

Apotheosis of the North

Transformationen der Antike

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The Swedish Appropriation of Classical Antiquity
around the Baltic Sea and Beyond (1650 to 1800)

Edited by

Bernd Roling, Bernhard Schirg and
Stefan Heinrich Bauhaus

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Foreword

The contributions to this volume are based on papers that were delivered at the workshop ‘Apotheosis of the North’, held on 16–17 December 2014 in the Finland Institute in Berlin. The event was staged by Project A15 ‘The Nordic Transformation of Antiquity’ of the Collaborative Research Centre ‘Transformations of Antiquity’ (SFB 644). The conference and the present volume could not have been achieved without support and collaboration from many quarters. The editors wish to thank first of all the Finland Institute and Maija Mertens, who directed the Institute until the end of 2014, Suvi Wartiovaara and her staff, whose warm hospitality and generous help accompanied the whole conference. Many thanks are due also to Orla Mulholland, who is responsible for linguistic editing and for the translation of one of the contributions, to the student assistants Vivien Lara Bruns, Vanessa Güldenpfennig, Helena Winterhager and Matthias Stelzer, who were of great help in the editorial production of the book and the organization of the conference, and finally to the two referees for the Research Centre’s publication series, to whose thorough reading of the papers we are also indebted. We further wish to thank the Research Centre ‘Transformations of Antiquity’ itself, its spokesman Johannes Helmrath, its coordinator Stefan Schlelein and Kathrin Trauer, who all supported us throughout the whole event. Warm thanks are owed by the editors, finally, to one other institution which provided continuous help without which the work would have been impossible, namely the Carolina Rediviva and Peter Sjökvist and Anna Fredriksson in Uppsala. All the papers are in English except the contribution by Outi Merisalo which, in recollection of the role once played by German as a scholarly language in the Baltic area, has been left in its German form.

Bernd Roling
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Introduction

BERND ROLING

Some time at the end of the 1720s the young Finn Hermann Daniel Bonge (1706–1774) from Oulu came to Uppsala, where he apparently studied a wide range of different subjects, including physics and theology.¹ His rather prosperous family, for the most part Finnish-speaking merchants, could afford to grant him a lengthy period of study, which he successfully completed. His life's path brought him to Estonia, where he was employed as a priest on the island of Saaremaa, Swedish Ösel. It seems that he was successful in this too, as some of his sermons were even printed. In 1742 one of his treatises was published. It was about the »daily dissipations«, namely of the Moravians, whom he of course reproached according to the manner of Lutheran clerics.² He stayed in Saaremaa until his death in 1774, marrying a German businessman's daughter and acquiring a country estate, named Hallick. His numerous descendants also remained at that location.³ Hermann Daniel Bonge's situation demonstrates the continuing connection between the Baltic provinces, even after the Swedish loss of its eastern territories. A Finn studied in Sweden and ended up preaching for the German nobility.

Why is Bonge of special interest to us? In 1730 he delivered a university disputation which was chaired by Lars Roberg (1664–1742), a famous medical and natural scientist. The topic does not seem at all suited to a theologian's life. It was about salmon fishing. Bonge in fact published the thesis in a very personal and indeed Finnish manner. He wrote a poem of appreciation to his brother and patron Zacharias, a merchant too, written in his mother-tongue and adorned with plenty of alliterative rhymes, close to the rhythm of the Kalevala. It was one of the first printed poems of that type and it is not certain if any scholar has yet analysed it.⁴ At the beginning of his disputation he recalled how he cast the nets into the cold northern waters of Kemi, Lapland, and Ostrobothnia together with his parents. At that time, the plan had already arisen in his mind to make fishing the topic of a major survey. The aforementioned disputation described the spawning and natural

1 On Bonge's life and writings see Gottzmann/Hörner (2007), vol. 1, 263–264.

2 Bonge, *Eine kurtze Prüfung der Geister*.

3 Feldmann/von zur Mühlen (1985), vol. 1, s. v. *Hallick*, 98.

4 Roberg/Bonge, *De salmonum natura*, f. A4r.

habitats of salmon and provides a description of how to build weirs able to resist the rapids of Lapland's rivers and so make it easier to catch the fish.⁵ Bonge came up with another question: where does the word ›salmon‹ actually come from? In Uppsala at that time there happened to be someone who could easily be consulted on such a topic: an old friend of Roberg, who shared his interests in botany and ornithology and who gave lectures together with him and even let his son take his doctorate with him,⁶ namely Olof Rudbeck the Younger (1660–1740), son of Olof Rudbeck the Elder (1630–1702), who answered his question extensively.⁷ *Salmo*, the German word *Lachs*, Swedish *lax* but also Finnish *lohi*, all contained the root *sal* ›salt‹, because that fish was referred to as the salty fish. *Sal*, however, was derived from Hebrew *salat*, also denoting something salty. He even goes a step further: the word *trutta* (›trout‹) and its Finnish cognate *taimen* were of Oriental origin, too. They all originated in Hebrew *tarit*, with a similar connotation.⁸ Why then did the fish in Finland's rivers have Hebrew names? Half a century earlier Rudbeck the Elder had explained in his famous first chapters of the *Atlantica* what brought the first settlers, after leaving the Ark, to Sweden. It was the healthy climate, the water and above all the quantity of fish, which was unparalleled as a source of nutrition. The first Hebrew-speaking descendants of Noah, the heirs of Japheth and Magog, had given the names to the fish.⁹ Roberg's and Bonge's research on salmon fishing in Finland was still quoted from time to time over the following years.¹⁰ It was not the aberration of a young student who had chanced to fall in with the wrong scholars in Uppsala. It shows us, rather, the way in which the grand models, the majestically patriotic structures which apotheosized Sweden and Finland and which we shall be examining in the present volume, had a continuous effect even in small and, it may seem, strange details. Numerous examples of this kind exist. For example, Swedish and Finnish economists such as Peter Kalm or Claes Trozelius did not hesitate to take these themes into account and so demonstrate their patriotic spirit.¹¹ Rudbeck's great model was a university-wide movement, even encompassing Finnish fish.

It may be helpful to recall the beginnings of Gothicism. What did it mean to be a Gothicismist in Finland and Sweden and then to become a follower of Rudbeck? How can we gain an understanding of that movement? It is crucial to reconsider the prehistory of Rudbeckianism – the final stage of Gothicism, as it were – and

5 Ibid., 19–26.

6 On Rudbeck and Roberg and their relationship see Swederus (1896), 29–46.

7 After Olof Rudbeck the Younger's death it was Roberg who catalogued Rudbeck's estate, see Benzelstierna, *Censorsjournal 1737–1746*, 128, No. 510.

8 Roberg/Bonge, *De salmonum natura*, 3–4, 7–8.

9 Rudbeck, *Atlantica*, vol. 1, c. 3, § 9, 55–56.

10 See e. g. Hellant, *Bericht von der Erzeugung des Lachses*, 271–283, here esp. 271–273.

11 Trozelius/Hausswolff, *Korta Anmerkningar vid Svio-Göthernas fordna Hushålls-vett*, passim; and Kalm/Arenius, *De agricultura veterum Sveo-Gothorum*, esp. §§ 2–4, 5–9.

Gothicism itself in order to grasp that it was more than just a nationalistic megalomania which thrived in the liberty of the academic setting. It escalated step by step rather than exploding spontaneously. Rudbeckianism was, right from the start, only possible in academic circles and so is best understood as an interpersonal project. Rudbeck was not the first to trace Sweden's history back to a glorious list of genealogies. Many European academics had done the same before. Since the sixteenth century Gothicism, as established by Olaus (1490–1557) and Johannes Magnus (1488–1544), had thrived. Olaus Magnus had identified the Goths with the Getes and Scythians, relying on Cassiodorus and Jordanes, and declared them to be the ancestors of all Scandinavians. What exactly did that mean? As early as the end of the fifteenth century Eric Olai, following up the successes of the humanists, wrote a great narrative in which the term ›Gothic‹ became the decisive unifying element, a kind of universal emblem.¹² The Goths were the first Scythians, whom we find described mainly in Herodotus. The Goths of classical literature shared the same blood as the Scythians, but the Goths were also the first inhabitants of Scandinavia. The history of the migration period could be traced back to the earliest days of humankind. Out of Sweden, the *vagina gentium*, the Goths had spread out throughout prehistoric times in the shape of the Amazons, whose Swedish origin was clearly proven, and then from the first wanderings of the Cimbri and Teutons until the campaigns of Alaric, Theoderic and the other heroes of late antiquity, in which the legends of the ancient Swedes were rewritten and updated right into the Middle Ages.¹³

In Germany Albert Crantz had made use of this kind of historical construction at the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹⁴ The brothers Magnus happened to be the last Catholic bishops of Uppsala. Driven by a strong yearning for their old metropolis, they put all their energies into writing a history of their home country that would be able to compensate for the loss of the true faith. The state Lutheranism of the next two centuries could not prevent their works being cited and even in the eighteenth century they were still celebrated. Noah's Ark had landed in Armenia, not far from the land of the ancient Scythians, where, according to their theory, Noah had disembarked with his sons. Japheth's descendants made their way west. Magog, the first Gothic ruler, was the head of a long genealogy that lasted without a break until the Vasa dynasty and so to modern times. The large Swedish metropolises, Uppsala, Birka and Sigtuna, had been founded in that

12 Olai, *Historia Suecorum Gothorumque* and Olai, *Historia Suecorum Gothorumque, brevibus notis illustrate*. In a modern edition e. g. Olai, *Chronica Regni Gothorum*.

13 On the Scandinavian Amazons see Magnus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, Liber V, c. 28–31, 195–201, and in English Magnus, *Description of the Northern Peoples*, vol. 1, Book V, c. 28–33, 273–280, and Rudbeck, *Atlantica*, vol. 3, c. 12, § 3, 601–607.

14 Krantz, *Chronica regnorum aquilonarium Daniae*, in German, id., *Chronica und Beschreibung der dreier Königreich Dennmarck, Schweden und Norwegen*. On Krantz's historical writings see e. g. Andermann (1999), 136–230.

period, in contrast to Stockholm, a rather provincial medieval city. This theory, as eccentric as it may seem, remained alive, though varied in form, until the age of enlightenment.

Fairly late compared to the rest of the continent, the north of Europe was thus able to claim ties with classical antiquity. It was, not least, the house of Vasa and Gustav II Adolph (1594–1632) whose glory profited from this connection to antiquity. A second step in the national escalation was about to follow at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Gothic manuscripts confiscated and brought to Uppsala after the Swedish victories, accompanied by an extensive and flourishing interest in classical antiquity, gave rise to a strong interest in old Germanic literature and languages, which later became metaphysical, as it were. The Gothic language, whose nature could only be guessed at before, was now directly before their eyes in the form of Ulfila's Bible, the Arian Gothic translation of the Bible, and consequently Swedish scholars began to think about this language which had previously been hidden in the ecclesiastical archives. The demonstration that the Gothic language and Sveo-Gothic, i.e. Old Swedish or just Old Norse, were both direct descendants of Hebrew, the language of Noah and Japheth and the first settlers in Sweden, was an easy task for the apologists of the national cause.¹⁵ Georg Stiernhielm (1598–1672), after requesting money and manuscripts from Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, composed a Gothic wordlist in his *Magogus aramaeo-gothicus*, adorned with a thundering introduction setting out this theory.¹⁶ One example may suffice: When the first immigrants from the East settled in Sweden, they must have been of Noah's faith, but why then did the Germanic peoples worship Odin and Thor, as was known from medieval texts? One answer to that comes from Johannes Baazius in his history of the Gothic church of 1642. Magic and worldly temptation led the Old Norse inhabitants into idolatry. Yet the names of their gods contained traces of the old religion. Odin's name was in truth *odiot*, the Hebrew name for sign and wonder. Thor derived his name from the root *tur*, the word for order. Both names were in fact epithets of the one and only God and had only later split up into different divinities.¹⁷

From the start, these peculiar speculations were accompanied by the editing of texts, which indeed formed the beginning of Norse Studies. Since 1660 the works of Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241) had been brought from Iceland to Denmark, first the *Heimskringla*, which Peder Claussen translated into Danish,¹⁸ then the prose and verse Edda, to which Peder Resenius added a Latin version with the help of some Icelanders. It became the copy upon which the English and French versions,

15 On the Gothic-Latin lexicography of this period see e. g. Considine (2008), there esp. 241–249.

16 Stiernhielm, *Jesu Christi Evangelia*, see there the praefatio f. a3r–F3r, and id., *Magog Aramaeo-Gothicus*.

17 Baazius the Elder, *Inventarium Ecclesiae Sveo-Gothorum*, Liber I, c. 2, 63–67.

18 Snorri Sturluson, *Norske Kongers Chronica*.

too, were based. It was in fact even used by Herder.¹⁹ The enthusiasm was very widespread throughout Scandinavia. All those gods, who could hitherto be understood only in terms of the polemics directed against them in Latin historiography, were suddenly once again the focus of a great literature. Near-incomprehensible figures, up to then subject to an *interpretatio Romana*, were transformed into heroes of ancient literature, finally on a par with Homer and Hesiod. Whereas the Danes, like Thomas Bartholin or Ole Worm, dealt with those revitalized traditions in a comparatively reasonable way, though surely also with great love for the subject, the Swedes outbid each other in inscribing the Skalds into the narrative of their own national greatness.²⁰ Snorri's introduction to the Edda was accepted almost verbatim. A great magician, called Odin, bearing the same name as the god, had come to Sweden from his castle Asgard, home of the Aesir in the age of the Trojan War. He introduced traditions and customs of immense antiquity.²¹ The Skalds, however, were of even greater age. The Swedish scholars truly believed they were able to demonstrate that these songs contained truths about the immortal soul, judgment over the living and the dead and the final apocalypse, Walhalla and Ragnarök, which derived, they agreed, from even older, biblical stories. It seemed unlikely that such a large number of matches between Christianity and the *Völuspá* and *Hávamál* could be just a random phenomenon, all the more so as the poems treated topics such as creation and the afterlife.

These translations into Swedish or Latin were the first of their kind. The ancient world known to have ended with the Germanic migrations was completed by a new and even older, predominantly Swedish kind of antiquity. Even juridical codices with a proven medieval background could not be published without a reference to their primordial, or at least Atlantean, origin. It was, however, a bitter fact that it was the Danish who had provided the first translation of the Edda, whereas Johan Göransson's national-Swedish variant,²² claimed as the primeval philosophy of humankind,²³ was published only in 1746. Of course, not all Swedish scholars of this period shared the faith to the same extent as, for example, those who traced all writing systems back to the Futhark alphabet, but the aura of Old Norse literature ensured that translation was a major task for the

19 On the content and translators of the first Latin Edda see Anthony Faulkes in *Edda Islandorum*, 9–95, and Ebel (2001), here esp. 20–36.

20 Bartholin, *Antiquitatum Danicarum de causis contemptae a Danis adhuc gentilibus mortis libri tres*, and e. g. Worm, *Fasti danici*, and id., *Danicorum monumentorum libri sex*.

21 Snorri Sturluson, *Norske Kongers Chronica*, c. 1, 2–8.

22 On Göransson's famous translation see Ebel (2001), 28–29, Stenroth (2002), 162–164, and the fundamental study of the reception of the Edda, Bödl (2000), 91–92.

23 Göransson, *De Yfverborna Atlingars, eller, Sviogöthars ok Nordmänners, Edda*, and id., *De Yfverborna Atlingars eller Sviogöthars ok Nordmänners Patriarkaliska Lära*, see there esp. the Praefatio.

Swedes.²⁴ Olof Verelius translated the *Hervarar saga*, the *Herrauds saga* and the *Gautrek saga*, Petrus Salanus provided a translation of the *Fostbroedernas Eagles Och Asmunds Saga*, Johan Peringskiöld the Elder devoted himself to the *Hjalmar Saga* and Snorri's *Heimskringla*, not to mention Jacob Renhielm's translation of the *Thorsteins saga* and the *Saga of Oloff Tryggvasson*. Other scholars continued until the mid-eighteenth century, above all Eric Julius Biörner (1696–1750), who even published a complete edition of that Old Norse literature that was available to him.

Another aspect of elaborating this universal understanding of Gothicism was the altered perception of antiquity, which had to be wholly transformed in order to integrate it into the national narrative. Rudbeckianism still deserves attention as part of the great European history of 'antiquarianism', as defined by Arnaldo Momigliano in his groundbreaking essay.²⁵ Here too, many scholars had preceded Rudbeck in Sweden. As early as the 1640s Johannes Bureus and Georg Stiernhielm had voiced their opinion that the Hyperboreans, described and glorified by Herodotus and Pindar as guardians of Apollo's temple in the north, were in fact the ancestors of the ancient Scandinavians and that their temple had stood in Uppsala, which was thus the first monument of an advanced civilization in Europe.²⁶ Svenio Karlström and Carl Lundius had given new meanings to that dream and its imagined constructions. Let us consider for a moment this outline of a transformed antiquity:²⁷ classical writers such as Diodorus had mentioned the sacred temple of the Hyperboreans where the God of Light was worshipped with hymns and ecstatic dances.²⁸ Digging deeper into the archives, one also found a passage in Procopius' *Gothic History*: the inhabitants of Thule worshipped the king of the sun, practising their rites when midwinter promised the light of spring.²⁹ The Apollonian temple could be nowhere located, and was perhaps just a phantasm elaborated by Greek historians.

Nevertheless, another description of that temple did exist. It was by Adam of Bremen in his *Hamburg Church History*, which mentions a Norse temple located in Uppsala, where songs and blood sacrifices were offered in worship of Odin, Thor and Frigg, an Old Norse Trinity, as it were. The temple and the statues of

24 On the Latin and Swedish translation of saga literature in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Sweden see the survey by Busch (2004). For a summary of Swedish antiquarianism see e. g. Widenberg (2006), esp. 105–141; Legnér (2004), there esp. 48–83, and Blocher (1993), esp. 199–210.

25 Momigliano (1950).

26 Stiernhielm, *Anticluverius, Dissertatio de Hyperboreis*, esp. 137–143, 153–155, and see Bureus, *Adulruna rediviva* (Kungliga biblioteket Stockholm, MS. Fa 21, 1642), Titulus II, c. 1.

27 Celsius/Karlström, *De Thule veterum et Hyperboreis dissertatio*, c. 4, 66–93.

28 Diodorus, *Bibliotheca*, Book II, c. 47, vol. 2, 36–41.

29 Procopius, *Wars*, vol. 3, Book VI, c. 15, 414–421.

the three gods were of pure gold and surrounded by a golden chain. The priest sacrificed humans, dogs and horses in the surrounding groves and then hung them from trees until their bodies rotted. He did not explain when exactly the building had been built, but he assumed it to be of great age. Why not identify it with the temple of Apollo?³⁰ According to Lundius, the first settlers in Sweden, the oldest Scythians, had not lost their knowledge of the old monotheistic religion and the sight of the midnight sun in Lapland even led them to detect in it a sign of divine fulfilment. They built a monumental temple which was also mentioned in classical literature and which survived until the Dark Ages.³¹ It is an irritating fact that Johannes Scheffer still believed he had found remains of the statues in the sacristy of the cathedral in 1660. The Hyperboreans, namely the Sveo-Goths, had brought their knowledge of that monotheistic heliolatry to Europe and their messengers, Scythians such as Abaris or Zalmoxis, had been the founders of culture for other peoples.³² Northern antiquity had preceded the classical one, and it was used and transformed in a key example of allelopoiesis.³³

By around 1680 most of this theoretical structure had already been created. But it was Rudbeck who interwove with it the myth of Atlantis and tried to rewrite human cultural history in his monumental book. His framework mythology picks up older mythologemes: 2400 years before Christ, Magog, Japheth's son, had gone to the North with his siblings, attracted by the beautiful landscape, the fertile earth and the wealth of fish and had laid the foundations of the first civilization, Atlantis, and of the capital of the Northern realms, Uppsala. For Rudbeck, the kind of primordial kingdom mentioned in Plato's *Critias* and *Timaeus*, and admired and feared by the Greeks, was not a political or cosmological allegory: contrary to the insinuations of Proclus and Marsilio Ficino, it was absolutely real. Periodic sedimentations – one of Rudbeck's infamous experiments – offered proof of the majestic antiquity of the Swedish empire. In the following 600 years the Scytho-Goths, the Greeks and the Celts had emigrated out of the North in a series of waves and had caused this spirit of the primordial culture to flourish throughout Europe: their religions and rich mythologies should be understood as borrowings and continuations of Nordic mythology. The ancient realm had not disappeared under the waves, but had rather debouched into Europe. Through enormous efforts in philology and thanks to a profound knowledge of history and geography, Rudbeck managed to add the Eddic mythology to the Greek one and so to demonstrate how it could all be traced back to Atlantis. All of Greece's poetics, philosophy and science she had received from the Nordic realm, all the

30 Adam of Bremen, *Bischofsgeschichte*, Liber IV, §§ 26–27, 470–473.

31 Lundius, *Zalmoxis primus Getarum legislator*, c. 5, §§ 4–7, 114–119.

32 Scheffer, *Upsalia antiqua*, c. 5, 42–43.

33 On the concept of transformation and allelopoiesis as developed in the SFB 644 see the introduction by Bergemann et al. (2011), esp. 40–41.

characters of the alphabet ultimately went back to the runes, just as the apples of the Hesperides had come to Europe.

Rudbeck's scientific paradigm influenced a whole generation of scientists in Sweden and led them to discover his postulated pre-history. Men like Johannes Hermansson, Hemming Forelius, Andreas Prys, Laurentius Normannus and Torsten Rudeen elaborated this system in their disputations in Uppsala, Turku and Lund, but also in Tartu, Pärnu and Greifswald. Swedish students were also able to export these themes into the universities of central Germany, to Jena and Wittenberg, and were able to respond to objections raised in this region and in Danish-Norwegian universities.³⁴ These works were in some cases abridged accounts of the whole theory, but others were dedicated to special themes such as heliolatry, giants, the pygmy peoples, the divine trinity of Odin, Thor and Freya as reflections of the gods of antiquity, the antipodes, the apples of the Hesperides, the nymphs or the dryads, just to mention a few examples. A subgroup to itself was formed by scientific examinations of themes such as the singing of swans or the origin of amber. The supporters of Rudbeck shared an interest in the natural history of Sweden and its interpretation, in the moose, the reindeer, amber and the midnight sun, an interest that was inherited by the followers of Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778) almost without interruption in the eighteenth century. Almost all these phenomena and myths could be translated into the Norse system, which was in fact seen as the origin of them all. All the elements were to be integrated into the grand system, a patriotic as well as career-making task for professors and disputants.

The discussion of Rudbeckianism has until now focused more on Rudbeck himself and his major work, the *Atlantica*. Best known and most valuable are Gunnar Eriksson's two monographs from 1994 and 2002, both groundbreaking studies,³⁵ and David King's more popular, but still well researched book of 2005.³⁶ Other authors, such as Mats Malm, have focused rather on his hermeneutics,³⁷ or reconstructed technical aspects and innovations in Rudbeck's work, as done by Per Dahl in 1995.³⁸ Others have devoted research to art history, for instance the great art historian Allan Ellenius or more recently Kristoffer Neville.³⁹ Since Nordström's survey in the 1930s and Sten Lindroth's fundamental studies, Rudbeck has been perceived as one of the representatives of Swedish Gothicism.⁴⁰ We should

34 For a survey of Rudbeckian disputations see Roling (2016).

35 Eriksson (1994), see there esp. 13–86, and id. (2002), see esp. 279–496.

36 King (2005), passim.

37 Malm (1996), esp. 73–106, and the survey by Malm (1994), 1–26.

38 Dahl (1995), passim.

39 Ellenius (1959), passim, id. (2003), passim; or Neville (2012), passim, and id. (2006), passim.

40 Nordström (1934), esp. 136–154; Lindroth (1975), vol. 2, *Stormaktstiden*, 284–302.

also mention Ragnar Josephson,⁴¹ Jesper Svenbro,⁴² Inke Schmidt-Voges,⁴³ Bernd Henningsen,⁴⁴ Stephan Michael Schröder and,⁴⁵ last but not least, the still insufficiently recognized study by Erkki Urpilainen from Oulu, the hometown of our aforementioned hero Daniel Bonge.⁴⁶ A recent, popular study in Finland has been presented by Mikko Huhtamies, dedicated to the notion of the sea in Rudbeckianism,⁴⁷ and a second study, on the idea of the Hyperboreans, by Tero Anttila has appeared recently, too.⁴⁸

On the other hand, there has been hardly any study of the Rudbeckianists and Gothicists as motors of academic controversies in later episodes in the eighteenth century. Only Iiro Kajanto, in both Finnish and English publications, has done justice to their significance for the university of Turku.⁴⁹ Tore Frängsmyr, however, has made very clear the lack of good research on the national mythologists of the eighteenth century. In the year 2000 he drew attention to two figures who had been totally underestimated: Gustave Bonde, a paracelsist and esotericist who devoted great efforts to the Finnish language, and Eric Julius Biörner, the chief translator to the Swedish crown.⁵⁰ We are fortunate to be able to read about Biörner in Vera Johanterwage's study in the present volume. Rudbeck's son, Rudbeck the Younger, has likewise attracted little attention, which has been limited to very brief mentions in histories of Finno-Ugric or oriental studies in Sweden.⁵¹ We lack detailed surveys of Rudbeckians in the Baltic area, Uppsala, Lund, Turku, Tartu, Pärnu or Greifswald, or even in Stettin, Tallinn, Stade, Riga or Bremen and Verden. No one has tried to understand their impact on other European scholars, even though Rudbeck's writings were quoted with great sympathy in Germany and England and were much debated.⁵² For example, almost all knowledge of saga literature in Georg Morhof's famous *Polyhistor* or Jacob Brucker's *History of Philosophy* was taken from the writings of the Rudbeckians.⁵³ Until now, only monumental histories of the universities have bothered to present some

41 Josephson (1940), see 12–84.

42 Svenbro (1980), *passim*.

43 Schmidt-Voges (2004), see there 177–190.

44 Henningsen (1997), esp. 14–23.

45 Schröder (2010), *passim*.

46 Urpilainen (1993), *passim*.

47 Huhtamies (2014), see there esp. 53–66.

48 See Anttila (2009), here 43–51, and now Anttila (2015), *passim*.

49 Kajanto (1989), see there e. g. on Rudeen 48–51; and id. (2000), see there on Rudeen 111–128.

50 Frängsmyr (2000), vol. 1, 323–325.

51 Agrell (1955), 119–125, Hovdhaugen/Karlsson (2000), 117–119, Stipa (1990), 187–191, and also e. g. Itkonen (1961), 133–134.

52 For the only study, see Seaton (1935), there esp. 202–274.

53 Morhof, *Polyhistor*, vol. 2/1, Liber IV, c. 3, § 3, 21–23, vol. 2/2, Liber I, § 14, 8–9; Brucker, *Historia critica philosophiae*, vol. 1, 1. Periode, Liber II, c. 9, §§ 8–18, 322–342.

figures, though only in brief. Best known are the histories by Claes Annerstedt,⁵⁴ Georg von Rauch,⁵⁵ Henrik Piirimäe,⁵⁶ Hermann Råberg,⁵⁷ Karl Gabriel Theodor Rein⁵⁸ and Ivar August Heikel,⁵⁹ Krister Gierow, Jerker Rosén and Gösta Johannesson⁶⁰ and of course Sten Lindroth,⁶¹ but valuable studies of Greifswald have also appeared recently.⁶² Only once has someone dedicated a whole biographical monograph to a Rudbeckian, namely Arvid Hultin with his book on Torsten Rudeen from 1902.⁶³ But that was it for the rest of the twentieth century.⁶⁴

This volume will not be able to compensate for that lack, but it will look at many individual aspects within the wide range of the Apotheosis of the North. Beginning with Gothicism, Sofia Guthrie presents one of the main poetic glorifications of Gustav II Adolph, namely the *Adolphid*, published in 1649 and dedicated to Queen Christina by the French Jesuit Antoine Garissoles. From the period after the Thirty Years' War we then move on to the end of the seventeenth century. Peter Sjökvist dedicates a paper to a crucial figure of academic Gothicism, namely Petrus Lagerlöf, poet and Professor of Rhetoric. Outi Merisalo presents a key figure in Finland's national movement, namely the bishop Daniel Juslenius, famous not only for his eulogies of Finnish lemon trees but also for trying to make Turku the first settlement after the Deluge in Sweden and so to reclaim Rudbeckianism for the Finnish. Vera Johanterwage gives an introduction to the life and ideas of Eric Biörner and his patriotic translation of the sagas, which remained in use until the nineteenth century. Christian Peters picks up a single myth, the tears of the Heliades, documenting how it was translated into the Norse sphere by Andreas Prys in Finland. Bernhard Schirg presents a similar topic, the Swedish

54 Annerstedt (1908–09); id. (1913–14).

55 Von Rauch (1943).

56 Piirimäe (1999).

57 Råberg (1893–1901).

58 Rein (1908).

59 Heikel (1894).

60 Rosén (1968), Johannesson (1982), Gierow (1971).

61 Lindroth (1976), see there 15–146.

62 See e. g. some of the papers in Alvermann (2007). Useful hints on the impact of Gothicism on the University of Greifswald alone can be found in the study of Önnersfors (2003a), 39–449, and see also id. (2003b).

63 Hultin (1902), *passim*.

64 As result of its four years of research the SFB-research project 'Nordic transformations of antiquity' will publish three studies on the history and impact of Rudbeckianism: one on the phenomenon as a whole, namely Bernd Roling, *Odins Imperium. Der Rudbeckianismus als Wissenschaftsparadigma an den skandinavischen Universitäten von 1680 bis 1850* (Leiden 2017); one by Bernhard Schirg on the material culture underlying Sweden's attempts to appropriate classical mythology and its impact as a role model on European antiquarianism; and one on Olaus Rudbeck the Younger, Stefan Bauhaus, *Zwischen Gotizismus und Orthodoxie. Olaus Rudbeck der Jüngere und die Sprachen von Atlantis* (Berlin 2017).

appropriation of the myth of the phoenix and its demise in Linnaeus' botany. Other papers address the Gothicists' main focus, namely speculation about languages, which was perhaps the beginning of all the grand models. Annie Burman shows how Olof Rudbeck the Elder developed his system of language comparison, while Stefan Bauhaus explains Olof the Younger's view of the indigenous languages of America. Did the Lost Tribes find their way to North America? Oriental studies – which can be considered the last academic echo of Rudbeckianism in the eighteenth century – are treated in two further papers. Benjamin Hübbe presents one of the most famous orientalist of the eighteenth century, Carl Aurivillius, who not only sought Arabic coins in Viking treasures but also tried to find and identify strange animals in the Bible, as a part of the national project of natural history. Finally, Bernd Roling examines the role of Indology for national mythologists in Sweden and Finland.

Some years ago, Carina Burman compared Rudbeck's masterpiece, the *Atlantica*, to the ship *Vasa*, which sank in the year 1628 after sailing only one mile and which is now one of the principal attractions in Stockholm.⁶⁵ It was built for King Gustav II Adolph Vasa, but was unable to steer because there were too many canons on the upper deck, which affected its structural dynamics. Those who have had the good luck to see the ship in Stockholm must have seen the many carvings and figures applied by Dutch carpenters and so will understand why that comparison is justified. It was not least the imaginary genealogies of the Swedish monarchy, traced back to the Deluge, that gave the carpenters their themes. But unlike the *Vasa*, whose end came after no more than twenty minutes, the Apotheosis of the North managed to persist a lot longer, into the nineteenth century. As in the case of the *Vasa*, we can here only observe a few small pieces of the whole construction, yet perhaps we can nonetheless succeed in gaining an impression of the whole ship.

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⁶⁵ Burman (2011), 37.

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Phoenix going Bananas. The Swedish Appropriation of a Classical Myth, and its Demise in Botanical Scholarship (Engelbert Kaempfer, Carl Linnaeus)*

BERNHARD SCHIRG

In the autumn of 1655, a rare and very noble bird was migrating south. The previous year, Christina of Sweden (1626–1689) had abdicated from both the Protestant religion and the Swedish throne. After leaving her country and publicly professing the Catholic faith in Tyrol,¹ the queen was now heading for Rome. The monumental arch at the Piazza del Popolo still testifies to the spectacular welcome Pope Alexander VII (r. 1655–1667) staged to honour the Northern Queen's return to the Catholic faith. For months Rome was the stage for sumptuous feasts, fireworks, jousts, operas, and similar festivities in her honour.²

Outside the Eternal City, too, Christina was applauded enthusiastically as a harbinger of the triumph of Catholic belief. Wherever she travelled within Catholic realms, she was received with a warm and sumptuous welcome.³ On returning from a visit to France in 1656, Christina made her entrance to Turin on 16 October. Valeriano Castiglione (1593–1663), historiographer to Duke Carlo Emanuele II of Savoy (r. 1638–1675), is one of the authors who provides us with a detailed account of her entry. According to this report, Count Emanuele Tesauro (1592–1675) was assigned the task of delivering a speech of welcome to the queen. In addition, he was responsible for designing a triumphal arch through which

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1 See Åkerman (1991). For new material on this episode see Schaffenrath (2004).

2 Cf. Stolpe (1960–1961), vol. 2, 32–53.

3 A part of the panegyrics in her honour is edited in Kajanto (1993). For an overview of the authors applauding Christina the Catholic see *ibid.*, 36–41. For other myths applied in poems praising Christina see also the chapter »Den mytologiska Christina« in Fogelberg Rota (2008), 181–241.

she would proceed to the palace.⁴ For both his speech and the arch, Castiglione explains, Tesauro had chosen the topic of the legendary phoenix.⁵

Castiglione and Emanuele Tesauro himself both give a detailed account of the arch's complex design of allegories and virtues.⁶ Tesauro's *Inscriptiones* – a book in which the orator of the 1656 welcome speech later published many of his epigrammatic inventions – explain in detail how this versatile baroque author made use of the phoenix to honour the Northern Queen.⁷ The top of the arch was crowned with a statue of the mythical bird being born from the flames. The phoenix was adorned with a golden crown and a golden necklace. Its wings were the colour of Phoenician purple (hence the bird's name).⁸ The front and back of the arch featured two massive plaques bearing programmatic inscriptions. The front displayed the following Latin text (Fig. 1):⁹

4 For a recent overview of this topic see Philipp (2011), 10–25.

5 Castiglione, *La regina Cristina*, 30–31: »Essendole stato accennato ch'era pronto l'oratore per congratularsi in nome publico, Sua Maestà lo udì in piedi. Questo fu il conte e cavalier don Emanuele Tesauro, il qual avendo preso per soggetto la fenice, il medesimo dell'arco che si descriverà, fu da Sua Maestà ringraziato con parole di lode.« Cf. Arckenholtz, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, 557–558.

6 Castiglione, *La regina Cristina*, 35–36: »Era alta dieciotto piedi, larga nove, con quattro colonne per ciascun lato, alte co' loro piedestalli piedi dieciotto, le inferiori di ordine dorico, le superiori di corinzio, li cornicioni risaltanti piedi tre. Nelli intercolumnii, dentro nicchi, vedevansi erette statue significanti virtù, in altezza di cinque piedi e mezzo, simboleggiate sotto nomi di deità. Sopra ciascuna, in cartelle quadrate di duo piedi e mezzo, leggevansi emblemi motteggiati. Nel risalto del cornicione e dell'intercolumnio superiore un frontispicio con le arme della città comitalmente coronate, corporate di toro saltante. Sotto la balaustrata stavano quelle della Svezia e della Reina, e nel mezzo dell'arco, quasi anima informante, si leggeva in un cartellone bellissimo elogio alludente alla Maestà Sua parallelata alla fenice. Nella sommità appunto di tutto il machinato di rilievo, sovra un frontispicio era tra due piramidi dipinta la imagine della fenice con le ali aperte. La invenzione accademica uscì dall'ingegno floridissimo del sovranominate conte Tesauro, che costituì l'augello immortale per soggetto di tal arco e per simbolo della Reina. E di certo esser non poteva più degnamente rassomigliata la fenice delle donne illustri settentrionali se non dalla fenice de' letterati italiani. Riempivano li vacui ed ornavano i piedestalli trofei allusivi alle guerre, alle paci, alle scienze, alla religione. Con simile modello ma con variazioni di statue, emblemi ed iscrizione, stava eretta la facciata seconda riguardante il Palazzo Reale.«

7 Tesauro, *Inscriptiones*, 94–96.

8 Tesauro, *Inscriptiones*, 94–95.

9 »Every one wanting to see the Phoenix should come here. That she builds her nest in soft Arabia is a myth. She is born in Sweden. That she was seen in Rome in Claudius' time should not be believed. Under the auspices of Alexander VII she first came to Rome. Who believes her to be only one counts falsely. The fourfold and unique Phoenix of ruling, wise, belligerent, manlike women is Christina Alexandra the daughter of the Great Gustavus.« Translation by Kajanto (1993), 53. The »fourfold Phoenix« is explained in Tesauro's further description. It refers to four allegorical statues the author placed between the arch's columns to characterize the mentioned aspects of Christina. The four statues represent her *Regia Maiestas* (inscribed