

*NATIONAL, RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL IDENTITY IN LATIN POETRY FROM THE GREAT NORTHERN WAR (1700–1721)*¹



By Elena Dahlberg

*This paper analyses the construction of national, religious and cultural identity in Latin poetry from the time of the Great Northern War (1700–1721). Neo-Latin poets from the remote regions of Scandinavia and Peter the Great's Russia considered poetry a powerful propaganda medium and composed verses in Latin to construct a number of identities. The two authors chosen for this analysis, Magnus Rönnow (1665?–1735), a Swedish poet, and Feofan Prokopovich (1681–1736), a Ukrainian poet in the service of the Russian court, imitated ancient poetry in a most creative way to serve both their own needs as individual writers and the ideologies of the fledgling nation-states of Sweden and Russia respectively. Four case studies will demonstrate how Latin verses promulgated nationalist propaganda, and how their authors at the same time manifested their own humanist training and claimed a place in the prestigious *respublica litterarum*. These texts also reveal the authors' transparent awareness that their decision to write in Latin was one of the best ways to demonstrate that their country was truly European, and thus belonging to the civilised world. Lastly, the paper discusses the apparent literary interaction between these poets.*

It is a well-accepted fact that composition of poetry was an essential part of the humanist movement.² When writing in Latin and imitating the ancient prototypes, Neo-Latin poets wished to be associated with established

¹ The following is based upon my doctoral thesis, Dahlberg 2014, *The Voice of a Waning Empire: Selected Latin Poetry of Magnus Rönnow from the Great Northern War*.

² New studies on the works of individual Neo-Latin poets, books on Neo-Latin poetry of specific regions and countries, anthologies, and general overviews of early modern Latin poetry appear yearly. For the most up-to-date analyses of the various genres of Neo-Latin poetry along with detailed bibliographies, consult the following handbooks of Neo-Latin literature: Ford, Bloemendal & Fantazzi 2014, Knight & Tilg 2015, and Moul forthcoming.

literary traditions and to fashion themselves as true humanists.³ Scholars of Neo-Latin poetry are now discovering that a close study of these early modern poems can detect how Latin verse could be used to shape and strengthen different kinds of identities.⁴ Thus, many of the poems can be understood as manifestations of the agendas that are usually seen as characteristic of early modern historiography:⁵ they mirror the endeavours of both various individuals and ethnic and cultural groups to prove their glorious past and noble origin, and in doing so they exhibit a clear awareness of the concepts of national identity and the nation-state.⁶ At the same time the Latin language was an important medium for the expression of religious experiences and it was used by both theologians and writers of propaganda who wished to defend their faiths against other religious practices.⁷ In just the last three years, several volumes, including the 2012 issue of the present journal, have illustrated how Neo-Latin writers composed fictional literature in the service of such needs.⁸ As will be shown in this article, poets from eighteenth-century Sweden and Russia, at the cultural “peripheries” of Europe, wrote poetry in Latin for exactly the same purposes as their Neo-Latin peers on the continent, viz. to form different kinds of identities, among which are national, religious, and cultural.

The poems chosen for the present analysis were written during the Great Northern War (1700–1721). This war involved nearly all of the countries surrounding the Baltic Sea. By the turn of the century, the Swedish realm was a superpower. It encompassed Finland, Ingria, Estonia, Livonia, parts of Pomerania and certain other territories in northern Germany.⁹ In 1700, Sweden was

³ Here the concept of humanism is taken quite broadly. In its original context, it is confined to the Renaissance movement on the Italian peninsula. On the origins of Renaissance humanism, see Burke 1998 and 1987. Cf. IJsewijn 1977, 6.

⁴ For example, several chapters in Kallendorf 2007 and Haskell & Feros Ruys 2010 elucidate the important role that Latin played in early modern societies and demonstrate how poetry in Latin was used for the construction of political and cultural identities.

⁵ About national historiographies in the early modern period see Kelley 1998 and Grafton 1993, which studies are still highly valuable. The latest bibliography will be found in Baker 2015.

⁶ On the historical and cultural sociology of nations and nationalism in the early modern period, see, for example, Smith 2013, Kidd 1999, and Hastings 1997. For language as a maker of ethnic and national identity see, for instance, Burke 2004.

⁷ See, for example, Helander 2004, 319–344.

⁸ Enenkel, Laureys & Pieper 2012, Coroleu, Caruso & Laird 2012, and Laureys & Simons 2013. The analysis in Sidwell’s article in the 2012 issue of the *Renaissanceforum* is especially close to the approach applied in the case-studies offered in my article. In Dermot O’Meara’s epic poem *Ormonius* (1615) Sidwell discerns a concern for personal, political and cultural identity. On the application of modern theories on the construction about national cultural identities to the study of humanist texts, see Pade 2012.

⁹ For a thorough survey of the period, see Roberts 1979.

suddenly attacked on three different fronts by Saxony-Poland, Denmark, and Russia. This three-party alliance aimed to put an end to the Swedish dominance in the Baltic region, a goal that was eventually achieved since the end of the war was also the end of Sweden's imperial experience. The balance of power in Europe was changed, and Russia was now on its way to becoming the major force in the North, with Peter I as his nation's leader, dynamic innovator and reformer. In the course of the war, the question of *bellum justum* was raised over and over again, as is indicated in the many official documents issued by the Swedish authorities.¹⁰ It was also a period of fierce propaganda writing. The language used for this polemical literature was generally Latin, especially in the case of propaganda in poetic form. The present paper examines a number of these propagandistic poems, pieces that treat both the victorious moments of the Great Northern War and the shifting *fortuna* of the participants, and that are used to construct different sorts of identities.

Neo-Latin literature in Sweden and Russia: Quantitative and qualitative discrepancies

The quantity and quality of the Neo-Latin literature from the Great Northern War vary dramatically depending on place of origin. The literary output of the Swedish Neo-Latin authors from the period under discussion strikes one with its richness and variety. Humanist ideas and ideals reached Sweden relatively late, but once brought there they were immediately embraced by Swedish scholars, artists and poets, and they reached their heyday in the middle of the seventeenth century.¹¹ In contrast, Orthodox Muscovy was for a very long time isolated from the Western humanist practices. Its writers were dependent on the Greek monastic culture and unfamiliar with the classical traditions,¹² even though Russian officials were often forced to use Latin when conducting diplomatic affairs with other countries.¹³ Besides some smaller schools in south-western Russia, the only institution that offered a profound grounding in Latin and Greek at the end of the seventeenth century was the Kievan Theological Academy.¹⁴ A more pragmatic attitude to Latin was adopted with Peter I on the throne

¹⁰ For an account of official propaganda from the Great Northern War, see Dahlberg 2014, 45–48.

¹¹ Surveys of Swedish Neo-Latin culture will be found in Ström & Zeeberg 2015, Dahlberg 2014, Helander 2004, and Aili 1995. Though focusing on the most productive period of Swedish Neo-Latin literature, the years 1620–1720, Helander's work provides many glimpses into the previous phases of its history.

¹² On the alienage of Latin humanism in early modern Russia, see Okenfuss 1995.

¹³ IJsewijn 1977, 173.

¹⁴ Liburkin 2000, 23.

(1682–1721 as Tsar of All Russia, and 1721–25 as its Emperor). Several schools then included the Latin language on their curriculum and thus became transmitters of classical ideas. By 1750 there were twenty-six colleges in the Russian empire based on a Latin curriculum. In 1871, the classical subjects taught at the so-called classical gymnasiums, which prepared young boys for civil offices, constituted 41 per cent of their curricula.¹⁵ It was also during Peter’s reign that Russian propaganda writers began to appropriate the classics for their needs. The third case-study offered below, “*eandem hanc orationem meam ... Latina etiam lingua, quippe quae toti Europae communis est, reddidi*”: Feofan Prokopovich’s sermon on the Russian victory at Poltava (1709), serves to illustrate this phenomenon.

The Great Northern War (1700–1721): historical background

Tsar Peter was the main instigator of the Great Northern War, and he launched the idea of an anti-Swedish coalition explicitly at a meeting with Augustus, the Elector of Saxony (from 1697 also King of Poland) in 1698.¹⁶ Augustus was the first to start the offensive by invading Livonia in February 1700, but this operation failed when the Swedish forces met and defeated him at Riga. In March of the same year, the Danish army marched into Holstein-Gottorp, which was a Swedish ally. Some months later the Russians, led by Tsar Peter, laid siege to Swedish Narva (in modern Estonia). Charles XII first addressed the Danish threat. After a successful descent into Zealand, he forced Denmark to sign a peace treaty, known today as the peace treaty of Traventhal. In November of the same year, the Russians suffered a devastating defeat at Narva.

The triumphs of Swedish weapons and military might were celebrated on a grand scale. Numerous medals were struck, with both Swedish and Latin inscriptions.¹⁷ Pamphlets were printed and flyers distributed. And occasional poetry inevitably followed. These poems were then countered by propaganda writers from countries hostile to Sweden. As will be demonstrated below, the Latin poems written during the Great Northern War had several clear purposes. In the first place, they comprised political propaganda of the fledgling nation-states and contributed to the creation of a

¹⁵ On the so-called “Latin schools” in Petrine Russia, see Hughes 1998, 300 and 305. The statistics regarding the use of Latin in Tsarist Russia are taken from Waquet 2002, 22 and 28.

¹⁶ For an account of the outbreak of the Great Northern War, see Hatton 1968, book 3. On Peter’s plan of creating an anti-Swedish alliance, see Svensson 1931.

¹⁷ The Swedish medals from the Great Northern War are listed in Hildebrand 1874, 495–602.

sense of national identity. At the same time, the writers were eager to fashion themselves as *poetae docti* and skilful imitators of the ancient prototypes, and thus to claim membership in the humanist literary community.

“Pro Carolo pugnante coelo”: Magnus Rönnow’s poem on the Swedish victory at Narva (1701)

The victory at Narva was the Swedish army’s most spectacular achievement during the first year of the war.¹⁸ Several factors contributed to that victory: (1) the Russian troops were still poorly trained; (2) Tsar Peter, one of the Russian army’s two leading commanders, had left Narva just days before the battle to attend a meeting in Russia, which must have had a demoralising effect on the Russian soldiers and their generals; (3) in addition, the very day of the planned siege was marked by a blizzard. The heavy snow storm that blew directly into the eyes of the Russians hindered them from seeing the advancing Swedes and helped the Swedish army to break the Russian lines and penetrate their entrenchments. Swedish poets interpreted this good fortune as God’s protection of the Swedes, and they contended that they were “God’s chosen people”.¹⁹

One of the most extraordinary poetic texts celebrating the victory at Narva is a poem, 496 lines long and in Alcaic stanzas, written by the Swedish poet Magnus Rönnow (1665?–1735). This author, a clever emulator of Horace, was often compared to George Buchanan and Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski.²⁰ The poem, entitled *In Victoriam Narvensem*, is both epic and lyric in character. The epic character is provided by the very theme: a grandiose pageant of a fatal struggle with metaphysical dimensions, a theme which called for mythological and biblical parallels. Meanwhile, the lyric mode is supplied by the Horatian metre and the many

¹⁸ A thorough analysis of the battle at Narva and its prelude is to be found in Laidre 1996 (Swedish transl. from Estonian).

¹⁹ The typology of this kind was a popular hermeneutic technique used by Swedish priests and ministers in the so-called state sermons, which was their medium to address both the more prominent strata of society and the commoners. Constituting part of the Swedish state propaganda, Israelite parallels were employed to convey certain political and theocratic dogmas and to stimulate the emotional engagement of the audience. See Ihalainen 2005 and Ekedahl 1999.

²⁰ The first scholarly treatise that offers such a comparison of Magnus Rönnow to Buchanan and Sarbiewski is the dissertation by J. Ihre & J. Wählberg, *Dissertatio Historico-Literaria de Poëtis in Svio-Gothia Latinis, Pars posterior* 1740, 43 f. On Rönnow’s imitation of Horace, see Dahlberg 2014, 101–111.

reflective passages found throughout the poem. An allusion to Horace is found already in the first stanza of the *In Victoriam Narvensem*:

Vos, o profani, quos sapientiae
Excelsa vanae gloria fascinat,
Ridete, dum vultis, supremum
Numinis imperium verendi.

(O impious people, whom the lofty glory of empty wisdom enchants,
laugh, as long as you want, at the supreme power of venerable God.)

It is clear that Magnus Rönnow has modelled this first stanza on Hor. *carm.* 3,1,1 ff.: *Odi profanum vulgus et arceo*. By *profanum vulgus* Horace designates the people who are not allowed to enter the shrine or to participate in the rite of poetry.²¹ Rönnow's stanza can be interpreted as a warning against human arrogance and impiety quite generally, but it has the Russians as its primary target, since they broke the peace treaty with Sweden. *Profani* may also refer to the fact that the Russians were of another confession than the Swedes.²² Later, Rönnow expresses his wish that those who disrespect treaties learn from the Russian example. The fate of the Russian army is compared to the fate of Sisera's charioteers (*Judges* 4). The poet contends that Charles XII, a "Gothic servant", received help from God in the same way as Moses had received God's assistance when leading his people from Egypt (*In Victoriam Narvensem*, vv. 437 ff.):

Qui pacta spernunt, temporius, velim,
Exempla spectent MOSCA. Manus valet,
Ductu JEHOVAE CAROLIQUE,
Sternere parva valentiorum.
Spectent diebus prodigium, velim,
Nostris coortum, dum Siseraicae,
Pro CAROLO pugnante coelo,
RUSSICA par cecidit caterva.
Qui nube Mosen igneque per stas
Protexit horas, ille stetit, nive
Sudoque missis, tuta fido
Pro GOTHICO FAMULO columna.

(I would like those who disrespect treaties to watch the Russian example in time. The force under Jehovah's and Charles's command,

²¹ Nisbet & Rudd 2004, 6 f.

²² When attacking the Danes, the Swedish authors preferred to use anagrammatic word-plays and chronostic messages. Because both nations were of the same Lutheran faith, religious propaganda would have not applied. For examples of anti-Danish poetry based on linguistic puns, see Dahlberg 2014, 59.

albeit small, is strong enough to strike down a stronger force. I would like them to watch the omen that was brought forward in our days, when the Russian army fell like the army of Sisera while Heaven was fighting for Charles. He [God], who during the appointed hours protected Moses with a cloud and with fire, stood [now] as a secure column in front of his faithful Gothic servant by sending a storm and bright weather.)

By calling Charles God's *Gothicus famulus*, Rönnow makes an explicit reference to the glorious past of the Swedes, which was actually a product of a fanciful historiography. According to this nationalist presentation of Swedish history, the Swedes were seen as the same people as the ancient Goths, descended from Japheth and representing the oldest realm in the world. The very first text that elaborates the Gothic history is Ericus Olai's *Historia Suecorum Gothorumque*, also known as *Chronica regni Gothorum* (written in the 15th century, but not printed until 1615).²³ It states that Gothia is the same region as present-day Sweden, and that directly after the Great Flood a beautiful place almost in the middle of Sweden was made its capital.

Extat enim in lateribus aquilonis regio quedam amplissima Gochia quidem famosius sed Suecia nunc vulgarius nominata, in cuius quasi medio locus quidam amenus et eminens tamquam insignior ob sui decenciam in caput regni a primo mox regionis incolatu post diluuium exstiterat constitutus.²⁴

(There is a very vast region in the Northern part of the world that certainly is more famous as Gothia, but is now more commonly called Suecia. Almost in the middle of it there is a place, which is as beautiful and prominent as it is remarkable through its fairness, and which had been made the realm's capital almost from the very beginning when it was occupied by settlers after the Deluge.)

Ericus maintains that this country was "vere dextera Domini plantata variisque donorum Dei muneribus insignita" (indeed planted by the Lord's hand and was gifted by God in many different ways).²⁵

Later, Johannes Magnus would explain the Gothic origin of the Swedish people in even more detail in his impressive *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque regibus* (1554).²⁶ In this chronicle, Magnus traced the lineage

²³ For a modern critical edition of Ericus Olai's *History*, see Olai 1993.

²⁴ Olai 1993, II, 1.

²⁵ Olai 1993, IV, 32.

²⁶ A Swedish translation by Eric Schroderus was issued in 1620. A new modern translation by Kurt Johannesson with an extensive commentary by Hans Helander is currently at an advanced stage of preparation. On the ideological purposes of Johannes Magnus's work and the rhetorical techniques applied there, see Johannesson 1991, 73–138.

of all the Swedish kings from Magog, the son of Japheth and the grandson of Noah, up to his own time, filling the gaps with fabricated figures. These legends and myths were readily picked up by subsequent generations of Swedish historians, who modified and offered variations of the same Gothic theme. The culmination of such patriotic writings was reached in Olof Rudbeck the Elder's *Atlantica* (1679–1702). Written in Swedish, it was later translated into Latin.²⁷ Rudbeck writes that Sweden was the Atlantis described in Plato's dialogues and that it was the native country of Japheth's offspring. The idea is expressed in the title itself: *Atlantica sive Manheim vera Japheti posterorum sedes ac patria* (*Atlantis or Manheim, the original home and fatherland of Japheth's descendants*).

Many contemporary scholars were strongly opposed to these creative methods of historical writing. Among these critical voices we find such prominent scholars as Johannes Schefferus, Johan Hadorph, and Clas Örnhielm.²⁸ Despite these objections, Gothic ideas were still present in both fictional literature and academic writings during the time under consideration.²⁹ Many historians had to budge from their standpoint in order to please the authorities.³⁰ Rönnow's Gothic references should be seen in this light, namely as a constituent part of the early modern patriotic writing and as a tool used to construct the national identity of the Swedish nation.

In addition to the nationalist aspect of the poem, the reader must also consider Rönnow's imitation of Horace and his famous Roman ode. By alluding to the Augustan poet, Rönnow invites his reader to see him as the *Musarum sacerdos* of Caroline Sweden.

A poetic pursuit or a political intention? Magnus Rönnow's poem "Hercules Genuinus Carolus Duodecimus Magnae Scandinaviae Imperator" (1706/7?)³¹

In 1707 (and perhaps also earlier in 1706), Rönnow printed a poem with the following title: *Hercules Genuinus Carolus Duodecimus Magnae Scandinaviae Imperator*

²⁷ On different editions of the *Atlantica* and its Latin translation, see Nelson's postscript in *Olaus Rudbecks Atlantica* (Rudbeck 1937, 565 f.).

²⁸ Cf. Dahlberg 2014, 100.

²⁹ For Rudbeck's presence in early modern dissertations from the Baltic area see Bernhard Schirg's forthcoming monograph *Rowing for Rudbeck: The Nordic Transformation of Classical Mythology around the Baltic Sea (1670–1800)*.

³⁰ Clas Örnhielm had to follow the Gothic tradition to conform with the official ideology of his country. See Helander 2012, 169 f.

³¹ The present case-study is based upon my article *Poetisk invention eller politisk intention? Magnus Rönnow's dikt Hercules Genuinus Carolus Duodecimus Magnae Scandinaviae Imperator (1706/7) som causa belli*, Dahlberg 2015.

viae Imperator (The real Hercules, Charles the Twelfth, Emperor of Great Scandinavia). The content is a programmatic comparison of the Swedish king to the ancient hero:

- 1 Semper in Orbe nefas, vi concomitante, vagatur:
Et vitii crescit multiplicata seges.³²
Raraque, siqua fuit, virtus Heroica terras
Purgavit: monstris omnia plena feris.
- 5 Saevit adhuc hydrae numerosum virus, aprugni
Fulmen dentis, hians terna per ora Gigas.
Diffundit rabiem furiatam Cerberus. Urit
Stymphalidum quassas durior ala genas.
Omnibus expetitur vindex coelestis, at illum
- 10 Nemo nisi Vatum sedula turba stitit.
[...]
Nae! labor Herculeus nihil est nisi fabula Vatum:
- 20 Herculis antiqui splendida larva fuit.
Sed tamen Alciden si verum quaeritis, eccum
CAROLIDEN! Vindex CAROLUS Orbis adest.

(1) Godlessness, accompanied by violence, always roams the world and a harvest of crime grows and multiplies. Seldom has heroic courage, if it ever existed, cleaned up the world; every place is full of wild monsters. (5) They are still raging: the abundant venom of the Hydra, the flashing tooth of the boar, and the Giant with his three jaws wide open. Cerberus pours out his outburst of fury. The heavy wings of the Stymphalian birds make beaten cheeks burn. Everyone was eagerly praying for a liberator from heaven, (10) but only a sedulous flock of poets was able to create him. [...] Indeed, Hercules's feat is nothing but a fairy tale of the poets. The image of ancient Hercules was nothing but a glittering ghost. However, if you are looking for a real Alcides, behold here Carolides [viz. Charles, himself descendant of Charleses]! Charles, the liberator of the world, is here.

The Swedish Neo-Latin poet had several ancient models to follow, Martial's epigrams on Domitian outdoing Hercules's deeds being among them.³³ Early modern epigrams could be quite long and Rönnow's poem is not exceptional in this context.³⁴ This type of poetry is often characterised by its concern with

³² Cf. Ovid's description of the Iron Age in *met.* 1, 128 ff.: *Protinus inrupit venae peioris in aevum/ omne nefas fugitque pudor verumque fidesque;/ in quorum subiere locum fraudesque dolusque/ insidiaeque et vis et amor sceleratus habendi.*

³³ Martial's use of the Hercules *topos* is discussed in Henriksén 2012, xxviii–xxx.

³⁴ Comprehensive analyses of the epigram as a genre of Neo-Latin literature will be found in de Beer, Enenkel, & Rijser 2009. On the length of Neo-Latin epigrams, see Enenkel 2009, 14 and 19.

moral issues. Indeed, Gerardus Johannes Vossius was one of the Renaissance theoreticians who advocated moral aims for epigrammatic poetry.³⁵ Another important component of the epigram was its *argutia*, its wit. This often consisted of a cleverly formulated last line of the poem.³⁶ This wit is found in the final distich of the *Hercules Genuinus*, where Rönnow announces Charles XII as the new liberator of the world who will be sent from heaven, and where he coins a new word, *Carolides*. The coinage is an imitation of the classical *Alcides* and designates the Swedish King's noble descent from Charles XI and Charles X Gustavus. Rönnow also satisfies the genre's interest in moral concerns when he gives his poem a certain Christian pathos and sees Charles as the rescuer of the human race. One more feature of the poem contributes to this interpretation, namely the lay-out of its title-page. Printed in lapidary style, with the lines centralised and all the letters given in capitals, it looks like an ancient epigram incised on stone. Adopted by humanist epigrammatists in the sixteenth century, the style gained an even greater popularity in Rönnow's age.³⁷ As Karl A. E. Enenkel notes, "[f]rom the end of the fifteenth century, we find hardly any humanist who did not write epigrams, and almost every writer who regarded himself a true 'poeta' had composed a respectable amount of epigrams or even had them published in attractive manuscripts or printed editions."³⁸ By composing this kind of poetry, therefore, Rönnow presents himself as a true humanist.

Rönnow's poem portraying the Swedish king as a new Hercules met with an angry Danish response. In October 1709, the Danes issued a new declaration of war, where they listed Rönnow's poem as one of their grievances against Sweden. The document was composed by Frederik Rostgaard, himself a qualified Neo-Latin poet. Rostgaard announced that the Danish king was acting according to the international rules of war:

Manifestum, in quo summatim exponuntur justae illae, eademque gravissimae Causae, quas habet, quibusque coacta velut est REGIA MAJESTAS Daniae et Norvegiae etc. etc. Regna sua et Provincias a Regis Sveciae multifariis jam nimis diu adversus ipsa foedera exercitis et in posterum magis adhuc extimescendis violentiis injuriisque tueri, plenamque iis, adhibitis, quae Jure Gentium concessa sunt, mediis, et auxiliante Deo, afferere securitatem.

³⁵ Bloemendal 2009, 74.

³⁶ Cf., e.g. Susanna de Beer's analysis of Giannantonio Campano's epigrams as studied along with the poet's own theoretical remarks. de Beer's examination reveals that the pointedness of Neo-Latin epigrams is not always humorous. de Beer 2009, esp. 144 and 161f.

³⁷ On lapidary style in early modern literature see Kajanto 1994, 150–158. For an in-depth study of the lapidary style in early modern prints from Sweden, see Ridderstad 1975.

³⁸ Enenkel 2009, 1.

(A manifesto, in which the Causes considered by His Royal Majesty of Denmark and Norway, etc. etc., are briefly set forth, Causes which are just and likewise very serious, and due to which he is compelled to defend his Realm and Provinces against the King of Sweden's manifold acts of violence and wrongs, already engaged in for too long a time, contrary to the treaties themselves, and about to become an even greater fear in the future. And due to them he is compelled to guarantee his Realm and provinces full security, using all the means permissible under to the Law of Nations and with the help of the Almighty.)

The rules for peace and war were elaborated by Hugo Grotius in his *De jure belli et pacis* (1625). According to Grotius, there are three justifiable causes for war: self-defence, restitution (or reparation of injury), and punishment. As a state official, the Danish author behind the declaration of war had to show his knowledge of these important principles. Denmark's concise manifesto, the Latin version of which comprises ten and a half quarto-pages, has as its main motives reparation and punishment, and takes as its main theme the insulting behaviour of the Swedes towards the Danes and their king. It also presents four causes of war.

The first *causa belli* is the loss of Danish power in the duchy of Lübeck-Eutin, attributed by Danish authorities to Swedish aggression in the region. The second *causa* is Rönnow's poem on Charles XII as the true Hercules. The third provocation is Sweden's cheating at the Customs in Öresund. Lastly, the fourth cause is the poor treatment of the Danish residents living in southern Sweden. When referring to Rönnow's poem, Frederik Rostgaard contends that it is arrogant by its very title. He maintains that the words *Magnae Scandinaviae Imperator*, Emperor of Great Scandinavia, imply that the Swedish King possesses power over the whole of Scandinavia, not only over Sweden alone but also over Denmark and Norway. According to Rostgaard, history shows that Denmark and Norway have ruled over Sweden, but there is no evidence whatsoever that Sweden has subjugated the other two countries:

Videre licet arrogans non minus, quam impudens, Nobisque maxime injuriosum, die 20 (10) Decembris 1706 publico e prelo in lucem editum scriptum, cujus auctor, qui ibidem se appellat Magnum Ronnau, intolerabili quadam temeritate coecaque superbia Regi Sveciae, et huic minime conveniens, et Nostri praecipue in fraudem spectans arrogare audet nomen, quod quidem, ut reliqua insolentissimi istius scripti praetereamus, tale est:

Hercules genuinus
Carolus Duodecimus
Magnae Scandinaviae
Imperator.

Holmiae die 10 (20) Decembris 1706.

*Magnus Ronnau.*³⁹

Cum tamen noverint omnes, Scandinaviae appellatione tria illa Septentrionalia Regna, Daniam nempe, Norvegiam et Sveciam comprehendi; pateatque ita simul, quod arrogans istud Imperatoris nomen Nostri unice in despectum contumeliamque sit inventum, publicaue usurpatum auctoritate. Quin ex historiis, iisque etiam, quae non admodum sunt vetustae, satis, ut credimus, liquet, priores duos populos tertio imperitasse, at hunc illos sua unquam in ditone habuisse, valido nullo probari poterit testimonio. [...] Manifestumque ita est, Svecos directo non minus, quam oblique fecisse omnia et molitos esse, ut orbi venturisque seculis contemptos Nos redderet, eumque in finem absque ulla verecundia falsissima quaeque et finxisse et divulgasse.

(Let us look at a publication, as arrogant as it is shameless, and highly injurious to us, that was officially published on the 20th (10th) of December in 1706.⁴⁰ Its author, who in the same publication calls himself Magnus Ronnau, has, in intolerable foolhardiness and blind hubris, the boldness to claim for the King of Sweden a title that is by no means appropriate for him and that, above all, is an attempt to cause us harm. Omitting the rest of that greatly insolent writing, it [the title] is indeed as follows:

The real Hercules
Charles the Twelfth
Emperor of Great Scandinavia.
Stockholm, December 10th (20th) of 1706.
Magnus Ronnau.

But as everyone knows, the designation of ‘Scandinavia’ comprises three Nordic kingdoms: Denmark, of course, Norway, and Sweden, and thus it is at once evident that this arrogant imperial title is applied and taken into use by official authorities only with the aim of causing us disrespect and insult. In fact, it is – as we believe – clear enough from the historical accounts, also from those that are not that old, that the former two peoples have had the third one under their rule, but it would not be possible to prove with any evidence that the latter one has had the other two under its sway. [...] It is thus demonstrated that

³⁹ The printed item consulted by me is from 1707.

⁴⁰ Sweden changed to the Gregorian calendar as late as 1753, when it dropped eleven days by switching from February 17 to March 1. During the period treated here, Sweden used a transitional calendar. When recording contemporary events, Swedish officials and writers usually referred to both systems. This is the case in Rönnow’s publication. On the Swedish transitional calendar, see Blackburn & Holford-Strevens 1999, 687.

the Swedes both directly and indirectly have done everything possible to slight us before the eyes of the world and before future generations, and that in order to achieve this aim they have, without shame, fabricated and published the most severe falsehoods.)

Sweden reacted with a swift and lengthy counter-document and considered Denmark's declaration of war, and in particular its accusations with respect to Rönnow's poem, as ridiculous and groundless. The answer, composed in Swedish (*sic!*), was penned by the State Secretary Samuel Bark. Its title is as follows: *Thet Danska Manifestets orimlighet och ofog efter Höga Wederbörandes Befallning framwist (The Danish Manifesto's absurdity and groundlessness clearly demonstrated by the order of Swedish authorities)*.⁴¹ When discussing the second *causa* of the manifesto, i.e. Rönnow's poem, Bark stresses the importance of poetic license and adds that the Danes could ask the poet himself for an explanation, which he could give them in "suitable *iambi*". After this rather dismissive remark, Bark points out that Rönnow's poem should be seen in its literary and cultural context, and he makes it quite clear that Rönnow is applying the technique that poets have always used for the composition of encomia. According to Bark, when a poet aimed too high, and thus was acting against literary conventions, such a violation would have been criticised only by the learned. He also states that it is not unusual that this kind of poetry would not reach the very dedicatees of the verses. Written in Latin, they are usually understood only by a small number of readers:

One should not condescend to treat this matter with anything but ridicule, and what would be needed is that Rönnow himself as a poet would explain himself regarding this in suitable *iambi*. Learned men in all places around the world have [always] enjoyed the freedom of speaking and writing in someone's honour and praise, without being blamed for using their best inventions, and especially when this has been done in order to express their reverence and affection towards rulers, whether they have done this in panegyric orations, dedications, or in some other way. More importantly, in these matters poets are seldom reproached for the fact that their writings would never be read with any pleasure and desire, if they did not try harder than others. This, however, has not yet incited angry feelings of some consequence in anybody outside the borders of the learned republic. This is why, in every nation (as well in former days as now), this is seen as some kind of competition concerning who can sing his rulers' praise in the best way, and tout his nation's achievements and his benevolence towards both, regardless of the fact that the rulers seldom read or are aware of

⁴¹ More on the Swedish counter-document in Dahlberg 2014, 270 and Dahlberg 2015.

the writings. Moreover, such things, especially when they are written in the learned languages, end up being read, in the first place, only by those who understand them, after which they fall into oblivion, and they are preserved by a limited number of admirers.⁴²

Bark makes it clear that the *Hercules Genuinus* is a piece of occasional poetry.

The Hercules motif was frequently associated with Charles XII, not only in literature but also in visual arts, including medals.



Fig. 1: Charles as Hercules fighting Cerberus. (Photo: Hendrik Mäkeler, Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.) Cerberus stands here for the three enemies, Russia, Saxony-Poland and Denmark. Obverse: Bust of armoured Charles wearing a wig. Legend: “CAROLVS. XII. D[EI]. G[RATIA]. REX. SVETICIAE. MD CC.” (“Charles XII, by Grace of God, King of Sweden. 1700.”).

The reverse depicts the Swedish king as Hercules fighting the three-headed Cerberus. On his shoulders, he wears the skin of the Nemean lion. The monster symbolises here

⁴² “Man borde ei bewärdiga thetta med annat än åtlöje och behöfdes wäl at Rönnow sielf, såsom Poët, med några tientliga Iambis sig här på förklarade. The Lärde på alle Orter i werden hafwa här til haft then friheten, at när the til någons heder och beröm welat tala eller skrifwa, har ingen förtyckt, om the ther til användt sina bästa inventioner, och i synnerhet när thet skett til at betyga thetas wördna och kärlek emot Öfwerheten, antingen uti Panegyriske Orationer, Dedicationer, eller eljest. Men serdeles plägar man sådant hoos Poëter i thet slags materier så aldeles intet tadla, at thetas Skrifter ei en gång med någon lust och nöje läsas, om the ei högre sig theruti swängia än andre, hwilket alt doch ännu ingom är någon tid i sinnet kommit at draga til någon Consequence utom then lärda Republikens Gränsor. Man seer ock therföre, at hoos alla Nationer, så wäl förr, som nu, är lika som ett täflande, hwem högst skal kunna i så måtto uphöja sin Öfwerhets låf, sin Nations förmåner, och sitt egit hiertelag för bägge, oaktat thet mästedels händer, at Öfwerheten hwarken sådant läser, eller weet theraf; och thesutan hafwa sådana saker the ödet, särdeles när the på lärde Språken skrifwas, at the alenast af them, som them förstå, i förstone läsas, sedan förswinna i glömsko, och af ganska fåå som älskare äro, förwaras.” Bark 1710, 30 f.

Frederick IV of Denmark, Augustus II of Saxony-Poland and the Russian Tsar Peter. The legend is a slightly altered verse from Ovid (*met.* 9,184): “NEC. LEO. ME. NEC. FORMA. TRIPLEX. TUA. CERBERE. MOVIT.” (“Neither the lion nor your triple form alarmed me, o Cerberus.”)

The numeral ‘XII’ in Charles’s name afforded the obvious parallel to Hercules and his twelve labours.



Fig. 2: Swedish military achievements in 1700–1706. (Photo: Hendrik Mäkeler, Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.) Obverse: Bust of Charles wearing his armour with an image of lion on his arm. Legend: “CAROLVS XII D[EI] G[RATIA] REX SVEC[IAE].” (“Charles XII, by Grace of God, King of Sweden.”)

Reverse: Hercules wearing a lion skin as his only outfit and holding a club in his left hand. Legend: “NON HÆC ULTIMA META LABORUM.” (“This is not the final limit of the labours.”) Beneath Hercules’s feet we read: “XII. LABORES HERCUL[IS].” (“Hercules’s twelve feats”.) Small shields along the rim representing twelve military achievements performed by Charles and his generals in 1700–1706:

- (1) DESC[ENSUS] IN SEEL[ANDIAM] (Descent of Swedish troops in Danish Zealand, 1700)
- (2) PAX TRAVENTH[ALENSIS] (Peace of Traventhal, 1700)
- (3) NARVA (Victory at Narva, 1700)
- (4) RIGA (Liberation of Riga, 1700)
- (5) TRAI[ECTUS] DUNÆ (Crossing of the Düna, 1701)
- (6) CLISSOW (Victory at Kliszow, 1702)
- (7) PULTOFS (Victory at Pultusk, 1703)
- (8) THORUN (Capture of Thorn, 1703)
- (9) LEMBERG (Capture of Lemberg, 1704)
- (10) GRODNO (Victory at Grodno, 1706)
- (11) FRAUSTAD (Victory at Fraustadt, 1706)
- (12) PAX ALTRANST[EDTENSIS] (Peace of Altranstädt, 1706)

“eandem hanc orationem meam ... Latina etiam lingua, quippe quae toti Europae communis est, reddidi”: Feofan Prokopovich’s sermon on the Russian victory at Poltava (1709)

Charles’s spectacular victories made him believe that he could take Moscow. After a successful campaign in Poland, he started planning his Russian campaign. This ended in a fiasco: in July 1709, Charles and his army suffered a devastating defeat at the battle of Poltava in the Ukraine. The losses were tremendous, and almost all surviving Swedish officers and rank and file soldiers were taken prisoners. Charles and the remainder of his troops fled to Bender in Moldavia, at the time controlled by the Ottoman Empire. They stayed there for almost six years, which produced an absurd situation with the king of Sweden residing abroad for such an extended period of time. The Russian victory at Poltava in 1709 gave birth to a number of occasional texts both in Latin and in Slavonic languages. The longest of these encomia is a sermon by Peter’s propaganda minister Feofan Prokopovich (1681–1736). Ethnically Ukrainian, Prokopovich was one of very few men in the country who had a good command of several foreign languages and who was schooled in the classical tradition.⁴³ Before working in Peter’s service, Prokopovich had studied in Poland and in Rome. While completing his education in Poland, he converted to the Uniate confession. When in Rome he attended the prestigious *Collegium Romanum* run by the Jesuits. Thus, he had acquired a profound knowledge of ancient Latin literature. When back in Russia, he rejoined the Orthodox Church.

Prokopovich’s sermon was delivered in Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kiev directly after Peter’s victory in 1709, and the Tsar was present at the ceremony. The speech was printed in the same year together with a poem of 174 lines. Subsequently, a Latin translation of the booklet appeared. Entitled *Panegyricus de devictis Svecis*, the Latin version contains a *praefatio*. In that preface, Prokopovich explains that it was the tsar himself who commissioned the translation into this *lingua franca*:

Et quia haec tanta gloria tua non unius lingua Populi, verum omnigena praedicatione digna est, idcirco eandem hanc orationem meam, nutibus tuis obsequens, Latina etiam lingua, quippe quae toti Europae communis est, reddidi, ...

(And because this great glory of yours is truly worthy of praise of every kind not [solely] in the language of one single people, I have

⁴³ For Prokopovich’s life and education, see Wes 1992, 27–35. For a survey of his Latin poetry, see Liburkin 2000, 49–120.

therefore, on your commission, rendered this very speech of mine also into the Latin tongue, because it is in fact shared by all of Europe.)⁴⁴

The themes exploited in the speech and the techniques employed are similar to those found in the Neo-Latin propaganda of the Swedish writers. The *topos* of perfidy, which Swedish authors attached to Charles XII's enemies, is used by Prokopovich to describe the Cossacks, who had switched sides during the conflict. Just as Rönnow gives Charles the epithet "true Hercules", Prokopovich compares Peter's bravery to that of the ancient hero. The motif of the divine protection of Charles XII that we find in Rönnow's grandiose *In Victoriam Narvensem* is countered by Prokopovich's passage on the celestial protection of the Russians during the battle of Poltava. A poem printed together with Prokopovich's speech exploits these motifs too. Entitled *Epinicium, sive Carmen Triumphale de eadem victoria nobilissima* and written in hexameter, it runs 169 lines.⁴⁵ The narrative part starts with God's words on the impiety of the Swedes and his promise to assist the Russians (vv. 17–30):

Jam bellum decimas messes immane terebat,
(Trojani excidii spatium) quo saevior anno
Non fuit. Infestos etenim per viscera regni
Vidimus ire hostes, auctosque rebellibus armis.
Cum Pater omnipotens caelo despexit ab alto
Et fidi populi sortem miseratus iniquam
Indignans piis hostem insultare superbum:
"Frustra" – inquit, – "Stygii conamina tanta Tyranni,
Usque licet satagat populos me rite colentes
Perdere, et haeriticis evertere viribus aras,
Nam si subsidio tibi Svecia saeva nefando
Accessit perjura manus, mea clara Triumphis,
Et Victrix Erebi bellabit dextera PETRO.
Et videamus utri faveat Victoria parti?"

(The fierce war has by now been raging for ten years (the period for Troy's destruction), and this year has not been surpassed in cruelty by any other. For we saw how the ferocious enemies got into the country's heart, multiplied by rebellious troops [read *the Cossacks*]. When the Almighty Father looked down from the high vault of heaven, commiserating with the unjust fate of the faithful people and unable to tolerate that the haughty enemy tormented the pious, "In vain" – he said, – "are such great efforts made by the Stygian tyrant.

⁴⁴ Prokopovich 1743, 88.

⁴⁵ Prokopovich 1743, 123–128.

Let him constantly try to destroy the people who worship me in a truly Orthodox way, and to overthrow the Christian Church with his heretic forces. For even if a perjured hand has come to assist you, o savage Sweden, with its impious help, my right hand, famous for its victories and being the subduer of Hell, will fight for Peter. And let us then see which side Victory will favour?”)

By portraying Peter as God’s protégé, the pro-Russian writer conveys a patriotic viewpoint. When asserting that the Russians represent the only true faith, he promotes his religious agenda. Prokopovich’s verses are thus in line with contemporary poetical practices.

“Vidit Terpsichore tuum libellum”: The Russian fiasco at the Prut and Rönnow’s invective against Prokopovich (1712)

By 1712 it was becoming increasingly obvious that Sweden’s situation was indeed precarious. The king was in exile in Turkey. Augustus, Elector of Saxony, had regained the Polish crown. Bremen and Verden had come into Frederick IV’s hands, and Russia was now besetting Finland. Poets in the enemy countries now saw their ultimate chance to mock Sweden.

Magnus Rönnow attacked one of these versifiers in a poetic pamphlet, *In imagines politicas Iconodori de pictoribus Lojolitae Placentini*, which is written in hendecasyllables and consists of 139 lines. The title refers to the political images of a certain Iconodorus, a person who is addicted to pictures and who apparently has written about paintings of a Jesuit from Piacenza. Rönnow is not explicitly mentioned as the poem’s author. The title page informs the reader that the poem is by an unknown author (*incerti auctoris*), and that it is printed by a certain Andreas Gelasinus in Cologne in the year 1712 (*typis publicavit Andreas Gelasinus Coloniae Agrippinae Anno MDCCXII*). The copy kept at the Diocesan Library of Linköping has the following note: “Magnii Rönnovii”, and the place of publication is changed to Amsterdam.⁴⁶ The publisher’s last name seems to be invented and should be seen as an open allusion to the author’s intention, as *gelasinus* (of Greek origin) means ‘a dimple in the cheek, produced by smiling’.⁴⁷

After a close study of this poem, I propose to conclude that it is actually an attack on the above-mentioned Feofan Prokopovich. We know that during his stay in Italy Prokopovich had composed several epigrams on paintings with religious motifs. Later, he included them in his handbook *De arte poetica* (1705), in the chapter on epigrams.⁴⁸ The titles of some of the poems start

⁴⁶ Samuel Älf’s collection at the Diocesan Library of Linköping, vol. W25:XV, fol. 305.

⁴⁷ For an analysis of the poem see Dahlberg 2014, 313–320.

⁴⁸ The first printed edition of Prokopovich’s *De arte poetica* is from 1786.

with the programmatic *In imaginem*, e.g. *In imaginem beatissimae Virginis Mariae gladio transfixae*. It is therefore tempting to regard the *In imagines politicas* as an assault on Prokopovich and his handbook on poetics.

The major theme in Rönnow's pamphlet is the Russian army's surrender to the Ottomans on the banks of the river Prut in Moldavia and the shameful treaty that Russia was forced to sign in July 1711.⁴⁹ During his reign Peter had launched two campaigns that were aimed at gaining access to the Sea of Azov and thereby, also, closer access to the Black Sea. In the so-called second Azov campaign in 1695–1696, Peter captured the Turkish fortress of Azov and established a naval base at Taganrog on the northeast corner of the sea. While staying in Bender, Charles managed to persuade the Sultan to declare war on Russia in November 1710. In the middle of July 1711, the Russian army found itself surrounded by the Ottoman troops in the principality of Moldavia. The Turkish army outnumbered Peter's forces two to one. Cornered on the banks of Prut with Peter and his wife Catherine in the camp, the Russians did not have much choice but to surrender. Peter had to return Azov to the Turks, to demolish Taganrog and several other Russian fortresses in the Azov area, and to promise not to hinder Charles's return to Sweden. The Turkish conditions seemed surprisingly cheap and easily won. Many observers, among them Charles, had expected Russia to be forced to cede also the newly conquered Baltic provinces. As contemporary letters and other documentation show, the Grand Vizier had accepted a very generous gift from the Russians. Among other things the gifts included Catherine's jewellery.⁵⁰ The news about the peace treaty spread rapidly. And the story about the bribed Vizier became a popular theme in Swedish propaganda.⁵¹ Moreover, we know that Feofan Pokopovich had assisted Peter in his Prut campaign, which is another reason to believe that it is he whom Rönnow ridicules in his verses. Composed in hendecasyllables, the *In imagines politicas* is strongly influenced by Horace and Catullus. In his initial lines, Rönnow assumes the role of a Zoilus who is criticising a bad poet (vv. 1–5):

Vidit Terpsichore tuum libellum,⁵²
O infamis Iconodore, spurcis
Plenum lemmatibus chronosticisque
Insulsis, anagrammaticisque fartum
Stultis, carminibusque faeculentis:

⁴⁹ Hatton 1968, 334–336.

⁵⁰ Troyat 1979, 178–181.

⁵¹ Emanuel Swedenborg exploited this theme in his allegorical work *Camena Borea* from 1715. See Swedenborg 1988, *fabula V*.

⁵² Cf. Cat. 14,12–14: *di magni, horribilem et sacrum libellum! / quem tu scilicet ad tuum Catullum / misti, ...*

(Terpsichore saw your little book, o inglorious Iconodorus, which is full of nasty epigrams and tasteless chronostics and stuffed with silly anagrams and impure poems:)

In the passage on the corrupt Vizier, Rönnow applies one of the most cherished techniques of Neo-Latin poets, viz. the usage of linguistic puns (vv. 98–106):

Quam pulcris tua Najades Prutenses, –
Subjecit Jove nata Musa, – lauris
Cingunt tempora, PETRE, tam decentes,
Fortunae optime pulle, semper aufer.
Auro, non gladio salus redemta
Gratatur solidos tibi triumphos,
Recte Azovia restituta Turcae
Taganroccaque diruta ominantur
Successus tibi mox amoeniores.

(As beautiful as the laurels are that the Naiads of Prut crowned your temples with, – added the Muse, daughter of Jove, – may you always carry home such fitting laurels, Peter, Fortune’s little darling! Your safety regained through money and not by the sword congratulates you on solid triumphs! With good reason the Turks foresaw restoration of Azov to them and the demolition of the fortress of Taganrog as more joyful victories for you.)

Solidos ... triumphos in line 106 is supposed to allude to Peter’s bribery, as the adjective *solidos* can be taken as a noun and thus meaning “gold coins”.

Rönnow’s satire works on several levels. As argued above, it is an invective against Prokopovich and his manual on poetics. In its ridicule of Prokopovich as a poet the pamphlet reminds us of the many literary quarrels that were so popular during the Renaissance era and constituted part of the so-called “humanistische Streitkultur”, the early modern culture of dispute.⁵³ Once again, Rönnow is eager to express both his adherence to the humanist movement and his self-perception as a humanist *persona*.

One more identity can be discerned in the *In imagines politicas*. The poem’s title negotiates the author’s religious standpoint: the Jesuit, whose paintings Prokopovich described in his *De arte poetica*, is scornfully called *Lojolita*. This was a word commonly used by Lutheran writers to denote the members of the Society of Jesus.⁵⁴ Here it can also be interpreted as an implicit reference to, and condemnation of, Prokopovich’s training, which

⁵³ For *Streitkultur* as the term for literary brawls, see Laureys, Simons & Becker 2013, 8.

⁵⁴ Cf. Helander 2004, 332–334.

was obtained at a Jesuit institution. On the whole, Rönnow's pamphlet is an illustrative example of what the humanistic art of arguing was about.

Conclusion: Latin poetry and the construction of identities

In this article, I have demonstrated how Neo-Latin poets from early eighteenth-century Sweden and Russia were prolific in many different genres and that they composed their poetry in accordance with the Western reception of antiquity. As everywhere else they wrote poetry in Latin for a number of ideological and professional reasons, among which we find the construction of national, religious and cultural identities. As shown in my examination of Magnus Rönnow's *In Victoriam Narvensem*, myths about the extraordinary origins of the Swedish nation were promoted in poetry in the same way as in historiographical works: through special hermeneutic techniques the poet furthered the idea of the Swedes as the new chosen people. Neo-Latin verse was also used to prove the superiority of a nation's religious dogmas. Criticism of other confessions appears in Rönnow's poems *In Victoriam Narvensem* and *In imagines politicas*, as well as in Feofan Prokopovich's *Epinicium*. At the same time, poetry was used as a tool for self-fashioning: Rönnow presents himself as a new Horace and the lyrical voice of Charles XII's Sweden. As we have seen in the case of Rönnow's verses on Charles as a new Hercules, poetry could create resonances of an impressive magnitude: the poem was named as one of the four *causae belli* in the Danish declaration of war of 1709. More interesting still is the Swedish counter-document that provides a thorough description of the panegyric genre and thus explains encomiastic poetry as part of every humanist's work. Awareness of the Latin language as the best medium to propagate the state agenda is found in the preface of Feofan Prokopovich's sermon on the victory at Poltava. By commissioning a Latin translation of the Slavonic original, Tsar Peter made it clear that he wished to reach a European audience and to be seen as a "civilised European" himself. Even the *certamen verborum* in Rönnow's *In imagines politicas*, a harsh pamphlet against the pro-Russian writer, has a unifying effect: though polemical and propagandistic, it solicits a direct dialogue with a Neo-Latin peer who belongs to the same community of the republic of letters.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ I am very grateful to Sofia Guthrie, Johan Heldt, David Medlar, and Kjell M. Wangensteen for valuable comments on earlier drafts on this article and for proofreading my English. I also wish to extend a special thanks to the anonymous referee for astute observations.

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