

## *Persona and Genre in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Swedish Travelogues*

Carina Lidström

ÖREBRO UNIVERSITY

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### **Keywords**

persona of the traveller, Sweden, travelogues

### **Abstract**

In the last few decades travel reports have attracted considerable and varied research from many fields. In spite of this increased interest Swedish research on travelogues has not to any greater extent focused on the context and history of the genre. In my recently published monograph *Berättaren på resa: Svenska resenärers reseberättelser 1667-1829* [*The traveller as narrator: the travelogues of Swedish travellers 1667-1829*] (2015), 646 pp., I have aimed at giving a historical and contextualized overview of the genre and its repertoire as it appears in Swedish travelogues published in print during the long 18th century, ca. 70 titles. In order to structure this extensive and diverse material I have chosen to focus on the persona of the traveller/narrator. Briefly put I have seen the persona of the traveller/narrator as it appears in the travelogue and the context in which it was constructed and used, as determining the genre/subgenre (or perhaps rather the generic repertoire) of the specific travelogue.

In my paper I begin with a brief overview of the material and then go on to discuss how the traveller's persona relates to on the one hand context and on the other hand the generic repertoire of the travelogue. Finally I give a brief presentation of four personae, their contexts and the paratextual and textual rhetorical strategies that characterizes their travelogues.

## Persona and Genre in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Swedish Travelogues

### Introduction

The present article is based on my 2015 monograph *Berättare på resa: Svenska resenärers reseberättelser 1667-1829* [*The Traveller as Narrator: The Travelogues of Swedish Travellers 1667-1829*]. The first part of my text consists of a discussion of the travelogue as a genre in general as well as in relation to the persona of the traveller/author/narrator. In the second part, I give a brief presentation of some of the personae that appear in Swedish travelogues published as books between 1667 and 1829.

Travelogues are texts about other places and cultures, texts about encounters with foreign phenomena, that is, texts about ‘the self’ and the world (Blanton xi, Rubiés 8).<sup>1</sup> Travelogues are thus also about the traveller. When it comes to Swedish research (and research on Swedish travelogues) the predominant focus has been on the image of “the Other”. This is of course highly relevant and interesting. However, in the present article, my focus is on the other party in this encounter – on the image of the travelling and writing “I” and its relation to the travelogue subgenre.

My interest in the image of the traveller/author/narrator of the travelogue arose from a historical project: my ambition of writing the history of a genre that would include an overview of Swedish travelogues in the long 18th century and the genre’s formal and rhetorical repertoire seen against a historical context.

The project was limited to travelogues published as books between 1667 and 1829. In Sweden, as in many other European countries, the travelogue as a genre came into its own in the 18th century. The first travelogues written by Swedish travellers were published in 1667, so this was a natural *terminus a quo*. 1829 as *terminus ad quem* is due to the marked increase in Swedish publications that appeared around this time, when a literary market with commercial publishing houses was emerging. It was furthermore apparent that the travelogue was changing into a prolific, popular, commercial genre.

<sup>1</sup> It would of course be possible to refer to a great many previous discussions and research on the travelogue as a genre, on generic patterns and conventions, etc. Due to the nature of my article and due to limited space, I have refrained from doing so. This does not mean that I am unaware of, or negligent towards, previous research. For a more thorough discussion of previous research I refer to my monography *Berättare på resa: Svenska resenärers reseberättelser 1667-1829* (2015).

Hence, drawing the line at 1829 was not only based on the necessity of limiting the number of titles analysed, but also related to the genre's changing nature.

These delimitations left me with approximately 70 titles. To structure this extensive and diverse material I chose to focus on the traveller/author/narrator persona. I see this persona as it appears in the travelogue and the context in which it is constructed and used as determining the subgenre of each travelogue.

So far, I have been talking about travelogues as if there is a consensus in how the genre is defined. As this is not the case, I first outline my definition of the travelogue.

### **The travelogue as a genre**

In this context, "travelogue" refers to a first-hand report from a journey. It is a genre which includes factual claims, descriptions of places, cultures, phenomena and experiences that the traveller encountered during his journey. This implies that it claims to represent reality in a relevant and accurate way. The particular aspects of reality in focus depend on who has travelled and written, and in what capacity, as well as on the purpose of the journey and the travelogue. As is the case with most – all – genres, the categorization is neither static nor homogenous. I have therefore found it profitable to work with the concept of a genre repertoire in relation to which the author can choose certain elements and, to some extent, introduce new elements (Fowler 55–56).

The idea of a genre repertoire makes it possible to identify a group of texts in terms of genre and similarity/resemblance, while at the same time allowing for variation and change. This concept is particularly useful when discussing genres from a historical perspective. When it comes to the travelogue, it is possible to identify several genre repertoires. The sailor who writes to tell of his remarkable experiences during his voyages in distant and exotic parts of the world does, at least to some extent, make use of other literary motives and patterns than the ambassador or the scientific traveller. Repertoires also change over time. A scientific traveller at the end of the 17th century uses, at least partly, other patterns than a traveller on a scientific expedition in the mid-18th century, and a further 100 years on the genre patterns are different again.

Genres have a communicative aspect (Fowler 40–44). On the part of the author, the genre and its repertoire provide patterns, themes, and subjects that belong to a certain field or a certain kind of text. But genre and genre

patterns are also of importance to the reader. Recognisable patterns and conventions (as well as genre labels) help to ensure that the reader and writer agree on what kind of text has been written / is being read. This agreement has sometimes been described as a pact or contract between the writer and reader (Lejeune).

That the travellers/authors consider it of importance that the reader had a clear understanding of the genre and its patterns, of literary and social conventions and their values, is obvious from the way in which authors and publishers have used the travelogue paratext to establish a common horizon of understanding for writer and reader (Genette *Paratexts* 1-2). Through elements such as typography, references to the titles of the traveller and his or her memberships in orders and learned societies, acknowledgments and dedications to, for instance, the Crown or the Royal Academy in prefaces and postscripts, the traveller is able to establish his authority and shape the readers' preconceptions. These paratextual devices are means of establishing both a persona and common horizon of understanding; in other words, they constitute the first contractual clauses in the genre contract between the author and reader.

### The genre contract of the travelogue

What, then, do the clauses of the travelogue genre contract specify? What does the writer of a travelogue undertake to do in her or his text?<sup>2</sup> What expectations does the reader have? What are the challenges on the part of the writer, and what strategies have been used in order to meet the readers' expectations and demands?

As already specified, the author of a travelogue does, in one way or another, undertake to describe the reality in other places. An important aspect of the travelogue as a genre is its claim to inform, which means that the genre contract has a clause stating that what the reader is being told is the truth.

But telling the truth is just a part of the contract. The travelogue is a narrative about reality in other places, that is, more or less implicitly, places that are different from 'here'. Even if conditions are the same as 'here', it would be a report of something different because it would be a report of what it is like 'there'. This means that the author is supposed to tell the truth, but also that he or she is supposed to describe things that are different from the reader's everyday life: things and experiences that are thought to be interesting, per-

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<sup>2</sup> Even though I am writing about travelwriters in general, and thus travelwriters of both genders, I have chosen use 'he', since most travelwriters during the time I am writing about were male.

haps even strange or marvellous. It is thus possible to speak about a clause of interest and marvel in the travelogue genre contract, and balancing the clause of interest and marvel against the clause of truth is one of the challenges the writer must face<sup>3</sup>. The problems this can entail are obvious from the dictum ‘all travellers are liars’. This presupposes that a travelogue is supposed to be a truthful narrative, otherwise it would not be possible to accuse travellers/authors of being liars. ‘All travellers are liars’ means that the reader suspects that the narrative is not truthful, that fictions and fictional patterns are at play in a factual context. The assumption is hence that travelogues are read and written as factual narratives; nevertheless, the reader is suspicious and prepared to question the veracity of the narrative.

On the part of the narrator it is obvious that he feels that the potentially clashing demands for truth and wonder must be met, and, in his text shows an attitude which suggests that the author feels that his truthfulness is being put in doubt. The traveller’s/narrator’s ambition to appear truthful, to appear as an authority, can be discerned in the paratext and is in fact a recurring topic in travelogues. The conventions, formulas, and references that are used to claim authority is dependent on the kind of travelogue and traveller, and changes over time.

### The travelogue as an autobiographical genre

Travelogues are, as I proposed in the introduction of this article, not only about other places and conditions, but also about the traveller, the author, the ‘I’ of the text. Since the travelogue is a text in which the traveller (mostly) tells about her or his own observations and experiences, it can be described in a way that more or less coincides with Philippe Lejeune’s frequently cited description of the autobiography: a genre with factual claims where the author, narrator, and protagonist are the same person (Lejeune 14). The travelogue can thus be seen as an autobiographical text.

My assumption is that, whether the traveller says ‘I’ or not, the travelogue, since it is a genre with factual claims, always depicts an ‘I’. The degree of explicit author/narrator presence varies according to the role the author strives to play. Using or not using the first person personal pronoun ‘I’ is a question of form. Even a text that is mainly concerned with describing phenomena and observations from a journey, without using the first-person pronoun, depicts a narrating ‘I’. Since the narrator in a text that claims to report facts is

<sup>3</sup> Even though I am writing about travelwriters in general and thus travelwriters of both genders, I have henceforth chosen to write about the traveller as “he”, since most travelwriters during the time I am writing about were male.

always, in some sense, identical to the author, the description is a reflection of the author's personal perspective. It is the narrator who chooses what to tell and describe as well as how to formulate the narrations and the descriptions. The narrator-traveller's 'I' is hence decisive for the genre of the text.

### The travelogue narrator

Different kinds of travellers write different kinds of travelogues. The travelogue narrator is, in many ways, a protean being, constantly changing subjects and idioms. On one page the landscape is described in terms of a picturesque ideal, while the following pages may describe the region's economic circumstances in a very dry tone. Rapid changes of tone can also be found in descriptions of the traveller's feelings and reactions. A traveller may in one paragraph appear totally devastated by the terrible things he is describing, yet in a following paragraph become quite exhilarated, telling his readers an amusing anecdote. The traveller's emotions or state of mind rarely, if ever, continues past the given anecdote or description. Attitudes and literary conventions change according to what is being observed and described, and sometimes the narrator's personality may even seem to change from one incident to another. Each subject and attitude seems to have its own repertoire of idioms and topoi.

Despite this variation, each narrator has a dominant attitude. The narrator appears as primarily a naturalist, an aesthete, a journalist or something else. This dominant persona is generally signalled in the paratext and through the ways the author shows himself as an authority in choosing his travelogue's subjects, its rhetorical strategies the choice of phenomena and objects to describe. When comparing travelogues which describe journeys to the same places, it becomes obvious that the same phenomena can be described in radically different ways depending on who has made the journey and in what capacity. For example, early Swedish travellers in the Holy Land and Egypt give careful descriptions of places related to biblical narratives. Holy places such as Jacob's well and the lake of Gennesaret are described in accordance with the genre conventions of the pilgrim narrative: with reverence and wonder, and with the biblical text in mind. The Swedish botanist Fredric Hasselquist (1722-1752), one of the Linnaeus 'Apostles', who reported from the same places in his travelogue *Iter Palæstinum or Journey to the Holy Land between 1749 and 1752* (1757), on his part, hurries with barely concealed scepticism past both biblical places and sites of archaeological interest<sup>4</sup>. Has-

<sup>4</sup> Swedish title *Iter Palæstinum eller Resa til Heliga landet, förrättad ifrån år 1749 til 1752*.

selquist often distances himself from religious practices, including Christian ones. When a couple of monks offer to show him Jerusalem's holy places, he initially declines the offer and, when that proves to be impossible, he keeps an ironic distance in his travelogue by writing about the sightseeing excursion in terms of a tourist trap *avant la lettre* (124-126). The pyramids do not interest him to any greater extent. He signals his priorities when, after a few brief words on the pyramids (or rather their flora!), he focusses in detail on another kind of building close by, the house of an antlion (77-78). Characteristically enough, it is here that he praises the Lord's creation.

An later traveller, the priest and orientalist Jacob Berggren (1790-1868), in his travelogue *Travels in Europe and in the Eastern Countries* (1826-1828), puts even less emphasis on the biblical references<sup>5</sup>. Nor does he focus on flora and fauna. The reader is instead provided with detailed descriptions of antiquities and ruins, cultural practises, recipes, and linguistic curiosities, all of which are delivered with great spirituality and with learned, literary references.

## Persona

The way in which the traveller describes reality, the way in which he structures his travelogue and the version of reality he chooses, is thus to a great extent dependent on who he is and who he strives to be, or be seen as. What kind of hero/protagonist does he want to be? How has he structured and described the reality he has met on his journey? In what terms does he describe and narrate? What role, what persona does he don in his travelogue?

“Persona” is a concept in frequent use today as an unspecified equivalent to an assumed role or mask, for instance when talking about personal appearance in social media. It is also in frequent use within various fields of academic studies in a number of different contexts, and with slightly varying meanings.

The concept is old, and at an early stage it seems to have designated a “mask to be worn over the face” (*The New Princeton Encyclopaedia* 900-903). In other words, it referred to the kind of mask used in ancient Greek theatre, from which comes the use of the term for the characters in a drama: *dramatis personae*. Connected to this is the use of the word to indicate “position, standing” or social role. In addition to this, “persona” could designate a representative, which, by the way, is an accurate description of travellers on a mission.

<sup>5</sup> Swedish title: *Resor i Europa och Österländerne*.

“Persona” is today used as a concept in many academic disciplines. Within the contexts of individual and social psychology, it designates (in the manner of Carl Gustaf Jung) an individual’s different social roles, for instance, the role as a parent, or a professional role (156-162). Related to this use of the concept, is the emphasis that although the persona is an assumed mask or role, it is nevertheless a part or an aspect of a person’s identity. The roles or masks are hence not false in the sense that the individual is pretending to be someone else, rather they designate characteristics, positions, attitudes, and strategies that have been learned and integrated with the personality as part of a socialisation process and that are actualised in different social contexts.

In rhetorical analysis, “persona” is used in connection with the concept ‘ethos’ to describe how a speaker creates and varies his or her image, through assuming attitudes such as “understanding” or “decisive” (Connors 504-505).

Finally, when it comes to literary theory, “persona” has been used in several different ways. In the context of narratological discussions of narrative fiction, “persona” sometimes designates the narrator and sometimes a fictional character that is perceived as the author’s voice (Preminger and Brogan 900-903). Further, the concept has been used in a way that comes close to Wayne Booth’s concept of “implied author”, that is, the image of the author the reader constructs from the text(s) that the author has written (Booth 7-8). However, the concept “implied author” has caused some dispute, mostly because Booth has used it in several senses. Nevertheless, he coined the term to make a distinction between the author as a real person and the author as he appears in the texts, something that Seymour Chatman also sees as important (84). Other narratologists, such as Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan (88) and Gerard Genette (*Narrative Discourse Revisited* 148), are of the opinion that since the implied author is found in the norms of the text, the concept is superfluous. The main point for the narratologists who object to the concept seems to be that they cannot see in what way it could be useful in a textual analysis of narrative fiction.

However, in texts with factual claims such as travelogues, reportages, and eyewitness accounts, the implied author is an important aspect of the text: active as both author and narrator, and may be explicitly present in the text as a protagonist. The implied author is, however, following Booth, not the same as the author in real life, since the implied author could not possibly encompass every aspect of the author as a real person. In a travelogue, the ambition is not to depict the author’s character in the first place – it is unavoidably an important aspect of the text, but no one would expect the account to be a complete portrait of the author. Rather it is a portrait of the author in a certain context, in a certain role.



My point of departure when describing the genre repertoire of the travelogue is, in a way, this implied author. I have however chosen to use the concept of persona to emphasize that it also is a social role that exists outside the text, in real life. In “persona” traveller, author, narrator, protagonist and their different contexts converge: a social role and its context, literary conventions and their contexts.

The persona that appears in the travelogues is, in contrast to Booth’s implied author, more or less determined by and used in a social context, and the travelogue, at least during the period I am writing about, was a means of creating this persona. The travelogue was supposed to benefit the real person’s image and sometimes it was meant to further a career as a naturalist or to help its author get established as an artist or writer.

### The Adventurer

So far, I have discussed the relation between genre and persona. I will now go on to introduce/describe some of the personae I identified among the Swedish travelogues published as books between 1667 and 1829.

I have called one of the first personae that the reader meets in the early travelogues “The Adventurer”. The Adventurer’s reason for travelling is primarily a wish to see remote and exotic places and to experience the wonders of the world – a wish to have adventures. In his travelogue, he tells of hardships and marvellous exotica and how he, due to his personal qualities, has been able to travel widely, endure much and return home safely. His narrative is primarily intended to astonish the reader with curiosities and the author’s own bravery and capability. His travelogue frequently describes the world in accordance with what has been called “a mythical paradigm”. This means that expectations of what can be seen in remote places are coloured by mythical and fantastic stories of what the world is like at its utmost edges (Todorov, Campbell). The things the Adventurer describes could often be termed *mira-bilia* or *apista*, things that are unbelievable but nevertheless supposed to be true – at least according to the author.

The Adventurer is most common in the medieval and early modern travelogues. Among Swedish travel narratives, there is only one travelogue where the Adventurer is found to be the dominant persona: *A Description of a Journey through Asia, Africa and Many Other Heathen Kingdoms, as Well as Islands*, by Nils Matson Kiöping<sup>6</sup>. Kiöping (1621-1680), the son of a priest, enlisted with VOC—the Dutch East India Company—and, in 1647, left the

<sup>6</sup> Swedish title: *Beskrifwes een reesa som genom Asia, Africa och många andra hedniska konungarijken, samt öjjar, med flijt är förrättat aff Nils Matson Kiöping*.

Netherlands for a journey that lasted almost nine years. Together, with the travelogue of another Swedish sailor, Johan Eriksson Willman, his narrative was published in 1667; hence, it was one of the two first Swedish travelogues to be published as a book. The two travelogues were published by a printer who came upon the texts in the Swedish seneschal Per Brahe's archive. It seems that, when Kiöping and Willman returned to Sweden, they enlisted in the Swedish Royal Navy. After a few years in Swedish service, they were left without an income as a result of the reorganisation of the Swedish fleet, and, to argue that they were entitled to compensation or a pension, they sent narratives of their travel experiences to Brahe. When Brahe was employed by German printer Johann Kanckel years later, he compiled and printed a volume of five travelogues, two of which were written by these Swedish sailors, as proof of his skills.

Kiöping begins his narrative by stating that a longing for adventure made him leave his country to travel. His travelogue contains potentially useful information: the character of the coastline on certain stretches, convenient places to get water and food, descriptions of the climate, etc. These comments are, however, unsystematic and sporadic. For the most part, they seem to be there to convince the reader that Kiöping really travelled. His focus is not on the journey per se—his narrative is not chronologically disposed, but goes from west to east—but on the strange things he saw and the dangers he faced. His travelogue can be compared to a cabinet of curiosities – an unsystematic catalogue of strange and remarkable things found in remote and sometimes dangerous places. Words like “wonder”, “strange”, “miraculous” appear throughout his travelogue.

From India, he mentions the palm tree, which he describes in terms of wonder rather than botanic discourse<sup>7</sup>. The tree is miraculous—from the wood of its trunk you can draw wine, and, like the enchanted drinks in a fairy tale, it transforms itself miraculously thrice. In the morning it tastes like mead, around eight o'clock like Rhine wine and after midday like vinegar. This is, of course, a matter of the sap going sour or fermenting in the warm climate. The processes are however not described in these simple chemical terms, but as miracles.

Other botanical peculiarities are the oyster trees on which, conveniently enough, lemons also grow, and, perhaps the most remarkable of all, the tree on which the forbidden fruit grows—the *musa paradisiaca*—the banana. In a similarly miraculous discourse, Kiöping describes the two-headed snakes

<sup>7</sup> Translating idiosyncratic 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century Swedish into compatible English is far beyond my capacity and I have hence chosen to refrain from quotations in this article.

of Surat. He tells of confrontations with strange and threatening humans: in the Nicobarean islands the ship was boarded by humans with cattaills eating live parrots and threatening to kill everyone if they could not have all the iron aboard the ship.

In his descriptions of the curiosities that could be found in faraway places, Kiöping usually claims to be talking about things that he has seen with his own eyes. The detailed descriptions often seem to have already been made by someone else, something he refers to himself since he starts his descriptions by referring to what has been written on a particular phenomenon. The fact that what he has seen has been “documented” by others is supposed to vouch for the truthfulness of his stories. However, Kiöping does not always agree with what has been said about the remarkable things he describes. Sometimes he writes that travellers are a bunch of liars when it comes to describing this or that, and then he goes on to tell the reader something different but equally fantastic. Sometimes it is, however, quite obvious that he has not seen the object/person himself; for example, he gives a vivid and detailed description of Darius’ palace and then he goes on to comment that it was destroyed many years before.

It is through the remarkable things Kiöping has seen and endured that he establishes himself as an Adventurer. The travelogue is written in the first person, but it is not until the very last paragraphs that he explicitly writes of his role as a traveller. Here he gives a summary of his deeds and the curiosities he has seen. He states that he had been journeying for almost nine years, crossing the equator and the equinoxes several times, and then gives a list of the terrible things he endured: illness, barbarians, bad food, insufferable climates, dangerous animals, hard work and warfare. This was probably, to a great extent, the truth considering what travelling to exotic places entailed in the 17th century, but it is also likely that Kiöping considered these factors (together with the *mirabilia* he tells of in his travelogue) as possible arguments for obtaining a pension (which, by the way, he did).

The Adventurer’s persona as described here belongs to an older travel writing tradition, though it could be argued that it is the nature of all travelogues to describe adventures. As I have already mentioned, it is characteristic for the travelogue narrator to alternate between personae, depending on what he or she is writing about at a given moment. Every narrator does however have a dominant persona, and Kiöping’s travelogue is the only instance in which where the Adventurer persona dominates. In later travelogues, the role of the Adventurer is combined with, and subjugated to, another persona. The Scientific Traveller – to give just one example – appears as an Adventurer in

some instances, mostly to underline how much he has endured in the name of science. This takes me to the Scientific Traveller.

### The Scientific Traveller – the Naturalist

The Scientific Traveller—a slightly anachronistic epithet for the persona that was adopted by travelling naturalists who were also interested in economy and husbandry—vehemently declares that he has no intention of writing about sensational adventures or wonders and thus distances himself from the Adventurer's persona. Precision, rationality, and systematic observation is what characterises this traveller. Instead of writing about his travel experiences in an idiom that evokes wonder through its focus on unnaturalness and exceptionality, dangers and adventures, the Scientific Traveller strives to write about his experiences and observations from what he considers to be an enlightened, scientific point of view. Like the Adventurer, he emphasizes that he only (or mostly) writes about what he has seen himself, but this is now termed “empirical observation”.

In terms of the scientific ambitions, this traveller strives to be objective in the sense that he strives to refrain from writing about himself. However, the factual and autobiographical generic claims mean that what is described and observed in a travelogue, as well as its accuracy, literariness, etc., reflects the author's perspective irrespective of whether the first person is used or not. Even a scientific report, where the first person is totally omitted reflects its author, in the least as the objective and scrupulous scientist he strives to be.

The Scientific Traveller is supposed to give the impression of reporting things as they really are. His aim is to observe and then describe objects by giving relevant facts with *claritas*, with transparency, in such a reliable and exact manner that the travelogue could serve as a substitute for reality itself.

It is also of importance that the traveller is unfazed when confronting new and unknown phenomena. The naturalist knows how to arrange strange and remarkable things into systems and hierarchies, and consequently it is no longer a question of describing wonders and anomalies, but quite the opposite: to the Scientific Traveller everything is connected (at least in the travelogues under consideration). Through his intellect and his education, the traveller knows the right approach to all the things he confronts, as well as their context and value.

In contrast to the Adventurer, the Scientific Traveller has an explicit scientific purpose. He is armed with an elaborate set of theories, a nomenclature, a scientific language and a set of norms—a scientific worldview. His

aim is to systematise natural history or to investigate and teach agricultural methods, technology, etc.

The Scientific Traveller first makes his appearance in the Swedish travelogues around 1700 in two reports from what has been called the first Swedish scientific expedition. After their publication, it took more than 40 years until the next Swedish travelogue was published. From 1743 to the 1780's, most published travelogues were written by Scientific Travellers in what has been called 'the Linnaean tradition'. During the period studied for this project, the Scientific Traveller persona appears in 27 travelogues, and, of these, 21 were published between 1743 and 1780.

These travelogues were written in accordance with instructions issued by the Royal Scientific Academy, which was founded in 1739 by, among others, Linnaeus. The Royal Academy embodied the scientific and economic project of the Swedish Age of Freedom (1718–1772). This project aimed at, among other things, rationalising Swedish agricultural practises and making an inventory of Swedish flora and fauna to find useful plants and animals. A great number of persons sent reports from their travels or from their neighbourhood. Having their work published in the proceedings of the Royal Academy was the reward; however, most of the time, the Academy could not afford to pay for the printing, so many travellers paid for the printing themselves.

Although these reports are seen as part of the Linnaean tradition, the first travelogue published in this vein was not written by Linnaeus, but by a young clerk at the Academy, Arvid Ehrenmalm (1720–1745), whose travelogue *Arvid Ehrenmalms Journey through Lapland Undertaken in July 1741* was published in 1743<sup>8</sup>. In several respects, the persona Ehrenmalm presents in his travelogue is similar to the persona in the first travelogue by Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778) that was published in his lifetime: *A Journey to Öland and Gotland in the Summer 1741*<sup>9</sup>. On behalf of the Swedish Royal Academy, Linnaeus had travelled together with a handful of his students to the Öland and Gotland islands in the summer of 1741 to find useful species of plants and to report on agricultural techniques, hunting, brewing, or anything else they saw related to husbandry.

Linnaeus' travelogue consists of dated entries with brief notes of what has been observed and under what circumstances—weather, temperature, time of day, etc. It gives the impression of being a travel diary, but was in fact compiled and edited at least twice after the journey. It is not written as a coherent narrative, but consists of unconnected paragraphs and its focus

<sup>8</sup> Swedish title: *Arwid Ehrenmalms Resa igenom Wäster-Norrland til Åsehle lappmark, anställd uti julii månad 1741.*

<sup>9</sup> Swedish title: *Öländska och gothländska resa på riksens högloflige ständers befallning förrättad åhr 1741.*

is partly on descriptions of species in Latin, most of which are followed by a description in Swedish. To the dated entries, several appendices are added: lists of observed species, tables, maps and drawings. These traits are what the travelogues of all the scientific personae have in common.

In the case of Linnaeus' travelogues, and in varying degrees when it comes to those written by his Apostles, there is a tendency to show the Scientist in action. In brief passages or anecdotes Linnaeus describes his observations and then goes on with reflections and discussions from a scientific point of view. For example, he describes his observation that the age rings in an old tree stump vary in thickness and how this makes him realize that the variations reflect the hardness of the winters. In this way, he demonstrates how empirical observation leads to scientific conclusions. Through the whole travelogue, he also refers to other scientists and their results and discusses scientific questions yet to be solved.

Linnaeus' ideal, when it comes to travelogues, was that the descriptions should speak for themselves, since a good scientific description is not in need of any comments from the author (Linnaeus "Efterord" 312). All the same, his travelogue, though based on scientific descriptions, contains a fair amount of subjective comments. That he supposes himself as being of personal interest to the reader is clear in the way he inserts biographical facts; for instance, he describes his birthplace and his father's garden, which, he tells the reader, probably made him want to be a botanist.

Linnaeus seems to reveal aspects of himself, of his personality, when he describes his observations. These descriptions are mostly given in a matter-of-fact-discourse, but since they very carefully describe factors such as sounds, smells and the quality of the air and the light, they seem to describe not only the phenomena and the conditions under which they were observed, but also Linnaeus himself through his perceptions. In this way, the reader gets a feeling of what it was like being the Scientific Traveller Linnaeus.

His disciples came to model their travelogues on his in varying degree. Not all of them are as present in their travelogues as Linnaeus, while others, such as Anders Sparrman (1748-1820) and Carl Peter Thunberg (1743-1828), who both belong to the second generation of Apostles, show an even more pronounced authorial presence. Anders Sparrman's travelogue, in particular, incorporates elements from the genre repertoire of other personae.

## The Aesthetic Traveller

The Aesthetic Traveller is the third persona I focus on. This persona appears in the Swedish travelogues during the last two decades of the 18<sup>th</sup>

century. The Aesthetic Traveller has travelled to see and describe beautiful places, mostly landscapes, parks and buildings. The ambition to see and experience landscapes and beauty is what decides his itinerary. His journey is a journey between certain types of scenery.

He is influenced by 18<sup>th</sup>-century aesthetic theories and constantly refers to categories such as neo-classicism, the sublime and the picturesque. In his travelogue, he thus appears well-versed in aesthetic theory, in the history of art and in architecture. He takes care to show his taste and to emphasise that he is an amateur artist himself.

The neo-classicist Carl-August Ehrensvärd (1745–1800) was the first Swedish traveller to publish a travelogue with an aesthetic focus. In his *Journey to Italy in 1780, 1781, 1782* (1786), he describes a journey that he undertook to Italy with the purpose of studying classical architecture and art<sup>10</sup>. He seems to have written and published his travelogue to qualify for a post as curator for the Royal Castle in Stockholm as well as for the Royal Academy of Arts.

In 1797, country squire and amateur artist Jonas Carl Linnerhielm (1758–1829) published the first of three volumes of *Letters from Travels in Sweden*, an expensive and highly illustrated *voyage pittoresque*<sup>11</sup>. He was the first Swedish traveller to publish within this genre, but it is obvious that he was inspired by William Gilpin and, in his own words, the Swiss author and artist Salomon Gessner.

Just a few years later author, composer and amateur artist colonel A. F. Skjöldebrand (1857–1834) published an even more lavishly illustrated travelogue written in French and hence aimed at a European reading public: *Voyage Pittoresque au Cap Nord* (1801–1802). Skjöldebrand set out to be the first to publish a voyage pittoresque from the utmost north—which he also did, at least if one ignores the fact that some of his illustrations were secretly copied and published by his travel companion Guiseppe Acerbi.

Together with the artist and connoisseur Lars Jacob von Rök's (1778–1867) slender volume *Notes from a Journey in Sicily in the year 1823* (1824), these make up the total sum of Swedish travelogues (published during the period of research) in which the Aesthetic Traveller persona dominates<sup>12</sup>.

Illustrations—primarily landscapes—represent the most obvious characteristic of the Aesthete's travelogue. when it comes to the (admittedly few) Swedish publications during this time, they are invariably made by the traveller/author himself and are a proof of his skills as an amateur artist and some-

<sup>10</sup> Swedish title: *Resa til Italien 1780, 1781, 1782*.

<sup>11</sup> Swedish title: *Bref under resor i Sverige*.

<sup>12</sup> Swedish title: *Anteckningar under en resa på Sicilien år 1823*.

times also as an engraver. In his narrative, the traveller sometimes describes himself as painting or sketching. Skjöldebrand, in particular, writes about his attempts to find artistic solutions when sketching the landscape.

The Aesthetes' eye for painterly qualities comes to the fore in the ekphrastic descriptions of landscape and scenery. These views are not only said to resemble paintings, but, in some instances, they are also described in terms of a painting or scenography, that is, in terms of background and foreground, with focal points, notions of highlights and colouring, the effects of light and shadow, etc. In his descriptions, the Aesthete associates with and refers to specific artists, authors and artistic schools.

Aesthetic experience is linked to states of mind and emotions. Linnerhielm veers towards the sentimental when he describes the feelings induced by the landscape. He travelled mostly in the middle part of Sweden, and the landscape he depicts and describes is often seen through a pastoral filter, while Skjöldebrand— seems more inclined to focus on the majestic and the sublime, although from time to time he describes Lapland as a Northern Arcadia—a motif quite in vogue at the time (Barton).

As is obvious from its title, Linnerhielm's travelogue consists of letters to someone with whom he is on familiar terms. Most of these were in fact originally written to his brother, although they have been shortened and edited before print. Skjöldebrand's travelogue gives the impression of having been written directly for the reading public, though in a manner that indicates that he is writing to someone with whom he is well acquainted. The travelogue of the Aesthetic Traveller persona thus has a more private—or informal—form of address.

Formally, his work consists of dated entries, a travel diary, on the one hand, and comments on the illustrations, on the other. When it comes to Skjöldebrand even though the Aesthetic Traveller persona dominates there are also instances of descriptions of natural phenomena in Linnaean terms. In the case of Linnerhielm, his aesthetic focus does not preclude instances of detailed reflection on husbandry, mining, etc; after all, he was a country squire.

## **Our (Wo)man in foreign places**

The personae discussed above were all quite easily identified and described, but of course there are travellers and travelogues that are not so easily classified. There are the travellers who report on all kinds of issues in a general and non-specialised manner. To characterise their persona, I chose the epithet 'Our Man'. In general usage, this expression can imply someone who is acting as a representative, on behalf of someone, for instance, a com-



pany, a nation, or a newspaper. It can be used to designate an ambassador, a reporter, or even a spy – as in Graham Greene’s novel *Our Man in Havana*. Among the travelogues published during the researched period, there is one ambassador reporting in his official capacity, Clas Brorsson Rålamb (1622–1698), who travelled to Constantinople in 1656–1657 as an ambassador for the Swedish king. His *relazione* to King Charles X Gustaf was published in 1679 by the Royal Historiographer Johan Hadorph. His travelogue, apart from reporting on diplomatic negotiations, deals with general observations made during his journey—what people eat, the colour of the cattle, whether there is good fishing in this or that place, and so on.

With the exception of Rålamb, who travelled as an ambassador (and thus reports as a specialist), I have used the epithet ‘Our man’ to label a traveller’s persona, in cases in which it is the author’s ambition to act as the reader’s eyes and ears on a general and unspecialised level, to act as a reporter in a foreign place. This is something all travel writers do, whether they are specialised or not; however, in this context, the epithet ‘Our Man’ (with the exception mentioned above) is reserved for a non-specialised traveller of the kind that appeared among the Swedish travel narratives around 1800 and with increasing frequency in the following decades.

These travellers all reported as private persons and not in any kind of professional or specialised capacity, even though several of them were diplomats. As the century wore on, travellers/narrators with a ‘chatty’ personality and an eye for the everyday came to dominate. The most common form of travelogue here is the private letter, although, in some cases, the travelogue is written in the form of an open diary—that is, a diary written for a group of friends. Hence, while it not private in the modern sense of the word, it was not meant to be published in print either (at least that is what is claimed). In many ways, this kind of travel writer dons a ‘private persona’, often addressing the reader as a friend. As is expected in a letter *ad familiares*, the structure is loose, unsystematic, and associative. The writer describes and comments on things from a common-sense point of view, as they seem to come to his mind. Furthermore, there is ample room for anecdotes.

It has been observed that, as travelogues of a more general character appear (that is travelogues that are not reports from, for example, scientific or diplomatic expeditions), travelogues written by female travellers began to be published (Bassnett 225). In Sweden, the first travelogue written by a female traveller was published in 1827, Maria Lindeberg’s *Letters from Paris by a travelling Swedish female*<sup>13</sup>. In 1825, Lindeberg (1780–1861) travelled to Paris and stayed there for 18 months. During her stay, she published travel

<sup>13</sup> Swedish title: *Bref från Paris av ett resande Svenskt fruntimmer*.

letters in one of the leading Swedish newspapers—*Stockholmsposten*—where her brother was a general editor. In 1827, those letters, together with additional letters, were published as a book.

As was customary with non-scientific travelogues, *Letters from Paris by a travelling Swedish female* was published anonymously, but Lindeberg took care to emphasise that the letters were written by a woman. In her preface, she returns to this fact as something of a novelty, something that makes her travelogue interesting, but at the same time she emphasises that, as she is a woman, her remarks and observations are all non-scientific, non-specialised, and mundane. This is, according to her, a decided contrast to what is found in men's travelogues. She adopts an explicitly female perspective, which she sees as connected to the non-specialised and non-scientific, to the everyday and to common sense. In accordance with a strategy that could be labelled 'pretentious humility' (Arping 34-37), she takes good care to, as soon as she has expressed her humility, discreetly point out that what she is writing about is of greater interest and importance than the reports of male travellers

*Letters from Paris by a travelling Swedish female* gives detailed information about domestic life, household matters and customs among the Parisian bourgeoisie, sometimes making unfavourable comparisons with Swedish circumstances. She describes the plethora of merchandise to be found in Parisian shops and gives frequent accounts of theatrical productions—tragedies at *La Comédie Française*, *féeries* at the *Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin* as well as *comédies en vaudeville*. When it comes to theatre, her descriptions are precise and her comments indicate that she is well acquainted with dramatic and theatrical conventions, but she makes no claims of being an expert.

When reporting from a great annual art exhibition at the Louvre, Lindeberg emphasises that, in contrast to men, she knows nothing about art, and then adds that she only has a natural feeling for what is really beautiful, thus again indicating that her perspective is the true perspective. In a similar vein, she professes to shun political subjects, but nevertheless, she occasionally comments sharply on the politics of the Restoration, seemingly in passing. She describes the legal and social situation of French women in a very favourable terms compared to that of Swedish women. Most of this seems to be exaggerated, but in exaggerating the opportunities of French women, she aims at criticising the lack of equality in Sweden.

Lindeberg is, as I said, unique in her capacity of a woman and in her way of contrasting herself to male travel writers. But she is also a good example of the persona I have called "Our Man"—or rather, in this case, "Our Woman".

## Conclusion

In my overview of Swedish travelogues published as books between 1667 and 1829–70 titles overall—my point of departure has been that the persona of the traveller/author/narrator is decisive for the travelogue's form and content. The persona of the traveller/author/narrator could thus be regarded as decisive for what kind of travelogue the traveller writes; in other words, as decisive for the subgenre.

I chose to focus on four personae: The Adventurer, The Scientific Traveller, The Aesthetic Traveller and finally a persona that I termed "Our (Wo) Man"—a traveller/narrator with a general, non-specialised perspective, often writing in a journalistic or private-letter-mode. It would, of course, be possible to identify other personae but, apart from the Adventurer, who only appears in the first published travelogue by a Swedish traveller, I've found these to be the personae that dominate the published travelogues during the period under research.

It is, however, clear that, although some personae are present throughout the period, different personae dominate during different periods. The persona of the Scientific Traveller is present throughout the period. He first makes his appearance around the turn of the century 1700 and dominates in the travelogues published during the Swedish Age of Freedom (1718–1772). During this period, the Scientific Traveller had a strong connection with the Royal Swedish Academy.

The Aesthetic Traveller makes his first appearances in a travelogue about a journey to Italy in the second to last decade of the 18th century and, eleven years later, in a series of letters from travels in Sweden. Both these travelogues were published together with a series of engravings.

Around the turn of the century 1800, the persona I have termed Our (Wo)Man appears. By 1825, this persona has taken precedence and it becomes obvious that the travelogue is no longer a report from a mission or a project, but rather a literary genre—or at least a genre used by persons who strive to be published. It is within this context that the first travelogue written by a Swedish female traveller appears as an early precursor (since it would take another 20 years for the next travelogue by a woman to appear).

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