

STRANGER IN A FOREIGN LAND SWEDENBORG: TRAVELER, OBSERVER, REPORTER, AND EXPLORER*

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THREE VIGNETTES

World traveler

1. *Brief account of Swedenborg's first trip to England*

But while the negotiations were going on [to secure Emanuel a place to study with the famous Swedish inventor and engineer, Christopher Polhem], the young man whom they most nearly concerned had gone off. Evidently the would-be traveler had heard of a captain willing to chance capture by the Danes, or molestation by the French—who were then at war with the English—and he eagerly embraced this opportunity to commence his travels. Accordingly he sailed from Göteborg at the end of April or the beginning of May, all unaware of the difficulties he was to encounter on this his first voyage. Many years later, he writes that the voyage was a somewhat adventurous one. (Acton, 1948, 10–11)¹

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¹ This experience was so important to Swedenborg that he prefaced his travel journal written in 1736 with a description of the events. It is most likely that he had described them in his travel journal for his first trip abroad that he left in Hamburg in 1714 for safekeeping. This journal and the other things he left there, when he traveled to Swedish Pomerania, were never recovered by Swedenborg.

On the way to London I was four times in danger of my life: 1. From a sand-bank on the English coast in a dense fog, when all considered themselves lost, the keel of the vessel being within a quarter of a fathom of the bank. 2. From the crew of a privateer, who came on board, declaring themselves to be French, while we thought they were Danes. 3. From an English guard-ship on the following evening, which on the strength of a report mistook us in the darkness for the privateer; wherefore it fired a whole broadside into us, but without doing any serious damage. 4. In London I was soon after exposed to a still greater danger, for some Swedes approached our ship in a yacht and persuaded me to sail with them to town, when all on board had been commanded to remain there for six weeks; the news having already spread, that the plague had broken out in Sweden. As I did not observe the quarantine, an inquiry was made; yet I was saved from the noose, but with the declaration however, that no one who ventured to do this in the future would escape his doom. (*Resebeskrifning* [Travel Descriptions] Tafel, 1890, Doc. 204, 3)

2. *Overview of his third trip abroad 1733–1734*

It would be too prolix to mention all the learned men I visited, and with whom I became acquainted during these journeys, since I never missed an opportunity of doing so, nor of seeing and examining libraries, collections, and other objects of interest. (Tafel, 1890, Doc. 204, 6)

Spiritual traveler

3. *Spiritual experience from True Christianity*

The fourth memorable occurrence.

Once from far away I saw paths that lay between rows of trees. Young people were gathered there in discussion groups to talk about topics related to wisdom. (This was in the spiritual world.) I moved in their direction, and when I was close enough I saw that all the others revered one person as most important among them because he excelled the rest in wisdom.

When he saw me, he said, "I was astounded when I saw you coming along on the road, because one moment you would be in view and the next you would disappear. One moment I can see you, and then suddenly I cannot. You are definitely not in the same state of life as we are!"

Tickled by that, I said, "I am not a trickster or a magician, but I do come and go! One moment I am in the light for you, the next moment I am in the shade. *In this world I am both a foreigner and a native.*"

The sage looked at me and said, "What you are saying is strange and amazing. Tell me who you are."

"I am in the world you used to live in and have now left," I said, "which is called the earthly or physical world. I am also in the world where you are now, called the spiritual world. As a result I am in an earthly state and a spiritual state at the same time. I am in an earthly state with people on earth and in a spiritual state with all of you. When I am in an earthly state, you do not see me. When I am in a spiritual state, you do see me. This circumstance of mine is a gift from the Lord.

As an enlightened man, you know that people in the earthly world do not see people in the spiritual world or the reverse. Therefore when I put my spirit in my body, you do not see me, but when I take it out of my body, you do see me. This happens because of the difference between what is spiritual and what is earthly. (*True Christianity* 280:1; emphasis added)

INTRODUCTION

Emanuel Swedenborg was a traveler. He took his first European journey in 1710 at the age of twenty-two and his eleventh and last one sixty years later at the age of eighty-two in 1770. From the time of his first trip through his final journey, he spent over twenty-four years or forty percent of his adult life living in foreign lands. These numbers suggest that Swedenborg was either a perpetual stranger or a universal citizen of Europe. Perhaps he was both. Beginning in the mid 1740s, Swedenborg's travels took on an astounding new dimension when he was called to journey into the spiritual realm almost daily for twenty-seven years. Swedenborg possessed this ability, this gift, throughout forty-four percent of his adult life. He first recorded these events in the back of an unpub-

lished manuscript, called *The Old Testament Explained* (1745–1747). In 1747 he began to enter his observations in another unpublished document called *Spiritual Experiences* (1747–1765). From 1765 until 1771 he called public attention to these spiritual journeys by placing them at the end of chapters in his published works, for example in *Revelation Unveiled* (1766), *Marriage Love* (1768), and *True Christianity* (1771). As he recorded in *True Christianity* 280:1, he acknowledged being “both a foreigner and a native” of that world.

Spending twenty-four years of his adult life away from home certainly certifies Swedenborg as a notable world traveler, but when these travels are coupled with the extensive record of his spiritual journeys which are unique, he qualifies as one the most remarkable travelers the world has ever seen.

Sweden was the home of his youth. When he slipped away on his first foreign adventure, he became a sojourner in strange lands, and when he returned to the land of his birth, he returned as a stranger, never quite fitting in to its traditional rhythm and ways. He was ahead of his time, wanting to bring “frozen” Sweden fully into modernity—into the eighteenth century. Swedenborg fairly flooded different governmental bodies with his innovations; but Swedish functionaries were initially reluctant to embrace his proposals, and many of his plans and suggestions were received by the appropriate office only to be filed away without review or response.

Appointed to the important post of Assessor on the College of Mines by Charles the XII in 1716, the Board refused to acknowledge his commission after the King’s death in 1718. Deeply frustrated, he went abroad in 1721 to learn continental mining secrets that might aid him in his quest to be seated on the Board of Mines. This trip was cut short in 1722 when Swedenborg received “disturbing news from his father, who begged him to come home” (Acton, 1948, 262). He appealed to Emanuel as the oldest son to help settle a family dispute over the equitable distribution of an inheritance. Somewhat reluctantly, Swedenborg abandoned his planned trip to Italy and returned home.

In 1733, he traveled to Europe a third time to print his three volume *Philosophical and Metallurgical Works* (Dresden and Leipzig, Frederick Hekel, 1734). Although this work received much praise in scholarly reviews

abroad, it was not unequivocal, nor universal. Surprisingly, the works were not reviewed at all in Sweden. Swedenborg had not yet found his place. Even though he returned home, he remained a sojourner.

His travels continued, and for the rest of his life he developed a pattern, alternating a few years in Sweden with a few years abroad. He took a trip again in 1736–1740, going as far south as Rome, a place that to a Swede seemed very foreign and perhaps exotic. In 1743 and 1744 he received glimpses into yet another even stranger land—the spiritual world. He began to travel there in earnest in 1745 and continued to do so for the rest of his life.

Swedenborg: consummate traveler and observer

Swedenborg journeyed throughout Europe, detailing and describing what he saw, revealing the shape and form of gardens, buildings, churches, libraries, museums, and the processes of manufacturing in factories along the way. He recorded these observations in travel diaries.² He focused on the new, the unusual, the unique, and the useful. He appreciated libraries that were living institutions filled with the latest commentaries and discoveries and had little use for those that housed only old books and manuscripts. Gardens that contained exotic fruit trees caught his attention as he noted how these plants were nurtured and cared for in climates that were so “foreign” to them. He made meticulous observations of countless mining and manufacturing processes, keen to reveal the secrets of their utility to the world.

From his youth, Swedenborg was drawn to the practical and the useful. He delighted in bringing hidden and secret things into the light. He notes in a letter to Eric Benzelius in 1711 that he has an “immoderate desire” or attraction to “mechanics” and ought to be “discouraged” rather than “encouraged in such pursuits.” In the same letter, he shares with Benzelius his method of acquiring new and useful arts and skills.

² As, already mentioned, one was left in luggage in Hamburg in 1714 to be shipped home, but it never arrived. Others written in the 1730s through 1740s survived and have been translated and published. They are found in R. L. Tafel's *Documents Concerning Swedenborg*, Vol. 2 (London: Swedenborg Society, 1890): 1-133. Using these later journals as models as well as comments in letters written at the time, it is possible to reconstruct Swedenborg's first experiences in London.

I make good use of most of my lodgings that I take here. First I was with a watch-maker, then with a cabinet-workman, and now am with an instrument master-man in brass, where I steal their trade which, in time, will be useful to me.³ (Acton, 1948, 21)

He continued in his next letter to his brother-in-law:

To get the paper for the globes is almost impossible, for they are afraid of them being copied. On the other hand, those that are made up come quite dear. For this reason, I have thought to prick off a couple myself, *propriis digitis* [with my own fingers] of a moderate size only, to wit, 10/12 *pedis Svecani* [of a Swedish foot] (these I have underway), and send the plates over to Sweden, and when I come home, perhaps to make others of more value. I have already so far acquired the art of engraving, that I think myself capable [competent] in it. In my father's letter, I am sending a specimen of this, which was the very first I laid hand to, as regards anything that I have *invented*. In addition I have learned from my landlord to make brass instruments, so that I have made a large number for my own needs. Were I in Sweden, I would not apply to any one to make the meridians for the globes and aught else pertaining thereto.

As regards astronomy, I have so far acquired it that I *invented* [have discovered] a great deal which I think will be of use to that *studio*, though in the beginning I had much brain-racking therewith. Yet, long speculations do not come hard to me now. (Acton, 1948, 29)

Swedenborg penetrated the secrets of useful arts on his first journey abroad in 1710. It is also clear from a contemporary review in *Deutsche Acta Eruditorum* of his *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia* written in 1734 (the same year the work was published) that Swedenborg continued to reveal secrets as a mature professional. As the review notes:

³ Alfred Acton, *Letters and Memorials of Swedenborg 1709-1748* (Bryn Athyn, PA: Swedenborg Scientific Association, 1948): 21.

To those who are interested in mining and smelting, he here supplies an almost inestimable treasure; for he describes for them not only the smelting processes of other countries, but also and in particular those used in his fatherland, Sweden; and he describes them with such attention to details, such clarity, and such truthfulness that, in the reading it almost seems as though one saw the work itself before him. This must be the more pleasing to his readers, inasmuch as they know how that in many places where men think to keep from others their methods and secret arts, such extraordinary secrecy is observed that they do their utmost both to bar strangers from entering in for the purpose of inspection, and to lock up the buildings and tools, and also the work itself. How often must Herr Swedenborg have come to a knowledge of their secrets by way of money. He did not find these difficulties in his fatherland, though jealousy on the part of the smelters is no less prevalent there than elsewhere.⁴

After publishing this work that the reviewer states is a “costly and magnificent work,—a work in which nothing whatever has been neglected which could in anyway contribute to its adornment and embellishment. So clear is the print, and so fine the paper, that the most magnificent books of Holland and other countries shows nothing superior” (Acton, 1945, 129), Swedenborg turned his attention to exploring the secrets of the human body, searching for the seat of the soul. In this endeavor Swedenborg’s goal was to reveal the immortality of the soul to the very senses.

His aim is discussed in the journal *Zuverlässige Natruchten* in 1741 in a review of his *Oeconomia Regni Animalis* (London & Amsterdam 1740). While the review is not completely favorable, the reviewer writes:

⁴ *Deutsche Acta Eruditorum* oder Geschichte der Gelehrten welche den gegenwärtigen zustand der literatur i Europa begreifen. Number 186, [Oct.], 1734, pp. 407-20. (Note that the frontispiece of this number of the DAE uses a portrait of Emanuel Swedenborg reproduced from the first volume of the *Opera Philosophica*.) From Alfred Acton’s “Swedenborg and His Scientific Reviewers.” Extracted from *The New Philosophy* 1924-34, compiled by Alfred Acton, Bryn Athyn, Pa., 1945, p. 129. *The New Philosophy*, “Swedenborg and His Scientific Reviewers,” 1929, p. 138. Swedenborg’s knowledge of these methods may not have been through bribes, but simply through his keen observation.

For this volume we have to thank the industry of the famous Swedish philosopher, Herr Swedenborg. Although he does not wish to set his name to the work, nevertheless, by other works, he has already earned such a reputation for learning, and has made his ideas on philosophy so well known, that from the nature of the work itself one can easily guess its author. His purpose in this work is a commendable one, namely, to lay before the eyes of the student of natural science, assembled in a single work, the most noteworthy and excellent new discoveries and observations of what is new in respect to the structure of the human body and the manifold composition of its parts—discoveries and observations which are scattered about in many different books to which not everyone can obtain access, or here and there in learned journals. The store of such observations, which we now possess, is uncountable; but they are not all of equal worth, and many of them are of no service whatever in bringing out that solid system of medical art which has been so long desired and so long sought for. (Acton, 1945, 204)

The reviewer clearly focused on the physiological observations Swedenborg had made to illuminate his philosophical quest. The reviewer was disappointed in the details that did not aid the physician's art, while Swedenborg himself was dissatisfied with his effort to uncover the dwelling place of the soul in the body. Swedenborg plunged into the topic once again in his *Regnum Animale* (The Hague & London, 1744, 1745). This work, too, written to reveal the secrets of the soul's relationship to the human body, falls short of its mark in the eyes of the French reviewer of the first volume in *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* published in 1744. He writes:

Difficult as it may be to know clearly the nature of the soul, M. Swedenborg nevertheless promises us that later on he will give a clear and distinct idea of it. Prior to carrying out this promise, he gives us an idea of the road he must follow in order to reach the sanctuary of a substance which seems to wish to escape from the knowledge of its own self. (Acton, 1945, 115)

Swedenborg himself found his effort inadequate and never published many of the transactions that he had written for it, even though when they were published posthumously subsequent generations found them to

contain previously unknown secrets of the human body. However, regardless of his desire, effort, and meticulous penetration, he was unable to find the immortal soul by using the scientific method.

Nonetheless, perhaps his lifelong yearning to know the secrets of nature and spirit for the sake of their usefulness to humanity was a key factor in his call to explore the final frontier—the spiritual world.

PART I OFF TO LONDON 1710

However, when Swedenborg set sail for London in the spring of 1710, this later quest was no doubt not yet even formed in his mind. He sought the adventures of discovering the secrets that could be revealed through *mathesis*—astronomy and mechanics!

Göteborg itself must have been a feast for young Emanuel's senses, for he had been raised in the small university town of Uppsala and for the past year had endured living in the even smaller country town of Skara with fewer than 1,000 inhabitants. Göteborg supported a garrison as well as being home to Sweden's bustling Western port. On any given day, perhaps ten or twelve sailing vessels were in the harbor, and the streets were full of soldiers and sailors, merchants, and ordinary folks of all classes. However bustling the sights and sounds of Göteborg may have been, they would quickly pale in comparison to the sights, sounds, smells, and atmosphere of London.

Imagine Emanuel standing on the deck of the ship as it sailed up the Thames after his exciting but nevertheless very harrowing journey from Sweden. Certainly he felt a mix of emotions—eagerness for new experiences and awareness of being far from home and the rhythm of familiar things. Picture London, the largest city in all of Europe, and the third largest city in the world coming into view as he stood on the deck of the ship—London, a city that in 1710 was home to approximately 700,000 people! And ships were everywhere, with well over a thousand of them from the far corners of the world jammed into the harbor. As Daniel Defoe wrote in the 1720s, when he visited what was called the "Pool" of London, "above two thousand sails of all sorts, not reckoning barges, lighters or

pleasure boats, and yachts; but of vessels that really go to sea.”⁵ One can imagine Swedenborg’s being overwhelmed by it all, but also incredibly excited. No doubt the best way to come to terms with it would be simply to plunge right in. So when the yacht pulled aside and friendly, familiar faces speaking Swedish offered Emanuel an immediate opportunity to realize his long held dream despite the quarantine, surely he could only have stuttered “yes,” and gathering his things, quickly clambered on board and sailed off with his friends. At twenty-two, he must have felt that he had to seize the moment, to assure himself that it was not simply a dream that could quickly disappear before his very eyes. He could not just gaze at what he saw. He had to touch, feel, smell, and hear its foreign ways up close, so he might know it.

The yacht deposited the young men on Wapping Dock east of the Tower, an area known for pirates and prostitutes, “dirt and filth and rubbish and old miserable houses and noise and tumult, and riot, drunkenness and obscenity.”⁶

As they made their way north toward Cable Street and the area of London that was home to Swedes and other Scandinavians, no doubt Swedenborg quickly observed the international and cosmopolitan atmosphere of London, filled as it was with English provincials, Scots, Welsh, and Irish and well as peoples from the four corners of the world: Dutch, Germans, French, Portuguese, Indians, Asians, Jews, and an increasing number of Africans. Perhaps nowhere else on the planet could Swedenborg have seen in miniature the contemporary world created by exploration, colonization, and commerce.

His impetuosity had significant reverberations, however. The most immediate one was that he arrived in London without a clean bill of health—the penalty for which as required by law was death by hanging. Rescued from such a fate either because of his youth or because his family had friends in high places, Emanuel, saved from the noose and perhaps chastened by the stern warning he was given, set about learning to negoti-

⁵ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain, 1724-7* as cited by George Rudé in *Hanoverian London, 1714-1808* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971).

⁶ M. Dorothy George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1965), 354.

ate this incredible and wonderful but very foreign city—London—in the foreign country of England.

In order to do so, he had a plan. As part of his plan he did not settle in among his fellow countrymen. While he did make a contribution for the construction of a Swedish church in London and for the hiring of a Swedish priest on May 10th to serve at the temporary location for the congregation found on Ratcliff Road, he wrote to relatives in October that he found his lodgings with English craftsmen. He did this no doubt to help him learn English and, as already noted, to master various crafts for his own use.

Many craftsmen in London hired out furnished rooms on the second and third floors of their dwellings, while they lived and often worked on the first floor. Skilled craftsmen could be found fairly evenly distributed across a wide variety of parishes in London, so they might be able to serve the whole community. Nonetheless, it was also true that certain crafts tended to be located in specific neighborhoods.

The crafts that Swedenborg was interested in mastering were all trades for which London enjoyed a high reputation, a watch-chaser or engraver, a cabinetmaker, and a mathematical instrument maker. These were the “topping workmen” identified by Defoe, and they lived in areas like Clerkenwell, St. James, and St. George. These areas in the north and west were, on the whole, better neighborhoods than those that were found near the river and in the east, although in the early part of the century rich and poor often lived cheek by jowl. As London grew, however, the neighborhoods became less diverse with the wealthy tending to live in the western parts of the city developed around new squares and parks, and the poor remaining in the older eastern part of the city.

By the fall of 1710 Swedenborg assured his dear brother “that he has already examined all in this city that is worth seeing” (Acton, 1948, 13). He had gone to St. Paul’s, Westminster Abbey, and no doubt saw the Tower, London Bridge, and the fine squares and homes that dotted the city. He also most certainly saw St. James Park, where the socially prominent paraded to see and be seen, as well as Kensington Garden and Spring Garden Park, later known as Vauxhall Gardens. He also had visited the bookstores and stalls along the Strand, browsing to find the stock of books he had acquired on *mathesis*, including Newton’s *Principia*, of which he

wrote, he read daily. Later he would return to the same booksellers to purchase books for his dear brother Eric and for the *Collegium Curiosorum*.

He most certainly had visited coffee houses to witness the conversations about the dissension between the Anglican Church and the Presbyterians that, he wrote to his family, was inflaming all of London. The book by Dr. Sacheverel was read in all the coffee houses, and pamphlets about the issues flooded the streets. All this public discussion of religion must have seemed quite daring and intriguing to Swedenborg, raised in the more subdued atmosphere of Sweden where censorship of ideas was a reality throughout his entire life.

London also was home to the sports of cricket and boxing and the violent amusements of cock fighting and bull and bearbaiting. Not only the humble classes but gentlemen were involved in such sports, and cockpits were found in the fashionable St. James Park. In Clerkenwell it was also possible to witness prize fights whether between women, dogs, or men.

Did Swedenborg ever venture past the stocks at Charing Cross, where unfortunate souls sat or stood for hours, open to being pelted with rotten eggs, refuse, or garbage by those passing by? The law allowed any foul thing to be thrown, with stones the only exception. Or did he ever happen to be in the area of Tyburn on one of London's eight hanging days of the year? These were the most popular of all "sporting" events called the "Tyburn Fair." Did he go one day, not so much to see the spectacle as such, but to give himself a deep and profound object lesson? There is no doubt that his cavalier and thoughtless behavior in ignoring the quarantine made a deep impression on him, because at the age of forty-eight in 1736, he began his travel journal with a recapitulation of the event. One might even think that his contribution for the construction of a Swedish church in London so soon after his arrival was a contribution made in a spirit of contrition for his self-centered judgment and in thanksgiving for his rescue.

London, according to Defoe, "sucked the vitals of trade in this island to itself."⁷ In so doing, its culture and intellectual life were not just stamped

⁷ Daniel Defoe, *The Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain, 1724-7*, as cited by George Rudé in *Hanoverian London, 1714-1808* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), ix.

by the nobility and gentry, but “bore almost as much the stamp of the City, with its commercial and middle-class values, as it did that of the Court of St. James.”⁸ Thus, it was a town that was characterized by Voltaire in the 1720s as having “commerce, prosperity, religious toleration, scientific experiment, and political and intellectual freedom going hand-in-hand.”⁹ It is clear that Swedenborg had seen these same virtues a decade earlier.

The development of both newspapers and coffee houses contributed to this. During the reign of Queen Anne there were four hundred and fifty coffee houses. Approximately one hundred and fifty of them were within the walls of the City around the Tower and London Bridge, and the rest were scattered within Westminster on either side of the Strand. The coffee houses provided a forum for discussing the events of the day, stimulated by the political and commercial needs of the people. The newspapers were in response to a similar need. The first newspaper was the *Daily Courant*, which appeared in 1702. *The Evening Post* was first published in 1706, the *Tatler* in 1709, and the *Spectator* in 1711. Thus, one of the methods Swedenborg could have used to develop his English was reading newspapers. By the time he was settled into the rhythm of London life, he had four to choose from.

Swedenborg lived in London for almost three years. He arrived in the spring of 1710 and left in the winter of 1712 or early in 1713. During this time he wrote four letters that have survived from which it is possible to get insights into his life, his activities, and his observations as a young “Swede” in London during the reign of Queen Anne.

It is clear that he was greatly impressed with the vast city of London and with its great men of science. At the beginning of his visit he drank in its external and physical magnificence, mentioning, for example, the completion of St. Paul’s, the temple that had risen from the ashes of the devastating fire that erupted during the plague year 1666. But at least initially, his halting English had left him out of the world that he had really come to explore, and he confessed to Eric Benzelius in his first letter, that he was “alive but not happy, for I long for you and home” (Acton, 1948,

⁸ Rude, 76.

⁹ Rude, 77.

14). Even as he longed for home, he also longed to consult with the men whose skill in science he wanted to learn through dialogue and conversation. He wrote in October of 1710, that he had not yet consulted with Newton, because “I am still so poor in the language” (Acton, 1948, 13).

His sense of inadequacy was to change by the following spring. Two things no doubt account for this: one certainly was his increasing mastery of English; but second, and perhaps even more important, was his changed status. He came to London as a young man, like any other, on his study tour, but in the spring of 1711 he was commissioned by the newly formed scientific society in Uppsala, called the *Collegium Curiosorum*, to be their agent in London. Receiving this commission clearly focused Swedenborg’s energies. He was honored by the confidence that had been placed in him, and he agreed to attend to the work involved “with all diligence.” While Benzelius in his letter did encourage Emanuel in *mathesis*, the subject that was Swedenborg’s passion, he also gave him a role through which he could purposefully interact with the leading scientific figures of the day.

In this regard it is interesting to note that Swedenborg’s three letters home after receiving the commission have one tone when he is speaking as the agent of the *Collegium* and quite another when he shares his own enthusiasms. For example, in his letter of April, 1711, he wrote: “I have inquired in all the bookshops and at the *auctioneer* [auctions] for the books *committerade* to me [which I was commissioned to procure] but some were not found” (Acton, 1948, 20). He also reports that one of the desired books, a single volume, “is found in a *bookshope* in Paternoster Row, but one must pay for it almost the price of the whole work” (Acton, 1948, 20). In addition he wondered: “Would my d:Brother like for the library *The Philosophical Transactions*, that is, everything that [the] Royal Society has *deliberaradt* and *invenreradt* since they began in 1660?” (Acton, 1948, 22).

In his next letter, written in August 1711, he wrote: “Here are also grand English poets who are worth reading through on account of their *inventioner* [imagination]s such as Drydens, Spen[s]ers, Wallers, Miltons, Cowleys, Beaumont and Fletchers, Shakespear, Johnsons, Bens, Oldhams, Benhams [Denham’s], Phillips, and [Edmunds] Smiths, etc” (Acton, 1948,30). In addition, he makes suggestions concerning the purchase of microscopes, telescopes, and quadrants. He discusses how they are made, their cost, and how they could be shipped and billed, if they were not paid

for in advance. In writing about these things Swedenborg gives insight into the world and operations of the scientific community in London on both the intellectual and practical levels. He writes in a rational, objective tone.

In his initial letters, the same tone can be observed, particularly in reference to Flamsteed:

I visit daily the best *mathematicos* in the city here. I have been at Flamstedt's who is held to be the best *astronomus* in England, making continual observations which, together with the *Parisiensium Observat*: [Observations of the Parisians] will in time give us a true *motum lunae et ejus appusum ad stellas fixas* [motion of the moon and its approach to the fixed stars] and, with the help of this, enable us to find at sea a definite *longitudinem*, he finding that the *motus lunae* [motion of the moon] are not at all correctly determined . . . (Acton, 1948, 21)

However, he was not as praiseworthy of Newton. Even though in his first letter he acknowledged that he read Newton daily and wanted to hear him, in his second letter he wrote:

Newtonius, in his *Physical Phenomenon*, has laid a good foundation to regulate the *irregularities* of the moon; he has not, however, given out tables but a *nudam theoriam* [bare theory]; . . . (Acton, 1948, 21)

And by his third letter, written in August of 1711, he is clear that it is impossible to get an objective opinion of Newton in England:

P.S. Prof. Elfvius asks the judgment of Englishmen concerning *Newtonii Principia*, but in this matter may no Englishman be consulted *quia caecutit in suis* [because he is blind when it comes to his own countrymen] and it were *crimen* [a crime] to bring them *in dubium* [into doubt]. (Acton, 1948, 33)

Furthermore, by this time, he has come to believe that the English prefer the work of their fellow Englishmen. As he wrote, "In *Mathesi*, no other

writings are in use here in England, nor are the writings of others in any way *estimeras* [esteemed] but only their own countrymen's" (Acton, 1948, 33).

At the same time that he is finding English scientists ethnocentric, he believed that he had hit upon the perfect method for finding the longitude. He wrote:

I have weighed the plans of all in regard to *Longitudinis terrestris indagationem* [investigation of the terrestrial longitude], but found they would not serve. I have, therefore, thought up a *method*, which is *infallible*, by means of *Lunam* [the moon] of which I am sure that it is the best that can be given; intending in a short time to inform [the] *Royal Society* that I have a plan in this matter which has such and such *signa* [signs] . . . I am now working through *Algebram et Geometriam subtilem*, intending to make such advance in these subjects as, in time, to be able to *continuera Pålhammars inventioner*. (Acton, 1948, 30)

By his fourth and last letter written in August of 1712, his tone regarding his own project has become both defensive and infected with pride in his own intelligence. This is clear from what he wrote to Benzelius. Not only is his invention "the only one," but he has decided to leave England at least in part to get a better hearing for his method. Swedenborg thus expressed to his brother-in-law feelings of self-confidence and discouragement:

As it is probably known to d:Brother what pains I have spent in *mathematicis*, were I *iterera* [to repeat], it would be unpleasant to hear. Yet, the *inventioner* that I have made therein, I give a list of in my letter to Prof. Elvius. As concerns my invention *de longitudine terrestri invenienda per lunam* [concerning the finding of the terrestrial longitude by means of the moon], I am sure that it is the only one that can be given, and is the easiest method and in every way the correct one. The only thing that can be *objiceras* against it, is the fact that the *Luna* is not altogether *redigerat* [reduced] to its course by means of *tabulas lunares*, but Flamsteed promises these, and has shown me that he has done so well, that they will correspond in every way *et sine errore* [and without error] to the moon's

course. If this is true, I have won the whole play, and I make bold to say (after I have well weighed the matter) that none of the others who have wished to find the *Longitudinem* by means of the moon has won it. (Acton, 1948, 39)

Even then, no one's *methoder*—of those that are *projecterade* by others—could be used better than this, and least of all Dr. Halley's—this he admitted to me orally. But since here in England, with this *civilt* proud people I have not found great *encouragement*, I have therefore *separeradt* it [laid it aside] for other lands. When I tell them that I have a *project* in regard to the Longitude, it is received by them as something which is quite impossible so I will not talk of it here. (Acton, 1948, 39)

As to where to go to get a better hearing, Swedenborg's thoughts turned to France. As he wrote:

It should be possible to send it over to some French *Mathematicum*, or Abby Begnion [Abbé Bignon] to give his judgment concerning it. (Acton, 1948, 40)

Unfortunately for him, when he finally arrived in Paris in 1713, scholars there were no more positive about his method than were the English. It would appear that his preoccupation with finding the solution to the problem of finding the longitude by means of the moon interfered with Swedenborg's sociability, perhaps affecting his relationships with older scientists and members of the Royal Society as well as friends and companions his own age.

Apart from Swedenborg's intense involvement with his own ingenuity, which seems to have isolated him, his letters portray a man at home in his world. He speaks in a casual and taken-for-granted manner about the Royal Society, John Flamsteed, Edmund Halley, Count Gyllenborg, John Chamberlain, Dr. John Woodward, and old acquaintances of Benzelius, such as J. Ernest Grabe. Grabe, for example, "was here for some time, but had to change his lodging every week because he was so overwhelmed with the many visitors" (Acton, 1948, 23). He not only noticed the Russians living in London who adapted to the interests of their Prince, Peter the

Great, who had visited England in 1697, but became aware of the legislation that was affecting the importation of Eric Benzelius' books. In addition, he learned where to locate rare books and well-made scientific instruments and glass. His letters testify to his skills as a reporter and observer. They also show the reader his passions and his blind spots.

Swedenborg admitted that his intensity had drained him and that he sought recreation in writing poetry. As he wrote:

Since my speculations have made me, for a time, not so sociable as was serviceable and useful for me, and my liveliness has become somewhat exhausted, I have, therefore, for a little time take up *studium poeticum* in order thereby to freshen myself; in this I think to make myself somewhat *renomerad* [renowned] this year—of which on another occasion; and I hope to have advanced therein as far as can be expected of me, of which, time and others will decide. (Acton, 1948, 40)

It is interesting to note that one of the poems in *Ludus Heliconius and other Latin poems* that he published in Skara in 1716 was written during his trip to Oxford to see Halley's observatory and the Bodleian Library. His friend Erik Alstryn, to whom the poem is dedicated, arrived somewhat later. The poem is titled "Extemporaneous sport, to a certain friend." In any case, his poem is a tribute to lazy, warm summer days, remembered convivial nights, and the playful writing "of as many distichs as he can in a short time" (Helander, 1995, 194). This break from his work seemed to have a positive effect on his mood, and he wrote that he was ready to plunge into *mathesis* again, although in this letter of August 1712, he is not without some trepidation regarding the outcome without the support and interest of others:

Yet, I think to take up *mathesis*, again, after some time, though I also pursue it now; and if I become *encouragerad* therein, I mean to make more *inventiones* therein than anyone in our *aetate* [age]; but without *encouragement*, this were to torment oneself *et non profecturis litora bubus arare* [and to plough the shore with stationary oxen.] (Acton, 1948, 40)

It is interesting to note that the last five paragraphs of this letter are written in English. His brother-in-law, Eric, had spent time in England during his own student trip, so we must assume that he could read what Emanuel had written. It is also an interesting farewell to his experience in this dynamic, scientifically-oriented society. Even though they had not acknowledged his method of finding the longitude as worthy of their attention, he, nonetheless, had mastered their medium of communication. But in English he finds it a "pity" that a book he had read through, and that perhaps had value to Benzelius, "is not translated into Latin" (Acton, 1948, 43). Also in English he expressed that "I design within space of three or four months with God's assistance to be in French, because I desire the understanding of that fashionable and useful tongue" (Acton, 1948, 42).

A few months after Swedenborg wrote this letter, he left England and did not return for almost thirty years. He traveled first to Holland and then to Paris and finally in 1714 to Swedish Pomerania to collect his thoughts about his extended absence from Sweden. During this period he wrote three additional letters to Eric Benzelius from Paris, 1713, Rostock, 1714, and Griefswalde in 1715, shortly before his return to mainland Sweden. Unfortunately, along the way, he left his travel journal in Hamburg, never to be recovered. If his later travel diaries are good examples of what went before, one could have learned from it a great deal more about Swedenborg's powers of observation as well as his youthful hubris and impatience. The story that these additional letters tell is similar to the four letters written in London, good acute observations and disappointment about the general reception of his great invention.

What is different about his later travel journals 1733–39 in contrast to his early letters is the fact that they are more sociological than psychological. One of the reasons for this may come from Swedenborg's greater maturity and sense of security in who he was and what he was doing at that time; but it also may be due to the fact that letters are relational (a medium in which a person seeks, displays, and can find empathy or sympathy); whereas a travel journal is a personal record of places and perceptions, the primary use of which is not relational but recall—the creation of a record—not a conversation.

PART II
SWEDENBORG'S TRAVEL JOURNALS 1733–1739

In 1733 Emanuel Swedenborg took his third trip abroad. For over ten years he had been working on a manuscript he had planned during an earlier trip to the continent to study mining practices. He had even written and published a prospectus for it at that time. By 1732 he had located a printer by the name of Frederick Hekel, who had establishments in both Dresden and Leipzig, and had signed a contract with him. Swedenborg no doubt chose Hekel because he could handle a large work containing engraved drawings. Hekel also promised to produce the engravings within the time frame specified by Swedenborg. When the contract was signed, Swedenborg sent his manuscripts on Iron and Copper to Hekel. While the work clearly focused on the two metals vital to the Swedish economy, Swedenborg wanted to explore more than metallurgy in it. He had long sought to understand the principles of nature, and he wanted to investigate the very origin and operation of matter itself. He had delved into this topic several times during the 1720s and by the spring of 1733 had produced another draft of the work that was eventually to be his *Principia*. Thus, in the spring of 1733, he felt the time had come to bring this project to completion by a trip to Germany where he could visit additional mines and then see his work through the press.

His colleagues at the *Bergs Colligium* were aware that Swedenborg had been engaged in this effort for some time, so they were not surprised by his request for a nine-month leave of absence to go abroad in order to supervise its publication. In fact, as they commented to the King in a note they wrote to accompany Swedenborg's application for the leave, they were looking forward to seeing the finished product. They supported his request by saying: Swedenborg "has, with commendable diligence, tirelessness, and care, written many useful things in mining matters, and one would gladly see such writings be committed to print" (Acton, 1948, 452).

The King, after deliberating with Council, gave his permission for Swedenborg to take a leave of absence with full pay. He issued Swedenborg a passport dated April 17, 1733, and on May 10th Swedenborg, in the company of friends, left Stockholm with his manservant, Jean Brandell.

Swedenborg recorded the events of this journey in a journal written in Latin.

Unlike his first foreign trip, during which he wrote seven letters to his brother, Eric Benzelius, during this third trip Swedenborg wrote only two letters, both of which could be categorized as business letters. In one he requested a drawing of a fossil in the possession of the Trier family that he had recently seen, that so impressed him he wanted to include it in his volume on copper; and the other was to the Board of Mines in January of 1734 requesting an extension of his leave until summer. He wrote that his three-volume work would be ready by Easter, and he would like permission to extend his leave for an additional four or five weeks so he could attend to some business and to travel to Luneberg and Cassel. The extension was granted.

So the record that remains of his trip is solely personal, and the same may be said of his trip to France and Italy in 1736–1740, although it is interesting that this journal was written in Swedish. Swedenborg wrote a Swedish preface to this later journal with brief commentaries of his three previous trips abroad, including his most recent trip in 1733–34.

Perhaps he regretted that he had no written record of his first two trips, and so he took the time to note their personal significance to him. His summary of the 1733–34 trip is also personally revealing. In this vein, it is interesting to observe that in the three paragraphs he wrote about his trip in 1721, he focused specifically on two works he had published that could be viewed as forerunners to his 1734 grand opus, *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*. Other works that he published at this time are not specifically mentioned by name. He also referred to the places he visited during the trip, with particular attention to his trip to the mines in the Hartz Mountains where he was hosted by Duke Louis Randolph. He reported that not only had the Duke defrayed all his expenses in his realm but in addition gave him gifts of gold and silver when Swedenborg took his leave. He detailed the route of his return trip and the fact that he was absent from Sweden for one year and three months (Tafel, 1890, 5).

In his overview of his 1733 trip, he also identified the works he published while abroad. In addition to his *Opera*, he mentioned His "*Prodromus philosophicae ratiocinantis de Infinito, &c.*" Again he detailed his return route, and wrote that he was home near the time of the opening of

the Diet in July of 1734. He ended his overview with the second vignette cited at the beginning of this chapter focusing on the learned men he had met.

Keeping in mind that this brief review of his travels through 1734 started with his recollection of his first trip to England where he reported that he escaped from death on four occasions—clearly a highly charged memory—the whole review takes on additional meaning. The trip in 1721 was remembered for its intellectual connection to Swedenborg's current activities and for the gracious favors of an important and very wealthy man. The Duke was remembered because his actions were evidence that he recognized Swedenborg's genius and his worth at a time when so many others did not. As Swedenborg's life unfolded, from the vantage point of 1721, it would be at least two more years before he would be recognized as a rightful member of the Board of Mines. Clearly winning the Duke's favor must have felt like arriving at an oasis in a barren social-psychological desert. It was recalled and recorded because a stranger and a traveler is always deeply grateful for the cool and refreshing, life-giving waters of an oasis.

What is so meaningful about his comment as he reviewed these trips as a prologue to his extensive trip begun in 1736 is that Swedenborg revealed to himself his almost insatiable need to be in the company of learned men, living and dead, codifiers, systematizers, and collectors. He needed to absorb knowledge, the new and the innovative, as much as he needed to breathe. Who these learned men were was less important to record than Swedenborg's writing that it was his standard practice to meet them. Never missing an opportunity to meet the learned certainly qualified Swedenborg as someone who "knew" the learned of his own era. And perhaps it allowed him to speak with authority about the learned, after his "call." It is interesting to observe that when he wrote about the learned from a critical stance as a "seer," he no longer sought to be in their company.

Themes in Swedenborg's 1730s travel journals

Swedenborg was engaged in two monumental publishing projects during the 1730s. One trip took him into Germany and Poland in 1733–34,

where he publishing his three-volume *Philosophical and Mineralogical* work in Leipzig, as well as a smaller treatise called *The First and Final Cause of Creation*. He was away for fourteen months. During this time, he recorded things of interest to him in a journal that comprised fifty-seven pages in the 1910 memorial edition. Two years later he left on a trip that was to last almost three and one-half years. The result of this trip was the September 1740 publication of the first volume of *The Economy of the Soul's Kingdom*. Over the course of this trip, he recorded events of interest in another shorter journal. This journal takes up thirty-four pages of the 1910 commemorative edition. During this same period he took notes from Christian Wolff's *Ontologia and Cosmologia*. His notes on Wolff comprise ninety-three pages of the same codex in which the travel journals are found. In these journals he also recorded various manufacturing processes, descriptions of which also take up a considerable number of pages.

On both of these trips abroad many places and events caught Swedenborg's attention and he wrote about them, often with meticulous detail. Of all the material written by Swedenborg throughout his long life, these journals present the most comprehensive picture of his daily life he ever penned. It appears that he did not keep a diary when he lived at home in Sweden, so these journals written over a five-year period while he was abroad provide an intimate self-portrait of the Swede, one that can be compared to the copper engraving by J. M. Bernigroth included in the *Philosophical and Mineralogical* work as the frontispiece. These are the reflections and activities of a proud, comfortable, and self-satisfied man. These journals provide a social portrait of the Swedish Assessor whose life and ways, Swedenborg discovered in his later *Journal of Dreams* (1743–1744), needed to undergo such a fundamental and revolutionary change.¹⁰

Upon careful examination certain themes emerge in these diaries. It should be of no surprise that in travel journals like these, town names are by far the largest type of entry, often including vivid, picturesque descriptions of their quality and character. The importance of mentioning where he is, is followed by the second most important category, who he is with or

¹⁰Swedenborg's *Journal of Dreams* will be discussed in detail in chapter six "Death and Rebirth—Call." This unpublished journal was mislaid by relatives after his death and was found in 1858 and sold to the Kunglinga Biblioteket in Stockholm. It was first published in 1859.

reading about or seeing either closeup or at a distance. Mentioned are contemporary individuals who were his traveling companions or whom he visited or was in the company of. In addition he mentions ancient and contemporary authors of books he read or perused in libraries as well as nobles, royalty, monks or nuns and assorted other folks that he observed in groups. In both journals he made extensive notes on Catholicism, gardens and orangeries, libraries, books, manuscripts, music, art, and his own work. However, he also made notes about the castles and palaces he saw, different mining and chemical processes, scientific theories, his personal economy, religious and ethnic groups, hospitals, churches, processions, and entertainments.

These journals present a man with a myriad of interests on a “working” sabbatical away from his official duties but actively working nevertheless. They paint a picture of a man who is always observing, exploring, investigating, experiencing, reflecting, and writing. They present a clearly-focused individual who possessed incredible energy. His work at hand was never out of sight, while at the same time he was obviously open to exploring what were the unique possibilities of each locale he visited.

While it is clear that Swedenborg’s prior arrangements with the printer of his *Philosophical and Mineralogical* work dictated the geographical destination of his 1733 trip, it is not completely apparent what drew him first to Paris and then to Italy on his second trip. Did his desire to learn the minute details of human anatomy and physiology determine his destinations? Was Paris truly the best location to see the human body first hand after taking up dissection perhaps, but what about Italy? Did his decision to travel there come about because he wished to finally make the journey that was interrupted in 1722 when his father implored him to return home to settle a matter of inheritance? Or was the interrupted trip of little or no significance, while access to the books of Italian anatomists was paramount? His travel journals do not answer these questions, but they do reveal the contours of eighteenth century Europe through the eyes of an extraordinary man.

The journey 1733–34

Swedenborg left Stockholm by coach on May 10th 1733 in the company of friends such as Frederic Gyllenborg and Baron David Stjerncrona among others. He traveled south and stopped at an Inn in Fittja and proceeded the next day to Linköping along with Lars Benzelstjerna, his brother-in-law, and Lars's new wife (his sister Hedwig had died in 1728) to spend Pentecost at the home of his d:brother, Bishop Eric Benzelius and his sister Anna. He spent several days in Linköping before continuing his journey south to Ystad and a ship that would ferry him across the Baltic to Stralsund. Swedenborg was to follow this same route through Sweden three years later when he traveled to the continent again, on each occasion taking a cherished opportunity to connect with family before traveling abroad in a professional capacity.

Given their long-standing close relationship and the fact that Swedenborg would soon dedicate his *De Infinito* to him, it is certain that Swedenborg took the opportunity to have deep and reflective conversations with Eric, who was certainly Emanuel's closest confidant and his intellectual mentor. Meeting face-to-face with his "dear" brother Eric was no doubt a welcome chance to share his excitement concerning his forthcoming work as well as any trepidations he might be feeling.

During his stay in Linköping, Swedenborg visited the Stångebo battlefield where he observed that the religious fate of Sweden was decided in 1598. In the battle Duke Charles IX defeated the Polish King Sigismund. He wrote: "If Sigismund had proved victorious, the inhabitants of this northern country would in all probability have remained in the Roman Catholic religion. But God intended it otherwise" (Tafel, 1890, 7).

The next day the members of the family made an excursion to Sturefors castle, built by Count Piper and owned by his widow. While there they admired the paintings by David Ehrenstahl, a German who became one of Sweden's most well-known painters of the seventeenth century. However, what charmed Swedenborg was the location of the castle, which, he wrote "is most delightful and is calculated to refresh and recreate the mind; since it opens to the eye a long vista of lakes, meadows, and fields, terminating in a forest" (Tafel, 1890, 7).

Trip to Dresden and Leipzig

Fortified by the easy familiarity of visiting family and friends, Swedenborg set off on his journey to Leipzig by way of Grenna and Jönköping to Ystad, before sailing to Stralsund in Pomerania, arriving on May 24th. He stayed for a few days, and made observations of all the town gates and fortifications that surround them. Swedenborg was particularly interested in tracing the effects of the siege by Charles the XII that occurred in 1715, not long after his own previous stay in the town. He also visited three large churches and several smaller ones. On May 26th he wrote a most remarkable sentence in his journal: “I spent the day doing nothing, waiting for the stage-coach” (Tafel, 1890, 9). This sentence is remarkable because Swedenborg rarely if ever did nothing. Constant activity and engagement were integral to his character and his way of life. It is refreshing, nevertheless, to find that on occasion, he could, in fact, do nothing! From Stralsund he continued traveling, first to Griefswalde, where he had lived for some time toward the end of his first trip abroad, and then to Anclam. He noted: “nothing worthy of notice occurred on the journey” (Tafel, 1890, 9).

In Anclam, on May 27th, however, he observed the Brandenburg soldiers, about whom he wrote:

Their line is remarkably regular, the men being of the same height and age; the faces of all turn in one direction. The head is adorned the most, the feet, arms, and remaining parts of the body are least burdened and are closely bound, so that they are prepared either for an immediate attack on an enemy or for a rush in flight; they are so attired as to be ready for either turn in the wheel of fortune. (Tafel, 1890, 10)

While it would be wonderful to continue to follow Swedenborg on his trip to Leipzig where he published his first major work, it is simply more economical to explore his journals thematically. The major themes of his 1733–34 travel diary will be explored and then those of his 1736–39 trip.

Towns

Berlin

Swedenborg travels on through the German countryside and small towns, until on June 2nd he finally reached Berlin. He noted in his journal:

At last I reached Berlin. I first wandered alone through the town that I might take in with the eye what is wont to strike the first gaze of a stranger. What I noticed first on the bridge leading to the Royal Castle was a bronze statue erected by King William in 1703, which was remarkable for its weight, its size, and the art expended on it . . . The royal palace itself is magnificent; a most expensive structure, and in size and height surpassing the palaces of many kings. On one side of it is a parade ground capable of holding from twenty to thirty thousand soldiers, cavalry and infantry. Their military exercises and parades may be witnessed from the palace. I shall not attempt a description of this palace as it would fill many pages, while the painter could represent it better and more vividly on one page.

The arsenal which adjoins it is scarcely less beautiful; this also can be exhibited much better by the artist. The same may be said of the orphans asylum. (Tafel, 1890, 13)

Swedenborg, with the eye of a careful and observant stranger, takes in the wonders of Berlin, and yet he was aware that were he an artist, he could more nearly capture its living essence. Nonetheless he paints a gallery of pictures with words. The dwellings of ordinary folks he also found remarkable. He continued:

Most of these dwellings have been built by trades-people and mechanics, and the rest by the nobles and the higher classes. You might suppose that they were a hundred ducal residences, when yet they are the houses of mechanics and trades-people, who in other towns generally live in huts, cabins, and log houses. What delights the eye most, and exhilarates the mind, is the wonderful symmetry and continuity of the houses, so that

you might say many thousands of men have a common dwelling, and live in one house under the same roof. (Tafel, 1890, 14)

The town is very populous: for the trades and manufactures flourish and prosper, many mechanics and manufactures driven out and banished from France, having taken up their abode here. A vast stream of people pass along the streets and lanes, and gather in dense crowds around the public buildings. Many of these people, however, belong to the military class, and at every corner sentinels may be seen. From this we may conclude that not only commerce, but manufactures also can make towns wealthy; for no merchandize is brought hither by sea, but manufactures attract the money, which is retained and prevented from going abroad and being scattered. (Tafel, 1890, 14)

In these notes, observation is balanced with analysis. Swedenborg penetrates the pictures he has painted and makes judgments about the meaning of what he has seen. He has seen Berlin, but he has also developed a social theory interpreting its significance—he observed, writing not long before the take-off of the industrial revolution, that manufacturing is as much a source of wealth as commerce. History would prove Swedenborg’s insight correct. During the few days Swedenborg stayed in Berlin he did not miss the opportunity to see the military exercises, St. Peter’s church, the library, “which contained a great number of books, but mostly old;” the museum, called *Kunst-Kammer*, and a chemical laboratory (Tafel, 1890, 15).

Dresden

Dresden was the next major town that Swedenborg visited. He arrived there on June 7th according to the Julian calendar still in use in Sweden at that time, and remained there until July 21st according to the Gregorian calendar that had been universally adopted by the German principalities in 1700. In his journal Swedenborg used the Julian dating system until June 20, when he began to employ a dual dating system which he followed for a few days until July 6th when he switched over entirely to the

Gregorian system or *new style*. The difference between the two calendars is eleven days, so June 20th *old style* is July 1st *new style*. So Swedenborg arrived in Dresden on June 18th *new style* and remained there for a little over a month. While Swedenborg made extensive entries in his journal during his stay in Dresden, he does not describe the town itself in any detail.

Prague

However, when he arrived in Prague on July 23rd, he took a walk through the town and described what he saw.

I reached Prague, where I stayed at a house or hotel, near the custom-house [?] called Tein.

I took a walk through Prague to have a look at the city and went 1. To the bridge over the river Moldau, which consists of eighteen arches; there are statues of various kinds upon it, and at both ends towers where the balls fired by the Swedes in 1648 are still visible. [2] I visited the cathedral of St. Vitus . . . I have not yet succeeded in seeing the chapel of St. Wenceslaus and the relics. 3. I entered the archbishop's house; 4. Likewise the magnificent palaces of others, . . . 5. I visited the church of St. Loretto or of the Franciscans; . . . 6. There in St. Loretto, I succeeded in seeing their treasury, . . . 7. Afterwards I went to see the Church of St. Nicholas or of the Jesuits, . . . 8. I passed through the market-place and the quarter where the Jews live; every thing there was unclean and filthy. 9. From the mountain where the cathedral rises, the whole town may be seen, and also that church which preserves the wood which was conveyed hither by the devil from Rome. 10. I examined also the town-hall with its curious clock, which points out the hours, and also the lunar periods; likewise all kinds of statues placed in various parts of the streets and public squares. (Tafel, 1890, 39–40)

In this description of Prague, it would appear that Swedenborg, after making a passing connection to the familiar by commenting on the still visible traces of Sweden's military assault of 1648, turned his attention to

the less familiar and more exotic aspects found in the town—Catholic orders, the Jewish quarter, wood brought to Prague by the devil, and the fantastic town-hall clock. His interest in the religious orders is reinforced in an entry written a few days later on July 25th: “I made investigations also into the orders of monks; there are chiefly four. The Franciscans have a grey robe of the coarsest kind, tied with a rope, the Benedictines are clothed in white, the Jesuits in black, and the Dominicans in black and white” (Tafel, 1890, 41–42).

Mining towns of Saxony and Bohemia

Swedenborg left Prague after a stay of six days to take a three-week excursion to the various mining towns of Saxony/Bohemia. His notes on this trip to observe mines and mining methods take up twenty-five pages in Tafel’s Document 205. He discussed the different processes for making cobalt blue; blast furnaces for iron; iron rolling mills; silver processing mills; blast furnaces for tin; silver smelting; arsenic works; as well as describing some of the mines he saw. He also included sketches of some of the blast furnaces he was shown. He traveled from Prague to Carlsbad, to Lauterbach, and then to Falkenau, which he wrote: “is a rather handsome town” (Tafel, 1890, 50). He continued to Bleistadt, “which is situated on a very high mountain, and is surrounded by lofty mountains. Below, at a great depth, the river flows. The situation of the town is most delightful” (Tafel, 1890, 50). From Bleistadt, he traveled to Platten, Hans Jürgenstadt, and Joachimsthal.

From Joachimsthal, where he visited a plant for the production of arsenic, he returned to Carlsbad and observed a Roman Catholic mass on August 16th. Three days later he was back in Prague. He took another trip from Prague, this time to Eule to observe the process of mining gold. This is a brief trip, and by August 25th he arrived back in Dresden. He stayed in Dresden for a week, and then traveled to Leipzig, where the printing of the *Principia* was begun on October 5th. He wrote: “A beginning was made with the printing of the *Principia*. Six sheets were printed this week. May Heaven favor it (*faveat numen*)! The Leipzig fair commenced the same day” (Tafel, 1890, 73).

This entry on October 5th is the last one Swedenborg wrote in 1733, and he does not make another until March 1, 1734. During this period of five months, Swedenborg was overseeing the printing of his mineralogical and philosophical work. No doubt much if not all of the volumes on *Iron* and *Copper* were already printed because Swedenborg had sent them ahead. Swedenborg's observation that the Leipzig fair commenced the day the printing of the *Principia* began, is written almost as if the festivities of the fair were a sign of approval. Eleven years later, in Swedenborg's dream journal, dream number 281 describes a vision of the Disting Fair taking place in the upstairs parlor of his father's house in Uppsala. He wrote: "This signifies the same, showing that it ought to happen with all the more certainty" (Swedenborg, 1977, 89). What ought to happen with certainty at that time was another work "*The Worship of God,*" or *The Worship and Love of God* (1745).

Swedenborg does not only mention towns, mining, and mining processes in his journal, but also mentions people, Catholic ceremonies, libraries, and art.

People

In addition to the family and friends mentioned in the beginning of this journal, he mentions perusing the work of Putoneus, while traveling to Dresden in June. It was published in Leipzig that same year (1733). It discussed the worms of Friesland and Northland, and Swedenborg took several pages of notes on the subject, related a remedy for the problem proposed by a Jew, and developed his own theory about how to prevent the worms from penetrating wooden pilings in water. During his stay in Dresden he took the time to examine a number of books on a variety of different subjects. He wrote that:

I read through a book of John Bernouilli, which bears the title: *Essai d'une nouvelle théorie de la manoeuvre des vaisseaux, etc.* [Essay concerning a new theory of handling ships]; which treats geometrically of the structure of vessels, etc. (Tafel, 1890, 23)

. . . afterwards I perused Julius Bernhard von Rohr's *Compendieuse Haushaltungs-Bibliothek* (Compendious library of household matters) . . . The same Julius Bernhard von Rohr has also published *Compendieuses Physikalische Bibliothek*, Leipzig, 8vo. 1724; it treats, first, of natural science in general and the books belonging thereto; . . . (Tafel, 1890, 24)

Swedenborg in his journal not only outlined the plan of the book on household matters, but he also noted the sources von Rohr used. He mentioned Wolff's *Cosmologia generalis*, which he had seen at the home of Secretary Rüger. He wrote that Wolff's "theory is based on sound Foundations" (Tafel, 1890, 29). During his next trip abroad Swedenborg would take extensive notes on Wolff's philosophy.

After the visit with Secretary Rüger, Swedenborg wrote that he read "*La Bibliothèque Italique* for the year 1728, and there I found a review of Michael Mercati's *Metalloteka*, . . . The anatomist Bianchi has published several anatomical disputations, in which he has explained the mechanism of the human body. . . . Jean Jerome Zannichelli has published in Venice a natural history of the island which is contiguous to Venice. Last year he published an excellent dissertation on iron . . ." (Tafel, 1890, 30).

Swedenborg found many things of interest in the *Bibliotheca Italia*, and took extracts from the work on Mr. Woodward's classification of minerals, salts, metals, and earths. He was also interested in the work of M. Ruysch, of Holland, M. des Nouës, who had constructed the bodily organs of wax, and M. Bianchi, "who has made an arrangement in anatomy, that everything may be laid open without an ill scent . . ." (Tafel, 1890, 32). The work of Francisco Travagini on earthquakes caught his attention, as well as M. Rizzetti's treatise on "A system of color, with his objections to Newton" (Tafel, 1890, 32). Francisco Blanchini of Verona's observations on the planet Venus were extracted from the 1728 edition of *Bibliothèque Italique*, while from the 1730 edition Swedenborg wrote down a discussion of the invention of the calculus of infinites that suggested that Bonav. Cavalieri invented it in 1653, while "the same is almost confessed by M. Fontenelle; some attribute it to Newton, and others to Leibnitz" (Tafel, 1890, 34). From this same edition, Marquis Poleni was cited for his work on hydrostatics (Tafel, 1890, 34).

All of the citations and references Swedenborg so meticulously copied into his journal were useful to him because they connected him with both his present project and future ones. In the present was the work he was so close to publishing on minerals, and in the future was the work he was to undertake in 1736 on the relationship of soul to the human body. Clearly he was beginning to develop a bibliography for such a project; and in fact, it may have been this extensive reading in the *Bibliothèque Italique* that stimulated his interest in a trip to Italy in the future.

One somewhat surprising list of commentary is focused on Italian painting, sculpture, and architecture:

Painting. The first who imparted life to paintings was Giotto. Afterwards in the sixteenth century there was Raphael, who died in his thirty-seventh year; Afterwards Coreggio and Titian. The last century began with Cignani, and after him, Carlo Maratti. The present century also has illustrious painters: Franceschini, Solimani, Giuseppe del Sole, Barino, [etc.] . . . In perspective painting Pozzi, Cavazzoni, Castellini. Bistega and Bibieni had not their equals. . . . (Tafel, 1890, 35)

The first in sculpture were Margaritone, Andrea Pisani, and Pietro Cavallino; in the last century, Antonio Lombardo, Alessandro Algardi, and especially Bernini; in the 16th century, . . . (Tafel, 1890, 35)

Architecture was cultivated by Bramante, Bsaroccio, Serlio, Sansovino Fontana; these all derived their art from Michael Angelo Buonarotti, who possessed it in a wonderful manner. First of all, however, it was revived by Leon Battista Alberti and Brunellesca. At the present day it has been filled with new ideas chiefly by Borromini; at the present day there are also Carolo Fontana and Foggini. (Tafel, 1890, 36)

What makes the discovery of this list so delightful is that Swedenborg's interest in the arts has received little attention over the years. He is often portrayed as so focused that he did not seek out the pleasures and entertainments typical of his class and station. Yet both of the journals he wrote in the 1730s make significant references to his pleasure in art, architecture, and music.

During his stay in Dresden and during his trip he did examine works other than the *Bibliothèque Italique*; one of them was Peter Horrebrow's *Clavis Astronomiae* (The Key of Astronomy) published in Copenhagen in 1730. He was not impressed with the work itself as he wrote, "I found nothing to notice" (Tafel, 1890, 30). Horrebrow, "quotes, however, several experiments made by others which are worthy of notice" (Tafel, 1890, 30). Swedenborg was particularly interested in a table of the length of the pendulum at every latitude; and he copied the list into his journal. This no doubt was useful for his current project.

Contemporaries that he mentioned meeting during his trip were Dr. Neumann, whom he met in Berlin. He wrote: "I visited the laboratory of Dr. Neumann, which is furnished with several small fireplaces and furnaces for chemical purposes, especially for distillations in the water and sand baths, and likewise with digesters . . . everything is arranged most ingeniously and exactly" (Tafel, 1890, 16).

In Dresden he met Secretary Rüger at his home on July 10th, and then on July 20th "in the company of Messers. Michaeli and Rüger [he] was in the museum of natural history" (Tafel, 1890, 38). On his return trip to Dresden, on August 28th he wrote: "I met Mr. Leisner who desires to introduce the use of peat into Saxony. He told me that a Mr. Carlewitz experimented on the use of peat in blast-furnaces, and that he so far succeeded" (Tafel, 1890, 72). Two days later, in another entry, he wrote: "With Henkel, the Councilor of Mines, I visited Aulic Councilor [Councilor of the Court of Appeals of the Holy Roman Empire], and Councilor of Mines Johann Wolfgang Trier and saw various kinds of ores and shells, besides the skeleton of a marmoset with its bones and legs impressed on slate; I saw also other kinds of minerals, pyrites from silver ore imbedded and in common limestone" (Tafel, 1890, 73). The marmoset or "sea cat" so impressed Swedenborg that he obtained an engraving of it for his volume on copper.

Once Swedenborg settled into his publishing mode in Liepzig, he stopped writing in his journal. During this time he not only oversaw the publication of the three volumes of his mineralogical and philosophical work but also wrote two essays that he bound together and published as *The First and Final Cause of Creation*. While he may have visited people from

time to time during this period, he did not record who they might have been. Obviously he saw his printer Frederick Hekel almost daily during this time.

On March 1, 1734, as the printing process was drawing to a close, Swedenborg traveled from Leipzig to Halle, where he stayed at the Inn of the Golden Star. While in Halle, on March 3rd he recorded that he “visited Prof. Herman Lang, who is the Professor of physics and mathematics, and who extended to me every civility. He showed me his cabinet of curiosities, and presented me with several petrified objects and others things. At his house I saw that green ink which vanishes in the cold, and re-appears in the heat” (Tafel, 1890, 73). The next day he “called at Magister Semler’s, where I saw very many things connected with the magnet; the declinations of the magnet according to the method of Halley, with the instruments; and its inclination according to his own method, drawn on the same map, which follows in a straight line the like declination” (Tafel, 1890, 73). In Halle he also visited the orphan asylum founded by Francke in 1698. At the asylum he saw “a curious Copernican and Ptolemaic system and other things. I also saw them [the orphans] at dinner; 600 receive their meals there every day” (Tafel, 1890, 73–74).

At the very end of this journal, written no doubt while he was still in Halle, he noted that he: “spoke with Prof. Ursinus, and had a scientific discussion with him; Fred. Hoffmann is still alive; Thomasius I saw, and also Rudiger, who had written a treatise on chemistry” (Tafel, 1890, 74).

In addition to the men mentioned in his journal, he obviously had extensive interactions with the individuals who supervised the mining and manufacturing processes he spent so much time observing in Saxony and Bohemia. On several occasions while visiting gardens Swedenborg also mentioned that he was in the company of others, but he does not name them. The inference that can be drawn from the notes Swedenborg wrote about the people that he met is that the relationships depicted are primarily professional and instrumental. They are in fact what would be expected from someone traveling for professional and business reasons.

Gardens

Swedenborg descriptions of the gardens he visited, however, have a different tone. They seem to touch his affections and his sense of wonder. Upon arriving in Dresden, Swedenborg made notes about a church under construction, the royal palace, and a splendid bridge over the river, but what caught his imagination in Dresden were the gardens. On June 12th *old style* He wrote:

With a companion I went into the royal garden which consists entirely of Indian and foreign trees. The part on left is distinguished by cypresses and laurels; that on right by citron and orange trees. Within the walls are trees of various kinds, coffee plants, etc., and a fig-tree with a trunk of extraordinary thickness. Here we could see and admire a very large number of laurels and orange trees collected together; for there are upwards of five-hundred laurels, beautifully trimmed, and the same number of orange-trees may be counted, all of which are exactly like one another, being of the same height, the same thickness, and the same age. The trunk of each tree is eight inches in diameter, while the Indian fig tree is twenty-four inches in diameter. This garden seems to excel all others of the same kind established in Europe. (Tafel, 1890, 21)

On St. John's day I went outside the town to enjoy a stroll and see the large garden famous for its marble statues and figures. The way or road to it extends to a great distance, is enclosed on both sides with trimmed and curiously cut trees, and adorned with terra cotta figures. At last appears the area itself or the theatre, adorned with beautiful marble statues and figures. All are made of marble of the most dazzling purity, and all are sculpted to the life. Some are larger and some are smaller, and there are so many of them, that they can scarcely be counted. They do not yield much to those in Versailles, except in size. It is a place where you may enjoy rural pleasures to the full. (Tafel, 1890, 21)

After drinking in such delights, Swedenborg spent the next five days (June 14th–19th) reading through and correcting his *Principia*. On June

20th Swedenborg began to give two dates for his journal entries, one from the *old* and the other from the *new* style calendar. After correcting his *Principia*, Swedenborg rewarded himself by visiting the Japanese Palace built by the Duke of Saxony. The palace also had “a very pleasant garden” (Tafel, 1890, 21). The next day, July 2nd, after attending mass at the chapel of the Duke of Saxony, he wrote: “On the same day I crossed the river Elbe, in company of five others, and we went into the vineyards, or to the hills where the vineyards are. The aspect here is most delightful. The hill is covered with elms and vines; and is everywhere dotted with villas over its whole extent” (Tafel, 1890, 22).

On July 5th *new style*, Swedenborg wrote:

I took a walk outside the town in order to see the so-called Turkish house, where there is also a delightful garden. In the house itself may be seen paintings of Turkish, Chinese, Persian, and Greek women in their usual costumes; likewise celebrated men, such as sultans, viziers, muftis, etc. . . . Some parts of Constantinople are likewise exhibited with the Peloponnesus and the sea. . . . A person is thus enabled to obtain an idea of Constantinople, and in a certain sense of the Ottoman port itself. (Tafel, 1890, 25)

On July 12th Swedenborg returned to the botanical garden and recorded his observations in the following manner:

I again visited the orange garden, or the botanic garden, and noticed there: 1. a palm tree with its bark, leaves, and fruit; 2. An Egyptian acacia with its thorns; 3. The *sirium Judaicum*; 4. A tall dragon-tree with an uneven stem; 5. The tree on which coffee berries grow; their outer portion is eatable, in their interior the beans lie concealed; 6. An orange tree, the circumference of which is two ells, its weight ten hundred-weight, and its length two ells. The trunks are transported from Italy without roots and leaves, both being cut off; it is placed in a pot with earth and tied round with moss, and after a year the trunk throws out roots, and produces twigs and leaves. (Tafel, 1890, 31)

While this last entry is more scientific than his previous descriptions of gardens, one feels his fascination with the exotic nature of the life before him.

Catholic ritual

Equally exotic for Swedenborg was the sensual nature of the Catholic ceremonies he witnessed:

Today [July 2nd] I entered the chapel attached to the Court of the Duke of Saxony, with a view of being present at worship, which is celebrated according to the Catholic ritual. It was impossible for any of the senses not to derive from it some sensation of pleasure. . . .

Hearing

Smell

Sight

The interior senses, however, were charmed, because all things breathed an atmosphere of sublimity and sanctity; because at the least sound of a little bell all threw themselves on their knees; and because all things were expressed in Latin, a foreign language, by which the minds of the common people are wont to be most impressed. In short the worship of the Roman Catholic church seems to have been especially invented, and to be calculated, to charm the external senses by alluring all the organs of the body, and thereby offering blandishments to the senses. (Tafel, 1890, 22)

He attended a Catholic mass again in Carlsbad on August 16th. The atmosphere remained exotic:

I was in the Roman Catholic Church at Carlsbad, where I witnessed their worship, or their celebration, of the mass, and where I observed that all things were most delightful, or suited to all the senses. For the ear they had the very best instrumental harmony, having instead of the singing of the people the completest instrumental music. The eyes beheld various sports; the gestures of boys, as well as of others, who were burning lamps

and wax-tapers; the magnificent vestments of the priests, and of boys similarly arrayed; everything in the light of these lamps shone with gold and silver. The sense of smell was regaled with the richest fragrance, with which the altar, or the sanctuary was perfumed. For the sense of touch, there was the water, which the priest upon entering, sprinkled on the people. The interior sense was struck with the priest's reverence for the Supreme Being, by his innumerable genuflections, and by those of the youths. The taste alone was left ungratified, except by what the priest, the participant in all the pleasures, could derive from the wine which he alone drinks. [Thus] the holy things of worship are formed for the pleasure of the external senses, and they are pleasing to the public generally, because with them the external senses are the channels through which the remembrance of the Supreme Being has first to enter. (Tafel, 1890, 67–68)

His 1736–1740 trip to France and Italy, both Catholic nations, again stimulated his interest in Catholic worship. These trips provided Swedenborg with natural experiences with a variety of Christian faiths, something that would prove to be vital to his work as a visionary.

Libraries

Swedenborg had a deep love of books, almost a reverence in fact, that is evident in his frequent references to libraries and books, and his use of them as sources. However, he clearly was interested in books that were modern and up-to-date that could provide him with new information, and insights—books that could advance his understanding of how the world worked:

Berlin

I examined also the library, which contains a great number of books, but mostly old; not many are purchased at the present time, no money being obtainable for this purpose. Several manuscripts are also exhibited, among which is the Bible of Charlemagne, written eight hundred years ago, which was brought from Aix-la-Chapelle. There are historical books in

the Italian language from the library of Queen Christiana and in addition many old codexes; books in the Chinese language; a Koran of most exquisite workmanship; likewise another Koran almost round in form and enclosed in a case, very small in size. A large atlas also is shown. (Tafel, 1890, 15)

Prague

I was in the monastery of the Jesuits, the 'Jusuitencloster,' which is situated in the old town or *Altstadt*, where I first of all admired the magnificence of the building itself . . . no palace in Prague surpasses it in splendour. They have likewise a gymnasium and a church. The church is small but elegant; its columns are of marble . . . No marble can be more precious; the figures in it play delightfully on account of the variety of the colours, just as if they were dendrites from Italy. I have never seen anything more beautiful than this marble, which is said to have been quarried in Bohemia. I afterwards entered the mathematical chamber [that held lots of interesting technological curiosities] . . . there were Chinese letters and books; their astronomical figures and artistic paintings; . . . They have also a splendid astronomical Tower. I entered, too, their superb library, which consisted, however, only of old books and old manuscripts, dating from the fathers and Euclid [?] and others. The place is richly decorated, but the books are old, and mostly of the schoolmen. . . .

They have a most elegant painting, which is to be affixed to the walls. They are very busy; besides the servants, there are about two hundred in that building, and in another there are about two hundred more. They accept only such as are wealthy and talented. (Tafel, 1890, 41)

The Jesuits had a "superb library," but the books it held could not nourish Swedenborg who hungered for contact with the new and the unknown—books suitable for a pioneer.

Leipzig

Easter fell on the 25th of April in 1734. Celebration of the Lord's resurrection must have been accompanied by his own joy in the publication of his large and handsome *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*, and the smaller and more modest *De Infinito*. The publication of the *Opera* was the culmination of a twelve-year writing process and seven months of personal involvement with its printing. He surely felt not only joy, but pride. His portrait on the frontispiece is a visual confirmation of this. He returned to Stockholm, the Riksdag, and the work of the Board of Mines as a successful author worthy of note.

1736–1740 journey

Two years later in 1736 Swedenborg set off from Stockholm again. He would not return for four years. He wrote to the King asking for a leave of absence of three to four years in order to complete a work he had promised in *De Infinito*. He wanted permission to stay abroad, "in that place which I find most suitable for bringing the work to an end, that is to say, where I can have all necessary assistance from libraries, and where I can profit by counsel of learned men; and, when the work is brought to completion, to be able to have it printed, which does not allow of being done here in the homeland" (Acton, 1948, 479). His project was to discover the dwelling place of the soul in the human body. Suitable arrangements were made to cover Swedenborg's responsibilities at the *Bergs Colligium* during his absence and permission was granted.

His first major stop was Paris, where he wished to attend the School of Dissection established by Louis XIV, because it was his belief that he needed hands-on experience to learn human physiology, as well as the opportunity to read the most recent and up-to-date books on anatomy. It took Swedenborg from July 10th until September 3rd to reach Paris. After leaving Linköping, where he again visited his sister and brother-in-law, he went by way of the following towns while mentioning other smaller ones he passed through along the way: Helsingborg, Copenhagen, Røskilde, Hamburg, Hanover, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Brussels, Peronne, Ombercour, and Roye.

The people he met and interacted with, gardens, libraries, opera and the arts, religious ritual, and the means of travel itself all capture his interest, and he recorded them in his journal.

While there are similar themes in Swedenborg's 1730s travel journals, there are also some important differences. Not only was the first journal longer and written in Swedenborg's professional language, Latin, but it has a much greater focus on modern, scientific, industrial, and productive topics. It was written during the process of publishing a work that revealed the latest, most modern, and up-to-date mining and metallurgic processes and techniques.

The second journal, however, was not only shorter, but was written in Swedenborg's mother tongue, while he was researching an "ancient" human concern—the relationship between the body and the soul. The way to the soul was through the body. It is not surprising therefore, that Swedenborg's travels took him southeast to Italy—a living museum of ancient opulence and sensuality. In this environment architecture, sculpture, paintings, pageants, opera, and theater captured his attention, in addition to libraries, gardens, and religious ritual. The *Bibliothèque Italique* discovered and discussed in the first journal becomes a living experience recorded in the second.

In the first journal the portrait of Swedenborg that emerges is one of a man of science; in the second, descriptions of his interests reveal a student of letters and the arts. In the first world the chemist discovers the processes of making arsenic and cobalt blue; in the second incense rises toward the heavens, and chapel doors open upon mosaics depicting paradise. While the artist can be found in the first journal, and the scientist in the second, the central tendencies are nevertheless real.

People

Copenhagen

On his way he meets officers and travel officials like the Commander of the castle in Helsingborg, named Lannersterna, and the Burgomaster Sylvius. On the other side of the sound in Halsingör, he "went to the castle with [his] passport, calling upon the Commander, Lieutenant-General

Refvenfeldt, and also upon Commissary Grill" (Tafel, 1890, 77). In Copenhagen he visited the home of a Mr. Anders Schutenhjelm who shared with Swedenborg the names of those with the best minds in the capital: the Councilor of Justice and Librarian Kramer, who was known for his work in history and philology; Professor Holberg, author of comedies and a history of Norway; and Privy Councilor and Prime Minister Rosencrantz. Mr. Schutenhjelm reported that these men had spoken favorably about Swedenborg's *Principia*.

Secretary to the Swedish Ligation Witt was able to arrange a tour of the library for Swedenborg, but unfortunately the Librarian Kramer was not there. The library held 70,000 volumes, including Swedenborg's *Opera*. He wrote: "They showed me my own work, unaware that I was the author" (Tafel, 1890, 78).

Swedenborg was shown a copy of Wolff's *Natural Theology*, where he believed he saw a reference to his own work, although Wolff did not mention him by name. He also spent time in Copenhagen making excerpts from Wolff's *Ontologia and Cosmologia*, so that he might use them during his travels.

Swedenborg specifically mentioned the King of Denmark, who he said was intelligent and "who is prudent and seriously inclined" (Tafel, 1890, 16). The castle in Copenhagen had a large garden, but the King for the most part resided in Fredericsberg four miles from the town center, where, according to Swedenborg, the castle also had a beautiful garden.

Hamburg

After a stay of six days, Swedenborg continued his journey south to Hamburg. His traveling companion on this journey was a Danish Merchant, Johan Klöker, originally from Copenhagen, who was currently living in Bordeaux. In Hamburg he mentioned conversations with Commissary John Frederick König and a merchant captain by the name of Jurgen Schneider. Schneider helped Swedenborg to make arrangements about his letter of credit (Tafel, 1890, 82).

He went with Commissary König and the teenage son of the Swedish Secretary of State Cederhölme to what he called a porcelain works, but in

fact, may have been a factory for making earthenware. He wrote that similar products made in Stockholm were superior. While together, on Swedenborg's request, König gave him an overview of the governmental structure of Hamburg and the salaries of the different positions (Tafel, 1890, 82).

Swedenborg also called on Pastor Christopher Wolf to see a collection of letters of the learned that filled sixty volumes in folio and quarto. This collection also contained the autographs of 1,000 men; in addition Wolf had a collection of manuscripts in oriental languages. He had obtained those letters from a man by the name of Schminkius in Frankfort. That evening he dined with a Prince of Mogul—"a swell" (Tafel, 1890, 82).

Amsterdam

Swedenborg left Hamburg on August 4th and journeyed south, reaching Amsterdam on the 17th. He stayed two nights where he roomed at the Golden Lion not far from the Exchange and visited with Messrs. Clissoet and son. He also notes in his journal in Latin that "the whole town breathed nothing but gain" (Tafel, 1890, 85). Swedenborg came back to this observation a few days later with greater clarity and insight in his extended commentary on the nature of Dutch people. Perhaps his Nordic sensibilities and reserve were challenged by the informal, easy familiarity of the more egalitarian Dutch.

Rotterdam

During a brief stop in Rotterdam, Swedenborg mentioned the fine nature of the Exchange building there, but his journal is taken up with descriptions of what appear to be street entertainments—an acrobatic performance and a puppet show. He was particularly intrigued by the puppet show and the "magical" ability of the puppets to change form. He appreciated the skill and dexterity of the puppeteer. However, in his journal entry, perhaps written while he was traveling in a Treckschut or canal boat further south, he launched into an analysis of the Dutch people. What particularly stands out in this description is Swedenborg's negative

assessment of the Dutch, calling them “uncouth and avaricious,” but also his very positive appraisal of their republican government and their freedom of choice (Tafel, 1890, 86). These positive qualities Swedenborg not only continued to favor, but the concept of freedom comes to play a pivotal role in his theology. Later as a theologian, he chose to publish many of his theological works in Amsterdam, and in those works he placed the Dutch in a favorable position in the geography of the world of spirits.

I here considered why it was that it has pleased the Lord to bless such an uncouth and avaricious people with such a splendid country; why He has preserved them for such a long time from all misfortunes; has caused them to surpass all other nations in commerce and enterprise; and made their country a place whither most of the riches not only of Europe but also of other places flow. The principle cause seems to me to have been that it is a republic, wherein the Lord delights more than in monarchical countries; as appears also from Rome. The result is, that no one deems himself obliged and in duty bound to accord honor and veneration to any human being, but considers the low as well as the high to be of the same worth and consequence as a king and emperor; as is also shown by the native bent and disposition of every one in Holland. The only one for whom they entertain a feeling of veneration is the Lord, putting no trust in flesh; and when the Highest is revered most, and no human being is in His place, it is most pleasing to the Lord. Besides, each enjoys his own free-will . . . This seems to me the reason why they above other nations enjoy a perfect blessing; their worshipping mammon for their God, and striving only after money, does not seem to be consistent with a constant blessing; still there may be ten among a thousand or among ten thousand, who ward off punishment from the others, and cause them to be the participants with themselves of temporal blessings. (Tafel, 1890, 86–87)

On his passage south, he also noted several Franciscans praying on the deck of the canal boat. He makes very positive comments about their praying. He wrote:

One of these stood on the deck for four hours in one position, and during the whole of this time said his prayers devoutly; they probably were for those traveling in the boat. Such prayers must certainly be agreeable to God, so far as they proceed from an honest and pure heart, and are offered with genuine devotion, and not in the spirit of the Pharisees . . . (Tafel, 1890, 89)

These comments, however, are in marked contrast to comments he made a few days later in Northern France about the religious orders in general and the Franciscans in particular. He wrote that the monks there are fat and lazy, and indifferent to the poor, and he wondered: “Of what possible use are these Franciscan monks?” (Tafel, 1890, 91).

Paris

After a journey a day short of two months, Swedenborg arrived in Paris on September 3rd and took up residence in the Hotel d’Hamburg. He lived at the hotel for about a month, and during his stay General Stenflycht also took rooms there (Tafel, 1890, 92). His life in Paris is filled with sightseeing, exploring the music and the arts, as well as working on his manuscript. On September 18th he attended the opera, *Gallant Europa*. He was impressed with the beauty of the piece and the grace of the dancers. He specifically mentioned the art of two male dancers, “Malter” and “the young Dumolin,” and two ladies “Briton and Mariette.” He also commented on “Mademoiselle Benissie, a singer who distinguished herself” (Tafel, 1890, 94).

On September 30th he mentioned that he went to his bankers, Messers. Tourton and Baire, as well as meeting with Monsieur Laval and Monsieur David. Monsieur David lived on the Rue St. Honoré and was a dealer “in fancy ware and porcelain” (Tafel, 1890, 94).

On October 2nd Swedenborg changed his hotel, and moved to “the Rue de l’Observatoire, opposite the Cordeliers” (Tafel, 1890, 94). On the 12th he bought a guide to Paris that mentioned a very valuable manuscript collection that was under the supervision of Abbé Bignon. His staff consisted of Le Beze, his assistant, and Sallier who was responsible for the books, and Le Croix who took care of the copperplates (Tafel, 1890, 95).

He attended the opera again at the Palais Royal in October and mentioned the same dancers he had seen before, but in addition he mentioned the actors "Fribaud and Fel," as well as "the singers Pellecier and Antier" (Tafel, 1890, 96). Although he remained in Paris for almost one and a half years, he does not mention any additional individuals that he met. He does refer to a disputation he attended at the Sorbonne, with one of the opponents wearing a lined cloak, and the six professors who lectured there. He also mentioned that he observed the work at the Hôpital de la Pieté that trained boys and girls for various occupation both in France and in the colonies" (Tafel, 1890, 96–97).

Journey to Italy

Swedenborg left Paris on March 12th 1738 and would return fourteen months later in May of 1739. During his travels to the south and east, most of the individuals he mentioned in his journal were people in positions of power. For example in Lyon, where he stayed for four or five days, he mentioned the Archbishop, who he wrote, "is the primate of the clergy in France; he has his jurisdiction like the Pope" (Tafel, 1890, 103). He also wrote that "Villeroy is governor; he has survivance of the office which is hereditary." And, that "the Jesuits have a large convent where they make Mithridate" (Tafel, 1890, 103).

Swedenborg left Lyon for Turin and crossed the Alps in late March. The journey was a dangerous one. In a party of eighteen persons, including six Carmelite monks plus sixty porters, they made their way across Mont Cenis. Snow had fallen the previous night and it was so deep that they had to dismount their mules, and the poor animals "had to fairly swim in it" (Tafel, 1890, 103). The mules and the porters beat a path in the snow as the group slowly made their way toward the Grand Croix Inn where they spent the night. Swedenborg passed through many small villages and finally reached Pont de Beauvoisin, the last town in France before Savoy. Swedenborg noted that "here too the King of Savoy met his last queen" (Tafel, 1890, 104).

Swedenborg finally arrived in Turin on March 31st and stayed there for one week. In his notes on the city he mentioned: "the King Charles Emanuel III, whose age is thirty-seven and a half, looks like a man of fifty"

(Tafel, 1890, 105). In the same entry, he also mentioned that the Duke of Carignan had a large palace and that the Prime Minister M. d'Homère, "is a man of great intelligence, who has obtained from the Pope all that he asked" (Tafel, 1890, 105). He also noted that he saw "forty-eight miniature portraits recently purchased in Rome for 18,000 florins. Among these are those of Luther and his wife. Luther and Calvin are there; the former painted with one eye" (Tafel, 1890, 105). In the Chapelle Royale on Easter, he saw the king and queen (Tafel, 1890, 105).

Swedenborg left Turin on April 7th in the company of a *vetturino*, on the way to Milan, but the man abandoned him in Novara, and he was forced to "travel alone with another vetturino who was not trustworthy, and who often drew his stiletto in arranging his gear. I was on my guard, and he was led to think that I had not a stiver about me" (Tafel, 1890, 106).

In Milan he visited the "Great Hospital, one of the finest and largest in existence . . . The service in the hospital is performed entirely by bastards; for foundlings in great number are received in a drawer. The sick are treated well; everyone in a bed, both women and men" (Tafel, 1890, 107).

From Milan Swedenborg traveled to Verona, Vicenza, and Padua on his way to Venice. He took this journey in the company of five Carmelite monks. He arrived in Venice on April 19th. He remained there for almost four months working on his *Economy of the Soul's Kingdom*. He lodged near the Rialto Bridge and mentioned on May 15th that he was in the company of Mr. Firencrantz (Tafel, 1890, 110).

In August Swedenborg again traveled through Padua, Vicenza, and Verona on his way to Bologna. In Bologna, he witnessed an annual town festival in which domestic fowl of various sorts were thrown to people assembled in a crowd. "Large quantities of chickens, pigeons, geese, turkeys" were distributed as well as sheep (Tafel, 1890, 111). "Lastly Cardinal Spinola, and two other persons distributed peacocks, then money, and finally purses" (Tafel, 1890, 111).

From Bologna Swedenborg traveled to Florence and then to Pisa. He returned to Florence, and from there he made his way by way of Siena to Rome, arriving on September 25th. He noted that he was at pains to avoid being in Rome during the summer months of July, August, and September because at that time "the air is poisoned around Rome, especially in the low country, so that no traveler ought to sleep there; the same applies to

Rome, but not to those places which have a high elevation. During this time it is also dangerous to change one's lodging" (Tafel, 1890, 114).

Swedenborg stayed in Rome for almost five months. During that time he worked on his manuscript and did a lot of sightseeing. In fact he bought an illustrated tour guide of Rome dated 1727, which was part of his library at the time of his death. He visited many of the attractions described in the book, and some of them he visited more than once, the Villa Borghese, for example. The one contemporary that he mentioned he visited in Rome was Senator Bjelke. He specifically mentioned the location of his residence in early October and then noted that he had a one and a half hour audience with him on February 2nd, about two weeks before he began the return trip (Tafel, 1890, 118).

In Florence later in February, Swedenborg wrote that he saw "the Grand Duke, the Duchess, and her brother in the park" (Tafel, 1890, 129). He also wrote that he was there for two hours. A few days later he noted that a reception was in preparation for the Grand Duke in Leghorn, the city that he visited after his departure from Florence.

He remained there for about two weeks before making his way to Genoa, where he saw the doge dressed in red from head to toe and the nobles who were all dressed in black (Tafel, 1890, 129).

Gardens

Gardens held a particularly strong attraction for Swedenborg during his trip. In Copenhagen he wrote that he visited two public gardens. The first was a "round one in the New Market place," but . . .

The other garden, which is pretty large and occupies a place of considerable importance in the town, is charming on account of its various attractions. There are avenues of various kinds; trees trimmed in different forms, images in plaster of Paris, one of bronze, representing a lion with a horse under it, which is pretty well executed; also Samson tearing a lion in marble; with several other statues larger or smaller. The most interesting object is the plantation of orange tree, consisting of 160 trees, not planted in tubs, but growing freely in the ground without being trans-

planted; together with laurels, cypresses, and other trees. During summer the windows and roof are removed, and the trees are under the open sky; in the autumn they are again enclosed. (Tafel, 1890, 77)

He also mentioned the large garden of the King, in which stands the treasury that contained the crown jewels, as well as “a beautiful garden” found at the King’s residence in Fredericsberg (Tafel, 1890, 77).

In Hanover, he visited the garden of another king (August Friedrich) in Herrenhausen,

I was in the garden at Herrenhausen. The distance from the town is about 4500 ells or a quarter of a Swedish mile. The garden is large; near the entrance is a sundial for all the quarters of the sky, and [calculated for all] obliquities; also good-sized statues in plaster of Paris, twenty-four in number, and eight urns. There are also pines trimmed in the form of pyramids, cones, and segments; of these there is a large number in the garden itself, where the statues are placed, as well as in other parts. Along the sides are hedges in great number, upwards of six ells in height. There are two small parks with large trees, and at a great distance two pleasure houses. On the left is a theatre with a water basin in front, in which there are three fountains, one surpassing the rest in height, and on the top of the theatre are many gilt statues. At a great distance is a amphitheatre with small statues; farther down are four statues of the royal family; in the neighborhood of the castle itself are a few statues in bronze. There are also cascades in a grotto, where the water flows into large and still larger shells; and besides, there is an orangery containing many but not particularly large trees. (Tafel, 1890, 83)

He also visited “the so-called Mummelgarten” while in Hanover. He wrote that it means “‘Mont brilliant,’ which is rather handsome with its living hedges, trees trimmed in various forms, its orangery, fountains, etc.; there is also a water-wheel turned by little brooks” (Tafel, 1890, 84).

In Paris in mid-September, Swedenborg wrote that he had gone to visit the Royal Palace and the garden belonging to it. However, on that particular day he was more interested in recording a conversation he had with an Abbé about the adoration of the Saints and Mary. The Abbé did

not believe that the veneration of the Saints was a form of worship and “insisted that worship belonged to God alone” (Tafel, 1890, 93).

In late October Swedenborg visited the three gardens on the same day, at the Monastery of St. Victor, the Jardin Royal, and the Monastery of St. Geneviève. While he mentioned the monastic gardens, he included a more detailed description of the Jardin de Roi:

It is of great extent, and contains many exotic plants, upwards of 4,000; it contains also a grove of foreign trees, and a tower of considerable height from which a great part of the town may be seen; it was built in the time of Henry the Great. The garden is under the superintendence of the first physician to the king. Every week public lectures are delivered there on botany, chemistry, and anatomy. At the entrance to the garden where the buildings are situated is also Pitton de Tournefort’s cabinet of curiosities, as well as an herbarium of upwards of 6000 plants. (Tafel, 1890, 97)

Swedenborg wrote only two entries in his journal during 1737. One, written in January, was a detailed description of all the connections of French royalty with other European lands; the other was written at the end of July and was about a trip he took to Passy, where he observed the process of drawing and bottling the sweet spring water. He then journeyed a bit farther to the convent of Calverie near Surnesnes in the mountains. He viewed a picture of the whole of Christ’s passion and noted that the convent had a good-sized garden from which it was possible to see a broad sweep of the surrounding countryside with its small towns (Tafel, 1890, 102).

Leaving for Italy in mid-March of 1738, Swedenborg arrived in Italy in time for Easter and spring. He was initially drawn to all the processions and celebrations surrounding Good Friday and Easter. But in Milan he visited “the principle monasteries . . . in the garden [of one] a fig tree was pointed out, where it was said, Augustine was converted 1400 years ago” (Tafel, 1890, 108).

In the late summer, as he made his way toward Rome, he commented on the beautiful mountains between Bologna and Florence. In Florence he visited the Bobli garden, and at the Villa Imperiale outside of town he commented on seeing “a handsome avenue of cypress and laurel trees,

and a most magnificent gallery of paintings by the best masters, mosaics, statues, especially beautiful Greek statues, etc; likewise an orangery, a grotto, and fountains” (Tafel, 1890, 112). In Florence Swedenborg also “went to the Palazzo Riccardi, the largest private palace in Florence. It contains a large collection of antiquities, sculptures, and inscriptions; I was also in the garden of Riccardi, which contains a large orangery” (Tafel, 1890, 114).

Once in Rome he visited many of the well know Palazzos and Villas, many of which contained gardens, for example the Palazzo del duca Cafarelli, Villa Mattei, Villa Farnesi, and the Villa Ludovisi among others, no doubt using the guide he bought to discover them. He did not write descriptions of them all, but he did write one of the Villa Borghese, which can give insight into his response to these magnificent dwellings and grounds:

I was at the Villa Borghese, where there is a wonderful collection of statues, ancient as well as modern, of emperors and many others, together with urns, vases, columns of rare stone tables, etc. . . . Among modern statues Bernini’s Daphne and some others are the finest I have yet seen. The building itself is surrounded with ancient and modern sculptures, and numerous columns are dispersed over the garden. The garden and park are as magnificent as if the place were the residence of a king; it was all the work of Cardinal Scipio Borghese, whose statue in marble may be seen in two places. There are fountains in it, and also an orangery. It would require several days to see and describe it all. (Tafel, 1890, 122)

Libraries

While visiting gardens certainly delighted Swedenborg, going to libraries was his passion. He visited them in Copenhagen, Paris, Milan, Florence, and Rome. In Copenhagen he mentioned books that he saw in the home of Mr. Schutenhjelm, and also when he was

In company with Secretary Witt I was at the library, which is magnificent, and excellently arranged; Kramer, the Councillor of Justice, had already

gone away. It consists of 70,000 volumes; the octavo volumes are at the top, where access is obtained by a gallery running around the interior. They showed me Cicero's work printed at Mayence in 1456, which is supposed to be the first book ever printed; they showed me also my own work, but without knowing I was its author. (Tafel, 1890, 78)

In Paris he spent time in bookshops and stalls and soon after his arrival mentioned that he had visited the *Chambres de Imprimeur et Libraries*. In October he finds the location of the large library in a guide:

I purchased a description of Paris, where it was noticed that the large library is at the corner of the Rue de Richelieu near the Palais Royal, having been removed thither from the Rue de Vienne; that it consists of 70,000 volumes and 15,000 manuscripts, which were in part purchased, and in part left to the institution by will . . . The supreme part of the whole, as well as the numismatic cabinet in Versailles, is entrusted to the Abbé Bignon; under him is Le Beze; and specially in charge of the books is Sallier [?]. . . The library of M. de Brennes is in a separate room. (Tafel, 1890, 95)

Somewhat later in the month, he was in the "splendid" building of a library that was not open, but he mentioned that the Sorbonne has "a valuable library, and the monasteries of St. Victor and St. Geneviève both had handsome libraries. The manuscript collection at St. Victor's received special mention because of the number (3,000) and also because it was continually being "increased" (Tafel, 1890, 96).

The next year in Milan, he wrote:

I examined the Library [the celebrated Ambrosian Library, founded in 1525 by Federigo Borromeo] which consists of a great number of manuscripts and old books written by the monks; the genealogy of the French kings was shown to me. The library itself is of little value, as it contains only old books. There is connected with it an academy of painting and sculptures; one hall was shown containing statues, and another which is devoted to paintings. (Tafel, 1890, 107)

These comments reinforce the observation that Swedenborg's almost insatiable appetite for books was focused on modern works that would increase his understanding of how the world and the objects and subjects in it worked. His interest was clearly scientific and not historical. The books in the Lorenzo library in Florence are old. "The Library of S. Lorenzo [Biblioteca Laurenziana] consists entirely of old books dating two hundred years back. The Library of Magliabecchi [Biblioteca Magliabecchiana] is large; it is arranged alphabetically" (Tafel, 1890, 112). The library at the Vatican in Rome also disappointed Swedenborg despite its vast holdings, as he wrote: "I was in the Vatican Library, which was fitted up by Sixtus V. I saw the splendid paintings, beautiful vases, and large halls. All articles are kept in cases. I saw also [the MSS. of] Virgil and Terence, and some ancient masks; likewise the splendid [Codex of the] New Testament; the actions of a general painted in miniature, and other interesting objects. I do not believe that there are so many new as old books" (Tafel, 1890, 128).

Churches and the Arts

Swedenborg mentioned visiting a few churches and monasteries during his stay in Paris. He visited "a little church, called Larmes de Chaux, near the Luxembourg garden," (Tafel, 1890, 92) as well as the Church of St. Geneviève, the church of "the patron saint of Paris." The coffin of the saint "with an abundance of genuine diamonds and surrounded with many candles is placed upon a high altar in the front part of the church" (Tafel, 1890, 98). He noted that Descartes and Rochfort were buried there. He also visited the celebrated monastery attached to the Church as well as St. Victor's and the convent of Calvaire outside of Paris.

Swedenborg was in Turin during the celebration of Good Friday and Easter. He attended the Chapelle Royale on Easter and "heard beautiful music—a eunuch sang" (Tafel, 1890, 105). He also saw the king and queen. In Milan he visited the principal monasteries, including the one for the order of Franciscus de Paula, "which is said to be the largest in Milan, which contains 150 fathers" (Tafel, 1890, 108). He wrote:

I continued my journey to Vicenza, where I visited several churches which were celebrated for their paintings, statues and marble, and their inlaid work, and likewise—especially the more recent ones—for their architecture. The cathedral was magnificent; there the tridentine Council had intended to remove, in case the plague continued. I saw a theatre (Teatro Olimpico) which was built in the ancient style, with an amphitheatre for the spectators, adorned with statues; the front-elevation consisted of columns and statues; the interior represented a palace, from which the actors descended by two ways, and went through their various performances. (Tafel, 1890, 109–110)

In Padua, he continued, “afterwards I was in the church of S. Antonio, where I found likewise beautiful paintings and marble statues, especially in its chapel . . . there are also many tablets representing the miracles wrought by S. Antonio of Padua” (Tafel, 1890, 110).

In Venice, Swedenborg took lodgings near the Rialto bridge. He visited the two large squares, St. Mark’s and St. Maria della Salute and the newly built church of the Jesuits. He attended the opera. He listened to music in the *Chiostro incurabile e pieta*, attended the Ascension day festival, and observed the consecration of the sea (Tafel, 1890, 110). Swedenborg wrote only two short notes in his journal during his four month stay in Venice. He left for Verona by way of Padua and Vicenza on August 9th, 1738 “after finishing [his] work” (Tafel, 1890, 110).

He seemed to enjoy having the opportunity to again visit the great amphitheater in Verona in which a play was currently being performed, the opera house, and all the antiquities in the surrounding neighborhood (Tafel, 1890, 110). Florence also delighted him.

It is one of the finest towns, containing many beautiful places, and magnificent paintings, sculptures, and other rare objects. . . In the Palazzo Pitti where the Prince resides were the most beautiful paintings by the best masters, and in a room below a magnetic stone two ells long, two ells broad, and an ell and a half high. I was in the garden, called Boboli, where there too is an amphitheatre. In S. Marco which is a monastery, are

beautifully inlaid stones, and enameled work; a chemical laboratory is also there. (Tafel, 1890, 112)

He also visited “Santa Croce, where that fine chapel is; I saw there beautiful altar pieces; Galileo and Michael Angelo are buried there, and marble statues have been erected in their memory” (Tafel, 1890, 114). The door on the church of St. Johns were worth mentioning because, “according to Michael Angelo its likeness does not exist; some said that they were sent down from paradise” (Tafel, 1890, 114).

Upon his arrival in Rome Swedenborg visited all the most famous sites including Ponte del Angelo, the Pantheon, St. Peter’s, and many of the ancient ruins such as the Coliseum, the temples of peace, the sun, and the moon. He also visited

the Churches of Gesu and Ignazio, where sculpture and painting are admirably blended on the ceiling and on the walls . . . Afterwards I was in the Church of [SS. Luca e] Martina, which occupies the site of a former Temple of Mars, of which some remains are still visible . . . On the other side are specimens of the Academy of Sculpture and Painting which are fine. The altar piece representing St. Luke is painted by Raphael of Urbino. (Tafel, 1890, 120)

It would appear that the sheer number of things to see in Rome almost overwhelmed Swedenborg. He noted that in one building on the other side of the Palazzo del Conservatore “many beautiful paintings were exhibited; their number confused me so much, that I cannot recollect the most important among them” (Tafel, 1890, 118). However, later in the trip he makes special mention of two statues of Bernini; one was of Lucretia located in the Palazzo Justiniani, and the other was Adonis situated in the Palazzo Barberini (Tafel, 1890, 128).

He visited the Church of the Apostles, S. Maria de Loretto, and on the outskirts of Rome, the church of S. Stefano. Later he visited

the Church of S. Giovanni in Laterano, which was build by Constantine the Great, and is the oldest Christian church in the world. Many relics are

near the altar: the heads of Peter and Paul, under a rich tabernacle or shrine; a famous column of metal filled with stones from the sepulcher of Christ. . . . In the immediate neighborhood is the Scala Santa, where persons go up some steps on their knees, and crawl up to the chapel, or to the holy of holies. The palace of Constantine was near the fountain where he was baptized; afterwards it belonged to the family of Lateranus from which it derives its name . . . (Tafel, 1890, 122–23)

Like any tourist Swedenborg visited both St. Peter's and the Vatican, and in fact he visited them both several times. He took in both the exterior and the interior of St. Peter's. He saw: "Images of metal and marble, the graves of the Popes; the tomb of Peter with its hundreds of silver lamps, and precious pillars; [and stated that he was] present at a baptism at the magnificent font" (Tafel, 1890, 125). At the Vatican, He saw "the paintings of Raphael and of all others, and likewise the Conclave. It is said to contain 12,000 rooms, but I do not believe that there are more than 1,000" (Tafel, 1890, 127).

He not only saw the tomb of St. Peter but also the prison where he was held. He recounted the story surrounding Peter's imprisonment, including the angel who led him out by a door (Tafel, 1890, 118). Later in his trip, he also visited the church that was erected on the spot where Peter was crucified in Montorio. "The placed commands a view of the whole town" (Tafel, 1890, 127). On this excursion and others, Swedenborg also took the time to inspect the aqueducts that were found near Rome.

As a Swedish tourist he also visited the chapel of S. Brigitta and the residence where Queen Christina lived during her sojourn in Rome. At the time of Swedenborg's visit, the palace belonged to Duke Corsini, the Pope's nephew.

During his five-month stay in Rome, Swedenborg took the time to visit as many galleries, villas, churches, and gardens as possible, even though much of his thought and energy were focused on the manuscript he was working on.

Religious ceremonies

Swedenborg continued his interest and fascination with Catholic religious ceremonies during his travels between 1736 and 1740. While in Brussels, he noted that

Mass was celebrated there. The only thing that needs to be noted in connection therewith to serve as a subject for reflection, is this; that everything is so arranged to captivate and occupy the senses, and to lead them above by an external way, or to exalt one's thoughts about religion and direct them to the Highest; for all is instituted with much devotion; the body inclines and bows; the knees bend; they eyes are engaged by everything magnificent and sublime that can be imagined; they ears are filled with beautiful music, instrumental as well as vocal; the nose enjoys aromatic fragrance. Besides this, many holy objects are exhibited, so that the sense are charmed, and by external means men are led to devotion; which with them seems to be the means of elevating their minds, since the external senses furnish them generally with subjects for meditation. (Tafel, 1890, 89)

In Northern France he made particular note of the town of Roye. His description of the town is particularly negative and focused on the religious monks who lived there:

From Peronne I traveled through Ombercour to Roye, which is a miserable town. Everywhere the convents, churches, and monks are wealthiest and possess most land. The monks are fat, puffed up, and prosperous; a whole proud army might be formed of them without their being missed; most of them lead a lazy life; they try more and more to make all subject to them; they give nothing to the poor except words and blessings, and, on the other hand, insist on having everything from the indigent for nothing. (Tafel, 1890, 91)

In Turino during Easter week on Maudy-Tuesday, Swedenborg observed several processions, and he saw one again on Good Friday.

I saw their magnificent processions, of which I counted nine; altogether there were from twenty to thirty. They had a great number of large wax tapers; six flogged themselves so that the blood streamed from their bodies; others bore a cross of considerable weight; others had their arms stretched out; others, again bore the insignia of crucifixion; lastly, a machine furnished with a large number of candles was carried, on which Christ was represented life-sized in various positions with Mary. The same day Their Majesties went through the whole town. On Good Friday evening they have another great procession, with a machine, on which Christ is lying in a shroud, the head of John the Baptist, and Mary with a sword through her heart. All in the procession are masked or have sadness expressed in their countenances; they are clothed in white, red, black, and blue. On Easter I was in the Chapelle Royale. (Tafel, 1890, 105)

In Florence Swedenborg not only visited many churches and chapels, and saw beautiful statues and gardens, but he also

witnessed the ceremony of consecration of seven nuns; they were in white from top to toe. The archbishop performed the ceremony, and changed his head covering five times; he addressed the questions to them, and they answered him in musical cadence; he lay down on the floor under a black cover for a long time; afterwards they received rings, as well as crowns and other things, partook of the sacrament, and they went out in procession with crowns on their heads. Many ladies in bridal array were present, and fine music was played. (Tafel, 1890, 114)

Traveling and the Visionary

Swedenborg made the last entry in his journal in Genoa in the early spring of 1739. It was a description of a "magnificent garden" perhaps the one found at the Villa Pallavicini. He wrote, "it is to be observed that in the middle of March everything was here in bloom; oranges, and lemons, were ripe; olives were being removed from the trees, this being the time when they are gathered . . ." (Tafel, 1890, 129–130). It is interesting to note, given the doctrine of correspondences that Swedenborg later developed as

a visionary, that he ended his travel journal with the gathering of olives. According to this doctrine “olive oil” signifies what is good or loved. What insight, if any, does knowing this give the reader or those of us that have followed along with Swedenborg on his journeys? What good came from his extensive travels frequently taking him so far away from home? The trips explored in this chapter took place over the course of twelve years of Emanuel Swedenborg’s adult life—or a significant 30% of his adulthood through 1740. The first trip took place during Swedenborg’s twenties, the second, during his thirties, the third during his forties, and during his last trip, in 1738 he turned fifty years old. Swedenborg was not much more than a boy when he sailed up the Thames; almost thirty years later he was mature man when he saw the olives gathered in Genoa and saw that it was good. Traveling most likely contributed to his growing maturity, but did it also make a contribution to his ability to assume the role of a modern visionary?

Being a modern visionary requires independence, discernment, intellectual penetration, a pioneering spirit, self-knowledge, knowledge of the world, knowledge of the spirit, a love of what is good, and faith in the truth. While being a traveler and a stranger certainly does not develop all of the characteristics necessary for assuming the role of a modern visionary, it does foster independence, discernment, intellectual penetration or “seeing through” taken-for-granted views of the world, and a pioneering spirit. The traveler on a journey for the first time constantly confronts the unknown. A successful traveler quickly learns to interpret the unknown through a process of discernment, comparing and contrasting the new, the unusual, and the unique, with the old, the familiar, and commonplace. Traveling can be fatiguing precisely because it requires a person to constantly live outside of his comfort zone. Being independent can facilitate an ability to read and adjust to the unknown, and could presumably reduce the sense of fatigue that accompanies the traveler; and it could, in fact, contribute to a sense of intrigue instead.

A modern visionary needs to be able to penetrate and see the familiar, the taken-for-granted, in new and perhaps startling ways. What better preparation could there be for such a role than to live a life like Moses as a

“stranger in a strange land,” that is, to live a life both open to the secrets of the unknown and to an on-going need to interpret it and make it meaningful—what better preparation than to be a traveler. □

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