten, and girls at five or six, however, they sleep together only at the age of ten. According to Fitch, children are married early, because they will have in this way parents in law, in the case one of the fathers dies and his wife has to put to death with him.⁵ So, at the end of the sixteenth century, Ralph Fitch depicts India as a land of good perspectives for trade, with strange, animal like gods and detestable marriage customs.

Now I will pass on to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Britain is busy to build bridgeheads from where to colonise India gradually. In England Protestant circles were very conscious about propagating the Gospel. A so-called Evangelical, preaching in India between 1806 and 1811, was Henry Martyn.⁶ He may be called a Christian die-hard convinced as he was of the righteousness of God and of his personal sinfulness as a poor human creature. Martyn's opinion of India was very low, and he was sure on what he had to do there: "India is consigned by the world, to the irrefragable chain of Satan. Oh that God may soon interfere to remove her reproach, ... Lord, increase my zeal, that though I am but a feeble and obscure instrument, I may struggle out my few days in great and unremitting exertions for the demolition of paganism, and the setting up of Christ's kingdom."⁷ On the other hand Martyn didn't fail to notice the serenity of a Brahmin in his prayer: "A Brahmin, about my own age, was performing his devotions in the river early this morning, just as I was going to prayer. I was struck with the conviction of God's sovereignty, whose mere pleasure had made such a difference in all the external circumstances of our lives. Let not that man's extreme earnestness rise up against me at the last day! With what intense devotion he seemed to worship an unknown God!"⁸ From this it may be concluded that the opinion of Henry Martyn shows another feature in the perception of India. Ralph Fitch depicted Hinduism still as a strange believe, Henry Martyn considered it to be a false and detestable religion, yet, to be feared.

⁴. Foster, *Early travels*, p. 19-20.

⁵. Foster, *Early travels*, p.16-17.

⁶. Ketaki Kushari Dyson, *A various universe. A study of the journals and memoirs of British men and women in the Indian Subcontinent 1765-1856* (Delhi 1978), p. 162-169.

⁷. Dyson, *Various universe*, p. 163.

⁸. Dyson, *Various universe*, p. 166.

In the second decade of the twentieth century imperialism had reached its apogee, however, its weak points would become clear soon. In those days a well-known historian of the English East India Company was William Foster. In his preface to *Early travels in India*, published 1921, he evaluates the legacy of British rule by depicting the circumstances in India in the sixteenth century, to wit large stretches of ground laid barren, but are now cultivated; few roads and still less canals, of course no railways, no peace, epidemic robbery, no measures against famines, a government of pure despotism and no security of property.⁹ Although Foster mentions some credits of India in the sixteenth century, namely religious toleration and freedom of trade, his message is clear: England provided India with the features of modernity, with peace and security. So the legacy of imperialism was in Foster's opinion positive: England had done a good job in India.

In these very years of praise of imperialism, Indian intellectuals discovered or rediscovered India. The most well-known is Jawaharlal Nehru, who tells about his quest in his book *The discovery of India*.¹⁰ Here, we don't meet the perception of India by a foreigner, but of a native. Nehru has written down his feelings in jail in Ahmadnagar Fort in 1944. He sees the past in its relation to the present. Why this past is so important to Nehru? For many years he had clung to scientific progress, he had been influenced by Marxism, however, eventually he based his thinking on ethics and a strong belief in the spirit of man. This broad humanism materialised to the spirit of Bharat Mata, mother India. On his long and strenuous election campaigns in 1936/37, Nehru discovered in the masses he addressed a certain unity, moulded by a shared cultural past. This shared cultural past was not monolithic, it had changed over time, yet, its spirit, the spirit of India, remained the same. On the spirit of India Nehru based his nationalism, which was just the political expression of unity in diversity.

I have touched on cases of the perception of India expressed by witnesses from abroad: Ralph Fitch in the end of the sixteenth century, Henry Martyn the missionary in the beginning of the nineteenth century, William Foster, the historian, in the twenties of the last century. The example of Nehru shows that not only foreigners discover new worlds, but that inborn people may discover their own nation as well. So discovery is not necessarily connected to

⁹. Foster, *Early travels*, p. VII-XII.

¹⁰. C.D. Narasimhaiah, *Jawaharlal Nehru's The discovery of India*. Abridged edition of C.D. Narasimhaiah (Delhi 1976)

travel. To put together two stories of a totally different importance: in the way the boy discovered on the quay of Nijmegen he had a father, so Nehru discovered Mother India and saw very clear what he had to do for her.

In our times travel or tourism is part and parcel of the rich. In Holland, at the end of the winter-season, people will ask each other at birthday parties: "Where do you go on holiday?" After summer the question will be: "Where have you been on holiday?" People not going on holiday need a clear reason for that, otherwise they are seen as losers. In the late sixties and the seventies of the last century, the present state of India was with young people a favoured country for travel. This craze of flower-power has died out, India is now a fashionable and fully accepted holiday destination. I have loaded down from the internet the travel account of Monica, to see how India is perceived in an at random chosen diary.¹¹

Monica travelled on a package tour and visited tourist spots like Delhi, Jaipur, Fatehpur Sikri and Agra with the Taj Mahal, Varanasi. She tells us she had longed from childhood to visit India. Her account of the visit to the Taj Mahal is full of romance: "

Today we will visit the Taj Mahal; I felt tickles in my belly. Entering with bowed head, I stood numb with amazement, tears welled up in my eyes. This is a monument of lasting passionate love of a Mughal emperor for his most beloved wife." Monica enjoys the quiet places and detests air-conditioned buses loaded with tourists. Obviously, she feels most happy in a colonial style mansion in Jaipur changed into a hotel: she enjoys the drink with another young couple within the group, the breakfast in the garden, reading magazines at the swimming-pool. However, most striking in her description is what may be called sexual harassment: a Sikh guide who, after stating officially that Sikhs have but one wife and never divorce, says to Monica that she is very pretty and that he wants to marry her; a man in the train who pinches her in her buttocks. There is also a graphic description of the toilettes on a railway station and of course of diarrhoea, the so-called Delhi belly.

Admittedly, this account is not representative, however, I dare to assert that most western tourists visit India on a conducted tour. Unlike travellers of olden days, they have not to find their route unguided; nowadays there is mainly tourism, formerly there was travelling. After the Romanticism of the beginning of the nineteenth century, to visit India with romantic expectations is nothing to

¹¹. <http://105043396.home.icq.com/India.reisverhaal.html>

be surprised about, but the obsession with the cleanness of the street, hotels and public conveniences started from the second half of the last century. In colonial times the British and other westerners had their own living quarters in India. The modern tourist wants to enjoy the romance of the land, without being deprived of the cleanness and conveniences of the standard they are used to at home.

From about 1500 there have been different features of perception of India with Europeans. In the early modern times, Ralph Fitch considered India as another country, Henry Martyn the missionary missed Christianity, William Foster missed essential features of modern civilisation which happily had been implanted by British colonial rule. Jawaharlal Nehru discovered India as Bharat Mata, a land perceived almost as a person, with whom the Indians have had a mythical connection through the ages. In the travel diary of Monica, India is a dirty country, overcrowded with tourists, yet with a quiet beauty and romantic atmosphere.

After this overview of perceptions of India from 1500 onwards, I will share some thoughts with you of more direct relevance to this workshop. I discussed perception. Generally, perception is formed in relation to others; in the relation with the other grows the view on ourselves; so our identity is built up. There is a vast literature on the other and othering which I will pass over now. I will share with you some thoughts that popped up while thinking about the titles of your papers. Identity is formed among others in answering some basic questions: who are my parents, brothers and sisters; to which community I belong; to which nation, what is my country? Starting from our identity, we may built up ideas about our role within, and the role of our family, community, ethnic group and nation. As said, in this process the other is highly involved. The historian considers it as his or her calling to study this process with persons or groups in the past. The main interest of a historian will be to connect this process of personality and group formation, to the acting of persons and groups.

Surveying on the basis of the titles the papers that will be discussed in this workshop, I single out two broad themes:

- Discovery of space on earth and in outer-earth
- Contacts between people as result of discovery

In the context of these broad themes, it is worthwhile, I guess, to consider some points

- In which environment the acting people lived?
- Within what setting and society they lived?
- What is the identity and worldview of the people concerned?
- What is the goal of their acting?
- Is it in accordance with that goal?
- To what the acting ended up at last?
- Is the acting fitting with the ethical code of the day?
- How we evaluate this acting to-day?
- Press the findings us as responsible citizens to action now?

Hopefully, these thoughts will be of some help for the discussion and revision of the papers. It may be that my discussion of the perception of India from 1500 onwards, has shown that there are vast changes overtime and that the past will remain incomprehensible if we don't consider these changes.

Globalisation Process of Finland and the Dutch Merchants *The Beginning of the Dutch-Finnish Commercial Relations* **1550-1620**

Paper presented in the workshop “Long DistanceTrade”

by:

Mikko Nygrén,

ISHA Turku

University of Turku,

Finland

In this paper I will examine the commercial relations between the Dutch merchants of the early Dutch Republic and the merchants of Finnish cities from the point of view of the globalisation process in Finland. The paper will make one chapter of my extensive research on Dutch-Finnish relations in the early modern era.

Firstly, I have to introduce some basic facts about Finland and globalisation in Northern Europe in the beginning of the modern times. During Middle Ages Finland did fall into the Swedish territory. However, Finland did form a quite unique province of Sweden. Especially the Eastern part and the city of Viipuri¹ got great privileges and exemptions regarding its crucial role for the defence of the Swedish realm against Russian Empire. The isolation of the Finnish people was not less remarkable due to our language that differs so greatly both Swedish and Russian. Only with Estonians we could share the same language solidarity. The other crucial factor was, of course, our geographical location in the periphery of Europe, one of the most distant areas of European heartlands. Above all the Baltic Sea did separate Finland from other European countries except from Russian. Since the area

¹. Viipuri [wi:’puri] was called Viborg in Swedish and the Dutch merchants of the 16th century wrote it Wijburch.

was habited with very slow density, the number of towns was extremely small too. By the middle of the 16th century, Finland had only six towns. Regarding of these six towns, only three or four of them could be seriously accounted as merchant towns with regular contacts with foreign countries.

The kingdom of Sweden was not really more cosmopolitan country in the beginning of the 16th century either. A few connections was carried by German merchants and few university students studying some years in Middle European universities, Paris and some German universities as the main destination of their travels. The most significant tie between Finland and the core of Europe was broken when Gustaf Vasa² did introduce the Lutheran religion in the 1520s and Catholic Church was abolished in Finland too. According to what was said above, it is not exaggeration to claim that the Dutch-Finnish trade was of a quite crucial significance for Finland as involving our country with international trade with a manner never before.

The 1550s is the first period when we know surely that the direct connection between the Netherlands and Finland did exist. This is showed by some Swedish historical documents, especially by the letters of the nobles in Finland and by the letters to the king of Sweden.³ We actually don't know surely if connections did exist or not before 1550. I have just to refer the probability that the Dutch merchants had no access or any interest on the Finnish coast during Middle Ages. In 1525 Carl V Habsburg and Gustaf I Vasa tied the trade alliance between the Netherlands and Sweden. On this act were also, among Swedish towns, two Finnish ones mentioned as free harbours for the Dutch to sail to.⁴ In 1530s the enforcement of the act was not very successful due to the conflicts on the Baltic Sea and at the Sund; few Dutch ships were allowed to sail even to proper Swedish ports. The year of 1550 was of crucial significance as the king passed a new act about trade and markets in Finland. According to the act Finnish merchants should have sailed to Western European countries such as Holland, England and France.⁵ Already in 1551

². Gustaf I Vasa (1496-1560) was the first Swedish king since the Union of Kalmar. He did liberate Sweden from the supremacy of Danish kings in the 1520s, and could be then called the founder of the Modern Sweden. Gustaf I reformed radically the administration institutions and created the nation state of Sweden. Finland was, of course, only one province of this new nation state.

³. letters.....

⁴. trade act

⁵. the act

one merchant ship from Turku (Åbo) did really visit Holland.⁶ The royal act also included the command to found a new trade town on the Gulf of Finland. The new Finnish town got the name Helsingfors⁷ (Helsinki). The purpose of the king was to tempt the merchants trading Russian commodities, especially the Dutch merchants, up to the Finnish coast. Helsinki should have competed the old trade city of Estonia called Rävel (Tallinn).

Although the original purpose of Gustaf Vasa did not come true, the new direct connections between Finland and the Netherlands were established. Till the end of the 1550s already twelve voyages between Finnish and Dutch towns came true. According to the accounts of the Danish Sound the number of voyages increased rapidly and from 1580 onwards there were more than ten voyages per annum.⁸ The number of voyages may seem to be insignificant and moreover the ships were quite small: According to Dutch freight contracts and Finnish custom accounts, an average last carried by ships was not more than one hundred tons. Hence it is presumably that the length of a ship was below 30 metres. Also the number of persons sailing between Finland and the Netherlands was naturally small. The Dutch merchant ships did hire minimum of sailors for keeping the freight cost low. An average crew was about six sailors and a captain. Nevertheless the commercial relations were crucial, as we think about the small number of the Finnish population in the 16th century. Some Finnish historians have estimated that the population would have been two or three hundred thousands.⁹ As we know that the proportion of urban population in Finland was even smaller than other Scandinavian countries, maybe some thousands at the highest, the impact of the new trade partner must have been notable.

The main commodities were salt and tar. The Dutch fleet was the most numerous on the Baltic Sea as well as other Seas too. They carried thousands of thousands of salt lasts from Iberian and the French coast to the Baltic countries. The main interest of Dutch merchants was grain and naval products such as hemp, flax and forest products. Consequently the trade was mainly transporting bulk goods from the Baltic to Mediterranean world and

⁶. the literature

⁷. Helsingfors means the rapids of the Helsing river. The Dutch did call it as *Elsenvos*.

⁸. The custom accounts of the Danish Sound performed by Bang (1906) and compared with the accounts of the Finnish customs.

⁹. Åström yms

then back to the Baltic countries. Already in the middle of 16th century tar was one of commodities traded by the Dutch. However, until the end of the century tar was supplied by Prussian towns, especially by Danzig (Gdansk) where the Dutch had already since the 15th century bought their cereals like rye and wheat too. By the end of the 16th century, however, the demand for different forest products, especially tar, was increasing rapidly. Danzig was not able anymore to satisfy the demand for the growing Dutch merchant fleet. As the Dutch Republic needed more and larger market areas, they also expanded their area of the operation and even the Russian markets via Archangel and Caribbean Isles were reached by the end of 16th century. Thus the reason for the Dutch merchants to invade into the small Finnish market is obvious. The Dutch came to Finland to trade their Spanish or French salt for Finnish Tar.¹⁰

Dutch merchants did not contented themselves with trading bulk commodities even though salt and tar were naturally the most significant products for Finnish market. In the 1590s and in the beginning of the next century the import by the Dutch merchants transformed its structure radically. At first place the trade was just bulky goods but later on the import to Finland became much more diversified and versatile. While German merchants did continue to dominate the Finnish market, especially luxurious products such as textiles and different cloth, hats etc. Dutch merchants began supply Finnish market with inexpensive but exotic products. One excellent example is sugar. It seems to be that sugar was quite rare product yet by the middle of the 16th century. Sugar was considered mainly as expensive spice or an ingredient of medicine. The common sweetener was honey. However, by the end of the century Amsterdam was become a centre of North European sugar trade. Although sugar industry was established in Hamburg too¹¹, it was Amsterdam where by sugar was transported continually growing amounts to the Finnish towns. In the last quarter of the 16th century the import of sugar to Viipuri was some tens of pounds, but in the beginning of the next century it was no less than some hundreds of pounds¹². The other quite new products at the Finnish market were different wines, especially French wine. Some fruits of Southern Europe were transported only small amounts. Some years all baskets of raisin

¹⁰. Jonathan Israel yms

¹¹. HOBHOUSE ja URBANS

¹². One Finnish (i.e. Swedish) pound was 425 grams. The Dutch pound was 494 grams. Carlsson 1989, Staring 1902.

were imported to Finland by Dutch merchants. Moreover Dutch merchants did import to Finland spices, cheeses (soetemelcx-caes), cookies, hollow-ware, chairs and oddments (specerijen).

What is more significant than the supply of some new products, is that the distances did shrink and the number of middlemen did decrease. At its best a Dutch ship could sail from Amsterdam to Viipuri, the furthestmost town of Finland, in circa three weeks. Moreover the Dutch vessels connected usually their route with a travel to Spain or Portugal carrying salt. By this way the Dutch could connect the two borderland of our continent.

As we sum up the different consequences of the Dutch-Finnish trade in 1550-1620, it must be admitted that the globalisation process of Finland did accelerate considerable during these years. How significantly the Dutch Republic did influence in this process and what was the role of other factors? This will be discussed at a workshop, I hope.

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The Germans and the Polish emigration after 1831

Paper presented in the workshop "Migration"

by:

Thomas Foerster

ISHA Heidelberg

University of Heidelberg,

Germany

The Polish November insurrection and the following Polish-Russian war in 1830/31
In 1830, once again, the revolution started in Paris and initiated other revolts and insurrections throughout Europe as it was reorganised in the Congress of Vienna in 1815. So, the liberals in the Netherlands fought for an independent Belgium, in some countries of the German Federation started smaller revolts, but above all, the Polish, for their country was ruled by the tsar and also many Polish regions belonged to Prussia and Austria, rose against this order and strove for their national unification. This insurrection started in Warsaw, where in the years before the resistance was already planned in secret organisations like "Panta Kojna", and was very successful first. So, prince Constantine, a brother of tsar Nikolaus, who was commissioned with the control of Warsaw, was forced to flee. A provisional government was installed, which was led first by Józef Grzegorz Chłopicki and later by Adam Jerzy Czartoryski. The Polish army was commanded by General Michał Radziwiłł and was first able to resist the Russian superiority, but after the two defeats in Grochów in February and in Ostrołęka in May 1831, additional revolts against the Russians in Lithuania as well as in Ukraine and Wolhynia could not prevent the final defeat of the Polish. The last Polish unit surrendered in Zamość the 21. October 1831 and in the following time the Russian repression policy was so severe, that most of the Polish freedom fighters were forced into emigration.

Reactions in the German public

In the wars against Napoleon many Germans fought in hope also to fight for an unified German national state. But all these hopes were dashed by the disappointing results of the Congress of Vienna, where the many bigger and smaller sized German states were confirmed and only associated in the loose

institution of the so-called "German Federation", which was dominated by the conservative states of Prussia and Austria. Soon emerged several kinds of resistance and liberal movements, especially among students, but just as soon these movements, being a threat to the restorative absolutistic order, were banned in the Karlsbad resolutions in 1819. Being divided in 34 different states and lacking a symbolic centre of the odious order, which could be a starting point for a revolution, the Germans did not rise in general for their national state.

Perhaps this is one reason for the euphoria, with that the most parts of the German public reacted to the news from Poland. In very many German towns Poland-societies were founded. Those organised the direct forms of helpfulness that consisted of collecting money and dressings as well as supporting doctors who wanted to travel to the war zone in order to bring relieve to the Polish hospitals. On the other side many German artists and authors got excited about the Polish fight for freedom. An extensive number of hymns and poems were written about this fight and were accompanied by just as many paintings and engravings. Nowhere in Europe had been shown such an enthusiasm. Of course, there were also anti-Polish voices, but in comparison to the masses of enthusiastic reactions, these were rather insignificant.

Very different are the reactions that were displayed by the governments of some German states. So, Prussia and Austria saw a threat to the order of 1815 in the events and were against a Polish national state in general, also because this would have meant for both a loss of area. Regions like Posen and partially Pommern in Prussia or Galicia in Austria were almost exclusively populated by Poles. But in order not to provoke revolutionary France or England, which saw itself as a protector of liberal movements throughout Europe, Prussia and Austria regarded the war as an inner-Russian affair and persisted in a prejudiced neutrality. So, in Prussia, even the founding of Poland-societies was prohibited. The middle and smaller sized German states, most of them being more liberal orientated, reacted quite well-disposed to both the Polish insurrection and the enthusiasm in the German population. But in most cases they were not strong enough to resist the influence of Prussia and Austria.

The "great emigration"

The 14. and 15. July the first larger polish unit crossed the border to Prussia. Other units followed both in Prussia and in Austria. This was the beginning of the so-called "great emigration" of the Poles. Most of the refugees escaped from the tsar's revenge to revolutionary France, where they first lived in

camps. After an amnesty issued by Nikolaus, many of those who had fled to the Polish regions in Prussia and Austria returned to their homes. Others stayed and partly even settled in France; most of them belonged to the Polish cultural, political and military elite. This is one reason for the great influence this migration held on Polish literature and arts.

Occasionally there were attempts to organise the Poles politically in their asylum, but in most cases these were not very successful as representative institutions. Some radical minded refugees tried also in France and in Germany to fight armed against the odious system, but most tried to campaign diplomatically and literately for their country.

The reception of the Polish refugees in Germany

After the fall of Warsaw and the final suppression of the Polish uprising, many Germans felt Trauer und Bestürzung (sorrow and dismay), but soon these feelings were replaced by a pragmatic helpfulness in preparing the welcome for the Polish refugees. But as soon as the first refugees arrived in the German towns, they were greeted as heroes, as seasoned fighters for freedom and against the tyranny of the Russian empire.

In literature and arts the motif of the Polish fighter was continued and changed into the noble fighter grieving for his home country. Heldenglanz und Flüchtlingsleid (hero's glory and refugee's sorrow) were displayed in an extensional number of descriptions.

The first wave of refugees crossed Germany in winter 1831/32, directly after the final defeat. In this wave moved mostly military persons, what intensified the German fighter's poetry.

In almost every town they arrived they were celebrated as heroes. In these types of reception were few differences all over Germany. By necessity they were less euphoric in Prussian and Austrian towns. The 700 Polish officers for example, who were cheered later in quite liberal towns like Regensburg or Ulm had to cross Austria secretly and stealthily first. The governments of the two conservative monarchies tried to suppress every liberal movement, and so – as well – overextensive support for Polish refugees. Other, more liberal states, such as Saxony, Württemberg or Baden did not suppress any – moderate – kind of liberal movement. So, in southern and western Germany the refugees were welcomed with much more excitement. In most of the towns there the course of events looked similar. Usually the citizens walked to meet the refugees already outside of town, and they were welcomed with cheered "vivat". Mostly they were invited to the best houses in town and in the evenings to gala dinners, where political discussions became usual. The presence of refugees often caused a re-flaming of own national ideas that had

failed, and brought very often conflicts with police and government. When they left the town again, the citizens that stayed at home often said a sad farewell.

In hope for freedom all over Europe the refugees were always seen as winners in their defeat and in their emigration. They were seen as brothers in the European nations' struggle for freedom in general. The 17. September 1831, immediately after the fall of Warsaw, the liberal newspaper *Deutsche Tribune* writes:

Je heftiger der Druck, desto größer der Gegendruck [...] Die Völker dringen auf Erfüllung. Darum, geliebtes Polen, wirst auch du nicht untergehen.

(The stronger the pressure, the higher the counter-pressure [...] The nations press for fulfilment. For that very reason, beloved Poland, you will also not perish!)

In this sense, many Polish refugees, being mostly military persons, took part and were involved in some revolutionary activities in Germany. In May 1832 a political festival was held on Hambach castle in the Rhenish Palatinate, where approximately 50 000 participants were counted and where the end of absolutistic suppression and the national unification of Germany were demanded. In hope on the coming uprising of the European nations the Polish flag was hoisted next to the German. The Polish author Franciszek Grzymała expressed his hope in his Hambach speech:

Möge die Vorsehung gestatten, daß bald der Augenblick komme, wo wir in dem Kampfe der großen Völker gegen den Absolutismus, von euren Händen dieses theure Panner wieder erhalten, um unter derselben [Flagge], ringend für die Freiheit, zu siegen oder zu sterben.

(May providence allow, that soon the moment will come, when we, in the great nation's fight against absolutism, will receive again this dear banner from your hands, to win or to die below it, struggling for freedom.)

In April 1833 some German revolutionaries tried to initiate a general uprising by attacking the Bundestag in Frankfurt, the assembly of the German Federation, after taking control in the city. Therefore, the 3. April, the

Frankfurt city guard was attacked with also a few Polish refugees taking part. But because the population did not react, this attack failed, too.

The "great emigration" in literature and culture

The "great emigration" had great influence on both the Polish and the German literature and cultural life. Until the new Polish insurrection in 1863, which is seen as the end of the emigration it has been a wide-spread motif there. In Germany the noble grieving Polish refugee faded as a literary and artistic motif, especially because of the non-appearance of a new revolution in Poland as well as in Germany, which most Germans in their enthusiastic reactions also hoped for. So, the German euphoria for this country and the refugees came slowly to an end after about 1834 and was finally finished in the German revolution in 1848/49, when own heroes and idols rose.

Conclusion

Because the German hopes on a unified national state were dashed and the political reality in Germany was rather disappointing, the Germans reacted that excited to this Polish insurrection. Similar movements took place in the years before, e.g. for the Greeks or for the Serbs, but never to this extent.

In 1830, however, it is the spread of revolution and a much more internationalised stock of ideas in Germany than for example as late as 1817, on the Wartburg festival. This is also the reason that the Polish emigration was neither seen as a shameful defeat nor as a complete rout. People felt that they were fighting together against the same enemies, and so the refugees were welcomed as heroes and as brothers.

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Refugee Glossary Concerning the Migrations of the Croats from the Ottomans

Paper as presented in the workshop "Migration"

by:

Ivan Zagar

University of Pula,
Croatia

The main reason that I choosed this subject lies in the fact that the Croats, at the end of the Middle ages had richer vocabulary concerning the terminology for refugees than today. The main goal of this study is to prove above mentioned facts, while the final form will be made in the conclusion, where I will make paralels with some events at the very end of the 20th Century. I belive that in the introduction I should give more of the elementary facts which are the base of this study. This study is based on the category of Croatian society which is the most relevant concerning the issue, i. e. lower nobility. There is no mention of the most represented social category; members of the third class – peasants and marginals. The reason is simple and well – known, they didn't leave behind any written documents because they were illiterate. I also omitted feudal elite, class of the most powerful and the richest members. Under that category fall those Croatian aristocratic families which mostly managed to survive on the imperiled territory so it is not possible to show fate of an emigrant on their example. I also think that is important to set the time frame of this study and in geographical sense define the territories which are the subject of this study. To take all this into considuration, I will also take notice of the main directions of the migrations, that is, migratory waves which threatened to devastate almost completely western parts of the medieval Croatian Kingdom, especially territory between Sava and Adriatic coast.

Migrations are phenomenons that are not tied only for the period that I will talk about, but events which are occuring through whole history for the variety of reasons. There is mention of migrations through medieval history of Croatia, but those migrations have more of a social character than anything else, meaning that the whole families were moving in the search of a better live. In the case mentioned, the cause for migration is escape from military force and saving life or escape from captivity, because it is well known that the

Ottomans were using invasions on enemy territories, kidnaping not only men but also women and children and were selling them to slavery. It is very important, as I have mentioned before, to put this study into time frame. That is the period from the middle of the 15th Century to the middle of the 16th Century, time of the greatest migrations, which were stopped by reforming the military border towards the Ottoman Empire. All Croatian territories are affected by migrations, medieval Croatian Kingdom, Dalmatia, which is, at the time, under Venice, Slavonia, which is under strong influence of Hungary and Istra, divided between Venice, the Austrian Archdukes Hapsburgs. I will also refer to directions of migrations, or where the Croats were going in search of a better life and how they settled there. The north migration course was leading through Drava and Mura river, ending on the territory of west Hungary, Lower Austria, Moravia and Slovakia. In favor of this goes the fact that in 1537. king Ferdinand has permitted setting of special ferry at Mura, so that «poor fugitives» from Slavonia could, together with cattle and elementary possessions, get across to safer lands.¹ The part of the Croatian people has continued further away towards Central Europe where they inhabited almost 300 villages. Those people today are known by the common name Burgenland Croats.² The migration wave, directed to the West towards Istra and Slovenia, was also very strong, to the point that some Croatian noblemen were complaining to Ferdinand that «Croatian population, mostly serfs, is so attracted to Carinthian nobility, that soon, already deserted land will become almost empty».³ The southern way of migration led from imperilled territory to eastern Adriatic coast. The thing that is very interesting, and it needs to be pointed out is that the migrations towards the coastal towns and islands from the territory of medieval Croatian Kingdom are almost stopped during the 20's

¹. cf: Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata, od najstarijih vremena do svršetka 19. stoljeća*, [hanceforth: Vj. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* 5], (Zagreb, Matica hrvatska, 1981.), p. 616; Tomislav Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje: prostor, ljudi, ideje* [hanceforth: Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*], (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1997.), p. 426.

². Cf. : *Povijest i kultura gradišćanskih Hrvata* [The History and Culture of the Burgenlandian Croats], ed. Ivan Kampuš (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Globus, 1995.); Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, p. 426.

³. See: *Acta Comititalia Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae, Slavoniae*, doc. 230, p. 310 ; ideus, doc. 250, p. 341 ; Vj. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* 5, p. 617 ; Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, p. 426.

of the 16th Century, and there is the simple reason for that; the one that had in plan to escape from coastel hinterland, had already done that, and from that reason the migrations after that period started from eastern to western Adriatic coast. We will talk about accomodation and new cultural influence in next few lines. Most of the newcommers has adjustified to their new home, they have accepted the language and the other norms of behaviour related to the new sarroundings. In the literature we can find informations that show very small percentage of people who returned to their native country, and proves for that we can find in many testaments; there we can see that their homeland has left in people's memories. We also have confirmation that some people had serious problems with accomodation to new enviroment. Captain Zuan Moro from Zadar talks about group of refugees from the hinterland of Zadar who were not able to adjust to Italian language or customs. Numerous fraternities of Croats under the name of Slavs give us the evidence that Croatian people had not forgotten their roots after they had come to new territories. We could find those fraternities trough whole western Adriatic coast; from Venice to Brindisi. The most known fraternity which was established by Croats is the one in Venice, «Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schivoni».⁴

After we had given the review of main migration directions we shall return to the main source of this subject. As it is already mentioned, in the time of the biggest threat of the Ottoman Empire to Croatian territory, in the period from 1450 till 1550. We can distinguish four basic war zones which were during this 100 years, moved in direction east – west, what is logical, because that is the direction of the Ottoman military forces progress. The first war zone is the territory that is already captured, that means under control of the Ottoman Empire. The second zone is the territory that is partly occupied or is heavily imperilled by enemy war operations; in this case those war numerous traspases and robbery that included taking away people to slavery. The third zone was intirely under Christian control, but still, enemy traspases are possible. The last, fourth zone contains the territories that are safe and secure from war operations. The borders of this four zones are not firm, they have been changing throughout the decades. In the middle of the 16th Century first zone contained central part of Croatian Kingdom with the countries of Krbava, Gacka, Lika and Knin, the third contained western Croatia, medieval

⁴. Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, p. 426; Lovorka Čoralić, *U gradu sv. Marka. Povijest hrvatske zajednice u Mlecima* (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 2001.).

Slavonia and coastal part of Dalmatia, the fourth zone contained Dalmatian islands, Istria, and today's territories of Slovenia and Austria.

There are also four categories of Croatian emigrants. For research work of that problem great help gives many documents that are published in Latin, Croatian, Italian and German languages. Among these languages occurred the necessities to establish the, so called, refugees vocabulary in the purpose to precise the status of dislocated person. In that view Croatian language showed very developed and German the simplest word classification of people who had that destiny.

We will show now section of this categories through this 6 languages: English, Latin, German, Italian, Croatian and Hungarian. The first category of the dislocated people are fugitives; *fugax*, *fugitivus* (Latin); *Fluchtig* (German); *fugato* (Italian); *izbjeglica* (Croatian); *futo* (Hungarian).⁵ Under this category fall those people who, at the first sign of Ottoman peril left homeland and inhabited the western safer territory. The conclusion is that fugitives went away from the second or the third zone of war danger to safer areas. The second category are refugees; *profugus* (Lat.); *Fluchtig* (Ger.); *vago* (Ital.); *prognanik* (Cro.); *pribež* (Hung.).⁶ People of this category, not like the ones in the first, are trying to defend their region to the breaking point. When it is obvious that the resistance of defenders is almost overpowered, the homeland is left and people are leaving for safer areas. Refugees fall under second zone of war danger and when that zone becomes the first, they are retreating. The third category are exiles; *exul*

⁵. See: Ivan Jurković, Stjepan Berislavić *de Werhreh de Mala Mlaka* i njegovi nasljednici kroz 16. stoljeće. Primjer raseljene obitelji plemenitog roda Čubranića za otomanske ugroze [hanceforth: Jurković, op. cit.], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti HAZU 20* (Zagreb, 2002.), in print; Faust Vrančić, *Dictionarium quinque nobilissimarum Europae linguarum; latinae, Italicae, Germanicae, Dalmatiae et Ungaricae* [hanceforth: Vrančić, *Dictionarium...*], (Venetiis, apud Nicolaum Morattum, 1595.), repr. in: *Most – The Bridge*, vol.1 (Zagreb, 1990.), p. 39 – 40 ; Vladimir Mažuranić, *Prinosi za hrvatski pravno-povijesni rječnik* vol. 2 [hanceforth: Mažuranić, *Prinosi...*], (Zagreb: Informator, rep. 1975.), p. 441 ; *Leksikon migracijskoga i etničkoga nazivlja*, ed. Emil Heršak [hanceforth: Heršak, *Leksikon...*], (Zagreb, Institut za migracije i narodnosti – ŠK, 1998.), p. 89 – 91.

⁶. Jurković, op. cit. ; Vrančić, *Dictionarium...*, p. 83; Mažuranić, *Prinosi...*, p.1167; Heršak, *Leksikon...*, p. 208- 209.

(Lat.); Vertrieben (Ger.); bandito (Ital.); izgnanik (Cro.); szam-kiveteth (Hung.).⁷ Those are people who, at the time remained and received Ottoman authority, acknowledged it and, so, kept their possession. But, after some time, they are banished from their houses, reasons being from religious and political to ethnic, in some cases. They were inhabitants of the first zone and they were forced to move to the territory of second, third or fourth zone. In the last, fourth category are renegades; refuga (Lat.); Fluchtig (Ger.); fugitivo (Ital.); prebjeg (Cro.); pribeg (Hung.).⁸ This group is religiously and nationally very uneven. It is comprising of people who accepted military service under Ottomans and after some time, defected to Croatian military. In the period 1530 – 1550, large percentage of this groups were Croatian indigenous; Catholics, while in later periods, there were cases of Eastern Orthodox Christians, like Vlasi, Bulgarians, Serbs and other ethnical groups. Although those groups were of various ethnical and religious background, they were acting as a whole on the bases of military services and solidarity.

By short analysis of this terms, we will come to the conclusion, which I mentioned before, that German language shows the simplest conceptual classification of people and the Croatian language the most refined. Why has this happened? The answer is to be found in the Croatian dictionary, which was published at the end of the 16th Century, in which author Faust Vrančić gives parallels between five European languages; Latin, Italian, German, Hungarian and Croatian.⁹ What can we conclude from it? The German language of 16th Century has only two words for people who run away from endangered territory. Word Fluchtig means fugitives, refugees and renegades, while, for example, Croatian language has special expression for every category.¹⁰ Also it should be brought to attention the fact that the inhabitants of the German – speaking territory were those who were in position of giving shelter to displaced nations. So, it is no wonder that in the part of native population

Antagonism took place towards newcomers because they, according to native population, were disreputing existing social, cultural, even religious relations. Knowing that, it is understandable that the native population had the

⁷ Jurković, op. cit.; Vrančić, *Dictionarium...*, p. 34; Mažuranić, *Prinosi...*, p. 441 and 443; Heršak, *Leksikon...*, p. 91.

⁸ Jurković, op. cit.; Vrančić, *Dictionarium...*, p. 34; Mažuranić, *Prinosi...* p.1087, 1089, 1511 – 1513; Heršak, *Leksikon...* p. 280 – 281;

⁹ Vrančić, *Dictionarium...*

¹⁰ See table 1

same name for all foreign newcomers: *Fluchtig*. Why is it that Croatian language has the most developed vocabulary concerning the refugees? The answer lies in the fact that the Croats, through many decades, were forming their own terminology from the position of displaced persons, namely, emigrants. Displaced persons know between themselves exactly the position of every individual. Specifically, in Croatian language, word *fugitive* has markedly negative connotation. For refugee, *fugitive* is the synonym for coward and traitor, not willing to defend its home. Word *renegade* is used partially in a negative way because sometimes it can be synonym for deserter, fickle person and turncoat. Word *refugee* has markedly positive connotation it depicts a person who persistently tries to defend, even liberate his homeland.

I will conclude this work, as I mentioned in the introduction, by giving parallel with an event from the 20th Century. That is war, 10 years ago, in the territory of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Why did I, in the introductory, give hypothesis that Croatian language at the end of the Middle Ages (the end of the 16th Century) had richer vocabulary, than contemporary official Croats terminology, concerning the refugees' vocabulary? It is known that those people, escaped from occupied areas of Croatian country were characterised by the Croatian Government as refugees and those from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina as fugitives. If we compare the medieval classification with that of the nowadays, it is evident that the modern interpretation is irregular and inadequate. We can see it in the modern interpretation of the *fugitive* status, which is based on the territory aspects and not on the real situation aspect in whom the individual was part of. Everyday usage aforementioned terms in Croatian language lead to the fact that it is a matter of a political authorities, and that is for sure beyond my topic.

Eng.	Lat.	Ger.	Ital.	Cro.	Hung.
fugitive	fugax, fugitivus	Fluchtig	fugato	izbjeglica	futo
refuge	profugus		vago	prognanik	prebeg
renegade	refuga		fugitivo	prebjeg	pribeig
Exile	exul	Vertrieben	bandito	izgnanik	szam- kiveteth

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International Contacts as the Core of Academic Progress in the Seventeenth Century

Introductory lecture for the workshop “Scholars on the Road”

by:

dr. Edwin van Meerkerk

formerly ISHA Nijmegen

University of Nijmegen,

The Netherlands

On June 10, 1663, Christiaan, a young academic from Holland, arrived in London. He and his company dined with a contact his father had provided him and went to see a trial at the king's benches. The next day, he continued his tour along the rich & famous, introducing himself in the beau monde of the British Isles. His journal gives a list in telegram-style: 'milord Devonshire, milady Devonshire at Rohampton, together with mister Swan and his wife. At Beddington to mister Raleigh, who had a beautiful daughter, once to the painter Lely, and afterwards three times on my own.' The list goes on like this for days on end. A couple of days later Christiaan went to Gresham College to see a vivisection of a dog, that had its liver cut out and survived nonetheless, and he saw several experiments with exploding iron balls, which apparently did not work when water was added. In short, Christiaan had a great time.

The trip to London was part of a long tour throughout Europe, but especially to Paris and London. Its purpose was not so much amusement, though our young friend must have broken some hearts here and there, but was considered part of his education. Christiaan's last name by the way was Huygens, and if that does not ring any bells: he is the man who discovered the rings around Saturn, as well as two of its moons, he constructed the first pendulum clock, thus enabling better measurement of time, he formulated the wave-theory of light, and, finally, became the tutor to one of the greatest mathematicians and philosophers of all time, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. The basis for the stunning career and his subsequent fame was laid by his student travels and the friends he made during these tours.

Today, I want to give you an inside view of what it meant to be an academic in the seventeenth century. For that, I hardly even need to focus on the general theme of this workshop, *Scholars on the Road*, for, if your early-

modern predecessors were not abroad, they were still considering themselves as cosmopolitans and maintained their foreign contacts through a vast amount of correspondences. Though the parallels with the life of an isha-member are abundant and striking –i, for one, am still in touch via e-mail with students i met at isha conferences in the 1990s– it is not my intention to demonstrate any common ground. Rather, i want to demonstrate to you the importance of international contacts in the intellectual world of the early modern age.

In the middle ages, to be a scientist was to be a theologian, or rather, to be a cleric. All academic disciplines were seen as auxiliary sciences to theology. Though this is not in accordance with our modern view on the impartiality of science, the embedding of scholars in the church provided them with an institutional framework in which discussion and exchange of knowledge was enabled. More than anything, the latin term ‘christianitas’ denoted a common discourse, a set of shared values, and a language for international academic communication. With the break-up of the union of europe in the sixteenth century, due to the habsburg-valois wars and the reformation –however theoretical this unity may have been–, the need for a new concept of academic communication became imperative. Erasmus of rotterdam, called the prince of humanists and himself a man without clear ties to any religious or political party, felt this need stronger than any one else.

The humanities, erasmus proclaimed, ought not to be tied to any faction, be it political, religious, or cultural. He felt that there was something in common to all men of letters, that is, scientists of all disciplines, which constitutes an international community. He named this the *res publica litteraria*, the republic of letters. Literally, *res publica* means the shared cause, the common interest, or the public welfare. In [erasmus's](#) time this meaning of the word republic still prevailed over the political meaning, there being no tradition of any non-royal or non-noble rule in europe. The members of the republic of letters shared one goal –truth, and one language –ciceronian latin. Anyone who was able to overcome his prejudices on religious or national differences was welcome to join this community.

The republic of letters can easily be paralleled to the virtual community that has come into being in the last decade of the twentieth century, internet. Like the internet, the republic of letters has no location or boundaries. Another similarity is that both the world wide web and erasmus's “commonwealth of the learned” only exist by way of existing forms of communication. If there is none, the community ceases to exist. Like responding to e-mail or adding a ‘links’ page to your web site, the writing of

letters to other members of the intellectual community was regarded as an imperative, a feeling that was voiced explicitly in many epistolary contacts.

The structure of the republic of letters was hierarchical and its internal relationships consisted of interdependent, mutually beneficial epistolary contacts, in which the dominant rule was 'do ut des': i give, for you to give in return. The letters written by the humanists followed strict rules of style and content, mainly based on cicero's discourse on friendship. Friendship in this context, it should be emphasized, did not refer to an affective relationship, but rather to the utilitarian tie between both men of letters; 'i am your friend' meant: i want to communicate with you, i have something to offer you and you have something to give in return. Though the ideal of an impartial, tolerant community in which knowledge was exchanged without restrictions ever remained an ideal, the republic of letters was the world in which any intellectual lived in spirit from the sixteenth century until the high enlightenment.

By definition, the foundations of the academic community have always laid in the life of students. From the foundation of the first european universities onward, students have travelled all over the continent, for various reasons. Medieval student travel found its origin in the relatively small number of internationally known scholars and the inexistence of programmes that encompassed an entire curriculum of equal standard. As these student travels were not just inspired by, but often also combined with traditional pilgrimage, they were called 'academic pilgrimage', *peregrinatio academicae*. Some of the atmosphere among these medieval isha-members can be found in the burlesque and amorous songs of the *carmina burana*, which are best known today in the musical setting by carl orff.

Through the years, the *peregrinatio academicae* changed in two ways. First of all, the tour lost its religious aspect, becoming increasingly an educational journey for rich young men, in whose company many a commoner managed to make his own vacation as a servant. In the end, this change of character is even reflected in a change of name, from pilgrimage to grand tour, from which dates our word 'tourism'. Professor rietbergen already talked about this earlier today. The second change was caused by the political and religious developments of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The reformation and the ensuing wars of religion fundamentally changed the european world, which was finally settled in 1648 with the peace treaty of westphalia. For students, this meant that a new itinerary had to be found. Even though the grand tour retained much of its former route, specific protestant and catholic tours came into being. The former was oriented on the dutch and northern-

german universities, geneva and, until their abolishment by louis xiv, the french protestant academies of saumur and sedan. Catholics, on the other hand, were roughly restrained to the south of europe, where the universities of bologna and montpellier remained focal points, as was, of course, rome.

Attending lectures and obtaining foreign degrees was combined with visits to local celebrities, cultural sites, and famous collections, such as that of the nijmegen reverend smetius, whose display of roman coins and artefacts was unrivalled in the area. Aside from the knowledge one might acquire at such a journey, the making of new contacts was one of the main goals of a tour. Proper preparation was required for this. A successful trip was impossible without a good number of recommendatory letters in one's pocket. Many learned correspondences thus start with a peregrinatio, often even during the trip, with letters written home. In these latter correspondences, it is clear that students often had been given specific assignment to establish their network, of which they duly report to their parents, who are of course the ones who had paid for it in the first place. The example i gave at the beginning of this lecture clearly demonstrates this.

In order to become member of the intellectual community, one did not need not have something material to offer from the start. The adage 'the friends of my friends are my friends' was considered a general rule. The common way into the republic of letters, then, was via the existing network of someone else, preferably a relative. This we already saw in the example i gave you in the beginning. Christiaan huygens made his 'academic pilgrimage' with recommendatory letters of his father in his pocket. It is helpful to take a closer look at the development of huygens's network.

Christiaan huygens was born in the hague on 14 april 1629 and he died on 8 july 1695. He was the second son of the famous diplomat and poet constantine the elder, the personal secretary to the dutch prince frederic-henry. After having been introduced by his father to marin mersenne, who was considered the "secretary-general" of the republic of letters at the time, the sixteen-year old huygens was launched by this patron as the 'archimedes batavus' –the dutch archimedes– at the occasion of disproving galileo's thesis that the curve made by a pendulum was parabolic. Huygens's correspondence of these early years shows a young man looking for wider recognition by the learned world. He carefully chooses his correspondents and distributes his publications with the help of others in order to establish firmly his reputation as a scholar.

Huygens was always intrigued by the combination of practical use and mathematical problems, but he also devoted himself to astronomy, in the course of which he improved the telescope. He is best known for his

construction of a stable pendulum clock and his theory of the wave movement of light. His intellectual achievements and the successful use of his social and cultural contacts made him one of the most important correspondents in the republic of letters of his time. Not forgetting his own past, he helped others find their way into the intellectual world after retiring to his dutch estate in 1683.

Although huygens is best known for his mathematical achievements, these were not his sole interests. If we take a short look at the catalogue of his library, it is noticeable that only twenty percent of the pages contain his mathematical and scientific books, whereas nearly seventy-five percent sums up his 'miscellaneous' possessions, before ending the catalogue with three pages of illustrated books. Whether huygens had maintained this same order in his library, is not known, but i find it probable that this mathematician indeed kept his 'professional reading' apart from books he read for leisure, or those that he had received as presents but didn't intend to read at all. The sheer number of his miscellaneous books however, suggests a broad interest in arts, literature, and most of all, history –not theology, remarkably. This is not reflected in his correspondence, however, which shows that huygens had build his network upon his reputation as a mathematician, not as a *homo universalis*.

The latter conclusion is affirmed by an analysis of the correspondents in huygens's network. Thirty-five percent were mathematicians, the second and third largest groups being family and astronomers, with 11.5% each. This is an indication of an important aspect of the republic of letters. The exchange of ideas did not so much take place in publications, but rather in letters that were exchanged with colleagues. During his lifetime, huygens only published a modest number of works, and never revealed his discoveries in them. In fact, only those who were professionally obliged to show their academic standards, such as university professors, published their work regularly; the real debate can only be found in correspondences.

The first extant letter of huygens was written on june 29, 1645 to his younger brother louis, as the sixteen-year-old christiaan was living as a student in leiden. He wrote about his financial worries ('i cannot manage without it any longer'), a letter that had drawn the attention of local professors and a copy of a painting by rembrandt. Had it not been written in latin, the difference with contemporary student e-mail would have been hard to tell. The last letter huygens has written to our knowledge was addressed to his elder brother constantijn on march 4, 1695. Although his health was declining and he did not have much longer to live, he does not give the impression of someone at the age of retirement, i quote:

"I have already told you in my previous letter that the printing of my cosmotheoros ought to start in a couple of days. Still, i am still correcting this writ and adding things to it, so the delay does not trouble me."

Although I realise that the survival of correspondences depends on an infinite number of coincidences, these two letters are in my opinion very striking examples of huygens' network. Even if it is a coincidence that he wrote both his first and his last letter to one of his brothers, it is a very significant one. The importance of relatives in seventeenth-century europe cannot be stressed enough. Even when they are invisible, relatives always play a major part in daily life, providing not only financial aid, but also easy access to the various networks that each family member uses.

Secondly, the fact that these letters were written in latin and french must be connected to the position of huygens at that time, to the addressee, to the content of these particular letters and finally to the development of the scientific discourse in the republic of letters. Huygens has written in dutch, french, latin and english and the choice for a language in writing his letters has in my opinion always been either conscious or implicitly following on accepted customs.

If you take a look at this diagram [sheet 1], which shows the development of huygens's correspondence until 1663, the year in which he travelled to london to finish his education, you can see a rapid expansion of his network in terms of the volume of his correspondence. The immediate cause for the increase was the publication of his first work, the *de circuli magnitudine inventa* of 1654, and his first visit to paris in the year after. Immediately after these pivotal events, the number of letters per year started to rise, reaching its first peak in 1656 with some 92 surviving letters to and from huygens. In the next ten years, christiaan became a celebrated member of the republic of letters, receiving and writing at least a 165 letters in 1665. Moreover, scientifically speaking, his best years were still to come.

Strangely enough, the acceptance of christiaan by the members of the republic of letters, which is reflected by the massive attention in terms of numbers of letters, did not have a lasting effect on the volume of his correspondence, as you can see on the second sheet. After some ten years his circle had shrunk back to the size it had had around 1655, reaching only 17 letters in 1670 –several years before the publication of the *horologium oscillatorium* (1673) and the infamous *traité de la lumière* (1690). The average number of letters to and from huygens after 1670 is only 37.5, as opposed to the 88.5 in the

period 1655-1670. Somehow, it seems that huygens had failed to translate his fame into a large audience. What happened?

The explanation is relatively easy in a way. In 1665, huygens was asked to become a member of the newly founded royal scientific academy in paris. From the next year until 1683 he resided mainly in paris, the city in which the majority of his correspondents lived. The lack of letters in these very years thus is not a sign of a diminished communication, but rather of a change in the way he communicated with his fellow scholars, that is: they were able to meet in person. The fact that the number of correspondences does not return to its previous volume after huygens's return to the hague in 1683 has to do with the main reason for his retirement, namely his bad health. It should be noted, that his residence in paris by no means stopped his correspondence. Even if the total number of letters decreased, huygens still stayed in contact with scholars all over the continent, mainly in england and the dutch republic, and continued to make trips abroad.

Very often, scholars of the seventeenth century referred to letter-writing as 'talking on distance', thus expressing their regret of not being able to actually visit their correspondent. Although such remarks may not always be taken on face value, the exchange of letters does have a certain aspect of 'mind-travel'. Most correspondences were based on, or aimed at an actual physical engagement, as is again illustrated by christiaan huygens's life. The table of contents of the biography in huygens's 19th century *œuvres complètes* clearly shows the road that he has taken. Whereas the first chapters are devoted to his study, patrons and his occupations, respectively 'university study', 'mersenne', 'stevin', 'galileo', 'chemistry', 'mathematics', 'family' and 'the dioptrique and the theory of movement', the chapters after his first journey to paris of 1655 only reflect where huygens was at the time. Most of his larger correspondences were in fact only started after actual engagement, mainly on one of his tours through europe. A true scholar always was on the road in the modern age.

If one takes a look at the most important correspondences, that is, those containing at least ten letters, another aspect of international academic communication in the seventeenth century comes to light. The average duration of the correspondences from which ten or more letters have been preserved is over 26 years. If anything demonstrates the dogma of communication in the republic of letters, it must be this. Looking at the number of letters written and received does not provide us with an image of the actual network. Rather, this shows only the number of correspondences. If we look at the development in terms of correspondences, the network itself comes into view, as is visible on this sheet [sheet 3]. Even though huygens's

decreasing epistolary activity after 1665 is still visible, the stability is dominant. In fact, as the number of correspondences diminishes, the ones which remain last considerably longer. Part of the climax of the late 1650s and early 1660s must therefore be explained by relatively short-lasting attention because of the great stir that was caused by our 'dutch archimedes'. This is also revealed by the increase in the number of new correspondences in these years, at the bottom of the graph. The small quantity of new contacts per year in general is yet another demonstration of the loyalty that huygens showed towards his contacts.

In 1672 a host of french, german and english armies invaded the dutch republic. Within a year louis xiv, the sun-king had set up his head quarters in the city of utrecht, only twenty-five miles from amsterdam. Holland seemed lost, but the young prince william, who would later even become king of england, rallied forces to his side and slowly forced the invaders back, both by shrewd negotiations and brilliant military operations. As by a miracle, the small nation on the north sea coast survived, but for over a century the dutch regarded the french as their arch-enemy. Even though both his father and his brother served the princes of orange as personal secretaries, christiaan huygens stayed in paris during the entire war. Apparently, he has not even considered leaving, nor did the french court consider him *persona non grata*, though all other dutchmen were forced to leave immediately after the invasion started. At least from huygens's perspective, this was a matter of principles: science has nothing to do with politics. Erasmus would have been proud.

During the war, huygens met a young academic from germany who was on a diplomatic mission at the french court. Young leibniz was eager to learn from christiaan, who by then had become no less than a phenomenon in the republic of letters. The two apparently got along quite well, and their friendship was to last until the death of huygens, twenty years later. Although leibniz always regarded huygens as his tutor, he quickly surpassed his master in mathematics. The times had changed; the world of galileo and descartes, in which huygens still lived, was being replaced by the new world view of isaac newton. Yet, though he was unable fully to grasp the new methods, huygens did for leibniz what the ageing mersenne had done for him, thirty years before: he introduced him to the top of the republic of letters.

It is interesting to compare leibniz's network to that of his patron. Like huygens, gottfried wilhelm constructed his circle through various journeys abroad, mainly to holland, france, and england. He was introduced to the old elite of the academic community: like huygens, spinoza, and oldenburg. Because leibniz has kept nearly all of his letters, much unlike huygens, only

some 30 percent of it has been published so far –though the project already started in 1923! The leibniz correspondence contains some 1100 correspondents, whereas there have only been kept 2457 letters to and from huygens. Considering that huygens's correspondents averagely wrote and received more than ten letters per person, one can imagine why the leibniz-edition has taken almost eighty years so far. The size of leibniz's network is not very exceptional, by the way. The daily work of an early modern scholar consisted mainly of writing and receiving letters, especially for those with actual jobs. While huygens was able to live of his family's fortune, leibniz had to accept the post of librarian at the court of hannover, thus being unable to travel. The only way in which he could satisfy his academic needs therefore was to write letters.

Tracing this network of patronage even further, we encounter yet another young academic in search for a career. This time it is not a nobleman or a diplomat, but the son of an innkeeper. While huygens and leibniz were in paris, john teiler from nijmegen also visited the french capital. Considering his modest background, it is not surprising, that he did not get the chance to meet the huygens, the famous member of the royal academy, but apparently he came across leibniz, who was almost of the same age. Teiler and leibniz got along quite well, and in the following years the hannover librarian has tried to help his less fortunate friend. Because of his simple ancestry, teiler could not easily go on a grand tour. After obtaining his degree in philosophy in his native nijmegen in 1668, he went to the university of leiden, which is also in holland. In spite of his lack of any international experience, he was appointed as a professor in nijmegen two years after.

The franco-dutch war of 1672, that was mentioned earlier, caused the nijmegen university to close his doors. For john teiler, this meant an opportunity to finally start on his academic pilgrimage, even though he was a little older than usual. With an after-payment of salary by the university in his pocket he went to paris, as we saw, and continued his tour via berlin, rome, sicily, egypt, and via the holy land for the second time to rome. After this tour, he first tried to become appointed as royal mathematician at the prussian court in berlin, and then as university professor at several dutch and german universities. In the end, he earned himself a living as a siege technician and wallpaper printer –for the latter occupation he actually invented colour printing on the side! In spite of support by leibniz, who also urged huygens to give some support, teiler never managed to obtain a successful academic career. Both his modest background and his stubborn personality must have played a part in this. What is important in the context of this lecture, is that even the people who never made it into the history books, and whose correspondence

did not survive, lived an internationally oriented life as an academic. Teiler never stayed in one place for more than a few years after he first left nijmegen, and must have maintained a correspondence network that could rival with that of huygens, if we judge by the little that remains.

The final aspect of international communication in the republic of letters that i want to present to you is the further exchange of letters beyond the intended correspondent. I have already mentioned the parisian friar marin mersenne, a minime friar and mathematician, who set himself up as a point of intersection in the republic of letters. Rather than contributing himself to academic development, he distributed other people's letters throughout europe, thus furthering the spread of new knowledge. He did this at a crucial time in the development of science. Mersenne was a close friend of descartes, as well as a regular correspondent of galileo. At the end of his life, as we have seen, he also introduced the young huygens to the intellectual community. People like mersenne, whose correspondence contains tens of thousands of letters, have been of crucial importance to the existence of the republic of letters and to the advancement of knowledge.

For mersenne to be successful it was necessary that he did not only pass on letters from writer to addressee, but also that he spread some of these letters to a wider audience than the ones for whose eyes they had been intended in the first place. This was not something that needed to be done in secrecy; on the contrary, it was common practice. Prolific letter-writers like the international statesman hugo grotius for instance even made explicit distinction between 'private' and 'public' letters. Thus, the network of a given person did not end at the list of addressees, but extended far beyond that to an audience of people who were interested in scientific developments, but had no contribution to make of their own. My last sheet gives an impression of this aspect of huygens's correspondence. As you can see, he received a considerable number of letters written by a third party at the beginning of his career, whereas his own letters circulated widely at the height of his popularity, the extreme being reached in 1665, when thirteen of his letters were sent or received, to five of third parties. Moreover, the data is rather scarce for this kind of research, as generally the distribution of appended letters is hardly traceable. I have based this graph solely on letters contained in the published correspondence, and have not marked down references to such practices in the letters themselves.

The wider expansion of correspondence networks was institutionalised from the late seventeenth century onward by the first academic journals, started by the journal des sçavans of 1665. This parisian

journal was followed by the *acta eruditorum* from leipzig, the philosophical transactions from london and, mainly by numerous francophone learned journals published in holland by huguenot journalists that had fled france after the revocation of the edict of nantes in 1685. Here, the readers found their regular updates on academic news and recent discoveries, mostly written in the form of letters, thus explicitly referring to the old practice of circulation of letters.

In conclusion, the scientists of the early modern age were internationally oriented, almost cosmopolitan men, for who differences in class, religion, or culture did not matter. The exchange of knowledge and the maintenance of friendship were imperative for members of the republic of letters, however far away these friends lived. The history of science, then, should not be studied simply by reading the books that were published. The context in which these books were written, and the discussions wherein they originated, or those that found their origin in these books, are found in the millions of letters that constituted the republic of letters. Even if a scholar was unable to be 'on the road', he was ever abroad in spirit.

Euthanasia and autothanasia *Good death and self-killing as ancient exits*

Introductory lecture for the workshop “The Final Journey”

by:

dr. Anton van Hooff

University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands

Holland used to be known for its windmills, tulips and clogs, but in recent times it has gained a worldwide reputation as the country of free drugs, free prostitution and free euthanasia. This last, highly topical issue has involved the present ancient historian very much. Last November he was even invited to take part in an invitational conference to discuss the future policy of the Dutch Association for Voluntary Euthanasia (Nederlandse Vereniging voor Vrijwillige Euthanasie). What does a classical historian have to say to psychiatrists, pharmacologists, lawyers, ethical experts and other specialists?

Two things: on the one hand, he can make these experts aware that their values are rooted in the historical experience of many centuries. Especially social scientists are inclined to regard their views as generally applicable, regardless of time and culture. On the other hand a distant society such as the Graeco-Roman world constitutes, offers alternatives that question values that are taken for granted.

Euthanasia and autothanasia are both ancient Greek compounds, of which the first is current in all modern languages in the specific meaning of a medically assisted death. This meaning was lacking in ancient times. The Greek word *euthanasia* meant good dying. For the Greeks ‘a good death’ meant a noble death. *Euthanatoi*, men who had died well, were those who had lost their life heroically, in particular on behalf of the fatherland. They were respected and even venerated as heroes by society. In later times when private life was more appreciated, a man was called *euthanatos* when he ended his life in prosperity, having tasted all the pleasures until the last moment. Only in Roman times the Greek word emerged denoting a sudden, gentle death. The emperor Augustus

whenever hearing that somebody had such a good end, expressed his wish to have a similar euthanasia, so his biographer Suetonius tells us.

Medical assistance was not specifically part of the ancient art of good dying. That is not to say that medical doctors did not give a hand when they were called in. There were no legal or moral obstacles that stood in their way. The famous oath of Hippocrates, which in modern times has been regarded as a pro-life statement of ancient medicine and as such sometimes is used as an argument in discussions on the impermissibility of 'euthanasia', does not deal with this topic. In a context in which the Hippocratic doctor pledges not to use his expertise for criminal purposes he swears "Nor shall I give a deadly medicine to somebody if asked to do so". In the original Greek there is no syntactical link between the 'somebody' in the dative and 'if asked to do so' (nominative), whereas Greek could easily say 'to somebody if he asks' (pronoun and participle in dative). So apart for the context the language points to a quite different meaning: when you hire me as a medical doctor you have no reason to be afraid that I shall lend myself to murder by poison if a third person asks me to do so. For this was one of the great fears in antiquity: a doctor who was so intimate with the body of a patient could go unnoticed if he gave a 'deadly medicine'. We know of doctors – assumedly not belonging to the Hippocratic School – who committed these acts of assassination. Sudden deaths were readily ascribed to criminal acts, whereas we suspect that the poor hygienic conditions often caused death by food poisoning.

On the other hand, we know of cases, in which doctors did have no scruples whatsoever to give medical assistance when death was wanted. They cut veins with a scalpel or furnished the would-be suicide with a deadly drink. Both means we find in the case of Seneca's self-killing as described by Tacitus. In general, there was not much stress on (medical) assistance, for ending one's life should be 'one's own death'. The doctor was merely a tool of a suicide's will. In this context, it is significant that both Latin and Greek lack negative, sinister words comparable to modern suicide or self-murder. The most common phrase was 'voluntary death' (*hekousios thanatos* in Greek, *mors voluntaria* in Latin). The words *suicida*, i.e. a self-slayer, and *suicidium*, the act of slaying oneself, did not exist in classical times. *suicida* was invented as late as 1177 by a medieval theologian who was annoyed that many of his colleagues were impressed by ancient philosophers like Seneca. How could they admire such a man Walter of Saint Victor asks.

Do you want to know how effeminately he killed himself?[...] When that man who was weaker than any woman, was forced to die he took refuge to the baths and there, like a little boy, in perfumed water made lukewarm, as it

were in the softest feathers, he buried himself as deep as his neck. Thereupon were the veins of both his arms lightly touched so that he gave up his effeminate soul in the utmost luxury and as it were in his sleep. Thus, with great ingenuity he converted death itself and the pain of death in a great pleasure for himself. That man is not a brother-slayer (*fratricida*), but worse: a self-slayer (*suicida*); a Stoic by profession, he was an Epicurean in death; do you think that he has been given a place in heaven together with Nero, Socrates and Cato, all self-slayers (*suicidae*)?" (*italics are the author's*)

Augustine as the father of self-murder

Although the word self-murder did not exist in Greek and Latin the idea that self-killing was to be rejected did emerge from time to time. Especially philosophers like Pythagoras and Plato who saw man as consisting of body and soul self-killing was regarded as an illicit, violent way of bringing about the separation of the godly element, the soul, from the corporal prison. The sage should free his soul by way of his wisdom. Some authors expressed their doubt about the heroism of self-killers. Was an Ajax not a coward not to be able to face his fellow-warriors? Was self-killing not an egotist, asocial act?

During antiquity, the undercurrent of doubt and rejection gained ground. It found its final legitimation in Neoplatonism that became the dominant philosophy of Late Antiquity. All leading intellectuals of the Christian Church were educated in this school. In particular, Augustine was heavily influenced by this Platonism revived. After his protracted conversion to Christianity, on which he reports and reflects in his *Confessions*, he returned to his native Africa and finally became bishop of Hippo Regius. In his pastoral practice, he was confronted with the problem of the followers of Donatus. These heretics venerated as martyrs people who in religious fervour killed themselves by jumping from cliffs. To fight the Donatists on common ground Augustine appealed to the Holy Scripture. According to the church father God's commandment "Thou shalt not kill" implied a general taboo on all killing of humans (of course killing an enemy in a just war was quite a different matter): "Whoever kills himself, is a man-slayer." (*qui se ipsum occidit, homicida est*). Killing oneself was the ultimate rejection of God's grace. It constituted the mortal sin of *desperatio*.

Thus, Augustine laid the foundation for the Christian doctrine on 'self-murder'. Suicides were to be buried like dogs. Until 1961 in English law, an attempt of suicide was punishable.

So this sketch of the ancient idea of self-killing shows both the roots of the Western taboo, exemplified in the sinister words suicide and self-murder, and

the ancient alternative of self-killing as an act of volition that is to be respected as a form of euthanasia.

From Hell to the Road to Heaven
Effects of the invention of Purgatory to the Mentalities of Middle Ages

Paper presented in the workshop "TheFinal Journey"

by:

Outi Nieminen

University of Turku,
Finland

When ever Middle Ages is regarded one has to bear in mind, that the society was different. Things that are evident to us are not evident in the Middle Ages. The whole concept of human society has to be thought over.

In the Middle Ages God was the centre. The world was created by God, it was part of God's belongings, the purposes of it's existence were aimed only to God. God and religion were not matters of belief, they were facts. The human mentalities were constructed upon the idea of God's character. What was here on the Earth was not important, when it was compared to the Heaven and so the life of human beings were aimed to the time after death.

This means that the death wasn't distant to middle age people but rather something that was constantly present (also the short prediction of lifetime made death to be present in everyday life). After the short life on earth was coming the much more important eternity.

The doctrine of the Church was clear. Those who lived their life according to the rules made by God and the Church ended up to the Heaven for the eternity and those who sinned were put to the Hell for eternity. So there were two doors waiting after the death and after that all the decisions had been made, no turning back, no second changes, just the eternity. God gave to man a freedom of choice, but He also punished man for wrong choices by throwing him to Hell. The death were separated into two groups, to good and to bad.

From the first centuries onwards there had been a hope, that prayers and offerings of living would help the dead in their agony or atleast put them to an easier layer of Hell. Also penance (katumusharjoitus) freed man from his sins, but it didn't take away the fear of Last Judgement. The belief to

redemption (lunastus) was vague, and it wasn't to be trusted. The doctrine of sins, redemption and afterlife hadn't yet taken its shape.

This was the situation after first millennium of Christianity. For a normal person it meant quite hopeless expectations. Church presented dozens of wonderful faultless saints as examples of good Christian living at the same time as normal people had to live in the hard world with the seven deadly and hundreds of minor sins. This great gap between the ideal and the reality caused depression and agony, even frustration on life. People did not see any kind of solution to their situation as there were only two doors waiting after death.

Around year 1000 this system caused a big crisis, as people in general saw their life hopeless, as the opportunity to be saved seemed to be non-existing. This hopelessness came visible for example through the Crusades. Thousands of 'normal people' went to the Road of the Cross, as they were afraid of Hell – an easier salvation was promised to those taking part to a crusade, specially to them who died on the road to Jerusalem.

The time between 1000 and 1200 AD were time of expansion in the west. The feudal system developed, universities were born, the medieval achieved its full form and complexity. At the same time there was need to re-arrange the doctrine of afterlife – demands for this came from both Church and men as the contrast between Heaven and Hell was too harsh.

The doctrine of Purgatory as a place on the road to Heaven or to Hell was defined in the 12th and 13th century as a part of the internal reforms of the Holy Church. The upcoming of third place in afterlife was as well an answer for a common demand. The Church determined that there was something that was neither totally good or totally wicked. So after death were divided in three groups, to those directly ordered to Heaven or to Hell and to those, whose destination couldn't be defined directly. For this third, and biggest group were created Purgatory.

Purgatory was a hell-like place, runned by demons but ruled by God. Those people who had sinned, but sincerely repented and showed penitence before their death, were sentenced to Purgatory rather than to Hell. In Purgatory they suffered in Hell-like conditions – in flames for their sins; first for the venial sin and after that for the sins they had committed themselves and haven't yet expiated. The sum of these sins would define the period of punishment in Purgatory.

For a man this meant new kind of attitude towards sins and a change in mentalities. The new doctrine demanded an internal conversion (sisäinen

kääntymys) and penitence (katumus) – it was more internal than external, it was in the thoughts rather than acts, as contrition (synnintunto) was insisted. It didn't matter if there were left some sins not confessed and forgiven at the time of death, as long as the sinner had showed in true christian spirit contrition for his life. But at the same time the intercessions (esirukous) were institutionalized – it came clear that the time in burden of Purgatory could be shortened by prayers and offerings, through the affections showed to the dead ones by those who lived.

The most important amendment in the doctrine of Purgatory was, that there were only one door out from Purgatory. No matter how long the sufferings in Purgatory were, even up to the Last Judgement, after that the penitent would end up in Heaven. Hence the sentence to Purgatory meant sentence to salvation. The decision of the sentence would be made right after death by God. Everyone would stand on trial alone, so this made man responsible for his fate even more than earlier.

The Purgatory lifted up the heavy fear of afterlife from normal people. It declared that the death wasn't the last chance, but there were possibilities after that. The good intention was more important than truly good life, as penitence and contrition promised eventual salvation. Purgatory took the hopelessness away from people and made their life easier. It showed, that living earthly life – or even living at all – did not exclude the possibility to spend eternity with God in Heaven. This freed the ideas of right and wrong, as the tolerance towards matters totally banned before grew – the new kind of mentalities made living easier and made possible to create a complex society, where man could for example be rich without the fear of inevitable future with the devil.

Literature:

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The Afterlife in Ancient Egypt

Paper presented in the workshop “The Final Journey”

by:

Jasmina Skočilić

ISHA Zagreb

University of Zagreb,

Croatia

Western man places religion in a compartment of its own, separating it from other aspects of his existence. To an Egyptian this would have been unthinkable. Religion permeated his whole life socially, politically and economically. As he saw it, every detail of his own life and of the life around him, from the predictable flooding of the Nile to the chance death of a cat depended entirely on the attitude of the gods.

The worship of animals and nature is common to early societies, when man is dominated by the world around him and exists at its mercy. As he grows in sophistication, as he learns to come to grips with nature, as he awe of its mysteries diminishes and his appreciation of his own talents awakens, then his gods undergo a transmission from zoomorphic to anthropomorphic concepts. So it was with Egyptians.

Sometime before the rise of the First Dynasty, anthropomorphism, the conception of gods in human form, made its appearance in Egyptian religion.

Their beliefs concerning afterlife, like those concerning their gods, had ancient roots in the Nile Valley. Tombs of the Neolithic Age reveal tools and food left with the dead, objects that could only have been intended for use by the departed. The Egyptians envisioned the hereafter as a duplication of the best moments of earthly existence. There was nothing morbid in their lifelong preoccupation with death, they prepared for it earnestly and confidently.

Up to his final moment, every Egyptian of means busied himself with the preparation of a tomb in which to spend eternity and the articles with which to furnish it. In the case of a pharaoh or noble, a tomb might take years or even decades to make ready. He ordered artisans to portray on its walls or in wooden models the activities he expected to carry on, sailing, hunting,

banqueting, as well as tasks to be performed by his servants, weaving, baking, herding, tilling.

In the first Intermediate Period, when nobles were impoverished and men of undistinguished birth raise in the world, the belief emerged that even a high station in life would not exempt one from the Middle Kingdom on, tombs were plentifully supplied with articles called USHEBTIS. These were figurines that were expected to answer in place of the deceased when the gods called for labour to tend the celestial fields, in order that the deceased could spend his time in leisure. Once they began to appear, the number of USHEBTIS placed in a tomb steadily increased.

Many tombs had hundreds and some had thousands. Just as there were many gods and many ideas of Creation, so there were alternative views of the afterlife. The solar cult held that the dead pharaoh boarded the sun's heavenly boat and accompanied him on his daily sail across the firmament above the world by day and through the sky beneath at night. The cult of OSIRIS, on the other hand, held that the pharaoh passed into the underworld to become Osiris and rule below as he had on earth. Because of the Egyptians consuming concern for their future death, Osiris came to be universally their mortuary god, one of their most important deities, and less susceptible to alteration than the gods concerned with life.

In the beginning, the denial of death was limited to the pharaoh and his family; only they were divine and immortal. By the time the old Kingdom was ended, the belief had widened to include nobles; they might, with royal permission, set their tombs close to the pharaoh's and inscribe on the walls of their own tombs their services to him. They hoped this to share immortality through proximity.

It's very important to know that, to the Egyptian, The afterlife meant a corporeal existence, not a ghostly substitute. The soul left the body at death, but it was expected to be able to return it through eternity. That's why the Egyptians mummified their dead – to preserve their bodies from decay.

By the time Greek conquerors reached the land of the Nile in the Fourth Century B.C., when the empire had collapsed and the country was beset by economic woes, the people had grown insure and had lost their enthusiasm for life. Instead of confidence, their religion stressed humility, submissiveness and patience. Death was no longer seen as a continuance of the pleasures of life, but loomed instead as succease from earthly tribulations.

Preparation for the afterlife

In the brief limbo between life and afterlife, the ancient Egyptian was much ready for eternity by a complex funeral liturgy. This centred about the

embalming ritual that, according to Herodotus, might take up to 70 days to complete if the deceased was a man of substance. Since the dead man's spirits would inhabit his body, the embalmers sought to preserve the mortal remains for eternity. To accomplish this, they used compounds of salts, spices and resins to preserve and dry the eviscerated corpse into a shrivelled mummy, then stuffed and swathed it with layers of finely woven linen. Returned to the bereaved family - who ranks were often swelled by professional mourners - the mummy underwent the symbolic OPENING OF THE MOUTH ceremony. Prepared to eat, drink and speak again, the dead man was at last ready for the tomb.

Parade to the tomb

Egyptian funerary ritual called for burial in the west, where the sun was believed to begin its nightly journey across the underworld. In the bleak western desert stood immense necropolises-cities of dead-whose pyramids, temples and rock-cut tombs were built and untainted for those who could afford an affluent afterlife. Great procession of mourners brought the encased mummies to these tombs, first by barge across the Nile and then overland by ox-drawn sledge. Led by shaven-headed priests who wuffed incense and intoned the ritual chants, the procession ended at the door of the tomb, where the last rites might include a solemn ceremonial dance and a funeral feast.

Boats and birds for journey of the dead

While early Egyptian cults disagreed on what a dead man could and couldn't do in his afterlife, New Kingdom Egyptians devised an ingenious synthesis of the major beliefs. Thus, a dead man was said to remain in his tomb by day, although he might revisit the living through his wandering spirit, the birdlike BA ("night"). At sunset he boarded his solar boat to accompany the sun through the underworld-a journey borrowed from the sun worship of the old Kingdom. He might stop to work in the magnificent Field of Reeds -a pleasant enough task if he had been a hard working farmer in life. But at dawn, he returned to his tomb for the food and rest that even dead required.

Judgement in the underworld

The essence of Egyptian mortuary religion was a universal faith in the final judgment of the god Osiris. Usually depicted as a mummy, Osiris stonily supervised the weighing of the dead man's heart while truth occupied the balancing scale. For those who failed this test, a fierce beast called The Devourer of Souls awaited. But most passed and could look forward to an infinity of the pleasant pursuits they had known in life-the mummy, at home

in his tomb was surrounded by pictures and statuettes his servants and even cornabines.

A heavenly horde

A special part of the after world was reserved for Egypt's bewildering assortment of gods. Under the Old Kingdom, each city had its own set of deities: Re was worshipped at Heliopolis, Amon at Thebes, Ptah at Memphis and Thoth at Hermopolis. But by New Kingdom some degree of order had been established in the cluttered cosmology by the priest hoods of the major gods. It than became possible to depict a united heavenly family in a group portrait, as in mural from the tomb of Ramses VI, for example.

Framing the universe in the arched body of NUT, the sky goddess, one of the principal cosmic deities. According to one legend, Nut swallowed the sun each evening (it is shown as a brown disc passing through her star-bordered body) and gave birth to it again in the morning. Arrayed beneath Nut is the host of gods and demigods that the Pharaoh-himself a living god-confidently expected to join in death.

Literature

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Foreign tourists in the Low Countries 1700-1800

Introductory lecture for the workshop "Tourism and Casual Travelling"

by:

dr. C.D. van Strien

2341 SR Oegstgeest

The Netherlands

Going on holidays happens to all of us. Even several times a year. But before paid holidays were introduced, tourism was practically impossible for the ordinary worker. He earned just enough to keep body and soul together. If he did not turn up for work he lost his job. In the past, people who could afford to travel, clearly belonged to a privileged minority. Money and time were no particular problem. While most of his fellows continued working, the lucky tourist set out to see the world and meet interesting people. It is against this background that from the 16th till the early twentieth century, tourism has always seemed to need an apology.

In the many publications defending travel by the privileged few, it was claimed this was a useful activity, from which the whole of society would in the long run benefit. Young men of the ruling classes, accompanied by a competent governor, were sent abroad to widen their horizons, and see how the various countries of Europe were governed. When their turn came to take office, so it was argued, they would be able to serve their own countries the better.

From the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, when more and more families could afford to send their sons abroad, the big argument in defence of travel became: personal development. In the preface to his popular guidebook The Grand Tour, Thomas Nugent stated that he hoped his book would contribute 'to the improvement of that noble and ancient custom of travelling; a custom so visibly tending to enrich the mind with knowledge, to rectify the judgement, to remove the prejudices of education, to compose the outward manners, and in a word to form the complete gentleman'. This prospect prompted thousands of families to invest heavily in their boys, whose well-documented travel journals demonstrated that they had travelled with profit. However, after several years on the road, three out of four only returned with foreign manners and their portraits fashionably painted in Venice or Rome.

Surely by this time there was more to travel than only the education of young men. Sometimes the whole family made a summer excursion from London or Paris to the Low Countries. Or a group of friends made a six-week trip on the same circuit. If any justification was needed for the expense, they could always say they travelled for health, and include a visit to the medicinal waters at Aachen [Aix-la-Chapelle] or Spa, where tourists were sure to meet the best company of Europe.

In this paper I will concentrate on the Low Countries as a destination for tourists in the 18th century. They came from all the neighbouring countries, but also from Spain, Italy, Scandinavia, the Baltic and the German states, Poland, Hungary and Russia. Some of them published their travelogues as geographical treatises. Other travel accounts only circulated in the family or among friends, until they were published in the 19th and 20th centuries. Many are still in manuscript.

Those by French and English-language travellers have been studied in detail and many manuscripts have been located. Of the German tourists only the published travelogues have been the object of research; an inventory of German manuscript travels has never been made. There is a survey of Swedish manuscripts, but to my knowledge that has not yet led to the publication of one single travel journal, let alone a study of Swedish tourists in the Low Countries. As for tourists from other countries, systematic research has not even started.

This is where I suggest you come in. Just go to the department of manuscripts in your national or university library, and read through some journals or collections of letters describing travel in Holland or Flanders. Make a transcription and try to identify the people and places mentioned. With the studies already available that won't be too difficult. Many interesting questions can be asked. Is the emphasis on Holland or Flanders? What is the role of the political and religious prejudices of the travellers? Do they criticize or idealise the inhabitants of the Low Countries? Specialists of Dutch theatre will be interested in comments on plays and operas. Others are happy with remarks on paintings, country houses or individual people. Each newly edited travel journal will add to the already fascinating picture we have of the Low Countries, as a destination for tourists in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Edmund Bott on travel

Edmund Bott (1740-1788) started his travelogue with some sort of a preface in which he tells his friends what they can expect of his journal.

"[1] *The Excursion to Holland and the German Spa 1767*

of which an account is here given, must not be dignified with the magnificent title of Travels. A lounge it might very properly be called, as it was undertaken without any hope of instruction to the traveller himself or of utility to his country, but for the gratification of his curiosity, and for that alone.

Whoever keeps his eyes open in travelling, and his ears attentive, will however, without a premeditated pursuit of knowledge, receive information which may both entertain and instruct himself, and perhaps not be unacceptable to his partial friends.

A total ignorance of the Dutch, German and Flemish languages making it impossible for me to converse without an interpreter with the lower ranks of people in those countries (who are not very communicative), almost entirely deprived me of the pleasure of observing their humours, prejudices, sense or folly. The rapidity with which the making the resolution of this excursion was followed by the execution of it, made me neglect [2] procuring many introductory letters to persons of rank or literature in those places through which I proposed to pass, and the shortness of the time which I could allot to this tour occasioned those few recommendatory letters which I did carry, to be of very little use to me. It was therefore almost impracticable for me to obtain any insight into the Arcana Imperii, or to procure a systematical account of the state of parties, religion, trade and literature of those countries through which I passed with such expedition, unknown and I am afraid unknowing. [...]

I have not related a single [3] circumstance which I do not believe to be true, but where I suspect that there may be error, I have set up a caution against it. What particulars I have related as of my own knowledge may be entirely relied on as facts by the readers, that is by half a dozen of my tried and approved friends from whom I would wish to conceal nothing which can beguile a tedious or idle hour."

When Bott wrote this, he was 27 years old and had just finished law school. He clearly knew the books with instructions for travellers, but did not follow the advice. There was hardly any preparation, he did not try to study the language of the country he was going to see, and did not take enough letters of introduction. However, his journal is beyond reproach: he has seen everything himself and is completely reliable. He also hopes it will be entertaining.

Guidebooks

Just as today, a tourist set out with one or more guidebooks, which also helped him or her to write a journal. Some knowledge of the most popular guidebooks is essential, if we want to know whether the traveller wrote down his own impressions or was partly copying someone else's text. Now there was an overwhelming amount of literature, at first in Latin but later also in French, English and German.

Guidebooks were usually written by authors born outside the Low Countries. A case in point is the first ever reference work on The Netherlands. It was written by the Italian Lodovico Guicciardini (1521-1589), who for many years lived in Antwerp. It dealt with each province and town separately, and was immensely successful. The later editions in Latin, Dutch, French, English and German came in handy pocket format. The book contained plans of the various towns and much historical information. So this was an excellent guide for the young tourist who was supposed to travel for his 'improvement'. A very similar guidebook was written by Jean-Baptiste Christyn (1635-1707). His Histoire générale des Pays-Bas contained numerous engravings of the principal sights. Between them these books were available for more than two centuries.

The Frenchman Jean de Parival's (1605-1669) Les Délices de la Hollande only dealt with the province of Holland. As the title indicates it was full of praise for the province where he had settled, especially the city of Leiden, which thus gained the reputation of being the finest city in Holland.

Two important guidebooks were written by travelling tutors. One of them was the French Huguenot François-Maximilien Misson. With a grandson of an English lord he travelled from England via the United Provinces and Germany to Italy and back via Genève and the Southern Netherlands. His Nouveau voyage d'Italie consists of 38 letters which give the impression of having been written during the trip. Here are no static descriptions of cities but comments on a wide variety of subjects, including the sights, ancient and modern. Also anecdotes, many fine illustrations and lots of jokes about Italian superstition, a subject that was always good for a laugh in protestant northern Europe. Misson was also the first author of a guidebook to give practical information on inns, transport, and prices, including those of the wages of servants in various places.

Thomas Nugent's (1700?-1772) The Grand Tour looks like a modern guidebook. It was divided into routes, for instance that leading from Amsterdam to Rotterdam. There are descriptions of each town on this route and Nugent added the distances to the next town, with timetables and the cost of public transport and names of inns. Compared to Misson it was rather boring, for Nugent made no effort to entertain his readers with anecdotes and the like.

What to see in the Netherlands

Since it is not possible to give an exhaustive survey of everything commented upon by tourists, I shall here deal with five points: the fine towns, the prosperity of Holland, religion, scholarship and painting.

In the period under discussion Flanders and Holland were first and foremost the countries of the beautiful towns. Nowhere else in Europe were there so many and such large towns, sometimes only at a walking distance from each

other. In 1700 London and Dublin were the only towns in the British Isles with around 50,000 inhabitants or more; in the German states there were four: Hamburg, Vienna, Berlin and Danzig; in France there were six: Paris, Bordeaux, Lyon, Marseille, Lille and Rouen, but in Holland and Flanders there were seven (Amsterdam, Leiden, Rotterdam, Antwerp, Gent, Brussels, Liège). Often the tour was planned in such a way that they could all be visited.

Thus a tourist from Paris travelled north to Lille, then Gent, Brussels, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Delft, The Hague, Leiden, Haarlem, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Den Bosch, Maastricht, Liège, Spa and if he wished to inspect fortifications, he visited Namur and Tournai before turning south again. Britons had a choice. If they started with Holland they travelled to Harwich and crossed in a packet boat, in about 18 hours to Hellevoetsluis, a small port on one of the islands south of Rotterdam. From here they followed the same route as their French counterparts. From Utrecht they often travelled straight to Antwerp, then Brussels, Gent (and Bruges), Lille and from there, back home, or if there was sufficient time and money to Paris. The Rhine was also a much travelled route. Also for Britons on their way back from Italy.

The towns

The first large town in Holland that tourists saw was usually Rotterdam. It is often described as a most idyllic place. A 'romantic sight', particularly when seen from a distance, with 'the chimneys, masts of ships, and the tops of trees, promiscuously huddled together'. Harry Peckham, the author of a popular guidebook, wondered whether it was 'a town, a fleet or a forest'. An idea of this is given by this engraving, which in the foreground shows the statue of Erasmus, the most famous son of Rotterdam. This is what Lady Mary Montague wrote:

[249] 'All the streets are paved with broad stones, and before the meanest artificers' doors, [there are] seats of various coloured marbles, and so neatly kept that I'll assure you, I walked almost all over the town yesterday, incognito, in my slippers without receiving one spot of dirt [...] Here are seven large canals on which the merchant ships come up to the very doors of their houses. The shops and warehouses are of a surprising neatness and magnificence, filled with an incredible quantity of fine merchandise, and so much cheaper than what we see in England'.

Both these comments are heavily indebted to Misson and his predecessors. As today, thousands of travellers looked through the eyes of their travel guides.

Prosperity

As opposed to Flanders and Brabant, which were crawling with beggars, Holland was seen as an island of prosperity. Especially in the comments on Amsterdam, much emphasis was laid on the riches that were daily being shipped in, from all over the world. [map of Amsterdam with port] In the Amsterdam port tourists sailed around in yachts to view the shipping; they were rowed on board merchant ships and inspected the magazines of the admiralty and the East-India company.

There were also the long rows of merchants' houses on the Herengracht, Keizersgracht and Prinsengracht, but the epitome of the city's wealth was the townhall, built around 1650. Tourists wondered how many tons of gold were locked away in the bank on the ground floor, and admired the large and high central hall, whose walls were completely covered with marble and large paintings. Two much discussed paintings in this building were Rembrandt's *Nightwatch* and the *Feast of the militia* by Van der Helst, which was generally thought the most beautiful of all.

In Amsterdam society was organised in such a way that also the poor, the orphans and the elderly benefited from this wealth. They were effectively cared for, both by the city and their religious communities. Tourists were shown the often monumental 'hospitals' as they were called, and were sometimes present during meals, where they could see for themselves how well-regulated things were here, as opposed to their own countries where social care was often a matter of neglect. Olivier de Vêrac, a young man with strong emotions, visited the madhouse and heard a story about a girl, who for years had been engaged to be married. Then her parents suddenly decided she should marry a much richer young man. The lovers were in despair and after a final embrace, her friend left for the Indies. A month after the arranged marriage, their love-child was born. She hated her husband and finally she was admitted to the Madhouse. Olivier de Vêrac concluded with a shudder that even love, that gift from heaven, can also completely destroy your happiness.

Religion

As to religion, the north and the south were clear opposites. In the north the large gothic churches had been emptied of all unnecessary ornaments by the Calvinists, whereas in the south even tourists from Catholic countries were amazed by the splendour of the churches, that seemed to draw to them all that remained of the country's wealth: altar pieces, paintings and baroque pulpits with exuberant sculptures. To many Britons, Flanders offered the first opportunity to attend a Catholic service. The Scottish Calvinist Margaret Calderwood appreciated the fine music, but she almost burst out laughing at the rituals, unlike James Essex, who restored several gothic churches in England. Commenting on the

feast of the Assumption (15th August) he wrote: 'It is impossible to describe the grandeur and solemnities of these ceremonies, or to give an adequate idea of the music'. Daniel Bellamy, an English parish priest, suddenly realized that the oratorios he had heard in London lacked a dimension: they were far more effective as part of a service. More than ever did he realize here, that in the Anglican church, especially in the countryside, even the parsons did not care a bit about liturgy.

Part of the programme for British tourists was a visit to one or two convents, particularly those belonging to their Catholic compatriots, who were not allowed to have monasteries in Britain. Tourists also saw poor capuchins, whose only luxury were their sandals and a brown habit with a hood, which they pulled over their heads when they went to sleep on their hard beds. Some convents only recruited members from the better social classes. For instance the abbey of St. Peter in Gent, whose annual income was 300,000 guilders. A British tourist who noticed 300 dozens of empty bottles in the courtyard, wondered whether the monks really made a virtue of abstinence. And how likely was it that all those healthy, ruddy monks kept their vow of celibacy? It was time something was done about these 'useless' parasites, some of whom could be smelled a long way off.

In Holland tourists were struck by the religious variety. For centuries it had been the place where those persecuted in their own countries, found refuge and employment, thus reinforcing Holland's position as an international centre of trade. Tourists who at home were used to blatant discrimination of religious minorities, usually praised what in Holland was a simple fact of life. From Friday evening till Sunday afternoon, accompanied by a local guide, they made the tour of the synagogues and churches, particularly in Amsterdam. The Guide d'Amsterdam gave the addresses and brief descriptions of churches of 14 different denominations and three synagogues.

Universities and collectors

Another aspect of life in the Netherlands that tourists commented upon was scholarship. In the 18th century the universities of Leiden and Utrecht attracted students from all over the world. They came to study medicine, Roman law and Calvinist theology. Tourists were shown the botanical gardens, and in Leiden the anatomical theatre, ornamented with skeletons of people and animals, whose allegorical meaning was rarely understood. The anatomical collection was more modern and included the famous preparations by professor Albinus. They showed the various stages in the development of the human foetus. There were also Egyptian mummies, a seemingly smiling negro boy on a satin cushion with a gold coronet on his head, and in a bottle, a baby with two heads, whose mother had come to see her. The cabinet of natural history was filled with fossils,

minerals, prepared birds and beasts, among which a hippo and the then almost unknown giraffe. Visitors were shown around by an old lady. She did not always notice that some of them went away with small objects that had been on display in the open drawers.

However, collections like these could also be inspected with private citizens, where the visual effect was often more important than systematic arrangement. Thus Pierre Lyonet, in The Hague, who owned the most famous cabinet of shells in Europe, kept his shells in large drawers, where they formed colourful patterns. Foreign scholars who arrived with suitable letters of introduction were usually welcome, but for the not too well-connected tourist, like Edmund Bott, these private collections remained closed. Exceptions were the cabinet of the Prince of Orange in The Hague and that of Prince Charles of Lorraine in Brussels. These were almost public museums. In the 1780's the number of visitors in The Hague was 18,060 a year.

Visitors in The Hague were given a guided tour that started on the second floor. Here were all sorts of ethnographical objects from China and the Indies, given to the prince by the East-India company. The first floor was the place where the natural history collections were kept: minerals, shells, gems and precious stones, and an impressive number of exotic insects and butterflies mainly from Surinam. Then there were all sorts of quadrupeds. Visitors were sure to see animals then not generally known in Europe and some that had never yet been described.

The exotic animals destined for the Prince of Orange that survived the voyage from the West-Indies or South Africa, were sent to his private zoo. The French marquis de Courtanvaux saw a very tame trumpet-bird. If you stood in front of it and said pooh-pooh, the bird looked at you, spread its wings and repeated the words with a sound that seemed to come from its belly. Here were also very aggressive warthogs from South-Africa. One of the most interesting animals was a four foot orang-outang. On the picture the two animals look cheerful enough, but after one of them had died, a French tourist noticed a sad look in his eyes. The animal clearly 'realized he had lost his liberty'.

Painting

The prince also owned a cabinet of paintings, mainly from the Dutch school. It was one of the rare galleries in Europe open to the public. The greatest attraction was Paulus Potter's Young Bull: 'the design is a peasant looking at his cattle; the flies on the cows seem alive, and a toad sitting on the grass has equal excellence'. The French baron de Montboissier was deeply impressed by a beautiful Jan Steen: 'A courtyard with a young girl who gives a lamb some milk from a dish, while her old father looks at her with a very touching expression'.

As in the Prince of Orange's gallery, the paintings in private collections often completely covered the walls. The collection of Henry Hope, the richest banker in Amsterdam, occupied the principal rooms of his newly-built villa. He was a man of the world, but some other collectors were almost as picturesque as their works of art. In Amsterdam there was Gerrit Braamkamp, a rich merchant who never heated his rooms and just sat there, smoking his pipe, while his visitors admired his treasures. In Rotterdam there was Jan Bisschop (1680-1771), who always wore a medaillon with the portrait of the French King round his neck. Although extremely wealthy, he was dressed like a peasant. Visitors got the impression that he hardly knew the value of his works of art. Lady Langham wrote:

"We went to visit the famous Mr Bisschop's collection [...] which entertained us prodigiously. [...] This old gentleman of 89 years, lives in the meanest little house that can be conceived; his staircase, which led us to all those curiosities, is so narrow and dark that we were obliged to be lighted up by a candle at noon. The entrance to his house is through a little dirty shop where he sells threads, tapes etc. by which means he has acquired a large sum of money".

However, the greatest curiosity of all was Monsieur Verhulst in Brussels, whose collection comprised 14 paintings by Teniers and one particularly fine Rubens: the coronation of Saint Catherine. The interesting thing about this man was, that for more than twenty years, he had remained locked up with his treasures. He imagined that contact with fresh air would kill him. His windows were hermetically shut. He was always dressed in a silk morning gown, and a lace nightcap with an embroidered ribbon. Apart from this, he looked quite normal, and from his conversation tourists got the impression that he was a man of the world. But then all of a sudden, he would start to complain about his health. He told one tourist that he had dreamed his legs were made of glass, and that he was afraid they would break. It was difficult not to laugh. But Syllas Neville, a doctor, saw his pale face and his lower jaw hanging down and wrote: 'He looks like one risen from the grave'.

Travel in the Netherlands in English literature

If one looks through even a small number of travelogues describing the same route, one is struck by the variety of subjects dealt with. The genre enables each individual tourist to introduce whatever he or she is most interested in. However, they are rarely gifted writers. They write because they are expected to. Two of the more notable exceptions are William Beckford and Tobias Smollett, tourists who transformed their own travels into very readable fiction.

When in 1780 William Beckford travelled through the Low Countries (1780), he was a very wealthy 21 year-old young man. He was on his way to Italy, and after his return home he published his Dreams, Waking Thoughts and Incidents (1783). In the following passage he describes a painting by Pieter Brueghel the Younger, which I have been unable to locate. It was in the Prince of Orange's picture gallery in The Hague and taken to Paris in 1795, together with the rest of the collection, but not returned in 1813.

"I dedicated the morning to the Prince of Orange's cabinet of paintings and curiosities both natural and artificial. Amongst the pictures which amused me most is a St. Anthony, by Hell-fire Brughel, who has shewn himself right worthy of the title; for a more diabolical variety of imps never entered the human imagination. Brughel has made his saint take refuge in a ditch filled with harpies and creeping things innumerable, whose malice, one should think, would have lost Job himself the reputation of patience. Castles of steel and fiery turrets glare on every side, whence issue a band of junior devils; these seem highly entertained with pinking poor St. Anthony, and whispering, I warrant ye, filthy tales in his ear. Nothing can be more rueful than the patient's countenance; more forlorn than his beard; more piteous than his eye, forming a strong contrast to the pert winks and insidious glances of his persecutors; some of whom, I need not mention, are evidently of the female kind. [...]"

In the remainder of the passage Beckford not only makes fun of the Dutch, but he also gives a vivid description of the feelings of a very sensitive tourist, who easily dreams away and imagines himself in the far-away countries where the treasures come from:

"[20] Mounting a very indifferent staircase [Mijnheer Van Something] led me to a suite of garretlike apartments; which, considering the meanness of their exterior, I was rather surprised to find stored with some of the most valuable productions of the Indies. Gold cups enriched with gems, models of Chinese palaces in ivory, glittering armor of Hindostan, and Japan caskets, filled every corner of this awkward treasury. What, of all its valuable baubles pleased me most, was a large coffer of some precious wood, containing enamelled flasks of oriental essences, enough to perfume a zennana [part of the house reserved for women and girls in Muslim and Hindu homes]; and so fragrant, that I thought the Mogul himself a Dutchman, for lavishing them upon this inelegant nation. If disagreeable fumes, as I mentioned before, dissolve enchantments, such aromatic oils have doubtless the power of raising them; for, whilst I scented their fragrance, scarcely could anything have persuaded me, I was not in the wardrobe of Hecuba, "where treasur'd odours breath'd a costly scent." I saw, or seemed to see, the arched apartments, the procession of venerable matrons, the consecrated vestments: the

very temple began to rise upon my sight, when a Dutch porpoise approaching to make me a low bow, his complaisance was full as notorious as Satan's, when, according to Catholic legends, he took leave of Calvin or Dr Faustus. No spell can resist a fumigation of this nature; away fled palace, Hecuba, matrons, temple etc. I looked up, and lo! I was in a garret."

Humor and social criticism also stand out in the passages dealing with the Netherlands of Tobias Smollett's The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle (1751). Accompanied by a good-for-nothing governor, the main character of the novel is sent to the Continent for his education, 'his improvement', but quite the opposite happens. He is continually involved in fighting, gambling and running after women. Clearly a caricature of the high-minded principle that travel broadens the mind.

After being kicked out of Paris, Peregrine and his friends, one of them a painter, travel to the Low Countries. Readers familiar with this itinerary, can recognize many situations and appreciate some jokes that may be lost on others. Let us first look at the feelings of expectation of the painter, who is about to enter the town of his idol Peter Paul Rubens. 'The pleasure he felt was equal to that of a Musulman, on the last day of his pilgrimage to Mecca'. After their arrival they immediately visited a collection of paintings.

"Being provided with one of those domestics who are always in waiting to offer their services to strangers on their first arrival, they were conducted to the house of a gentleman who had an excellent collection of pictures; and though the greatest part of them were painted by his favourite artist [=Rubens], Pallet condemned them all by the lump, because Pickle had told him beforehand, that there was not one performance of Rubens among the number."

The gentleman referred to is almost certainly Jean-Michel-Joseph Van Havre, a descendant of Rubens. One of the paintings was the Chapeau de paille, a portrait of Susanna Lunden, the sister of Rubens' second wife, now in the British Museum. Sylas Neville wrote: His 'wife in a hat and feather is one of the most delightful portraits I have ever beheld. Ease, simplicity and grace combined. The face and neck beyond expression delicate. The veins are seen in the bosom, as of one alive. The red sleeves give a relief to the rest of the dress and have a very happy effect. The hands, which I think no inconsiderable part of female beauty, very pretty. A ring on one of the forefingers'.

"The next place they visited, was what is called the academy of painting, furnished with a number of poultry pieces, in which our painter recognized the stile of Peter Paul

[Rubens], with many expressions of admiration, on the same sort of previous intelligence."

The joke about the academy of painting is that there were no pictures by Rubens at all. The only Rubens item here was his chair, which tourists were allowed to sit in. The scene in the cathedral is a parody of the feelings of awe expressed by tourists at the paintings and their mixed feelings about the Catholic religion and its priests and friars.

The next passage describes a visit to a painter's workshop. He was engaged in painting 'a huge louse that crawled upon' a beggar's shoulder. On another painting 'two flies were engaged upon the carcass of a dog half-devoured'. Two instances of Flemish realism that brought Pallet to a state of ecstasy. Tourists at that time must have understood this passage as a reference to the historical anecdote they were told when standing in front of a painting by Frans Floris in the cathedral. Guides always commented on The Fall of the Angels, and added the story that belonged to it.

This is Harry Peckham's version:

"On the thigh of one of the fallen angels is a large hornet [a big wasp], painted by Quinten Matsys, the noted blacksmith of Antwerp, who fell in love with the daughter of Floris and demanded her in marriage. The painter refused him because he was not of his own profession. Matsys therefore changed his hammer for the pallet, and studied under the Italian master[s] for two years. On his return he painted this hornet, unknown to Floris, who by mistake was going to brush it off, thinking it alive. He was so pleased with the execution of it, that he immediately gave him his daughter in marriage'. This anecdote was the Antwerp variant of a story about Apelles, the Greek artist from classical antiquity, who painted grapes in such a realistic way that birds came and tried to eat them. Pallet boasted he had once 'equalled, if not excelled, the two ancient painters who vied with each other in the representation of a curtain and a bunch of grapes; for he had exhibited the image of a certain object so like to nature, that the bare sight of it set a whole hogsty in an uproar."

Finally there is the scene with the painter in extasy before Rubens' Descent from the Cross, for which Louis XIV had once offered 40,000 guilders.

"They returned to the Great Church, and were entertained with the view of that celebrated master-piece of Rubens, in which he has introduced the portraits of himself and his whole family. The doors that conceal this capital performance were no sooner unfolded, than our enthusiast, debarred the use of speech, by a precious covenant with his friend Pickle, lifted up his hands and eyes, and putting himself in the attitude of Hamlet, when his father's ghost appears, adored in silent extasy and awe."

A little known guidebook, *A Tour to Spa* (1777) imitates the comments, such as they may have been given by the tourist guides: 'The disposition of the body is easy, natural, and admirably done; the body on a sheet; hand on thigh; man in red; right leg on the ladder; the hand on the shoulder; anxiety of the man at top, least any accident should happen to the body; fine figures of women at the foot of the cross; the foot on one of their shoulders; countenance of figure behind; blood on body and arm; the tender expression of the Madonna, whose hand supports his elbow, she being fearful of his falling; fine old man; cloth in mouth; and hand on cross'.

For Smollett and his many readers Flanders stood for art and religion. Holland on the other hand, for a country where the churlish and selfish owners of expensive collections took themselves for real connoisseurs. In Rotterdam Peregrine and his friends were invited to spend an evening with countrymen who had completely adapted to Dutch customs. They just sat in a circle, smoking their pipes and spitting, without anything resembling a polite conversation. This scene is followed by the visit to the collection of curiosities of a man we have already met with. Jan Bisschop, the Rotterdam collector, who even after his death was mentioned by tourists.

"Next morning by eight o'clock, these polite Hollanders returned the visit, and after breakfast attended their English friends to the house of a person that possessed a very curious cabinet of curiosities, to which they had secured our company's admission. The owner of this collection was a cheesemonger, who received them in a woollen night-cap, with straps buttoned under his chin. As he understood no language but his own, he told them, by the canal of one of their conductors, that he did not make a practice of showing his curiosities; but understanding they were Englishmen, and recommended by his friends, he was content to submit them to their perusal. So saying, he led them up a dark stair, into a small room, decorated with a few paltry figures in plaster of Paris, two or three miserable landscapes, the skins of an otter, seal, and some fishes stuffed; and in one corner stood a glass-case, furnished with newts, frogs, lizards and serpents, preserved in spirits; a human foetus, a calf with two heads, and about two dozen of butterflies pinned upon paper."

In Smollett Bisschop is a cheesemonger, possibly because cheese is a more fitting attribute of a Dutchman than thread. There is also more emphasis on his collection of natural history than that of his paintings, but apart from that, he is very much the man as described by so many other tourists: simple, old, needing strong persuasion to show his treasures, and fully convinced of their high quality.

Conclusion

Although for foreign tourists Holland and Flanders ranked second to Italy and Paris, it was a part of the world with a charm of its own, which no traveller could afford to miss. In the many fine towns, sightseers were interested in all sorts of matters: agriculture, industry, social services and religion, but most of all collections of natural curiosities and art. Their impressions make fascinating reading and often give us unique documentary evidence of day to day life in the Low Countries in the 18th century.

Just as modern tourists who flock to museums in Belgium and Holland to see the Rembrandts, Vermeers, Van Goghs and works by Rubens, few 18th-century tourists would have admitted that their journey was exclusively educational. The ladies and gentlemen who could afford to spend five or six weeks in the Low Countries were out to see places of interest, but only in combination with social obligations such as visits to the theatre and dinners with prominent contacts in the various cities. As the century progressed they expected their guidebooks to be more and more practical. Up-to-date information about transport, accommodation and entertainment was more important than historically correct descriptions. We can only fully understand the travellers' letters and journals if we study their guidebooks; and we can only fully understand the travel 'literature' of this period after a thorough study of the travelogues of ordinary tourists.

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