



Across Europe: Educational Travelling of German Noblemen in a Comparative Perspective

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Abstract

In recent years, cultural historians interested in the Grand Tour have written divided histories focusing on travelers from one particular nation or region. Drawing from what these researchers report on educational traveling as well as from primary sources, it is now possible to put the Grand Tour into a European perspective. As to travelers from Germany, there is a wide scope of source material at hand, comprising funeral sermons, university rolls, travelogues, travel accounts, and correspondence. As a comparative perspective clearly reveals, educational travelling was vital in shaping the identity of gentlemanly travelers. Though starting out as a transnational social practice common to most aristocrats from northern and eastern Europe and to a lesser degree also to the nobilities from Romance countries, it contributed to sharpen notions of “the own” and “the other” towards the end of the Early Modern Period.

Keywords

Grand Tour, educational traveling, travel literature, nobility, education, Germany, France, Great Britain

The Count: My father died already 18 years ago and because all of my brothers died as well, I am the only one left.

The Pope looked at the Cardinal and said: He is the only one left and yet he did set out on such a wide journey.

The Cardinal: There he follows a laudable habit of the Germans.¹

¹ Anton Friederich Büsching, *Beiträge zur Lebensgeschichte denkwürdiger Personen, insonderheit gelehrter Männer*, vol. 1, Heinrich XXIV: Graf Reuss, Anton von Geusau (Halle, 1784), 309. I would like to thank Stefanie Krause, Donna Krause McCosker, and Mark Brayshay for their feedback on earlier versions of this paper as well as for smoothing out linguistic inadequacies.

Introduction

The short dialogue I chose as motto of this paper was interspersed in an account Anton Friedrich Büsching wrote on the educational travel undertaken by Heinrich XI, Count Reuss, who visited Rome in 1741. The dialogue pays tribute to the fact that educational travelling in Germany was seen as indispensable for the polishing of young men of breeding from the late sixteenth to the late eighteenth century. In contrast to the Grand Tour performed by British gentlemen that in recent years has been studied by historians as well as art historians and literary historians, educational travelling of young noblemen from Germany has only recently been discovered as a field of interest.² The same is true for the Grand Tour of travelers from other European countries. In this paper, I will draw attention to the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century origins of the European Grand Tour. At the core of this paper are the tours undertaken by members of German aristocratic families as a means of furthering and deepening their education and polishing their manners. I will also add further evidence that reinforces the idea of the Grand Tour as an educational practice common to European elite culture during the Early Modern period. Putting educational travels of young German noblemen into a European perspective is the central purpose of this paper.

In order to support my line of argument, I will draw from what researchers report on educational travelling of British, French, Dutch,

² For English Grand Tours, see especially J. Black, *The British Abroad: the Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1992), recommendable because of the compiled record material; A. Burgess and F. Haskell, *The Age of the Grand Tour* (London, 1967) is a coffee-table book; M. Cohen, "The Grand Tour: Constructing the English Gentleman in Eighteenth-Century France," *History of Education* 2 (1992), 241-257, is one of the more inspiring accounts on the topic; and C. Hibbert, *The Grand Tour* (London, 1987). For art history, A. Brillì's *Quando viaggiare era un'arte* (Bologna, 1995) is a rather essayistic sketch from printed sources; Chloe Chard's *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600-1830* (Manchester, 1999) is a thorough exploration of narrative sources from a post-modernist point of view, but its neglect of concepts of social history is of programmatic significance. In literary history, detailed studies are assembled in: E. Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian cultural relations since the Renaissance* (London, 1998); B. Redford presents an illuminating interpretation of art within the context of the Grand Tour in his *Venice & the Grand Tour* (New Haven and London, 1996). For Germany see T. Grosser, *Reiseziel Frankreich: Deutsche Reiseliteratur vom Barock bis zur Französischen Revolution* (Opladen 1989); A. Stannek, *Telemachs Brüder: Die höfische Bildungsreise des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt 2001); M. Leibetseder, *Die Kavaliertour: Adlige Erziehungsreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Köln, 2004).

Polish, Scandinavian, and Italian aristocracies as well as from different types of source material.³ As to the latter, there are numerous record sources at hand in archives and libraries—travelogues, travel accounts and correspondence between family members abroad and home—documenting individual tours. However, not all European nobilities have evidence found so easily. In an illuminating account, Jean Boutier argued recently that hints on educational journeys by Florentine noblemen often have to be retrieved from sketchy records, while massive sources on them are missing.⁴

Moreover, there are numerous printed sources. As for Germany, funeral sermons (*Leichenpredigten*), which regularly communicate the lifetime merits of the deceased to posterity, are to be mentioned in the first place.⁵ Since funeral sermons were customary only from the second half of the sixteenth century, little is known on educational travelling that took place earlier in the century. Since these sermons were part of the cultural sphere of German Protestantism, whereas Catholics preferred other memorial forms to honor their ancestors, little is known about the beginnings of travelling in Catholic families. Apart from that, there is a great amount of additional sources from different backgrounds that shed light on the Grand Tour. For example, university rolls are extremely useful, because both bourgeois and noble-born students figured in them in considerable numbers.⁶ By comparing the entries, evidence of individual

³ For a European perspective see R. Babel and W. Paravicini, eds., *Grand Tour: Adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Ostfildern 2005). For the Netherlands see especially A. Frank-van Westriennen, *De Grootte Tour: Tekening van de educatiereis der Nederlanders in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1983). For Scandinavia see V. Helk, *Dansk-norsk studierejser fra reformationen til enevælden 1536-1660: Med en matrikel over studerende i udlandet*, vol. 1 (Odense, 1987); V. Helk, *Dansk-norsk studierejser 1661-1813*, vol. 2 (Odense, 1987); H. Ilsoe, *Udlaendiges rejser i Danmark intil ar 1700* (Copenhagen, 1963).

⁴ J. Boutier, "L'institution politique du gentilhomme: Le 'Grand Tour' des jeunes nobles florentins en Europe, XVII^e-XVIII^e siècle," in *Istituzioni e società in Toscana nell'età moderna: Atti delle giornate di studio dedicate a Guiseppe Pansini Firenze, 4-5 dicembre 1992* (Firenze, 1994), 257-290, esp. 258.

⁵ An introduction to this topic is given by R. Lenz, "Gedruckte Leichenpredigten (1550-1750): 1. Historischer Abriss; 2. Quellenwert; 3. Grenzen der Quelle", in R. Lenz, ed., *Leichenpredigten als Quelle historischer Wissenschaften: 1. Marburger Personalschriften-symposium* (Köln, 1975), 36-51.

⁶ R. Chartier et al., eds., *Les universités européennes du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1986).

travelers on the circuit can be found, and sometimes even the identities of tutors and travel companions are revealed.⁷

Printed sources bear the characteristics of qualitative sources, from which we learn a lot about individual travels and the social meanings of the Grand Tour. Yet they are of little value for statistical purposes, such as indicating how many travelers left their homes to travel Europe, of what age they were, how long they stayed abroad, etc. Since Early Modern states lacked both the will and the means to control and record traveling, there are simply no reliable sources from which such figures could be drawn. Accordingly, there is no way to calculate the exact number of travelers setting out on a Grand Tour. All we can do is to take the data drawn from qualitative sources and generalize from them.

Renaissance Beginnings

In the late sixteenth century, educational travelling became a clearly distinguishable custom in different layers of German upper-class society. Among the Brandenburg nobility, for example, we know of only twelve gentlemen travelling Europe before 1580, but of thirty-two setting out for an educational journey between 1580 and 1620.⁸ At about the same time, educational travelling developed in other parts of Germany, too. A case in point was the trip undertaken by a young nobleman from Saxony: in about 1550, Caspar von Kurzleben (1524-1606) took a trip to Italy, studying at the University of Padua and staying in Venice for a while. However, his further travels were prevented by the holy inquisition.⁹ After having finished his studies at the Universities of Erfurt and Jena, the imperial Count Albrecht zu Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen (1537-1605) went to Louvain and from there to Italy, visiting the University of Padua and learning languages. When his studies were accomplished, he spent

⁷ See G. Erler, *Die jüngere Matrikel der Universität Leipzig, 1559-1809*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1909); F. Juntze ed., *Matrikel der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Band 1: 1690-1730* (Halle, 1960); G. Knod, *Die alten Matrikel der Universität Strassburg 1621-1793*. 3 vols. (Strassburg, 1897-1902); W. du Rien, *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae, 1575-1875* (The Hague, 1875).

⁸ See P. M. Hahn, *Struktur und Funktion des brandenburgischen Adels im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1979), 116.

⁹ See F. Roth, *Restlose Auswertung von Leichenpredigten und Personalschriften für genealogische Zwecke*, 10 vols. (Boppard/Rhein, 1959-1980), Nr. 7391.

some time at the court of the house of Orange.¹⁰ These are only two out of about two dozen examples drawn from funeral sermons, hinting that educational journeys as a social practice were well established before the last third of the sixteenth century.¹¹

At about the same time, educational travel was established within the British nobility, though no numbers can be given. One of the early travelers coming from England to the continent was Thomas Hoby, who was to translate Castiglione's *Il libro del Cortegiano* (1528) into his native language. After having attended St. John's College in Oxford for two years, he settled in Martin Bucer's house in Strasbourg, with whom he studied. After that, he started on a tour lasting from 1548-1550. It led him as far south in the Italian peninsula as Naples and Sicily.¹² However, not only had the British adopted such journeys about the middle of the century, the upper echelons of Dutch society did the same. In the 1550s, Frederik Coenders van Helpen visited several places in the Holy Roman Empire and guided two of his nephews on their trip to the Empire, Switzerland, France, and England. Because of his travel account—the oldest known Dutch account of a Grand Tour—he was also marked as the “first” educational traveler of this country. Yet scattered evidence shows that the 1530s are most likely to have seen the first generation of Dutchmen setting out on an educational journey.¹³ Especially assiduous travelers were noblemen from the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania in the golden age of the *rzeczpospolita szlachtego*, though their impetus for foreign travel slackened in the course of the seventeenth century.¹⁴

Historical investigation has not cast much light on similar journeys undertaken by members of the French nobilities.¹⁵ Nevertheless, some

¹⁰ See *ibid.*, Nr. 2511.

¹¹ For further cases, see *ibid.* Nr. 427, 428, 511, 513, 515, 519, 522, 576, 1075, 1918, 2455, 2511, 2275, 2475, 3067, 3479, 4188, 5243, 6438, 7381, and 7758 (all born before 1550).

¹² See J. W. Stoye, *English Travelers Abroad, 1604-1641* (Oxford, 1965), 110-111, and Chaney, *Evolution*, 62-66.

¹³ See Frank-van Westrienen, *De Grootte Tour*, 13-19.

¹⁴ See H. J. Bömelburg, “Adlige Mobilität und Grand Tour im polnischen und litauischen Adel (1500-1700),” in R. Babel and W. Paravicini, eds., *Grand Tour*, 309-326.

¹⁵ The only exception I know: M. Leibetseder, “Erziehungsreisen französischer Adelsöhne in der Frühen Neuzeit. Die Beispiele des Duc de Rohan und des Marquis de Paulmy” in Joachim Rees et al., eds., *Europareisen politisch-sozialer Eliten im 18. Jahrhundert: Theoretische Neuorientierung, kommunikative Praxis, Kultur, und Wissenstransfer* (Berlin 2002), 83-104. Yet, the topic has occasionally been discussed in works on the

cases from the second half of the sixteenth century can be specified. Philippe du Plessis-Mornay from Normandy accomplished a European tour in the late 1560s and early 1570s, his route guiding him from Geneva to Heidelberg and the imperial town Frankfurt, before turning via Switzerland to Italy. He toured northern Italy and also went as far as Rome, but did not succeed in fetching a boat to the Levant in Venice. He passed back through the Alps, in order to visit Vienna and the eastern border of the Holy Roman Empire in Hungary. In 1572, he sojourned to the court of Orange in the Netherlands and, after a brief detour to England, he returned to Paris.¹⁶ Another example is the journey of Jacques-Auguste de Thou, who studied at several French universities in the 1570s, before he got the chance to accompany his uncle, a *conseiller-clerc* of the parliament of Paris, to Italy and on his return from there went to see the Netherlands with some relatives.¹⁷

Thus, the nobilities of several European realms had adopted educational journeys by the second half of the sixteenth century as a means of raising their male offspring. Contacts among travelers on the one side and travelers and local societies on the other certainly did their bit to homogenize itineraries and activities as well as the reading of travel guides and educational books. As noble travelers frequently were accompanied by erudite tutors cultivating their contacts abroad with scholars and courtly elites, educational travelling contributed both to strengthening the ties within the republic of letters and the exchange within the European society of courts.

Homogenization through contact among educational travelers from different countries is clearly proven by the term “Grand Tour” itself.

educational practices of the French aristocracy, see J. D. Nordhaus, *Arma et Litterae, The Education of the Noblesse de Race in Sixteenth-Century France* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia, 1974), 138-142, 197, and 220-221; R. Chartier et al., *L'Éducation en France du XVI^e au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1976), 172-173; J. M. Constant, *La Noblesse française aux XVI^e-XVII^e siècles* (Paris, 1995), 176-177; François Bluche, *La noblesse française aux XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1995), 51-52; M. Motley, *Becoming a French Aristocrat: The Education of the Court Nobility, 1580-1750* (Princeton, 1990), 187-192; J. Dewald, *Aristocratic Experience and the Origins of Modern Culture: France, 1570-1715* (Berkeley, 1993), 69-103. A bibliography on eighteenth-century published and unpublished French accounts on the Netherlands is provided in M. van Strien-Chardonneau, *Le Voyage de Hollande: récits de voyageurs français dans les Provinces-Unies, 1748-1795* (Oxford, 1994), 473-487.

¹⁶ See R. Patry, *Philippe du Plessis-Mornay: Un huguenot homme d'Etat. (1549-1623)* (Paris, 1933); Madame de Witt, ed., *Mémoires de Madame de Mornay* (Paris, 1868).

¹⁷ See Chartier et al., *L'éducation en France*, 173.

Originally, it described a circuit through France. The earliest known evidence of its existence comes from a letter written by the young English nobleman Francis Windebank, telling his father in September 1605 that he had just accomplished “un si grand tour.”¹⁸ In 1637, a certain M. Mary offered English travelers a contract for “the great tower of France.” The expression “Grand Tour” was not only in use on the British Isles but also on the continent. In 1648, the twenty-three year old Dutch knight Johan Huydecoper reported home from Saumur that he had “accomplished the *grootte tour* of France.”¹⁹ Occasionally, the term occurs in the papers of German travelers, too. After having returned from England to Paris in summer 1633, the tutor of teenage Count Johann Sigismund zu Lynar reported plans for further travels to his pupil’s mother: “I hope to do with my Graceful Master the *grosse Tour* in France comprising Orléans, La Rochelle, Tours, Angers, Blois, Saumur, Poitier, Lyon, and Geneva &c.”²⁰ Thus, the term itself was the most vivid expression for the Grand Tour as a “shared history” of the European aristocracies.

As to the number of travelers from each country, we can only lay out a very general map based on the facts historical research has produced up to the present. On this map, most travelers would come from Britain, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, and the German lands, as well as Poland-Lithuania, whereas noblemen from Romance countries were less frequently to be met in foreign territories. Perceiving themselves as the cultural leaders of their time, France, Spain, and Italy were morally and aesthetically setting the standards. When they decided to travel, they did so rather sporadically and under special requirements. The French duke Henri de Rohan, for instance, left France in 1600 on a tour to the Holy Roman Empire, Italy, the Netherlands, England, and Scotland. Though he was

¹⁸ Quoted from J. W. Stoye, *English Travellers*, 66. The origins of the term “Grand Tour” (and its equivalents in other languages) remain in the dark. However, there is a striking similarity between the circuit of the “Grand Tour” and the route that King Henry IX of France followed between 1564 and 1566 while travelling French provinces, though there is no clear hint that it was drawn from the tradition of regal circuit. On the journey of Henry IX of France see J. Boutier, A. Dewerp and D. Nordmann, *Un tour de France royale. Le voyage de Charles IX, 1564-1566* (Paris 1984).

¹⁹ Quoted from Frank-van Westrienen, *De grootte Tour*, 2 (my translation).

²⁰ Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv (referred to as BLHA hereafter) Potsdam, Rep. 37, Schlossarchiv Lübbenau 4537, letter by Paul Bowers to countess Elisabeth zu Lynar, most likely from June 1633 (all translations from German and French sources by the author).

no older than twenty-one, he had already rendered military services to the French king but was “out of work” after the peace of Vervins in 1598. Thus, his voyage cannot be seen as the accomplishment of formal education, but rather as *otium*, i.e., a way of spending free time in a way appropriate to a noble person. Rohan set out to see Europe “seeing myself useless in France peace being concluded, & for my young age more apt to learn than to fight for my fatherland.”²¹

Since their voyages were due rather to special circumstances than to family tradition or social custom, the number of travelers from Romance countries remained quite small and their motives to go abroad rather individual.²² Moreover, their educational journeys were less ritualized in matters of itineraries and objectives than these of their northern, central, and eastern European fellows. And it never was established among the educational practices pursued within noble families as firmly as, for example, in Protestant Germany.

Up to now, I have offered examples serving as evidence for the assumption that the second half of the sixteenth century was the formative period for the Grand Tour. Yet the reasons why it emerged are still to be identified. Broadly speaking, the rise of the Grand Tour was closely linked to the burgeoning of the Early Modern state bureaucracy as well as to the transformation of the elite’s *habitus*. More precisely, it went hand in hand with alterations in the code of conduct of courtly elites, which were strongly influenced by the reception of the concepts of the *cortigiano* and the *cavaliere* that made European nobles seek polite manners in the countries that originated these concepts.²³ There were, however, also other reasons. In medieval times many noble families aspired having their sons educated at court as a page in the prince’s entourage.²⁴ This practice coin-

²¹ [Henri Duc de Rohan], *VOYAGE DV DVC DE ROHAN, Faict en l’an 1600, En Italie, Allmaigne, Pays-bas Vni, Angleterre, & Ecosse* (Amsterdam 1600), 1. See M. Leibetseder, “Erziehungsreisen französischer Adelsöhne”, 85-92.

²² See *ibid.*

²³ See Frank-van Westrienen, *De Grootte Tour*, 29; Stannek, *Telemachs Brüder*, 55-63.

²⁴ On this topic see: H. Eckert, “Zur Geschichte der Pagen,” in H. Brand et al., *Aus 300 Jahren Kadettenkorps*, vol. 1 (München 1981), 379-403; L. Fentzke, “Der Knappe. Erziehung und Funktion,” in J. Fleckenstein, ed., *Curialitas: Studien zu Grundfragen der höfisch-ritterlichen Kultur* (Göttingen, 1990), 55-127; W. Paravicini et al., eds., *Erziehung und Bildung bei Hofe. 7. Symposium der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* (Stuttgart 2002); M. Leibetseder, “In der Hand des Fürsten: Adligen Pagen und fürstliche Patronage um 1600,” in *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 34 (2007), 609-628.

cided with a strong sense of placing oneself in the service of the ruling dynasty in many noble families. With the humanist mind prevailing well through the Early Modern period, this sense was strengthened by rhetoric of working for the “common good.” An expanding state bureaucracy demanded an influx of officials with special knowledge in terms of law and politics. Furthermore, diplomacy had been becoming more important since the sixteenth century, making language studies, studies in international law, and knowledge of foreign manners and courtly etiquette more important. Educational journeys clearly were a means of acquiring up-to-date knowledge that was useful for making a career at court or within administrative bodies.

Moreover, mobility itself was considered a feature of the noble *ars vivendi*.²⁵ Travelling had been a vital part of the aristocratic existence ever since the Middle Ages. Thus, the Grand Tour drew heavily on older forms of both educational and non-educational travelling. Patrician families turned the traditional apprenticeship abroad into foreign travel when they gave up their engagement with merchandizing during the course of the sixteenth century.²⁶ As to the lesser aristocracy, the track leading towards educational journeys was paved by those cadets, going on a *peregrinatio academica* in order to obtain a seat at a cathedral chapter, a custom that during the sixteenth century quickly merged with the practice of the educational journey.²⁷ Moreover, both princes and ambassadors had themselves been accompanied by young gentlemen of breeding to foreign courts, thereby mobilizing other young men to acquire similar experiences by different means. Last but not least, there were striking similarities between educational travelling in Italy and religious peregrinations on the Apennine peninsula.

²⁵ S. von Birken, *Hochfürstlicher Brandenburgischer ULYSSES, oder Verlauf der Länderreise, welche [...] Herr Christian Ernst, Marggraf zu Brandenburg [...] durch Teutschland, Frankreich, Italien und die Niederlande, auch nach den spanischen Frontierien hochlöblichst verrichtet*, 2ed edition (Bayreuth 1669), Introduction.

²⁶ On Florence, see Boutier, “L’institution politique,” 266.

²⁷ In some cathedral chapters studies in Italy or France were required as a presupposition for obtaining a seat since the High Middle Ages. See H. Reif, *Westfälischer Adel 1770-1860: Vom Herrschaftsstand zur regionalen Elite* (Göttingen, 1979), 153 on Münster, and J. Miethke, “Karrierechancen eines Theologiestudiums im späten Mittelalter,” in R. C. Schwinges, ed., *Gelehrte im Reich. Zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte akademischer Eliten des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1996), 81-209, esp. 203 on Speyer.

The Social Scope of Educational Travelling

Of what social class or group were young men setting out on an educational journey? Generally speaking, travelers stemmed from those layers within the European upper classes that figured as regional socio-political elites. Reconsidering Florence, it was both the Medici grand dukes and families with strong ties to them who sent their sons on a “viaggio per l’Europa.”²⁸ English travelers belonged both to the gentry and to the aristocracy, and Dutch travelers belonged either to families of the old nobilities or of the *Regenten*. In France both the *noblesse de robe* and the *noblesse d’épée* sent their sons travelling abroad.²⁹

As to Germany, those young men embarking on an educational journey generally belonged to the leading families of the Holy Roman Empire or its territories. Travelling was a family tradition, generation after generation of sons going abroad. Some of them belonged to the notabilities of the country-towns such as Catholic Münster in Westphalia or Lutheran Hanover.³⁰ Others were to be counted among the patricians of the imperial cities—a case in point was a body of forty-two patrician families from Nuremberg, its status as an exclusive corporation having been fixed by the *Tanzstatut* of 1521. There was evidence for at least half of them sending sons on an educational journey between 1575 and 1788.³¹ The educa-

²⁸ See Boutier, “L’institution politique,” 268-269, and 287.

²⁹ See Leibetseder, “Erziehungsreisen”.

³⁰ For Münster see M. Weidner, *Landadel in Münster 1600-1760: Stadtverfassung, Standesbehauptung und Fürstenhof*, 2 vols. (Münster 2000), see vol. 1, 54-119; M. Weidner, “Vom ‘Landjunker’ zum ‘Cavalier du monde’. Standeserziehung, kultureller Wandel und Strukturen adeligen Daseins beim stiftsfähigen Adel des Fürstbistums Münster im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert,” in Babel and Paravicini, eds., *Grand Tour*, 455-468; for Hanover see Leibetseder, *Die Kavaliertour*, 47.

³¹ Travelers sprang from the following families: Behaim (3), Ebner von Eschenbach (2), Geuder von Heroldsberg (2), Grundherr von Althenhann (1), Haller von Hallerstein (5), Harsdörffer (1), Holzschuher (5), Hülß (1), Imhof (12), Führer von Heimersdorf (7), Kress von Kressenstein (4), Löffelholz von Kolberg (3), Muffel von Eschau (2), Ölhafen (5), Paumgarten von Hobenstein auf Londerstadt (4), Pfizing von Henfenfeld (1) Poemer (5), Scheurl von Defersdorf (2), Stubenberg (2), Tucher von Simmelsdorf (5), Tetzl von Kirchsittenbach (3), Volckammer (1), Welser von Neuhof (3) and Wölcker (1) (Basis: funeral sermons; Historische Commission bei der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, ed., *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*. 56 vols. (Berlin 1967-1971); B. Fabian, ed., *Deutsches Biographisches Archiv* (München, 1960-1999); also G. A. Will, *Nürnbergisches Gelehrten-Lexicon [...]*, 8 vols. (Nürnberg, 1755-1808). See Leibetseder, *Die Kavaliertour*, 27.

tional patterns followed by nobles can be shown by the Löffelholz von Kolberg, a family producing ninety-six males (excluding those dying in infancy) between 1425 and 1775. Though academic training gained importance among its members in the sixteenth century, the peak of university attendance lay in the seventeenth century, when three-quarters of the family's sons matriculated themselves in Nuremberg's college at Altdorf and a third of these also visited additional universities. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, educational journeys were firmly established among the Löffelholz von Kolberg, and more than forty percent of the male offspring born in the seventeenth century went on a tour. In the eighteenth century, the number of Löffelholz on the lanes of Europe diminished and there is hardly any evidence for tours past 1750.³²

Another subset of travelers had noble or even aristocratic backgrounds. Firstly, there were petty dynasties, running their more or less extended properties as sovereign lords. In terms of international politics their weight was rather low. Therefore, some families used educational traveling when they sought employment abroad or information on foreign countries.³³ For example, the imperial Counts Reuss split up into three branches in the sixteenth century, from which only the senior and the cadet branches persisted right through the seventeenth century. Most evidence for educational journeys undertaken by its male members comes from the cadet branch, which for financial reasons had to take service under foreign princes more regularly than the members of the senior branch.³⁴ Under special circumstances, one branch of the fragmented family even took to the Grand Tour as a means of diplomacy. Another example was the early eighteenth-century petty court of Köstritz in the

³² See J. G. Biedermann, *Geschlechtsregister des Hochadelichen Patriciats zu Nürnberg [...]* (Beyreuth 1748), tables CCXCIX-CCCXXXVII and C. F. W. von Volckamer, *J.G. Biedermann's Geschlechtsregister [...] bis zum Jahre 1854 fortgesetzt* (Nürnberg 1854), 81-86.

³³ On their travels see Stannek, *Telemachs Brüder*, who studies the journeys undertaken by the counts von Kirchberg and Weissenhorn, von Lamberg and von Dernath on the one hand and those of the dukes of Brunswig-Lunenburg and Mecklenburg-Schwerin on the other. On the travels of Hessian princes see E. Bender, "Die Bildungs- und Kavaliersreise des Landgrafen Friedrich I. von Hessen-Kassel," *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 48 (1998), 83-103.

³⁴ G. Franz, "Die Herren, Grafen und Fürsten Reuss", H. Patze and W. Schlesinger, eds., *Geschichte Thüringens*, vol. 5.1.1.1 (Cologne, 1982), 561-573, esp. 565, 572; Büsching, *Beyträge*, vol. 1; Roth, *Restlose Auswertung*, 2526; H. W. Erbe, *Zinzendorf und der fromme Adel seiner Zeit* (Leipzig, 1928), 13; archival records.

sub-mountainous area of the Thuringian Vogtland: being of pietist conviction, he was keen to get information on heterodox religious movements elsewhere in Europe in order to establish contacts with them. In addition, in Paris, travelling sons were to pay attention to signs of clandestine Protestantism and to gather information on Jansenist circles. To this end, they were sent to one particular Abbé who willingly informed them about this religious movement. It was he, for example, who provided them with the *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques*, the officially banned polemic journal of the Jansenists, which was ardently read and partially transcribed in the travelling son's reports and then sent home to Köstritz.³⁵

Apart from this, educational travelling of the petty dynasties resembled very much those of a second set of aristocratic travelers, namely the "gentry" families. From this core of noble families that figured as local rulers subject to their respective prince also sprang the elite that filled important ceremonial and administrative positions at court or served in the officer corps. They generally possessed large estates and maintained more or less far-reaching connections to families within their home-territory and within the Holy Roman Empire. Young gentlemen of either of these groups flocked abroad for educational purposes in great numbers. Some examples that might illustrate the number of travelers of noble origin—the Counts Lynar, a family propertied in the Mark Brandenburg and in Lusatia, sent five of their twelve sons born between 1600 and 1788 on a tour abroad.³⁶ The Barons and Counts of Törring, a family of influence at the electoral court of Bavaria, sent at least one-third of their sons to universities and one-fourth on a tour.³⁷

Finally, we also must look at the politically important electoral and regal dynasties. Their princes were also to be found travelling Europe, although not all of these families pursued this particular social practice with the same endeavor. In 1593, already a duke, Maximilian I of Bavaria

³⁵ See M. Leibetseder, "Attici Vettern in Paris: Pietismus, Jansenismus und das Netz von Bekanntschaften auf der Kavalierstour," in Babel and Paravicini, eds., *Grand Tour*, 469-484, esp. 478-479.

³⁶ Leibetseder, *Die Kavalierstour*, 29.

³⁷ See F. Weigle, *Die Matrikel der deutschen Nation in Siena (1573-1738)*, vol. 1 (Tübingen 1972), passim; M. Ksoll, *Die wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse des bayerischen Adels 1600-1679: Dargestellt an den Familien Törring-Jettenbach, Törring zum Stain sowie Haslang zu Haslangkreit und Haslang zu Hohenkammer* (Munich 1986), passim; J. Englbrecht, *Drei Rosen für Bayern: Die Grafen zu Törring von den Anfängen bis heute* (Pfaffenhofen 1985).

visited Prague, Italy, and Lorraine.³⁸ While his successors were brought up at home, Karl Albrecht went on a tour to Italy.³⁹ More reluctant to adopt educational journeys were the electors of Brandenburg and later kings of Prussia. Only Elector Friedrich Wilhelm and King Friedrich Wilhelm I spent part of their youth in the United Provinces where they stood in close contact to the court of Orange in The Hague.⁴⁰ The education of Friedrich II, however, was rather provincial; a tour to a festival arranged by August the Strong (the so-called *Lustlager von Zeithain*) in 1730 was the most impressive sojourn at a foreign court during his youth. More assiduous travelers were the Saxon electors. Johann Georg I was the first to visit Italy in his late teenage years. While his son was brought up at home, his two grandsons Johann Georg VI and August the Strong went to Paris about the year 1670. As a young prince, Friedrich August II was sent on a tour through Poland, Italy, and various territories of the Holy Roman Empire.⁴¹

Broadly speaking, these princely tours were less formalistic and ritualized than their subjects' were and, although princes usually travelled incognito, their travels were more expensive and attained a higher degree of visibility. The tour of August the Strong and his brother, for example, cost about 2,000 Reichstaler each month, whereas a son of a petty sovereign dynasty could spend 250-500 Reichstaler, and a "gentry" family

³⁸ See H. Dotterweich, *Der junge Maximilian. Jugend und Erziehung des bayerischen Herzogs und späteren Kurfürsten Maximilian I.* (Munich, 1962), 127-132. A travelogue called "Beschreibung der durch den Durchl. Fürsten und Herrn Maximilian Herzogs in Ober und Niederbayrn etc durch Italien verrichten Raiss anno 1693" is according to Dotterweich, 185 to be found in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek's Department of Manuscript under the call number Cgm 1972.

³⁹ See P. C. Hartmann, *Karl Albrecht, Karl VII: Glücklicher Kurfürst, unglücklicher Kaiser* (Regensburg, 1985), 30-36. A diary on his travels to Italy is according to Hartmann, 317 to be found in the Geheimes Hausarchiv in Munich under the call number Korr. Akt. Nr. 718.

⁴⁰ See E. Opgenoorth, *Friedrich Wilhelm der Große Kurfürst von Brandenburg. Eine politische Biographie*. 2 vols. (Göttingen etc., 1971), here: vol. 1, 31-50; C. Hinrichs, *Friedrich Wilhelm I. König in Preußen. Eine Biographie*. 2 vols. (Hamburg, 1941), here: vol. 1, 76-88 and 104-108. In the sixteenth century the future electors were only to be found visiting universities but not touring Europe: See B. Rogge, *Das Buch von den brandenburgischen Kurfürsten aus dem Hause Hohenzollern* (Hanover, 1892).

⁴¹ See J. Richter, *Das Erziehungswesen am Hofe der Wettiner Albertinischer (Haupt-) Linie* (Berlin, 1913), 174-175, 279-288, and 306-315. K. Keller, ed., "Mein Herr befindet sich gottlob gesund und wohl." *Sächsische Prinzen auf Reisen* (Leipzig, 1994).

90-150 Reichstaler each month. In the course of the eighteenth century, touring became more expensive both for crown princes and the aristocracies. A tour as lavish as that of August the Strong's son Friedrich August was granted a total of 40,000 Reichstaler for seven years plus 3,300 Reichstaler per month for his suite.⁴² For August the Strong, his son, and many other travelers from the highest echelons of German aristocracy, the money was perceived as well spent because it paved the way into European politics and court society. Future rulers were often given petty diplomatic tasks in order to prove their political talents. Apart from this, their travelling was seen as conspicuous consumption that elevated the reputation and honor of the traveler. August the Strong planned to have the central stages of his life glorified by a series of paintings by his court painter Louis de Silvestre. As a matter of fact, this series was never completed, aside from four paintings. Two of them show themes of his son's Grand Tour, notably the departure of Friedrich August II and his presentation to the French King Louis XIV.⁴³

The Spatial and Temporal Structure of the Grand Tour

Apart from France, what countries should a well-bred young gentleman see? The most important destinations of German travelers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries aside from France were Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and England. Although reliable statistical data are not at hand, two different statistical sets might hint at the preferences of the German upper classes. Table 1 is drawn from a choice of seventy-six patrician travelers from the imperial city of Nuremberg for which biographical data is available.⁴⁴ Covering the time span between 1575 and 1788, it gives numbers for one particular family, the Löffelholz,⁴⁵ and the over-all body of patricians.

⁴² See Leibetseder, *Die Kavaliertour*, 62.

⁴³ The Departure of Friedrich August II. is printed in: H. Marx, ed., *Nach der Flut. Meisterwerke der Dresdner Gemäldegalerie in Berlin* (Dresden, 2002), 101, presented in: Leibetseder, *Die Kavaliertour*, table 7.

⁴⁴ Details on the 79 travelers are given in note 38.

⁴⁵ Basis: Biedermann, *Geschlechtsregister des Hochadelichen Patriciats zu Nürnberg [...]*, Tables CCXCIX-CCCXXXVII; university rolls and archival sources. See Leibetseder, *Die Kavaliertour*, 27.

Table 1. Destinations of educational travelers from Nuremberg.

Destination	Löffelholz	Other patrician families
France	56.5 %	74.7 %
Italy	39.1 %	51.9 %
Netherlands	37 %	–
◦ Estates General	–	51.9 %
◦ Spanish/Austrian NL	–	32.9 %
England	30.43 %	48.1 %
Switzerland	19.6 %	31.7 %
Austria	10.9 %	7.6 %
Bohemia	8.7 %	10.1 %

As this table shows, France and Italy were the leading destinations of educational travelers from Nuremberg. Three-quarters of them went to see France and one-half travelled Italy. On the lower end of the scale were Austria and Bohemia, not attractive as destinations. Of course, these figures are only one side of the coin. That the Estates General were a destination as frequently chosen as Italy is not to say that it played the same role in the general scheme of the Grand Tour. In order to complete the analysis of these patterns, one has to take the temporal structures into account, too. Hence Table 2 presents statistical data drawn from travel accounts of three travelers (Georg Christian Löffelholz, Count August of Törring-Jettenbach and Count Friedrich Ulrich zu Lynar) along the analytical lines introduced by Jean Boutier.⁴⁶ In order to clarify the spatial and temporal patterns of the tour, they focus on the numbers of nights spent in certain places. The first scheme shows the nights each of the three young travelers stayed in France, Italy, England, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the German territories.

If one breaks down individual itineraries into nights spent in a certain country the preferences of upper-class travelers become clear. The table shows that there is not necessarily a link between social standing and the spatial and temporal extension of the route. Among the cases I picked, the patrician Georg Christian Löffelholz performed the “longest” tour, visiting the full scope of conventional destinations within five years. Again, France and Italy headed the list of the three young travelers’ sojourns abroad, whereas England, the United Provinces, the Spanish and Austrian

⁴⁶ See Boutier, “L’institution politique,” 273-276, for the following comparisons.

Table 2. Duration of sojourns by countries (numbers given in nights).

Name	Löffelholtz		Törring-Jettenbach		Lynar	
	nights	%	nights	%	nights	%
Date of the journey	1663-1668		1745-1750		1760-1762	
France	504	28.5	1634	94.2	35	37.8
Italy	1047	59.2	–	–	259	28.0
England	45	2.5	15	0.9	–	–
Netherlands	75	4.2	32	1.8	–	–
Switzerland	17	1.0	5	0.3	44	4.8
Holy Roman Empire	82	4.6	48	2.8	272	29.4

Netherlands as well as Switzerland remained only subject to short-term stays. Thus, two groups of countries emerge, the first group comprising those regions where travelers sojourned longer, and the second, those esteemed worthy of brief stops only. Such a gap existed in the Florentine cases examined by Boutier, too. In these cases, there was no single country claiming more than forty percent of the travelers' time.

Obviously, only some parts of Europe were visited frequently, whereas others were regularly omitted. But how did that come about? There is no easy answer to this question, since sources do not forward any perspicuous explanations. In their papers, noble writers frequently discussed whether it was advisable to study at a certain university or not, but general discussions as to whether or not one should visit a particular country are not known. In this regard, it is important to remember that educational travels usually were not set up on a drawing table but negotiated systematically between the parents back home and the travelers on tour, in accordance with financial means and pedagogic aims. Of course, general deliberations as to religious confession, security, and political matters were regularly taken into account, too. By negotiating the Grand Tour, expectations of the traveler's reference group back home and an international travelling community were reconciled. Moreover, a fairly well developed infrastructure for voyagers, e.g. a network of carriage courses and hostels as well as a road system ultimately going back to Roman times, eased travelling and minimized risks thereby contributing to establishing a kind of standard circuit. Treading trodden trails was from the late sixteenth to the first half of the eighteenth century the safest way to avail oneself of the social prestige of the Grand Tour, achieving honor being one of the major goals of educational travelling.

Therefore, the answer to the question lies rather in a correlation of geographical parameters and mental maps. Mental maps surely had a pedigree going back to the Middle Ages, when large parts of still-heathen central and eastern Europe as well as the Islamic Iberian peninsula were not counted among the Christianized core of the world. This socially constructed *Kulturgefälle*, or cultural gap between Christian centers and non-Christian peripheries, was set on a new basis by educational travelling. After Columbus divided the world at large between the poles of “savageness” and “civilization,” Europe was re-structured step by step along the lines of polished vs. boorish, refined vs. simple, and rich vs. poor countries. German noblemen, for instance, sought to shed some of their boorishness, even though a plain and simple character was perceived as a “national” virtue. To this end, Spain was, in the majority of cases, not perceived as the right place. The Spanish court hid its monarchs from view and the country lacked monuments travelers wanted to see. What Jean Boutier asserted with regard to travelers from Florence certainly applies to travelers from other regions, too—Spain was esteemed as far too large territory, devoid of the highly valued cultural landscape offered by Italy.⁴⁷ Though it was the sixteenth century’s hegemonic power, Spain not only failed to develop a cultural lure but its reputation was also tarnished by the *leyenda negra*. Consistently, Spain and Portugal were not counted among the cultural or intellectual centers at that time and were therefore visited as little as eastern European countries.

In a nutshell, the itinerary of the Grand Tour was determined rather by choices *for* particular countries especially esteemed for cultural achievements than *against* others. Travelers could bask in the glories of those countries whose prestige would augment the honor and the reputation of the traveler within his social reference group back home. Especially during the first two centuries of educational travelling, i.e. from about 1550 to 1750, these choices were handed down from one generation of travelers to the next with no need for explanation. Most noble travelers decided to see what everybody else had seen and do what everybody else had done in order to profit from the tour’s prestige. In doing so, they contributed to cementing beaten tracks and fixing mental maps.

⁴⁷ See Boutier, “L’institution politique,” 272.

Individual Choices

When conventions regulated the choice of countries visited, what role did individual factors play for the shape of the single tour? In order to study this question, I refer once more to the voyages by Löffelholz, Törring-Jettenbach, and Lynar listed in Table 2. As a matter of fact, the family backgrounds of these young men differed widely. Lutheran Georg Christoph Löffelholz stemmed from a Nuremberg patrician family that tried to underpin its claim to noble status with extended educational travelling.⁴⁸ His was a Grand Tour in the fullest sense in terms of length as well as duration. According to his travel account, he stayed away from home for a total of 1,775 nights, seeing at least 345 places, but sleeping only in 31 of them for more than one night. In other words, it was those 31 places where he spent 83 percent of all nights. Yet, the biggest share was held by only six cities (Angers, Florence, Lyons, Paris, Rome, and Venice), where he sojourned 1,100 nights (see Table 3).

Although the Löffelholz family was somewhat less apt to travel in Italy than their Nuremberg compatriots (see Table 1), the Apennine Peninsula was the major goal for Georg Christoph, probably reflecting a flirtation with Catholicism for the sake of imperial service. Short periods of travelling took turns with long periods of residence at distinguished places where Löffelholz could deepen his knowledge and understanding of foreign societies. Thus, educational travelling mirrored the family's quest for honor, esteem, and learning.

Table 3. Georg Christoph Löffelholz's journey (1663-1668).

Number of nights	Number of places visited		Duration of sojourn	
	places	%	total nights	%
2-4 nights	11	36	24	1.6
5-9 nights	6	19	36	2.5
10-20 nights	3	10	43	2.9
21-100 nights	5	16	272	18.4
101 nights and over	6	19	1100	74.5
Σ	31		1475	

⁴⁸ See Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, E 17/I 761, M. G[eorg] C[hristoph] L[öffelholz] von C[olberg] abgelegte Länder Reyss durch Italien, Franckreich, Engelland und Holland, o.J.

While Löffelholz stayed quite a while in Lyons, Angers, and Paris, later generations of travelers were no longer interested in the French provinces. When the French court settled in Versailles by the end of the seventeenth century, the circuit tour of France was given up.⁴⁹ Paris satisfied most voyagers' need for acquiring polite manners so that there was no longer a reason for going on a lengthy and costly trip through the rest of France. A rather late example for this general tendency was the journey undertaken by Bavarian Count August von Törring-Jettenbach.⁵⁰ Though he was a Catholic, he did not travel to Italy at all. His education followed the line of German *Aufklärung* and this is why France and the Dutch Republic were given preference to Italy. His tour took 1,734 nights, and in its course a total of 139 stops were made. The figures given in Table 4 show even more clearly that there was a predilection for prolonged sedentary periods: 97 percent of all nights were spent in only thirteen places, Strasbourg and Paris taking the biggest share. With some retardation, this journey mirrors the centralization of the "Grand Tour," France and Paris/Versailles having heightened their prestige since the rule of Louis XIV.

Table 4. August Count von Törring-Jettenbach (1745-1750).

Number of nights	Number of places visited		Duration of sojourn	
	places	%	total nights	%
2-4 nights	6	46	25	1.5
5-9 nights	4	3	28	1.7
10-20 nights	1	8	11	0.6
21-100 nights	—	—	—	—
101 nights and over	2	15	1620	96.2
Σ	13		1684	

⁴⁹ The expression "Grand Tour" was forgotten on the continent. Accordingly, in Britain, it was no longer restricted to a circuit through France but was extended to travels through different parts of the continent.

⁵⁰ See Staatsarchiv München, FA Törring-Seefeld Litt. T.T. 1 Nr. 2, *Récit abrégé des Etudes et des voyages de Mons[ieu]r le Comte August de Terring-jettenpach fils cadet de Son Excell[ence] Mons[ieu]r le Feldmaréchal de meme nom par J. Gal. Tschann, qui ayant eu L'honneur d'être avec ce jeune Seigneur des la huitième année de son age a aussi eu celui de L'accompagner dans led[it]s voyages.*

As a matter of fact, by 1750 the heyday of Paris was over and other cities in France and other parts of Europe were on the verge of being rediscovered. Yet Count August stayed such a long time in Paris, because as Bavarian “foreign minister” his father attached great importance on a good relationship with France. Therefore, his son was to acquire a sound understanding of French manners and society. Again, special requirements determined the shape of a particular tour.

After 1750, exploring one’s “own” sphere became more important. Hitherto the German territories had been a region to pass through rather than to halt in and explore. Not even Austria, where Vienna as the imperial capital lay, could develop enough attraction to allure travelers. The imperial city lay off the beaten track and was afflicted by a general indifference towards German territories. Even members of smaller estates, whose survival as self-ruling dynasties were guaranteed only by the emperor, did not send their sons to Vienna. Such was the case with young men from Nuremberg who as members of a corporate body that governed an imperial city belonged to the Emperor’s party among the estates of the Holy Roman Empire. Since some of them entered imperial military service, Vienna played a concrete role in their life. But even in their case, Vienna was usually left aside when going on an educational journey (see Table 1). Mostly, German travelers rushed through the territories of the Holy Roman Empire, aspiring to reach foreign countries as quickly as possible. Only in the second half of the eighteenth century did travelers from Germany become more aware of their home and neighboring territories. At that time, patriotism for their “own sphere” flourished and a concern for working for the “common good” became widespread in German upper classes.

This process is clearly shown by my third example, the Grand Tour of the Saxon Count Friedrich Ulrich zu Lynar.⁵¹ The most revealing indicator of a change in travel habits is probably the Count’s relatively brief sojourn in Paris, downgrading the French capital to one city among

⁵¹ See Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Mskr. L I a 766, 1.-5. Heft; BLHA Potsdam, Pr. Br. Rep. 37, Schlossarchiv Lübbenau 5690; Anonymus [Friedrich Ulrich Graf zu Lynar?], “Erzählung einer Reise durch die Schweiz. Im Jahre 1761. (Aus der Handschrift)”. *Johann Bernoulli’s Sammlung kurzer Reisebeschreibungen und anderer zur Erweiterung der Länder- und Menschenkenntnis dienender Nachrichten* 6 (1782), 289-364; [Friedrich Ulrich Graf zu Lynar], “F. U. RG. Z. L. Lustreise in Lothringen 1760. (Aus dessen handschriftlichen Tagebuch)”. *Johann Bernoulli’s Sammlung* 3 (1781), 171-206.

Table 5. Friedrich Ulrich Count zu Lynar (1760-1762)

Number of nights	Number of places visited		Duration of sojourn	
	places	%	total nights	%
2-4 nights	6	21	16	2
5-9 nights	10	34	72	9
10-20 nights	4	14	59	8
21-100 nights	7	25	230	29
101 nights and over	2	7	415	52
Σ	29		792	

others, and a prolonged stay in Lyon. Favoring German petty courts, Friedrich Ulrich did not visit Versailles at all; and in Lyon his preferential social reference group comprised distinguished owners of manufactories. Apparently, in the case of Lynar a short trip from Lyon to Paris was considered to be sufficient to live up to social norms.

At the same time, young gentlemen from Germany apparently became more perceptive to the advantages of changing places. On his educational journey, Lynar made about 182 stops, being away from home for a total of 925 nights (see Table 5). In 85 percent of all stops he stayed two nights or more. The primordial stops were Strasbourg and the nearby court of the margrave of Baden-Durlach at Karlsruhe. Whereas Löffelholz spent almost three-thirds of his travels in six cities and Törring-Jettenbach over 90 percent in Strasbourg and Paris, Lynar dedicated only half of his time to Strasbourg and Karlsruhe.

As this analysis demonstrates, there was yet sufficient space within this general framework of the Grand Tour for adapting to individual needs. The three examples above show, however, that individual needs and general trends regularly coincided. In the end it was by exchange within the tight-knit community of travelers that changing requirements were quickly translated into concerns of the majority of travelers.

Universities and Religious Sites—Major Goals of Educational Travelling

The reason why German gentlemen sometimes stayed quite long at a certain place (see Table 2) was that academic training was regularly part of their travelling. In contrast to the instruction of young Florentine or French aristocrats whose education abroad was detached from institutional

training, noble students from northern and eastern Europe regularly attended universities and academies in foreign parts. At least up to the middle of the eighteenth century, studies abroad played an important part in both the British gentry's and aristocracy's continental tours.⁵² The same applied to young nobles from Scandinavian kingdoms, but especially to those from the Holy Roman Empire. Accordingly, both travel instructions and correspondences reflected the persistent concern of advancing one's academic training. Thus, traveler's papers show how much families cared about the education of their male offspring. Academic training usually followed a threefold curriculum combining university studies with polite arts, such as riding, fencing, and language lessons. The letters widowed Countess Elisabeth zu Lynar wrote to her son and his tutor in the 1630s show what parents wanted their sons to learn. Johan Sigismund was to get an all-round education with a focus on judicial knowledge. Basic knowledge of rhetoric and logic was, for example, to be acquired, without getting lost in "philosophical subtleties and lost arts."⁵³ With regard to her sons alleged future role as office holder or local ruler, she advised him "that you study secular rights in depth."⁵⁴

The esteem for university training did not fade away with Renaissance humanism, but prevailed until the Age of Enlightenment. As a matter of fact, the *ius publicum* flourished at the Holy Roman Empire's Protestant universities, giving them a general lead over academic institutions in Catholic territories.⁵⁵ Before long, Catholic nobles had their sons study at Protestant universities to catch up. One example is Count Maximilian Emanuel von Törring-Jettenbach, a son of the Bavarian foreign secretary in the first half of the eighteenth century. He started his judicial studies at the Bavarian university of Ingolstadt, before he was sent to Leyden by his father, where he studied with the famous professor Johann Jakob Vitriarius. But the young count received not only training in academic subjects, but also in language and manners. His entry into the *monde* at Paris was carefully prepared by making him visit the *Académie de Lorraine* in

⁵² See Black, *The Grand Tour*, 289-290.

⁵³ BLHA Potsdam, Pr. Br. Rep. 37, Schlossarchiv Lübbenau 4537, letter by the countess zu Lynar, Berlin 26/12/1632.

⁵⁴ See *ibid.*, Mütterliche Instruction, 1/6/1632.

⁵⁵ G. Klingenstein, *Der Aufstieg des Hauses Kaunitz: Studien zur Herkunft und Bildung des Staatskanzlers Wenzel Anton* (Göttingen 1975), 161-177; M. Stolleis, *Staat und Staatsraison in der frühen Neuzeit: Studien zur Geschichte des öffentlichen Rechts* (Frankfurt 1990), 282-287.

Lunéville first, where he perfected his riding, dancing, and fencing capabilities. Apart from the lessons received along with other nobles at the academy, Maximilian Emanuel had to appear regularly at court and wait on the duke during court festivities.⁵⁶ It was only after having gotten used to the courtly codes of conduct at Lunéville that he was deemed worthwhile to set off to Paris. Once he arrived there, he had to follow a strict daily routine without much time off for diversions. But he no longer received institutional education.

Thus, both forms of institutional and informal education influenced the Grand Tour of German nobleman. Accomplishing one's studies while travelling was an ideal way of capitalizing on the Grand Tour by deriving both social prestige from it and developing a sturdy knowledge base at the same time. But there was a third, rather social-psychological aspect to educational travelling that was also designed to strengthen the voyager's "participative identity," an identity constructed by experiences of cultural convergence or distinction.⁵⁷ In Early Modern Europe, religious confession was an essential marker of distinction, and monuments and festivities with religious origins were appreciated by travelers from all over Europe.⁵⁸ For Germans, religion did not impose serious restrictions on travelling habits. Confessional reasons by and large did not prevent Protestants from going to Catholic countries, nor Catholics from visiting Protestant countries. France in particular was beloved by travelers of all confessions whereas Italy was eyed with rather more suspicion by Protestants.⁵⁹ There was too much exchange and contact between confessional

⁵⁶ Leibetseder, *Die Kavaliertour*, 107-111.

⁵⁷ "While the 'biographic identity' is ordered through social institution [...]," write Cornelia Bohn and Alois Hahn, "and determines itself through the relation of the individual to himself as well as through the resulting characteristics and experiences gained during the course of his own biography, 'the participative identity' defines itself through affiliation. It falls back on relations to others, on certain social constellations, and is based to a large degree on the coincidence of social description and self description." Cornelia Bohn and Alois Hahn, "Patterns of Inclusion and Exclusion" Property, Nation and Religion," in *Soziale Systeme: Zeitschrift für Soziologische Theorie* 8 (2002), 8-27, quote on 12 and following.

⁵⁸ See Black, *The British Abroad*, 238.

⁵⁹ When confession was used as an argument, it was not always handled convincingly. In the 1580s the Hessian Calvinist Johann von Hattstein traveled two years through Italy but refrained from visiting the Holy Land because of his confession. See S. Kriech, "Name, Stamm und Linie: Vergangenheitsbilder und Gegenwartsinteressen in Familienchroniken hessischer Adelsfamilien um 1600," in E. Conze et al., eds., *Adel in Hessen:*

cultures within Germany to make faith a barrier when going abroad. Moreover, for Lutherans there would have been hardly a place to go apart from Scandinavia because they detested Calvinism as much as Catholicism. But for Calvinists and Catholics the radius for travelling would have been rather restricted, too.

The edifying effects of confrontation with unfamiliar forms of religiosity can be exemplified by the festivities in honor of St. Gennaro. This climax of the church year in Naples culminated in a miracle of blood, namely, the liquefaction of the saint's blood preserved as a relic. To start with, I quote from a travel account written by Count Friedrich Ulrich zu Lynar:

On April the first the feast of St. Januarius is celebrated, on which as is well known his enclosed blood becomes liquid again. One can easily perceive that the mob's throng on that day is beyond description, which turns this miracle into an article of faith and, when it goes wrong, puts the blame on the presence of heretics. The Neapolitan nation, since it has long been an evil and rebellious people, the more one has to fear an eruption of blind religious zeal. They do not treat the matter lightly and no Protestant is allowed into the chapel built to this end. Count Neipperg, though himself a Catholic, cared for us, having us look from a neighboring house into the chapel's open top.⁶⁰

In this paragraph Count Friedrich Ulrich zu Lynar basically censures the unreasonable adherence of the Neapolitans to faith and religion. He attributes his scorn for the lower classes of Naples to the numerous uprisings of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. According to Lynar, even a Catholic like Count Neipperg did not believe in the local myth. Thus northern European rationality shone more clearly against a background of Southern European superstition.

Of course, we cannot know the motives of Neipperg's behavior or whether his conduct widely described here was merely a projection of Lynar's idea. But another travel account written by a Catholic shows that attendance at the miracle of blood was indeed used in order to prove the rationality of German Catholicism, contested by the Protestants ever since the Reformation. When the Catholic Lambert Friedrich Corfey went to Naples on his educational tour in 1700, he criticized the ritual

Herrschaft, Selbstverständnis und Lebensführung vom 15. bis ins 20. Jahrhundert (Marburg 2010), 229-250, especially 242.

⁶⁰ BLHA Potsdam, Pr. Br. Rep. 37, Schlossarchiv Lübbenau 5690 [unpaginated].

practice in words that could have stemmed from a Lutheran as well. His description climaxed in the following résumé:

Because of this and similar things I cannot stop wondering at the Spaniard's vanity, as the greatest part of their *grandezza* is made from outward appearances and from the mob's applause, and because of this it seems to me very strange (*fremdi*) if they use decoration to turn their churches into theatres and comedy. During the *evangelio* nobody stands and he who thinks highly of his gravity in church always remains seated in a chair, one knee crossed by the other; and when it comes down to the elevation, he still remains seated, his gravity only allowing him to perform a deep bow of the head, knocking with his hand on the silk doublet, thereby frightening a stranger.⁶¹

Lutheran travelers, on the other hand, were as susceptible to the religious landscape of Rome as their Catholic compatriots. They toured the major churches, marveling at the sights of places that bore the remembrance of men and episodes from the Bible. So did the Nuremberg patrician Georg Christoph Löffelholz when he went to Rome in the 1660s. Though he was taking a mild stance toward Catholicism (some of his family members were converts for the sake of imperial service) rationality drew a clear line for what a Protestant was likely to believe in visiting the holy city:

[Surrounding the church of St. Paul] there were many noteworthy things to be seen, for example, the way, whereupon the aforementioned Saint and oft-suffering Apostle to the heathens, convicted as a malefactor, was led to death, and finally the place and spot where he was executed with a sword [...] There stands nowadays the church of San Vincentius and San Anastasius, where there are three fountains filled with water from wells shown to strangers in remembrance. And they believe [*man... will glauben*] them to have sprung as a peculiar miracle, pretending that when the holy Apostle's head fell from his body by the stroke of the sword, it allegedly did three jumps and from those spots where it met the ground immediately sprang water.⁶²

As far as the religious sights referred to in the life of the Apostle as reported in the Bible, Löffelholz had little doubt in its authenticity. Following the holy men's steps clearly had an edifying effect on a Lutheran too. It is the authenticity of the miracle which the author views with skepticism, though he refrains from uttering any criticism. His skepticism is

⁶¹ H. Lahrkamp, ed., *Lambert Friedrich Corfey: Reisetagebuch 1698-1700* (Münster, 1977), 207.

⁶² Stadtarchiv Nuremberg, E 17/I 761, 59.

only shown by telling the story of the miracle not as a fact but as a matter of hearsay, told by a vague figure referred to as “*man*.”

Though some Protestant parents refrained from letting their offspring travel to Italy, there was no general reluctance about sending one’s son to a region differing in confessional terms. The Holy Roman Empire, like Europe as a whole, was a space of mixed religious and cultural affiliations. For a nobleman of standing, there was no way of sticking to his regional provenance for the rest of his life. Since he would have contact with men of different confessional and cultural backgrounds during his future career, introducing him to such differences was an important means of the socializing process in order to mobilize his powers of resistance. Rather than anxiously protecting their male offspring against influences perceived as morally questionable, travelling was seen as a practical test of said morals and a contribution vital to proper character formation. Not without cause were Ulysses and his son Telemachus presented as model travelers, adding a heroic level of meaning to the Grand Tour.⁶³ Thus, the specific social meanings of the landmarks on the mental maps helped young men to form a notion of what was their “own,” thereby underpinning the internalization of the value system of their social reference group.

At Court—the Apogee of the Grand Tour

In contrast to universities and academies, the courts of Europe were a landmark visited by all travelers and being introduced to a prince was a major goal of all tourists of noble origin. By and large, visiting courts was just another way of gaining further experience and understanding as well as polishing manners. But the exact social meaning of such an introduction depended on the social standing and the nationality of the visitor. Moreover, meanings changed in the course of time.

⁶³ This is shown, for instance, by the title of the following publication: Sigismund von Birken, *Hochfürstlicher Brandenburgischer ULYSSES, oder Verlauf der Länderreise, welche [...] Herr Christian Ernst, Markgraf zu Brandenburg [...] durch Teutschland, Frankreich, Italien und die Niederlande, auch nach den spanischen Frontierien hochlöblichst verrichtet* (Bayreuth 1669). Fénelon’s *Avantures de Télémaque* (1695) also hints at the popularity of Homer’s characters in educational literature of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

By the sixteenth century, Italy was generally praised as the model of courtly life. By about 1600, young gentlemen not only wanted to be able to see the foreign monarchs, they also wanted to be allowed to address them directly. Individual travel accounts drawn up at that time regularly depict the young noblemen conversing freely with a king or a queen. The Bohemian Baron Zdenek Brtnicky z Valdenstejna addressed a "Speech of Greeting" and a "Speech of Farewell" to Queen Elizabeth, offering her "my service and most humble duty."⁶⁴ Similarly, Count Johan Sigismund zu Lynar wrote in 1633, "I will know to offer my humble and most assiduous service" to the Prince of Orange.⁶⁵ Whether this was to be taken literally, whether young travelers really offered services to foreign princes, is difficult to tell because of a lack of examples. Instead, speeches like those inserted by the Bohemian Baron in his diary are to be considered less as authentic documents than as instances for "the presentation of self."⁶⁶ In fact, such speeches were no longer mentioned in accounts from the later seventeenth or eighteenth century.

Instead, descriptions of visits at foreign courts were increasingly marked by a notion of cultural distinction. In 1671, well before the architectural style of Versailles and French etiquette swept Europe, a young French nobleman visited Restoration London. Unfortunately, his name is not known, but his travel account leaves no doubt that he was a young gentleman of breeding. The very purpose of his journey was "to make me see the most beautiful courts of Europe" (*de me faire voir les plus belles Cours de l'Europe*).⁶⁷ His brief description of his introduction to the English king was not displayed as acquisition of honor, but as a token of difference between English and French society: "When I heard that the king had returned from Greenwich, I went to Whitehall in order to wait on the king and the queen at their table, as one does in France. It appeared most extraordinary to the Lords of this country, waiting themselves only very rarely for their kings, unless they have some charge, living on their

⁶⁴ G. W. Groos, ed., *The diary of Baron Waldstein, A Traveller in Elizabethan England* (London 1981), [unpaginated]. The diary has recently been analyzed by Markus Bötetfür, *Reiseziel ständische Integration: Biographische und autobiographische Kavaliertourberichte des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts als Quellen der deutschen Kultur und Mentalitätsgeschichte* (Ph.D. diss., University of Cologne 1999), 50-53.

⁶⁵ BLHA Potsdam, Pr. Br. Rep. 37, Schlossarchiv Lübbenau 4537, letter written by himself to his mother, Leiden 7./17. Apr. 1633.

⁶⁶ E. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York, 1969).

⁶⁷ Bibliothèque Nationale de France, FFr. 13375, Préface.

own during summertime in the countryside and during wintertime in the town.”⁶⁸

Obviously, the English court was by that time rather easily accessible for foreign visitors and did not have any special procedure to welcome and handle them. Quite on the contrary, the very procedure of waiting on the king (“faire la cour”) was presented as unknown to the English aristocracy. By applying French customs of civility to English circumstances, the young gentleman caused astonishment. This in itself shows a certain feeling of superiority, for no English traveler would have dared to behave according to the etiquette of the English court back home in France. A notion of hegemony lurked in the words of the French traveler.

When the French court finally settled at Versailles, court visits entered a new phase.⁶⁹ Young aristocrats from Florence, for example, now visited a couple of minor courts before they went to Versailles. Thus visiting smaller courts was perceived as an ideal preparation for Versailles, while an introduction to the French king was considered as crowning the whole tour.⁷⁰ Moreover, using German courts as a kind of rehearsal stage was enabled only by their adoption of French etiquette. The Grand Tour hence reflected the allurements of French culture of the Classic Age.

Versailles itself developed particular codes for dealing with foreign travelers, fitting them carefully into its etiquette. As receptions by the king were arranged according to the guest’s social standing, it became a way of measuring one’s social prestige on a transnational stage. Generally, everybody equipped with a dagger could go and see Versailles, but only higher members of the European nobilities were allowed to approach the king. The different degrees of publicity that were built up to receive foreigners at court can be studied from German examples. Ordinary bourgeois travelers were not allowed to see the king at all. Instead, they were left to marvel at the splendor of the royal palace, frequently uttering a sense of bewilderment and disorientation seeing its pomp.⁷¹ When a patrician from Nuremberg visited Versailles on a tour, he was introduced to the

⁶⁸ Ibid. 366.

⁶⁹ J. F. Solnon, *La Cour de France* (Paris, 1987), 51 and 262-265.

⁷⁰ See Boutier, “L’institution politique”, 270.

⁷¹ For Versailles, see Grosser, *Reiseziel Frankreich*. For viewing courts in general see Michaela Völkel, *Schlossbesichtigungen in der Frühen Neuzeit: Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Öffentlichkeit höfischer Repräsentation* (München, Berlin, 2007).

French crown prince on the occasion of a habitual public dinner. Georg Christoph Löffelholz was quite lucky, “that we soon after got an audience by Mons. le Dauphin, who by his tutor asked us to our highest astonishment on behalf of his innate royal mind and his excellent *conduite*, whereabouts we came from and how long we had already been staying in France, sitting at his table and giving us vacation hereafter.”⁷²

Members of the lower aristocracy and the landed gentry, on the contrary, were introduced to the king while performing the *lever du roi*, i.e. the central ceremony staged at Versailles. The introduction was prepared in person by the *Introducteur des Ambassadeurs et des Princes étrangers*, an office created by Louis XIV, thereby allying foreign travelers closely with the diplomatic milieu. A young gentleman coming to Paris had to get in touch with an ambassador first, who would willingly take him to Versailles on a Wednesday, when diplomats usually flocked to the antechamber of ambassadors. From there they were taken to the *lever* along with the ambassadors. Though it could take several weeks to arrange for an introduction, the act itself was performed rather quickly. The counts Heinrich VI Reuss and Rochus Friedrich zu Lynar were introduced to Louis XV, while he was leaving the bedchamber, their names being called out loudly and repeated one more time. They both bowed to the king, “who halted a moment in front of either one of them, regarding them from top to bottom, producing a gracious mien appearing inclined to thank them, but, according to his habits, not saying a word.”⁷³

Only the sons of greater princes were welcomed by the French king in his cabinet. When three Hessian princes turned up at the palace about the middle of the eighteenth century, it was only the hereditary prince who was received there, while the two cadets were introduced in the bedchamber. At the same time, a prince of Schwarzburg was not allowed to the cabinet, because his family did not hold *votum virile* (direct vote) on the imperial diet.⁷⁴

When an introduction to the French king at Versailles became the climax of the educational tour in the first half of the eighteenth century, what could an introduction at a foreign court mean to a travelling nobleman from France? For travelers who were closely tied to the political elite

⁷² Stadtarchiv Nuremberg, E 17/I 761, S. 136f.

⁷³ BLHA Potsdam, Schlossarchiv Lübbenau 5065, entry on 15/1/1732.

⁷⁴ See Staatliche Bücher- und Kupferstichsammlung Greiz, DB 2316, 28/12/1742 and 7/1/1743.

of the kingdom, it was still a way of strengthening one's notion of cultural superiority. The Marquis of Paulmy, a son of the French foreign secretary and nephew of the secretary of war, visited courts in Italy and Germany. Especially in Northern Italy he registered approvingly that elites spoke French fluently and venerated French literature using it as an argument to restore his king's leadership in the region. As to his visit to the Saxon court at Dresden, French customs remained the measure for his judgments. Regarding an invitation to the first minister Count Brühl he commented as follows, "We, Mr. de Richelieu and I, dined with Mr. le Count of Brühl, dinner being preceded by a great concert executed by the count's *Musique Italienne* in a salon gilded and lit in a manner that would have appeared singular in France, but one nevertheless has to admit that is beautiful."⁷⁵

The same applied to British travelers on their Grand Tour. By the second half of the eighteenth century, when the crown favored a balanced policy on the continent, British travelers used their accounts to utter resentment for the French monarchy. Archibald Macdonald wrote in 1764 on his educational journey,

A British subject ought of all others to be most curious to see a court so different from ours; and a king who is feasted every hour of the day with some fresh object of dissipation in order to distract his attention from those matters which he is supposed alone to direct and on which he alone ultimately decides: to see the different manners which are fallen upon of laying siege to this single man, who becomes at last a mere automate.⁷⁶

As in the French aristocrat quoted above, Macdonald here stressed the fundamental difference between the French and the English royalty. In a curious inversion of both Early Modern critics (Saint-Simon) and twentieth-century sociologists (Elias) he considered court ritual a technique to distract the king from his duties rather than a technique to distract the aristocracy from meddling in politics.⁷⁷ The king was depicted as a prisoner of his dignities and not as a despot, the automata-metaphor of course being popular at the time.

⁷⁵ Bibliothèque de L'Arsenal, MS 3213, 129.

⁷⁶ Black, *The British Abroad*, 216.

⁷⁷ For Saint-Simon, see *Mémoires de Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon*, 20 Vols. (Paris 1856); Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*. 2 vols. (Oxford 1969/1982) [First edition in German 1939].

Thus there were intrinsic parameters in court culture changing over time that influenced the course of the travelers' introduction at court. As when visiting religious sights, the introduction bore social-psychological implications. For travelers from France and Britain the visit to a foreign court was a way to strengthen a notion of superiority that was derived from differences in courtly etiquette. Others came rather as apprentices, eager to learn about the accomplishments of a court that was much larger than any of those back home. This was certainly true for educational travelers from the Holy Roman Empire with its numerous petty courts. But court visits helped shape the participative identity of the travelers in yet another way. The visit at early-eighteenth-century Versailles, especially, was arranged in such a refined way that travelers knew thereafter who they were and what position they could claim within the European aristocracy's hierarchy. The ceremonial attendance was perceived as a mirror, reflecting the social status and standing of the person presented. Apart from this, presentations at court could be charged with diplomatic implications only when travelers were members of royal or electoral families. Otherwise, their family's political influence was likely to be too marginal to be considered on an international stage.

Consequently, the educational aspects of travelling were guaranteed by a mixture of formal and informal training, of acquiring a sturdy knowledge base and a sound feeling for the tastes and manners appropriate to a well-bred young man. Last but not least, touring contributed to individual character formation as well as to the internalization of the value system of the social reference group back home.

Conclusions

The central purpose of this paper has been to put educational travelling of German aristocrats in a European perspective, thereby presenting the Grand Tour as a shared cultural practice of European aristocracies from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. I started by presenting evidence for the Renaissance beginnings of educational travelling. The rise of the Grand Tour coincided with the rise of the Early Modern state with its specific administration and court system, and the establishment of the civilized courtier as a social model. In merging academic and informal forms of knowledge acquisition, educational travelling enabled the aristocracies to meet the requirements of administrative positions without putting their status at stake. While in earlier times university studies

befitted only the rank of sons singled out for an ecclesiastical career, travelling was regarded as a social marker of the nobility's right through the Middle Ages. Thus, it was travelling that rendered academic training more acceptable to a social grouping whose claim to social leadership was traditionally founded on martial rather than scholarly virtues, and implanted learning firmly into the educational strategies of European aristocracies.

As a sumptuous cultural practice, the Grand Tour was reserved to families of wealth aspiring to social leadership within their specific sphere. The tours they did were heavily swayed by mental maps and social conventions set both by their social reference group back home and by the community of travelers to which they belonged while being on the road. New paradigms permitted young noblemen to venture into regions they perceived as being more civilized, thereby cementing the structure of the mental map that underlay the practice as a whole. In this context, it is important to assert that lines between auto- and heterostereotypes were not clearly drawn and identical *topoi* could, with regard to specific cultural backgrounds, be laden with different meanings. Thus notions of moral inferiorities in some parts were counterbalanced by notions of moral superiorities in others—a tension that could be put to the test while travelling, ultimately fostering the process of character formation as well as the affirmation of the traveler's participative identity.

It should be understood that the Grand Tour was a transnational social practice common to most aristocracies from northern and eastern Europe and to a lesser degree also to the nobilities from Romance countries. It spread cultural achievements as well as social values from a core of countries over the rest of Europe, thereby contributing to forms of cultural hegemony and homogenization. But this homogenization had its clear bounds. As is common to processes of cultural transfer, the transferred good has to undergo a process of interpretation and appropriation prior to becoming an established cultural form within the new context. Therefore, differences between aristocracies were never leveled and the socially constructed cultural gap between different parts of Europe remained a major driving force for venturing on an educational journey over the course of about two hundred years. Rather than fostering the emergence of a "European consciousness" or a "European culture" on the part of the elite, it helped establish a notion of Europe as a space of diverging cultures and constructed a framework of cultural centers and peripheries. At large, travelers flocked from the peripheries to the centers in what was seen as a great honor to the countries frequently visited in the language of the time.

Until well into the 1800s there were noble families clinging to the Grand Tour as an educational custom. At the same time, a more individualistic approach to travelling emerged and henceforth travelling was seen as a means furthering the construction of a biographic rather than a participative identity. Especially in Germany the pedagogic aspects of travelling shifted from disciplinary education to a rather lofty quest for *Bildung*, that is to say, for unfolding one's inherent individual facilities or talents. Though Italy and France as well as other typical destinations of the Grand Tour were still frequently visited, by the start of the nineteenth century the tradition of touring was no longer seen as appropriate for the education of young gentlemen.

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