

# ARTIKLID

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## Students on the Move in 17<sup>th</sup>-Century Sweden

MARI VÄLIMÄKI

### Introduction

In October 1654, Johannes Aeschilli Petraeus arrived in Tartu. Having begun his studies in Turku (Sw. Åbo) in 1650, four years previously, it was time to continue his studies in another university. Petraeus made the journey in September, first by boat to Tallinn and then by land to Tartu. Approximately one week later, he arrived in Tartu, where, after presenting a recommendation letter to professors at Academia Gustaviana, he was enrolled as a student at the university on 20 October. Johannes Petraeus' journey was an ordinary instance of student mobility, and he was only one of many Swedish students who moved between universities located across the Swedish Realm.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Arno Rafael Cederberg, *Suomalaiset ja inkeriläiset ylioppilaat Tarton ja Tarton-Pärnun yliopistossa* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1939), 64; Arno Rafael Cederberg, „Muistiinpanoja suomalaisista aineksista Bergiuksen kopiokokoelmassa Ruotsin tiedeakatemian arkistossa“, *Historiallinen arkisto XXX* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura 1922), 1–60; Yrjö Kotivuori, *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852, Johan Petraeus (No. 752)*, accessed October 30th, 2025, <https://ylioppilasmatrikkeli.fi>; Bart Holtermant et al. (ed.), *Viabundus Pre-modern*

In this article, I discuss how university students moved within the borders of the Swedish Realm during the 17th century and between different universities. Previous studies of student mobility<sup>2</sup> in Sweden have mostly focused on the *grand tours* – i.e. study trips to European countries south of Sweden – or professional groups such as lawyers.<sup>3</sup> This article shifts the focus from trips to foreign countries to those within the Swedish Realm. It focuses on students who first enrolled at one university and, after studying there for a while, transferred to another Swedish university to continue their studies. This study draws on existing work by Gerrit Verhoeven, Rosemary Sweet, and Sarah Goldsmith showing how study trips within the boundaries of different European territories became more popular during the 17th century, because it was easier and cheaper to travel to nearby locations.<sup>4</sup> During the 17th century, Sweden was actively establishing new higher education institutions, which provided students the opportunity to move between five different universities located throughout the realm: Uppsala, Tartu, Turku, Greifswald, and Lund. The Swedish Realm provided a way for students to become the ideal of a travelled and learned person. Since Swedish universities all professed Lutheran orthodox Christianity, the possibility of mobility within Swedish

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*Street Map 2*, travelling between Tallinn and Tartu in 1650, (released 25-4-2025), accessed October 30th, 2025, <https://www.viabundus.eu>.

- <sup>2</sup> The concept of student mobility is used here to describe the immigration of students from one university to another. The meaning of this mobility was not to make a short visit to another university, but to leave the university they had enrolled in first, enrol in another university, and continue their studies there.
- <sup>3</sup> Simone Giese, *Studenten aus Mitternacht. Bildungsideal und peregrination academica des schwedischen Adels im Zeichen von Humanismus und Konfessionalisierung* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009); Marianne Vasara-Aaltonen, *Learning Law and Travelling Europe. Study Journeys and the Developing Swedish Legal Profession, C. 1630–1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2020); Kustaa H. J. Vilkkuna, „Study abroad, the state and personal agency (1640–1700). The study trips of Turku students to foreign universities. Background factors, the return and careers of the travellers“, *Personal agency at the Swedish age of greatness 1560–1720*, edited by Petri Karonen and Marko Hakanen (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2017), 275–296; Ola Winberg, *Den statskloka resan. Adels peregrationer 1610–1680*. (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2018).
- <sup>4</sup> Rosemary Sweet, Gerrit Verhoeven and Sarah Goldsmith (eds.), *Beyond the Grand Tour. Northern metropolitans and early modern travel behaviour* (Abington, New York: Routledge, 2017); Gerrit Verhoeven, *Europe within reach. Netherlandish travellers on the Grand Tour and beyond (1585–1750)* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

territory also came without the risk of travelling to universities in Europe's Catholic regions.<sup>5</sup>

In previous research on student mobility, I have shown that it was much more common for students to move between the universities of Uppsala and Turku than to travel abroad to study.<sup>6</sup> In this article, I expand my research to also include Tartu. The article asks how often students moved between Uppsala, Turku and Tartu and in which directions they moved. For instance, was it more common to travel from Uppsala to Tartu than in the other direction?

The article focuses on the universities in Uppsala, Turku and Tartu because they constitute an interesting triplet. In particular, whereas the University of Uppsala and the Royal Academy of Turku could work uninterrupted during the 17th century, Academia Gustaviana in Tartu, later known as Academia Gustavo-Carolina, was affected by Russian sieges and relocated several times during the century. Functions of the Academy were halted between 1665 and 1690. The unrest experienced in Tartu reflected the wider restlessness of the 17th century and the many wars that marked it, and it impacted both student mobility and the academic community overall.

## Sources and methodology

The principal sources for this study are the student rolls of the Royal Academy of Turku, which have been published in a database by Yrjö Kotivuori<sup>7</sup>, and the *Album Academicum der Universität Dorpat (Tartu) 1632–1710* edited by Arvo Tering.<sup>8</sup> The Royal Academy of Turku's student rolls were destroyed in the great fire of Turku in 1827. How-

<sup>5</sup> Because Sweden as a Lutheran state was engaged in the religious wars between the Protestant and Catholic states in 17<sup>th</sup>-century Europe, the Swedish state also eagerly controlled study trips to European Catholic universities. It was understood that contact with the Catholics could endanger the religious views and ultimately the souls of Lutheran students. Vasara-Aaltonen, *Learning Law and Travelling Europe*, 66–69.

<sup>6</sup> Mari Välimäki, „Opiskelijoiden liikkuminen 1600-luvun Ruotsissa“, *Tie meren yli. Turun akatemian aate- ja kulttuurihistoriaa 1640–1852*, edited by Johanna Ilmakunnas & Charlotta Wolff (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2024): 19–44, <https://doi.org/10.21435/ht.293>.

<sup>7</sup> Kotivuori, *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852*, ylioppilasmatrikkeli.fi

<sup>8</sup> Arvo Tering, *Album Academicum der Universität Dorpat (Tartu) 1632–1720* (Tallinn: Valgus, 1984).



**Figure 1.** Old Nordic map by Erik Dahlberg (1625–1703), published in *Suecia antiqua et hodierna* (orig. 1667). Source: National Library of Sweden.

ever, they were reconstructed by Wilhelm Lagus at the end of the 19th century.<sup>9</sup> Kotivuori's database is based on Lagus's work, but he has supplemented the database with information from different registers, as well as from Tering's *Album Academicum*. The analysis of student mobility between the three universities presented here is based on the student rolls gathered by Kotivuori and Tering, which include information on the date and place of birth of the students, their parents, and fathers' occupation, and in which institutions they were enrolled during their studies. This data makes it possible to study student mobility both in general and in terms of the direction of movement. The student rolls of the University of Uppsala, however, do not include similar biographical information on students.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Kotivuori, *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852*, Esipuhe.

<sup>10</sup> See: Aksel Andersson, Alfred Bernhard Carlsson and Josef Sandström, *Uppsala universitets matrikel: Bd 1 1595–1700* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 1911); Bernhard Carlsson, *Uppsala universitets matrikel: Bd 2, 1700–1750* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 1923).

To include sources from Uppsala, therefore, one would need to study the rolls of different student nations. While some of these have been published, however, others still exist only as manuscripts in the library of the University of Uppsala.<sup>11</sup>

In this article, I first present a quantitative analysis of student mobility between Uppsala, Tartu, and Turku during the 17th century. I then turn attention to the individual path of Johannes Aeschilli Petraeus, whose travel to Tartu this article began with.

## Students on the move between Uppsala, Turku and Tartu

According to the information collected in Tering's *Album Academicum*, 1,114 students enrolled in Academia Gustaviana over the period of 1632–65, while over 1690–1710, 591 students enrolled in the then-named Academia Gustavo-Carolina. Thus, around 1,700 students in total studied in Tartu, Tallinn, and Pärnu over the course of the Swedish reign in the Livonian areas.<sup>12</sup> When considered in terms of the number of professors, Academia Gustaviana/Academia Gustavo-Carolina was similar in size to the Royal Academy of Turku. They both held a little over ten professors, while the exact number varied over the years.<sup>13</sup> However, because the Royal Academy of Turku was able to operate without interruption over 1640–1710, a greater number of students enrolled there than in the Swedish Livonian academy. Approximately 4,500 students studied in Turku during the 17<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>14</sup> over 3,000 more than in Tartu, Tallinn, and Pärnu together; however,

<sup>11</sup> Published student rolls of the nations in Uppsala include, e.g., Klas Gustav Odén, *Östgötars minne: biografiska anteckningar om studerande östgötar i Uppsala 1595–1900* (Stockholm: Iduns Kungl. Hofboktryckeri, 1902); J. Lagerholm, *Södermanland-Närkes nation: biografiska och genealogiska anteckningar om i Uppsala studerande Södermanlänningar och Närke 1595–1900* (Sunnansjö: J. Lagerholm, 1933); Bo V:son Lundqvist, *Västgöta nation i Uppsala från år 1595: biografiska anteckningar. Bd. 1, 1595–1720* (Uppsala: Västgöta nation, 1946); *Västmanlands-Dala nations album. Del 1–5* (Västerås: 1931–1972).

<sup>12</sup> Tering, *Album Academicum*.

<sup>13</sup> Sten Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria. Stormaktstiden* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söners förlag, 1975), 48, 52.

<sup>14</sup> John Strömberg, *Studenter, nationer och universitet. Studenternas härkomst och levnadsbanor vid Akademien i Åbo 1640–1852*. (Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet, 1996), 215; Kotivuori, *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852*.

during this period, the academy in Turku was active almost thirty years longer than Academia Gustaviana/Academia Gustavo-Carolina.

The University of Uppsala was the oldest, largest, and most important university in the Swedish Realm. The other universities, usually referred to as academies, followed the constitution originally written for Uppsala. Uppsala also held the most professorial chairs (19–20), and, therefore, was able to host the greatest number of students.<sup>15</sup> Over 10,000 students enrolled in Uppsala between 1615–1710,<sup>16</sup> many times more than in Turku or in Tartu.

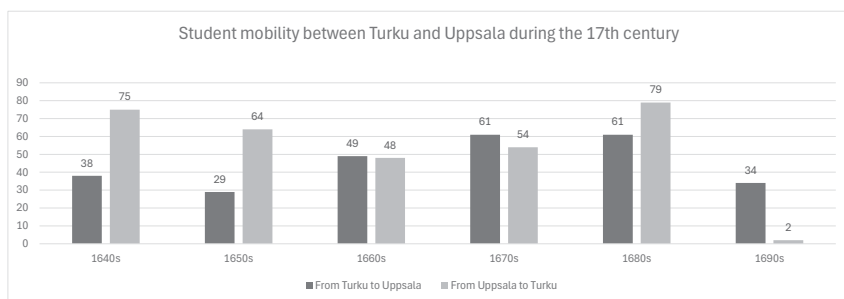
The streets of Uppsala were roamed by thousands of students during the 17th century, which influenced the number of students moving between the three university towns studied in this article. For this article, I have used student rolls edited by Yrjö Kotivuori and Arvo Tering to gather information on those students who first enrolled in the university in Tartu, Turku, or Uppsala and later travelled and enrolled in another one of these universities to continue their studies there. Student rolls edited by Kotivuori and Tering give the dates of students' enrolment at all universities where they enrolled during their studies. This is how one can trace the movements of students between the universities in Sweden. Students changed their place of study permanently, and none of those students who were studied for this article returned to the university they had left. Thus, the move was permanent and not comparable, e.g., to student exchange nowadays, which usually lasts for a couple of months or a year, and after which the students return to their home university.

During the 17th century, 271 students enrolled first in Turku and later in Uppsala, while 321 moved in the opposite direction. The probable reason for this difference is that there were more students in Uppsala in the first place. Nonetheless, when compared to

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<sup>15</sup> Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria*, 16–56; Mari Välimäki, Minna Vesa and Robin Engblom, „Academic Households and Families in Early Modern Northern Europe. An Introduction“, *Academic Households in Early Modern Northern Europe*, edited by Mari Välimäki (Abington, New York: Routledge, 2025), 1–17, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781032687285-1>.

<sup>16</sup> Jonas L. son Samzelius, „Studentliv och nationer under 1600- och 1700-tal“, *Upsalastudenten genom tiderna. Enskildring utgiven i anledning av Upsala Studentkårs hundraårsminne* (Uppsala: Lundequistka bokhandel, 1950), 9–72. On the number of enrolled students in Swedish universities, see also John Strömberg, *Studenter, nationer och universitet*, 39.



**Figure 2.** Student mobility between Turku and Uppsala during the 17th century. Source: Yrjö Kotivuori, *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852*, accessed October 30th, 2025, <https://ylioppilasmatrikkeli.fi>; Mari Välimäki, „Opiskelijoiden liikkuminen 1600-luvun Ruotsissa“, *Tie meren yli. Turun akatemian aate- ja kulttuurihistoriaa 1640–1852*, edited by Johanna Ilmakunnas and Charlotta Wolff (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2024), 19–44. <https://doi.org/10.21435/ht.293>.

the overall number of students enrolled in the two universities, it is quite surprising that the numbers are so similar. Figure 2 shows that the direction of movement during the 1640s and 1650s was mostly from Uppsala to Turku. The largest movement of students travelling across the Baltic Sea from Uppsala to enrol in the Royal Academy of Turku was in the first academic year of the Royal Academy of Turku (1640–41). Similar numbers of students moved between Turku and Uppsala in the 1660s, 1670s and 1680s. However, in the 1690s, the flow of students from Uppsala ended almost completely, with only two students transferring to Turku during the 1690s, compared to 79 in the 1680s. Over the same period, students from Turku continued to transfer to Uppsala, though the number of students was nearly halved from 61 to 34.<sup>17</sup>

When one compares the figures on student mobility between Uppsala and Turku to those on mobility between Tartu and Uppsala and Tartu and Turku, one sees similar trends. According to Tering's work, the year in which Academia Gustaviana was established, 1632, witnessed the highest number of enrolments in the academy from the other universities in Sweden. Figure 3 shows that during the

<sup>17</sup> Välimäki, „Opiskelijoiden liikkuminen“, 24–28.

1630s, a great number of students came to Tartu from the University of Uppsala. In contrast to Turku and the academic year of 1640–1641 in Turku, however, there is no single year that stands out, but rather, there is a consistent flow of students transferring to Tartu across the whole decade. The 65 students who transferred from the University of Uppsala during the 1630s represent 17 per cent of all the students who enrolled in Academia Gustaviana during the decade.<sup>18</sup> At the same time, it is clear that fewer students moved from Tartu to Uppsala, with only six students who first enrolled in Tartu continuing their studies in Uppsala over that period. Over the 1640s and 1650s, however, student movement between Tartu and Uppsala evened out. This trend is in line with what we know from Turku as well (see Figures 2 and 3).

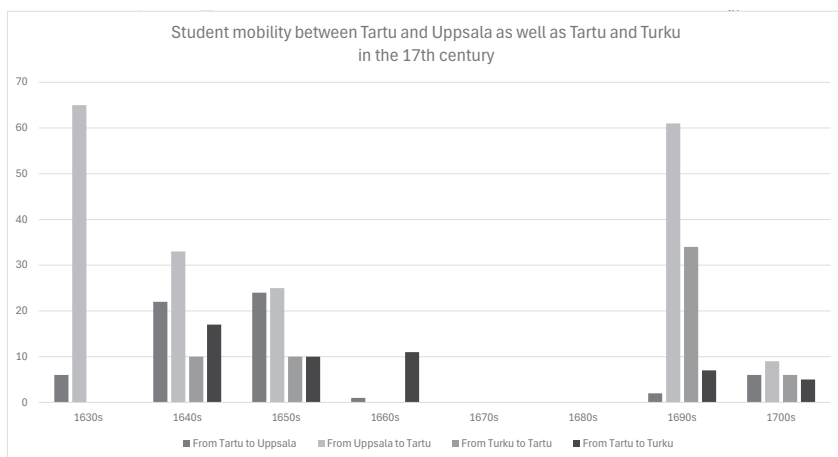
After the establishment of the Royal Academy of Turku in 1640, student mobility between Turku and Tartu also began. During the 1640s, this was most often from Tartu to Turku, with 17 students who first enrolled in Tartu transferring to Turku and 10 students moving from Turku to Tartu. During the 1650s, however, the numbers evened out, with 10 students moving from both Tartu to Turku and from Turku to Tartu. Even though the student flow between towns might indicate that students travelled first from one university to another and then returned to their home university, this was not the case. All students who moved from one university to another were individual students who travelled in one direction between the universities and did not return to their original university. The trend that we see in Tartu is in line with the similar shift in mobility we saw following the establishment of the university in Turku. In general, when a new university was established in the Swedish Realm, students from the already existing universities would travel to study there. The reasons behind this trend will be analysed more closely in the next chapter.

Because of the Russo-Swedish War (1656–58), otherwise known as the War of Rupture, Academia Gustaviana fled to Tallinn, and by 1665, it had ceased operating. These events staunched the flow of students between different universities. In 1656, following the Russian siege of Tartu at the end of July, there were no more transfers

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<sup>18</sup> According to Tering's *Album Academicum*, 379 students enrolled in Academia Gustaviana during the 1630s. Tering, *Album Academicum*, 20.





**Figure 3.** Student mobility between Tartu and Uppsala and between Tartu and Turku. Source: Arvo Tering, *Album Academicum der Universität Dorpat (Tartu) 1632–1720* (Tallinn: Valgus, 1984), on the student mobility between Tartu and Uppsala. Yrjö Kotivuori, *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852*, on the mobility between Tartu and Turku. Accessed 30 October 2025, <https://ylioppilasmatrikkeli.fi>.

to Tartu or Tallinn from Uppsala. The students and professors were allowed to flee the town in October, and many of them travelled to Tallinn, where, at that time, Academia Gustaviana continued to operate. During the latter part of the 1650s and the 1660s, students continued to move from Tallinn to Uppsala and Turku but not vice versa (Figure 2). It has been suggested that Academia Gustaviana encountered difficulties in Tallinn because the local burghers were neither interested in having a university in their town nor in supporting one.<sup>19</sup> These unfavourable circumstances in a new host town, combined with the threat of war, seem to have made Academia Gustaviana an unattractive destination for student mobility.

It is interesting to note, however, that when the students were not able to transfer to Academia Gustaviana during the 1670s and 1680s, this did not result in a corresponding increase in student mobility between Turku and Uppsala (Figure 2). This may indicate that there was something particular about Academia Gustaviana that attracted

<sup>19</sup> Helmut Piirimäe, „The Academia Gustaviana (1632–1665)“, *History of Tartu University 1632–1982*, edited by Karl Siilivask (Tallinn: Perioodika, 1985), 18–34.

students to study there and was not provided by other universities. More certainty on this matter might be reached by examining the figures on student enrolments in Lund and Greifswald from the mid-1650s to the end of the 1680s to see if student mobility toward these universities also increased when Tartu was no longer an option.

In 1690, Academia Gustavo-Carolina was opened again in Tartu, but within a couple of years, it was clear that it was failing to attract enough students. Helmut Piirimäe has suggested that the principal reason students began to avoid Academia Gustavo-Carolina was because Tartu's proximity to the Russian border made it too insecure. The high rents for rooms and the cost of food were also factors.<sup>20</sup>

When the new academy was opened in 1690, the number of students who travelled to Tartu from the University of Uppsala was very high – 34, compared to 12 in 1632 when Academia Gustaviana was established. However, when one compares the number of students moving from Uppsala to Tartu in the 1630s and 1690s, the figures are almost equal. During the 1630s, 65 students came to Tartu from Uppsala, compared to 61 in the 1690s. Whereas the flow of students from Uppsala to Tartu remained consistent throughout the 1630s, however, the 1690s were marked by a high number of transfers in that direction in the first few years of the decade and only a few in the later years. This trend is similar to the one seen with Turku, as the flow of students from Uppsala dries out suddenly at the beginning of the 1690s. It is also important to note that the end of student transfers was part of a wider phenomenon, as fewer young men came from the Swedish Realm's western counties to study in Turku and Tartu in general. It was common that youth from the gymnasiums in Småland, Södermanland, Närke, Västergötland, Västmanland, and Värmland came to Tartu to study at a university and enrolled first time at a university in Livonia instead of Uppsala, which would have been located geographically closer.<sup>21</sup> It has been suggested that the reasons for this were the years of famine (1695–97) and the Great Northern

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<sup>20</sup> Helmut Piirimäe, „Academia Gustavo-Carolina (1690–1710)“, in *History of Tartu University 1632–1982*, edited by Karl Siilivask (Tallinn: Perioodika, 1985), 35–55; See also Aldur Vunk, Janet Laidla and Janika Päll, *Academia Pernaviensense lugu. Tartu ülikool Pärnus aastail 1699–1710* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli kirjastus, 2023).

<sup>21</sup> Tering, *Album Academicum*, 19–25.

War (1700–21).<sup>22</sup> Yet, while both factors certainly had an impact, the trend had already started before. However, further study would be needed to identify the fundamental reason(s) for these developments. The court protocols of the consistory courts in Uppsala, Turku, and Tartu, as well as correspondence between university chancellors and the ruler, could help to understand the developments.

In 1690, 12 students moved from the Royal Academy of Turku to study at the newly opened Academia Gustavo-Carolina in Tartu, and altogether 34 students made the trip during the 1690s.<sup>23</sup> Thus, the highest number of students moving from Turku to Tartu also coincided with the university's reopening. Soon, the number of travelling students evened out between the two towns. However, travel between the academies in Turku and Tartu in the 1690s was more frequent than it was between Turku and Pärnu in the 1700s, even though the time it took to travel to Pärnu from Turku was shorter than it was to Tartu.<sup>24</sup> The lack of significant movement between Uppsala, Turku, and Tartu/Pärnu during the latter years of the 1690s and 1700s is peculiar in that, when Academia Gustavo-Carolina was (re-)established, it favoured students from Finnish and Swedish areas and excluded students with a German background. However, the proximity of the battles of the Great Northern War certainly diminished the student mobility to Tartu.

## Motivations for moving between universities: The experience of Johannes Aeschilli Petraeus

Johannes Aeschilli Petraeus was at the same time both an ordinary and an extraordinary student. Johannes was the son of Aeschillius Petraeus, the Bishop of Turku and the Royal Academy's vice-chancellor,<sup>25</sup> and, therefore, a subject of the estate of the clergy in Sweden.

<sup>22</sup> Strömberg, *Studenter, nationer och universitet*, 70–72; Tering, *Album Academicum*, 19–26.

<sup>23</sup> The number of students moving from Turku to Tartu in 1690 is compiled from the student rolls of the Royal Academy of Turku, Kotivuori, *Opiskelijamatrikkeli 1640–1852*.

<sup>24</sup> One needed to travel via Tallinn to reach both towns, but it took five days to walk and three days to ride to Pärnu from Tallinn while to Tartu it took eight days by foot and six days to ride. Holterman, *Viabundus*, travelling between Tallinn and Pärnu and Tallinn and Tartu in 1650.

<sup>25</sup> Kotivuori, *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852*, Eskil Petraeus (No. U1).

Most students who enrolled in the Royal Academy of Turku came from clerical families.<sup>26</sup> Though Johannes was among many students who studied in more than one university, his choice to study in Tartu instead of Uppsala was an uncommon one. The reasons behind that choice were not purely academic.

During the summer of 1654, Johannes' older sister, Catharina Petraea, married Olaus Wexionius, a professor of history and politics as well as Reader in Latin at Academia Gustaviana.<sup>27</sup> Johannes travelled to Tartu with his sister and his new brother-in-law as accompaniment for her to both a new town and a new academic community. Marriage between Catharina Petraea and Olaus Wexionius established a connection between two academic families. Olaus Wexionius' brother Mikael Gyldenstolpe was a professor at the Royal Academy of Turku, also in history and politics, as well as law.<sup>28</sup> Aeschilius Petraeus had been Gyldenstolpe's colleague and held the chair of the first theology professor in the 1640s before he was elected as bishop in 1652. Thus, the marriage not only strengthened the ties between academic families in Turku, but it also extended that network to Tartu.<sup>29</sup>

Olaus Wexionius had held his academic chair in Academia Gustaviana since 1652, having moved to Tartu from Turku, where he finished his studies.<sup>30</sup> It is interesting that in 1652, three students travelled from Turku to Tartu, and again in 1654, six more students made the same move. Yet, throughout the rest of the decade, only one other student from Turku enrolled at Academia Gustaviana. From this, we might infer that student mobility from Turku to Tartu was tied to the professorship of Olaus Wexionius and his connections to Turku during the 1650s, with students coming to Tartu first when he

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<sup>26</sup> Strömberg, *Studenter, nationer och universitet*, 151–158; Välimäki, „Opiskelijoiden liikkuminen“, 31–36.

<sup>27</sup> Kotivuori, *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852*, Olof Wexionius (No. 437).

<sup>28</sup> Kotivuori, *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852*, Mikael Wexionius (ennobled Gyldenstolpe, No. U8).

<sup>29</sup> For research on the networks of Swedish academic families, see Robin Engblom, „Family networks of scholarly households in Turku during the turn of the eighteenth century“, *Academic Households in Early Modern Northern Europe*, edited by Mari Välimäki (Abingdon, New York: Routledge, 2025), 114–134, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781032687285-9>.

<sup>30</sup> Kotivuori, *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852*, Olof Wexionius (No. 437).

was appointed professor and later when he married the daughter of the Royal Academy of Turku's vice-chancellor. Even though the only known recommendation letter written by bishop Aeschilius Petraeus for a student wanting to move from Turku to Tartu was the one he wrote for his son Johannes,<sup>31</sup> it is possible that the bishop encouraged students to follow his son's example. At the same time, it is possible that Olaus Wexionius himself recruited students from Turku to move to Tartu when he was first appointed professor and later when he stayed in Turku for his wedding.

It has been previously noted in research that students studied in multiple universities in Sweden to make themselves known in different bishoprics.<sup>32</sup> This was especially important for those who aspired to be priests, civil servants, and lawyers. By studying in different universities, these men increased their options when it came to receiving appointments in parishes and counties, in legal courts, and in administration. Noble students studied in different universities both within the Swedish Realm and abroad. They were headed for the highest offices in the kingdom, which required them to have knowledge of the different areas of the realm, as well as those of other countries in Europe. Their studies, thus, served not only these young men personally but also the realm.<sup>33</sup> Correspondingly, it was often their different career plans that motivated students to move between universities.

Having studied at multiple universities was also a part of the ideal of a learned man, and it had been considered the path to receiving the best schooling since universities were first founded in the Middle Ages. Travelling was, thus, part of the humanist mindset and, in broadening students' understanding of the world, had great educational value.<sup>34</sup>

However, university professors also had a meaningful role in student recruitment. As we saw in the case of Olaus Wexionius, students followed professors to the universities where they were appointed. This not only included students who had previously enrolled in a university but also new students whom professors recruited from the

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<sup>31</sup> Cederberg, „Muistiinpanoja suomalaisista aineksista“, 41.

<sup>32</sup> Strömberg, *Studenter, nationer och universitet*, 61–72.

<sup>33</sup> Välimäki, „Opiskelijoiden liikkuminen“, 31–40.

<sup>34</sup> Vasara-Aaltonen, *Learning Law and Travelling Europe*, 45–50.

schools of their home county or province. For example, when Johannes Gezelius the elder became the principal of Academia Gustaviana in 1645, he recruited five students to the academy from Västmanland, Sweden. It was also not uncommon for professors to enrol their own sons at their respective universities.<sup>35</sup> Thus, Johannes Petraeus' enrolment at Academia Gustaviana can be seen as having links to many early modern academic customs. He took part in student mobility, which ensured that he received the ideal schooling. At the same time, he took part in establishing a network between academic families and towns. He was recruited by his brother-in-law and was one of the students who followed the new professor to Tartu. But the plan may also have been that his presence in Tartu would make it easier for his sister to settle down in the new town. In addition, Catharina Petraea and Olaus Wexionius could provide housing and support to Johannes.

Johannes Petraeus stayed in Tartu for two years. Although his studies were interrupted by the Russian siege of the town on 29 July 1656, he stayed through it with Catharina Petraeus and Olaus Wexionius. All contact with the outside was blocked, and no news could reach the town or get out of it. Food was scarce, and people were ill. The siege lasted until 12 October, after which the townspeople were allowed to leave the town.<sup>36</sup> Johannes Petraeus, Catharina Petraea, and Olaus Wexionius left the town with other people from the academic community. Most of the community relocated to Tallinn, but Johannes, Catharina, and Olaus continued their journey to Turku.

When they arrived in Turku, the three found a town that had been scarred by fire in May 1656, when many of the buildings had burned down, including the townhouses of the Petraeus and Wexionius families. The family of Bishop Petraeus had settled on one of the family's farms on the island of Hirvensalo, just outside Turku. Johannes, Catharina, and Olaus also settled on the farm.<sup>37</sup> Six years later, Olaus Wexionius wrote to the king, asking for compensation for the salary and belongings he had lost because of the Russian attack

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<sup>35</sup> Tering, *Album Academicum*, 21–22.

<sup>36</sup> Piirimäe, „The Academia Gustaviana“, 32.

<sup>37</sup> Mari Välimäki, „Akateeminen perheyhteisö yksilön kokemuksena: piispatar Anna Henriksdotter Kock“, *Henkilöhistoria ja varhaismoderni aika*, edited by Jenni Lares, Raisa Maria Toivo and Mari Välimäki (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2024), 260–292, <https://doi.org/10.21435/ht.292>.

on Tartu. He described how he had fallen ill after the siege and had had to stay in bed for two years, and how he had spent large sums of money on doctors and medicines. He had also been forced to leave everything he had owned behind in Tartu, including his books.<sup>38</sup> Wexionius did not return to Tallinn to teach in Academia Gustaviana but was appointed as professor of law in the Royal Academy of Turku in 1658. Wexionius and Catharina Petraea continued their lives in Turku. Johannes Aeschilli Petraeus, meanwhile, did not return to his academic studies after he had left Tartu. Instead, he enrolled in the army and made a career as an officer. According to the records compiled by Tering, Petraeus enrolled in the army in 1656.<sup>39</sup> It is impossible to know why Petraeus decided to pursue a career as an officer: was the plan all along that he would do so after his university studies? Or was his decision influenced by the Russian siege? One can only speculate. However, it is clear that the traditions of the academic community, not only the Russian military operations, influenced the life paths of Johannes Petraeus, Catharina Petraea, and Olaus Wexionius.

## Conclusions

In this article, I examined student mobility between Tartu, Turku, and Uppsala during the 17th century. Analysis of student rolls from Academia Gustaviana/Academia Gustavo-Carolina and the Royal Academy of Turku shows that students moved between all three universities; however, the largest movements occurred when students travelled to a new university following its founding. This trend can be seen with both the establishment of the Royal Academy of Turku and the establishment/reestablishment of the academy in Tartu. This suggests that it was a common custom in the academic community for students to transfer from already operating universities to those that had been newly founded.

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<sup>38</sup> National Archives of Finland, Biographica, Olaus Wexionius: Olaus Wexionius to His Majesty the King, 1662(?).

<sup>39</sup> Yrjö Kotivuori and Arno Rafael Cederberg give later dates. Tering, *Album Academicum*, 281; Kotivuori, *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852*, Johan Petraeus (No. 752); Cederberg, *Suomalaiset ja inkeriläiset ylioppilaat*, 64.

Student mobility was also related to making oneself known in different parts of the realm. It increased young men's possibilities of securing positions as priests, lawyers and civil servants, and it was also related to the educational ideals of the humanist mindset. Travelling was understood to educate the young and was seen as beneficial for their education overall.

Academia Gustaviana suffered from the Russian attack in the summer of 1656, which also had an impact on student mobility. After the academy was moved to Tallinn, student transfers from Turku and Uppsala came to a halt, even though students enrolled at Academia Gustaviana continued travelling to the other university towns. Johannes Aeschilli Petraeus was one of the students travelling between Turku and Tartu in the mid-1650s. He followed his sister Catharina Petraea and his brother-in-law, Professor Olaus Wexionius, to Tartu, where his studies were interrupted by the Russian siege of the town. Petraeus's path illustrates the ordinary patterns of student mobility, but it is also an example of how academic marital patterns and networks could also cross from one Swedish university town to another.



**Mari Välimäki**, *PhD*, is a docent and teacher at the University of Turku.



## Üliõpilaste liikuvus 17. sajandi Rootsis

Mari Välimäki,  
Turu Ülikool

Mari Välimäki analüüsib oma artiklis üliõpilaste mobiilsust 17. sajandi Rootsi suurriigi ülikoolides. Varem on üliõpilaste liikuvust uuritud peamiselt Euroopa lõunapoolsetesse maadesse tehtud ringreiside ehk nn *grand tour*'ide võtmes või kindlate erialade, nt juristide perspektiivist. See artikkel keskendub üliõpilaste liikumisele Uppsala ülikooli, Turu Kuningliku Akadeemia ning Academia Gustaviana ja Academia Gustavo-Carolina vahel ning tõendab, et üliõpilaste liikumine Uppsala, Turu ja Tartu linnade vahet oli sage.

Kõige elavam oli mobiilsus siis, kui avati uus ülikool – nii Tartu kui ka Turu ülikool tõmbasid avamisjärgsetel aastatel ligi üliõpilasi ka Uppsalast. Ülikooli avamisele järgnenud aastakümnetel üliõpilaste liikuvus vähenes, tuntavat mõju mobiilsusele avaldasid ka 17. sajandi ja 18. sajandi alguse sõjad. 1656. aastal, kui Vene väed vallutasid Tartu ning Academia Gustaviana tegevus viidi üle Tallinna, liikusid üliõpilased küll Tallinnast Turu ja Uppsala poole, aga mitte vastupidi.

Pärast ülikooli uuesti avamist Tartus Academia Gustavo-Carolina nime all saabus sinna ka arvukalt üliõpilasi Uppsalast ja Turust. Kuid juba mõne aasta pärast katkes peaaegu täiesti üliõpilaste vool nii Tartusse kui ka Turu Kuninglikku Akadeemiasse. Nende liikuvustrendide põhjuste analüüsimiseks on vaja edasisi uurimusi.

Artikkel käsitleb ka üliõpilaste mobiilsust ühe tudengi, Johannes Aeschilli Petraeuse näitel. Ta alustas õpinguid Turus 1650. aastal ja reisis Tartusse neli aastat hiljem, 1654. aastal. Ühelt poolt oli tema õpitee sarnane oma aja õppimismustritega, teisalt olid tema asumisel Tartusse ka perekondlikud põhjused. Ta saabus Tartusse koos oma vanema õe Catharina Petraea ja selle abikaasa Olaus Wexioniusega, kes sai Academia Gustaviana ajaloo, poliitika ja ladina keele professoriks. Petraea ja Wexionius olid abiellunud 1654. aasta suvel. Kahe aasta pärast, kui Vene väed vallutasid Tartu, naasid kõik kolm Turu linna. Johannese õpingud lõppesid Tartus, hiljem tegi ta karjääri ohvitserina. Olaus Wexionius ei jätkanud professorina Academia Gus-

tavianas Tallinnas, ta määrati hoopis Turu Kuningliku Akadeemia õigusteaduse professoriks.

Nende inimeste õpi- ja karjääritee iseloomustab laiemalt akadeemilist mobiilsust, perekonnasidemeid ja võrgustike kujunemist varauusaja Rootsis.